AN EDITION OF OWAYNE MILES AND OTHER MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS CONCERNING ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY

by

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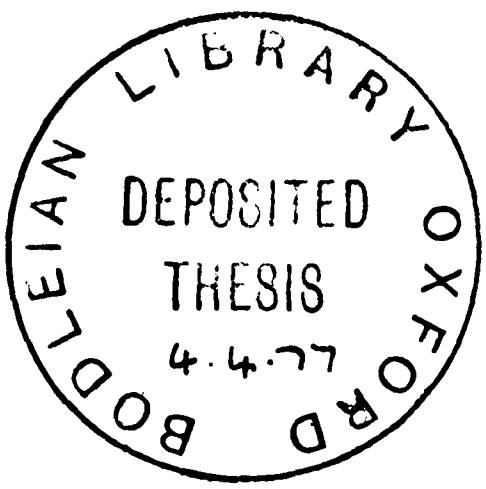

For S.M.S., F.A.St.G., S.M.L.

Much has been said of man's bewilderment and solitude after the disappearance of Heaven from active belief. We know of the neutral emptiness of the skies and of the terrors it has brought. But it may be that the loss of Hell is the more severe dislocation. It may be that the mutation of Hell into metaphor left a formidable gap in the co-ordinates of location, of psychological recognition in the Western mind. The absence of the familiar damned opened a vortex which the modern totalitarian state filled. To have neither Heaven nor Hell is to be intolerably deprived and alone in a world gone flat. Of the two, Hell proved the easier to re-create. (The pictures had always been more detailed.)

George Steiner, <u>In Bluebeard's Castle</u>.

Abstract

St. Patrick's Purgatory is today a pilgrimage centre on Station Island in Lough Derg, County Donegal, Ireland. From the late twelfth to fifteenth centuries the site was one of the most famous pilgrimage centres in Western Europe. Its popularity was spread principally through transmission of a late twelfth century Latin work, the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii, by a Cistercian monk usually known as Henry of Saltrey, or Sawtry in Huntingdonshire. This work tells of the founding of the Purgatory by St. Patrick. During his conversion of the pagan Irish, Patrick prayed to Christ for assistance, and the Purgatory was revealed to him as a physical entrance to the otherworld. Pilgrims spending a day and a night in the 'cave' of the Purgatory would pass bodily through purgatory, and if firm of faith, would also enter the Earthly Paradise. Provided that no unshriven mortal sins were subsequently committed, such a sojourn was deemed sufficient penance to exempt the pilgrim from purgatory after death. The Tractatus also tells of the visit to the Purgatory by an Irish knight, Owayne. His experiences were reported to Henry of Saltrey by another Cistercian monk, Gilbert, former abbot of Basingwerk, Flintshire. In various versions this Tractatus was widely copied throughout Europe, and translated into most Western European vernaculars from Dutch and Spanish to Norwegian. Pilgrims from as far afield as Italy and Hungary have, amongst others, left reports of their visits to the Purgatory, nearly all drawing to a greater or lesser degree on Henry of Saltrey's Tractatus. Six Middle English verse versions were made of Owayne's adventures in the Purgatory.

This edition comprises three ME and two Latin texts. i) Owayne Miles is a fifteenth century couplet version of the Tractatus, extant in two imperfect copies, B.M. MS. Cotton Caligula A ii and Yale University Library, MS. 365, formerly MS. Hamilton, known as the Book of Brome. These copies are presented in parallel. An appendix contains a tentative reconstruction for ease of reading

of an earlier state of the text based on these two widely differing copies, and drawing on the assistance of the Tractatus. ii) A fourteenth century six-line tail-rhyme stanza version, which is extant in one copy only, in the Auchinleck MS. iii) A fifteenth century prose account of a vision seen during a visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory by one William from Stranton, Co. Durham. This is extant in two copies, B.M. MSS. Add. 34193 and Royal 17 B.xliii, which are also presented in parallel. iv) A text of the longest version of the Tractatus, taken from a copy dated 1200 in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51. This is the first time that a full text has been printed including all the homiletic material added to the basic narrative of Owayne's visit. v) A hitherto unpublished Latin account of the Purgatory and of another vision seen therein by a knight during the reign of Henry II, recounted by Peter of Cornwall in the same Lambeth MS., which comprises Peter's Liber Revelationum.

The Introduction contains ten chapters. Chapters 1-3 discuss the MSS. and the language of the ME texts. Chapter 4 shows that Henry of Saltrey's Tractatus was written before 1185/6 and was dedicated to Hugh, abbot of Old Wardon, Bedfordshire, thus refuting F.W. Locke's later dating of 1208-1215.[1] Chapter 4 also attempts to show that the long text of the Tractatus, contrary to many writers' arguments, is most probably closer to Henry's original than the short text found in many MSS. Chapter 5 deals with the relationship of the ME poems, including the version in the South English Legendary, to the different MS. groups of the Tractatus so far distinguished. Chapter 6 deals with the ME poems in this edition. It shows that the Auchinleck version is based on an Anglo-Norman verse translation of the Tractatus. This relationship has not been recognized before. Chapter 6 also discusses the textual difficulties of the couplet version, Owayne Miles. Chapter 7 deals with the prose Vision of William of Stranton, which though slightly indebted to the Tractatus, is an independent work using

1. See Speculum, xl(1965),641-6.

the vision format to castigate contemporary social and especially ecclesiastical vices, much in the mode of current sermon material. Chapter 8 discusses the early history and legendary history of St. Patrick's Purgatory, using the hitherto neglected evidence supplied by Peter of Cornwall. Amongst other items it deals with the significance of the site of the Purgatory on Station Island, Lough Derg; the significance of the ritual procedure observed by medieval pilgrims and its relationship to widespread patterns of 'initiation' ritual and to myths of the descensus ad inferos; and the identity of Owayne, and why he should perhaps be regarded as a real not mythical person. Chapter 9 examines the relationship of Owayne's and William of Stranton's accounts to the long line of medieval visions of the Christian otherworld, and looks at those specific aspects of the presentation of purgatory and paradise which are unorthodox or otherwise noteworthy, including the infernal depiction of purgatory, and the delay in the Earthly Paradise before attaining the Beatific Vision. Chapter 10 provides editorial notes.

Extensive notes to all the texts are provided, together with a full ME glossary and a select list of books used.

Preface

The Abstract briefly outlines the nature of St. Patrick's Purgatory. The Introduction attempts to supply the reader with adequate information upon both the external circumstances of the Purgatory as a physical entity, and upon the literary tradition of otherworld visions which supplies much of the material for what is 'seen' by both Owayne and William of Stranton within the Purgatory. As no adequate edition of the Tractatus yet exists, I have supplied for the reader's convenience a full text of that version of the Latin from which the ME poems in the edition ultimately derive. Peter of Cornwall's hitherto unprinted account of the Purgatory is included for its innate interest and importance for an understanding of the early significance of St. Patrick's Purgatory. Other items not previously understood about these texts include the proper dating of Henry of Saltrey's Tractatus, and the dependence of the Auchinleck version on an Anglo-Norman translation. The ME poems were printed inadequately last century. The Additional MS. copy of William of Stranton's text has not previously been printed. No commentary or glossary has previously accompanied any printing of either the ME or Latin texts.

I thank the following for permission to print manuscript material in their possession: The Librarian, Lambeth Palace Library; The Trustees of the National Library of Scotland; The British Library Board; and Yale University Library.

I wish to thank also my supervisor Mr. Douglas Gray for his kind assistance over a long period. I am also indebted to Professor Norman Davis for his generous loan of his microfilm of the Book of Brome; to my colleague Dr. Ian Jamieson for many helpful comments; and to S. Staples, D. Wood, and S. Lavin for invaluable assistance with typing and checking at various stages.

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List of abbreviations and short titles.

AASS	Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana, 1643 et seq.
Anal. Boll.	Analecta Bollandiana
ANT	The Apocryphal New Testament: being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, with other narratives and fragments, trans. M.R. James, 1st edn., Oxford, 1924, corrected 1953.
Apoc. of Peter	Apocalypse of Peter quoted from ANT pp.505-21.
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
B.M.	British Museum
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
Common-place Book	L. Toulmin Smith, A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century, containing a religious play and poetry, legal forms and local accounts, Norwich and London, 1886.
Cross, Motif-Index	T.P. Cross, Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature, Bloomington, Indiana, 1952.
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library
Dial.	Gregorii Magni Dialogi Libri IV, ed. U. Moricca, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, lvii(Rome,1924).
Dial. Mirac.	Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols., Cologne, Bonn and Brussels, 1851.
DNB	The Dictionary of National Biography, 1882-
Dobson	E.J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700, 2 vols., 2nd edn., Oxford, 1968.
Drihthelm	Bede's account of the Vision of Drihthelm, Historia Ecclesiastica, V.xii, quoted from Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1969.
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, 30 vols., and Index 3 vols., Paris, 1930-1972.
EDD	English Dialect Dictionary, ed. J. Wright, 1896-1905.

EETS,ES,SS	Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Supplementary Series
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings, 12 vols., and Index vol., Edinburgh, 1908-1926.
ES	Englische Studien
HRHEW	The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales 940-1216, ed. Dom David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and Vera C.M. London, Cambridge, 1972.
IER	The Irish Ecclesiastical Record
Index	Carleton Brown and R.H. Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse, New York, 1943, and R.H. Robbins and J.L. Cutler, Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse, Lexington, Ky., 1965.
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Jenkins (1903)	T.A. Jenkins, 'The Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France', The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1st series, vii(1903),235-327.
Jordan	R. Jordan, Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik, 1925; revised edn. by H.Ch. Matthes, Heidelberg, 1934.
Leslie, SPP	S. Leslie, Saint Patrick's Purgatory. A Record from History and Literature, London, 1932.
MAE	Medium AEvum
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary, ed. H. Kurath and S.M. Kuhn, Ann Arbor, 1956-
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MRHEW	Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales, ed. David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, 2nd edn., London, 1971.
MRHI	Medieval Religious Houses Ireland, ed. A. Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, London, 1970.
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia, 15 vols., New York, [1967].

NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
NQ	Notes and Queries
OE	Old English
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary, ed. J.A.H. Murray, H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie, and C.T. Onions, 1888-1933.
OF	Old French
ON	Old Norse
Owen (1970)	D.D.R. Owen, The Vision of Hell. Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature, Edinburgh and London, 1970.
Owst, LPME	G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 1st edn., Cambridge, 1933; revised edn., Oxford, 1961.
Owst, PME	G.R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England. An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350-1450, Cambridge, 1926.
Patch (1950)	H.R. Patch, The Other World according to descriptions in medieval literature, Cambridge, Mass., 1950.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus: Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P.Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-1864.
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
RC	Revue celtique
RES	Review of English Studies
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RP	Romance Philology
RR	Romanic Review
RS	Rolls Series, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores, London, 1858-1896.
SEL	South English Legendary
Silverstein	T. Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli. The History of the Apocalypse in Latin, together with nine texts, Studies and Documents, iv(1935).
SP	Studies in Philology
T	Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii

Top. Hib.	Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica, ed. J.F. Dimock, RS 21e(1867).
Trip. Life	The Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. W. Stokes, 2 vols., RS 89a,b(1887).
Tubach, Index Exemplorum	F.C. Tubach, Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales, FF Communications No. 204, Helsinki, 1969.
Tundale	Tundale. Das mittelenglische Gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus, ed. A. Wagner, Halle, 1893.
VEL	Vision of Edmund Leversedge, ed. E.M. Thompson, Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, ix(1904), 19-35.
Visiones Georgii	Visiones Georgii: visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIII, ed. L.L. Hammerich, Copenhagen, 1931.
Visio Tnugdali	Visio Tnugdali, Lateinisch und Altdeutsch, ed. A. Wagner, Erlangen, 1882.
VSP	Vision of St. Paul, ed. C. Horstmann, Archiv, lii(1874),35-8.
VSP I/IV	Visio Sancti Pauli Redactions I and IV in Visio S. Pauli: Ein Beitrag zur Visionslitteratur auf einem deutschen und zwei lateinischen Texten, ed. H. Brandes, Halle, 1885.
Ward/Herbert Cat. Rom.	H.L.D. Ward and J.A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 3 vols., London, 1883-1910.
Warnke (1927)	K. Warnke, 'Die Vorlage des Espurgatoire St. Patriz der Marie de France', Philologische Studien Karl Voretzsch zum 60. Geburtstage (Halle/Saale,1927), 135-154.
Warnke (1938)	K. Warnke, Das Buch vom Espurgatoire S. Patrice der Marie de France und seine Quelle, Bibliotheca Normannica ix, Halle/Saale, 1938.

Whiting	B.J. and H.W. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500, Harvard, 1968.
Wyld, Coll. Eng.	H.C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, London, 1920; 3rd edn., London, 1936.
Zanden, Étude	C.M. van der Zanden, Étude sur le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice, accompagnée du texte latin d'Utrecht et du texte anglo-normand de Cambridge, Amsterdam, 1927.
ZcP	Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie

List of sigla.

A	Auchinleck MS., National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Advocates 19.2.1
AN	Anglo-Norman version of the tale of Owayne, represented by F.
Ar	B.M. MS. Arundel 292
B	Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek MS. E.VII.59
C	B.M. MS. Cotton Caligula A ii
F	C.U.L. MS. Ee.6.11
H	Yale University Library, MS. 365 (formerly Hamilton), the Book of Brome.
Hy	B.M. MS. Harley 3846
L	Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51
Ld	Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 108
R	B.M. MS. Royal 13 B.viii
SA	B.M. MS. Add. 34193
SR	B.M. MS. Royal 17 B.xliii
U	Utrecht, University Library, MS. 173

INTRODUCTION

1

THE MANUSCRIPTS

a) Owayne Miles

i) Auchinleck Version

The earliest ME text printed below is taken from the Auchinleck manuscript, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1. This important manuscript in its present state contains forty-four articles from an original fifty-six or more, written by six scribes.[1] Five articles at the beginning of the MS have been lost, as can be seen from the original numeration in the top margin of the present first article, The Legend of Pope Gregory, which reads vi.

Nothing is definitely known of the manuscript's history until 1744 when it was presented by Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck (father of Johnson's biographer) to the Faculty of Advocates of the University of Edinburgh.[2] The date of compilation can be given with some certainty as 1327-8, soon after the accession of Edward III on 24 January 1327, for whom a prayer is offered, to our '3ong king Edward', at the end of the Short Metrical Chronicle, ff.304a-317a.[3]

From the evident collaboration between the scribes or translator-scribes, and the planned and plain form of the MS, L.H. Loomis has argued that it is the product of a commercial scriptorium in London,[4] a view supported by further discussions by

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1. E. Kölbing described the MS and detected five scribes, 'Vier romanzen-handschriften', ES vii(1884),177-201. A.J. Bliss discussed the scribes and corrected the number to six, 'Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript', Speculum, xxvi(1951),652-8. He includes photographs to show the 'hands' of scribes 1,2,3,5,6.
2. See W.H. Hulme ed., The Middle English 'Harrowing of Hell' and 'Gospel of Nicodemus', EETS,ES c, pp.x-xv.
3. See E. Zettl ed., An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle, EETS cxcvi, p.xvi.
4. 'The Auchinleck manuscript and a possible London bookshop of 1330-1340', PMLA lvii(1942),595-627.

Walpole and Smyser.[1] L.H. Loomis has also demonstrated the possibility that at one stage in its early and obscure history the MS. may have been known and used by Chaucer.[2]

The manuscript contains 334 parchment leaves, cropped, measuring 25 x 19 cm., gathered in eights,[3] and it has recently (1971) been rebound with each gathering mounted separately, which greatly facilitates examination of the manuscript.[4]

Owayne Miles[5] is the sixth article, originally numbered xi. It is preceded by Seynt Katerine[6] and followed by Þe disputisoun bitwen þe bodi and þe soule[7] and thereafter (f.36a) by the Harrowing of Hell.[8] Owayne Miles occupies folios 25a col.1 to 31b col.2, that is folios 3-8 of the fifth gathering and folio 1 of the sixth gathering.

The text is incomplete, the beginning having been lost when folio 2 of the fifth gathering was excised, leaving a narrow strip of parchment. It is fairly certain that the original first five stanzas and the first two lines of stanza six have been lost. This can be demonstrated as follows. The preceding article, Seynt Katerine, is also extant in a revised and complete version in

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1. R.N. Walpole, 'The Source MS. of Charlemagne and Roland and the Auchinleck bookshop', MLN lx(1945),22-6; H.M. Smyser, 'Charlemagne and Roland and the Auchinleck MS.', Speculum, xxi(1946),275-288. For a summary and bibliography by Smyser, see J.B. Severs ed., A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500,i(Connecticut, 1967),89-90 and 262-3(where the article quoted above is wrongly quoted as Speculum xxxi.275). See also H.S. Bennett, 'Medieval English Manuscripts and contemporary taste', Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, ii(1938-1945),382-3.
2. 'Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS., Thopas and Guy of Warwick', Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown (New York,1940), 111-128, and 'Chaucer and the Breton Lays of the Auchinleck MS.', SP xxxviii(1941),14-33.
3. For gatherings see Bliss, Speculum, xxvi(1951),pp.654ff.
4. See I.C. Cunningham, 'Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript', Speculum, xlvii(1972),96-8. He shows that one gathering is of ten leaves, ff.268-277, the only section written by scribe 6.
5. Index *11. The title is taken from C; see below, p.xxix.
6. Index 1159; Severs, op.cit., ii.600,[157]e.
7. Index 351.
8. Index 185.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 175,[1] which adheres closely line by line to the earlier Auchinleck text. The incomplete Auchinleck Seynt Katerine contains 660 lines, the Caius copy 796 lines,[2] though A omits four lines found at Caius 625ff. After the point where Auchinleck breaks off, Caius has another 132 lines, 665-796. We may therefore take it that 132 more lines on the missing folio would have completed the Auchinleck text. As the Auchinleck manuscript is regularly ruled for two columns of 44 lines this means that Seynt Katerine has lost exactly three full columns. Owayne Miles would, therefore, originally have started at the top of column two on the verso of the folio preceding the present f.25, and the 44 lines of that column would most likely have contained i) a two-line heading, ii) a ten-line miniature,[3] iii) five complete six-line stanzas plus two lines of the stanza of which the remaining four lines form the present opening of the poem, i.e. 2 + 10 + (5 x 6) + 2 = 44. This is what one would expect considering the stage in the story at which the text now opens. It would give space to call attention, to protest the truth of the tale to be told, to introduce St. Patrick and proclaim his fame, and to state how he came to find the pagan Irish in need of conversion.[4]

The text is also incomplete in the way so many texts have suffered in the Auchinleck manuscript, that is, because the miniature at the head of the following article on f.31b col.2 has been excised, causing a gap of twelve lines which were on the reverse side, that is f. 31a col.1, lines 177:3-179:2.

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1. Index 1158.
2. See C. Horstmann ed., Altenglische Legenden: Neue Folge (Heilbronn,1881),242-259.
3. The miniature at the head of Seynt Katerine at the foot of f.21a col.1 when roughly excised caused the loss of 11 lines (122-132 incl.) on f.21b col.2.
4. See Note A1.

Each six-line stanza is marked off by a paragraph sign ¶ drawn alternately in red and blue ink. At one point this has been misplaced, at line 71:6 instead of 72:1. An additional sign occurs at line 23:4. The initial letter of each line has been ruled off one letter space from the rest of the line and touched in with red ink. The original number of the poem in the manuscript, xi, is still to be found in the top margin of the rectos of folios 26, 28, 29, and 30, though it has been cropped away elsewhere. The catchwords & honoureþ nouȝt her are clearly marked at the foot of f.30b col.2 at the end of the present fifth gathering. Two-line initials with flourishes occur at the beginning of stanzas 29, 76, 83, 90, 105, and 145, marking new episodes in the narrative's action. A four-line initial and flourish occurs at stanza 96. These have been recognized by in-setting the text at these places.

Owayne Miles was written down by Bliss's scribe 1, (Kölbing's scribe ∝), who wrote 35 or 36 of the 44 extant items, in a straight-forward, legible book-hand[1] with sparse use of abbreviation. The only letters of this scribe liable to confusion are b and v, n and u, c and t, though this causes no difficulty in in this text.

ii) B.M. MS. Cotton Caligula A ii

The earlier of the two extant copies of the couplet version of Owayne Miles[2] is contained on ff.91b-95b of this manuscript. This volume contains two paper manuscripts bound together in the seventeenth century: the first, ff.1-141 (formerly MS. Cotton Vespasian D.8) is followed by two folios of parchment; the second, ff.144-210 (formerly Vespasian D.21) contains Statutes of the

1. Bliss, Speculum, xxvi(1951),653.
2. Index 982.

Carthusian Order, 1411-1504. The whole was rebound in August 1957 with a new fly-leaf at each end, but it is impossible to determine the original gatherings.

There are no catch-words, and the watermarks can only help to confirm the likelihood that the first manuscript was written between 1446 and 1460.[1] Folios 59a-64a contain Lydgate's Nightingale, written almost certainly in 1446,[2] and ff. 109a-110b contain a short Latin chronicle of England extending to the reign of Henry VI. Folios 1-139 appear to be the work of a single scribe[3] and contain 39 items, including eight romances, Eglamour of Artas, Octauian Imperator, Launfal Miles, Lybeaus Desconus, Emaré, The Sege of Ierusalem, Cheuelere Assigne and Isumbras; four religious tales, Sussan, Ypotys, Owayne Miles and Tundale; and four hortatory religious pieces, Carta Ihesu Cristi, The Stacyonys of Rome, Trentale Sancti Gregorii and the Fifteen Signs of the Judgement.[4] In the present state of the manuscript Owayne Miles is preceded by the Fifteen Signs of the Judgement (f.89a) and A Song of Love of the Blessed Virgin (f.91a), and followed by Tundale.

The leaves have been cut and measure on average 22 x 14 cm. The written space of Owayne Miles, in two columns of approximately 42 lines each, is 17.7 x 12 cm. The text is written in a regular sized cursive in dark brown ink, and titles, running heads (Owayne myles on ff.91b, 92b, 93b, 94b, 95b) and colophons are in book-hand. Important initials, flourishes, and the initial letter of each line are touched in with yellow or red. There is no punctuation. The overall impression is plain and workmanlike; there are no miniatures or large coloured initials. The large proportion of narrative romance and the smaller assembly of

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1. For the date, see E. Rickert ed., The Romance of Emaré, EETS,ES xcix(1906),p.x and note. For watermarks on ff.3-13 resembling Briquet's no.12999 (dated 1451), see M. Mills ed., Lybeaus Desconus, EETS cclxi(1969),1.
2. See O. Glauning ed., Lydgate's Minor Poems, EETS,ES lxxx(1900), pp.xxxvi-xxxviii.
3. See Rickert, op. cit., p.x note 3.
4. For a full list of religious tales and lyrics in this MS., see Carleton Brown, A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse, i(London,1916),264-5.

devotional and didactic material also suggest that the manuscript may have been copied in a book shop.[1] In connection with Sir Thopas and the Auchinleck manuscript, L.H. Loomis has said of MS. Cotton Caligula A ii that Chaucer may also have "had access to some fourteenth-century prototype of this fifteenth-century manuscript".[2]

iii) MS. Hamilton

The later of the two copies of the couplet version of Owayne Miles is contained on ff.28a-38a of this manuscript.[3] MS. Hamilton was formerly known as the Book of Brome, and is now Yale University Library, MS. 365. I have retained the name Hamilton, after one of its recent owners, Mrs. R. Douglas Hamilton, as it is referred to by this name in the most recent standard bibliography.[4] The known history of this late fifteenth-century commonplace book, from it origins at Brome Hall, Suffolk, to its twentieth century changes of ownership, have been fully reported by Professor Norman Davis,[5] and I shall not, therefore, repeat all the information.

The manuscript at present contains 81 paper leaves (originally 94) measuring approximately 20.5 x 14 cm., and dated about 1465-75.[6]

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1. See F.E. Richardson ed., Sir Eglamour of Artois, EETS cclvi(1965), p.xi.
2. 'Sir Thopas', in Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W.F. Bryan and G. Dempster, (London,1958),489. See discussion by Mills, EETS cclxi, pp.39-40.
3. Index 1767.
4. J.B. Severs ed., A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, ii(Connecticut,1970),647, [321]d.
5. Ed., Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, EETS,SS i(1970),pp.lviii-lxii.
6. See Thomas E. Marston, 'The Book of Brome', Yale University Library Gazette, xli(1967),141-5. See also the reservations on this article by N. Davis, op.cit., p.lix note 2.

It is bound in original limp heavy vellum, with a flap covering the open end; its back is of heavy cowhide. The collation is: 2 flyleaves (first cut away); (1) 22-1; (2) 24-1; (3) 16-5; (4) 16-5; (5) 12; 2 flyleaves. Owayne Miles is written in one column of 32 lines. There are rubrications and several initials in red and black penwork.

The manuscript belonged originally to Robert Melton, then it passed to the Cornwallis family of Brome Hall, Suffolk. It was rediscovered about 1880 at Brome Hall by Sir Edward Kerrison. Later it was in the possession of Mrs. R. Douglas Hamilton of Oakley House, Diss, and then became the property of Mr. Denis Hill-Wood of Sherborne St. John. After a sojourn in the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office, in Ipswich, it was purchased from Laurence Witten, 23 December 1966, and given to Yale by Edwin J. Beinecke and Frederick W. Beinecke in 1967.[1]

The manuscript is written in two main hands. The first, a professional cursive, is responsible for the verses on ff.1-44 and 79-81, which include a cipher and sayings, anti-feminist puzzles, a poem on fortune-telling by dice, and five longer works: the Dialogue of Adrian and Epotys (ff.5a-14b); the play Abraham and Isaac (ff.15a-22a); the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (ff.23a-26b); Owayne Miles; and a life of St. Margaret (ff.39a-44a). The first hand also wrote certain legal forms of charters and bonds in Latin with an English translation (ff.68a-77a). The second hand, that of Robert Melton of Stuston, wrote a motley collection of accounts, rent records, prayers, and other items, dated from 1499 to 1508, scattered through the remainder of the book. A copy of one document is dated 1454. It seems that the poems were copied

1. I am indebted to Miss Christina M. Hanson, Assistant Research Librarian, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, for information on the manuscript. See also R.L. Greene, 'The Book of Brome: Appearance and disappearance', Yale University Library Gazette, xlii(1968),107-9, and Stanley J. Kahrl, 'The Brome Hall Commonplace Book', Theatre Notebook, xxii(1968),157-161.

between approximately 1454 and 1499, when the original moral purpose of the collection had been abandoned, and the blank pages filled with documents of more practical importance.

It is interesting to note that not only Owayne Miles but also Epotys and the Fifteen Signs are copies of the same versions of these poems as those found in the Cotton manuscript, where the Fifteen Signs again appears just before Owayne Miles. It is possible that the Hamilton copyist used some other composite collection which in some form contained all these pieces.

b) The Vision of William of Stranton

i) B.M. MS. Royal 17 B.xliii

This fifteenth century quarto manuscript contains 184 parchment leaves, with 3 flyleaves at the beginning and 3 at the end. It comprises four separate manuscripts, bound (or rebound) together in the eighteenth century. The contents of these four manuscripts are as follows.

1) Ff.4-115 Mandeville's Travels (incomplete).[1]

2) Ff.116-131 Sir Gowghter.[2]

3) Ff.133-148 The Vision of William of Stranton.[3]

4) Ff.150-184 Vision of Tundale (incomplete).

On f.184a after Explicit Tundale is written:

> scriptum Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo primo. Anno regni regis henrici sexti post conquestum anglie vicesimo nono.

This is followed by a scribbled text of part of the lyric Mankind, I cale,[4] beginning Com home agayn.

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1. See M.C. Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts of Mandeville's Travels', Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, iv(1966),185-6.
2. Ed. K. Breul, Sir Gowther, Oppeln, 1886.
3. See Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.484-6, and R. Verdeyen and J. Endepols, Tondalus Visioen en St. Patricius Vagevuur, i(Ghent & The Hague, 1914),267-9.
4. Index 2086.

MSS. 1 and 4 are written on thin parchment; MSS. 2 and 3 on much thicker, rougher parchment. Sir Gowghter and Stranton each occupy exactly two full quires of eight. Ff.132 and 149 are separate leaves inserted to carry drawings introducing the two otherworld visions, and are possibly by the same executant. That on f.132b is a coloured sketch of St. John of Bridlington surrounded by torments. He stands in the middle on a small patch of green, wearing his robes and mitre with halo, holding a staff with a cross on top in his left hand and raising his right hand in blessing.[1] On his right, two devils are tormenting three or more souls; on his left, a cauldron above flames bears three souls, with a devil above right and another below applying the bellows.[2]

The pages measure 20.5 x 13.5 cm., and the written space 15 x 10 cm., with 23-6 lines per page. Punctuation is by oblique red strokes. Capitals are also touched in with red ink, as well as flourishes to the top and bottom lines, often crudely sketched in the form of fishes. There is single-line four-sided frame ruling, with no line rulings. The hand is a clear and very fluent cursive from the second half of the fifteenth century, with frequent flourishes but relatively few marks of abbreviation and contraction.

In the left-hand margin of f.134a next to the place in the text where St. John of Bridlington first reveals his name, a sixteenth century hand has repeated the name Jo: Bridlington. Seymour has mistakenly taken this to be a historically informative inscription, and accordingly has listed Jo. Bridlington as No. 12 in his list of sixteenth century owners of the Mandeville manuscripts.[3]

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1. Cf. the description of the bishop in the Earthly Paradise, below, p.139 ll.15ff.
2. The drawing is reproduced in Leslie, SPP opp.p.28.
3. Seymour, op.cit., p.207.

ii) B.M. MS. Add. 34193

This is a fifteenth century folio parchment[1] volume of 228 leaves. It contains a miscellaneous collection of religious and moral treatises and poems.[2] The Vision of William of Stranton, incomplete at the end, and with various lacunae, is in three sections, each beginning "on a blank space left in a page of another article",[3] ff.99a-100b, 106a-106b, 119b-125b. This text was doubtless incorporated because of the prominent place given to otherworld visions in the first half of the manuscript. The Pilgrimage of the soul, an English prose version of the poem by Guillaume de Deguileville, occupies ff.5a-95b.[4] The rubric to Stranton starts half-way along a line after Quibus at the beginning of a sentence of an abandoned copy of a Latin account of St. James the Apostle, from the Legenda Aurea. This text started at the top of the same leaf. Here the ruling is the same as for the Pilgrimage of the soul preceding: single pricking, double for the next to bottom line, writing below the top line, in double columns. Ff.101a-106a contain the Latin Narratio de Spiritu Guidonis, unruled. Stranton resumes where this text ends and completes the remainder of f.106. Ff.107a-119b contain Latin and English versions of the hymnal de tempore, 'O first fownder and hevenly creature', Index 2433. Stranton resumes after this text, first with a line right across the page, then reverting to the double column format of ff.99a-100b, crudely ruled, without apparent prickings, to approximate to the original rulings of the Pilgrimage. The text continues through to f.125b where it breaks off shortly before the end with the loss of the succeeding folio. There follows in the present state of the manuscript another vision, seen by Edmund

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1. A few paper folios are interleaved at the end of the manuscript with marks resembling Briquet's no.15100, dated 1480.
2. See Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1888-1893 (London,1894),225-6.
3. See Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.487-9.
4. Ibid., pp.584-5.

Leversegge at Frome, Somerset in May 1465, ff.126a-130b.[1]

The pages measure 28 x 18.5 cm., and written space 19.5 x 14.5 cm., in two columns of 31 lines each. In the lower margin at the foot of f.100b col.2 the scribe has written The vj^{te} leffe, which directs the reader to turn six leaves, where he duly finds the text resumed at f.106a. Similarly, at the foot of f.106b col.2 is written The xiii^{te} leffe, and turning thirteen leaves one finds the text continuing on f.119b. At the foot of f.125 col.2 is written The leffe be-for be kalendar, but there is now no calendar nor the leaf which stood before it, and so the end of the text is missing. The hand, which appears nowhere else in the manuscript, is a rather crude upright and careless book-hand, with abbreviations often represented by a dot. Most capitals have been touched in with red ink, and punctuation is by the occasional point. Nothing is known of the manuscript's history.

c) Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii

Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51

This large vellum manuscript from the beginning of the thirteenth century has been extensively described by M.R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Cambridge,1930),71-85. I therefore include here only a limited account.

The foliation is ii + 462 + ii. The pages measure 34 x 23.5 cm., and the written space measures 27 x 17 cm., in two columns of 39 lines each. The ink is black with rubrications in red.

The manuscript comprises one vast work, a collection entitled Liber reuelationum (f.2a) by its compiler Peter of Cornwall, Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London (1197-1221), and is in two books: the first, ff.1-127, containing revelations concerning the glory of the heavenly life, or the pains of hell or purgatory, penas

1. Printed by Miss E. M. Thompson, Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, ix(1904),19-35.

eternas uel transitorias; the second, ff.128-462, containing all other kinds of revelations. Henry of Saltrey's Tractatus is the first item in book one, ff.11a-21b, and is immediately followed by Peter of Cornwall's account of St. Patrick's Purgatory related to him by one Bricius, ff.21b-23a, which I print below for the first time, pp.193-8. Book one contains some 200 items, and book two nearly 300. The prominence given to the Tractatus is noteworthy, as Peter says the revelations were set down as they came before him in his reading. Nevertheless, the long Tractatus and Bricius' account of St. Patrick's Purgatory have pride of place, and are followed by Peter's account of visions seen by his grandfather Ailsi, and related to him by Ailsi's third son Jordanus, Peter's father.[1] After twelve visions involving members of his family, Peter continues with the Vision of Gunthelm, and shortly thereafter with the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, and subsequently Bede's accounts of Drihthelm and Fursey. Then after these important major visions, he continues with the shorter revelations assembled from Gregory's Dialogues, the Vitae Patrum, and Miracles of the Virgin.

1. For discussion of Peter's writing this in 1200, see below, p.lxv and on Bricius' account, see pp.clxixff.

2
PREVIOUS PRINTED EDITIONS

a) Owayne Miles

i) Auchinleck Version

This version of Owayne Miles has been printed twice.

A) Owain Miles and other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry, Edinburgh, 1837. The Bodley copy (shelfmark 37. 1186. [R]) has a note on the fly-leaf: 'Only 32 Copies printed.[1] [Edited at Edinburgh by David Laing, W.B.D.D. Turnbull and others.]' This pioneering print has a brief introduction (pp.3-12), and prints the text (pp.13-54) without comment, emendation or punctuation. Misreadings are common and there is no strict adherence to the spelling of the manuscript. It is to be noted that the title Owain Miles has been adopted from the Cotton manuscript, where the name occurs as Owayne myles on the top margin of each verso.[2] There is no running title in the Auchinleck manuscript and the head title has been lost. As the name Owayne Miles has now become attached to the Auchinleck version as well (in the Index for instance), it is used in this thesis to cover both versions printed here, the distinction being made by reference to the manuscripts. Laing also printed (pp.55-58) two extracts from the Cotton text, lines 1-44 and 545-603, to cover those parts of the tale lost in the Auchinleck manuscript.

B) E. Kölbing, 'Zwei mittelenglische bearbeitungen der sage von St. Patrik's purgatorium', ES i(1877),98-112. Here the Auchinleck text is followed by the first complete printing of the Cotton text (see ii.D) below), and preceded by an introduction (pp.57-98), wherein Kölbing discusses some Latin, French and English versions and has a brief discussion of the original dialect of the Auchinleck version. Both texts are unsatisfactorily printed, with little close regard for the spelling of the manuscripts and many

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1. See also p.iii, 'the impression of this little volume has been limited to THIRTY-TWO copies, intended for private distribution by the Editors.'
2. See above, p.xxi.

misreadings. The Auchinleck text is followed by twenty-two brief notes on pp.112-113. Kölbing printed a list of revised readings in ES vii(1884),181-2.

Selections and modernizations.

Stanzas 116-126 (on the perilous bridge) from Kölbing's text are presented in the introduction to the Lyke-Wake Dirge in Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, ed. T.F. Henderson, (London,1931),399-400.

Jessie L. Weston gives a modernized version of stanzas 116-198 in The Chief Middle English Poets (Boston,1914),83-9.

M.H. Shackford renders the whole poem into prose in Legends and Satires from Medieval Literature (Boston,1913),33-49.

S. Leslie slightly modernizes stanzas 51-73, 120-149 in Saint Patrick's Purgatory (London,1932),pp.149ff.

ii) Cotton

A) Lines 1-44 and 545-603 are printed by Turnbull and Laing, pp.55-8, see above, i) A).

B) Several quotations are given in the course of discussion by T. Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, London, 1844.

C) Lines 250-460 are printed by R.P. Wülcker, Altenglisches Lesebuch, ii(Halle,1879),22-6, with notes pp.235-7.

D) The complete text is printed by Kölbing, ES i(1877),113-121, without notes or linguistic comment, and with the same unsatisfactory attention to detail as he granted to the Auchinleck text. He printed a list of revised readings in ES v(1882),493-4. Wülcker, reviewing Kölbing's text, lists some misreadings in Anglia, i(1878), 376-7. The bitter struggle was continued when Kölbing reviewed Wülcker's text in ES iv(1881),499-500.

Selections

Félice quotes various lines from Kölbing's text in L'autre Monde (Paris,1906),37-48. See also extracts in M.F. Cusack, The Trias Thaumaturga (London,1878),pp.670ff.

iii) Hamilton/Brome

This text has been edited once before, by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, 'St. Patrick's Purgatory, and the Knight, Sir Owen', ES ix(1886),1-12. The same text was reprinted in the same year in her edition of the complete manuscript, A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century (Norwich and London,1886),82-106.

Miss Toulmin Smith supplied missing lines by inserting the corresponding lines from Kölbing's Cotton text, and she endeavoured to follow Kölbing's numeration by using letters to indicate lines peculiar to Hamilton/Brome. Misreadings are few, but some obvious manuscript errors have been retained. There is no commentary, and by her inclusion of the Cotton lines the individual outlines of the Hamilton copy have been obscured.

Leslie, SPP pp.145ff gives a modern rendering of Miss Toulmin Smith's lines 65-118, 203-256, 576-620.

b) The Vision of William of Stranton

T. Wright summarized SR and printed extracts in St. Patrick's Purgatory (London,1844),140-151.

G.P. Krapp printed what he called 'an inedited text' (p.vi) of SR in The Legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory: its later literary History (Baltimore,1900),58-77. On p.58 he pointed out that 'no attempt has been made to normalize the text, except partially in capitalization and punctuation.' His transcription is quite accurate. He included a few brief extracts from the SA copy, principally the different beginning and ending, in footnotes to the text. Apart from these few extracts, SA has never before been printed.

3
LANGUAGE

a) Auchinleck

1 OE ă + nasal, including lengthening in 'open' syllables, is unrounded, e.g. can 9:2, 44:2, gan 5:3, 31:3, fram 17:5, 52:5, game 21:5r, man 3:4r, 24:5, mani 58:2, 102:4, name 20:4, 50:1r (r.w. schame), nam 171:6r (r.w. Adam).

2 OE ă + nasal in lengthening groups gives o, e.g. among 72:2r (r.w. strong), 169:2r (r.w. song), fond inf. 61:6r (r.w. vnderstond), fond pa.t.sg. 18:2-4r (r.w. hond), lond 44:5r. There are no decisive rhymes.

3 OE y̆ appears as

i) i in brigge 117:2r (r.w. ligge), kinne 177:1r (r.w. sinne), sinne 1:3r 14:5r (r.w. inne), pride 58:3, lite 9:1r (r.w. write), rigge 77:4r (r.w. sigge), miri(e) 141:4, 145:4.

ii) e in brigge 125:4r (r.w. egge), dede pa.t.pl. 76:2r (r.w. stede), fer 59:6, 70:5r (r.w. þere), 78:3r (r.w. preiere), 101:5r (r.w. swer <OE sweora), prede 112:5r (r.w. rede).

4 OE ā appears as

i) o in sore 33:4r (r.w. more), 188:1r (r.w. ore), lore 69:3r (r.w. bifore), more 188:4r (r.w. bifore), so 48:4r (r.w. do), brunston 78:2r (r.w. y-don); ON fra gives fro 74:6r (r.w. also).

ii) a in gan 75:2r (r.w. Satan), for-þer mar 75:2.

5 OE āw appears as -ow, -ou-, e.g. know 84:5, soule 37:3, 48:6, but also as aw in y-knawe/þrawe 58:4-5.

6 OE $\bar{\text{æ}}^1$ from WG ā appears as

i) ē̩, e.g. misdede 14:3r (r.w. spede <OE spēdan), bere 114:6r, 137:6r (both r.w. were), rede 2:3r (r.w. sede), drede 120:3r

(r.w. ȝede).

ii) a, not in rhyme, in auen 160:2 (see B.A. MacKenzie, 'A Special Dialectal Development of OE ēa in ME', ES lxi(1927),p.389.

7 OE $\bar{a}e^2$ from mutation of ā varies between

i) close ē̩, e.g. lede 119:6r (r.w. hede), 124:6r (r.w. nede), del 135:2r (r.w. wel), and

ii) open ę̄, e.g. lest 186:2r (r.w. fest <OF), hete 96:4r (r.w. swete 'sweat'), 101:3r (r.w. ete pr.pl.), 163:3r (r.w. y-lete), and shortened a, e.g. lasten 112:6, ladde 11:2r (r.w. hadde), 37:4.

8 OE ĕ̄o appears as ē̩, e.g. swere 77:3r (r.w. manere), 80:4r (r.w. fere), erþe 9:5, 40:1, frende 36:1r (r.w. wende), hert 49:1r (r.w. smert), 61:6, heuen 17:4r, 145:3r (both r.w. steuen), gle 145:4r (r.w. plente).

9 i) OE ēa rhymes on ē̩ or ę̄, beme 120:5r (r.w. ȝeme), strem 150:1r (r.w. lem), (see MacKenzie, op. cit., p.388 and H.C. Wyld, A Short History of English, London 1914, 3rd ed. revised and enlarged (London,1927), section 164, and Dobson, ii. section 120, note.

ii) Mutation of OE ēa appears as ē in here 134:6r (r.w. were).

10 Saxon/Kentish loss of ġ before d with lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs in sede 2:6r (r.w. rede), 27:3r (r.w. misdede), 162:4r (r.w. lede); spelt seyd 13:1r (r.w. dede), and within line 33:5, 34:4.

11 OE ē̄ + h is diphthongized, e.g. heiȝe 152:5r (r.w. y-seiȝe), 185:6r (r.w. neiȝe).

12 OE ea + h, Angl. ae + h, yields -ei, e.g. seiȝe 129:5r (r.w. neiȝe).

13 OE ăe normally yields ă, but occasionally ĕ, in wes 30:2r (r.w. les), 76:5r (r.w. pes).

14 OE o has become a after w in wald 34:5, 75:4 beside wold, and warld 12:2, 52:4 beside world.

15 i) Infinitives usually end in -e, but verbs whose stem ends in two consonants generally have no ending, e.g. bring 3:6, fi3t 135:5r (r.w. apli3t), help 111:5, 172:5.

ii) Some few infinitives end in -en, usually before a vowel, e.g. fechen 54:5, louken 23:5r (r.w. abouten), tellen 180:2 beside telle 49:4r (r.w. helle), þenchen 94:4. Cf. also comen 162:1 beside com and come; done 172:6r (r.w. sone), beside do, don; hauen 115:2 beside haue; sen 16:4 beside se.

iii) Ending -i is retained for OE weak verbs class II, e.g. clepi 51:5, woni 153:1, cf. wayly 66:1r (r.w. merci), and also in seven Anglo-Norman verbs, caroly 143:1-5, 144:6 (< caroler), comandy 35:4r (r.w. Purgatori) (< comander), conseily 42:4r (< conseillier), conteyni 42:5r (< contenir), repenti 4:5r (r.w. hye), 13:4r (r.w. hastily) (< repentir), solaci 41:6r (r.w. sikerly) (< solacier), suffri 55:4 (< suffrir).

16 Pr.3.sg. ends in -(e)þ, with the contracted forms fet 185:2 and seyt 24:6. There is one instance of an -s ending, regnes 86:3.

17 Pr.pl. usually ends in -eþ, with the following exceptions: come 166:2, comen 166:1 beside comeþ; do 163:4; han 47:3, 63:4 and haue 16:2, 58:4; suffri 4:2; and schul which is always distinguished from the regular sg. schal.

18 Imper.sg. has no ending, herken 158:6; imper.pl. ends once in -es, and once in -eþ, herknes 28:4, herkneþ 76:4, and once in -en, ben 76:4.

19 Pa.3.sg. ends in either - or -e.

20 Pa.t.pl. of both strong and weak verbs ends in either - or -e.

There are a few cases with -n before vowels, e.g. 3eden 54:1, 142:4, lorn 75:6, and not before a vowel layen 79:1. Gun is always distinguished from sg. gan.

21 Pr.p. (adj.) ends in

i) -ing, e.g. brening 77:2r, deueling 65:4r, honging 77:1r, singing 26:3r, stinking 95:5,

ii) -and, e.g. boiland 78:3, glow(e)and 79:2, 70:2, 101:5, stinkand 93:1, 110:5. For this as a London and not necessarily northern form, see O.D. Macrae-Gibson, 'The Auchinleck MS: Participles in -and(e)', ES lii(1971),13-20.

22 Pp. strong and weak usually has y- prefix, and ends in -, -e. Verbs whose stem ends in -r sometimes have pp. in -n, as also comen beside ycome(n); don beside do; forsaken 88:1r, taken 88:2r, ouerschaken 68:4r (r.w. taken).

23 Forms of the verb 'to be':

pr.2.sg.	art,
pr.3.sg.	is, biþ 81:6,
pr.pl.	be, ben, beþ 148:1, 149:1, 186:1, er 133:5,
inf.	be, ben,
imper.sg.	be,
imper.pl.	be, ben 76:4,
pa.3.sg.	was, wes 30:2r, 76:5r, were 83:3,
pa.t.pl.	wer, were, weren, was 128:6, war 45:5,
subj.	wer, were,
pp.	be, ben, bene, ybe 161:4r, 166:4r.

24 Pronouns:

1.sg.	I, y, and prefixed in ichil and ichaue 47:2; 3.sg. it,
3.pl.	hy, hye, þai, þay 189:5,
obj.	hem,
poss.	her, hir 1:5,
1.pl.	we; ous; our,
2.pl.	3e; 3e, 3ou; 3our.

25 Noun plurals usually end in -es. There are a few ending in -en, e.g. soulen 4:1, eiȝen 114:4, 159:1, neddren 71:2, and gen.pl. foulen 169:1. Note also diamaunce 131:6 and seriaunce 42:2.

26 There is some variation in the use of i/e in unstressed syllables, e.g. clenesse/blisse 152:1-2, swetenisse/ywis 134:4-5 on i; godenisse/messe 163:4-5 on e.

27 -ȝt is the regular spelling of earlier -ht.

28 þurth is the regular spelling of earlier þurh.

29 Nouns in -ing frequently have -e- before the ending, e.g. clepeing 109:5, cloþeing 155:2r, heþeing 54:3r, likeing 185:4, slepeing 7:5r, 12:6r, techeing 3:3r.

30 ich(e) is the regular form of 'each'.

31 an occurs for 'on' in the phrases an heiȝe 152:5, an hond 32:6.

32 miche, michel are the regular forms stemming from OE mycel. There are no -k- forms. Cf. swiche, bilche (pron.) but two instances of þilke (adj.) 170:5, 186:2.

33 oȝain, oȝain(e)s are the regular forms for 'again, against'. There is one instance with -g-, again 135:5.

34 Consonantal rhyme occurs in abouten/louken 23:4-5. False rhymes occur in y-here/creatour 30:3-6, liif/bi 95:3-6.

35 Adj. and adv. ending -liche (<OE -līce) appears also as -ly, apertliche 25:5r, commounliche 3:1r, erþeliche 44:2 beside erþely 144:4; griselich(e) 11:5 beside griseli 66:6; sikerliche 3:2 beside sikerly 41:3r.

The N. is excluded by 2, 4i), 5, 17. W. Midl. and SW. are excluded by 1, 8. The evidence all clearly favours the E. Midl., more particularly SE. Midl. and perhaps most likely London-Essex with Kentish features, supported by 3ii), 6ii), 9i), 10, 15.

There seems to be no great disparity between the language of the Auchinleck scribe and that of the original version of the poem, as far as the evidence of rhymes can show. The good state of the text, the existence of a close Anglo-Norman partial source (see Chapter 6a)), the closeness of the dialects of scribe and text, may, in view of Mrs. Loomis' contention about the London origins of the manuscript, suggest that the poem was first translated/composed for the scriptorium.[1]

Kölbing[2] attempted to show that the A text was composed by the author of the Sayings of St. Bernard and the version of the Vision of St. Paul found in Ld. ff.198a-200b. Brandes accepted Kölbing's attribution of these three poems to the same author.[3] Varnhagen[4] remained unconvinced by Kölbing's evidence. This evidence, based on the rhymes and the proportion of romance to native words, is barely sufficient even convincingly to prove the same dialect in the originals, let alone the same author. Kölbing admitted in fact that his observations nicht ganz erschöpfend sind[5] and regretted not having found the source for A. The dialect of Ld. ff.1-200 is seemingly W. Oxon.[6] Kölbing dated Ld. in the first half of the fourteenth century, whereas it is perhaps late thirteenth century; he dated Auchinleck MS. in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, though he claimed that the three works stemmed from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. I prefer to think that the author of A made use of a text of the same version of the Vision of St. Paul as that found in Ld., but I do not believe it can be proved that he wrote VSP.

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1. See above, p.xvii.
2. ES i(1877),92ff.
3. VSP I/IV, pp.58-9.
4. Anglia, iii(1880),60.
5. Op. cit., p.96.
6. See M. Görlach, The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary (Leeds,1974),89 and notes.

b) Couplet Version

The dialect of the original couplet version is difficult to establish at all precisely, for the two extant copies, Cotton and Hamilton, differ greatly with much rewriting, and there are only a limited number of couplets common to both copies which seem to stem from the original version or at least from a common ancestor. The following discussion is based on these rhymes.

1 OE ā appears as o [ǭ], e.g. euur-more/by-fore C265-6, before/euer-more H258-9; cf. C367-8, H338-9. Shortened it appears as a, in bradder/gladder C445-6, broder/glader H492-3.

2 ON á in lág-r appears as o, in lowe/bowe C417-8, H464-5.

3 OE ȳ rhymes on [ī], in syde/pryde C17-18, H13-14, þer-yn/synne C103-4, ther-yn/syn H100-1.

4 Pr. OE ae + ld shows Anglian non-broken development, in bold(e)/told(e) C119-20, H115-16, but there are no decisive rhymes.

5 OE ae appears as e in wyldyrnes/gres H210-1; cf. C217-18.

6 OE ae + g + d r.w. reflex of ǣ^1, showing Saxon-Kentish loss of the palatal spirant, in mysdede/sayde C133-4, myssededе/seyd H129-30.

7 OE ǣ^1 r.w.

i) reflex of OE ē on ę̄, beseche/leche C135-6, H131-2,
ii) " " " ēo on ę̄, drede/nede C559-60, H589-90,
iii) " " " ēa on ę̄, dede/rede n. C279-80, H272-3.

8 OE ǣ^2 r.w.

i) reflex of OE ēo on ę̄, lede/nede C207/8, H200-1,
ii) " " " ēa on ę̄, hete/grete C129-30, H125-6,
iii) ę̄ from French, preche/by-teche (be-teche) C253-4, H248-9.

9 OE ēo rhymes on ẹ̄, e.g. contre/be C39-40, H35-6, se/entre C69-70, H64-5, fyftene/tene C581-2; cf. H597-8.

10 OE ēa + r shows Anglian development to e in ȝer(e) r.w. her(e) C11-12, H7-8.

11 OE ea+ r r.w. ă̆ lengthened in 'open' syllable, in spare/yare C333-4, spare/ȝare H348-9.

12 OE ā + w gives ow, in shewe(for showe)/knowe C47-8, schowe/knowe H42-3.

13 OE -oht is diphthongized, bepowȝth/be-sowȝth C45-6, cf. H40-1.

14 OE līc gives lyke r.w. Patryke C29-30; cf. H25-6; but also y-lyche r.w. heuen-ryche C21-2; cf. H17-18.

15 Infinitive is usually without -n, e.g. so/go C41-2 (H has lost this rhyme by substituting gon), knaue/haue C79-80, H74-5.

16 Pa.t.pl. of the verb 'to be' is wore. The more usual form were has normally been substituted in C and H. E.g. were/lore C27-8, H23-4, (OE a > o in lore, see 1 above). The form wore was acceptable to the C scribe, e.g. wore/more 111-12, but seems to have caused the H scribe to forget or rewrite, e.g. care/more 107-8, were/bare 216-17 which may well represent original wore/bore via variant were/bere.

17 bore is frequently used for 'there', and as with wore, it is often retained in C but caused H to rewrite as ther(e) or to lose a line, e.g. bore/be-fore C635-6, there/be-fore H639-40. bore also r.w. lore C183-4 (cf. H176-7), and more C663-4 (cf. H666-7),

and C551-2 (cf. H582, where rhyme bore perhaps caused the loss of the line equivalent to C551 and H's rewriting to form a triplet). bore r.w. wore C511-12, cf. ther/were H556-7. The original version also seems to have varied bore with þere r.w. ȝere C57-8, but caused H again to make an error, H 52-3 (see Note H52-5).

N. is excluded by 1, 2, 12, 13. W. Midl. is excluded by 3, 9. SE. is excluded by 3. SW. is excluded by 9. The evidence points to the E. Midl.

c) Cotton

1 OE ă + nasal - there are no decisive rhymes.

2 OE ă + nasal in lengthening groups gives o, e.g. lond/honde 61-2, londe/vnþurstonde 7-8, but again there are no decisive indications.

3 OE a + l + consonant other than d (W. Saxon-Kentish ea, Angl. a) remains as a, alle/falle 233-4, but presumably e in hymself/half 257-8. See Jordan, section 61.a. Anm. who says helve influenced by helve 'handle' (WS. hielfe); cf. Floris and Blauncheflur, ed. F.C. de Vries, (Groningen,1966),14.

4. OE ĕa + h yields -y-, e.g. sye/benedycyte 227-8, hyȝe/syȝe 415-16, nyȝe/hyȝe 275-6: see Jordan, section 63, n.1.

5 OE ĭ remains, spelt y, in ryche/y-lyche 21-2.

6 OE -ht is commonly spelt -ght, -ȝth, -ȝte beside less frequent -ȝt (kniȝt 115), -th (myth 42), and -te (browte 195).

7 There is considerable variation in the vowel used in unstressed final syllables. Occurrences are as follows, the first figure for those spelt out, the second for abbreviations:

-es 82, 2 -us 14, 18, -ys 2,
-er 29, 6, -ur 2, 89, -yr 1,
-en and -ed always,
-ell 4, -ull 7, -yll 10, -all 1.

8 þ occurs for d in vnþurstonde 8, þore 201, and d for þ more frequently in dyþur 141, 176, de 167, cloded 533, forde 353, swide 220, 485, wordy 588. Cf. d for t after n in rependede 123. On orthographic practice of the Cotton scribe, see A.J. Bliss, 'The Spelling of Sir Launfal', Anglia, lxxv(1957),275-89, and Bliss ed., Sir Launfal (London and Edinburgh,1960),11.

9 Infinitives usually end in -e.

10 Pr.2.sg. ends in -st(e), in comeste 281, hast(e) 277, 283, 285, and once in -es, in standes 397 in a question before þou.

11 Pr.3.sg. ends in -þ, -th, in comeþ 603, doth 544, goth 214, hath 142, 558, shryueth 559; cf. hatht 292. Once there is the ending -es, in lastes 680. There are no occurrences in rhyme.

12 Pr.pl. ends in -e, come 279, 593, haue 525, 553; twice in -th, doth 77, oweth 232; once in -n, wexen 595. 'Shall' appears as both shall and shull.

13 Pa.t.pl. usually ends in -e, e.g. forlete 580r, ȝode 513, hadde 378, ladde 311, seyde 41, tolde 106; twice without ending, in rhyme told 6r, and within line syȝ 107; and occasionally in -en, flowen 302, leyen 327, sayden 276, sen 109, wenten 255.

14 Pr.p. ends in -yng, brennyng 356, glowyng 329.

15 Pp. ends both with and without -n(e), comen 139, done 458r, don 277, 289r, dryuen 355, forȝeten 481, gon 572, gone 553 beside goo 456r, shauen 494 beside shafe 231r, bore 59, bete 378. There is one occurrence with prefixed y-, ytawȝte 265.

16 Forms of the verb 'to be':

pr.2.sg.	art, arte 575,
pr.3.sg.	ys,
pr.pl.	be, ben 59, ar(e) 398, 520,
infin.	be 40r, 196r 316, bene 371r,
pa.1,3.sg.	was,
pa.2.sg.	was 553r,
pa.t.pl.	wer, were, wore 111r, 512r,
pp.	ben.

17 Pronouns:

1.pl. we; vs; our,

2.pl. ȝe; ȝou; ȝour,

3.pl. þey, they,

obj. hem, þem 36, 667,

poss. her, har 229, þer 630, þur 198.

C appears to vary little from the dialect of the original as shown above in section b). A more westerly area is perhaps indicated by the frequent use of -us, -ur in unstressed final syllables, though the endings may be due to an aberrant usage, especially the use of the -ur abbreviation. The apparent raising in 4 would seemingly point to the central Midland area. The mixture of forms in 11, 12, 13 might be expected in a mid-fifteenth century MS. The preservation of hem and her as the usual forms of 'them' and 'their' as late as c.1450 suggests a southern area.[1] Taking all the evidence together the language of C might well derive from somewhere in the four central southern counties Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire.

1. See Görlach, op. cit., p.119.

d) Hamilton

1 OE ă + nasal appears as o and more frequently as a, cam/nam 154-5, ranne/man 376-7.

2 OE ă + nasal in lengthening groups is spelt both o and a. There no definitive rhymes.

3 OE ā is retained in care/more 107-8, though it usually yields o.

4 ON lág-r preserves a in lowe/sawe 368-9, though it yields o in lowe/bowe 464-5.

5 OE ī is occasionally lowered to e, e.g. heuyn-reche/a-leche 17-18.

6 OE ē is frequently written with y, usually, but not always, rhyming with words written with e, e.g. wyll 'well'/sell 'seal' 150-1, wyll/stell 86-7, felle/wylle 'well-being' 574-5, ende/wynde 66-7, 178-9, wynde/hynde 146-7, ben/syn 522-3, byn/be-twyn 422-3, fylde/be-hylde 336-7, 356-7, and not in rhyme tryn 'trees' 254, 566. See N. Davis, EETS,ES i, pp.lxvii-lxviii.

7 OE ȳ is normally written y, (see common rhymes, above section b) 3), though 'did' is written ded(e) 81, 82, 86 etc.

8 I-mutation forms, Angl. eld- (WS ield-) <* ældi-, occur in held/on-wylld 678-9 and held 552, alongside o in olde 363r.

9 Infinitives usually end in -e, e.g. abyde 260, beholde 362r, beleue 36, bere 57, beseche 131r, bete 242, betyde 28r. Where the stem ends in two consonants the -e is sometimes dropped, e.g. bynd 242r, bryng 45, 453, stand 488. A considerable number of

infinitives end in -n, usually within the line, e.g. beleuyn 39, commyn 70 beside more usual cum and cume 415, deyen 627, don 325, 349 beside more usual do, dwellyn 68, flyen 260, leuyn 282, metyn 556, seyn 'say' 413 beside sey 222r, syn 38, 613 beside se(e) in rhyme. The unaccented form of 'have' is a 391, 397, 431. hauyn occurs in rhyme, 227.

10 Pr.2.sg. ends variously in -, -s, -st, e.g. cum 270, comys 582, comyst 274, may 413, 466, mayis 625, hast(e) usually, beside hate 580.

11 Pr.3.sg. ends in -yth, e.g. bernyth 379, comyth 32, makyth 2, sendyth 3, contracted in syth 'sits' 406 and leste 681.

12 Pr.pl. is usually without ending, though 'have' appears as haue 571, han 138, 584, 587, hath 253, and -n occurs in fyttyn 608.

13 Pa.t.pl. varies between -n and -, -e, with -n slightly more frequent, e.g. bodyn 107, 343, 427, kestyn 383 beside kest, keste 433, kyste 290, comyn 108 beside com 221, 261, comme 335, fettyn 326, fled(d)yn 294, 332, 443, hyngyn 377 beside hynge 365, haddyn always, led(d)yn always, lettyn 295 and let 333, loyn(e) 314, 345, layne 351, saydyn 269, 347, 450 and seyd 187, 448, seyn 'see' 104, 105, 388, settyn 'set' 496, setyn 'sat' 225, sotyn 352, spoken 318, 554 and spake 577, 640, stodyn 265, 458 and stod(e) 268, 428 etc., toldyn 103.

14 Pr.p. ends in -yng, e.g. bernyng(e) 327, 364, and once in -ynd, in wepynd 665.

15 Pp. ends in -(e) and -n, e.g. cum 591, cumme 409r, do 391, 497, forȝet(t)e 524, 435r, holpe 416, bowndyn 87, done 130, 270, 505r, down 282r, schauyn 226r.

16 Forms of the verb 'to be':
pr.2.sg. arte 409, 591, 658, harte 159, 280,

pr.3.sg. ys,
pr.pl. be 238, 319, byn 405, 449, 563, arn 52, 574,
infin. be, byn 422r,
pa.1,3.sg. was, wos,
pa.2.sg. was 583r,
pa.t.pl. wer, were, wern 327, 346, 457, wasse 553r,
pp. be, ben 522r, byn 413, 509, 669r.

17 Pronouns:

1.pl. we; vs; owre, owyr 320, 405,
2.pl. ȝe; ȝow; ȝowre,
3.pl. bey, they, þi 325, þie 353,
obj. them, hem 5, 171, 587,
poss. ther, hyr(e) 346, 355, 533.

Other spelling features not confirmed by rhyme.

18 ar appears for earlier er in ȝarn 380, harte 506, sward MS. 463, ward 'world' 569, wardly 517.

19 er appears for earlier ar in herche-boschoppe 56.

20 e appears for earlier i in hethyr 159, 235, medys 464, qwekke 619, reche 48, 52, reyth 327 beside usual ryth(e) and ryght 381, swech(e) 206, 307, wentyr 207.

21 The spelling wyll(e) is used to cover six words: 'will' n. 157; 'weal' 575; 'well' adv. 64, 86 beside woll 6, 105; 'well' v. 425; 'wheel' n. 373, 376, 383; 'while' adv. and n. 197, 174, 508r.

22 y is the usual spelling of the vowel in unstressed final and inflexional syllables, e.g. makyth 2, tokenys 9, prechyd 25, sythyn 31, belyys 316, thedyr 138, othyr 335, though before final -r e is also commonly used, e.g. neyther 63, oþer 297.

23 The initial consonant of 'give' is ȝ, e.g. ȝaffe 48, ȝeyffe 237, ȝefe 145, but also geffe 148. g is usual in ageyn 38, 70, with one instance of ȝ, in aȝen 102. ȝ is prefixed to a front vowel in ȝend 375.

24 h is inserted before an initial vowel in harte 159, hentre 92, heuery 53, howyn 'own' 151, and Howyn is the usual spelling for Owayne. These may be direct spellings indicating aspiration of initial vowels (see Wyld, Coll. Eng. pp.310-11), or they may be inverted spellings showing the loss of [h] (see Dobson, ii section 426 and note 2), though there are no spellings lacking h where it is required.

25 h is added to final -t in felth 488, fryuth 572, hath 85, seynth 40, 99, wenth 673, whath 105.

26 Words containing earlier -ht are usually spelt with -th, e.g. knyth always, myth 1, ryth(e) 2r, 4, bowth 13, 247, browth 188, dyth 319, nyth(e) 68, 299, noth 512, nowth 322, thowth 525, but there is also considerable variation, e.g. browte 507, nowt(e) 137, 260, thowt(e) 120, 362, nyte 166, nygth 79, ryght 467. There are no instances with ȝ, and the preponderance of forms lacking the fricative ([ɪç] > [i:]) seems to indicate that this was no longer part of the scribe's speech. Cf. N. Davis, EETS,ES i, p.lxviii, and for this predominantly Eastern feature in the fifteenth century, see Dobson, ii section 140 (b).

27 The initial sound of words earlier beginning with hw- is usually written w-, e.g. wan 436, wat 28, 353, wy 448 beside why 402, wyche 357, were 512, wyll 'while' (see 21 above), wyther 619, though wh- is frequent in what 67, whan 206, wher 140. There is one instance with q-, in qwhan 135. Cf. the inverted spelling who for 'woe' 284, 313 alongside wo(o) 173, 239.

28 sch- is used for the initial sound in 'chains', schenys 364, and for 'canon(s)' from Central French chanoine, schanown(ys) 82, 184 beside chanownys 652. sch- is also used for schall 57, schallte 279, schude 28, though the usual form for the verb 'shall' is with x-, xall 73, 75 etc.. -sch is also used for the final -s in the rhyme wysche(< OE wissian)/heuyn-blysche 3-4.

29 [g] seems to be unvoiced to [k] in purcatore 99, purcatory 580, porcatory 33.

30 v is used for w in vax 679, vetyn 353, and w for v in schrywe 123, 657 beside schryve 587.

31 Excrescent letters appear in downg 190, stafte 59, and it seems erroneously in clepynd MS.111 and cryend MS.313.

32 Enclitic object pronoun 'it' is suffixed to verbs in baryth 55, clepete 59, ȝyldyth 277, hant 106, loket 91, selydyth 151, and probably in MS. syngth 649. This feature is found in the same scribe's copy of the play Abraham, viz. hydygth 165, fyndygth 300, 304: see N. Davis ed., EETS,ES i, pp.48, 52.

33 -th is seemingly written for -d in semyth 380 and bernyth 379. Cf. Davis, EETS,ES i, p.lxix.

34 i is rounded in the word 'bishop' where no examples with i occur, but numerous variations with o(y), e.g. bochoppe 77, boyschoppe 96, bosschoppe 50 (see Glossary for all the forms). Such spellings probably indicate the sound [ŭ], a rounding of [ɪ] perhaps via [y], after b and reinforced by following [ʃ]. See also in 'will' to judge by the spelling woll 58, 113. See Dobson, ii section 85 and notes 2, 5, and Wyld, Coll. Eng. pp.229-30.

The language of the Hamilton copy conforms to the E. Midl. dialect,

e.g. 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, and is perhaps more easterly than the archetype, e.g. 5, 6. In fact, it displays features consistent with the scribe's association with the manuscript's original home at Brome near the north Suffolk border, e.g. 5, 6, 20, 22, 26, 27, while incorporating features usually considered more northerly, e.g. 1-4, 18 (ward(ly)). Cf. the discussion of the same scribe's language by N. Davis, EETS,ES i, pp.lxvi-lxx.

e) Royal

1 OE ă + nasal is usually unrounded, e.g. can 103/6, 133/7, man 97/25, 99/28, many 101/30, 103/6 beside mony 125/2, 129/30, name 121/14, woman 97/25-6.

2 OE ă + nasal in lengthening groups gives o, e.g. among 111/7, 125/21, fond 101/5, hond 101/1, 107/11, lond 137/12, stondeth 105/4-6, vnderstond 133/10.

3 OE ў usually appears as

i) i/y, e.g. brigge 131/2-5, did 131/18, 135/20, fylthe 113/4, fire 107/6-7 beside frequent fier(e) 107/15, 111/4, first 97/12-27, hill 143/2, gilt 117/8, liftehond 99/6, synne 105/21, 119/9, pride 109/15-27, kynne 105/16-17,

ii) u once, dud 145/5,

iii) e in felthe 113/6, left(e)honde 99/5-8.

4 OE ā appears as o, e.g. sore 99/17, 121/27, stone 121/4, mo 103/6, 107/19, more 99/6-16; ON á gives o in fro 101/26, 103/18.

5 OE āw gives ow, e.g. know 107/13, snow(e) 121/22-26, 129/20, sowle 103/16, 105/12.

6 OE āg gives ow, e.g. lowe 105/17, lownesse 143/13, owne 99/11, 105/12.

7 OE ĕo appears as e, e.g. be 97/16, bitwene 107/11, erthe 99/27, 103/14, hert 103/11, 109/16, heuen(e) 103/12, 141/13, kne 103/4, frendes 101/11-16, prest 105/29, pl. pristes 127/5, 129/14, swerdes 111/7-10.

8 OE ē + h <ēa is

i) raised to ī, e.g. high 129/24, 135/19, nygh 107/13,

ii) retained as e, e.g. negh 103/9,

iii) diphthongized, e.g. neigh 139/19.

9 OE ēa + i,j appears as e, e.g. here 99/16, 129/26.

10 Infinitive is usually without -n, though there are four occurrences with -n, foryeven 113/13, killyn 117/25, passen 101/21 beside passe 99/10, spillyn 101/21 beside spil 101/15.

11 Pr.2.sg. ends in -st, e.g. comest 105/26, hast 99/2-29, knowest 101/16-22, maist 141/23, seist ('see') 107/4-12.

12 Pr.3.sg. ends in -th, e.g. begileth 139/28, begynneth 97/1, bilongith 145/14, greveth 105/21, gefeth 105/27, letteth 105/13-19, sheweth 145/8, synneth 105/17, stondeth 105/4-6, techeth 105/8, thinkith 141/22. Note the contracted form ligh 99/30, with gh for th, cf. 121/15 youghe = youthe.

13 Pr.pl.

i) most frequently ends in -n, e.g. axen 117/21, chasten 119/20, delayn 115/17, fulfillyn 115/17, heryn 145/20, redyn 145/20, styngen 123/19, suffren 129/5, sweren 111/25.

ii) Two verbs end in -eth, synneth 139/28, payneth 117/2, 123/16, 127/10. There is one occurrence of -s, paynes 117/1.

iii) A few verbs are endingless, haue/have 111/20, 113/13, turn 107/29, or end in -e, stonde 101/9.

iv) 'Shall' usually has pl. forms with -u-, with and without -n, shul(l), shullen, shullyn though shal also occurs less frequently.

14 Pa.2.sg. ends in -st(e), e.g. barest 119/23, bowghtest 103/14, diddest 105/11-12, yavest 137/21, haddest(e) 103/28, 105/23, shuldest 105/30, suffredist 135/12.

15 i) Pa.t.pl. of weak verbs usually has -en, e.g. failidden 135/6, felden 107/9, hadden 125/4, kylden 117/21, leveden 101/6, 129/25, robbeden 115/11, saiden 101/20, 145/6, suffreden 115/12, 129/6, vsidden 123/19.

ii) Some lack final -en, e.g. clevid 111/23, closid 129/25, leved 119/4, said 97/29, 101/7-10, lowtid 139/8, suffred 125/5, 131/29, vsid 113/18, 129/12.

iii) Pa.t.pl. of strong verbs also often has -n, e.g. biholden 119/8, beten 123/2-6, broken 113/10, comyn 129/7, fellen 139/19, fillyn 119/9, forsakyn 141/12, yoven 127/5, lopen 123/4, stalen 115/11, stongyn 123/5, withilden 115/21, withstoden 141/12.

iv) Some are endingless, e.g. cam 137/25, come 123/26, 127/20, did(e) 113/14, 123/13, had 103/2-3, lay 121/5.

v) The vowel of the sg. is extended to the pl. in bare 115/28 and smote 113/26.

16 Pr.p.

i) most frequently ends in -ing, -yng, e.g. asking 137/22, betyng 119/2-17, bityng 107/30, blowyng 125/1, brennyng 103/5.

ii) A significant number end in -eng(e), brynneng 107/14-28, cryeng 125/2, lyveng 123/16, payneng(e) 125/10, 131/24, shryveng 141/4, singeng 137/30, smyteng 111/8, stikeng 115/3, stoppeng 113/5-6, stowpeng 113/24, suffreng 141/13. Cf. the noun myskepeng 129/21.

iii) There is one occurrence of -and, apperand 101/6.

17 Pp.

i) of strong and anomalous verbs usually ends in -n, e.g. born 97/5, bounden 113/23, don(e) 131/27, 105/28, gone 133/30, yevyn 129/3, hadden 109/17, holpen 129/9, shreven 105/21-3, smeten 125/18, smyten 129/18, taken 131/19.

ii) Many also have no final -n, e.g. do 133/25, foryeve 113/14, go 131/3, geve 123/12, yeve 105/30, had(e) 105/7-30, shryve 105/28, take 99/2.

iii) A small number are prefixed by i-, y-, e.g. ypayned 115/25, 117/12, ipiled 127/19, ystondyn 131/23, yturnyd 109/10.

18 Forms of the verb 'to be':

pr.2.sg. art,

pr.3.sg. is, ys,

pr.3.pl. be, ben, beth once 125/11,

infin. be,

pa.1,3.sg. was,

pa.2.sg. was 105/21, were 103/26, 137/22,

pa.t.pl. were, weren,

pp. be, ben, bene.

19 Pronouns:

1.pl. we; vs; owre,

2.pl. ye; yow; yowre,

3.pl. bei, thei, bai 99/18, 101/7,

obj. them, hem, ham 111/24, bem 101/14,

poss. here, hir(e), there 127/1.

20 For 'much' the form moche predominates. There is one instance of mychell 145/11, and infrequent occurrences with -k-, mykell 99/28, mekill 139/27, mykel 113/17.

21 Adjectives and adverbs frequently end in -lich and occasionally in -ly, e.g. continulich 111/18, diuerslich 129/4, falslich 131/9, gretelich 105/21 beside gretely 127/25, gr(e)islich 133/31, 135/14 beside, in this case, more frequent grisly and gresly, principallich 133/11 and principally 131/18, stronglich 127/15, trulych 131/23, yerlich 131/20.

22 ȝ is usual in aȝen, aȝeyn(e), aȝenst, with three instances of g, agayn 105/26, ageyn 101/14, 103/28.

23 i) Noun plurals usually end in -(e)s, -is, with occasionally -ous, monkous 125/7, perlous 109/10.

ii) There are a few plurals in -(e)n, e.g. children 107/9, oxen 115/4, wormen 125/9, sustern 143/7.

N. and N. Midl. are excluded by 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13i,ii,iv, 17iii.
SW. and W. Midl. are excluded by 1, 3i, 7, 9ii.
S. is excluded by 13i, 19. There is no voicing of initial f and s.
SE. is excluded by 3i.
E. Midl. remains and is supported by the accumulated evidence of 1, 2, 3i, 4-7, 8i, 9ii, 10, 12, 13i, 14, 15, 16i, 17-19.
Within the E. Midl. area the copy is

i) southerly, 13ii, 17iii, 23ii,

ii) central, perhaps Middlesex?, showing a mixture of forms, 3, 8, 13i,ii, 15, 16 (-eng(e) is perhaps a mixture of Midl. -ende and originally S. -inge; it is found with -yng in London charters: see Wyld, Short History, section 337), 17, 18i.

f) Additional

1 OE ă + nasal is unrounded, e.g. man 98/24, 106/6, many 102/6, 104/6, name 98/5, 142/5, can 104/6, 128/14, woman 98/24-5.

2 OE ă + nasal in lengthening groups usually gives a, e.g. fande 102/6, hande 102/3, 108/11, lande 138/13, landys 116/27, 118/1 but londys 118/7, stande 102/10-12, 118/5, standys 106/4-6, vndyrstande 134/11, though also o, e.g. amonge 112/8, 126/19, longe 108/22, 110/7, wronge 132/20 (from ON).

3 OE y̆ appears as i/y, e.g. hyll 144/2, bryge 132/1-4, fylthe 114/6, gylte 144/28, dyde 104/25, 122/1, fyr(e) 108/4-5, fyrst 98/26, 108/26, syn(n)(e) 106/22, 112/2, 120/14, pride 110/16-19, kynne 106/18.

4 OE ā appears as o(o), e.g. sore 116/17, 122/24, stone 122/5, moo 134/7, more 98/23, 100/17. ON á gives o in fro(o) 98/18, 108/5.

5 OE āw appears as aw and ow, e.g. knaw 108/3 beside knowe 144/28, snaw 122/27, 130/21, saule 104/17, 136/13, savle 144/2, saules 118/30, 120/16, saulys 114/27, savles 114/24, sawles 106/9, sawlys 114/23.

6 OE āg gives both aw and ow, e.g. awne 106/13 beside owne 116/11, 120/17 and one 98/21, 116/19, lawnes 144/12 (< ON lág-r).

7 OE ēo appears as e, e.g. erthe 100/30, 132/15, hertt 110/17, 112/23, hevyn 104/12, 112/20, swerdys 112/8, 116/3, betwene 108/11, brest 120/21, frende 110/23, knee 104/4, prestys 126/25, 128/4.

8 OE ē + h < ēa is raised to i, e.g. hyghe 106/17, 136/19, hye 130/24, 138/1, hyee 130/22.

9 OE ea + h, Angl. ae + h, yields aw, agh, e.g. saw(e) 98/3-24, 108/16, saue 108/26, 110/11, save 118/11, 120/15, saghe 128/21.

10 There are no infinitives in -n.

11 Pr.2.sg. ends in -s, e.g. knowes 102/13-19, se(e)ys 108/4-12, 110/15, 118/1, hase 100/1, 142/10 beside hast 100/32, cummyste 106/27.

12 Pr.3.sg. ends in -s, e.g. behovys(se) 112/30, 120/25, 132/26, berys 98/2, begynnes 98/1, doose 102/2, grevose 106/22, hase 106/4, 132/27, injones 106/29, lastys 114/16, lettys 106/14-19, lyes 100/32, ponesches 118/1, synnys 106/19, standys 106/4-6, teches 106/8. Note also hathe 106/25.

13 Pr.pl.

i) ends in -s, e.g. askys 126/11, betokyns 126/26, fallys 118/2, feghtys 128/5, feghttys 146/8, hase 142/4 beside more common haue/have, poneschys 132/30, sees 118/8, synnys 146/9, suffers 112/26, turnys 146/11.

ii) Some end in -e, or are endingless, e.g. aske 118/21, beholde 120/10, stande 102/10-12, suffyr 112/21, 128/10.

iii) 'Shall' occurs only with a forms, schal(l), shal.

14 Pa.2.sg. ends in -e in strong and weak verbs, e.g. bare 120/23, gaffe 138/21, boghte 104/14, dyde 106/12-23, hade 104/29, 106/23-8, schulde 106/31, suffyrde 136/10.

15 i) Pa.t.pl. of weak verbs is without -n, e.g. chastyd 120/25, faylyde 136/4, levyde 108/15, lyffyde 126/9, robbyd 116/12, sayd(e) 102/9-12-17, techyd 98/12 beside taghtt 102/26.

ii) Pa.t.pl. of strong verbs also lacks final -n, e.g. bare 116/29, cam 128/21, 144/4 beside come 114/7, 118/30, cum 124/25, loghe 98/28, schare 112/14.

iii) The vowel of the sg. is extended to the pl. in bare 116/29, batte 124/27, bootte 124/9, brake 114/9, smotte 112/9.

16 Pr.p. is almost invariably in -yng(e). Once final -g is lost, in

spekyne 122/14; once pp.adj. has -ande, in sufferande 119/23; once vbl.n. ends in -enge, in cryenge 126/2.

17 Pp. of strong and anomalous verbs

i) usually has -n(e), e.g. ben(e) 106/25, 112/1, bonden 122/6, bondon 114/23, comyn 104/28, commen 106/16, commyn 106/17, cummyn 106/24, done 106/25-9, forgetyn 106/30, gon 114/32, 132/4, gevyn 118/9, gyffyn 124/13, holpen 130/16, holpyn 134/12, schrevyn 106/25-30, schryvyn 106/23, takyn 100/2.

ii) Less frequently there is no -n, e.g. cum 100/32, gave 132/16, hadde 104/2-3, stande 132/29.

18 Forms of the verb 'to be':

pr.2.sg. art,
pr.3.sg. is, ys,
pr.3.pl. ar(e), or 134/25, be 146/10,
subj. be 134/4,
infin. be,
pa.1,3.sg. was, wase 126/23,
pa.2.sg. was,
pa.t.pl. were, wer 124/15, ware 108/20, 124/29, was 130/29,
subj. wer(e), weyre 120/13,
pp. ben(e).

19 Pronouns:

1.pl. we; hus(e), hvs 118/22; owre, owere 104/12,
2.pl. ȝe; yow, ȝow 100/22; yor,
3.pl. thay, bai, they, bei 102/17,
obj. them, theme 110/30, thame 114/28,
poss. ber, ther, there 112/14.

Other interesting features of spelling and vocabulary.

20 Words and spellings which are northerly or NE. Midl.
gare 124/30, gartt 132/15, kyrke 106/8, 114/12, stang (infin.) 126/1,

stangyd 124/9-28 (<ON stanga, see OED s.v. STANG v.[1]), warlde 102/8, 106/27, wardely 116/2, 126/30, yll 104/21, thowffe 106/15, meykyl(l) 100/22, 102/29, mykylle 128/12 usual forms, though myche once 130/25; gud(e) 98/15-16, guddys 116/12-20 probably represents OE ō̆ > [u], though cf. blode 104/15; clede pp. (< ON klaedd-r) 98/24, 108/20, pyke 118/28, 130/29, weche 98/13, 100/13 (< OE hwelc), wsyd 'used' 124/18, cf. w for v in dewlys 128/7; apon 114/24, 116/28 usual form, though vpon once 124/8; warse 124/6.

21 Spellings with vowel + i/y may be indicative of long vowels, a Northern practice, e.g. greytte 120/13, hoytte 114/2, leyde 'plumbum' 112/6, prevays 114/4, sowroys 122/10, theis 110/15 beside thes 116/28 and thyes 110/24; thoys 110/8 beside thows(e), bos(e), thos, thowys; wayke 136/29 (< ON veikr), wreyke 126/3.

22 i) t for th, e.g. fort 114/22, mowtes 114/5 beside mowthes 110/10.

ii) th for t, in hoth 114/23.

23 Final -y is occasionally spelt -e, e.g. bode 110/18 beside more usual body 100/32, 104/17, lade 104/28, mane 102/30 beside more usual many 102/6, 104/6.

24 The spelling of 'saint' always seems to indicate shortening and loss of diphthong, e.g. sant 100/28, sante 98/19, santt 104/10, santtys 142/13.

25 OE ā/á > o̧ is rendered ow in bowth 116/25, cowlde 122/23 beside cold(e) 134/21-23, howt 118/28, thows 124/15 (see 21 above). Note also use of w in kowld 122/28, howge 128/11, howgyste 136/3, cf. hoghe 136/17.

26 OE ŏ̄ + h is not diphthongized, a Northern feature, e.g. boght(e) 110/20, 104/14, broght 138/16, thoght(e) 98/23, 102/24, 114/25. Cf. OE ō + g, in loghe 'laughed' 98/28, and OE ā + ht in taghtt 102/26.

27 Initial sound of 'showed' is represented by ch-, in chewyd 122/21. Cf. fleche 108/28 beside fleschely 102/13-19.

28 t is seemingly voiced after nasal and before a vowel in seruandys 124/16.

29 Intrusive [ŋ] <[n] occurs before d in fyre brongdys 124/15, beside fyre brondys 114/6 and fyre brandes 120/27.

30 Final -e is duplicated in esee 144/11 beside eese 144/20; in hyee 130/12 beside hye 130/24, 138/1; and in platees 126/26.

31 Final -t is frequently duplicated, e.g amendementt 106/22, att 110/25, bott 104/8, complentt 106/4, hertt 110/17, hytt 100/23-5, mett 104/21, natt 102/13, putt 112/24, ryghtt 104/20, santt 104/10, sentt 102/20, sprett 104/21, wentt 104/20.

32 ð has become d in broder 106/4-9 beside brother 140/8; eder 106/7, oder 112/3, odyr 108/30 beside other; noder 106/10. d has become th in hether 102/14, 142/26 and whether 102/9, but remains d in fader, moder, togedyr.

33 g is usual in agayn(e), agane 116/29, agene 106/5, and g is the initial consonant in all forms of the verb 'give'.

34 In final unstressed syllables before -n the vowel is frequently o, beside more usual y or e, e.g. bondon 114/23, get(t)on 106/8, 116/12, molton 112/5, 116/25, oxon 116/4, smeton 112/16, 126/26, wrytton 126/16.

N. is excluded by 4. W. Midl. is excluded by 1, 3, 7. SW. is excluded by 3, 7. S., SE., and SE. Midl. are excluded by 5, 6, 12,

13. NE. Midl. remains. It is supported as E. Midl. by 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13ii, 16, 18, and more specifically as NE. Midl. by 2, 5, 6, 9-12, 13i,iii, 15iii, 18 (especially pr.3.pl. and pa.2.sg.), 19 (note 1.pl.obj. hus/hvs), 20, 26, 33. The evidence points to the East Leicestershire, South Nottinghamshire region as a likely source for the Additional copy. This supposition is supported by Prof. A. McIntosh's opinion that the six English hands contained in the MS. all "come from a rather smallish area of the N. Midlands", (communicated to me in private correspondence by Mr. Michael Benskin).

4

THE TRACTATUS DE PURGATORIO SANCTI PATRICII

a) Date and Dedication

In a recent article F.W. Locke[1] claimed that the "Tractatus must have been composed sometime after 1208 and before 8 April 1215."[2] This conclusion he reached by reasoning that the dedicatee of the Tractatus was Henry, seventh abbot of Sartis or Old Wardon in Bedfordshire, and that the dates given were the possible dates of his period of office. In 1208 an abbot Lawrence is attested, and on 8 April 1215 his successor Henry became abbot of the Mother House at Rievaulx, and died in 1216.[3] On the basis of this evidence Locke is correct in saying,

> Unless...we are willing to argue that the dedication of Frater H. to Henry, abbot of Warden, is fraudulent, we are forced to admit that the Tractatus was composed while the man to whom it was dedicated was still abbot of that house. 4

Locke's evidence, however, is incorrect, and more important, he is not correct in assuming that the man to whom the Tractatus was dedicated was Henry.

The dedication begins, Patri suo in Christo preoptato, domino .H., abbati de Sartis....[5] There is no reason to assume that the initial H refers to Henry at all.[6] Locke quotes Ward's conjecture,[7] "we cannot be certain of the Abbot 'H de Sartis'...but if he was the Abbot Henry...", but then takes this conjecture as established

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1. 'A New Date for the Composition of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii', Speculum, xl(1965),641-6.
2. Ibid., p.646.
3. Ibid., p.645.
4. Ibid., p.646.
5. See below, p.148.
6. One fifteenth century scribe at least did: according to J. Young and P.H. Aitken, A Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow,1908),139, MS. Hunterian 197 opens, Patri suo in christo peroptato domino henrico Abbati de Sartis ffrater henricus cum continua salute...
7. See Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.438.

fact. I maintain that we can be certain of the abbot 'H de Sartis', and that he was not Henry, but Hugh.

Hugh is listed in the cartulary of Old Wardon that Locke consulted, but Locke never even considered him as a candidate. The dates there given are c.1173 to before 1185.[1] Now it is much more probable that Henry of Saltrey[2] was writing about this time than in the early thirteenth century, if we consider the time span involved. Of Gilbert, who told Henry of Saltrey the tale of Owayne's visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory, it is said in the Tractatus that after his two and a half year sojourn in Ireland postea fuit abbas de Basingewerch (p.185 ll.6-7). Gilbert is attested as abbot of Basingwerk, Flintshire in 1155.[3] We know also that he was no longer abbot when he told Owayne's tale to Henry of Saltrey, for he recalls an incident which occurred in monasterio cui prefui (p.186 l.7), and says the monk concerned subsequently lived fifteen years and was buried by Gilbert himself. This brings us to at least 1170. Gilbert's probable successor at Basingwerk, Matthew, occurs c.1180.[4] Henry of Saltrey gives no indication that a long time elapsed between hearing Gilbert and composing the Tractatus;

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1. G.H. Fowler, The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Wardon, Bedfordshire (Manchester,1931),357.
2. I refer to the author as Henry, as by this name he is commonly known, though he is likewise indicated only by initial H in the MSS., frater .H., monachorum de Saltereia minimus (p.148 l.2). In the Syon catalogue he was twice referred to as Hugo. See Mary Bateson, Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth (Cambridge,1898),86 MS. K43; p.184 MS. S42. Cf. T. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica (London,1748),397 calls him Henry, as does J. Bale, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, ed. R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, Anecdota Oxoniensia, ix(Oxford, 1902),167 and also Joannes Pitseus, De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus (1619),207-8 under the year 1140. John Hennig in this century (see List of Books used) refers to our author as Hugo.
3. Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, I, A.D. 918-1206, ed. J.H. Round, PRO Texts and Calendars, 1899, no.819.
4. HRHEW p.126.

though time at least to consult two Irish abbots and a bishop (p.187 ll.2-10). By Locke's theory this would mean that Gilbert was recounting his tale some fifty or sixty years after his stay in Ireland, and would make Gilbert an exceptionally old man. Similarly, when introducing Owayne, Henry of Saltrey says, Contigit autem hiis temporibus nostris, diebus scilicet Regis Stephani... (p.155 ll.5-6). If Henry was writing between 1208 and 1215 he would be unlikely to consider the days of Stephen's reign (1135-1154) to be hiis temporibus nostris. If he had written this during Hugh's abbacy it would have been far more meaningful. This holds good even if he was contrasting 'our times' with the olden times of St. Patrick. These notions are conjectural and do not alone constitute proof, but there is clear evidence that the Tractatus cannot have been dedicated to abbot Henry.

In the recently published work by Knowles, Brooke and London, which conveniently assembles information previously widely scattered, it is noted that abbot Lawrence of Wardon is attested in 1212/13.[1] Thus Henry's dates as abbot can have been only 1212/13-1215, and by Locke's reasoning these would have to be the possible dates for the composition of the Tractatus.

This date is not possible when we consider a source that Locke ignored. In the introduction to the text of the Vision of Thurkill[2] the author, taken by Ward to be "almost certainly Ralph of Coggeshall",[3] refers to the Tractatus:

> Scripsit quidam monachus de quodam milite Ybernensi nomine Audoeno, sicut ab illorum monachorum relatione cognoverat, qui cum praedicto milite diutius conversati sunt, horrenda tormentorum genera, quae in purgatorio sancti Patricii oculis carneis conspexerat.[4]

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1. HRHEW p.146.
2. See Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.506-515, and for the text his article in JBAA xxxi(1875),420-59.
3. Cat. Rom. ii.493, and see JBAA xxxi, pp.439-40. Ralph became prior in 1207.
4. JBAA xxxi, p.441.

The Tractatus must thus have been a well known document by the time the Vision of Thurkill was written down. This vision occurred in 1206. In the same introduction, where Ralph refers to the Vision of Tundale and the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham (1196), he tells that he asked Thomas, prior of Binham and formerly prior of Eynsham, about this latter account given by domnus Adam supprior eiusdem cenobii. Russell says that Ralph of Coggeshall "wrote the 'Vision of Thurkill' before Adam of Eynsham became abbot of that house, since he calls him sub-prior."[1] Knowles gives 1213/14 as the date when Adam became the head of Eynsham.[2] Moreover, Thomas ceased to be prior of Binham sometime between 1207 and 1213.[3] In other words, the reference to the Tractatus in the introduction to the Vision of Thurkill was written between 1206 and 1213; Ward says it was "written soon after 1206".[4] The Tractatus was therefore known before the possible date at which it could have been written if dedicated to Henry, abbot of Wardon.

Further confirmation can be found by reference to the manuscripts themselves, which Locke has not considered. Several manuscripts of the Tractatus are catalogued as belonging to the late twelfth century or c.1200, one of the most important being B.M. MS. Royal 13 B.viii.[5] Though it is clear that palaeographic evidence alone is not sufficiently accurate to establish a precise dating, yet there is in another manuscript conclusive proof that the Tractatus was written before Henry became abbot of Wardon.

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1. J.C. Russell, Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England (London,1936),108.
2. HRHEW p.49, and see also the discussion of this passage by H.E. Salter, Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham, ii(Oxford,1908), 258-9.
3. HRHEW p.86.
4. Cat. Rom. ii.493.
5. Ibid., p.435. Cf. MS. Cotton Nero A vii, ibid., p.455; MS. Royal 8 C.xiv, ibid., p.456; Ghent, Bibliothèque de l'Université MS. 289 (662); MS. Bodl. 509 (2672); Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS. 85; Sidney Sussex MS. 50.

Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 is a vast collection of visions of the otherworld compiled by Peter of Cornwall, who was prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London from 1197 to 1221.[1] He says that he wrote down the visions sicut ipse reuelationes mihi legenti uitas sanctorum et libros occurrebant agitur (f.2b col.2). On f.11a Book One begins with the Tractatus printed below (pp.148-91), a faithful copy of the full text like that preserved in B.M. MS. Royal 13 B.viii. It must therefore have been well known by the time Peter came to begin his collection. Immediately after the Tractatus, on f.21b Peter adds an interesting section on St. Patrick's Purgatory, which I print below for the first time, pp. 193-8. This begins, Narrauit mihi Petro priori Sancte Trinitatis Lundonie anno millesimo ducentesimo ab incarnatione Domini.... As James[2] points out, this was used by Wharton[3] to show that the work was being written in 1200. This is confirmed a little later in the manuscript. On f.23a col.1 Peter introduces visions told to him by his father Jordanus when Peter was a boy, now fere sexagenarius. After recounting these visions Peter says again:

> Huius Jordani erat filius quidam Petrus nomine, Canonicus et Prior sancte Trinitatis Lundonie, qui hec que audiuit a patre suo scripsit, anno ab incarnatione domini .m.cc.o.o.[4] qui et ipse exspectat regnum dei. (f.26a col.2)

Here is conclusive proof that Henry of Saltrey wrote his Tractatus before 1200, and the only abbot of Wardon with initial H before then, to whom he could have dedicated his work, was Hugh.

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1. On this MS., see above, pp.xxviif.
2. M.R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Cambridge,1930),72.
3. Anglia Sacra, i.113.
4. See R.W. Hunt, 'The Disputation of Peter of Cornwall against Symon the Jew', in Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke (Oxford,1948),144, "in 1200 he was compiling a huge collection of visions". James and Jenkins, op.cit., p.76 say, "A note, I think, by Bale, calls attention to this." Bale does not in fact note this. See R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, Anecdota Oxoniensia, ix(Oxford,1902),321. See also C.J. Holdsworth, 'Eleven Visions connected with the Cistercian Monastery of Stratford Langthorne', Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, xiii(1962),187 note 10.

Knowles gives the possible dates of occurrences of Hugh, abbot of Wardon, as 1173-1181.[1] Hugh is also noted in a place not listed by Knowles, as receiving a grant of land from Walter, abbot of Colchester,[2] whose dates as abbot are 1168-1184.[3] This may support the idea that Hugh was abbot until 1184 or perhaps even 1185/86, at which latter date his successor, Payne, is first definitely attested.[4] At any rate, if the dedication is not fraudulent, and there is no reason to suppose that it is, the Tractatus must have been composed before 1185/86.

This leaves the problem of identifying the Irish bishop whom Henry of Saltrey says he had recently consulted concerning St. Patrick's Purgatory: nepotem sancti Patricii tertii, socii uidelicet sancti Malachye, Florentianum nomine (p.187 ll.8-9). As Ward pointed out, there is no clear candidate for this position, the nearest being Florence O'Carolan, who became bishop of Derry in 1185[5] and died in 1230 aged 86. Lough Derg, County Donegal, the site of St. Patrick's Purgatory, is now in the bishopric of Clogher, not of Derry, but its proximity in the twelfth century to both bishoprics and also to Raphoe leaves uncertainty about who controlled it. Peter of Cornwall's informer told him the Purgatory was in the bishopric of Down![6] It is not, therefore, certain that

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1. HRHEW p.146.
2. Cartularium monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria, ed. S.A. Moore, Roxburghe Club 125, ii(London,1897),529.
3. HRHEW p.40.
4. HRHEW p.146. There is nothing in the dates of Hugh and Payne at Wardon to invalidate the hypothesis that they may have been the same Hugh and Payne previously abbots of the first daughter house, Saltrey. If this were true, then Hugh would certainly have known Henry of Saltrey well, before moving to Wardon where he requested his former charge to supply a text of the tale of the Purgatory, presumably for reading to the brothers at Wardon.
   Saltrey: Hugh 1152-1164, Payne 1164-1179, Alexander 1185.
   Wardon: Hugh 1173-1181, Payne 1185/6-1199, Warin 1199.
   These dates are from HRHEW pp.142, 146.
5. The source for this date is suspect, being MS. Add. 4795 f.78b, a seventeenth century English translation of the Annals of Ulster; see Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.443.
6. L f.21b, see below, p.193 ll.15-16, and Note T 155/7.

this Florentianus is the one referred to, as information on episcopal succession and status at that time is incomplete. If he were Henry's informer, then the date 1185 could still conceivably fit with the end of Hugh's abbacy, but in view of the lack of evidence about Florentianus' ancestry, and indeed of a Patrick III,[1] it is likely that some other, as yet unidentified, bishop is meant. If indeed a bishop at all, one might add. Ralph of Coggeshall claimed that the Irish abbots whom Henry of Saltrey also consulted were ad capitulum Cisterciense euntes,[2] and it is perhaps worth remembering that the first reference to Ireland in the Statutes of the General Chapter of the Cistercians in 1184 says that if pilgrims coming from Ireland or returning there from Rome claim to be bishops, they should not be believed without special testimonials![3] Perhaps Bale had after all an element of truth in his sceptical reference to Henry of Saltrey:

> Hic erat imposturis cuiusdam Florentiani episcopi Hibernici, ac Gilberti de Luda monachi et abbatis illusus. 4

To conclude, the Tractatus was definitely written before 1200. It must, therefore, have been dedicated to Hugh, abbot of Wardon,[5]

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1. See St. John D. Seymour, Irish Visions of the Otherworld (London, 1930),180 note 2.
2. JBAA xxxi, p.441.
3. Canivez, Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciencis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786, i(Louvain,1933),ref. 1184:14, p.97. See John Hennig, 'Medieval Ireland in Cistercian Records', IER 5th series, lxxiii(1950),232.
4. See Poole and Bateson, Anecdota Oxoniensia, ix(Oxford,1902),167. Bale's date c.1140 for Henry is, of course, forty years too early. A similarly false early date of c.1150 is given in the more recent Index Scriptorum Mediae Latinitatis (Hafniae,1957),90.
5. M.R. James recognized this when expanding the initial H in the incipit to the Tractatus copy in Sidney Sussex MS. 50. See A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College (Cambridge,1895),35.

before 1185/86, at which date his successor Payne is attested. In view of what was said above about Gilbert, it would be safe to place his recital of Owayne's visit to St.Patrick's Purgatory to Henry of Saltrey after 1175, and we may say that the Tractatus was composed sometime between about 1175 and 1185, more likely 1180-1185.

This new dating does not materially affect the question of whether Giraldus Cambrensis knew the Tractatus when he wrote of the Purgatory.[1] Owayne and the Tractatus may not have reached his ears by the time he wrote, and it is more than likely that he independently heard an account of the island in partibus Ultoniae.

This earlier dating should, however, be of interest to those concorned with the dates and works of Marie de France. They may care to take into consideration this earlier terminus a quo of before 1185 for her translation, the Espurgatoire S. Patrice.[2]

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1. Topographia Hibernica, Dist.II.cap.v. See Locke, Speculum, xl (1965),642-3, and below, pp.cxxxviiif.
2. For discussion of this according to Locke's dating, see Richard Baum, Recherches sur les oeuvres attribuées a Marie de France (Heidelberg,1968),193-6, 218, and Emanuel J. Mickel Jr., Marie de France (New York,1974),17, 41. Other writers have denied that the Tractatus could have been written before 1185. Erich Nagel, 'Marie de France als dichterische Persönlichkeit', RF xliv(1930),27 says that the Tractatus "ist frühestens im Jahre 1185 abgefasst worden". E.A. Francis, 'Marie de France et son temps', Romania, lxxii(1951),78 note 2, says that the Tractatus "ne peut avoir été composé avant 1185...".

b) The Manuscripts

The original copy of the Tractatus and its precise original form have not been preserved, but from the late twelfth to fifteenth centuries it was copied widely throughout Europe, and there are many manuscripts preserving various states of the text. Hayes[1] lists 58 MSS., Ward[2] discusses the 11 in the British Museum, and many more may be located by reference to library catalogues.[3] No full scale search has yet been devoted to Tractatus manuscripts, and so no-one has yet attempted a complete evaluation of the various manuscript groups. The following chapter, like all previous discussions of the manuscripts, is provisional therefore.

Ward's discussion has been the basis for all subsequent accounts of the MSS. He divided them into two groups, depending on whether they followed the long text exemplified by MS. Royal 13 B.viii (R), or gave the shorter version exemplified by MSS. Arundel 292 (Ar) and Harley 3846 (Hy). The class of MSS. like R includes the copy printed below (pp.148-191) from Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 (L). RL include two homilies, the first after Owayne crosses the perilous bridge, and the second after he leaves the Earthly Paradise, and also the 'appendix' of tales about demons at the end. In this class Ward included MSS. Cotton Nero A vii and Royal 8 C.xiv, both dated about 1200; Harley 261; Harley 3776; Harley 103; Royal 9 A.xiv; Cotton Vespasian A vi; and Harley 2851. As Ward shows, not all these MSS. contain all of both homilies or all the demon tales, but verbally they belong to the class represented by RL.

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1. R.J. Hayes ed., Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilization, ii(Boston, Mass.,1965),455 cols.2ff.
2. Cat. Rom. ii.435-461, 748. On pp.461-3,464-8 Ward discusses the version by John of Tynmouth; the Legenda Aurea version where Owayne is replaced by Nicolaus; and the abridged version in MS. Add. 33957.
3. M. Esposito lists 70 MSS. in 'Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Medieval Ireland V', Hermathena, 1(1937),162-7.

Apart from Ar and Hy, Ward's other class is represented by Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek MS. E.VII.59 (B) printed by Mall,[1] and also, unknown to Ward, by Utrecht, University Library MS.173 (U), printed by Zanden.[2] Warnke (1938) is the most recent writer to discuss the MS. groupings and I follow his designation of α for the group ArHyBU, and β for the group represented by RL. This unfortunately reverses Foulet's[3] use of α and β.

All previous controversy over the relationship of the extant MSS. to each other and to the lost original (O) has been concerned with trying to establish the text used by Marie de France for her verse translation, L'Espurgatoire S. Patrice.[4] Warnke (1938) concludes that her version makes use of both α and β MSS., or of a composite text as yet undiscovered; that α is closer than β to O; and that β represents a reworking and expansion of α. In this last opinion he supports Zanden,[5] who claimed that U represented the nearest we have to O, and Mall, who claimed the same of B. Ward, however, considered that Ar was abridged from the fuller text represented by R,[6] implying that he thought β was closer to O than α.

It seems to me that Ward was basically correct: that the shorter α texts represent a pruning of the longer β texts, not that β represents an expansion of α. I shall argue further that the fullest texts RL represent the closest we have to O, and that all the shorter versions in β and the whole group of α are later reductions of Henry of Saltrey's original long text. I do not claim that we can be absolutely certain of what O contained or of which verbal variations represent Henry's original text.

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1. E. Mall, 'Zur Geschichte der Legende vom Purgatorium des heil. Patricius', RF vi(1889),139-197.
2. Étude, pp.4-24.
3. L. Foulet, 'Marie de France et la Légende du Purgatoire de Saint Patrice', RF xxii(1908),599-627.
4. Ed. T.A. Jenkins, 'L'Espurgatoire seint Patriz' of Marie de France (Philadelphia,1894), and 2nd ed., T.A. Jenkins 'The Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France', The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, vii(1903). Also ed. Warnke (1938).
5. See Neophilologus, x(1925),243-9.
6. Cat. Rom. ii.454.

The ∝ texts and many of the derivatives from the Tractatus, for example by Jacobus de Voragine,[1] Roger of Wendover,[2] Matthew Paris,[3] and John of Tynmouth,[4] show a tendency to deal solely with the Narrative of Owayne. RL, however, include much material extraneous to the immediate events of Owayne's adventure. Ward, Mall, Foulet[5], Zanden, and Warnke have variously suggested that much of this material is interpolated. There follows an outline of these passages in RL, and I wish to defend them as belonging most likely to O. Page references are to L, printed below.

(i) Prologue (p.148 - p.150 l.19).
Henry of Saltrey greets Hugh of Sartis and presents his text at Hugh's request. He writes of the encouragement given to him by the example of Gregory the Great and Augustine in writing about the otherworld; he discusses the existence of purgatory, hell and paradise; and he speaks of those whose souls have left their bodies and returned.

(ii) Tale of the bestial Irishman (p.150 l.25 - p.151 l.23).
At the mention of St. Patrick trying to convert the bestial Irish, an anecdote is supplied to confirm how bestial they are. A certain Irishman confesses that he did not know that murder is a sin.

(iii) Tale of the one-toothed prior (p.153 ll.9-27).
After introducing St. Patrick's Purgatory Henry tells the story of an aged prior at the Saints' Island priory, Lough Derg, who had only one tooth, and whose praises were sung by angels.

(iv) Homily One (p.168 l.10 - p.174 l.10).
This is to be read by a monk reading the Tractatus to his fellow brothers. Let us compare the sufferings of this life with the torments and misery of purgatory.

(v) Homily Two (p.180 l.7 - p.184 l.5).
Let us remember the joys of the blessed and the torments of sinners.

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1. Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, 2nd ed. (Leipzig,1850), cap.1. pp.213-46.
2. Flores Historiarum, ed. H.O. Coxe, ii(London,1841),pp.256ff.
3. Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 57b(1874),192-203.
4. Nova Legenda Anglie, ed. C. Horstmann, ii(Oxford,1901),293-9.
5. L. Foulet, 'Marie de France et la Légende du Purgatoire de Saint Patrice', RF xxii(1908),599-627.

(vi) Tale of the monk wounded by demons (p.186 l.9 - p.187 l.1). Henry tells how Gilbert recounted the tale of Owayne to a group with Henry present, and how in answer to a doubter, Gilbert said Owayne had seen everything corporeis oculis. To reinforce this, Gilbert told how at Basingwerk, in monasterio cui prefui, a monk was abducted by demons, and returned lacerated with wounds that would not heal, and that Gilbert himself buried this monk fifteen years afterwards. This completes the testimony of Gilbert - Hucusque Gilebertus (p.187 l.1).

(vii) Bishop Florentianus and the tale of the hermit and the devils' council (p.187 l.2 - p.188 l.3).
Henry tells how he consulted two Irish abbots about St. Patrick's Purgatory. One said he had never heard of it; the other said it was all true. Henry consulted Bishop Florentianus who claimed the Purgatory was in his bishopric. Florentianus also told Henry of a hermit (hermit one) who then lived not far from St Patrick's Purgatory, and who nightly saw devils hold a parliament outside his cell. They very often tempted him with the forms of naked women. By listening to the devils, this hermit knew about the most secret doings of many people in the province.

(viii) Chaplain recounts hermit one's tale of the hermit near Mount St. Brandan (p.188 ll.6-14).
Florentianus's Chaplain asks and is given permission to tell what he learned from hermit one, whom he has seen. One hundred miles from hermit one's cell is Mount St. Brandan, near which lives another hermit (hermit two), whom hermit one wished to speak to, for he knew from the devils' council that hermit two was not living as a hermit should.

(ix) Chaplain recounts hermit one's tale of the rich rustic (p.188 l.16 - p.189 l.3).
Hermit one continues to tell how he heard from the devils' council of a rich rustic who denied food to begging clerics, and thereby

forfeited it to the devils one night. Next morning hermit one found the food left behind by the devils and threw it away.

(x) Chaplain recounts hermit one's tale of the priest and the girl (p.189 l.4 - p.191 l.6).
The devils' council sought a plan to undermine the chastity of a priest of the province. One devil said he had an idea. He placed a baby girl in the priest's path. The priest found the infant and put the girl in a nurse's care, and brought her up as his own daughter until she was fifteen and her beauty kindled his lust. He obtained her consent, and next day, when he had laid her on the bed, he hesitated, and then, inspired by Him who does not allow a man to be tempted supra modum, he went outside and castrated himself, thereby defeating the devil's wiles. The devil was beaten for the failure of his plan, and the priest placed the girl in a monastery.

(xi) Epilogue (p.191 ll.7-22).
Henry of Saltrey addresses Hugh of Sartis, pater uenerande; he says he has followed the sense of all these religious men's words as best he can, and says he has divided the work into chapters and inserted exhortations from the holy fathers. He takes his leave.

All these items and the main Narrative of Owayne are contained in RL. R is a late twelfth century MS. according to Ward.[1] Jenkins[2] printed a diplomatic text of R; Warnke (1938) printed a critical β text using R together with a fourteenth century MS., Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS. C.L.15,745, which lacks the second half of Homily Two, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.lat.13,434, thirteenth century, lacking both homilies and the Epilogue. Warnke's critical text omits the second homily and the parts of the first homily which are not paralleled in α. No other

1. Cat. Rom. ii.435.
2. Jenkins (1903),310-327.

β text has been printed. The text of L printed below is the first complete[1] β text to be edited. Small errors and omissions are corrected by reference to R.

Of the printed ∝ texts the contents are as follows.[2]

Hy is a sixteenth century MS., printed by Jenkins (1903) parallel with his text of Marie de France. It contains the Prologue, Narrative, a short version of Homily One and a short Epilogue.[3]

B is a fourteenth century MS. printed by Mall. Mall, Jenkins (1903) and Warnke (1927) use siglum A; Warnke (1938) uses siglum B. Contents as Hy, with less of Homily One. Mall's claim that B represents the closest to O is unsubstantiated.[4] B is considerably and distinctively rewritten in a way that sets it apart from all other ∝ MSS., and has no known adherents.

U is from the second half of the fifteenth century, printed by Zanden. Contents as HyB though it opens with Giraldus Cambrensis's account of St. Patrick's Purgatory,[5] taken from Top. Hib. II.v. BU alone give the number of God's messengers as twelve. All other MSS., ∝ and β give fifteen.

Ar is a late thirteenth century MS., printed by Zanden.[6] Mall, Jenkins (1903) and Warnke (1927) use siglum K; Warnke (1938) uses siglum A. The contents vary from the other ∝ texts. Ar contains the narrative, including: (ii) Tale of the bestial Irishman; (iii) Tale of the one-toothed prior; (vii) Bishop Florentianus and the tale of the hermit and the devils' council; and, without mentioning the Chaplain, (x) Tale of the priest and the girl, wherein hermit one warns the priest of the devil's plans.[7]

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1. The sole omission is on p.183 where a short passage of Anselm's Proslogion is omitted from Homily Two. The footnote gives the reference: see Note to T 181/14 - 183/13.
2. See also Warnke (1927),135-6; (1938), pp.VII-IX; and Zanden, Étude, pp.76ff.
3. Jenkins (1903),241-303 and see Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.463-4.
4. See Warnke (1927),147-9; (1938), pp.XXXI-XXXII; and Zanden, Étude, p.80
5. Quoted below, p.cxxxviii: see Zanden, Neophilologus, xxi(1927),132-7.
6. Étude, pp.159-178.
7. See below, pp.lxxxiif.

Warnke (1938) printed α and β in parallel, facing his text of Marie de France's Espurgatoire. His α text is based on all these four MSS.

I now wish to show why I consider that RL preserve the text closest to O, firstly, by considering the eleven passages outlined above that have at one time or another been regarded as interpolations; secondly, by looking at the theories of previous writers about the manuscript groupings; and finally, by considering a few other textual discrepancies between α and β texts, where I think the β reading is defensible as authentic.

1 Prologue.

There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Prologue. It establishes the author and the reason for and purpose of writing the Tractatus. Those interested solely in the Narrative of Owayne as a stirring tale, like John of Tynmouth, or as a noteable event, like Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, omit it. Similarly some of the β MSS. omit it, e.g. Cotton Vespasian A vi[1] and Harley 2851.[2] It is included in α MSS. HyBU.

RL specify that the author is frater.H., monachorum de Saltereia minimus (p.148 l.2). There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of this humility formula, specifying that the author comes from Sawtry, daughter house of Sartis, or Warden, to whose abbot, Hugh, the Tractatus is being sent on request. The words de Saltereia are not found in U, but Zanden's notion that they are an interpolation is somewhat fanciful.

> Il est possible que le copiste de R ait su qui se cachait si modestement derrière ce "frater H., monachorum minimus" et qu'il n'ait pu résister au désir de désigner au moins le nom de l'abbaye favorisée qui le renfermait dans son sein....[3]

It was not, of course, in Zanden's interest to consider R's reading as original, as he claimed U was the closest to O.

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1. See Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.460-1.
2. Ibid., p.748.
3. Étude, p.53.

At the end of the Prologue is evidence of the overall coherence of Henry's text, for he says:

> Quis uero eam (narrationem) mihi retulerit et quomodo eam agnouerit, in fine narrationis indicabo. (p.150 ll.17-18)

This he duly does when he reveals the part played by Gilbert (p.185).

2 Tale of the bestial Irishman.

Ward regarded this as "a curious interpolation" by "some monastic scribe",[1] taking relator horum (p.150 l.25) to refer to this same copyist who was anxious to incorporate his own experience. This view is surely wrong. The relator horum who tells this tale is simply Gilbert,[2] whose identity Henry, as we have seen above, has promised to reveal at the end of the narrative. The only sense in which the tale is an interpolation is that Gilbert, starting to tell of St. Patrick's conversion of the bestial Irish, interrupts his story to testify from his own experience just how bestial they are. Henry is faithfully recording, as well as he can, Gilbert's speech - Quam quidem narrationem, si bene memini, ita exorsus est (p.150 ll.18-19).[3] He similarly later incorporates Gilbert's anecdote of the monk wounded by demons - item (vi) above. As we know from Henry's account, Gilbert could not speak Irish and required an interpreter (p.185 ll.9ff) and received Owayne, who is probably the interpreter referred to here (p.151 ll.6-8). Note also how apt to Owayne's own case is the repentant zeal of the Irish, remarked on at the end of this tale (p.151 ll.19-22).

I therefore take this tale to be an authentic part of Henry's original text. Zanden, however, considered it to be an expansion of the text as found in U, which reads:

> Eos vero, inquit horum relator, adero esse bestiales veraciter et ipse comperi, quando enim fui in patria illa per quendam mihi confitentem hujus gentis bestialitatem satis expertus sum.[4]

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1. Cat. Rom. ii.444.
2. See Foulet, RF xxii(1908),606-7.
3. Cf. p.191 ll.8-9.
4. Zanden, Étude, p.6.

It seems unlikely that the mere hint per quendam mihi confitentem could give rise to the rich circumstantial detail of this tale. It is far more probable that the confession scene in the β text was reduced in the α version to this brief reference. This is supported by the way the excision of the tale leaves the sentences before and after it in the original (p.150 ll.21-5 and p.151 ll.24ff) clumsily juxtaposed in U and B.[1] U continues,

> Cum vero beatus Patricius illam voluisset et terrore tormentorum infernalium et amore gaudiorum paradisi avertere et avellere....

illam here presumably refers to gentis bestialitatem, though it might have also been suggested by the expunged gentem prefatam of the longer version (p.151 ll.24-5).

Ar contains this tale, which I take to be because the Ar copyist, or that of his exemplar, while copying an α text, also consulted a β MS., and included this tale from it. Cf. 7 and 8-10 below.

3 Tale of the one-toothed prior.

This like (ii) must be regarded as original, and one of Gilbert's diversory anecdotes. It follows the account of the founding of the Purgatory and Reglis, and begins erat prior...in eadem ecclesia (p.153 ll.9-10). It is contained in both α and β MSS.

4,5 Homilies.

Ward said of the homilies that they "are perhaps interpolations"[2] and again they "may perhaps be interpolations".[3] α MSS. HyBU contain a short form of Homily One only. Later writers, Foulet, Zanden, and Warnke, have all assumed without qualification that the homilies, long and short, are interpolations, and not part of Henry's original text. I maintain that in all probability both long homilies as contained in RL are part of the original Tractatus. Certainly they are interpolated into Gilbert's Narrative of Owayne,

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1. See Foulet, RF xxii(1908),607 note 1.
2. Cat. Rom. ii.436.
3. Ibid., p.445.

but it seems to me that it was Henry of Saltrey himself who inserted them.

The short form of Homily One contained in α MSS. is surely a reduction of the longer text in RL, and the long text is not an expansion of the shorter. Foulet himself demonstrated this.[1] The opening section of the short form is meaningless when comparing the sufferings of the cloistered life with those of purgatory. α MSS. open their brief Homily (One) thus:

> Comparentur nunc temptaciones hujus vitè locorum istorum tormentis ac miserie, que, si opponantur in mentis statera, quasi maris arena omnibus temptacionibus[2] gravior locorum istorum apparebit miseria.

What is the purpose here of <u>maris arena</u>? It only becomes comprehensible in the light of β's reading which preserves the other half of the comparison. β reads:

> Comparentur igitur, karissimi, passiones huius uite predictorum locorum tormentis et miserie. Quod si igitur inuicem opponantur in mentis statera, quasi inconparabilis harene multitudo maris leuissime comparata pluuie, grauior apparebit eorundem locorum inestimabilis miseria. (p.168 ll.10-14)

Weighed in the balance, the pains of purgatory against the pains of this life are as sands of the sea compared with the lightest rain. Note also how β is correct in comparing the <u>passiones</u> (sufferings) of this life, not, as in α, the temptations.

The α short homily must therefore be derived from the long β homily. The two long homilies in RL are entirely suitable as insertions by Henry of Saltrey. From the Prologue we learn that Henry had been requested by the abbot of his Mother House to write an account of purgatory as he had heard it from Gilbert, and spoken of it in the abbot's presence. Abbot Hugh clearly wanted a written copy for reading to the monks at Warden, and it was very likely there that Henry of Saltrey's text was subsequently copied and first

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1. <u>RF</u> xxii(1908),614 and note 1.
2. Zanden, <u>Étude</u>, p.18.

distributed, no doubt initially to other Cistercian houses. Henry's prologue shows him aware of the importance of his undertaking, both following, and encouraged by the example of Gregory the Great and Augustine. Henry was most concerned that his tale should confirm his audience in the fear and love of God.

> Uestram uero minime lateat paternitatem me numquam legisse quicquam uel audisse, unde in timore et amore Dei tantum proficerem.
>
> (p.148 11.9-11)

It is apt then that Henry should place the homilies strategically at the points where Owayne leaves purgatory and where he leaves the Earthly Paradise, for here they serve forcibly to bring the audience's attention to what it has heard, and to suggest the same as a subject for meditation.

> Transeamus igitur, karissimi, sepius mente per hec loca tormentorum.
>
> (p.172 11.14-15)

The homilies are closely linked with Owayne's experiences, and reference is made to him within them (p.172 l.3; p.173 11.29-30; p.174 l.4; p.180 l.7; p.183 l.16; p.184 l.3). Henry also points out that the homilies are not his own work.

> Hec autem, karissimi, non mea sed sanctorum patrum sunt uerba.
>
> (p.169 11.25-6)

No writer has previously even cared to identify these homilies for what they predominantly are, namely extracts from the Meditations of Anselm and of John of Fécamp ('Augustine'), and from Anselm's Proslogion. I give details in the notes to T. Warnke[1] even suggested that they were the outpourings ('Expektorationen', 'Ergüsse') of a monk who was inspired to write them by reading the Tractatus shortly after its composition. Thus, without recognizing their true origin, Warnke was precluded from considering the possibility that Henry might have included them himself.

This is, I believe, confirmed by (xi) Epilogue, to which I shall return, but I must draw attention here to what is said in

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1. Warnke (1927),141.

the β Epilogue about the homilies.

> Peccator et ego precor humiliter, qui sanctorum patrum exhortationes interserens opusculum istud per capitula distinxi, caritatem uestram.... (p.191 ll.13-16)

Previous writers, who have regarded the exhortations of the holy fathers, i.e. the homilies, as interpolations, have taken this as proof, saying that α texts are not divided into chapters, but that β are. This is not so. The Narrative in U, for example, is divided into nineteen chapters. There is no reason why these words from the long Epilogue should not be by Henry of Saltrey. He refers to the tale of Owayne told by Gilbert and retold by himself as opusculum istud. The humble diminutive comes rather better from the author than from a copyist (cf. frater.H., monachorum de Saltereia minimus at the opening of the Prologue). Verbal references to other vision literature, notably the Visio Sancti Pauli, Drihthelm and the Visio Tnugdali,[1] show that Henry consciously and conscientiously ordered and planned his work, which he based on the words of Gilbert and other witnesses. He may well, therefore, have divided the tale into chapters in the process of composition, thus distinguishing it in its written form from Gilbert's oral narrative, and have included the homilies at the same time. Henry could thus present a full text, admirably suited for reading to the brothers at Sartis to abbot Hugh, who would doubtless have warmly welcomed the product of Henry's supererogatory labours on his opusculum. There is no reason why subsequent copyists or the redactor of the α version, more interested in the tale of Owayne for its own sake, should either incorporate the homilies or follow the chapter divisions of the original.

6 Tale of the monk wounded by demons.

Gilbert's personal anecdote about the monk of Basingwerk is preserved in both α and β MSS. and must be regarded as original.

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1. See Notes to T.

RL finish this section with the words Hucusque Gilebertus, which are not found in α, but which I believe must be the work of Henry of Saltrey. Only a writer interested in preserving distinctions of responsibility for the subject matter would thus mark the end of Gilbert's contribution, and indeed, only Henry or a close accomplice could have known where to mark the change. It is at this point that the α texts break off and conclude with a short Epilogue; see 11 below.

7 The evidence about St. Patrick's Purgatory and the so-called 'appendix' of demon tales, (vii-x) are not found in the α texts HyBU, and have been regarded therefore as interpolations by previous writers. As I understand it they were excluded by the α redactor as being extraneous to his immediate concern, the tale of Owayne. The α MS. Ar includes parts of (vii) and (ix) modified because, I believe, the Ar copyist was attracted to these parts in a β MS. and wished to include them, but was forced to alter (x) by having omitted (viii) and (ix): see below 8-10. Ar does not include the testimony of the two Irish abbots,[1] but does include that of Bishop Florentianus. This may well be because one of the abbots said he had never heard anything about St. Patrick's Purgatory, an opinion not conducive to supporting the reader's faith in the narrative. Its inclusion in β, immediately after Gilbert's claim for the veracity of his story, rather indicates the more impartial research of Henry of Saltrey himself, to whom the ego refers (p.187 l.2). Having consulted the two Irish abbots, Henry then questioned Bishop Florentianus, shortly before writing the Tractatus - nuper (p.187 l.7), and faithfully recounts what he tells, as well as what the Bishop's Chaplain also offers. Henry's interest in preserving these tales, apart from their innate interest as warnings against the insidias (p.189 l.6) of demons, is that they are all connected with the hermit (hermit one) who lives in the neighbourhood of St. Patrick's Purgatory, haut longe ab eodem loco (p.187 l.17), and deal with

1. Foulet regarded this mention of the two abbots as an interpolation, but gave no reasons; RF xxii(1908),607 note 2.

demon attacks in this world, as Owayne's tale has dealt with their attacks in the otherworld.

8-10 In dealing with tales (vii-x) the major point of interest is to refute Foulet's theory concerning the inclusion of (x) by Ar. Foulet suggested an elaborate theory for the MSS. and their development which is almost completely at variance with my own. He decided firstly that Hy and B preserve the oldest version of the Tractatus. This is untenable, both because of the considerable idiosyncratic rewriting of B and the inclusion of the short first homily.[1] Secondly, Foulet claimed that Ar showed the next stage in the Tractatus' development,[2] by the interpolation of (iii), (vii) and (x). Thirdly, he posited a second interpolator responsible for the introduction of the Chaplain and hermit two in B.M. MS. Harley 3776, and the two homilies in B.M. MS. Cotton Nero A vii and Marie de France's exemplar. Lastly, he supposed a third interpolator was responsible for the 'final' state of the text represented by β MS. R. Thus, where Foulet saw the Tractatus growing from the short version to its culmination in the long version with no less than three stages of interpolation, I see the long version as original and subsequent redactors and copyists variously extracting from it what they require.

In the instance of Foulet's consideration of Ar, the work of his first interpolator, I regard him as totally wrong. In Ar Bishop Florentianus, not the Chaplain, tells (x) the tale of the priest and the girl. In this version hermit one is an active agent who warns the priest of the devil's plan to undermine his (the priest's) chastity. The Bishop tells the tale putting the hermit in the third person. Foulet claimed that the second interpolator, by introducing the Chaplain to recount the hermit's words, could not have the hermit referred to in the third person, and therefore had to invent a new reason for the priest's last minute restraint in the face of temptation, namely divine inspiration. Rather, as I see it,[3] and have indicated above in

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1. See Zanden, Étude, p.80 and Warnke (1938), pp.XXXI-XXXII.
2. Loc. cit., note 3.
3. See also Warnke (1938), pp. XXVIII- XXIX.

2 and 7, the Ar copyist was attracted to (x) the tale of the priest and the girl in a β copy, but omitted the Chaplain along with (viii) and (ix). He therefore had to modify (x) to make it told by the Bishop, and because the hermit was now not telling the tale, the Ar copyist felt free to incorporate him within it. In fact, by making the hermit an agent in, rather than the teller of, the third devils' council tale, the Ar copyist weakens the tale's tension. If the priest had been forewarned by the hermit and had prepared himself as a result,

> sic ab hac die jejunijs, virgilijs et oracionibus magis ac magis de die in diem carnem suam legitime macerabat [1]

he would have been much less likely to come so near falling into temptation as he does in the first place. The last minute aid of divine inspiration which saves the priest in what I take to be the original β version is thus sacrificed to the recollection of the hermit's advice,[2]

> sicque Dei adhuc gracia protectus, et ab heremita iterum premunitus.

Even here the mention of God's grace is probably a reminiscence of God's intervention in β. Foulet's whole theory seems unnecessarily complex in general conception and implausible in particular application.

11 Epilogue.

The Epilogue's authenticity I see no reason to doubt. Again I regard the short α Epilogue as a reduction of the longer β version, not β as an expansion of α, which reads:

> Hec, pater venerande, predictus Gilbertus et mihi et aliis pro edificatione narravit, sicut ipse ab eodem milite sepius audivit. Ego vero, sequens sensum verborum et narracionis ejus, prout intelligere potui, dixi vobis. Si quis autem me reprehendere voluerit, sciat quod vestra me hoc scribere jussio coegit.

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1. See Mall, p.196 and Jenkins (1903),301.
2. Cf. Foulet, RF xxii(1908),605 note 1, and Warnke(1927),140 note 1.

Because α (except for Ar) omits (vii-x), no mention is made in this Epilogue of the other true, religious witnesses, i.e. the Bishop and the Chaplain (p.191 ll.7-8). It omits the sentiment that the Tractatus was written for those desiring to advance in the love and fear of God,

> sanctitati uestre cunctisque in amorem et timorem Dei proficere cupientibus... (p.191 ll.9-11)

which echoes Henry's words in the Prologue (p.148 ll.9-11).

The α Epilogue also ends very abruptly, lacking that final valedictory flourish, preserved in β, which so much more fittingly matches the tone of the formal opening of the Prologue with its dedication. That all this could have been supplied by an interpolator seems unlikely to say the least. The mention of chapter divisions and exhortations from the holy fathers in the β Epilogue I have dealt with above: see 4 and 5.

I hope to have shown that these eleven items in the β texts RL are likely to be authentic parts of Henry of Saltrey's original copy of the Tractatus, and are not interpolations as previous writers have argued. There are several other points made by these writers that require qualification.

Foulet's theory about the MS. groupings and interpolations has been dealt with and shown to be inadequate. Zanden's grouping of the MSS. is only slightly different from Foulet's. He also starts with an α MS., U, as the earliest form of the Tractatus, and from it he distinguishes the purely narrative reductions of the chroniclers, which merely prune away everything extraneous to the tale of Owayne proper, and a mixed group, our β, which includes both the narrative and theological and oratorial amplifications. Zanden's reasons for deciding that U is an early form of the text are:

a) that the first homily is short;

b) that the lack of detail in (ii) Tale of the bestial Irishman was the original form, subsequently expanded in β;

c) that the language is more sober, and therefore more befitting a Cistercian author;

d) that twelve not fifteen was the original number of God's messengers, so given only in B and U.

a) has been dealt with in 4 and 5 above; b) has been dealt with in 2 above. c) is an extremely imprecise and dubious criterion. Zanden seems to see any text which is simple in syntax and language as necessarily earlier than one marginally more embellished and less paratactic. Warnke states the same idea.

> Schon die stilistische Form des β-Textes beweist, dass α ein ursprünglicheres Gepräge zeigt als β ; denn ein naiver, weniger kultivierter Text geht einem in Darstellung und Wortwahl gehobenen Texte voran, und nicht umgekehrt. [1]

Such a generalized proposition is open to question. It is quite possible that the original Tractatus was stylistically accomplished. It is evident, as we have seen from the Prologue, that Henry was interested not only in the Narrative, but also in theological questions concerning the location of the otherworld, the nature of visions and visits to hell, purgatory and paradise, and the effect of such reports, and that he felt himself strengthened in his task by the example of Gregory the Great and Augustine. He wished to encourage the love and fear of God in his audience. His interest was not merely in the stirring excitement of the otherworld visit, and his style might correspondingly be expected not to sacrifice exhortation and rhetoric to simple narrative detail, as the chroniclers and the α version tend to do.

d) Zanden was at some pains to claim that twelve is the true reading, and lists[2] several examples of twelve being a significant number in a gathering. But that this figure is preserved in only two manuscripts, B of the fourteenth century that is heavily rewritten, and U of the second half of the fifteenth century, against the evidence of all other α and β MSS. makes fifteen most likely the original. So says Warnke:

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1. Warnke (1938), p.XXXI. See also Warnke (1927),145.
2. Neophilologus, x(1925),244 note 7.

> So naheliegend diese Zahl auch ist, so muss doch die Zahl fünfzehn, die sonst die ∝- und alle β-Handschriften zeigen, als ursprünglich angesehen werden. 1

I suggest that Zanden's supposed scribal misreading of XII as XV could work easily as well the other way round in B and U.[2]

Warnke claimed that ∝ is earlier than β because of the chapter divisions (see above, p.lxx), and regarded (vii-x) as additions. But in eight places in ∝ he also marks as additions a sentence or two not found in β.[3] An examination of these shows that they are all in some way attempts to add greater detail or descriptive information. For example, in the account of the underground hall, ∝ adds:

> Sicut enim estimauit, in hoc seculo aula talis uisa ab homine uel facta numquam fuit.

Similarly, in the account of the Earthly Paradise, ∝ adds:

> Ibi uidebantur mansiones uariorum conuentuum: erant singule magnitudine lucis replete.

The same can be said of the variations concerning the bridge of judgement and the attempts of the demons to knock Owayne off with their hooks. Warnke can see these as additions to ∝ rather than as omissions from β because he regards neither ∝ nor β as giving the contents of O. I maintain that β does give the contents of O, though not necessarily with verbal exactness. Warnke also pointed out that the corporeality of the vision is reduced in ∝ by the inclusion of words like velut, quasi, quodammodo etc.. It is precisely because ∝ texts treat Owayne's tale as another exciting vision that this is possible, whereas Henry was concerned to

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1. Warnke (1938), p.XXXII. For a defence of the B reading twelve, and the suggestion that the "reference to two archbishops and twelve bishops might be an illustration of early 12th century Irish church history....an illustration of the ecclesiastical organisation established at (the Synod of) Rathbrassail", see J. Hennig, 'Cataldus Rachav. A Study in the Early History of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland', Medieval Studies, viii(1946), 242-3. In fact, neither in B nor in any other MS. are these messengers likened to bishops, and the leader is called dux in β MSS., where the number is fifteen.
2. See Warnke (1927),148. See also below, p.xcii.
3. Warnke (1938), p.XXIX. These additions will be found in the Notes to T.

impress his audience, as Gilbert had done his, by the corporeality of Owayne's visit to rather than vision of the otherworld.

Finally, a few other discrepancies in the α and β texts, where I find no objection to accepting the β reading as the original, but where admittedly, the evidence is less certain.

After the account of the baculus Ihesu (p.152 l.11), α reads:

De quibus etiam in Uita sancti Malachie scriptum inuenimus.

Warnke marks this sentence as a late addition but admits the possibility that it may be by Henry of Saltrey.[1] It is not found in β. I agree that this is very probably an interpolation. As the Tractatus was originally composed in or before 1185/6, this sentence could well have been incorporated in α after 1190, when Malachy was canonized. But Locke[2] has shown that Malachy (d.1148) was referred to as a saint long before 1190, and Henry may have done the same. The question is whether Henry knew of St. Bernard's Vita S. Malachie, but there is no way of telling.

β MSS. RL specify that St. Patrick, having built his church on the site of the Purgatory, introduced beati patris Augustini canonicos uitam apostolicam sectantes (p.152 ll.25-6), whereas α MSS. read canonicos regulares (BU), or canonicos regularem uitam ducentes (HyAr). Zanden explained the β reading in R as an interpolation by the R scribe, because the manuscript bears on the last fly-leaf the inscription liber Sancti Augustini extra muros cantuar[iae].[3] This, I maintain, is not the full explanation. Zanden ignores the fact that Augustinian Canons Regular did hold the priory on Saints' Island, Lough Derg from soon after 1132,[4] and that the β reading must represent the true original information conveyed to Henry by Gilbert. If α were correct, it is unlikely that a copyist should have as easy access as Henry to the factual

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1. Warnke (1938), p.XXIX-XXX on section I.5.
2. Speculum, xl(1965),644-5. See also Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.443, and Foulet, RF xxii(1908),615.
3. See Zanden, Étude, p.85, and Ward, Cat. Rom. ii.435.
4. See MRHI p.193, and below, p.cxli.

truth that it was Augustinian Canons who held the Purgatory priory. The anachronism of attributing the introduction of Augustinian canons (established from the mid eleventh century) to St. Patrick should be regarded as an attempt by the canons themselves to claim Patrician authority for their occupation of Saints' Island, as well for the Purgatory on Station Island, which was without doubt associated with St. Patrick long before the canons' arrival.[1]

Warnke[2] says that R contracted the passage telling of the naming of the Purgatory and that R's reading has thereby become illogical. After discussing the testimony of visitors to the Purgatory, RL read:

> Eorum ergo attestacione ceperunt alii beati Patricii predicationem suscipere. Et quoniam ibidem homo a peccatis purgatur, locus ille Purgatorium sancti Patricii nominatur. (p.153 11.5-7)

There is nothing illogical here. The fuller α text reads:

> Eorum ergo attestatione ceperunt alii beati patris predicationem suscipere. Et quoniam ibi homo a peccatis purgatur, 'Purgatorium' locus ille uocatur; et quia beato Patricio prius quam aliis ostendebatur, 'Purgatorium sancti Patricii' nominatur.

It may be that this is the original reading, contracted by β, but equally well this α text could be an expansion of β, spelling out the details in the interests of clarity. Note especially how the first reference to Patricii in β, which makes the nomination of the Purgatory straightforward, reads patris in α.

Where the narrative of Owayne's visit demands that information concerning the procession to the Purgatory entrance and the prior's last warning words be repeated, these already having been detailed in the general treatment of the ritual, prior to the mention of Owayne, RL summarize: a fratribus et a uicino clero, sicut supradictum (L) (supra scriptum R) est, ad purgatorium ducitur (p.156 11.6-7). This seems to be a straightforward means of

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1. See below, pp.clf.
2. Warnke (1938), p.XXX b).

conveying what Gilbert may well have said - "as I told you before". The ∝ texts, which, as has been seen, tend toward a more direct narration, perhaps not willing to distort the narrative flow, repeat the necessary information:

> Sicque a fratribus et a clero uicino ad hoc conuocato missa mane celebratur. Ad quam miles communicatus ad fosse introitum, aqua benedicta aspersus, cum processione et letanie cantu est ductus. 1

This is a close rewriting of the previous general account:

> conuocat prior loci illius uicinum clerum et populum, sicque in ecclesia missa mane celebratur, ad quam homo sacra communione munitur, aqua benedicta ad hoc officium aspergitur et cum processione et letanie cantu ad ostium Purgatorii deducitur. 2

Similarly RL say of the prior's speech iterum enumeratis tormentorum intolerabilium generibus (p.156 l.8), whereas ∝ gives his warning in direct speech.[3]

Of course, in both these instances β may merely be summarizing a text like ∝, but the possibility of ∝'s expanding β to enhance the narrative must not be dismissed, especially in view of the other occasions when ∝ seemingly expands or adds sentences with this purpose.

In a similar instance, in the description of the widening perilous bridge, Warnke[4] supposes that β has left a gap in its "Streben nach Kürze". ∝ reads:

> Et ecce post paululum latitudo pontis exciperet carrum onustum, et post modicum uia erat ita longa ut sibi obuiarent in ea duo carra.

β omits the first stage of the expansion to one cart's width.

> Et ecce post paululum tantum creuit pontis latitudo ut etiam duo carra exciperet sibi obuiantia. (p.167 ll.25-6)

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1. See Warnke (1938),42 col.1.
2. Ibid., p.34 col.1, and cf. below, p.154 ll.18-22.
3. See below, pp.cvf.
4. (1938), p.XXX b).

It might as easily be claimed that α again expands the details rather than that β contracts in an effort to be concise.[1]

In conclusion, we may say that Henry of Saltrey's original text has not been preserved, but that β MSS. RL almost certainly preserve the contents of O, and that α shows a selective reduction of the Tractatus. The purpose of presenting below the complete text from L is to show the Tractatus in the form in which it might well have been known to the English versifiers, and perhaps to William of Stranton, who seems to have been influenced by Homily One. The exhortatory and idealist strain imparted to the tale of Owayne by its close association with the homilies should be borne in mind when considering the theological bias or lack of it in the English versions. It should also be remembered that until a full scale study of the Tractatus manuscripts has been made, these suggestions remain tentative.

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1. Cf. the identical form of β's image of the expanding bridge in the early Welsh version of Y Seint Greal (c.1200). Gwalchmei found himself near a castle, confessed to a hermit, and then came to the 'Bridge of the Eel', the breadth of a foot (cap.cxxv). Gwalchmei

> commended himself to God, as a man that was at the point of death, and struck his horse with two spurs, and came to the bridge. And as soon as he came to the bridge, it was so wide that two cartwains would go along side by side, and Gwalchmei wondered at seeing the bridge, which he had seen so small before that, now so large as that.

See R. Williams, ed. and trans., Y Seint Greal (London, 1874-6), 594, Welsh text p.242. See also Note to T 167/25-6.

5

THE TRACTATUS AND THE ENGLISH VERSIONS

a) Early South English Legendary Version

Although it is not my purpose to edit this, the earliest English version, as no-one has hitherto examined the relationships of the English versions to the Latin manuscripts, I include a brief discussion of the SEL text[1] here. This version is clearly related to an α text of the Tractatus, and it is interesting to compare its fidelity to the Latin with the less accurate adaptations of the later English versions. Kölbing[2] alone made an attempt to relate the Latin, French, and English texts, but as P. Meyer pointed out in his review, Kölbing compared them 'sans arriver à déterminer leurs rapports' in an article 'pénible et compliqué'.[3] Kölbing, of course, did not have access to printed texts as numerous as are now available, nor did he have any conception of the manuscript groupings of the Tractatus.

The early SEL version is more detailed, and more faithful to the Latin original than the two other versions printed in this edition. I shall list a number of significant parallels sufficient to confirm beyond doubt that the author of this version worked from an α text of the Tractatus. References are to the early form of the SEL preserved in Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 108, designated Ld.[4] In this chapter all references to α are from Warnke (1938), indicated by W. with page and line references. All references to

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1. See J.B. Severs ed., A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, ii(1970),647 [321]a, and see pp.646-8 for all the English versions and William of Stranton.
2. ES i(1877),57-98.
3. Romania, vi(1877),154.
4. Quoted from C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (Paderborn,1875), pp.177ff. See also EETS lxxxvii, pp.199-220, and EETS ccxxxv, pp.85-110. In MS. Egerton 1993, printed in parallel by Horstmann with Ld, the tale is prefixed by the story of St.Patrick making a stolen sheep indicate its presence in the belly of the thief, a story taken from the Legenda Aurea, cap.1, ed. Th. Graesse, Leipzig, 1850, p.213. Cf. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, T4317; C. Plummer, Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae, i(Oxford,1910),p.cxliii; and C. Grant Loomis, White Magic (Cambridge, Mass.,1948),98.

β will also be found in parallel with ∝ in W., but are here quoted from L printed below, pp.148-191.

1) The prior's speech to Owayne at the entrance to the Purgatory.

Ld84-6 ...lo here þe wei : þat þou wilnest for to gon;
Ake ȝif þou wolt bi ore rede do, : þi þouȝt þou schalt wende
And in oþur manere þine sunnes bete....

Cf.∝ W.42:72-7 Ecce hic est locus ille quem intrare cupis. Sed si nostris acquieueris consiliis, ab hoc proposito omnino reuerteris et uitam tuam in hoc seculo alio modo corriges.

This direct speech is not found in β .

2) Like ∝ , Ld does not mention the winter light or sunset found in β .

Ld103 Ake þet weder nas nouȝt cler, : bote ase it were neiȝ eue.

∝ W.48:15-16 Lux ibi non habebatur nisi qualis hic uespertinis horis...

Cf.β p.157 ll.4-5 Lux autem ibi non apparuit nisi qualis hic in hyeme solet apparere post solis occasum.

3) In Ld110 the number of God's messengers who meet Owayne is twelve. This is the same as in the ∝ MSS. U and B, though ∝ MSS. Ar and Hy and all β MSS. have fifteen. The Auchinleck version is unique in specifying thirteen: see A45:4, 190:5.

4) When Owayne is left by himself, a great noise breaks out, and it seems to him as if -

Ld142 ...alle þe bestes of þe worlde : to gadere weren ido....

Cf.∝ W.58:31-2 ...omnia animalia et bestie simul conuocarentur....

Cf.β p.158 ll.23-4 ...omnes homines et omnia animantia terre, maris et aeris toto conanime pariter tumultuarent....

5) Demons drag Owayne away in that direction where -

Ld188 Ase þe sonne a rist in somer, : ȝwane þe dai lengest is.

This follows ∝,
W.66:18-20 quo sol oritur longioribus diebus in estate.

Cf. β ubi sol oritur in media estate
p.160 ll.18-19.

6) One of the possibly expanded narrative details in ∝ is found in Ld289 where it is said of the souls tormented on the wheel -

deolfulliche heo criden and ȝollen, : euer ech in is ende.

This follows ∝,
W.82:30-2 Planxerunt miserrime et fleuerunt omnes qui rote infixi fuerunt.

This sentence is not found in β and is marked by Warnke as a later addition.

7) A measure of the detail with which Ld often follows ∝ can be shown in the demons' threats to Owayne before the 'bath-house'.

Ld303-4 ...and þarinne þov schalt beo
And baþi with oþere þat þare beoth....

This follows ∝,
W.84:17-18 cum eis qui ibi sunt balneeris.

Cf. β in eo cum ceteris balneabis
p.164 l.15.

8) In the description of the perilous bridge which grows broader as Owayne crosses, Ld is close to the fuller version in ∝.

Ld438-9 ...it was so brod, þat þere miȝte : a carte gon for neode,
And so longe þat tuei cartes miȝte : meten heom wel i novȝ.

This follows ∝,
W.98:59-62 latitudo pontis exciperet carrum onustum, et post modicum uia erat ita larga ut sibi obuiarent in ea duo carra.

Cf. β p.167 ll.25-6 tantum creuit pontis latitudo ut etiam duo carra exciperet sibi obuiantia.

9) The demons throw their hooks at Owayne in an attempt to knock him off the bridge.

Ld448 Ake þare nas non þat him touchi miȝte....

This follows ∝, W.100:80-1. sed illum tangere non potuerunt

Cf. β p.168 l.7. sed illesus ab eis preteriit

10) In the list of religious seen by Owayne in the Earthly Paradise Ld478 includes Ercedeknes. Only in ∝ MS. U have I found archidyaconos mentioned. See W.110:46, variant reading.

11) In the sermon on Adam delivered to Owayne in the Earthly Paradise, we learn -

Ld532 Of wrechhede we beoth i kened....

Cf. ∝ W.122:22-3 Ex cuius carne nos omnes nati sumus in miseria.

This does not occur in β .

12) Ld611-13 follow ∝ in presenting in direct speech Owayne's fears at leaving the Earthly Paradise.

A fote i nelle fram eov go, : for wrechche hede goth so wide,
Ake soffriez me bi leue here with ov, : for, ȝif ich fram eov wende,
A drad ich am of þe feondene miȝte : laste heo with sunne me schende.

Cf. ∝ W.134:21-6 Hinc...recedere non potero, quia, si hinc recessero, ne per fragilitatem aliquid admittam quod me huc uenire impediat timeo.

This speech is not given in β , but instead a statement that Owayne begged to be allowed to remain. See p.179 ll.30ff. This is a good example of the greater narrative immediacy found in ∝ .

b) Auchinleck Version

As will be shown this version derives ultimately from a β group text of the Tractatus, but more important is the debt it owes to an Anglo-Norman version (siglum AN). The extent of this debt has not previously been recognized.

T. Wright stated that in his opinion the Auchinleck text "is probably a translation of one of the French poems, and like them is very long."[1] Wright, however, knew only three French texts: that of Marie de France; B.M. MS. Cotton Domitian A iv; and MS. Harley 273, and he does not show any sign of having checked to see if the Auchinleck text is at all related to any of these. In fact, it is not. Kölbing[2] used the same three French texts and also the fragment in B.M. MS. Lansdowne 383, but failed to establish any convincing or useful relationships. Paul Meyer, in his review of Kölbing's study, pointed out that Kölbing did not seem to have known C.U.L. MS. Ee.6.11 (siglum F), and Meyer printed the beginning and ending of this text,[3] but he did not go any further. In 1891 Meyer listed seven French texts, and referring to the three main English versions, dealt with in this chapter, said, "Aucune de ces versions ne parait faite après l'un des poèmes français qui nous sont parvenus."[4] M. Mörner, in 1917, said of the French texts, "Elles tirent leur origine du Tractatus indépendamment l'une de l'autre et ne se rattachent non plus à aucune des versions anglaises de la légende."[5] In a footnote (no.4), she recognized that Kölbing knew only the Lansdowne fragment of her fourth version, and she rightly listed this fragment as being of the same version as F, but she did not recognize the importance of the Cambridge MS.. Zanden[6] printed the Cambridge text, F, together with

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1. St. Patrick's Purgatory (London,1844),61.
2. ES i(1877),57-98.
3. Romania, vi(1877),154-5.
4. Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, XXIV, i(1891),238 note 3. See also Histoire littéraire de la France, xxxiii(1906),371-2.
5. Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice par Berol (Lund,1917),p.xx.
6. Étude, pp.90-135.

readings from the Lansdowne fragment, but he did not deal with the English texts at all. The most recent writer on these manuscripts, D.D.R. Owen,[1] is likewise concerned with them as an example of the French transmission of the tale and makes no study of the English versions. He thinks it likely that F is based on an "α-type manuscript of the Tractatus",[1] but as I shall show, it is in fact clearly based on a β text. Only T.E. McAlindon, as far as I know, has noted that there is a link between A and F, though he confines himself to mentioning two small items common to both texts.[2]

All these writers have failed to notice that there is a substantial link between A and AN/F, that is, the Anglo-Norman version represented by F, the sole extant complete copy. F is a very full and detailed translation of a β text of T. A is not a complete translation of AN/F, but F must be very close to the text used for translation by the author of A. There are a number of distinctive and important features in A translated directly from AN/F which do not occur in T, nor in the SEL version, nor in CH, nor in any other known French version. I maintain that A is a fairly free and condensed translation of AN/F, making use of two other principal sources: VSP, in the account of purgatory,[3] and an OF or Anglo-Norman account of the Earthly Paradise that I have not identified. After close examination, I believe that the author of A did not use a text of T. Where he departs from AN/F he also departs from T. There is no substantial evidence[4] that he included any details from T that are not also found adequately in AN/F.[5]

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1. Owen (1970),71.
2. The Treatment of the Supernatural in Middle English Legend and Romance, 1200-1400, Ph.D. Diss., University of Cambridge, 1960, pp.123, 132 note 1.
3. See below, pp.cviiiff.
4. See Note A72:2 for a single minor example where A seems dependent on T independently of F.
5. That A is translated from AN fits the pattern for the majority of the romances in the Auchinleck MS. which are derived from French texts. See L.H. Loomis, PMLA lvii(1942),607 and J.C. Perryman, An Edition of the Middle English Romance "The King of Tars", unpublished B.Litt. Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1970, p.20.

All the close correspondences between A and F are given in the Notes to A, where I quote from Zanden's text.[1] The Auchinleck version probably originally contained 203 six-line stanzas,[2] that is, 1,218 lines as against F's 1,794. There are between 170 and 190 lines of AN/F which may be said to have been directly influential on the precise wording of A in about 160+ different lines; that is, about 13.7% of the present 1,174[3] lines of A.

The Cambridge manuscript contains the Purgatoire de saint Patrice on folios 13a-37b, and is followed by a Vie de sainte Margarite and Fables de Marie de France. Meyer dated the handwriting in the second half of the thirteenth century.[4] The manuscript apparently belonged at one time to Norwich Cathedral.

The following extracts serve to show the relationship of A to AN/F, and that F is a translation of a β text of T.

1) A5:1-3 When Sein Patrike herd þis,
Michel he card for-soþe, ywis,
And sore he gan desmay.

Cf. F85-6, Quant sein Patriz iceo oÿ,
Mult en fu dolent e marri...

Not in T.

2) A7:5-6 Sone he fel on slepeing
Toforn his auter.

F96 Il s'endormist devant l'auter...

Not in T.

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1. I have checked this with the manuscript and find it accurate.
2. See above, p.xviii where I suggest five complete initial stanzas have been lost.
3. Apart from 32 lines at the beginning, A has lost 11 lines at 177:3-179:2.
4. 'Les manuscrits francais de Cambridge II', Romania, xv(1886),268, and see photograph of f.19a printed by Zanden, Etude, opp.p.89. J. Vising, Anglo-Norman Language and Literature (Oxford and London,1923),53 dates the MS. in the first half of the thirteenth century.

3) A18

When Seyn Patrike o slepe he woke,
Gode token he fond and vp hem toke
Of his sweuening:
Bok and staf þer he fond,
And tok hem vp in his hond,
And þonked Heuen-king.

Cf. F153-9

E quant sein Patriz s'eveilla,
Enseignes bones i truva
Ke i n'out mot de mensunge
De kanke il out veü en sunge:
Ceo fut le livre oud le bastun
Dunt Deu li aveit fait le dun.
Il en ad mut Deu mercïe...

Not in T.

4) A35:4

Þei þou me wost comandy

Cf. F273

Si vus le volez comander

following β te precipiente (p.155 l.16); not in α.

5) A41:1-3

Namore liȝtnesse nis þer yfounde
Þan þe sonne goþ to grounde
In winter sikerly.

Cf. F350-2

Kar clarte y ad autretant
Cum en iver avum ici
Quant le soleil est recunsi...

This follows β p.157 ll.4-5

Lux autem ibi non apparuit nisi qualis hic in hyeme solet apparere post solis occasum.

Cf. α W.48:15-17

Lux ibi non habebatur nisi qualis hic uespertinis horis in hieme habetur.

Whereas in T this section occurs in the narrative of Owayne's descent, in both A and F it has been brought forward and inserted in the prior's warning speech at the entrance to the Purgatory.

6) A176 Here of spekeþ Dauid in þe sauter,
Of a þing þat toucheþ here,
Of God in trinite,
Opon men, þat ben in gret honour,
And honoureþ nouȝt her creatour
Of so heiȝe dignite.

Cf. F1473-7 Pur ceo mustra David e dist,
Ke le sauter traita e fist,
Ke home, kant il fust en honur
U le aveit mis sun creatur,
Ne tendi pas sa dignete;

following the reference to Psalm 48 (Vulgate) found only in β :

p.177 ll.22-3 Et quia, cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis.

7) F832 Un cercle enter de fu ardant

Cf. β, p.164 l.5 circulus igneus integer

not found in α (see W.82:27), nor in A.

8) F1095-6 Nus vus ferum commuvant
Esturbiluns e vent si grant...

This follows β
p.167 l.6 nos autem, uentos et turbines commouentes

not α nos autem auram commouebimus et uentus ille
W.96:16-18.

This detail is not retained as such by A: see A118.

9) The pagan Irish say they will not believe St. Patrick's words:

F67 Pur miracle ne pur sermun

after β nec pro miraculis que per eum uidebant fieri
p.151 ll.27-8 nec per eius predicationem...

α omits the reference to preaching; see W.20:72ff. A omits this altogether: see A3.

10) The souls nailed down in the first field of torment cry for mercy:

F619-20 Mes la n'i aveit nul pur veir
Ke vousist de eus merci aveir

after β p.161 ll.8-9 Sed non erat in loco qui misereri nosset aut parcere.

Cf. α, W.68:55-7 Sed qui eorum ibi misereretur non habebant.

In A this simply becomes:

A66:4 Merci nas þer non, for soþe.

11) The perilous bridge is described in F as:

F1116 ...trenchant cum un rasur;

a detail not found in T, but translated in A:

A121:2 ...as scharpe as a rasour ....

A ignores the slipperiness of the bridge found in F and T, making the three perils of the bridge height, sharpness, narrowness (A121:1-3), as opposed to height, slipperiness, narrowness, in T (p.167 ll.10-17), and height, sharpness, slipperiness in F1113-1122. There is no need to suppose that the narrowness in A was directly derived from T, for it was the commonest feature of perilous otherworld bridges, and could be divined anyway from the sharpness of F's description. When Owayne crosses the bridge in

F1140 Il ne senti nule escrillure;

after β Nichil igitur lubrici sub pedibus sentiens...

(p.167 l.23). This is not found in α. In A this slipperiness becomes sharpness:

A125:5 No feld he no scharp egge.

12) In the same section F follows β in the description of the widening bridge.

F1146-8 Ke tant de laür i truva
Ke deus chares i purent aler
E sur le punt sei encuntrer.

This follows β, p.167 ll.25-6 — tantum creuit pontis latitudo ut etiam duo carra exciperet sibi obuiantia.

Cf. ∝, W.98:59-62 — latitudo pontis exciperet carrum onustum, et post modicum uia erat ita larga ut sibi obuiarent in ea duo carra.

This detail is not in A.

13) The fiends awaiting Owayne's fall from the bridge:

F1150 — Al pie del punt en pes esturent;

after β p.167 l.28. — ad pedem pontis steterunt

Cf. ∝, W.100:64-5 — in ripa fluminis restiterunt....

This detail is not in A.

14) F elucidates a strange passage in A where St. Patrick builds his church:

MS. A20:4-5 — In þe name of Godes glorie,
Seyn Patrike and our leuedy....

It is unlikely that St. Patrick should have dedicated the church to himself. But F reads:

F168-71 — Une eglise en le honorance
De Damnedeu e de sa mere
E del bon apostle seint Pere
Ad sein Patriz illoc fait fere....

A20:5 may therefore be emended to Seyn Peter....[1] The MS. reading Seyn Patrike... may be a copying error, the scribe's eye having been caught by the opening of A21:1:

Seyn Patrike maked þe abbay.

There is no mention of Peter in T.

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1. See Note A20:4-21:2.

15) The English author points to his French couplet source:

A29:6 As it seyt in þis rime.

This is more specific than the usual phrase <u>so seyt þe boke</u> (A46:4).

c) Couplet Version - Cotton and Hamilton

This version is less complete and less faithful to the Latin than the other two English versions so far discussed. Together with the likelihood of memorial transmission, at least in H, this makes it far more difficult to ascertain the group of <u>Tractatus</u> texts from which this version derives. Overall it would seem to derive from a β text, but to be partially based on an α text, in a limited section of the narrative before Owayne is introduced to the Purgatory.

i) Couplet Version and β text.

1) One of the most important pieces of evidence is in the lines telling of St. Patrick founding the abbey of Reglis.

C87-8	And chanonus gode he dede þer-inne, Vnþur þe abbyt of Seynt Austynne.
After β p.152 ll.25-6	beati patris Augustini canonicos uitam apostolicam sectantes in ea constituit.

No mention is made of Augustine in α.

2) CH follow β in the image of the half-light found after the immediate darkness of the cavern.

C213-14	Such was hys lyȝth whan hyt was beste, As in þe wynter when þe sonne goth to reste.
This follows β p.157 ll.4-5	Lux autem ibi non apparuit nisi qualis hic in hyeme solet apparere post solis occasum.
Cf. α W.48:15-17	Lux ibi non habebatur nisi qualis hic uespertinis horis in hieme habetur.

3) CH follow β in giving fifteen as the number of God's messengers who meet Owayne in the underground cloister-like hall (C226,H221 and T p.157 l.12), though it must be remembered that some ∝ MSS. also have fifteen. See above, p.lxxxv.

4) When Owayne is crossing the perilous bridge, the demons let out a tremendous roar:

C451-2 — That crye, hym þowȝt, greuede hym more
Then all þe payne he hadde be-fore.

This follows β p.168 ll.2-3 — intolerabilior ei uideretur huius horror clamoris quam preteritarum aliqua penarum quam sustinuerat ab ipsis.

Cf. ∝ W. 100:68-71 — magis esset uocum illorum terrore percussus quam illatione tormentorum antea fuerat excruciatus.

5) C454 — In God was all hys entente.

After β — piique ductoris sui reminiscens...

(p.168 ll.4-5); not in ∝.

6) H502-3 — So brod was the brygge thoo,
Tweyn cartys myth þer on goo.

This follows β p.167 ll.25-6 — tantum creuit pontis latitudo ut etiam duo carra exciperet sibi obuiantia.

Cf. ∝ W.98:59-62 — latitudo pontis exciperet carrum onustum, et post modicum uia erat ita larga ut sibi obuiarent in ea duo carra.

7) In the Earthly Paradise two of the inhabitants, who seem like bishops, take Owayne with them,

C514-16 — For to bere hym company,
And schewede hym, þat he myȝth se,
The fayrnesse of þat cowntre.

This follows β p.175 ll.13-15 — militem in suo comitatu susceperunt secumque duxerunt quasi patriam et eius <u>amenitatis gloriam</u> ei ostensuri.

Cf. ∝ W.112:65-7 — patriam ei ostensuri in suo eum ductu et comitatu susceperunt.

8) These bishops subsequently tell Owayne:

C553-4 — We haue gone þe way þer þou was,
And we haue passed þat ylke plas.

This more likely derives from β <u>per illa loca transiuimus</u> (p.178 l.8) than from ∝ <u>in illis locis...fuimus</u> (W.124:51-2).

9) The fifteen messengers in the hall warn Owayne to make haste on his return, for the prior of the Purgatory will be expecting him at dawn.

C645-9 — Aftur masse, wyth-oute delaye,
The pryour of þe abbey,
Bothe wyth preste and chanoun,
They wyll come wyth processyoun
To þe entre the a-gayne....

This is based on β p.184 ll.18-19 — prior ecclesie, post missarum solempnia cum processione sua ueniens ad portam....

Cf. ∝ W.138:29-30. — prior post missam portam aperiens...

ii) <u>Couplet Version and ∝ text</u>.

All the lines of CH which apparently derive from an ∝ text occur at one point in the story, just before Owayne enters the Purgatory.

In ∝: i) Owayne is sent by the bishop to the prior of the Purgatory without any letter being mentioned, merely <u>secundum morem predictum</u>, which refers to the earlier general account of the procedure for entering the Purgatory.

ii) Owayne stays fifteen days in the church, and is then led out to the Purgatory <u>cum processione et letanie cantu</u>.

iii) In direct speech, the prior warns Owayne to change his mind, for many have perished in the Purgatory.

iv) Owayne replies, in direct speech.

v) Prior's second direct speech, telling Owayne what he will find in the Purgatory.

In β : i) Owayne is sent by the bishop to the prior with a letter (p.155 11.24-6).

ii) The prior, recognizing why Owayne has come, <u>cognita ipsius causa</u> (p.155 1.28), tries to make Owayne change his mind (indirect speech), cf. $\propto$ iii). Owayne is in church (cf. $\propto$ ii)), and is then led out <u>sicut supradictum est</u> (p.156 1.7), referring to the earlier account of the ritual procedure of the Purgatory, p.154 11.18-22.

iii) The prior warns Owayne in indirect speech: <u>iterum enumeratis tormentorum intolerabilium generibus</u> (p.156 1.8). Cf. $\propto$ iii).

iv) Owayne makes no direct reply: <u>Milite uero constanter in proposito permanente</u>... (p.156 11.9-10).

v) Prior's direct speech telling Owayne what he will find in the Purgatory.

In CH the order is changed as follows.

1) C153-8 follow β i). The bishop gives Owayne a letter to the prior.

2) C159-63 follow the opening of β ii). The prior receives Owayne, and reads the letter.

C162 Sone he wyste þe knyȝthes wylle

after <u>cognita ipsius causa</u>.

3) C164-74 A new direct speech by the prior which owes something to ∝ iii).

C167-9 But I de rede þat þou do not so,
Noþur for wele ner for wo.
Aftur my rede þou do a-noþur;

cf. ∝ W.42:73-7 Sed si nostris acquieueris consiliis, ab hoc proposito omnino reuerteris et uitam tuam... alio modo corriges.

C170-1 repeat the idea of the bishop's speech, C145-6.

4) C175-8 Owayne's reply in direct speech follows ∝ iv).

C177-8 Thyþur y wyll, for my synnus alle,
To haue forȝeuenesse, what so befalle.

After ∝ W.42:85-7 Pro peccatis meis intrabo absque retractione.

5) C179-82 The prior replies in words reminiscent of the end of ∝ iii).

C182 ...þe perelles we shall þe telle.

Cf. W.44:82-4 dicam tibi quid tamen primo inuenies.

6) C183-96 Owayne is put in church, and then led to the Purgatory after fifteen days. Cf. ∝ ii).

C192-4 Wente wyth hym yn processyoun,
And as lowde as þey myȝth crye,
For hym þey songe þe letanye....

Cf. W.42:67-8 and W.34:51-2 cum processione et letanie cantu.

Even where β ii) refers the reader back - <u>sicut supradictum est</u> - to the earlier account of the procession, the English author would have found no reference to <u>singing</u> the litany: <u>cum processione et letania</u> (p.154 l.21). Note that H187 reads <u>seyd... þe letaney.</u>

7) C197-200 There are no speeches at the door of the Purgatory, for CH have transferred them all to the time before Owayne was admitted to the church for fifteen days.

It may be that the English author had access to a β text which incorporated the α speeches in this section. I know of no such manuscript, however, and until such a copy is discovered, it is more plausible to assume that the English versifier was working from both a β and an α text, probably using α to make good a missing or defaced page in his β text.

6

OWAYNE MILES

a) Auchinleck Version

The Auchinleck manuscript contains the only extant copy of the six-line tail-rhyme stanza version of Owayne Miles. It is a translation of one of the five Anglo-Norman versions[1] of the Tractatus, that which is represented by the sole complete extant copy F and a fragment in MS. Lansdowne 383. Of all the English versions A includes the most material not derived ultimately from the Tractatus. As mentioned above (p.xcvi) the English author has expanded the account of purgatory by making use of one of the English versions of the Visio Sancti Pauli, that of which a copy is preserved in Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 108, ff.199a-200b, Index 3089, referred to here as VSP. The account of the Earthly Paradise has also been much more expanded by the use, as I take it, of an Old French or Anglo-Norman account which I have not been able to identify. It will be convenient to deal with these two parts of the poem in order.

In the first part of the poem, stanzas 1-128, a few incidents have been omitted: the letter from the bishop to the prior of the Purgatory, F297-320 (A37); the devils' talk of the 'false' pit of hell, F1049ff (A115); and the devils throwing hooks at Owayne as he crosses the perilous bridge, F1165ff (A126). One section has been misplaced: the episode of the purgatorial mountain and the stinkand river (A90-5) should follow the bath-house (A96-104) as it does in F and T, with the bath-house at p.164 l.8 - p.165 l.3 and F841-910, and the mountain and river at p.165 ll.4-22 and F911-64. There is no apparent reason why these sections should have been transposed, and nothing is either gained or lost by it. It is very likely the result of a copying error, the scribe having initially copied Þai ladde him forþer wiþ gret pain (90:1) instead of Forþ þai ladde him swiþe wiþ alle (96:1). Apart from these

1. See Owen (1970),64-75, and on F, pp.71-3.

instances, the A text faithfully follows the order of events in AN/F, which itself more closely follows T. The treatment of purgatory is considerably altered in A by the inclusion of moralizing passages naming the sins for which the souls are punished, and listing Owayne's sins in the process. These additions are adapted from VSP, which has the same stanza form as A. Owayne is accused by the fiends of pride and lechery (58:3), lechery and gluttony (74:2-3), covetousness (87:2), and okering (usury) (103:4). The narrator tells us moreover that sloth is punished in the first field of torment (67:2) by souls being nailed down, the implication being, surely, that they are thereby suitably immobilized from all action; gluttons are eaten (71:4) rather than eating, in the second field; hot lechers are cooled by the cold wind (73:4) in the third field; thieves hang by the feet (80:5), and backbiters by the tongue (81:4) along with swearers on be halidom and false witnesses (82:4-5). The ever revolving wheel punishes the covetous who cannot ever have enough (86:2), and ond (hatefulness) was be windes blast (95:4) that blew souls into the stinking cold river from the top of the fiery mountain. Usurers (102:1) are punished by eating the fiery pence in their money bags which hang about their necks. This image shows a striking parallel to the fate of the usurers in Dante's Inferno xvii.55-7.[1] The pit is, of course, the place of pride (112:5). This predominantly successful matching of pains to sins reveals an insistence on the moral impact of the tale which is absent from the stark accounts in T and F. The narrator of A is also keen to impress upon his audience directly the necessity to leave sin (81:5-6, 102:2-3). Whereas some of the manuscripts of T include the text of the two homilies, sanctorum patrum exhortationes (p.191 l.14), to bring home to the original monastic audience the significance of the tale, F omits them, and the A version, aimed at a wider, more secular, audience, incorporates its own commentary in the body of the narrative. In the Vision of William

1. See Note A101:4-6.

of Stranton the apportioning of the torments to match the sins becomes the major structural feature in the presentation of purgatory.

Kölbing[1] pointed out some of the verbal parallels between A and VSP, and unconvincingly tried to demonstrate by a brief study of their dialects that they were by the same author.[2] All significant parallels will be found in the Notes to A. VSP contains a list of sins and sinners found in hell, for St. Paul did not visit a purgatory. The sins specified are lechery (stanzas 7 and 10), 'jangling' in church (11), seeking one's neighbours' harm (12), usury (15), backbiting (17), and pride (32). This provided the model for the author of A, but the details are his alone, based upon a long tradition of apportioning punishments to fit the crime. Apart from this naming of the sins and the transfer of several lines describing the tortures, A has also adopted the furnace with seven seals from VSP and applied it to the pit. In T and F the pit is the 'false' hell, the true hell lying beneath the waters under the perilous bridge. In A the pit has been altered by superimposing the account of the true pit of hell from VSP.

VSP19:1-3
He let him seon a put bi cas.
þat with seouen seles a seled was.
þat gan foule stinke.

VSP23-25:2
Powel saiȝh a fuyr glowe grimme.
Of seue colours was þat leiȝe þar inne.
At seuen holes hit out wende.
Sunfole soules weren þar inne.
For huy deiden in dedlich sunne.
Heore sunnes forte amende.

þat o leyȝe was puy[r] snouȝh ȝwyȝht.
þat oþur ase hayl þat lyȝt in dyȝt.
þat þridde ase fuyr him brennez.
þat feorþe was hewene ich wene.
þat fiȝfte ase naddres on to seone.
þare was luyte wunne.

þe sixte leyȝe ful cold was.
þe seouenþe stonke foule alas.

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1. ES i(1877),57-98.
2. See above, p.xxxvii.

In A the pit is described as follows, drawing heavily on VSP.[1]

A106 Of seuen maner colours þe fer out went,
þe soules þer-in it for-brent;
Sum was 3alu and grene,
Sum was blac and sum was blo;
Þo þat were þer-in hem was ful wo,
And sum as nadder on to sene.

Where St. Paul testified to the pit with seven seals being the true hell, the English author of A has transferred this testimnoy to the true hell of T and F beneath the bridge.

VSP20 Also þo dominical it tellez.
Hit is þe meste pine of helle.
Powel bereth witnesse.
þe soules þat comez in þat prisoun.
Of heom nis no mencion.
Noþer more ne lesse.

A123 So þe dominical[2] ous telle,
Þer is þe pure entre of helle:
Sein Poule berþ witnesse.
Who so falleþ of þe brigge adoun,
Of him nis no redempcioun,
Noiþer more no lesse.

The A poet has retained the rhyme sounds while adapting VSP20:4-5 to fit the transference from the prisoun of the pit to falling from the brigge adoun, and has particularized the loss of souls in hell by saying there is no redemption which replaces the mencioun of VSP.[3] A thereby forcefully distinguishes between purgatory, whence redeemed souls pass safely across the bridge to the Earthly Paradise, and hell beneath the bridge, whence nulla est redemptio.

The presentation of purgatory in A is also altered from the source AN by the introduction of several dramatic and descriptive details seemingly of the author's own invention, albeit within a clear tradition of fiends and torments. As in the couplet version, the speeches of the devils display a livelier sense of irony than is found in T or F. They refer to their daunce (56:5,

1. See Note A106:6.
2. See Note A123:1.
3. See Note A123:5.

cf. C282) and play (56:6, 119:4), and with nice incongruity promise to bring Owayne home wiþ fine amour.[1] They also make fun of Owayne as Sir knizt, their leader falling on his knees to welcome him (55:2), and introducing him to their courtelage and castel tour which is the pit (107-8). Some of the fiends are briefly visualized as having sixty eyes or hands (114), and faces on their touten (54:2). The complete absence of description of the demons in T and F is notable. It is a deficiency which by the fifteenth century was rectified in the Vision of William of Stranton. Other details with which the author of A has elaborated on his sources include the fiery red aspect of the purgatorial mountain (90:3, 93:2); the angel who bears Owayne from the tormenting wheel (89:4); and the fact that Owayne's clobes wer al to-rent after his adventure in the pit (113:3). This last idea is implicit later when Owayne enters the Earthly Paradise and a clob of gold is brought mysteriously to him, which when donned heals all his wounds (cf. 89:1-2, 113, 128 and Note).

This brings us with Owayne to the Earthly Paradise and the second part of the poem, stanzas 129 to the end. It is here that the A poet has added most to his prime source AN. In richness of description A here far surpasses all the other versions of the tale, both Latin and vernacular, by the addition of catalogues of precious stones (131), of the inhabitants (137-9), of flowers (147), of the rivers of Paradise (151-2), and of dress (154); by the emphasis on the music and heavenly carolling (141-3) (which contrasts with the devils' dance); the elaborate bird-song (145-6) and architectural finery (132-3). Much of the vocabulary in these latter groups rates as very early or the earliest recorded usages in the OED and MED.[2] The naming of specific individual flowers rather than a simple generic statement shows an infiltration of the spirit found in such descriptions in romance

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1. See Note A57:4.
2. See Notes for relevant information.

literature.[1] This amplification in the portrayal of Paradise distinguishes A clearly from TFCH, and is a refreshing and satisfying counterbalance to their heavier emphasis on the pains of purgatory. Indeed, Gerould was not far wrong when he said that the A version was "made by a poet of real imaginative attainment."[2] But it might also be noted that the poet's desire to be comprehensive also occasionally betrayed him, for instance, in the introduction of the four rivers of Paradise, where he seemingly was bereft of all imaginative enthusiasm and produced two extremely weak stanzas (150-1) with a high proportion of metrical verbiage. McAlindon pointed out the conscious attempt to emphasise the contrast between the earthly and the otherworldly,[3] a characteristic feature of romance literature. In fact the whole poem is shot through with comparisons to bring out the superlative quality of St. Patrick's mission, the Purgatory, the pains therein and the delights of Paradise, e.g. 9:2-3, 12:2-3, 21:3, 40:5, 44:2, 96:3, 122, 136:5, 142:2, 148, 151:5, 165:6, 169:4-6, 170:5. The hyperbolic strain is supported by the prolific use of similes, often proverbial, and the customary overstatement, e.g. 41:1-3, 48:2, 52:3-6, 84:1, 90:3, 93:3-4, 106:6, 114:4-6, 116:4, 121:2, 133, 149:2, 181:1-3, 189:4-5, 191:3. Everything is richer ywrouȝt in the Earthly Paradise than anything found in the middle-earth of our ordinary existence. The idea of Christ as queinter þan goldsmiþe oþer paintour marks out the Earthly Paradise as preeminently the elaborate masterpiece of God's handiwork.

A130:4-6
Tre no stel nas þeron non,
Bot rede gold and precious ston,
And al God made of nouȝt.

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1. See E. Willson, The Middle English Legends of Visits to the Other World and their Relation to the Metrical Romances, Diss. (Chicago,1917),pp.34ff.
2. G.H. Gerould, Saints' Legends (Boston & New York,1916),218.
3. T.E. McAlindon, The Treatment of the Supernatural in Middle English Legend and Romance, 1200-1400, Ph.D. Diss., University of Cambridge, 1960, pp.130ff.

The unseen hand of God operates in the arrival of the clob of gold which heals Owayne's wounds, and in the self-opening gates of Paradise. By such emphasis on the wonderful the A version of Owayne Miles is well suited for its inclusion in the Auchinleck collection of romances and religious tales. The opening of the poem is lost, but the narrator intrudes in true 'minstrel' fashion to exhort the audience to attention when Owayne is introduced (28:4-6), here following AN/F, and to appeal to his source, be storie (24:6, 42:3 (spoken by the prior), 192:1). At 67:3 such an appeal follows one of our author's own additions, and similarly at 29:6, where he refers significantly to bis rime, which we can take to refer to AN, the appeal follows the new information that Owayne was a knight from Northumberland. In T it is clear that Owayne was an Irishman,[1] and such an unwarranted claim by A was probably suggested by the well-known fact that the hero in the vision of Drihthelm was a Northumberland man, and that that distant part was a fittingly remote birthplace for so remarkable a knight as Owayne. Freed from any necessity to adhere to the 'historical' authenticity of T, the fallacy of the poet's making Owayne an Englishman is not apparent.

The romance element inherent in the structure of the tale of Owayne is most fully exemplified in this version. To return to the first part of the poem for a moment, we find that Owayne is presented in the popular mould of a valiant knight, a douhti man and swibe wizt (29:5), wel michel he coube of batayle (30:4), but swibe sinful nevertheless. The bravery requisite for facing the trials of purgatory in the flesh had been well appreciated by Henry of Saltrey in his preface.

> Notum est autem multos multociens quesisse qualiter anime a corporibus exeant, quo pergant, quid inueniant, quid percipiant quidue sustineant. Que, quia a nobis sunt abscondita, magis nobis sunt timenda quam querenda. Quis enim umquam cum securitate in incerto perrexit itinere?
> (p.149 ll.6-11)

1. See below, p.cxcvi.

The answer to this rhetorical question is, of course, Owayne. But the repeated emphasis in T on the spiritual valour of Owayne as Christ's knight, armed with the armour of God, ferro durior, fide, spe, et iusticia (p.156 11.21-2)[1], is omitted in A and CH. Instead the fear and dread suffered by Owayne the douhti man show the true horror of the situation (51:4-6, 52:3, 120:3): compare such expressions as animo impauido and diuina uirtute which tend to characterise Owayne in T. Indeed, where T stresses the power of repentance and true faith, A stresses the trials and sufferings of the mortal knight fighting the forces of evil. In T Owayne is nearly always released by his prayer before suffering the threatened pains, except for his brief torments in the first fire in the hall, on the wheel, and in the river. Only in the depths of the pit - grauiorem penam pertulit - does Owayne almost forget his prayer, but is saved Deo inspirante. The repeated formula of the devils' attempts to torture Owayne being frustrated by the talismanic prayer shows the bias throughout. In A, on the other hand, Owayne actually suffers the pains, 60:1-2, 63:3, 89:1-2, 113:3-6.

A68:1-3 Þis was þe first pain apliȝt
Þat þai dede Owain þe kniȝt:
Þai greued him swiþe sore.

T's formula is followed at 75:4-6 and 104.

In the Earthly Paradise there are several features which parallel the common stock of marvels that permeate romance literature and which derive at least in part from Celtic otherworld literature. Such is the sweet smell which gives Owayne strength (134), like the swete smal of al gode which is the soule fode of the inhabitants of Paradise, the daily meal of the holi gost in fourme of fer which is but a mere foretaste of Godes fest as enjoyed in paradis celestien (182-4). The foules of heuen, whose song also sustains Owayne (146:1-3), are reminiscent of many

1. See also, e.g. p.158 11.9-10, 25-6, and F455ff.

a company of singing birds in Celtic otherworlds, such as those in the Voyage of St. Brandon. There is no reason to suppose that any particular work was the 'source' for such a feature.

The moral bias of the first part of the tale is continued in the account of Paradise, where the poet combines his description of the scenic and other delights with a certain doctrinal interest which is again considerably more developed than in F or CH. He reveals the exclusiveness of the carol in Paradise, only those clene of sinne and folly being admitted (141:5, 143-4, 152:1-3). The narrater's intrusion in the first person is used to emphasize the simile of þe ioies of paradis being like þe sterres clere in that they are nouȝt al yliche (156-7). Much space is given to the explanatory speech of the 'bishops' (158-167). The part of the speech devoted to the story of Adam's fall follows AN/F in being longer than in T, but is not given at second hand by the bishops but has here been transferred to the narrator (171-9). It is clearly stated that Owayne has been through purgatory (160:6, 165:1, 166:2, 194:5), and the distinction between paradis terestri and paradis celestien is clearly defined (164-6, 170-1). In stanza 167 the author has added information on the relative speed of purgation of a new-born infant and an old man þat long in sinne haþ be. This is not found in T or F. It is also interesting to note that the valiant knight of the purgatorial section of the poem is repeatedly called seyn[t] or blessed after he reaches Paradise (149:4, 188:1, 198:4). On this last occasion Owayne seems well nigh to have been canonized! Indeed, there seems to be a reminiscence of Christ emerging from Limbo after the Harrowing of Hell in the description of Owayne Godes kniȝt emerging from the cave amidst a bright lem of liȝt, which proves þat he was holy man (193-4).

b) Couplet Version

This version in octosyllabic couplets is extant in only the two manuscripts printed below, Cotton and Hamilton (C and H). C contains 682 lines, H 685 lines, of which approximately 480 lines are recognizably common to both texts, and of these only about 140 lines are the same or nearly so.

Omissions

C omits the following lines contained in H: 84-5, 216-7, 316-345, 350-419, 462-3, 643-4, 684-5, a total of 110 lines.

H omits the following lines of C: 5-8, 41, 108, 147-9, 173-4, 257-8, 297-8, 303-8, 329-330, 335-364, 378-380, 409-412, 415-6, 465, 467-470, 501-4, 507-8, 531-2, 541-4, 551, 561-574, 589-594, 597-8, 601-2, 609-610, 621-2, 642, 661-2, 669-670, a total of 113 lines. These lists are necessarily approximate for in H much has been rewritten.

C presents a fairly continuous text, except for the omission of H316-345, 350-419, a large section dealing with the fields of torment in purgatory. It is hard to understand why C should omit such a popular and central feature of the whole tale. It may be that the C copyist left off his work at C368, at the culmination of an episode, and wrongly resumed at C369=H420, his eye having been caught by the rhyme be-fore/more (H416-7) reminding him of C367-8 more/by-fore where he had left off. It may be that the copyist of C or of C's exemplar genuinely wished to omit the scenes of torment, in C's case perhaps knowing that he had copied or intended to copy the similar scenes in the Vision of Tundale, which follows Owayne Miles in the present state of the manuscript.

The other omissions in C are merely five sets of couplets. The loss after C88 of H84-5, containing the important information on the name of the abbey Regelys (cf. H412), may be due to homoeoteleuton, the rhyme abeye/(to-)day (H84-5) being the same as

that in H80-1 and C85-6 to day/abbey. H643-4 seem not so much to have been omitted by C as invented by H, expanding the adequate couplet C637-8 into two couplets with the same rhyme sound H641-4. Similarly, the final lines H684-5 are only a conventional expansion of the valedictory formula which is quite sufficient as it stands in C681-2. Thus in effect there are only two couplets, H216-7, 462-3, which C appears simply to omit. We may say, therefore, that C preserves a good copy of this version, except for the 100 line omission of H316-345, 350-419, and the general superiority of the readings and metre of C support this.

The quality of the text preserved in H is poor in comparison: its metre is frequently faulty; there are many false readings; and the nature of the numerous and scattered omissions, transpositions and other errors seems to indicate that H or one of its antecedent copies was written from memory. Nevertheless, it is valuable for what it preserves in H316-345, 350-419, the section missing from C, and for various other preferable readings. The didactic, apocalyptic, and dramatic poems in the Hamilton/Brome commonplace book make an interesting setting for this tale of knightly prowess in the face of otherworldly and demonic adversaries, which obviously appealed to the late fifteenth century collector at Brome Hall sufficiently to warrant preserving a copy, even if a faulty one.

On five occasions single lines have been lost: C41, 108, 465, 551, 642. At H582 an attempt has been made to patch up the loss of C551 by making a triplet, H580-2. In three other instances the remainder of the couplet is left hanging: H37, 104, 647. Such practices point to writing down from memory at some stage in the transmission. The cause of the loss of C108 is clear.

C107-8	Of peynus, þat þey syȝ þoo, And of mykyll joye also.
H104	Of peynys that þey seyn ther.

By substituting ther for þoo H has lost the rhyme word also, and therefore omitted C108 altogether. H has lost C41 by substituting

the infinitive form gon (H37) for go (C42) which rhymes with so (C41). The infinitive with final -n is common within the line in H,[1] but it has here been used detrimentally within the rhyme.

On two occasions H has lost a group of three lines. Where H has lost C147-9, H has contrived to make a triplet, H143-5, by inserting a couplet which occurs properly later as C171-2, H166-7.

C147-150	And 3yf þou wylt þy synne lete, In þys wyse may þou heuen gete." "Syr," he sayde, "y þe pray, Thow 3eue me leue to go þat way.
H143-5	So myth thow, both nythe and day, Serue God wyll to pay." "3efe me lefe to gon my wey.

Where H has lost C378-380, it must have been the idea in C378 which was forgotten and which leads to the rhyme word synne. H has therefore invented a new rhyme word schyn (H429) and filled the line by use of pappys remembered from the rhyme of the missing couplet, C379-380.

C377-380	Some wer þer-inne vp to þe chynne, And 3et hadde þey no3t bete her synne; And some wer vp to the pappus, And some wer yn to [þe] shappus...
H428-9	Summe stod ther-yn vp to the chyn, Summe to þe pappys and summe to þe schyn.

Faulty memory is probably also to blame in other instances.

C464-6	Hym þow3te hyt lasted yn to þe ayr; Hyt was whyte and bry3th as glasse, He cowþe not wyte what hyt was.
H511-3	That ran, hym thow[t], vp to þe eyre. He cowd noth wyte were of yt was, In-to the eyere yt was.

H has lost C465; retained the second half of the couplet in H512; and padded with a poor new line H513 which repeats the idea of H511, and is in fact closer to C464 by preserving in. As a result, no doubt, of this confusion, H has also lost the following two couplets, C467-470.

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1. See above, p.xliv section 9.

At H605-6 a similar patching process can be seen.

H605-6 And here we dwellyd at Goddys wyll,
In joy and blysse to a-byd styll....

This couplet follows the loss of C589-594 and precedes the loss of C597-8, the intervening couplet C595-6 having been retained in H607-8. H605-6 is made up of fragments remembered from these lost passages, and as such has not been counted among the list given above of C's omissions of lines contained in H. H605 recalls C598

Her we abyde Goddes wylle

and perhaps also C591 And at hys ordynaunce we be.

H606 has taken In joy and blysse from C592; to a-byd from C598; and styll is new to make up the rhyme, in place of ylle in C597.

C661-2 may have been omitted from H because of the difficulty of remembering the assonantal rhyme blybe/a-lyue, and the slightly unusual rhyme self/helf may have caused the loss of C257-8, which compromises with the more usual self/half. Again, the unusual form mowȝth in rhyme with sowȝth may have caused H to lose C297-8.

There seems to be no other explanation apart from a faulty memory to account for the loss of the couplets and couplet groups C173-4, 409-412, 415-6, 501-4, 531-2, 609-610, 621-2, 669-670.

Of the remaining omissions, the fourteen line section C561-574 in the 'sermon' in the Earthly Paradise, together with the omission of other lines spoken by the bishops (C597-8, 601-2) may indicate that the H copyist or one of his predecessors had less relish for the moralizing and didactic strain of the poem than for the pains of purgatory, which are more fully preserved in H than in C. This may also apply to the loss of C5-8 in the long new introductory passage about God's envoys on earth. The loss in H of lines comparable to C303-8, 329-330, 335-368 will be discussed in the section on transpositions below.

Taking both C and H together we find there are common omissions of material in T which presuppose an omission in their common

ancestor, or even in the archetype of this version. Both copies omit such major items as the third field of torment, possibly because it repeats ideas from the first and second fields; the purgatorial hill and the cold river; the 'false' pit of hell; the heavenly mountain and the gates of the celestial paradise. It is noteworthy that at C397ff (H448ff) we have the speech of the demons who in T meet Owayne after he has emerged from the pit of the 'false' hell, and they duly say:

C399-400 They tolde þe þat þys was helle,
But oþur wyse we shull þe telle...

They take Owayne off <u>to þe deuelus mowth</u> (C402) under the water beneath the perilous bridge. But CH omit the passage referred to by these demons, and their speech is thus a non sequitur. Whether or not an earlier copy and the archetype retained the episode of the false hell, or whether the English versifier was merely unskilful in choosing what to translate cannot be ascertained.

<u>Transpositions</u>

The greatest corruption in CH is at that point in the tale describing the first and second fields of torment in purgatory. In the first field in T (p.160 l.26 - p.161 l.18) Owayne sees souls nailed to the ground, <u>uentre ad terram uerso</u> (p.161 l.4). In the second field in T (p.161 l.19 - p.162 l.13), souls are again nailed to the ground, but the difference is that whereas in field one their stomachs are turned to the earth, here in field two they lie on their backs (p.161 ll.22-4).

In C we find field one (C319-363), clearly identified by

C330-1 Þey ete þe erþe, so wo hem was,
Her face was nayled to þe grownde,

following T <u>pre dolore uidebantur terram comedere</u> (p.161 l.6) and p.161 l.4, quoted above, together with the souls' cry <u>Spare...a lytyll stownde!</u> (C332) after <u>Parce! Parce! uel Miserere! Miserere!</u> (p.161 ll.7-8). At the end of field one C loses the second field;

the third field, also omitted from H, (cf., incidentally, Note A72-73), (T p.162 ll.14-28); the fourth field, of diverse torments (T p.163 ll.1-20); the fifth field, containing the wheel (T p.163 l.21 - p.164 l.7); and jumps straight to the sixth field, the bath-house. This is where C has lost the 100 line section preserved in H316-345, 350-419.

In H the text is more complicated. Fields one and two have been confused, part of field one being lost (C329-330, 335-364), and another part of field one (H346-9) being incorporated in field two. The sequence as the text stands is as follows. At H316 we switch from field one to field two: Vpward ther belyys wer cast is the equivalent of dorsa terre herebant (p.161 l.24). Field two extends to H335, though between H317 and 318 should occur H350-5. From H336 to 345 we have the introduction to field two, displaced because of the switch at H316. This introduction can be identified by H341 Many an edder and many a tode, after Dracones igniti... serpentes igniti...Buffones (p.161 l.24 - p.162 l.1), for beasts do not occur in field one. At H346-9 we switch back to a fragment of field one paralleling C331-4, identified by

H346-7 Hyre facys wern turny[d] to the grownd,
They seydyn, "Spare vs somme stond!"

With H350-5, which should follow H317, we return to field two for an elaboration of T: The todys sotyn on euery herre (H352) being derived from Buffones...super quorundam pectora sedere (p.162 ll.1-3). At H356ff Owayne moves on to the fourth field, the third having been omitted altogether. The third field was probably omitted from the archetype also, as suggested above, for being too repetitious of material found in the first and second fields.

The confusion in this whole passage, H316-356, has itself been caused by the repetitious nature of fields one and two. For instance, H326-333 in the second field are very close to C353-360 in the first field, though the couplet

H328-9 Whyll þat þey streynyd forth hys fete,
He clepyd to hym þat ys so swete...

is so far superior to H's usual attempts to pad or rewrite that they are convincing evidence that these parallel passages do belong to the two different fields. The similarity of these sections is explained by the fact that at the end of field two in T the reader is referred back to field one, sicut et superius (p.162 ll.11-12), for the description of the demons' attempts to nail Owayne down, clauis eum figere. The English adaptor would have turned back to field one, prostrauerunt eum in terram (p.161 l.16), and translated: Anon þe fyndys leydyn hym downe (H324). Presuming that the English archetype was at least faithful to T in the order of events in fields one and two, this section can be reconstructed by reading in the following order: C367, H339-345, H316-7, H350-5, H318-336, H357ff. This is the order I have adopted in the Reconstruction in the Appendix. This reading accounts for all the lines between H316 and H356 except for H337-8, 346-9, 356.

H337-8 And ledyn hym yn to a-nothyr fylde,
Sweche a-nother he neuer be-hylde...

is one of the repeated formulas linking the different fields, and is superfluous in the reconstruction as the true introduction to field two I take to be

C365-6 Full ferre in to a-noþer felde,
In such on bare he neuer shelde.

H has lost the distinctive line C366, and merely substitutes at H338 the formula found also at H357. H346-9 belong to the first field (paralleling C331-4) and have been misplaced. H356 is a duplicate of the formula in H337. In the printed texts below the manuscript order is followed, but I have left gaps between C368 and H316, between H317 and 318, and between H355 and 356, to show where the disjointed passages collide. The gap between H317 and 318 is six lines long, the equivalent of H350-5 which should fit there. The other two gaps are merely of token length.

Of the remainder of C's large omission H316-345, 350-419, lines H357-419 comprise the following. H357-371 present the

fourth field of torment; H372-391, the fifth field, the wheel; and H392-419 the introduction to the bath-house, outside which Owayne stops before being moved on and in by the demons. At this point the C text resumes, C369.

There are other instances where lines have been transposed in H.

C343-4 For bettyr hyt ys þy sowle be yn woo,
Then þy sowle and þy body also...

from the first field passage missing in H have been recalled and inserted earlier in a similar speech at H284-5, though they fit the context there slightly awkwardly.

H444-5 "Jhesu," he seyd, "I thanke the.
Euer at nede þou helpyst me."

These lines also seem to be recalled from the end of the first field (C361-2), and to have been placed in a similar position by H at the end of the bath-house scene.

In the description of the Earthly Paradise lines H546-575 are confused. C follows more closely the pattern of T (pp.175-7). In order to restore this order in H one should read after H545: H554-561 (=C509-516, H has lost C507-8), H564-5 (=C517-8), H562-3 (=C519-520), H566-575 (=C521-530), H546-553 (=C533-540, H has lost C531-2), H576ff (=C545ff, H has lost C541-4).

Other errors

There are frequent errors in H, many of which might be as well attributed to misreading as to faulty memory, e.g. 25, 69, 70, 79, 103, 107, 122, 245, 262, 505, 561. There are also numerous instances where the rhyming word or sound has alone been retained and the rest of the line rewritten or the sense altered, invariably for the worse, e.g. 63, 74, 110, 124, 134, 163, 186-7, 193, 204, 208, 222, 240, 253, 256-7, 263, 265, 278, 295, 296-7, 304, 311, 442, 449, 477, 483, 498-9, 509, 513, 525, 534, 545, 555, 558, 578-9, 581, 590, 600, 601, 606, 617, 623, 628, 642-4, 665. Such a

plethora of examples is the clearest proof that H or one of its immediate ancestors, or indeed both, was written from memory. No such thorough rewriting and deterioration can be explained merely by careless copying.

Other evidence which suggests memorial composition of H is the repetition of familiar lines when C retains a more distinctive reading. For example, when the first fire from which Owayne escapes is extinguished by his prayer, C reads:

C301-2 All þat fyre was qweynte a-none,
Þe fendes flowen a-way euury-chone,

where 301 follows extinctus est tocius rogus incendii (p.160 l.6).

Cf. H294-5 The fendys fledyn euery-schon,
And lettyn Syre Howyn all a-lon.

H has lost the distinctive first line of C's couplet, retained a variant of C302, had to find another line to complete the couplet, and therefore resorted to one used elsewhere at a similar point in the story,

H332-3 The fyndys fledyn euery on,
And let Syre Howyn all a-lon.

That this couplet stuck in the scribe's mind is shown at H348 where he wrote and corrected thus: The fendys fledyn woldyn.... It would seem that the loss of C301 caused the H copyist to forget the next six lines (C303-8), and to resume idly by repeating the idea of H295 in H296: And as he stod þer all a-lone.... He then had to complete this couplet with H297: Oþer deuelys a-bowte hym gan gone. He has thus caught up the original rhyme word go (C310) in gone (cf. H37 discussed above, p.cxix), but the deueles oþur of C309 has been inverted by reference to another known couplet, H334-5, which follows on from H332-3 which he has already utilized.

H334-5 And as he stod and lokyd a-bowte,
Other delys ther comme on a rowte.

abowte in H297 is doubtless taken from this rhyme. This couplet formula was also well known to the copyist, having been applied

earlier to the messengers of God at

H220-1 (C225-6) As he stod and lokyd a-bowte,
Ther com .XV. men on a rowte....

It also occurs later at H446-7 (C395-6):

As he stod and lokyd a-bowte,
Off othyr fyndys þer eamme a rowte.

The same procedure in H, forgetting distinctive lines preserved in C and patching by reference to repeated formulas, can be seen when Owayne is dragged off to the river of hell.

C403-4 They drewe hym be þe hatere,
Tyll þey come to a gret wattere.

No doubt the uncommon word hatere in rhyme caused the loss of C403 in H which reads:

H454-5 As they haddyn hym forth more
A woll mych watyr he say be-fore.

a gret wattere has been remembered as the important feature, becoming A woll mych watyr in H, but for thw whole couplet H has relied on another repeated couplet formula found at

H392-3 Fast þey hadyn hym ferder more,
A woll mych howsse he sawe be-fore,

where even A woll mych... is ready to hand. Once again a scribal error shows that the H copyist had this couplet structure well in mind because he deletes inne after ferder in H392, recalling a variant form found at the previous shift from field to field:

H372-3 As they haddyn hym ferder inne,
A woll mychе wylle he sawe þer inne.

Cf. also H418-9 As they hadyn hym ferder inne,
Ther he sawe woll mykyll on-wyn.

For another example, see

C263-4 For all þe worlde, so hyt ferde,
And þer-to a lowde crye he herde.

H256-7 In that wedyr so yt faryd,
Yt made Syre Howyn sore a-ferde.

C's good couplet has been wofully corrupted in H. For all be worlde, an admittedly loose adaptation of si totus commoueretur orbis (p.158 l.22, see Note C263), has been weakened to the less plausible In that wedyr, where wedyr perhaps represents a misreading or half remembered world. C264 follows cepit audiri tumultus (p.158 l.22). H, having lost this sense, patches by using a line which occurs variously at

H267 Syre Howyn wos a-ferd, I trowe,
and H462 Ther-of he wos full sore a-ferd.

Other instances of scribal error suggest the H copyist was writing from memory. In H440 klepyd is deleted before the true rhyme word calde is restored. One may compare other occasions where in Owayne's appeals to Christ H used klepyd where C used called: H487=C440, H490=C443, and H329. In H380 faste is deleted before restoration of the rhyme word zarn, for zerne. Elsewhere H shows a more cavalier attitude to the rhyme. MS.H494-5 read

Whan he comme yn to the myde bryge
Euery dewyll to other chyd.

This couplet matches C447-8 well, except that the scribe has mentally and physically added the bryge. Compare MS.H121-2

To þe boschope of that cuntre
He went and fond hym yn þat sete

where C126 reads ...yn hys se. Such errors reveal the copyist's mind running ahead and his pen following after. This might be the result of the scribe's saying the lines to himself as he copied another manuscript, but taken with all the other evidence strongly suggests that the H copy was written down from memory. The frequent severe metrical lapses point to the same conclusion, e.g. short lines like H359-361, or hypermetric lines like H350, 357 or 367.

However, in a few cases H retains a better reading than C, e.g. H147,C152; H168-9,C175-6; H184,C191; H308-9,C321-2; H496-7, C449-450; H549,C536; H593-4,C577-8; H637,C633. Other instances

will be pointed out in the Notes, along with all occasions where the Latin of the Tractatus can assist in determining which reading is preferable. For example, H503 is to be preferred to C456 in the description of the perilous bridge.

H503	Tweyn cartys myth þer on goo.
C456	That waynes myȝth þer on haue goo.

It is conceivable that C's That waynes was influenced by Tweyn, a case of misreading or faulty memory at some stage in the ancestry of C. H's reading is more correct, following T duo carra (p.167 l.26), though it lacks the metrically requisite auxiliary haue of C. Compare also Ld439 tuei cartes. Unfortunately, the Tractatus is not always as helpful as this.

7

THE VISION OF WILLIAM OF STRANTON

The two extant copies of this fifteenth century prose text are presented in parallel below, pages 97-146. They are imperfect and independent copies, the Royal MS. (SR) tending to expansiveness and verbosity, the Additional MS. (SA) tending to conciseness in the narrative, but with a freer treatment of the speeches. In this respect it is difficult to say how far either approximates to the original text.

SA, though less carefully copied, preserves several better readings than SR. For instance, SA preserves the name of Prior Matheus, keper of the same Purgatory (p.98 11.9-10). Matthew is attested as prior at Saints' Island, Lough Derg in 1408 in the Vision of Laurence Rathold in B.M. MS. Royal 10 B.ix, ff.43a-b: Matheus prior Purgatorii Sancti Patricii Clothof Raynes (Clogherensis) dioceseos.[1] SR corrupts this to prior of seint Mathew (p.97 1.9). SA has preserved several superior readings where SR has become confused and verbose, e.g. in the description of the two ways (pp.99-100 11.5-9), and the repeated assertions of the 'friendly' devils (p.101-2 11.10ff).

SR, on the other hand, preserves the correct name of the diocese of Cleghire (Clogher) (p.97 1.7), where the Purgatory is situated. SA reads Jalcet (p.98 1.8).

The date of William's entry into the Purgatory is different in the two manuscripts. SA gives Easter Day (14th April) 1406; SR gives Friday 20th September, 1409, the Friday next after the Fest of þe Exaltacion of þe Crosse (p.97 11.2-3), the Friday next after holyrode day in harvest (p.97 11.8-9). The twofold statement here may indicate that SR confidently preserves the true date. SA's Ester day (p.98 1.8) follows the incorrect Jalcet, and may have been substituted as being a suitable day on which to descend into

1. See Anal. Boll. xxvii(1908),58 line 4, and see p.57 1.31. Matthew's death is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters under the year 1440.

and rise again from the underworld. As for the year, there is no way of determining which is correct as vi may have been misread for ix or vice versa. Both manuscripts agree that William entered the Purgatory early in the day, the viij^{te} owre before none (p.98 l.9, cf. p.97 ll.7-8).

SR preserves the full form of the prayer used to ward off the devils: Jhesu Christe, fili dei viui, miserere michi peccatori (p.97 ll.13-14). This is exactly the same as that given to George Krissafan who visited the Purgatory in 1365,[1] and to Laurence Rathold in 1411.[2] SA characteristically shortens the prayer to Jhesu, fili dei, miserere mei (p.98 ll.13-14).

Krapp writes:

> The differences of phraseology, orthography, etc., are such as would naturally arise in two independent transcriptions of a single MS. 3

There is no evidence to suggest that our two considerably varying copies were transcribed from "a single MS." Though following the same sequence of events, both copies omit different sections and make different mistakes which would be hard to explain as arising naturally from the same exemplar. It seems likely that each copyist made his own variations in phraseology as he went along, and probably rewrote whole sentences and made additions as he thought fit, but there is nothing to suggest that they copied from the same manuscript.

Because neither copy, either in substantial readings or stylistically, can be shown to represent a version notably closer to the original, it has been thought valuable to present both copies for the first time in full. Where individual words or

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1. See Visiones Georgii, p.97.
2. See Anal. Boll. xxvii(1908),50 ll.10-11. Cf. also the accounts of the visits of Raymond de Perilhos and Louis Enius: see G.P. Krapp, The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: its later literary history (Baltimore,1900),26, 16, 39. Cf. also Jacobus de Voragine's account of Nicolaus's descent, Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, (Leipzig,1850),214.
3. Krapp, op. cit., p.56.

phrases have been accidentally omitted and can be supplied from the other copy, this I have done to facilitate reading. Otherwise the parallel setting enables the reader to see at a glance where larger changes have been made, and to appreciate the different tone of each copy, something which can scarcely be done with a mass of alternative readings at the foot of the page.

Nothing is known of William of Stranton apart from what little can be divined from the vision. I have adopted the form of his name given here from SA as most likely preserving the original reading. SR calls him William Stavnton. William specifies that he comes from the bishopric of Durham, and Stranton is a coastal area near West Hartlepool, so there is little doubt that the form in SA with the name of the town is the correct one. The name is also known as Straunton,[1] and the more southerly copyist of SR has substituted the more usual family name of Stauntom. The existence of a family of Stauntons in Co. Meath, and of a William Staunton there testified in the 1380s [2] I take to be coincidental. Staunton was one of the earliest English names in Ireland, and Stauntons are found in Mayo and Connaught.[3] There is nothing in the vision to suggest that William lived in Ireland, apart from his pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, and indeed his familiarity with the local saints John of Bridlington and St. Hilda of Whitby suggests that he may have spent most of his life in or near his native home of Stranton, Co. Durham. In SR St. Hilda of Whitby is replaced by St. Ive of Quitike or Quethiock in Cornwall. Ward[4] argued that the association of St. John of Bridlington and St. Ive "could hardly have occurred, as a correction, to a mere copyist" and that SA's St. Hilda was "a name not unlikely to be due

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1. See C.E. Jackson, The Place-Names of Durham (London,1916),100 and A. Mawer, The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham (Cambridge,1920),191.
2. See R.J. Hayes ed., MS Sources for the History of Irish Civilization, iv(Boston, Mass.,1965),523 col.2, and also ix.82 col.2 and ix.83 col.3.
3. See E. Maclysaght, The Surnames of Ireland (Shannon,1969),202, 85.
4. Cat. Rom. ii.487-8.

to a guess". But Ward underestimates the adaptive powers of a "mere copyist" . It must be remembered that St. Hilda was abbess at Hartlepool in 649, before founding the monastery at Whitby (Streoneshalh) in 658, and would therefore have an especially close significance for William of nearby Stranton. It is more likely that the more southerly scribe of SR, "for the sake of local color, or in order to honor a home saint, has substituted St. Ive for St. Hilda."[1] It is interesting to note that when asked by William who he is, St. John replies in SA, In yor contre they call me..." (p.100 l.26), which may well be the original reading, William's contre being Northumberland like John's. In SR John replies, I am cleped in northcontree..." (p.99 ll.23-4), the scribe not feeling so familiar no doubt with the northcontree as did the N.E. Midland copyist of SA. St. John of Bridlington (prior 1366, died 10th October 1379, canonized 1401) was renowned for his visions,[2] miracles (e.g. walking on the water, raising the dead),[3] and prophecies, and his shrine attracted "a numerous resort of pilgrims, and many miracles were reported to be wrought at his tomb".[4] He says to William, Thow hast often cum to me, wher my body lyes, and to my syster Sant Hylde." (pp.100-102) William of Stranton presents himself as a pious sinner, who was in the habit of making pilgrimages to two of the most important local shrines, as well as his pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory. He mentions that his uncle, who died sixteen years before they met in purgatory, had been a priest. William is rebuked by St. John for having opposed the marriage of his sister, who, with her lover, meets them in purgatory to make her complaint.

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1. Krapp, op. cit., p.55.
2. See John Bale, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, ed. R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, (Oxford,1902),184.
3. See DNB x.888.
4. M. Prickett, An Historical and Architectural Description of the Priory Church of Bridlington (Cambridge,1831),25. See also Krapp, op. cit., p.57.

No names are given, however, nor any further information about the ether acquaintances he meets among the torments. It seems probable that William was a mendicant if we are to believe the SR reading about the merchant who cam where bow were asking almes (p.137 1.22). He certainly seems confident lambasting the consistory courts, the venality of bishops and the regular clergy, or the abuses of the prioress, and also in his exhaustive list of means by which both clerics and secular men may aid souls in purgatory. Yet William does not directly make these attacks or give this advice in his own person; they are spoken by St. John, and by the bishop in the Earthly Paradise, and by the fiends. William presents himself as one receiving instruction, a stance which is a familiar feature of vision literature, to be found, for instance, in the Visio Tnugdali, Dante, the Visiones Georgii, and a host of accounts by otherworld visitors who like St. Patrick and William abode the reuelacion of Goddes angellis (p.97 1.21). By this means the reader is enabled to identify with the intrepid but ignorant otherworld explorer, and the 'guide' may then expatiate on the author's doctrine to this visitor and thereby to us the audience, that is, al cristen men þat heryn or redyn this (p.145 11.19-20).

William gives no details of the exact location or nature of St. Patrick's Purgatory, apart from the hour at which he entered and the name of the prior. William was obviously acquainted with the Tractatus, for some features of the structure of his vision bear the traces of its influence, though William's vision is an independent work and not merely a variant version of T. Like Owayne in the Tractatus, William does not actually suffer the torments he views, but then he does not claim, as Owayne did, to have passed bodily through purgatory. Rather he sumwhat slumbered and slepte (p.97 11.22-3), so we can take it that all that William saw of purgatory and paradise was vouchsafed in a dream. Unlike Owayne, William is also attended by a guide, St. John. St. John

and St. Hilda, dressed in white, advise William in the same way the fifteen men in white advised Owayne on the imminent dangers, and the restynge-place of Sante Patrike (p.98 l.19) where William meets them recalls the cloistral hall of the Tractatus. Krapp points out that

> the disquisition at the beginning of the vision of the Earthly Paradise on the efficacy of prayer and alms-giving in in relieving the sufferers in Purgatory is an evident remembrance of the first sermon in the Latin account. [1]

This is true, though William has chosen to recall only a small part of the first homily: cf. pp.133-4 and p.172. The episode of the bridge over the river of hell separating purgatory from the Earthly Paradise is altered by William, the bridge being one built by a vainglorious priest. William tells later how, when St. John left him,

> euer I lokyde after a bryge ouer that water, weche I had harde speyke of, þat is to say, of þe bryge ful of pykys.... (pp.134-6)

William had obviously herd say in þe world (p.135 l.2) of the bridge in the Vision of Tundale, for Owayne's bridge had no pykys upon it. William eventually crosses the river (without mention of hell) by means of a ladder and cord sent down from a tower on the opposite bank.

Once in the Earthly Paradise, William is greeted as was Owayne by a fayre cumpany of monkys and chanouns and prestys, and all clede in whytt aray (p.140 ll.5-6), and experiences the usual savour sweeter then all þe spysse schoppys of all þe warlde (p.138 ll.27-8) of the Tree of Life, and hears the bird song. There is no gresse growynge in the Earthly Paradise, but all is whytt and clere as cristall (p.138 ll.25-6). Whereas two men quasi archi-episcopi instruct Owayne, a single bishop explains to William the sins of the world. The description of the Earthly Paradise is much

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1. Op. cit., p.39.

shorter than that in the Tractatus. Following the pattern of the Visio Sancti Pauli , William is allowed to witness the judgement of a newly arrived soul, that of a prioress. It is a new idea perhaps that a soul should undergo the Particular Judgement on top of a high hill in the Earthly Paradise, and that fiends should be able to gather there to accuse the soul of past sins. The topography, however, obviously did not concern William of Stranton as much as the opportunity to attack the extravagant secular vices of this 'religious' lady. The bishop pronounces the doom on her as the archangel Michael is usually meant to do at the Final Judgement, and she is sent to purgatory to payne enduryng evermore til þe day day of dome (p.145 ll.1-2). Again there is no mention of the possibility of hell.

It seems that the main purpose of the Vision of William of Stranton, in the section on the Earthly Paradise as well as in the part devoted to purgatory, is to castigate the sins of the world, especially those of priests, vicars and bishops, and to terrify the reader with an abhorrent conglomeration of tortures. William visits nine numbered fires of purgatory, and afterwards a high rock and stone wall, two towers, two more fires, a great walled house and the river. In each place of torment devils are found torturing the souls in innumerable different diabolic ways. The influence of the Visio Sancti Pauli may be found in the detailing of the sins for which the souls are punished, and in this William's vision is quite distinct from the Tractatus. The sins and sinners punished are briefly as follows: pride and gaudy array; swearing by God's members; breaking of Holy Days; dishonouring parents; thieves and false executors; false witnesses; murderers; lechery; failure to chastise one's children; backbiters; evil bishops and prelates; monks and other religious that lyffyde natt after þer ordyr (p.126 l.9); parsons and vicars who neglect divine service; more false men of holy chirch (p.129 l.1) for multifarious forms of neglect and vanity; vainglory and lechery. At least seven of ten commandments are thus reinforced by showing the fate of their

transgressors. There is also a constant attack on gaudy and ostentatious clothing, extravagant spending, neglect of the poor and of the fabric of church buildings, and many of the other abuses so continually harangued in sermon material of the period.

The stress on the evils of extravagant dress is exemplified in the image of moths emerging from the large presses of clothes <u>þat þei might haue holpen with þe nedy people</u> (p.129 l.9). This theme is taken up in another vision which follows <u>Stranton</u> in SA. The <u>Vision of Edmund Leversedge</u>[1] (<u>VEL</u>), who apparently died of the pestilence but revived in 1465, is largely concerned with this gallant excess, and the doublets worn by the religious in <u>Stranton</u> become the actual clothing worn by the fiends in the later vision:

> shorte gownes and dowblettes, closse hosyn, longe heere, vpon here browes, pykes on ther shon of a foot in lengh and more, hygh bonettes I my selfe sume tyme vsid....[2]

This vision draws many details from both the <u>Tractatus</u> and <u>Stranton</u>.[3]

In William's vision the emphasis on the claims of the poor recurs, as in the passage condemning the prelates for their gluttony, who shut themselves

> wyth-in þer hyee howses when thay schulde ete, for thay wold nat here þe pore pepyl crye.[4] (p.130 ll.25-7)

Earlier William had himself heard the souls of the poor crying out against the canons, monks and friars who squandered what might have helped the poor. All sections of the ecclesiastical hierarchy come under attack, from bishops to friars, monks and priests, and it is principally against ecclesiastics that the complaints are raised. There seem to be very few secular men in William of Stranton's purgatory. Bishops' servants who had been allowed to live in sin and lechery join with the devils in torturing their masters.

Purgatory is presented exclusively as a vengeful rather than as a purificatory place,[4] and is full of amazingly gruesome torments

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1. B.M. MS. Add. 34193, ff.126a-130b.
2. <u>VEL</u> p.25.
3. <u>VEL</u> p.22.
4. See below, chapter 9b).

all fittingly selected to correspond with the sins committed. For instance, those who wore long pokes on their sleeves have the skin of their shoulders slit off like to pokes (p.109 11.3-4); those who had stuffed themselves at the tavern so that they cast vp azen (p.113 1.18) are stuffed with filth as one would stoppe a wullepak (p.113 1.7); and backbiters are eaten on the back and limbs by cats and beetles along with the more usual adders and toads. The devils, as ever, are unflaggingly energetic, stompyng and tredyng on here backis forto encrese here paynes (p.121 11.11-12). A recurrent phrase of St. John's is that in each torment sinners will remain duryng be wyll of God, thus clearly distinguishing the place as purgatory, and, as mentioned above, he tells William at length all the means by which clerical and secular men may assist souls in purgatory (pp.133-4). There is no mention of hell in the vision; purgatory has become the immediate and overwhelming threat, aimed as deterrent at those whom no prechyng, ne techyng, ne counseill in shrift (p.109 1.27) could deter from their sins. The tone as a whole is hortatory, even to the parenthetic warning against idolatry (p.139 11.11-14), and the bishop in the Earthly Paradise sounds the prevailing note of distress at man's sinful and wilful opposition to God: Alas! bat worldly men will not take hede in here hertes...(p.145 11.6-7). William is instructed to tell what he has seen to them bat bis bilongith to. And lyve rightfully and bow shalt come to ever-lastyng ioy (p.145 11.14-15). Like Owayne, William has successfully passed the test.

8

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY

a) The Early History of St. Patrick's Purgatory

There is no known record of St. Patrick's Purgatory before the account of the visit by Owayne the knight in the Tractatus. Henry of Saltrey is extremely vague in his historical and geographical references. He does not give the name of the bishop whom Owayne consulted before visiting the Purgatory, but uses the circumlocution episcopum, in cuius episcopatu prefatum est purgatorium (p.155 ll.7-8). Henry of Saltrey gives no name to the Irish king visited by Gilbert of Louth, nor to the monastery founded by the latter (p.185 ll.3ff), and most strikingly, he gives no indication that the Purgatory was on an island in a lake in Ulster. This latter information was first recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis a few years after the composition of the Tractatus. In Top. Hib. II.v he describes the Purgatory as follows:

> Est lacus in partibus Ultoniae continens insulam bipartitam. Cujus pars altera, probatae religionis ecclesiam habens, spectabilis valde est et amoena; angelorum visitatione, sanctorumque loci illius visibili frequentia, incomparabiliter illustrata.
>
> Pars altera, hispida nimis et horribilis, solis daemoniis dicitur assignata; quae et visibilibus cacodaemonum turbis et pompis fere semper manet exposita.
>
> Pars ista novem in se foveas habet. In quarum aliqua si quis forte pernoctare praesumpserit, quod a temerariis hominibus nonnumquam constat esse probatum, a malignis spiritibus statim arripitur, et nocte tota tam gravibus poenis cruciatur, tot tantisque et tam ineffabilis ignis et aquae variique generis tormentis incessanter affligitur, ut mane facto vix vel minimae spiritus superstitis reliquiae misero in corpore reperiantur.
>
> Haec, ut asserunt, tormenta si quis semel ex injuncta poenitentia sustinuerit, infernales amplius poenas, nisi graviora commiserit, non subibit.
>
> Hic autem locus Purgatorium Patricii ab incolis vocatur.
>
> De infernalibus namque reproborum poenis, de vera post mortem, perpetuaque electorum vita, vir sanctus cum gente incredula dum disputasset, ut tanta tam inusitata, tam inopinabilis rerum novitas, rudibus infidelium animis

> oculata fide certius imprimeretur, efficaci orationum instantia magnam et admirabilem utriusque rei notitiam, duraeque cervicis populo perutilem, meruit in terris obtinere.

The name of the Purgatory given here in the penultimate sentence was not included in the first text of 1187-88, but was inserted in the later version of 1189,[1] possibly because of the influence of the Tractatus by that date. Foulet[2] claimed that Giraldus knew the Tractatus, and that the last paragraph of Giraldus's account was an allusion to Henry of Saltrey's work. This is by no means conclusive, and the fact that all the other details given by Giraldus in his first account could not possibly be derived from the Tractatus, together with his silence about Owayne, indicate that he had an independent, and in any case geographically more accurate source than Henry of Saltrey.

There has been some confusion about the early site of the Purgatory. According to Giraldus, the pilgrim experiences the purgatorial pains not in a cave or fossa with a door as described by Henry, but in the novem...foveas. These nine pits can confidently be identified with the lectuli, leachtra or penitential 'beds' found on Station Island, Lough Derg, the traditional site of the Purgatory. These 'beds' were low-walled stone circles, later regularly shown as seven rather than nine in number, each dedicated to a particular saint, wherein the pilgrim would spend the night in prayer. As such they have formed an essential part of the penitential exercises performed on Station Island to this century,[3] and they are well shown on Carve's map,[4] where the names

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1. See J.F. Dimock in Top. Hib. pp.xiff. Giraldus's account was prefaced to the Tractatus in ∝ MS. U. See above, p.lxxiv.
2. In RF xxii(1908),616 note 11.
3. See e.g. R. Verdeyen and J. Endepols, Tondalus Visioen en St. Patricius' Vagevuur, i(Ghent and The Hague,1914),180-2, and photographs on pp.178, 179, 184. Cf. also W.G. Wood Martin, Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland, ii(London,1902),28-9.
4. See Thomas Carve, Lyra Hibernica (Sulzbach,1666),opp. p.113; reproduced in Leslie, SPP opp. p.102.

are given as St. Brigid, St. Katherine, St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Abog (Dabheoc), St. Molaise, and St. Patrick. On this drawing the lectus nearest the small chapel marked Templum is shown with a cross in the centre. Wakeman points out that such stations were usually "surmounted by a miniature dallan, or pillar, engraved with a figure or a cross."[1] The practice of spending a night of penance in such 'beds' is well attested at Irish pilgrimage centres. We may note that Giraldus makes no suggestion that these foveas formed an entrance to the otherworld, whereas Henry of Saltrey had claimed that the pit at St. Patrick's Purgatory was a physical entrance to both purgatory and paradise.

Giraldus divides the island into angelic and demonic parts.[2] This may be a misunderstanding.[3] Giraldus may have confused the larger Saints' Island with its priory church and the smaller Station Island,[4] traditionally the home of demons,[5] and made of them one island with two parts. The result is one of those islands sharply divided into two (or sometimes four) contrasting areas, well-known in Celtic immrama or voyage literature. For example, in the Voyage of the Húi Corra there is a hellish island with "dead men in one part of it; living men in another part";[6] or in the Voyage of Mael Duin one island is divided between black and white.[7] But it should be remembered that Giraldus not only states that one part was angelic, but that it contained a church, and this is confirmed in another source.[8] There were two churches: one on

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1. W.F. Wakeman, 'Inis Muiredaich, Now Inismurray, and its Antiques', The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, viii, 4th series, no.64 (Oct.,1885),300.
2. Cf. William of Malmesbury, Eulogium Historiarum, cap.clxi, ed. F.S. Haydon, RS 9b(1860),127-8.
3. See Philippe de Félice, L'Autre Monde: mythes et légendes. Le Purgatoire de saint Patrice (Paris,1906),27.
4. See map taken from the Ordnance Survey inside the back cover of Leslie, SPP.
5. See below, p.clvi.
6. Ed. W. Stokes, RC xiv(1893),47.
7. Ed. W. Stokes, RC ix(1888),479ff, and see Cross, Motif-Index, F162.1.2.3.
8. See Peter of Cornwall's account discussed below, p.cxlii.

Saints' Island and one on Station Island. It is noteworthy that the division of the one island, Station Island, into angelic and demonic parts is confirmed the fifteenth century account given by James Yonge[1] of the pilgrimage made by the Hungarian, Laurence Rathold de Pasztho in 1411. There it is said that the angelic part of Station Island is called Regles.

Henry of Saltrey is correct in saying that the priory church which had control of the Purgatory was kept by Augustinian Canons Regular.[2] That he attributes their being installed there to St. Patrick is merely an anachronism, probably put about by the canons themselves to claim the most ancient and venerable founder they could, when they took over from the earlier community, probably founded by St. Dabheoc about the time of St. Patrick.[3] The Augustinian Canons were established on Saints' Island, Lough Derg c.1132,[4] probably by Mael Maedog,[5] that is St. Malachy. Now Henry of Saltrey calls the church of the Canons Regular Reglis, and he states that the cavern of the Purgatory was in cimiterio... extra frontem ecclesie orientalem (p.152 11.27-8). This has caused much confusion. If correct, this would mean that the Purgatory visited by Owayne was on Saints' Island, though as mentioned above, Henry makes no reference to islands or a lake at all. If there was a Purgatory on Saints' Island, then no

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1. Extract quoted below, p.clxi.
2. See above, p.lxxxvii and also John Hennig, 'The Literary Tradition of Irish Saints in the Order of the Canons Regular of the Lateran', Comparative Literature Studies, xvii-xviii (1945),22.
3. See MRHI p.193 and below, p.cl.
4. Ibid.. A. Gwynn dates their arrival c.1140, in a review of Alice Curtayne's Lough Derg: Saint Patrick's Purgatory (London and Dublin,1944) in Studies, xxxiii(1944),551.
5. P.J. Dunning, 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland', Irish Historical Studies, iv(1945),303.

other early trace of it is recalled.[1] It seems more likely that Henry, or Gilbert his informant, was confused in his topography, and that the chapel on Station Island, south-east of Saints' Island, has been confused with the priory on Saints' Island, and that the Purgatory on Station Island has been inadvertently transposed by Henry. As we have seen, the angelic part of Station Island was called Regles in 1411, and may well always have been so called.[2] Moreover, in 1517 Chiericati said the entrance to the Purgatory was to the east of the church on Station Island.[3]

We have early and independent evidence that the Purgatory was on Station Island in the twelfth century, in the earliest known reference to St. Patrick's Purgatory after the Tractatus and Giraldus.[4] This source, which has been strangely and almost totally neglected by writers on the Purgatory, is found in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51.[5] After his copy of the Tractatus, Peter of Cornwall gives an account of the Purgatory, its location and ritual, and recounts another vision experienced there.[6]

Here for the first time the two islands are both mentioned. The larger Saints' Island is correctly given its proper name Mabeoch (i.e. (St.) Dabheoc(h), Daveog, Davog). It is incorrectly said to be surrounded by a flumen rather than a lake, and that beyond it lies a small island (Station Island) where there is a capella with an anchoretic community and the site of the Purgatory. It is most likely that the hermits here were the descendants of an early hermits' community long established on Station Island as an

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1. Popular local tradition is sometimes said to regard Saints' Island as the original site of the Purgatory, and the Ordnance Survey map shows the Purgatory on Saints' Island: see Leslie, Saint Patrick's Purgatory (1961), pp.9-10 and map. But Leslie is clearly wrong in saying (SPP p.ix) that Rathold, Mannini and others all visited a cave on Saints' Island.
2. On the name Regles/Reglis, see below, p.cxliii.
3. See Hermathena, xl(1914),11.
4. Jocelin of Furness (c.1183) speaks of a St. Patrick's Purgatory on Mt. Croagh Patrick. See below, pp.cliiiff.
5. Date c.1200: see above, p.lxv and see text below, pp.193ff. Leslie, SPP pp.11-12 translated (not totally accurately) the portion which is found below at p.193 l.2 - p.195 l.8.
6. See discussion below, p.clxix.

offshoot from the larger foundation of St. Dabheoc on his island. Such linked communities are attested elsewhere, and it is possible that the foveas, lectuli or 'beds' were originally the remains of clochan or beehive huts.[1] The number seven was a favourite, the same being found at Clonmacnoise, Tory Island, and Glendalough.[2] The anchoretic community may have fostered the idea of purgatorial penances obtainable on Station Island, and the name Reglis might well be applied to their chapel. The Hamilton text ll.84-5 shows the common but unnecessary connection between Reglis and the 'rule' of the Canons Regular.[3] The name has also been derived from ro-eclas, which 'seems to mean a 'great church'"[4], and from reclis meaning a little church.[5] This latter meaning has more recently been supported by M. Joynt.[6] Dunning says:

> This word, used in the annals with special reference to the monasteries of Armagh and Derry is sometimes translated by the editor of the Annals of Ulster simply as 'Monastery'; and again, as 'the regular canons' house'. Miss Maud Joynt states that the word is used in Old and Middle Irish as meaning a cell, an oratory, or a stone church. There does not appear to be any justification for regarding it as having any special connection with the canons regular.[7]

The derivation via eclas/eaglas from Latin ecclesia would support the idea that, as in Rathold's time, the capella on Station Island was called Reglis in the twelfth century, and that Henry of Saltrey was wrong in stating that the Purgatory was next door to the priory of the Canons Regular which he called Reglis. This would explain the reference in the Annals of Ulster, where the destruction of

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1. See Félice, L'Autre Monde, pp.83-4, and P.W. Joyce, A Social History of Ancient Ireland, i(Dublin,1913),348, and ii.22.
2. See Canon D. O'Connor, St. Patrick's Purgatory. Lough Derg (Dublin,1895),58, and Trip. Life, i. p.clvii.
3. See e.g. in Rathold's vision: Hibernice Regles, latine Regula. See below, p.clxi and Note H85.
4. W. Stokes, Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore (Oxford, 1890),p.cxix.
5. Trip. Life, i.89.
6. Contributions to a dictionary of the Irish Language (Dublin,1944), fasc. R, col.32.
7. P.J. Dunning, 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland', Irish Historical Studies, iv(1945),305-6.

the Purgatory on St. Patrick's Day 1497, at the order of Pope Alexander VI, is recorded:

> the Cave of the Purgatory was broken...it being understood by every one in general from the History of the Knight and other old Books that this was not the Purgatory Patrick got from God, although they were, every one, visiting it. 1

From the History of the Knight Owayne in the Tractatus it would naturally be understood that the Purgatory revealed to Patrick was on Saints' Island, but the one that everyone was visiting was of course on Station Island, which must have been the one destroyed.[2]

Peter of Cornwall's account is also important for the light it throws on Giraldus's account. Peter says he has been told that there was much controversy about the true entrance to the Purgatory. Some say it was per portam quandam, like that described in the Tractatus, (which Peter takes to have been written in King Stephen's reign); others say:

> quod quedam sedes extra curtem cuiusdam senis qui ibi manet sunt parate quasi in quodam herbario siue uiridario. Ad quas sedes qui intrat, non multa hora interueniente, accedunt ad eum demones...
>
> (p.194 ll.4-7)

These sedes are certainly the foveas of Giraldus. It seems clear that Giraldus's account and the two different views related by Peter both derive from sources reporting only half of the practices of the Purgatory. As in later and better documented times, right up to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it would appear that the penitential and purgatorial exercises

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1. Annals of Ulster, ed. and trans. B. MacCarthy, iii(Dublin,1895), 417. MacCarthy's note 6 that the Purgatory was suppressed "on the ground of false ascription to St. Patrick" seems to miss the point. It was the site, not the ascription, that was in question. He does well, however, to explore the errors in the tale of the Monk of Eymstadt which supposedly led to the closure of the Purgatory, for which see AASS Mart. ii.590. See also John Ryan, 'St. Patrick's Purgatory', Studies, xxi(1932),456-7, and Ludwig Bieler, 'St. Patrick's Purgatory. Contributions towards an historical topography', IER xciii(1960),137-44.
2. Cf. S. Leslie, Saint Patrick's Purgatory (Dublin,1961),7, where he claims a cave was closed on Saints' Island.

in the twelfth century consisted firstly of passing around and doing observances in the sedes, foveas, lectuli, or penitential 'beds', and then also of entering the purgatorial cavern or underground pit, in whatever shape and form this existed at the time. "The practice, called the dessil or turas, of passing in circles, counted in odd numbers, around a dolmen, or a cairn, or a circular enclosure, the supposed bed or grave of a sacred ancestor" (my italics) is listed among others typical of "observances practised in the names of Patrick, or Bridget, or Declan", which are "the relics of a pagan ritual"[1] adapted by Christians to their usage. At Lough Derg, devotees were "required to pass three times round each of seven penitential beds, Patrick's bed being the largest".[2] It is the idea that the 'beds', outside the church, and amongst which was sited the Purgatory, were the graves of their eponymous saints, that may well have led via Owayne and Gilbert to Henry of Saltrey's speaking of the cemetery extra frontem ecclesie orientalem. His description, taking Reglis as Peter's capella and not the priory, would be accurate enough, and shows that Henry merely through ignorance transferred the topography of Station Island to Saints' Island, and equated the (to him unknown) hermits' chapel with the canons' priory. This is not surprising considering that he had apparently no notion of the existence of the lake and islands. It was also true that, as Peter confirms, access to the Purgatory could only be via the priory on Mabeoch. So much for the early location of the Purgatory: Henry is vague; Giraldus specifies an island; Peter confirms it as Station Island. What of its supposed foundation by St. Patrick?

It might be thought that any religious wonder or place of pilgrimage in Ireland not definitely linked with some other saint would claim Patrician authority to enhance its prestige, just as the canons may have claimed to have been introduced by St. Patrick.

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1. W.C. Borlase, The Age of the Saints (Truro,1893),44.
2. Ibid., p.48. See also P.D. Hardy, The Holy Wells of Ireland (Dublin,1836),4-5 and references in footnote 3, above p.cxxxix.

But it is more likely that the Augustinians, arriving during St. Malachy's reform of the Irish church, simply adopted their Patrician authority from the earlier community which they replaced. Saints' Island, or Mabeoch, or St. Dabheoc's Island, also known as St. Fintan's Island, is known to have had a community from early times, very likely from the sixth century at least, if not before.[1] St. Dabheoc, the patron saint of Lough Derg,[2] died in 516.[3] He was a follower of St. Patrick, and is remembered in the name of the rock known as Dabheoc's seat on the hillside to the south-east of Lough Derg. His name was also originally given to the rock now known as Bridget's[4] chair nearby at the lakeside, and to the townland of Seadavog.[5] How closely the lake was associated with St. Patrick in early times is unknown, and the ascription of the founding of this early community on Saints' Island to St. Patrick rather than to St. Dabheoc rests on slender evidence and long tradition. Tirechan tells that during his travels, St. Patrick founded aeclessiam magnam Sir Drommo, quam tenuit familia Dairinse Indoburbur,[6] and Archbishop Healy has argued that this might be identified with the church "founded in the original Station Island of Lough Derg".[7] Bieler's comment is apt: "A tradition may be accepted as true if there is no reason for the contrary."[8] Healy also posited the identification of Sir Drommo with the church of Templecarne, near the road from Pettigo to Lough Derg.[9] If Tirechan were right, and if Healy were

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1. See MRHI p.193.
2. See St. John D. Seymour, Saint Patrick's Purgatory. A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland (Dundalk,1918),12, and J. Ryan, Studies, xxi(1932),447. On Dabheoc and his ancestry, see John O'Hanlon, Lives of the Irish Saints, i(Dublin,1875),11-16.
3. The Martyrology of Donegal, ed. John O'Donovan, (Dublin,1864), under January 1st., says Dabeocc Locha Gaircc in Ulltoib. P.F. Moran says Dabheoc is buried on Saints' Island: see Moran's revised ed. of M. Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, i(Dublin,1873), 206-9.
4. See Leslie, SPP p.xxviii.
5. Ibid., see map at the end of the book.
6. Anal. Boll.ii(1883),64 ll.10-11.
7. John Healy, The Life and Writings of St. Patrick (Dublin,1905), 300 note 2. See also Ryan, Studies, xxi(1932),446.
8. L.Bieler, The Life and Legend of St. Patrick (Dublin,1949),26.
9. Healy op. cit., see pp.299-301.

right in identifying Sir Drummo with the Station Island chapel, then we may say that St. Patrick and not St. Dabheoc founded the early community at Lough Derg. This holds good also if by "original Station Island" Healy seems to suggest Saints' Island, the original site of the pilgrimage station in his opinion. Even if Sir Drummo were correctly identified with the nearby Templecarne church, we may take it that St. Patrick would very likely have visited the Lough and its islands, especially as it afforded an ideal site for his traditional practice of Lenten retreat. If the Lough was at that time known as a pagan sanctuary, St. Patrick would have been even more likely to pay a visit.[1] There is, however, no concrete evidence to prove that the practice of purgatorial penances was established in the time of St. Patrick or St. Dabheoc.

The frequent ascription of the founding of the Purgatory to an Abbot Patrick in the ninth century[2] is, as Wright[3] pointed out, a misunderstanding of the Tractatus, which says: Dicitur 'Magnus' sanctus Patricius, qui a primo est secundus (p.150 11.20-1). The Abbot Patrick could scarcely be called Magnus. Henry refers in fact to the age-old notion of two early Patricks, of which St. Patrick Apostle of Ireland was the second. No useful purpose can be served here by attempting to enter the Patrician controversy.[4] It is apt to recognize that Henry was aware of the distinction in the twelfth century, and one may dispel any idea that he was

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1. Speaking of St. Patrick's Purgatory and its ritual St. John D. Seymour says: "the cult appears to be pre-Christian, perhaps pre-Celtic, though it is possible that, as being the site of heathen rites, it was actually visited by St. Patrick." 'Sidelights on the Medieval Church', in History of the Church of Ireland, ed. W.A. Phillips, ii(Oxford,1934),149.
2. Higdenspeaks of purgatorium Patricii secundi, abbatis non episcopi in Polychronicon VII.xx, ed. J.R. Lumby, RS 41h, p.20. See also Henry de Knighton and John Bromton in R. Twysden, Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London,1652),cols. 2390, 1076; and for Edmund Campian, Historie of Ireland, cap.xiii, who speaks of 'holy Abbot Patricius secundus', see A. Davenport, NQ clxxxii(1942),67.
3. T. Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory (London,1844),133-4.
4. Writings on the problem are voluminous. For a brief statement see Bieler, op. cit., p.85, and also in St. Patrick and the Coming of Christianity, (A History of Irish Catholicism, vol.1), (Dublin,1967),41ff. See also Note to T 150/20-1.

referring to an otherwise unidentified Abbot Patrick.[1]

Not only is the Purgatory not mentioned before the Tractatus, but there are very few surviving records of the community at Lough Derg at all. Dabheoc's death has been noted in 516. The community is attested in 722 by the Annals of the Four Masters recording the death of Cillene. The pillaging of the sanctuary of Dabheoc - Termon Daveoc - is recorded in 1070 in the Annals of Ulster, and later destruction is recorded in 1196 and 1207.[2] We have noted the introduction of the Augustinian rule in c.1132. I suggest below (p.cxcix) that 1146-7 is a possible date for Owayne's visit to the Purgatory. The vision recounted by Peter of Cornwall is said to have taken place in the reign of Henry II (1154-1189) c.1170 (p.195 l.9), and Peter's statement (p.198 ll.20ff) in 1200 that in the old days many pilgrims used to visit the purgatorial island, but nowadays few, smacks of the truth, especially when we remember the plundering of 1196.

It may be that we have lost an early account by David Scotus, master of the school of St. James, Würzburg, who is said to have written a book De Purgatorio Patritij, noted by Trithemius[3] under the year 1137, and taken by Kenney[4] to refer to about 1120. No trace of this work has been detected but the testimony of Abbot Tritheim is not negligible, for he "was singularly well informed as to the history of Würzburg since he was abbot of St. James in the first years of the sixteenth century".[5] If such a work had

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1. See e.g. Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, ii(London,1837),602-3, under Templecarne. Moran, loc. cit., also thinks there is "more probability" that Abbot Patrick was the founder of the Purgatory.
2. See MRHI p.193.
3. Chronicon Hirsaugiense, i(1690),404.
4. James F. Kenney, The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide, 1st. ed. 1929, repr. (Columbia,1966),355, and pp.619-20. See also Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vii(1859),240, 296.
5. A. Gwynn, 'The Continuity of the Irish Tradition at Würzburg', Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter, 14/15(1952),63. See also pp.67-8 on Mark and Visio Tundali at Regensburg. See also Gwynn, 'Ireland and Würzburg in the Middle Ages', IER lxxviii(1952),404-5.

been written in the 1120s or 1130s it might support the idea that the Purgatory was established before the arrival of the Canons Regular, but without a text no more can be said.

Another not wholly trustworthy mention is given of the Purgatory by Keating.[1] He tells that Dermot, former king of Leinster, who in 1166 left Ireland to seek the aid of Henry II, had abducted Dervorgilla, wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, in 1152 while her husband was away on pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory.[2] This information is also supplied by Anthony Bruodin in 1669, but he assigns the less likely date of 1166:

> Anno quarto Regiminis Roderici Regis, & Christi 1166. Derforgilla filia Murgani, Midiae Principis, & Thiegernani Luscio Ruairck, Brefiniae Principis Vxor, absente marito (qui devotionis gratia, Purgatorium S. Patritij adijt) a Dermitio mac Moraghu, seu Morpheo Lageniae Principe (Rege) rapta est. [3]

If this were true, it would only serve to confirm what can be deduced from the Tractatus and Owayne's visit in the late 1140s, namely that the practice of penitential exercises leading to a ritual entry into a purgatorial cave at Lough Derg was well established by the mid-twelfth century, within a few years of the arrival of the Canons Regular.

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1. G. Keating (1570-1644), History of Ireland, vol.III, Bk.II, section xxx, ed. and trans. David Comyn and P.S. Dineen, Irish Texts Society, ix(1908),318-19. A measure of Keating's erratic chronology can be judged by his quoting Caesarius of Heisterbach's reference to St. Patrick's Purgatory (see below, p.clxxvi) to disprove that Abbot Patrick founded the Purgatory in 850, for he says Caesarius "lived within six hundred years of Christ"! Keating confuses Caesarius of Heisterbach (c.1180-c.1240) with Caesarius of Arles (469/470-542).
2. Giraldus Cambrensis says of Tiernan O'Rourke that at the time of his wife's abduction he was remotas in partes expeditionis cujusdam causa profecto, Expugnatio Hibernica, I.i, ed. J.F. Dimock, RS 21e(1867),225.
3. Anthony Bruodin, Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis (Prague,1669), 938, (Lib.V. cap.xvii). See J. Hennig, 'Fortunatus in Ireland', Ulster Journal of Archaeology, xiii(1950),101.

Similar caution must be used with testimony that St. Patrick's Purgatory was known in the tenth or eleventh century. In an Irish life of St. Coemgen or Kevin from that date, we read that Coemgen, on returning from Rome,

> brought some of the earth of the church of Rome with him, and sprinkled it in his own church and in his cemeteries; for it pertained to the holiness of Coemgen after [conferring (rights of) pilgrimage on Glendalough,] that a great number of pilgrims should be visiting his church out of every quarter of Erin; so that this is one of the four chief pilgrimages of Erin henceforth; to wit, the Cave of Patrick in Ulster, Croagh Patrick in Connaught, Inis na m-Béo (the Isle of the Living) in Munster, and Glendalough in Leinster, where is Coemgen's church. [1]

If this reference could be trusted it would be valuable testimony to the existence of St. Patrick's Purgatory before the twelfth century. However, both the manuscripts used by Plummer are very late, dating from 1725 and 1765, and the possibility of late interpolation of "the Cave of Patrick in Ulster" must be acknowledged.

This is as far as present records can trace the early history of the Purgatory. It seems likely that from the time of St. Patrick or St. Dabheoc in the fifth or early sixth century the members of the community on Saints' Island and of an anchoretic offshoot on Station Island practised the severe penitential exercises typical of early Irish monasticism. Nennius, Probus, Tirechan, Muirchu and other early historians make no mention of a Purgatory at Lough Derg. With the arrival of the Augustinian Canons Regular on Saints' Island in the 1130s, or rather with the adoption by the existing community of the Augustinian rule introduced by St. Malachy, it would seem that Station Island became publicized as a place wherein pilgrims under the guidance of

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1. C. Plummer, Lives of Irish Saints, ii(Oxford,1922),156.

the canons might themselves take part not only in penitential exercises but also undergo purgatorial suffering at the hands of demons. According to Giraldus these experiences would exempt pilgrims from infernal pains after death. Once propagated by the Tractatus, the idea of a physical entrance at Station Island to both purgatory and, for those of firm faith, the Earthly Paradise became very popular and widespread throughout Europe for at least three centuries. When the idea of the physical entrance to the otherworld faded the penitential exercises persisted, and do so to the present day, now consisting primarily of an all-night vigil not in a pit or 'cave' but in the Basilica built on Station Island in 1931.

It seems, however, from the awe in which the local inhabitants held Saints' Island and the area of the lake as a whole,[1] that the purgatorial exercises were not merely the invention of the Canons Regular but grew out of a long-standing and probably pre-Christian veneration for the lake as the home of divine beings or in Christian terms, of demons. Both Giraldus and Peter of Cornwall speak of devils inhabiting Station Island. I have referred to Seymour's suggestion that the cult of St. Patrick's Purgatory might be pre-Christian in origin, and to Borlase's point that the practice of the dessil or turas was originally pagan, and was adopted and modified by Christians for their usage. For substantiation of these ideas we must turn from the relative security of historical 'records' to the slippery but suggestive authority of legend and folk-lore associated with Lough Derg. The ritual procedure at St. Patrick's Purgatory and its purposes, as known from the Tractatus and later medieval accounts, are so complex and adhere so closely to certain traditional ritual practices in other times, places and societies, that it seems unlikely that they should be merely the

1. See Peter of Cornwall's account, p.194 ll.23ff, and see below, p.clxx.

invention of a small body of canons in the Saints' Island priory between c.1132 and 1146. In the next two sections of this chapter I hope at least to suggest some of this complexity, though I cannot claim to be making anything more definite than suggestions.

b) Legend and St. Patrick's Purgatory

In the extract from the Irish Life of St. Coemgen quoted above (p. cl), the first two pilgrimage centres are given as "the Cave of Patrick in Ulster, Croagh Patrick in Connaught."[1] Jocelin of Furness inadvertently provides an interesting link between these two places which throws some light on Giraldus Cambrensis' description of the Purgatory and the demonic nature of Station Island. Croagh Patrick is a mountain on the west coast of Ireland in county Mayo, on the summit of which St. Patrick is said to have spent a period of retreat and to have banished thence a flock of demons in the form of black birds.[2] This account occurs in the fourth Life of Patrick, which Bieler dates as not "earlier than the first half of the eighth century...and not later than the eleventh."[3] In c.1183, Jocelin of Furness composed his Life of St. Patrick at the request of Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, and in chapter 172 he recounted how St. Patrick expelled aues illas mortiferas which clamoured about him on the summit of Croagh Patrick, until then called Cruachan Aighle, Hill of the Eagles.

> Demones itaque a S. Patricio transmare fugati fugerunt, & in Insulis a fide, & dilectione Dei alienis per phalanges diuisi degere, ac fantasias suas exercere soliti sunt. Ab illo ergo tempore vsque in presens, venenosa animantia in Hibernia meritis; & precibus sanctissimi Patris Patricij penitus esse cessarunt, Daemonumque fantasmata, & illorum illusoria scemata, sicut in caeteris regionibus apparere non consuescunt. Cymbalum etiam sancti, ex crebris ictibus in vna parte apparuit effractum, quod postmodum Angelica manu resolidatum, cuius cicatrix adhuc apparet oculis intuentium. In hujus igitur montis cacumine ieiunare, ac vigilare consuescunt plurimi opinantes se postea nunquam intraturos portas inferni; quia hoc impetratum

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1. For a photograph of present day pilgrims to Croagh Patrick and of the present Basilica at Lough Derg, see Encyclopaedia of Ireland, ed. Victor Meally, (Dublin,1968),132 figs.135, 136. See also S. Leslie, Saint Patrick's Purgatory (Dublin,1961), frontispiece.
2. See P. Grosjean, 'S. Patricius in monte Cruachan Aighle', Anal. Boll. 1(1932),346-57.
3. L. Bieler, Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick, (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae vol.viii), (Dublin,1971),12 and see pp.101 ll.26ff, and pp.180 and 212.

> a Domino existimant meritis & precibus S. Patricii. Referunt etiam nonnulli qui pernoctauerant ibi se tormenta grauissima fuisse perpessos, quibus se purgatos a peccatis putant, vnde & quidam illorum locum illum purgatorium S. Patricii vocant. 1

This is the only time that St. Patrick's Purgatory is said to be situated on top of Mt. Croagh Patrick. There are at least three possible explanations of why Jocelin should say that the pilgrim station of Croagh Patrick was called St. Patrick's Purgatory: it has been suggested that Croagh Patrick was the site of the original Purgatory, and that the Lough Derg pilgrimage was started in competition with it;[2] but it may be that Jocelin had heard an account of the Purgatory at Lough Derg and the demonic attacks suffered there, and merely transferred the name to the station where similar attacks were reported on Croagh Patrick; or, as Jocelin nowhere in his life of Patrick mentions Lough Derg, it may be that the mortifications endured at both sites were held to be a sufficient purgatory in this life to exempt one from hell and purgatory after death. I suggest that Jocelin was silent about Lough Derg simply because he had not heard about it,[3] nor about the Tractatus, for both he and Henry of Saltrey were writing at about the same time, shortly before 1185. The idea that pilgrims to Croagh Patrick should thereby gain exemption from hell stems, as Jocelin indicates, from the notion that while fasting and praying on the summit St. Patrick demanded and was granted three boons: the first, that he might bring seven souls from hell every Thursday and twelve every Saturday till Doom; the second, that anyone singing

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1. See J. Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga (Louvain,1647),103, col.1. For a translation of Jocelin, see E.L. Swift, The life and acts of Saint Patrick the Archbishop...translated from the original Latin of Jocelin... (Dublin,1809).
2. See John Lanigan, An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, i(Dublin, 1829),368,370. He refers to the Tractatus as the foolish narrative and this trash. See also John Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus, ed. Matthew Kelly, i(Dublin,1848),151 note g.
3. Thomas Messingham thought Jocelin had been deceived over the Abbot Patrick problem: see Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum (Paris, 1624),87 and 93, section 14, and PL clxxx, 973-4.

Patrick's hymn from one watch to another should not go to hell; the third, that Patrick alone should judge the Irish at Doomsday.[1] These powers Patrick obtained by fasting against Christ, and they established him as a master over the dead.[2]

The expulsion of the black birds or demons from Cruachan Aighle is equated by Jocelin with Patrick's traditional expulsion of the venenosa animantia of Ireland. Pertinent information on this tradition is furnished by Philippe O'Sullevan Beare, the seventeenth century antiquary, who had access to Irish manuscripts that have since perished. He tells that Patrick drove all the poisonous animals on to Cruachan Aighle with the aid of his staff, the Bachall Iosa,[3] and thence drove them into the sea. This parallels Jocelin's transmare fugati fugerunt. O'Sullevan Beare goes on to tell of the cave in the side of the mountain which was an entrance to hell, whither some of the venemous beasts and demons were driven, and of other places also:

> ...est in abrupto Cruachan montis latere, qua mare & occidentem solem spectat, specus profundissimus, flatus unquam gelidissimos mittens, in quem vulgi traditione aliquot alites tartareae sese praecipitantes, in orcum inciderunt. Vnde Specus cacodaemonum nuncupatur. (Poull na Ndheamhain - in margin) Veterum scriptorum authoritate alij ex his cacodaemonibus in insulas, quas ab Ibernia mare distinguit, nondum Evangelij lumine lustratas fugerunt; alij sese in insulam prius Natatum (Oilean an Tshnamha), inde vero Daemoniacam vocatam (Oilean na Ndheamhain) contulerunt. De hac postea fusius agemus.[4]

The hell entrance on the north face of Croagh Patrick, over-looking

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1. See also Trip. Life, ii.474-7. Cf. also Nennius's account: see C.A. Bolton, 'The Saint on Croagh Patrick', IER lxx(1948),681. See also Cross, Motif-Index, E751.3.
2. On the whole question of the growth of the Patrick legend with many interesting speculations relevant here, see S.Z. Czarnowski, Le Culte des héros et ses conditions sociales. Saint Patrick, héros national de l'Irelande (Paris,1919),193ff. On fasting against God, see Cross, Motif-Index, P623.0.1.
3. Transferred in the Tractatus to the Purgatory. See Note C54ff.
4. Philippe O'Sullevan Beare, Patritiana Decas (Madrid,1629), Lib. IIX. cap.III. p.61.

Clew Bay, into which the demons retreated is still called Lugna-demon, the Hollow of the Demons.[1] When Beare returns to the subject of the insulam Daemoniacam he says:

> Supra monstravimus confertissimum cacodęmonum exercitum apud Cruachanum montem numinis ope a Patritio nostro fusum, atque fugatum fuisse: fugientumque partem in Natatu insula, cui ipsi Daemoniacae nomen indiderunt, constitisse Daemoniaca vero insula lacu mediterraneo cingitur. Lacus autem ille Deargus nominatur: in Vltonia situs forma pene circulari, mille circiter passus longus, Tirconellam, Tironam & Fermonacham Principatus medius disterminat, insulas continens. Duae sunt celebres: altera divi Abheogi sepulchro venerabilis: altera cacodaemonum frequentia infesta, & ob id Daemoniaca dicta. In hanc Patritio cacodaemones secuto, ut eos totius Iberniae finibus pelleret, Angelus specum obscuram monstrat, purgatorij aditum esse dicit.... 2

The identification of Station Island as the Insula Daemoniaca accords well with Giraldus's description of the island as half given over to demons, and with Peter of Cornwall's information that those who enter the sedes are soon attacked by demons. In the account of Rathold's visit in 1411 the same idea is still present that half the island was Sathane suisque satellitibus hereditario iure antiquitus attributa.[3] The traditional belief that Station Island was infested with demons is exemplified in the vision recounted by Peter of Cornwall (see below, p.195 l.9 - p.198). The hermits on Station Island had no doubt originally installed themselves there and built their capella in order to counter the demons. As I suggested at the end of chapter 8a), the hermits' penitential exercises probably gave rise to the notion that penances undergone there involving demonic assault could act as a purgatory. According to Jocelin it is just such torments that pilgrims at Croagh Patrick believed themselves to have suffered.

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1. See G.T. Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, 7th ed. revised by H.J. Lawlor, (London,1928),89.
2. Beare, op. cit., Lib.IX. cap.IX.p.110b.
3. See below, p.clxi.

In chapter 169 Jocelin spoke of the threefold plague of Ireland, the venomous creatures, demons, and magicians and soothsayers, all of whom were driven out by St. Patrick. The identification of venomous serpents, demons and black birds with pre-Christian deities and pagan ministers is a clear one. It can fairly be said that a firm tradition concerning the expulsion of demons or monsters from a specific locality strongly suggests, though it does not prove, the preservation of the memory of the overthrow of a pre-Christian cult centre. The ideas about Lough Derg which follow cannot be said to prove that the place once definitely held a sacred pagan shrine; they may well suggest as much, but their value here is to show the prevalence of those traditions which led to the establishment of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

There is no other locality apart from Croagh Patrick and Lough Derg which is so closely associated with the saint's expulsion of demons. One tradition depicts St. Patrick as a monster slayer, taking over the heroic part played by Finn mac Cumhaill in the tale which is meant to explain the origin of the name of Lough Derg, the Red Lake. This tale was briefly recounted by Bishop Henry Jones,[1] and in various forms by subsequent writers.[2] The following is a reduced and composite version.

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1. St. Patrick's Purgatory (London,1647),2. On p.3 Jones identifies the Insula Daemoniaca with Saints' Island and says the cave is in another island.
2. See the following: A.C. Otway, Sketches in Ireland (Dublin, 1827),181-91; T. Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory (London,1844), 2-4; O'Donovan (1835), quoted by Leslie, SPP pp.132-3; John Richardson, The Great Folly, Superstition and Idolatry of Pilgrimages in Ireland (Dublin,1727),2; W.G. Wood Martin, Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland, i(London,1902),268-9; W. Evans Wentz, Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries (Oxford,1911),443; St. John D. Seymour, Saint Patrick's Purgatory (Dundalk,1918), 8-9.

Finn MacCoul, out hunting with his band, slew the Old Hag with the Finger, and she died on the shore of Lough Finn, the Fair Lake. One year later at the same spot a dwarf warned Finn that in her thigh bone lay a worm which, if it could reach enough water, would become a monster and would destroy all the living creatures of Erin or the world. Conan Maol, one of the Fenian troop, broke the bone, the worm emerged, and Conan defiantly threw it into the lake. A vast serpent monster thence emerged and despoiled the land. In one version, Finn, by biting his left thumb, understood that the monster was vulnerable in a mole on its left side,[1] and there wounded it. In another version, Conan, disguising himself among the cattle which the monster avidly devoured, was eaten and then cut his way out of the monster's belly,[2] losing his hair (Maol=bald) in the great heat of the monster's entrails.[3] The blood of the dying serpent stained the waters of the Fair Lake red, hence Lough Derg. In subsequent versions St. Patrick comes to subdue the monster which has not completely died,[4] and secures it at the bottom of the lake.[5] According to Richardson, rocks off the edge of Station Island (Leac na Mbonn) were long regarded as the 'Monster's metamorphosed Guts'. According to O'Donovan's version, the monster guarded a crock of gold on Station Island.

Wentz's informer at the beginning of this century told him that "The old men and women in this neighbourhood used to believe that Lough Derg was the last stronghold of the Druids in Ireland...and

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1. In yet another version it is Daire, son of Finn, who performs this feat.
2. Leslie, SPP p.140 points out that in one of the Ossianic accounts the word Turus or pilgrimage is applied to Conan's exploits in the monster's belly.
3. See also the version in Duanaire Finn, Pt.II.LX, ed. Gerard Murphy, Irish Texts Society, xxviii(1933),239 and vol.xliii(1954), 141 note 17d. Richardson, op. cit., p.3 footnote, remarked on the similarity of this episode to that of Hercules in the belly of the whale, and he gave a false reference to Ovid, Metamorphoses b.11. Rather it occurs in a version of Hercules' rescue of Hesione not detailed by Ovid in Bk.XI . See J.G. Frazer in Apollodorus, The Library, Loeb ed. vol.i, pp.207-8, note 2 to II.v.9, and also Murphy in Irish Texts Society, xliii(1954), 140 note 14.
4. J. Healy, The Life and Writings of St. Patrick (Dublin,1905),658, says his informer told him that the serpent had followed Patrick all the way from Croagh Patrick. According to Beare, the serpent should have been followed by Patrick: Patritio cacodaemones secuto. For references to versions of the tale with Patrick replacing Finn, and killing the monster from within with his crozier, see Murphy, op. cit., pp.139-41.
5. See also Cross, Motif-Index, V229.5.1 and V229.3.

that the serpents represent the Druids or paganism."[1] The tenacity with which the above legend and interpretation has been held leads one to presuppose the likelihood that Lough Derg did have some pre-Christian significance. The monster slaying of pagan heroes was frequently adapted to Christian saints,[2] and Patrick's expulsion of demons and slaying of the serpent at Lough Derg is one of the clearest examples of such adaptation.

There is another interesting link between Finn and Patrick implicit in this tale. In another adventure Finn slew his enemy the otherworld god in the shape of a salmon.[3] While cooking the salmon, Finn scalded his thumb, and when he put his thumb in his mouth he acquired otherworldly knowledge. It is this Thumb of Knowledge that Finn bites in our tale, and by which he is given knowledge of the monster's vulnerability. O'Rahilly has discussed the relationship of this legend of Finn to the Sigurd legend where the hero is cooking the dragon's heart and by similar means comes to understand the language of the birds. O'Rahilly says:

> Inasmuch as the omniscient otherworld-god was often represented as a serpent, and as serpents are unknown in Ireland, the substitution of salmon for serpent was a natural one. Also it was natural to synchronize Finn's acquisition of wisdom with his victory over the otherworld deity. 4

This is a modification he claims of the widespread belief that wisdom could be acquired by eating a sacred serpent, this animal

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1. Cf. also A Guide to County Donegal, 1930, pp.27ff.
2. See C. Plummer, Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae, i(Oxford,1910), p.cxxxix note 5. On Finn see also Eoin Macneill, Duanaire Finn, Irish Texts Society, vii, pp.192ff. See also Czarnowski, Le Culte des héros, p.228 notes.
3. According to Otway, op. cit., p.195, the salmon of knowledge lived in a stream near Croagh Patrick.
4. Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology (Dublin, 1946),333. See the whole chapter on 'The Wisdom of Finn'. On the salmon of knowledge, see also Cross, Motif-Index, B124.2. I have been unable to consult R.D. Scott, The Thumb of Knowledge in Legends of Finn, Sigurd and Taliesin (New York,1930).

being "pre-eminently the animal that typifies the powers of the netherworld." The link with St. Patrick and Lough Derg is found in another legend which is current that tells how Patrick expelled all the salmon from the Lough because he accidentally mistook one for a stepping stone, or in another version, because a salmon once splashed water on Patrick's book.[1]

The memory of the serpent monster named Caol slain by Finn/Conan/Patrick was alive in the eighteenth century. Richardson describes a stone carving discovered on Saints' Island by one Ludovicus Pyrrhus who was excavating for the cave of the Purgatory, c.1693. The stone carving was thought to represent the monster for it depicted a figure "like a Wolf (the most pernicious Animal in Ireland) with a Serpent's Tail between its Legs, and thrown over its Back".[2] Richardson also mentioned the rocks which were regarded as relics of the monster's guts.[3] The name of this monster he gave as Caoranach. The carving itself may well have been like that class of animal carvings common in Romanesque sculpture, such as the lion over the door of Cormac's chapel at Cashel,[4] founded in 1134, and may have belonged to the Augustinian priory. The cow-devouring depredations of Caoranach/Caol are typical of the activities of other hellish monsters in Irish legend. An important parallel is to be found at the Cave of Cruachan, known as the Hell-gate of Ireland.[5] On Samhuin, the night of October 31st - November 1st, when otherworld entrances are traditionally open, great black (or red) birds were wont to emerge from the Cave of Cruachan and ravage the land, eating up the cattle in the

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1. See Leslie, SPP p.133, quoting O'Donovan.
2. Richardson, op. cit., pp.7-8.
3. See above, p.clviii.
4. See P.W. Joyce, A Social History of Ancient Ireland, i(Dublin, 1913),p.vii, and Francoise Hardy, Irish Art in the Romanesque Period (1020-1170 A.D.) (London,1970),plate 103.
5. See The Adventures of Nera, ed. Kuno Meyer, RC x(1889),212-27, and The Battle of Mag Mucrime, ed. W. Stokes, RC xiii(1892),449. For a photograph of the cave, see Proinsias MacCana, Celtic Mythology (Hamlyn Books,1970),126.

vicinity. These demonic black birds parallel those which surrounded St. Patrick on the summit of Cruachan Aighle, and which he banished, some to the Lugna-demon, and some to Station Island, Lough Derg. The two embodiments of demons as serpents and as black birds found at Croagh Patrick are confirmed at Lough Derg by James Yonge, who relates the visit of the Hungarian pilgrim Lawrence Rathold de Pászthó in 1411. Here is Yonge's description of Station Island:

> Dividitur enim in duas partes, quarum maior inter occidentem et septemtrionem optinet locum suum Kernagh hiberniali ydiomate nuncupata, latino quidem sermone Clamoris Insula dici potest. Estque ipsa pars nonnullis fructuum et arborum generibus sicut acrifoliis, dumis, cornubus, sambucis ceterisque spinosis arboribus obumbrata necnon avibus rapacissimis et corvis, capis, coredulis, bubonibus aliisque volucribus rapacibus ibidem nidificantibus et horride garrientibus nimis plena. Est enim, prout in quibusdam codicibus Hibernie reportatur, Sathane suisque satellitibus hereditario iure antiquitus attributa.[1] In illa quidem parte inter cetera maligna quidam demon, Cornu hibernice nuncupatus, preter alas effigiem habens ardee dispennate, oculis plurimorum multociens intuetur. Qui cum more solito vocem dederit ad modum cecinentis tubam, tunc mortem alicuius prenosticat peregrini. Quem et miles Owain [2] est ibidem contemplatus. Maior enim pars ipsius insule angelis est dicata et hibernice Regles, latine Regula nominatur.[3] ...locus aliquociens habundans arboribus quercinis, taxeis, ceteris pulcris arboribus auium diversarum dulciter melodiam resonancium satis plenis.[4]

The importance of this account for confirming Giraldus's notion of the division of the island into demonic and angelic parts, as well as for naming the latter Regles, has been noticed above.[5] The

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1. See H. Delehaye, 'Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pászthó au Purgatoire de S. Patrice', Anal. Boll. xxvii(1908),48 11.26ff.
2. Owain did not see the bird. This reading is an evident false emendation from MS. octovia, which is itself an error for Antonius, i.e. Mannini. This error was first noted by L.L. Hammerich, Visiones Georgii, p.18 note 20.
3. Delehaye, op.cit., p.49 11.4ff.
4. Ibid., p.49 11.12ff.
5. See p.cxli.

account of the demon bird Cornu is new. This bird with the prophetic call ad modum cecinentis tubam was also seen, as Yonge says,[1] by a fellow pilgrim in 1411, one Antonio Mannini, during his visit on 7th November.[2] Mannini describes his terror at seeing the black, scarcely feathered, heron-like bird flying from Station Island as he approached from Saints' Island by boat. He was told that a demon had in Patrick's time caused the death of many visitors to the Purgatory,[3] and in answer to Patrick's prayer God had transformed the demon into a black bird,[4] which was confined to the bounds of the lake, and though living on Station Island, always left it at the approach of a Christian. Mannini adds:

> quando il malvoglio uccello Corna col becco come un huomo suona un corna e segno di perdizione di colui che va entrare in Purgatorio; ma lodato sia Dio, per me non corno, ne niente senti.[5]

There is a clear parallel between the nature of the serpent monster Caol/Caoranach and the bird Cornu/Corna. Both are demons of the sort Patrick reputedly drove from Cruachan Aighle to Station Island; both caused the deaths of many men; both were overthrown by the power of Patrick and confined to the lake. Seymour has postulated the identity of the names Caoranach and Cornu.[6] The latter may have derived from a confusion of cornix and corvus.[7] The interchangeability of crows and ravens as birds of evil omen is well attested,[8] and there may be another link in a confusion

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1. See previous page, footnote 2.
2. See L. Frati, 'Il Purgatorio di S. Patrizio', Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, viii(1886),154-62, and on the bird, see pp. 157-8.
3. Cf. T p.154 l.23.
4. See Cross, Motif-Index, F401.3.7.2. and B172.10.
5. See Frati, op. cit., p.157.
6. St. John D. Seymour, Saint Patrick's Purgatory (Dundalk,1918),71.
7. See Anne Ross, Pagan Celtic Britain, Studies in Iconography and Tradition (London and New York,1967),243 footnote 3.
8. See R. Graves, The White Goddess, 1st publ. 1948; amended and enlarged ed. (London,1962),66-7.

between corvus and the forms corax and corona, hence Caoranach.[1] I leave it to Irish linguists to approve, disprove or improve on these suggestions. They might also like to consider any link with the name Kernagh given to the home of Cornu, which Yonge translates as Clamoris Insula. Crow and raven were well established as pagan Celtic birds of ill omen,[2] and feature regularly in folk tales and local legends as a "form taken on by witches and anti-Christian powers".[3] There are examples of omens of amazing complexity derived from raven calls, usually presaging death or disaster as in the case of Cornu's calls. Anne Ross says:

> It seems likely that a cave on the island (i.e. Station Island) once constituted a pagan sanctuary where some bird-deity called Cornu was worshipped, oracles perhaps being delivered there.[4]

In this respect it is interesting to consider the possibility of the presence in early times of a nemeton or sacred grove on Station Island, especially in view of Yonge's detailed description, which is more likely mythical than factual. The evil part of the island, Kernagh, Sathane suisque satellitibus hereditario iure antiquitus attributa, is significantly the north-west sector, lying between the traditional northern home of Satan and the setting sun. This part is full of ominous trees: acrifoliis, unknown trees of ill omen; dumis, thorns; cornubus, cornel or dogwood, named "from cornix, the crow...which feeds on its red 'cherries'";[5] sambucis, elder trees, "waterside tree(s) associated with witches", death and doom;[6]

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1. Mannini seems to think the bird's name is Corna, not Cornu, because its call is like the sound of a man blowing a horn, corna; cf. Yonge's vocem...ad modum cecinentis tubam.
2. See C. Plummer, Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae, i(Oxford,1910), p.cxlvii note 2 for refs.
3. Anne Ross, op. cit., p.243, and see also pp.256-9, and 122, 346-8. See also St. John D. Seymour, Irish Visions of the Otherworld (London,1930),177.
4. Op. cit., p.243.
5. Graves, The White Goddess, p.172.
6. Ibid., p.185.

ceterisque spinosis arboribus. Kernagh, Cornu's home, is also full of evil birds: corvis, ravens, and bubonibus, owls. Whether or not capis and coredulis are suitable members of this demonic menagerie, volucribus rapacibus, I have not been able to determine. The other part of the island, Regles, Maior enim pars,[1] which includes the blessed east and south, is dedicated to the angels, and is the site of the hermits' capella in Peter of Cornwall's account (p.195 l.4). The trees here are beautiful and specifically sacred, oaks and yews, and the birds here sing sweetly, as they do so often in happy Celtic otherworlds. This late account, therefore, retains to a remarkable degree distinctions about good and evil trees and birds which are sacer.

Thus far we have seen Lough Derg and Station Island in particular at the centre of a complex of ideas concerning the presence of demons and their expulsion by St. Patrick, all of which could be interpreted as signifying the overthrow of a pre-Christian sanctuary possibly by Patrick. We turn now to consider how these ideas relate to the notion of a pit or cave, and the nature of the pilgrim's experiences recounted by Peter of Cornwall.

Eckleben[2] suggested that there was once an oracular cave at Lough Derg[3] called Uaim Treibh d'Oin. This name would seem to have been gleaned without acknowledgement from the introduction to Turnbull and Laing's little volume, which was the first to include the Auchinleck text. It says "local tradition" still assigns "to St. Patrick's Purgatory the name of Uamh Treibb Oin, which General Vallancey explains to be the 'Cave of the Tribe of Oin, or Owen'".[4] However, no other source for this name is available apart from local nineteenth century tradition, and whether this represents a

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1. Perhaps maior in l.26, i.e. l.1 of the quotation(above, p. clxi), should read minor.
2. Selmar Eckleben, Die älteste Schilderung vom Fegefeuer des heil. Patricius (Halle/Saale,1885),32. (There are two forms of this thesis, B.M. copy (11840.f.25) has 61 pages: Bodley copy (930.e.49) has 28 pages.
3. Cf. Anne Ross quoted above.
4. W.B.D.D. Turnbull and D. Laing, eds. Owain Miles and Other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry (Edinburgh,1837),7.

significant survival of a very early tradition, or one that has grown up since the twelfth century when Owayne became well known, cannot be determined. I suspect the latter is the case. Eckleben also suggests as evidence for a possible connection between Lough Derg and the Tuatha Dé Danann the reputed preservation of names of the Tuatha in several names of mountains in the vicinity, such as Rughd-Cruach, Cruach-Brioct, and Sceirgearg or Gearog - the Hill of the Wizard, the Rock of Fate.[1] The Tuatha Dé Danann are the euhemerized gods, displaced by the Milesian invaders, who took up their abodes in splendid underground palaces. This sid world was confused with the Celtic happy otherworld, and "may be located in this or that natural or artificial mound, it may be placed beneath the waters of a well or lake; but it is all one and the same Otherworld."[2] Any cave with demonic connections might therefore be regarded as an entrance to this underworld,[3] where under Christian influence the pagan gods are transformed into devils and tempting demons.

The name of Lough Derg, as seen from the tale of Finn retold above, has been explained as the Red Lake, but it has also been interpreted as the Lake of the Cave. Irish dearc/derc=dark, and is hence applied to a cave or grotto, as in Dearc-fearna, Cave of the Alders, known as the Cave of Dunmore, near Kilkenny.[4] O'Donovan in his letter written on the Ordnance Survey, says he believed the name to be "not Loch Dearg i.e. the Red Lough, but Loch Deirc, i.e. the Lake of the Cave,"[5] Malone took Derg to mean burial place

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1. Information taken presumably from Stramberg in J.S. Ersch and J.G. Gruber, Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste, section III.pt.13 (Leipzig,1840),366,col.2.
2. T.P. Cross, 'Celtic Mythology and Arthurian Romance', Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies (Baltimore,1949),114.
3. See Ross, op. cit., pp.24-5, and Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage (London,1961),303-5.
4. See A.W. Foot, 'An Account of a Visit to the Cave of Dunmore', The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, vol.i.4th ser.(1870),66.
5. See Leslie, SPP p.132, quoting O'Donovan (1835).

(dercc), saying "deirc means a burial ground rather than 'caves'."[1] Lough Derg does not appear in the dindsenchas, what Robin Flower has called "a kind of Dictionary of National Topography",[2] the Middle Irish pieces on the origin of place-names; nor does the cave of the Purgatory figure in the collection of uatha or cave tales (from uaimh, a cave, pit or cellar) found in the Book of Leinster.[3] Nevertheless, be it Red or Cave or burial ground, the name Lough Derg may testify to the early significance of the locality.

Here the question of the nature of the cave of the Purgatory is important. There is no clear evidence of a deep cave such as the legend suggests, either on Saints' or Station Island. It is known from accounts such as that of Sir William de Lisle,[4] Mannini and others,[5] that the 'cave' was at least partially a man-made structure making use of a fissure or depression in the rock. This was covered over, with walls built along its length, the enclosure being not more than about four feet wide. Because of repeated destruction and rebuilding, it has long since been impossible to gain any clear idea of the exact location and shape of the early cavern. Félice has pointed out that the names applied to it such as fossa, puteus, fovea all suggest a man-made structure.[6] Such a

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1. Sylvester Malone, Church History of Ireland from the Anglo-Norman Invasion to the Reformation, ii(Dublin,1880),188 footnote. See also Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Goedelicum (Dublin and London, 1910),497, and the Martyrology of Donegal, ed. O'Donovan, (Dublin, 1864),p.xl.
2. The Irish Tradition (Oxford,1947),1.
3. See Eugene O'Curry, Lectures on Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History (Dublin,1861),283, 586-7.
4. See Froissart, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XV(Brussels,1871),145-6.
5. See discussion by L. Bieler in IER xciii(1960),137-44.
6. Félice, L'Autre Monde (Paris,1906),83-4.

uaimh or covered pit was a common form of early shelter or sanctuary,[1] and may well in an earlier form have existed as the focal point of a cult ritual.[2] It may also have served as a burial place, and any fissure or subterranean hollow was, of course, liable to be taken as an entrance to the otherworld. In Celtic Brittany earth fissures and pits supposedly leading to the otherworld were and indeed still are common, and they even had their own 'trou S. Patrice'.[3] The widespread belief in cave entrances to the otherworld in classical times is well attested. Such entrances were known as necyomanteia, ploutonia or psychopompeia, both for the passage of souls and mortals to the land of the dead, and also as exits by which souls and demons might pass out into the upper world.[4] Similarly, cave entrances to the sid world of the Tuatha were a point of entry and exit, both for mortals visiting the sid palace and Land of the Living, usually at the request of a member of the fairy folk, and for members of the sídhe people or demons

1. See D. MacRitchie on Caves in ERE iii.270a, and the same author's 'A Note on St. Patrick's Purgatory', The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 5th ser. vol.xxx consec., Pt.2, vol.x(1900),167.
2. Cf. the similar use of caves in the east, where, according to Porphyry: "The Persians, mystically signifying the descent of the soul into the sublunary regions, and its regression from it, initiate the mystic in a place which they denominate a cavern." (cap.2) "After this Zoroaster likewise, it was usual with others to perform the rites pertaining to the mysteries in caverns and dens, whether spontaneously produced, or made by the hands." (cap.3) De antro nympharum, trans. Thomas Taylor, Select Works of Porphyry (London,1823),175. See also W.F. Jackson Knight, Cumaean Gates (Oxford,1961),7.
3. See P. Sebillot, Le Folk-lore de France, i(Paris,1904),421, and F. Baudry in Mélusine, i(1878),13. See also Anatole le Braz, who suggested that the Tuatha were an important early influence on the idea of St. Patrick's Purgatory, in La Légende de la Mort chez les Bretons Armoricains, i(Paris,1945),p.xxiv and p.xxx. Considering the popularity of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Spain, it is perhaps not surprising that a Purgatory should be reported in that country also: see Patrick MacBride, 'Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Spanish Literature', Studies, xxv(1936),277-91, and especially p.291. See also Cross, Motif-Index, F158 and A671.0.3.
4. See E. Rohde, Psyche, 8th ed. trans. W.B. Hillis, (London,1925), 186 note 23 to chap.V. See also Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 152/3 (X_2) s.v. Katabasis, cols.2378ff and 2383ff. On figures who went below, see cols. cols.2396ff.

to emerge. The confusion of fairyland and hell, and the adaptation of the pagan land of promise to the Christian Earthly Paradise is too well known and documented to repeat here, as is also the frequency in mediaeval romance literature and folk-tale of instances of mortals entering caves and finding a splendid, or terrible land underground.[1]

Peter of Cornwall's information on the life of the hermits living by the Purgatory on Station Island (p.195) also reminds one of the popularity of caves not only among pre-Christian tribes, but also as places of penitential retreat sought by Christian saints and anchorites.[2] In the Tripartite Life, for instance, Fiacc is said to have spent from Shrove Saturday to Easter Saturday in his cave or uaim at Druim Coblai.[3] St. Ninian is renowned for his cave on the coast of Galloway,[4] and St. Columban for his retreat to caves near Annegray and Bobbio, where he left the imprint of his hand,[5] as Patrick left the imprint of his foot on the rocks off Station Island. Three Patricks are mentioned as being in quodam solitario specu inter montem & mare.[6] St. Patrick relieved them of the attentions of an unwelcome monster, but this cave cannot be identified with that at St. Patrick's Purgatory. That caves were employed specifically for acts of penance as at Lough Derg is shown elsewhere, as in the tale of Brenaim, who at ten years of age had promised to do penance for 'beating' a 'stainless maiden'. He was told by Bishop Eirc "Go into this cave till morning, and stay there

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1. See e.g. Patch (1950), passim, and A. Nutt, in Kuno Meyer and A. Nutt, The Voyage of Bran (London,1895). See also T. Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory (London,1844),79-103; K.M. Briggs, 'The Fairies and the Realms of the Dead', Folklore, lxxxi(1970),81-96; and Cross, Motif-Index, A694.1, F160.0.3. and F251.7.
2. On the assimilation of pagan sacred islands to Christian ascetic practices, see e.g. Olivier Loyer, Les chrétientés celtiques (Paris,1965),70-1. See also pp.69-75 on fasting and peregrinatio, St. Patrick and Czarnowski.
3. Trip. Life, i.243. Note that SR says William of Stranton entered St. Patrick's Purgatory on Easter Day.
4. See A.P. Forbes, Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern (Edinburgh, 1874),285, 345.
5. See L. Gougaud, Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity (Dublin,1923), 122-3. See also C. Grant Loomis, White Magic (Cambridge,Mass., 1948),82 and C. Plummer, Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae, i(Oxford, 1910),p.clvi note 1.
6. J. Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, p.122, cap.34; cf. Trip. Life, i.p.cxcvi.

alone till I come to thee tomorrow", and Brenaim sat down in the cave and sang psalms and hymns of praise.[1]

Once again we can turn to Peter of Cornwall's hitherto neglected testimony on St. Patrick's Purgatory to find an interesting conjunction of the ideas glanced at above. Not only does he tell us of the hermits living on bread and water, which was also the diet provided during the fifteen day preparatory fast for pilgrims, and of their special Lenten fare of oat cakes mixed with ashes, but he also recounts the vision of a knight there, said to have taken place during the reign of Henry II, about 1170.[2]

A knight enters the Purgatory and finds a splendidly arrayed underground hall. The owner, King Gulinus, returns from hunting with great noise and clamour.[3] He offers his guest his beautiful daughter, and as the knight is about to enjoy her in a specially prepared bed, aperti sunt oculi, and he finds she has become in his arms a tree trunk, very old, arid and deformed, and his virile member has become a twig in a hole in the trunk. His member is severely tortured by one of Gulinus's ministers. The king kindly offers his 'son-in-law' a warm bath to refresh him - it turns out to be molten metal; thereafter a cooling bath - piercing ice; and finally Gulinus offers recreation in a domum ludi, where the knight becomes a plaything of the demonic ministers in a torture house. Gulinus, ministers and hall all disappear with the approaching dawn.

It is interesting to find such a tale connected with the Purgatory so early. I have found no source for the name Gulinus, which may well have been hopelessly corrupted from its Irish original in the course of oral transmission to Peter, but his underground palace strongly suggests the well appointed palaces of the Tuatha. In the Tractatus, the cloister-like building where God's messengers meet Owayne is possibly a Christianised

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1. See W. Stokes, Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore (Oxford, 1890),250.
2. Text printed below, pp.195-8.
3. Cf. Yonge's translation of Kernagh as Clamoris Insula; quoted above, p.clxi.

form of such an idea. Gulinus's hunting and clamour naturally suggest analogous occurrences of the Wild Hunt. The whole tale is based on the 'false host' idea, or rather is a Christian inversion of tales depicting the traditional hospitality of the sídhe folk - a beautiful bedfellow, the daughter of the king, luxurious baths and recreation.[1] But a whole complex of other ideas is introduced in the transformation of the girl, not into an old hag merely, but into an old tree trunk. Whatever its precise significance it clearly preserves a link of Station Island with some specific non-Christian , probably pre-Christian ideas which were still current in the twelfth century. There may be some connection with the acrifoliis on Kernagh: see above, p.clxi. The information supplied by Peter of Cornwall that among the local inhabitants the district within one day's travel of the Mabeoch (Saints' Island) was held in such reverence and awe that no-one dared harm another in that area, indicates the truly venerable sanctity of the Lough, and would seem to indicate a superstition far older than the twelfth century.

With the whole notion of the knight undergoing penance in a demon-infested enclosure overnight can be compared the tales of the knight in the Chapel, where a sinful knight repents and confesses to a hermit who imposes a two year penance; when the knight says he cannot spare so long, the hermit reduces the penance to a day and a night in a chapel. There demons attempt to make the knight leave the chapel and so break his penance. They come in the form of his sister claiming his castle is burning, and of his wife threatening to kill their children, and making the chapel burn. Eventually

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1. St. John D. Seymour relates Tundale's Phristinus house of tortures to the Irish houses of hospitality, in 'Studies in the Vision of Tundale', PRIA xxxvii.C.4(1926),104. The hospitium of Phristinus is rendered tech osda, i.e. 'house of hospitality' in two Irish versions of Tundale. On sex hospitality in early Irish literature, see Cross, Motif-Index, T281 and F302.1.1.

morning comes and the hermit releases the knight.[1]

With the Wild Hunt and bedroom motifs one might compare the tale told by Étienne de Bourbon[2] of the familia Allequini where they enter in maxima et nobilissima palacia with men and ladies dancing, eating and drinking. Of the protagonist it is then said:

> in fine dictum est ei quod iret ad lectum, et quod ductus esset in camera ad lectum preciosissime ornatum, in quo jacebat quedam domina visa mirabiliter speciosa; cum qua cum intrasset et obdormisset, invenit se, in mane excitatus, super facem lignorum turpiter jacentem et ludificatum.

With the house of tortures and the immersion in baths of molten metal and piercing ice, it is interesting to compare the bakehouse Phristinus in the Visio Tnugdali[3] and the hot bath-house in the Tractatus.[4] These may perhaps be related to some such 'white-hot house' as features in the Intoxication of the Ulstermen[5] and the Destruction of Dinn Rig,[6] built for the entertainment of Cobthach, who is subsequently burned in it.[7] A sacrificial origin has been

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1. See Reinhold Köhler, '"Die Legende von dem Ritter in der Kapelle", und Nachtrag', Kleinere Schriften zur erzählenden Dichtung des Mittelalters, ii(Berlin,1900),213-20. See also Étienne de Bourbon in Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, (Paris,1877),no.37, and Max Voigt, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter, I: Visio Lazari, in Palaestra, cxlvi(Leipzig,1924),155-8. Cf. Jacob's Well, EETS cxv, pp.9-11.
2. Anecdotes historiques, no. 365, p.321.
3. See Visio Tnugdali, p.23, and also Seymour in PRIA xxxvii.C.4 (1926),104.
4. See below, p.164 ll.8ff.
5. See R. Thurneyson, Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert, ii(Halle/Saale,1921),480, and T.P. Cross and C.H. Slover, Ancient Irish Tales (London,1936),232ff.
6. See Myles Dillon, The Cycles of the Kings (Oxford,1946),6 and p.107 on Bórama.
7. Cf. also the fate awaiting Art, who is told of a path he must tread which involves "a dark house in the mysterious wood at the head of the same path, with seven hags and a bath of molten lead awaiting thee, for thy coming there has been fated." See Cross and Slover, op. cit., p.499. Art crosses a "slender narrow bridge" over an "icy river", p.500.

suggested for these episodes, together with the fate of Muirchertach ma Erca, "who was attacked by the people of the Síd and perished, half-drowned in a vat and half-scorched in the burning of his house".[1] This is taken to be a myth of Samhain, and as lake shores were a favourite site for the burning of fires at Samhain festivals,[2] the suitability of Lough Derg with a demonic island is readily appreciable. Miss Sjoestedt's comments are worth quoting:

> The motifs of fire and of water, sometimes associated, appear in various forms, dwellings set on fire, an iron house made white-hot, or drowning in a vat, which resemble certain methods of human sacrifice attested for the Celts of the continent.[3] We know from the scholiast of Lucan that Teutates was propitiated by the drowning of victims in a vat, and Taranis by burning them in a wooden vessel. These savage rites are in accord with the religious atmosphere of a time when the supernatural was a wanton power and assumed a very menacing character.[4]

As another feature perhaps worth keeping in mind when reading of Gulinus and the knight, we may note that the territorial nature goddess, who marries the king in early Irish kingship ritual, first appears as a beautiful maiden, and with the aging of the king, becomes a loathesome hag. T.G.E. Powell writes:

> there can be little doubt that the Celtic king, in fully pagan times at least, met a violent but ritual end, and there are a number of somewhat veiled allusions to deaths by weapon wounds, drowning and burning, in the midst of high magic, and in the presence of the hag and the tribal God. 5

Whether or not it is conceivable that the vision of the knight in

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1. See Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, Gods and Heroes of the Celts, trans. M. Dillon, (London,1949),54. See also Czarnowski, Le Culte des héros, p.120, and Cross, Motif-Index, S112.6.
2. See Anne Ross, Pagan Celtic Britain, p.23.
3. NB. interpretation of the sacrificial scene on the Gundestrup bowl: see Czarnowski, op. cit., introduction by M.H. Hubert, p. xliii, and Stuart Piggott, The Druids (London,1968),plate 1, and pp.83-4, and note to plate 1 on p.221.
4. Sjoestedt, op. cit., p.55.
5. T.G.E. Powell, The Celts (London,1958),121-2, 154. See also G.F. Dalton, 'The Ritual Killing of the Irish Kings', Folklore, lxxxi(1970),1-22.

Gulinus's palace bears any relation to the ideas here suggested, it is clear that the tale draws on local tradition and seemingly pagan sources which certainly lie outside the mainstream of Christian vision literature.[1]

There is no cause for dogmatism,[2] but the accumulation of evidence suggests that Lough Derg and Station Island were of some importance, certainly before the arrival of the Augustinian Canons, and very likely before the arrival of Dabheoc's community in the fifth or sixth century.[3] In the Tractatus, of course, Patrick is said to have received the revelation of the Purgatory in order to accomplish his conversion of the pagan inhabitants. To complete this account of the external circumstances of the Purgatory we turn now to consider the significance of the idea of Descent into the otherworld, and the possible identity of Owayne. What happens once Owayne is inside the Purgatory belongs rather to the tradition of literary visions, and will be treated in chapter nine.

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1. On Irish 'Adventure' literature, see Alwyn and Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage, chapter xv.
2. L.J. Hines, for instance, on the basis of a statement made about Celtic Druids' knowledge of Pythagorean philosophy by Hippolytus of Rome (third century A.D.) says: "Hence it was that even before St. Patrick, geodicy of a fairly sophisticated order could have affected the intentions of the Druids who worshipped at Lough Derg." The Vision of Tundale, Diss. (Wisconsin,1968),16. Hines assumes outright that St. Patrick did visit the 'cave', and that Druids did venerate a sacred shrine there. Cf. such a statement, typical of many glancing references to Lough Derg, as "The Cave of Loch Derg...is most decidedly a Pagan relic", by J. O'Beirne Crowe, 'Mythological Legends of Ancient Ireland', Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, III, 4th series (1874),123.
3. Cf. the pre-Christian settlement at Caher, an island five miles off the coast of Mayo, south of Clare Island, which became a primitive monastic settlement, later revived and dedicated to St. Patrick. See T.W. Rolleston, 'The Church of St. Patrick on Caher Island, County Mayo', The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 5th series, vol.x(1900),357-63.

c) **The Descent**

In The Anatomy of Melancholy Robert Burton wrote:

> I would have a convenient place to go down with Orpheus, Ulysses, Hercules, Lucian's Menippus, at St. Patrick's Purgatory, at Trophonius' den, Hecla in Iceland, AEtna in Sicily, to descend and see what is done in the bowels of the earth. (Pt.2.Sect.2.Mem.3)

Burton was well aware that St. Patrick's Purgatory was thought of as a physical entrance to the netherworld, and that pilgrims to Lough Derg might pass bodily into "the bowels of the earth". Orpheus, Ulysses, Hercules, Menippus and many others[1] had similarly descended via other entrances, and it is interesting to see that St. Patrick's Purgatory heads Burton's list of such places. This belief in a physical descent to the otherworld distinguishes Owayne Miles and the Tractatus from the majority of medieval accounts of visits to hell, purgatory and paradise, which are strictly speaking visions, revelations or soul-journeys. Whereas Owayne's account is of a visit to the otherworld, most accounts tell of visions of the state of souls after death. Such medieval soul-journeys and visions belong to a tradition stemming partially from the second century Apocalypse of Peter[2] and the fourth century Apocalypse of Paul.[3] To this tradition Owayne's account of what he saw belongs, and this relationship is discussed in chapter 9. In this section, however, I wish to concentrate still on the framework of Owayne's 'vision': that is, the physical natute of St. Patrick's Purgatory; the significance of the preparatory exercises undergone by Owayne and other medieval pilgrims to the Purgatory; and the significance of the idea of descent into the otherworld.

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1. See above, p.clxvii note 4.
2. See Select List of Books Used under this title.
3. See Select List of Books Used under this title and also under Visio Sancti Pauli.

The Apocalypse of Paul derived initially from St. Paul's words about visions and revelations in 2 Cor. 12, and of the man in Christ caught up to the third heaven, sive in corpore nescio, sive extra corpus nescio. These words were often quoted by medieval visionaries, but whereas we are told that the other great twelfth century otherworld visitors, Alberic, Tundale, the Monk of Eynsham, and Thurkill in 1206, all made the journey extra corpus, rapt in spirit, Owayne, we are assured, travelled in corpore through purgatory and paradise. That this is what Owayne claimed was stressed by Gilbert in the Tractatus in response to an incredulous member of one of his audiences when he was telling of Owayne's adventures.

> Sunt quidam...qui dicunt quod aulam intrantes primo fiunt in extasi et hec omnia in spiritu uidere. Quod omnino sibi miles ita contigisse contradicit, sed corporeis oculis se uidisse et corporaliter hec pertulisse constantissime testatur. (p.186 ll.2-6)

Gilbert was clearly aware of the reality of the situation, as reported by others, that pilgrims entering the Purgatory fiunt in extasi and see all in spiritu, but nevertheless he defended Owayne's claims.

It was clearly this belief that St. Patrick's Purgatory was truly a physical entrance to the otherworld which drew intrepid pilgrims from so far over a period of approximately four hundred years, from the mid twelfth to the mid sixteenth century. St. Patrick's Purgatory's site on a remote island in a remote lake near the western coast of Ireland, the western edge of the known world, must have been a factor strongly encouraging this belief. "Ireland as one of the remotest points of Europe was real enough to command respect and yet distant enough to be marvelous."[1] The prior of St. Patrick's Purgatory in the mid fourteenth century was certainly conscious of this. In 1353 prior Paul wrote a testimonial

1. George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore,1948),170, and see the discussion on pp.169-171.

to the successfully completed pilgrimage made by the Hungarian George Krissafan, urging que vobis dixerit de miraculis insule nostre, firmiter credatis.[1] At the end of his testimony Paul wrote: Datum in cenobio Purgatorij sancti Patricij patroni nostri in finibus seu finalibus partibus mundi....[2] The bishop of the diocese, Nicolaus similarly called himself episcopus Clochorensis iuxta fines mundi.[3] Apart from the obvious suitability of this proximity to the western ocean for an entrance to the otherworld, there was also a notion that Ulysses himself had descended to the spirit world in this region, and some derived the name of Ulster from Ulysses terra,[4] supported perhaps by Claudian:

> Est locus extremum pandit qua Gallia litus
> Oceani praetentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulixes
> sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
> illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum
> flebilis auditur questus; simulacra coloni
> pallida defunctasque vident migrare figuras.[5]

Not only was the site auspicious for an otherworld entrance, but St. Patrick's Purgatory rapidly acquired the support of notable authorities once the Tractatus became known. For example, the Tractatus in a modified form was incorporated in the chronicles of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, and the Purgatory received good publicity from Caesarius of Heisterbach, who c.1230 in his Dialogus Miraculorum (XII.xxxviii) suggested:

> Qui vero de purgatorio dubitat, Scociam pergat, purgatorium sancti Patricii intret, et de purgatoriis poenis amplius non dubitabit.

This or similar advice was acted upon in the early fifteenth century by Laurence Rathold de Pászthó, who gave his reasons for visiting

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1. Visiones Georgii, p.84.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
4. See e.g. Stephen Forcatulus, De Gallorum Imperio et Philosophia, Bk.7,(Paris,1589),1007.
5. In Rufinum, I.123-8, Loeb ed., Claudian, i(1922),34.

the Purgatory:

> audirem tam per relaciones hominum quam scripture quod, si quis dubium aliquod de fide catholica haberet et locum Purgatorii sancti Patricii in Hibernia debito modo intraret, ibidem posset omne dubium inde videre particulariter vel in toto. Et quia ego maximum errorem et dubium habui de substancia anime quid esset, qualis res debeat esse vel fieri, quia secundum philosophos dicitur esse invisibilis, incorporea et impassibilis, ideo locum Purgatorii intravi, in quo Dei gracia de dubio predicto meram inveni veritatem. 1

Laurence also quoted Paul's question about being rapt in the spirit, but decided it was more probable <u>quod corpore verius raptus fui quam extra corpus</u> because he had lit his nine wax candles successively throughout his vigil.[2]

There were, as we have seen in Gilbert's audience, sceptics who would not credit the physical nature of Owayne's descent. Peter of Cornwall rightly saw the psychological nature of the experiences at the Purgatory:

> Licet hec omnia ut illi dicunt non in rei ueritate corporaliter sed ymaginarie spiritualiter ei contingant... (p.194 ll.8-10)

and similar remarks were made by Heinrich von Langenstein.[3] Visions themselves were, of course, not always credited,[4] let alone physical descent into hell. As Chaucer pointed out in the opening lines of <u>The Legend of Good Women</u>:

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1. See H. Delehaye, 'Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pászthó au Purgatoire de S. Patrice', <u>Anal. Boll.</u> xxvii(1908),59 ll.20ff.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.59-60.
3. Max Voigt, <u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter I:Visio Lazari</u>, in <u>Palaestra</u> cxlvi(Leipzig,1924),130. On Heinrich von Hessen/ or Langenstein see also John Hennig, 'Irish Saints in Early German Literature', <u>Speculum</u>, xxii(1947), 365.
4. See discussions by Wilhelm Levison, 'Die Politik in den Jenseitsvisionen des frühen Mittelalters', <u>Festgabe Friedrich von Bezold</u> (Bonn & Leipzig,1921),90, and Ernst Benz, 'Vision und Ekstase bei Dante', <u>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</u>, xxii(1970),213-14. Cf. also Vincent of Beauvais, <u>Speculum Morale</u>, Lib.II. pars.iii, dist.6,(Duaci, 1624),col.840d.

> ...ther nis noon dwellyng in this contree,
> That eyther hath in hevene or hell ybe,
> Ne may of hit noon other weyes witen,
> But as he hath herd seyd, or founde it writen;
> For by assay ther may no man it preve. [1]

In outright satirical vein the Irish Vision of MacConglinne gives a list of impossible things which includes "Keeping a loose woman from lust, Water in the bottom of a sieve...(and) Warning visions to sinners."[2] It is interesting to see other more serious writers seeking confirmation before accepting as true reports of visions. For example, while compiling his huge collection of visions, the Liber Revelationum, Peter of Cornwall had the text of the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham (1196) copied, but then crossed it out:

> Hanc uisionem ego Petrus in hoc libro cancellaui putans
> non posse esse ueram, sed postea per ueridicos testes
> et qui rem cognouerunt probaui eam esse uerissimam. [3]

As a result he had the large crossings out erased.[4] Ralph of Coggeshall also required the testimony of Thomas of Binham to the truth of this same vision quia multi contubernalium suorum huic visioni contradicunt, sicut fere de omni revelatione a quibusdam dubitatur.[5] Henry of Saltrey himself checked with two Irish abbots to verify the truth of Gilbert's tale of Owayne.

> Quorum unus, quod numquam in patria sua audierat talia,
> respondit. Alius uero, quod multociens hec audierit et
> quod essent omnia uera, affirmauit. Sed et hoc testatus
> est quod idem purgatorium raro quis intrantium redit.
> (p.187 ll.3-7)

Henry did not accept that Owayne visited the otherworld physically. He took the tale of Owayne to be of one whose soul left the body

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1. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (London and Oxford,1957),482, Text F, ll.5-9.
2. See Cross and Slover, Ancient Irish Tales, p.574.
3. Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 f.32b col.1.
4. Every page from f.32b col.2 to f.54a has a great X of two black parallel lines with red between - black ruled to f.42a with red freehand, and black freehand with no red thereafter. An attempt was made to erase these crossings out as far as f.36b and at the beginning (f.32b col.2) faithfully to restore the words so damaged, but this arduous task was soon abandoned.
5. See JBAA xxxi(1875),441. See also pp.424 and 426 for further reports of people being incredulous about visions.

and he spoke of signa quedam corporalibus similia ad demonstrationem spiritualium (p.150 ll.10-11). In this he followed his prime model, Gregory the Great, who told of spiritual things being explained by corporeal in Dial. IV.xxxii. Henry concluded:

> in hac narratione a corporali et mortali homine spiritalia dicuntur uideri quasi in specie et forma corporali. (p.150 ll.15-17)

Later visions sometimes elaborated on this in a more philosophical fashion. George Krissafan said, for instance, that he could only be shown

> ymago paradisi veri celestis, hic in terra constitutum... in quantum in rebus corporalibus vel in corporalibus figuris ostendi potest [1]

and that in order that he can see the angels and souls, they assumant figuras proprias et simillimas suorum corporum[2] as they do not assume their own bodies till the general resurrection of the dead.

As far as Owayne himself is concerned, however, we are meant to understand that he entered physically into the earth and beheld and experienced the pains of purgatory and joys of the Earthly Paradise in the flesh. By virtue of this bodily descent Owayne might be said to join the company of classical and folk heroes who have undergone the initiatory trials of combatting the forces of hell in the flesh. As M. Eliade has said:

> to descend into Hell alive, confront its monsters and demons, is to undergo an initiatory ordeal...flesh-and-blood descents into Hell are characteristic of heroic initiations, whose goal is the conquest of bodily immortality. [3] The descensus ad inferos constitutes the initiatory ordeal par excellence. [4]

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1. Visiones Georgii, p.214.
2. Ibid., p.212.
3. Rites and Symbols of Initiation. The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth, trans. from the French Naissances mystiques (Paris,1959) by W.R. Trask, (Harper Torchbooks,1965),62.
4. The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion (Chicago and London, 1969),123.

Like all such initiations, like those of Ulysses, Aeneas, and visitors to Trophonius' den, as Burton called it, Owayne's descent into St. Patrick's Purgatory was accompanied by an important preparatory ritual. This I shall now consider.

Owayne first confessed his sins to the bishop of the diocese in which the Purgatory lay, that is Clogher. He voluntarily chose to enter St. Patrick's Purgatory as a penance. When the bishop could not dissuade him from such a perilous undertaking and was satisfied of Owayne's firm resolve, the bishop sent Owayne with a letter of introduction to the prior of the Purgatory at Saints' Island priory, Lough Derg. The prior similarly attempted to dissuade Owayne from entering the Purgatory: ei plurimorum perditionem periculumque proposuit, ut eius animum ab hac intentione reuocaret (p.155 l.28 - p.156 l.2). But despite this, by the fervour of his penitence, Owayne persuaded the prior to allow him access to the Purgatory, and was admitted to the church for the preparatory exercises. Owayne spent fifteen days in prayer and In fasting and in holy lore (H177). The fifteen day fast was the standard period required before entering the Purgatory, and another fifteen day fast followed the pilgrim's emergence from the purgatorial cavern.[1] St. Patrick, we are told, had similarly fasted and prayed before receiving the revelation of the Purgatory from God. This fasting was a form of coercion, what is known as 'fasting against the deity' in order to procure some special benefit, and parallels Patrick's similar fasting on Cruachan Aighle.[2] William of Stranton told us that subsequently Patrick spent much time in the Purgatory when he wolde passe þat way in hys one tyme and there abode the reuelacyon of Goddys angellys (p.98 ll.20-1). Ritual purification by fasting prior to mystic initiation is a

1. See T p.155 ll.1-2, p.184 ll.24-5; A195:4; C663, H666.
2. See above p.cliii. Cf. St. Aidus who by fasting against the deity gained power to deliver a man from hell each day until Judgement Day: see C. Grant Loomis, White Magic (Cambridge, Mass., 1948),130 and refs.

widespread phenomenon.[1] Apart from its Christian penitential function, it is based on the

> belief that certain foods, and finally all foods, are liable to engender evil influences in the body; and, moreover, the experience that the abstinence generates a peculiar mental condition of exaltation, ecstasy, and supra-rormal self-confidence. 2

A fast of fifteen days on coarse bread and lake water[3] is a long time for a secular man not habituated to ascetic practices, and the mental effects of such protracted deprivation were well appreciated.[4] Laurence Rathold, we are told, did not complete the full fifteen days' fast, which was evidently still the standard practice in 1411.

> Miles vero tunc debilitatem sui corporis verebatur et dimisso XV dierum ieiunio, ne forte pre nimia cibi vel potus abstinencia sui vires animi vel sensus verisimiliter vacillarent, quinque dierum spacio concurrente propter reverenciam quinque vulnerum Christi ieiuniorum observanciam custodivit. 5

With his customary wit, Erasmus spoke of three days' fasting at the Purgatory:

> non desunt etiam hodie permulti qui descendant: sed prius triduano enecti ieiunio, ne capite sano ingrediantur. 6

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1. On fasting to secure a boon, ritual purity for initiation, incubation, as a penance etc., see Rudolph Arbesmann, 'Fasting and Prophecy in Pagan and Christian Antiquity', Traditio, vii (1949-51),1-71.
2. L.R. Farnell, The Evolution of Religion (London,1905),154.
3. See Visiones Georgii, p.94, and T. Messingham, Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum seu Vitae et Acta sanctorum Hiberniae (Paris, 1624),95 col.1, and PL clxxx,983ff. A vision of hell was granted to Laisren on falling asleep after a fast of nine days (not connected with Lough Derg): see Kuno Meyer, 'The Vision of Laisren - Stories and Songs from Irish MSS', Otia Merseiana, i(1899), 113-19.
4. Cf. the comments of Bishop Henry Jones on pilgrims entering the 'cave' with "a crazed braine" in St. Patrick's Purgatory (London, 1647),16. The effects of an eight day fast in the eighteenth century have been described thus: "on entroit dans la caverne, ou le Purgatoire, l'estomac vuide, le cerveau creux, & fort susceptible de visions": Pierre le Brun, Recueil de Pièces pour servir de supplément a l'histoire des pratiques superstitieuses, iv(Paris,1751),39.
5. Anal. Boll. xxvii(1908),48 ll.8-13.
6. Adagiorum (Basle,1526),249.

The practice of fasting with the specific intention of inducing ecstasy is not testified in the early Church, though it was part of the "profession of humility by which the prophet prepared himself for a divine revelation."[1] Hermas[2] fasted and prayed for fifteen days also, and the use of ritual preparation with unguents to induce ecstasy is attested in early Apocalyptic.[3] "It is for the purpose of obtaining revelations that the purity of the soul, and hence an ascetic way of life, are required."[4] Owayne's fast served as a penance, and as a purification to render him fit for the reuelacyon of Goddys angellys. On a physical level such a fast also served to render him liable to experience a trance, to make him fort susceptible de visions.[5] It seems highly likely that some early pilgrims, and possibly Owayne, did genuinely experience a trance or dream dreams, and they may well have believed they were transported to purgatory by demons, having that in mind as the purpose of their visit. Their expectations would have been reinforced by the holy lore of the prior and convent who would recount to them the horrors of purgatory and hell, claiming sic enim habetur euenisse hiis qui ante te introierunt (p.156 11.17-18). William of Stranton told how he sumwhat slumbered and slepte (p.97 11.22-3); Ramon Perellos trembled, sweated and vomited as if he had been on a long sea voyage before falling asleep;[6] Sir William de Lisle and his company fell asleep and

> en dormant ils entrèrent en ymaginations très-grandes et songes merveilleux, et veoient, ce leur sembloit, en dormant trop plus de choses que ils n'euissent fait en leurs chambres sur leurs lits. 7

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1. Arbesmann, op. cit., p.60.
2. Visio, 2.2.1.
3. Arbesmann, op. cit., pp.54ff. See also D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 2nd ed. (London,1971),169ff, and see the whole of chapter 6 for the place of dreams and visions in early Apocalyptic.
4. Arbesmann, op. cit., p.29.
5. See previous page, footnote 4.
6. See A. Jeanroy and A. Vigneaux, Voyage au Purgatoire de St. Patrice (Toulouse,1903),22.
7. Froissart, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XV(1871), 145-6.

From the early sixteenth century we have a good account of the effect of the pilgrimage on some of the pilgrims:

> ...as they say, innumerable different visions appear to them, and many of them come forth stupefied and raving; and they say that these have yielded to the temptations. Of those who entered, when I was present, two had such visions: one of them, when he came out, had almost lost his senses, and when he had been questioned in various ways said that he had been very severely beaten, and that he did not know by whom: the other said that there had appeared to him several ladies of the most beautiful form, who invited him to eat with them and make good cheer, setting before him fruits and food of various kinds; [1] and he said that he came very near to allowing himself to be overcome, owing to the great weakness of his condition. The others said that they had not seen or felt anything but cold, hunger, and great weakness. The following day they came out half dead....[2]

Apart from confession, fasting, prayer, and instruction in <u>holy lore</u>, Owayne also heard Mass before entering the Purgatory, and was sprinkled with holy water. From later pilgrims' accounts it would seem likely that this Mass was Owayne's own Requiem. Ramon Perellos told how "I had to do, with great devotion, all that those do who on account of sicknesses or other dangers expect death."[3] George Krissafan was more explicit. After confession and absolution, and fifteen days of fasting on the coarsest bread and water, he had the Office of the Dead said over him morning and evening for five days, as though he were dead.

> ...dicitur per v dies mane et vespere pro illo officium mortuorum, ac si esset mortuus et sicut pro mortuo per hunc modum: Collocatur enim in medio chori supradicte ecclesie sancti Patricij feretrum cum panno nigro coopertum, et ibidem peregrinus Purgatorium intraturus

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1. Cf. <u>Visio de Ludovici de Francia</u>, ed. Voigt, in <u>Palaestra</u>, cxlvi (1924),230ff.
2. From an account of a visit (August 1517) by Papal Nuncio Chiericati written to Isabella d'Este, trans. J.G. Smyly: see J. P. Mahaffy, 'Two Early Tours in Ireland', <u>Hermathena</u>, xl(1914), 12-13. See also Messingham, <u>Florilegium</u>, pp.96-7, sect.31.
3. Trans. Rudmore Brown, in <u>Hermathena</u>, xl(1914),9.

> tamquam mortuus collocatur, paratis sacerdote et dyacono, subdyacono et accolitis, sicut pro mortuis parari consueuerunt. Et sic paratis omnibus cum cruce, thuribulo et aqua benedicta incipitur alto voce cantando complete officium mortuorum. Quo de mane cantato statim dicitur missa de Requiem pro / illo, et sicut dictum est de mane, ita dicendum et faciendum est de sero preter missam. Missa autem dicta dictus peregrinus absoluitur, ac si deberet ad sepulchrum deduci, pulsando tunc campanas, sicut pro defunctis fieri est consuetum. Et iste modus pulsandi modusque cantandi missam et officium mortuorum per quatuor dies subsequentes obseruatur. 1

Thereafter George was specially robed to enter the Purgatory:

> modo ordinato indutus tribus tunicis albis sine zona et capucio, discalciatus et capite discoopertus ac eciam dezonatus....2

Antonio Mannini similarly recounted how he was dressed in a white dalmatic, and while he lay on his back with eyes closed and hands crossed on his heart as if dead, the Office of the Dead was said over him.[3] This procedure served a practical function in that the pilgrim was assured in advance of his entry into the Purgatory of the commemoration of his soul if he did not return. We know from Chiericati's account that pilgrims had to make out their will when arriving at the priory as a safeguard against disaster. But more important, the performance of the Office of the Dead over the

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1. Visiones Georgii, pp.94-5.
2. Ibid., p.97.
3. See L. Frati, 'Il Purgatorio di S. Patrizio', Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, viii(1886),159, quoted in Note C187. Leslie, SPP opp. p.210 reproduces a woodcut from the French text Le voyage du puys Sainct Patrix (Lyons,1506), showing Owayne being instructed by the prior at the church entrance, with an attendant holding the ritual garment ready for Owayne, who appears to be doffing his coat. This aspect of the ceremony appealed to Robert Southey, who in 1798 wrote a ballad based on the Espurgatoire of Marie de France, and his sixth stanza reads:

> Sir Owen in a shroud was drest,
> They placed a cross upon his breast,
> And down he laid his head;
> Around him stood the funeral train,
> And sung with slow and solemn strain
> The service of the Dead.

The Poetical Works of Robert Southey collected by himself, vi(London,1838),41. Stanzas 3 and 4 show that Owen lay in a coffin.

pilgrim laid corpse-like on a bier served as a rite of 'severance', whereby the penitent was purified and cut off from his previous mortal and sinful life, preparatory to the initiatory process of purgation in the cavern, followed by entry into paradise, and eventual re-emergence from the cave as a spiritually purified being assured of future bliss. These preparations of confession, fasting, lustration, renunciation, instruction and admonition are close to those undergone by early catechumens for baptism, before passing through a mystic grave to newness of life.[1] Owayne entered into the darkness as a sinner, and emerged a day and a night later as an holy man amidst a lem of liȝt (A194:6, 193:6). This process of being enclosed in the dark in a confined space for a set length of time, especially in a grave or cavern representing an entrance to hell or the mouth of a monster, wherein one must combat the powers of evil, is known universally as a form of initiatory rite of passage.[2] As mentioned above, it seems likely that pilgrims in the twelfth century as later would have had to spend certain penitential periods of seclusion in the lectuli or 'beds' or graves of the saints on Station Island during the fifteen days of fasting: this is only another form of the same ritual procedure.[3]

Another part of the preparatory rites of purification outlined by Chiericati was that pilgrims had to stand "in the lake up to the middle of the leg, to the middle of the body, to the neck."[4] This was a process of ascetical immersion particularly popular amongst the Irish, and doubtless practised by the early hermits'

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1. See S.H. Hooke, 'The Way of the Initiate', in Judaism and Christianity, ed. W.O.E. Oesterley, (London,1937),213-33, and Edward Yarnold, The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century (Slough,1971),3-36.
2. See Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, trans. M.A. Vizedom and G.I. Caffee, (London,1960),65-115 and especially pp.88ff, p.92 note 1, and p.184.
3. See above, pp.cxlivf.
4. See Hermathena, xl(1914),12.

community on Station Island.[1] St. Patrick, for example, is reputed to have slept immersed in cold water.[2] Later pilgrims are known to have likened this purification in the waters of the lake to the crossing of the Red Sea[3] (Lough Derg's name, the Red Lake, doubtless being useful here). This notion is perhaps linked to the popular presentation of Patrick as the Moses of Ireland.[4] But the crossing of the Red Sea was also, of course, known as a type of baptism as early as St. Paul, representing a washing away of the old sinful Adam before being 'reborn' in Christ.[5] Messingham specifically says that after naked immersion in the waters of the lake and lustration the pilgrims are renati, 'reborn', and purged as new soldiers of Christ.[6] The whole process of the descensus ad inferos at St. Patrick's Purgatory thus not only mirrors baptismal practices, but is more basically a re-enactment of Christ's death and burial; his descent into and harrowing of hell; his leading of the first Adam into paradise; and his subsequent triumphant resurrection. Owayne and the other pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory confess, fast and pray; they are sprinkled with holy water; bathe in the lake; undergo a ritual 'death' and Requiem; are 'buried' in the dark purgatorial cavern; undergo the struggle against the

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1. See L. Gougaud, 'La Mortification par les bains froids', Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes, iv(1914),96-108. See refs. on p.96 to his other works on the ascetic practices of the Celtic Christians. Cf. the harsh penances listed in the arrea, ed. Kuno Meyer, in RC xv(1894), 482-3, and see Cross, Motif-Index, V462.8.
2. See Trip. Life, ii.p.485, and vol.i.p.cxcvi for refs.
3. See P.D. Hardy, The Holy Wells of Ireland (Dublin,1836),9, and Leslie, SPP pp.134-5.
4. A parallel first drawn by Tirechan (8th cent.). Cf. Patrick's 40 day and night fast on Croagh Patrick and the gift of the Staff of Jesus said to be on Mount Sion. See John Hennig, 'The Literary Tradition of Moses in Ireland', Traditio, vii(1949-51), 249ff and note 114.
5. See I Cor. 10:1-2, and Rom. 6:3-11.
6. Florilegium, p.96 col.2, or PL clxxx, 985.

demons in purgatory; are fully cleansed and enter the Earthly Paradise; and are 'reborn' at the following dawn[1] as they emerge from the doors of the purgatorial 'cave'. It is thus especially fitting that MS. SA should say that William of Stranton entered the Purgatory at Easter (p.98 l.8).

Such must be the essential Christian significance of the 'descent' of Owayne and other pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory: an enactment of a basic Christian theological metaphor of dying into and being reborn in Christ. But as we have seen in the previous section of this chapter, the Lough Derg site was also associated with demonic tales and some seemingly non-Christian legends, like Peter of Cornwall's account of King Gulinus. It is also true that the pilgrimage shows interesting parallels with other rites, Christian, classical, and pagan Irish. But these parallels are only parallels, and no direct influence can be proved, as some writers have suggested. I shall deal with these parallels briefly here because they are interesting in showing that the activities at St. Patrick's Purgatory follow a widespread pattern, but I also wish to point out how erroneous or dubious are some of the opinions that have been expressed on this matter by other writers.

The rites at St. Patrick's Purgatory are, for instance, in some sense analogous to Christian and classical incubation rites. In its essential features incubation

> consisted in sleeping in the temple, after due preparation and certain prescribed ceremonies, with the object of being favoured in a dream by an apparition of the divinity, and obtaining either a revelation as to the future or the healing of some disease. 2

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1. William of Stranton entered and left the Purgatory the viij^{te} owre before none (p.98 l.9). Owayne emerged at dawn: see T p.184 ll.17ff; A192:3-5; C640-2.
2. H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, trans. V.M. Crawford, (London,1907),152, and see pp.152-6. See also E. Rohde, Psyche, trans. W.B. Hillis, (London,1925),92ff, and notes 8,10,11,12 on pp.104ff; E.R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (California, 1951),110ff; H.H. Beek, Waanzin in de middeleeuwen (Haarlem, 1969), Index s.v. Incubatie.

The rites at St. Patrick's Purgatory have been likened to the incubation rites at the oracular shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boetia, mentioned by Burton, above, p.clxxiv. Erasmus was perhaps the first to comment on the similarity:

> Quae quidem Trophonij fabula mihi adeo uidetur similis ei, quae de Patricij antro, quod est in Hybernia, fertur: ut altera ex altera nati credi posset. 1

According to Pausanias,[2] a person wishing to visit the oracular 'cave' of Trophonius was lodged for a stated number of days in a certain building sacred to the Good Demon and Good Fortune. He observed certain rules of purity,[3] underwent ritual washing, drank the waters of Lethe and of Memory and was clad in a white linen tunic; Philostratus says dressed in white.[4] The cave, like St. Patrick's Purgatory,[5] was a man-made structure, guarded by spiked bronze railings, with a gate to admit entrants through a narrow aperture.[6] The similarities are indeed striking, but any direct influence such as was half suggested by Erasmus seems out of the question. The Lough Derg pilgrimage rather shows an independent growth of traditional procedures along lines that are universal. The oracular character of St. Patrick's Purgatory is present in so far as the land of the dead is the land of those possessed of superior knowledge about both past and future,[7] and thus it is that the Archangel Michael gave George Krissafan messages, mainly concerning the establishment of peace, to take to Richard, primate

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1. Adagiorum (Basle,1526),249.
2. Description of Greece, Bk.IX chapter xxxix.4-14, trans. J.G. Frazer, i(London,and New York,1898),493-5. See also the account of Timarchus's dream at the oracle, told by Plutarch in De Genio Socratis, xxii.
3. See Arbesmann, op. cit., pp.18-19. See also Jane E. Harrison, Themis (Cambridge,1927),18ff and pp.508ff.
4. Some entered naked: see L. Deubner, De incubatione capitula duo, Diss. (Gissae,1899),24.
5. See above, p.clxvi and see D. MacRitchie in ERE iii.270a.
6. See Note C90.
7. "The beyond is also a place of knowledge and of wisdom. The Lord of Hell is omniscient; the dead know the future." M. Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation, p.64.

of Ireland, King Edward III and Isabella, King John II of France, Pope Innocent VI, and the Soldan of Babylon.[1] Ramon Perellos entered to discover the fate of King John of Arragon,[2] and, of course, all successful survivors of the ordeal were granted the surety of future bliss, provided they thenceforth led a good life.[3]

A closer parallel to the initiatory rites of Lough Derg than those of 'Trophonius' den' in classical Greece is perhaps to be found in pre-Christian Ireland in the probable early cult associated with burial mounds. There are various samhain tales which tell of the association of mortal and god in underground caves. In the Adventures of Nera[4] the hero enters the cave of Cruachan[5] to visit the sid palace, and in the Colloquy of the Old Men the hero fasts for three days and nights in the sanctum of the ancients at the 'Brug upon the Boyne'.[6] Borlase identified this with the New Grange burial chamber, and regarded the cultus as one of the spirits of the royal of famous ancestors, the early Celts having regarded the 2,000 year old burial chambers as retreats of the Tuatha Dé Danann.[7] Borlase said of these practices that they were

> precisely similar to that which, under Christian auspices, was continued at such places as the Leaba Mologa in Cork, the original Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, and elsewhere. The practice of lying in stone troughs was a feature of the Christian pilgrimages in Ireland. Sometimes such troughs had served the previous purpose of stone coffins. 8

One might instance the famous 'bed' of St. Kevin at Glendalough.[9]

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1. See Visiones Georgii, pp.310-11. See also A. Gwynn, 'Archbishop FitzRalph and George of Hungary', Studies, xxiv(1935),568.
2. See Hermathena, xl(1914),3.
3. See T p.145 ll.14-15, p.179 ll.23ff; A187; C625.
4. See Cross and Slover, Ancient Irish Tales, pp.248-53.
5. See above, p.clx.
6. See Cross and Slover, op. cit., p.466.
7. See Cross, Motif-Index, F211.0.1.
8. W.C. Borlase, The Dolmens of Ireland, ii(London,1897),347. See also W.Y. Evans Wentz, The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries, 2nd ed. (Oxford,1911),413ff.
9. See e.g. W.F. Wakeman, Handbook of Irish Antiquities, 3rd ed. by John Cooke, (London,1903),303-4.

These parallels, I suggest, should not be allowed to override the central significance of the rites at St. Patrick's Purgatory, which is that of re-living the pattern of Christ's death[1] and resurrection. William of Stranton was constantly exhorted by his guides to bear in mind Christ's suffering during his passage through purgatory. There has been a tendency on the part of some writers to be rather too enthusiastic about the "singularly close" parallel between St. Patrick's Purgatory and "esoteric beliefs and practices" of pre-Christian teaching.[2] Wentz, for example, tried to connect the date of the present summer pilgrimage season with the pagan Irish sun festival of Lugnasadh. Moreover, he tried to show what is totally implausible, namely that the origins of the modern Christian doctrine of purgatory stem from the combination of the underground world of the Sidhe or fairy-folk and the "pagan Graeco-Roman doctrine of Hades in St. Patrick's Purgatory".[3] Jessie L. Weston has said:

> in the non-Christian, possibly also in Christian, mysteries the culminating point of the initiation was reached in a trance, during which the candidate was supposed to pass through the dangers of the lower world, and receive definite instruction and enlightenment; the soul, at the expiation of the trance, which sometimes lasted three days, returning, purified and regenerated, to reanimate the body. [4]

This is interesting and useful in helping us to see the St. Patrick's Purgatory cult in perspective, but in From Ritual to Romance Miss Weston pushed her claims beyond likely bounds by quoting Owayne Miles as clinching proof of a link between "pre-Christian initiations" and "Medieval Romance".[5] Such 'proof' is a

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1. See Note H328.
2. Jessie L. Weston, The Quest of the Holy Grail (London, 1913), 106-7.
3. Wentz, op. cit., p.452, and see pp.448ff.
4. Weston, op. cit., p.107. See also M. Eliade, The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion (Chicago and London, 1909), 118ff.
5. From Ritual to Romance (Cambridge, 1920), pp.173-4. On p.174 Miss Weston wrongly states that Owayne was in the cavern for "Three Days" ; see also The Quest of the Holy Grail, p.107. Owayne and all pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory were only enclosed for 24 hours. See also Eliade, Rites and Symbols, pp.124ff. See also Roger S. Loomis, Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance (New York, 1927), 264-5. He makes misleading references to the "actual practice of early Christian times" at Lough Derg, whereas we only know of the pilgrimage since the twelfth century.

falsification of the facts and possibilities, as I have tried to present them in this chapter. What she says may serve to confirm what has been suggested above, namely that the rites at Lough Derg involving descent into the underworld as a penitential and purificatory act conform to a pattern widespread in time and place by which initiands, after preliminary sanctification, are painted or dressed in white as if dead, confined in the earth[1] or some narrow dark space, and frequently undergo flagellation or some form of bodily mutilation, here subsumed in the vision of demons and the tortures inflicted by them.[2] MacCulloch suggested the possibility of scenic representations of Hades and mephitic vapours in the 'cave' at Lough Derg.[3] The former seems totally unlikely in view of the rough stone and earth construction which the early as later 'caves' may be taken to have been. The vapours at least are vpuched for by Sir William de Lisle. Later pilgrims, we know, were and are prevented from sleeping during their night's vigil, lest in sleep they be seized by the demons, and as a "proof of will and spiritual strength".[4]

As for the possible influence of early mystery cults or their survival, I would draw attention to the tremendous work of demolition upon false notions concerning the Greek and other mystery cults and their supposed adaptation by early Christians, performed by Günter Wagner. Wagner's words on the relationship of pagan mysteries to Pauline baptism rites may serve here also to cover the relationship of the pilgrimage rites at St. Patrick's Purgatory to early Christian or non-Christian mysteries.

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1. On the significance of 'initiation' from Latin inire, to enter, by special use meaning "ritual entry into the earth", see W.F.J. Knight, Cumaean Gates (Oxford,1936),45. See also pp.142ff.
2. See G. d'Alviella in ERE vii.317b-318b. On descent to the underworld, dismemberment, ascent to the sky, and rebirth, in shamanistic initiatory dreams, see M. Elaide, Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, trans. W.R. Trask, (London,1964), chapters 2, 3, and 13.
3. J.A. MacCulloch, The Harrowing of Hell (Edinburgh,1930),8. See also ERE iv.650a.
4. Eliade, Rites and Symbols, p.15.

> The parallelism here could be only formal, consisting in a ritual dying and beginning of a new lease of life, while no points of contact could possibly be established with regard to the performance of the rites and their significance.[1]

For instance, the goal of Owayne was to secure complete absolution and purgation for his mortal sins, and thereby win the assurance of an immediate acceptance into the Earthly Paradise after death, provided that he committed no mortal sins nor remained unshriven for his venial sins during the remainder of his life. This is certainly similar to the purpose of some early cults: for example, initiands at the Eleusinian mysteries sought the possibility of future happiness:

> with regard to death they have fairer hopes that they will enjoy a happier existence and not lie in the darkness and mud that are in store for the uninitiated. 2

But this parallel only serves to show that at these mysteries and at Lough Derg we have independent occurrences of a common type of rite.[3]

I therefore re-emphasize what has not in other discussions of St. Patrick's Purgatory been made clear, namely that the prime significance of the descent of Owayne in corpore is a Christian re-enactment of Christ's descensus ad inferos. The metaphorical implications of the idea of descent are, of course, complex. Eliade has, for example, discussed the identification of the belly of the monster whose entrails the hero or dead man must enter with Terra Mater, the realm of the dead or hell, hence the metaphorical identity of the belly of Leviathan and hell.[4] It is interesting,

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1. G. Wagner, Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries (1962), trans. J.P. Smith, (Edinburgh and London,1967),267.
2. Aristotle, Eleusinios, 259, quoted by Yarnold, op. cit., p.61, and see Wagner, op. cit., p.260 and p.87, and notes 103, 104 to p. p.87. See also Eliade, Rites and Symbols, pp.109ff and pp.115ff.
3. See Folklore, xxxix(1928),124.
4. Rites and Symbols, passim, and especially pp.61-4.

therefore, to remember that entry into the devil's mouth or hell's mouth[1] at Lough Derg was an entry not only into the earth, but also under the waters of the lake wherein Finn/Conan Maol/Patrick had been devoured by the demonic serpent monster Caol/Caoranach,[2] from whose belly the hero had cut his way out and conquered the demon. But whether this Finn legend is truly pre-Christian in origin or not, the basic meaning of a 'rebirth' after the defeat of the monster evil is common to the descents of Finn, Conan, Patrick, Owayne and Christ.

> To enter this gigantic body alive is equivalent to descending into Hell, to confronting the ordeals destined for the dead. The initiatory meaning of this type of descent to the Underworld is clear - he who has been successful in such an exploit no longer fears death; he has conquered a kind of bodily immortality, the goal of all heroic initiations from the time of Gilgamesh. 3

Seen against this background, the rites at St. Patrick's Purgatory seem less likely to be some trumped up invention of the Augustinian Canons, as some have supposed. The most that can be safely said about early influences on St. Patrick's Purgatory is that it is not impossible that the Christian rites of the pilgrimage were grafted on to an earlier non-Christian veneration of the site as a sacred entrance to the land of the immortals or as an oracular shrine. If so, was Owayne a twelfth century Irish Christian, or primarily a mythical 'folk' hero? His identity is considered in the next and final section of this chapter.

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1. These terms are interchangeable in C402, H453. On the iconographic merging of these two images, see Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (London,1968),175-201. A miniature in Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Fonds français 13496 f.358 depicts Christ revealing to St. Patrick the Purgatory represented by the traditional mouth of hell/Leviathan: reproduced by Leslie, SPP opp. p.x.
2. See above, pp.clviiiff.
3. Eliade, Rites and Symbols, p.64. See also pp.35-7, 52.

d) The Identity of Owayne

There has been much ingenious but profitless speculation on the identity of Owayne, and also much confusion based on a misinterpretation of part of the Tractatus.

The name Owayne has attracted various attempts at finding a suitable literary or mythical figure from whom Henry of Saltrey and Gilbert may have derived their hero. One of the earliest, and perhaps soonest to be expected, proposals was that Owayne, the knight on the ultimate quest for purity against the ultimate foe, was derived from Yvain, son of Urien.[1] There is nothing told of Owayne in the Tractatus, however, that would give one the slightest hint of such an identification apart from the chance resemblance of the names.[2]

Eckleben, as we have seen,[3] mentioned the name of the Uaimh Treibh O'in as possible evidence for an early association of Lough Derg with the Tuatha Dé Danann, implying that the name Owayne was thence adopted by the canons of Saints' Island in propagating the fame of the sanctuary. But the name Uaimh Treibh O'in may very likely be post twelfth century and itself derive from Owayne's fame. Eckleben also suggested the more plausible derivation of Owayne from Oengus or Aengussius or King Echu, an Irish king whom Patrick is said to have raised from the dead.

> Baptizato autem Rege coram plebe ad ejusdem aedificationem, ac commendationem suae praedicationis narrare precepit, quae de poenis reproborum, & gaudijs electorum plenius agnouit. [4]

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1. See B. de Roquefort, Poésies de Marie de France, ii(Paris,1820), 403, and Legrand d'Aussy, Fabliaux ou Contes, v(Paris,1829),99. See also E. Willson, The Middle English Legends of Visits to the Other World and their Relation to the Metrical Romances, Diss. (Chicago,1917),19, and R. Verdeyen and J. Endepols, Tondalus Visioen en St. Patricius Vagevuur, i(Ghent and The Hague,1914),199. Leslie, SPP p.xxviii takes Owayne to be a knight of the Round Table.
2. Arthur Brown has exposed the fallacy of a link between Owayne and Yvain: see 'Iwain', Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, viii(1903),122-5.
3. See above, p.clxiv.
4. From Jocelin's Vita S. Patricii: see J. Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga (Louvain,1647), 83 col.2, Sexta Vita, cap.LXXX. See also Tertia Vita, cap.LXVI, p.26 col.2, and Vita Trip. III.8, p.150. See also Carl Kraus, Deutsche Gedichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts (Halle, 1894),30-35 and pp.157ff, and John Hennig, 'Irish Saints in Early German Literature', Speculum, xxii(1947),364.

This neatly parallels Patrick's preaching to the people and the revelation of the Purgatory to Bryng þat folke yn a beter be-leue (H45). But Owayne is not presented as an unbaptized king raised from the dead, and the resemblance of the risen king telling de penis impiorum uel de beatitudine sanctorum[1] to Owayne's account of his vision is only a commonplace.[2] It is worth bearing in mind that this tale of Echu is told of Patrick in his capacity of Master of the Dead, but I see no reason to derive Owayne from it.

Félice has suggested that the name Owayne derives from Oengus, son of the Dagda, king of the Tuatha, of Brugh na Boinne, called Brugh Maic ind Oc, or Oengus.[3] This suggestion fits Felice's notions on the pre-Christian associations of Lough Derg, but it entails the less than plausible transference of the god Oengus from his palace on the Boyne, to being a mortal sinner in Donegal.

Leslie suggested that in reading Marcus's Visio Tundali, Henry of Saltrey came across the mention of Pope Eugenius, and adapted this to Owayne as the name of his hero.[4] This suggestion seems completely unlikely and there is nothing, not even a very close resemblance of the names, to support it.

D.D.R. Owen has more recently suggested that Owayne miles is merely developed from the unnamed soldier who in Gregory's Dial. IV.xxxvi visited hell "and who was a contemporary of the Stephen spoken of by Gregory"[5], just as Owayne was a contemporary of King Stephen of England. This offers no ideas on the name Owayne itself, merely on his being a soldier, though miles perhaps indicates knight here rather than soldier.[6]

All these theories raise more questions than they answer.

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1. See L. Bieler, Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick, (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, viii), (Dublin,1971),163.
2. See Cross, Motif-Index, E367.1.
3. Félice, L'Autre Monde (Paris,1906),91-2. On the composite nature of this personage, Oengus (god) + Macc ind Oc (the hero), see T.F. O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology (Dublin,1946), 516-7.
4. Leslie, SPP p.xxii.
5. Owen (1970), p.45.
6. See Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, prepared by R.E. Latham, (London, 1965), s.v. miles.

There is nothing in the Tractatus, which is our prime source for the tale of Owayne and the only one worth considering here, to contradict the simple reading, that Owayne did exist; that such a person did visit the Purgatory; that he there came under the influence of the prior and convent of Saints' Island; that he subsequently related to Gilbert what he had heard about the supposed early history of the Purgatory and something of what pilgrims were said to experience there; and this account, embellished no doubt by both Gilbert and Henry in later repeated retellings,[1] finally produced the original Tractatus, which has not itself survived, but which was adapted and edited by subsequent scribes, some of whom were responsible for the large number of manuscripts still extant. Following Tundale,[2] Owayne was only the second secular, knightly, sinner to whom such an experience as the purgatorial and paradisiacal vision/journey was granted. In vision literature the otherworld is usually opened only to the pious religious, like St. Patrick himself. It was doubtless the secular aspect which accounted for the very widespread popularity in both Latin and vernaculars of the visions of Tundale and of Owayne.

There has been some confusion based on a misinterpretation of the Tractatus, and on Matthew Paris's elaboration of it. According to Henry of Saltrey Owayne was an Irishman, subject to an Irish king who built a monastery with the help of Gilbert of Louth Park, Lincolnshire. This Irish king appointed Owayne as Gilbert's interpreter, which presumably means that Owayne knew English. Ward[3] pointed out that Owayne was the form frequently used to designate the Irish name Eogan. When Matthew Paris retold Henry of Saltrey's

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1. There is no textual evidence to support Matthew Paris's assertion at the end of his retelling of the Tractatus that Gilbert first wrote Owayne's story down.

> Hujus autem monachi (Gilbert) industria et diligentia hujus militis experientia redacta est in scripturam, simul cum relatione episcoporum regionis et aliorum religiosorum, qui causa justitiae perhibuerunt testimonium veritati.

Chronica Majora, II, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 57b(1874), p.203. The testimonies of the bishop and others seem clearly to have been collected by Henry of Saltrey: see above, p.lxxxi.

2. See J.C. Douglas Marshall, 'Three Problems in the Vision of Tundal', MAE xliv(1975),19-20.
3. Cat. Rom. II.435 note.

story, he said that Owayne was an Irishman qui multis annis sub rege Stephano militaverat,[1] and that Gervase obtained land on which to build a monastery rege Anglorum Stephano donante.[2] Matthew Paris also said that Stephen appointed Owayne as Gilbert's interpreter, and he placed the whole story under the year 1153. Matthew Paris's elaborations must be fallacious, for as Colgan[3] pointed out, before Henry II's conquest of Ireland it was impossible for Stephen of England to dispose of land in Ireland. Stephen has even been taken to be an Irish king.[4] If we rely on our prime source, the Tractatus, no such anomalies arise. In the Tractatus Stephen is mentioned once only, when Owayne is first introduced, merely to place the events historically (p.155 ll.5-6). There is no suggestion that Owayne was a knight serving in Stephen's entourage, as Matthew Paris claimed, though that suggestion in itself is unexceptionable, and was probably introduced to explain Owayne's knowledge of English. The Tractatus says that after visiting St. Patrick's Purgatory Owayne went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on returning went to regem, dominum suum, cui prius familiaris extiterat (p.184 l.28). We are then told that Gervase of Louth Park a prefato rege locum ad construendum monasterium inpetrauerat (p.185 ll.4-5), and sent Gilbert and some of his monks ad eundem regem in Hiberniam (p.185 l.7). All this then refers to the same Irish king, whom A. Gwynn[5] identifies as Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, known as Dermot na n-Gall. Dermot was the most likely of the twelfth century Irish kings to have brought English monks to assist in building a monastery. As Gwynn suggests, the monastery in question would be Baltinglas,[6] founded in 1148. The Tractatus

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1. RS 57b, p.192. See Note A29:5 below.
2. RS 57b, p.203.
3. Trias Thaumaturga, pp.280ff, note 9.
4. E.g. in the account by Leontius, no title, (Ferrara,1474), B.M. shelfmark IB. 25633, cap.88: Al tempo del Re stephano Re de dirlanda.... Stephen is clearly understood to be English in many manuscripts however: e.g. regis Angliae Stephani in a Dublin MS.: see Anal. Boll. xlvi(1928),141, and Bodl. MS. Rawlinson C.97 f.107a.
5. See Studies, xxxiii(1944),552.
6. See MRHI, pp.127-8.

says that after two and a half years in Ireland with Owayne, Gilbert and his monks returned to Louth Park, and that Gilbert was afterwards abbas de Basingewerch (p.185 ll.6-7). Gilbert is confirmed as abbot of Basingwerk in Flintshire in 1155.[1] Gilbert's activity at Baltinglas would seem to be confirmed in the Cistercian Statutes of 1202, where Basingwerk claimed to be the founder of Baltinglas and that Mellifont monks came as intruders. The Chapter decided in favour of Mellifont, who had been holders for fifty years, that is from 1151/2.

Gwynn raises the question whether or not Owayne died as a Cistercian monk at Baltinglas: Gilbert and his monks left Ireland militemque in Hybernia honeste et religiose uiuentem (p.185 ll.27-8). The prior of the Purgatory had said, Take þe abyte and be-come our brodur (C170). In the Tractatus Owayne had replied, hoc se nulla ratione facturum, donec prefatum intrasset purgatorium (p.155 ll.23-4). This presumably implied that he might take the habit after he had completed the pilgrimage, but Gilbert said that while staying with him, Owayne nondum monachus nec conuersus fieri uoluit (p.185 l.18). Marie de France made Owayne remain a knight (ll.1927-32),[2] whereas Higden, misunderstanding the return of Gilbert to Louth Park, made Owayne enter the monastery of Louth, which Henry of Knighton specified as Louth in Ireland:

> mansit in negotiis Ludensis monasterii ordinis Cisterciensis in Hibernia, et narravit gaudia et poenas quae viderat. 3

It would not, however, seem unlikely that Owayne did in fact become a monk if we recall his request for advice to his king: quem sibi consuleret ipse religionis habitum susciperet (p.185 ll.1-2). It was after all a common practice for warriors in Ireland to insure "against the terrors of the life to come by electing to be buried

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1. See above, p.lxii.
2. See Warnke (1938), p.141, and Owen (1970), p.66 and note. Cf. A197:5.
3. See R. Twysden, Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London, 1652),col.2390 and RS 92a, pp.137-8. For Higden, see Polychronicon in RS 41a, p.374, and see RS 41h, p.20.

in the habit of some religious order."[1]

Matthew Paris recounted Owayne's visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory under the year 1153. This date would seem to be too late. Gilbert is said to have spent two and a half years in Ireland with Owayne before returning to Louth Park and before being made abbot at Basingwerk, where he is attested in 1155. Owayne is also said to have visited the Holy Land after visiting Lough Derg and before meeting Gilbert. From this we can deduce the following approximate dates: Owayne's visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory probably took place about 1146-7; his trip to the Holy Land about the time of the second Crusade in 1147-8; his time with Gilbert about 1148-51, for Baltinglas was founded in 1148; and Gilbert's accession to the abbacy at Basingwerk some time about 1152-5.

Matthew Paris's late date of 1153, and the error of equating Stephen with Dermot, are also found in B.M. MS. Arundel 292, and as M. Mörner[2] pointed out, such a MS. reading transmitted the errors to Berol's French version of the tale.

In this chapter I have tried to show something of the history and background of St. Patrick's Purgatory sufficient for an understanding of the framework of the Tractatus and Owayne Miles. The account of what Owayne experienced once inside the Purgatory is derived largely from the literary tradition of visions of the otherworld, and to the place of Owayne in that tradition we now turn.

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1. C. Mooney, 'The Church in Gaelic Ireland 13th to 15th Centuries', History of Irish Catholicism, II.5(Dublin,1969),48. See also J. Ryan, 'St. Patrick's Purgatory', Studies, xxi(1932),450-1, for a list of those who had spent their last years in religious retirement and died on pilgrimage.
2. Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice par Berol (Lund,1917),pp.xxviii-xxix.

9
THE TALE OF OWAYNE

This chapter deals with the tale of Owayne as an account of a vision, distinct from its physical link with St. Patrick's Purgatory. I try here to show something of the relationship of the Tractatus to earlier vision literature, and its context in terms of ideas about purgatory and paradise. The literary tradition of visions of and visits to the otherworld is vast and the following treatment of Owayne's tale in relationship to this material is necessarily very selective. In section a) I outline briefly the attitude of Henry of Saltrey to his subject matter as shown in the Preface to the Tractatus, and then consider the basic structure common to many visions and how far the tale of Owayne exemplifies the usual pattern. In section b) I look at the way in which Henry of Saltrey depicts purgatory in relation to changing ideas about the location and nature of purgatory and its pains in medieval vision literature and in theological controversy. The interesting features here are the complete separation of purgatory from hell, but the stress on the almost infernal and punitive, rather than purgative, nature of Owayne's purgatory, complete with its tormenting demons. I also make use of Dionysius the Carthusian's discussion of Owayne, Tundale, and other visionaries, a discussion that has not hitherto been considered in modern writings on St. Patrick's Purgatory. In section c) I deal more briefly with the presentation of the Earthly Paradise and the way it is distinguished from heaven in the tale of Owayne.

a) Owayne and the Literary Tradition

When speaking of St. Patrick's Purgatory it is important to distinguish between the physical cave at Lough Derg, which has been the subject of the last chapter, and the otherworld as it is depicted in the Tractatus, Owayne Miles and other accounts of visions seen there, like that of William of Stranton. What is said to happen to Owayne or William once they have entered the cave

belongs very largely to a long line of literary accounts of visions of and visits to the otherworld. The universal importance of the notion of the otherworld journey scarcely needs pointing out. The main line of such accounts in Western Europe passes through such works as Odyssey XI, Plato's account of Er the Pamphylian,[1] the Book of Enoch, Aeneid VI, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Sancti Pauli), Gregory the Great's Dialogi IV, Bede's accounts of Drihthelm and Fursey, Marcus's Visio Tundali, Henry of Saltrey's Tractatus, and Dante's Divina Commedia. Surveys of these and many other visions have frequently been made, principally in the interests of Dante studies.[2] The tale of Owayne is one of the most widely copied and translated of all medieval visions, and in its combination of an Irish background and an English compiler, the Tractatus unites the interests of the two nations most prolific of otherworld vision material in the Middle Ages.

Visions, revelations, supernatural and demonic appearances are, of course, a staple ingredient of hagiographic[3] and exemplum[4] literature, and visions of heaven and hell, principally hell, scarcely less so. The interpenetration of visionary experiences and demonic assaults with the ordinary life of the medieval cloister

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1. Republic, 614-20.
2. See Select List of Books Used principally under the following: Wright (1844), Delepierre (1863), D'Ancona (1874), Fritsche (1886-7), Dieterich (1893), Ward (1893), Peters (1894), Becker (1899), Bousset (1901), Félice (1906), Boswell (1908), Landau (1909), MacCulloch (1912), Diels (1922), Seymour (1930), Van Os (1932), Silverstein (1935), Rüegg (1945), Bar (1946), Patch (1950), Owen (1970). See also L. Bieler in Enciclopedia Dantesca, IV(Rome,1973),750-1.
3. See e.g. references in C. Grant Loomis, White Magic (Cambridge, Mass.,1948),168-9.
4. See Tubach, Index Exemplorum.

was a commonplace.[1] The anecdote told by Gilbert about the monk at Basingwerk is a good example (p.186 ll.9ff). "Visions were... one aspect of the continuing revelation of God,"[2] and in the reports of paradise, hell and purgatory brought back from the beyond by visionaries believers found eyewitness confirmation of the truth of their view of the structure of the otherworld.[3] In Owayne Miles we have a vision originally specifically narrated for a monastic audience adapted, romanticized and secularized for more general consumption.

In his Preface to the Tractatus Henry of Saltrey has left an important account of his attitudes towards vision literature, and the significance of the tale of Owayne. Henry writes, he says, because he has been requested to do so by Hugh of Sartis, and also because he has the example of Gregory the Great before him, who has told much of souls leaving the body and returning, of the good and evil angels who await the souls of the dead (a subject taken up by William of Stranton), and of visions of the torments of the impious and the joys of the just, siue ex responsione conscientie interiori siue per reuelationes exterius factas (p.148 ll.22-3).

Henry was clearly thoroughly acquainted with Gregory's Dialogi IV. He would there have found Gregory saying that with the approaching end of the world the spiritual life was also moving closer, manifesting itself through visions and revelations (Dial.IV. xliii).

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1. See Werner Weisbach, Religiöse Reform und mittelalterische Kunst (Einsiedeln/Zürich,1945),144. For the popularity of such material in the Cistercian milieu which produced the Tractatus, see e.g. Conrad of Eberbach, Exordium Magnum Cisterciensem, ed. Bruno Griesser, Series Scriptorum S. Ordinis Cisterciensis, ii (Rome,1961). See also C.J. Holdsworth, 'Eleven Visions connected with the Cistercian Monastery of Stratford Langthorne' Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, xiii(1962),185-204. This deals with MS. L. See also Note to T 185/13-17.
2. C.J. Holdsworth, 'Visions and Visionaries in the Middle Ages', History, xlviii(1963),144. This useful article (pp.141-53) nevertheless perpetuates some blunders about Owayne. On p.142 it is wrongly said that "Oenus was preceded into the Purgatory by another knight, Tundal", an error suggested also by Caxton, Mirrour of the World, EETS,ES cx, p.99. On p.149 note 31 Holdsworth falsely states that Owayne's vision was first written down by Gilbert. There is no evidence for this idea, first suggested by Matthew Paris: see above, p.cxcvi note 1.
3. See E. Benz, 'Vision und Exstase bei Dante', Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, xxii(1970),213-14.

Gregory showed that in Sicily, Mount Etna and other openings to hell were being enlarged to receive the large numbers of lost souls who were to be gathered in eternal punishment.

> Quod omnipotens Deus ad correptionem viventium in hoc mundo voluit ostendi, ut mentes infidelium, quae inferni tormenta esse non credunt, tormentorum loca videant, quae audita credere recusant. (Dial.IV.xxxvi)

It is exactly in this manner that the Purgatory was revealed by God to St. Patrick, in order to convert those who would not believe what they had not seen with their own eyes.[1] This idea is taken up also by Peter of Cornwall who tells us that it was for this same reason that he collected together all the accounts of visions and revelations that he could find, because

> multique sint qui solum ea que uident pensantes, nec bonos angelos siue malos esse, nec animam hominis post mortem corporis uiuere, nec alia spiritualia et inuisibilia esse credant. 2

The author of the Vision of Thurkill, probably Ralph of Coggeshall, also has an important preface wherein he refers to the Tractatus, the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, and of course, to Gregory. Ralph tells how Christ reveals the afterlife to men

> tum per evangelicam doctrinam tum per apostolorum predicationem necnon et per miraculorum ac revelationum exhibitionem... 3

in order that the incredulous

> non tantum ex auditu sed etiam ex visu tormenta reorum ac lucidas mansiones justorum aperte et dilucide cognoscant.... 4

Ralph accounts for the undoubted flourishing of visions in his time by reference to the coming end of the world, just as Gregory had done over six hundred years earlier. I quote Ralph's passage

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1. See C39-44. Cf. also Anal. Boll. xxvii(1908),43 ll.8-13, and the arguments of Adam, Prior of Eynsham, prefaced to the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, ed. Salter, Oxford Historical Society LI(1908), 285-7.
2. MS. L f.2a col.1. See also G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, i(Cambridge,1923),71-2.
3. See JBAA xxxi(1875),440.
4. Ibid., p.441.

in full because it reveals the same sort of attitude as that of Henry of Saltrey. It was this frame of mind which caused the tale of Owayne to be so frequently and widely copied during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

> Temporibus etiam nostris plures et insolitae in diversis provinciis fiunt revelationes de statu animarum, et quanto magis finis saeculi presentis et vicinitas generalis resurrectionis appropinquat tanto clarius et frequentius fient passim mirae revelationes ut occulta in lucem prodeant et quae dubia erant certa et evidentia fiant, quatinus fides vacillans certis roboretur argumentis et caritas pene refrigerata frequentium visionum inflammetur incitamentis. 1

Ralph spoke also of the superior force the telling of a vision can have:

> simplici eloquio ad simplicium eruditionem summatim descripsimus, qui plerumque in hujusmodi descriptis revelationibus magis in profectu virtutum proficiunt, quam ex perplexis et profundis theologiae disputationibus.[2]

Henry of Saltrey was also clearly aware of the impact that an eye-witness report can have: plus exempla quam praedicamenta, as Gregory said.[3]

To return to Henry's Preface, we there find that Henry clearly saw himself as fulfilling a need by supplying information about the otherworld,[4] and he saw his work as important for corroborating and clarifying the suppositions of Augustine and Gregory about the state of souls in the afterlife. His work, he claimed, confirms that hell is subtus terram uel infra terre concauitatem quasi carcer et ergastulum tenebrarum (p.149 11.24-5). The question of hell's location had been discussed in these terms by Gregory and Augustine.[5] Henry said that his tale confirms also the idea that

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1. JBAA xxxi(1875),441. See also Dionysius the Carthusian, De Particulari Judicio, art.xxviii, in Opera Omnia, xli(Monstrolii, 1912),465 col.2A.
2. JBAA xxxi(1875),459.
3. Dial. I, Preface, p.16 l.9.
4. See below, p.ccxii.
5. See Note to T 149/20-25.

paradise is on the earth in the east (p.149 11.26-7). For his account of souls in the Earthly Paradise Henry claimed support from Augustine's idea that some souls rest in requiem. He also said that his story confirms Augustine and Gregory's ideas on incorporeal spirits being tormented by corporeal fires; and, most important, the tale asserts the existence of purgatory. The confirmation, of course, works both ways: in affirming the opinions of the Fathers Henry was also claiming patristic sanction for the truth of his tale. In his overall purpose in writing the Tractatus Henry was again following Gregory, relating his tale ad profectum simplicium because me numquam legisse quicquam uel audisse, unde in timore et amore Dei tantum proficerem (p.148 11. 10-11). Visions of the otherworld were structurally peculiarly well suited to enhance this instruction and advance in the fear and love of God, as we shall see.

Henry was writing very much in an established mode. There seems no reason to doubt his testimony that he was basically transcribing the tale of Owayne as he had heard it recounted by Gilbert, though it is clear that either Gilbert or Henry or both were responsible for elaborating what Owayne might be thought to have originally told Gilbert. Owayne's own words, of course, would doubtless also be heavily dependent on what he had been told by the prior and convent of Saints' Island. By the time this tale reaches its written form in the Tractatus we find a consciously shaped account which draws nearly all its motifs from a well-known fund of earlier vision literature, the principal sources being the Visio Sancti Pauli, Bede's account of the Vision of Drihthelm, and Marcus's Visio Tundali. Specific references will be found in the appropriate places in the Notes. In this section I wish to look in general terms at the basic structure of such accounts of otherworld visits and visions.

The basic 'plot' of very many medieval visions of the otherworld is that the visionary, often through illness or some debilitated state resulting from excessive asceticism, falls

unconscious or apparently dead for a period, usually of three days and nights, during which time the dream, vision, or revelation occurs, and then revives to the astonishment and relief of the mourners, relates what he has seen, and subsequently leads a reformed and pure life until his death.[1] That visions during cataleptic trances actually took place in some instances may not be doubted, but the pattern just outlined became so well established in literary accounts that it was perhaps often used to frame fabricated visions, in a way similar to the use of the dream-vision framework in romance literature.[2]

The tale of Owayne closely conforms to this pattern. Owayne physically enters the earth for one day and night, sees (a vision of) purgatory and paradise, returns to the relief and celebrations of the prior and convent, relates his experiences, and thereafter leads a holy life. The fact that visionaries lead better lives after their visions is used as an argument by Dionysius the Carthusian to show that these visions truly come from God,[3] and speaking of St. Patrick's Purgatory he points out how Owayne and others afterwards lived tam abstinenter, rigorose, compuncte et sancte.[4]

Another common feature of accounts of visions is that the visionary is usually accompanied by a guide who explains the meaning of what they see: for instance, Gunthelm[5] is led by St. Benedict; St. Paul and Orm[6] are led by the Archangel Michael; Dante is guided by Virgil and Beatrice. In Owayne's case no guide is provided. Instead he meets the fifteen men in white who advise

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1. See J.A. MacCulloch, Early Christian Visions of the Other-World (Edinburgh,1912),25ff. See also 'Descent to Hades', ERE iv.648ff.
2. See the comments by M.W. Bloomfield, Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth Century Apocalypse (New Brunswick,1961),8-11. He says: "...the dream was a favourite literary device because it bespoke a revelation, a higher form of truth." (p.11)
3. De Particulari Judicio, ed. cit., p.463 col.2D.
4. Ibid., p.465 col.1D.
5. See PL ccxii, 1060-3.
6. See Hugh Farmer, 'The Vision of Orm', Anal. Boll. lxxv(1957),76-82.

him on what to expect and teach him the prayer which will release him from the devils' assaults. Owayne's only guides through purgatory are the devils. The English author of the Auchinleck version clearly felt the lack of the guide figure to comment on the pains and sinners. To supply this commentary he adapted parts of the Vision of St. Paul, sometimes putting the explanatory information into the mouths of the devils, sometimes giving it directly via the poem's narrator.[1] In the Earthly Paradise the two 'archbishops' take over the function of the guide. In the Vision of William of Stranton the guide is very definitely present in the person of St. John of Bridlington, aided by St. Hilda of Whitby.

Owayne is specifically told to relate what he has seen to the prior when he returns from the Earthly Paradise,[2] and St. Patrick is said to have ordered that the accounts given by pilgrims of their visions be written down (p.153 11.3-4). Apart from the fact that pilgrims to Lough Derg most likely always did tell or were induced to tell what they had, or were supposed to have, seen, the admonition by the guide that the visionary should declare his experiences is another stock element in visions of the otherworld.[3] The validity of their reports was obviously enhanced if visionaries believed or claimed that they had been commanded to reveal their visions by otherworldly guides. This feature again drew significance from Gregory, who told that glimpses of future punishment were sometimes granted to the living not only for the benefit of the visionary alone but also as a warning for the benefit of those who hear the report subsequently.[4] St. Birgitta,

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1. See above, p.cix.
2. See C621-2. Cf. William of Stranton, p.145 11.13-14.
3. It is found very widely, from e.g. Dante, Purgatorio, xxxii.104-5 to a slightly different context in Douglas, The Palace of Honour, l.1464.
4. See Dial. IV.xxxii and xl. See also Bede's Ecclesiastical History, V.xiii, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp.500-502. Cf. Bodl. MS. Fairfax 17 f.80a where a peculiarly horrific vision of demonic assault seen by a monk is to be related: in capitulo coram omnibus recitaretur, ut hoc meo exemplo alii a uiciis terrerentur et ad uirtutes excitarentur. Quod et factum est. The vision is then written down for future benefit.

for example, is told by the Virgin Mary:

> thou arte suffred to knowe som paynes in helle and in purgatorie, for warnes and amendement of euel lyuers and to the comforte and profyte of thaim that bene good.[1]

At this point it is interesting to note that there is another tradition in which the visionary is strictly forbidden to tell what he has seen and heard. Salvius, for instance, thought that the swelling of his tongue was a God-sent retribution for having revealed what he should have kept secret, though his fears were groundless.[2] This fear of revealing to others what was vouchsafed in a revelation stems from the tradition founded on the arrheton, or arcana verba, quae non licet homini loqui, spoken of by St. Paul:[3] that is, words heard in a vision or revelation which cannot be translated into earthly speech, or words

> die der Visionär selbst versteht, die er aber nicht weitersagen darf, weil die Menschen seiner Zeit noch nicht reif für die Wahrheit dieser Offenbarungen sind. In der Geschichte der christlichen Vision gibt es eine Reihe solcher auditiver Erfahrungen, in denen dem Ekstatiker von der himmlischen Stimme befohlen wird, die ihm gemachte- und von ihm verstandene- Offenbarung nicht oder noch nicht den Menschen mitzuteilen. 4

Gunthelm, for instance, is told not to reveal his vision to anyone except his abbot in confession, but he forgets, tells everyone, and

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1. The Revelations of Saint Birgitta, ed. W.P. Cumming, EETS clxxviii, p.117.
2. See Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, VII.i.
3. 2 Cor. 12:4. Aelfric rejected the Visio Sancti Pauli because it expressly contradicted Paul's statement: see Homilies, ed. and trans. B. Thorpe, ii(1846),333.
4. E. Benz in Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, xxii (1970),218. Alberic was allowed a glimpse beyond the wall of paradise, but Iussum tamen mihi est ut nulli hominum ea panderem... cap.41: see F. Cancellieri, Osservazioni...sopra l'originalità della Divina Commedia di Dante...(Rome,1814),192. To St. Macarius no explanation was allowed at all of some of the miraculous things beheld: Venit ergo vox dicens: Non est vestrum nosse mysteria, quae vidistis: viam pergite vestram. AASS 23 Oct. x.568 col.1 section 11.

is therefore beaten by his guide St. Benedict. An interesting piece of information on the transmission of the vision is then given:

> Abbas autem, qui praeceptum tacendi non acceperat, ad aedificationem audentium et legentium visionem revelavit.[1]

The tabu on a mortal visitor to the otherworld revealing what he has seen is also found in Irish literature.[2] But for the vast majority of visionaries there is a positive instruction to make known to men the substance of their vision. The monk of Wenlock was exhorted to relate what he had seen to those who believe and ask with good intentions, but to refuse a word of it to scoffers.[3] Thurkill was bashful about revealing what he had seen, so that his guide reappeared and admonished him to tell his vision, quia ad hoc eductus est ut visa publicaret.[4] Thurkill subsequently told his vision to both believers and scoffers. Owayne returned,

> And tolde what he hadde sene,
> And in what payne þat he hadde bene;
> And oft he tolde hem, to make þem wyse,
> Of þe joyes of paradyse. (C665-8)

In so revealing the terrors of purgatory and the joys of paradise, Owayne, Gilbert, Henry of Saltrey (and St. Patrick, according to Henry) followed the common rhetorical practice of frightening the audience with threats and terrors first and afterwards uplifting them with the promise of eternal bliss,[5] just as Augustine in De Civitate Dei proposed to treat of the damned first and the saints second, because

> incredibilius videtur esse in aeternis corpora durare cruciatibus quam sine dolore ullo in aeterna beatitudine permanere.... (XXI.i)

The passage through fear to love also follows the spiritual progress

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1. PL ccxii, 1063.
2. See Cross, Motif-Index, C423.3.
3. PL lxxxix, 719.
4. JBAA xxxi(1875),444. Cf. also RC xxvi(1905),159 section 44.
5. See T p.148 ll.14-15 and p.174 ll.8-10.

from despair to hope: In timore inchoatio, in dilectione perfectio.[1] Caesarius of Heisterbach recommended the use of this order as the best manner of preaching.[2] In Owayne's case his progress is thus determined by the need for purgation to render him fit to enter the Earthly Paradise. The Tractatus is remarkable for the extensive treatment of paradise: few other visions of hell and heaven take so much trouble over the depiction of the bliss of the blessed. The even more extended treatment of paradise in the Auchinleck text is a marked feature of the individuality of that version. In many visions hell alone is described. In some cases paradise is visited first and hell second, as in the Irish Fis Adamnáin[3] and in the Vision of Gunthelm.[4] This parallels the first part of Paul's progress from paradise to hell to paradise. Nevertheless, the general pattern followed by Owayne is common to the other great twelfth century visions of Alberic, Tundale, and the monk of Eynsham:[5] it had been established earlier by Bede in his account of Drihthelm. Caesarius of Heisterbach commented on the widespread recurrence of this pattern:

> Lege Visiones Witini, Godescalci, et aliorum, quibus concessum est videre poenas malorum et gloriam electorum, pene ubique visio poenalis praecedit. 6

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1. Aelred of Rievaulx, PL cxcv, 556. Cf. Isidore, "Ante necesse est timore converti ad Deum, ut metu futurarum poenarum carnales illecebrae devincantur. Deinde oportet, abjecto timore, ad amorem vitae eternae transire." Sententiarum, II.viii, in PL lxxxiii, 609. Cf. also Gregory, Moralia, Lib.XXVII, cap.xvii, part 33, in PL lxxvi, 418.
2. Homilies, iii.15: see G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, iii(Cambridge,1936),7.
3. See C.S. Boswell, An Irish Precursor of Dante (London,1908),28-47.
4. PL ccxii, 1060-3. In Barlaam and Josaphat the latter sees paradise first and the place of punishment second; cf. also Barontus (late 7th century) in AASS 25 March, iii.569-74; and Bosa in Simeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesie, cap.ix, ed. T. Arnold, RS 75a(1882),130-2.
5. See P. Villari, Antiche Leggende e Traditioni che illustrana La Divina Commedia...(Pisa,1865).
6. Dial. Mirac. V.xliv. See also Dionysius the Carthusian, De Particulari Judicio, p.471, art.xxxi. See G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, i(Cambridge,1923),33 note 1. The visions Caesarius refers to may be found in PL cv, 771ff (Wettin), and Visio Godeschalci, ed. R. Usinger, Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holst.-Lauenb. Geschichte, iv.2(Kiel,1875),75-126.

It is quite clear from the dependence of the Tractatus on earlier vision literature, (what has recently been called "the shocking plagiarism of the original St. Patrick's Purgatory legend" [1]), that the common vision structure was well recognized as a suitable form which could serve to frame whatever condemnation of sins and abuses the author might choose. As such it is followed by William of Stranton, who obviously knew the Tractatus and the Visio Sancti Pauli, though William's account of paradise is much curtailed.

In the next two sections I follow this same pattern, dealing first with purgatory and hell, and thereafter with paradise and heaven, as depicted in the Tractatus, Owayne Miles, and the Vision of William of Stranton.

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1. M. Dominica Legge in a review of Owen (1970), in MAE xli(1972),266.

b) Purgatory and Hell

The presentation of the location and nature of purgatory and hell in the tale of Owayne merits some consideration in relating the tale to the literary tradition of visions of the otherworld. The Tractatus is important as being one of the first documents fully to depict purgatory as a separate state from hell. Its location I shall consider first. The Tractatus is also interesting in that it shows purgatory as an almost totally vengeful rather than purificatory place. In this respect it is strictly speaking unorthodox. The nature of Owayne's purgatory I shall consider second.

In the Tractatus the word purgatorium occurs only once, to designate the 'cave': Et quoniam ibidem homo a peccatis purgatur, locus ille Purgatorium sancti Patricii nominatur (p.153 11.6-7). It was not until 1254 that Innocent IV officially named the loca purgationis by the term Purgatorium: iuxta traditiones et auctoritates sanctorum Patrum.[1] The loca purgationis had been well established as part of Christian belief by Augustine and Gregory,[2] the prime sources to whom Henry of Saltrey refers in his Preface. Here Henry draws attention to the four-fold division of souls which is exemplified in the tale of Owayne. The greatest pain is below in infernus subtus terram uel infra terre concauitatem (p.149 11.23-4). The greatest joy is in summo, which as the text later reveals is the celestial paradise. In medio autem bona esse et mala (p.149 1.22). The media bona are those in the Earthly Paradise, in oriente et in terra and are those a penis purgatoriis liberate (p.149 11.26-8). The media mala are those in purgatorial pains, the existence of which Henry asserts

1. See H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, ed. 24(1946),section 456, p.212. See also Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, s.v. Purgatorium, and Albert Blaise, Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi, (Corpus Christianorum), (Turnhout,1975), s.v. purgatorium.
2. This section does not purport to be a history of the ideas of purgatory: for this, see DTC xiii(1),(1936),1163-1357.

twice, and which his account of Owayne's vision describes in full. To the importance of this four-fold division of hell, purgatory, Earthly Paradise, and celestial paradise or heaven, I shall return.[1]

Owayne enters the 'cave' of St. Patrick's Purgatory as an act of penance for his sinful life. Confession and absolution in the priory relieve him of the reatus culpae and he passes through purgatory to pay off the reatus poenae: ab omnibus purgaretur tocius uite sue peccatis (p.152 11.18-19). Owayne sees the entrance only to hell, that is, the fiery river beneath the perilous Bridge of Judgement. Similarly, once purged he can pass over the bridge into the Earthly Paradise, though as he is still alive he can only glimpse the entrance to heaven from the top of the paradisal mountain. Owayne finds he is like the souls in paradise in that he has not yet the dignity to behold the vision of God direct.[2] This is not merely because he is still alive, but because, according to the Tractatus, after their emergence from purgatory souls have to remain in the Earthly Paradise for a longer or shorter time, depending on their merits.[3] Christ had told St. Patrick that pilgrims to his Purgatory should see the tormenta malorum and the gaudia beatorum (p.152 11.20-1): these terms apply, therefore, to purgatory and the Earthly Paradise, not to hell and heaven.[4]

Owayne finds that purgatory occupies a vast land beneath the earth. It is bounded and divided from the Earthly Paradise by a fiery river beneath which is situated hell. There is no point in pursuing the exact geographical and topographical features of the medieval otherworld because almost every vision varies in details. The broad outlines of the concept are, however, important. Gregory, who more than anyone was responsible for establishing the doctrine of purgatory, and who was a constant source for writers of visions

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1. See below, p.ccxix.
2. See T p.178 11.25-6.
3. On this delay in the Earthly Paradise, see section c) of this chapter.
4. Some have unjustifiably complained that Christ falsely promised pilgrims entry to hell and heaven, e.g. Feyjoo in Theatro Critico Universal, 6.16, vii(Madrid,1781),196-7.

throughout the Middle Ages,[1] was as vague about the location of purgatory as Augustine had been. Gregory tells of Paschasius undergoing his purgatory in the public baths where he had sinned.[2] The notion that souls are purged in the places where they sinned in this life was supported by Hugh of St. Victor,[3] but rejected by Peter Lombard. Peter speaks of a two-fold purgatory, one near hell in the centre of the earth, before or after Limbo, the other in local purgatories so that souls can appear to the living to ask for prayers to be said for them. In The Pricke of Conscience[4] there are similarly said to be the purgatory within erthe...oboven helle (l.2875), and special purgatories oboven erthe, in sere place (l.2877), and also, following Gregory, Whar þai haf synned in body mast (l.2881). These notions are exemplified in the Spiritus Guydonis[5] and in the section on Alle soulene day in the Early South English Legendary.[6] In SEL souls appear in local purgatories in the firmament, air, earth and water, where by grace they may ask for alms and prayers on their behalf. Visions of such souls appearing, usually once to ask for aid, and perhaps a second time to give thanks, or by not re-appearing giving to understand that they have been released from their pains, are commonplace[7] from the time of the vision of St. Perpetua in the second century A.D.[8]

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1. E.g. Wettin, between his first and second visions, had Gregory's Dialogi IV read to him: see PL cv, 773 section 4. For Gregory's influence on Bede, see H. Hecht, Bischof Waerferth's von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, ii(Hamburg, 1907),13-18.
2. Dial. IV.xlii, and cf. IV.lvii.
3. See PL clxxvi, 586D.
4. Ed. R. Morris, Berlin, 1863.
5. Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, ii(Leipzig,1896),303-4.
6. Ed. C. Horstmann, EETS lxxxvii, 420-31.
7. See M.B. Hauréau, 'Mémoire sur les Récits d'Apparitions dans les Sermons du Moyen Age', Mémoires de l'Institut National de France: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, xxviii, pt.2(Paris, 1876),239-63. See also Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium, ed. Yves Lefèvre, L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires (Paris,1954), 452. Cf. Bernold, in PL cxxv, 1115-26, and Gervase of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia, III.xvii.
8. See The Passion of S. Perpetua, ed. J. Armitage Robinson, Texts and Studies, i.2(1891).

An interesting example from the fourteenth century appears in the vision of Peter, the priest of Braham, c.1343, found in a chronicle in MS. Bodley 462.[1] After meeting the soul of his father who had died fourteen years previously, and after beholding a vision of purgatory in the form of a valley of fire and ice (as in Drihthelm's vision), Peter asks his father:

> "Sunt ne alibi in Anglia anime in purgatorio nisi hec?" Et respondit, "Eciam in Derbischira et circa Londonias, sed non tante ut hic, nisi super monte de Monseya. Ibi enim sunt innumerabiles anime et erunt donec mundentur ab omnia macula." Et presbiter, "Vbi est," inquit, "mater mea?" Et respondit, "In Maya est." At presbiter audiens signo crucis muniuit se, putans pro fantasmate hec omnia vidisse se. Et pater, "Cur te signasti, fili? Quid putas esse Mayam?" Et presbiter, "Quidam mensis est anni." Et ille, "Non de illo dico, sed est insula quedam in mari iuxta Scociam, vbi tempestates frequentissime fiunt. [2] Que sicut erat hic in ardore libidinis ita ibi est in magnis cruciatibus, quia turpissimam me nesciente vitam duxit. Sed quia in extremis confessa est peccata sua, ideo ibi deputata est donec purgetur.... [3]

The Peak caverns of Derbyshire had, of course, long been regarded as entrances to the otherworld,[4] as Gervase of Tilbury testified in his famous account[5] of the adventures of William Peverall's[6] swineherd, and doubtless these are meant here, in line two of the quotation. According to the SEL such local purgatories are nonetheless exceptional places where souls appear by the grace of God. Purgatory proper is said to be within the earth near hell, and the SEL brings in St. Patrick's Purgatory as evidence:

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1. A brief note on this vision was given by T.S.R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages (London,1972),49.
2. May Island in the Firth of Forth figures prominently on the Bodley 'Gough Map' of Britain, c.1325-1350: see facsimile publ. by the Ordnance Survey, 1935, repr. 1973.
3. f.143a.
4. Cf. Drayton's later account of "the Divels-arse in the Peake" in Poly-Olbion, song XXVI, ed. J.W. Hebel, iv(Oxford,1933),531 ll. 397ff.
5. Otia Imperialia, III.xlv.
6. In 1157 Henry II confirmed Basingwerk in possession of land in the Peak District formerly belonging to William Peverall: see R.A. Thomas in W. Bezant Lowe, The Heart of Northern Wales, ii (Llanfairfechan,1927),253. The tale may well have been known to Gilbert of Basingwerk via this connection.

> Þe fifte is onder vrþe deope : bi-side helle, i-wis --
> Seint patrik on vrþe ȝwilene : ane stude þar-of founde,
> Ase god wolde, bi-side þe hul : of seint brendan in his londe.[1]

The reference here to the hill of St. Brendan is taken from the Tractatus.[2] Dante's Mount Purgatory is altogether exceptional and outside the mainstream of popular notions about purgatory, not least in separating purgatory so far from hell both physically and spiritually.

The tale of Owayne is clear about the location of purgatory therefore, and comes to be used as an 'authority' by later writers. It also makes clear that purgatory is a distinct place separate from hell, which lies beneath the fiery river. The importance of this can be judged by comparison with the other great twelfth century Irish vision, that of Tundale, wherein purgatory is given only the slightest mention. Purgatory had only by degrees come to be established as an independent state. In the early church the fires of the imminently awaited Day of Judgement were expected to perform a purgatorial function, and the problem of the intermediate state was not a pressing one. With Augustine the Particular Judgement immediately after death was established and with it the notion of purgatory in the intermediate state[3] was well developed, but no clear distinction was made between the fires of hell and those of purgatory.[4] In the Irish church this distinction was not fully made until the twelfth century. In the ninth century Irish church it was considered that the fire of Doom had purgatorial qualities and also that it was possible for souls to be brought out of hell, possibly as a result of a literal reading of Psalm 85:13, eruisti

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1. EETS lxxxvii, p.423 ll.86-8, after Legenda Aurea, cap. clxiii, De commemoratione animarum, "Quinto propter alicujus sancti orationem, sicut legitur, quod sanctus Patricius in quodam loco in terra quibusdam purgatorium impetravit...." Ed. Th. Graesse, (Leipzig,1850),732.
2. See below, p.188 l.7 and Note.
3. De Civ. Dei, XXI.xxvi.
4. Enchiridion, lxix, in PL xl, 265.

animam meam ex inferno inferiori.[1] In the Commutations of the Culdees, for instance, it is stated with typical Irish ascetic zeal that 365 Paters, 365 genuflexions and 365 blows of the scourge every day for a year, and a fast every month will rescue a soul from hell.[2] In the Anglo-Saxon church no term for purgatory was available, and the concentration still on Doomsday avoided the necessity for any clear doctrine of purgatory.[3]

> The Old English of the [Blickling] homilist had no settled terminology to distinguish between hell and purgatory, and the homilist showed no desire to settle the terminology so as to remove the ambiguities which were raised. [4]

This is not to say that there was no conception of a purgatorial state in the Anglo-Saxon church, only the absence of a clear doctrine:

> the doctrine of intercession and the emphasis on the needs of the soul after its separation from the body at death seem to imply an intermediate purgatorial or paradisiacal state in which the soul will dwell while the body molders in the grave. Yet so far there is no succinct statement that there is such a state. [5]

Thus purgatory and hell were together designated by infernus or helle, and unless it is actually stated that souls are destined to ultimate salvation or may be assisted by the alms and masses of the living, then one must assume that the writer is speaking of

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1. See St. John D. Seymour, 'The Eschatology of the Early Irish Church', ZcP xiv(1923),179-211, especially pp.201-3, 208-9. See also Seymour, 'Studies in the Vision of Tundal', PRIA xxxvii.c.4 (1926),97ff, and Irish Visions of the Otherworld (London,1930), 39ff. See also J. Mew, Traditional Aspects of Hell (London, 1903),188-203, 378, 395.
2. See L. Bieler, Ireland, Harbinger of the Middle Ages (London, 1963),61.
3. On Alcuin and the purgatorial function of the Day of Judgement, see Carleton Brown, 'Cynewulf and Alcuin', PMLA xviii(1903), 310ff, and on Augustine, pp.314ff.
4. Milton McC. Gatch, 'Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies', Traditio, xxi(1965),162-3, and see p.160.
5. Ibid., p.125. See also Seymour, Irish Visions of the Otherworld, p.56.

hell proper and not of purgatory. This use of hell, infernus, enfer or iffern (in Irish) as a blanket term to cover the hell of the damned, purgatory, the limbus infantium and the limbus patrum is common throughout the Middle Ages.[1] It occurs, for instance, in Deguileville's Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme[2] where the damned are likened to the kernel of a nut and the other three states surround them in layers, the whole complex being called enfer. In Marcus's Visio Tundali Tundale is told that in paradise are the boni non valde...de inferni cruciatibus erepti....[3] Here infernus must be used to designate purgatory, for Tundale had been adequately told already that there is no release from hell proper, and Marcus makes a six-fold division of the after-life.[4] It was against any such possible confusion of terminology that Caesarius of Heisterbach warned the novice in telling of the man released by his wife's prayers from the deep of hell:

> Profundum inferni, acredinem vocat purgatorii. Simile est illud quod Ecclesia orat pro defunctis: Domine Jesu Christe Rex gloriae libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de manu inferni et de profundo laci, et cetera. Non orat pro damnatis, sed pro salvandis; et accipitur ibi manus inferni, profundum laci sive os leonis, pro acredine purgatorii. 5

The necessity for continued instruction in this distinction is shown by a similar complaint in The Pricke of Conscience, that

> Many spekes, and in buke redes
> Of purgatory, but fon it dredes;
> For many wate noght what it es,
> Þarfor þai drede it wele þe les. (ll.2692-5)

In the account given here of the four layers of hell it is pointed out that Alle þir four stedes men may helle calle (l.2816), and that

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1. See the statement by Aquinas, quadruplex est infernus..., In Sentent., Lib.III, dist.xxii, q.2.A, art.1, qula.3, sol.II.
2. Ed. J.J. Stürzinger, for Roxburghe Club, 121,(London,1895),ll. 3693-3752.
3. See Visio Tnugdali, p.41 ll.19-20.
4. For an analysis of the divisions, see Seymour, ZcP xiv(1923),192, and PRIA xxxvii.c.4(1926),97ff, where he distinguishes seven divisions: 1 purgatorial (Visio Tnugdali, pp.12-31); 2 hell (pp. 35-9); 3 purgatorial (p.40); 4 and 5 paradisiacal (pp.41-5, 45-7); 6 and 7 paradise or heaven (pp.47-51, 51ff).
5. Dial. Mirac. XII.xxiv, vol.ii.336.

Þarfor haly kyrk þat for saules prays,
Calles purgatory helle, (11.2810-11)[1]

when offering the prayer explained by Caesarius.

Bede, in his account of the vision of Drihthelm, was the first to propagate the notion of purgatory in England, and he distinguished a four-fold division of souls immediately after death.[2] Seymour[3] has shown that this division of hell, purgatory, paradise and heaven first occurs in Irish in the Vision of Adamnan (?11th century), and that the twelfth century reform of the Irish church, when the adoption of the Roman Office brought the Irish church into conformity with the church in England and on the continent, also involved the acceptance of purgatory as a separate state, as Bede had established the idea in the English church.[4] As a result, the earlier Irish idea of the purgatorial functions of hell and the fire of Doomsday were abandoned. The division of souls in the Vision of Adamnan (Fís Adamnáin) into mali valde, mali non valde, boni non valde and boni valde[5] parallels the later four-fold division found in the Tractatus,[6] where purgatory is fully established as a separate place, although not named as such. Henry of Saltrey's work must be regarded as one of the earliest and most influential products of Irish and English thinking to emphasise this eschatology.[7] Evidence of direct Irish influence in the Tractatus is at most minimal: the whole of the section on purgatory

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1. See ll.2692-3965 for the discussion of purgatory.
2. See Drihthelm, p.494.
3. In ZcP xiv(1923),182, 192, 210-11, and the article passim; also PRIA xxxvii.c.4(1926),87-106, and Irish Visions of the Otherworld, chapter 4, and pp.58-9, 110ff. See also 'The Vision of Adamnan', PRIA xxxvii.c15(1927),304-12.
4. See also Boniface, Vision of the Monk of Wenlock, PL lxxxix, 713-20, and Haymo, PL cxviii, 942-3.
5. Cf. this division at the Day of Judgement in the Irish Tidings of Doomsday, in RC iv(1879-1880),251, and Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday, in RC xxviii(1907),317. The Visio Tundali employs the two middle terms, i.e. mali non valde and boni non valde.
6. See above, pp.ccxiif.
7. For the influence of the tale of Owayne in propagating this four-fold division, see e.g. J. Burnham, 'A Study of Thomas of Erceldoune', PMLA xxiii(1908),406ff, and E.B. Lyle, 'The Visions in St. Patrick's Purgatory, Thomas of Erceldoune, Thomas the Rhymer, and The Daemon Lover', NM lxxii(1971),716-22.

and hell could have been concocted by Gilbert and Henry without reference to Irish sources.[1] Nevertheless, there are traces of the influence of the Irish based Visio Tundali,[2] composed some thirty years earlier than the Tractatus, and Gilbert must have received his information on St. Patrick's Purgatory from Irish sources, presumably from Owayne in the first instance. Certainly the popularity of the Tractatus throughout the thirteenth century and beyond was principally responsible for the widespread fame of Lough Derg, and the comparatively recent adoption of the four-fold division of souls and the independence of purgatory in Irish eschatology must have been greatly enhanced by it. It is perhaps worth noting that one of the prime movers in the twelfth century reforms of the Irish church which led to the adoption of this eschatology was St. Malachy, the same man who was probably responsible for the introduction of the Augustinian rule at Saints' Island.[3] Could it be that Owayne learned from the canons this newly adopted geography of the otherworld and passed it on via Gilbert to Henry, where it mingled with the knowledge of Bede's seminal account of Drihthelm?

Apart from the importance of the tale of Owayne in confirming the location and separateness of purgatory, the actual presentation of the nature of purgatory is of some considerable interest.

The purgatory visited by Owayne in all respects appears like the usual presentation of hell as it had developed from the early Apocalypses of Peter and of Paul. At the times these works were first circulated the conception of purgatory was completely different.[4] The sole agent of purification was held to be fire,

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1. See M. Dillon, Early Irish Literature (Chicago,1948),133, and chapter 7 on visions.
2. See Seymour, Irish Visions of the Otherworld, pp.183ff, and also below, Notes to T.
3. See MRHI p.193, and above, p.cl.
4. See DTC xiii(1), 1189, 1212-23, and v(2), 2246-61.

whether material or spiritual, whether that of the Last Judgement or that of hell working differently on the different classes of souls. There was never any doubt about the severity of the purgatorial fires,[1] a fact stressed by Caesarius of Arles lest anyone say, Non pertinet ad me quamdiu moras habeam, si tamen ad vitam æternam perrexero.[2] But it is not until the time of Honorius Augustodunensis (c.1080-c.1156) that there is any positive indication of any other sort of pain in purgatory apart from fire and ice, an alternation between which two elements had become a popular form of purgatorial pain with Bede. Honorius is, however, vague:

> Post mortem autem purgatio erit aut nimius calor ignis aut magnus rigor frigoris aut aliud quodlibet genus poenarum.... [3]

It is not in fact until Henry of Saltrey's Tractatus that these other kinds of pain are described in purgatory: indeed, here purgatory is conceived with all the appurtenances of the usual hell.[4] The tortures seen by Tundale are principally in hell; the same and similar tortures seen by Owayne are all in purgatory. This is an important shift. The modern reader of the Tractatus acquainted with Augustine, or Aquinas, or Dante, or St. Catherine of Genoa, might well be forgiven for mistaking Owayne's purgatory for hell,[5] as it is not until Owayne is instructed on what he has experienced by the 'archbishops' in the Earthly Paradise that the reader is specifically told that the pains were in purgatory (p.178 ll.3ff).

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1. See e.g. Augustine, in PL xxxvi, 397.
2. See PL xxxix, 1947 section 5. His application of Ezek. 24:11 to purgatory suggests other pains apart from fire: see DTC xiii(1), 1224.
3. Elucidarium, III.viii, ed. Lefèvre, p.446. Cf. Bernard, in PL clxxxiii, 663D.
4. Cf. however the Vision of Alberic earlier in the twelfth century at Monte Cassino.
5. This mistake has frequently been made by modern writers on St. Patrick's Purgatory: e.g. Karl Vossler, Medieval Culture: an Introduction to Dante and his Times, trans. W.C. Lawton, ii (London,1929),125, speaks of "penalties in Hell like Dante's", but they are really in purgatory.

In the English Auchinleck version it is clearly stated that Owayne is led through purgatory and any such confusion is thereby avoided.[1] It is noteworthy that many visionaries did believe they were in hell when they were actually in purgatory. St. Lydwina of Schiedham is taken to purgatory and asks if it is hell, but is told that it is purgatory inferno vicinum.[2] St. Christina of Stommeln[3] made the same mistake, as did Gunthelm.[4] Again Bede's account of Drihthelm set a precedent here, for Drihthelm thought he was in hell but his guide, reading his thoughts, said, non enim hic infernus est ille, quem putas.[5] This passage was most probably utilized by Henry of Saltrey when the devils reveal the trick of the false pit of hell: Non est hic infernus, sed nunc ad infernum te ducemus (p.166 11.25-6).

The reason for this assimilation of all the usual attributes of hell into purgatory in the Tractatus and many later medieval accounts of purgatory is doubtless the need to impress upon an incredulous public, religious and secular, the error of thinking lightly of a temporary delay in purgatory before achieving beatitude, the error noted by Caesarius of Arles.[6] Caesarius had sharply distinguished between major and minor sins, and drawn up a substantial list of venial sins punishable in purgatory:[7] Isidore[8] had made a similar list. The Sacrament of Penance allowed those

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1. A42:6, 67:6, 72:6, 82:2. No such pointers are given in the less original couplet version.
2. See AASS, 14th April, ii.339 col.1 section 166. (St. Lydwina died 11 April 1433.)
3. See AASS, 24th July, v.651 col.2. (St. Christina lived 1242-1312.)
4. See Helinand, Chronicon under the year 1160, PL ccxii, 1062C. Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Moralis, Lib.II, pars.III, dist.vi. See also G. Constable, 'The Vision of Gunthelm and other Visiones attributed to Peter the Venerable', Revue bénédictine, lxvi(1956),92-114, text p.109. Cf. Dionysius the Carthusian, De Quatuor Hominis Novissimis, Opera Omnia, xli(Monstrolii,1912),564 col.2C.
5. See Drihthelm, p.490.
6. See above, p.ccxxi and cf. also 11.2692-5 of The Pricke of Conscience, quoted above, p.ccxviii.
7. See PL xxxix, 1946-7.
8. See PL lxxxiii, 949.

not guilty of mortal sins to avoid hell, and pass instead through purgatory to salvation. However, in the tenth and eleventh centuries there was a change in the procedures of penance. Whereas hitherto confession and satisfaction were followed by absolution, which cancelled the pains of hell and purgatory, confession and absolution later came to precede satisfaction,[1] and so "it was no longer a guarantee that purgatory would be avoided",[2] as one might die confessed and absolved (cancelling hell) but before completing satisfaction. "Purgatory, therefore, became a normal stage in the heavenward progress of all redeemed Christians, except those whose penitential exercises, whether before or after absolution, had been so exhaustive as to appear a sufficient substitute."[3] This sufficient substitute was available to successful pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory, and hence its fame and popularity. With the proximity of certain purgatory for all but the perfect after the Particular Judgement immediately after death, purgatory necessarily needed to be shown as not merely a temporary delay before attaining bliss, but as something exceedingly terrible, if it was to retain any sort of deterrent threat. In fact, "it would appear that the fear of Purgatory came to equal, or perhaps even to dominate, that of hell."[4] In the tale of Owayne this is certainly so, and in later medieval visions, such as that of William of Stranton, where social vices and abuses and venial sins are stressed, and where the torments are more horrifically visualised, this fear of purgatory is paramount. Indeed, hell is only passingly mentioned in the tale of Owayne and the Vision of William of Stranton. "Purgatory became all that hell had been, except for its final hope."[5] Even this final hope is not made clearly apparent in the Tractatus. Souls seem to know that they will be

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1. See above, p.clxxx on Owayne, and p.clxxxiii on George Krissafan.
2. K.E. Kirk, The Vision of God (London,1931),514, and see p.286.
3. Ibid., p.514.
4. S.G.F. Brandon, The Judgment of the Dead (London,1967),112.
5. G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, i(Cambridge,1923),73.

released, but not when: Eorum uero qui in penis sunt nullus nouit quamdiu torquebitur (p.178 ll.14-15). But we only know this from the explanatory speech of the 'archbishops' in the Earthly Paradise. There is nothing in the description of purgatory as Owayne passes through to give one a hint of that certitude of salvation which "is one of the greatest joys of Purgatory, preventing it from being merely a place of torture and suffering."[1] For the souls seen by Owayne purgatory seemingly holds no joys whatsoever: it is precisely "merely a place of torture and suffering." They lack that one comfort of þe hope of Ioye aftur-ward : þat ore louerd heom wole bringue.[2] St. Patrick's Purgatory is therefore unorthodox in this respect. Trithemius (1462-1516) reported that all in purgatory do have certain hope of salvation, and condemned the Visio Tundali and other such visions like the Tractatus for propagating the contrary view.[3] The influence of Owayne's account is perhaps to be found in the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, where we are told that uncertainty about the time of deliverance is the most grievous of the purgatorial pains, just as the certainty is what most assuages them.[4] At the end of cap.xxxvi the fifteenth century English translator added the following lines not found in the twelfth century Latin original.

> Neuertheles some yat were in greuys peynys had no knoulege when they shulde be sauyd and yat was most peynful to hem. And some that were in peynys knew a certente of her delyuerans and that was to hem a grete solace.... 5

This certainty of deliverance which distinguishes purgatory from

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1. NCE xi(1967),1038.
2. EETS lxxxvii, p.422 l.54.
3. In Chronicon Hirsaugiense under 'Sigismundus Abbas XXXI': see M. Dods, Forerunners of Dante (Edinburgh,1903),273-5.
4. See H.E. Salter, Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham, II, Oxford Historical Society, LI(1908),342 ll.42ff.
5. See Edward Arber, English Reprints. The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham (sic) (Westminster,1901),81.

hell is also lacking in The Revelations of Saint Birgitta.[1] In the Tractatus purgatory is not distinguished from hell as it is later in the Spiritus Guydonis, for example:

> Þe peyne of purgatorie is wiþ goode hope of glorie & of grace, and in helle is no ȝeyn-buggyng. 2

Owayne's experiences are particularly brutal, even in comparison with the Visiones Georgii, seen at Lough Derg in 1353. There the identity of the pains of hell and purgatory is asserted:

> Item sciendum, quod inter penam purgatorij et inferni in modo et in vigore nulla est omnino differencia, sed tantum in tempore et duracione.... 3

Yet in the Visiones Georgii there are other differences not found in Owayne Miles: souls in purgatory are more beautiful than those in hell; they do not suffer the pain of loss; the pain of sense is alleviated weekly; the stink of hell is far more terrible.[4] One might compare, for example, the priest of Braham's account of the consolation given to a soul in purgatory by the presence of his guardian angel:

> angelus eius cum illo erit in purgatorio ut eum consoletur ne doloris inmanitate supra modum perturbetur. 5

Such alleviation is lacking in the Tractatus - non erat in loco qui misereri nosset aut parcere (p.161 ll.8-9). The priest of Braham also finds the 'final hope': souls per spem confortantur quia sciunt se quandoque fore salvandos.

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1. EETS clxxviii, p.50 ll.5-8. See also Anal. Boll. xxii, p.276 and note, and Dionysius the Carthusian, De Quatuor Hominis Novissimis, p.560 and note.
2. Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, ii(Leipzig,1896),303.
3. Visiones Georgii, p.177.
4. See discussion by Max Voigt, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter I: Visio Lazari, in Palaestra, cxlvi(1924),169-70. Cf. The Pricke of Conscience, ll.2740-3.
5. MS. Bodley 462 f.142b.

It is clear how far this conception of purgatory in the tale of Owayne differs from the spiritually positive vision in, for instance, Dante's Purgatorio, or in the writings of mystics such as St. Catherine of Genoa. She stressed the dignity and serenity of the souls in purgatory, to whom the temporary delay of the Beatific Vision is the greatest of all pains.[1] Of this pain of loss there is no mention in the tale of Owayne: Henry of Saltrey details instead multifarious pains of sense, which significantly are constantly referred to as tormenta, the emphasis being on suffering rather than on purification. There is no sense of the souls in Owayne's purgatory willingly suffering and aware of their ultimate salvation, as St. Catherine says. As seen above, the Visiones Georgii, which closely follow the Tractatus, say there is no difference in modo et in vigore between the pains of purgatory and those of hell. This is a very different conception from the orthodox view expressed by Aquinas:

> poena inferni est ad affligendum: et ideo nominatur ab omnibus illis quae hic nos affligere consueverunt. Sed poena purgatorii est principaliter ad purgandum reliquas peccati. Et ideo sola poena ignis purgatorio attribuitur: quia ignis habet purgare et consumere. 2

The terrifying description of purgatory presented by Henry of Saltrey and by George Krissafan and William of Stranton is not based on the teaching of the Church.[3] It is doubtless with such accounts in mind that the Council of Trent condemned what savours of idle curiosity and superstition, and what is scandalous and repulsive in the treatment of purgatory.[4] In his attack on purgatory, Wyclif had also included the superstition attached to

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1. Treatise on Purgatory, ed. and trans. C. Balfour and H.D. Irvine, (London,1946),passim. See also DTC xiii(1), 1242.
2. Summa Theologica, Pt.III.Supp.App.Art.II.
3. "Omnia igitur quae spectant ad locum, durationem, poenarum qualitatem, ad catholicam fidem minime pertinent, seu definita ab Ecclesia non sunt." J. Perrone, Praelectiones Theologiae, ii(Paris,1887),122, quoted by Asín Palacios, Islam and the Divine Comedy (London,1926),112 note 2. See also NCE xi(1967), 1037 col.1.
4. See H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, ed.32(1963),section 1820.

Lough Derg along with speculations on the place, quantity and quality of purgatory, and the belief in indulgences: omnes hee fabule sunt a fidelibus deridende.[1]

The infernal nature of Owayne's purgatory is epitomized by one important feature: the souls in purgatory are tormented by devils. Devils burn, nail to the ground, trample, drag, flog, skewer, boil and fry the souls in their charge; they hang the souls up with fiery chains and hooks by different parts of the body; they pour boiling metal over them; they fix them to fiery hooks and spin them on a vast wheel; they plunge them to different depths in cauldrons of boiling metal; they take them to the top of a mountain whence they are blown by a whirlwind into a fetid, icy river: when the souls try to emerge, the devils running upon the water thrust them continually back in. The devils plunge Owayne into a deep pit telling him it is hell. When flames vomit Owayne out of the pit, thanks to his prayer, other devils say that those who plunged him into the pit were lying: hell really lies beneath the river separating purgatory from the Earthly Paradise. These are only a sample of the demons' activities explicit or implicit in the Tractatus: omnia genera tormentorum que excogitari possunt ibidem uisa sunt (p.163 ll.13-14). Most of these pains of purgatory Henry of Saltrey has drawn from earlier accounts of hell, along with all the fiery dragons, serpents and toads. For instance, the suspension of souls by chains and hooks attached to various parts of the body and the graduated immersion of souls in the cauldrons derive ultimately from the Visio Sancti Pauli, as do the fiery wheel and the infernal pit which here becomes the 'false' hell.[1] Several phrases detailing the direction of movement from torment to torment, and many other verbal details

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1. Polemical Works in Latin, ed. R. Buddensieg, i (London, 1883), 148.
2. See Notes to T 166/25-6, 178/10-11.

derive from the Vision of Drihthelm; other pains derive from the Apocalypse of Peter and the Visio Tundali. Specific references are given below in the Notes to the texts. Suffice it here to say that the Tractatus presents one of the most graphically gruesome catalogues of tortures in the medieval literature of hell and yet it is all describing purgatory. The Vision of William of Stranton manages nevertheless to surpass the Tractatns in horrific vileness, thanks again largely to the convenient instrumentality of tormenting demons. Fires can only burn; demons can do worse than all that man is capable of imagining.

The question of the presence of demons in purgatory was raised by Dionysius the Carthusian (1402-1471) in his discussion of visions, chiefly those of Tundale, Owayne (called Egneius), the monk of Eynsham, and St. Birgitta.[1] On the reliability of these visions in general Dionysius concludes by reference to the visions in Ezekiel and the Book of Revelations:

> Ex quibus probatur quod visiones Tondali et monachi Anglicani, et quae de purgatorio S. Patritii sunt ostensae, non discordant a Scriptura canonica nec a fidei veritate. 2

However, on the particular question of demons in purgatory Dionysius is left undecided. On the one hand Aquinas denied any other agent of purgation except fire, as we have seen in the passage quoted above.[3] Dionysius says:

> ...doctores super quartum Sententiarum (dist.xx, xxi) communiter dicunt, quod animae in purgatorio non puniuntur per daemones, quoniam eos vicerunt, neque per angelos sanctos, qui suos convices futuros non punirent tam dire, sed quod solo igne torquentur per divinam justitiam. 4

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1. See EETS clxxviii, p.48. Punishing demons, maligni spiritus, also inhabit purgatory as seen by Hildegard of Bingen, e.g. Liber Vitae Meritorum, III.lxviii and lxviiii.
2. De Particulari Judicio, art.xxviii, p.465 col.1.
3. See above, p.ccxxvi. See also Super Lib.IV Sent., Dist.XXI.q.1. art.1.V.23, ed. Moos, iv(Paris,1947),1048.
4. De Particulari,Judicio, art.xxix, p.468 cols.1-2. Master Rudolf of Cologne had argued that angels not demons were the purifying agents in purgatory: Non decet...ut carbonarius purget aurum, sed aurifex. See Dial. Mirac. I.xxxii.

But, as Dionysius goes on to say, the visions show that demons do torment souls in purgatory, so nothing can finally be determined.

> De isto tamen non est aliquid ab Ecclesia determinatum: unde nec periculosum aut illicitum reputatur circa hoc diversimode opinari. 1

The testimony of the visions opposing the opinion of Aquinas is therefore valid. Souls in purgatory have not conquered the devils, otherwise the souls would be in heaven. Hence the souls

> meruerunt adhuc puniri ab ipsis daemonibus, ut subdantur eis in poenis, quibus se sponte subdiderunt in culpis, et per quos peccaverunt, per hos et puniantur, quemadmodum et quarto Sententiarum ait Magister (dist.xlviiE): Hos habebunt in tormentis tortores, quos habuerunt in vitiis incentores. 2

Dionysius finally desists from pronouncing absolutely, for though Aquinas says there is only fire in purgatory, Ex multis tamen revelationibus aliter esse videtur.[3]

Purgatory in the Tractatus, Owayne Miles, and the Vision of William of Stranton is presented in its most unrelentingly horrific aspect. The widespread popularity of the tale of Owayne and the fame of St. Patrick's Purgatory are especially interesting when they are seen to have propagated a view of purgatory which did not conform to the received doctrine of the Church.[4] But for many, as for Dionysius, St. Patrick's Purgatory was clearly one aspect of God's revelation about purgatory and hell, and worthy of

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1. Dionysius, loc. cit.
2. Ibid. Cf. the fitting of punishment to crime, e.g. Sapientia 11:17, quia per quae peccat quis, per haec et torquetur. Honorius Augustodunensis held an intermediate position, namely that the demons cannot pain the souls being purged more than is permitted by the angels: Elucidarium, III.v. Cf. Gregory the Great, Moralia, IV.iii, PL lxxv, 646.
3. Dionysius, loc. cit. See also M.A. Stanford, 'The Sumner's Tale and St. Patrick's Purgatory', JEGP xix(1920),377-81. Demons appear in purgatory in the painting by Enguerrand Quarton, The Coronation of the Virgin (c.1453/4), reproduced in J. Baltrušaitis, Réveils et prodiges. Le gothique fantastique (Paris,1961),249. Pre-Reformation iconography of purgatory is well-nigh non-existent.
4. On the influence of popular belief and practice on the theological doctrine of purgatory, see J.A. MacCulloch, The Harrowing of Hell (Edinburgh,1930),32ff.

veneration as such.

> Itaque veritatem eorum quae credimus de suppliciis purgatorii ac inferni, Deus gloriosus et sanctus non solum nobis patefecit in divinis Scripturis, et visionibus quorumdam fidelium factis in raptu et ecstasi atque imaginaria apparitione, sed et per contestationem resuscitatorum a morte; neque per haec tantum, sed et per corporalem et exteriorem intuitum aliquorum in carne viventium: quemadmodum in historia ac legenda sancti continetur Patritii. 1

Lough Derg's fame was certainly enhanced by its providing a real entrance to the otherworld which allowed pilgrims to bring back eyewitness reports to dispel doubts and uncertainties about the true location and nature of purgatory, and the state of the blessed in the Earthly Paradise.

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1. Dionysius, De Quatuor Hominis Novissimis, art.xlviii, p.562 col.1A.

c) Paradise and Heaven

To depict suffering which is commonplace is far easier than to depict the unknowable bliss of paradise.[1] As with most other medieval otherworld accounts, the tale of Owayne is, therefore, more perfunctory in its treatment of paradise than of purgatory. The Auchinleck version is noteworthy for its reduction of the purgatorial and expansion of the paradisiacal portions of the tale.[2] Nevertheless, the Tractatus does make a greater effort to balance bliss against pain than many of its predecessors and successors.[3] In view of the harsh portrayal of purgatory this need was perhaps all the more urgent.

> Prosequamur ergo, karissimi, militem nostrum...ut cuius miseriis et calamitatibus compatiebamur, illius etiam solatii participes efficiamur, et quorum corda ad conpassionem pietatis forte non flexerunt tristia tormentorum, deuotione saltem et affectu flectant succedentia gaudiorum. (p.174 11.3-10)

The joys Owayne witnesses are those of souls who, like himself, have passed through purgatory and are waiting in the Earthly Paradise until they attain sufficient dygnyte/ To come be-fore hys mageste (C599-600). The two 'archbishops' who explain everything to Owayne make this beautifully clear.

> Sicut enim in locis penalibus secundum culparum quantitatem morandi percipiunt spacium, ita et qui hic sumus secundum merita bona plus minusue morabimur in ista requie. (p.178 11.22-4)

Just as no soul in purgatory knows how long he will be there, so no soul knows when he will be promoted in melius, into the celestial paradise or heaven, where the blessed constantly enjoy the vision of God and feast on the celestial food which is be holy gost in

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1. F. Cumont pointed out that infernal torments reflected the torments inflicted on Roman criminals, embellished by the inventive sadistic streak of authors: After Life in Roman Paganism (Yale,1922),170ff. Cf. S.G.F. Brandon, The Judgment of the Dead (London,1967),229 note 90.
2. See above, p.cxii.
3. Cf. the proportions of the Vision of William of Stranton.

fourme o fer (A184:1). The Earthly Paradise exhibits a constant peaceful flux among the inhabitants, with souls daily either arriving from purgatory beyond the bridge, or leaving for the supernam sanctorum leticiam above (p.178 11.29ff).

As Owayne is still alive, in corpore, he is only allowed to glimpse the golden gates of the celestial paradise from the top of the mountain in the Earthly Paradise.[1] In Dante the Earthly Paradise is itself on the summit of Mount Purgatory[2] in the Southern Hemisphere. In the Tractatus the Earthly Paradise is in oriente et in terra (p.149 11.26-7) and within it is the mountain (p.179 1.2) from whence Owayne sees porta celesti paradysi (p.179 1.6).

This delay in the Earthly Paradise between purgatory and the celestial paradise was discredited by orthodox eschatology, which would have it that once purified in purgatory a soul should enter immediately into heaven. This was asserted in 1245 at the First Council of Lyons, and again in 1274 at the Second Council. Immediate entry into heaven for the purged was subsequently asserted by Benedict XII, Clement VI, and at the Council of Florence in 1439.[3] Speaking of the tale of Owayne, Vincent of Beauvais also said:

> Verum historia haec a multis non recipitur, propter illud maxime, quod ibi dictum est animas a purgatorio liberatas, non statim ad coelum euolare, sed in paradiso terrestri [t]anquam in loco quietis intermedio temporaliter commanere, & inde statuto tempore ad

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1. Cf. Tundale who visited the otherworld in the spirit only and was allowed entry to the celestial paradise even though he was not dead. Cf. also M. Eliade, Images and Symbols, trans. P. Mairet, (London,1961),166 and note 10. In the Visiones Georgii, p.212, George sees the gates non quidem paradisi celestis, sed paradisi qui est ymago veri paradisi, for the celestial paradise, he is told by Michael, oculo corporali videre non potes (p.213).
2. See Asín Palacios, Islam and the Divine Comedy (London,1926), 128 and pp.178-9. Cf. also A. Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, i(Turin,1892),66-7, and H.R. Patch, in PMLA xxxiii(1918),606ff.
3. See H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, ed.24(1946),sections 457, 464, 530, 570s, 693, 696.

> celi palatia transmeare, cum econtra nullus credatur locus esse medius animarum inter purgatorium & celestem paradisum. 1

John of Tynmouth rightly indicated that Bede's account of Drihthelm contradicted Vincent's point.[2] Again it is the mutual support that visions give against theological doctrine that shows the importance of vision literature in shaping popular notions of the otherworld. For instance, Hildegard of Bingen also held that terrestris paradisus purgatis et de poenis ereptis animabus mox datus est,[3] and in the Vision of Alberic (cap.xx) we find a separate field wherein the souls of the just await the Day of Judgement:

> In huius campi medio paradisus est, in quem iustorum anime usque ad iudicii diem intrare nequeunt set in illo campo circumquaque requiescunt. 4

This idea that redeemed souls pass through the Earthly Paradise is found at least as early as Origen,[5] and features, it seems, in Gregory's Dialogi IV.xxvi where souls of the just who lack perfection are delayed somewhere outside heaven. The idea is found also in the vision of Ailsi, Peter of Cornwall's grandfather:

> Ibi erat Paradysus dei in quo requiescunt anime sanctorum in summa quiete et leticia, donec eis aperiatur ianua celestis curie in qua angeli sunt

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1. Speculum Historiale, XX.xxiiii, (Venice,1591),f.270a col.2, and see also the end of Vincent's account of Tundale, XXVII.ciiii, f.392b col.2. Cf. Aquinas, "Paradisus terrestris pertinet magis ad statum viatoris quam ad statum recipientis pro meritis; et ideo inter receptacula...(animarum) non computatur." Summa Theologica, III.Suppl.69.7.art.5.
2. See Nova Legenda Anglie, ed. C. Horstmann, ii(Oxford,1901),299. See also Drihthelm, p.494, and below, Note T 178/24-6.
3. Liber Vitae Meritorum, V.lxxviiii, in J.B. Pitra, Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi, viii(Paris,1882),217.
4. See Miscellanea Cassinese, xi(1932),95.
5. See De principiis, II.xi.6, ed. Koetschau, Opera, V.190, quoted by G. Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore,1948),156.

> cum deo et multe etiam anime sanctorum que iam / a predicto campo illuc transierunt.... [1]

In heaven are also found the souls of the perfect who at death go straight to see God face to face. In H's copy of Adrian and Epotys, Epotys describes the seven heavens, the last and lowest being paradise:

> The vjj heuyn, seyth þe story,
> Ys paradyse, aftyr purcatory,
> Whan sowlys hau done ther penans,
> Ther schall they dwell with-owtyn dysstans.[2]

In the Vision of Orm we find yet another arrangement, where the divisions are heaven, paradise, a place outside the walls of paradise which is not a purgatorial place of suffering, and hell.[3] The major problem raised by this delay in the Earthly Paradise is discussed by Dionysius the Carthusian. After hearing Dionysius recount the tale of Owayne, Frater asks, if exclusion from the vision of God, the poena damni, is the greatest pain of hell or purgatory, what about those souls delayed in the Earthly Paradise? The paradox arises,

> Si ergo animae in paradiso terrestri nondum Deo beatifice perfruuntur, ergo sunt ibi in poena gravissima.[4]

The question is also raised, what about Enoch and Elias, who are

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1. MS. L f.27b col.2 to f.28a col.1. See also f54b col.1 where Peter has notes on Origen's discussion of the forty-two mansions of Israel (Num. 35:6) likened to the distinctiones et prouectus ...in ipsa requie animarum postquam exierint de penis purgatoriis, and cf. the souls per conuentus distincti in T p.176 l.4. Honorius Augustodunensis says those who have no sins to expiate, but who are not perfect, i.e. who are neither martyrs, monks nor virgins, spend a period of delay in amoenissima habitacula: Elucidarium, III.v.
2. See Common-place Book, p.27.
3. See Anal. Boll. lxxv(1957),72-82.
4. De Particulari Judicio, art.xxv, p.462 col.1. See also Dial. Mirac. XII.xxxvii, and J. Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus, ed. M. Kelly, i(Dublin,1848),146 note d.

supposed to be the only inhabitants now of the Earthly Paradise?[1] In reply Dionysius lists firstly many reasons to show why souls should pass directly from purgatory to the celestial paradise, including the simple reason that souls once purged cannot go to hell or to the limbus infantium:

> ergo oportet quod sit in coelo, quum non sint alia post mortem receptacula animarum. 2

This was the argument of Vincent and Aquinas, quoted above. In the following articulus (xxxi) Dionysius gives the counter arguments that there are other receptacula. The evidence is all from vision literature, from accounts of Tundale, the monk of Eynsham, Owayne, Mechtild, and St. Birgitta. Dionysius also adduces such ideas as that of Ambrose: Illuc...redeundum est nobis, unde ejectus est Adam.[3] This certainly is a powerful argument in terms of the insistence by Owayne's blessed guides in paradise on Adam's place in the redemptive history. But, as with the question of the demons in purgatory, Dionysius can do no more than balance strict theology against the evidence of visions and St. Patrick's Purgatory, and finally leave the determination of the problem to the Church.[4] Again it is significant that such weight is given to the evidence of the Tractatus and similar works. Dionysius even had to resolve the problem of how Owayne could travel so far as the Earthly Paradise in oriente and back to Ireland all within twenty-four hours.[5] He replied that such things happen by dispositio Dei.

> Conformiter poterat miles iste in spatio tam brevi per tam longa itinera ferri, moveri, trahi, redire:

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1. In this respect it is interesting to note that two fifteenth century French prose versions of the Tractatus identify the two 'archbishops' as Enoch and Elias: see G.P. Krapp, The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: its later literary history (Baltimore, 1900),28.
2. De Particulari Judicio, art.xxx, p.470 col.1B.
3. Ibid., p.472 col.1B. Cf. T p.177 l.29 - p.178 l.1.
4. See DTC xii(2), 657ff.
5. Dionysius, op. cit., p.462 col.1A.

> nam per aliqua loca a daemonibus, quorum velox agilitas est, tractus describitur; et divina virtute atque angelica ope sic rediit. 1

What Dionysius failed to point out was that it is also God's will that the souls in the Earthly Paradise are daily fed cibo celesti (p.179 l.8), so that in fact they are not totally deprived of God's presence. The souls are also filled with the fortifying fragrance of paradise, (p.176 ll.24-6, p.174 ll.21-3, and p.175 ll.28-9).[2] This swete smal of al gode (A182:4) links Owayne's with many another otherworld experience of satisfying odours,[3] both Christian and Celtic in origin. For example, in a vision related in Bodley MS. Fairfax 17, a soul tormented by beasts and by thunder and lightning in purgatory is relieved incomparabili suauitatis odore of an angel when anyone prays for him with his whole heart.[4] It is interesting to note that this late twelfth century manuscript contains the Life and Lamentatio of Gervase, first abbot of Louth Park, who, according to the Tractatus, sent Gilbert to Ireland (p.185 ll.3ff). The manuscript derives from the same monastery, and contains the Vision of Orm and accounts of the visions of Drihthelm and Wettin, as well as that referred to above. Even if Gilbert did not know the manuscript himself, it shows well the sort of material with which he and Henry of Saltrey were clearly familiar, and corroborates the special penchant that Cistercians had for collecting vision literature.[5]

Henry of Saltrey's account of the Earthly Paradise, like his purgatory, relies heavily on commonplace material, for which precise sources are untraceable: the splendidly decorated walls and gates; the multifarious fruits and flowers; the perpetual light brighter than the midday sun; the ineffable delights.

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1. Dionysius, op.cit., p.472 col.1C.
2. See Notes to T.
3. See Notes to A182:4, C473-6, T 179/17ff.
4. f.82b.
5. See above, p.ccii note 1.

Representatives of every rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are found by Owayne in the Earthly Paradise, distinguished by their proper apparel (p.175 ll.4-9). Yet there is also a notably uncommon stress placed on the feeling of community among the souls, albeit they are per conuentus distincti. Homily One in the Tractatus pointed out for a monastic audience how much greater are the sufferings of purgatory than the discomforts of the monastic life; conversely there is a strong sense of the monastic ideal underlying the society of the blessed in the Earthly Paradise, just as in fact the idea of paradise underpinned the ideal monastic community. There is a joyful sociability, a delight in welcoming the new-comers from purgatory, who like Owayne are treated as brothers, and the whole place is suffused with the splendour of many colours and the harmony of praise, sanctorum melodia resonabat. It is a fitting climax to Owayne's visit that he is made to feel at one with the saved, and that the vision of the gates of heaven and the intoxicating flame leave him, a mortal in the land of the departed, wondering utrum uiuus an mortuus fuisset (p.179 l.16).

10
EDITORIAL NOTES

a) English Texts

All departures from MS. readings are enclosed in square brackets with the MS. reading at the foot of the page. Letters and words are also supplied where necessary in square brackets. These are taken from the parallel text where applicable, otherwise they are editorial. All MS. abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded in accordance with the practice of the scribe where the same or similar words have been written out in full. All ampersands have been expanded as and. Where interpretation of any abbreviation is open to question it is discussed in the Notes. Punctuation, word division and capitals have been regularized as far as possible in accordance with modern usage. Separated prefixes and compounds have usually been hyphenated. MS. u/v distinction has been retained.

i) Auchinleck

This MS. presents few problems. Abbreviations are sparsely used. Initial 9 = con- or com-, e.g. conseily 42:4, compeynie 140:2. A small horizontal stroke usually indicates missing m, n, or e. Capital I/J have been regularized, e.g. I/Jhesu. 'Lower case' i has been retained for initial j-, e.g. ioie = joy. The six-line stanzas, each marked by a paragraph sign in the MS., have been numbered consecutively to facilitate reference to Kölbing's text,[1] and line references are therefore by stanza and line.

ii) Cotton

The following abbreviations have been expanded: ꝛ = ur, ꝺ = er/re, 9 = us; the following generally ignored: stroke through ll, ght, th; tail on final -r; and redundant strokes over n, e.g.

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1. ES i(1877),98-112.

synne 235, wentē 255. Horizontal stroke over -o + 2 minims = -oun; horizontal stroke over -o + 4 minims is ignored and also = -oun. i/j and I/J have been regularized, e.g. inne/joye, I/Jhesu.

iii) Hamilton

The scribe's practice is erratic and it is not always possible to be fully consistent in treating abbreviations. Tail on final -n and stroke through ll have generally been ignored. Long flourish on final -r is expanded to -re. i/j, I/J have been regularized as for Cotton.

The text has been inset at lines 460 and 500 to correspond to MS. paragraph marks. At lines 109 and 562 the text is inset to match MS. initial flourishes.

Cotton and Hamilton are printed in parallel so that their omissions with respect to each other can be immediately recognized, and so that a clearer idea can be gained of the scope and form of the original text of this version. Special notice should be taken of the arrangement on pp. 68-73, for which see above, p.cxxiii.

iv) Royal (SR)

Stroke through ll and curved line over words ending in -th, -ch have been ignored. Final -on with a long tail = ion in words like reuelacion; where the tail occurs on -io + 2 minims it is ignored. Final ꝛ = -es. MS. initial ff- has been retained on words in mid sentence.

Paragraphs are editorial and follow the main divisions in the narrative.

v) Additional (SA)

MS. does not distinguish þ/y, but they have been distinguished according to function in the text below. Final ꝝ = -ys. The form Wyllyam has been adopted as the regular spelling for that name, following the spelling where the scribe has written it in full, at 10/11, 18/9, 42/19. It is, however, variously abbreviated as

Wyllyā, Wyllām, Wyllāʒ, and Wyllm̄. The last three forms here may stand for Wyllam(m).

Paragraphs are as for SR.

b) Latin Texts

All MS. abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded. They present little difficulty in the clear, large, late twelfth century book-hand of L. In the Tractatus missing words or errors are supplied or corrected in square brackets by reference to R.[1] Significant substantial variations are also noted. Punctuation and capitals are editorial. Text divisions follow MS. rubrications.

1. I have used the text of R printed in Jenkins (1903), pp.310-27. I have checked this print with the MS. and find it accurate.

TEXTS

Auchinleck

1 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
And liued in dedeli sinne. f.25a.col.1.
Seyn Patrike hadde rewþe
Of hir misbileue and [vntrewþe],
Þat þai weren inne.

2 Oft he proued sarmoun to make,
Þat þai schuld to God take
And do after his rede.
Þai were ful fild of felonie,
Þai no held it bot ribaudie
Of no þing þat he sede.

3 And al þai seyd commounliche,
Þat non of hem wold sikerliche
Do bi his techeing,
Bot ȝif he dede þat [oo man]
In-to helle went þan,
To bring hem tiding

4 Of þe pain and of þe wo
Þe soulen suffri euer-mo,
Þai þat ben þer-inne;
And elles þai seyd, þat nolden hye
Of her misdede nouȝt repenti,
No her folies blinne.

5 When Sein Patrike herd þis,
Michel he card for-soþe, ywis,
And sore he gan desmay.

1:5 vntrewþe]MS.vntrewe 3:4 oo man]MS.roman see Note
4:4 þai inserted above line 4:6 folies]e partially obscured 5:1 Patrike]at obliterated

Auchinleck

Oft he was in aflicc[i]oun,
In fasting and in orisoun,
Jhesu Crist to pray,

6 Þat he him schuld grace sende,
Hou he miȝt raþest wende
Out of þe fendes bond,
And do hem com to amendement
And leue on God omnipotent,
Þe folk of Yrlond.

7 And als he was in holy chirche,
Godes werkes for to wirche,
And made his praier,
And bad for þat ich þing,
Sone he fel on slepeing
Toforn his auter.

8 In his chapel he slepe wel swete,
Of fele þinges him gan mete
Þat was in heuen-blis.
As he slepe, for soþe him þouȝt
Þat Jhesu, þat ous dere bouȝt, col.2.
To him com y-wis,

9 And ȝaf him a bok þat nas nouȝt lite:
Þer nis no clerk þat swiche can write,
No neuer no schal be;
It spekeþ of al maner godspelle,
Of heuen and erþe and of helle,
Of Godes priuete.

6:6 Yrlond]MS.yrluod

Auchinleck

10 More him þouȝt, þat God him ȝaf
In his hond a wel feir staf,
In slepe þer he lay;
And Godes Staf, ich vnderstond,
Men clepeþ þat staf in Yrlond
Ȝete to þis ich day.

11 When God him þis ȝif hadde,
Him þouȝt þat he him ladde
Þennes þe way ful riȝt
In-to an gret desert;
Þer was an hole michel apert,
Þat griseliche was of siȝt.

12 Rounde it was about and blak,
In alle þe warld no was his mack,
So griselich entring.
When þat Patrike y-seye þat siȝt,
Swiþe sore he was afliȝt
In his slepeing.

13 Þo God almiȝten him schewed and seyd,
Who þat hadde don sinful dede
Oȝaines Godes lawe,
And wold him þer-of repenti,
And take penaunce hastily,
And his foliis wiþ-drawe,

14 So schuld in þis ich hole
A parti of penaunce þole
For his misdede;

10:1 1st him]i changed from e 12:2 his]s inserted above line

Auchinleck

A niȝt and a day be her-inne,
And al him schuld for-ȝiue his sinne,
And þe better spede.

And ȝif he ben of gode creaunce,
Gode and poure wiþ-outen dotaunce,
And stedfast bileue,
He no schuld nouȝt be þer-in ful long,
Þat he ne schal ſe þe paines strong,
Ac non no schal him greue,

In wiche þe soules ben ydo, f.25b.col.1.
Þat haue deserued to com þerto,
In þis world ywis;
And also þan sen he may
Þat ich ioie þat lasteþ ay,
Þat is in paradis.

When Jhesu had y-seyd al out,
And y-schewed al about
Wiþ wel milde chere,
God, þat bouȝt ous dere in heuen,
Fram him he went wiþ milde steuen,
And Patrike bileft þere.

When Seyn Patrike o slepe he woke,
Gode token he fond and vp hem toke
Of his sweuening:
Bok and staf þer he fond,
And tok hem vp in his hond,
And þonked Heuen-king.

Auchinleck

19 He kneld and held vp his hond,
And þonked Jhesu Cristes sond
Þat he him hadde y-sent,
Whar-þurth he miȝt vnderstond
To turn þat folk of Yrlond
To com to amendement.

20 In þat stede wiþ-outen lett
A fair abbay he lete sett,
Wiþ-outen ani dueling
In þe name of Godes glorie,
Seyn [Peter] and our leuedy,
For to rede and sing.

21 Seyn Patrike maked þe abbay:
Þat wite wele men of þe cuntray,
Þat non is þat yliche.
Regles is þat abbay name,
Þer is solas, gle and game,
Wiþ pouer and eke wiþ riche.

22 White chanounes he sett þerate
To serue God, arliche and late,
And holy men to be.
Þat ich boke and þat staf,
Þat God Seyn Patrike ȝaf,
Ȝete þer man may se.

23 In þe est ende of þe abbay
Þer is þat hole, for soþe to say,
Þat griseliche is of siȝt, col.2.

20:5 Peter] MS. Patrike see Note

Auchinleck

Wiþ gode ston wal al abouten,
Wiþ locke and keye þe gate to louken,
Patrike lete it diȝte.

24 Þat ich stede, siker ȝe be,
Is ycleped þe riȝt entre
Of Patrikes Purgatorie:
For in þat time þat þis bifelle,
Mani a man went in to helle,
As it seyt in þe storie,

25 And suffred pein for her trespas,
And com oȝain þurth Godes gras,
And seyd alle and some,
Þat þai hadde sen sikerliche
Þe paines of helle apertliche,
When þai were out y-come.

26 And al-so þai seyd wiþ heye,
Apertliche þe ioies þai seiȝe
Of angels singing
To God al-miȝti and to his:
Þat is þe ioie of paradys;
Jhesu ous þider bring!

27 When alle þe folk of Yrlond
Þe ioies gan vnder-stond,
Þat Seyn Patrike hem sede,
To him þai com euerichon,
And were ycristned in fonston,
And leten her misdede.

24:2 ycleped] letter erased after c

Auchinleck

28 And þus þai bicom, lasse and more,
Cristen men þurth Godes lore,
Þurth Patrikes preier.
Now herknes to mi talking:
I-chil ȝou tel of oþer þing,
Ȝif ȝe it wil y-here.

29 Bi Steuenes day, þe king ful riȝt,
Þat Inglond stabled and diȝt
Wel wiselich in his time,
In Norþhumberland was a kniȝt,
A douhti man and swiþe wiȝt,
[As] it seyt in þis rime.

30 [Oweyn] he hiȝt, wiþ-outen les,
In cuntre þer he born wes,
As ȝe may y-here.
Wel michel he couþe of batayle,
And swiþe sinful he was saunfayle f.26a.col.1.
Oȝain his creatour.

31 On a day he him biþouȝt
Of þe sinne he hadde y-wrouȝt,
And sore him gan adrede,
And þouȝt he wold þurth Godes grace
Ben y-schriue of his trispas,
And leten his mis-dede.

32 And when he hadde þus gode creaunce,
He com, as it bifel a chaunce,
To þe bischop of Yrlond,

29:6 As]MS.at 30:1 Oweyn]MS.Vweyn

Auchinleck

Þer he lay in þat abbay,
Þer was þat hole, for soþe to say,
Penaunce to take an hond.

33 To þe bischop he bi-knewe his sinne,
And prayd him for Godes winne,
Þat he him schuld schriue,
And legge on him penaunce sore:
He wold sinne, he seyd, no more,
Neuer eft in his liue.

34 Þe bischop þer-of was ful bliþe,
And for his sinne blamed him swiþe,
Þat he him hadde ytold,
And seyd he most penaunce take,
ȝif he wald his sinne forsake,
Hard and mani-fold.

35 Þan answerd þe kniȝt Owayn,
"Don ichil," he seyd, "ful feyn,
What God me wil sende.
Þei þou me wost comandy
Into Patrikes Purgatori,
Þider ichil wende."

36 Þe bischop seyd, "Nay, Owain, frende!
Þat ich way schaltow nouȝt wende;"
And told him of þe pine,
And bede him lete be þat mischaunce,
And "Take," he seyd, "sum oþer penaunce,
To amende þe of sinnes þine."

33:5 sinne]i changed from e?

Auchinleck

37 For nouȝt þe bischop couþe say,
Þe kniȝt nold nouȝt leten his way,
His soule to amende.
Þan ladde he him into holy chirche,
Godes werkes forto wirche,
And þe riȝt lawe him kende.

38 Fiften days in afliccioun, col.2.
In fasting and in orisoun
He was, wiþouten lesing.
Þan þe priour wiþ processioun,
Wiþ croice and wiþ gonfanoun,
To þe hole he gan him bring.

39 Þe priour seyd, "Kniȝt Oweyn,
Her is þi gate to go ful gain,
Wende riȝt euen forþ;
And when þou a while y-gon hast,
Liȝt of day þou al for-last,
Ac hold þe euen norþ.

40 Þus þou schalt vnder erþe gon,
Þan þou schalt finde sone anon
A wel gret feld apliȝt,
And þer-in an halle of ston,
Swiche in world no wot y non,
Sum dele þer is of liȝt.

41 Namore liȝtnesse nis þer yfounde
Þan þe sonne goþ to grounde
In winter sikerly.

Auchinleck

Into þe halle þou schalt go,
And duelle þer tille þer com mo,
Þat schul þe solaci.

42 Þritten men þer schul come,
Godes seriaunce alle and some,
As it seyt in þe stori;
And hye þe schul conseily
Hou þou schalt þe conteyni
Þe way þurth purgatori."

43 Þan þe priour and his couent
Bitauȝt him God, and forþ hy went;
Þe gate þai schet anon.
Þe kniȝt his way haþ sone ynome,
Þat into þe feld he was y-come
Þer was þe halle of ston.

44 Þe halle was ful selly diȝt,
Swiche can make no erþeliche wiȝt,
Þe pilers stode wide.
Þe kniȝt wonderd þat he fond
Swiche an halle in þat lond,
And open in ich side.

45 And when he hadde long stond þerout,
And deuised al about,
In he went þare. f.26b.col.1.
Þritten men þer come,
Wisemen þai war of dome,
And white abite þai bere,

Auchinleck

46 And al her crounes wer newe schorn.
Her most maister ȝede biforn
And salud þe kniȝt.
Adoun he sat, so seyt þe boke,
And kniȝt Owain to him he toke,
And told him resoun riȝt.

47 "Ichil þe conseyl, leue broþer,
As ichaue don mani anoþer
Þat han y-went þis way,
Þat þou ben of gode creaunce,
Certeyn and poure wiþ-outen dotaunce
To God þi trewe fay;

48 For þou schalt se, when we ben ago,
A þousend fendes and wele mo,
To bring þe in to pine.
Ac loke wele, bi-se þe so,
And þou ani-þing bi hem do,
Þi soule þou schalt tine.

49 Haue God in þine hert,
And þenk opon his woundes smert,
Þat he suffred þe fore.
And bot þou do [as] y þe telle,
Bodi and soule þou gos to helle,
And euer-more for-lore.

50 Nempne Godes heiȝe name,
And þai may do þe no schame,
For nouȝt þat may bi-falle."

49:4 as]Kölbing's addition 49:5 þou]þ changed from another letter 50:2 do þe deleted after þe

Auchinleck

And when þai hadde conseyld þe kniȝt,
No lenge bileue he no miȝt,
Bot went out of þe halle;

51 He and alle his fellawe-red
Bitauȝt him God, and forþ þai ȝede
Wiþ ful mild chere.
Owein bileft þer in drede,
To God he gan to clepi and grede,
And maked his preier.

52 And sone þer-after sikerly
He gan to here a reweful cri;
He was aferd ful sore.
Þei alle þe warld falle schold,
Fram þe firmament to þe mold, col.2.
No miȝt haue ben no more.

53 And when of þe cri was passed þe drede,
Þer com in a grete ferrede
Of fendes fifti score
About þe kniȝt in-to þe halle;
Loþly þinges þai weren alle,
Bihinde and eke bifore.

54 And þe kniȝt þai ȝeden abouten,
And grenned on him her foule touten,
And drof him to heþeing,
And seyd he was comen wiþ flesche and fel
To fechen him þe ioie of helle
Wiþ-outen ani ending.

Auchinleck

55 Þe most maister fende of alle
Adoun on knes he gan to falle,
And seyd, "Welcome, Owein!
Þou art y-comen to suffri pine
To amende þe of sinnes tine,
Ac alle gett þe no gain,

56 For þou schalt haue pine anouȝ
Hard, strong, and ful touȝ,
For þi dedli sinne.
No haddestow neuer more meschaunce
Þan þou schal haue in our daunce,
When we schul play biginne."

57 "Ac no for þan," þe fendes sede,
"Ȝif þou wilt do bi our rede,
For þou art ous leue and dere,
We schul þe bring wiþ fine amour
Þer þou com in fram þe priour,
Wiþ our felawes y-fere;

58 And elles we schul þe teche here,
Þat þou has serued ous mani ȝere
In pride and lecherie;
For we þe haue so long y-knawe,
To þe we schul our hokes þrawe,
Alle our compeynie."

59 He seyd he nold wiþ-outen feyle:
"Ac y for-sake ȝour conseyle;
Mi penaunce ichil take."

Auchinleck

And when þe fendes y-herd þis,
Amidward þe halle ywis
A grete fer þai gun make.

60 Fet and hond þai bounde him hard, f.27a.col.1.
And casten him amidward.
He cleped to our driȝt;
Anon þe fer oway was weued,
Cole no spark þer nas bileued,
Þurth grace of God almiȝt.

61 And when þe kniȝt y-seiȝe þis,
Michel þe balder he was ywis,
And wele gan vnder-stond,
And þouȝt wele in his memorie,
It was þe fendes trecherie,
His hert forto fond.

62 Þe fendes went out of þe halle,
Þe kniȝt þai ladde wiþ hem alle
In til an vncouþe lond
Þer no was no maner wele,
Bot hunger, þrust and chele;
No tre no seiȝe he stond,

63 Bot a cold winde þat blewe þere,
Þat vnneþe ani man miȝt y-here,
And perced þurth his side.
Þe fendes han þe kniȝt ynome
So long þat þai ben y-come
Into a valay wide.

Auchinleck

64 Þo wende þe kniȝt he hadde y-founde
Þe deppest pit in helle grounde.
When he com neiȝe þe stede
He loked vp sone anon;
Strong it was forþer to gon,
He herd schriche and grede.

65 He seiȝe þer ligge ful a feld
Of men and wimen þat were aqueld,
Naked wiþ mani a wounde.
Toward þe erþe þai lay deueling,
"Allas! Allas!" was her brocking,
Wiþ iren bendes y-bounde;

66 And gun to scriche and to wayly,
And crid, "Allas! merci, merci,
Merci, God almiȝt!"
Merci nas þer non, for soþe,
Bot sorwe of hert and grinding of toþe:
Þat was a griseli siȝt.

67 Þat ich sorwe and þat reuþe
Is for þe foule sinne of slewþe,
As it seyt in þe stori. col.2.
Who þat is slowe in Godes seruise
Of þat pain hem may agrise,
To legge in purgatori.

68 Þis was þe first pain apliȝt
Þat þai dede Owain þe kniȝt:
Þai greued him swiþe sore.

Auchinleck

Alle þat pain he haþ ouer-schaken;
Vntil anoþer þai han him taken,
Þer he seiȝe sorwe more

69 Of men and wimen þat þer lay,
Þat crid, "Allas!" and "Waileway!"
For her wicked lore.
Þilche soules lay vpward,
As þe oþer hadde ly donward,
Þat y told of bifore;

70 And were þurth fet and hond and heued
Wiþ iren nailes gloweand red
To þe erþe y-nayled þat tide.
Owain seiȝe sitt on hem þere
Loþli [dragouns] alle o fer,
In herd is nouȝt to hide.

71 On sum sete todes blake,
Euetes, neddren and þe snake,
Þat frete hem bac and side.
Þis is þe pain of glotoni:
For Godes loue, be war þer bi!
It rinneþ al to wide.

72 Ȝete him þouȝt a pain strong
Of a cold winde blewe hem among,
Þat com out of þe sky;
So bitter and so cold it blewe,
Þat alle þe soules it ouer-þrewe
Þat lay in purgatori.

70:5 dragouns]MS.dragrouns occurs here one line early.
71:6 MS.stanza paragraph mark
72:1 strong]r inserted above line.

Auchinleck

73 Þe fendes lopen on hem þare,
And wiþ her hokes hem al totere,
And loude þai gun to crie.
Who þat is licchoure in þis liif,
Be it man oþer be it wiif,
Þat schal ben his bayli.

74 Þe fendes seyd to þe kniȝt,
"Þou hast ben strong lichoure apliȝt,
And strong glotoun also.
Into þis pain þou schalt be diȝt,
Bot þou take þe way ful riȝt f.27b.col.1.
Oȝain þer þou com fro."

75 Owain seyd, "Nay, Satan!
Ȝete for-þer mar ichil gan,
Þurth grace of God al-miȝt."
Þe fendes wald him haue hent:
He cleped to God omnipotent,
And þai lorn al her miȝt.

76 Þai ladde him forþer in to a stede
Þer men neuer gode no dede,
Bot schame and vilanie.
Herkneþ now, and ben in pes!
In þe ferþ feld it wes,
Al ful of turmentrie.

77 Sum bi þe fet wer honging,
Wiþ iren hokes al brening,
And sum bi þe swere,

76:5 þe inserted above the line

Auchinleck

And sum bi wombe and sum bi rigge,
Al oþer wise þan y can sigge,
In diuers manere.

78 And sum in forneise wern y-don,
Wiþ molten ledde and quic brunston
Boiland aboue þe fer,
And sum bi þe tong hing,
"Allas!" was euer her brocking,
And no noþer preiere.

79 And sum on grediris layen þere,
Al glowand oȝains þe fer,
Þat Owain wele y-knewe,
Þat whilom were of his queyntaunce,
Þat suffred þer her penaunce:
Þo chaunged al his hewe!

80 A wilde fer hem þurth out went,
Alle þat it of-tok it brent,
Ten þousend soules and mo.
Þo þat henge bi fet and swere,
Þat were þeues and þeues fere,
And wrouȝt man wel wo.

81 And þo þat henge bi þe tong,
Þat "Allas!" euer song,
And so loude crid,
Þat wer bac-biters in her liue:
Be war þer-bi, man and wiue,
Þat lef biþ forto chide.

Auchinleck

82 Alle þe stedes þe kniȝt com bi — col.2.
Were þe paines of purgatori
For her werkes wrong.
Who so is lef on þe halidom swere,
Or ani fals witnes bere,
Þer ben her peynes strong.

83 Owain anon him bi went
And seiȝe where a whele trent,
Þat griseliche were of siȝt;
Michel it was, about it wond,
And brend riȝt as it were a brond;
Wiþ hokes it was ydiȝt.

84 An hundred þousand soules and mo
Opon þe whele were honging þo,
Þe fendes þer til ourn.
Þe stori seyt of Owain þe kniȝt,
Þat no soule knowe he no miȝt,
So fast þai gun it tourn.

85 Out of þe erþe com a liȝting
Of a blo fer al brening,
Þat stank foule wiþ-alle,
And about þe whele it went,
And þe soules it for-brent
To poudre swiþe smal.

86 Þat whele, þat renneþ in þis wise,
Is for þe sinne of couaitise,
Þat regnes now ouer al.

84:1 and] MS. ampersand inserted above line.

Auchinleck

Þe coueytous man haþ neuer anouȝ
Of gold, of siluer, no of plouȝ,
Til deþ him do doun falle.

87 Þe fendes seyd to þe kniȝt,
"Þou hast ben couaitise apliȝt,
To win lond and lede.
Opon þis whele [þou schalt] be diȝt,
Bot ȝif þou take þe way ful riȝt
In til þin owhen þede."

88 Her conseyl he haþ forsaken.
Þe fendes han þe kniȝt forþ taken,
And bounde him swiþe hard
Opon þe whele þat arn about,
And so loþly gan to rout,
And cast him amid-ward.

89 Þo þe hokes him to-rent,
And þe wild fer him to-brent,
On Jhesu Crist he þouȝt. f.28a.col.1.
Fram þat whele an angel him bare,
And al þe fendes þat were þare
No miȝt him do riȝt nouȝt.

90 Þai ladde him forþer wiþ gret pain,
Til þai com to a mounteyn
Þat was as rede as blod,
And men and wimen þer on stode;
Him þouȝt, it nas for non gode,
For þai cride as þai were wode.

87:4 þou schalt]MS.he schal Kölbing's emendation
88:2 forþ]þ inserted above line

Auchinleck

91 Þe fendes seyd to þe kniȝt þan,
"Þou hast wonder of þilche man
Þat make so dreri mode:
For þai deserued Godes wreche,
Hem schal sone com a beuereche,
Þat schal nouȝt þenche hem gode."

92 No hadde he no raþer þat word yseyd,
As it is in þe stori leyd,
Þer com a windes blast,
Þat fende and soule and kniȝt vp went
Al-mest in-to þe firmament,
And seþþen adon him cast

93 Into a stinkand riuer,
Þat vnder þe mounteyn ran o fer,
As quarel of alblast,
And cold it was as ani ise:
Þe pain may no man deuise,
Þat him was wrouȝt in hast.

94 Seyn Owain in þe water was dreynt,
And wex þer in so mad and feynt,
Þat neiȝe he was for-lore.
Sone so he on God miȝt þenchen ouȝt,
Out of þe water he was y-brouȝt,
And to þe lond y-bore.

95 Þat ich pain, ich vnderstond,
Is for boþe niþe and ond,
Þat was so wick liif;

Auchinleck

Ond was þe windes blast
Þat in-to þe stinking water him cast:
Ich man be war þer bi!

96 Forþ þai ladde him swiþe wiþ alle,
Til þai com to an halle,
He ne seiȝe neuer er non swiche.
Out of þe halle com an hete,
Þat þe kniȝt bigan to swete, col.2.
He seiȝe so foule a smiche.

97 Þo stint he forþer forto gon,
Þe fendes it aperceiued anon,
And were þer-of ful fawe.
"Turn oȝain," þai gun to crie,
"Or þou schalt wel sone dye,
Bot þou þe wiþ-drawe."

98 And when he com to þe halle dore,
He no hadde neuer sen bi-fore
Haluendel þe care.
Þe halle was ful of turmentri,
Þo þat were in þat bayly
Of blis þai were ful bare,

99 For al was þe halle grounde
Ful of pittes þat were rounde,
And were ful y-filt
To þe brerdes, gret and smal,
Of bras and coper and oþer metal,
And quic bronston y-melt;

Auchinleck

And men and wimen þer on stode,
And schrist and crid, as þai wer wode,
For her dedeli sinne.
Sum to þe nauel wode,
And sum to þe brestes 3ode,
And sum to þe chin.

Ich man after his misgilt
In þat pein was y-pilt,
To haue þat strong hete;
And sum bere bagges about her swer
Of pens gloweand al of fer,
And swiche mete þer þai ete:

Þat were gauelers in her liif.
Be war þer-bi, boþe man and wiif,
Swiche sinne þat 3e lete.
And mani soules þer 3ede vp-ri3tes,
Wiþ fals misours and fals wi3tes,
Þat fendes opon sete.

Þe fendes to þe kni3t sede,
"Þou most baþi in þis lede
Ar þan þou hennes go.
For þine okering and for þi sinne
A parti þou most be wasche her-inne,
O cours or to."

Owain drad þat turment, f.28b.col.1.
And cleped to God omnipotent,
And his moder Marie.

Auchinleck

Y-born he was out of þe halle,
Fram þe paines and þe fendes alle,
Þo he so loude gan crie.

105 Anon þe kniȝt was war þer,
Whare sprang out a flaumme o fer,
Þat was stark and store.
Out þe erþe þe fer aros,
Þo þe kniȝt wel sore agros;
As cole and piche it fore.

106 Of seuen maner colours þe fer out went,
Þe soules þer-in it for-brent;
Sum was ȝalu and grene,
Sum was blac and sum was blo;
Þo þat were þer-in hem was ful wo,
And sum as nadder on to sene.

107 Þe fende haþ þe kniȝt y-nome,
And to þe pit þai weren y-come,
And seyd þus in her spelle,
"Now, Owain, þou miȝt solas make,
For þou schalt wiþ our felawes schake
In to þe pit of helle.

108 Þis ben our foules in our caghe,
And þis is our courtelage
And our castel tour.
Þo þat ben her-in y-brouȝt,
Sir kniȝt, hou trowestow ouȝt,
Þat hem is ani þing sour?

107:5 Letter erased after wiþ schake]ch inserted above line
107:6 þe inserted above line 108:1 foules]s inserted above line

Auchinleck

109 Now turn oȝain or to late,
Ar we þe put in at helle gate;
Out no schaltow neuer winne,
For no noise no for no crie,
No for no clepeing to Marie,
No for no maner ginne."

110 Her conseil þe kniȝt for-soke.
Þe fendes him nom, so seiþ þe boke,
And bounde him swiþe fast;
Into þat ich wicke prisoun,
Stinckand and derk fer adoun
Amidward þai him cast.

111 Euer þe neþer þat þai him cast
Þe hatter þe fer on him last,
Þo him gan sore smert. col.2.
He cleped to God omnipotent,
To help him out of þat turment,
Wiþ gode wille and stedefast hert.

112 Out of þe pit he was y-born,
And elles he hadde ben for-lorn
To his endingday.
Þat is þe pine, þat ich of rede,
Is for þe foule sinne of prede,
Þat schal lasten ay.

113 Biside þe pit he seiȝe and herd
Hou God al-miȝten him had y-werd,
His cloþes wer al to-rent.

Auchinleck

Forþer couþe he no way,
Þer him þouȝt a diuers cuntray;
His bodi was al for-brent.

114 Þo chaunged Owain rode and hewe;
Fendes he seiȝe, ac non he no knewe,
In þat diuers lond.
Sum sexti eiȝen bere,
Þat loþeliche and griseliche we[re],
And sum hadde sexti hond.

115 Þai seyd, "Þou schalt nouȝt ben alon,
Þou schalt hauen ous to mon,
To teche þe newe lawes,
As þou hast y-lernd ere,
In þe stede þer þou were
Amonges our felawes."

116 Þe fendes han þe kniȝt y-nome,
To a stinkand water þai ben y-come;
He no seiȝe neuer er non swiche.
It stank fouler þan ani hounde,
And mani mile it was to þe grounde,
And was as swart as piche.

117 And Owain seiȝe þer ouer ligge
A swiþe strong, naru brigge.
Þe fendes seyd þo,
"Lo, sir kniȝt, sestow þis?
Þis is þe brigge of paradis,
Here ouer þou most go;

114:5 were] MS. we

Auchinleck

118 And we þe schul wiþ stones þrowe,
And þe winde þe schal ouer blowe,
And wirche þe ful wo.
Þou no schalt, for al þis midnerd,
Bot ȝif þou falle amidwerd f.29a.col.1.
To our [felawes] mo.

119 And when þou art adoun y-falle,
Þan schal com our felawes alle,
And wiþ her hokes þe hede.
We schul þe teche a newe play
-Þou hast serued ous mani a day-
And in to helle þe lede."

120 Owain bi-held þe brigge smert,
Þe water þer vnder, blac and swert,
And sore him gan to drede,
For of o þing he tok ȝeme:
Neuer mot in sonne beme
Þicker þan þe fendes ȝede.

121 Þe brigge was as heiȝe as a tour,
And as scharpe as a rasour,
And naru it was also;
And þe water þat þer ran vnder
Brend o liȝting and of þonder,
Þat þouȝt him michel wo.

122 Þer nis no clerk may write wiþ ynke,
No no man no may bi-þinke,
No no maister deuine,

118:1 wiþ]þ changed from long s 118:6 felawes]MS.fewes
Kölbing's emendation 120:3 drede]r inserted above line

Auchinleck

Þat is y-made, for soþe ywis,
Vnder þe brigge of paradis,
Haluendel þe pine.

123 So þe [dominical] ous telle,
Þer is þe pure entre of helle:
Sein Poule berþ witnesse.
Who so falleþ of þe brigge adoun,
Of him nis no redempcioun,
Noiþer more no lesse.

124 Þe fendes seyd to þe kniȝt þo,
"Ouer þis brigge miȝt þou nouȝt go,
For noneskines nede.
Fle periil, sorwe and wo,
And to þat stede, þer þou com fro,
Wel fair we schul þe lede."

125 Owain anon him gan bi-þenche
Fram hou mani of þe fendes wrenche
God him saued hadde.
He sett his fot opon þe brigge,
No feld he no scharp egge,
No no þing him no drad.

126 When þe fendes y-seiȝe þo, col.2.
Þat he was more þan half y-go,
Loude þai gun to crie,
"Allas, allas, þat he was born!
Þis ich kniȝt we haue for-lorn
Out of our baylie."

125:2 fendes] 1st e obliterated 123:1 dominical] MS. dm̄cal

Auchinleck

127 When he was of þe brigge y-went,
He þonked God omnipotent,
And his moder Marie,
Þat him hadde swiche grace y-sent,
He was deliuerd fro her turment,
In til a better baylie.

128 A cloþ of gold him was y-brouȝt,
In what maner he nist nouȝt,
Þo God him hadde y-sent.
Þat cloþ he dede on him þere,
And alle woundes hole were,
Þat er þen was for-brent.

129 He þonked God in trinite,
And loked forþer and gan y-se
As it were a ston wal.
He biheld about, fer and neiȝe,
Non ende þer on he no seiȝe,
O red gold it schon al.

130 Forþer more he gan y-se
A gate, non fairer miȝt be
In þis world y-wrouȝt.
Tre no stel nas þeron non,
Bot rede gold and precious ston,
And al God made of nouȝt:

131 Jaspers, topes and cristal,
Margarites and coral,
And riche safer-stones,

Auchinleck

Ribes and salidoines,
Onicles and causteloines,
And diamaunce for þe nones.

132 In tabernacles þai wer ywrouȝt,
Richer miȝt it be nouȝt,
Wiþ pilers gent and smal,
Arches y-bent wiþ charbukelston,
Knottes of rede gold þer opon,
And pinacles of cristal.

133 Bi as miche as our saueour
Is queinter þan gold-smitþe oþer paintour,
Þat woneþ in ani lond, f.29b.col.1.
So fare þe gates of paradis
Er richer y-wrouȝt, forsoþe ywis,
As ȝe may vnder-stond.

134 Þe gates bi hem-selue vndede:
Swiche a smal com out of þat stede,
As it al baume were;
And of þat ich swetenisse
Þe kniȝt tok so gret strengþe ywis,
As ȝe may forþeward here,

135 Þat him þouȝt he miȝt wel,
More bi a þousand del,
Suffri pain and wo,
And turn oȝain siker apliȝt,
And ogain alle fendes fiȝt,
Þer he er com fro.

134:5 ywis]y added above line

Auchinleck

136 Þe kniȝt ȝode þe gate ner,
And seiȝe þer com wiþ milde chere
Wel mani [in] processioun,
Wiþ tapers and chaundelers of gold,
Non fairer no miȝt ben on mold,
And croices and goinfainoun.

137 Popes wiþ gret dingnite,
And cardinals gret plente,
Kinges and quenes þer were,
Kniȝtes, abbotes and priours,
Monkes, chanouns and frere prechours,
And bischopes þat croices bere,

138 Frere Menours and Jacobins,
Frere Carmes and frere Austines,
And nonnes white and blake;
Al maner religioun
Þer ȝede in þat processioun,
Þat order had y-take.

139 Þe order of wedlake com also,
Men and wimen mani mo,
And þonked Godes grace
Þat haþ þe kniȝt swiche grace y-sent,
He was deliuerd from þe fendes turment,
Quic man into þat plas.

140 And when þai hadde made þis melody,
Tvay com out of her compeynie,
Palmes of gold þai bere;
To þe kniȝt þai ben y-come, col.2.

139:2 r deleted after mani, taken by Kölbing to be ampersand.

Auchinleck

Bitvix hem tvay þai han him nome,
And erchebischopes it were.

141 Vp and doun þai ladde þe kniȝt,
And schewed him ioies of more miȝt,
And miche melodye;
Mirie were her carols þere,
Non foles among hem nere,
Bot ioie and menstracie.

142 Þai ȝede on carol al bi line,
Her ioie may no man deuine,
Of God þai speke and song,
And angels ȝeden hem to gy,
Wiþ harpe and fiþel and sautry,
And belles miri rong.

143 No may þer no man caroly inne,
Bot þat he be clene of sinne,
And leten alle foly.
Now God, for þine woundes alle,
Graunt ous caroly in þat halle,
And his moder Marie!

144 Þis ich ioie, as ȝe may se,
Is for loue and charite
Oȝain God and man-kinne.
Who þat lat erþely loue be,
And loueþ God in trinite,
He may caroly þer inne.

143:1 may corrected from man

Auchinleck

145 Oþer ioies he seiȝe anouȝ:
Heiȝe tres wiþ mani a bouȝ,
Þer on sat foules of heuen,
And breke her notes wiþ miri gle,
Burdoun and mene gret plente,
And hautain wiþ heiȝe steuen.

146 Him þouȝt wele wiþ þat foules song
He miȝt wele liue þer among
Til þe worldes ende.
Þer he seiȝe þat tre of liif
Whar þurth þat Adam and his wiif
To helle gun wende.

147 Fair were her erbers wiþ floures,
Rose and lili diuers colours,
Primrol and paruink,
Mint, feþerfoy and eglentere,
Colombin and mo þer were f.30a.col.1.
Þan ani man mai bi-þenke.

148 It beþ erbes of oþer maner
Þan ani in erþe groweþ here,
Þo þat is lest of priis.
Euer more þai grene springeþ,
For winter no somer it no clingeþ,
And swetter þan licorice.

149 Þer beþ þe welles in þat stede,
Þe water is swetter þan ani mede,
Ac on þer is of priis,

148:2 Second half of line legible, though partially obscured by paper strip attached to mend cut in parchment made by person who cut through following folio to remove miniature on folio 31b. 149:3 is inserted above line

Auchinleck

Swiche þat seynt Owain seiȝe þo,
Þat foure stremes vrn fro,
Out of paradis.

[Pison] men clepeþ þat o strem,
Þat is of swiþe briȝt lem,
Gold is þer-in y-founde.
[Gihon] men clepeþ þat oþer ywis,
Þat is of miche more priis
Of stones in þe grounde.

Þe þridde strem is Eufrates,
For soþe to telle, wiþ-outen les,
Þat rinneþ swiþe riȝt.
Þe ferþ strem is Tigris,
In þe world is make nis,
Of stones swiþe briȝt.

Who loueþ to liue in clenesse,
He schal haue þat ich blisse,
And se þat semly siȝt.
And more he þer y-seiȝe
Vnder Godes glorie an heiȝe:
Y-blisced [be] his miȝt!

Sum soule he seyȝe woni bi selue,
And sum bi ten and bi tvelue,
And euerich com til oþer;
And when þai com to-giders ywis,
Alle þai made miche blis
As soster doþ wiþ þe broþer.

150:1 Pison]MS. Dison 150:4 Gihon]MS. Fison
152:6 be added by Kölbing

Auchinleck

154 Sum he seiȝe gon in rede scarlet,
And sum in pourper wele y-sett,
And sum in sikelatoun;
As þe prest ate masse wereþ,
Tonicles and aubes on hem þai bereþ,
And sum gold bete al doun. col.2.

155 Þe kniȝt wele in alle þing
Knewe bi her cloþeing
In what state þat þai [were],
And what dedes þai hadde y-do,
Þo þat were y-cloþed so,
[While] þai were mannes fere.

156 Ichil ȝou tel a fair semblaunce,
Þat is a gode acordaunce
Bi þe sterres clere:
Sum ster is briȝter on to se
Þan is bisides oþer þre,
And of more pouwere.

157 In þis maner y-delt it is,
Bi þe ioies of [paradis]:
Þai no haue nouȝt al y-liche;
Þe soule þat haþ ioie lest,
Him þenkeþ he haþ alder mest,
And holt him also riche.

158 Þe bischopes oȝain to him come,
Bitven hem tvay þai him nome,
And ladde him vp and doun,

155:3 were]MS.weren 155:6 While]MS.whise
157:2 paradis]MS.parabis

Auchinleck

And seyd, "Broþer, God, herd he be!
Ful-fild is þi volente,
Now herken our resoun.

159 Þou hast y-se wiþ eiȝen þine
Boþe þe ioies and þe pine:
Yherd be Godes grace!
We wil þe tel bi our comun dome,
What way it was þat þou bi come,
Er þou hennes pas.

160 Þat lond þat is so ful of sorwe,
Boþe auen and a morwe,
Þat þou þus com bi,
-Þou suffredes pain and wo,
And oþer soules mani mo-
Men clepeþ it purgatori.

161 And þis lond þat is so wide,
And so michel and so side,
And is ful of blis,
Þat þou hast now in y-be,
And mani ioies here y-se,
Paradis is cleped ywis.

162 Þer mai no man comen here f.30b.col.1.
Til þat he be spourged þere,
And y-made al clene.
Þan comeþ þai hider," þe bischop sede,
"Into þe ioie we schul hem lede,
Sum while bi tvelue and tene.

162:4 sede] 1st e added above line

Auchinleck

163 And sum ben so hard y-bounde,
Þai nite neuer hou long stounde
Þai schul suffri þat hete,
Bot ȝif her frendes do godenisse,
Ȝif mete, or do sing messe,
Þat þai han in erþe y-lete;

164 Oþer ani oþer almosdede,
Alle þe better hem may spede
Out of her missays,
And com in-to þis paradis,
Þer ioie and blis euer is,
And libbe here al in pays.

165 As hye comeþ out of purgatori,
So passe we vp to Godes glori,
Þat is þe heiȝe riche,
Þat is paradis celestien;
Þer-in com bot cristen men:
No ioie nis þat yliche.

166 When we comen out of þe fer
Of purgatori, ar we com her,
We no may nouȝt anon riȝt,
Til we han her long ybe,
We may nouȝt Godes face y-se,
No in þat stede aliȝt.

167 Þe child þat was y-born to-niȝt,
Er þe soule be hider y-diȝt,
Þe pain schal ouer fle.

165:4 celestien] MS. celestiẽn

Auchinleck

Strong and heui is it þan,
Here to com þe old man,
Þat long in sinne haþ be."

168 Forþ þai went til þai seiȝe
A mounteyn þat was swiþe heiȝe,
Þer was al gamen and gle.
So long þai hadde þe way y-nome,
Þat to þe cop þai weren y-come,
Þe ioies forto se.

169 Þer was al maner foulen song,
Michel ioie was hem among,
And euer more schal be. col.2.
Þer is more ioie in a foules mouþe,
Þan here in harp, fiþel or crouþe,
Bi lond oþer bi se.

170 Þat lond, þat is so honestly,
Is y-cleped paradis terestri,
Þat is in erþe here;
Þat oþer is paradis, Godes riche:
Þilke ioie haþ non y-liche,
And is aboue þe aire.

171 In þat, þat is in erþe here,
Was Owain, þat y spac of here,
Swiche þat les Adam;
For, hadde Adam y-hold him stille,
And wrouȝt after Godes wille,
As he oȝain him nam,

170:2 Is] MS. expunctuates a second i

Auchinleck

172 He no his ofspring neuer mo
Out of þat ioie no schuld haue go;
Bot for he brac it so sone,
Wiþ pike and spade in diche to delue,
To help his wiif and him-selue,
God made him miche to done.

173 God was wiþ him so wroþ,
Þat he no left him no cloþ,
Bot a lef of a tre,
And al naked ȝede and stode.
Loke man, ȝif hye ner wode,
At swiche a conseil to be.

174 Þo com an angel wiþ a swerd o fer,
And wiþ a stern loke and chere,
And made hem sore aferd;
In erþe to ben in sorwe and wo,
Þer while þai liued euer mo,
He drof hem to midnerd.

175 And when he dyed to helle he nam,
And al þat euer of him cam,
Til Godes sone was born,
And suffred pain and passioun,
And brouȝt him out of þat prisoun,
And elles were al for-lorn.

176 Here of spekeþ Dauid in þe sauter,
Of a þing þat toucheþ here,
Of God in trinite,

Auchinleck

Opon men, þat ben in gret honour,
And honoureþ nouȝt her creatour f.31a.col.1.
Of so heiȝe dignite.

177 Alle þat ben of Adames kinne,
Þat here in erþe haue don sinne,
S . . . .
O . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .

178 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .

179 . . . . . .
B . . . . .
In þe paine of purgatori;
And bot he haue þe better chaunce,
At domesday he is in balaunce
Oȝaines God in glorie.

180 Þe bischopes þe kniȝt hete
To tellen [hem], þat he no lete,
Whеþer heuen were white or biis,
Blewe or rede, ȝalu or grene.
Þe kniȝt seyd, "Wiþ-outen wene,
Y schal say min aviis.

177:2 After Laing and Kölbing. Now only þ and haue don s are legible. 177:3-179:2 Lost on back of excised miniature. MS. has been neatly patched. Laing read following initials: 177:5 H; 177:6 A; 179:1 Th; 179:2 B. 179:3 of purgatori]partially obscured 180:2 hem]MS.him

Auchinleck

181 Me þenkeþ it is a þousand-fold
Briȝter þan euer was ani gold,
Bi siȝt opon to se."
"Ȝa," seyd þe bischop to þe kniȝt,
"Þat ich stede, þat is so briȝt,
Nis bot þe entre.

182 And ich day ate gate o siþe
Ous comeþ a mele to make ous bliþe,
Þat is to our biheue:
A swete smal of al gode,
It is our soule fode.
Abide, þou schalt ous leue."

183 Anon þe kniȝt was war þere,
Whare sprong out a flaumbe o fer,
Fram heuen gate it fel.
Þe kniȝt þouȝt, al fer and neiȝe,
Þat ouer al paradis it fleiȝe,
And ȝaf so swete a smal.

184 Þe holy gost in fourme o fer col.2.
Opon þe kniȝt liȝt þer,
In þat ich place;
Þurth vertu of þat ich liȝt
He les þer al his erþelich miȝt,
And þonked Godes grace.

185 Þus þe bischop to him sede,
"God fet ous ich day wiþ his brede,
Ac we no haue noure neiȝe

182:3 biheue] final e changed from i

Auchinleck

So grete likeing of his grace,
No swiche a siȝt opon his face,
As þo þat ben on heiȝe.

186 Þe soules þat beþ at Godes fest,
Þilche ioie schal euer lest
Wiþ-outen ani ende.
Now þou most bi our comoun dome,
Þat ich way þat þou bi come,
Oȝain þou most wende.

187 Now kepe þe wele fram dedli sinne,
Þat þou neuer com þer inne,
For nonskines nede.
When þou art ded, þou schalt wende
In to þe ioie þat haþ non ende;
Angels schul þe lede."

188 Þo wepe seynt Owain swiþe sore,
And prayd hem for Godes ore,
Þat he most þer duelle;
Þat he no seiȝe neuer more,
As he hadde do bifore,
Þe strong paines of helle.

189 Of þat praier gat he no gain.
He nam his leue and went oȝain,
Þei him were swiþe wo.
Fendes he seiȝe ten þousand last,
Þay flowe fram him as quarel of alblast,
Þat he er com fro.

Auchinleck

190 No nere þan a quarel miȝt fle,
No fende no miȝt him here no se,
For al þis warld to winne.
And when þat he com to þe halle,
Þe þritten men he fond alle,
Oȝaines him þer inne.

191 Alle þai held vp her hond,
And þonked Jhesu Cristes sond
A þousand times and mo, f.31b.col.1.
And bad him heiȝe, þat he no wond,
Þat he wer vp in Yrlond,
As swiþe as he miȝt go.

192 And as ich finde in þis stori,
Þe priour of þe Purgatori
Com tokening þat niȝt,
Þat Owain hadde ouercomen his sorwe,
And schuld com vp on þe morwe,
Þurth grace of God al-miȝt.

193 Þan þe priour wiþ processioun,
Wiþ croice and wiþ goinfainoun,
To þe hole he went ful riȝt,
Þer þat kniȝt Owain in wende.
As a briȝt fere þat brende,
Þai seiȝe a lem of liȝt.

194 And riȝt amiddes þat ich liȝt
Com vp Owain, Godes kniȝt.
Þo wist þai wele bi þan,

Auchinleck

Þat Owain hadde ben in paradis,
And in purgatori ywis,
And þat he was holy man.

Þai ladde him in-to holi chirche,
Godes werkes for-to wirche.
His praiers he gan make,
And at þe ende on þe fiften day,
Þe kniȝt anon, for soþe to say,
Scrippe and burdoun gan take.

Þat ich holy stede he souȝt,
Þer Jhesus Crist ous dere bouȝt
Opon þe rode tre,
And þer he ros fram ded to liue,
Þurth vertu of his woundes fiue:
Yblisced mot he be!

And Bedlem, þer þat God was born
Of Mari his moder, as flour of þorn,
And þer he stiȝe to heuen;
And seþþen in-to Yrlond he come,
And monkes abite vnder-nome,
And liued þere ȝeres seuen.

And when he deyd, he went ywis
Into þe heiȝe ioie of paradis,
Þurth help of Godes grace.
Now God, for seynt Owain's loue,
Graunt ous heuen-blis aboue
Bifor his swete face! Amen.

col.2.

Cotton

f.91b.col.1. God þat ys so full of myght,
That mendede wronge and made ryght,
He sente men vs to wysse
The ryght way to heuen-blysse.
Fyrste hys prophetys þat wer bold,
Off þat was comyng þey vs told;
But þe folke þat wer yn londe
Ne myght hem not vnþurstonde.
To teche vs more redylye,
He come hym-self full preuely,
And almoste þre and þrytty ȝer
Sothefaste mon he dwelled here.
Both yn wordes and tokenes fele
He tawȝte men her sowles to hele,
And at þe laste, for monnus goode
He dyed hym-self vpon þe rode,
And bowȝte vs wyth hys blody syde
[Fro hym that was] lorn þorow pryde;
And hys apostelus for soþe he sende,
That þey shulde þe folke a-mende,
And to tell hem of heuen-ryche,
ȝong and olde, pore all y-lyche.
He hadde bysshoppus gode also
And oþur prechorus mony mo,
That shewed her mony a tokenyng
That he ys God and sothefast kynge;
Holy byschoppus som tyme þer were,
That tawȝte men of Goddes lore.
In Irlonde preched Seynt Patryke,
In þat londe was non hym lyke.

18 MS. All hem þat were

Hamilton

f.28a Jhesu þat ys moste of myth,
And of wronge makyth ryth,
Sendyth wyssemen vs to wysche
The ryth weye to heuyn-blysche.

To teche hem more redely,
Cryste com hym-celfe woll preuely,
And all-moste iij and xxx^ti 3ere
A stedfaste man that dwellyd here.
Bothe in word and tokenys felle
He tawte men ther sowll helle.
Aftyr-warde for manys good
He dede hym-selfe vp-on þe rode,
And bowth vs wyth hys blody syde
Fro hym that was lorn for pryde;
And or than he to heuyn wente,
Hys apostollys forth he sente
To telle men of heuyn-reche,
3onge and olde, all a-leche.
3et we [had] boschepys al-soo,
And holy precherys many moo,
That schewyd vs many tokenyng
That he ys God and stedfast kyng;
Holy bochoppys sum tyme þer were,
That tawte men of Godys lore.
In þe lond prechyd Seynt Pertryke,
In all þat lond wos hym non lyke.

1 Eight-line initial flourish. 19 had]MS.and

Cotton

He prechede Goddes worde full wyde,
And tolde men what shullde be-tyde.
Fyrste he preched of heuen-blysse,
Who euur go þydur may ryght nowȝt mysse;
Sethen he preched of helle pyne,
Howe wo þem ys þat comeþ þer-inne;
And þen he preched of purgatory,
As he fonde in hys story.
But ȝet þe folke of þe contre
Beleued not þat hyt myȝth be,
col.2. And seyde, but ȝyf hyt were so,
That eny mon myth hym-self go
And se all þat and come a-geyn,
Then wolde þey be-leue fayn.
Seynt Patryke hym-self be-þowȝth,
And Jhesu faste he be-sowȝth,
That he wolde som tokyne shewe,
So þe pepull myȝth þe bettur knowe,
And þat he myȝth þorow hys leue
Turne hem yn to þe ryȝth beleue.
Our Lord come to hym vpon a day,
As he yn hys bedys lay;
Two ryche þynkes he hym ȝaf,
A booke of gospellus and a staf.
Wyth full glad chere þe byschop hem toke,
Boþe þe ryche staffe and þe booke,
And ȝet be þo ryche relyquus þere,
And at euery feste day yn þe ȝere
They ben bore yn processioun
Wyth full gret deuocioun.

Hamilton

He prechyd Goddys wordys full wyde,
And tolde men wat schude be-tyde.
Fyrste he spake of heuyn-blysse,
How-so go theder he go not a-mysse,
And sythyn he spake of helle peyn,
Who ys he þat comyth ther-yn;
f.28b And 3yt he spake of porcatory,
As yt ys wretyn in þe story.
The folke þat wer in þe contre
Wolde not be-leue yt myte so be,

But 1 [man] myth hym-selfe gon,
And syn all þat and cum a-geyn,
Than many wolde hym beleuyn fayn.
Seynth Pertryke hym be-thowthe,
Jhesu he than be-sowth
That he wolde hym sum tokenys schowe,
That in þe lond yt myth be knowe,
That he myth [throwe] hys be-heue,
Bryng þat folke yn a beter be-leue.
Cryste peryd to hym vp-on a day,
As he yn hys bed lay;
Tweyn reche thyngys he hym 3affe,
A boke of gospell and a staffe.
Wyth good chyre þe bosschoppe yt toke,
Bothe þe staffe and þe boke;
3yt arn thes reche relekys [þore],
And heuery heyr feste [bore];
Wyth full good devocyun,
The boschoppys baryth [yn] prosessun.

36 so inserted above line 37 man]MS.myth see Note
44 throwe]MS.throwr 52 þore]MS.3owre 53 bore]MS.bere
52-55 see Note 54 f deleted after good

Cotton

The archebysshop of þat lond
Shall bere þat staffe yn hys honde.
Who so wyll wyte what hyt hatte,
'Jhesu staffe' men calle hyt ȝette.
God spakke to Saynt Patryke þo
By name, and badde hym wyth hym go.
He ladde hym yn-to a wyldernesse,
Wher was no reste, more ne lesse,
And shewed, þat he myȝth se
In to þe erþe a pryue entre;
Hyt was yn a depe dyches ende.
"What mon," he sayde, "þat wyll her yn wende,
And dwelle þer-yn a day and a nyȝth,
And holde hys by-leue [a]-ryȝth,
And come aȝeyn þat he ne dwelle,
Mony a meruayle he may of telle;
And all þo þat doth þys pylgrymage,
I shall hem graunt for her wage,
Whebur he be sqwyer or knaue,
Obur purgatorye shall he non haue."
Als sone as he hadde sayde hym so,
Jhesu wente þe bysshoppe fro.
f.92a.col.1. Seynt Patryke þen a-non ryght,
He ne stynte ner day ne nyght,
But gatte hym help fro day to day,
And made þer a fayr abbey,
And chanonus gode he dede þer-inne,
Vnþur þe abbyt of Seynt Austynne.

74 MS.and

Hamilton

The herche-boschoppe of þat lond
Schall bere þe staffe yn hys hand.
He þat woll wete wat þe staffe hyte,
'Jhesu' þe stafte men clepete rythe.
Cryste spake to Seynt Partryke tho
Be name, he bade hym [wyth hym] goo.
He led hym yn-to a wyldyrnesse,
Ther neyther man nor beste was,
And schowyd hym, þat he wyll myth se
f.29a In to the erthe a preuy entre;
Yt was in a depe dekys ende.
"What man," he seyd, "þat wold here yn wynde,
And dwellyn hyr yn a day and a nythe,
And [holde hys byleue] a-rythe,
And commyn a-geyn [þat he ne dwelle],
Meruellys talys he may tell.
What man þat goth thys pylgrymmage,
I xall hym grante for hys wage,
Be yt man, woman or knaue,
Oþer porcatory xall he neuer haue."
As sone as he to hym had seyd soo,
Jhesu went þat bochoppe froo.
Seynt Partryke went a-non rygth,
He not stode, day nor nygth,
But get hym helpe fro day to day,
And ded make þer a reche abey.
Schanonys good he dede þer-yn,
Vnder þe cunsel of Seynt Austyn;
Thus men clepyd þe reche abeye
Regelys, þat hath þe same [to-]day.

69 MS.howe he ys be louyd 70 MS.he note wyll

Cotton

Seynt Patryke lette make ryght well
A dore bow[n]den wyth iren and stele;
Lokke and key he made þer to,
That no mon shulde þe dore vn-do.
The key he be-toke þe pryour
And badde hym lokke hyt as tresour,
And euur close þe entre so,
That no man myȝth þer yn go,
But ȝyf hyt were þorow þe assente
Of þe pryour and þe couente;
Of þe bysschop he moste haue a lettur,
Elles hym were neuur þe better.
Ȝet ys þat stede called yn memorye
Seynt Patrykus Purgatorye.
In hys tyme some were þer-yn,
To haue for-ȝeuenesse of her synne,
That come aȝeyn on þe morow;
I wote, þey tolde of mykell sorow,
Of peynus, þat þey syȝ þoo,
And of mykyll joye also.
What þey sen þer as þey wente yn,
For soþe, hy[t] was yn book wryten.
Some wente yn þat bolde wore,
But out come þey neuur more.
In Steuenes tyme, y vnþurstonde,
That was kyng of Inglonde,
Ther was a knyȝt men called Oweyn;
He was þer-yn and come a-gayn.
What he þer syȝ, y wyll ȝou telle,
Bothe of heuene and of helle.

110 MS.hys

Hamilton

Seynt Partryke ded make full wyll
A dore bowndyn wyth yryn and stell;
Loke and keye he made þer too,
That no man schuld that dore ondoo.
The key he toke to þe preyor
And bad hym loket as hys tresor.
Ther he loked þat hentre thoo,
That no man myth þer-yn goo,
But yf he wer at the seynt
Of þe preyor and hys couent;
3yt fro þe boyschoppe he muste haue a letter,
f.29b Or ellys he wer neuer the better.
3yt ys thys stede yn rememure
Klepyd Seynth Partrykys Purcatore.
In hys tyme sum were ther-yn,
To gette for-3euenes of ther syn,
And cum a-3en all on the morow;
God wyth þem, toldyn of mykyll sorow,
Of peynys that þey seyn ther.

Whath þey seyn, woll þey wete,
For þey hant yn bokys wryte.
Sum wentyn yn that bodyn care,
And comyn a-geyn neuer more.
In Steuys tyme, I vndyrstond
Þat þer wos a knyth yn Ingelond,
A knyth þer wos men [klepyd] Syr Howyn;
He was þer-yn and come a-geyn.
What he sawe þer, I woll yow telle,
Bothe of heuyn and of helle.

96 fro]r changed from o 106 hant]Miss Toulmin Smith reads haith, see Note. 109 Three-line initial and flourish.
111 klepyd]MS.klepynd cf.313.

Cotton

Thys knyȝt was dowȝty mon and bolde,
And a-mong [men] mykyll of tolde;
But þys knyȝte fell yn-to synne,
And long tyme he lay þer-inne.
col.2. At þe laste hym repentede soore,
And þowȝte he wolde do no more,
But to þe bysshoppe of þat countre
He wente and fonde hym yn hys se.
To hym he gon hym for to shryue
Of all þe synnus yn hys lyue.
The bysshoppe blamede hym yn þat hete
For hys synnus mony and grete.
Sethen he sayde to hym at þe laste,
That all hys lyf he moste faste,
For to a-mende her hys mysdede,
Of þat he hadde mysdone and sayde.
"Syr," he sayde, "y þe beseche,
As þou art my sowles leche,
Graunte me þat y mote gone
To Saynt Patrykes Purgatorye a-none;
And when y am comen a-gayn,
All ȝour wyll y wyll do fayn."
The bysshoppe sayde, "Dyþur shalt þou nowȝth,
For mony a fole hath þydur sowȝth;
To moche vpon hemself þey tryste,
Whyþur þey wente, no mon wyste.
I rede þe for þy deuocyoun,
That þou take þe abyte of relygyoun,
And ȝyf þou wylt þy synne lete,
In þys wyse may þou heuen gete."

Hamilton

The knyth was a dowty man and a bold,
[A-monge men] mekyll he was of told,
Tyll throw folly he fell yn synne,
And long letyd hym ther-ynne,
And aftyr-ward be-thowte hym [sore],
And thowte of synne he wolde no more.
To þe boschope of that cuntre
He went and fond hym yn þat [se].
To hym a-non he gan hym schrywe
At hys myth of all hys lywe.
The boschoppe blamyd hym yn þat hete
For hys synnys many and grete,
And sythyn seyd, at þe laste,
That all hys lyve he muste faste,
f.30a For to a-mend hys mysse-dede,
That he hath done and seyd.
"Syre," he seyd, "I 3ow be-seche,
As 3e be my sowle leche,
A bone þat 3e grante me also,
To Seynth Partrykys wey to go;
And sythyn qwhan I cum a-geyn,
I xall fulfyll 3owre word full fayn."
"Seyrteyn," seyd þe boschoppe, "þat xall I nowte,
For many follys thedyr han sowte;
So mykyll on hem-selfe they troste,
Wher þey be-cum, no man woste.
I rede the for they devocioun,
Thow take abyth of relygioun,
So myth thow, both nythe and day,
Serue God wyll to pay."

116 MS.A moge mem 119 sore]MS.sere 122 se]MS.sete
141-2 Rhyme words both have three final minims + horizontal flourish.

Cotton

"Syr," he sayde, "y þe pray,
Thow ȝeue me leue to go þat way.
I hope y woll bothe come and wende,
Thorow þe grace of God [so hende]."
The bysshop ȝaf hym leue þo,
On Goddes name he badde hym go.
A-non he made hym a letter wele,
And seled hyt wyth hys owne sele.
He toke hys leue and wente hys way
To þe pryour of þat abbey.
When he to þe pryour come,
Of þe knyȝte þe lettur he nome.
He hyt redde and stode full stylle;
Sone he wyste þe [knyȝthes] wylle,
And well-comed hym yn fayr manere.
"Syr," he sayde, "þou art well-come here.
f.92b. col.1. By þys lettur yn myn honde
I haue þy wyll vnþurstonde;
But I de rede þat þou do not so,
Noþur for wele ner for wo.
Aftur my rede þou do a-noþur;
Take þe abyte and be-come our brodur;
So þou may, boþe nyȝth and day,
Serue God full well to pay.
Then may þy sowle to heuen wende,
And haue þer blysse wyth-owten ende."
"Syre," he sayde, "þou redest me well,
But for my synnus, dyþur y wyll.
Thyþur y wyll, for my synnus alle,
To haue forȝeuenesse, what so befalle."

152 MS.of heuen 157-8 Order inverted in MS.
162 knyȝthes] MS.knyȝth 163 manere] MS.expunctuated thus, mane re

Hamilton

"3efe me lefe to gon my wey.
I hope ryth wyll to cum and wynde,
Throw Goddys grace þat ys so hynde."
The boschoppe geffe hym leue thowe,
A Goddys name for to goo.
A-non he worthe hym a letter wyll,
And selydyth wyth hys howyn sell.
The knyth yt toke and wente hys wey
To þe preyore of that abbey.
As sone as he to þe pryowre cam,
Of hym þe letter þe pryowre nam.
He yt rede and stod full styll;
A-non he knewe þe knythtys wyll,
And spake to hym yn fayer maner,
"Syr, þou harte wolcum hethyr.
Be thys letter yn my hand
f.30b I haue rythe wyll þi wylle vnder-stond;
But I rede not the so for to doo,
For grette perellys yt ys theder to goo.
I rede the dwell her and be owre brother,
And take abyte and do no nother.
So myth thow, bothe nyte and daye,
Serue God wyll to paye."

"Syre," he seyd, "I felle my [wykke],
For my synnys many and thyke.
Thedyre I wyll, what so be-falle,
To gette for-3euenes of hem alle."

168 wykke] MS. wytte

Cotton

Then sayde þe pryour, "ȝyf þou wylt so,
God kepe þe fro kare and wo.
But a lytyll whyle þou moste dwelle,
And þe perelles we shall þe telle."
Fyftene dayes he dwelled þore
In almesse-dedes and holy lore.
At þe fyftene dayes ende,
The knyȝth be-gan forth to wende.
Fyrst a morow he herde masse,
And aftur-warde he asoyled was
Wyth holy water and holy book,
And ryche relykes forth þey toke.
Euury prest and euery [chanoun]
Wente wyth hym yn processyoun,
And as lowde as þey myȝth crye,
For hym þey songe þe letanye,
And browte hym fayre yn-to þe entre,
Ther as Syr Owen wolde be.
Ther þe knyȝth kneled adown,
And þer [toke] al þur benesoun.
The pryour on-lokked þe dore þo,
In Goddus name he badde hym go,
And lokked þe þore and turned agayn,
And lafte þer Syr Owayne.
Forth wente Syr Owayne, þat bolde knyȝth,
A whyle he hadde a lytull lyȝth,
col.2. But he wanted hys lyȝth full sone,
For þer shone neyþur sonne ner mone.
Hee hadde no mon hym to lede,
He groped hys way, as he moste nede.

186 be-gan]g incompletely written in over an erasure.
191 chanoun]MS.man 198 toke]Kdlbing supplied 'receiued' but cf.H191 and C630.

Hamilton

Than seyd þe pryowre, "Syn þou wylte soo,
Jhesu the saue fro sorow and woo,
But ȝet a wyll wyth vs þou xalte dwell,
And of thow perellys I xall þe tell."
Fyftene dayes he dwellyd ther
In fastyng and in holy lore,
And at the .XV. dayes ende
The knyth muste forth hys wey to wynde.
Fyrste on mowrow he hard messe,
And sythyn howsyld he wos.
Holy watyr and holy boke,
Ryche relykys forth he toke.
Iche pryste and schanown
Wente wyth hym yn proseyssun.
All for hym þey gan to prey,
And seyd for hym þe letaney,
And browth hym to þat entre,
Ther þat Syre Howyn wolde be.
There þe knyth knelyd downg,
And toke þe pryowrys benycyoun.
The pryowre on-ded the dore tho,
f.31a And lete Syre Howyn yn goo,
And [lokkyd] þe dore and turnyd a-geyn,
And they preyed for Syr Howyn.
Forth than wente þat bolde knyth,
And wyll he had lytyll lyth,
But he faylyd lyte full sone,
For þer schon neyther son nor mone.
He had no-thyng hym for to lede,
He gropyd þe wye as he had nede.

194 lokkyd] MS. lolkyd

Cotton

When he come furþur wyth-inne,
A lytull lyȝth þer gan be-gynne,
Sone þer aftur a lytull more:
Glad was Syr Oweyn þer fore.
Such was hys lyȝth whan hyt was beste,
As in þe wynter when þe sonne goth to reste.
Then wente he faste, when he myȝth se,
Tyll he come to a grete countre.
Hyt semed well þe more wyldernesse,
For þer grewe noþur tre ner grasse.
As he be-helde an hys ryȝth honde,
A swyde fayr halle he syȝe þer stonde;
Hyt was both longe and wyde,
And hyt was open on euery syde,
As a cloyster yn all wyse;
Hyt was made yn selkowth wyse.
As he þer stoode and loked abowte,
Ther come fyftene vpon a rowte.
The eldest of hem, þat he þer sye,
Furste he sayde, "Benedycyte!"
To Owayne þey ȝaf har benesoun,
And aftur by hym þey sette hem down.
All hadde newe crownes shafe,
As prestes oweth for to haue.
The eldest mon, as hyt wolde falle,
He spake a-non for hem alle.
"Knyȝth," he sayde, "for þy synne
A grete aventure þou art inne;

219 be-helde] MS. be hellde 220 Letter erased after syȝe

Hamilton

Forth he wente ferder ynne,
A lytyll lyth he saw be-gynne,
A lytyll lyght þer hym be-fore:
Glad wos Syre Howyn þer fore.
Sweche was hys lyght whan yt was beste,
As yt ys in wentyr at the sun reste.
Whan he had lythe, forth wente he
Tyll he cam yn a grete cuntere.
It semyd wyll for to be wyldyrnes,
For ther was neyther tre nor gres;
But as he be-hylde hym on hys ryth hond,
A woll fayur halle he sawe þer stond.
It was hey, both long and wyde,
But yt wos opyn on euery syde;
Sengyll pyllerys ther on were
That metely þe walys bare.
Yt was made of sylkeweth gyse,
Like an cloyster on all wyse.
As he stod and lokyd a-bowte,
Ther com .XV. men on a rowte.
The eldes man gan for to sey,
Fyrst he seyd, "Benedicite!"
Syr Howyn toke ther benysun,
And all be hym þey setyn down.
f.31b. Alle ther crownys wer new schauyn,
As prystys be-falle wyll for to hauyn.
The eldes man of them all,
Fyrste he spake as be-fall.
"Knyth," he seyd, "for þi synne
Gret perellys þou puttyste þe ynne;

204 lyth deleted after A 208 he deleted after forth

Cotton

But God, þat dyed on þe rode,
Fulfylle þy wyll yn all gode.
We may no lengur wyth þe dwelle,
But be sente þe to telle
Of þe fowndyng þe shall be-falle;
God graunte þe to ouur-come all!
Full sone when we be wente þe fro,
The shall come oþur to do þe wo;
But loke þy þowȝth on God be styffe,
And be stedfast yn þy be-lefe.
f.93a.col.1. Yf þey woll þe bete or bynde,
Loke þou haue þys worde yn mynde:
'Jhesu, as þu arte full of myȝth,
Haue mercy on me, synfull knyȝth!'
And euur-more haue yn þy þowght
Jhesu, þat þe so dere hath bowght.
We ne may no lenger þe preche,
But God of heuen we þe by-teche."
These holy men wenten þens þo,
But þen by-gon þe knyȝtes wo.
As he sat þer/a-lone by hym-self,
He herde grete dyn on eche half;
As all þe layte and all þe þondur
That euur was herde heuen vndur,
And as alle þe trees and all þe stones
Shulde smyte to-gedyr ryȝth at oonus,
For all þe worlde, so hyt ferde,
And þer-to a lowde crye he herde.
Ne hadde he be well y-tawȝte by-fore,
He hadde ben loste for euur-more,

249 MS. full repeated 262 to inserted above line

Hamilton

But God, þat deyed vp-on þe rode,
Full-fyll thy wyll yn all gode.
We may no lenger wyth þe here dwell,
We wer sey[n]th hethyr þe to tell
Off thow perellys þat [shall] þe befall;
God ȝeyffe þe grace to schape hem all!
As sone as we be gon þe fro
Ther xall cum other to do þe wo;
But loke þat þou throw thy behaue
Be stedfast yn þi be-leue,
And yf þey wyll þe bete or bynd,
Euer-more haue thys word yn mynd:
'Jhesu, God sun, full of myth,
Haue mercy of me, þi gentyll knyth!'
And [haue] euer-more yn thy thowth
Jhesu, þat hath the euer bowth.
We may no lenger wyth þe preȝhe,
But Jhesu Cryste we þe be-teche."
Thyes holy men wente hym fro,
And than be-gan the knythtys wo.

As all þe [leme] and all þe thundyre
That men hath seyn of myche wondre,
And all þe tryn and all þe stonys
Had row to-gedyr all at-tonys,
In that wedyr so yt faryd,
Yt made Syre Howyn sore a-ferde.
And he had nowth be tawte be-fore,
He had be rewyd fore euer-more.

236 shall]MS.Jhesu 246 haue]MS.hath 252 leme]MS.lenne
the first e is blotted.

Cotton

For fle myȝte he nawȝte, but moste a-byde.
Then come þer deueles on euury syde,
Wykked gostes, I wote, fro helle,
So mony þat no tonge myȝte telle;
They fylled þe hows yn two rowes,
Some grenned on hym and some made mowes.
Syr Owayne was aferde, y trowe,
For ȝyf he hadde myȝth, he wolde haue flowe.
Some deueles stode hym full nyȝe,
That sayden to hym all on hyȝe,
"Thow haste don wele to come betyme,
For þou shalte be-leue on owre lyme.
Oþur come not tyll þey be dede,
But þou haste don a well bettur rede.
Thow comeste hydur to do penaunce,
Wyth vs þou shall lede þe daunce.
Thow haste serued vs mony a day,
We shall þe qwyte, ȝyf we may.
As þou hast don, so shalte þou haue,
All þy kynne shall þe not saue.
Neuur-þe-lesse, syth þou art hende,
ȝyf þou wolte aȝeyn wende,
And lyue and do as þou haste don,
We shall þe spare tyll efte son."
col.2. Þen sayde þe knyȝth, "I dowte you nowȝth.
I betake me to hym þat me hatht wroght."
Þen þe fendes made a fyre anone
Of blakke pyche and of brenstone.

Hamilton

f.32a. Flyen myth he nowt, he muste a-byd.
They com yn on euer[y] syyd,
Wykyd gostys owte of helle;
Ther may corage hym full telle.
[They fylled] þe howsys, rowys be rowys,
And many stodyn wyth-owte þe wowys.
Summe fyndys gernyd and summe made a mowe,
Syre Howyn wos a-ferd, I trowe;
And summe fyndys þat stode hym by
Seydyn to hym, all on hey,
"Thow haste wyll done þat þou cum here,
Thus be-tyme to be owre fere.
Oþer cum not tyll they be dede,
But thow haste a woll better rede;
Thow comyst hethyr to do penawns,
And wyth vs þou xalte lede the dawns.
Thow seruyd vs many a day,
We xall the 3yldyth, yf we may.
Thow hast be to vs a woll good knawe,
As þou hast seruyd, thow schallte haue.
But neuer-þe-lesse, wyll þou harte hynd,
Yf þou wylte a-geyn wynd,
And gone and leuyn as þou haste down,
We xall þe [spare] tyll eft sunne.
Bettyr yt ys thy sowle haue who,
Than body and sowle all-so."
"Nay," seyd þe knyth, "þat wyll I nowte.
I take me to hym þat hath me bowte."
The fyndys madyn a fyere a-none,
Off blake pyke and [brymeston],

264 MS.Full 274 to inserted above line 283 spare]MS.sprer
289 brymeston]MS.brymteston

Cotton

Þey caste þe knyȝth þer-yn for to brenne,
And all þey be-gonne on hym to grenne.
Þe knyȝth þat payne full sore he þowȝth,
To Jhesu he called whyle he mowȝth.
"Jhesu," he sayde, "full of pyte,
Help and haue mercy on me."
All þat fyre was qweynte a-none,
Þe fendes flowen a-way euury-chone,
And þen þe knyȝth a-none vp stode,
As hym hadde ayled nowȝt but gode,
All a-lone be-lefte yn þat place,
And he þonked God of all hys grace.
Then was he bolder for to stonde,
Ȝyf þat þey wolde hym more fonde.
Ther come deueles oþur mony mo,
And badde þe knyȝth wyth hem to go,
And ladde hym in to a fowle contreye
Wher euur was nyȝth and neuur day,
For hyt was derke and wonþur colde;
Ȝette was þer neuur man so bolde,
Hadde he neuur so mony cloþus on,
But he wolde be colde as ony stone.
Wynde herde he none [blowe],
But faste hyt frese, boþe hye and lowe.
They browȝte hym to a felde full brode,
Ouer suche an-oþur neuur he yode,
For of þe lenghte non ende he knewe,
Ther ouer algate he moste nowe.
As he wente he herde a crye,
He wondered what hyt was and why.

300 he expunctuated and deleted after Help
317 blowe] MS. blowle

Hamilton

And kyste þe knyth þer-yn to [brenne],
And all on hym they gan grenne.

f.32b. "Jhesu," he seyd, "full of myth,
Haue mercy on me, þi gentyll knyth."
The fyndys fledyn euery-schon,
And lettyn Syre Howyn all a-lon.

And as he stod þer all a-lone,
Oþer deuelys a-bowte hym gan gone,
And ledyn hym yn to a fowle cuntre
[Ther] euer ys nyth and neuer daye.
Ther yt was both therke and colde;
Ther was neuer man so boold,
That thow hys clothys wer [purfyld],
Sone hys [herte] xulde be [chyld].
Than felte he þer wynd blowe,
And 3yt yt blewe boþe hey and lowe.
They ledyn hym yn to a fyuld brode,
Ouyr sweche on he neuer rode.
The lenkyth þer-of cowd he not tell,
Ther ouer he muste, so yt be-fell.
And as he 3yd he hard a cry,
And he lokyd what wos hym by.

290 bremne]MS.berne 299 Ther]MS.That 302 purfyld]MS.purfuld 303 herte]MS.thyrth chyld]MS.colde

Cotton

325 He syȝ þer men and wymmen also
That lowde cryed, for hem was woo.
They leyen þykke on euury londe,
Faste nayled boþe fote and honde
Wyth nayles glowyng all of brasse;
330 Þey ete þe erþe, so wo hem was,
Her face was nayled to þe grownde,
"Spare," þey cryde, "a lytyll stounde!"
f.93b.col.1. The deueles wolde hem not spare,
To [do] hem peyne þey thowȝte yare.
335 Th[e] deueles speke to Syr Owayne,
"Knyȝth, wylt þou ȝet turne a-gayne,
And we wyll yn a lytull stownde
Brynge þe vp hole and sownde;
And þer may þou lyfe a good whyle,
340 Bothe wyth gamen and wyth gyle.
And þen whenne þou art dede raþe
Thow shalt haue þe lesse skaþe,
For bettyr hyt ys þy sowle be yn woo,
Then þy sowle and þy body also,
345 For ȝyf þat þou here a-byde,
Thus euyll þe shall be-tyde."
The knyȝth answered to all þe rowte,
"Off ȝour thret haue I no dowte.
Thus shull ȝe me not fere,
350 For my sowle ys elles-where."
Then þey caste on hym her clawe,
Syr Owayn was a-ferde, I trowe.
They browȝte forde nayles long,
Glowyng all a fyre well strong.

328 wyth expunctuated after nayled 334 do]MS.to
335 The]e obliterated

Hamilton

He sawe þer men and women tho
That lowd [cryed] for who.
They loyn thyke on euery lond,
Fast naylyd fute and hond.

313 cryed] MS. cryend

Cotton

They wolde haue dryuen þorow hys fete
Tho brennyng nayles wonþur grete.
"Jhesu," he sayde, "full of myȝte,
Haue mercy on me, synfull knyȝth."
The deueles flowen a-wey euery-chon,
And lefte Syr Oweyn þer a-lone.
"Lorde," he sayde, "I thanke hyt þe,
At euery nede þou helpest me."
Some of þe fendes turned a-ȝeyne,
And forþ þey ladde Syr Owayne
Full ferre in to a-noþer felde,
In such on bare he neuur shelde.
Hyt was lengur and well more
Then þat felde was by-fore.

Hamilton

Vpward ther belyys wer cast,
And yn to þe erth naylyd fast.

The fyndys spokyn to þe knyth,
"Syste þou how theys folke be dyth?
But yf þou wylte to owyr cunsell turne,
Hyre xall þou [lyen] and make þi mone."

321 lyen] MS. lynth

Hamilton

"Nay," seyd þe knyth, "þat wyll I nowth.
Myne hope ys yn hym þat hath me bowth."
A-non þe fyndys leydyn hym downe,
To don hym peyne þi wer all bone.
f.33a They fettyn forthe naylys strong,
Bernynge yt wern and reyth full long.
Whyll þat þey streynyd forth hys fete,
He clepyd to hym þat ys so swete,
"Jhesu," he seyd, "full of myth,
Haue mercy on me, þi gentyll knyth."
The fyndys fledyn euery on,
And let Syre Howyn all a-lon.
And as he stod and lokyd a-bowte,
Othyr delys ther comme on a rowte,
And ledyn hym yn to a-nothyr fylde,
Sweche a-nother he neuer be-hylde.
It was lenger mych more
Than þe tother he sawe be-fore.
He sawe yn that fylde brode
Many an edder and manya tode.
Men and women he sawe thoo,
That yn þat fylde bodyn woo,
For they wer febyll and woll lene,
And loyne thyke on euery kyne.
Hyre facys wern turny[d] to þe grownd,
They seydyn, "Spare vs summe stond!"
The fyndys woldyn [hem] not spare,
To don hem peynys they were full 3are.
Ther hedys þat wer wont for to be kempte full ofte,
And on pyllowys layne full softe,

329 wos deleted after þat 348 fledyn deleted after fyndys
hem] MS. hym

Hamilton

The todys sotyn on euery herre,
Ther myth men vetyn wat þie were.
Edderys, todys and othyr wormys,
In hyr bodyes wer ther howsys.

They leddyn hym yn to a-nother fylde,
The wyche was brodest þat he euer be-hylde,
But ther was neyther game nor songe
Neuer wyth them a-monge.
f.33b Iche man, of hys turment,
The knyth sawe as he went.
He thowte ryth wyll to be-holde
Men and women, 3ynge and olde,
Wyth schenys bernyng as the fyer,
Many þer hynge be the sqwyer;
Summe be the tongys and summe be þe chynnys,
Summe be the membrys and summe be þe novelys,
Summe hynge hey and summe hynge lowe,
Many he knewe that he þer sawe.
Summe hynge on hokys be þe chynne,
Mykyll sowrow þey hadyn for ther synne.
As they haddyn hym ferder inne,
A woll myche wylle he sawe þer inne;
It was brod and yt wos heye,
[Vneþe] to þe ouerest 3end he seye.
The halfe wylle yn þe erthe ranne,
And ther-on hyngyn many a man.
Be-nethyn wos fyer and brynston
That bernyth them euer a-non.
Yt [semyd] a trendyll, yt ran so 3arn,
Ryght as a ston of a qwerne.

353 þie] MS. þ^ie
375 Vneþe] MS. And nedys 380 faste deleted after so
semyd] MS. semyth

Hamilton

They tokyn hym be þe handys [then]
And kestyn hym on þe wylle to brene.
A-non wos the knyth wyll,
And ther he stoke styll.
A-non he klepyd on to Jhesu Cryste,
So þat no more herme he wyste.
The fyndys seyn þey myth note spede,
They grenyd on hym as woluys [wede];
All a-bowte hym they gan goo,
They wolde fayn a don hym woo.
Fast þey hadyn hym ferder more,
A woll mych howsse he sawe be-fore,
f.34a. The lenkyt þer-of he cowd note ame;
Owte of the dore comme a grete flame.
Ther was so mych [stynke] and smeke,
Yt wold a made an heyll man seke.
The knyth styntyd and þer wyth-stod,
For þat stynke he was nere wod.
The fyndys turnyd a-geyn,
And gresely spake to Syre Howyn,
"Why goste þou so faste? And þou halte,
Wyll þou [nyll þou], forth thow xalte.
Syst thow now 3yn grete gatys?
Ther byn owyr bate fatys.
Ther syth owre maystyr and owre kyng;
He ys full glad of thy comyng.
Thow seruyst hym full wyll at home;
He ys woll glad þat thou arte cumme.

382 then]MS.than 389 wede]MS.in wode 392 inne deleted after ferder cf.372 396 stynke]MS.skynte 398 stynd deleted after knyth 403 nyll þou]MS.wyll

Cotton

And as he loked hym be-syde,
He syȝ þer pyttus mony and wyde;
Thykke þey were as þey myȝth bene,
Oneþe was þer a fote hem be-twene,
And alle maner of metall
He syȝ þer yn þe pyttus wall.
col.2 Men and wymmen þer wer also
In þo pyttus a-bydyng wo;
Some wer þer-inne vp to þe chynne,
And ȝet hadde þey noȝt bete her synne;
And some wer vp to þe pappus,
And some wer yn to [þe] shappus,
And some wer yn to þe kne;
They wolde full fayne out haue be.
Then þe fendes a-none ryȝte,
In a pytte þey caste þe knyȝthe.
So sore aferde he was of that,
That almost he God for-ȝate;
But as Goddus wyll was,
Whenne he felte þe hote brasse,

379-380 MS. order has been inverted: see Note.

Hamilton

Syste thow thy home, wyll þou soo,
Or thow wylte a-geyn goo,
A-geyn to þi gatys of [Regelys],
Than may þou seyn þou [haste] byn at þe develys."
"Nay," seyd the knyth, "that wyll I nowte;
That xall neuer cume yn my thowte.
God hath holpe me hethyr be-fore,
And ȝyt, I hope, he wyll do more."
As they hadyn hym ferder inne,
Ther he sawe woll mykyll on-wyn.
As he lokyd hym be-syde,
He sey ther pyttys many and wyde;
Thykker myth they not byn,
All but a fote them be-twyn.
Eche maner of metell
He sey yn þo pyttys wyll.
Men and women he sawe tho
That yn tho pyttys bodyn full mych wo;
f.34b Summe stod ther-yn vp to the chyn,
Summe to þe pappys and summe to þe schyn;

Summe stod þer-yn vp to the kne,
All owte they wold fayn a be.
The fyndys hentyd a-non ryth,
And to þe pyttys þey keste þe knyth.
So sore a-ferd he was of that,
Tyll all-most Jhesu he had for-ȝette;
But sythyn wan Goddys grace was,
Whan he felte þe hoote bras,

412 Regelys] MS. relegys 413 haste] MS. hath 433 And] for Yn ?

Cotton

"Jhesu," he sayde, wyth good entente,
"Helpe, lorde, at þys turnemente."
Whenne he þe name of Jhesu called,
Ther was no fyr þat hym myȝte skalde,
But a-none he was out caste,
And þe deueles flowen a-waye faste.

But as he stode vp and loked a-bowte,
Of deueles he syȝe [a] full gret rowte.
"Knyȝte," þey sayde, "why standes þou here ?
And wher ar all þy false feere ?
They tolde þe þat þys was helle,
But oþur wyse we shull þe telle.
Come wyth vs a lytyll sowth,
We shall þe lede to þe deuelus mowth."
They drewe hym be þe hatere,
Tyll þey come to a gret wattere,
Broode and blakke as any pyke;
Sowles wer þer-yn, mony and thykke,
And also deueles on eche a syde,
As þykke as flowres yn someres tyde.
The watur stonke fowle þer to,
And dede þe soles mykyll woo.
Vp þey come to ese hem a stownde,
Þe deuelus drewe hem aȝeyn to þe grownde.
Ouur þe watur a brygge þer was,
For soþe kener þen ony glasse.

396 a] MS. ampersand 404 wattere] a obscure

Hamilton

"Jhesu," he seyd, wyth good yn-tent,
"Helpe me, lord, yn thys turment."
As sone as he to Jhesu calde,
Ther was no metell myth hym schalde,
But all be-syd was caste;
The fyndys fleddyn a-wey full faste.
"Jhesu," he seyd, "I thanke the;
Euer at nede þou helppyst me."
As he stod and lokyd a-bowte,
Off othyr fyndys þer camme a rowte.
"Knyth," they seyd, "wy sta[n]dyst þou here?
And all we byn felowys yn fere.
All þey seydyn that her was hell,
But owther weyes we xall þe tell.
Cume her forth yn to þe sowth,
We xall the bryng to hell mowth."
As they haddyn hym forth more,
A woll mych watyr he say be-fore
That was brod and blake as pyke.
Men and women ther wern thyke;
Fyndys stodyn on euery syde,
As thyke as motys yn somer tyde.

Ouer the water a bryge was;
Yt wos glyddyr as ony glasse.
Ther-of he wos full sore a-ferd,
Yt was as scharp as ony [swerd].

440 klepyd deleted after Jhesu 463 swerd]MS.sward

Cotton

Hyt was narowe and hyt was hyȝe,
Vneþe þat oþur ende he syȝe.
f.94a.col.1. The myddyll was hyȝe, þe ende was lowe,
Hyt ferde as hyt hadde ben a bent bowe.
The deuell sayde, "Knyȝte, her may þou se
In-to helle þe ryȝte entre.
Ouur þys brygge þou moste wende;
Wynde and rayne we shull þe sende.
We shull þe sende wynde full goode
That shall þe caste yn-to þe floode."
Syr Owayne kneled þer a-downe,
To God he made hys orysowne;
"Lord God," he sayde, "full of myȝte,
Haue mercy on me, synfull knyȝte.
Wynde and rayne ys at þy wyll,
And all wederes lowde and styll.
Thow kanste make wynde to blowe,
And when þou lyst, to lye full lowe.
Sende me, lorde, þy swete grace,
That y may þys brygge passe.
Help, lorde, þat y þer-in not falle,
For to lese my labour all."
To þe brygge a-non he ȝede,
"Jhesu," he sayde, "help at þys nede."
Hys on foote he sette fyrste þer on,
And called to Jhesu ryȝth a-noon.
He felte hys foote stonde stedfastly,
And þat oþur foote he sette þer by.
He called to helpe yn þat place
Jhesu, þat euur shall be and euur was.

Hamilton

The medys wer hey, þe endys wer lowe,
Yt faryd ryth as a bent bowe.
"Knyth," seyd a fynd, "here may þou see;
Loke to-ward hell the ryght entre.
Ouer thys bryge þou muste wynd;
Wynd and wether we xall the send.
We xall the send wyndys wood,
Thowe xall caste þe yn-to owre flood."
Ther the knyth knelyd a-down,
To Jhesu he made hys orysun.
"Jhesu," he seyd, "full of myth,
That made bothe day and nyth;
Wynd and weder at thy wyll,
For to blow and fore to be styll.
Thow makyst the wynd for to blowe,
And whan thow wylte, to be lowe.
Send me here thy grete grace,
That I may thys bryge pace.
Helpe me, lord, þat I nowte fall,
That I lece nowth my travell."
To the brygge a-non he 3ydde,
"Jhesu," he seyd, "helpe me at nede."
Hys 1 fote he sette ther vp-on,
And klepyd to Jhesu euer a-non.
He felth [hys fote] stand stedfastly,
He sette a-nother fote þer by,
And klepyd to hym euer a pasce,
That 3et ys and euer was.

478 wynd inserted above line

Cotton

The brygge wax a lytyll bradder,
Then waxe Syr Owayne gladder;
But when he come yn to þe mydde,
Euury deuell wyth oþur chydde,
And for he sholde falle by,
All þey toke vp a grete cry.
That crye, hym þowȝt, greuede hym more
Then all þe payne he hadde be-fore.
Neuur-þe-latter, forth he wente,
In God was all hys entente.
So brode þe brygge wax þoo,
That waynes myȝth þer on haue goo.
Ouur þer he come full sone,
Then was þe deuell power done.
He þonked God yn all hys þowȝth,
That hadde hym harmelese ouur browȝth.
col.2. Forth he wente a lytull whyle,
The mowntenance of halfe a myle.
He sawe a wall wondyr fayr,
Hym þowȝte hyt lasted yn to þe ayr;
Hyt was whyte and bryȝth as glasse,
He cowþe not wyte what hyt was.
When he was nyȝ þer at,
A-gayne hym openede a fayr ȝate,
Full craftyly for þe nones,
Of metall and of presyous stones.
Out at þe ȝate come a smell,
Well nyȝ for joye downe he fell.
As þer hadde ben all maner of flourres,
Such [wer þe] swete sauourres;

472 downe]d changed from ȝ 474 wer þe]MS.was þat

Hamilton

The brygge waxyd a lytyll broder,
So mych was Syr Howyn þe glader.
Whan he comme yn to the myde,
f.35b 495 Euery dewyll to other chyd,
And all they setyn owte a cry,
For to a don hym fall [from] hey.
The cry mad hym a-ferd more
Than all þe tother he saw be-fore.
500 Neuer-the-lesse, forth he wente,
On Jhesu Cryste full wos hys yntente.
So **brod** was the brygge thoo,
Tweyn cartys myth þer on goo.
He com to þe end woll sone,
505 Than was the develys pray done.
He thankyd Jhesu wyth harte and thowth,
That he had hym ouer browte.
Forth he wente a lytyll wyll,
He thowt yt myth a byn a myll;
510 He sey a [wall] wondyrly fayere,
That ran, hym thow[t], vp to þe eyre.
He cowd noth wyte were of yt was,
In-to the eyere yt was.

Owte of þe gate cam a smell,
515 All-most for yoy dow[n] he fell.
Thow all þe [flowyrys] and all þe erbery,
And all the wardly spycery

494 MS.bryge after myde 497 from]MS.fron 510 wall]MS.wyll
516 flowyrys]MS.flowyre

Cotton

Non erdely sauour, be a þowsand folde,
Myȝth not to þat sauour be tolde.
Then hym thowȝte he was so lyȝte,
Of þat sauour and of þat syȝte,
That all þe sorow þat he hadde sene,
And all þe payne þat he hadde yn bene,
All was for-ȝeten yn [hys] þowȝth,
And of hyt he sette ryȝth nowȝth.
As he stode and was so fayne,
Hym þowȝth þer come hym a-gayne
A swyde fayr processyoun
Off all maner men of relygyoun.
Fayre vestymentes þey hadde on,
So ryche syȝ he neuer non.
Myche joye hym þowȝte to se
Bysshopes yn her dygnyte.
Ilkone wente oþur be and be,
Euery man yn hys degre.
He syȝ þer monkes and chanones,
And freres wyth newe shauen crownes;
Ermytes he sawe þer a-monge,
And nonnes wyth full mery songe;
Persones, prestes and vycaryes,
They made full mery melodyes.
He syȝ þer kynges and emperoures,
And dukes þat hadde casteles and tourres;
Erles and barones fele
That some tyme hadde þe worldes wele.
Oþur folke he syȝ also,
Neuur so mony as he dede þoo.

481 hys]MS.hyt

Hamilton

[Wer ther, swech] smell, be a hundre fold,
To þat swetnes myth [not] be tolde.
Than was he so mery and so lyt,
Off that savor and that syth,
That all þe peynys he had yn ben,
And all þe sorow he had syn,
All was for-3ete yn hys thowth,
Hym thowth yt grevyd hym noth.
As he stod, he was woll fayn,
Owth of the gate cam hym a-geyn
f.36a A woll fayer proseyssyun
Off euery man of relygyoun.
Fayer vestemens they haddyn vp-on,
Swech sawe he neuer non.
Woll mych joy yt was to see
Boschoppys yn hyr dygnyte,
And other maysterys þer sey he,
Eche man yn hys degre.
He sey ther mvnkys and schanonys,
And fryerys wyth ther brode crownys,
And ermytys them a-monge,
And nonnys wyth ther mery[songe];
Personys, prystys and vekerys,
They madyn hym many meladys.
He sey kynggys and emprorys,
Devkys, castelys and towerys,

518 MS.Yt myth not 519 not]supplied from MS.518
528 MS.And before A 538 h? deleted after a 539 songe]
MS.songys 543 Devkys]Miss Toulmin Smith (500) misreads
Devlys see Note.

Cotton

Wymmen he syȝ þer that tyde,
Myche was þe joye þer on euery syde,
f.94b.col.1. For all was joye þat wyth hem ferde,
And myche solempnyte þer he herde.
Fayre þey well-comed Syr Oweyne,
All þat þer was of hym were fayne.
Then come to hym þore
Two bysshoppus, as hyt wore.
They welcomede hym and ȝode hym by,
For to bere hym company,
And schewede hym, þat he myȝth se,
The fayrnesse of þat cowntre.
Hyt was grene and full of flowres
Of mony dyuers colowres;
Hyt was grene on euery syde,
As medewus are yn someres tyde.
Ther were trees growyng full grene,
Full of fruyte euur-more, y wene;
For þer was frwyte of mony a kynde,
Suche yn þys londe may no mon fynde.
Ther þey haue þe tree of lyfe,
Ther yn ys myrthe and neuur stryfe.
Frwyte of wysdom also þer ys,
Of þe whyche Adam and Eue dede a-mysse.
Oþur maner frwytes þer were fele,
And all manere joye and wele.
Moche folke he syȝ þer dwelle,
Ther was no tonge þat myȝth hem telle.
All wer þey cloded yn ryche wede,
What cloþ hyt was he kowþe not rede,

Hamilton

And women he sey on euery syde,
That merthys madyn yn þat tyde.

All þey wer clothyd yn reche wed,
What clothyn yt was cowd he noth red,
But schap they had on euery maner
As men wer wonte to were here.
Be ther clothyn men myth them know,
As they stod eche on a row,
3ownge and held, more and lesse,
Off wat degre that þey wasse.
Fayer they spokyn to Syre Howyn;
All the folke of hym were fayn.
A-non he gan metyn ther
Tweyn boysschoppys hym thow[t] þat þey were,
And both they went forth hym by,
And bore Syre Howyn cumpany.
They schowyd hym, þat he myth se,
The forest of that cuntre.
f.36b. It was grene on euery syd,
As medowys byn yn summer tyd,
And all so full of fayer flowerys,
Off many dyuers colorys.
Tryn he sąwe wyth leuys grene,
Full of frute euer-more, I wene;
Frut of so many kynd
In thys ward can no man fynd.
Ther he sey the tre of lyffe,
That they haue wyth-owtyn stryffe.

546ff. See Note on misplaced lines. 553 Three letters deleted after Off 562 Four-line initial.

Cotton

But [shape] þey hadde yn all maner
As folke þat wonede som tyme her.
By þe cloþus men myȝthe hem knowe,
As þey stode vp-on a rowe,
Ȝonge and olde, more and lasse,
As hyt her owene wyll was.
Ther was no wronge, but euur ryȝth,
Euur day and neuer nyȝth;
They shone as bryȝth and more clere
Then ony sonne yn þe day doth here.
The two bysshopes turnede a-ȝeyne,
And speke fayr to Syr Owayne.
"Blessed be þou," þey sayden þoo,
"That haddeste wyll þys way to goo.
Purgatorye þou haste ben inne
To haue forȝeuenesse of þy synne;
Loke þat þou do synne no more,
For þou shalt neuur efte come þore.
We haue gone þe way þer þou was,
And we haue passed þat ylke plas.
col.2. So shall yche man aftur hys day,
Pore and ryche, go that way,
For þer ys mony a mon a-lyue,
That hath no power hym to shryue,
Tyll at þe laste he shryueth hym for drede,
Somme penaunce þey mote suffre nede:
If þey woll nowȝth do [hyt] here,
They shall do hyt elles-where.
Suche maner men, erly or late,
To purgatorye þey mote algate.

535 shape] MS. shapte

Hamilton

Fryuth of wesdam all-so ther ys,
Ther-of ete **Adam** and ded a-mys;
And other frutys þer arn full felle,
And all maner of joy and wylle.

Thow tweyn boschoppys turnyd a-geyn,
And fayere spake to Syr Howyn,
"Blyssyd byn they euery-chon
That mad þe thys wey to gon.
Purcatory thow hate be inne
To do penans for thy syne,
For purcatory comys þou neuer more yn.

We wote wyll where thow was,
For we han passyd all thow pas.
So xall iche man aftyr hys day,
Pore and reche, gon that wey.
Many han hem for to schryve,
Ner don penans of all ther lyve,
But at the laste he comyth for drede,
Summe to don they muste nede.

577 d deleted after fayere

Cotton

Ther mote þey dwelle stylle,
And abyde Goddes wylle,
But somme frende for her mysdede,
For hem do oþur synge or rede;
For þus may man þorow suche dyuyne,
The soner come out of hys pyne.
And þou art mon ȝet a-lyue,
And haste gon þorow swythe;
Thorow grace of God and good entent
Thow art passed þat turnement,
And þou arte comen to joye and blysse;
I shall þe telle what hyt ys.
Thys ys erþly paradyse.
Her wer Adam and Eue þat wer not wyse,
For an appull þat þey ete,
All her joye þey for-lete,
And nyne hondredde ȝer and fyftene
He lyued aftur yn erþe wyth sorow and tene,
And fowr þowsande and vi hondred and iiij ȝere
He was yn helle wyth Lucyfere,
Tyll þat Goddes wyll was
To fecche hym out of þat place,
And all hys kynde þat were hym by,
That wordy were to haue mercy;
And ledde hem forth wyth hem, y-wysse,
Ryȝth yn-to hys owene blysse.
And at hys ordynaunce we be,
In joye and blysse wyth solempnyte.
But when we come hym by-fore,
Then shall our joye be mykyll more.

574 Thow JMS. That **corrected to Thow**

Thow þat arte cum to joy and blysse,
We woll the tell wat yt ys.
Ertely Paradyse thys ys.
Here yn dwellyd Adam and dede a-myse,
For on appyll that he ete,
f.37a. Alle hys joy he for-ȝete.
ix hundyrd ȝere and .xv.
He levyd yn desert wyth sowrow and tene.
iiij thowsond, vj hundred and iiij ȝere
He [lay] yn peynys wyth Lussyfere.
Aftyr-ward th[r]owe Goddys grace,
He toke hym fro that fowlle place,
And all hys kynne [þat] was hym by,
That wordy wos to haue mercy.

And here we dwellyd at Goddys wyll,
In joy and blysse to a-byd styll,

600 lay]MS.layll 603 kynne]For nn scribe has three minims and one added above line. Miss Toulmin Smith(587)reads kymre

Cotton

And euery day we wexen moo,
But angeles called some vs froo.
All 3yf we be out of penance ylle,
Her we abyde Goddes wylle,
For 3et haue we not þat dygnyte
To come be-fore hys mageste;
f.95a.col.1. But oon and on, as he wyll calle,
At þe laste we shall come alle.
Euery day comeþ our fode
Of hym þat for vs shedde hys blode,
And þat þou shalte fele or þou go."
As he stode and sayde hym so,
Ther come a gleme a-non full bry3th,
And spradde ouur þat lond ry3th.
Hyt was swete and hyt was hote;
In-to euery monnus mowþe hyt smote.
The kny3te felde þat yn glyde;
He ne wyste wher he was þat tyde,
Ne wheþur þat he was qwykke or dede,
Such hym þow3te þat ryche brede.
Then sayde þe bysshoppe þat be hym stode,
"How þowstedest þou, kny3te, was þys gode?"
"Oo, lorde," he sayde, "þyn oore!
Let me dwelle her euur-more."
"Nay, sone," he sayde, "þou may not so.
A-gayn þou moste algate go,
And telle oþur men what þou haste sene,
And yn what aventure þou haste bene,
For yn þe worlde þou most dye onus,
And leue þer þy flesh and þy bonus,

Hamilton

And eche day we wax moo,
And angellys fyttyn vs summe froo;

Ȝyte haue we nowte þat dygnyte
To cum be-for hyys magyste.

Euery day [cumyth] owre fode
Fro hym þat for vs bled hys blode;
That xall þou syn or that þou goo."
As he stode [and] seyd hym soo,
Ther cam a gleme was wondyrly bryth,
Tat spredde ouer all þe lond full ryth.

That he sey on euery syd,
He nere woste what he ded þat tydde,
Nor wyther he was qwekke or dede,
So blyssyd hym that reche brede.
Than seyd he to þe knyth þat be hym stod,
"How seyste þou, knyth, wos thys good?"
"A, lord, mercy," he seyd them there,
"Lete me dwell ere euer-more."
"Nay, nay, son, thow mayis notte soo.
A-geyn all-gatys þou muste goo,

And yn þat ward deyen onys,
And ther yn erth to bery þi bonys.

611 cumyth]MS.cumme 614 and]MS.he 615 glene deleted after a 616 sp.dde? deleted after Tat for That

Cotton

And come yn sowle hydur a-gayne,
Then wyll we of þe be fayne."
The knyȝte sye þat he moste go,
And wepynge þen he ȝode hem fro.
A-none ryȝte þer he fell a-downe,
And toke all þer benesowne.
A redy way a-non he fonde
Ryȝth yn-to hys owene londe.
To þe hole hys way lay,
That he come fro þat oþur day.
The fyftene men he fonde þore,
That he hadde speken wyth be-fore.
They well-comede hym a-non ryȝth,
And þonked God full of myȝte.

They prayde faste he sholde gon,
And so he wente forth a-non
Home yn-to hys owne contreye,
For ryȝth now spronge þe day.
col.2. "To pryme þey wyll þe belle rynge,
And afturwarde þe masse synge.
Aftur masse, wyth-oute delaye,
The pryour of þe abbey,
Bothe wyth preste and chanoun,
They wyll come wyth processyoun
To þe entre the a-gayne,
And of þy comynge be full fayne.
And now be good forth all þy lyue,
And loke þat þou de ofte shryue,

649 entre]r written over e

Hamilton

Sythyn þi sowll xall cum a-geyn,
Ther of we xall be full fayn."
The knyth sey he muste nedys goo;
f.37b. Wyth wepyng and wyth wolle myche wo
A-non he knelyd ther a-down,
And fayer toke ther benycyun.
Ther a-non a wey he fond
Hom yn-to hys owyn lond.
To þe halle the wey laye,
That he com by the tother day.
The fyftene men he fond there,
That he had spake wyth be-fore.
They thankyd God full of myth,
That sent grace to that knyth,
To ouer-cum þe fyndys myth,
Wyth þe grace of God full ryth.
They blyssyd hym euery-chon,
And sythyn bad hym go hom
In-to hys howyn cuntre.

"For now the prime bell [they wyll rynge],
And sythyn messe xall they [synge],
And aftyr messe, wyth-owte delay,
The pryowr of that abey,
Both wyth prystys and [chanown],
That cum hym wyth yn prosessyoun
To þe entre ther a-geyn,
And of the they xall be full fayn.
Be a good man all thy lyue,
And loke þou do þe oftyn schrywe,

648 MS.ryngyth 649 synge]MS.syngth see Note.
652 chanown]MS.chanownys 653 Corrupt, making sentence anacoluthic. 656 good]First o inserted above line.
657 of deleted after þe

And when þou art dede, þen shalt þou wende
To þe blysse wyth-outen ende."
Thenne swyþe to go well hym lyst,
And he come hom er he wyste.
To þe dore come Syr Owayne,
And þer þe pryour come hym agayne,
And chanonus wyth mery songe,
Wyth mony a wepynge tere a-monge.
All þey wer both gladde and blyþe
That God hadde saued þe knyȝte a-lyue.
Fyftene dayes he dwelled þore
Wyth þe chanonus, and somdele more,
And tolde what he hadde sene,
And in what payne þat he hadde bene;
And ofte he tolde hem, to make þem wyse,
Of þe joyes of paradyse.
Thenne þey wryten aftur hys mowth,
That yn londe now hyt ys kowþe.
Then he toke þe crosse and þe staf yn honde,
And wente forth yn-to þe Holy Londe.
A-gayn he come, hole and sownde,
And aftur þat lyuede a grete stownde
In bedes and yn holy orysowne,
As a mon of goode deuocyoun.
And aftur, when he wexede olde,
And hys body wex vnboolde,
He dyede, and wente þe ryȝte way
To þe blysse þat lastes aye.
To þat blysse he vs brynge,
That of all ys lorde and kynge.

Explycit Owayne.

Hamilton

And whan þou arte ded, þan xall þou wende
To þat joy that hath non ende."
The knyth to gon full wyll he lyste,
He was at hom long ar he wyste.
To þe gate cam Syre Howyn,
Ther was þe pryowr redy hym a-geyn,
Wyth schanownys and wyth mery songe,
And summe wepynd all-wey a-monge.

XV dayes and summe wat more
Wyth the chanownys he dwellyd there,
And told them wat he had syn,
And wat peynys he had yn byn,
f.38a And oftyn he tolde [them] ta make [them] wyse,
Off the joy of paradysse.

Ther toke he stafte and crosse yn hond,
And wenth yn-to the Holy Lond,
And cam a-geyn bothe heyll and sownd,
And sythyn leuyd a woll good stownd
In bedys and yn oryson,
As men of good relygyon.
Whan he was full wyll of held,
That hys body gane vax on-wylld,
He deyed, and went the ryth wey
To the blysse that leste euer and ay.
To blysse brynge vs he
That euer wos and euer xall be;
That ys lord of mythtys moste,
Fadyr and þe sunne and þe holy goste. Finis.

670 them]MS.hym 677 relygyon]o changed from u

Royal

f.133a Here begynneth þe reuelacion the which William Stavnton saw in Patrik is Purgatorie, the Friday next after the Fest of þe Exaltacion of þe Crosse, in þe yere of owre lord $M^{l}.CCCC.^{mo}$ ix.

Y, William Stavnton, born in þe bisshopryche of Dereham of Englond, bi Goddes grace entred in to þe Purgatorie of Seint Patrik in the bisshopriche of Cleghire in Irlande, þe .viij. owre bi-fore þe none on the Friday next after holyrode day in harvest. I was put in by þe prior of Seint Mathew of þe same Purgatorie with precession and devougte prayers of þe same priour, and þe Covent toke me an orison to blesse me with, and to write þe first worde in forehede, þe which prayer is this: Jhesu Christe, fili dei viui, misereri michi peccatori. And þe priour taught me to say this prayer when ony sprit good or evel appered vn-to me, or when y herd ony noyse þat y shuld be a-fered of, if þei were good sprites or evel. If þei were good spritis, þei wold a-byde stil with me; if þei were evil, þei shuld voyde and þe ferful noyse cese. And after þat, by the techyng of þe priour I cam to a restyng place of Seint Patrik, in þe which / he
f.133b abode the reuelacion of Goddes angellis when he passed þat way in his tyme. And there y abode and sumwhat slumbered and slepte. And after y was ware of a litel light a-fer as it had be the dayng of þe day. And me thought y sawe a man and a woman boþe cladde in white; the man in a chanons is abite, and þe woman in the same abite with a vayle on hir hede as a nonne. And when y saw hem first y, dredyng sum-what, said my prayer and marked my forhede as the priour taught me. Þan thei laughed and said, "God spede," and þan y was sumwhat reioysed, and y said, "Þe spede of God

19 cese] 2nd e partially obliterated

Additional

f.99a col.2 Here begynnes the boke of Wyllyam of Stranton, the weche berys wyttenes of sothefastenes and of all ferdfull Juges, the wh[e]che he herde and saw when he was in Patrike Purgatory, in the ȝere of owre lorde m° cccc° and vj.

In the name of Gode, Amen. I, Wyllyam of Stranton, borne in the bysschoppryke of Dorham in Ynglonde, thorht Goddys grace enterde in to Purgatory of Saynt Patrike in f.99b col.1. the bysshoppryke / off Jalcet in Irelande on Ester day the viij^te owre before none. And I was putt in by þe Prior Matheus, keper of the same Purgatory, wyth procession and deuote prayers of the same Prior and Couente, the wheche techyd me on orisoun to blysse me wythe, and to wrytte the fyrst worde in my forhede, weche is thys: Jhesu, fili dei, miserere mei. And the Prior taugh[t]e me to say thys oryson when any sprette gud or evyll apperyde to me, or yf I herde any noyse þat I schulde be aferde of, for yf thay were gud sprettys thay schulde abyde wyth me, and yf thay were evyll, thay schulde voyde fro me. And after, thorow þe techynge of the Prior, I cam to a restynge place of Sante Patrike, in the weche he abode the reuelacyon of Goddys angellys when he wolde passe þat way in hys one tyme. And þer I abode and sumwhat I slomered and slepyde. After þat I was ware of more lyghte cummyng to me, and me thoghte þat I saw a man and a woman bothe clede in whytte, the man in abbett of chanon, / and the woman in the same abett col.2. wyth a velle as a nonne. And when I saw them fyrst I was sumwhat dredde, and sayde my prayer and blyssyd my forhede. Then they loghe on me and bade, "God spede." Then I was sumwhat reioysyd and sayd, "Þe spede of Gode

6 Later hand in margin reads Durham in England 20 Later hand in margin reads revelation 23 was deleted before ware 29 sayd added in margin

be welcome vnto me." And þat man said vnto me, "William, thow art welcome and þow hast take on hond a grete þyng, but bi the mercy of God þow shalt wel do and wel fare. And here fast by þow shalt fynde .ij. waies: on on thi righ[th]ond, a-nother on þi leftehonde. The way on thi right-hond is faire and brode, and the way in þi liftehond is more and sumdel fowle in the bigynneng, and it is faire and clene to sight; but leve þe way on þe left-hond and take þe wai on þe righthond. But thow shalt fynd men in þi righthond þe which shul lete þe to passe by here power, þe which men shullen be lich in shap and colour to men of thi owne contree þat ben levyng, but þei ben evel spirites of which þow shalt be evel aferd. And þerfore haue þow in thi mynde þe passion of owre f.134a lord Jhesu / Crist, and sai þi praier and thei shul voide and be knowe to the such as thei be. And afterward þou shalt see and here more grisly sightes and evel spirites of the which þou shalt be sore adradde; but haue in mynd, as y said þe, of owre lordes possion and þai shal do the none harm." Thanne y William said, "If it myght be plesyng to God and to þe for to haue knowlage of þe þat so moche kindenesse haue shewid to me, and y require þe for þe love of owre lord Jhesu Criste, if it be thi wil." Thanne he saide, "Y wil gladly þat þow wete. I am cleped in northcontree John of Bridlyngton, and so y am; and þis woman is Seint Ive, my suster, þat woned in Quitike." And I said, "A! worshipful lord and holy fader, worship mote þou be in heven and in erthe þat dayneth to come to so synful a man þat so mykell nede hath and is ynne." And than he said, "Þou hast often tymes comen to me whare my body ligh and to my suster here Seint Eve,

10 to ⌋ inserted above line 24 Later hand in margin reads Jo: Bridlington 27 to deleted after dayneth and followed by not 30 suss deleted before suster

Additional

be welcum." Than þe chanon sayde to me, "Wyllyam, þow hase takyn [on hand] a grett thyng, bott thorow þe mercy of God þow shall well doo and wel fare. And here fast by þow schall fynde two wais: on on the ryght hande, and on on the left hand. The way on the ryght hande is narrow and sumdele fowle in the begynnyng, and þe way on þe lefte hand is fayre and clene in syght, bott leve þat way, and take þe way on þe ryght hand. Bott þou shall mette men in þat way þe weche schall lett þe to passe, bot þou schall say to them on thys wyse: "Sertenly, þis way wyll I passe, throgh þe help of God," and then they schall haue no powre to lett þe. Þos men schal be lyke in schappe and in colowre to men off thy contre
f.100a col.1. weche ar ȝett / levyng. Neuerþelesse, thay ar no men bott evylle sprettys, þerfore haue in þi mynde þe passyon of owre lorde Jhesu Criste, and say þi prayer, a[nd] thay schal vode fro the, and be knowen to þi syght what they are. And afterwarde þou schall see more greisely syghtys and more vgely þer of euyll spretys, þe weche þou schal be mekyll a-drede of. Bott loke þou haue os I sayde before - haue owre lordes passion in þi thoght, and thay schall doo þe no harme." Then I Wyllyam sayde, "And hyt myght be plesyng to God and ȝow for to haue knolege off yow, þat thus mekyll kyndnes hathe schewyde vnto me, I desyre hytt grettely, and that I beseke yow for the luffe of owre lorde Jhesu Crist, yf hyt be hys wyll, þat ȝe tell me hytt." Then he sayde, "I wyll gladly þat þou wytt what I am. In yor contre they call me John of Bredlyngton, and so I am, and thys woman is my sister, Sant Hylde of Whytby, that wonnyde þer-in sumtyme." And þen I sayde, "Worschypfull lorde, lovyde myght he be in / col.2. heuen and in erthe þat sende to me, so sympyll a wreche as me, now in thys grett nede þat I am in." And then he sayd, "Thow hast often cum to me, wher my body lyes, and to my

4 4th on added above line 6 2nd and deleted after begynnyng
11 3 or 4 letters erased after þe 13 on ? deleted after ȝett
18 spretys þe written over an erasure 29 be god deleted after lovyde

more disesyng þe þan owre comyng dothe vs." And with þat he blissid me with his hond and went his way. And I William roos me vp and went in folowyng þe same way þat þei passed. And sone after y come to þe waies þat he spak to me of, and fond in the way on þe right hond, as Seint John had said, diuers men bi sight apperand to me, þe which leveden as by shap in the world and as bi colour of them. And þai said to me, "Wheder wilt þow go?" And I said, "The way þat ye f.134b stonde in / I shal go, bi the help of owre lord Jhesu Crist." Than þei said, "This way thow shalt not go; for knowe vs well, we be thi frendes, and none evel spirites, the which be sent heder bi God to teche þe right way, so þat þow shalt not be perisshid." And þan I said to them, serteyn þat y wold go bi þem, and þei said to me ageyn, "Þow shalt not passe this way, for þow wilt spil thi-self. We wilno suffre the, for þou knowest wel þat we be thi frendes which loue þe, and þerfore we be sent heder bi God to teche þe the right way, so þat þow shalt not be pershid." And þan I said to hem, certayn þat y wold go, bi the help of owre lord Jhesu Crist; and thei saiden to me aȝen, "Þou shalt not passen þis way, for þow wilt spillyn þi-self. We wil not suffre the, for thow knowest wel we be thi frendes þe which louen þe, and therfore we ben send heder." Than y had mynde on þe passion of owre lord Jhesu Crist, and marked me in the forhede with my praier þat was tawght me by-fore. And sodenly þilk folk sodenly vaneshid fro me; and þan appered to me evel spirites, but tho y was more sekerer þan y was be-fore, for þo wist y wel þat my praier was of vertu. And than y went forthe þat way, and sone ther appered to me many fereful and horrible spirites, of

Additional

syster, Sant Hylde. That more desesyd þe then owre cumynge doose huse." And wyth þat he blyssyd me wyth hys hande and wentte hys way. Then I rosse and folowde þe same way that þai passyde, and sone after I cam to the wayes that Sant John tolde me off. And in the way on the ryght hande I fande, os Sant John sayde, many dyuers men by syght þat apperyde to me, the weche I know ȝett levynge in thys warlde, as by schappe pycturede, and by all maner of colowre. And þose men sayde to me, "Wyllyam, whether wyllte þou go ?" And I answerde, "Þe way þat ȝe stande in shall I go, wyth þe helppe of owre lord Jhesu Crist." Then þai sayde, "Thys way þat we stande in schall þou natt goo, for þou knowes well þat we ar þi fleschely frendys and no evyll sprettys, and we ar sende hether thorow grace to teche þe the ryght way, þat þou schall
f.100b. col.1. nott be peryshyd." / "Sothely," sayd I, "thys waye schal I go thorow Goddys grace." "Sekerly," sayde þei, "þow schall nat passe thys way, for þou wolde kyll þi-selffe yf we wolde suffer þe. Þou knowes well we ar thy fleschely frendes, and therfore ar we sentt hedyr to saue þe, þat þou spyll natt thy-selffe."

Then I thoght on þe passion of Crist, and blissede me on my forhede wyth þe prayer þat was taghtt me before. And then sodenly þe men they flewe fro me away in liknes of evyll sprettys as they were. Then was I more sekyr and more bolder þen y was before, for then I knew þat my prayer was of mekyll vertu. Then I went þat way forthe, and sone apperyde to me mane grysely

1 more] added in margin 6 tolde me deleted after John
17 þei] inserted above line

the which y was moch a-fered and dred. And summe of þo spirites had .iiij. visages, summe with .vij. hornes and summe with .v.. Summe had a visage in euery elbowe, /
f.135a summe on every kne. And þei maden to me an hudious noyse with creyes and with bleryng owt of here brennyng tanges and other many noyses mo þan I can tell, for y was so aferd þat y hadde no mynde on God, ne on my praier, no on none other thinge þat shuld me help, but only on þat noyse, and so y was negh in point of perishyng. Then cam þat blisful virgyn Seint Ive, and [said] to me, "Þou madman, haue mynde in thi hert of þe passion of owre lord Jhesu Crist, Goddes sone of heuene, and mark þe with þi praier." And þan I said, "Jhesu Crist, Goddis sone of hevene, for thi passion þat bowghtest me and all sinfull on erthe with þi precious blode, haue mercy on my sinful bodi, and graunte me grace so to do þat is most plesyng to the and sauacion to my bodi and sowle." And tho y markid me with my praier and al þe evel spirites vaneshid fro my sight. Þan I was right glad and thongkid God and hild forþe my way. And so y passid forthe without sight of ony spiretes goode or evell to þe space of a myle. And þan y mette with Seint John and Seint Ive, and a suster of myne þat was dede long to-fore in a pestilence tyme, and a-nothir man which I knewe well þat my suster loved wel, whiles thei leved in this world. And þan I honowred Seint John and Seint Ive, and Seint John said to me þan,
f.135b "Þow were evel agast / of other spirites." And I said, "So y was. Blessid be God and owre ladi þat y am comen to yow ageyn." Þan he saide, "Þou haddest evell mynde on þe passion of owre lord Jhesu Crist, and on thi praier, for þow art not stedefast on þi beleve, and also to simpell to

2 .iiij. inserted above deleted two 4 and deleted after noyse
16 bodi and inserted above line 29 beleve deleted after thi

Additional

sprettys weche I drede ful mekyll, for sum of the sprettys hade iiij heddys and sum iiij visages in þer heddys; sum wyth vj hornes, sum wyth v. Sum of them hade a visage on ylke elbowe, and sum on ylke knee. And they made to me mekyll noyse wyth cryinge, wyth bleryng owt ther tongys, and many other noyses they made, [more] then I can tell, þat
f.100b col.2. I was soo ferde þat I hade no thoght on Gode nor / on my prayer, nor on no thyng þat schulde helppe me, bott only on the noyse and crye þat they made. Then cam þat blyssyd uergyn Sant Hyllde, weche I saw before wyth Santt John, and she sayd vnto me, "Made man, haue in thy thoght þe passyon of owere lord Jhesu Criste, Goddys son of hevyn, and [mark þe with þi praier." And þan I said, "Jhesu Crist, Goddis sone of hevene,] for thy herde passyon þat þou boghte me wyth and all synfull men, and for thy preciose blode, haue mercy on me, synful wreche, and gyff me grace so to doo þat hytt be plesyng to þe and saluasyon for my body and my saule." And then I blyssede me wyth my prayer, and as sone as I hade blyssed me, thos evyl sprettys vanyschyde owt of my syghte. Then was I ryghtt glade and lovyde God, and wentt forthe and or I mett any sprett gud or yll, to þe space of a myle, and ther I mett agayn Sant John and Sant Hylde, and a syster of myne owne þat was dede, and an-other man weche I knewe well luffyde my syster in hyr lyffe. Then I com and I dyde worschyppe to Sant Jon a[n]d Santt Hylde. Then
f.106a Sant John sayde to me, "Wyllyam, / þou was grettely aferde of evyll sprettys." And I answeryd and sayde, "Forsothe, so I was. Blyssyde be God and owre lade þat I am comyn to yow agayn." Þen he sayd, "Thow hade lytyll mynde of þe passion of owre lord Jhesu Crist, and of þi prayer, ffor þou art natt stedfaste in þi beleffe, and ouer sympul to

4 to] inserted above line 6 made]e partially obliterated
7 2nd on reads no in MS. 8 no] deleted in MS. but required for sense 12-14 mark...hevene] from Royal MS. 26 At foot of f.100b col.2 reads The vj leffe

[take] such a viage on honde, savyng only þe merci of God." And whan he had þus said to me, my suster spake and said, "Holy [fader], ye be here in Goddis stede, and y make my complaint to yow on my brother þat here stondeth, þat he hath synned in holy chirch aȝen God; for þis man þat stondeth here loued me and y loved him, and ether of vs wold haue had other in þe law of God, as holy chirch techeth, and shuld haue geten on me .iij. sowles to God; and my brother lettid vs to go to-geder, ffor he said, and we didden, we shuld nothir haue ioye of other, and for þat cause we lefte hit." Tho Seint John said, "Whi diddest þou þis trespas aȝen God and thi owne sowle? For y tel the, þer nys no man þat letteth man or woman to go to-geder in the bond of God, þow the man be a sheperd and all his auncestres, and the woman be comyn of kingis or of emperours; or if þe man be comyn of never so high kynne, and þe woman of never so lowe kynne, if þei loue other otheir, he synneth in holy chirche aȝenst God and his cristendome in-dede, in þat he letteth hem, who ever he be, and þerfore shall haue moch payn and tribulacion, but he come to amendement, for /
f.136a þat synne greveth God ȝretelich. And þou was never shreven therof, ne diddest never penaunce þerfore; but it [had] comyn in to þi mynde, þou haddest shreven þe þerof and y-take þe penaunce þerfore, and therfore hath graunted the owre lord Jhesu Crist [grace] bi þe praier of Seint Patrik; so þat when þow comest to the worlde agayn, shryve the to þe priour of þis Purgatorie, and what penaunce þat he gefeth the, [se] þat it be done mekely. And loke, for if þow haddest shryve þe þerfore, and forȝete þi penaunce vndo þerfore þat þe prest had yeve the, þow shuldest haue had penaunce þerfore here er

1 take]MS.make 18 þat]MS.þat at 27 se]MS.so 29 ye deleted after and

Additional

take suche a vyage on hande, save þe mercy of Gode."
And then when he hade þus sayde to me, then my syster spake
and sayde, "Heyll, fader, ȝe are here in Goddys steyde, and
I make my complentt to yow of my broder þat here standys:
that is to say, þat he hase synnyde grettly agene Gode, for
thys man þat here standys luffyde me, and I luffyde hym, and
eder of hus wolde haue hadde other after þe law of Gode, as
holy kyrke teches, and he scholde haue geton and I born /
f.106a thre sawles to Gode; and my broder lett hus to go to-gedyr,
col.2. for he sayde, yff we soo dyde, ther scholde noder of hus haue
joye of oder, and for þat cause we lefte [hyt]." Then
sayde Sant John, "Why, Wyllyam, dyde þou þat tryspasse agayn
God and thyne awne sowle? For sowthe, I tell þe þat þer
is no man nor woman þat lettys man and woman to go to-gedyr
in þe law of God, thowffe þe man be a schepparde and all
hys auncetorys, and þe woman be commen [of] kyngys or
emperowres; or yf þe man be commyn off neuer so hyghe a
f.106b kynne / [and þe woman of never so lowe kynne], and they luffe
col.1. ether odere, he þat lettys hytt synnys dedly agayn God, and
cursyde he is of þe dede, what so euer he be; and therfor
schall he haue mekyll payn and tribulacion, but he cum to
a-mendementt, ffor þat syne grevose God grettely. And þou
was neuer schryvyn þer-of, nor neuer dyde pennanse þerfor;
neuertheles, and hytt hade cummyn to þi mynde, þou hade
bene schrevyn þerof and done penance þerfor, and þerfor owre
lorde Jhesu Criste hathe grantyd þe grace thowroo þe prayer
off Sant Patrike; soo þat when þou cummyste to þe warlde,
schryfe þe to þe Prior of þe Purgatory, and what penance he
injones þe þerfor, lowke þat hytt be done, ffor yf þou hade
bene schrevyn þerof and for-getyn þi penance þat þe pryst
gaffe þe ther-for, therfor vndone, þou schulde þerfor haue

9 and] repeated in MS. at end of one line and beginning of next.
18 and...kynne] supplied from Royal MS.

þou haddest hens passed." And y lokyd after my suster and she and þat man þat come with hir were vaneshid away owt of my sight.

And þan Seint John said to me, "William, seist þou þe yender fier fer fro þe ?" And y said, "Y se yender a smoke þat is like a fire to be þere." And Seint John said, "Þo yender is a grete fire and styngkyng, and certeyn, were it possible þat all þe people in þe world, men, women, and children, felden þe smych of yender fire, þei shuld not endure so long with hire lifes as a man shuld turne his honde vp and downe; þerfore go we bi-twene þe fire and þe wynde, and loke wel what þou seist þeryn." And þan I went so nygh þat y myght know what maner of paynes were þeryn. And þere y saw þilk fire brynneng diuerse men and women, and summe þat y knew when þei levid in þe world, / as it f.136b appered there to my sight. I saw summe there with colors of gold a-bowte here neckis and sum of siluer; and summe men y saw with gay girdels of siluer and gold and harneist hornes a-bowte here neckes; summe with mo iagges on here clothis þan hole cloth; sum hire clothis ful of gyngeles and belles of siluer al over sette, and summe with long pokes on hire sleves; and women with gownes trayleng bi-hinde hem a moche space; and summe other with gay chapeletes on hir hedes of gold and perles and other precious stones. And þan I loked on him þat y saw first in payn, and saw the colers and the gay girdels and bawderikes brennyng and the fendes drayng hem bi .ij. fyngermele and more with-thynne here flessh, al brynneng as fire. And y saw þe iagges þat men were clothed ynne turne al to addres, to dragons, and to todes, and many other orrible bestes, sowkyng hem and bityng hem and

1 y] inserted in red above line
18 MS. iagged w^tt clothes in margin
8 1st þe inserted above line
27 w^t deleted after fyngermele

Additional

had thy penance here or þou hade hense passyde." And then I lokyde after my syster and sche was vanyschyde away. /

f.106b. col.2. Then Sent John sayde to me, "Seeys þou ȝondyr ȝeon fyre a lytyll froo the ?" And I sayde, "Ȝe, fyr. I see ȝeondyr a smøke and lyke þer ys to be a fyre." Then he answerde, "Yondyr is a grett fyre and a stynkynge, and sekyrly, were [it possible þat] all þe pepyll in þe warlde, men and wemen and chylder felde þe stynke of þat wonderful fyre, they schulde natt indewre as longe wyth þer lyfe as a man schulde turne hys hande a-bowte; and therfor goo we be-twene þe fyre and the wynde, and loke what þou seys þer-in." And then I went so nere þat I myght well knaw what maner of paynes were þer-in. And þer I saw dyuerse men and wemen brynnyng and sum þat I knew well wene they levyde in þe worlde, as apperyde þer to my syght. I sawe þer sum wyth colers gyltyde a-bowte þer nekkys, and sum of syluer and sum of golde, and sum wyth gaye gyrdyls of syluer and of golde, and hernessede hornes a-bowte þer nekkys; sum wyth many jaggys and cuttyngys in þer clothys thay ware all clede; and sum wyth gyrdyllys full of gyngyles and bellys of syluer ther clothys ouer sett; and sum wyth longe [pokys] on þer slevys, and wemen

f.119b. col.1. wyth gownys traylyng byhynde a mekyll space; / and other wyth gaye chappelettys on þer heddys of golde and perlle and other precyvse stones. And then I lokyde to them þat I saue fyrst in paynes and I sawe þe gyrdyllys and þe bawdrykes brynnynge, and þe fendys drawynge them a hand-brede

col.2. and more wyth-in þe fleche, all brynnynge as fyre. / And I saw þe jaggys þat men were clede in turnyde all to eddyrs, dragonse, towdys and odyr orrabyll bestes sowkynge and

18 2nd and added in margin 22 pokys] MS. pokykys 23 and other deleted after space where in margin at foot of f.106b.col.2 MS. reads The xiiite leffe 28 fleche] blotted but apparently no letter s

styngyng hem with al here myght; and thorowout euery [gyngel] I saw fendes smyte brennyng nayles of fire in to here flessh. I saw also fendes drawyng down þe skynne of here shulders like to pokes and kittyng hem of and drawyng hem to þe hedes of whom þai cut þem fro, al brynnyng as fire. And þo I saw þe women þat had side trayles by-hinde hem, and þo side trayles cut of with fendes and y-brent on here hedes; and summe toke f.137a of / þe cuttyng all brennyng and stopped þer-with here mowþis, hire noses, and hire eres. I saw also hire gay chapeletes of gold, of perlous and other precious stones yturned in to nailes of yren brennyng, and fendes with brennyng hamers smytyng hem in to hire hedes.

And þan Seint John said vn-to me, "Tho yender men, thei disworship God with hire pride of hert and of aray, takyng more hede to þe bodi for þe vanite of þe world and of nyse vsage þat is hadden þerynne þan þei had nede of, ffor euerych man owght to plese his God with mekenesse of hert and of body acordaunt þer-with.

And thilk men and women deden not so ffor þey nold not leve hire nyse pride for no prechyng, ne techyng, ne counseill in shrift; for to atte last, þan þey had shrift and no space of penaunce sufferyng, and þerfor þei shullen suffre euermore without mercy þese paynes til þe dai of dome."

1 gyngel] MS. gyngels 29 nota in margin

Additional

byttynge and nowynge them wyth all þer myghte, streynynge and dreynynge owte of ylke gyngyll a fowle fende. Also
f.120a col.1. trevly I saw fendys smyttynge rede / fyre naylles thorow þe belles and þe gyngyllys in to þer flesche. Also I saw fendys dravyng þe skyne ouer þer scholdyrs þat weyryde þe powkys on ther slevys, and threw hytt all brynnynge on þer hedeys. And I saw þe wemen wyth þe longe traynes by-hynde them, fendys cuttynge of thoys traynes and brynnynge them on þer heddys; and sum of þe fendys toke parcels of þe traylys, and all on fyre stoppyd þer mowthes, þer nose and þer erys þer-wyth. And I saue gay chappelettys of perle and odyr preciuus stones turnyd in to nayllys of brasse all brynnynge, and wyth brynnyng [hamers] fendys smyttynge [them] in to ther heddys. And than Sant John sayde to me, "Wyllyam, theis þat þou seeys in þe grett payne ar bothe men and wemen þat displesyde Gode thorowe þer grett pride þat thay vsyde in þer lyffe, bothe in hertt and in clothynge; more for to pleyse þe bode and þe false warlde for a false plesynge of vayne glory of pride and aray þat is now vsyde, then to plese God and kepe hys cummandementtys þat made them and boght them
col.2. wyth hys byttyr / passyon. Alas, why wolde they be so wode as to luffe more the fende ther Enmy, then Gode þat is euer redy tyll hus att owre nede, as owre sufferande frende. And certenly, Wyllyam, thyes þat ar pynyde for ther fowle pride and wolde nat leve þer nyse aray for no prechyng nor no techynge, ne conselle of any man, to hytt were for pouerte, vnluste of age, or sekenes made them to leve hytt, and yt was natt for þe luffe of Gode; and ȝett were they vn-nethe schrevyn wyth repentance, bott space of penance doynge theme lakkyde, and þerfor schall they haue penance wythowte

29 doynge] in margin in different ink

And than Seint John ledde me forth to a-nother fier, and þere y saw bras and lede and other diuers metals molten togedre, wherynne y saw many sowles of men and women, and fendes among hem with swerdes, knyves and brochis brennyng, smyteng owt hire yen and fillyng þe holes of þe yen with þat brynnyng metall; summe makyng woundes with here / swerdes and fillyng the woundes with þe same brennyng f.137b metall; summe drayng of þe nayles of here fingers with brynnyng tonges of yren and settyng hem on aȝen with þat metall molten; summe smytyng of here armes, puttyng hem on þe fire brochis and fillyng thilk places where armes were with molten metall al on fire, and þei drow þe armes on þat other membris in to the molton metell, and when þei weren al on fire, þei toke hem vp aȝen and set hem on hire places aȝen, and þus þei dide continulich. And y herd þe armes, as me thowght, verely crie and sai, "Jhesu Crist, Goddis sone of heven, rightwous iugge, we haue not servid þis payne, but only the hert and þe tonge." And þan þe fendes token owt þe hert and þe tounges and clevid hem on tweyne and filt hem ful of þat hote brynneng metall, and put ham in to þe bodi aȝen. And than Seint John said, "Þese ben þei þat sweren bi Goddes menbres, as bi his yen, bi his armes, bi his woundes, bi his nayles and other his membris, and thei þus dismembrid God in horrible swerynge bi his lymmes, þerfore þei be þus turmentid in hire membris and shul be duryng the willyng of God."

7 Swerers in margin 17 of deleted after al

Additional

mercy to þe day of dome. And better hade thay ben to haue levyde þer syne and ther fowle pride [of] aray be consell of þe gostely faders or of oder gud lyffers."

And then Sent John lede me forthe to I cum to another grett fyre, and in þat fyre saw I dyuers metellys molton, as leyde, brasse, coper, and tyne. And in þat metell I saw many sawles bowlynge, bothe of men and of wemen. And amonge them I sawe many fendys wyth swerdys, knyvys and brochys brynnynge, wyth the weche they smotte owt þe yne of the sowles, and fyllyd þe holles wher þe eyne were wyth
f.120b. col.1. þe brynnyng mettell. And thay drewe of þe nalys / of þer fyngers and of þer towse wyth brynnynge tongys, and sett them on agayne wyth þe same metell al hott bowlynge. Sum schare of there armes and fyllyde agayn þer thay stode wyth þe brynnynge metell, and thay threw þe armys and þe other membrys þat thay hade smeton of in to þe bowlynge metell, and then thay toke them vp agayne and sett them in þer places, and þus thay dyde contynually þat grett ruthe was to se. And trewly I herde, as me [thoght], þat [þe] armes cryde and sayde, "Jhesu, Goddis son of hevyn, we haue natt deservyde thys horrabyll penance þat we suffyr, bott owre herttys and owre tongys, thay dyde þe tryspasse." And then þe fendys toke owt þe hertt and þe tongys, and clevyd them in too and fyllyde them ful of metell, and putt them in to ther bodyes agayn. Then Sent John [sayde], "Loo, Wyllyam, thyes wrachys suffers thyes paynes for thay dysmembyrde Gode wyth swerynge of hys body, hys armys, hys eyne, hys sydes, hys wondys, hys naylles, hys sowle, and other of hys membyrs, and þer-fore Goddys wyll here endurys þat be-hovysse them to suffer thys."

Royal

And þan Seint John ledde me forthe in to þe .iij. fire, and þat fire was of grete stenche and hete, for theryn was cast fen and dirt as had ben of gonges and of oþer maner
f.138a of fylthe. And þere I saw sowles of men / and women with fendis stoppeng hem ful of þat filthe; summe other takyng brondes of fire, stoppeng and shovyng þe felthe downe in to here bodies, as þe[i] wold stoppe a wullepak; and other fendes comyng with pottes ful of leme of þat fire, yetyng it in to them. And þan Seint John said, "Þo yender ben tho þat broken here halydaies; ffor on þe haliday a cristen man shuld go to chirche and bid hertely his prayers and shryve him, if he hadde nede, to him þat hath power of his sowle, and foryeven all tho þat haue gilt him as he woll be foryeve of God. But þese folk did not so, for þei dispendid here halydai in gloteny and dronknesse in taverns and other places, takyng and fillyng hem-self owte of mesure more þan hem nedid, so mykel þat summe of hem cast vp aȝen; and other diuers filthes and synnes thei vsid in þe holidaies, and þerfore þei shullen suffer þe yonder fillyng and stoppyng ful of filthe and stench with fendes, during þe will of God."

Thanne Seint John led me forth to þe .iiij. fire, and þere y saw many sowles bounden with brondes of fire, and the fendes stondyng and stowpeng here erses toward þe sowles, and shityng owt of here erses stench and fen, with brondes of fire þat failed not, but smote hem thorowe þe hedes and thorow al here lymmes of here bodi where ever þat hit cam. Tho Seint John said, "Þese ben þoo þat dishonour here
f.138b fader / and here moder, and therefore þei shullen suffre here þis dishonour of fendes ersis durynge þe wil of God."

5 brekers of halidays in margin 23 honour fader and moder in margin

Additional

Than Sant John lede me to þe thyrde fyre, and trewly, þer was an opyn stynke and hoytte also. And
f.120b. col.2. in þat fyre was cast / fowynge and dyrtt, as hytt hade bene of prevays and many odyr dyuerse fylthys. And þer dyuerse fendys stoppyd þe mowtes of them, bothe of men and wemen, full of fylthe, and thryst hyt wyth fyre brondys down in to þer throttys and in to þer bodyes. And other fendys com wyth pottys full of coles and cast in after. And then Sent John sayde, "Lo, Wyllyam, thes wraches ar thay þat brake þer halydes, goynge to tauernys, to playes, to vanytes of þe worlde, byinge and sellyng, and other bargynnes makyng, when thay schulde haue gon to þe kyrke and sayd þer prayers; and yf thay were, thay sayd and prayde jangyllynge wyth other neghburse, and lettyd them that thay myght nat praye, nother for them-selfe nor for odyr; and þerfore now thay have sorowe [i-nogh] and schal haue euer whyll Goddys wyll lastys."

Then Sant John lede me to þe fort fyre, and ther I saw many sawlys bondon wyth grett bandys of yrene hoth gloynge, and apon þe savles stode fendys and put þer vggely ersys to
f.121a. col.1. þer vysage, me thoght, / and kest on them wyth þer erses horrybyl stynke of donge and dyrtte, wyth sparkys of fyre amonge, þat smotte thorow the wrechyd saulys wher euer hytt felle on thame. Then Sant John sayde, "Lowe, Wyllyam, thyes ar thay þat dyshonord God, and þerfore thay schall suffyr þe same of fendys ercys dewrynge þe wyll of God."

3 in] inserted above line deleted after John 16 i-nogh] MS. I noght 22 sayd deleted after fyre deleted after þe

Royal

Tho Seint John led me to þe .v. fire there y saw sowles with all maner of goodes brennyng on hire backes; summe with swerdes and knyves smytyng and stikeng hem-self; summe horses and oxen and oþer diuers bestes bityng hem and terying hem a-sonder. Than Seint John said to me, "Þoo yonder ben thefes and robbers of trewe men-is godes." And hem y saw take owt of þat payne þat þai were yn and cast to other, and other sowles take owt of þilk payne þat þei were yn and sett by. And þan he said, "Þoo sowles þat þow seist take owt of yonder paynes and set by ben þe sowles of þoo men þat þe yender thefes robbeden and stalen þere goodes from hem; and as moche fawte as þoo true men suffreden in lak of her goodes, so moche payn þei shullen suffre for hem, for thei made never satesfaction in will nothir in dede; and therfore þei shullyn suffre þe yender payn durying þe will of God." And in þilk paynes y saw executours punysshid as long tyme as þei delayn and not fulfillyn þe dethis will; and þilk executours þat tokyn þe dedis goodes to here owne vse, for þe sowles of þe owners were passid owt of purgatorie; þe help of goodes þat were done afterward turned to þe help and reles of other þat had nede, and þo þat withilden them were
f.139a punysshid ther-for / with fendis in hudious paynes, durying the wil of God.

Then Seint John lad me forthe to þe .vj. fire, and in þat fire y saw many sowles y-payned; and summe fendes meltyng gold and siluer and yet it in to them. And y sawe oþer where wodes, rochis, hilles, and londes brennyng and fallyng vppon them. Than Seint John said, "Þoo yender be thoo þat bare false witnesse in diuers enquestes and assisis, sum for geld and summe for siluer, and now þat gold and þat siluer molten

1 f deleted after þe 7 nota Thefes in margin 8 to deleted before other 9 he inserted above line in different ink 15 nota Executours in margin 17 ded deleted after þe 28 nota Questmongers in margin 29 sum for geld deleted after geld

Additional

Then Sant Jon lede me to þe v^te^ fyre, and trevly, I saw sawles þer wyth all maner of wardely gowdys in þer nekkys al brynnynge; sum wyth knyvys, sum wyth swerdys stykkynge on them; sum wyth oxon , sum wyth horses and odyr dyuerse bestys byttynge them and ryvynge them in sundyr. Then Sant Jon sayd to me, "Thyes were thevys and robbars of men." And þen I saw þat thyes sawles were takyn owt of þer paynys, and othyr sawlys takyn owte of þer paynys and sett by them. And þen Sant Jon sayde, "Loo, Wyllyam, thes savles þat ar fechyde fro þer owne paynys and sett by thyes thevys ar thyes þat thay robbyd fro þer trew getton guddys, [and as moche fawte as þoo true men suffreden in lak of her goodes, so moche payn þei shullen suffre for hem], and for thay made no satisfaccyon in worde nor in dede, [therfore þei shullyn suffre þe yender payn duryng þe will of God]." In þat payn I saw executores paynyd ful sore as longe as thay delayde þe wyll of them to whom thay were executores; and thyes executoures also þat toke þe dede gudys vnto þer one vse schuld a-byde þer to thay þat made þe testament and aghte þe guddys were / f.121a. col.2. delyueryd owt of purgatory, for the helpe þat was done wyth thowys gudys helpyd nat þe executours owt of ther payn, bott turnyde in to help of them þat hade nede.

Then Sant Jon lede me to þe vj^te^ fyre, and þer were grett paynes, ffor I sawe bowth gold and syluer molton and cast in to þer bodyes that were in þat fyre. Also I saw grett hyllys and roches, woddys and landys al brynnynge fall apon them. Then Sant Jon sayde, "Loo, Wyllyam, thes were thay þat bare fals wyttenes agane ther evyn cristen in syses and other in enquestys; sum for gold and syluer, and that

12 Words in brackets supplied from Royal MS. 25 2nd and inserted above line

paynes them as þou seist, and so of londes and wodes, and payneth hem in .iij. maners: on is it shall bren hem; a-nother it shal brose hem; þe .iij. it shal smolder hem and hold hem ever vnder." Tho y saw diuers sowles stondyng a-bowte þat fire but felyng no payn of it. And Seint John said, "Þo yender sowles ben of þo men þat haue suffred wrong bi thilk turmentid in þe fire, and there þei shal se none other payn but se them turmentid and punysshid for here gilt, as long tyme as þei shuld haue sufferd hem-self, and þilk paynes þei shul suffre duryng þe will of God."

Thanne Seint John lad me to þe vij. fire. Theryn y saw
f.139b many sowles y-payned with fendis teryng hem / with brennyng crokes of brennyng yren, euerych lymme of þe bodi fro other, and other fendes with speris, swerdis and knyves, smytyng the hedes of the sowles, and the other parties of the body hewyng on sonder, fallyng into þilk fiere, the fendis takyng hem vp brennyng ful of fiere and settyng on the hedes aȝen, and þus þei did continuelich. Than sayde Seint John, "Þilk ben þe sleers and murdres of true men." And þere I herd a gresly crye sayng, "Jhesu Crist, Goddes sone of heven, þow rightful iugge, we axen veniaunce on hem þe which kylden vs and distroyed vs, and þei no cause had." Thanne Seint John said, "Þo yender ben tho sowles þat were kilde and distroied; now þei axen veniaunce on thoo yonder mysdoers, and in þe same maner þei þat killyn giltles men, þei shal be turment in þis fire duryng the will of God."

Thanne Seint John browght me to þe .viij. fiere, and þat fire was hote owt of mesure and blak as ony pych, and smale lemes as blew as ony brymston comyng owt þerof; and in þat fire y saw many sowles boþe of men and of women hongyng bi þe

5 said deleted after And 6 yender deleted after þo 7 þer deleted after there 13 for deleted after bodi 29 Luxuria in margin

Additional

ponesches them now [as] þou seys; sum for landys and feese, þat fallys on þem all brynnynge."

And trewly I sawe many saullys stande abowt the fyre and had þer-of no payne. Then Sant Jon sayd to me, "Thyes ar the sowlys of them þat by thyes false jvrours lost þer londys and þer guddys, and thay haue no dyssese bott sees them poneschyde for þer synnys, for trewthe wold hytt had bene gevyn agayn."

Then Sent Jon lede me to þe vij^{te} fyre, and þer I save a dulful syght, for þer I saw fendys ryffe sawlys wyth crokys of yren al brynnynge eche lyme from other. Sum of þe fendys smotte of þe heddys of þe saulys wyth kene swerdys, and all þer / other lymmys thay all to-mangylde and kest them in to þe fyre, and all brynnynge toke them out agayn and sett them on þer bodyes, and þus were thay seruyde continually. Then Sant Jon sayd, "Þes saulys were sleyers and murderars of trew men." And trewly I herde þer a doleful cry þat sayd on þis wyse, "Jhesu Crist, Goddys son of hevyn, of thy ryghtwasnes we aske vengance of them þat slene hus and dystrevd hvs, and we gaffe them no cause."

f.121b. col.1.

Then Sant Jon lede me to þe viij^{te} fyre, and þer sothely þat fyre was howt owt of mesore and blak as any pyke, and small sparkelyng lyghttys of blew lyke vnto bronston com owt þer-of. In þat fyre were many saules, bothe of men

1 as] MS. all 16 and] inserted above line

prevy membris with cheynes of brennyng yren, summe bi the hert and summe bi þe yen, and fendes betyng vppon hem with hamours of brennyng yren. Than Seint John said, "Þo yender ben þei þat leved here lif in lecherye; thei þat synned in dede ben hangid bi þe menbris; and thei þat synned in desire f.140a ben hanged bi the hert, for the hert was in / wil for to do þe dede; and thei þat wold not hold here yen stable, but biholden faire women, and also women of men, and bi hire sight fillyn in to more synne in dede, þerfor þei ben payned in here yen, and shullyn suffre þat payne duryng the wil of God."

Tho Seint John led me forth to the .ix. fier, and þere y saw many sowles of men and women and children in thilk hote fire, and chyldren betyng here owne fader and moder with brondes of fire; þe fader sayng, "My faire sone, y gat the," tho saing the moder, "My faire child, y bare and norshid the with my pappis," and rehersid many kyndnesse done by the fader and moder to here children. Tho y herd þe children sayng to here fader, "Wrecche, þow gast me," and to here moder, "Wrecche, þow barest me, and we know well all the tendernesse þat ye haue done to vs, but for ye chastynde vs not, and in defaute of yowre chastement, we muste suffre these bitter paynes; and for ye betid not vs for owre mysdedes, we shul bete yow with these fire brondes, as Goddis wil is." Thenne Seint John said, "Thilk yender ben þoo þat chasten nowght here children, and þe yonder payn þei shal haue þerfore duryng the will of God."

16 hod deleted before hote 17 chyldren]MS.clyldren
18 Chaste þi child in margin

Additional

and wemen, sum hyngyng by þer prevey membyrs wyth chenys of yryne brynnyng, and sum by [the hert, and summe bi] þer eene, and fendys bettyng on them wyth brynnyng hamerys. Then Sant Jon sayd, "Thyes [ar] thay þat lede þer lyfe in lechery, and for thay synnyd in dede, thay ar hangyd by þe membyrse; and thay þat synnyd in wyllyng and in desyre ar hangyde by þe [hert, for the hert was in wil for to do þe dede;] and thay þat kepyd nat þer eene fro vanites, bot wyth them lokyd on wemen and on þer gay areye and vanytes of þe warlde, and / wemen þat behold þe stowte aray of oder wemen, þat turnyde þer herttys to so grett vanyte, þat thay covytt passynge þer astatte, al yf þer husbondys and þer chylder þer-fore weyre in greytte dette, and by þat covytys fel in to more synne, ther-for thay ar pyned in þer eyne."

f.121b. col.2.

Then Sant Jon lede me to þe ix^{te} fyre, and þer I save many saules of men and wemen pyned in þat gryssely fyre. And þer I saw chylder bette þer owne faders and þer moders wyth grysely brandys of fyre, and I herd how þe faders and moders sayd to þer chylder: the fader sayd, "Fayre chyld, I gatt yow," and the moder sayde, "Fayre chyld, I bare yow wyth grett care and sorowe, and noreschyde yow on my brest." Then þe chylder sayd agayn to þer faders, "Wryche, þou gatt hus," and to þe moder, "Wreche, þou bare hus, and well we know al þe tendyr dedes yow dyde for hus. Bott for yow chastyd natt hus, þer-fore behovys huse to suffer thyes bytter paynes; and for yow bett nat huse for owre tryspasse, we schall bette yow wyth thyes fyre brandes, for þat is Goddys wyll."

2 the...bi] supplied from Royal MS. 4 ar] MS.as
7-8 hert...dede] supplied from Royal MS. Addit.MS.reads eene
9 Letter 1 deleted after þer 22 chylder] MS.chyrder

Royal

Thoo Seint John bad me loke a-bove my hede, and þere y saw a roche hovyng over þe leme of al þe fires and payns þat y be-fore had seen. And þan he lad me vp a-bove that roche,
f.140b and there y saw many sowles closid / with a wal of stone, and þyulk sowles lay noselyng on the grownd and grouelyng, and all the stench and þe smych of al the fires to-foresaid rysyng vp in here mouthes, noses, yen, and al here bodies. And on here backes y saw dragons, arders and snakes, todes, cattes, bitellis, and other fowle bestis gnawyng on here backes and on al the lymmes on here bodies. And y saw many grisly devellis stompyng and tredyng on here backis forto encrese here paynes. And þan Seint John said, "Þe yender ben bacbiters þat wolden never sece of saing evel of here neghbours, puttyng hem owt of here good name in to evel, never levyng it in youghe ne in age, for prechyng ne for councelyng in shrifte of hire goostly fader, forto it laste hem at what tyme was no space of penaunce, and therfore þei shullyn ever more endure in those paynes in to þe day of dome, with-out mercy."

Thanne Seint John lad me forth a grett space fro ⌈þoo⌋ other turmentes, and there he shewed me twey towers,þat on ful of brynnyng fire, and þe other ful of yse and snowe; and in þat full of fire y saw many sowles ypayned and made hote in poynte for to mylt, and sodenly with fendes þei were cast owt of þat passyng hete in to þat other tower ful of yse and snowe, and fendes with shovelis castyng yse and snow vppon hem, and þat payned hem full sore. And thanne y saw many sowles with firebrondys brennyng in here hondes /
f.141a hauyng here bodies ful of serpentes, snakes, todes, and diuers other orrible wormes, knockyng at þe yate of þe towre,

13 nota Bakbiters in margin 20 þoo ⌋MS. þat 24 for deleted after and 27 and þan deleted after thanne 28 brennyng ⌋ inserted above line

Additional

Then Sant John bade me loke a-boue my hede, and I dyde soo, and I saw a grett roche hangyng and resayuynge þe smoke and þe low of al þe fyres befor-sayde. And then Sant Jon lede me aboue þe roche, and þer I saw many saulys closyd wyth-in a wall of / stone, and thay la[y] wyde oppyn, fast bonden, and all stynkyng smoke of all þe forsayde fyres [of] penanse restyde on þer mowthes, and on þer neyses, and on þer eyne; and on þer wombys saw I dragownes, snakys and toodys, and many other gryesly bestes, gnawynge and etynge wondyr dyspetyusly, and all to increyse þer paynes and sowroys.

f.122a. col.1.

Then Santt Jon sayde to me, "Wyllyam, thyes ar bakbyters and that were besy wyth þer schrode talys to go fro howse to howse, speykyne evyl of þer evyn crysten, havynge rejosynge of þer neghebor harme, and sorynes of ther welfare, puttyng them owt of þer gud name in to þer yll; and thys horrabyll syne wold thay neuer leve for no prechynge nor techynge, and þerfor schall thay suffer þis horrabyll paynes vnto þe day of dome wyth-owte mercy, for thay had no mersy on þer evyn crysten."

And then Sant Jon lede me fardyr and chewyd me too towres, þe on full of brynnynge fyre, and þe other ful of cowlde yse. In þe towre ful of fyre I saw many sawles so sore burnynge þat hytt semyd þat thay schuld meltte for þat passynge hete. And sothely then toke fendys them owte wyth grett crokys and kest them in to þat other towre, and þer fendys wyth schowffyllys kest apon them yse and snaw, and þat payne was soo kowld þat trewly hytt passyd many other paynes. And then saw I many other sawlys cummynge wyth fyrebrondys / in þer handys, and þer bodyes hangyng full of snakys and

f.122a. col.2.

8 dragownes]MS. dragowes 13 that]MS. thay 21 And]MS. Tnd
24 neuer after schuld has been omitted as destroying the sense

and when þei were letyn yn, thei cast the brondes of fire to thilk oþer sowles þat were cast yn paynes, and beten [hem] with þe same brondis, and payned them wonderly sore; and al tho serpentes, todes, and other orrible [wormis] lopen from here bodies to þilk oþer þat were payned in þat cold, and stongyn and beten hem wonderly sore.

Thanne Seint John said vn-to me, "These were bisshoppes and other diuers prelates of holy chirch þat shuld haue prechid and geve good ensampell of levyng to þe comyn people; for thei did not þus, now thei be punysshid and payned with this fire and þis cold sodaynly, duryng þe will of [God]. And these sowles with þese fire-brondes þat payneth them were here seruauntes lyveng in pride and oþer disgisyng of þe world. And þilk serpentes, snakes, todes and other wormes ben here iagges and daggis þat þei vsidden, and now thei styngen and byten þese prelates for thei wold not correcte here meyne of here nyce aray."

And þan y saw a-nother fire, and sowles brynnyng theryn þat were [as] gret as it were pipis or tonnes al to-swollyn.
f.141b And owt of here / fingers and owt of here toes come diuers wormes, as adders, snakes, and todes turnyng aȝen in to þe same bodies, sowkyng hem vnto þe tyme þat here bodies were smalle aȝen, and þen eftesone styngyng aȝen forto þat þei were swollen aȝen, as þus þei did continulych, and fendes

2 hem]MS.him 4 wormis]MS.wordis 5 Letters cl deleted before cold 10 sai deleted after Thanne 13 done nat deleted before did 24 ix in margin 25 1st as]MS.at 25 town deleted before tonnes religious in margin 29 styngly deleted after eftesone

towdys, eddyrs and many dyuerse vemonsume wormys. And þose sawlys knokkyd at þe ȝatte of that towre wyth thys sorow[ful] aray abowt them. And as sowne as thay were lettyn in thay kest þe brondys of fyre at þe other sawlys þat were before in payne. And then thay toke þe brondys agayn and bett wyth them þe saulys, and þat grevyd them warse and more then all þe other paynes. And wyth þat all þe orrabyll wormes þat hange apon them lepe owte vpon þe saulys þat were before soo bett, and bootte them and stangyd them thorow þe bodyes. Then Sant Jon sayde, "Loo, Wyllyam, thyes were sumtyme bysschoppys and prelates and curetys of holy kyrke, and schulde haue prechyde þe law of God to þe pepull, and gyffyn them in-sampyll of gud lyffyng. And sothely, thay dyd natt, and ther-fore thay have thys grett penance of hotte and colde. And thows saulys wyth fyre-brongdys wer sumtyme þer seruandys, and lyffynge ouer-moche in pryde and many dysgysyngys of þer araye. Thyes serpenttys, toodes, and eddyrse, and snakys were þer jaggys þat thay wsyd sumtyme in grett pryde, and all ar turnyd them to sorow and care whyll þat God wyll. And þus ar beschoppys and other prelates
f.122b. col.1. pynyde of þer seruandys, for thay wold / suffer them to lyve in pryde and foly, and [reprevyd] them nott, bott suffyrd them þer-in."

Ande then I saw in another fyre saulys all to-bownede grett as towrys, and owt of þer fyngers and tayllys cum eddyrs, snakys, towdys, wormys, and other fowle bestys. And then waxide thay small agayn, and thyes bestys batte them and stangyd them, and sone þai waxyde grett agayn as thay ware be-fore. And in þis grett payn thay were contynually, and fendys bloynge the fyre to gare þe wormys [bytte] on them

11 of deleted after prelates 22 reprevyd]MS.reprevyng last three letters in margin over an erasure 30 bytte]MS.bytto

blowyng the fire for to make þe serpentes to styng hem more besely. And þan I herd mony diuers noyses cryeng and sayng, "Jhesu Crist, Goddes sone of hevene, rightfull doumsman, a-wreke vs on þis people, for þei hadden þe goodes of holy chirch more þan them nedid, and suffred vs to peressh for defaute." And þan Seint John said, "These were religious men, as monkous, chanons and other þat shuld haue lyved in continence and abstinded of here bodi; and for thei did not þus, now thei be payned with þis fire and þise wormen sowkyng and payneng hem in diuers maners. And þese sowles þat axe veniaunce on hem beth þe people þat myght haue be relevid bi the goodes þat þei spendid in wast."

Thenne Seint John shewid to me diuers sowles payned in a-nother fire, and summe were closid with plates of yren brennyng al a-bowte, and on þe platis weren letters and wordes wel wreten, and þorow þe wordes nayles of yren hote brynneng smeten in-to here bodies. And þan y saw fendes take owt þe tonnges and þe hertes of somme of þo sowles, shredyng hem smalle, and castyng in here faces as it were brynnyng fire. And among thilk sowles y saw on so
f.142a punysshid, of þe which Seint John said, "Þilk is / thi eme, William, þat was person of suche a place." And I wist well þat he was dede xvj. wynter to-fore þat time. Thanne Seint John said, "Þese ben þe sowles of persones and vicaries and prestis, and þe letters þat þow seist was Goddes seruice þat þei shuld haue said wyth deuocion. But for þei had more lust in pleyng and other flesshly and worldly lustes and myrthes than yn here seruice, therefore now þus thei be payned with

4 f deleted before hadden 14 persones vicares in margin

Additional

and stange them þe more bytterly. And then I herde many voces and dyuerse cryenge on þis wyse, "Jhesu Cryst, Goddys sone of hevyn, ryght[t]ewose domysman, wreyke hus on thyes pepul, for thay have þe guddys of holy kyrke more þen thay nedyde, and suffyrde hus to paryche for defawte of gude." Then Sant Jon sayde, "Loo, Wyllyam, thyes were men of relegyon, as chanons, monkys, freres, and other þat schulde haue levyde in contemplacyon and abstynence of þer body; and for thay lyffyde natt after þer ordyr, therfore thay suffyrde and schall suffyre here thyes wofull paynes. And thowes þat askys vengance on them ar þe savles of powre men þat myght have bene relevyde thorow þe guddys / þat thay dyspendyd in wast."

f.122b. col.2.

Then Sant Jon schewyde me other dyuerse sawlys, and sum were closyde a-bowt wyth plates of yrene al brynnynge, and on the plates were letters and wordys wele wrytton, and thorow þe wordys were nalys of yrene al brynnynge smyttyn in-to þer heddys and so into ther herttys and in-to ther bodyes. And amonge thyes sowlys I saw on þat hys tong and hys hertt were takyn owt and schorne small, and fendys keste them on hys face agayn. Then sayd Sant Jon to me, "Loo, Wyllyam, thys was thy eme þat was person of syche a towne." And I wyst welle þat he wase dede xj ȝere before þat tyme. And Sant John sayde to me, "Thyes ar þe savles of vicars, and persons, and other prestys also, and þe letters þat ar wryttyn on þe platees weche are smeton on þer heddys betokyns deuine serues þat thay schulde haue sayd and done euery day wyth grett deuocyon. Bott thay have more false devocyon and lust in hawkynge and hunttynge and other levde playes and ydyll occupacyonys and wardely myrthys, then in þe seruece of Gode,

3 e of thyes and pepul inserted above line 22 sch deleted after of

þese brynnyng nailes in there flessh. And for thei were never well, as them thowght, but if þei myght be occupied in hakyng or huntyng or oþer diuers synnes and vaniteis, levyng Goddes service, holy prayers, and other goostly deuocions, þat is longyng to Goddis pristes, and yoven evel ensample to þe comen people bi hire lewid levyng, and with hire tongis not occupied in devowght praiers and Goddis seruice and be-houeful to þe people, but hire hertes and hire tungis occupied in thowghtis and wordes of synne and vaniteis, therfore fendes payneth hem nowe, shredyng and cuttyng here tunges and hertes in hudious payn and wo to hem."

And þan Seint John shewid to me a grete hous stronglich y-wallid abowte, and þat hous was al [open] a-boue, and in þat hous was þe most stench þat ever y feld; and þere y saw sowles al nakid, and þere among hem was passyng cold. And there y saw dyuers pressis ipiled wyth clothis, and owt of / f.142b þat clothe come mothis and other diuers wormes. And þe fendes toke þoo wormes, stoppeng and puttyng them in-to þe moughthes and throtes of þo sowles. And there y saw many dowblettes y-throw of fendes vppon þo sowles, þe which dowbelettes were not hote, but yet with them þei were gretely payned and punysshid. And þan I saw the fendes turnyng here arses toward þe sowles, shytyng vppon hem, the which dirt stonk so fowle þat it was a passyng payn. And in to þat hous come grete passyng haulstones owt of þe eyr, smytyng summe of þo sowles, summe on þe hedes, and summe on þe bodies, and al to-brosid hem. Then Seint John said,

16 open] MS.vp 19 among hem deleted after there of clothe deleted after pressis 30 hedes deleted after þe

Additional

and therfor are thay þus pynede wyth horrabyll payens. And yf thay had servyd God as thay schuld haue done, by reson of þer charge þat thay toke, greetys blysse in hevyn myght
f. 123a col. 1. thay have hade. Alas! þat syche / prestys schuld be callyd Goddys knyghtys, þat feghtys euery day a-gayne þer lege lorde. And þerfore thay schal be callyde be ryght of ther false gouernance, the dewlys knyghtys and Goddes traytores, and for syche ar they now pynyde, and schal be whylys Goddys wyll is. And for þer herttys and þer tongys were occupyde in ydyll thoght and ydyll speche, þer-fore thay suffyr now so howge payn; for when thay wolde nat purches them blys, as thay myght haue done, and þat full mykylle, God wyll þat thay haue now þer purchese, and þat is mekyl care and sorow, more then any tonge can tell."

And Sant Jon schewyd me a grett howse strongely wallyd abowt, and that howse was all open abown, and trewly þer was þe most stynk þat euer I felde. And þer I saw many sawles al nakyd, and amonge them was a passynge colde. And þer I saw dyueres pressys off clothes, and euery presse pylyde wyth dyueres clothes and þat many. And owt of thyes clothes cam many moghtys and other wormys; and þan I saghe to /

13 that deleted after now 21 The following section has been lost presumably because of a scribal oversight in changing from column one to column two.

Royal

"Þese ben þe sowles of men of holy chirch, as persones, vicaries, and other prestes, þat shuld haue tawght good doctrine, and good exemple haue yevyn to þe comen people; ffor þei did noght so, now thei be punysshid diuerslich in þe paynes þat thow seist; and þei suffren now this passyng cold to teche hem what þe pore and þe nakid people suffreden when thei myght haue refresshid hem. These wormes þat comyn owt of þese clothes were þe mothis þat engendred in her clothis þat þei might haue holpen with þe nedy people, and now þei shul not be fed with none other mete but with þe same wormes. And the dowblettes þat þow seist draw on / f.143a thilk sowles weren dowblettes that nyse prestes vsid in this world, as þei had ben secular men; for þer cam no frute of þe curates and pristes of teching and of good ensample yevyng to the comyn people, but stynkyng synne and vnklene levyng, therfore þei shullyn now suffre þe stench and þe dirt of þese fendes durying þe will of God. And þilk sowles þat þow seist smyten and brusid with the grete hailstonis ben þe sowles of thi[l]k persones and vicaries þat rayn, haill and snow defowled here auters and here chauncelles bi hire myskepeng where Goddis body shuld be sacred and diuine seruice said, spendyng þe goodes þat God sent hem to kepe with þat charge and many other, in synne and wreccidnesse. And now all these sowles ben closid in þese high walles for as moch as thei closid hem-self , whiles thei leveden in þis world, in hire owne houses, for þei wold not here þe crie of þe pore and the nedy people."

And þan Seint John led me forthe toward a water, the which was blak and fowle to sight, and yn thilk water were mony fendes yellyng and makyng gresly noyse. And over þat

1 h deleted after men 12 sowles] deleted but retained as necessary for the sense 24 ben] inserted above line

Additional

f.123a col.2. ...have holpen þer-wyth þe commyn pepyll, bot stynkyng syne of lechery and other synfull lyffynge; þer-for thay schall nedes suffyr now þis horribull stynke of fendys arses durynge þe wyll of Gode. And thyes other saules all smytten wyth the hole-stones and all to-**brysse**d, ar þe savles of thos persons and vicars, hayl, and snaw, and rayne fall in-to þer chanselle or apon þer hyee auters þer God schuld be worschypped and deuine seruece sayde. And now all thyes saules ar closyd wyth-in thyes hye wallys, for as myche as thay closyd them wyth-in þer hyee how**ses** when thay schulde ete, for thay wold nat here þe pore pepyl crye."

Then Sant John lede me forthe towarde a water, and þat **wa**ter was blak as pyke. In þat water was many **f**endys 3ellyng and **ma**kynge a grysely noyse. And ouer þat

15 þer] MS. þ abbreviation mark omitted 18 aes deleted after fendys

water y saw a gret brygge and brode, as me semed, and on þat
f.143b brigge / I saw a bisshop goyng and with him mony clerkes and diuers officers and many other mayne. And when he had go a good while on þat brigge, y saw fendes with grete strenght pullyng and teryng adown the pilers of þe brigge, and the bisshop sodaynly faylyng in-to þe water and his meyne with him. And in the fallyng my thowght y saw a bright angell takyng away the myter and the cros fro þe bisshop and vaneshid away. And than y saw many diuers sowles and fendes among hem takyng þilk bisshop, teryng, drawyng, and plunchyng him in þat blak water, and he suffred þerynne many diuers turmentes and moche woo. And þan Seint John said, "This was a bisshop which leved not wel to the plesyng of God as hys degre and his a-state asked, and therfore he is now payned with this diuers paynes. Þat brigge þat þow seist was a brigge þat he lete make in the world whiles he was on lyve, for esement of þe comen people; but for as moche as he did it to be made principally for vaynglorie, and also þe goodes þat it was made with weren falslich goten, taken yerlich bi his office, gold and siluer, maynteyneng þe synne of moche people in lecherie, therfore God hath suffred þese fendes to draw down this brigge; for if it had be made with godes trulych goten, it shuld haue y-stondyn him now in grette stede. And þese sowles þat þow seist paynenge him / in these paynes ben þe sowles of thoo þat he suffred
f.144a in þe world to liue in synne for loue and covetise of worldly lucor, which he myght haue amendid if he had don is dever; and therfore it is þe wil of God þat he and his officers þat suffred hem in synne be punysshid with hem in these paynes duryng the wil of God."

Finis reuelacionum penalium.

5 him ?deleted after teryng 9 and fen deleted after fendes
10 kyng deleted after plunchyng 12 bisshop deleted after This
22 him deleted after draw 23 stondyn] 2 extra minims before d subpuncted

Additional

water I saw a grett bryge and a brode, and on þat bryge I saw a bysschope go and wyth hym many clarkys and dyuerse offecers and many other in feloschyppe. And when [he] hade gon a grett way on þe bryge, I saw fendys wyth a grett maleyce myne / and pulle away pyllers, and sodenly þe f.123b. col.1. bysschoppe and all þe meny þat were wyth hym fell in-to þe horrabyll water. And in þat fallynge hytt semyde to me þat I saw an angell take þe crosse and þe myter fro þe bysschoppe and vanyschyd away. And then I saw many dyuerse saules as well as fendys takynge þe besschopp and ryvynge hym, and plukkyng hym in þat ylke fowle water. Then Sant Jon sayd, "Loo, Wyllyam, þat was a bysschopp þat lyffyd nat after þe law of Gode, as hys degre was and hys estate askyd, and þerfore is he now poneschyde wyth dyuerse paynes and tormentys. And þis bryge þat he gartt make whyle he levyd in erthe, for esement of the commyn pepull gave, trevly the cause of hys makyng was vaneglory, to haue thank and praysyng of þe pepull; and also þe gudys þat hytt was made wyth were falssely goten for þe most parte, ffor he toke thorow hys offecers, knowyng hym selffe þat hytt was wyth wrong geton, both gold and syluer, and sufferd þerfor men and wemen to contenue in þer syne, vnponyschyde in lechery, and other contractys of col.2. matrimonie lettyde -an / evyll dede, mede for them- and suffyrde þe partys to travell and spende þer gudys fro chapetor and consistorise to consistore, to thay hade no more to dyspende, and then behovys them nedys to leve þer trew maters, and all in faute of trewe offecers. And þerfor hase God suffyrde fendys to draw down þat bryge, for yf hytt had ben made wyth guddys treuly gotyn, hytt schuld haue stande in grett stede. And the savles þat poneschys them in þat

3 he]MS.I 5 MS.kyrk after pyllers 16 cause]in margin
24 chapyeo deleted after fro 29 madi deleted after ben

And when Seint John had shewid me al þese paynes and many mo þan y can or may tell or bi-think, y said to him, "May ther be ony remedi or mytigacion to þese sowles þat be þus ypayned in these diuers paynes ?" and he said thus, "William, God for-bede it els, for þow shalt vnderstond þat þese sowles may be holpen owt of þese paynes principallich bi the mercy of God, and bi þe good dedis þat her frendes and þe people levyng in þe world may do for hem; as to lernyd men, as bi masses singyng, saing of sawters, placebo and dirige, commendacions, .vij. salmes and the .xv. psalms with þe letenye, bi almes-dede, and bi pilgrimage; and also bi lewid men with þe Pater noster, þe Aue Maria, and þe Crede, almesdede, fastyng, and pilgrimage, and bi many other good
f.144b dedis. For right as thow seist if a man-is / hond or his fote were put in-to a vessell ful of hote scaldyng water, yf a man put þerto a quantite of cold water, þo sumwhat the hete of the scaldyng water wold a-bate, and so ofte he myght put þerto more cold water and more þat þe hete shuld not greve him; in the same wise, so many prayers and good dedes may be do for þo sowles þat ben in payn of purgatorie, þat ⌈bi⌋ þe goodnesse and bi the mercy of God and þe good dedis done for hem þat þei myght be delyuerid owt of payn."

Then Seint John went with me a litill space and sone he vanysshid owt of my sight, and thanne y was mochel a-dred when he was gone fro me, and forth y ȝede bi the water side, the which water was greislych and depe, and moche greisly

Additional

water [ar] þe saulys of them þat thay suffyrd to lye in syne for mede, for thay hade full powre to correcte them, and dyde nat, and þerfor þe wylle of God ys þat he and hys offecerse be ponyschyd of them for þe grett syne, whyll hys blyssyde wyll is.

And when Sant Jon hade schewyd me thyes horrabyl paynes þat ar befor sayde, and many moo then I can tell or thynke, I sayd to Sant Jon, "Holy fader, may þer be no remedy nor mittigacyon to thyes saulys þat þus ar poneschyde in dyuerse tormentys ?" And he answarde and / sayde, "Ȝys, Wyllyam, f.124a col.1. God forbede ellys, for þou schal vndyrstande þat thyes savles may be refresshyde and holpyn owt of thyes payns princypally by þe mercy of God, and by þe gude dedys þat þer frendys and other pepull lyffynge in þe warlde may doo for them, as prestys masses syngyng, placebo and dirige , and psauters sayd by them, or by clarkys commendacyon and þe vij psalmes wyth þe latyne, by almys-dede and by pylgramage; also by lewde men wyth pater noster, aue, and crede, almysdede, fastyng, and by many other dedys. For yf a mannys hand or hys legge wer putt in-to a vessell full of scaldynge hott water, yf a man put þer-to a lytyll colde water, sumwhat þe hette of þe scaldynge wolde abate, and so ofte þer-to he myght put cold water, þat þe hette wold all abate and no-thyng greve hym. Ryght on þe same wyse, so many prayers and gud dedys may be done for thes saulys þat or in payne, þat thorow þe mercy of God and gud dedys done for them, thay may be delyueryd owte off þer payn."

Then Sant Jon went away, and I went by þe water þat was so deppe and so grysely on to see, and mekyll gryssely noyse I hard þer-in. And euer I lokyde after a bryge ouer that water, weche I had harde speyke of, þat is to say, of þe

22 he deleted after ofte before t blotted 23 myght] possibly myghtt a letter

noise y herd þerynne, and vnderstode þat þere shuld have ben a brigge over þat water as y had herd say in þe world, and y saw none, and was the more agast and adrede. Thanne y herd a more grislich noyse of fendys comyng bi-hynd me þan ever y herd bifore, and bi þat noyse my sprite and my wittes failidden me, so þat y had no mynd on the passion of God, ne of none other prayer. And þan þat blissid virgen Seint Yve
f.145a cam bi-hinde me and saide, "Thow madman, haue mynde / in þi hert of the glorious passion of owre lord Jhesu Crist, Goddis sone of hevene, and mark the with thi praier." And þan y said, "Jhesu Crist, Goddis sone of heuene, for þi passion þat þow suffredist for me and al synful on erthe, haue mercy on my sinful bodi, and if me grace so for to do þat is most plesaunt to the, and saluacion for my bodi and my sowle." And than y markid me with my praier. And þan al þat noise þat y herd vaneshid away fro me, and y went forth bi the water side on my right honde, and on þat other side of the water y saw nothyng but an high roche. And so long y went on þat water side þat y saw an high towour on the ferther side of þat water, and there y saw mo light þan y did on al þe way bi-fore. On þe top of þe towre y saw a fayre woman stondyng and lokid to me, and þan y was right gladde, and knelid down on my kneis, and, with as good hert and deuocion as y had, said .v. pater in þe worship of owre lordis .v. woundes, and .v. aues in þe worship of owre ladi is .v. ioyes, and markid me with my praier. Or y rose, I lokid to þe towour and saw a ladder fro þe top of þe towour reching vn-to the grownd
f.145b where y knelid, / and for gladnesse I rose vp and went to the ladder, and hit was so litill, as me thowght, þat it wold on-nethe bere onything, and þe first rong of the ladder was

Additional

bryge ful of pykys, and when I saw non I was þe more adrede. And wyth þat þer cam be-hynd me þe gretyste and the most howgyste noyse of fendys þat euer I harde be-for, and thorow þat noyse my wyttys and my sprete faylyde me, so þat I forgat þe / passyon of owre Jhesu Cryst and also my prayer. f.124a. col.2. And then þe blyssyd uergyn Sant Hylde cam behynde me and sayd, "Thow man, haue mynde of þe glorius passion of owre lorde Jhesu Criste, Goddys sone of hevyn, and blyse þe wyth thy prayer." And þen I sayde, "Jhesu Criste, Goddys sone of hevyn, for þi passion þou suffyrde for me and all synfull in erthe, haue mercy on me, synfull wreche, and for-gyff me all my synnys, and gyfe me grace to do þat is most plesyng to þe and saluacyon of my body and my saule." And then I blyssyd me wyth my prayer, and be-lyve, all þe orrabyll noyse wentt away þat was so grysely. And then I went forthe on my ryght hand by þe water syde, and on þat other syde on þe water I saw no other thyng bott a hoghe roche. And so longe I went by þe water syde þat I saw on þe other syde a hyghe towre. And þer I saw a grett[er] lyght them I dyde in all þe way before. And on þe toppe I saw a fayre woman standyng and lokynge to me. And then I was glade, and sett me down on my knesse wyth gud deuocyon, to I hade sayde v pater noster and v ave maria in þe worschypp of owre lorde v woundys and of owre lade v joyes; and then I blyssyd me wyth my / prayer, and or I rose vp, I lokyd f.124b. col.1. to þe towre, and þer I saw a ledder fro þe toppe of þe towre rechyng to þe grownde þer I knelyde. And for gladnes I rosse vp and went to þe leddyr, and for sowthe me thoght hytt was so ryght wayke, þat me thoght hytt wold bere no thynge þat hade any weght. And þe fyrst style was

10 f deleted after synfull 13 sal deleted after saule

so [hye] þat on-nethe might my fynger reche therto, and þat rong was sharper þan ony rasor, as me thowt, and a-none y drow my hond therfro. And þan I herd a grisly noyse comyng fast toward me and y markid me with my praier and al þat noyse vanyshid away. And þan y lokid to þat ladder and þere y saw a corde comyng fro þe top of the towre to þe fote of þe ladder, and þat woman bad me knitte þat corde a-bowte my myddell, and so y did, an yede to þat ladder aʒen, and reght my hond to þat rong, and þo y feld þe rong of no sharpnesse; and bi þe help of þat woman and of myne owne grypyng, y steied vppon þat ladder. And þo y herd a thowsand more noyse, grisly and hidowus, in þe water vnder me, and in þat lond þat y com fro, þan y herd ony tyme bifore. Þan bi þe help of owre lord Jhesu Crist and his merci and þat woman þat was a-boue þat towour, y was sone brough[t] to þe top of þat towour, where y was passid al maner of drede. And þo y fel on kneis and elbowis to-fore þat faire woman, and said, "Jhesu Crist, Goddes sone of heven, mot quite yow and worship yow for yowre grete and gracious help, and for yowr corde." And þan þat faire woman said, "The yender cord is thilk
f.146a corde þat þou / yavest to the chapman þat was robbid [with thiwes] when he cam where þow were asking almes, for the loue of God."

And þan þe woman went evyn fro þe towre, and y folowid. And þere we cam in-to a faire contree, and al the erthe of þat contree was clere as cristalstone, and no gras growyng in þat contree, but there growid many treis, and þe fairest þat ever y saw with myne yen, and swetter of sauour þan al þe spicers shoppes þat ever [were]; and many wonderfull breddes on the treis, singeng on hire singyng mony dilectable

12 þan deleted after water 2nd and inserted above line
21-22 with thiwes] MS. wiht iwes 22 were inserted above line

Additional

so hye þat vnnethe I myght reche my fynger þer-to, and þat was scharper then any rasowre, and for drede I toke my hande away. And wyth þat I harde a thowsande-folde more gryselly noyse cum to me-warde then euer I herde before; and as fast as I blyssyd me wyth my prayer, belyve hytt uaneschyde away. And then I lokyde to þe leddyr, and I saw a corde cummynge fro þe toppe of þe towre to þe fote of þe ledder, and þe woman bade me knytt þe roppe to my myddyll, and so I dyde, and went then to þe leddyr agayn, and put my hand to þe steyle, and then I felyde þe steyle of no scharppenes. Bot then I harde a thowsande more folde more grysely noyse then I harde a-fore, vndyr me in þe water, and on the lande, then euer I harde at any tyme in all my way. Then thorow þe help of þe mercy of owre lorde Jhesu Criste and þe woman þat was abowne ther / on þe towre,

f.124b. col.2. I was sone broght to the towre toppe, and then was I past al drede. Then I fell on knesse and inclyned I be-fore þat fayre woman, and sayd, "Jhesu Crist, Goddys sone in hevyn, qwytte yow for yor gud dede and helpe and yor corde." Then þe fayre woman sayde, "Wyllyam, thys ys þe corde þat þow gaffe þe chapman for rewthe when he was robbyde of thevys , when he askyd þe sum of thy gud, for þe luffe of Gode."

Then the woman went fro þe towre and I folowde after. And all þe erthe of the cuntre was whytt and clere as cristall, and there was no gresse growynge, bot the fayryst tree þat euer I saw growyde þer and swettyst of sauere then all þe spysse schoppys of all þe warlde; and many fayre byrdys of dyuerse colowres were in þat tree, ful merely syngynge wyth many swete noyse and dilectabyll, passynge all þe songys þat

2 as deleted after was 10 steyle]1st e suprascript 2nd I]MS. i inserted above line with a stroke possibly indicating deletion?
24 me deleted after fro 25 towre was whytte deleted after the

songus, and suete notes makyng and singyng. In þat contre me thowght wonder meri, and fayn y wold haue biden þeryn, and wonder fast y ȝede in þat contree forth. Þe ferther þat y ȝede and sowght, the better me likid. And þere cam aȝenst me a faire company of monkis, channons, and pristes, clothid al in white, and welcomed me wel tenderlich, as þowgh y had be here owne born brother, of oon fader and of oon moder. And ofte þei lowtid and thonkid God hertly þat y was passid al thilk peroles and gresly sightes þat y had bi-fore sein, herd, and be yn. And þat ever y did ony good dede in this world, þei thonkid me therfore, yn so moche þat for a candell þat y set sumtyme in a chirch bi-fore an ymage, not for þe ymage, but in worship of þat seint þat þe ymage bitokened, y was thonkid þerfore. And y stode, talkyng with hem, ther come a bisshop revershid with a cros / f.146b in his hond, and on that cros an ymage of owre lord Jhesu Crist as he suffred paine on the rode. And þe bisshop was barefote, and so were al tho þat were there, and whan þe bisshop cam neigh, thei fellen al on kneis, and askid his blessyng, and he yaf it þem with good wille. And y, in a side bi my-self set on my kneis, askid þe bisshop his blessyng as þat oþer company did, and he with his hond blissid me. Thanne said þe bisshop, "Loved an heried be God, William, þat þow art welcome heder þat hast passid a perilous place. Worship be owre lorde Jhesu Crist, Goddes sone of heven." And the bisshop said to me many wordes; and among other, he said, "Alas! alas! William. Alas! for mekill people in the world synneth in trust of Goddis mercy, and þat bigileth many, man and woman", and these ruful wordes rehersid a-bowte a xij. times. "Alas!" he said, "whi nel not þe people in þe world

28 nota in margin

Additional

euer I harde. And in þat cuntre wold I fayne a bydden, for hytt was so passynge mery in þat cuntre. I went ryght fast forthe; farthermore I went þe better, and þe ferthermore, more mery and gladder I was. And trewly, þer cam agayne me a fayre cumpany of monkys and chanouns and prestys, and all clede in whytt aray, and they welcumyd me and walkyd wyth me ful gudly / and ful gentylly, as I hade bene þer borne brother by fader and moder. And oft thay lovyde God and thankyd hym wyth gud hertt þat I was passyde al þat peryll and gresely syghtys þat I hade sene.

f.125a. col.1.

4 to me deleted after cam

take hede to þe grete goodnesse þat owre lord Jhesu Crist hath do for hem, þat þei wold for his love and his kindenesse þat he hath shewid to them, lefe here synnes and hire wikkidnesse or here synnes lefe hem, with ynward sorow of hert shryveng hem clene of here synnes to them þat power haue; and shew how
f.147a ofte, and þe tyme, and the place, / and the degre of the person þat þei have synned with, and hire onkindenesse and turnyng aȝen to synne; and wilfulli and mekely take penaunce and fulfil it, and thanne continue in good levyng; and than þei shul nat be punysshid in þo orible paynes þat þow sawest, but thei shul haue grete thonke of owre lord Jhesu Crist, ffor þei for his loue forsakyn and withstoden here synnes, suffreng þe burdon of many temptacions; and seintes in heuen shull be ioifull and worship hem therfore."

And whan þis bisshop had talkid with me a good while, he said, "William, þow passe aȝen in-to þy contree, and be þow a good man in thi leuyng, and þan þow shalt come heder to vs; and if þow turnest to thi synne aȝen, thow shalt come to thilk paynes which þow now hast ascaped." And þan y said, "Holy fader, if it be plesing to owre lord Jhesu Crist, I beseche yow for his loue þat y myght a while rest me in þis contree, for here to be me thinkith ful mery." And þan þe bisship said to me, "Let be, William. Þow maist not a-bide here as now; but be a good man, and þow shalt come heder. And y counsaill the þat þow aske no-thyng þat is displesyng to Goddes will, for y say the, it is synne to covete it. But thow shalt wend aȝen in the blissyng of God
f.147b and myne. But yet er thow goo / thow shalt se examinacion of a prioresse of a nunnery, for hir sowle is comen hether now to here iugement."

5 nota in margin 22 place deleted after þis

Additional

Then thay sayd, "God [gyf] euer[y] cristen man and woman gra[ce] to leve ther syn or hytt leve them, and wyth in-warde sorow of hertt schryve them clene of þer synnys to them þat haue powre, and tell how often, where, and what tyme, and þe person, bott nat þe name, þat thay haue synnyde in and wyth; and þer grett vnkynden[e]sse agaynste owre lord Jhesu Criste; and wyth gud wyll take þer penance and mekely fulfyll hytt, and afterward contenew in þer gud levynge, and thay shal nat be poneschyde in thowys horrabyll paynes þat þou hase sene. For trewly, mekyll thanke schall thay haue of owre lorde Jhesu Criste, þat wyll after varey repentance and clene schryfte wyth gud wyl do þer penance and wyth-stand temptacion. And moreouer, all þe santtys in hevyn schal be reioysyde."

And when þe bysschyppe hade talkyd þus to me a grett whylle, then he sayde, "Wyllyam, the behovys to turne agayn
f.125a. col.2. in-to thyn one cuntre; and loke þou be a gud/man in levynge, and þou schall cum [heder to vs. And if þow turnest to thi synne aȝen, thow shalt come] agayne to þe paynes þat þou art in now efte, par auenture, and be ponyschyde sore þer-in." And then I sayde, "Holy fader, yf hytt be plesynge to owre lorde Jhesu Criste, I be-seche yow þat I myght a-byde here in thys blyssyd contre, for trewly here is mery abydynge." And then þe besschopp sayd, "Na, Wyllyam, thow may nat abyde here now bott loke þou be a gud man, and þou schall cum hether; and loke þou aske no-thynge of God þat may dysplesse hym, for þat is a grett syne to þe to covytt to abyde here ȝett, for þe behovys nedys to go agayne. And þou schall see an examynacion of a prioresse, for hyr saule is cummyn hether now to haue hyr Jugement."

9 haue deleted after shal 17 .ne deleted after thyn

Royal

And tho the bisshop and þe company went forth, and y folowid after for to þat y come to þat place on an high hill where þat sowle a-bode, and there were wonder many fendes a-bowte þat sowle. And anon, on of the monkis þat come with the bisshop opend a boke of þe nonnes rule and law, after which she shuld haue levid, and of euery poynt bi him-self askid how she hadde rulid hir, and as wel of hire sustern, the which she shuld haue gouerend also as hir-self. And certayn she had litil defens for hir-self, for there þe fendis accusid hir, a[n]d said þat she come to religion for pompe and pride, and for to haue habundaunce of the worldes riches, and for ese of hire bodi, and not for deuocion, mekenesse and lownesse, as religious men and women owght to do. And þo the fendes said, "It is wel knowen to God and to al his angels of heven, and to men dwellyng in that contree where she dwellid ynne, and all the fendes of hell, þat she was more costluer in puler werynng, as of girdelles of siluer and overgilt, and ringes on hir fingers, and siluers bokeles and overgilt on hir shone; esy lieng in nyghtes, as it were or an empriſe in the world, not daynyng hir for to arise to Goddis servis; and with all dilicate metes and drinkes she was fedde."

f.148a And þan yn certayn, that nonne in gret / wepyng said, "It is wel knowen to owre lord Jhesu Criste, Goddis sone of heuen, þat y [had] scrift and ful repentaunce of al my mis-dedes done bi-fore þat tyme; and in ful purpos was to leve my synne and nice vaniteis and pride, and for to haue take me only to Goddis seruice; ffor y know me gilti in gouernaunce, and therfore y for-sake his ryghtful iugement, and take me holy to his grete mercy."

20 2 or 3 letters erased after not 23 at deleted after nonne
29 gouu deleted after ryghtful

Additional

And wyth þat þe besschoppe and all þe cumpany wentt forthe vnto a hyghe hyll wher the savle was abydynge, and I felowde after. And trewly þer were many fendes a-bowt þat saule. And then on of þe monkys that cam wyth þe byschoppe opynde a boke of all evyll dedes þat sche hade done, and sche
f.125b. col.1. was examynde how sche hade gouernyde / hyr-selfe and hyr coventt. And trevly, þer was a straytt examynacion, bott sertenly, agayn hyr owne person he hade bott lytyll gylte. And then þe fendys accusyde hyr and sayde þat sche cam to þe religeon all for pomppe and pride, and for to have abundance of wardely esee and riches, and nott for devocyon nor mekenes and lawnes of hertt, as relygion askys to doo, bothe of men and of wemen. And ȝett sayde þe fendys that hytt is well knowne to God and all þe angellys of hevyn, and to men dwellynge in þat cuntre where sche wonnyde, and to all þe fendys of helle, þat sche a-gayne hyr ordyr was of mysgouernance, in werynge of pelleure, and gyrdyllys of syluer, and golde rynges on hyr fyngyrs, and sylluer bokyllys on hyr schone; and lyggynge on nyghttys lyke a quene or an emperyce, nothynge dessyrynge bott eese and reste, and not rysyng on nyghttys to God seruice; and wyth all delycate mettys and drynkys sche was fede.

col.2. "Agayne, hytt / is well knoue to owre lorde Jhesu Crist, Goddys son of hevyn," sche sayde, "þat I hade schryfte and full repentance of my mysdedys and my wykkydnes done be-fore thys tyme, and in ful purpasse was to leve my syne and all þe vanytes of pride, and to haue takyn me hollely to Goddys seruice. And for I know my gylte and mysgouernance, þer-for I forsake hys ryghtwys Jugement, and take me to hys mercy."

9 of deleted after hyr

Royal

And þan þe bisshop enioyned hir to payne enduryng evermore til þe day of dome, for þat she wol not forsake ne leve hir pride and evel gouernaunce for to it for-soke hir, and þan sho had no space of penaunce doyng. And þan þe bisshop lokid to me, and so dud al his company, and þei saiden ful tenderly wepyng, "Alas! þat worldly men will not take hede in here hertes how moch kindenesse and mercy God sheweth to hem, and do kindenesse aȝen kindenesse; but thei do not so, for þei be evir rebell aȝenst þe wil of God, doyng pride and al other synne; and therfore þe[i] shul haue ful mychell woo, payn, and tribulacion, but þei amend hem."

Than þe bisshop said to me, "William, passe thow home in þe blissyng of God and myne, and say as þow hast herd and seen to them þat þis bilongith to. And lyve rightfully and [þow] shalt come to ever-lastyng ioy; and drede þe noght of

f.148b thi way as thow passist home-warde, for thow shalt / see none evil sprites that shul disese the; thow shalt not faile of thi way." And with that y toke my leve. Anone y was at the dore where y went first ynne. Wherfore al cristen men þat heryn or redyn this, I beseche yow for the loue of God, þat ye haue me in yowre praier, and ye shul be yn myne.

Explicit.

1 a deleted after bisshop 13 þe] inserted above line 15 þow] MS. yow 18 a deleted after Anone

Additional

And þer þe byschoppe domyd hyr to payne to þe day of dome, and principally for sche wolde nat for-sake synne, to syne for-soke hyr, for then sche had no space of penance. And then þe bisschoppe lokyd to me, and hys cumpany, and all thay sayd wyth grett wepynge, "Alas! alas! þat wardely men wyl nat take hede wyth all ther myght, how mekyll kyndenes and mercy owre lorde Jhesu Criste hase schewyde vnto all vnkynde wrechys in erthe, that euery day feghttys agayn hym, and agayn hys cummandementys; ande synnys in þe vij dedely synnys in ther v in-wyttys, weche vnkynde saulys be callyde vnwytty, for ther wyttys turnys them to foly; ffor God ordende them to gett them hevyn wyth them, and thay purches them helle. For þer / ...

1 2 ? letters erased before payne 13 Text breaks off at foot f.125b.col.2. where is written in bottom margin The leffe is for þe kalender

Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii.
Lambeth Palace Library, MS.51.

f.11a col.1. Incipit primus liber reuelationum.
De Purgatorio Patricij.

Patri svo in Christo preoptato, domino .H., abbati de Sartis, frater .H., monachorum de Saltereia minimus, cum continua salute, patri [filius], obedientie munus.

Iussistis, pater uenerande, ut scriptum uobis mitterem, quod de Purgatorio in uestra me retuli audisse presentia. Quod quidem eo libentius aggredior, quod ad id explendum paternitatis uestre iussione instantius compellor. Licet enim utilitatem multorum per me prouenire desiderem, non nisi iussus tamen talia presumerem. Uestram uero minime lateat paternitatem me numquam legisse quicquam uel audisse, unde in timore et amore Dei tantum proficerem. Et quoniam beatum papam Gregorium legimus multa dixisse de hiis, que erga animas fiunt terrenis exutas, et corporali narratione plurima proposuisse, ut et tristibus negligentiumanimos terreret et letis iustorum affectum ad deuotionem inflammaret, fiducialius quod iubetis ad profectum simplicium perficiam. In multis enim exemplis que proponit ad exitum animarum angelorum bonorum siue malorum presentiam adesse dicit, qui animas pro meritis uel ad tormenta pertrahant uel ad requiem perducant. Sed et ipsas animas, adhuc in corpore positas, ante exitum multa aliquando de hiis, que uentura sunt super eas, siue ex responsione conscientie interiori siue per reuelationes exterius factas prescisse fatetur. Raptas etiam et iterum ad corpora reductas uisiones quasdam et reuelationes sibi factas narrare dicit siue de tormentis
col.2. impiorum seu de gaudiis iustorum / et in hiis tamen nichil nisi corporale uel corporibus simile recitasse: flumina,

Tractatus.

flammas, pontes, naues, domos et nemora, prata, flores, homines nigros uel candidos, et cetera qualia in hoc mundo solent uel ad gaudium amari uel ad tormentum timeri; se quoque, solutas corporibus, manibus trahi, pedibus duci, collo suspendi, flagellari, precipitari et multa huiusmodi, que nostre minime repugnant narrationi. Notum est autem multos multociens quesisse qualiter anime a corporibus exeant, quo pergant, quid inueniant, quid percipiant quidue sustineant. Que, quia a nobis sunt abscondita, magis nobis sunt timenda quam querenda. Quis enim umquam cum securitate in incerto perrexit itinere ? Hoc uero omnibus certum habetur quod uitam bonam mors mala non sequitur. Et licet usque ad mortem maneat meritum et post mortem reddatur premium, pena tamen post mortem esse dicitur, que purgatoria nominatur, in qua hii, qui in hac uita in quibusdam culpis, iusti tamen et ad uitam eternam predestinati, uixerunt, ad tempus cruciabuntur, ut purgentur. Vnde, quemadmodum a Deo corporales pene dicuntur preparate, ita ipsis penis loca corporalia, in quibus sunt, dicuntur esse distincta. Creduntur tamen tormenta maxima, ad que culpa deorsum premit, in imo esse, et maxima gaudia, ad que sursum per iusticiam ascenditur, in summo; in medio autem bona esse et mala; quod et huic uidetur congruere narrationi. Et quidem infernus subtus terram uel infra terre concauitatem quasi carcer et ergastulum tenebrarum a quibusdam esse creditur, narra/-tione
f.11b col.1. ista nichilominus asseritur. Et quod paradysus in oriente et in terra sit, narratio ista ostendit, ubi fidelium anime, a penis purgatoriis liberate, dicuntur aliquandiu morari iocunde. Dicit uero beatus Augustinus animas defunctorum post mortem usque ad ultimam resurrectionem abditis

21 in] inserted above line in different ink.

receptaculis contineri, sicut unaqueque digna est, uel in requiem uel in erumpnam. Quod et beatus Augustinus et beatus Gregorius incorporeos spiritus dicunt pena corporalis ignis posse cruciari, ista uidentur etiam affirmari narratione. In pena uero purgatoria, qua post exitum purgantur electi, certum est alios aliis plus minusue pro meritis cruciari; que quidem ab hominibus non possunt diffiniri, quia ab eis minime possunt sciri. Ab eis tamen, quorum anime a corporibus exeunt et iterum iubente Deo ad corpora redeunt, signa quedam corporalibus similia ad demonstrationem spiritualium nuntiantur, quia, nisi in talibus et per talia ab animabus corporibus exutis uiderentur, nullo modo ab eisdem, ad corpora reuersis, in corpore uiuentibus et corporalia tantum scientibus, intimarentur. Vnde et in hac narratione a corporali et mortali homine spiritalia dicuntur uideri quasi in specie et forma corporali. Quis uero eam mihi retulerit et quomodo eam agnouerit, in fine narrationis indicabo. Quam quidem narrationem, si bene memini, ita exorsus est.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Dicitur 'Magnus' sanctus Patricius, qui a primo est secundus. Qui dum in Hybernia uerbum Dei predicaret atque
col.2. miraculis gloriosis chorus/-caret, studuit bestiales hominum illius patrie animos terrore tormentorum infernalium a malo reuocare et paradysi gaudiorum promissione in bonum confirmare. "Eos uero", inquit relator horum, "bestiales esse, ueraciter et ipse comperi. Cum enim essem in patria illa, accessit ad me uir quidam ante Pascha cano quidem capite et etate decrepita, dicens se corporis et sanguinis

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Christi numquam percepisse sacramentum et in illo die proximo Pasche se tanti sacramenti uelle fieri participem. Et, quoniam uidebat me et monachum esse et sacerdotem, mihi per confessionem uitam suam manifestare curauit, quatinus ad tantum sacramentum securius posset accedere. Et quoniam illius patrie linguam ignoraui, interpretem michi adhibens, eius confessionem recepi. Qui cum finem confessionis sue faceret, ipsum per interpretem interrogaui, si hominem umquam interfecisset. Qui respondit se pro certo nescire si plures quam quinque tantum homines interfecisset. Ita dixit paruipendens et quasi satis innocens esset in eo quod tam paucos occidisset. Multos uero a se uulneratos asseruit, de quibus ignorauit si inde obierint an non. Putabat enim homicidium esse non peccatum dampnabile. Cui cum dicerem grauissimum hoc esse peccatum et in hoc creatorem suum dampnabiliter offendisse, quicquid illi pro peccatorum suorum absolutione preciperem, gratanter suscipere et absque ulla retractione uelle se perficere respondit. Habent enim hoc quasi naturaliter homines illius patrie ut, sicut sunt alterius gentis hominibus per ignorantiam proniores ad malum, ita, dum se errasse cognouerint, promptiores et stabiliores sunt ad penitendum. Hec ideo proposui ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem."

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Igitur, cum beatus Patricius, ut predixi, gentem prefatam et terrore tormentorum et amore gaudiorum ab errore conuertere uoluisset, dicebant se ad Christum numquam
f.12a col.1. conuersuros nec pro miraculis que/per eum uidebant fieri nec per eius predicationem, nisi aliquis eorum et tormenta illa

Tractatus.

malorum et gaudia bonorum posset intueri, quatinus rebus uisis certiores fierent quam promissis. Beatus uero Patricius, Deo deuotus, etiam tunc pro salute populi deuotior in uigiliis, ieiuniis et orationibus atque operibus bonis effectus est. Et quidem, dum talibus pro salute populi intenderet bonis, pius dominus Ihesus Christus ei uisibiliter apparuit, dans ei textum ewangeliorum et baculum unum, que hucusque pro magnis et pretiosis reliquiis in Hybernia, ut dignum est, uenerantur. Idem autem baculus pro eo, quod illum dominus Ihesus dilecto suo Patricio contulit, baculus Ihesu cognominatus est. Quicumque uero in patria illa summus fuerit archiepiscopus, hec habebit, id est textum et baculum, quasi pro signo summi presulatus illius patrie. Sanctum uero Patricium Dominus in locum desertum eduxit, et unam fossam rotundam et intrinsecus obscuram ibidem ei ostendit, dicens, quia quisquis ueraciter penitens uera fide armatus fossam eandem ingressus unius diei ac noctis spacio moram in ea faceret, ab omnibus purgaretur tocius uite sue peccatis, sed et per illam transiens non solum uisurus esset tormenta malorum uerum etiam, si in fide constanter egisset, gaudia beatorum. Sicque ab oculis eius Domino disparente iocunditate spirituali repletus est beatus Patricius tam pro domini sui apparitione quam pro fosse illius ostensione, per quam sperabat populum ab errore conuersurum. Statimque in eodem loco ecclesiam construxit et beati patris Augustini canonicos uitam apostolicam sectantes in ea constituit. Fossam autem predictam, que in cimiterio est extra frontem ecclesie orientalem, muro circumdedit et ianuas serasque apposuit, ne quis eam ausu temerario et sine licentia ingredi presumeret. Clauem uero custodiendam commendauit priori eiusdem ecclesie.

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col.2. Ipsius autem beati patris tempore multi penitentia ducti fossam ingressi sunt, qui regredientes et tormenta se maxima perpessos et gaudia se uidisse testati sunt. Quorum relationes iussit beatus Patricius in eadem ecclesia notari. Eorum ergo attestacione ceperunt alii beati Patricii predicationem suscipere. Et quoniam ibidem homo a peccatis purgatur, locus ille Purgatorium sancti Patricii nominatur. Locus autem ecclesie Reglis dicitur.

Item de Purgatorio Patricii.

Post obitum sancti Patricii erat prior quidam in eadem ecclesia, uir quidem sancte conuersationis, ita decrepitus ut pre senectute non haberet in capite nisi tantummodo dentem unum. Et, sicut beatus Gregorius dicit, licet senex sit sanus, ipsa tamen senectute sua semper est infirmus, uir iste, ne senectutis sue infirmitate uideretur aliis inferre molestiam, iuxta canonicorum dormitorium parari sibi fecit cellulam. Porro iuniores fratres senem uisitantes sepe ex amore iocando dicere consueuerant, "Quamdiu, pater, in hac uita uis morari ? Quando uis hinc abire ?" Et ille, "Mallem," inquit, "fili, hinc abire potius quam ita diu uiuere. Fiat uoluntas Dei! Hic enim non sentio nisi miseriam. Alibi uero magnam habebo gloriam." Porro illi canonici in cella senis angelos audiebant a dormitorio suo sepius circa eum cantantes. Cantus autem eorum hunc habebat modum: "Beatus es tu, et beatus est dens qui est in ore tuo, quem nunquam tetigit cibus delectabilis!" Eius enim cibus erat sal et panis siccus, potus autem eius aqua frigida. Qui tandem, ut optauit, feliciter ad Dominum migrauit.

f.12b col.1. Hoc autem sciendum / quod et tempore sancti Patricii

Tractatus.

et aliis postea temporibus multi homines purgatorium intrauerunt, quorum alii reuersi sunt, alii in ipso perierunt. Redeuntium uero narrationes a canonicis eiusdem loci scripto mandantur. Est autem consuetudo, tam a sancto Patricio quam ab eius successoribus constituta, ut purgatorium illud nullus introeat nisi qui ab episcopo, in cuius est episcopio, licentiam habeat et qui propria uoluntate illud intrare pro peccatis suis eligat. Qui dum ad episcopum uenerit et ei propositum suum manifestauerit, prius eum hortatur episcopus a tali proposito desistere, dicens quia multi illud introierunt qui nunquam redierunt. Si uero perseuerauerit, perceptis episcopi litteris ad locum festinat. Quas cum prior loci illius legerit, mox eidem homini Purgatorium intrare dissuadeat et ut aliam penitentiam eligat diligenter ammoneat,ostendens ei in eo multorum periculum. Quodsi perseuerauerit, introducit [eum] in ecclesiam, ut in ea .xv. diebus ieiuniis uacet et orationibus. Quibus peractis conuocat [prior] uicinum clerum, maneque missa celebrata munitur penitens sacra communione et aqua ad idem officium benedicta aspergitur sicque cum processione et letania ad ostium Purgatorii deducitur. Prior autem iterum infestacionem demonum et multorum in eadem fossa perditionem, ostium ei coram omnibus aperiens, denuntiat. Si uero constans in proposito fuerit,percepta ab omnibus sacerdotibus benedictione et omnium se commendans orationibus propriaque manu fronti sue signum crucis inprimit, ingreditur, moxque a priore ostium obseratur, sicque processio ad ecclesiam reuertitur, que die
col.2. altera iterum mane de ecclesia ad os/-tium fosse ingreditur, ostiumque a priore aperitur. Et si homo reuersus fuerit, cum

gaudio in ecclesiam deducitur, in qua aliis quindecim diebus uigiliis et orationibus intentus moratur. Quodsi die altera eadem hora reuersus non apparuerit, certissimi de eius perditione, ostio a priore obserato, uniuersi recedunt.

Item de Purgatorio Patricii.

Contigit autem hiis temporibus nostris, diebus scilicet Regis Stephani, militem quemdam nomine Owein, de quo presens est narratio, ad episcopum, in cuius episcopatu prefatum est purgatorium, confessionis gratia uenire. Quem cum pro peccatis increparet episcopus Dominumque offendisse grauiter diceret, intima contritione cordis ingemuit seque condignam penitentiam acturum ad episcopi libitum deuouit. Cumque ei episcopus penitentiam secundum peccati modum iniungere uoluisset, respondit, "Dum, ut asseris, factorem meum in tantum offensum habeam, penitentiam omnibus penitentiis grauiorem assumam. Vt enim remissionem peccatorum accipere merear, Purgatorium sancti Patricii te precipiente ingrediar." Episcopus autem hoc ei presumere dissuasit, sed uirilis animi miles episcopi dissuasioni non consensit. Episcopus uero quam plurimorum in purgatorio perdicionem, ut eum ab hac auerteret intentione, narrauit; sed uere penitentis et uere militis animum nullo terrore flectere potuit. Admonuit episcopus ut monachorum uel canonicorum susciperet habitum. Miles uero respondit hoc se nulla ratione facturum, donec prefatum intrasset purgatorium. Episcopus igitur, illius uidens penitudinis constantiam, misit per ipsum epistolam illius loci priori, quatinus eundem penitentem secundum penitentium morem in purgatorium intromitteret. Quo cum peruenisset, cognita ipsius causa, ei plurimorum perditionem

f.13a col.1. periculumque pro/-posuit, ut eius animum ab hac intentione reuocaret. Miles uero, se grauiter offendisse Deum reminiscens et uere penitens, feruore penitudinis uicit suasionem prioris. Prior igitur eum in ecclesiam intromisit, in qua secundum morem quindecim diebus ieiuniis et orationibus uacauit. Quibus expletis a fratribus et a uicino clero, sicut supradictum est, ad purgatorium ducitur, ubi iterum enumeratis tormentorum intolerabilium generibus dissuasum est ei a priore huiusmodi subire penam. Milite uero constanter in proposito permanente hoc a priore dictum accepit, "Ecce nunc in nomine Domini intrabis, tamdiu per concauitatem subterraneam iturus, donec exeas in campum unum, in qua aulam unam inuenies mira arte fabricatam. Quam cum intraueris, statim ex parte Dei nuntios habebis, qui tibi quid facturus es uel passurus diligenter exponent. Illis autem exeuntibus et te solo in ea remanente statim temptatores accedunt. Sic enim habetur euenisse hiis qui ante te introierunt. Tu uero in Christi fide constans esto." Miles autem uirilem in pectore gerens animum, quod alios audiuit absorbuisse, periculum non formidat. Et qui quondam ferro munitus pugnis interfuit hominum, modo, ferro durior, fide, spe, et iusticia, de Dei misericordia presumens, ornatus, confidenter ad pugnam prorumpit demonum. Primo namque se commendans omnium orationibus et dextera eleuata fronti sue inprimens sancte crucis signaculum, confidenter hilariterque per portam intrauit. Quam prior statim de foris obserauit et cum processione ad ecclesiam rediit.

Miles itaque nouam et inusitatam cupiens exercere militiam, pergit audacter, licet solus, ac diutius, confidens in Domino, per foueam. Ingrauescentibus magis magisque

tenebris, lucem amisit in breui tocius claritatis. Tandem ex aduerso lux paruula cepit eunti per foueam tenuiter
col.2. lucere./ Nec mora ad campum predictum peruenit et aulam. Lux autem ibi non apparuit nisi qualis hic in hyeme solet apparere post solis occasum. Aula uero non habebat parietem integrum, sed columpnis et archiolis erat undique constructa in modum claustri monachorum. Cumque circa aulam diutius ambulasset eius mirabilem mirando structuram, ingressus est in eam, infra cuius septa uidit eam multo mirabiliorem. Sedit itaque in aula aliquandiu, oculos huc illucque iactans, eius apparatum et pulcritudinem satis ammirans. Cumque solus aliquandiu sedisset, ecce quindecim uiri quasi religiosi et nuper rasi, albis uestibus amicti, domum intrauerunt et, salutantes illum in nomine Domini, consederunt. Et, tacentibus aliis, unus cum eo loquebatur, qui quasi prior et eorum dux esse uidebatur, dicens, "Benedictus sit omnipotens Deus, qui in corde tuo bonum confirmauit propositum et ipse in te perficiat bonum quod incepit. Et quoniam ad purgatorium uenisti, ut a peccatis tuis purgeris, aut uiriliter agere ex necessitate compelleris aut pro inertia, quod absit, et anima et corpore peribis. Mox enim, ut egressi fuerimus, replebitur inmundorum spirituum domus ista, qui tibi grauia inferent tormenta et inferre minabuntur grauiora; ad portam, qua intrasti, te illesum ducturos, si eis ut reuertaris assenseris, promittent, conantes si uel hoc modo te decipere possint. Et si quolibet modo, uel tormentorum afflictione uictus uel minis territus seu promissis deceptus, illis assensum prebueris, et corpore et anima pariter, ut dixi, peribis. Si uero firmiter in fide spem totam in Domino / posueris, ita ut nec
f.13b col.1.

tormentis nec minis nec promissis eorum cesseris, sed constanter quasi nichilum contempseris, non solum a peccatis omnibus purgaberis, uerum etiam tormenta, que preparantur peccatoribus, et requiem, in qua iusti letantur, uidebis. Deum semper habeas in memoria, et cum te cruciauerint, inuoca Dominum Ihesum Christum. Per inuocationem etenim huius nominis statim a tormento liberaberis. Tecum autem non possumus hic morari diutius, sed omnipotenti Deo te commendamus." Sicque, data benedictione uiro, recesserunt ab eo. Miles itaque, ad noui generis militiam instructus, qui quondam uiriliter oppugnabat homines, iam presto est uiriliter certare contra demones. Armis igitur Christi munitus expectat quis eum demonum ad certamen primo prouocet. Iusticie lorica induitur; spe uictorie salutisque eterne mens, ut capud galea, redimitur; scuto fidei protegitur. Habet etiam gladium spiritus, quod est uerbum Dei, deuote uidelicet inuocans Dominum Ihesum Christum, ut eum regio munimine tueatur, ne ab aduersariis infestantibus superetur. Nec eum Domini pietas fefellit, que confidentes in se fallere nescit.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Miles igitur, ut dictum est, cum in domo solus sederet, animo in pauido demonum pugnam exspectans subito circa domum cepit audiri tumultus, ac si totus commoueretur orbis. Etenim si omnes homines et omnia animantia terre, maris et aeris toto conanime pariter tumultuarent, ut ei uidebatur, maiorem tumultum non facerent. Vnde, nisi diuina uirtute protegeretur et a uiris predictis commodius instrueretur, ipso tumultu amentaretur.

Tractatus.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

col.2. Et ecce post horrorem talis auditus sequitur [horribilior] demonum uisibilis aspectus. Visibiliter etenim undique cepit innumera multitudo demonum formarum deformium in domum irruere, cachinnando ac deridendo illum salutare et quasi per obprobrium dicere, "Alii homines qui nobis seruiunt non nisi post mortem ad nos ueniunt. Unde tibi maiorem mercedem recompensare debemus, quod societatem nostram, cui studiose deseruisti, in tantum honorare uoluisti, ut, sicut alii, diem mortis nolueris exspectare sed uiuendo corpus tuum et animam simul nobis tradere. Vt maiorem a nobis remunerationem acciperes, hoc fecisti. Recipies ergo a nobis habundanter que meruisti. Huc enim uenisti, ut pro peccatis tuis tormenta sustineres: habebis igitur nobiscum quod queris, pressuras uidelicet et dolores. Verumptamen pro eo quod hactenus nobis seruieris, si nostris adquiescendo consiliis reuerti uolueris, hoc tibi pro munere faciemus quod ad portam, qua intrasti, illesum te ducemus, quatinus uiuens adhuc in mundo gaudeas, ne totum quod suaue est corpori tuo funditus amittas." Hec ei promiserunt, quia aut terrore aut blanditiis eum decipere uoluerunt. Sed uerus miles Christi nec terrore concutitur nec blandimento seducitur. Eodem enim animo et terrentes contempnebat et blandientes, nichil penitus respondens.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Demones igitur, a milite se contempni cernentes, horribiliter fremebant in eum struxeruntque in eadem domo maximi incendii rogum, ligatisque manibus ac pedibus militem in ignem proiecerunt uncisque ferreis huc illucque per incendium clamantes traxerunt. Primo igitur missus in ignem graue sensit tormentum. Sed uir Dei, tam regis sui munimine

septus quam a prefatis uiris nuper instructus, armis militie
f.14a col.1. spiritalis nequaquam oblitus est. / Cum enim aduersarii eum in incendio torrerent, pii Ihesu nomen inuocauit statimque de illo incendio utpote de primo eorum assultu liberatus est. Inuocato enim piissimi saluatoris nomine dicto citius ita extinctus est tocius rogus incendii, ut nec scintilla inueniretur ipsius. Quod dum miles cerneret, audatior effectus est, constanter animo proponens eos deinceps non formidare, quos ad inuocationem sancti nominis tam facile conspicit se posse euincere.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Relinquentes igitur demones domum, cum eiulatu et horrido tumultu secum traxerunt militem. Egredientes uero alii ab aliis discesserunt. Quidam autem eorum militem per uastam regionem diutius traxerunt. Nigra erat terra et regio tenebrosa, nec quicquam preter demones qui eum traxerunt uidit in ea. Ventus quidem urens ibi flauit qui uix audiri potuit, sed tamen sui rigiditate corpus suum uidebatur perforare. Traxerunt autem illum uersus fines illos ubi sol oritur in media estate. Cumque illuc euntes uenissent quasi in fine mundi, ceperunt [dextrorsum] conuerti et per uallem latissimam contra austrum tendere, scilicet uersus locum quo sol oritur media hyeme. Illucque diuertendo cepit quasi uulgi tocius terre miserrimos clamores et eiulatus et fletus audire, et quo magis appropiauit, eo clarius clamores eorum et fletus audiuit.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Tandem itaque tractu demonum in latissimum et longissimum peruenit miles campum miseriis ac dolore plenum.

20 dextrorsum]MS.deorsum

Tractatus.

Finis autem illius campi pre nimia longitudine non potuit a milite uideri. Ille itaque campus hominibus utriusque sexus et etatis in terra iacentibus nudis plenus erat, qui, col.2. [uentre] ad terram uerso, clauis ferreis candentibus / per manus pedesque defixis in terra extendebantur. Hii uero aliquando pre dolore uidebantur terram comedere, aliquando autem cum fletu et eiulatu miserabiliter clamare, "Parce! Parce!" uel "Miserere! Miserere!" Sed non erat in loco qui misereri nosset aut parcere. Demones enim inter eos et super eos uidebantur discurrere, qui non cessabant flagris eos dirissimis cedere. Dicunt ei demones, "Hec tormenta que uides sentiendo experieris, si nostris non adquieueris consiliis: hoc est, ut a proposito cesses et reuertaris. Quod si uolueris, ad portam per quam uenisti te pacifice ducentes illesum te abire permittemus." Hoc autem eo renuente, prostrauerunt eum in terram et clauis eum transfigere conati sunt. Sed, inuocato Ihesu nomine, nichil in eo conanime profecerunt.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Igitur ab illo campo recedentes traxerunt militem ad alium campum, maiori miseria plenum. Iste itidem campus hominibus utriusque sexus et etatis clauis in terra fixis erat plenus. Istos inter autem et alterius campi miseros hec erat diuersitas, quod illorum quidem uentres, istorum dorsa terre herebant. Dracones igniti super alios sedebant et quasi cedentes illos modo miserabili dentibus ignitis lacerabant. Aliorum autem colla uel brachia uel totum corpus serpentes igniti circumcingebant et, capita sua pectoribus miserorum inprimentes, ignitum aculeum oris sui

4 uentre] MS. uentrem

in cordibus eorum infigebant. Buffones etiam mire magnitudinis et quasi ignei uidebantur super quorundam pectora sedere et, rostra sua deformia infigentes, quasi eorum corda conarentur extrahere. Qui ita fixi et afflicti a fletu et eiulatu nunquam cessabant./ Demones etiam inter eos et super eos transcurrentes flagris eos uehementer cedendo cruciabant. Finis huius campi pre sui longitudine uideri non potuit nisi in latitudine, qua intrauit et exiuit. In transuersum enim campos pertransiuit. "Hec," inquiunt demones, "que uides tormenta patieris, nisi ut reuertaris assenseris." Cumque eos contempsisset, conati sunt, sicut et superius, clauis eum figere, sed non potuerunt, audito Ihesu nomine.

f.14b col.1.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Transeuntes igitur inde duxerunt demones militem in tercium campum miseriis plenum. Iste etenim campus hominibus utriusque sexus et etatis plenus erat, qui ita in terram clauis ferreis candentibusque fixi iacebant ut pre multitudine clauorum a summitate capitum usque ad digitos pedum locus uacuus non inueniretur quantus digiti unius summitate tegeretur. Isti uero uix uocem ad clamandum formare potuerunt, sed, sicut homines qui morti proximi sunt, ita utcunque uocem emiserunt. Nudi et isti, sicut ceteri, uidebantur et uento frigido et urente flagrisque demonum cruciabantur. "Hec," inquiunt demones, "tormenta patieris, si nobis ut reuertaris, non assenseris." Et cum eum contempnentem eorum comminationes, transfigere uoluissent, inuocauit nomen Ihesu Christi nec quicquam amplius ei ibidem facere potuerunt.

Tractatus.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Hinc ergo militem trahentes, peruenerunt in quartum campum multis ignibus plenum, in quo omnia genera inuenta sunt tormentorum. Alii suspendebantur cathenis igneis per pedes, alii per manus, alii per capillos, alii per brachia, alii per tibias, capitibus ad ima uersis et sulphureis col.2. flammis immersis. Alii in ignibus pendebant, uncis ferreis in oculis fixis uel auribus uel naribus uel faucibus uel mamillis aut genitalibus. Alii fornacibus sulfureis cremabantur; alii quasi super sartagines urebantur. Alii verubus igneis transfixi ad ignem assabantur, quos demonum alii uertunt; alii diuersis metallis liquescentibus deguttauerunt, quos tamen omnes discurrentes demones flagris ciciderunt. Omnia genera tormentorum que excogitari possunt ibidem misa sunt. Ibi etiam uidit quosdam de suis quondam sociis et eos bene cognouit. Eiulatus et clamores miserorum et fletus quos audiuit nulla sufficit hominum exprimere lingua. Hii autem campi non solum crutiatis hominibus, sed etiam pleni erant excrutiantibus demonibus. Cumque illum ibidem torquere uoluissent, inuocato Ihesu Christi nomine mansit illesus.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Cumque transissent inde, apparuit ante eos rota ignea mire magnitudinis, cuius radii et chanti uncis igneis erant undique circumsepti, in quibus singuli homines infixi pendebant. Huius dum rote medietas sursum in aere stabat, alia medietas in terra deorsum mergebatur. Flamma uero tetri sulphureique incendii de terra circa rotam surgebat et in ea pendentes miserrime torrebat. "Hoc," inquiunt demones, "[quod] isti patiuntur patieris, nisi reuerti uolueris. Que tamen

27 quod] MS. que

tolerant, prius uidebis." Demones igitur ex utraque parte alii contra alios uectes ferreos inter rote radios inp[i]ngentes, eam tanta agilitate rotarunt ut in ea pendentium omnino nullum ab alio uisu posset discernere, quia pre nimia celeritate cursus sui uidebatur circulus igneus integer esse. Cumque iactassent militem super rotam et in aerem rotando leuassent, inuocato Christi nomine descendit illesus.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Procedentes igitur inde cum milite demones traxerunt
f.15a col.1. eum uersus domum unam/grandem horribiliter fumigantem, cuius latitudo nimia fuit, longitudo uero tanta ut illius non posset ultima uidere. Cum autem adhuc ab ea aliquantum longius essent, pre nimio calore, qui inde exibat, substitit, procedere formidans. Dixerunt ergo ei demones, "Quid tardas ? Balnearium est quod uides. Velis nolis illuc usque progredieris; in eo cum ceteris balneabis." Ceperunt autem de domo illa miserrimi fletus et planctus audiri. Introductus autem domum uidit diram uisionem et horrendam. Etenim domus illius pauimentum fossis rotundis erat plenum, que sibi inuicem ita coherebant ut uix inter eas aut nullatenus iri potuisset. Erant autem fosse singule metallis diuersis ac liquoribus feruentibus plene, in quibus utriusque sexus et diuerse etatis mergebatur hominum multitudo non minima. Quorum alii omnino erant immersi, [alii usque ad supercilia], alii ad occulos, alii ad labia, alii ad colla, alii ad pectus, alii ad umbilicum, alii ad femora, alii ad genua, alii ad tibias; alii uno pede tantum tenebantur, alii utraque manu uel una tantummodo. Omnes pariter pre dolore plangentes clamabant et flebant. "Ecce," inquiunt demones,

"cum istis balneabis." Subleuantesque militem conati sunt eum in unam fossarum proicere. Sed audito Christi nomine defecerunt in suo conanime.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Recedentes autem a loco illo perrexerunt contra montem unum, in quo utriusque sexus et diuerse etatis super digitos pedum curuatam tantam uidit sedere multitudinem nudorum hominum quod pauci uiderentur ei omnes quos ante uiderat. Hii omnes, quasi mortem cum tremore prestolantes, uersus aquilonem intendebant. Cumque miles miraretur quid hec misera multitudo prestolaretur, ait unus demonum ad eum, "Forte miraris quid / cum tanto timore populus hic exspectat. [Nisi nobis consentiens reuerti uolueris, scies quid tam tremebundus exspectat.]" Vix demon uerba finierat, et ecce ab aquilone uentus turbinis ueniebat, qui et ipsos demones et quem duxerunt militem totumque populum illum arripuit et in quoddam flumen fetidum ac frigidissimum flentem ac miserabiliter eiulantem longe in aliam montis partem proiecit, in quo inestimabili frigore uexabantur. Et cum niterentur de aquis emergere, currentes demones super aquas eos incessanter inmerserant. At miles, adiutoris sui non immemor, nomen ipsius reclamans, in alia ripa se sine mora repperit.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Necdum militis Christi demones iniuria saciati, accedentes traxerunt eum contra austrum. Et ecce uidit ante se flammam teterrimam et sulphureo fetore putentem quasi de

2 MS.iesu interlined before Christi in different ink.

Tractatus.

puteo quodam ascendere et quasi homines nudos et igneos utriusque sexus et etatis diuerse sicut scintillas ignis sursum in aere iactari, qui et, flammarum ui deficiente, reciderunt iterum in puteo et igne. Quo approximantes dixerunt militi demones, "Iste flammiuomus puteus inferni est introitus. Hic est habitacio nostra. Et quoniam nobis hucusque seruisti, hic sine fine nobiscum manebis. Omnes enim qui nobis seruiunt hic sine fine nobiscum manebunt. Quo si semel intraueris, in eternum et anima et corpore peribis. Si tamen nobis consenseris, illesus ad propria remeare poteris." Illo uero de Dei auxilio presumente illorumque promissa spernente, precipitauerunt se demones in puteum, trahentes secum militem. Et quo profundius descendit, eo latiorem puteum inuenit, sed et grauiorem penam pertulit. Adeo namque fuit intolerabi/-lis ut pene
f.15b col.1
sui saluatoris sit oblitus nominis. Deo tamen inspirante, rediens ad se, ut potuit, nomen Domini Ihesu Christi clamauit. Statimque uis flamme cum reliquis sursum eum in aerem proiecit. Descendensque iuxta puteum solus aliquandiu stetit. Cumque se ab ore putei subtrahens stetisset, ignorans quo se uerteret, egressi sunt alii demones de puteo, ab eo, ut ita dixerim, ignoti. Qui dixerunt ei, "Quid ibi stas ? Quod hic esset infernus, tibi dixerunt socii nostri. Mentiti sunt. Consuetudinis nostre semper est mentiri, ut quos non possumus per uerum fallamus per mendacium. Non est hic infernus, sed nunc ad infernum te ducemus."

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Inde igitur trahentes militem cum magno tumultu et horribili peruenerunt ad flumen quoddam latissimum et

fetidum, totum quasi sulphurei incendii flamma coopertum demonumque multitudine plenum. Dixerunt ergo ei, "Sub isto flammante flumine noueris infernum esse." Vltra flumen illud quod uidebatur pons unus protendebatur. Dixeruntque demones [ad militem], "Oportet te per hunc pontem transire; nos autem, uentos et turbines commouentes, de ponte proiciemus te in flumen. Socii uero nostri qui in eo sunt te captum in infernum demergent. Volumus tamen te prius probare quam tutum tibi sit per illum transire." Tenentes igitur manum eius [fricabant] super pontem. Erant autem in eodem ponte tria transeuntibus ualde formidanda. Primo uidelicet, quod ita lubricus erat ut, etiamsi latissimus esset, aut uix aut nullatenus quis in eo pedem figere posset. Secundum, quod ita strictus et gracilis erat ut uix aut nullo modo in eo aliquis stare uel ambulare posse uidebatur.

col.2. Tercium/quod adeo alte protendebatur in aere ut etiam horribile uideretur ad ipsius altitudinem oculos erigere. "Si tamen," inquiunt, "adhuc nobis assenseris ut reuertaris, etiam ab hoc discrimine securus ad patriam remeare poteris." Cogitans autem intra se fidelis Christi miles de quantis eum periculis liberauerit aduocatus eius piissimus, ipsius inuocato nomine cepit super pontem pedetemptim incedere. Nichil igitur lubrici sub pedibus sentiens, firmius incedebat, in domino confidens. Et quo alcius ascendit, eo spaciosiorem pontem inuenit. Et ecce post paululum tantum creuit pontis latitudo ut etiam duo carra exciperet sibi obuiantia.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Porro demones, qui militem illuc [usque] perduxerant, ulterius progredi non ualentes, ad pedem pontis steterunt, quasi lapsum militis prestolantes. Videntes autem eum

10 fricabant] MS. ducebant

libere transire, ita clamoribus aerem concusserunt, ut intolerabilior ei uideretur huius horror clamoris quam preteritarum aliqua penarum quam sustinuerat ab ipsis. Cernens tamen eos subsistere nec ultra progredi ualere piique ductoris sui reminiscens, securius incedebat. Demones autem supra flumen discurrentes uncos suos ad eum iaciebant, sed illesus ab eis preteriit. Securus tandem procedens, uidit latitudinem pontis in tantum excrescere ut uix ex utraque parte posset aquam aspicere.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Comparentur igitur, karissimi, passiones huius uite predictorum locorum tormentis et miserie. Quod si igitur inuicem opponantur in mentis statera, quasi inconparabilis harene multitudo maris leuissime comparata pluuie, grauior apparebit eorundem locorum inestimabilis miseria. [Carneis], ut credo, motibus sane mentis nemo delectabitur, quamdiu puro mentis intuitu talia contemplabitur. Et quibus grauis et aspera uidetur in monasterio sui ipsius pro Christo / temporalis abnegatio, reminiscantur, oro, quam amara sit illorum tormentorum diuturna excrutiatio. Incomparabiliter enim leuior est uita claustralis et districtissime regule rigor discipline cenobialis, ubi tam corporum quam animarum necessaria sine sollicitudine queruntur, quam supradicta penarum loca in quibus miseri pro peccatis in hac uita non emendatis, non tantum maximis sed etiam minimis negligenter multiplicatis, diuturna miseria cruciari creduntur. Sunt autem peccata que minima uel parua siue leuia dicuntur, non quia parua uel leuia sint, sed quoniam in hac uita uere penitentibus leuiter a Deo dimittuntur. Quod si quis

f.16a col.1.

14 Carneis]MS.cum eis

emendanda in futurum distulerit contempnendo, non leuia sed grauia immo grauissima in penis ea sentiet experiendo. Nemo se de peccatorum leuium leuitate, quia ita apellantur, blandiendo seducat. Quanto etenim fuerint leuiora, tanto fit culpe grauioris eorum in interni iudicis examine corrigendi negligentia. Nullum igitur omnino peccatum paruum estimare debemus. [Anselmus.] Vtinam districtus iudex parui existimaret aliquod peccatum! Nonne omne peccatum per preuaricationem Deum exhonorat ? Quod ergo peccatum audet quis dicere paruum ? [Deum enim exhonorare quis sane mentis dicturus est paruum ?] Quid respondebimus cum exigetur a nobis usque ad ictum oculi totius uite presentis cursus ? Tunc quippe condempnabitur quicquid in nobis inuentum fuerit operis ociosi uel sermonis, uel eciam silentii inemendatum usque ad minimam cogitacionem. Quis uel mente captus audeat affirmare peccata fore leuia quibus amara debetur gehenna ? Ve, quot peccata proruent ibi ex inprouiso quasi ex insidiis, que modo paruipendimus. Certe plura et forsitan terribiliora hiis que grauia iudicamus. Quot que non esse mala putamus, quot etiam que nunc sub specie religionis uelata bona ualde existimamus, ibi nudata facie
col.2. apparebunt teterrima. / Ibi procul dubio recipiemus prout in corpore gessimus, siue bonum, siue malum, tunc cum iam non erit tempus misericordie; tunc cum penitentia non recipietur, cum emendatio non promittetur. Hec autem, karissimi, non mea sed sanctorum patrum sunt uerba. Hic, hic cogitemus que gessimus, et que in futuro pro his accepturi sumus. Si multa bona, pauca mala: multum gaudeamus. Si multa mala, pauca bona: multum lugeamus. O peccator inutilis, nonne hec tibi sufficiunt ad inmanem rugitum; ad

eliciendum sanguinem et medullas in lacrimas ? Ve mirabilis duritia, ad quam confringendam leues sunt tam graues mallei! Augeamus ergo, miseri, augeamus superioribus erumpnis pondus, addamus terrorem super terrorem, ululatum super ululatum. Nam ipse nos iudicabit, ad cuius contumeliam spectat quicquid ordinis et uoti preuaricator inobediens Deo et Dei personam inter nos gerentibus peccauerit. Meminerimus, dilectissimi uoti, quod sponte Deo uouimus et ipsius uicariis. Exigetur enim a nobis usque ad nouissimum quadrantem, aut hic cum benignitate et misericordia, aut in futuro, quod absit, cum seueritate et iusticia. Ille quidem iudicabit qui cum esset Deo Patri coequalis pro nobis factus obediens usque ad mortem, ut nos a superbia ad humilitatem, ab inobedientia ad obedientiam inclinaret, sed potius subleuaret. Ergo ad humilitatem Domini confundatur elatio serui. Augustinus. Intueamur, karissimi, Domini humilitatem. Intueamur, inquam, dulcem natum Dei, toto corpore in crucis patibulo pro nobis extensum. Cernamus manus innoxias, pio manantes sanguine. Consideremus inerme latus, crudeli perfossum cuspide. Videamus immaculata uestigia, que non steterunt in uia peccatorum, sed semper ambulauerunt in lege Domini, diris terebrata clauis rubente sanguinis unda. O mirabilis / censure conditio! O inestimabilis misterii dispositio! Nos inique agimus, et ipse pena mulctatur. Nos facinus admittimus, et ipse plectitur ultione. Nos crimen committimus, ipse torture subicitur. Nos superbimus, ipse humiliatur. Nos tumemus, ipse attenuatur. Nos prelatis nostris inobedientes sumus, ipse patri suo obediens scelus luit inobedientie nostre. Nos obedientes gule diuersa fercula querimus, et ipse inedia

f.16b col.1.

7 nos]MS.uos 24 dispositio]MS.dispensatio

pro nobis afficitur. Nos ad illicitam arborem rapit concupiscentia, ipsum perfecta caritas pro nobis ducit ad crucis supplicia. Nos presumimus uetitum, et ipse subit eculeum. Nos iocando delectamur cibo, et ipse condolendo nobis laborat in patibulo. Nobis [nam] lasciuiens conridet Eua, ipsi uero plorans compatitur Maria. Dic, age, dic, cenobita, qui dum corriperis, dum ad emendandum ad ueniam petendam, citaris, recusas, recalcitras, reclamans inflaris, prorumpis in uerba malitie, ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis. Dic, queso, quid superbis cum sis puluis et cinis ? O ceca elatio! O insensibilis tumor, ad quem compungendum sunt obtunsi tam acuti aculei. Compungamur ergo, karissimi, et humiliemur coram ipso qui pro nobis humilis et obediens factus est, non tantum Deo Patri, sed etiam hominibus. Scriptum quippe est, "Et erat subditus illis." Dulce quod mandatum dedit nobis ut diligamus inuicem. Et nouimus quis ait, "Increpasti superbos; maledicti qui declinant a m[andatis] t[uis] ". Preceptum quoque dedit nobis desiderabile dicens, "Petite et accipietis". Quid precipit ut petamus ? Aurum, argentum, pretiosum mundi substantiam ? Absit. Non enim expedit ut ea petamus que se petentes interimunt. Quid ergo ? Veniam. Non igitur erubescamus nos ab eo ueniam petere pro propriis delictis, qui pro ipsis innocens tot et
col.2. tan/-tis affectus est obprobriis. Quicumque igitur animo ueniam postulauerit, presto est ut tribuat. Et qui non ex animo petit, [uel omnino non petit], certe non accipit. Ipse enim nouit abscondita cordis. Ve tumidis in presenti ueniam petere contempnentibus. De his procul dubio scriptum est, "Peccator cum in profundum uenerit, contempnet." Hii quoque in laboribus hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non

flagellabuntur. Sed quia hic eos tenuit superbia, sepelientur in puteo in iniquitate et impietate sua. Attendat karitas uestra. Dictum quippe est militi. Vniuersi qui pro peccatis purgandis, extra os putei, in quibuslibet locis cruciantur, hii sunt qui in presenti uita penitentiam egerunt, et nondum peracta [sibi] iniuncta penitentia ab hac uita discedentes pro culparum qualitate in tormentis detinentur. Statim ergo post commissa ducti uera penitentia ueniam postulantes, statim aut hic aut in futuro liberantur. Qui si corde duro et inpenitenti usque ad extrema uite presentis penitere non uideantur, timendum ualde est ne etiam eorum tormenta usque ad huius seculi finem perdurent. Hii tamen omnes per beneficia que pro ipsis in presenti fiunt a predictis suppliciis cotidie liberantur. Transeamus igitur, karissimi, sepius mente per hec loca tormentorum. Patres nostros et matres, fratres et sorores, ceterosque cognatos, amicosque nobis quondam carissimos qui forsan ibi torquentur uisitemus, crebris uigiliis et orationibus insistendo, missarum solempnia cum concentu psalmorum celebrando, elemosinas largiendo, scientes quia quicquid pro ipsis laboris subierimus nobis ipsis inpendimus. Et si eos in corpore cruciari cerneremus, et, cum possemus, a tormentis eos eruere negligeremus, nonne infideles filii, cognati, et amici iudicaremur ? Multo quidem infideliores sunt qui, dum possunt, missis, psalmis, precibus, elemosinis, de predictis tormentis suos quondam karissimos eruere non satagunt. Testatur enim sanctus Gregorius penas eorum qui saluandi sunt istis mitigari et adnichilari remediis. Nobis
f.17a col.1.
ergo summopere/cauendum est ne, dum hec in ecclesia pro eorum liberatione fiunt, rebus ociosis potius quam orationi

6 sibi] MS. sub uere penitere

11 non] Royal MS. reads distulerint ei si
18 uisitemus] Royal MS. uisitantes

uacemus. Hec autem ad eorum correptionem dico, qui pro causis minimis inter missarum solempnia chorum psallentium sine necessitate sepissime deserunt, quos nullius obedientie sollicitudo sed sola mentis extrahit et expellit euagatio. Terreant nos, karissimi, tormenta supradicta, sed multo magis dies illa omnium extrema. Quid torpemus, peccatores? Dies iudicii uenit. "Juxta est dies domini magnus, iuxta et uelox nimis." "Dies ire dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustie, dies calamitatis et miserie, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebule et turbinis, dies tube et clangoris." O "uox diei domini amara!" Quid dormimus, tepidi? Quid dormimus? Qui non expergiscitur, qui non contremit ad tam terrificum tonitruum, non dormit, sed mortuus est. Ibi, ibi apparebit iudex uiuorum et mortuorum, Ihesus Christus, nunc patientissimus, tunc districtissimus; clementissimus nunc, iustissimus tunc. Ve ibi ueniam petere contempnentibus hic. O angustie! Hinc erunt accusantia peccata, inde terrens iusticia; subtus patens horridum chaos inferni, desuper iratus iudex; intus urens consciencia, foris ardens mundus. Si "iustus uix saluabitur", peccator sic apprehensus in quam partem se premet? Constrictus ibi latebit, quomodo parebit? Latere erit inpossibile, apparere intolerabile. Illud desiderabit, et nusquam erit; istud execrabitur et ubique erit. Quid, quid tunc, quid erit tunc? Quis eruet de manibus Dei? Vnde consilium; unde salus? O! Quis est qui dicitur "magni consilii angelus", quis est qui dicitur "saluator", ut ante quam ueniat dies illa nomen eius uociferèmur? Iam ipse est, iam ipse est Ihesus. Ipse idem est iudex, inter cuius manus tremimus. Respira iam, o peccator; respira ne desperes. Ipse pius Ihesus, ipse est cuius nominis non inmemor miles noster a tot et tantis tormentis misericorditer eripitur;

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f.17a
col.2. cuius audito nomine,/fortitudo demonum eneruatur, penarum asperitas hebetatur, ab ipsius infernalis putei gurgite miles mirabiliter liberatur. Prosequamur ergo, karissimi, militem nostrum, a quo necessario tam longe digressi sumus, qui eodem pio Ihesu duce iam pertransiuit per ignes et aquas, et uideamus si forte eduxerit eum adhuc in refrigerium; ut cuius miseriis et calamitatibus compatiebamur, illius etiam solatii participes efficiamur, et quorum corda ad conpassionem pietatis forte non flexerunt tristia tormentorum, deuotione saltem et affectu flectant succedentia gaudiorum.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Procedens igitur miles, iam liber ab omni demonum uexatione, uidit ante se murum quendam magnum et altum in aere a terra erectum. Erat autem murus ille mirabilis et inconparandi decoris structure. In quo muro portam unam clausam uidebat, que metallis diuersis lapidibus[que] pretiosis ornata mirabili fulgore radiabat. Cui cum appropinquasset, sed adhuc quasi spacio dimidii miliarii abesset, porta illa contra eum aperta est et tante suauitatis odor ei occurrens per eam exiit ut, sicut uidebatur, si totus mundus in aromata uerteretur, non uinceret huius magnitudinem suauitatis. Tantasque uires ex ea percepit suauitate ut existimaret se tormenta, que pertulerat, iam posse sine molestia sustinere. Respiciensque intra portam patriam solis splendorem claritate nimia uincente lustratam uidit et nimirum introire concupiuit. Beatus homo cui talis aperitur ianua! Nec fefellit militem qui illum eo uenire permisit. Cum enim adhuc aliquantulum longius esset, egressa est in occursum eius cum crucibus et uexillis et cereis

et quasi palmarum aurearum ramis processio talis ac tanta
f.17b col.1. quanta in hoc mundo, prout estimauit,/ nunquam uisa est. Ibi uidit homines [unius]cuiusque ordinis ac religionis diuerse etatis et utriusque sexus. Alios quasi archiepiscopos, alios ut episcopos, alios ut abbates, canonicos, monachos, presbiteros et singulorum graduum sancte ecclesie ministros, sacris uestibus ordini suo congruentibus indutos. Omnes uero, tam clerici quam laici, eadem forma uestium uidebantur induti in qua Deo seruierunt in seculo. Militem uero cum magna ueneratione et leticia susceperunt, eumque cum concentu seculo inaudite armonie secum perducentes, per portam introierunt. Finito uero concentu et soluta processione, secedentes duo seorsum quasi archiepiscopi militem in suo comitatu susceperunt secumque duxerunt quasi patriam et eius amenitatis gloriam ei ostensuri. Qui cum eo loquentes primo benedixerunt Deum, qui eius animum in tormentis tanta corroborauit constantia. Ipsis ergo illum per amena patrie ducentibus, huc illucque transiens multo plura quam ipse uel aliquis hominum peritissimus lingua uel calamo possit explicare delectabilia iocundaque perspexit. Tanta uero lucis erat illa patria claritate lustrata ut sicut lumen lucerne solis obcecatur splendore, ita solis claritas meridiana posse uideretur obtenebrari lucis illius patrie mirabili fulgore. Finem uero patrie pre nimia ipsius magnitudine scire non potuit nisi tantum ex ea parte qua per portam intrauit. Erat autem tota patria quasi prata amena atque uirentia, diuersis floribus fructibusque herbarum multiformium et arborum decorata, quorum, ut ait, odore tantum sine fine uixisset, si ibidem sibi permanere licuisset. Nox illam nunquam obscurat, quia splendor eam purissimi

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celi perhenni claritate perlustrat. Tantamque uidit in ea
col.2. sexus utriusque mul/-titudinem hominum, quantum in hac uita neminem estimabat unquam uidisse mortalium. Quorum alii in hiis, alii in aliis locis, per conuentus distincti, commanebant, et tamen, prout uoluerunt, alii de istis in illas, alii de illis in istas cateruas cum leticia transibant. Sicque fiebat ut et alii de aliorum [uisione gauderent et alii de aliorum] uisitacione feliciter exultarent. Chori per loca choris assistebant dulcisque armonie concentu Deo laudes resonabant. Et sicut stella differt a stella in claritate, ita erat quaedam differentia concors in eorum uestium et uultuum claritatis uenustate. Alii enim induti uestitu uidebantur aureo, alii argenteo atque alii uiridi, purpureo, iacinctino, ceruleo, candido. Forma tamen habitus qua singuli utebantur in seculo cuius meriti fuerit uel ordinis ostendit. Quorum habitus uarius color uarie uidebatur claritatis splendor. Alii quasi reges coronati incedebant, alii palmas aureas in manibus gestabant. Talium ergo tantorumque fuit in illa requie iustorum militi delectabilis conspectus nec minor eorundem armonie suauis et ineffabiliter dulcis auditus. Vndique sanctorum audiuit concentum Deo laudes [personantium]. Singuli uero de propria felicitate gaudebant, sed et de singulorum gaudio singuli exultabant. Tantaque patria illa odoris suauitatis repleta erat fragrantia ut inde uiderentur uiuere habitantes in ea. Omnes uero, qui militem intuebantur, Deum benedicentes de eius aduentu quasi de fraterna ereptione a morte gratulabantur. Videbatur ibi quodammodo de ipsius aduentu quasi noua exultatio fieri. Omnes exultabant; undique sanctorum melodia resonabat. Nec estum

15-16 Scribal confusion, an erasure above uel ordinis and ostendit interlined. For cuius...ostendit Royal MS. reads Forma etenim uestis indicabat militi cuiuslibet in seculo meriti fuerit uel ordinis. 22 personantium]MS.persolventium 25 fragrantia]MS.fraglantia

nec frigus ibi sentiebat, nec quod ullo modo posset offendere uel nocere quicquam uidebat. Omnia ibi placata, omnia placita, omnia grata. Multo plura uidit in illa requie quam aliquis hominum umquam loqui sufficeret aut scribere. His igitur ita completis, dixerunt pontifices ad militem, "Ecce, frater, auxiliante Deo uidisti quod
f.18a col.1. uidere desiderasti. Vidisti enim / huc ueniendo tormenta peccatorum, hic autem uidisti requiem iustorum. Benedictus sit Creator et Redemptor omnium, qui tibi dedit tale propositum, cuius gratia per tormenta transiens constanter egisti. Nunc autem, karissime, nosse te uolumus que sunt illa que uidisti tormentorum loca, sed et que sit ista tante patria beatitudinis. Patria igitur ista terrestris est paradysus, de qua propter inobedientie culpam eiectus est Adam prothoplastus. Postquam enim inobediens Deo subici contempsit, ultra uidere que uides, immo incomparabiliter maiora gaudia non potuit. Hic enim ipsius Dei uerba sedulo audierat cordis munditia et celsitudine uisionis interne. Hic beatorum angelorum uisione perfrui poterat. Cum autem per inobedientiam a tanta beatitudine cecidisset, etiam lumen rationis quo illustrabatur amisit. Et quia, cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est iu[mentis] in[sipientibus] et si[milis] fac[tus] e[st] ill[is]. Huius autem uniuersa posteritas ob ipsius inobedientie culpam, sicut et ipse, mortis suscepit sententiam. O detestabile scelus inobedientie! Motus tandem pietate piissimus Deus noster super humani generis miseriam filium suum unigenitum incarnari constituit, dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, cuius fidem suscipientes per baptismum tam ab actualibus quam ab originali peccato liberi ad istam

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patriam redire meruimus. Verum post fidei susceptionem per fragilitatem creberrime peccauimus, ideo necesse erat ut per penitentiam ueniam actualium impetraremus. Penitentiam etenim, quam ante mortem uel in extremis positi suscepimus nec eam in uita peregimus, post carnis solutionem in locis penalibus que uidisti, alii maiori alii minori temporis spacio, secundum modum culparum, tormenta luendo persoluimus. Omnes autem ad hanc requiem per illa loca transiuimus. O transitus inestimabiliter horribilis! Similiter et omnes quos in singulis locis penalibus uidisti, preter eos qui infra
col.2. os / putei infernalis detinentur, postquam purgati fuerint, tandem ad istam requiem uenientes saluabuntur. Sed et cotidie quidam purgati ueniunt, quos suscipientes, sicut et te suscepimus, cum gaudio huc introducimus. Eorum uero qui in penis sunt nullus nouit quamdiu torquebitur. Per missas autem et psalmos et orationes et elemosinas, quotiens pro eis fiunt, aut eorum tormenta mitigantur aut in minora et tolerabiliora transferuntur, donec omnino per talia beneficia liberentur. Ad hunc autem locum quietis cum uenerint, quamdiu hic mansuri fuerint nesciunt; nullus enim nostrum hoc scire potest de se quamdiu hic debeat esse. Sicut enim in locis penalibus secundum culparum quantitatem morandi percipiunt spacium, ita et qui hic sumus secundum merita bona plus minusue morabimur in ista requie. Et licet a penis omnino liberi simus, ad supernam sanctorum leticiam nondum ascendere digni sumus. Diem tamen et terminum nostre promotionis in melius nemo nostrum nouit. Ecce hic, ut uides, in magna requie sumus; sed post terminum singulis constitutum in maiorem transibimus. Cotidie enim societas nostra quodammodo crescit et decrescit, dum singulis diebus

et a penis ad nos et a nobis in celestem paradysum ascendunt." His dictis, assumentes militem secum in montem unum, iusserunt ut sursum aspiciens diceret cuiusmodi coloris ei supra se celum uideretur. Quibus ille respondit, "Auro mihi simile uidetur ardenti in fornace." "Hec," inquiunt, "est porta celestis paradysi. Hac introeunt qui a nobis sumuntur in celum. Nec te latere debet quod cotidie pascit nos Dominus semel cibo celesti. Qualis autem fuerit cibus ille quamque delectabilis, iam Deo donante nobiscum gustando senties." Vixque sermone finito,/ quasi flamma ignis de celo descendit, que patriam totam cooperuit et, quasi per radios diuisim super singulorum capita descendens, tandem in eos tota intrauit. Sed et super militem inter alios descendit et intrauit. Vnde tantam dilectionis dulcedinem in corde et corpore sensit ut pene pre nimietate dulcedinis non intellexerit utrum uiuus an mortuus fuisset. Sedet illa hora cito transiit. "Hic," inquiunt, "est cibus ille unde semel, ut diximus, a Deo cotidie pascimur. Qui uero in celum a nobis assumuntur, hoc cibo sine fine perfruuntur. Sed quoniam ex parte uidisti que uidere desiderasti, requiem uidelicet beatorum et tormenta peccatorum, oportet nunc, frater, ut redeas per eandem uiam qua uenisti. Et si amodo sobrie ac sancte uixeris, non solum de ista requie, sed et de celorum mansione securus esse poteris. Si uero, quod absit, iterum illecebris carnis uitam tuam pollueris, en ipse uidisti quid tibi maneat in penis. Securus ergo redeas; nam quicquid huc tibi uenienti terroris erat, tibi redeunti etiam apparere pertimescet." Ad hec uerba pauescens miles magno merore pontificibus supplicare cepit ne a tanta leticia ad erumpnas huius

f.18b col.1.

14 dilectionis]MS. dilectonis and in different hand in margin delectanis Royal MS. reads dilectionis

seculi redire cogeretur. "Non," inquiunt, "ut postulas, erit, sed sicut ipse disposuit qui quod omnibus expediat solus agnouit." Merens igitur miserabiliter, uolens nolens egreditur accepta benedictione, tristis admodum sed tamen intrepidus, eadem qua uenerat uia reuertitur et clausa est ianua.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Eya nunc, dilectissimi, redeunte milite nostro, recordetur unusquisque qualia et quanta sunt omnia, siue beatorum gaudia, siue peccatorum tormenta, que adhuc in carne positus,/intuitus et expertus est. Mira certe uidentur, col.2. immo mira sunt et inestimabilia. Verum si comparata fuerint ad illa que nec oculus uidit, nec auris audiuit, nec cor hominis cogitare potuit que preparauit Deus diligentibus siue contempnentibus se, fere nulla uel minima parebunt. De tormentis autem inpiorum ad presens sufficiant que superius dicta sunt. Excitemus, igitur, et erigamus, karissimi, totum intellectum nostrum in quantum Deus donauerit, [et] cogitemus quale et quantum sit illud electorum unicum et singulare gaudium. Illud scilicet unum et summum bonum, omnino sibi sufficiens, nullo indigens, quo omnia indigent ut sint, et ut bene sint. Hoc bonum est Deus Pater; hoc est uerbum, id est filius patris. Hoc ipsum est amor unus et communis patri et filio, id est spiritus sanctus ab utroque procedens. Quod autem horum est singulus quisque, hoc est tota trinitas simul, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus; quoniam singulus quisque non est aliud quam summe simplex unitas et summe una simplicitas, que nec multiplicari nec aliud et aliud esse potest. Porro hoc est

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illud idem unum quod est necessarium. Porro hoc est illud idem unum necessarium, in quo est omne et unum et totum et solum bonum. Si enim singula bona delectabilia sunt, cogitate intente quam delectabile sit illud bonum, quod continet iocunditatem omnium bonorum; et non quale in rebus creatis sumus experti, sed tanto differentem,quanto differt creator a creatura. Si enim bona est uita creata: quam bona est uita creatrix ? Si iocunda est salus facta: quam iocunda est salus que facit omnem salutem ? Si amabilis est sapientia in cognitione rerum conditarum: quam amabilis est sapientia que omnia condidit ex nichilo ? Denique si multe et magne delectationes sunt in rebus delectabilibus: qualis et quanta est delectatio in illo qui fecit illa/delectabilia ? f.19a col.1.
O qui hoc bono fruetur: quid illi erit, et quid illi non erit! Certe quicquid uolet erit, et quod nolet non erit. Ibi quippe erunt bona corporis et anime, qualia "nec oculus uidit, nec auris audiuit, nec cor hominis" cogitauit. Cur ergo per multa uagamur, querendo bona anime nostre et corporis nostri ? Amemus unum bonum, in quo sunt omnia bona, et sufficit. Desideremus simplex bonum, quod est omne bonum, et satis est. Quid enim amas caro, quid desideras anima ? Ibi est, ibi est quicquid amatis, quicquid desideratis. Si delectat pulcritudo: "fulgebunt iusti sicut sol." Si uelocitas aut fortitudo, aut libertas corporis cui nichil obsistere possit: "erunt similis angelis Dei," quia "seminatur corpus animale, et surget corpus spirituale," potestate utique non natura. Si longa et salubris uita: ibi est sana eternitas et eterna sanitas, quia "iusti in perpetuum uiuent" et "salus iustorum a Domino". Si sacietas: saturabuntur ["cum apparuerit gloria" Dei. Si ebrietas: "inebriabuntur] ab ubertate domus" Dei.

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Si melodia: ibi chori angelorum concinunt sine fine Deo. Si quelibet non inmunda sed munda uoluptas: "torrente uoluptatis sue potabit eos" Deus. Si sapientia: ipsa Dei sapientia ostendet eis se ipsam. Si amicicia: diligunt Deum plus quam seipsos, et inuicem tamquam se-ipsos, et Deus illos plus quam illi seipsos; quia illi illum et se et inuicem per illum, et ille [se et] illos per se ipsum. Si concordia: omnibus illis erit una uoluntas, quia nulla eis erit nisi Dei sola uoluntas. Si potestas: omnipotentes erunt sue uoluntatis ut Deus sue. Nam sicut poterit quod uolet per seipsum, ita poterunt illi quod uolent per illum; quia sicut illi non aliud uolent quam quod ille, ita et ille uolet quicquid illi uolent; et quod ille uolet non poterit non esse. Si honor et diuitie: Deus suos seruos bonos et fideles supra multa constituet, immo "filii Dei" et dii "uocabuntur" et erunt; col.2 et ubi erit unicus eius, ibi erunt et illi, "he/-redes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi." Si uera securitas: certe ita certi erunt numquam et nullatenus ista uel potius istud bonum sibi defuturum, sicut certi erunt se non sua sponte illud amissuros, nec dilectorem Deum illud dilectoribus suis inuitis ablaturum, nec aliquid Deo potentius inuitos Deum et illos [separaturum].

Gaudium uero quale et quantum est, ubi tale ac tantum bonum? Cor hominum, cor indigens, cor expertum erumpnas immo obrutum erumpnis: quantum gauderes, si hiis omnibus habundares? Interroga intima tua, si capere possunt gaudium suum de tanta beatitudine sua. Sed certe si quis alius, quem omnino sicut te ipsum diligeres, eandem beatitudinem haberet, dupplicaretur gaudium tuum, quia non minus gauderes pro eo quam pro teipso. Si uero duo uel tres

22 separaturum]MS.superaratum

uel multo plures id ipsum haberent, tantundem pro singulis quantum pro te ipso gauderes, si singulos sicut te ipsum amares. Ergo in illa perfecta caritate innumerabilium angelorum et hominum, ubi nullus minus diliget alium quam se ipsum, non aliter gaudebit quisque pro singulis aliis quam pro se ipso. Si ergo cor hominis de tanto suo bono uix capiet gaudium suum: quomodo capax erit tot et tantorum gaudiorum ? Et utique quoniam quantum quisque diliget aliquem, tantum de bono [eius] gaudet: sicut in illa perfecta felicitate unus quisque plus amabit sine comparatione Deum plus quam se et omnes alios secum, ita plus gaudebit absque estimatione de felicitate Dei quam de sua et omnium aliorum secum. Quantum tunc boni agnoscent Deum, et quantum amabunt eum ? Certe "nec oculus uidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit" in hac uita, quantum cognoscent eum in illa

f.19b col.1. uita. Ergo miles noster, licet mira et merito desideranda gaudia uiderit, non dum illud summum bonum et singulare beatorum gaudium uidit. Orandum ergo nobis est summopere, karissimi, ut de Deo gaudeamus. Et si non possumus in hac uita ad plenum, uel proficiamus in dies usque dum ueniat illud ad plenum. Proficiat hic in nobis notitia Dei, et ibi [fiat] plena; crescat hic amor ipsius, et ibi [sit] plenus: ut hic gaudium nostrum sit in spe magnum , et ibi sit in re plenum. Deus enim per filium suum iubet immo consulit petere et promittit accipere, "ut gaudium" nostrum "sit plenum". Petamus, igitur, quod consulit per admirabilem consiliarum nostrum; accipiamus quod promittit per ueritatem suam, "ut gaudium" nostrum "plenum sit". Meditetur interim mens nostra, loquatur inde lingua nostra. Amet illud cor nostrum. sermocinetur os nostrum. Esuriat illud anima nostra,

9 eius]MS.illius 13 After secum MS. omits passage of the Proslogion preserved by Royal MS.,see Schmitt I.120:17-121:10.
22 fiat]MS.fiet sit]MS.fiet

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desideret tota substantia nostra, donec intremus "in gaudium Domini" Dei nostri. Amen.

De Purgatorio Patricii.

Occurramus modo, fratres karissimi, militi nostro redeunti et uideamus si forte sine inpedimento redierit.

Egressus itaque, sicut supradiximus, miles de paradyso, lugens eo quod a tanta felicitate ad huius uite miseriam redire cogeretur, per eandem uiam qua uenerat reuersus est. Quem redeuntem quidem demones undique discurrentes terrere conati sunt, sed ad eius aspectum ut auicule territi per aera diffugerunt. Sed nec eum tormenta quicquam ledere potuerunt. Cumque uenisset ad predictam aulam, in qua demones eum primitus inuaserunt, ecce uiri illi quindecim qui ibidem ei
col.2. primo apparentes eum instruxerant, subito / apparuerunt. Qui Deum laudantes eiusque uictorie congratulantes dixerunt, "Eya, frater, nunc scimus, quoniam per tormenta que sustinens uiriliter uicisti, ab omnibus peccatis tuis purgatus es. Et ecce iam in patria tua lucis aurora clarescit. Ascende ergo quantocius. Nam si prior ecclesie, post missarum solempnia cum processione sua ueniens ad portam, te redeuntem non inuenerit, statim, de reditu tuo diffidens, obserata porta redibit." Accepta itaque ab eis benedictione, protinus ascendit. Eadem uero hora qua prior portam aperuit, miles de intro ueniens apparuit. Quem cum gaudio magno prior suscipiens in ecclesiam introduxit, in qua eum aliis quindecim diebus orationibus insistere constituit. Deinde, signo dominice crucis in humero suscepto, dominici corporis sepulchrum Ierosolimis uisitare perrexit. Et inde rediens, regem, dominum suum, cui prius familiaris extiterat, utpote

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uirum industrium et prudentem adiit, quatinus eiusmodi quem sibi consuleret ipse religionis habitum susciperet. Eodem autem tempore pie memorie Geruasius, abbas cenobii Ludensis, qui a prefato rege locum ad construendum monasterium inpetrauerat, monachum suum nomine Gilebertum de Luda cum quibusdam aliis (qui scilicet Gilebertus fuit postea abbas de Basingewerch) ad eundem regem in Hyberniam misit, ut et locum susciperet et monasterium fundaret. Qui cum ueniens ad regem susceptus esset, conquestus est quod illius patrie linguam ignoraret. Quod audiens rex ait, "Optimum interpretem tibi commendabo." Et accito prefato milite, iussit ut cum monacho maneret. Quam iussionem libentissime miles suscipiens ait ad dominum suum, "Gratanter ei seruire debeo. Sed et uos cum magna gratiarum actione monachos Cysterni ordinis in regno uestro suscipere debetis, quoniam, ut uerum fatear, in sanctorum requie non uidi homines tanta gloria preditos ut huius religionis uiros." Mansitque cum eodem Gileberto miles ille, sed nondum monachus uel conuersus fieri uoluit. Ceperunt igitur monasterium construere et manserunt simul ibidem duobus annis et dimidio. Gilebertus uero domus illius erat cellerarius, miles autem forinsecus in omnibus procurator erat et minister deuotus ac interpres fidelissimus, uixitque sancte et satis religiose, sicut idem testatur Gilebertus. Et quando soli simul erant familiariter alicubi, ipsius Gileberti rogatu ob edificationem hec omnia dilegentissime narrare consueuerat. Postea uero monachi qui cum eo missi fuerant ad Ludense cenobium in Angliam redierunt militemque in Hybernia honeste et religiose uiuentem dimiserunt.

f.20a col.1.

Hec autem omnia cum sepedictus Gilebertus coram multis, me quoque audiente, sepius sicut ab ipso milite audierat,

retulisset, affuit inter alios unus qui hec ita contigisse dubitare se dixit. Cui Gilebertus, "Sunt quidam", inquit, "qui dicunt quod aulam intrantes primo fiunt in extasi et hec omnia in spiritu uidere. Quod omnino sibi miles ita contigisse contradicit, sed corporeis oculis se uidisse et corporaliter hec pertulisse constantissime testatur. Sed et ego in monasterio cui prefui aliquid oculis meis huic rei non ualde dissimile multique mecum conspexere."

De monacho a demonibus uerberato.

"Erat [enim] in eodem monasterio monachus quidam ualde religiosus. Cuius sanctitati demones inuidentes dormientem nocte quadam e dormitorio corporaliter tulerunt. Qui tribus diebus et noctibus ab ipsis detentus est, fratribus nescientibus quid de eo factum fuisset. Post tercium uero diem in lectulo suo a fratribus inuentus est, pene ad mortem usque flagellatus horribiliterque / a demonibus uulneratus. col.2. Michi quoque confessus est se stupenda et horrenda uidisse tormenta. Vixit autem postea quindecim annos. Sed uulnera ipsius nullo potuerunt medicamine curari. Semper enim aperta et quasi recentia uidebantur, quorum quedam ad mensuram longitudinis digiti unius profunda fuerunt. Hic autem, cum uidisset aliquando iuniorum aliquem immoderatius ridentem uel iocantem uel quolibetmodo inordinate se habentem, aiebat, "O, si scires quanta huic inordinate dissolutioni maneat pena, forsitan gestus tuos tam incompositos et mores emendares in melius." Huius monachi uulnera uidi et manibus meis attrectaui ipsumque post obitum ego ipse sepeliui. Huius itaque uiri tam sancti, tam religiosi mihique tam familiaris relatio, si quid superioris relationis mihi

9 enim] R., omitted L.

dubietatis inerat, penitus extersit." Hucusque Gilebertus.

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Ego , postquam hec omnia audieram, duos de Hybernia abbates, ut adhuc certior fierem, super his conueni. Quorum unus, quod numquam in patria sua audierit talia, respondit. Alius uero, quod multociens hec audierit et quod essent omnia uera, affirmauit. Sed et hoc testatus est quod idem purgatorium raro quis intrantium redit. Nuper etiam affatus sum episcopum quendam, nepotem sancti Patricii tertii, socii uidelicet sancti Malachye, Florentianum nomine, in cuius episcopatu, sicut ipse dixit, est idem purgatorium. De quo cum curiosius inquirerem, respondit episcopus, "Certe, frater, uerum est. Locus ille in episcopatu meo est et multi pereunt in eodem purgatorio. Sed qui forte redeunt ob
f.20b col.1. immanitatem tormentorum que passi sunt languore siue pal/-lore diuturno tabescunt. Sed si postea sobrie et iuste uixerint, certi sunt alias pro peccatis suis penas se non esse perpessuros. Est et aliud haut longe ab eodem loco quiddam ualde memorabile, quod etiam tibi libenter narro."

De uno heremita bono et malo alio cuius mala opera a demonibus audiuit bonus.

"Manet ibi iuxta quidam heremita, uir magne sanctitatis, cui uisibiliter unaquaque nocte demonum apparet multitudo. Statim uero post solis occubitum conueniunt in ipsius cellule curia. Et quasi concilium tota nocte tenentes, singuli cuidam principi sui quid egerint in die referunt et sic ante solis ortum recedunt. Ille uero uir uidet eos manifeste et eorum narrationes intelligit. Ad ostium autem eius ascendunt, sed,

25 ascendunt] Royal MS. accedunt.

intrare non presumentes, quasi nudas ei sepissime mulieres ostendunt. Fit etiam ut eorum relatu multorum uitam actusque secretissimos in prouintia nouerit." Hec cum dixisset episcopus, ait capellanus ei, "Ego eundem sanctum uirum uidi et narrabo uobis, si placet, quod ab eo didici." Iubente uero episcopo ut narraret, sic intulit, "Centum miliaribus distat cella uiri illius a pede montis sancti Brandani. Iuxta quem montem manet alius quidam heremita, quem, sicut predictus uir dixit, plus desideraret alloqui quam alium quemquam in hac mortali uita. Quem cum interrogarem que causa fuerit et cur ipsius alloquium eatenus optauerit, 'quia demonum,' inquit,'narratione didici non eum sicut heremitam uiuere. Gaudent enim in concilio suo et congratulantur ad inuicem quod eum tam facile seducunt. Sed et hoc quod ab eis me nuper audisse contigit et uidisse narrabo.

De demonibus rapientibus escam ab illo qui eam negauerit pauperi.

col.2. /'Cum quadam nocte congregati fuissent et magistro suo singuli precedentis opera diei retulissent, affuit inter alios unus, cui qui princeps eorum uidebatur ait, "Nun quid portas aliquid ad manducandum?" Et ille, "Porto." "Et quid", inquit, "portas?" "Porto", ait, "panem et caseum, butirum et farinam." Cui magister,"Vnde hec tibi?" Et ille, "Duo", inquit, "hodie clerici uenerunt ad domum cuiusdam rustici diuitis et petebant elemosinam in caritate Christi. Rusticus autem, habens hec omnia in conclaui, iurauit per sanctam caritatem Christi se nichil habere quod posset eis largiri, et ob eius periurium amisit quod habuit. Nam ut ea surriperem, mihi concessum est." Mane igitur egressus repperi

que audieram a demone nominari, scilicet panem et caseum, butirum et farinam. Sed nolens ut inde quisquam gustasset, omnia proieci in foueam.

De quodam sacerdote quem illudere uolebat demon ut quandam puellam quam nutrierat corrumperet.

'Est et aliud quod tue dilectioni refero, quod et te mente retinere cupio illudque referre ceteris ut eorum insidias caueant memento. Sacerdos quidam sancte uite et honeste parrochiam regebat in hac prouincia, cuius erat consuetudo ut cotidie, summo mane surgens, prius ecclesie cymiterium circuiens, .vij. psalmos pro fidelibus defunctis decantaret. Castissime uixit et sollicite doctrine et operibus bonis operam dedit. Demones uero multociens conquesti sunt quod illum a proposito castimonie et sancte conuersacionis nullus eorum flectere ualeret. Vnde magister eorum grauiter eos increpabat. Accedens autem unus eorum ait, "Ego eum decipiam. Ego enim ei iam preparaui mulierem, per quam eum a proposito deiciam, sed non nisi infra quindecim annos id facere potero." Cui magister eius, "Si infra .xv. annos illum deiceres, rem grandem faceres."

f.21a col.1. Illis autem / diebus quibus hec a demonibus tractata sunt, surgens mane quadam die sacerdos cymiteriumque de more circuiens repperit iuxta crucem in cymiterio infantulam unam expositam. Quam accipiens commendauit cuidam nutrici, ut eam quasi filiam suam propriam nutriret. Ablactatam uero eam litteras discere fecit, cuius integritatem Christo consecrare proposuit. Que cum ad pubertatis annos peruenisset et illius pulcritudini presbiter assuete et nimis familiariter intendisset, cepit in eius exardescere concupiscentia, quia secundum carnis pulcritudinem sed potius

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putredinem nimis erat speciosa. Et quo secretius et familiarius eam alloquebatur, eo feruentius in ipsius amorem rapiebatur. Contigit autem nuper ut eius assensum peteret et impetrauit. Et licet acrius ureretur post impetratum assensum, pauefactus tamen ad opus tam insolitum, actum distulit in crastinum. Eadem uero sequenti nocte congregatis demonibus, prosiliens in medium, sacerdotis incentor ait, "Ante quindecim annos dixi quod per mulierem deicerem sacerdotem, et ecce iam illum ab ea feci petisse consensum, quam sibi adoptauerat in filiam. Sed et ipsa me suggerente concessit, et cras eos in meridie deiciam." Hiis auditis omnes quasi gaudio magno cacchinantes et constrepentes ei congratulabantur. "Visne", inquit magister eorum, "socios habere tecum?" "Non est", ait, "necesse. Solus enim hoc opus perficiam." Gratias agens igitur illi, magister eius uiriliter eum egisse dicebat. Die uero crastina predictus aduocans puellam in cubiculum suum introduxit eamque super lectum suum locauit. Stetit igitur ante lectum aliquandiu, quid ageret hesitans. Tandem uero non illo instigante qui eum ad hoc opus perduxerat, sed ipso inspirante qui non
col.2. permittit hominem supra modum tempta/-ri, pensans animo presbiter huius enormitatem sceleris ait puelle, "Exspecta, filia, paululum, exspecta donec redeam." Procedens itaque presbiter ad ostium cubiculi cultrum arripuit, uirilia sibimet abscidit forasque proiecit, dicens, "Quid putastis, demones, quod uersutias uestras non intellexerim? De perditione mea uel filie mee non gaudebitis, quia nec me nec illam habebitis." Sequenti uero nocte, congregatis iterum demonibus, interrogauit magister discipulum si pergisset quod se facturum spoponderat. Ille uero ingemiscens incassum se

laborasse respondit, et quomodo presbiter eum preuenerat omnibus enarrauit. Iussu igitur magistri sui ab aliis grauissime flagellatus est. Et ita cunctis pre ira turpiter eiulantibus et horribiliter cachinnantibus concilium eorum dissipatum est. Sacerdos uero uirginem, quam Deo seruituram nutrierat, in monasterio uirginibus commendauit.' "

Hec itaque, pater uenerande, que a predictis uiris ueracibus et ualde religiosis audiui, sensum uerborum sequens et relationis eorum seriem, prout intelligere potui, sanctitati uestre cunctisque in amorem et timorem Dei proficere cupientibus, sicut iussistis, ecce litteris significo. Si quis igitur quod scribere talia presumpserim me reprehenderit, iussioni uestre me obedientiam nouerit exhibuisse. Peccator et ego precor humiliter, qui sanctorum patrum exhortationes interserens opusculum istud per capitula distinxi, caritatem uestram, uidelicet qui illud legitis uel auditis, Deum exorare, quatinus me, a peccatis omnibus in presenti purgatum et a supradictis, et si que sunt alie, penis extorrem, una uobiscum / post huius mortis horrorem transferat in prefatam beatorum requiem Ihesus Christus, dux et dominus noster, cuius nomen gloriosum permanet et benedictum in secula [seculorum]. Amen.

f.21b. col.1.

An account of Saint Patrick's Purgatory, and the experiences there of a knight in the reign of Henry II, recorded by Peter of Cornwall, Prior of Holy Trinity, London about 1200 in his Liber revelationum, preserved in Lambeth Palace Library, MS.51.

De Purgatorio Sancti Patricii.

Item aliter de eodem Purgatorio.

f.21b col.1. Narrauit mihi Petro priori Sancte Trinitatis Lundonie anno millesimo ducentesimo ab incarnatione Domini quidam Bricius, abbas monasterij Sancti Patricij in Hybernia, qui erat monachus cicestrensis ordinis, quedam alia de Purgatorio Patricij que contigerunt tempore suo, triginta annis transactis et tempore Henrici regis Anglie secundi, quam fuerunt ea que contigerant prius tempore Stephani regis Anglie de eodem Purgatorio, sicut in libro qui de illo Purgatorio scriptus est tempore regis Stephani continentur. Dixit igitur mihi uir ille sanctus et uenerande persone abbas quem diximus, quod ipse aliquando fuit monachus in Mellefonsi abbatia, scilicet cicestrensis ordinis, que abbatia est una dieta uersus aquilonem a ciuitate Duuelina. Dumque adhuc ibi esset monachus, electus est Laurentius, quidam cantor monasterij Mellefonsis, in episcopum ecclesie que dicitur Duna, in cuius episcopatu est predictum Purgatorium Patricij, et est duabus dietis uersus aquilonem a Mellefonse et duabus dietis ab abbatia Sancti Patricij, in qua predictus abbas Bricius postea fuit abbas. Predictus autem Laurentius electus assumpsit secum unum de monachis Mellefonsis monasterij col.2. Walterum nomine, qui / esset ei comes itineris et secum maneret. Hic autem Walterus post mortem predicti Laurentij episcopi rediit de Duna ad monasterium suum Mellefonse, et ibi inueniens predictum Bricium, tunc monachum et postea abbatem, narrauit ei omnia que audierat et scierat in episcopatu predicto de Purgatorio Patricij. Ait igitur predictus Walterus prefato Bricio, qui hec mihi narrauit, ut diximus, quod diuerse sunt quorumdam sententie de introitu

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ipsius Purgatorij. Dicunt enim quidam quod introitus illius est per portam quandam, sicut continetur in libro de quo prius fecimus mentionem qui est scriptus de Purgatorio Patricij. Alij autem dicunt quod quedam sedes extra curtem cuiusdam senis qui ibi manet sunt parate quasi in quodam herbario siue uiridario. Ad quas sedes qui intrat, non multa mora interueniente, accedunt ad eum demones et ut illi uidetur ducunt eum per diuersa loca et tormenta. Licet hec omnia ut illi dicunt non in rei ueritate corporaliter sed ymaginarie spiritualiter ei contingant. Sed qualiscumque fuerit introitus predicti Purgatorij, ad ea que Walterus dixit Bricio et Bricius mihi accedamus. Predictum igitur Purgatorium distat a ciuitate Duuelina per quattuor dietas aquilonem uersus. Vna enim dieta est a Duuelina usque ad Mellefonsem, et una dieta a Mellefonse usque ad monasterium Sancti Patricij. Et una dieta ab illo monasterio usque ad Armacha sedem Archiepiscopatus siue Primatie, in quo loco scole Hybernie solent esse. Et ab Armacha una dieta fere usque ad quandam insulam aliquantulum magnam que dicitur Mabeoch. Et inter hanc insulam et insulam paruam in qua est Purgatorium predictum non est nisi quoddam flumen, per quod de maiore insula ad minorem transire quis potest uehiculo parue cunbe. Maior insula undique circumdatur flumine, et tante auctoritatis est et tante reuerentie / insula illa apud incolas, ut nemo audeat alij nocere in spacio unius diete a flumine exterius. Sed si quis alij furtum fecerit et ad illud spacium quod est extra insulam illam per unam dietam peruenerit, et ad illum uenerit ibi ille qui passus est furtum, non audet latroni nocere, sed potius coadiutor erit alterius deferendi res furto surreptas quocumque latro

f.22a col.1.

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uoluerit. In hac insula est ecclesia in qua canonici seruiunt Deo. Qui uult in Purgatorium intrare, per hanc insulam ad predictam paruam insulam transibit. Est autem in illa parua insula parua capella ubi semper habitabunt senes, unus uidelicet pro alium, heremiticam uitam ducentes, qui numquam bibunt meliorem potum quam aquam lacte mixtam, et in quadragesimali tempore semper uescuntur pane ordeaceo terciam siu partem cinerem habente.

Item de eodem.

Tempore igitur regis Henrici secundi, intrauit quidam miles Purgatorium illud. Nec mora in quandam aulam intrauit cuius rex et dominus uocabatur Gulinus. Hic non erat domi quando miles domum illam intrauit. Erat igitur aula illa magna et decora ualde et omnia que domui regie erant necessaria continens. Vidit ibi miles ministros domus intrantes et exeuntes. Nec mora rex Gulinus, quasi de uenatione ueniens, domui apropinquauit et tantus strepitus redarum et fremitus equorum et tumultus acclamantium populorum audiebatur, quasi totus mundus concuteretur. Cum igitur Gulinus et qui cum eo uenerant ab equis descendissent, quesiuit Gulinus a ministris domus si hospitem aliquem haberent. Qui cum respondissent se militem predictum habere hospitem, quesiuit Gulinus unde esset et quid quereret. Cui miles respondit rem sicut erat. Habuit autem Gulinus quandam filiam puellam pulcherrimam que decore sui, ut uidebatur militi, omnes puellas tocius mundi facile superaret, in cuius
col.2. amore statim miles exarsit. Quesi/-uit autem Gulinus a milite si umquam talem et tam pulcram puellam uideret et an

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uellet uti amplexibus eius. Ille autem respondit se numquam tam pulcram uidisse et quod libentissime uteretur connubio illius. Tunc concessit ei Gulinus, et precepit ministro, ut pararet illis in camera stratum. Quod et factum est. Et ecce cum crederet se miles uti connubio illius puelle, aperti sunt oculi eius et uidit truncum uetustissimum et aridissimum et deformem iacere inter amplexus eius, et uirilem ipsius uirgam in quodam foramine facto in illo trunco coartatam, quam minister ad hoc deputatus a Gulino contriuit et eneruauit percutiendo uiriliter et sepissime malleo clauum stringens in illo foramine uirilem uirgam illius, ut miles desideraret centies si fieri posset incurrere mortem magis quam talem crutiatum uel ad modicam horam sustinere. Cumque predictus minister sepissime claui cum malleo percussiones iteraret et uirilem ipsius uirgam arctius stringendo collideret, confringeret, quassaret et contereret, et miles ille per multum diei tempus inter has angustias crutiatuum laboraret, clamaret, eiularet et usque ad mortem fatigatus esset, ait Gulinus ministris suis, "Quomodo se habet miles ille, gener noster?" At illi responderunt, "Bene se habet." "Ite," inquit, "adducite eum ad me." Qui cum laxatus a penis stetisset coram Gulino, ait ei, "Quomodo te habes?" At ille omnem dolorem eius exposuit. Cui Gulinus, "Vis," inquit, "intrare calidum balneum, ut in eo refoueas confracta et dolentia membra tua?" Qui respondit, "Libentissime." Statimque proiectus est in aquam bullientem, omni igne calidiorem. In quo balneo, tamquam cera in igne, liquefacta sunt omnia membra / illius et depasta. Cruciatum priorem iam pro minimo reputabat respectu sequentis. Cumque diu in hoc balneo fatigaretur et semper exclamaret et eiularet, ait

f.22b col.1.

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Gulinus, "Quomodo facit gener noster?" Ab hac autem sicut et prius miseria miles eductus coram Gulino uix loqui potuit. Cui Gulinus, "Vis," ait, "ad temperandum calorem istum quem habes in membris tuis, intrare in frigidam aquam?" Cui cum respondisset "Libentissime", statim proiectus est in balneum frigidissimum, quod frigiditate sui omnem niuem et gelu superaret. Quandoque sub aquis mergebatur, quandoque sursum proiectus, super acutas cuspides, glaciei acutiores, et duriores omni acuto et clauo ferreo, que undique corpus suum intrabant et perforabant et laniabant, reiectus est. Cumque diutissime in hiis miseriis miserrimam uitam duxisset, omnesque penas precedentes respectu istius pene tamquam nullius momenti reputasset, tandem ut prius eductus de hoc balneo stetit coram Gulino. Cui Gulinus, "Quomodo te habes?". Cui respondenti et exponenti omnes dolores suos, ait Gulinus, "Doleo de miseriis tuis quas passus es. Vnde consulo, uolens releuare dolores tuos, quatinus ludas de cetero quodam ludo quo solent homines releuare dolores suos." Quo respondente se tali ludo opus habere, dixit Gulinus ministris, "Ducite illum in domum ludi nostri et facite eum ibi ludere ad satietatem." Duxerunt igitur eum ministri in domum quadradam super quattuor muros lapideos constructam. Erant autem undique per girum domus istius in parietibus acuti lapides
col.2. aliquantulum prominentes. Et / erat trabes quedam sursum super muros in transuersum posita, ad quam funiculus unus alligatus deorsum dependebat. Ad hunc autem funem ministri alligabant pedes militis, capite deorsum dependente. Sursumque illum paululum trahentes proiecerunt et repulerunt eum quasi pilam de pariete in parietem, nec umquam ab hoc ludo ministri cessauerunt donec omnia menbra militis predictis

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lapidibus acutis excerperentur, desecarentur et capud eius collideretur, confringeretur, contunderetur, usque ad effusionem cerebri. Hanc autem miseriam dixit predictus miles omnibus predictis penis suis incomparabiliter fuisse intolerabiliorem. Cumque sic diutissime illuderetur, mane iam die adueniente, disparuerunt omnes illi ministri iniquitatis cum [rege] suo Gulino, et omnes pene eius euanuerunt cum ipsa uisione sua, et inuenit se miles in introitu Purgatorij a quo prius in Purgatorium intrauerat, nichil eorum que uiderat uidens. Tantaque infirmitate seu corporis debilitate tunc laborabat, ut se omnino deficere estimaret.

Hic autem miles postea uenit ad episcopum suum Laurentium, cum quo erat predictus monachus Walterus, et narrauit eis omnia que ei acciderant in Purgatorio. Predictus autem Walterus monachus post mortem Laurentij episcopi sui, ut supradiximus, rediens in Mellefonse monasterium suum, narrauit hec omnia predicto Bricio, postea abbati monasterii Sancti Patricij, qui hec mihi Lundoniis narrauit, rediens de generali capitulo cystrensi. Dixitque mihi predictus Bricius quod multi anni transacti sunt ex quo aliquis in Purgatorium illud intrauit. Quondam autem cum fideles essent in fide Christi firmi et stabiles, infiniti sepissime intrabant. Nunc autem ex quo refriguit caritas multorum, tepidi sunt homines in fide, nec audent Purgatorium illud intrare, sed potius eligunt in redemptionem peccatorum suorum uitam peregrinam / ducere et limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli Rome uisitare, et Ierosolimam et alia sanctorum loca adire, et habitum religionis assumere uel etiam uitam anachoreticam ducere, quam in pericula tanta Purgatorij intrare in quibus multi periclitari solent. Nemo autem sine debilitate aut etiam mentis aliqua alienatione ab eo umquam potuit euadere.

f.23a col.1.

7 rege] MS. rego
28 anachoreticam] Above this in current hand .i. annchouris
31 ab eo umquam] Interlined.

APPENDIX

Reconstruction of the Couplet Version of 'Owayne Miles'

As both the Cotton and Hamilton copies of the couplet version of Owayne Miles are defective, both seemingly dependent at some stage on memorial transmission, both incomplete, both metrically corrupt and heavily rewritten, a tentative, hypothetical reconstruction is here offered as a reading version, to give some idea of the probable shape of the archetype of this poem, or at least of an earlier stage in its transmission than that of the two extant copies. I stress that this reconstruction is presented only as a reading version, to facilitate the progress of those primarily interested in the subject matter of this collection of 'visions'.

Because of the dialectal divergence of the Cotton and Hamilton copies, their late date, and their corruptions, it has been difficult to establish very closely the dialect of the archetype: see Introduction, Chapter 3b). In accordance with what evidence these copies do yield, I have tried to present the reconstruction in a spelling that would have been acceptable to a scribe from the central SE. Midlands in about the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

Metrically the reconstruction is an improvement on the two extant copies, though roughness is still readily apparent, and in many cases could only have been eliminated by a more far-reaching freedom in rewriting than is warranted by such an exercise. Substantive readings are deliberately as close as possible to the extant copies. In effect this means relying primarily on the Cotton text, for reasons set out in the Introduction, Chapter 6b). In those places where only one copy preserves the text I have necessarily had to be more conservative than where the two copies give alternatives. On all occasions strict reference has been made to the Tractatus wherever the assumption of close translating

in the archetype can assist in selection between variant readings, or in modification of errors. Caution has been used here also though, for, as shown in the Introduction, Chapter 5, the couplet version seems not to have been as close an Englishing of the Tractatus as the SEL version or even as the Auchinleck version with its Anglo-Norman affiliations.

At the head of each page of the reconstruction line references to Cotton and Hamilton are provided to facilitate comparison with these copies, which are printed above, pp.46-96.

Reconstruction (C1-32, H1-28)

God þat ys so full of myȝt,
Þat mended wrong and made ryȝt,
He sente wysmen us to wisse
Þe ryȝte way to heuen-blisse.
Fyrst hys prophets þat wer bolde,
Of þat was comyng þey us tolde;
But þe folk þat wer yn londe
Ne myȝten hem not vnderstonde.
To techen us more redely
He com hymself full pryuely,
And almost þre and þrytty ȝere
A sothfast man he dwelled here.
Both yn worde and tokenes fele,
He tawȝte men her soules to hele;
And at þe laste, for mannes gode,
He dyde hymself up on þe rode,
And bouȝt us wyth hys blody syde
From hym þat was lorn þorow pryde.
And er þat he to heuen wente,
Hys aposteles forth he sente
To tellen men of heuen-ryche,
ȝonge and olde, alle y-lyche.
He hadde byschops gode also,
And holy prechours many mo,
Þat shewed her many a tokenyng
Þat he ys God and sothfast kyng.
Holy byschops som tyme þer wore
Þat tawȝte men of Goddes lore.
In Irlond preched Seynt Patryk,
In þat londe was non hym lyk.
He preched Goddes word full wyde,
And tolde men what shuld betyde.

Reconstruction (C33-64, H29-59)

Fyrst he spake of heuen-blisse,
Whoso goth þyder may ryȝt nouȝt mysse.
Sythen he spake of helle pyne,
How wo hem ys þat com þer ynne;
And þen he spake of purgatory,
As hyt ys wryten yn þe story.
But ȝet þe folk of þat cuntre
Beleued not þat hyt myȝt be,
And sede, but ȝyf hyt were so
Þat any man myȝt hymselfe go,
And se all þat and com aȝayn,
Þen many wold beleue hym fayn.
Seynt Patryk hymselfe beþouȝt,
And Jesu Criste he besouȝt,
Þat he wold hym som token showe,
So pepul myȝt þe better knowe,
And þat he myȝt þorow hys leue
Turn hem yn to þe ryȝt beleue.
Crist com to hym upon a day,
As he yn hys bedes lay;
Two ryche þynges he hym ȝaf,
A bok of gospels and a staf.
Wyth gode cher þe byschop hem tok,
Both þe ryche staf and þe bok;
And ȝet be þo ryche relykes þere:
At euery feste-day yn þe ȝere
Þey ben bore yn processyoun
Wyth full gret deuocyoun.
Þe arche-byschop of þat londe
Shall bere þat staf yn hys honde.
Whoso wyll wyte what hyt hette,
'Jesu staf' men call hyt ȝette.

Reconstruction (C65-94, H60-91)

God spake to Seynt Patryk þo
By name, and bad hym wyth hym go.
He ladde hym ynto a wyldernes
Wher neyther man ne beste wes,
And showed hym, þat he myȝt se,
Into þe erþe a pryue entre;
Hyt was yn a depe dyches ende.
"What man," he sede, "þat wyll heryn wende,
And dwell þeryn a day and a nyȝt,
And holden hys beleue aryȝt,
And com aȝayn, þat he ne dwelle,
Many a meruayle he may telle.
What man þat goth þys pylgrymmage,
I shall hym graunte, for hys wage,
Whеþer he be squyer or knaue,
Oþer purgatory shall he non haue."
As sone as he had sede hym so,
Jesu went þe byschop fro.
Seynt Patryk þen, anon ryȝt,
He ne stynt ner day ne nyȝt,
But gat hym help fro day to day,
And dyde make þer a fayre abbay,
And chanouns gode he dyde þeryn
Under þe abyt of Seynt Austyn.
Þus men cleped þe ryche abbay
Regelys, þat hette þe same today.
Seynt Patryk lette make ryȝt wele
A dore bounden wyth yren and stele;
Lokke and key he made þer to,
Þat no man shuld þe dore undo.
Þe key he betoke þe pryour,
And bad hym loke hyt as tresour,

Reconstruction (C95-126, H92-122)

And euer close þe entre so
Þat no man myȝte þeryn go,
But yf hyt wer þurh þe assente
Of þe pryour and þe couente:
Of þe byschop he most haue a letter,
Elles hym wer neuer þe better.
Ȝet ys þat stede yn memory,
Seynt Patrykes Purgatory.
In hys tyme som wer þeryn,
To haue forȝeuenes of her syn,
Þat com aȝayn on þe morow:
I wote þey tolde of mykel sorow,
Of paynes þat þey sye þo,
And of mykel joye also.
What þey sye þer, well þey wyte,
For hyt was yn bokes wryte.
Som wenten yn þat bolde wore,
But out þey comen neuer more.
In Steuenes tyme, I vnderstonde,
Þat was kyng of Ingelonde,
Þer was a knyȝt men called Owayn;
He was þeryn and com aȝayn.
What he þer sye, I wyll ȝou telle,
Both of heuen and of helle.
Þys knyȝt was douȝty man and bolde,
Among men mykel he was of tolde,
Tyll þurh folly he fell yn syn,
And longe tyme he lay þeryn;
At þe laste hym repented sore,
And þouȝt he wolde do no more.
To þe byschop of þat cuntre
He wente, and fond hym yn hys se.

Reconstruction (C127-158, H123-153)

To hym he gan hym for to shryue
Of all þe synnes yn hys lyue.
Þe byschop blamed hym yn þat hete
For hys synnes many and grete;
Sythen he sede, at þe laste,
Þat all hys lyue he moste faste,
For to amende her hys mysdede,
Þat he had mysdone and sede.
"Syr," he sede, "I ȝou beseche,
As ȝe be my soules leche,
Graunte me þat I mote gon
To Seynt Patryk's Purgatory anon,
And sythen when I com aȝayn,
I shall fulfyll ȝour word full fayn."
Þe byschop sede, "Þat shalt þou nouȝt,
For many a fool hath þyder souȝt.
To mykel on hemself þey tryste;
Whyþer þey wente, no man wyste.
I rede þe for þy deuocyoun,
Þou take þe abyt of relygyoun,
And yf þou wylt þy synnes lete,
In þys wyse may þou heuen gete."
"Syr," he sede, "I ȝou pray,
Ȝe ȝeue me leue to go þat way.
I hope I wyll both com and wende,
Þurh Goddes grace þat ys so hende."
Þe byschop ȝaf hym leue þo,
On Goddes name he bad hym go.
Anon he wrote hym a letter wele,
And seled hyt wyth hys owen sele.
Þe knyȝt hyt toke, and went hys way
To þe pryour of þat abbay.

Reconstruction (C159-190, H154-183)

When he to þe pryour com,
Of þe knyȝt þe letter he nom.
He hyt redde and stod full stylle;
Anon he wyst þe knyȝtes wylle,
And spak to hym yn fayr maner,
"Syr," he sede, "þou art welcom her.
By þys letter yn myn honde,
I haue þy wyll well vnderstonde;
But I þe rede þou do not so,
Neyther for wele ne for wo.
After my rede do þou anoþer,
Tak þe abyt and become our broþer.
So þou may, both nyȝt and day,
Serue God full well to pay;
Þen may þy soul to heuen wende,
And haue þer bliss wythouten ende."
"Syr," he sede, "I fele me wykke,
For my synnes many and þykke.
Þyder I wyll, what so befalle,
To get forȝeuenes of hem alle."
Þen sede þe pryour, "ȝyf þou wylt so,
God kepe þe fro care and wo!
But ȝet a whyle þou moste dwelle,
And þe perelles I shall þe telle."
Fyftene dayes he dwelled þore
In fastyng and yn holy lore,
And at þe fyftene dayes ende
Þe knyȝt most forth hys way to wende.
Fyrst a-morow he herde mass,
And sythen he asoyled was
Wyth holy water and holy boke.
Ryche relykes forth þey toke;

Reconstruction (C191-222, H184-215)

Eche preste and eche chanoun
Went wyth hym yn processyoun,
And as loude as þey myȝt cry,
For hym þey songe þe letany,
And brouȝte hym fayre ynto þe entre
Þer as Syr Owayn wolde be.
Þer þe knyȝt kneled adoun,
And þer toke all her benesoun.
Þe pryour vndyd þe dore þo,
In Goddes name he bad hym go,
And lokked þe dore and turned aȝayn,
And þey lefte þer Syr Owayn.
Forth þen went þat bolde knyȝt,
A whyle he had a lytyll lyȝt,
But he wanted hys lyȝt full sone,
For þer shon neyther son ne mone.
He hadde no man hym to lede,
He groped hys way as he most nede.
When he com forþer wythyn,
A lytyll lyȝt þer gan begyn;
Sone þer-after a lytyll more:
Glad was Syr Owayn þerfore.
Such was hys lyȝt when hyt was best,
As yn þe wynter after sonne rest.
Þen went he faste when he myȝt se,
Tyll he com to a gret cuntre.
Hyt semed well þe more wyldernes
For þer grew neyther tre ne gres.
As he beheld on hys ryȝte honde,
A well fayr hall he sye þer stonde.
Hyt was hye, both long and wyde,
But hyt was open on euery syde.

Reconstruction (C223-252, H216-247)

Syngyll pylleres þeron were
Þat metely þe walles bere.
Hyt was made yn selcouth gyse,
Lyk a cloyster yn alle wyse.
As he þer stod and loked aboute,
Þer com fyftene upon a route.
Þe eldest man þat he þer se,
Fyrst he sede, "Benedicite!"
To Owayn þey ȝaf her benesoun,
And all by hym þey sette hem doun.
Alle hadde newe crounes shaue,
As prestes owen for to haue.
Þe eldest man, as hyt wold falle,
He spake anone for hem alle.
"Kny3t," he sede, "for þy syn,
A gret auenture þou art yn;
But God, þat dyed on þe rode,
Fulfyll þy wylle yn alle gode.
We may no lenger wyth þe dwelle;
We wer sent hyder þe to telle
Of þe fowndyng þe shall befalle:
God ȝyue þe grace to scape hem alle!
Full sone when we be went þe fro,
Þer shall come oþer to do þe wo.
But loke þat þou þurh þy beheue
Be stedfast yn þy beleue;
And yf þey wyll þe bete or bynde,
Loke þou haue þys word yn mynde:
'Jesu, Goddes son, full of my3t,
Haue mercy on me, synfull kny3t!'
And euermore haue yn þy þou3t
Jesu, þat þe so dere hath bou3t.

Reconstruction (C253-284, H248-277)

We may no lenger wyth þe preche,
But Jesu Criste we þe beteche."
Þese holy men wenten þens þo,
And þen bygon þe knyȝtes wo.
  As he sat þer all by hymselfe,
He herde gret dyn on eche helfe,
As all þe layte and all þe þonder
Þat euer was herde heuen vnder,
And all þe tres and all þe stones
Shuld smyte togeder ryȝt at ones,
For all þe worlde, so hyt ferde,
And þerto a loude cry he herde.
Ne had he be well tawȝt before,
He had be lost for euermore.
Fle myȝt he nouȝt, but most abyde.
Þen com þer deueles on euery syde,
Wykked gostes, I wote, fro helle,
So many þat no tonge myȝt telle.
Þey fylled þe hous yn two rowes,
Som grenned on hym and som made mowes.
Syr Owayn was aferd, I trowe,
Yf he had myȝt, he wold haue flowe.
Som deueles stoden hym full nye,
Þat seden to hym all on hye,
"Þou hast don well to com betyme:
Þou shalt byleue on oure lyme.
Oþer com nouȝt tyll þey be dede,
But þou hast a well better rede.
Þou comest hyder to do penaunce,
And wyth us þou shalt lede þe daunce.
Þou hast serued us many a day;
We shull þe quyte, yf we may.

Reconstruction (C285-316, H278-303)

As þou hast don, so shalt þou haue;
All þy kyn shall þe nouȝt saue.
Neuer þe lesse, syth þou art hende,
Yf þou wylt aȝayne wende,
And lyue and do as þou hast done,
We shull þe spare tyll eftsone."
"Nay," sede þe knyȝt, "þat wyll I nouȝt.
I tak me to hym þat hath me bouȝt."
Þe fendes made a fyr anon
Of blakke pych and of brenston.
Þey cast þe knyȝt þeryn to brenne,
And alle on hym þey gun to grenne.
Þe knyȝt þat payn full sore he þouȝt;
To Jesu he called whyle he mouȝt.
"Jesu," he sede, "full of pyte,
Help, and haue mercy on me!"
All þat fyr was queynte anon;
Þe fendes fledden euerychon,
And þen þe knyȝt anon up stod,
As hym had ayled nouȝt but god.
All alone beleft yn þat place,
He þonked God of all hys grace.
Þen was he bolder for to stonde,
Yf þat þey wolde hym more fonde.
Oþer deueles com many mo,
And bad þe knyȝt wyth hem to go,
And lad hym ynto a foule cuntray
Wher euer was nyȝt and neuer day.
Þer hyt was derk and wonder cold;
Ȝet was þer neuer man so bold,
Þat þouȝ hys cloþes wer purfyld,
Sone hys herte shuld be chylld.

Reconstruction (C317-348, H304-315)

He felt þer wynd, but herd non blowe,
3et faste hyt frese, both hye and lowe.
Þey brou3te hym to a feld full brode,
Ouer such oon he neuer 3ode;
Þe length þerof he couth not telle.
Þer ouer he moste, so hyt befelle,
And as he wente he herd a cry;
He wonderd what hyt was and why.
He sye þer men and wymmen þo,
Þat loude cryed, for hem was wo.
Þey leyen þykke on euery londe,
Faste nayled, both fote and honde,
Wyth nayles glowyng alle of bras.
Þey ete þe erþe, so wo hem was;
Her faces nayled to þe grounde,
"Spareth," þey cryed, "a lytyll stounde!"
Þe fendes wolden hem not spare;
To don hem payn þey þou3te 3are.
Þe deueles speken to Syr Owayn,
"Kny3t, wylt þou 3et turn a3ayn,
And we wyll yn a lytyll stounde
Bryng þe up all hole and sounde.
Þer may þou lyuen a god whyle,
Both wyth gamen and wyth gyle.
And þen when þou art dede raþe,
Þou shalt haue þe lesse skaþe,
For better hyt ys þy soul haue wo,
Þan þy soul and body also;
For yf þat þou her abyde,
Þys euyl þe shall betyde."
Þe kny3t answerd to all þe route,
"Of 3oure þrete haue I no doute.

Reconstruction (C349-368, H338-45, 316-17, 350-3)

Þus shull ȝe me nouȝt afere,
For my soul ys elleswhere."
Þen þey caste on hym her clawe;
Syr Owayn was aferd, I trawe.
Þey brouȝte forth þen nayles longe,
Glowyng alle a-fyr well stronge;
Þey wolde haue dryuen þurh hys fete
Þo brennyng nayles wonder grete.
"Jesu," he sede, "full of myȝt,
Haue mercy on me, synfull knyȝt."
Þe deueles flowen euerychone,
And left Syr Owayn þer alone.
"Lord," he sede, "I þonk hyt þe,
At euery nede þou helpest me."
Som of þe fendes turned aȝayn,
And forth þey ladde Syr Owayn
Full ferre ynto anoþer feld,
In such oon bare he neuer sheld.
Hyt was lenger and well more
Þan þat oþer was before.
He sye þer yn þat felde brode
Many an edder and many a tode.
Men and wymmen he sye þo,
Þat yn þat felde abyden wo,
For þey wer febyll and well lene,
And leyen þykke on euery chene.
All upward wer her bellyes caste,
And yn to þe erþe nayled faste.
Her hedes þat ones wer kempt full ofte,
And on pyllowes layn full softe,
Þer todes sete on euery here;
Þer myȝt men wyten what þey were:

Reconstruction (H354-5, 318-37, 356-67)

Edders, todes and oþer wormes,
In her bodyes wer her houses.
Þe fendes speken to þe kny3te,
"Syst þou how þes folk be dy3te?
But yf þou wylt to our conseil turn,
Her shalt þou lye and make þy murn."
"Nay," sede þe kny3t, "þat wyll I nou3t;
Myn hope ys yn hym þat hath me bou3t."
Anon þe fendes leyde hym doune;
To do hym payn þey wer all boune.
Þey fetten forþe nayles stronge,
Brennyng þey wer and ry3t full longe.
Whyle þat þey streyned forth hys fete,
He called to hym þat ys so swete.
"Jesu," he sede, "full of my3t,
Haue mercy on me, þy synfull kny3t."
Þe fendes fledden euerychone,
And lete Syr Owayn all alone.
And as he stod and loked aboute,
Oþer deueles þer com on a route,
And ladde hym yn to anoþer feld,
Þe brodest þat he euer beheld.
But þer was neyther game ne song
Neuer wyth þo soules among.
Ech mannes pyne and hys turment
Syr Owayn sye þer as he went.
Hym þou3te ry3t yll to beholde
Men and wymmen, 3onge and olde,
Wyth cheynes brennyng as þe fyre:
Many þer henge by þe swyre;
Som by þe tonge, som by þe chynnes,
Som by membres, som by naueles,

Reconstruction (H368-399)

Som henge lowe and som henge hye;
Many he knew þat he þer sye.
Som henge on hokes by þe chynne;
Mychе sorow þey hadde for her synne.
  As þey ladden hym forþer yn,
A well mych whele he sye þeryn;
Hyt was brode and hyt was hye,
Unneþe to þe ouerest ende he sye.
Þe halfe whele yn þe erþe ran,
And þeron hengen many a man.
Benethe was fyr and brenston
Þat brenned hem euer anon;
Hyt semed a trendyll, hyt ran so ȝerne,
Ryȝt as a ston of a qwerne.
Þey toke hym by þe hondes þen,
And caste hym on þe whele to bren.
Anon þer was þe knyȝt full yll,
For on þat whele he stoke styll.
Anon he calld to Jesu Criste,
So þat no more harm he wyste.
Þe fendes sye þey myȝt not spede;
Þey grenned on hym as wolues wede,
And all about hym þey gun go:
Þey wolde fayn haue don hym wo.
  Faste þey ladden hym forþer more,
A well mych hous he sye before;
Þe length þerof he couth not ame;
Out of þe dore com a gret flame.
Þer was so mych stynk and smeke,
Hyt wold haue made an heyl man seke.
Þe knyȝt stynted and þer wyth-stod;
For þat stynk he was ner wod.

Reconstruction (H400-429, C369-380)

Þe fendes turned þer aȝayn,
And grysely speke to Syr Owayn,
"Why gost þou so faste? And þou halte,
Wyll þou nyll þou, forth þou shalte.
Syst þou now ȝon grete ȝates?
Þer ben oure bathe fates.
Þer sytt our mayster and our kyng;
He ys full glad of þy comyng.
Þou seruest hym full well at home;
He ys well glad þat þou art come.
Yf þou wylt se þy hom ones mo,
Þen turn wyth us and þyder go
Aȝayn to þe ȝates of Regeles,
Þen may þou say þou hast be at þe deueles."
"Nay," sede þe knyȝt, "þat wyll I nouȝt.
Þat shall neuer com yn my þouȝt.
God hath holpe me hyder before,
And ȝet, I hope, he wyll do more."
As þey ladde hym forþer yn,
Þer he sye well mykel vnwyn;
And as he loked hym besyde,
He sye þer pyttes many and wyde.
Þykke þey wer as þey myȝt bene,
Unneþe a fote was hem betwene,
And alle maner of metall
He sye þer yn þe pyttes wall.
Men and wymmen þer wer also
In þo pyttes abydyng wo.
Som stod þeryn up to þe chynne,
And ȝet þey had not bete her synne;
And som wer yn up to þe pappes,
And som wer yn up to þe shappes,

Reconstruction (C381-412, H430-459)

And som wer yn up to þe kne;
Þey wolde full fayne out haue be.
Þe fendes hym hented anon ryȝt,
Into a pyt þey cast þe knyȝt.
So sore aferd he was of þat,
Þat almost Jesu he forȝat;
But as Goddes wylle was,
When he felt þe hote bras,
"Jesu," he sede, wyth gode entent,
"Help me, Lord, yn þys turment."
When he þe name of Jesu calde,
Þer was no metall myȝt hym skalde,
But anon he was out caste;
Þe deueles flowen away full faste.
As he stod up and loked aboute,
Of oþer fendes þer com a route.
"Knyȝt," þey sede, "why stondest þou here?
And wher be all þy false fere?
Þey tolde þe þat þys was helle,
But oþer wyse we shull þe telle.
Com forth wyth us a lytyll south,
We shull þe bryng to helle mouth."
Þen þey drewe hym by þe hater,
Tyll þey com to a gret water,
Brod and blak as any pykke.
Soules wer þeryn many and þykke,
And also deueles on eche a syde,
As þykke as motes yn somer-tyde.
Þe water stonke foule þerto,
And dyde þe soules mykel wo.
Up þey com to ese hem a stounde,
Þe fendes drewe hem aȝayn to grounde.

Reconstruction (C413-442, H460-489)

Ouer þe water a brygge þer was,
For soþe, kener þan any glas.
Þerof he was full sore aferd;
Hyt was as sharp as any swerd.
Hyt was narow and hyt was hye,
Unneþe þat oþer ende he sye.
Þe mydde was hye, þe endes wer lowe,
Hyt ferde as hyt had be a bent bowe.
"Kny3t," sede a fende, "her may þou se
In to helle þe ry3te entre.
Ouer þys brygge þou moste wende.
Wynd and rayn we shull þe sende;
We shull þe sende wyndes wode,
Þat shull þe cast ynto our flode."
Syr Owayn kneled þer adoun,
To God he made hys orysoun.
"Jesu," he sede, "full of my3t,
Haue mercy on me, synfull kny3t.
Wynd and rayn be at þy wylle,
And alle wederes loude and stylle.
Þou canst make þe wynd to blowe,
And when þou lyst, to lye full lowe.
Send me, Lord, þy swete grace,
Þat I may þys brygge passe.
Help, Lord, þat I þeryn not falle,
For to lese my labour alle."
To þe brygge anon he 3ede,
"Jesu," he sede, "help at þys nede."
Hys oon fote he set fyrst þeron,
And cald to Jesu ry3t anon.
He felt hys fote stond stedfastly,
And set hys oþer fote þerby.

Reconstruction (C443-474, H490-517)

He cald to hym at euery pas,
Þat euer shall be and euer was.
Þe brygge wax a lytyll bradder,
So mych wax Syr Owayn þe gladder,
But when he com ynto þe mydde,
Euery deuel wyth oþer chydde,
All þey toke up a gret crye,
For to haue don hym fall from hye.
Þat crye, hym þouȝt, greuede hym more
Þan all þe payn he had before.
Neuer þe latter, forth he wente,
On Jesu was all hys entente.
So brod þe brygge waxed þo,
Tweyn cartes myȝt þeron haue go.
Ouer þe brygge he com full sone,
Þen was þe deueles power done.
He þonked God, wyth herte and þouȝt,
Þat had hym harmelesse ouer brouȝt.
Forth he wente a lytyll whyle,
Þe mountenaunce of half a myle.
He sye a wall wonderly fayr,
Hym þouȝt hyt lasted ynto þe ayr;
Hyt was whyte and bryȝt as glas,
He couth not wyte what hyt was.
When þat he was nye þerate,
Aȝayn hym opened a fayre ȝate,
Full craftyly for þe nones,
Of metall and of presyous stones.
Out at þe ȝate þer com a smell,
Well nye for joye doun he fell.
Þouȝ all wer floures and erbery,
And all þe world a spycery,

Reconstruction (C475-506, H518-545)

Such swetnes by a honderd folde
Myȝt not to þat sauour be tolde.
Þen hym þouȝt he was so lyȝt,
Of þat sauour and of þat syȝt,
Þat all þe sorow þat he had sene,
And all þe payn he had yn bene,
All was forȝeten yn hys þouȝt,
And of hyt he sette ryȝt nouȝt.
As he stod and was so fayn,
Out of þe ȝate com hym aȝayn
A swyþe fayr processyoun
Of alle men of relygyoun.
Fayre vestymentes þey had on,
So ryche sye he neuer non.
Mych joye hym þouȝt hyt was to se
Byschops yn her dygnyte;
And oþer maysteres þer sye he,
Euery man yn hys degre.
He sye þer monkes and chanounes,
And freres wyth newe shauen crounes;
And eremytes hem anong,
And nonnes wyth her myry song;
Persones, prestes and vycaryes,
Þey made hym many melodyes.
He sye þer kynges and emperoures,
Dukes þat had casteles and toures,
Erles also and barones fele,
Þat som tyme had þe worldes wele,
And oþer folk he sye also,
Neuer so many as he dyde þo.
Wymmen he sye on euery syde,
Þat myrþes made þer yn þat tyde,

Reconstruction (C507-538, H554-575, 546-551)

For all was joye þat wyth hem ferde,
And mych solempnyte he herde.
Fayre þey welcomed Syr Owayne,
All þe folk of hym wer fayne.
Anon þer com to mete hym þere
Tweyn byschops as hym þouȝt þey were.
Þey welcomed hym and ȝode hym by,
For to bere hym company,
And showed hym þat he myȝt se
Þe fayrenes of þat cuntre.
Hyt was grene on euery syde,
As medowes ben yn somer-tyde,
And also full of fayre floures
Of many dyuerse coloures.
Tres he sye wyth leues grene,
Full of fruyte euermore, I wene,
For þer was fruyte of many a kynde,
Such yn þys world can no man fynde.
Þer þey haue þe tre of lyfe,
Þeryn ys myrth and neuer stryfe.
Fruyte of wysdom also þer ys,
Þerof ete Adam and dyde amys;
And oþer fruytes þer be full fele,
And all maner of joye and wele.
Well myche folk he sye þer dwelle,
Þer was no tonge þat myȝt hem telle.
All wer þey cloþed yn ryche wede,
What cloth hyt was he couth not rede,
But schap þey hadde yn all maner
As men wer wont to were her.
By her cloþes men myȝt hem knowe,
As þey stode upon a rowe,

Reconstruction (C539-570, H552-3, 576-590)

Ȝonge and olde, more and las,
Of what degre þat eche was.
Þer was no wrong but euer ryȝt,
Euer day and neuer nyȝt;
Þey shone as bryȝt and more clere
Þan any sonne yn þe day doth here.
Þo tweyn byschopes turned aȝayn,
And speken fayre to Syr Owayn.
"Blessed be God," þey sede þo,
"Þat made þe þys way to go.
Purgatory þou hast ben yn
To haue forȝeuenes of þy syn.
Loke þat þou do syn no more,
For þou shalt neuer eft com þore.
We haue gon þe way þer þou was,
And we haue passed þat ylke plas.
So shall ech man after hys day,
Pore and ryche, go þat way;
For many a man þat shold hym shryue,
Hath ner don penaunce all hys lyue,
Tyll at þe laste he shryue for drede:
Som penaunce þey mote suffre nede.
Yf þey wyll not do hyt here,
Þey shull do hyt elleswhere.
Such maner men, erly or late,
To purgatory þey mote algate.
Þer mote þey alle dwellen stylle,
For to abyden Goddes wylle,
But som frende for her mysdede,
For hem do oþer syng or rede,
For þus may man þurh such dyuyne
Þe soner com out of hys pyne.

Reconstruction (C571-602, H591-610)

And þou a man art ȝet alyue,
And þou hast gon þurh paynes swyþe;
Þurh grace of God and hys entent,
Þou art passed þat turnement,
And þou art com to joye and bliss:
I shall þe telle what hyt ys.
Erþly Paradyse þys ys.
Her Adam dwelled þat dyde amys;
For an appyll þat he ete,
All hys joye he her for-lete.
Nyne honderd ȝere and fyfteme
He lyued yn erþe wyth sorwe and tene;
Four þousand, six honderd and four ȝere
He was yn hell wyth Lucyfere,
Tyll þat Goddes wylle was
To fecche hym fro þat foule plas,
And all hys kyn þat wer hym by,
Þat worþy wer to haue mercy,
And lad hem forth wyth hym ywys,
Ryȝt ynto hys owen bliss.
And at hys ordynaunce we be,
In joye and bliss wyth solempnyte;
But when we comen hym before,
Þen shall our joye be mykel more.
And euery day we wexen mo,
But angeles callen som us fro;
All yf we be out of penaunce ylle,
Her we abyden Goddes wylle.
Ȝet haue we not þat dygnyte
To com before hys mageste.
But oon and oon, as he wyll calle,
At þe laste we shull com alle.

Reconstruction (C603-634, H611-638)

Euery day cometh our fode,
Fro hym þat for us shedde hys blode:
Þat shalt þou fele or þat þou go."
And as he stod and sede hym so,
Þer com a gleme wonderly bryȝt,
Þat spredde ouer þat lond full ryȝt.
Hyt was swete and hyt was hote,
Into euery mannes mouth hyt smote.
Þe knyȝte felte þat yn glyde,
He nyste wher he was þat tyde,
Ne whеþer he was qwykke or dede,
So blyssed hym þat ryche brede.
Þen sede þe byschop þat by hym stod,
"How þouȝtest þou, knyȝt, was þys god?"
"Oo, Lord," he sede þen, "þyn ore.
Let me dwell her euermore."
"Nay, son," he sede, "þou may not so.
Aȝayn þou most algate go;
Tell oþer men what þou hast sene,
In what auenture þou hast bene;
For yn þe world þou most dye ones,
And leue yn erþe þy flesh and bones,
And com yn soul hyder aȝayn,
Þen wyll we of þe be fayn."
Þe knyȝt sye he most nedes go;
Wyth wepyng and wyth mykel wo
Anon he kneled þer adoun,
And fayr toke all her benesoun.
A redy way anon he fonde,
Ryȝt hom ynto hys owen londe.
To þe halle hys way lay,
Þat he com fro þat oþer day.

Reconstruction (C635-664, H639-667)

Þe fyftene men he fonde þore,
Þat he had speken wyth before.
Þey welcomed hym anon ryȝte,
And þonked Godde, full of myȝte,
Þat sente grace to þat knyȝte,
To ouercom þe fendes myȝte.
Þey prayde faste he sholde gon,
And so he wente forth anon,
Hom ynto hys own cuntray,
For ryȝt now sprong þe day.
"To pryme þey wyll þe belle rynge,
And sythen masse shull þey synge,
And after mass, wythout delay,
Þe pryour of þat abbay,
Both wyth prestes and chanoun,
Þey wyll com wyth processyoun,
To þe entre þe aȝayn,
And of þy comyng be full fayn.
Now be a good man all þy lyue,
And loke þou do þe often shryue,
And when þou art dede, þen shalt þou wende
To þat joye þat hath non ende."
Þe knyȝt to go full well hym lyst;
He was at hom long er he wyst.
To þe dore com Syr Owayn,
Þer com þe pryour hym aȝayn,
And chanounes wyth myry song,
Wyth many a wepyng tere among.
All þey wer both glade and blyþe,
Þat God had saued þe knyȝt alyue.
Fyftene dayes and somwhat more,
Wyth þe chanounes he dwelled þore,

Reconstruction (C665-682, H668-685)

And tolde hem what he hadde sene,
And yn what paynes he had bene,
And oft he told to make hem wyse,
Of þe joyes of paradyse.
Þen þey wryten after hys mouth,
Þat yn lond now hyt ys couth.
Þen toke he cros and staf yn honde,
And went ynto þe holy londe.
Aȝayn he com, both hole and sound,
And sythen lyued a well god stound
In bedes and yn orysoun,
As man of god deuocyoun.
And after when he waxed old,
And hys body wax unbold,
He dyed and went þe ryȝte way
To þe blisse þat lasteth ay.
To þat blisse he us bryng,
Þat of all ys lord and kyng.

NOTES

AUCHINLECK

1 The opening stanzas of the poem have been lost with the excision of the folio which originally preceded the present f.25a. Very likely 32 lines of text are missing: see Introduction, p. xix. Some indication of what these lines may have contained may be inferred from the opening of F1-36. All quotations from F are taken from Zanden, Étude, pp.90-135.

En honurance Ihesu Crist,
Ke tut le mund furma e fist,
Un aventure voil cunter
Dunt plusurs se porrunt amender
Ki cest escrist voudrunt oẽr
E en lur quers bien retenir.
Le oẽr ne vaut une chastanie,
Ki del retenir ne se penie;
Eynz vaut meuz de tut lesser
Ke oẽr e tost ublẽer.
Seignurs, pur ceo le vus ay dist
Ke vus ky orez cest escrist,
Si bien i ad, sil retenez
E, si n'i ad, si l'amendez.
Ceo voil a tuz iceus requere
Ki meuz de moy le saverunt faire.
De ceo ne voil jo plus parler,
A mun purpos voil repeirer;
Deu vus doint bon achevement,
Ore oyez le comencement.
Si cum jo l'ay escrist truvé,
Vus voil dire la verité,
Ne ja de ren n'i mentiray
Sulunc l'escrist ke truvé ay.
En Yrlande esteit jadys
Un hom ky ert de grant pris;
Sen Patriz esteit sun dreit nun,
Mult ert de grant religiun;
En Deu servir s'entente mist,
Ki pur luy meint miracle fist;
Taunt cum il ert en ceste vie,
A muz pur luy dunat aẽe.
En icel tens ceus de la terre
Vers Damnedeu teneyent guere,
Kar bien faire ne voleient,
Si repleni de mal esteint.

1:4-5 These lines have no source in T, but closely resemble F37-8,

Seyn Patriz en out grant dolur
Kant il les vist en tel errur....

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1:5 Kölbing, ES i(1877),98 retains MS. reading vntrewe spelt untrewe, and suggests the emendation adopted here in a note, p.112.

2:1 Cf. F41 Mult se pena de sermumier....

2:4 Cf. F57 Mes plein furent de felunnie....

2:5 No doubt influenced by F58 and F61-2:

Sun sen turnerent a folie...

Tute sa predicaciun
Ne luy vaut un butun....

3:1 Cf. F66 Tuz luy distrent comunement....

T merely reads dicebant (p.151 l.26). On F67 following a β text of T, see Introduction, p. xcix.

3:4 MS. roman] Kölbing retains the MS. reading and in a note (ES i.112) says: "don that roman: das abenteuer ausführen." E. Willson, The Middle English Legends of Visits to the Other World and their Relation to the Metrical Romances, Diss. (Chicago,1917),5 translates this note as "carried out that adventure", and quotes this line as an example to show that "certain writers of legends were romance readers". Such a proposition is doubtless true, but this line so translated is doubtful testimony. There is no record of such a usage of roman in French or English; it does not occur in F; and the syntactic deficiency which juxtaposes roman/In-to helle... presupposes corruption in the text. The emendation is based on T and F. In T the pagan Irish say that unless one of them (nisi aliquis eorum (p.151 l.28)) may experience the torments and bliss of the otherworld, then they will not believe Patrick. Cf. F69-70:

S'il ne face akun de lur
Veer d'enfer la grant dolur....

By emending roman to oo man all is reasonably solved, and the causative dede follows F's face. oo as a reduced form of on = one before a consonant frequently appears before man: see OED s.v. O, OO, numeral adj..

4:4-5 For repenti in rhyme cf. F73-4:

Ke ne se volent repentir
Ne lur pecché ici joïr....

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5:1-2 Not in T. Cf. F85-6 Quant sein Patriz iceo oÿ,
Mult en fu dolent e marri....

5:4-5 Cf. F89-90 E fud mult en aflictiuns,
En juines e en oreissuns...

and cf. T p.152 l.4.

6:2 wende] transitive with object hem (6:4) and folk (6:6).

7 Cf. F95-6 Si cum il vint pur Deu preer,
Il s'endormist devant l'auter....

This detail appears neither in T nor in any other English or French version. See Introduction, p. xcvii.

8:1-3 The dream is mentioned in F97:

Si li esteit avis en sunge...

but not in T, where Christ uisibiliter apparuit (p.152 l.7).

9:1 A novel little detail, typical of many that the poet introduces into this version. I shall not draw attention to them all. The reader may compare A with T and AN/F for himself to appreciate our poet's skill in adaptation.

9:2 Cf. F104 Nus hom ne le vus savereit descrire....

Maybe the English poet unconsciously understood escrire for descrire, though the latter could also mean to write. This is not in T.

9:4-6 Expands T textum ewangeliorum (p.152 l.7) and F106:

U les evangelies sunt escrist.

10:2 a wel fair staf] Cf. F108 un bel bastun.

10:4 Godes Staf] Cf. F110 Le bastun Deu. T calls the staff baculus Ihesu (p.152 l.11) which more closely resembles the Irish Bachal Isa. See Note C64.

11:1-4 Cf. F119-121 Quant Deu li out cel dun doné,
Od sei l'en ad d'iloc mené;
En un desert dreit s'en ala....

12:1-2 Cf. F123-4 Ke tut esteit obchure e runde;
Tel n'i avoit en tut le munde.

12:6 The poet significantly reminds us that St. Patrick is still asleep all the time: cf. also 10:3. This reminder is not found in F.

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13:2-4 Cf. F126-7

Ke cil ke ad fet mortel pecché,
S'il seit veray repentaunt....

Cf. T quia quisquis ueraciter penitens (p.152 l.16).

14:5 'God' must be understood as subject of schuld for-ziue.
Cf. F136

De(s) ses pecchez averat relés...

and T ab omnibus purgaretur tocius uite sue peccatis (p.152 ll.18-19).

15:1-2 Cf. F139-140

E s'il eit ferme creance
Bone e pure sanz dutance....

15:6 Only found in A. As Owayne discovers, this is not strictly true.

16:1 Cf. F143

U les peccheurs serunt jetez....

16:4-6 Cf. F145-8

E ensement rever pura
La duce joye ke fait ha
Damnedeu a ses amis
Ki sunt la sus en paraÿs.

Cf. T gaudia beatorum (p.152 l.21).

17:1-2 Cf. F149-150

Kant li Syres out si parlé
E tut apertement mustré....

17:4-5 Only found in A. Cf. F152 s'envanist and T Domino disparente (p.152 l.21).

18 The whole of this stanza follows F153-9:

E quant sein Patriz s'eveilla,
Enseignes bones i truva
Ke i n'out mot de mensunge
De kanke il out veü en sunge:
Ceo fut le livre oud le bastun
Dunt Deu li aveit fait le dun.
Il en ad mut Deu mercïé....

19:4 þurth] Thus spelt throughout this poem and habitual with Auchinleck scribe 1. Kölbing always misreads þurch. See A.J. Bliss, Speculum, xxvi(1951),658 note 5.

19:5-6 Cf. F164

Al pople fere amendement....

20:1 Cf. F167

En icel lu, sanz demurance...

after T Statimque in eodem loco (p.152 ll.24-5).

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20:4 - 21:2 I have emended according to F. See Introduction, p.ci. It is unlikely that the church St. Patrick founds should be dedicated to himself, according to MS. reading 20:5. It may be that the author of AN knew that St. Patrick founded St. Peter and St. Paul's, Armagh, and adapted this knowledge. St. Patrick had brought relics of saints Peter and Paul from Rome and laid them in their shrine at Armagh. See Trip. Life, ii.474-5. The Lough Derg priory on Saints' Island was a dependency of this foundation at Armagh. For 21:2, cf. F172:

Ceo sevent bien cels de la tere.

21:4 Regles] This spelling is the same as that in F174, and A follows F in giving this name here rather than after telling that the hole is called St. Patrick's Purgatory (24:3, cf. F193), as is the order in T (cf. p.153 ll.7-8). On the name Regles, see Introduction, p.cxliii and Note H85.

22:3 This probably owes something to F177-8:

Ke tut dis deivent sanz feintie
Des apostles tenir la vie.

F here follows the β text of T, uitam apostolicam sectantes (p.152 l.26). These words are omitted from α.

22:4-6 See Notes C54ff and C64 on the book and the staff.

23:1-2 Cf. F179-180

Dreit pres de l'est, pres de l'eglise,
Est cele fosse grant assise.

23:4 Cf. F181-2

Sein Patriz trestut entur
Le fit clore de un bon mur...

which translates T muro circumdedit (p.152 l.28).

24:2 entre follows F192 la entur, not found in T.

24:4 Cf. F195

En icel tens ke cest avint....

24:6 Even this tag seems to have been prompted by F194:

Si cum recuntent les escriz.

25:1 Cf. F197-8

Ki pur les pecchez espeinir
La peine volt pur suffrir...

where T merely reads penitentia ducti (p.153 l.1).

25:2 and 25:6 The repetition here of the visitors' return stems from the β text regredientes (p.153 l.2), not found in α, via F196:

Meint i entra ke puys revint...

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(cf. A24:5), and F199 — E quant il furent revenu....

25:4-5 Cf. F201-4 — Ki il unt veü apertement
La grant dolur e le turment,
U tuz ceus soffrent la penance
Ki n'unt fet lur penitance....

Both F and A do not agree exactly with T which says that visitors suffered rather than merely saw the torments, and saw the joys, p.153 ll.2-3. Whereas the author of AN is meticulous in explaining that visitors saw the penance of what must be souls in purgatory, the author of A twice refers simply to helle (24:5, 25:5). Purgatori is specified at 42:6. See Introduction, p.ccxviii.

26:2 and 26:5 Cf. F205-6 — E la joie reveü unt
De paraÿs, u tuz ceus sunt....

27:1 Cf. F213 — Kant ceus ke el pays esteyent....

27:4 Cf. F215 — A seint Patriz dreit en alerunt....

(In F f.16a begins with l.217 not l.214 as in Zanden's text.)

27:5 Original in A. This whole stanza expands T ceperunt alii beati Patricii predicationem suscipere (p.153 ll.5-6), and cf. F213-9.

28:1-2 Cf. F220 — Se sunt il trestuz convertuz....

28:4-6 This formula for recitation also occurs at this point in F, ll.225-234. A follows F in omitting the rest of the preamble concerning the ritual procedure for entry to the Purgatory, (see T p.154 l.4 - p.155 l.4). The fact that the details were to follow concerning Owayne's visit in particular would have made the repetition of this information idle.

29:2-3 Not in T. Cf. F236 Ki guardat Engletere e tint....

It is perhaps amazing to find Stephen of all kings so praised as a wise ruler, but the poet presumably had little inkling of and less interest in the incongruity of his commonplace praise.

29:4 In T Owayne was an Irish knight subject to an Irish king. See Introduction, chapter 8d). The idea of making him a Northumberland man is entirely our poet's own: see Introduction, p.cxiv. The A poet may have meant only that Owayne fought in Northumberland, and have still regarded the cuntre per he born wes (30:2) as Ireland. This line translates F239:

En cele terre u il esteit né....

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The dialectal evidence of rhymes in no way suggests that the poet was himself from Northumberland. The widespread fame of Bede's Drihthelm seems the most suggestive source for this mention. Northumbria, of course, had potent links with Ireland, and both were fertile of otherworld legend. On Drihthelm being from Maelros, and Fursey (see Bede, Ecclesiastical History, III.xix) from Ireland, and the possible transmission of Gregory's Dialogues to Northumberland via Ireland, see A.G. Van Hamel in review of Verdeyen and Endepols (1914) in Neophilologus, iv(1919),154ff.

29:5 Cf. F238 Ke mult ert hardi e fier.

No such information is found in T, though some effort to characterize Owayne was made by Matthew Paris.

> ...miles quidam Hoenus nomine qui multis annis sub rege Stephano militaverat, licentia a rege impetrata, profectus est in Hyberniam ad natale solum, ut parentes visitaret. Qui cum aliquandiu in regione illa demoratus fuisset, coepit ad mentem reducere vitam suam adeo flagitiosam, quod ab ipsis cunabulis incendiis semper vacaverat et rapinis, et quod magis dolebat, se ecclesiarum fuisse violatorem et rerum ecclesiasticarum invasorem, praeter multa enormia, quae intrinsecus latebant, peccata.

Chronica Majora, under the year 1153, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 57b(1874), 192-3. See Introduction, p.cxcvii.

29:6 rime rather than storie (24:6) is more specific and accurate considering A's debt to AN.

30 Not in T. Cf. F239-43

En cele terre u il esteit né
Par nun esteit Owein apelé.
Mult ert de grant chivalerie,
Mes pecché aveit par folie
Emveer sun creatur mespris....

Tundale was also an experienced warrior, and genere nobilis, but sinful. See Visio Tnugdali, p.6 ll.15ff.

31 - 32 Not in T. Cf. F245-52

Mes a un jur se purpensa
K'il la folie guerpira,
E voudra par confessiun
De ses pecchez aver pardun.
Kant il issi purpensé fu,
Par aveture est avenu
A cel esvesque ki maneit
El païs u le fosse esteit....

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32:3-5 In adapting his source the A poet has arrived at a false statement. The bishop did not reside at any abbey where the hole was, but at the seat of the bishopric in which the Purgatory lay, i.e. Clogher. See Note T 155/7. The Latin says Owayne went ad episcopum, in cuius episcopatu prefatum est purgatorium (p.155 ll. 7-8); cf. F251-2, quoted above. In so far as the poet omits the business of the bishop sending a letter to the prior of the Purgatory it is, however, more fitting that Owayne should be represented as finding the bishop on the site. Note the transition in stanzas 37 and 38 from bischop to priour.

33:1-3 Cf. F255-7

E tut li cunut sa folye,
E pur amur Deu merci luy crie,
Ke il luy doint confessiun....

33:5 Cf. F260

E guerpira tut sun pecché.

34:1-2 Cf. F261-2

E le evesque grant joie en a,
Mes del peché mult le blama....

35:4 Cf. F273

Si vus le volez comander....

See Introduction, p.xcviii.

36 Neither in T nor in F is this reply by the bishop in direct speech. One may compare Marie de France's version (ll.543-6) for the same dramatic use of direct speech, but she has none of the cordiality of A36:1.

38:1-2 Cf. F325-6

Pur fere a Deu ses oreisuns
En juines e en afflictiuns...

and A5:4-5 and Note.

38:4-5 Cf. A193:1-2.

39:1-5 Cf. F339-44

,,Frere, fait il, vus enterez
En la fosse ke vus veyez.
Quant vus serez un poy alé,
Tut averez perdu la clarté,
Mes vus truverez la veye grant,
Si en irez tut dreit avant.

39:6 This is not in T, nor is norþ mentioned in F, cf. F344. Although the subterranean geography of the tale is somewhat confused, it is fitting that Owayne should be made to go north in order to encounter the demons, the north being proverbially the domain of Lucifer.

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40:1 Cf. F345-6

Et tant siverez le grant chemin
Ki est desuz el suzterin...

after β text per concauitatem subterraneam (p.156 ll.11-12), where ∝ reads only per concauitatem terre, though ∝ has subterraneam later (W.48:13) when Owayne reaches the hall.

40:6 Cf. F348

U poy de clarté truverez....

41:1-3 See Introduction, p.xcviii.

42:1 No number of Godes seriaunce is given by the prior in F or T, and A is alone in giving 13 as the number. F386 follows T (p.157 l.12) in subsequent narrative in specifying 15 men. It would seem that britten or xiii already existed in the A scribe's exemplar, as he repeats it at 45:4 and 190:5. At some stage either fiften or xv must have been misread. No Tractatus MS. known to me gives the number thirteen. Cf. Introduction, p.lxxxv.

A follows F in not mentioning at this point that temptatores will arrive after the departure of Godes seriaunce: see T p.156 l.17.

42:6 See Note A25:4-5.

43 A follows F in the sequence of events and in omitting the declining and reviving light found here in T (p.156 l.30 - p.157 l. 3).

Cf. F365-73

Quant alad e enz se mist,
Sis comandat a Ihesu Crist;
E cels se sunt tuz returné,
Si unt la porte refermé.
Le chivaler de aler se avance,
En Deu ad mis sa fiance;
Tant ad sun dreit chemin tenu
Que dequ'al champ en est venu
E la grant sale i ad truué....

F370, which has no equivalent in A, stems from β confidens in Domino (p.156 ll.29-30); not found in ∝.

44:2 This line may conceivably show that the A poet knew an ∝ text which includes at about this point Sicut enim estimauit, in hoc seculo aula talis uisa ab homine uel facta numquam fuit (W:50:31-4), though the commonplace nature of the line and the lack of corroborative evidence for the use of an ∝ text, or of any text of T, makes this unlikely. No such line occurs in F.

44:3 Cf. F378

Kar sur pilers ert tute asise....

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45:3 bare for bere to r.w. bere < beren, with long close ę̄.

45:5 Not in T or F. F386 calls the messengers homes de religiun, and T says quasi religiosi (p.157 ll.12-13). Cf. Godes seriaunce A42:2.

46:6 Cf. F393 Mult ducement l'aresuna....

47 Cf. 399-402

Mes de une rien garnir vus voil,
Si cum les autres faire soil:
Ke vus ayez ferme creance,
Estable e bone sanz dutance....

Cf. also A15:1-2.

47:4-6 Translate:'that thou be of firm belief, (that) thy true allegiance (faith) to God (be) certain and pure, without doubt.' Kölbing interprets fay as imperative follow and translates 47:6 "füge deine treue zu gott, d.h. vertraue fest auf gott; fay = alte. fêgan, vgl. Stratm. p.161" (ES i(1877),112 note). This seems unnecessarily tortuous.

49:2-3 These lines are original in A and exhibit a fine pertinence, i.e. that in suffering torment Owayne should remember Christ's wounds, suffered to save sinners like Owayne from eternal damnation. Reverence for the five wounds of Christ is shown also at 196:5, again original in A, and cf. 143:4.

49:5 Mention of helle replaces the verbs peribis (T p.157 l.29) and perdu serez (F425), and emphasises the starkness of the alternatives open to Owayne.

50:1 Cf. F433 De Ihesu numez le nun...

and T inuoca Dominum Ihesum Christum (p.158 ll.5-6). In F this speech by the leader of God's messengers is very long - 54 lines; cf. A's 21 lines. A omits the promise that Owayne should see paradise if he is constant in purgatory, F444-8, T p.158 l.4.

50:4 - 51:2 Cf. F449-53

Quant il li out tut ceste mustré,
Il n'i ad pas plus demuré,
Mes il e tuz si compaingun,
Li unt duné lur beneiçun,
Si s'en issi hastivement....

A follows F here in making the notion that the men in white could stay no longer part of the narrative, whereas in T it is part of the leader's speech (p.158 ll.7-8). F418 also includes the idea in the middle of the speech.

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51:3-6 A omits the long section in T (p.158 11.9-19), shortened in F456-64, on how Owayne was armed with the armour of God, and A makes him a much more fearful human figure than the strong knight of Christ (miles Christi) awaiting battle with the demons presented in T. See Introduction, p.cxv, and cf. 52:3 and Note 61.

52:4-6 Cf. F469-71

Si tut le mund deust trebucher
E ciel e tere deust asembler,
Greinur noyse pas ne freit...

from T si totus commoueretur orbis (p.158 1.22). Both F and A omit T's mention of men and beasts, though ciel e tere and firmament to be mold may derive from β omnia animantia terre, maris et aeris (p.158 11.23-4), not found in ∝.

54:2 Not in T or F. Grinning backsides presuppose that the poet visualizes the demons as wearing a face Bihinde and eke bifore (53:6). Representations of demons with faces not only on the backside but on the stomach and limb joints were common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See e.g. A.N. Didron, Christian Iconography, ii(London,1886),figs. 171, 192, and also L. Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, ii(1)(Paris,1956),61. Cf. William of Stranton, above, p.103 11.1-4.

54:3 Cf. F495-6

Il le vunt tuz mult escarnisant
E par echar li [v]unt disant...

and T cachinnando ac deridendo illum salutare et quasi per obprobrium dicere (p.159 11.4-5).

54:5 - 55:2 Not in T or F.

55:4-5 Cf. F511-12

E pur vos pechez espeinir,
Venistes ça peine sufrir.

T does not mention amendment, nor do T and F mention Owayne's dedli sinne (56:3). The English poet throughout lays more stress on Owayne's sins and his expiation of them.

56:5 Cf. The Sowdone of Babylone, ed. E. Hausknecht, EETS,ES xxxviii(1881),11.3188ff.

His soule was fet to helle,
To daunse in þat sory lande
With develes, þat wer ful felle.

Cf. also C282 and Note. The dance of the devils introduced by the A poet here contrasts neatly with the carols danced in the Earthly Paradise which are also introduced only in A.

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57:4 There is a subtle malice in this romantic phrase fine amour found on the lips of the fendes. Like the references to daunce and play (56:5-6), þe ioie of helle (54:5), and solas (107:4), it parallels the ironic inversion of values practised by the lying ministers of Gulinus' court who torture the knight in Peter of Cornwall's account: see pp.196-8. See also Introduction, pp.cxif. and T. McAlindon, 'Comedy and Terror in Middle English Literature: The Diabolical Game', MLR lx(1965),323-332.

58:3 Not in T or F. Here the poet begins the enumeration of Owayne's sins which are not mentioned at all in T nor in any other account of Owayne's visit. The poet has taken the idea mainly from the Vision of St. Paul, and is followed in this by William of Stranton: see Introduction, pp.cixff.

58:5 Cf. 119:3.

59:2-3 Only in A does Owayne speak at this point, with the exception of C291-2, H286-7. In T it is specifically stated that he remains silent (p.159 11.22-3).

60:2 In T the demons drag Owayne back and forth through the flames with iron hooks (p.159 11.27-8). Cf. F543-4.

60:5 Cf. F550-2

...trestut le fu
Issi esteint demeintenant,
Ne truvisez petyt ne grant.

This follows T ut nec scintilla inueniretur (p.160 11.6-7).

61 A here omits the idea found in T (p.160 11.7-10) and F557-8 that Owayne felt Michel þe balder because he knew he could so easily dismiss the fiends and escape torment, by virtue of his prayer. The poem thus ensures greater dramatic tension in Owayne's encounters with the fiends. See also Note A51:3-6. The poet even has three new lines (61:4-6) emphasising the fendes trecherie and the testing of Owayne's heart (faith).

62:3 Cf. F569 En une estrange regyun...

and T per uastam regionem (p.160 11.13-14).

62:4-6 Not in T or F. The extra physical discomforts are added by the English poet. The fact that there are no trees to be seen again contrasts with the Earthly Paradise with its high trees (145:2).

63:1 Cf. the bitter wind in the Poema Morale (Trinity MS.), ed. J. Hall, Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250, i(Oxford, 1920),39 l.138. See also Owen (1970),Index s.v. winds, infernal.

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63:3 perced] Cf. F576 ala perzant and T perforare (p.160 l.18). A emphasises the physical pain of the piercing by omitting F il li sembla (575) after T uidebatur.

63:5 A omits the geographical details of the journey, first travelling NE, and then SE., in T p.160 ll.18-22, and F581-90.

63:6 Cf. F588 Par mi un val ke mut lé fu...

after T per uallem latissimam (p.160 ll.20-1).

64:1-2 Not in T or F. The poet speaks of hell, i.e. Owayne thinks he is in hell, but really it is purgatory: see 67:6 and Introduction, p.ccxxii.

65:4 deueling from diven to dive, sink down, + suffix, as in OE baec-long backwards, hed-long headlong; i.e. sprawling, flat on the ground.

65:6 A alone has 'iron bands'. T (p.161 l.4) and F607 have burning iron nails, but A hereby avoids repetition with the second field of torment: see 70:2.

66:4 See Introduction, p.c.

66:5 Not in T or F.

67 Not in T or F. The first of the stanzas introduced in A detailing the sins for which the various pains were prepared. See Introduction, p.cix. This is in place of the fiends' attempts to make Owayne turn back, T p.161 ll.11-15.

67:3 Sloth does not appear in VSP, used by the A poet for the remainder of his list of sins.

67:6 Note the poet specifies purgatory at the beginning of the torments so that we have no doubt ourselves that what is described is not hell. In F we have to wait till the fourth field to learn that the pains are penitential, F749-52. Cf. A72:6, 79:5, 82:2.

68:1 It is not really the first pain because Owayne has been thrown on the fire in the cloister-like hall, but it is the first pain suffered by the other souls and the first field of purgatory.

68:4 A omits the reiteration of the invocation to Christ after every torment, thereby speeding up the narrative.

70:5 Cf. F652 Vit sér ardanz dragunts...

after T Dracones igniti (p.161 l.24).

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70:6 Cf. Amis and Amiloun, l.501; Sir Degrevant, l.1088. This is a stock line in ME romance, in which herd derives from OE hired household: see OED s.v. HIRD, HIRED, 1. Hence the sense 'in a household nothing may be hidden' becomes 'there is no secret about it', i.e. 'this is the plain truth'. See Whiting, H281, gives earliest refs. c.1300.

71:1 todes blake] Cf. F665-6 crapouz seeient/Ardanz e neirs... and T Buffones...quasi ignei (p.162 ll.1-2).

71:2 Newts appear in hell, along with adders and frogs, in Poema Morale, ed. J. Hall, l.277.

71:4-6 Not in T or F. Here the glutton is suitably punished, "Not where he eats, but where 'a is eaten."

72 - 73 The cold wind and the demons with hooks belong to the third field of torment (T p.162 l.23 and F724-6), though the poet has omitted to move Owayne on in avoiding the repetition of the nail torment. We can infer that these stanzas do deal with field three for in 73 we are told that these pains are for the sin of lechery, and in 76:5 we have moved on to the fourth field. Altogether there are seven fields of torment, the fifth the wheel, the sixth the mountain and river, the seventh the bath house. On the parallel with the seven seals and the sevenfold furnace of VSP and the seven zones of hell in the ON Solarlioð see D.D.R. Owen, RP xli(1958),36 note 10 and reference to Asín Palacios, Pt.II, chapter III.

72:2 cold] Cf. T uento frigido et urente (p.162 l.23). F724 translates only urente:

U vent ki fu bruillant esteit....

72:3-6 Not in T or F.

73:1 þare for þere.

73:2 Cf. F726 Ke de lur crocs les demaglerent.

This follows T flagrisque demonum cruciabantur (p.162 ll.23-4).

73:4 Lechers appear in VSP stanzas 7 and 10.

74:2-3 Not in T or F.

75:1-3 Not in T or F.

77:1 Cf. VSP 3:1 Some bi þe fiet weren an hongue.

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77:5-6 The poet was truly faced with a plethora of torments catalogued in both T and F, the latter (F743-800) even fuller than T (p.163 ll.1-20).

Cf. F779-780
Il sunt peyné en meinte guise,
Ne ne vus say faire devise....

78:1-2 Cf. F769-770
Enz esteit les esquanz
En furneyses de suffre ardanz....

after T Alii fornacibus sulfureis cremabantur (p.163 ll.8-9).

78:3 Not in T or F.

78:4 Cf. VSP 3:6 And some bi heore toungues hienge.

78:6 Not in T or F. It is correct that souls in purgatory could not pray for themselves. They depended on the prayers of their living friends and relatives to assist them.

79:1 Cf. F771 Sur gridils sunt les uns rosti....

Gridirons are not mentioned in T which has furnaces, frying pans, and spits (p.163 ll.8ff).

79:3-5 Cf. F786-8
Homes mult k'yl bien cuniseit,
Ki furent de sa cunisance
E la suffrirent lur penance.

This follows T uidit quosdam de suis quondam sociis et eos bene cognouit (p.163 ll.14-15).

79:6 Not in T or F.

80:1-2 Cf. F745-6
Le champ de fu tut pleine esteit,
Quanque il ateint tut ebraseit...

not in T.

80:5 Not in T, F or VSP.

81:4 Cf. VSP 17:4 þulke weren bacbitares in heore liue.

82 Not in T or F.

84:4-6 T does not mention Owayne in particular here (p.164 ll.3-5).
Cf. F827-30
Ne poeit pas le chevaler
Les uns des autres deviser,
Kar tut pur veir luy vis esteit
Pur le ignelesce ke ele aveyt....

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85:3 Not in T or F, though they say the fire was sulphurous. A omits the fact that the wheel was half submerged in the earth.

85:6 Not in T or F. The whole of this stanza is a good example of A's free adaptation.
Cf. F811-14

> Neyre flamme de suffre ardant
> Hors de la tere vint surdant,
> Tute la roe enviruna,
> Ceus ke pendirent turmenta.

This closely follows T p.163 ll.25-7.

86 - 87 Not in T or F. On the wheel as the fitting pain for the sin of covetousness, see H's copy of Adrian and Epotys 11.371-82, Common-place Book, p.37.

86:5 plouȝ] The most likely meaning here is plough-land, a unit of land for assessment: see OED s.v. PLOUGH 3a, and PLOUGH-LAND. This may be reinforced by the sense of an instrument or means of earning one's livelihood: see OED s.v. PLOUGH 2c(a). Kölbing posited the less likely sense here of 'gewinn' after Norse plógr, used metaphorically for gain or produce, e.g. virð lítils veraldar plóg, this world's gain, quoted by Cleasby and Vigfusson, An Icelandic-English Dictionary.

87:3 lond and lede] An alliterative phrase < OE land and lēode, probably cognate with Old West Norse land ok lýðr. See OED s.v. LEDE sb. 1(b), and E.S. Olszewska, 'Illustrations of Norse Formulas in English', Leeds Studies in English, ii(1933),79, 83.

88 This expands F835-6 Sur la roe dunc li geterent
En l'eir turnant sus le leverent...

after T p.164 ll.6-7.

89:1-2 The stress on physical pain is not found in T or F.

90 - 95 These five stanzas on the mountain, wind and river should-follow stanzas 96-104 on the bath house if the order is to follow that in T and F. See Introduction, p.cviii.

90:3, 6 Not in T or F.

91:5 Not in T or F. The metaphorical beverage of evil is related to the drink of pain or death prepared by Satan for the inhabitants of hell. See Carleton Brown, 'Poculum Mortis in Old English', Speculum, xv(1940), 389-99. Cf. such bitter drinks as that in The Revelations of St. Birgitta, EETS clxxviii, p.108 and

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An Alphabet of Tales, EETS cxxvii, p.295. See also G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, iii(Cambridge,1936),12 for an illustration of the Dragon of the Seven Deadly Sins proffering the cup inscribed Gula, and for reference to Piers Plowman B.xviii.361-2. Cf. e.g. The Pricke of Conscience, ed. R. Morris, (Berlin,1863),l.6737:

Þe flamme of fire þai sal drynk...

and also Psalm 10:7 (Vulgate) and Deut. 32:33. The introduction of this metaphorical beverage, which comes in the form of a biting wind, contrasts well with the heavenly food, which comes to those on top of another mountain, in the Earthly Paradise: see A182ff.

92:5 Cf. F941 Si porta tuz en l'eyr amunt...

after T arripuit (p.165 l.15).

93:2 Not in T or F. o fer refers to the blood red mountain: cf. 90:3. With these two original details the poet has improved on his sources and emphasises the contrast between the fire and the icy cold river (93:4). The alternation of heat and cold is an extremely widespread feature of hell/purgatory pains, stemming perhaps from Job 24:19. Cf. e.g. Drihthelm and William of Stranton (p.121 ll.21ff, and see Note), for the two towers, one of fire, one of ice, and also the two baths in Peter of Cornwall's account, p.196 l.24 - p.197 l.10.

93:3 Not in T or F. Cf. 189:5. alblast = arbalest (cross-bow). A proverbial comparison:see Whiting, Q7.

93:5-6 Not in T or F.

94:1-3 Not in T or F. This is the first of four occasions (cf. 149:4, 188:1, 198:4) where seyn(t) is applied to Owayne in the sense of holy or blessed, scarcely as the title 'saint'. This is nowhere found in any other English, French or Latin account, as far as I know. It is obviously somewhat premature to regard Owayne as blessed at this stage of his trials; it is more fitting at the end of the poem when he is fully purged and his place in heaven is assured.

94:2 mad] See OED s.v. MAD a.3, stupefied with astonishment, fear or suffering: dazed.

95 Not in T or F.

95:2 niþe and ond] These words frequently occur together as a set phrase: see OED s.v. NITH(E), and following Note.

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95:4 It is especially appropriate that the windes blast should be retribution for ond, as this word means ill-will, 'animus', from ON andi breath. See OED s.v. ONDE sb.4 and ANDE.

95:3-6 False rhyme liif/bi.

96:5 Not in T or F.

97:3-6 This speech the poet has concocted from the demons' former taunts. At this point in T (p.164 ll.13-15) and F852-8 the demons force Owayne onward rather than tempt him to turn back.

99:3-6 Cf. T metallis diuersis (p.164 ll.20-1), and F881 plusurs metals. y-melt for variant y-milt to rhyme with y-filt.

100 Cf. VSP 8:4-5, 9:3-4,6 describing the souls immersed in the river beneath the bridge.

Some to heore kneos woden.
And some to hore naueles stoden.

And some to heore chynne.
þe sunfole weren al wode.
For heore dedlich sunne.

101 - 102 Not in T or F.

101:1-3 Cf. VSP 17:1-3

Sunfole soules for heore gult.
Weren in þat þustur put ipult.
Heore tongues forto hete.

101:4 - 102:1 The usurer or miser was usually represented in medieval art with his neck-pouch in scenes of the Last Judgement or of hell torments from at least the twelfth century on. For examples, see J. Bilson, 'On a sculptured representation of Hell Cauldron, recently found at York', Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, xix(1907),435-45, especially p.439 note 1, and plate opp. p.435; E. Trollope, 'The Norman Sculpture of Lincoln Cathedral', Archaeological Journal, xxv(1868),fig.12 opp.pp.14; Leroquais, Les Psautiers Manuscrits, v(Macon,1940-1),plate XLV (Amiens, Bibl. mun. MS. 19 f.12b, hell's mouth with flames and a figure with a neck-pouch standing in a circular pit.) See also F. Saxl, English Sculptures of the Twelfth Century (London,1954),pp. 47, 67, 74 note 29, and plates XLVIII, XCIII, XCV. Other examples are numerous: see e.g. Herrade of Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum, ed. A. Straub and G. Keller, (Strasbourg,1879),43 plate 56, monachus falling from the ladder leading to heaven. At Rheims, Judgement portal, see W. Sauerländer, Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270 (London,1972),plate 239. At Aulnay, St. Pierre, see R. Haman,

'Das Tier in der Romanischen Plastik Frankreichs', in Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter, ii(Harvard,1939),447 fig.39. At Orcival, see J. Baum, Romanesque Architecture in France (London, 1928),257 no.3, inscription reads FOL DIVES. See also G.-J. Witkowski, L'Art Profane à l'Église, i(Paris,1908),406 fig.510 (Amiens); p.453 fig.550 (Sens); p.163 fig.190 (Troyes). The figure also occurs in the Danse Macabre (Paris,1486), see A. Tenenti, Il senso della morte e l'amore delle vita nel rinascimento (1957), plate 51.

Étienne de Bourbon tells the tale of the usurer killed at his wedding at the church door of Notre Dame de Dijon by being hit on the head by the stone purse thrown down by the usurer sculpted above the portal, Anecdotes Historiques, Légendes et Apologues..., ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, (Paris,1877),no.53. In no.420 the tale is repeated and the whole sculpture falls. See Tubach, Index Exemplorum, 5044.

For feeding on the pence, see the close parallel in Dante, Inferno, xvii.55-7:

> che dal collo a cia cun pendea una tasca
> ch'avea certo colore e certo segno,
> e quindi par che 'l loro occhio si pasca.

See also the figure of Avarice in the painting (c.1200) at Chaldon, Surrey, reproduced most clearly in the photograph of part of the painting which is printed on the front dust-cover of the 2nd ed., revised by Bridget Cherry, of The Buildings of England Surrey, ed. Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, (Harmondsworth,1971); see also A. Caiger-Smith, English Medieval Mural Paintings (Oxford,1963),36 and plate xii; and Owen (1970),plate 6.

There are many other tales of usurers being fed on their pence or molten gold. See e.g. Dial. Mirac. XI. xxxix, xlii. See also Hortus Deliciarum, ed. J. Walter, (Strasbourg and Paris, 1952),plate XLIV and XLIII. Cf. also the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, cap.xxi, ed. H.E. Salter, p.318 ll.124-6.

102:2 Cf. 81:5.

102:4 zede vp-riȝtes] I.e. these souls are floating on their backs on the boiling metal with fiends sitting on them.

103:4 Cf. the old man in VSP 15:1:

> He was an hokerere in is liue.

Cf. A102:1. The old man bears not a purse round his neck but fiends:

> VSP 13:4 Feondes in is necke he bar.

103:2-6 This speech expands T p.164 ll.14-15 and p.165 l.1, F852-8. There is no mention of usury in T or F.

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104:3 Owayne includes Mary in his prayers here and at 127:3. Cf. 109:5, 143:6, 197:2 and F492, 736, 1012, 1083. No mention of Mary is made in T, nor at this point in F.

105:1-2 Cf. 183:1-2.

106 The seven-coloured flame derives not from T or F but from VSP where the pit has seven seals over seven holes and the fire glows through. See Introduction, p.cxi.

106:6 Cf. the fifth in the list of the seven plagues of the furnace in VSP 24:5 :

þat fiȝfte ase naddres on to seone.

A's list is more colourful though only five are given and no attempt is made to follow the different forms of snow, ice, fire, blood etc. of the other seven seals in VSP. The fifth given here follows the Latin quinta serpens, see VSP IV, p.75 ll.11-13 and note p.98. See also Silverstein, pp.72-5, and D.D.R. Owen, RP xii(1958),34 note 5.

108:1 Not in T or F. The image of the soul as a bird in the snare of the fowler (the Devil) is derived ultimately from Psalms 90:3 and 123:7 (Vulgate), and is a not uncommon iconographical motif. E.g. in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, f.107 (see ed. introduced by John Plummer, (New York,1971),no.48) a miniature depicts the release of souls from hell's mouth; in the lower border a man snaring birds with a string trap; two decoy birds below in a cage; and an open trap awaiting new victims on the right. See also B.G. Koonce, 'Satan the Fowler', Mediaeval Studies, xxi (1959),176-84, and MED s.v. FOULER(E n. and GRIN(E n.(b).

108:2-3 These lines expand F993 nostre mansiun and T habitacio nostra (p.166 l.6). This is the first recorded usage of courtelage in MED; the second in 1434, a vegetable garden; a garden patch, a croft.

The Devil had a castle opposite to God's, the castellum diaboli constructed from the Seven Deadly Sins. See J.A. Cuddon, The Transition from the Late Medieval to the Renaissance Conceptions of Satan in English Literature with Especial Reference to the Drama, B.Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1958, pp.54ff. See also Owst, LPME, p.93, and see below, Note to Stranton, pp.121/21ff, 122/21ff.

108:5-6 Not in T or F.

109:5 Devils were, of course, in awe of the Virgin in her capacity as Empress of Hell. E.g.

alle the dewels ther dredys the name of this glorious virgyne

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and ben subdewed to hur power, and she letteth hem to tempte hur servaundes to the uttrest entente of here malice.

Quoted by Owst, LPME, p.19.

110:1 Cf. F1013 Trestut lur conseil despiseit...

after T promissa spernente (p.166 l.12).

111:1-2 Cf. F1019-20 E tant cum il plus avala
De tant le plus chaut tut truva...

cf. T grauiorem penam pertulit (p.166 ll.14-15).

112:4-6 Not in T or F. Kölbing emended is þe (112:4) to iche, but this is unnecessary. Relative pronoun þat is to be understood at the beginning of line 112:5.

113:3,6 Not in T or F. See Note A128.

114:1 Not in T or F. Cf. 79:6.

114:2 Cf. F1045-6 ...veeit
Debles qu'il pas ne cuniseit...

after T demones...ab eo...ignoti (p.166 ll.21-2).

114:3-6 Not in T or F. This is typical of the greater detail in the visualisation of demons which increases from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries in accounts of St. Patrick's Purgatory. Cf. William of Stranton, p.103. On sixty as a common number implying simply very many, see S.I. Tucker, 'Sixty as an Indefinite Number in Middle English', RES xxv(1949),152-3.

115 This speech completely ignores T and F where the new devils explain that the pit was not really hell at all: see p. 166 ll.23-6 and F1053ff.

116:4 A proverbial expression: see Whiting, H592. Cf. Jesus College, MS. 29, XI Pains of Hell, ed. R. Morris, EETS xlix(1872),150 ll.123-4 for the deop fen that

...stinkeþ fulre þane þe hund.
For Brunston walleþ at þe grund.

116:5 Not in T or F.

116:6 See Whiting, P235. The poet has substituted a comparison to stress blackness for the actual sulphur and flames of which the river is composed: see T p.167 l.1, and F1074-81.

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117:2 The narrow bridge of judgement separating hell/purgatory from heaven/paradise is well-nigh universal in the post-mortem mythology of all races. Cinvato Paratu, the Bridge of the Separator, plays a large part in Iranian, as al Sirat in Muslim, thought. In the Book of Arta Viraf, ed. and trans. M. Haug and E.W. West, (Bombay and London,1872),cap.53, the bridge crosses hell as in Owayne Miles. See also M. Eliade, Shamanism, archaic techniques of ecstasy, trans. W.R. Trask, revised ed., (London, 1964),396ff and 482ff. In Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. IV.xxxiii) the bridge's narrowness is stressed; in Gregory the Great (Dial. IV.xxxvii) no mention is made of height, narrowness or sharpness, but cf. Dial. IV.xxxviii for reference to Matt. 7:14. In the Irish Fis Adamnáin the boni et mali non valde cross safely, the narrow bridge growing broader, as it does for Owayne: see C.S. Boswell, An Irish Precursor of Dante (London,1908),38-9. The high arched shape is found both here and elsewhere in Irish tradition, e.g. Adventures of St. Columba's Clerics, RC xxvi(1905),153-5, and Tochmarc Emare: see E. Hull, The Cuchullin Saga (London,1898),75, 291. Representations of this not unexpected shape occur in a thirteenth century fresco in S. Maria del Piano, Loreto Aprutino, Italy: see NCE xi(1967),1035; G. Rasetti, 'La visione di Alberico in un affresco del secolo xiii', L'illustratione Vaticana, iv(1933), no.3. 105-8; and Miscellanea Cassinese, xi(1932),plate V opp. p.33. See also O.Holl s.v. Brücke in Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, i(1968),330. For a depiction of the bridge in the Visio Sancti Pauli in Toulouse, Bibl. mun. MS. 815, see Romania, xxiv(1895) after p.368, and J. Baltrušaitis, Réveils et prodiges, le gothique fantastique (Paris,1960),275. On the bridge in romance literature, see L. Hibbard, 'The Sword Bridge of Chretien de Troyes and its Celtic Original', RR iv(1913),166-90. For an occurrence in Old English, see A.S. Napier, 'An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia', Transactions of the Philological Society, (1908-9),182. On the bridge's slipperiness, cf. Carpus in Handlyng Synne, EETS cxix, ll.5257-62. In the Vision of Alberic, cap.17, the bridge itself serves a purgatorial function. See further D.L. Coomaraswamy, 'The Perilous Bridge of Welfare', Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, viii(1944-5),196-213; H.R. Patch, 'The Bridge of Judgement in the Fioretti', Speculum, xxi(1946),343-4, and Patch (1950),8-10, 95-7, and Index s.v. bridge; Owen (1970),Index s.v. bridge, infernal; and Visiones Georgii, pp.159, 190ff for the narrow bridge broadening. For a later and different application by Milton, see E.M.W. Tillyard, SP xxxviii(1941),266-70. In the case at least of A's presentation of the bridge, however, C.S. Lewis's strictures on the motif hunting of Patch are to be born in mind: "If the text really captures us, we have, not an instance of 'the perilous bridge motif' but this individual bridge." MAE xx(1951),93.

117:5 Not in T or F. The bridge is here so called because it leads, for the chosen, over the river beneath which lies hell into the Earthly Paradise.

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118:1 Not in T or F. In T the demons throw their hooks, uncos suos (p.168 l.6). Cf. Handlyng Synne, EETS cxix, ll.5271-2.

118:3 midnerd] From OE middangeard. Cf. 174:6 and see Note. Kölbing misreads miduerd.

118:3-6 Verb of Motion omitted after schalt (cf.113:4). Translate: You shall not (pass over) for all this world, unless you fall in the middle (i.e into the middle of the river) to (where are) more of our fellows.

119:4-5 Not in T or F.

120:4-5 Rhyme ȝeme/beme after OE ȝieme/beam "may possibly depend on ME ę̄ in beam owing to the influence of leam (OE lēoma)", Dobson, ii. sect. 120 note.

120:5-6 Cf. H459. Not in T or F. See Whiting, M709. Such a comparison is not uncommonly applied to demon hordes: e.g. devils flye above in the eyer as thyke as motis in the sonne in Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS. A.6.2 f.133, quoted by Owst, LPME, p.112.

121:2 Cf. F1116 K'il fu trenchant cum un rasur....
See Whiting, R53.

121:4-6 Not in T or F.

122 - 123 Not in T or F.

123:1 MS. dm̄cl has been expanded to dominical, i.e. on Sunday; some such word as readings is to be understood. The whole stanza follows VSP 20: see Introduction, p.cxi. The Visio Sancti Pauli was related on Sundays because Paul obtained rest on Sundays for the souls in hell. In the Lambeth Homilies the tale is headed In Diebus Dominicis: see R. Morris ed., Old English Homilies, EETS xxxiv, pp.41-7. This version omits the bridge. The seven plagues of the furnace have become þe see of helle: see J. Hall ed., Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250, i(Oxford,1920),76 l.24, and ii.417 note, and on the Sunday Letter, ii.415. Whereas in the Visio Sancti Pauli hell is in the pit, in T, F and ACH hell is beneath the river flowing under the perilous bridge. See T. Silverstein, 'The Passage of Souls to Purgatory in the Divina Commedia', Harvard Theological Review, xxxi(1938),57-8. Cf. also E. Kölbing, 'Eine bisher unbekannte me. Version von Pauli Höllenfahrt', ES xxii(1895-6),135 l.23, and note p.137.

VSP 20:1 dominical is the sole reference given in MED, "as noun: ? a book containing the liturgy for Sunday."

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123:5 redempcioun retains the same rhyme sound as VSP 20:5 mencion which follows VSP IV, p.78 ll.2-4:

> Si quis mittatur in hoc puteo, non fiet commemoracio eius in conspectu domini.

This use in A must be an early occurrence of redempcioun: OED first reference quotes Hampole c.1340.

124:2-6 Cf. F1124-8

„ Vus estuvera passer cest punt;
Mes si unkore vus voillez crere
E lesser ester cest eire,
Vus poriez bien returner
E tut cest turment eschaper."

Cf. T p.167 ll.18-19.

125:5 See Introduction, p.c.

126:4-6 This direct speech is not in T or F. A has omitted the widening of the bridge: see Introduction, pp.c-ci.

127:5,2 Cf. F1184-5

K'il fust delivre del turment.
A Ihesu Christ le mercia....

No mention is made of Owayne offering thanks for his delivery in T.

128 Not in T or F. See 113. The significance of this robe sent from heaven is clearly to indicate that Owayne is now a new man, cleansed of his sins, fyned als gold þat shynes clere,(The Pricke of Conscience, l.2632). To enter heaven earthly clothing must be divested and heavenly clothing donned: see D.W. Bousset, 'Die Himmelreise der Seels', Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, iv (1901),139-41. There is a close parallel to the change of clothes and the healing of wounds (128:5-6) in the Vision of Alberic, where, on Alberic's entering paradise:

> omnia membra, et vestimenta ejus que in illius campi asperitate discerpta sibi, et scissa videbantur, redintegrata sanantur...

ed. Cancellieri, cap. 20, or see Miscellanea Cassinese, xi(1932),95.

129:1,3,6 Not in T or F.

130:2-3 Cf. F1196

Ke en tut le mund n'aveit pier....

130:5 Cf. F1198

D'or e de peres aürné...

cf. 129:6. T makes no mention of gold.

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130:6 Not in T or F.

131 - 133 The poet has here greatly expanded F and T which says that the gate metallis diuersis lapidibusque pretiosis ornata mirabili fulgore radiabat (p.174 ll.15-16). The whole of the description of paradise is amplified in A: see Introduction, pp. cxiiff.

131 This stanza closely resembles a catalogue of stones on the gate in another OF version of T, found in B.M. MS. Harley 273.

> Porte i out molt bien assise,
> Ffeite de merveile guise,
> Tot ert de divers metals,
> Molt i out jaspes e cristals,
> Sardoines et alabandines,
> Topaces e cornelines
> Berils, safirs e charbocles,
> Adamantz, smaraudes, onicles.

See J. Vising, 'Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice' des manuscrits Harléian 273 et fonds français 2198 (Göteborg,1916),42 ll.615-22.

132 Not in T or F.

132:1 As the poet is still describing the gate of paradise the sense of tabernacles seems to be OED 4b, "A canopied niche or recess in a wall or pillar, to contain an image", the first reference being Chaucer's Hous of Fame iii.100, some fifty years after A.

132:4 Arches] This is the second reference in MED; the first being from the SEL version of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ld 106, describing the cloister-like hall that Owayne first enters, with pilers and with qwoynte Arches. charbukelston] Material made of or studded with carbuncles; first recorded usage in MED. On carbuncles' power of giving off light, see M.A. Owings, The Arts in the Middle English Romances (New York,1952),143-4.

132:5 Knottes] First instance in MED in architectural sense (4b) of embossed ornaments.

132:6 pinacles] First recorded usage in OED s.v. PINNACLE. It would seem from the high concentration in this one stanza of five words that are all very early usages that the poet was at some pains to make his description as up-to-date and elaborate as possible, by reference to French sources that I have not identified.

133 Not in T or F, though an expansion of the common sentiment in F1199-1200:

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...nul ne le poreit descrivere,
Ne la beauté cunter ne dire.

133:1-2 An interesting instance of Christ as il miglior fabbro, reflecting the idea of God as architect of the universe. See E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R. Trask, (London,1953),544-6, 561-2. Cf. Handlyng Synne, EETS cxix, ll.1411ff. Cf. also the apparition of St. Michael to George Krissaphan in St. Patrick's Purgatory, where the author's imagination seems similarly to have been stimulated in the first instance by artistic representations.

> non est nec esse potest homo depictor nec in arte pingendi doctissimus, qui sufficienter ad depingendam pulchritudinem et formositatem illius esset sufficiens.

Visiones Georgii, p.163.

133:2 For the group tþ in gold-smitþe, see A.J. Bliss in Speculum, xxvi(1951),658 note 6.

134:1 The detail bi hem-selue not in T or F.

134:3 Cf. F1207 Si tut le mund fust enbaumé...

after β si totus mundus in aromata uerteretur (p.174 ll.19-20); cf. α si res totius mundi converterentur in aromata.

134:4 - 135:3 Cf. F1211-15 E il receust de la duçur
Si grant force e si grant vigur
Ke li semble, tut pur veir,
K'il put suffrir, sanz mal aveir,
La peine e la dolur grant...

and T p.174 ll.21-3.

136:3 I have added in, doubtless omitted accidentally following the minims of mani. Cf. F1223:

Muz genz a processiun.

OED gives 1691 as first date for procession as a verb.

136:3-4,6 Cf. 38:5-6, 193:1-2, and F1226-7:

Gunfanuns e croyz porteient,
Chandelabres e paumes de hor....

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This is an early use of chaundelers in A. MED gives a1382, Wyclif's Bible; OED c.1325.

136:5 This line appears to be an adaptation of the different idea in F1229-30:

Il ne quidat ke en tut le mund
Tant fusent gens cum ilokes sunt.

Cf. T talis ac tanta quanta in hoc mundo, prout estimauit, nunquam uisa est (p.175 ll.1-2).

137 T lists archbishops, bishops, abbots, canons, monks, presbyters (p.175 ll.5ff). F1231ff lists bishops, archbishops, priests, canons, abbots, monks, and kings. Kings occur later in T (p.176 l.17).

137:5 frere prechours] Friars Preachers or Dominicans appear also as Frere...Jacobins (138:1).

138:1-3 Not in T or F. This rhymed list of the four orders of Friars was convenient and popular. Cf. e.g.

And 3it ther is another ordre, Menour and Jacobin,
And freres of the Carme, and of Seint Austin....

See T. Wright ed., The Political Songs of England, Camden Society (London,1839),331 ll.163-4, from the Auchinleck MS.. Cf. OED s.v. JACOBIN sb. A.sb.1. Friars Minor are Franciscans.

139:1 Not in T or F. Cf. the separate place of joy in Tundale, ll. 1765-8:

'This joy', quod the angelle bryght,
'Is ordent for wedded mennes ryght,
That leves in clene mariage
And kepes here body from outrage...'

after Visio Tnugdali, p.46 ll.3ff.

139:3-5 Cf. F1257-8, 1260-2:

„Ihesu Christ, funt il, seit loé,
Ke cele grace vus ad duné...

Ke dekes ça estes venu,
E des turmez vus ad jeté,
De debles vus ad delieré."

140 Cf. F1249-53

Quant il ourent le chant fini,
Hors des autres s'en sunt parti
Deus erce[ves]ques meintenant;

Al chevaler vindrent alant
E ovekes eus l'unt dunkes pris...

after T p.175 ll.12-15.

140:3 Cf. F1227, quoted above, and T p.175 l.1.

141:4 - 152 All this description of the Earthly Paradise is not found in T or F, though see Note 147:1-2.

141 - 143 See Note 153 - 154.

142 The dance of the blessed al bi line led and accompanied by angels is well illustrated in Fra Angelico's famous painting of the Last Judgement in San Marco, Florence. The sense of carol (141:4, 142:1, 143:1,5, 144:6) as a ring-dance accompanied by a choral song sung by the dancers and spectators is first recorded in English in Handlyng Synne, c.1303. The musical activity of the hosts in paradise, like the architecture, seems to be very up-to-date and very good. See Note 145:4.

142:5 For fuller glosses on the musical instruments, see H.H. Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms (Indiana,1961).

143:4 Reverence for God's wounds is shown also at 49:2 and 196:5.

145:4 breke her notes] Carter, op. cit., s.v. Breken glosses "to utter the notes of a song; to sing", his first two quotations being c.1410 Lant. of Liȝt, 58.15 But syngars in the fendis chirche breken curiouse nootis. MED s.v. BREKEN 4(a) reads "to trill or modulate a note" with references from the fifteenth century. These meanings do not seem to cover the case here. The technical terms Burdoun, mene and hautain for the voices in a three-part composition all come from the early fourteenth century. mene here antedates Carter's first reference of 1338. By breke her notes therefore it seems the poet was referring to the contemporary 'modern' practice of fractio modi, breaking the rhythm of the breve into ever smaller units. See e.g. A.T. Davison and W. Apel, Historical Anthology of Music (Harvard,1947), no.43. That such music should be sung in the Earthly Paradise is interesting in view of the Papal Bull Docta Sanctorum (1326) which forbad the use of descant and elaborate 'breaking' of the rhythmic values because of 'intoxicating the ear'.

> The music therefore of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims, and with these notes of small value every composition is pestered.

See H.E. Woolridge, The Oxford History of Music, 2nd ed. i(1929), 295. The relevant passage from the Bull (wrongly dated 1322) is

there quoted, pp.294ff. This probably explains why in Carter's illustration c.1410 the broken notes are curiouse (unduly ornate) and in the fendis chirche.

145:6 wiþ heiȝe steuen applied to hautain (treble) is not tautological, but more likely means loud in volume - a fairly highly prized musical attribute in the Middle Ages. (I am indebted to Patrick Little for advice on medieval musical matters.)

146:4-6 This clearly establishes the setting as the Earthly not the Celestial Paradise. Cf. 170:2.

147:1-2 Cf. F1289-90

Des roses e des autres flurs
Ki ourent diverse colurs....

147:3 Cf. MS. Harley 2253 f.63a l.13:

þe primerole he passeþ, þe paruenke of pris...

ed. G.L. Brook, The Harley Lyrics (Manchester,1968),31. Anglo-Norman parvenke rather than A147:3 paruink would form a true rhyme with 147:6 bi-benke.

147:4 feþerfoy] Second reference in MED. eglentere] First usage in verse in MED.

147:5 Kölbing misreads calombin.

148:6 See Whiting, L229. This quotation is there misdated as c.1450. See following Note.

149:2 See Whiting, M431, where this line is wrongly dated as c.1450. The date usually given for A by Whiting, a1325, makes this the earliest of his examples.

149:5 See Gen. 2:10ff. Cf. also VSP I, p.69 ll.24ff, and note p.93.

150:1-3 MS. Dison is a misreading for Pison, first of the four rivers in Gen. 2:11-12, ubi nascitur aurum, et aurum terrae illius optimum est.

150:1-2 strem/lem from OE strēam/lēoma possibly shows variant ē for ē in lem. See B. MacKenzie, ES lxi(1927),387-8, and Dobson, ii. section 120, note.

150:4 MS. Fison for Gihon no doubt contaminated by 150:1.

151:1,4 In Genesis Tigris is third, Euphrates fourth.

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153:2 Cf. 162:6. Not in T, which has per conuentus distincti (p.176 ll.4ff). Cf. F1311-12:

Par cuvenz furent destraité
E par treszeins devisé....

153:3-5 Cf. F1314-16

Les uns als autres tost venir,
E mult grant joie entre eus feseient
Kant il issi se entreveeint.

153:6 Not in T or F, but a much more telling image of the society of the blessed than is found in the sources. Cf. Giovanni di Paolo's The Last Judgement, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, reproduced in Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (London, 1968), between pp.24-5.

153 - 154 The mention of dances and music which comes at this point in T (p.176 ll.9ff) and is taken up by F1317-20 (where karolent occurs, l.1317) seems to have been transferred by the English poet to 141ff where it is expanded.

154 - 155 This list of colours in T and F follows the simile of the stars, A156- 157.

154:3 sikelatoun] Cf. Guy of Warwick, l.2836 and Sir Thopas, l.23. "This unusual word appears elsewhere in medieval romance only in Richard Coeur de Lion, l.5268 once contained in the Auch. MS." L.H. Loomis, 'Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS...', Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown (New York,1940),121 note 3. The occurrence here in A seems to have been ignored. See OED s.v. CICLATOUN.

154:4-5 Not in T or F.

154:5 Tonicles antedates OED s.v. TUNICLE 2 Eccl., first reference c.1425, and non-ecclesiastical, Piers Plowman, B.xv.163, c.1377.

154:6 Cf. F1356

De dras de seye e d'or batuz....

156:1-3 Cf. F1325-7

Si vus dirai une semblance
E assez bone concordance
Des esteiles, ke vus veez....

156:4-6 Cf. F1329ff after T p.176 ll.10-12.

157 Cf. F1343-7

K'il nen unt pas tuz uelement
Delyt e joie ensement;
Mes al meins ad nepurquant,
Al sen avis, ad autant
Cumme nus home put de joie aver....

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158:1 This takes up the narrative from 140-141.

158:4-6 Cf. F1420-2

E ducement l'aresunerent:
,,Frere, funt il, la Deu merci
Vostre desir est acompli....

after T p.177 ll.6-7. For the praise of those leaving purgatory, cf. Deguileville, Le Pelèrinage de l'Âme, ed. J.J. Stürzinger, (London,1895),ll.9121-8.

159:4-5 Cf. F1439, 1441

...ore vus dirum...
Queus lius ces sunt u vus venistes....

160 In T and F Owayne is told first about the Earthly Paradise and Adam: see 171ff.

160:2 auen < OE æfen (æ^2) indicates a south easterly shift: see Jordan, section 50, Anm.1.

162:1-3 Cf. F1531-2, 1535-6

Si ne put nuls ça einz entrer
Ke li n'estot par la passer.

U checuns home s'estot purger
Einz k'il puse a nus entrer.

163:2-3 Cf. F1552-3

Ne sevent pas cum lungement
Demurer deivent en la peine....

163:5-6 Cf. F1556-8

E par vestir e pestre freres
E autres biens ke sunt fesanz
Ceus ke en tere sunt vivanz....

163:5 do is causative. Friends pay for others (clerics) to sing masses for the souls of their departed relatives. Cf. T p.178 ll.15ff.

165:4-5 Cf. F1609-10

El paraÿs celestïen,
U nul entre for dristïen.

Not in T.

167 Not in T or F. Cf. Tundale, ll.831-4:

Not a childe, for soth to saye,
Þat was borne and dede þis day,
Þat he þis payne shalle se ryght welle,
Alle þagh he shalle hem not felle.

Auchinleck

Cf. the early SEL section on Alle soulene day, ed. C. Horstmann, EETS lxxxvii, p.429 ll.296-8, which tells how young children,

> For huy ne þerez with heom no sunne : þat drawe heom bi-hinde;
> Also quicliche ase liȝhttingue : þoru purgatorie huy doz gon,
> And heouene-dore findez opene : and wiendez in anon.

168:2 Cf. F1615 Ke mult esteit haut e grant....

168:5 Cf. F1616 Dequ'al sumet le vunt menant....

169 Not in T or F.

169:5 croube, Welsh crwth, a stringed instrument probably at first plucked, later bowed: see Otto Andersson, The Bowed Harp, a study in the history of early musical instruments (London,1903), 228, 239, 243. Name first used in English in the early fourteenth century though the instrument was known on the continent before the twelfth century.

171ff The discussion of Adam here in A is given by the narrator, 171:2, whereas in T and F it forms part of the opening speech of the two 'archbishops' (p.177 ll.13ff and F1447ff).

171:6 As he (God) took him (Adam) again - by God's will Adam was taken up from hell by Christ (175).

172:3 it] I.e. God's will, being the prohibition on the Tree of Knowledge.

172:4 - 174:6 Not in T or F.

174:6 midnerd from OE middangeard, via middenerd. Kölbing's reading miduerd (also at 118:4) is patently wrong. The MS. clearly gives n not u. Kölbing's reading would have to be OED s.v. MIDWARD 2B sb. the middle (part), which makes only minimal sense. See A.J. Bliss, 'The Auchinleck Life of Adam and Eve', RES n.s. vii(1956),408, note to l.130. Cf. C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (Heilbronn,1878),140 ll.128-30, who makes the same mistake as Kölbing in his edition.

> He sent to hem an angel briȝt
> Wiþ a brennand swerd,
> And drof hem in to miduerd....

175:1-2 Cf. F1485,7

> Kar eus e tut lur parenté...
> En enfern trestuz alerent....

The rest of this stanza and F1485ff follow β in speaking of Christ's incarnation and redemption. See also T per fragilitatem

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(p.178 l.2) and F1507 par frelleté, not found in ∝ .

176 See Introduction, p.xcix.

177:3 - 179:2 The missing lines were lost when the miniature on the opposite side of the folio at the head of the following item was excised. These lines very likely would have said that all Adam's kin would never have had the chance to return to the Earthly Paradise had it not been for God's mercy in sending Christ to redeem us from original sin. But that he who has sinned since baptism still requires repentance and confession, and a time In þe paine of purgatori. See F1479-1522.

179:5 A reference to the weighing of souls at the Day of Judgement which is not found in T or F.

180:2-6 Cf. F1619-22

E ke il lur deit a sun avis
Lequel le ciel fust blanc u bis,
Vert u bloye, vermail u neir,
A sun avis lur deist le veir.

Cf. T ut...diceret cuiusmodi coloris ei supra se celum uideretur (p.179 ll.3-4).

180:5 - 181:3 Owayne's direct speech is original in A.

181:2 Cf. the golden heaven in Deguileville's Le Pelèrinage de l'Âme, ed. J.J. Stürzinger, (London,1895),ll.9573-4.

182:1 o siþe] Cf. F1636 A un hure.

182:4 Not in T or F. The idea of a sweet smell sustaining life is found frequently in medieval visions of paradise. See e.g. the vision of St. Salvius, in Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. VII.i. ed. H. Omont and G. Collon in Collection de Textes (Paris,1913),254. In the vision of St. Perpetua, Saturus and his companions are nourished by an indescribable odour which satisfied them. In Irish legend, in the Adventures of Teigue son of Cian, "the perfume of that region's fragrant crimsoned branches being by way of meat and satisfying aliment all-sufficient for them...", Standish H. O'Grady, ed., Silva Gadelica, ii(London,1892),385ff, and in the Fis Adamnáin, see C.S. Boswell, An Irish Precursor of Dante (London, 1908),30 section 5. See also Patch (1950),Index s.v. perfume. Cf. the sweet smell which issues from the gates of the Earthly Paradise in A134 and cf. F1292-6:

...la fleirur ert si grant
Ke avis esteit al chivaler
Ke tut sanz beivre e manger
Il pureit tut diis remaner
Einz en la duçur sanz mal aver....

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183:6 smal rhymes on ĕ with fel.

184:1 Only A refers to the sweet smelling heavenly flame as the Holy Ghost. See Acts 2:3-4.

186:1 þe soules] Dative construction.

187:1 Cf. F1682 ...ne facét mortel pechez....

188:1-2 Cf. F1704-5 E si requist en plurant
Ke pur Deu ne l'en jetassent....

192 - 194 Not in T or F. It is noteable that the poet uses the formula as ich finde in þis stori (192:1) just at that point where it is not true.

192:2 Þe priour] Dative construction.

193:6ff Cf. the reappearance of Timarchus from the oracular cave of Trophonius. He "came up in the morning with a radiant countenance". Plutarch, De Genio Socratis, 590B, Loeb ed., Moralia vii, p.491.

197:1 In T and F Owayne visits not Bethlehem but Jerusalem, þat ich holy stede (196:1).

197:2 It is not Christ who is the flower and Mary the thorn, but Mary who is as a flower from the thorn, flos de spina: see e.g. Adam of St. Victor, Sequence for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, in Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse, No. 163, l.8. Cf. also the idea of Mary as the lily among thorns: see R.T. Davies ed., Medieval English Lyrics (London,1963),375.

197:5 Cf. F1786 Abit de moyne ad receü.

197:6 Not in T or F. Seemingly used for rhyming purpose only.

198:1-3 Cf. F1790-1 E Dampnedeu l'ad recuilli
La sus en paris celestre....

COTTON - HAMILTON

C1-28, H1-24 Not in T.

H1 Written in book-hand. The couplets on f.28a have been marked with square brackets.

H3-4 wysche/blysche indicates the dialectal change of final [s] to [ʃ]. See Dobson, ii. section 373.

C11, H7 Thirty-three is traditionally the age of Christ at the Crucifixion.

H12 dede hymself is perhaps preferable to C's dyed on idiomatic grounds. Cf. H's Adrian and Epotys, ll.330-1:

> The juvys toke hym at the laste,
> And ded hym vp on the rode....

Common-place Book, p.35.

C18 Emended according to H as vs (C17) and All hem (MS.) are inconsistent. Christ redeemed us from hym (i.e. Satan) who was lost through pride. Cf. C584ff.

C19-20, H15-16 There is little to choose between these two readings, though H may be preferable. H15 is more convincing as narrative than C20; H16 forth seems to be weakened to for sobe in C19; C19 and 21 are padded by initial And; the syntax of H he sente/To telle is more straightforward than C's he sende/That þey shulde... amende/And to tell. Though pa.t.sg. sende was replaced by sente in in ME the overlap in usage does not necessarily justify taking C's rhyme as an earlier reading.

H19 Emendation takes up C23 hadde. MS. reading ȝet we and is scarcely defensible as 'And we got...', both because of the awkward syntax, and because there is no instance of initial ȝ for g in this scribe's usage in the text. MED posits West Saxon, Mercian or Northumbrian influence for forms of get with initial ȝ, and this does not normally apply in this East Anglian copy.

C27, H23 were for wore.

H25 In þe lond is evidently wrong, cf. C29 In Irlonde.

C33, H29 In T St. Patrick preaches of infernal torments and the bliss of paradise, in that order, (p.150 ll.23-4).

H32 Who appears to be neither a representation of C36 Howe or wo (cf. H313), but simply the interrogative pronoun 'who'. This reading is supported by the nominative he replacing the dative construction wo þem ys of C36. H31-2 must be read paratactically -

'and afterwards he spoke of the pain of hell - who (i.e. what kind of person) he is that comes therein.'

C37-8, H33-4 Not in T. That St. Patrick ever preached of purgatory is most unlikely, nor is he likely to have read much about it in hys story. H34 is metrically preferable to C38.

C39 These folk are the 'bestial Irish' of T. See the anecdote told by Gilbert (p.150 1.25 - p.151 1.23). In Bernard's Vita S. Malachie, (referred to in ∝ texts of T: see Warnke (1938),22 11.96-7, and also above, Introduction, p.lxxxvii), after mention of the baculus (see Note C54), we are told of the unbelieving state of the twelfth century Irish:

> never had he found men so shameless in regard of morals, so dead in regard of rites, so impious in regard of faith, so barbarous in regard of laws, so stubborn in regard of discipline, so unclean in regard of life. They were Christians in name, in fact pagans.

H.J. Lawlor, St. Bernard of Clairvaux's 'Life of St. Malachy of Armagh' (London and New York,1920),37. Cf. Top. Hib. III.xix. For a later account given by another pilgrim of the backward state of the Irish in the fifteenth century, see J.P. Mahaffy, 'Two Early Tours in Ireland', Hermathena, xl(1914),1-16.

H37 MS. reads figure 1, presumably from earlier one representing ony = any; cf. eny C42, after T aliquis eorum (p.151 1.28). MS. repeats myth, a scribal error probably caused by initial m of man.

C47 shewe for showe.

C48 Preferable to H43. Cf. T pro salute populi deuotior (p.152 11.3-4). The line can be metrically restored by omitting the first be.

H44-5 be-heue/be-leue shows rhyming of earlier ā/ē. See Dibelius, Anglia, xxiii(1901),188, and Dobson, ii. section 115 note 1, p.625. Cf. also H240-1 with behaue/be-leue. This use of behave sb. behaviour, is not recorded in MED, and OED first reference (and only reference) is 1615 (Chapman). It is not to be confused with biheve, behoof, advantage: see OED s.v. BIHEVE sb.

C52 bedys = prayers, a reading preferable to H47 bed, which has perhaps lost the abbreviation mark for final -ys. There is no evidence to connect H's reading with A7:5. Cf. T p.152 11.4-7.

Cotton - Hamilton

C53 bynkes shows unvoicing of final [ŋg] to [ŋk] before an inflexional ending: see Dobson, ii. section 366, a feature there said to be "regular in the North-west midlands in ME".

C54 Books containing the four Gospels were "often found in the early centuries, when full copies of the New Testament were rare and copies of the Bible almost non-existent." L.M.J. Delaissé, Medieval Miniatures (London,1965),18.

C54ff Bernard (see above, Note C39) writes of

> certain insignia of that see, to wit, the copy of the Gospels, which had belonged to blessed Patrick, and the staff covered with gold and adorned with most costly gems, which they call "the staff of Jesus," because the Lord himself (as report affirms) held it in His hands and fashioned it; which are deemed of the highest honour and sanctity in that nation. They are , in fact, very well known and celebrated among the tribes, and so revered by all, that he who is once seen to have them is held by the foolish and unwise people (Deut. 32:6) to be their bishop.

Lawlor, op. cit., pp.53-5. See Lawlor's note, p.53 note 10. The gospels are identified with the early ninth century Book of Armagh in Trinity College, Dublin.

H50 yt with plural antecedent is well attested in ME. See MED s.v. HIT 1(e).

H52-5 Badly corrupted. MS. ȝowre (H52) is meaningless and is probably a corruption of þore (cf. þere C57). The rhyme word ȝere (C58) has been lost and the verb þere been substituted after þore (C59). MS. þere H53 is probably a reminiscence of the required rhyme sound for the couplet, but has been emended after þore (C59) as past participle form is required by the sense, and to rhyme with conjectural þore. Having thus used the verb bear in H53, the scribe has inverted the following couplet: H54 after verb bear (H53), cf. C60 after verb þore (C59). Conscious then of the need for t he verb bear in the same line as procession, a new subject has been required and hence boschoppys repeated, after H50. MS. baryth (H55) must mean bore it, with enclitic object pronoun -yth = it. (See Note H59) Both here and at H50, yt(h) refers to the plural object þe staffe and þe boke (H51). I have supplied yn from C59 to complete the sense. I have punctuated with a semi-colon after H53 in order to keep the sense of the following couplet as a whole (cf. C59-60), but it would also be possible to place a comma after H53 and a colon after H54. I have retained MS. heyr (H53) as possibly representing higher, i.e. only at the more important feast days were the relics shown. But heyr may also be

an anomalous spelling of hey(e) with excrescent -r; cf. MS. throwr (H44), (indicative of former final fricative, OE heah, burh?). For the whole passage, cf. T p.152 ll.8-9.

H55 prosessun] Spelling may indicate shift from [sj] to [ʃ]. See also H185.

H56-7 lond/hand, cf. H160-1, but also 212-3, 314-5, 672-3. The predominant spelling seems to indicate [ǫ:] as the rhyme sound.

H58 woll = will, and shows rounding and retraction to ŭ. See Dobson, ii. section 85 note 2.

C63 hatte for hette, to rhyme with zette.

C64 Jhesu staffe, the baculus Ihesu of T (p.152 l.11). See Note C C54ff and Lawlor, op. cit., p.54 note 1 for references. It was older than the Book of Armagh, and its presentation by Christ to St. Patrick was recorded by the tenth century. Giraldus Cambrensis, Top. Hib. III.xxxiv, says of the staff, Per quem, vulgari opinione, sanctus Patricius venenosos ab insula vermes ejecit. In cap.xxxiii, p.179, Giraldus tells how bells and croziers are held in more esteem by the Irish than the Gospels. The baculum Jesu is the most venerable. See John Sharkey, Celtic Mysteries. The Ancient Religion (Thames and Hudson,1975),plate 33. In Trip. Life, i.30-1 the bachall Iosa or Isa is connected with Patrick's stay on Mt. Hermon, where he was told to preach to the Gaedhil, the Gaelic people. See E. O'Curry, Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History (Dublin,1861),600ff. The connection with Patrick preaching to the natives and banishing paganism (serpents) is preserved by TCH: see Introduction, p.clvii. The bachall was said to be given to Patrick by Christ on Mt. Sinai, in Life of Ciaran of Saighir. See C. Plummer ed., Lives of Irish Saints, ii(Oxford, 1922),100; or by a married pair on an island in the Tyrrhene sea: see W. Stokes ed., Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore (Oxford, 1890),155, ll.219ff. Cf. Trip. Life, ii.420-1, and Index Rerum s.v. Bachall Isu, ii.577. On bachalls, pastoral staffs, which were among the chief instruments of the saint's art as a superior medicine man, see C. Plummer ed., Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae, i(Oxford,1910), pp.clxxv-clxxvi. In 1177 Jhesu staffe was seized from the Archbishop of Armagh and kept at Dublin "as a permanent symbol of the Norman victory", A. Gwynn, 'Saint Laurence O'Toole as Legate in Ireland; (1179-1180)', Anal. Boll. lxviii(1950),234. Laurence Rathold, pilgrim to St. Patrick's Purgatory in 1411, visited the relics and saw the baculus Ihesu in Trinity College, Dublin: see Anal. Boll. xxvii(1908),45. It was publically burned in Dublin in 1538. See also J. Healy, The Life and Writings of St. Patrick (Dublin,1905),633-6. In the Legenda Aurea, cap. 1, ed. Th. Graesse,

(Leipzig,1850),213-4, and in the SEL version, St. Patrick describes the circle of the pit of the Purgatory with the staff. MS. Egerton 1993 ll.45-6:

> In þe erþe mid is staf . he made a cerle aboute:
> Þer bicom a deop put, . þat men hedden of gret doute.

Cf. Ld1-4. See C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (Paderborn,1875), 176-7. Leslie, SPP opp. p.xvii reproduces a woodcut of St. Patrick revealing the pit with the Staff of Jesus. Cf. Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, X.92. See also the fragment of a four-line stanza English version preserved by Thomas Hearne in his edition of Johannis de Fordun, Scoti-Chronicon (Oxford,1722),p.xxxiii-xxxiv, ll.9-12:

> In the erthe with his staff of tree
> He (i.e. Heuen kyng) made a serkill all abowte;
> Ther beganne a pitte so depe of degre,
> That men therof had grete daunger and dowte.

Also in John of Tynmouth's account it is God, not St. Patrick, who circumscribes the hole with the bachall.

H59 stafte shows excrescent [t] after [f]. See Dobson, ii. section 437. See also H672 and Introduction, p.xlviii.
clepete = 'clepe yt'. For this suffixed object pronoun yt in the H scribe's usage, see Introduction, p.xlviii.

H61 MS. has lost wyth hym presumably because of the repeated hym.

H63 The sense here seems preferable to C68, and presupposes the original rhyme form wes, probably ne wes.

C69-70, H65-6 Perhaps fortuitously, this description tallies with other descriptions of the entrance as an oblong cut-out passage, roofed over, with a door at one end and a pit at the other. See Introduction, p.clxvi.

H66-7 ende/wynde could rhyme on ĭ, with ĕ raised to ĭ in ende, and wynde <OE windan, but cf. rhyme with send H468-9. wynde should rather be interpreted as representing wende <OE wéndan, as the H scribe frequently uses y for e. See e.g. Note H70, and Introduction, p.xliv.

H69 MS. howe could be howo. MS. howe he ys be louyd is nonsensical in context and seems to be either a bad guess on the scribe's part, or an inaccurate piece of memory work either in transcription or at some earlier stage of oral/aural transmission, for the emended reading holde hys byleue (C74). Cf. T uera fide armatus and in fide constanter (p.152 ll.16-17, 20).

H70 MS. he note wyll betrays the same kind of error as H69. C75 seems correct. The change from he ne dwelle to he note wyll seems likely to have been a memorial or dictation error, or the copyist misreading to himself as he wrote. Intermediate stages, written or thought, could have been he no dwell, he not well . H frequently uses y for e in well, e.g. 64, 86, 144, Miss Toulmin Smith prints H69-70 (her ll.74-5) without emendation, but any sense one can manage to elicit from the MS. reading is so tortuous as to be quite unacceptable.

C77, H72 T nowhere actually states that St. Patrick's Purgatory is a place of pilgrimage, though of course Owayne's visit shows that it was. Cf. Peter of Cornwall's information, p.198 ll.21ff.

H72-4 This seems to be a rewriting of C77-9, the more authentic reading. man (H72) conflicts awkwardly with man, woman (H74). The social opposition of sqwyer or knaue (C79) implying anyone and everyone of high or low estate, is lost in H74. doth (C77) is perhaps preferable to goth (H72), though for the construction gon pelrinage without on or in, see MED s.v. GON 3(d).

C80, H75 This spells out clearly the purpose of a pilgrim's visiting St. Patrick's Purgatory. T only says as much at this point by implication: ab omnibus purgaretur tocius uite sue peccatis (p.152 ll.18-19).

C84 Preferable to H79 which weakens stynte to stode and is metrically deficient with loss of ner.

H81 ded is causative.

C87-8, H82-3 On this anachronism, which revealingly indicates the part the Augustinian canons had in propagating the tale about the Purgatory on Station Island, see Introduction, p.lxxxviii.

H85 Regelys (cf. H412) after T Reglis (p.153 l.8). See Introduction, p.cxliii. Thus (H84) implies an understanding of the false etymology of Reglis from regula (cf. cunsel H83), the rule of St. Augustine. This view was held e.g. by S. Malone in Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, III, 4th series (1874),259 note. Cf. the idea that it was an Irish name in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 462 f.152b reglis iuxta linguam patrie memorate. hath (H85) = hatte, is called. The name Reglis caused scribes some difficulty, e.g. Marie de France gives Rigles; MS. Harley 3846 Regulis; Bamberg MS. locus regularis.

C90 On the significance of doors and gates at entrances to the otherworld, and to paradise and hell, see J.A. MacCulloch in ERE iv.851b-852a. See also H.C. Trumble, The Threshold Covenant

(Edinburgh,1896), and Paul Piehler, The Visionary Landscape. A Study in Medieval Allegory (London,1971),120. Leslie, SPP after p.202 reproduces a miniature from Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français 412 f.192 showing the prior locking the entrance to the Purgatory.

H86-7 wyll/stell] It is difficult to know how the H scribe would have pronounced this: on ę̄ with wyll indicating habitual raising (see his use of the spelling wyll elsewhere, Introduction, p.xliv); on [i:] with stell retaining its early vowel - little reliance can be placed on the phonetic significance of double consonants like ll in this scribe's hand; or on [ĭ] showing shortening of [sti:l] < [stę̄:l] (see Dobson, ii. section 132 note (f)) and wyll showing shortening and raising ę̄ > ĕ > ĭ.

H91 loket = lock it. See Introduction, p.xlviii.

H94 I have retained MS. at the seynt as representing a possible 'phonetic' spelling of a contracted at the aseynt (assent), i.e. th'assent, with false word division.

C99 The practice of obtaining episcopal permission for pilgrimages applied not only to St. Patrick's Purgatory. G. Hartwell Jones says:

> The consent of ecclesiastical superiors was required before a vow of pilgrimage. This condition was a salutary safeguard against indiscreet zeal.

Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement, i(London,1912),13. Jones's undisclosed source seems to be C. Plummer ed., Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae, i(Oxford,1910),pp.cxxii-cxxiii, who discusses pilgrimages enjoined as a penance. Cf. Cross, Motif-Index, Q526.

H98 rememure] OED gives only one reference c.1470 for REMEMORY.

C103ff Cf. T p.153 ll.1-4.

H103 God wyth þem is possibly an error for God wote, þey (cf. C106) but I have retained the MS. reading for the possible sense: God (being) with them, they were able to tell (on their return) of much sorrow....

H104 Change of the rhyme word from þoo (C107) to ther has resulted in the loss of the second line of the couplet. See Introduction, p.cxviii.

H105 MS. wete] The -t- has a tail above -e.

Cotton - Hamilton

H106 hant = han yt = have it. For enclitic yt, see Introduction, p.xlviii. For han cf. H138, 584, 587. Close inspection of the pen strokes as visible on microfilm and copyflo copy reveals that Miss Toulmin Smith's reading haith (her l.110) is erroneous. The final letter is -t with a downward flourish ꝯ (cf. that 107). It lacks the top loop which distinguishes h in this scribe's hand; cf. -th in whath (105) and seynth (99). The last two letters lack the horizontal stroke normally found through final -th. The sweeping tail of y in seyn (105) may have caused confusion here. What may at first sight appear as -ith is in fact the two minims of n plus final -t with a long cross stroke and long downward tail.

C110, H106 Unfortunately no trace remains of such a book. In 1517 Chiericati said he saw a book,

> in which are inscribed the names of all who come there. The first name inscribed was that of Guarino da Durazzo, which I had believed to be a fable. But now I saw it anciently inscribed there in a parchment book.

Hermathena, xl(1914),13. See the list compiled by Leslie, SPP p.xix.

C111, H107 C's reading is preferable to H which has substituted bodyn care for bolde wore. C retains the point that despite being bold some visitors still never came back from the Purgatory. This opposition is lost in H. H's rhyme care/more must be on [a:], using the more northerly variant mare.

C111-12 This couplet contrasting with C103-5 makes a neat final warning of the dangers inherent in visiting the Purgatory, just before Owayne is introduced. See T p.154 ll.2-3, and Peter of Cornwall, p.198 ll.29-30.

C113 See T p.155 ll.5-6. King Stephen reigned 1135-54. Following Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris placed his version of the Tractatus under the year 1153. Cf. L p.193 ll.8-10, where Peter of Cornwall mistakenly says that the Tractatus was also composed in Stephen's reign. MS. Arundel 292 f.74a says,

> Contigit autem hiis temporibus nostris, scilicet anno gracie MCLIII, tempore regis Stephani anno regni sui XIX, militem quendam strenuum de domo et familia dicti regis, scilicet nomine Owein....

For discussion of the identity of Owayne and the possible date of his visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory, see Introduction, pp.cxcivff. John of Tynmouth (writing 1327-46) dated Owayne's descent 1160.

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C114 Correct reading, not H110 which idly repeats þer wos a knyth (cf. C115) before A knyth þer wos (H111).

H111 MS. klepynd shows the presence of an intrusive n as a consonantal glide between the vowel y and the final d. Cf. MS. cryend (313) and Dobson, ii. section 438. These forms have been emended for the reader's convenience. Owayne /Nowyn is called Syr in his capacity as miles, the "usual technical term for knight" according to G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, iii(Cambridge, 1936),456: see also above, p. cxcv.

C118 Here the terminology is general rather than strictly correct: the tale really tells of purgatory, with a glance at hell, and of the Earthly Paradise, with a glance at heaven, the celestial paradise. See Introduction, p.ccxiii.

C119-20 Here is shown a desire to characterize Owayne and remedy the brevity of T (p.155 11.5ff). Owayne's boldness is merely a necessary stock attribute of the valiant knight, whose courageousness in entering St. Patrick's Purgatory the English versions emphasise. See Introduction, p.cxiv. Cf. Matthew Paris's characterization, quoted in Note A29:5. Zanden, Étude, pp.70-1 discusses the notorious ravages perpetrated by the nobility during Stephen's reign.

H122 MS. sete for se is typical of H's careless handling of the rhymes in many places. See Introduction, p.cxxvii.

C132, H128 Not in T.

C133-4, H129-30 On the rhyme, see Introduction, p.xxxviii.

C140 3our pl. does not agree with the rest of the speech addressing the bishop as þou sg. H136 is superior as a whole to C140.

C141ff, H137ff Direct speech by the bishop not in T; cf. p.155 11.17ff.

C146 ff Advice repeated by the prior at C170ff. See Note C170-4.

H143-4 See Introduction, p.cxix.

C152 MS. of heuen is a careless substitution for what must be the correct reading so hende (cf. H147 and C287). Kölbing added a3en to C151 to rhyme with MS. heuen.

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H150 I take worthe to show metathesis of r and mean wrothe 'wrote', though it could also possibly = wroȝt; cf. made (C155).

C156, H151 Not in T. This detail is almost paralleled by F311-12 where the prior breaks the wax on receiving the letter, which is, as Owen (1970),72 has rightly commented, "A small touch, but one which enlivens the telling."

H151 selydyth] See Introduction, p.xlviii.

C157-8 I have inverted the MS. order to comply with H's better sense.

C162 The emendation knyȝthes follows H157 after T cognita ipsius causa (p.155 l.28). Cf. C166.

H159 hethyr is a careless alteration for her, destroying the full rhyme with maner.

C167 de] C frequently interchanges d and þ. See Introduction, p.xli.

C170-4 "By entrance into religion a man obtains remission of all his sins." Aquinas, Summa, 2a, 2ae, q.189. art.3. - i.e. a pena though not a culpa. The acceptance of monachism was equivalent to a second baptism. For discussion on such conversions ad succurrendum, see G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, i(Cambridge,1923),372, 476-81, and iii.19-20.

H167 After this line both here and at H144 a line is missing.

H168-9 wykke/thyke] H169 seems a good line and I have therefore emended MS. wytte (168) by the simplest means. If wytte = 'wit' it is nonsensical, and if wytte = 'wite', blame, then it forms a bad rhyme with thyke with long and short [i] and assonantal t and k. It would be possible, though improbable, to read wite/thyte. See OED s.v. THIGHT, meaning thick-set, dense, attested in the Danelaw dialect c.1375. The spelling THYTE is attested in Norfolk in EDD, and this would be suitable here as the fricative appears to have been lost in the H scribe's speech. See also Promptorium Parvulorum s.v. THIGHT, and note 2327, EETS,ES cii, p.719. But there seems no reason to substitute the dialectal thyte for the perfectly acceptable thyke. I have therefore emended wytte to wykke which the scribe could easily have misread. For wykke = evil, wickedness, see OED s.v. WICK a, 3b as sb. Miss Toulmin Smith suggested me wyke (in note to her l.175) but there is no reason to alter MS. my (168) if one takes wykke as a noun and not as an adjective.

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C176 Corrupt, with false rhyme and repetition of 'thither I will' from 177; cf. H170.

C177-8, H170-1 St. Patrick's Purgatory, until its temporary closure in 1497 was a last resort for desperate sinners from all over Europe, for only by physically entering purgatory could they adequately expiate their gross sins.

> Where sins had been committed, real sorrow should be shown, not merely in word but also in act by the performance of works pleasing to God but obnoxious and hateful to the flesh.

John Ryan, 'The Sacraments of the Early Irish Church', Studies, v(1962),517. To enter purgatory in the flesh was clearly to undergo penitentiam omnibus penitentiis grauiorem (T p.155 11.14-15).

C182, H175 The recital of demonic horrors to the prospective pilgrim during the fifteen day period of fasting and preparation is two-edged: it is a warning to be stedfast, but it must also have severely indoctrinated the pilgrim into such a condition that he was likely to see and experience what he had been told. See Introduction, p.clxxxii.

H176 ther for bore.

C184, H177 almesse-dedes are not mentioned here in T. H's fastyng is correct: see T quindecim diebus ieiuniis et orationibus uacauit (p.156 11.5-6).

C187, H180 It may well be that this was Owayne's own Requiem mass, as we are told of other pilgrims: see Introduction, p.clxxxiii. Antonio Mannini, who visited the Purgatory on 7th November, 1411, was dressed in a white vestment like a dalmatic and sprinkled with holy water,

> e puostomi supino a giacere, come se fussi morto, mi serrò gl'occhi, e comandommi non gli dovessi aprire sino a tanto l'uficio fusse detto; le braccia mi puose in croce, a sopra 'l petto la croce, e detto sopra a me la vigilia e tutto l'uficio de' morti tre volte si segnò con l'acqua benedetta con le proprie orazioni e sollennità si fanno sopra un morto, nè più nè meno; onde di poi con le sue mani m'aperse gl'occhi e la croce mi mise nella mia destra mano, e fecemi su levare.

This was succeeded by the procession going thrice round the church with the litany and prayers. See L. Frati, 'Il Purgatorio di S. Patricio', Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, viii(1886), 159.

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H180-1 messe/wos should perhaps rhyme on ĕ, wes, cf. H63.

H181 howsyld perhaps derives from asoyled (C188) which fits better syntactically with the following line.

H183 he has been retained though it is probably an error for þey (cf.C190). It is improbable according to T, if dramatically effective in H, that Owayne should personally carry the 'rich relics'.

C191 MS. man emended in accordance with H to preserve the rhyme.

C193-4 See Introduction, p.cvi.

C200 The prior's speech telling Owayne of the hall he will find (T p.156 ll.1ff) is omitted, thereby preserving narrative surprise.

C203ff Cf. T p.156 ll.28ff.

C208, H201 Not in T. A neat dramatic detail.

C211 Correct. H204 idly repeats A lytyll lyght from H203.

C213-14 See T p.157 ll.4-5. The dusky half-light of this subterranean world is found also in William of Newburgh's account of the two green children from St. Martin's land:

> sol, inquiunt, apud nostrates non oritur: cujus radiis terra nostra minime illustratur, illius claritatis modulo contenta, quae apud vos solem vel orientem praecedit vel sequitur occidentem.

Historia Rerum Anglicanum, I.xxvii, RS 82a, p.84. When Ralph of Coggeshall recounts the same tale, the girl says of her land:

> quod nullum solem cernebant, sed quadam claritate fruebantur, sicut post solis occasum contingit.

Chronicon Anglicanum, RS 66, p.119. Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Kambriae, I.viii, RS 21f, p.75, where a boy is led to

> terram pulcherrimam, fluviis et pratis, silvis et planis distinctissimam, obscuram tamen, et aperto solari lumine non illustratam. Erant ibi dies omnes quasi nebulosi, et noctes lunae stellarumque absentia teterrimae.

C217-18, H210-11 Not in T. Cf. A62:6 and H62-3. By this added detail the English author emphasises the marvellous quality of the hall, isolated in this great, bare country.

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C220ff Cf. the otherworld hall of Gulinus in Peter of Cornwall's account, p.195 ll.12ff, and also the domum sublimem in E. Craster, 'The Miracles of St. Cuthbert at Farne', Anal. Boll. lxx(1952),15. See also the paradise building in Tundale, ll.1616-18:

> Dores ne wyndowes were þere none,
> But mony entres þere were wyde,
> Þat stode ever open on ilke syde....

H217 bare for bere.

C225-6, H220-1 Cf. the re-use of this couplet later at C395-6, H334-5, 446-7, and see Introduction, p.cxxvi.

C227 Preferable to H222 which repeats sey from H223 seyd. Cf. T qui quasi prior et eorum dux esse uidebatur (p.157 l.16).

H222 eldes] Cf. H228. For the loss of [t] after [s], see Dobson, ii. section 406.

H236 MS. Jhesu in form Ihu is difficult to account for. Even if it were an address it would be nonsensical, and there is no evidence for befall as a transitive verb. It must be an absent-minded error, possibly aural in origin, for shall (cf.C241).

C244 The] Dative, 'to thee'.

C245-6 styffe/be-lefe] This rhyme perhaps requires the readings steve, modern steeve, Scottish and dialectal, 'firm, unyielding, resolute', and beleve. For H's rhyme in 240-1 cf. H44-5.

C249-50 synfull is preferable to gentyll (H245); cf. H293, 331. The latter epithet is wholly inappropriate in the mouth of a penitent sinner, and smacks rather of a copyist's response to 'reading on romance'. Cf. the prayer given to William of Stranton, Jhesu Christe, fili dei viui, misereri michi peccatori (p.97 ll. 13-14), and see Introduction, p.cxxx.

H246 MS. hath] Maybe this error was caused by the proximity of hath in the following line.

C251-2, H246-7 It is fitting that in the torments of purgatory Owayne should bear in mind the torments of Christ's Passion. Cf. T

> Deum semper habeas in memoria, et cum te cruciauerint,
> inuoca Dominum Ihesum Christum. (p.158 ll.5-6)

There are possibly implied references to the Crucifixion at C328, 355 and H328 (see Note). See also the stress on remembering the Passion in William of Stranton's account, pp.99/18, 101/24, 103/11, 29 etc..

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C256, H251 Here is omitted the passage found in T where Owayne is described as a knight armed with the armour of God (Eph. 6:13ff), ad noui generis militiam instructus (p.158 l.10), and prepared to fight against demons rather than against men.

C257-7 hym-self/half] This requires a rhyme on helf. Cf. Sir Firumbras, EETS,ES xxxiv, l.1909, or Beryn, EETS,ES cv, l.2178.

C261-2 Cf. The Pricke of Conscience, ed. R. Morris, (Berlin,1863), ll.4784-5.

C263 For should perhaps read Þurȝ to make stronger sense following T ac si totus commoueretur orbis (p.158 l.22). Cf. Ld141 Ase al þe world to borste and to breke, and A52:4 Þei alle þe warld falle schold. The MS. reading makes good sense, however, and has been retained. The phrase For all þe worlde is after all a not uncommon formula; cf. Chaucer, The Hous of Fame, III.1932 and cf. l.1525.

H256 wedyr might be a corruption of worlde (C263), but it carries the unfavourable connotations of OED s.v. WEATHER sb. 1g. Cf. H476.

C264 The crye is T's tumultus (p.158 ll.22-5)

H256-7 faryd evidently put the H copyist, or an earlier copyist, in mind of Owayne being a-ferde (257); cf. H267, C273, 352.

C265-6, H258-9 Cf. T p.158 ll.25-7.

H259 rewyd] I.e. reft, taken away (from this life), <OE rēafian, reave, see OED s.v. REAVE v.[1] 6. Cf. H's St. Margaret, l.31, We schall rew the of þi liffe, Common-place Book, p.111.

C269, H262 H owte of is probably the correct reading, and C I wote, fro a corruption: there is no need for the narrator to interrupt. On the question of devils from hell being found in purgatory, see Introduction, pp.ccxxviiff.

C270, H263 C is correct, following T innumera multitudo demonum (p.159 l.3). H is corrupt and has merely retained the rhyme word. The sense of H is, there may courage be of great help to him. The use of telle to mean to be of advantage, credit to (a person), OED s.v. TELL v. 22d, is there first attested in 1629 and given as Scottish and northern dialect.

C271-2, H264-5 H is corrupt with MS. Full for They fylled (C271) repeated from H263; the inappropriate plural howsys; and the walls,

for the building had no proper walls (see T p.157 ll.5-6), cf. H 215-19. The gostys should be pictured as filling and overflowing the courtyard. In this respect C's two rowes sounds rather too orderly for so mony crowding devils, and probably misrepresents H's better phrase rowys be rowys. C272 follows T cachinnando ac deridendo (p.159 l.4).

H266 gernyd is a well attested metathetic form of grenned: see MED s.v. GRENNEN v., and Dobson, ii. section 439.

C274 For is metrically superfluous.

H269-70 by/hey] The rhyme depends either on be/hey on [ę̄], or on by/hye on [i:]. The former seems most likely for hey(e) is H's predominant spelling; cf. 214, 305, 374r.

C277-8, H270-1 The metre of H is good and has a good rhyme (cf. H448-9). The occurrence in H271 of be-tyme, however, C's rhyme word may betoken that C is closer to the original, and that H was making do with a corruption to a simpler concept and rhyme. C278 metre is easily restored by omitting For. lyme I take to mean 'bird-lime, lime(-trap)': see OED s.v. LIME sb.[1], and MED s.v. LIM n.(2) 3.(a). be-leue therefore means 'stay, remain'. Cf. A108:1 (and Note) where devils speak of trapping souls like birds in hell: Þis ben our foules in our caghe.

C277-90, H270-85 The English considerably alters the implications of this speech; cf. T p.159 ll.5ff. C283-4 suggest that Owayne has done evil and the devils will reward him justly, that is, with pain. This is confirmed in C285-6 (not in T). But nevertheless they will let him return to earth and spare him while by his evil living he earns more pain. The English increases the irony, notably in the second line of each couplet. The explicit statement in T habebis...pressuras...et dolores (p.159 ll.13-14) is made implicit in C278, 282, 284-6. Cf. VEL p.25 where the first devils to see Edmund say:

> Behold, 3ondir commyth on of vs, and he has done vs seruice. Wher for he shall abyd and dwell with vs....

On the devils' capacity for irony, see also Note A57:4.

C282, H275 Not in T. Cf. A56:5. Dancing was frequently castigated as a devilish activity, leading to the deadly sin of lust, and the dance of devils is found elsewhere, e.g. Partonope, EETS,ES cix, l.5087. In later centuries it was more frequently depicted in connection with the witches' sabbath. See e.g. R.H. Robbins, The Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft and Demonology, (New York, 1959), pp.118, 125, 133. Cf. the vision seen by a young man in St. Patrick's Purgatory where dancers are tormented, in J. Herolt, Promptuarium Exemplorum, C.ix. See also J.A. MacCulloch, Medieval

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Faith and Fable (London,1932),24-6.

H277 3yldyth] I.e. 3yld yt, reward it. See Introduction, p.xlviii.

H282-3 down/sunne] Spellings seem to indicate rhyme on [u:].

H284-5 This couplet seems to be misplaced here; cf. C343-4 and see Introduction, p.cxxiv.

C291-2, H286-7 T expressly states that Owayne remains silent here, nichil penitus respondens (p.159 11.22-3).

C297-8 þow3th/mow3th seems to rhyme on [u:χ] with analogical influence of þūhte (< OE þyncan, seem) on þōhte (< OE þencan, think). See Dobson, ii. section 177. mow3th could be from 'may': see OED s.v. MAY v.[1] 4, or by confusion from mote, meaning 'was permitted', hence, 'was able': see OED s.v. MOTE v.[1] 1.

C301-2, H294-7 C is correct, 301 following T extinctus est tocius rogus incendii (p.160 1.6). See Introduction, p.cxxv.

C304 I.e. as if there were nothing wrong with him. For this phrase with ayled, see MED s.v. EILEN v.3(d). Wülcker is quite wrong and punctuates solely with a comma after now3t. See R.P. Wülcker, Altenglisches Lesebuch, ii(Halle,1879),23 1.50 and note p.236.

C307 Cf. T p.160 11.8-9.

H300 therke] OED s.v. THERK quotes Sir Thomas Browne who says thurck is commonly used in Norfolk. Promptorium Parvulorum, EETS,ES cii, p.478 gives Therk, or derk, so the form is not surprising in H, the Book of Brome from the Norfolk-Suffolk border. See also A.J. Bliss, Sir Orfeo, 2nd ed.(Oxford,1966),54 note 1.370.

C314-16, H301-3 Not in T. Cf. p.160 11.14-18.

C315- 6, H302-3 Corrupt. Common elements are the conditional construction; 'clothes' in the first line; and C's wolde be colde and H's xulde be colde (MS.) in the second. C's rhyme and metre are awkward, and H is perhaps to be preferred. H303 MS. thyrth is an obvious error, and I have emended to herte as nearest in form and required sense. H frequently uses y for e, but initial t is hard to explain. throte I think an unlikely reading because of the vowel change. Miss Toulmin Smith does not emend at all. MS. rhyme purfyld/colde is unacceptable. Emendation purfyld/chyld follows OF vowel in purfiler, and chyld (pp.) is to be understood as an ironic understatement based on the sense of MED s.v. COLDEN vb. 2(a)

of persons, the heart, to be chilled, shocked, or overcome (as with apprehension, remorse, grief)...also, to afflict, to shock. Cf. the threat using colde as an adj. in the note of possession in MS. Bib. Reg. 18 A.xvii.

> He that this booke stelle wolde,
> Sone be his herte colde.

See T. Wright and J.O. Halliwell, Reliquiae Antiquae, ii(London, 1843),163. For the pp. form chyld, see MED s.v. CHILLEN.

C317, H304 C is correct; cf. T Ventus quidem urens ibi flauit qui uix audiri potuit (p.160 ll.16-17).

C321-2 knewe/nowe depends on rhyme sound [ū], with knewe representing variant knōwe <OE cnēow. Perhaps this couplet is a rewriting and H308-9 is to be preferred. tell rather than knewe may perhaps better render T Finis...non potuit...uideri (p.161 ll.1-2), though there is little to choose between them.

H309 'go' is to be understood after muste. On omission of verbs of motion, see T. Mustanoja, A Middle English Syntax (Helsinki,1960), 543-4.

H313 Typical of many metrically deficient lines in H, where the copyist seems to have been content with the barest sense alone.

H315 Here H loses the rest of the first field of torment, though later lines obviously belonged to it and have been misplaced: cf. C331-4 and H346-9.

C329 brasse (cf. T clauis ferreis (p.161 l.4)) made a useful rhyme with was; cf. C387-8, H436-7.

C330 Cf. T pre dolore uidebantur terram comedere (p.161 l.6).

C332 Spare þey] As Wülcker pointed out (Altenglisches Lesebuch, ii.236 note v.78) this could well have been written for Spareþ þey, considering the plural deueles in C333, but each soul may be addressing a single devil, so the MS. reading has been retained.

C333-4 Cf. T

> Demones enim inter eos et super eos uidebantur discurrere, qui non cessabant flagris eos dirissimis cedere. (p.161 ll.9-11)

As here, T frequently has more detailed action than the English versifier was prepared to try and match.

C339-46 This expands T (p.161 ll.11-15) by reference to the previous

tempting speech of the demons:

> quatinus uiuens adhuc in mundo gaudeas, ne totum quod suaue est corpori tuo funditus amittas. (p.159 ll.17-19)

Cf. C289. C340's imputation of gyle is not found in T.

C343-4 Seen here in context (cf. H284-5), this couplet reminds us that Owayne is in purgatory in the body, not rapt in spirit.

C348-50 No direct speech in T. The English heightens the dramatic conflict verbally if it decreases it physically.

C350 Figuratively speaking, i.e. intent on God.

C351-2 clawe/trowe requires rhyme on a in trawe, a northerly form; see OED s.v. TROW v.1.δ. clawe is plural <OE clāwa. There is no mention of claws in T.

C353 forde] C scribe frequently writes d for þ. See Introduction, p.xli.

C357-8 Cf. T inuocato Ihesu nomine (p.161 l.17).

C361-2 Not in T. Cf. H444-5.

C366 Not in T. This neatly reminds us that Owayne is a warrior and of his role as a knightly adventurer.

C367-8 Cf. T alium campum, maiori miseria plenum (p.161 l.20).

C368-9, H316-420 See Introduction, p.cxxii.

H320-1 turne/mone] Rhyme depends perhaps on turn/mourn on [u:]. See Dobson, ii. section 19.

H325 bone] See OED s.v. BOUND ppl.a[1], northerly būn, later ME boun.

H328 streynyd] There seems here to be a deliberate echo of Christ's being stretched for nailing on the cross, suggesting a parallel between Owayne's purgation and the suffering of Christ. See OED s.v. STRAIN v.[1] 10b, and Note C251-2. For a discussion of the 'straining' of Christ at the Crucifixion, see F.P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (Glasgow,1970),238ff.

H329 The scribe deleted wos and substituted ys: a theologically interesting little self correction.

H335 delys shows loss of intervocalic [v]. See Dobson, ii. section 400.

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H336-7 fylde/be-hylde] Rhyme on ē. The scribe's use of y for the reflex of OE ē is conspicuous throughout this text, and elsewhere in the MS. See Introduction, p.xliv.

H341 tode] Cf. todys (H352) after T Buffones (p.162 l.1). Along with snakes, toads are stock inhabitants of tombs, demonic visions, and hell in medieval literature and iconography. See e.g. Guy de Tervarent, Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art Profane 1450-1600, (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXIX), (Geneva,1958),135-6.

H344-5 lene/kyne] There is no source for kyne in T, and this may be a desperate and inexact rhyme. However, it may depend on ę̄ with a closed variant in lene, and kyne with y for e in an Easterly development of OE cĭnu > chīne > chę̄ne. See OED s.v. CHINE sb.1. For initial k, see OED s.v. KIN sb.2, given as northern dialect. Lean men and women are tantalized in the Vernon MS. version of be visions of seynt poul, ed. C. Horstmann, The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., EETS xcviii, p.255, ll.163ff.

H350 An outstandingly hypermetric line, probably due to memorial transmission.

H350-4 Not in T. This attack on high living is of the same brand as that found in the Vision of William of Stranton. Cf. Bromyard:

> in place of a soft couch, they shall have a bed more grievous and hard than all the nails and spikes in the world.... Instead of wives they shall have toads.

Quoted by Owst, LPME, p.294, and see pp.411ff for attacks on 'soft and delycat beddyng' and hair combing.

H353 vetyn = wetyn = wyten, 'know'. For use of v for w, cf. vax H679 (as w for v, e.g. schrywe H657), and for the e, cf. wete H58.

H360-1 Translate: The knight saw the torment of every man as he went (along).

H368-9 lowe/sawe] This rhyme requires lawe <ON lag-r, which is possible in this scribe's speech along with other northern features. The couplet may be a reworking of a less northerly rhyme in the archetype, e.g.

> Summe hynge lowe and summe hynge hye,
> Many he knewe that he þer sye.

Cf. H374-5, C415-16.

H362 wyll in context seems a little odd and perhaps should read yll, but there are no firm grounds for emendation.

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H370 hokys] Cf. T uncis ferreis (p.163 l.6). H follows the Latin closely here, distinguishing the hooks from the chains, schenys (H364); cf. T cathenis igneis (p.163 l.3).

H372 Cf. T Cumque transissent inde...(p.163 l.21).

H375 MS. And nedys is an evident error for the emended reading Vnebe; cf. C416. As with the bridge, the height is emphasised by Owayne's difficulty in seeing the top. There is no compulsion about him seeing the ouerest ȝend. ȝend shows the development of a glide [j] before initial ĕ or ę̆ variant. See Wyld, Coll. Eng. p.308, and Dobson, ii. section 430 note 5.

H376 Cf. T p.163 ll.24-5.

H379-80 bernyth may represent earlier berned, or may indicate the ever present burning of the purgatorial flames, and as such it has not been emended. MS. semyth probably represents pa.t. semyd, (see Introduction, pxlviii section 33), and has been so emended for the reader's convenience.

H380-1 Not in T. The rhyme ȝarn/qwerne requires ȝerne <OE ȝeorn. MS. deletion faste shows the scribe's mind and pen racing ahead without initial regard for the rhyme. See Introduction, p.cxxvii.

H384-5 I have retained the MS. reading. The spelling wyll for 'well' rhyming with styll suggests raising, and wyll is the usual spelling of 'well' by the H scribe. In this case we are to understand that Owayne was well when he stopped still, i.e. when the wheel ceased revolving. Chronologically this should be taken as the result of his prayer in H386. However, H384-5 are corrupt, metrically deficient, and in the archetype the rhyme is more likely to have been yll/styll, i.e. Owayne suffered while he was stuck (fixed) on the wheel. Anon he called to Christ, and then he knew no more herme (387). Cf. T:

> Cumque iactassent militem super rotam et in aerem rotando leuassent, inuocato Christi nomine descendit illesus.
> (p.164 ll.6-7)

H389 MS. in wode makes a false rhyme with spede. Emendation wede, OED s.v. WEDE v., supplies the required sense, and it would seem that H's reading is a corruption derived from an intermediate form with the adj. wode, mad, itself a corruption of the verb wede. Devils are not infrequently likened to wood (mad) wolves as it makes a neat alliterative phrase, e.g.

> Þai grennede for gladschipe euchan toward oðer as wode wulues þat fainen of hare praie.

Wohunge of Ure Laverd, ed. R. Morris, Old English Homilies... First

Series, EETS xxix and xxxiv, p.277 11.8-9. Cf. also Tundale, 11.134-6:

He se cum ane ugly rowte
Of wikked gostes, ay grennand,
As wilde wolves þai come rawmpand.

H392 MS. deletion inne shows the scribe's mind running ahead and recalling a familiar form of the same line found elsewhere; cf. H372, 418, and see Introduction, p.cxxvi.

H398 wyth-stod = came to a halt; cf. T substitit, procedere formidans (p.164 11.12-13). See OED s.v. WITHSTAND v.4.

H402 The question is ironic, addressed to the immobile Owayne. And = if.

H403 The emendation is required to make sense, and is based clearly on T Velis nolis illuc usque progredieris (p.164 11.14-15).

H405 bate fatys = bath vats. The spelling bate may be simply erroneous, or represent a dialectal shift from [þ] to [t]. See Dobson, ii. section 357. For the form fatys, see OED s.v. FAT sb.[1]

H406-9 Not in T. The idea of the king of the devils seated in the bath-house is only found in H. In the Legenda Aurea version of Nicolaus's visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory the devils say that in the pit of hell dominus noster Beelzebub habitat; see ed. Th. Graesse, (Leipzig,1850),215.

H407-13 There are signs of corruption in the repeated idea of 407 and 409; in the contorted sense of 410-11; in the repetition of ageyn in 411 and 412; and in the hypermetric line 413. The reference by name to Regelys , (which floored the scribe; MS. relegys), is not found at this point in T. Cf. H85 and Note.

H410-13 The sense is: If you wish to see your home or if you want to go back again to the gates of Reglis, then you may say that you have been chez the Devil (i.e. our master and king of H406). An alternative reading, taking Or (411) as 'before', could mean: If you will see your home (used ironically of the bath-house) before you turn back again to the gates of Reglis, then you may say that you have been chez the Devil. The devils are tempting Owayne to turn back and boast of his adventure, but this would also mean that Owayne would fail to complete his purgation, and therefore he rejects the idea and presses on (H414-17).

C372, H423 Cf. T p.164 11.19-20. It seems that an intermediate

stage either in the translation process or the transmission may have been that 'one could not put a foot between (the vats)'.

C373-4, H424-5 C metall/wall uses the form of the verb 'well' found in OED s.v. WALL v.[1] <OE weallan. H metell/wyll uses form in OED s.v. WELL v.[1] <OE wiellan, Anglian wellan, with H's typical y for e.

C379-80 I have inverted the MS. order of the lines in this couplet to accord with the otherwise strict progression from head to foot observed here, following T p.164 ll.24-6.

C384, H433 Cf. C388, H437. In T the devils do not succeed in their attempt to throw Owayne into the pits: see p.165 ll.2-3.

C390 turnemente] This form was frequently used in the fifteenth century for torment by confusion with tournament. Cf. C574.

H440 See Introduction, p.cxxvii.

C394-5 Between these lines are omitted the mountain, the north wind, the stinking river, and the 'false' pit of hell. See T p.165 l.4 - p.166 l.20.

H444-5 See C361-2.

C395-6, H446-7 Cf. C225-6, H220-1, and see Introduction, p.cxxvi.

C398 Preferable to H449; cf. T p.166 ll.23-4. C's false feere picks up the idea of the lying devils who had told Owayne that the pit was hell. See following Note.

C399, H450 This refers to the episode of the 'false' pit of hell omitted by both C and H, and possibly also by the archetype, though if this was the case it was careless to include this reference without the event to which it refers. See Introduction, p.cxxi.

C401 Wülcker, in Altenglisches Lesebuch, ii.236-7, needlessly posited sowth as a spelling for suthe, sið = while, time. But H452 plainly shows it simply means 'south'. The geography of the otherworld is vague and perhaps there is no greater reason for this turn here to the south than that it rhymes with 'mouth'. But see T traxerunt eum contra austrum (p.165 l.24), at the beginning of the episode of the 'false' pit. Cf. also F970:

Si l'unt tut dreit mené vers le suth.

Cf. the southward path taken to the river of fire by the Virgin in The Apocalypse of the Virgin, ANT p.563.

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C403-4 hatere/wattere] hatere may represent a collective singular, clothing, or the plural, clothes, from OE haeteru. For the sake of the rhyme I have expanded the tail on the r of MS. watter to final -e.

C403-4, H454-5 See Introduction, p.cxxvi.

C408, H459 C is scarcely apt. H reiterates a simile not infrequently applied to numerous devils: see Note A120:5-6.

C409 Cf. T fetidum (p.167 l.1).

H461 glyddyr] This is the only recorded usage of this word in MED. It represents T lubricus (p.167 l.12).

H463 Sharpness is not mentioned in T. Cf. A121:2.

C418, H465 Not in T.

C420, H467 Cf. T Sub isto flammante flumine noueris infernum esse (p.167 ll.2-3).

C427-36, H474-83 This direct speech by Owayne is not in T.

H476-7 This couplet is corrupt. C429-30 seem to have preserved the correct reading. H476 has lost rayne (C429), and substituted weder, which should come in the following line (cf. C430). To pad H477 the scribe has repeated For to blow from its final position in H478 (cf. C431).

H483 travell = travail, and it makes an uneasy rhyme with fall. This is a good example of the idea being remembered in H (cf. labour C436) but the exact form and rhyme word being forgotten.

H484 ȝydde for ȝede shows H's typical y for e.

H486 For the use of the numeral 1 cf. H37.

C443-4, H490-1 Both versions are metrically corrupt. The original may have read something like:

He calde to hym at euery pas,
Þat euer shall be and euer was.

H492 broder for brader.

H494 MS. includes bryge after myde. See Introduction, p.cxxvii.

H497 hey for hy.

H502 was probably for wax.

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C456, H503 H preserves the correct reading. See Introduction, p.cxxviii.

C458 deuell] Uninflected genitive plural <OE dēofla.

H505 pray in the sense of 'preying, depredation' here antedates OED first reference s.v. PREY sb.4 1523 in Berner's Froissart.

C460, H507 It is at this point that T's Homily One occurs, p.168 l.10 - p.174 l.10.

C462, H509 C is correct; cf. T spacio dimidii miliarii (p.174 l.17).

C465-6, H512-3 See Introduction, p.cxix.

C468 This closely follows T porta illa contra eum aperta est (p.174 ll.17-18).

H515 The spelling yoy for 'joy' is attested in MED s.v. JOI(E n.

C473-6, H516-19 Both MSS. are corrupt, though H seems to be a corruption of a text inherently superior to C's at this point. Cf. T:

> tante suauitatis odor ei occurrens per eam (i.e. porta) exiit ut, sicut uidebatur, si totus mundus in aromata uerteretur, non uinceret huius magnitudinem suauitatis. (p.174 ll.18-21)

The archetype may have read something like:

> Þouȝ all þe floures and þe erbery,
> And all þe worldly spycery
> Worþed a smell, by a honderd folde,
> Yt myȝt not to þat sauour be tolde.

(Cf. Reconstruction, ll.575-8, above, pp.218-19.)

Apart from the MS. reading flowyre, H516-17 are good lines which I think are authentic. The sense of the Latin totus mundus in aromata uerteretur has been changed, but mundus has passed into wardly. MS. H518-19 are corrupt. MS. Yt myth not from my putative archetypal reading has been moved forward to replace Worþed a, which itself at an intermediate stage may have yielded Wer ther, as emended. MS. H has lost the concession clause required by Thow (516) and this I have supplied with the verb Wer (518). MS. H repeats myth in 518 and 519. C has lost the good rhyme erbery/ spycery, and has picked up H's flowyrys and contrived a new rhyme flourres/sauourres. Note the corrupt repetition of sauour again in C475 and 476. MS. C's Such was þat is corrupt as a plural verb is required, and I have used the Such in emending H518, swech. C475 erdely is a memory of wardly (H517). C476 Myȝth not retains the negative in the final line of this passage, as I suppose in the archetype. The texts as printed are emended in the simplest way to yield the sense at which I take the copyists to

to have been aiming, bearing all these relationships in mind. One might compare the SEL renderings. Ld468-9 read:

> ;...þei al þe world : swote spices were,
> So muche swotnesse ne miȝte ȝiuen, : ase þat suote smul dude þere.

MS. Egerton 1993, ll.513-14 read:

> ...in al þe world . such spices nere
> þ^{t} suc swetnesse miȝten ȝeue, . as þat breþ þere.

See C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (Paderborn,1875),200-1. Cf. also the close parallels in Malory, 'Tristram de Lyones' XI, in Works, ed. E. Vinaver, ii(Oxford,1967),798, ll.30-1:

> and there was suche a savoure as all the spycery in the worlde had bene there.

In Tundale, ll.1763-4:

> The swete savoure, þat thare was,
> Alle the swetnes of this world dide pas.

In the Visiones Georgii, p.242, from the souls in paradise -

> tanta odoris suauitas emanabat, quod, si minima pars illius in hoc mundo sentiretur, totus mundus sic saciaretur, quod eius sacietas perpetuo famem aufferret et sitim.

C487-8, H530-1 Cf. T p.175 ll.7-9.

C493ff, H536ff T lists only archbishops, bishops, abbots, canons, monks, presbyters and ministers of every rank of Holy Church. The English shows a good deal of amplification. MS. H capitalizes the initial letters of Mvnkys, Schanonys, Nonnys, Prystys.

C494, H537 Not found here in T. Cf. C231, H226.

H539 MS. songys] Another example of H's careless disregard for the rhyme; cf. H652.

C499, H542 For the mention of kings, cf. a later passage in T Alii quasi reges coronati (p.176 ll.17-18).

H543 MS. clearly reads Devkys, though Miss Toulmin Smith misreads Devlys. The distinguishing mark is the link between the k and y; cf. the link between l and y in castelys in the same line. The top tail of the k (cf. kynggys 542) is partially obscured by the trailing tail of -y in sey 542.

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C509ff, H546ff C follows more closely the narrative sequence of T p.175 l.12 - p.177. See Introduction, p.cxxiv.

C512, H557 In T the two men are quasi archiepiscopi (p.175 l.13).

C516 fayrnesse is correct, not forest (H561); cf. T patriam et eius amenitatis gloriam (p.175 ll.14-15).

C527 H572 Frwyte of wysdom, i.e. the apple of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.

C531-2 Cf. T p.175 ll.18-20.

C536, H549 C's wonede is perhaps a corruption of H's wonte to were, which is closer to T Forma tamen habitus qua singuli utebantur in seculo (p.176 l.15).

C540, H553 C is a poor padding line, having lost the correct reading preserved by H. Cf. T cuius meriti fuerit uel ordinis ostendit (p.176 ll.15-16).

C541-4 Cf. T p.175 ll.20-4 and Nox illam nunquam obscurat (p.175 l.30).

C548, H579 H is closer to T qui tibi dedit tale propositum (p.177 ll.9-10).

H582 H has lost C551 and adapted C552 to make a triplet.

C554, H584 C is closer to T Omnes autem ad hanc requiem per illa loca transiuimus (p.178 l.8).

C568 do is causative, i.e. unless a friend pays for Masses to be sung or read for the deceased.

C569 dyuyne] This could perhaps refer to the implied cleric who sings or reads the Masses, but it seems more likely to be used of a power of divinity which frees souls. Such a usage is not recorded in MED, but see s.v. DIVIN(E n. 3(b), and OED s.v. DIVINE †B.sb.[1] 1,2,4,

C571-2 a-lyue/swythe] Assonantal rhyme; cf. C661-2 blybe/a-lyue.

C578, H594 C's mention of Eve is not found in T which H follows more closely therefore.

C581-4, H597-600 Not in T. The age of Adam at death and the length of his sojourn in hell/limbo are variously calculated. The same figures as those given here are found also in H's Adrian and Epotys, ll.316ff, Common-place Book, p.35. According to Gen. 5:5 Adam died aged 930 years. In the York Harrowing of Hell, ll.39-40

and 354 Adam says he was in Limbo 4,600 years: see K. Sisam, ed., Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, repr.(Oxford,1955),173,183 and note on p.259. In Dante, Paradiso, xxvi.120 Adam gives the figure 4,302 years. Fowre thowsand wynter was "a traditional estimate": see the MS. Sloane 2593 lyric Adam lay ibowndyn, ed. D. Gray, A Selection of Religious Lyrics (Oxford,1975),1 no.2 l.2, and note on p.98. In the Auchinleck MS. Adam and Eve, Adam is in hell 5,228 years: see C. Horstmann ed., Altenglische Legenden (Heilbronn,1878), 145 ll.551-2.

C589 First hem = all hys kynde(583); second hem = Adam and Eve.

H612 Cf. H's Adrian and Epotys, l.532:

The blood wos bled fore owre mysse be-leve...

Common-place Book, p.43.

C614, H620 H seems superior in that C pads with hym bowȝte. The 'rich bread' is the body of Christ, the food of the blessed: see John 6. In the Voyage of St. Brendan is an island where twenty-four monks are fed mysteriously each day with loaves. The monks are said to come from St. Patrick's in Ireland.

C616 bowstedest] An anomalous spelling of bo(w)ȝtest.

C633, H637 C's hole is incorrect; H's halle is correct, for 'there' (C635, H639) refers to the hall where Owayne meets the fifteen messengers of God before he reaches the hole of the Purgatory entrance.

H639 there for thore.

H641-4 This is an expansion of C637-8.

H645-6 Corrupt. hom has been transferred from the beginning of the following line in C641 in an attempt to secure a rhyme.

H647 The second half of this couplet has been lost and For now has been recalled from it (cf. C642) and inserted at the beginning of the following line, H648.

C643, H648 There seems to be an omission here introducing the direct speech of the (leader of the?) fifteen men, though the sudden introduction of direct speech is not uncommon in ME narrative verse.

H648-9 MS. syngth is probably intended to mean syng yt. See Introduction, p.xlviii. It still makes an inexact rhyme with MS. ryngyth. I have emended according to C which clearly preserves the sense H was searching for.

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H652 MS. chanownys shows a careless disregard for the rhyme; cf. H539.

C663-4, H666-7 In C the second half of each line has been transposed. H667 there for thore.

H678-9 held/on-wylld] Another instance of H's use of y for e. For the rhyme eelde/unweelde see e.g. Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, I (A) 3885-6.

THE VISION OF WILLIAM OF STRANTON

97, 98 On names and dates at the opening of Stranton, see Introduction, p.cxxix.

97/20-22 Cf. the description of the Purgatory by Chiericati, who says the "grotto turns aside for two cubits, where, they say, St. Patrick used to sleep". Hermathena, xl(1914),11.

97/22-3 William sleeps, so we can take it that unlike Owayne, he only claims to have had a dream-vision, and not to have entered purgatory bodily. See Introduction, p.cxxxiii.

97/23-4, 98/23 Cf. T p.157 ll.1-3, and VEL p.24, hit semyd the dawnyng of a morninge in his springing first.

97/28, 98/27 SR usually says William marked his forehead, i.e. with the first word of his prayer, Jhesu (97/12), whereas SA uses the verb bless, i.e. to mark with the sign of the cross. The efficacy of the sign of the cross for dispelling demons is well attested, e.g. horribilem malignorum spirituum turbam is so put to flight in Peter the Venerable's De Miraculis II.xx, PL clxxxix, 930-1. See Ward, Cat. Rom. iii.370, 396 no.421, 479, 485 and EETS cxxiii, p.260. Cf. Ezek. 9 where the Tau cross is inscribed on the foreheads of the innocent whom God wishes to spare: see R. Woolf, Speculum, xxxii(1957),808 note 18. When George Krissaphan entered the Purgatory he had a cross tied to his left hand: see Visiones Georgii, pp.97-8. Cf. on the power of the name of Jesus, VEL p.26:

> if hit myght be possible that a dampnyd saule in hell had power ther of God euer to call this name Jhesus, j wot wil all the deuelis ther shuld never have power ouer hym to do hym desese or payn.

Cf. also the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, cap.xxii, ed. H.E. Salter, Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham, ii(1908),319 ll.21ff.

97/29, 98/28 The saints' laughter here is indicative of the kindly familiarity with which St. John and St. Hylda treat William throughout.

99/4, 100/4 Cf. Matt. 7:13-4 and Jer. 21:8. On the two ways indicated by the Pythagorean Y, see Lactantius, PL vi, 641ff, and cf. Aeneid VI.540-3.

99/5-8, 100/5-8 SA has the correct reading. SR has mistakenly changed round the descriptions of the two ways. It is the right hand path which is the straight and narrow and sumdele fowle in the

begynnyng because it leads through purgatory to paradise. The left hand, sinister, way is the fair and broad path to hell.

100/10 Sertenly...] SA frequently has a freer and more striking use of direct speech.

99/19-22 If it myght be plesyng ... This sentence is syntactically corrupt, though comprehensible. SA preserves a better reading.

99/24, 100/26 See Introduction, p.cxxxii.

99/24-5, 100/27-8 St. John of Bridlington was an Augustinian Canon of St. Mary's Priory. He was thus especially suitable as a guide in the Purgatory at Lough Derg held by the Augustinian Canons of Saints' Island. On saints John, Hylda and Ive, see Introduction, pp.cxxxif.

99/27 I have omitted MS. not as St. John does deign to come. There may have been some confusion with disdain. See MED s.v. DEINEN v.2.

100/29-30 Whereas in SR William invokes St. John, in SA he invokes God for having sent St. John. Note MS. deletion be god after lovyde. The object of sende, i.e. St. John, is left unexpressed, the verb being used absolutely.

100/30 sympyll may well be the original reading, emphasising St. John's condescension, and SR synful (99/28) a commoner substitute. Cf. use of 'simple' at 103/30, 104/31.

99/30-101/1, 100/32-102/2 It would certainly have desesyd William to visit St. Ive often in Cornwall. The unlikelihood of SR's St. Ive being the correct reading is discussed in the Introduction, p.cxxxif. It is more reasonable that William should have desesyd himself often in making the pilgrimage from Stranton to Whitby and Bridlington, a round trip of some 160 miles.

102/7 know] The present tense is significant. The devils appeared in the form of William's friends who were still living when he wrote his vision. This personal detail is omitted from SR.

102/8 as by schappe pycturede] This use of pycturede, to mean represented or figured forth, antedates OED 1st ref. c.1489 in Caxton.

101/8, 102/9 SR drops the personal address to Wyllyam found in SA. This happens frequently and is perhaps a result of greater

rewriting than is found in SA.

101/11, 102/13 SA includes fleschely, cf. 102/19, which is perhaps original and makes a stronger point than SR.

101/18-23 A seemingly corrupt and certainly otiose repetition not found in SA.

101/27 and þan appered to me evel spirites] This is a corruption of SA (102/27) in liknes of evyll sprettys. SR introduces the new devils twice, 101/27 and 30.

103/1-4, 104/1-4 This description of the devils accords with the common manner in which they are depicted in late fourteenth and fifteenth century iconography. The plurality of heads, horns and faces, especially on the limb joints is a popular form of demonic deformity. Cf. Note A54:2. It was intended perhaps to illustrate the multifarious nature of evil.

103/8, 104/9 The noyse and crye of the devils at this point probably derives from the tumultus in T (p.158 l.22). Compare this with VEL pp.24-5, crying, roring, and 3elling as all the world ther shuld have fallid....

104/12-14 mark...hevene] This passage has been lost in SA because the copyist's eye must have jumped from hevyn in l.12 to the repeat in l.14.

105/3, 106/3 I suspect the true reading is, Holy fader.

105/5ff, 106/5ff This incident of William's sister and his simple objection that she and her prospective husband would not be happy together may very well be autobiographically correct. The woman seems to have decided in advance just how many children she would have! William stresses the sin of impeding marriages between any classes, and, of course, the need for penance.

106/18 Emended after SR because of homoeoteleuton with repeated kynne.

105/17, 108/19 On those who hinder matrimony cf. Jacob's Well, EETS cxv, p.15 ll.9ff.

105/21ff, 106/22ff St. John's explanation sounds rather confused, especially in SA.

i) William had neither shrift nor penance for his sin.
ii) But if he had thought of it, he would have done both.
iii)Therefore, by St. Patrick's prayer and the grace of Christ, William is permitted to shrive himself and do penance when he returns to the prior of the Purgatory.
iv) But if he had had shrift, but not done the penance, then he

would have had to pay his penance in purgatory there and then before returning to the world.

108/5 MS. reads fyr, but this might be a corruption of syr.

107/9-10, 108/10-11 For the phrase to turn the hand up and down/about, meaning in a moment, instantly (cf. in the twinkling of an eye), see OED s.v. HAND sb.60f. 1st ref. Cursor Mundi. Cf.

> al þe lif of man, þouȝ he myȝt lyue a þousand ȝer,
> nys but a turnyng of a mannes hond as to þat oþer
> lif, þat euer lasteþ wiþ-outen ende....

Book of Vices and Virtues, EETS ccxvii, p.68 ll.32ff.

107/15, 108/15 As might be expected, it is a commonplace of vision literature that the visionary meets some of his acquaintance in the pains of hell or purgatory: cf. H369.

107/16, 108/16 colors/colers] See MED s.v. COLER 2, chains worn about the neck as an ornament.

107/16ff, 108/16ff There follows a detailed catalogue of extravagant attire. For the tradition of attacks on such false plesynge of vayne glory of pride and aray (110/18-19), see Owst, LPME, pp.390ff, 409ff. On the jaggis, daggis and bells see e.g., Herbert Norris, Costume and Fashion, Volume Two, Senlac to Bosworth, 1066-1485 (London,1940),362, fig.500 and see index. In a fifteenth century MS., B.M. MS. Add. 37049 f.47b a miniature illustrating pride depicts a youth in a tall hat, blue puffed jacket, red breeches, long pyked shoes, with a sword, seized by two devils. Cf. VEL pp.25,29.

107/18, 108/18 harneist/hernessede hornes] See MED s.v. HARNEISEN (b) Cf. Mandeville, ed. G.F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, cxix(1889),86 l.19.

> He has aboute his nekk...brade gyrdils of silke,
> wele hernayst with gold and preciouse stanes.

107/20, 108/21 gyngeles] OED s.v. JINGLE sb. 2, 1st ref. 1615. No recorded usage in MED as sb.

110/1-2 There is a complex image here of the jags first having turned into adders and toads then biting, gnawing and sucking the souls' bodies and thereby squeezing and draining more fiends out of the ornamental bells and jingles. The use of the verbs streynynge and dreynynge is very powerful and unusual for the

fifteenth century. The image is of forcibly extracting the fiends from the jingles like a liquid. STREYN is first attested in this sense in OED in 1483 and again in 1583, see s.v. STRAIN v.[1]9, as distinct from sense 14. DREYNYNGE in the sense of straining liquid is not otherwise attested after the OE period before c.1500. For the idea of the clothes becoming snakes cf. The Pricke of Conscience, ed. R. Morris, (1863),ll.6943ff.

109/3, 110/5 Cf. Gesta Romanorum, EETS,ES xxxiii, p.383-4;

> and my brennynge skynne drawene of, and folowyng me, is for my large trayne of clothe, that I was wonte to drawe aftire me.... (p.384)

111, 112 On souls being dismembered and reforged with molten metal, cf. ME Tundale, ll.1013ff. On a similar theme see M. Eliade, The Forge and the Crucible, trans. Stephen Lorrin, (London,1962), 84ff and pp.97-108, especially pp.105-7 on devils as smiths. Cf. also C.M. Edsman, Ignis Divinus (Lund,1949),82ff and C. Marstrander, 'Deux Contes Irlandais', Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer (Halle,1912),371ff. On attacks on 'dismembering' Christ by swearing, see Owst, LPME, pp.414ff, and M.D. Anderson, History and Imagery in British Churches (Edinburgh,1971),143-4 and plate 55 for the wall painting at Broughton, Bucks. The complaint of the arms and other members against the heart and tongue resembles the fable of the debate of the members and the stomach, see Pitra, Analecta Novissima, ii(1888),448 and The Exempla...of Jacques de Vitry, ed. T.F. Crane, Publications of the Folk-lore Society, xxvi(1890),no.LXXIII and notes p.167.

111/15 drow] Cf. 112/15 threw, and for similar initial voicing draw 129/11.

114/3 fowynge] I have found no other use of this form in the sense required here, as glossed: sewage, that which is cleansed out of privies. This noun is an adaptation of the verbal noun, fowyng, the act of cleansing: see OED s.v. FOW v. quotes Promptorium Parvulorum, EETS,ES cii, p.171, ffowyng: Mundacio. See verb OED s.v. FAY, FEIGH < ON fáeja, to cleanse and MED s.v. FEIEN v.(2) and FEIINE(E ger.(2).

113/10ff, 114/9ff On the violation of Holy Days and going to the tavern, see Owst, LPME, pp.435ff and 425ff, and on gluttony in particular, pp.442ff.

114/13ff On janglers, those who chatter in church and prevent others from praying, see Owst, PME, pp.172-8 and Index s.v. Chattering.

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113/24ff, 114/24ff Excretory attacks by demons, though absent from the other major medieval visions, are known from at least the twelfth century. E.g. the Vision of Fulbert, see G.-J. Witkowski, L'art profane a l'église, ii(Paris,1908),35.

113/28-9, 114/29 SR is probably correct, SA's God being perhaps a misreading caused by the following God at the end of the sentence.

115/16ff, 116/16ff SA preserves a clearer explanation of the evil executors. SR for (115/18) means 'before'. SR MS. 115/28 marginal note Questmongers are those who made a business out of conducting inquests. Executors, their dilatory dealings and false appropriations are another constant object of criticism in contemporary literature; see Owst, LPME references in Index; PME, p.343; Handlyng Synne, 11,6243ff; and SEL, EETS lxxxvii, pp.430-1.

117/20ff Cf. the souls of the murdered watching the torment of their murderers in the Apocalypse of Peter:

> And the souls of them that were murdered stood and looked upon the torment of those murderers and said: O God, righteous is thy judgement.

ANT p.509 section 25.

119/3ff, 120/4ff The threefold division of SR is lost in MS. SA, making two groups tormented in the eyes. SA has been restored by reference to SR.

120/8ff It is impossible to say whether the return here to the subject of gay and stowte aray is part of the original text lost by SR or an expansion by SA. SR certainly adheres more closely to the immediate subject of lechery.

119/15ff, 120/15ff The basis of this section is the popular didactic literature founded on Prov. 13:24,

> Qui parcit virgae odit filium suum;
> Qui autem diligit illum instanter erudit.

See also Dial. IV.xix, and e.g. Handlyng Synne, ll.4849ff and Owst, LPME, pp.460ff, and cf. Fis Adamnáin, trans. C.S. Boswell, An Irish Precursor of Dante (London,1908),42 section 28, and The Pricke of Conscience, ll.5544ff. Souls are accused by their children in the vision of Thespesius in Plutarch, De Sera Numinis

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Vindicta, Loeb ed., Moralia, vii, p.297.

121/2 On the rock cf. Aeneid VI.602-3.

121/8, 122/8 SA wombys is clearly an error for SR's true reading backes. It is hard to see why such a change should have been made, as it is evidently suitable that backbiters should be bitten on their backs not on their stomachs.

121/9 Cats and beetles make an odd addition to the usual hellish menagerie, though it should be remembered that beetles, bitellis basically means 'biting ones'. Cats appear in the Irish Tidings of Doomsday, RC iv.253.

122/7 neyses] See OED s.v. NESE sb. nose.

121/13ff, 122/12ff On backbiters, see Owst LPME, pp.450ff.

121/21ff, 122/21ff The towers are related to the idea of the devil's castle: cf. A108:3. See illustrations e.g. Scriptorium, xxiii(1969), plates 104, 105, and Glynne Wickham, The Medieval Theatre (London,1974), plate 25, from the Hours of Catherine of Cleves. See also Owen (1970),Index s.v. architecture of Hell. For the castle and towers as used in stage settings, see M.D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge,1963),127-9, and see Index s.v. Hell-Mouth, and also D.C. Stuart in RR iv(1913),330-42.

The alternation of fire and ice is one of the most universal of hell/purgatory pains, e.g. Drihthelm, Poema Morale (Trinity MS.) ll.236-8. It derives support from Job 24:19. See also J. Vendryes, 'L'enfer glacé', RC xlvi(1929),134-42.

124/1 vemonsume] MS. vemnsue. OED records venomsome 1660 and form vemon in dialect.

123/17ff, 124/17ff Cf. 107/28ff, 108/29ff on this suitable transformation of the jags and dags into snakes etc.

129/7ff Cf. Jas. 5:1-2. On this whole section on the abuses of the rich clergy at the expense of the poor people cf. Owst, LPME, pp.298ff.

131/1, 132/1 The expected bridge over the river (cf. 134/30ff) is here modified to become the personal purgatory of a vainglorious bishop and his household.

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131/7ff, 132/8 The angel's act betokens the preservation of the sanctity of the office of bishop irrespective of the personal sins of the holder.

131/15ff, 132/15ff The makynge...of brigges and causyes and amendement of perilous weyes in savyng of mennes lyves and eke of bestes (quoted by Owst, LPME, p.556 note 3) was a recognized form of public charity. Cf. Piers Plowman B.VII.27-7. Cf. the stone on which Judas sits: Petram in qua sedeo, illam misi in fossam in publica uia sub pedes transeuncium..., Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis, ed. C. Selmer, (Univ. Notre Dame Press, 1959),68 ll.46-7. Cf. bridge of Godeschalc, in Visio Godeschalci, ed. Rudolf Usinger, Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für Schleswig - Holst. - Lauenb. Geschichte, iv.2(Kiel,1875),96 cap. 11.

This feature of objects of good deeds assisting the soul in purgatory is a commonplace of vision literature and accounts of purgatory: cf. William's own cord, p.137/20ff.

132/25 Exemplar doubtless read 'from chapter to chapter, and consistory to consistory'. On current attacks on the evils of the consistory courts, and on those who paid bishops to maintain themselves in lechery, and on false marriages, divorces and other injurious arrangements fixed at ecclesiastical courts, see Owst, LPME, pp.222-3, 251-5, 280-2. On the lechery of the clergy see pp.267ff.

133/6ff, 134/6ff At this point in T occurs the first homily, and here St. John's discussion of purgatory fulfills a similar function. Cf. especially p.172 ll.12ff.

133/14ff, 134/15ff placebo and dirige] Placebo domino in regione viventium, Psalm 114:9 (Vulgate), Vespers antiphon in the Office of the Dead. Dirige, Dominus meus, in conspectu tuo uitam meam, Psalm 5:8, first nocturn at matins in the Office of the Dead. Commendations, the recital of psalms with collects and versicles or litany to commend the soul of the deceased (commendatio animae) to God, developed from Luke 23:46 (Psalm 30:5). The seven Penitential Psalms are (Vulgate) 6,31,37,50,101,129,142. In the Spiritus Guydonis the seven psalms with the litany are said against the seven deadly sins, plus the Pater, Ave and Crede; ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, ii.313-4. The fifteen Psalms are those of the Gradual, 119-133. See E.T. Donaldson, Piers Plowman. The C-Text and its Poet (Yale,1949),208-210.

133/19ff, 134/19ff The image of the water of alms on the fire of sins is commonplace: cf. Aelfric,

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> Swa swa waeter adwaescð fyr, swa adwaescð seo aelmysse synna.

(Homilies, ed. B.Thorpe, ii(London, 1846),106 and cf. Mirk, Festial, EETS,ES xcvi, p.270.

133/29, 134/28 The disappearance of the guide leaving the soul to face the assaults of the demons alone is a common feature of many visions see e.g. Drihthelm, Tundale, and the vision of the boy William in Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale, Lib.XXVII cap.lxxxiv. Cf. also the vision of Thespesius, in Plutarch, De Sera Numinis Vindicta, Loeb ed., Moralia, vii, p.293.

134/30 - 136/1 William seems here to be referring to the second bridge which features in Tundale, ll.565-6.

> With scharpe pykes of irne and stele
> Hit was thyke sette and grevous to fele.

Cf. the saw-like punishment in the Chaldon wall-painting: see ref. Note A101:4-6; and see also the bridge in the Vision of Thurkill, JBAA xxxi, p.446:

> Deinde restabat pons magnus aculeis et sudibus per totum affixus quem pertransire quemlibet oportebat antequam ad montem gaudii perveniret.

135/16, 136/15 There is a close parallel to William's searching for the bridge over the river in a vision seen by Ailsi recounted in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51. Ailsi comes to a misty river in a valley bottom.

> Nimium itaque anxius super ripam fluminis nunc hac nunc illac. uidelicet sursum et iusum ambulare decreuit. ut si forte pontem inueniret. (f.26b. col.1)

Ailsi does not find a bridge, but his dead son, Paganus appears to him and tells him there is no bridge because the valley is immeasurably deep and wide, and he carries Ailsi across on his back.

135/27, 136/26 The ladder is a variant of the bridge for crossing the river or ascending into heaven. Its use is widespread in vision literature from Jacob's ladder and the Vision of St. Perpetua, ed. J. Armitage Robinson, Texts and Studies, I.2. (1891),66-8. For discussions see H.R. Patch, MLN xxv(1920), 181-2; F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism (Yale,1922),154; Arthur B. Cook, Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion, ii(Cambridge, 1925),124-38. Cf. VEL p.27.

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138/10 steyle] See OED s.v. STALE sb.[2] 1.obs. and cf. OED s.v. STEAL 3.obs. - quotes Hilton's Scala Perfectionis.

137/11ff, 138/11ff Cf. T when Owayne is on the bridge, p.168 ll.1-3.

138/26 This tree is the Tree of Life.

139/5, 140/5 This fair company parallels the procession in T p.174 ll.27ff.

139/13 William, or a scribal adaptor, is careful to emphasise that reverence is paid not to the image, but to the saint depicted. On images, see Owst, LPME, pp.136ff.

139/15 The bishop here serves the same function as the two quasi archiepiscopi in T p.175 l.13.

139/15 revershid] Composite form after reversed (OED s.v. REVERSE v.[2]), an incorrect form of REVESHED,(see OED s.v. REVESH, REVESS) itself a back-formation from REVEST, the final -t having been misunderstood as a participial ending. The meaning is well illustrated in Tundale, ll.1649-50

> Alle revested, as þai shuld synge masse,
> With ryche clothes of holynasse.

139/27ff The placing of excessive trust in God's mercy, deeming "Howsoever great thy sins be, greater is His mercy", is, according to Bromyard, a "deception of the devil's" that "deceives many, nay rather well-nigh the whole world". See Owst, PME, p.335. It is the mistake made by the prioress whose judgement William witnesses, p.143/29-30.

141/24ff, 142/25ff Cf. T p.178 ll.23ff.

143/5, 144/5 SR's reading is probably correct, as it is in her role of prioress rather than merely as an individual that she is being judged.

144/8 agayn...gylte] He committed but a small offence against her own person, i.e. the examiner was perfectly just in his accusations against her behaviour. The statement is ironical and points up by contrast the great guilt of the prioress.

146/10 in-wyttys] OED quotes Wyclif, (c.1380):

þese ben also þy fyve inwyttys; Wyl,
Resoun, Mynd, Ymaginacioun, and Thogth.
(Sel. Works, III.117).

145/13-4 See Introduction, p.cvii on the injunction to the visionary to report what he has experienced.

TRACTATUS DE PURGATORIO SANCTI PATRICII

148/1-2 On the identity of H. abbot of Sartis, i.e. Old Wardon or Warden, Bedfordshire, see Introduction, p.lxii.
On Warden, see MRHEW p.127.

148/2 H., monachorum de Saltereia minimus is usually known as Henry of Saltrey, i.e. Sawtry near Ermine Street midway between Peterborough and Huntingdon. See MRHEW p.125, and also above, Introduction, p.lxii.

148/12 See Dial. IV. All page references are to the edition of U. Moricca, Gregorii Magni Dialogi Libri IV (Rome, 1924).

148/17 Cf. Dial. I. p.16 ll.8ff.

> et sunt nonnulli quos ad amorem patriae caelestis plus exempla quam praedicamenta succendunt...

148/17-20 Cf. Dial. IV.xxxvii for the battle over Stephen's soul, p.288 ll.17ff.

148/23ff Cf. Dial. IV.xxxvii, p.285 ll.10ff.

148/27ff See Dial. IV.xxxvii.

149/12 Cf. Augustine, De Civ. Dei I.xi. Mala mors putanda non est quam bona vita praecesserit.

149/12-15 Cf. Dial. IV.xli, p.296 ll.10ff.

149/15-17 Cf. Hugo of St. Victor, De Sacramentis, Lib. II. pars xvi, PL clxxvi, 586D.

149/20-25 Cf. PL clxxvi, 586B, and Dial. IV.xliv.

149/29ff Cf. Augustine, Enchiridion, Lib. I, cap. cix, PL xl, 283.

150/3-4 See Dial. IV.xxx, and Augustine, De Civ. Dei XXI.x.

150/10-15 Cf. Dial. IV.xxxii, p.277.

150/17-18 See p.185.

150/20-1 Henry of Saltrey distinguishes St. Patrick as Magnus and as Patrick the Second, presumably referring to the British Apostle St. Patrick, whose mission 461-c.490 continued that of Palladius or Patricius senex, who was in Ireland 432-461. The vexed question of the two Patricks is even yet not finally solved: see p.cxlvii. See also MLR xviii(1923),317-22.

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150/25 relator horum refers to Gilbert who retold the whole story to Henry of Saltrey. See Introduction, p.lxxvi.

151/6 Presumably, the interpreter is Owayne: cf. T p.185 l.10.

152/1-2 Cf. Dial. IV.xxxvi, p.284 ll.4-6.

152/11 After est ∝ includes De quibus etiam in Uita sancti Malachie scriptum inuenimus. (Warnke (1938),p.22)

152/14 in locum desertum] It is tempting to see here some trace of the use of in desertum, Irish disert to mean "the solitary place where the anchorite took up his abode", G.T. Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, 6th ed. rev. H.J. Lawlor, (London,1907),178. This expression was adopted by the Irish in emulation of Egyptian ascetics, whose influence passed through Copticized France: see A.K. Porter, The Crosses and Culture of Ireland (Yale,1931),19-20. Note that Henry of Saltrey nowhere mentions a lake or island.

152/25-6 On this anachronism, see Introduction, p.lxxxviii. Augustinian Canons Regular did in fact hold Saints' Island and Station Island from 1132 or soon after. See MRHI p.193.

152/27-8 This church probably refers to the one on Station Island: see Introduction, p.cxlv. The 'cemetery' may refer to the lectuli or 'beds' of the saints: see Introduction, p.cxxxix.

152/28 The walls and doors clearly describe the man-made structure that the Purgatory was later also found tobe. This is corroborated by the evidence of later pilgrims. See Introduction, p.clxvi.

153/7 It is interesting to note that the fame of St. Patrick in his role of master of the dead, through the power granted him by Christ, even made Dr. Johnson misunderstand a depiction of Christ's descent into hell as "St. Patrick... visiting hell, and putting the devils into great confusion by his presence...". Note to Macbeth I.iii.6. See Yale ed., Johnson on Shakespeare, VII(1968),10. The editors here refer to T. Hearne's Ectypa Varia, but I think Johnson saw the engraving in its original position in Hearne's edition of Fordun's Scotichronicon, V(1722),1403: see the discussion in vol. i, sect. 14, pp.XLVIIff. Cf. also William Hone, Ancient mysteries described, first published 1823, repr. London, 1970, 138ff. The original drawing is in Bodl. MS. Rawlinson D.939, an unbound collection of curiously folded calendars and pictures of the lives of Adam and Christ.

153/8 On the name Reglis, see Introduction, p.cxliii.

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153/26 This asceticism is characteristic of early Irish monasticism such as we should expect at the pre-Augustinian community of Station Island. Cf. p.195 11.5-8.

154/6-7 The bishopric in question may in earlier, as in later, times have been Clogher. See Introduction, p.lxvi and Note H85.

154/11 Apart from the evident force of such an argument to substantiate the claim that the cave was a real entrance to purgatory, it is not improbable that some penitents did in fact succumb through excessive fasting and exposure. On the harshness of the preparatory exercises, see Introduction, pp.clxxxiff.

155/5-6 That is, during the years of the reign of King Stephen of England, 1135-54.

155/7 St. Patrick's Purgatory lies near the junction of the boundaries of the bishoprics of Raphoe, Derry and Clogher, and now lies in Clogher, though cf. MRHI p.155, which specifies Raphoe. SR specifies Clogher in the early fifteenth century: see Introduction, p.cxxix. Visiones Georgii likewise specifies Clogher in the mid fourteenth century: see Introduction, p.clxxvi. In the mid twelfth century, at the time of Owayne's visit, the seat of the bishopric of Clogher was temporarily transferred to Louth: see MRHI pp.63, 92. Cf. Peter of Cornwall's mistakenly saying that St. Patrick's Purgatory was in the bishopric of Down (p.193 11.15-16).

156/20 After formidat ∝ includes:

> Uis quippe interni doloris pro peccatis contempnit uniuersa que ei ostenduntur foris. Culpe que ab eo sentiuntur intrinsecus contempnunt tormenta que audit exterius.
>
> (Warnke (1938), p.46)

156/22 Cf. p.158 11.13ff.

157/5-7 This evidently influenced the Vision of Thurkill:

> Eratque Basilica nimis spatiosa et grandis, sed absque parietibus per girum dependens sicut claustrum monachorum.

JBAA xxxi, p.445. Cf. Tractatus reading in the version given by Roger of Wendover:

> aula parietes non habebat, sed columnis erat per gyrum subnixa, ut claustrum solet monachorum.

Flores Historiarum, ed. H.O. Coxe, ii(London,1841),259. This

influence has not been taken into account by G.C. King in his attempt to show that the Basilica is like the twelfth century Templars' foundation at Navarre: see 'The Vision of Thurkill and Saint James of Compostella', RR x(1919),38-47.

157/11 After ammirans « includes:

> Sicut enim estimauit, in hoc seculo aula talis uisa ab homine uel facta numquam fuit.
>
> (Warnke (1938), p.50)

157/12-13 It is surely no accident that these messengers ex parte Dei (p.156 l.14) closely resemble Cistercian monks. See Note to p.185 ll.13-17.

157/12ff Cf. Vision of Gunthelm told by Helinand, PL ccxii, 1061B. Gunthelm led by St. Benedict sees capellam in aere pendentem and within quidam candidatorum grex, sedentes in circuitu interiori capellae....

157/26 The devils throughout tempt Owayne to give up his adventurous penance. For an illustration of a devil tempting St. Patrick, taken from Le Purgatoire Sainct Patrice (Paris,1530), see Ernst and Johanna Lehner, Devils, Demons, Death and Damnation (New York,1971), illustration no.33.

157/23-4 The psychological effects of threats are well deployed by the devils. Cf. Vision of Gunthelm; Vides rem terribilem; sed adhuc terribiliorem videbis. PL ccxii, 1063B.

158/12ff Cf. Eph. 6:11ff.

158/22 Cf. VSP IV, p.78 ll.28-9.

> Et clamor factus est contra animam iustam, quasi celum et terra commoverentur.

The image was a popular one; cf. the devils in Speculum Laicorum, cap.IX.59, ed. J. Th. Welter, (Paris,1914),14:

> advenit sonus quasi grunitus multorum porcorum adeo horribilis quod videbatur sibi celum et terram concuti sono illo.

This sound compared with the harmony of heaven convinces a Cistercian monk that hell is more unbearable than ordinis gravitatem; cf. T p.168 ll.16-19.

159/1-2 The distinction of sound and sight as two aspects of the horror of demons is found in Honorius Augustodunensis' Elucidarium, III.xiv-xv, ed. Lefèvre, pp.447-8.

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160/13-15 Cf. Drihthelm, p.490, where it grows so dark ut nihil praeter ipsas aspicerem, excepta dumtaxat specie et ueste eius, qui me ducebat.

160/18-19 Cf. Drihthelm, p.488: Incedebamus... contra ortum solis solstitialem.

160/19-20 The uallem latissimam is also from Drihthelm, p.488.

160/20-2 Cf. Drihthelm, p.492: qui mox conuersus ad dextrum iter quasi contra ortum solis brumalem me ducere coepit.

161/8 Cf. the souls crying for mercy in VSP IV, p.78 11.31-2.

161/19 With the beasts in this second field, cf. Apoc. of Peter, p.509, section 25.

161/23-4 Cf. 161/4-5. With these souls staked out as if crucified, cf. Caiaphas in Dante's Inferno, xxiii.111ff.

162/17ff. Souls tormented by numerous fiery nails are found in the Irish Vision of Laisren, ed. Kuno Meyer, Otia Merseiana, i(1899),118.

162/20ff Cf. Aeneid VI:492-3.

162/23 Cf. Apoc. of Peter, p.509 section 27.

163/3ff Cf. VSP IV, p.75 11.8-9 for souls suspended from the fiery trees.

> Alii pendebant pedibus, alii manibus, alii capillis, alii auribus, alii linguis, alii brachiis.

Cf. also Apoc. of Peter, p.509, sections 22-9.

163/9 Cf. Apoc. of Peter, p.510, section 34, and the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, cap.xvi, ed. Salter, p.305.

163/14-15 Cf. Visio Tnugdali, p.39 11.12-14. This is a commonplace of vision literature.

163/21ff The rota ignea is derived from VSP IV, p.76 11.3-5.

> ... rota ignea habens mille orbitas. Mille vicibus uno die ab angelo tartaree volvitur, et in unaquaque vice mille anime cruciantur in ea.

The Demones (p.164 l.1) are replaced in the text of T published by

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Migne by Ministri...Tartarei (PL clxxx, 994A) who clearly derive from the angelo tartareo. On the relationship of this to the angelo tartarucho in the fragmentary Priscillianist apocalypse (printed by De Bruyne, 'Fragments retrouvés d'apocryphes priscillianistes', Revue bénédictine, xxiv(1907),323 ll.11ff), thought to be of Celtic origin by M.R. James (in Journal of Theological Studies, xx(1918),15ff), see Silverstein, pp.76-7. See also Seymour in PRIA xxxvii.C.15, pp.306-7. Cf. the wheel as seen by Ludovicus de Sur: see Voigt, Palaestra, cxlvi, p.234. For this vision see also List of Books Used under Frati (1891). The wheel as an infernal torment is widespread: see Owen (1970),Index s.v. wheels, infernal, and also the Vision of Thurkill, JBAA xxxi, p.453, and Visiones Georgii, p.148.

163/23-6 Compare the picture of the wheel from the stalls at the Château de Gaillon now in St. Denis, showing two wheels, half below rock level, with the mouth of hell breathing flames below, reproduced in G.-J. Witkowski, L'art profane à l'église, ses licences symboliques, satiriques et fantaisistes: France (Paris, 1908),121 fig. 116h. For depictions of the pains of hell in the Visio Sancti Pauli as incorporated in T, see J. Baltrušaitis, Réveils et Prodiges. Le gothique fantastique (Paris,1960),fig.17, p.129 (Gloucester Psalter, Munich Clm. 835); fig.12, p.281 (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B.11.4); fig.9, pp.276-7 (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Fonds français 9220); p.275 (Toulouse, MS. 815);and cf. also Romania, xxiv(1895), after p.368.

164/5 After esse ∝ includes:

> Planxerunt miserrime et fleuerunt omnes qui rote infixi fuerunt. (Warnke (1938), p.82)

164/9ff Compare with this house the hospitium of Phristinus in Visio Tnugdali, pp.23ff. With typical elaboration it becomes the subject of the eleventh vision in Visiones Georgii, pp.150ff. It recurs also in the visions of Ailsi, in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 f.27a col.2. See also Owen (1970),34-5.

164/12-13 Owayne's stopping here recalls the injunction to St. Paul to stop before the seven-sealed pit in VSP IV, pp.77-8. Cf. also Tundale before the house of Phristinus - accedere propius nullo modo valebat (Visio Tnugdali, p.23 ll.12-13).

164/23ff For this motif of graduated immersion, cf. VSP IV, p.76 for souls in the river beneath the bridge, and VSP I, p.65 ll.22-4, and cf. Silverstein, p.153 ll.20-2, and pp.166-7 ll.13ff. The list in T is fuller and ordered to progress from top to toe. As in T

there is no designation of sins for this punishment in the Vision of Sunniulf (Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum IV.xxxiii), or Vision of the Monk of Wenlock, where immersion in the river beneath the narrow beam is purgatorial in function. See also T. Silverstein in MLN li(1936),449-452, and the odd rationalisation of this feature in the Vision of Thurkill, JBAA xxxi, p.457.

165/4 On the purgatorial mountain, (compare the mountain in the Earthly Paradise), see Patch (1950),pp.129-130, and for the combination with the wind see the sufferings of the abbot in the Vision of Wettin, PL cv, 774 section 6, and Visio Tnugdali, p.14.

165/4ff For the north wind cf. also The Adventures of Saint Columba's Clerics, ed. Stokes, RC xxvi(1905), p.157 section 39.

165/18-20 Cf. Dante's Centaurs, Inferno, xii.73-5, and Inferno, xxi.55-7.

165/24ff Cf. Drihthelm, p.490, paragraph two, and Visio Tnugdali, p.33 ll.18-22. See also Hildegard of Bingen, Liber Vitae Meritorum II.lxxi, ed. Pitra, p.96; Vision of Alberic, chapter 9, and the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, ed. Salter, p.307 ll.17ff, or in the fifteenth century English version, see E. Arber's English Reprints (1901), The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham (sic), p.40.

166/20-1 Cf. Drihthelm standing by the pit,

> cum diutius ibi pauidus consisterem, utpote incertus quid agerem, quo uerterem gressum. (Drihthelm, p.490)

As in T devils emerge de abysso illa flammiuoma (p.492), and surround Drihthelm. This confusion also passed into Peter of Cornwall's account of the Vision of Ailsi, his grandfather, who on failing to find a bridge across a river wanders up and down, omnino ignorans quid ageret, quo se uerteret (Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 f.26b col.1).

166/23-4 On the Devil as a liar and the father of lies, see John 8:44.

166/25-6 Cf. Drihthelm, p.490, where the angelic guide informs him that it is not hell he is in:

> non enim hic infernus est ille, quem putas.

See Introduction, p.ccxxii. The 'false' hell is introduced in T because hell is to be distinguished from purgatory in a way that it was not in the earlier eschatology of Visio Sancti Pauli Redaction α. See Silverstein, p.127 note 34.

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167/12-13 Cf. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum IV.xxxiii:

> Erat enim et pons super fluuium positus angustus, ut uix unius uestigii latitudinem recipere possit.

167/25-6 A bridge broad enough to allow two carts to pass in opposite directions was noteworthy in the early middle ages; e.g. note the mention in the Norse Heimskringla chapter 12 of a bridge between London city and Southwark: see M. Ashdown, English and Norse Documents (Cambridge,1930),154.

168/1ff Cf. Vision of Ailsi related in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51. Demons, seeing Ailsi and his son flying over the valley of hell, cry out and try to make them fall.

> uocem extollentes omnem illam uallem clamoribus et rugitibus inplentes. ticiones et torres ardentes sursum proiecerunt. et ui maxima in homines supra se uolantes intorserunt. ut eos deorsum in baratrum inferni deicient. (f.27b col.2)

Ailsi and his son reach the Earthly Paradise where wait the souls of the blessed until the gates of heaven open.

168/10ff It has never before been properly recognized that the two homilies are, as the epilogue says, sanctorum patrum exhortationes (p.191 l.14). They have clearly been added for the benefit of a monastic audience, probably originally that at Sartis: see Introduction, pp.lxxviiff.

169/7ff There follow extracts from Anselm. References are given to the Opera Omnia, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1946-1961.

169/7-11 Vtinam...paruum?] From Anselm's first meditation, Meditatio ad concitandum timorem, III.77:34-7.

169/11-15 Quid...cogitacionem] Adapted from singular to plural, from Anselm III.77:38-42.

169/17 - 170/3 Ve, quot...mallei!] Adapted from Anselm III.77:43ff.

169/25-6 Hec...uerba.] Interpolation by Henry of Saltrey.

170/3-8 Augeamus...peccauerit.] Adapted from Anselm III.78:63-6.

170/9-10 Matt. 5:26.

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170/16-22 Augustinus. Intueamur...clauis] Adapted from the sixth chapter of the Liber Meditationum attributed to Augustine, PL xl, 905, now understood to be by John of Fécamp: see J. Leclercq and J.-P. Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle (Paris, 1946),44 note 1.

170/23-4 O mirabilis...dispositio!] See PL xl, 906.

170/24 - 171/6 Nos...Maria.] Adapted from chapter seven of the Liber Meditationum, PL xl, 906.

173/6-13 Quid...est.] Adapted from Anselm, III.77:23-9.

173/13-14 See Anselm III.78:67-8.

173/16-28 O... desperes.] Adapted from Anselm III.78:72 - 79:81.

174/2 The pit, in fact, in Owayne's account is not the real hell, but part of purgatory: see p.166 ll.25-6.

174/13-14 Cf. Drihthelm, p.492, and Visio Tnugdali, p.51 ll.20ff.

174/21-2 Fortifying and satisfying odours in paradise are also found in e.g. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum VII.i, and see Dial. IV.xxxvii.

174/27ff For the procession which meets Owayne, cf. Vision of Boso. Boso raptus, lies ill three days as if dead, and visits horrenda simul et amoena loca.

> Erant omnes hujus ecclesiae monachi quodam in loco congregati, ante quos multum ex sese splendoris emittens veneranda crux portabatur, quam omnes vestiti, ordinata sollenniter sicut solent, processione incedentes et cantantes sequebantur.

Symeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae IV.ix, ed. T. Arnold, RS 75a(1882),130.

175/1 As the Visiones Georgii, p.225 explain, the palmas aureas are carried in signum victorie triumphantis. Cf. Rev. 7:9, and T p.176 l.18.

175/7ff Cf. Visio Tnugdali, p.51 ll.5-6.

175/20-4 Cf. Drihthelm, p.492:

> Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei siue solis meridiani radiis uideretur esse praeclarior.

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175/24-6 Cf. Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 f.27b col.2.

175/30 Cf. Visio Tnugdali, p.41 l.7: nox ibi non fuit neque sol illic occidit.

176/1-7 Cf. the blessed in groups in Dial. IV.xxxvii, and in Drihthelm, p.492:

> Erantque in hoc campo innumera hominum albatorum conuenticula sedesque plurimae agminum laetantium.

176/10-11 See 1 Cor. 15:41. This section on the blessed per conuentus distincti (p.176 l.4) stems from John 14:2 in domo patris mei mansiones multe sunt. This and the Corinthians text are often taken together: see e.g. Peter Lombard, Sententiae IV.dist.XLIX.i, or Augustine, in PL xl, 410. Cf. also Visiones Georgii, p.235:

> Sicut enim stelle differt a stelle in claritate, sic eciam sanctus differt a sancto in sanctitate, merito et caritate.

See also Dial. IV.xxxvi on the single bliss but unequal reward enjoyed by the saved for different degrees of good works.

176/13-14 The different colours of the clothing of the blessed is not a common feature of descriptions of paradise. One may compare the differing colours representing different sins in the souls seen by Thespesius: see Plutarch, De Sera Numinis Vindicta 565, Moralia, Loeb ed. VII(1959),280-2. See Visiones Georgii, pp.228-9: the angels are in green; apostles, martyrs and seraphim in scarletho rubei; virgins and widows are niuei et candidissimi; and confessors, patriarchs and prophets are crocei.

176/15-16 Cf. Visio Tnugdali, p.51 ll.5-6.

176/17 After splendor ∝ includes:

> hoc enim quod uidebatur esse uestium color et forma, uidebatur uestis uniuscuiusque potius esse nitentis claritatis gloria. (Warnke (1938), pp.116-8)

176/26 After ea ∝ includes:

> Ibi uidebantur mansiones uariorum conuentuum; erant singule magnitudine lucis replete. (Warnke (1938), p.118)

176/30 - 177/2 The negative formula is well-nigh universal in descriptions of paradisal bliss: see e.g. Patch (1950), Index s.v. formula, negative.

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177/13-14 Cf. Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51. Ailsi visits the Earthly Paradise which is clearly distinguished from the Celestial Paradise.

> Ibi erat Paradysus dei in quo requiescunt anime sanctorum in summa quiete et leticia, donec eis aperiatur ianua celestis curie in qua angeli sunt cum deo et multe etiam anime sanctorum que iam / a predicto campo illuc transierunt.... (ff.27b col.2 - 28a col.1)

177/15ff The account of Adam is derived from the opening paragraph of Dial. IV, p.229:

> Postquam de paradisi gaudiis, culpa exegente, pulsus est primus humani generis parens, in huius exilii adque caecitatis, quam patimur, erumnam venit, quia peccando extra semetipsum fusus iam illa caelestis patriae gaudia, quae prius contemplabatur, videre non potuit. in paradiso quippe homo adsueverat verbis dei perfrui, beatorum angelorum spiritibus cordis munditia et celsitudine visionis interesse; sed postquam huc cecidit, ab illo, quo implebatur, mentis lumine recessit.

See also the remainder of Gregory's paragraph.

177/22-3 Ps. 48:13/21 (Vulgate).

178/10-11 The pit here is clearly still thought to be the entrance to hell as in the Visio Sancti Pauli, not the river beneath the bridge. Henry of Saltrey has not been entirely consistent in adapting his sources.

178/14 After introducimus ∝ includes:

> De eis uero qui ibi sunt alii aliis maiori uel minori tempore erunt. Qui uero bene purgati de corpore exeunt, statim huc ad nos ueniunt. (Warnke (1938), p.126)

178/24-6 Cf. Drihthelm, p.494:

> non tamen sunt tantae perfectionis, ut in regnum caelorum statim mereantur introduci.

The whole of the explanatory speech by the two 'archbishops' is modelled on the speech delivered to Drihthelm by his angelic guide.

179/2 The vision of heaven seen from the summit of a mountain is a commonplace of otherworld literature. See Patch (1950), Index s.v. mountain, on the,.

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179/17ff Cf. Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 51 f.126a col.1. Souls in paradise, not in superiori paradyso celesti in conspectu Dei, are fed daily:

> Ex odore...quodam qui hora prima singulis diebus de celo descendit, et pro differentia meritorum singulos sui dulcidine ita satiat et reficit....

See C.J. Holdsworth, 'Eleven Visions connected with the Cistercian Monastery of Stratford Langthorne', Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, xiii(1962),200.

179/20 After perfruuntur ∝ includes:

> Ibi miles libenter permansisset, si permanere licuisset. Sed post talia et tam iocunda referentur ei tristia.
> (Warnke (1938), p.132)

179/30 Cf. Visio Tnugdali, p.45 ll.24-5. The desire to remain in paradise is not surprisingly frequently found in vision literature.

180/12-13 1 Cor. 2:9.

180/16-19 Excitemus...gaudium.] Adapted from Anselm's Proslogion chapter 24, ed. Schmitt, I.117:25-6.

180/20-1 unum...sint.] Anselm I.117:1-2.

180/21-2 Hoc...patris.] Anselm I.117:6-7.

180/22-4 Hoc...procedens.] Anselm I.117:11-12.

180/24 - 181/3 Quod...bonum.] Anselm I.117:16-22.

181/3-13 Si...delectabilia?] Anselm I.117:26 - 118:9.

181/14 - 183/13 O...secum.] Anselm I.118:12 - 120:17. The passage subsequently omitted by L will be found in R in Jenkins (1903), p.91 last line plus two words and p.92 ll.1-10.

183/13-16 Quantum...uita.] Anselm I.121:10-13.

183/18 - 184/2 Orandum...Amen.] Adapted from Anselm I.121:14 - 122:2, i.e. to the end of the Proslogion.

184/17 As with later pilgrims, Owayne must have stayed twenty-four hours in the 'cave', emerging at dawn. William of Stranton says he entered the 'cave' eight hours before noon.

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184/28 regem, dominum suum] The Irish king, not King Stephen, as some have supposed: see Introduction, p.cxcvii.
MS. Bodley 555 f.26b incorrectly reads:

> Et inde rediens, Regem Stephanem dominum suum consulturus adiit.

185/3 Gervase was the first abbot of Louth Park, Lincolnshire from 1139. See HRHEW p.137, and MRHEW p.121.

185/13-17 Henry of Saltrey, Hugh of Sartis, Gervase of Louth Park, and Gilbert of Basingwerk were all Cistercians, so the propaganda here on behalf of their order is not surprising. Cistercians were particularly convinced that they omnes sine dubio salvabuntur (PL clxxxv, 1323C); indeed, as Henry says here, that they were pre-eminent in glory. Cf. Inter precipuos autem spiritus beatorum, quantum in se maiori gloria precellit, ordo monachorum cisterciensium. See Holdsworth, Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, xiii(1962),200, and cf. also pp.189, 195. Cf. Dial. Mirac. I.xxxiii. See also G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, i.372, iii.17. Note also, of course, the similarity to Cistercian monks of the fifteen men in white who instruct Owayne in the underground hall (p. 157 ll.12-13), and see the comments by Zanden, Étude, pp.71-5.

186/7 I.e. Basingwerk, Flintshire. See HRHEW p.126, and MRHEW p.115.

186/17-19 This incident in Basingwerk was misunderstood or adapted to form the exemplum of the monk who entered St. Patrick's Purgatory and evur after whils he liffid he had wowndis all ffressh & new, whilk he tuke per, Alphabet of Tales, EETS cxxvii, p.343. See Tubach, Index Exemplorum, no.3998.

187/2 Ego] I.e. Henry of Saltrey.

187/9 This Florentianus remains positively unidentified: see Introduction, pp.lxvif.

187/14-15 Cf. the evidence given in the early sixteenth century by Chiericati: see Introduction, p.clxxxiii.

187/22 For a later appearance of the devils' concilium, cf. EETS xxiv, p.42, and see R. Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (London,1972),423 note 11 and refs.

188/6-7 St. Patrick's Purgatory is more like two hundred miles from Mount Brendan/Brandon, Co. Kerry, which lies on the southern side of the Mouth of the Shannon. Both places feature prominently on early maps: see e.g. T.J. Westropp, 'Early Italian Maps of

Tractatus

Ireland', PRIA xxx.C.16(1913), especially pp.415, 426. Alexander Neckham probably confused the two:

> Asserit esse locum solennis fama dicatum
> Brandano, quo lux lucida saepe micat.
> Purgandas animas dant hic transire per ignem,
> Ut dignae facie judicis esse queant.

De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae V.893-6, RS 34, p.461. In the Navigatio Sancti Brendani Brendan meets Paul the hermit, who says:

> Fui nutritus in monasterio sancti Patricii per
> quinquaginta annos et custodiebam cimiterium fratrum.

Ed. C. Selmer, p.73 ll.51-2, and see p.xix and note 14. In the SEL this becomes:

> In þe Abbeye of seint paterich : Monek ich was, i-wis
> And of is churche a wardein : þare is purgatorie is.

EETS lxxxvii, p.237 ll.625-6.

188/16ff T3643. For analogues to this tale, see Tubach, Index Exemplorum,

189/4ff T4744. For analogues to this tale, see Tubach, Index Exemplorum,

191/7ff On the epilogue, see Introduction, pp.lxxxiiif.

PETER OF CORNWALL

193/1 On Peter of Cornwall, Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London, see Introduction, p.lxv and HRHEW p.174.

193/3 I have not been able to identify the abbot Bricius. Peter says that he was a Cistercian and that his monastery of St. Patrick was equidistant between Mellifont and Armagh (p.194 ll.15-16) en route from Dublin via Mellifont and Armagh to St. Patrick's Purgatory. The only Cistercian foundation to fit this prescription is Newry, colonized from Mellifont in 1153. Maurice MacLaughlin, the founder, confirmed the monastery in honour of B. Mary, St. Patrick and St. Benedict by charter, probably after 1156, but its association with St. Patrick also extends to a yew tree that St. Patrick is said to have planted there, but which was destroyed by fire in 1162: see MRHI p.142. If this identification is correct, then I suggest that Peter's text is wrong at p.193 ll.15-18 where Down is said to be the same distance from Mellifont as from St. Patrick's monastery, whereas it is about half the distance from Down to Newry as from Down to Mellifont. Perhaps duabus dietis at the end of l.17 should read una dieta. (See map included at the back of MRHI.)

193/5-6 Peter dates the visit of the knight to Rex Gulinus's palace c.1170. Henry II reigned 1154-1189.

193/7-9 Peter was mistaken in thinking that the Tractatus was written during Stephen's reign (1135-1154): see Introduction, chapter 4a). The error was easily derived from Henry of Saltrey's reference to Stephen, p.155 ll.5-6.

193/11 Mellifont was the first Cistercian abbey to be founded in Ireland, and was colonized from Clairvaux in 1142: see MRHI p.139.

193/14-16 There was no known Laurentius, Bishop of Down, unless he preceded Echmilidh who became bishop c.1176. On Down, see MRHI pp.68-9. Peter is also wrong in that St. Patrick's Purgatory was never in the diocese of Down, but of Clogher. See Note to T 155/7.

194/2 Cf. T p.152 ll.28-9, and the ostium following.

194/4-6 Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis' account of the foveas in Top. Hib. II.v, quoted above in Introduction, pp.cxxxviiif.

194/13 Duuelina] Dublin.

194/16-17 Armagh church is traditionally said to have been founded by St. Patrick and is the prime church of all Ireland. The Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul was consecrated in 1126 and the Saints' Island priory at Lough Derg was dependent on it.

Peter of Cornwall

194/19 Mabeoch] I.e. St. Dabheoc's or Saints' Island: see MRHI p.193 and Introduction, p.cxlii.

194/20 The small island is Station Island, the site of the Purgatory. See the map at the back of Leslie, SPP.

194/24-6 This is valuable testimony to the superstitious awe in which St. Patrick's Purgatory was held locally in the twelfth century.

195/1 I.e. Mabeoch, Saints' Island, the site of the community of Augustinian Canons Regular.

195/4 The small chapel would be the forerunner of the later structures like the one shown on Carve's map: see Introduction, pp.cxliiff.

195/4-8 Cf. the tale of the prior in T p.153 and especially ll.25-6.

195/11 I have found no likely source for the name Gulinus in Irish literature. As otherworld host he belongs with many beings offering hospitality to heroes who may penetrate to their splendid dwellings, but as ironic, demonic deceiver he is clearly a Christian inversion to a Satanic figure. Cf. H405-7. See also Introduction, pp.clxixff.

195/18 Cf. T p.158 ll.21-2.

196/6ff The transformation of the beautiful daughter not into an old hag but into an old tree trunk, and the torturous copulation lack adequate parallels in Irish literature or folk-lore, as far as I have been able to ascertain.

197/20 The domum ludi is a nice example of Gulinus's quiet but devastating irony, a house where the knight does not play but is played with quasi pilam, 197 l.29.

198/5-6 Nocturnal evil spirits traditionally disperse at dawn. Cf. Cross, Motif-Index, F221.1 and F771.6.

198/8 The knight has experienced all in a vision (cf. p.194 ll.8-10), not in the flesh like Owayne, though naturally it leaves the body shaken.

198/19 The transmission of tales via travellers to and from the General Chapter at Cîteaux is also illustrated by Henry of

Peter of Cornwall

Saltrey's meeting with the Irish abbots (T p.187 ll.2-3) according to Ralph of Coggeshall in the Vision of Thurkill: see JBAA xxxi (1875),441. See also Introduction, p.lxvii.

198/30-1 Cf. Jacques de Vitry's statement of the popular opinion that no-one who has visited St. Patrick's Purgatory could ever smile thereafter.

> Qui autem a praedicto loco purgatus regreditur, nunquam deinceps ridere potest, vel ludere, vel aliqua que in mundo sunt deligere, sed semper lugens et gemens posteriorum oblitus, in anteriora se ostendit.

Historiae Orientalis cap.xcii. Cf. also Caxton's version of the Mirrour of the World, EETS,ES cx, p.99, and Erasmus's realization that the same was proverbially said of those who had visited the cave of Trophonius, in Adagiorum (Basle,1526),248-9. See PL clxxx, 981 section 6, and cf. Dial. Mirac. II.xxxii, where it is said that those risen from the dead ridere non soleant. See also The Pricke of Conscience, ed. R. Morris, ll.6501ff, and on Lazarus ll.6522.

SELECT LIST OF BOOKS USED

This list includes only those works which have been found to be essential or directly related or of immediate interest and assistance in the preparation of this edition. Generally it does not include those works which have been referred to once only or seldom in the Introduction and Notes.

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GLOSSARY

The Glossary attempts to record every form of every word that occurs in the Middle English texts, and to show the senses and principal uses of each word. As far as possible the first three occurrences of each form in each text have been noted, and fourth and subsequent occurrences are indicated by etc.. Where possible senses are placed close to the words they gloss, but where the number of variant spellings and meanings precludes an economic arrangement on such lines, the senses have been grouped at the beginning of the entry, and the spelling variants follow, usually in alphabetical order, except for eccentric spellings, which are often relegated to the end of the entry.

Line references for each spelling are usually given in the order of the printed texts. Auchinleck references are by stanza and line number, e.g. 119:6; Cotton and Hamilton texts are referred to by line number preceded by the relevant siglum C or H; William of Stranton texts are referred to by page and line numbers: the Royal MS. usually first, with odd page numbers, e.g. 109/16; the Additional MS. second, with even page numbers, e.g. 130/25. A lower case r following references to Auchinleck, Cotton and Hamilton texts indicates that the word is used in rhyme. Cross references are liberally though not universally supplied. Headword entries are usually under the form most frequently found in the texts, or the form closest to modern English. The sign = represents the headword in any of its forms. An asterisk * preceding a word or reference indicates an editorial emendation in the text.

3 has a separate place after G, and Þ and TH a separate place after T. I and Y as vowels take the order of I. I representing a consonant, modern J, and J itself are placed together after I/Y representing a vowel. Initial Y as a consonant follows W. Past participles beginning with Y- (representing OE ge-) are listed under the initial letter of the stem of the verb. U/V representing a vowel precede U/V representing a consonant. A list of proper names follows the Glossary.

ABBREVIATIONS

absol.	absolute, -ly
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
art.	article
attrib.	attributive
auxil.	auxiliary
comp.	comparative
condit.	conditional
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
def.	definite
demons.	demonstrative
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imper.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
interrog.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
L.	Latin
MS.	manuscript reading
n.	noun
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
num.	numeral
obj.	object, -ive
pass.	passive
pa.t.	past tense
perf.	perfect
phr.	(in) phrase(s)
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
pp.	past participle
pr.	present
prec.	preceding
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
pr.p.	present participle
refl.	reflexive
rel.	relative
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
suff.	suffix, -ed
sup.	superlative
tr.	transitive
v.,vb.	verb
vbl.n.	verbal noun

GLOSSARY

A interj. ah! H623; 99/26.

A prep. See FYR(E); ON.

A(N) indef. art. a, an 10:2, 11:4, 11:5 etc.; C51, 54, 67 etc.; H8, 45, 46 etc.; 97/11-20-25 etc.; 98/19-24 etc.; ON 98/12.

A v. See HAUE.

ABATE v. abate 133/22; 134/22-23.

ABBAY n. abbey 20:2, 21:1r, 23:1r; ABBEY C86r, 158r, 646r; H153r; ABEY(E) H81r, 84r, 651r; gen. = 21:4.

ABBOTES n.pl. abbots 137:4.

ABYD(E) v. (i) intr. remain, stay, wait C267r, 345r; H260, 606; 97/17; 98/17, 116/19, 142/22 etc.; ABIDE 141/24. (ii) tr. = endure C566. pr.pl. = C598. imper.sg. ABIDE 182:6. pa.t.sg. ABODE 97/22, 143/3; 98/22; awaited submissively 97/21; 98/20. pr.p. ABYDYNG(E) waiting 144/2; suffering C376.

ABYDYNGE vbl.n. dwelling, abode 142/24.

ABITE n. habit, garb 45:6, 197:5; 97/26; ABYTE C146; ABYTH H142; ABBYT C88; ABETT 98/25; ABBETT 98/25; TAKE (ÞE) ABYTE enter monastic life C170; H165.

ABOUT adv. about 45:2r, 83:4, 129:4; round 88:4r; ABOWT(E) C225r, 395r; H220r, 297, 334r etc.; 125/16, 127/16, approximately 139/29; 108/11, 126/15, 128/16.

ABOUT(EN) prep. about, around 12:1, 17:2r, 23:4r etc.; ABOWT(E) 107/19, 117/4, 137/7 etc.; 108/19, 118/5, 124/3 etc..

ABOUE prep. above 78:3, 170:6, 198:5r; 127/16, 137/15; 122/1-4; ABOVE 121/1-3; ABOWN(E) 128/16, 138/15.

ABSTINDED pp. abstained 125/8.

ABSTYNENCE n. abstinence 126/8.

ABUNDANCE n. abundance 144/11; HABUNDAUNCE 143/11.

AC conj. but 15:6, 39:6, 48:4 etc..

ACORDAUNCE n. comparison, correspondence 156:2r.

ACORDAUNT adj. suitable, fitting 109/19.

ACCUSID pa.t.pl. accused 143/10; ACCUSYDE 144/9.

ADDERS, ADDRES, ARDERS See NADDER.

ADOUN adv. down 46:4, 55:2, 110:5r etc.; ADON 92:6; ADOWN(E) C197r,

425r, 629r; H472r, 633r; 131/5.

ADRED(E) v.intr. to be afraid 31:3r. pp.adj. = 133/29, 135/3; 100/19, 136/1; ADRADDE 99/17.

AFER adv. at a distance 97/23.

AFERD(E) pp.adj. afraid, frightened 52:3, 174:3r; C273, 352, 385; H257r, 267, 434 etc.; 99/13, 103/6; 98/16, 104/26; AFERED 97/16, 103/1.

AFLICCIOUN n. sore pain of body *5:4r, 38:1r.

AFLI3T pp.adj. frightened, disturbed 12:5r.

AFORE adv. before 138/12.

AFTER adv. afterwards 97/23, 101/4; 98/18, 102/4, 114/8 etc.; AFTUR C582, 677.

AFTER prep. after, according to 2:3, 101:1, 171:5; 97/2-8-19 etc.; 98/22, 126/9, 132/12 etc.; AFTYR H585, 650; AFTUR C169, 555, 669 etc

AFTERWARD(E) adv. afterwards 99/15, 115/20; 100/16, 142/8; AFTYRWARD(E) H11, 119, 601; AFTURWARDE C188, 644.

AGAYN(E) adv. (back) again C116r, 139r, 201r etc.; 105/26; 104/22, 104/29, 112/13 etc.; AGEYN C43r; H38r, 70, 135r etc.; 101/14, 103/28; = in return 144/23. Cf. A3EYN(E).

AGAYN(E) prep. towards, in front of, (over) against C468, 484r, 689r etc 106/12-19, 128/5 etc.; contrary to 144/16; AGEYN H527r, 663r; AGANE 116/29; AGENE 106/5.

AGAST pp.adj. frightened, terrified 103/26, 135/3.

AGE n. old age 121/15; 110/27.

AGHTE pa.t.pl. owned 116/20.

AGRISE v. be afraid, dread 67:5r; pa.t.sg. AGROS 105:5r.

A3EYN(E) adv. again C75, 105, 545r; back again C288, 363r, 412; A3EN H102; 101/20, 111/12-17 etc.. Cf. O3AIN.

A3EN prep. against, towards 105/5-12, 143/8. Cf. O3AIN prep.

A3ENST prep. against, towards 105/18, 139/5, 143/9.

AY adv. always 16:5r; for ever 112:6r; AYE C680r; EUER AND = for ever and ever H681r.

AYLED pp. in AS HYM HADDE AYLED NOW3T BUT GODE C304 As if nothing was wrong with him.

AIRE n. air, sky 170:6r; AYR C464r; EYERE H513; EYR(E) H511r; 127/28.

AL adj. all 3:1, 9:4; 103/17; ALL C43, 77, 128 etc.; H26, 38, 123 etc.; 103/14, 105/14, 107/8 etc.; 98/2, 104/15, 106/15 etc.; ALLE 12:2, 27:1, 51:1 etc.; C177r, 602r; H171r, 226. See MANER(E).

AL(L) adv. all, fully, completely 14:5, 17:2, 23:4, 45:2 etc.; C22, 242; H18, 102, 237r etc.; 107/27-29, 109/5; 108/28-29, 110/6 etc.; = BUT no more than H423; = YF although 120/12; = ȝYF C597; = OUT fully 17:1r.

AL(L)(E) n. all 55:6, 80:2 etc.; C682; H442; 113/13; 122/10; = AND SOME (to) everyone 25:3, 42:2r.

ALAS interj. alas! 139/27-30, 145/6; 110/21, 128/4, 146/5; ALLAS 65:4, 66:2, 69:2.

ALBLAST n. arbalest, cross-bow 93:3r, 189:5r.

ALDER MEST pron. most of all 157:5r.

ALECHE See YLICHE adv.

ALGATE adv. at any rate C322; nevertheless C564r, 620; ALLGATYS H626.

ALIȝT v. spring up, mount 166:6r.

ALYUE adj. alive C557r, 571r, 662r.

ALMES n.pl. alms 137/22.

ALMEST See ALMOST(E).

ALMESDEDE n. charity, alms-giving 133/16-18; ALMYSDEDE 134/17-18; ALMOSDEDE 164:1r; pl. ALMESSEDEDES C184.

ALMIȝT adj. almighty 60:6r, 66:3r, 75:3r etc.; ALMIȝTI 26:4; ALMIȝTEN 13:1, 113:2.

ALMOST(E) adv. almost C11, 386; ALLMOST(E) H7, 435, 515; ALMEST 92:5.

ALON(E) adj. adv. alone 115:1r; C257, 305, 360r; H295r, 296r, 333r.

ALS conj. as 7:1; =...AS as...as C81.

ALSO adv.demons. also, as well 16:4, 26:1, 74:2r etc.; C23r, 108r, 325r etc.; H133r; 103/30, 109/3-9 etc.; 110/2-4, 114/2 etc.; just as 157:6; ALLSO H285r, 572; ALSOO H19r.

AM pr.1 sg. am C139; 99/23-24; 100/26-27-31.

AME v. estimate H394r.

AMEN interj. amen 198:6; 98/5.

AMEND(E) v. amend, correct 36:6, 37:3r, 55:5; C20r, 133; H129; pr.t.pl. = 145/11. pp. AMENDID 131/27.

AMENDEMENT n. COM TO = convert to Christian living 6:4r, 19:6r; make amends (by repentance) 105/20; AMENDEMENTT 106/22.

AMIDDES prep. in the middle (of) 194:1.

AMIDWARD prep. in the middle of 59:5; into the middle 60:2r, 88:6r, 110:6 etc..

AMYSSE adv. amiss, astray H30r; (with) DO commit an offence C528r; AMYS(E) H573r, 594r.

AMONGE adv. all the while C660r; mingled 114/27; ALLWEY = again and again H665r.

AMONG(E) prep. among, through 72:2r, 141:5, 169:2r; C120; H116, 359r; 111/7, 125/21, 127/18 etc.; 112/8, 126/19, 128/18.

AMONGES prep. amongst 115:6.

AMORWE adv. (In) AUEN AND = evenings and mornings, i.e. all the time 160:2r. See MOROW.

AMOUR n. FINE = exquisite love, (courtly love) 57:4r.

AN See A(N), ON.

AND conj. and 1:3-5, 2:3 etc.; C2, 11 etc.; H2, 7, 9 etc.; 97/10-11-12 etc.; 98/3-9-10 etc.; if 48:5; H402; 105/9; 100/21; ANDE 124/24, 146/9; (unstressed forms) AN 137/8, 139/23; ON 111/15.

ANGEL n. angel 89:4, 174:1; ANGELL 131/7; 132/8; pl. ANGELS 26:3, 142:4, 187:6; 143/15; ANGELES C596; ANGELLIS 97/21; ANGELLYS H608; 98/20, 144/14.

ANI adj. any 20:3, 54:6, 63:2 etc.; ANY C405; 98/15-16, 104/21 etc.. See ENY, ONY.

ANIÞING n. anything 48:5, 108:6. Cf. ONYTHING.

ANON(E) adv. at once, immediately 43:3r, 60:4, 97:2r etc.; C138r, 155, 234 etc.; H150, 157, 288r etc.; 137/2, 143/4, 145/18; ANOON C440r; = RI3T(E) straightaway 166:3r; C383r, 629; = RY3TH C637r; = RYGTH H78r; = RYGHT C83r; = RYTH H432r; EUER = constantly, forever H379, 487r. See SONE.

ANOTHER adj. another H356; other H489; 111/4, 123/24, 125/15; 104/23, 112/4, 124/24; ANOÞER C365; ANOTHIR 103/23; ANOTHYR H336.

ANOTHER, ANOÞER pron. another 68:5; H337; 99/5, 117/3; ANOÞUR something else C169r. See MANI.

ANOU3 adj.(following word qualified) abundant 56:1r, 145:1r.

ANOU3 n. enough 86:4r.

ANSWERD(E) pa.t.sg. answered 35:1; 102/10, 108/6; ANSWARDE 134/10; ANSWERED C347; ANSWERYD 104/27.

APERCEIUED pa.t.pl. noticed 97:2.

APERT adj. open 11:5r.

APERTLICHE adv. clearly 25:5r, 26:2.

APLI3T adv.phr. truly 40:3r, 68:1r, 74:2r etc..

APON See VPON.

APOSTOLLYS n.pl. apostles H16; APOSTELUS C19.

APPERED pa.3 sg. appeared 97/15, 107/16; APPERYDE 98/15.
pl. = 101/27-30; APPERYDE 102/7-30, 108/15. pr.p. APPERAND 101/6.

APPYLL n. apple H595; APPULL C579.

AQUELD pp. destroyed 65:2r.

AR adv.conj. before 109:2, 166:2; H661; = ÞAN before 103:3.

AR(E) pr.pl. are C398, 520; 100/13-16, 102/13 etc.; ARN H52, 574;
OR 134/25. Cf. ER.

ARAY(E) n. attire, dress 109/16, 123/20; 110/19-25, 112/2 etc.;
AREYE 120/9.

ARCHEBYSSHOP n. archbishop C61; HERCHEBOSCHOPPE H56.
pl. ERCHEBISCHOPES 140:6.

ARCHES n.pl. arches 132:4.

ARY3TH adv. rightly, well *C74r; ARYTHE H69r.

ARISE v. arise, get up 143/21. pa.t.sg. AROS 105:4r.

ARLICHE adv. early 22:2.

ARMES n.pl. arms 111/14-15-19 etc.; 112/14-20; ARMYS 112/15-27.

ARN See RENNEÞ.

ARSES n.pl. arses 127/26; 130/19. Cf. ERSES.

ART pr.2 sg. art, are 55:4, 57:3, 119:1 etc.; C136, 236, 341 etc.;
99/2, 103/30, 139/24; 104/31, 142/20; ARTE C575; H409, 591, 658;
HARTE H159, 280.

AS adv.conj. as, like 49:4, 67:3, 92:2 etc.; C38, 94, 214 etc.;
H34, 91, 207 etc.; 97/27-28, 99/15 etc.; 98/26, 100/30, 102/27 etc
as, while 8:4, 24:6, 32:2; C52, 219, 225 etc.; H47, 212, 220 etc.;
as if 90:6, 100:2, 129:3; C259, 261, 304 etc.; H252; 97/24;
as if (it) 113/3; 113/7 etc.; 114/3, 140/7; just as 165:1; C285;
H279; when C109; H372; as, since C136, 208, 249; H132, 201;
=...= as 90:3, 116:6, 121:1 etc.; C193; H76, 154, 238 etc.;
115/16, 117/8-9; 116/17, 124/3; = BI, BY according to 101/6-7;
102/8; = NOW at the present time, right now 141/24; = TO as far
as...concerned 133/13; OS 100/19, 102/6.

ASCAPED pp. escaped 141/19.

ASKE v. ask 142/26. pr.2 sg.subj. = 141/25. pr.3 sg. ASKYS demands 144/12. pr.t.pl. = 118/21; ASKYS 126/11; AXE(N) 117/21-24, 125/11. pa.t.sg. ASKED required 131/14; ASKID 139/21, 143/7; ASKYD 132/13, 138/22. pl. ASKID 139/19. pr.p. ASKING 137/22.

ASOYLED pp. absolved, granted absolution (from sin) C188.

ASONDER adv. apart 115/5. See SUNDYR.

ASSENTE n. consent, approval C97r; AT THE SEYNT with the approval H94r.

ASSISIS n.pl. assizes 115/29; (aphetic) SYSES 116/29.

ASTATE n. rank, means 131/14; ASTATTE 120/12; ESTATE 132/13.

AT prep. at 109:2; C15, 58, 185 etc.; H178, 207, 408 etc.; chez H413; in C390; via, of C471; with H94; ATT 110/23; ATE at (the) 154:4, 182:1; ATTE at the 109/28. See ASSENTE, CONSEYL n.

AT OONUS adv. at once, simultaneously C262r; AT TONYS H255r.

AUBES n.pl. albs (ecclesiastical vestments, usually white linen reaching to ankles) 154:5.

AUE (MARIA) An Ave, Hail Mary 133/17; 134/18. pl. AVE MARIA 136/23; AUES 135/25. [First word(s) of Latin prayer.]

AUEN See AMORWE.

AUNCESTRES n.pl. ancestors 105/14; AUNCETORYS 106/16.

AUSTINES See FRERE.

AUTER n. altar 7:6r. pl. AUTERS 129/20; 130/22.

AVENTURE n. danger C236, 622; PAR AUENTURE as it happened 142/20.

AVIIS n. opinion 180:6r.

AWAY(E) adv. away C302, 394; 107/2, 131/8-9 etc.; 102/27, 108/3, 132/5 etc.; AWEY C359; H443; OWAY 60:4.

AWNE See OWNE.

AWREKE imper.sg. avenge 125/4.

BAC n. back 71:3. pl. BACKES 115/2, 121/8-9; BACKIS 121/11.

BACBITERS n.pl. backbiters 81:4; 121/13; BAKBYTERS 122/12.

BAGGES n.pl. (money) bags 101:4.

BAYLI n. torment 73:6r; BAYLY 98:5r.

BAYLIE n. power, charge, dominion 126:6r, 127:6r.

BALAUNCE n. scales, balance (of judgement) 179:5r.

BANDYS n.pl. bands, fetters 114/23. Cf. BENDES.

BARE adj. deprived, destitute 98:6r.

BAREFOTE adj. barefoot 139/18.

BARGYNNES n.pl. business transactions 114/11.

BARONES n.pl. barons C501.

BATAYLE n. battle, fighting 30:4r.

BATE n. bath H405.

BAÞI v. bathe 103:2.

BAUME n. balm 134:3.

BAWDRYKES n.pl. baldrics, girdles (worn crosswise, over one shoulder and under the opposite arm) 108/27; BAWDERIKES 107/26.

BE See BI, BY.

BE AND BE phr. one after another, in orderly fashion C491.

BE v. be 9:3r, 14:4, 15:4 etc.; C40r, 196r, 316 etc.; H36r, 43, 164 etc 97/16, 99/12-15 etc.; 98/16, 100/12-16 etc.; BEN 31:5, 73:6, 115:1 etc.; BENE C371r; BYN H422r. pr.2 sg.subj. = C547; H241. pr.3 sg. = 99/1; 100/1; BIÞ 81:6. subj. = C79, 343; H74; 99/22, 105/14-15 etc.; 100/25, 106/15-16 etc.; BEN 15:1, 47:4. pl.= 73:5, *152:6, 158:4r etc.; C57, 240, 243 etc.;H238, 319; 99/15, 101/11 etc.; 146/10; BEN 4:3, 16:1, 48:1 etc.; C59; 99/11-12, 101/23etc.; BEÞ 148:1, 149:1, 186:1; BETH 125/11; BYN H405, 449, 563. subj. = 134/4; BYN H578. imper.sg. = 95:6; C246, 651; H656; 141/16-24. pl. = 24:1r, 71:5, 81:5 etc; BEN 76:4. pp. = 167:6r; C265, 382r; H258, 259, 278 etc.; 97/24, 125/11, 131/22 etc.; BEN(E) 52:6, 74:2, 87:2 etc.; C266, 418, 473 etc.; H522r; 113/3, 129/13; 106/25, 112/1, 114/3 etc.; BYN H413, 509, 669r; YBE 161:4r, 166:4r.

BECUM pa.t.pl. went H140.

BED n. bed H47.

BEDYS n.pl. prayer(s) C52; H676; BEDES C675.

BEFOR(E) See BIFOR(E).

BEFOR SAYDE pp.adj. spoken of above, aforementioned 122/3, 134/7.

BEHAUE n. behaviour H240r; BE-HEUE H44r.

BEHOLD(E) v. behold, see, view H362r. pr.t.pl. = 120/10.

pa.t.sg. BIHELD beheld, saw 120:1; looked 129:4; BEHELDE C219; BEHYLDE H212, 337r, 357r. pl. BIHOLDEN 119/8.

BEHOUEFUL adj. useful 127/7.

BEHOVYS(SE) pr.3 sg.impers.(+dat.) behoves, requires, (must) 112/30, 120/25, 132/26 etc..

BELEUE n. belief, faith C50r; H45r, 241r; BELEVE 103/30; BELEFE C246r; BELEFFE 104/31; BILEUE 15:3r; BYLEUE C74.

BELEUE v.[1] believe H36; C44; BELEUYN H39. pa.t.pl. BELEUED C40. Cf. LEUE v.[2]

BELEUE v.[2] remain, stay C278; BILEUE 50:5.

BELYYS n.pl. bellies H316.

BELYVE adv. immediately 136/14.

BELLE n. bell C643. pl. BELLES 142:6; 107/20; 110/4; BELLYS 108/21.

BEME See SONNE.

BENDES n.pl. bonds, fetters 65:6. Cf. BANDYS.

BENEDICITE (L. imper.pl.) interj. bless you! H223r; BENEDYCYTE C228r.

BENESOUN n. blessing, (prayer of benediction) C198r, 229r; BENESOWNE C630r; BENYSUN H224r; BENYCYOUN H191; BENYCYUN H 634r.

BENETHYN prep. beneath H378.

BENT pp.adj. bent C418; H465; YBENT curved 132:4.

BERE v. carry C62; H57; 135/30; 136/30; = WITNES give evidence 82:5r; =...COMPANY keep (someone) company C514r. pr.3 sg. BERYS 98/2; BERÞ 123:3. pl. BEREÞ wear 154:5r. pa.2 sg. BARE 120/23; BAREST 119/23. pa.1,3 sg. BARE 89:4r; C366; bore, gave birth to 119/19; 120/20. pl. = 101:4, 114:4r, 137:6r etc.; wore 45:6r; BARE H217r; 115/28; 116/29; BORE H559 (company); (with suff.obj. pron.) BARYTH H55. pp. BORE C59; *H53; BORN born 30:2, 126:4r, 175:3r etc.; 97/5, 139/7; given birth to 106/8; BORNE born 98/6, 140/7; YBORE carried 94:6r; YBORN 104:4, 112:1r; born 167:1.

BERY v. bury H628.

BERNE v. H290(MS.). pr.3 sg. BERNYTH H379. pr.p.adj. BERNYNG(E) H327, 364; BURNYNGE 122/24. See BRENNE.

BESECHE v. beseech, request C136r; H131r. pr.1 sg. = 141/21, 145/20; 142/22; BESEKE 100/24. pa.t.sg. BESOWȝTH C46r; BESOWTH H41r.

BESELY adv. eagerly, assiduously 125/2.

BESY adj. meddlesome, officious 122/13.

BESTE n. beast H63. pl. BESTES 107/30, 115/4; 108/30, 122/9; BESTIS 121/9; BESTYS 116/5, 124/26-27.

BETAKE pr.1 sg. commend, entrust C292. pa.3 sg. BETOKE gave to, entrusted to C93. Cf. BYTECHE.

BETE v. beat C247; H242; 119/26; BETTE 120/17-27. pa.t.pl. BETT 120/26 124/6; BETEN 123/2-6; BETID 119/26. pr.p. BETYNG 119/2-17; BETTYNG 120/3. pp. BETT 124/9.

BETE pp. atoned for C378.

BETYDE v. happen C346r, 32r; H28r.

BETOKYNS pr.t.pl. betoken, mean 126/26.

BETTER adj.comp. better 127:6, 179:4; H273; BETER H45; BETTUR C280. sup. BESTE C213r; H206r.

BETTER adv.comp. better 112/1; ÞE/THE = 14:6; the better 164:2; C100r; H97r; 139/4; 140/3; ÞE BETTUR C48; BETTYR H284; C343.

BETWENE prep. between C372r; 108/11; BETWYN H423r; BITVEN 158:2; BITWENE 107/11.

BEUERECHE n. drink, bitter draught 91:5.

BI, BY prep. by 77:1-3-4 etc.; C66, 230, 257 etc.; H268r, 311r; 97/6-9-19 etc.; 98/9, 102/13, 112/2 etc.; BE C403, 475, 615; H61, 160, 225 etc.; according to 3:3, 57:2, 159:4 etc.; (of means) by 134:1; C165; by (via) 159:5, 186:5; in 29:1; in groups of 153:2, 162:6; off C449r; on 169:6; through 160:3r; with 156:3, 157:2; C513r, 587r; H558r, 603r; = HEM in accordance with them 48:5; = SELUE by themselves 153:1.

BICOM pa.t.pl. became 28:1.

BID v. pray 113/11. pa.t.sg. BAD prayed 7:4; commanded H91; 121/1, 137/7; BADE H61; 122/1, 138/8; BADDE C66, 94, 154 etc.; BEDE 36:4. pl. BAD 191:4; H646; BADE 98/28; BADDE C310.

BYDDEN pp. remained 140/1; BIDEN 139/2.

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CRISTEN adj. Christian 28:2, 165:5; 113/10, 145/19; 142/1.

CRISTENDOME n. state of being a Christian 105/18.

YCRISTNED pp. christened 27:5.

CROICE See CROSSE.

CROKES n.pl. hooks, grappling irons 117/13; CROKYS 118/13, 122/26.

CROSSE n. cross C671; H672; 132/8; CROS 131/8, 139/15-16; CROICE 38:5, 193:2. pl. CROICES 136:6, 137:6.

CROUPE n. fiddle (stringed instrument of the Celtic people - Welsh crwth) 169:5r.

CROWNES n.pl. crowns (of heads) C231, 494r; CROWNYS H226, 537r; CROUNES 46:1.

CUMMANDEMENT(T)YS n.pl. commandments 110/20, 146/9.

CUNTRE n. country 30:2; H121r, 298r, 561r etc.; 138/25, 140/1-2 etc.; CUNTRAY 21:2r, 113:5r; CUNTERE H209r; CONTRE(E) C39r; H35r; 99/11, 137/25-27 etc.; 100/12-26, 142/23; CONTREYE C311r, 641r; COUNTRE C125r, 216r; COWNTRE C516r.

CURATES n.pl. curates 129/14; CURETYS 124/11.

CURSYDE pp.adj. cursed 106/20.

CUT pa.t.pl. cut 109/5. pr.p. CUTTYNG(E) 127/10; 110/8; KITTYNG 109/4. pp. = 109/7.

CUTTYNG n. that which has been cut off 109/8. pl. CUTTYNGYS ornamental slashes in the cloth of garments 108/19.

DAGGIS n.pl. ornamental divisions made by slashing the lower edge of a garment 123/18. Cf. IAGGES.

DAY(E) n. day 10:6r, 14:4, 39:5 etc.; C73, 84, 85 etc.; H68, 79, 80 etc.; 97/24; 112/1, 126/27; DAI 109/30; = era, time 29:1. (VP)ON A = one day 31:1; C51r; H46r. pl. DAYS 38:1; DAYES C183, 185, 663; H176, 178, 666.

DAYNETH pr.2 sg. deign 99/27. pr.p. DAYNYNG 143/20.

DAYNG n. daybreak, dawn 97/24.

DAUNCE n. dance 56:5r; C282r; DAWNS H275r.

DE See ÞOU.

DED(E) adj. dead 187:4; C341, 613r, 653; H619r, 658; 103/22, 125/24; 104/23, 126/23. As n.sg.gen. DETHIS dead man's 115/17. pl.gen. = 116/19; DEDIS 115/18.

DED n. See DEÞ.

DEDE n. deed 13:2r; 115/14, 119/5-7 etc.; 106/20, 116/15, 120/5 etc.. pl. DEDES 155:4; 133/24; 120/24, 144/5; DEDIS 133/12-19-26; DEDYS 134/13-19-25 etc.. See IN-DEDE.

DEDELI adj. deadly, mortal 1:4, 100:3; DEDELY 146/9; DEDLI 56:3, 187:1.

DEDLY adv. (in) deadly (fashion) 106/19.

DEFAUTE n. IN = OF through the failure/absence of 119/24; FOR = for lack for need 125/6; DEFAWTE 126/5.

DEFENS n. defence 143/9.

DEFOWLED pa.t.pl. polluted, made dirty 129/20.

DEGRE n. rank, grade in Church hierarchy C492r; H535r, 553; 131/14, 141/6; 132/13.

DELAY(E) n. delay C645r; H650r.

DELAYN pr.t.pl. delay 115/17. pa.t.pl. DELAYDE 116/17.

DELE n. bit, small amount 40:6; A ÞOUSAND DEL a thousand times 135:2r.

DELYCATE adj. dainty, luxurious 144/22; DILICATE 143/21.

DELIUERED pp. delivered, freed 127:5; DELIUERD 139:5; DELYUERID 133/27; DELYUERYD 116/21, 134/27.

YDELT pp. divided, dealt out 157:1.

DELUE v. dig 172:4r.

DEPE adj. deep C71; H66; 133/31; DEPPE 134/29. sup. DEPPEST 64:2.

DERE adj. dear 57:3r.

DERE adv. dearly 8:5, 17:4, 196:2; C252.

DERK(E) adj. dark 110:5; C313; THERKE H300.

DESERT n. wilderness 11:4r; H598.

DESERUED pa.t.pl. deserved 91:4. pp. = 16:2; DESERVYDE 112/21.

DESIRE n. desire, lust 119/5; DESYRE 120/6.

DESYRE pr.1 sg. desire, wish 100/23. pr.p. DESSYRYNGE 144/20.

DESMAY v.intr. become discouraged 5:3r.

DEÞ n. death 86:6; DED 196:4.

DETHIS See DED(E).

DETTE n. debt 120/13.

DEUEL(L) n. devil, Satan C419, 448; DEWYLL H495;
DEVELYS H505; DEUELUS C402; DEVELLIS 121/11; DEWLYS 128/7;
AT ÞE DEVELYS at the home of the Devil H413. pl. DEUELES C268,
275, 309 etc.; DEUELYS H297; DEUELUS C412; DELYS H335; gen. = C458.

DEUELING pr.p.adj. sunk headlong 65:4r.

DEVER n. duty 131/28.

DEUINE adj. divine 126/26, 130/23; DIUINE 129/21.

DEUINE v. conjecture, guess 122:3r, 142:2r.

DEUISE v. conceive, imagine 93:5r. pa.t.sg. DEUISED scanned, looked
attentively 45:2.

DEUOCIOUN n. devotion, reverence, devoteness C60r; DEUOCYOUN C145r,
676r; DEVOCIOUN H141r; DEUOCION 125/27, 135/23, 143/12;
DEUOCYON 126/28, 136/22; DEVOCYON 126/28, 144/11; DEVOCYUN H54r.
pl. DEUOCIONS acts of worship 127/4.

DEUOTE adj. devout 98/11; DEVOUGTE 97/10; DEVOWGHT 127/7.

DIAMAUNCE n.pl. diamonds 131:6.

DICHE n. ditch 172:4. gen. DYCHES C71; DEKYS H66.

DYE v. die 97:5r; C623; DEYEN H627. pa.3 sg. DYED(E) 175:1; C16, 237,
679; DEDE H12; DEYD 198:1; DEYED H232, 680.

DIGNITE n. dignity, rank in order of esteem, worthiness 176:6r;
DYGNYTE C490, 599r; H533r, 609r; DINGNITE 137:1.

DIȝT(E) v. make 23:6r. pa.t.sg. = ordered, controlled 29:2r.
pp. = 44:1r; put, cast 74:4r, 87:4r; DYTH treated H319r;
YDIȝT furnished 83:6r; transported 167:2r.

DILECTABLE adj. delightful, pleasant 137/30; DILECTABYLL 138/30.

DYN n. din, loud noise C258.

DIRIGE n. Matins in the Office for the Dead 133/15; 134/15. (See Note.)

DIRT n. ordure 113/3, 127/27; DYRTT(E) 114/3-26.

DISESE v. molest 145/17. pa.t.sg. DESESYD 102/1. pr.p. DISESYNG
causing discomfort, hardship 101/1.

DISGISYNG n. newfangled or elaborate fashion 123/17. pl. DYSGYSYNGYS
124/17.

DISHONOUR n. dishonour 113/30.

DISHONOUR pr.t.pl. dishonour 113/28. pa.t.pl. DYSHONORD 114/29.

DISMEMBRID pa.t.pl. divided limb from limb 111/28; DYSMEMBYRDE 112/27.

DYSPENDE v. waste, squander 132/26. pa.t.pl. DISPENDID spent, occupied (time) 113/25; DYSPENDYD spent, squandered 126/12.

DYSPETYUSLY adv. mercilessly 122/10.

DYSPLESSE v. displease 142/27. pa.t.pl. DISPLESYDE 110/6. pr.p.adj. DISPLESYNG 141/26.

DYSSESE n. discomfort 118/8.

DISTROYED pa.t.pl. destroyed 117/22; DYSTREVD 118/22. pp. DISTROIED 117/23.

DISWORSHIP pr.t.pl. dishonour 109/15.

DYÞUR See ÞIDER.

DIUERS(E) adj. different, various 77:6, 147:2; 101/6, 107/14, 111/15 etc evil 113:5, 114:3; DYUERS(E) H565; 127/19; 102/6, 108/14, 112/5 etc DYUERES 128/19-20.

DIUERSLICH adv. in various ways 129/4.

DYUYNE n. divinity, divine efficacy? C569r.

DO(O) v. (i) do, act, cause, make 2:3, 3:3, 35:2 etc.; C124, 140, 244 etc.;H165, 239, 274 etc.; 99/3-18, 103/ 15 etc.; 100/3-20, 104/16 etc.. (ii) (+ infin.) cause something to be done 6:4, 163:5. DON 35:2; H325, 349; DONE 172:6r. pr.2 sg. = H657. subj. = 48:5r, 49:4; C169, 551. pr.3 sg. = 86:6; DOÞ 153:6; DOTH C544; DOTHE 101/1; DOOSE 102/2. subj. = C568. pl. = 163:4; 145/9; DOTH C77. pa.2 sg. DYDE 106/12-23; DIDDEST 105/11-22. pa.1,3 sg. (+ infin. caused to be done; did DED H81, 86, 573 etc.; DEDE 3:4; put H12; H82, 594; C87, 410, 504; DEDE ON put on 128:4; DYDE 104/25, 122/1, 136/19 etc.; DID 131/18, 135/20, 137/8 etc.; DUD 145/5. pl. DEDE 68:2, 76:2r,; C528; DEDEN 109/26; DID 113/14, 117/18, 123/30 etc.; DIDE 111/18, 123/13; DYD 124/13; DYDE 106/10, 112/18-22 etc.; DIDDEN 105/10. pr.p. DOYNG 143/10. pp. DO 188:5; 133/25, 141/2; DON 13:2, 47:2, 177:2; C277, 285, 289r; H391, 497; 131/27; DONE finished C458r; H505r; 155:4; H130, 270; 105/28, 115/20, 119/24 etc.; 106/25-29, 116/21 etc.; DOWN H282r; YDO put 16:1r; YDON 78:1r.

DOCTRINE n. piece of instruction, lesson, teaching 127/3.

DOYNGE n. doing, performing (of penance) 110/29; 145/4.

DOLEFUL adj. doleful, full of suffering 118/20; DULFUL 118/12.

DOME n. judgement, opinion 159:4r; OF = in judgement 45:5r; DAI/DAY OF = **Judgement Day**, Doomsday 109/30, 121/18-19 etc.; 112/1, 122/19, 146/2.

DOMESDAY n. Doomsday, Day of Judgement 179:5.

DOMYD pa.t.sg. pronounced sentence, consigned 146/1.

*DOMINICAL n. Sunday reading 123:1. (See note.)

DOMYSMAN n. supreme judge, i.e. Christ on Judgement Day 126/3; DOUMSMAN 125/3.

DONGE n. dung 114/26.

DONWARD adv. face downwards 69:5r.

DORE n. door 98:1r; C90, 92, 199 etc.; H87, 89, 192 etc.; 145/19; ÞORE C201.

DOTAUNCE n. doubt 15:2r, 47:5r.

DOUHTI adj. valiant 29:5; DOWȝTY C119; DOWTY H115.

DOUN adv. down 86:6; *H190r; DOWN(E) C230r, 472; H225r, 324r, *515; 109/3, 113/6, 131/22 etc.; 114/6, 132/28, 136/22; DOWNG H190r; AL = full length 154:6r. See VP.

DOWB(E)LETTES n.pl. man's tight fitting garment, covering body from neck to hips or thigh 127/23-24, 129/11 etc..

DOWTE n. fear C348r.

DOWTE pr.1 sg. fear C291.

DRAGONS n.pl. dragons 107/29, 121/8; DRAGONSE 108/30; DRAGOWNES 122/8; DRAGOUNS 70:5.

DRAYNG See DRAW.

DRAW v. pull 131/22; 132/28. pa.t.sg. DREWE dragged C403, 412; DROW drew 137/3. pl. DREWE pulled 112/11. pr.p. DRAWYNG(E) drawing, dragging, tearing in pieces 109/3-4, 131/10; 108/27; DRAYNG 107/26, 111/11; DRAVYNG 110/5.

DREDE n. dread, terror 51:4r, 53:1r; C559r; H589r; 137/16; 136/2, 138/17.

DREDE v.intr. fear, dread 120:3r. pa.t.sg. = 104/1; DRAD 104:1; (tr.) frightened 125:6r. imper.sg. = 145/15. pr.p. DREDYNG 97/28. pp.adj. DREDDE afraid 98/27; DRED 103/1.

DREYNYNGE pr.p. draining, squeezing 110/2.

DREYNT pp. submerged, drenched 94:1r.

DRERI adj. doleful 91:3.

DRIȝT n. lord 60:3r.

DRINKES n.pl. drinks 143/22; DRYNKYS 144/22.

DROF pa.3 sg. drove 174:6. pl. = 54:3. pp. DRYUEN C355.

DRONKNESSE n. drunkenness 113/15.

DUELING n. tarrying 20:3r.

DUKES n.pl. dukes C500; DEVKYS H543.

DULFUL See DOLEFUL.

DURYNG(E) prep. throughout the duration of 111/30, 113/30, 115/15 etc.; 130/19; DURING 113/21; DEWRYNGE 114/30.

DWELLEv. dwell, tarry C73, 181r, 239r; DWELLYN H68; DUELLE 41:5, 188:3r. pr.3 sg.subj. = C75r. pa.3 sg. DWELLED C12, 183, 663; DWELLID 143/16; DWELLYD H8, 176, 594 etc.. pr.p. DWELLYNG(E) 143/15; 144/15.

ECHE adj. every H424, 535, 607; 118/13; ON = HALF all around C258; ON = A SYDE on every side C407r. pron. = each one H551. Cf. ICH(E)

EDDER n. adder H341. pl. EDDERYS H354; EDDYRS(E) 108/29, 124/1-18 etc. Cf. NADDER.

EFT(E) adv. again 33:6; C552; NOW = just now 142/20.

EFTE SON(E) adv. a second time, again 123/29; EFT SUNNE H283r; TYLL = until (a) later (time) C290r.

EGGE n. edge 125:5r.

EGLENTERE n. brier rose 147:4r.

EIȝEN n.pl. eyes 114:4, 159:1; EENE 120/3-8; EYNE 112/10-28, 120/14 etc. YEN 111/8-26, 119/2 etc.; YNE 112/9.

EY(E)RE See AIRE.

EKE adv. also 21:6, 53:6.

ELBOWE n. elbow 103/3; 104/4. pl. ELBOWIS 137/17.

ELDES(T) See OLD(E).

ELLES adv. else, otherwise 4:4, 58:1, 112:2 etc.; C100; ELLYS H97; 134/11; ELS 133/10.

ELLESWHERE adv. elsewhere C350r, 562r.

EME n. uncle 125/22; 126/22.

EMPEROUR(E)S n.pl. emperors C499r; 105/15; EMPEROWRES 106/17; EMPRORYS H542r.

EMPERYCE n. empress 144/20; EMPRISE 143/20.

ENCRESE v. increase 121/11. Cf. INCREYSE.

ENDE n. end 23:1, 129:5, 146:3r etc.; C71r, 174r, 185 etc.; H66r, 178r, 504 etc.; ȝEND H375. pl. ENDYS H464.

ENDING n. end, ending 54:6.

ENDINGDAY n. day of death 112:3r.

ENDURE v. endure, last 107/10; suffer 121/18; INDEWRE 108/10. pr.3 sg. ENDURYS 112/30. pr.p.adj. ENDURYNG 145/1.

ENGENDRED pa.t.pl. bred 129/8.

ENY adj. any C42. See ANI, ONY.

ENIOYNED pa.t.sg. imposed (penalty) 145/1.

ENMY n. Enemy, i.e. Satan 110/22.

ENQUESTES n.pl. inquests 115/29; ENQUESTYS 116/30.

ENSAMPLE n. example 127/5, 129/14; ENSAMPELL 123/12; INSAMPYLL 124/13. Cf. EXEMPLE.

ENTENTE n. heart, mind C454r, 573r; YNTENTE H501r; WYTH GOOD =/YNTENT faithfully C389r; H438r.

ENTRE n. entrance 24:2r, 123:2, 181:6r; C70r, 95, 195r etc.; H65r, 188r, 467r etc.; HENTRE H92.

ENTRED pa.t.sg. entered 97/6; ENTERDE 98/7.

ENTRING n. entrance 12:3r.

ER(E) adv. before 96:3, 115:4, 116:3 etc.; C656; 105/30, 141/28; = ÞEN before (that) 128:6.

ER pr.t.pl. are 133:5. Cf. AR.

ERBERY n. garden plants (herbs collectively) H516r.

ERBERS n.pl. arbours, bowers, gardens 147:1.

ERBES n.pl. plants 148:1.

ERES n.pl. ears 109/19; ERYS 110/11.

ERLES n.pl. earls C501.

ERLY adv. = OR LATE sooner or later C563.

ERMYTES n.pl. hermits C495; ERMYTYS H538.

ERSES n.pl. arses 113/24-25; 114/25; ERSIS 113/30; ERSYS 114/24; ERCYS 114/30. Cf. ARSES.

ERÞE n. earth 9:5, 40:1, 65:4 etc.; C70, 330; ERTH(E) H65, 317, 376 etc.; 99/27, 103/14, 135/12 etc.; 100/30, 132/15, 136/11 etc.; IN = on the earth 170:3, 171:1; C582.

ERÞELICH(E) adj. earthly 44:2, 184:5; ERÞELY 144:4; ERÞLY C577; ERDELY C475; ERTELY H593.

ESE n. idleness, sloth 143/12; ESEE 144/11; EESE 144/20.

ESE v.refl. rest, refresh oneself C411.

ESEMENT n. advantage, convenience 131/17; 132/16.

ESY adj. slothful 143/19.

EST adj. east 23:1.

ESTATE See ASTATE.

ESTER DAY n. Easter Day 98/8.

ETE v. eat 130/26. pa.t.sg. = ate H573, 595r. pl. = 101:6r; C330, 579r. pr.p. ETYNGE 122/9.

ETHER pron. each (of two persons, assoc. with OTHER) 105/6; 106/19; EDER 106/7; OTHER 105/17.

EUEN adv. straight, directly 39:3, 39:6; EVYN 137/24.

EUER adv. (i) all the time, ever, always 78:5, 81:2, 164:5; 110/22, 134/30; EUUR C95, 541, 542; = H299, 445; EVER 117/4; EVIR 145/9. (ii) ever, at any time = 181:2; H357; 128/17, 136/3, 138/4 etc.; EUUR C260, 312; EVER 127/17, 135/4, 137/28 etc.. (iii) for ever = H247, 491, 683 etc.; 114/16; EUUR C444. =ÞE...ÞE in proportion as...so 111:1-2.

EUERY adj. C58, 191, 222 etc.; H215, *261, 332 etc.; 103/3, 143/6; 126/27, 128/5-19 etc.; EUURY C191, 268, 448; EVERY 103/4; HEUERY H53.

EUERYCH adj. every 109/18, 117/13.

EUERICH pron. each, everyone 153:3.

EUERICHON pron. each, every one 27:4r; EUERYCHON C359r; H578r, 645r; EUURYCHONE C302r; EUERYSCHON H294r.

EVERLASTYNG adj. everlasting 145/15.

EUER MO adv. for ever, always 4:2r, 174:5r.

EUERMORE, EVERMORE adv. for ever, always 49:6, 148:4, 169:3; H243, 259r, 567 etc.; 109/29, 121/18, 145/2; EUURMORE C251, 266r, 522 etc..

EUETES n.pl. newts 71:2.

EVIL adj. evil 97/18, 145/17; EVYL 104/19; EVYLL(E) 98/15-17, 100/14 etc.; EUYLL 100/18; EVEL 97/15-17, 99/12 etc.; as n. 121/14; EVELL 103/20; poor, unsatisfactory 103/28.

EVEL adv. extremely, severely 99/12, 103/26.

EUYLL n. punishment C346. In to say/speak evil of someone, i.e. to say malicious untruths EVEL 121/13; EVYL 122/14.

EVYN CRISTEN n.pl. fellow Christians 116/29; EVYN CRYSTEN 122/14-20.

EXALTACION OF ÞE CROSSE Church Feast observed on Sept. 14th 97/3.

EXAMINACION n. examination 141/28; EXAMYNACION 142/29, 144/7.

EXAMYNDE pp. examined 144/6.

EXEMPLE n. example 127/3. See ENSAMPLE.

EXECUTOURS n.pl. (legal) executors 115/16-18; 116/22; EXECUTOURES 116/18; EXECUTORES 116/16-18.

FACE n. face 166:5, 186:5r, 198:6r; C331; 126/21. pl. FACYS H346; FACES 125/20.

FADER n. father 99/26, *105/3, 113/29 etc.; 106/3, 120/19, 134/8 etc.; FADYR Father H685. pl. FADERS 120/17-18 etc.; priests 112/3.

FAY n. faith 47:6r.

FAILE v.(+ OF) lose, want 145/17. pa.3 sg. FAYLYD lacked H198; FAILED failed 113/26. pl. FAYLYDE 136/4; FAILIDDEN 135/6.

FAYN(E) adj. joyful C483r; H526r; + OF pleased, delighted with C510r, 626r, 650r; H555r, 630r, 655r.

FAYN(E) adv. gladly C44r, 140r, 382; H39r, 136r, 391 etc.; 139/2; 140/1; FEYN 35:2r.

FAIR(E) adj. beautiful splendid, good 20:2, 147:1, 156:1 etc.; 119/8-18-19 etc.; FAYR(E) C86, 220, 463r etc.; 100/6, 120/19-20 etc.; FAYER(E) H510r, 528, 530 etc.; gentle H158; FAYUR H213; FEIR 10:2. comp. FAIRER 130:2, 136:5. sup. FAIREST 137/27; FAYRYST 138/26.

FAIR adv. gently, courteously 124:6; FAYR(E) C195, 509, 546; FAYER(E) H554, 577, 634.

FAYRNESSE n. beauty C516.

FALL(E) v. fall, collapse 52:4, 86:6r; C449; H497; 116/27.
befall, happen C233r. pr.1 sg.subj. = C435r; H482r. pr.2 sg.subj. = 118:5. pr.3 sg. FALLEÞ 123:4. pl. FALLYS 118/2. pa.t.sg. FEL 7:5, 183:3r; 137/17; FELL c121, 472r, 629; H117, 515r; 138/17; FELLE 114/28. pl. = 130/22; FEL 120/14; FELL 132/6; FELLEN 139/19; FILLYN 119/9. pr.p. FALLYNG 115/27, 117/16; FAYLYNG 131/6. pp. YFALLE 119:1r.

FALLYNG(E) vbl.n. falling, fall 131/7; 132/7.

FALS(E) adj. false, deceitful 82:5, 102:5; C398; 115/28; 110/18, 116/29, 118/7 etc..

FALSLICH adv. falsely, deceitfully, improperly 131/9; FALSSELY 132/18.

FARE See FER.

FARE v. fare, do, get on 99/3; 100/3. pa.t.sg. FORE 105:6r.
See FERDE pa.t.sg.

FARTHERMORE adv. farther 140/3; ÞE FERTHERMORE the farther 140/3.

FAST(E) adv. fast, quickly 84:6; C215, 318, 394r; H392, 402, 443r; 137/4, 139/3; 140/3; firmly, securely 110:3r; C328; H315, 317r; 122/5; earnestly C46, 639. AS = AS as soon as, immediately 138/5. = BY hard by, close by 99/4; 100/3.

FASTE v. fast C132r; H128r.

FASTING n. fasting 5:5, 38:2; H177; FASTYNG 133/18; 134/19.

FATYS n.pl. vats H405r.

FAWE adj. glad, well pleased (with OF) 97:3r.

FAWTE n. want, deficiency, lack 115/12. IN FAUTE OF for lack of 132/27.

FEBYLL adj. feeble H344.

FECHEN v. fetch 54:5; FECCHE C586. pr.pl. FYTTYN H608. pp. FECHYDE 116/10. pa.t.pl. FETTYN H326.

FED(E) pp. fed 129/10; 144/22; FEDDE 143/22. Cf. FET.

FEESE n.pl. fees 118/1.

FEYLE n. fail 59:1r.

FEYN See FAYN.

FEYNT adj. faint 94:2r.

FEIR See FAIR(E).

FEL See FLESCHE.

FELAWES n.pl. fellows 57:6, 107:5, 115:6r etc.. Cf. FELOWYS.

FELD(E) n. field 40:3, 43:5, 65:1 etc.; C319, 365r, 368; FYLDE H336r, 340, 343 etc.; FYULD H306.

FELE adj. many 8:2; C13r, 501r, 529r; FELLE H9r, 574r.

FELE v. feel C605. pr.1 sg. FELLE H168. pa.t.sg. FELD 125:5; 127/17, 137/9; FELDE C611; 128/17; FELYDE 138/10; FELTE H304, 437; C388; 441; FELTH H488. pl.FELDE 108/9; FELDEN 107/9. pr.p. FELYNG 117/5.

FELLAWERED n. company of fellows, monks 51:1r.

FELONIE n. wickedness 2:4r.

FELOWYS n.pl. comrades H449. Cf. FELAWES.

FEN n. dung, excrement 113/3-25.

FENDE n. fiend, Devil 55:1, 92:4, 107:1 etc.; FYND H466. gen. FENDES 6;3. pl.& gen. FENDES 48:2, 53:3, 57:1 etc.; C293, 302, 363 etc.; 107/26, 109/2-7 etc.; FENDYS 108/27, 110/3-5 etc.; FENDIS 113/5, 117/12-16 etc.; FYNDYS H266, 268, 288 etc..

FER adv. far 110:5, 129:4, 183:4; 107/5; FARE 133:4; FERRE C365.

FER See FIRE.

FERDE pa.t.sg. went, happened C263r, 418, 507r; FARYD H256r, 465.

FERDER See FORÞER.

FERDFULL adj. awesome, inspiring fear 98/2.

FERE n.[1] pl. companions 80:5r, 155:6r; FEERE C398r.

FERE n.[2] company, YN = together H449r.

FERE v.tr. frighten C349r. pp.adj. FERDE 104/7. Cf. AFERD(E).

FERFUL adj. fearful, terrifying 97/18; FEREFUL 101/30.

FERREDE n. company, crowd 53:2r.

FERÞ adj. fourth 76:5, 151:4. Cf. FORT.

FERTHER adj. far, farther 135/19.

FEST(E) n. feast 186:1r; =(DAY)Church Feast(day) C58; H53; 97/2.

FET pr.3 sg. feeds 185:2. Cf. FED.

FEÞERFOY n. feverfew (chrysanthemum parthenium) 147:4.

FIFTEN adj. fifteenth 195:4; fifteen 38:1; FYFTENE C183, 185, 581r etc.; H176, 639. As n. C226,

FIFTI adj. fifty 53:3.

FIȝT v. fight 135:5r. pr.t.pl. FEGHTYS 128/5; FEGHTTYS 146/8.

FYLLED pa.t.pl. filled C271; *H264; FYLLYD(E) 112/10-14-24; FILT 111/23 pr.p. FILLYNG 111/8-10-14 etc.. pp. FILD 2:4; YFILT 99:3r.

FILLYNG n. being filled 113/20.

FILTHE n. filth, loathsome dirt 113/5-20; FYLTHE 113/4; 114/6; FELTHE 113/6. pl. FYLTHYS 114/4; FILTHES obscenities 113/18.

FINDE, FYNDE v. find 40:2; C524r; H569r; 99/4-9; 100/4. pr.1 sg. = 192:1. pa.t.sg. FANDE 102/6; FOND 18:2-4r, 44:4r etc.; H122, 635r, 639; 101/5; FONDE C38, 126, 631r etc.. pp. YFOUNDE 41:1r, 64:1r, 150:3r.

FINE See AMOUR.

FYNGER n. finger 137/1; 138/1. pl. FINGERS 111/11, 123/26; FYNGERS 112/12, 124/25.

FYNGERMELE n.pl. fingers' widths 107/27.

FYRE adj. fiery 110/3; FIRE 111/14.

FIRE n. fire 107/6-7-9 etc.; FYR(E) C293, 301, 392; 108/4-5-6 etc.; FYER(E) H288, 364r, 378; FIER(E) 107/5, 111/4, 117/16 etc.; FER 59:6, 60:4, 70:5r etc.; A FYRE on fire C354; ON = 110/10, 112/15-17. pl. FIRES 121/2-7; FYRES 122/3.

FIRE BRONDES n.pl. fire brands 119/27, 123/15-16; FIRE BRONDYS 121/28; FYRE BRONDYS 114/6, 122/29; FYRE BRANDES 120/27; FYRE BRONGDYS 124/5.

FIRMAMENT n. heavens 52:5, 92:5r.

FIRST adj. first 68:1; 97/12, 135/30; FYRST 98/13, 136/30.

FYRST(E) adv. first(ly) C5, 33, 187 etc.; H29, 180, 223 etc.; 98/26, 108/26; FIRST 97/27, 107/25, 145/19; FURSTE C228.

FIÞEL n. a bowed string instrument, (viol, violin) 142:5, 169:5.

FIUE adj. five 196:5r.

FLAME n. flame H395r; FLAUMBE 183:2; FLAUMME 105:2.

FLE v.[1] flee C267; FLYEN H260. imper.sg. = 124:4. pa.t.pl. FLEDYN H294, 332; FLEDDYN H443. pp. FLOWE C274r.

FLE v.[2] fly 167:3r, 190:1r. pa.3 sg. FLEIȝE 183:5r. pl. FLEWE 102/26; FLOWE 189:5; FLOWEN C302, 359, 394.

FLESCHE n. flesh 54:4; 110/4; FLESH C624; FLESSH 107/27, 109/2, 127/1; FLECHE 108/28; = AND FEL flesh and skin, i.e. whole body, (quasi adv.) entirely 54:4r.

FLESCHELY adj. mortal, carnal 102/13-19; FLESSHLY sensual 125/28.

FLOOD(E) n. river C424r; H471r.

FLOUR n. flower 197:2. pl. FLOURES 147:1r; FLOURES C473; FLOWRES C408; FLOWERYS H564r; *FLOWYRYS H516.

FODE n. food 182:5r; C603r; H611r.

FOLDE n.pl. times (in) A THOWSANDE MORE = a thousand times more 138/11.

FOLE n. fool C142. pl. FOLLYS H138.

FOLK n. people 6:6, 19:5, 27:1 etc.; FOLK(E) (as pl.) C7, 20, 39 etc.; H35, 45, 319 etc.; 101/26, 113/14.

FOLLY n. folly, foolishness H117; FOLY 143:3r; 124/22, 146/11. pl. FOLIES 4:6; FOLIIS 13:6; FOLES sins, harm 141:5.

FOLOWDE pa.1 sg. followed 102/3, 138/24; FOLOWID 137/24, 143/2; FELOWDE 144/3. pr.p. FOLOWYNG 101/3.

FOND(E) v. try, test 61:6r; C308r.

FONSTON n. font 27:5r.

FOR conj. for, because 24:4, 91:4, 172:3 etc.; H106; 123/13-19, 125/4 etc.; 112/26, 124/21, 126/4 etc.; FFOR 105/9, 109/18-26 etc.; 104/30, 106/22-29 etc.; = TO (ÞAT) until 109/28, 121/16, 123/29 etc.

FOR(E) prep. for, because (of) 7:4, 14:3, 25:1 etc,; C15, 78, 235 etc.; H11, 73, 259 etc.; 99/21, 101/10, 103/13 etc.; 98/16, 100/24, 104/14 etc.; by, on account of 109:4-5-6 etc.; C145, 177; H14, 140. + TO + inf. 7:2, 20:5, 37:5 etc.; C127, 133, 232 etc.; H129, 149, 195 etc.; 121/11. in order that C449. ÞE = on your account 49:3r.

FORBEDE pr.3 sg.subj. forbid 133/10; 134/11.

FORBRENT pa.t.sg. burned up 85:5r, 106:2r. pp. = 113:6r, 128:6r.

FOREST n. forest H561.

FORȝETE pa.t.sg. lost, forsook H596r; FORȝATE forgot C386r; FORGAT 136/5. pp. = forgotten H524; 105/29; FORȝETTE H435r; FORȝETEN C481; FORGETYN 106/30.

FORȝEUENES(SE) n. forgiveness C104, 178, 550; H101, 171.

FORȝIUE v. forgive 14:5; FORYEVEN 113/13. imper.sg. FORGYFF 136/11. pp. FORYEVE 113/14.

FORHEDE n. forehead 97/28, 101/25; 98/13-28, 102/25; FOREHEDE 97/12.

FORLAST pr.2 sg.(fut. sense) lose 39:5r. pp. FORELORE 49:6r, 94:3r; FORLORN 112:2r, 126:5r, 175:6r.

FORLETE pa.t.pl. abandoned, lost C580r.

FORNEISE n. furnace 78:1.

FORSAYDE pp.adj. aforesaid 122/6.

FORSAKE v. renounce, reject 34:5r; 145/2; 146/2. pr.1 sg. = 59:2; shun 143/29; 144/29. pa.t.sg. FORSOKE 110:1r; 145/3; 146/3. pl. FORSAKYN 141/12. pp. FORSAKEN 88:1r.

FOR SOÞE adv. indeed, certainly 5:2, 8:4, 23:2 etc.; C19, 110, 414; FORSOTHE 104/27; FORSOWTHE 136/28.

FORT adj. fourth 114/22. Cf. FERÞ.

FORÞ(E) adv. forth, forward 39:3r, 168:1; 103/19; away 43:2, 51:2, 88:2; henceforth C651; out H326, 328; = ... WIÞ ALLE straightaway 96:1; FORTH(E) C186, 190, 203 etc.; H16, 179, 183 etc.; 103/19, 111/4, 113/1 etc.; 104/20, 112/4, 130/28 etc.; FORDE C353.

FORÞER adv. farther 64:5, 75:2, 76:1 etc.; FARDYR 122/21; FERDER H202, 372, 392 etc.; FERTHER 139/3; FURÞUR C209; = MORE moreover, besides 130:1. See ȝET(E).

FORÞEWARD adv. presently, later 134:6.

FOT(E) n. foot 125:4; C328; H486, *488, 489; 133/20; bottom 137/6, 138/7; FOOTE C439, 441, 442; FUTE H315; = foot's length C372; H423. pl. FET 60:1, 70:1, 77:1; FETE C355r; H328r.

FOULE adj. foul 54:2, 67:2, 96:6 etc.; FOWLE C311; H298; 99/7, 121/9, 129/29; 100/5, 110/2-24 etc.; FOWLLE H602.

FOULE adv. foully 85:3; FOWLE C409; 127/27. comp. FOULER 116:4.

FOULES n.pl. birds 108:1, 145:3; gen.sg. = 169:4. gen.pl. 146:1; FOULEN 169:1.

FOURE adj. four 149:5; FOWR C583.

FOURME n. form 184:1.

FOWYNGE n. sewage, that which is cleansed out of privies 114/3.(See note)

FOWNDYNG n. (trial by) temptation C241.

FRAM prep. from 17:5, 52:5, 57:5 etc..

FRENDE n. friend 36:1r; C567; 110/23. pl. FRENDES 163:4; 101/11-16-22 etc.; 102/20; FRENDYS 102/14, 134/13.

FRERE n.pl. = PRECHOURS Friars Preachers, Dominicans 137:5r; = MENOURS Friars Minor, Franciscans 138:1; =...JACOBINS Dominican Friars; 138:1r; = CARMES Carmelite Friars 138:2; = AUSTINES Augustinian Friars 138:2; FRERES friars C494; 126/7; FRYERYS H537.

FRESE pa.3 sg. froze C318.

FRETE pa.t.pl. ate 71:3.

FRIDAY n. Friday 97/2-8.

FRO prep. from 74:6r, 127:5, 135:6 etc.; *C18, 82r, 85 etc.; H14, 80, 96 etc.; 101/26, 103/18, 107/5 etc.; 98/18, 100/16, 102/27 etc.; FROO C596r; H77r, 608r; 108/5.

FROM prep. from 115/11; *H497.

FRUYTE n. fruit C522; FRUT(E) H567, 568; 129/13; FRWYTE C523, 527; FRYUTH H572. pl. FRUTYS H574; FRWYTES C529.

FUL, FULL adj. full 76:6, 98:4, 99:2 etc.; C1, 249; H244; 107/20, 113/6, 113/8 etc.; 108/21, 114/6-8 etc.; complete 134/2; = A FELD a field full 65:1.

FUL, FULL adv. quite (intensificatory) 11:3, 74:5; completely 2:4, 98:6, 99:3; H501; 111/23; 112/24; very 15:4, 29:1, 34:1 etc.; C10, 31, 55 etc.; H27, 54, 86 etc.; 104/1, 116/17, 128/12 etc..

FULFYLL(E) v. fulfill, accomplish, perform H136; 142/8; FULFIL 141/9. pr.3 sg.subj. = C238; FULLFYLL H233. pr.t.pl. FULFILLYN 115/17. pp. FULFILD 158:5.

GAY(E) adj. gay, bright 107/18-23-26 etc.; 108/19-24, 110/11 etc..

GAIN adj. straight, direct 39:2r.

GAIN n. See GETTE v.

GAME n. enjoyment, delight 21:5r; H358; GLE AND = 21:5; GAMEN 168:3; C340. Cf. GLE.

GAN pa.t.sg. + inf. began 5:3, 31:3, 52:2 etc.; (forming pa.t.) 8:2, 27:2, 55:2 etc.; C210; H123, 222, 556; GANE H679; GON C127; impers. = 120:3. pl. = H186, 291, 297 etc.; GUN 59:6, 66:1, 73:3 etc..

GARE v. make, cause (with inf.) 124/30. pa.3 sg. GARTT 132/15.

GATE $n.^1$ gate 23:5, 43:3, 130:2 etc.; H514, 662; ȝATE C468r, 471; ȝATTE 124/2; YATE 121/30; HELLE = the gate of hell 109:2r. pl. GATES 134:4, 135:1; GATYS H404r, 412.

GATE $n.^2$ way, path 39:2.

GAUELERS n.pl. usurers 102:1.

GENT adj. elegant, beautiful 132:3.

GENTYLL adj. well-born H245, 293, 331.

GENTYLLY adv. courteously 140/7.

GETTE v. get H101, 171; GETE C148r; GETT 55:6; 146/12. pa.1 sg. GAT begot 119/18; GATT 120/20. pa.2 sg. GAST begot 119/22; GATT 120/22. pa.3 sg. GET H80; GATTE C85; GAT HE NO GAIN he profited nothing 189:1. pl. ȝET H19. pp. GETEN begotten 105/8; GETON 106/8; gotten 132/20; GETTON 116/12; GOTEN 131/19-23; 132/19; GOTYN 132/29.

GY v. direct, lead 142:4r.

GYLE n. guile, treachery C340r.

GILT n. crime, guilt 117/8; GYLTE 144/28.

GILT pp. wronged, sinned against 113/13; GYLTE committed offence 144/8.

GILTI adj. guilty 143/28.

GYLTYDE pp.adj. overlaid with gold 108/6.

GILTLES adj. innocent 117/25.

GYNGYLL n. ornament that jingles 110/2; *GYNGEL 109/1. pl. GYNGELES 107/20; GYNGYLES 108/21; GYNGYLLYS 110/4.

GINNE n. trick, stratagem 109:6r.

GIRDELS n.pl. belts, girdles 107/18-26; GIRDELLES 143/17; GYRDYLS 108/18; GYRDYLLYS 108/20-26, 144/17.

GYSE n. manner, fashion H218r.

GLAD adj. happy C55, 212; H205; 103/18; glad H407, 409; GLADE 104/20, 136/21; GLADDE C661; 135/22. comp. GLADER H493r; GLADDER C446r; 140/4.

GLADLY adv. gladly 99/23; 100/26.

GLADNES n. gladness 136/28; GLADNESSE 135/28.

GLASSE n. glass C414r, 465r; H461r.

GLE n. pleasure, mirth 21:5, 168:3r; (skill in) music making, minstrelsy 145:4r.

GLEME n. ray of spiritual light C607; H615.

GLYDDYR adj. slippery H461.

GLYDE v. glide, pass C611r.

GLORI(E) n. glory 20:4r, 152:5, 165:2r etc..

GLORIOUS adj. glorious 135/9; GLORIUS 136/7.

GLOTONI n. gluttony 71:4r; GLOTENY 113/15.

GLOTOUN n. glutton 74:3.

GLOWAND pr.p. glowing 79:2; GLOWEAND 70:2, 101:5; GLOWYNG C329, 353; GLOYNGE 114/23.

GNAWYNG(E) pr.p. gnawing 121/9; 122/9. Cf. NOWYNGE.

GO(N)(E) v. go 39:2,40:1r, 41:4r etc.; C42r, 66r, 96r etc.; H37r, 134r, 145 etc.; 101/10-11-14 etc.; 102/10-11- 17 etc.; GOO H61r, 93r, 149r etc.; C548r; 102/13; GAN 75:2r. pr.2 sg. GO 103:3r; C605r; GOO H613r; GOS 49:5; GOSTE H402. pr.3 sg. GOÞ 41:2; GOTH goes on H72; C214. subj. GO C34; H30. imper.pl. GO 107/11; GOO 108/11. pr.p. GOYNG(E) 131/2; 114/10. pp. GO 172:2r; 131/3; GOO C456r; GON C572; H238; 114/12, 132/4; GONE C553; 133/30; AGO 48:1r; YGO 126:2r; YGON 39:4.

GOD n. God 2:2, 6:5, 10:1 etc.; C1, 26, 65 etc.; H22, 144, 167,etc.; 97/29-30, 99/3 etc.; 98/28, 100/2-10 etc.; GODE 98/5-29, 106/1 etc.; gen. = 144/21; GODES 7:2, 9:6, 10:4 etc.; GODDES C28, 31, 154 etc.; 97/6-21, 111/26 etc.; 128/7; GODYS H24; GODDIS 105/3, 127/5-7; GODDYS H28, 147, 149 etc.; 98/7-20, 102/17 etc.; GODDUS C200, 387. dat. = 43:2; C254.

GODE adj. good 15:2, 18:2, 91:6r etc.; C23, 87, 573; firm 51:1, 23:4, 32:1; (long) C339; GOOD(E) H50, 54, 82 etc.; C389, 423r, 651 etc.; 97/15-16-17 etc.; GUD(E) 98/15-16, 104/21 etc.. YN ALL = for your benefit C238r; H233r.

GODE n. good (deed(s)) 76:2, 90:5r; good (things) 182:4r; C304r; GOODE welfare C15r; **GOOD** H11r.

GODENISSE n. DO = live righteously 163:4.

GODSPELLE n. good news 9:4r; GOSPELL Gospels H49; pl. GOSPELLUS C54.

GOD SUN n. Christ H244; GODDES SONE 103/11-12, 117/20 etc.; GODDIS SON(E) 103/13, 111/20, 135/10 etc.; 112/20; GODDYS SON(E) 104/12, 118/20, 126/2-3 etc.;

GOLD(E) n. gold 86:5, 128:1, 129:6 etc.; 107/17-18-24 etc.; 108/17-18-24 etc.; GELD 115/29. As adj. = 144/18.

GOLD BETE pp.adj. adorned with beaten gold 154:6.

GOLDSMITÞE n. goldsmith 133:2.

GONFANOUN n. banner 38:5r; GOINFAINOUN 136:6r, 193:2r.

GONGES n.pl. privies 113/3.

GOODES n.pl. goods 115/2-11-12 etc.; GODES 115/6, 131/23; GOWDYS 116/2; GUDDYS 116/12-20, 118/7 etc.; GUDYS 116/19-22, 132/18 etc.; GUD(E) 126/5, 138/22.

GOODNESSE n. goodness 133/26, 141/1. Cf. GODENISSE.

GOSPELL(US) See GODSPELLE.

GOST(E) n. HOLY = Holy Ghost 184:1; H685r. pl. GOSTES spirits C269; GOSTYS H262.

GOSTELY adj. spiritual 112/3; GOOSTLY 121/16, 127/4.

GOUERNANCE n. behaviour, mode of living 128/7; GOUERNAUNCE 143/28, 145/3.

GOUERNYDE pp. governed 144/6; GOUEREND 143/8.

GOWNES n.pl. gowns, dresses 107/22; GOWNYS 108/23.

GRACE n. grace (of God) 6:1, 31:4r, 60:6 etc.; C152, 306r, 433r etc.; H147, 237, 436 etc.; 97/6, 103/15, *105/25 etc.; 98/7, 102/17, 104/16 etc.; GRAS 25:2r.

GRACIOUS adj. merciful 137/19.

GRAS See GRACE.

GRASSE n. grass C218r; GRAS 137/26; GRES H211r; GRESSE 138/26.

GRAUNT(E) v. grant C78; GRANTE H73. pr.3 sg.subj. = C242. pr.2 pl. GRANTE H133. imper.sg. = 143:5, 198:5; C137; 103/15. pp. GRAUNTED 105/24; GRANTYD 106/26.

GREDE n. noise, crying out, shouting 64:6.

GREDE v. cry out, shout 51:5r.

GREDIRIS n.pl. gridirons 79:1.

GRENE adj. green 106:3r, 148:4, 180:4r; C517, 521r; H562, 566r.

GRENNE v. grin, grimace C296r; H291r. pa.t.pl. GRENNED 54:2; C272; GRENYD H389; GERNYD H266.

GRET(E) adj. great 11:4, 40:3, 53:2 etc.; C60, 130r, 216 etc.; H126r, 209, 231 etc.; 99/2, 107/7, 113/2 etc.; GRETT 100/2-31, 108/7 etc.; GRETTE H163; 131/24; GREYTTE 120/13. comp. *GRETTER 136/19. sup. GREETYS 128/3; GRETYSTE 136/2. = AND SMAL i.e. every one 99:4. See PERIIL.

GRETT(E)LY adv. very much 100/23, 104/26, 106/5 etc.; GRETELICH 105/21; GRETELY 127/25.

GREUE v. harm, injure 15:6r; GREVE 133/24; 134/24. pr.3 sg. GREVETH grieves, offends 105/21; GREVOSE 106/22. pa.3 sg. GREUEDE C451;

GREVYD H525; 124/6. pa.t.pl. GREUED 68:3.

GRINDING n. grinding, gnashing 66:5.

GRYPYNG n. gripping, holding on 137/10.

GRISLY adj. horrible, ghastly 99/16, 121/10, 137/3 etc.; GRYESLY 122/9; GRISELI 66:6; GRYSELY 102/30, 120/18, 130/30 etc.; GRYSELLY 138/4; GRYSSELY 120/16, 134/29; GRISLICH 135/14; GRISELICH(E) 11:6, 12:3, 23:3 etc.; GREISLY 133/31; GREISELY 100/17; GREISLYCH 133/31; GRESLY 117/20, 129/30, 139/9; GRESELY H401; 140/10.

GROPED pa.3 sg. groped C208; GROPYD H201.

GROUNDE n. ground, land 64:2r; floor 99:1r; (river) bottom 116:5r, 150:6r; GROWND(E) C331r, 412r; H346r; 121/5, 135/27; 136/27. GOÞ TO = sets (of sun) 41:2r.

GROUELYNG pr.p.adj. grovelling, prone 121/5.

GROWEÞ pr.t.pl. grow 148:2. pa.t.sg. GREWE C218; GROWYDE 138/27. pl. GROWID 137/27. pr.p. GROWYNG(E) C521; 137/26; 138/26.

GUDLY adv. kindly, graciously 140/7.

ȝA adv. yes 181:4; ȝE 108/5. Cf. ȝYS.

ȝAF See ȝEUE.

ȝALU adj. yellow 106:3, 180:4.

ȝARE adj. ready, prepared H349r.

ȝARN adv. quickly H380r.

ȝAT(T)E See GATE n.[1]

ȝE pron.2 pl. you 24:1, 28:6, 30:3 etc.; C349; H132, 133; 100/25, 102/10, 106/3; YE 101/8, 105/3, 119/23 etc.. acc.dat. = 28:5; ȝOU 156:1; C117; ȝOW H131; 100/22; YOW 105/4, 119/26, 137/18 etc.; 100/22-24, 106/4 etc.. poss.adj. ȝOUR 59:2; C140, 348; ȝOWRE H136; YOR 100/26, 138/19; YOWR(E) 119/25, 137/19, 145/21.

ȝEDE pa.t.sg. went 46:2, 173:4; C437r; 133/30, 139/3-4; YEDE 137/8; ȝYD H310; ȝYDDE H484r; ȝODE 100:5r, 136:1; C628; YODE C320r. pl. = 51:2r, 102:4, 120:6r etc.; ȝEDEN 54:1, 142:4; ȝODE C513.

ȝELLYNG pr.p. yelling 130/30; YELLYNG 129/30.

ȝEME n. heed 120:4r.

ȝEND See ENDE.

ȝEON adj. that...over there, yon 108/4.

ȝERE n. year C58r; 98/4; YERE 97/3. pl. ȝER C11r, 581; ȝERE 58:2r; C583r; H7r, 597, 599r; 126/23; ȝERES 197:6.

ȝET See GETTE.

ȝET(E) adv. still, to this time, yet 10:6, 22:6; C39, 57, 101 etc.; H174, 491; ȝETT 100/13, 102/7, 110/28; ȝYT(E) H98, 609. still more, moreover = 72:1 H19; ȝETT(E) C64r; 142/28, 144/13; ȝYT H33, 52, 96 etc.. = FORÞER MAR still farther 75:2. conj. (and) yet, but ȝETTE C314; BUT YET 127/24, 141/28.

ȝEUE pr.2 sg. give C150. pr.3 sg. GEFETH 105/27. subj. ȝEYFFE H237; *GYF 142:1. pl. ȝIF 163:5. pa.1,3 sg. ȝAF 9:1, 10:1r, 22:5r etc.; C53r, 153; YAF 139/20; ȝAFFE H48r; GAFFE 106/31; GEFFE H148. pa.2 sg. GAFFE 138/21; YAVEST 137/21. pl. ȝAF C229; GAFFE 118/22; YOVEN 127/5. imper.sg. ȝEFE H145; GYFF 104/16; GYFE 136/12; IF 135/13. pp. ȝIF 11:1; YEVE 105/30; YEVYN 129/3; GAVE 132/16; GEVE 123/12; GEVYN 118/9; GYFFYN 124/13.

ȝIF conj. if 15:1, 28:6; ȝYF C147, 179, 274 etc.; IF 97/16-17-18 etc.; YF C247; H242, 277, 281; 98/15-16-17 etc.; YFF 106/10. See BUT.

ȝYN demons.adj. those, yonder H404.

ȝYLDYTH v.(with suff.obj.pron.) repay it, requite it H277.

ȝYS adv. yes 134/10. Cf. ȝA.

ȝONDYR adv. over there 108/4; ȝEONDYR 108/5. Cf. YENDER.

ȝONG(E) adj. young (inclusive phrase) = AND OLDE all C21, 549; H18; ȝOWNGE AND HELD H552; ȝYNGE H363.

HAILL n. hail 129/20; HAYL 130/21.

HAILSTONIS n.pl. hailstones 129/18; HAULSTONES 127/28; HOLE STONES 130/20.

HALF See ECHE.

HALFE adj. half C462; THE = WYLLE half of the wheel H376.

HALF prep. half(way) 126:2.

HALIDAY n. holy day, church festival day 113/10; HALYDAI 113/15. pl. HALYDAIES 113/10; HALYDES 114/10; HOLIDAIES 113/19.

HALIDOM n. holy relics 82:4.

HALLE n. hall 40:4, 43:6, 44:5 etc.; C220; H213, 637.

HALTE pr.2 sg. subj. hesitate H402r.

HALUENDEL adj. half (the amount of) 98:3.

HALUENDEL n. half (of) 122:6.

HAMERS n.pl. hammers 109/11; *110/13; HAMERYS 120/3; HAMOURS 119/3.

HANDE, HANDYS See HOND(E).

HAND-BREDE n. hand's breadth 108/27.

HANGE pa.t.pl. hung 124/8; HENGE 80:4, 81:1; HING 78:4r; HYNGE H365, 368 etc.; HYNGYN H377. pr.p. HANGYNG 122/30; HYNGYNG 120/1; HONGING 77:1r, 84:2; HONGYNG 117/30. pp. HANGED 119/6; HANGID 119/5; HANGYD(E) 120/5-7.

HARD adj. harsh, severe 34:6, 56:2; HERDE 104/15.

HARD adv. tightly, fast 60:1r, 88:3, 163:1.

HARM(E) n. harm, injury 99/19; 100/20, 122/15.

HARMELESE adj. without injury C460.

HARNEIST pp.adj. furnished with silver or other metal adornments 107/18; HERNESSEDE 108/18.

HARP(E) n. harp 142:5, 169:5.

HARTE See HERT(E).

HARVEST n. harvest (time) 97/9.

HAST n. IN = immediately 93:6r.

HASTILY adv. hastily 13:5r.

HATERE n. clothing C403r.

HATH, HATTE See HYTE.

HAUE, HAVE v. have 56:1-5, 101:3 etc.; C80r, 99, 104 etc.; H75r, 96, 279 etc.; 99/20, 105/10-19 etc.; 100/22, 106/9-20 etc.; HAUEN 115:2; HAUYN H227r; A (reduced unaccented form) H391, 397, 431 etc.; 140/1. auxil.(forming cond. perfect) = 52:6, 75:4; 105/6-7-30 etc.; 106/6-7-30 etc.. pr.1 sg. = C166, 348; H161; (with prefixed pron.) ICHAUE 47:2. pr.2 sg. HAST(E) 39:4r, 74:2, 87:2 etc.; C277, 283, 285 etc.; H270, 278, 282 etc.; 99/2-29, 139/24 etc.; 100/32; HAS 58:2; HASE 100/1, 142/10; HATE H580; = 99/21; subj. = C248; 100/19. pr.3 sg. HAÞ 43:4, 68:4, 86:4 etc.; HATH H130, 247, 287 etc.; C142, 252, 558 etc.; 99/28, 105/5-24 etc.; HATHE 106/25; HATHT C292; HASE 106/4, 132/27; subj. = H284. pr.2 pl. HATHE 100/23. pr.1,3 pl. = 16:2, 58:4, 126:5 etc.; C525, 553, 554;

H571; 111/20, 113/13, 141/7; 112/21, 114/15, 126/4 etc.; HAN 47:3, 63:4, 68:5 etc.; H138, 584, 587 (have as a duty, with inf.); HATH H253; HASE 142/4; (with suff.obj.pron.) HANT H106. **pa.2 sg.** HADE 104/29, 106/23-28 etc.; HADDEST(E) C548; 103/28; 105/23-28 etc.; (with suffixed pron.) HADDESTOW 56:4. pa.1,3 sg. HAD 17:1; H76, 197, 200 etc.; 97/24, 101/5-24 etc.; HADE 104/7-18, 106/2 etc.; HADDE 1:4, 11:1r, 13:2 etc.; C23, 81, 134 etc.; 103/7, 113/12. pl. HAD H255, 548; 103/2-3, 109/18 etc.; HADE 104/2-3, 116/23 etc.; HADDE 50:4, 69:5, 114:6 etc.; C378, 487, 535; HADDEN 125/4; HADYN H371, 392, 418; HADDYN H372, 454, 530. imper.sg. = 49:1; C250, 251, 300 etc.; H243, 245, *246 etc.; 99/13-17, 103/10 etc.; 100/14-19, 104/11 etc.. pr.p. HAUYNG 121/29 HAVYNGE 122/14. pp. HAD(E) 105/7-30; 108/1, 128/4; HADDE 106/6; HADDEN 109/17.

HAUTAIN n. treble (in music) 145:6.

HAWKYNGE n. hawking 126/29; HAKYNG 127/2.

HE pron.3 sg.masc. he 2:1-6, 3:4 etc.; C3, 10, 12 etc.; H10, 12, 15 etc. 97/20-21 etc.; 98/3-20-21 etc.; HEE C207. acc.dat.refl. HIM 6:1, 8:2, 9:1 etc.; 107/25, 113/12-13; HYM C30, 51, 53 etc.; H 14, 26, 40 etc.; (intensifier) H212.. poss.adj. HIS 2:3, 3:3, 7:3 etc.; 97/22, 101/2, 105/14; HYS C5, 17, 38 etc.; H13, 44, 47 etc.; 98/21, 100/25, 102/2 etc.; (as n.) his (saints) HIS 26:4r; IS 151:5; (written after gen. inflexion of n.) 97/26; (following n.) 133/19.

HEDE $n.^{1}$ head 121/1; 122/1. pl. HEDES 107/23, 109/4-7 etc.; HEDYS H350; HEDDYS 104/2, 108/24, 110/9 etc.; HEDEYS 110/7. Cf. HEUED.

HEDE $n.^{2}$ (with TAKE) careful attention, (take) heed 109/16, 141/1, 145/7; 146/6.

HEDE v. take care of, guard 119:3r.

HEDER See HETHER.

HEIȝE adv. loudly 191:4; HEY high (up) H368. See HIGH.

HEYLL adj. hale, healthy H397, 674.

HEYLL interj. hail! 106/3.

HELD n. FULL WYLL OF = far advanced in age H678r. See ȝONG(E).

HELE v. save, purify C14r; HELLE H10r.

HELL(E) n. hell 3:5, 9:5r, 24:5 etc.; C118r, 269r, 399r etc.; H114r, 262r, 450r etc.; 143/16; 144/16, 146/13; gen. = 64:2r; C35; H31, 453. See GATE n.[1]

HELP(E) n. help 198:3; C85; H80; 101/9-19, 115/19 etc.; 116/21-23, 138/14 etc.; HELPPE 102/11.

HELP(E) v. help 111:5, 172:5; C443; 103/8; HELPPE 104/8. pr.2 sg. HELPEST C362; HELPPYST H445. imper.sg. = C300, 390, 435 etc.; H439, 482, 485. pa.t.sg. HELPYD 116/22. pp. HOLPE H416; HOLPEN 129/9, 133/11; 130/16; HOLPYN 134/12.

HEM, HER(E) See HY(E).

HEMSELUE pron.pl. themselves 134:1; HEMSELF C143; 113/16, 115/3, 117/9 etc.; HEMSELFE H139.

HENDE adj. gracious *C152r, 287r; HYNDE H147r; HYND obedient H280r.

HENGE See HANGE.

HENNES adv. hence, away from here 103:3, 159:6; HENS(E) 107/1; 108/1.

HENTYD pa.t.pl. seized H432. pp. HENT 75:4.

HER(E) adv. here 39:2, 58:1r; C12r, 25, 133 etc.; H8r, 164, 234 etc.; 97/1, 99/3-30 etc.; 98/1, 100/3, 106/3 etc.; HYRE H321; ERE H624; = IN(NE), YN in here 14:4r, 103:5r, 108:4; C72; H67, 594; HYR YN H68; = OF about this 176:1; = OUER over this 117:6.

HERD n. household. IN = IS NOUȝT TO HIDE it is very true, (it cannot be kept secret) 70:6.

HERDE adj. See HARD.

HERD pp. praised 158:4; HERIED 139/23; YHERD 159:3.

HERE v. hear, listen to 52:2, 134:6r, 190:2; 99/16, 129/26; 130/26. pr.t.pl. HERYN 145/20. pa.t.sg. HERD(E) 5:1, 64:6, 113:1r; C187, 258, 264r etc.; 97/15, 111/19, 117/19 etc.; 98/3-15, 112/19 etc.; HARD(E) H180, 310; 134/30-31, 136/3 etc.. pp. HERD(E) C260, 139/10, 145/13.

HERIED pp. See HERD pp.

HERME n. pain, suffering H387. Cf. HARM(E).

HERNESSEDE See HARNEIST.

HERRE n. hair H352r.

HERKEN imper.sg. listen to 158:6. pl. HERKNES listen 28:4; HERKNEÞ 76:4.

HERT(E) n. heart 49:1r, 61:6, 66:5 etc.; *H303; 103/11, 109/16-19 etc.; HERTT 110/17, 112/23, 126/19 etc.; HARTE H506. pl. HERTTYS 112/22, 120/11, 126/18 etc.; HERTES 125/19, 127/8-10 etc..

HERT(E)LY adv. sincerely, earnestly 113/11, 139/8.

HETE n. heat 96:4r, 101:3r, 163:3r; 113/2, 121/25, 133/22 etc.; 122/25; HETTE 134/22-23. vehement rebuke C129r; H125r.

HETE pa.3 pl. commanded 180:1r.

HEÞEING n. scorn, mockery 54:3r.

HETHER adv. hither, to this place 141/29; 102/14, 142/26-30; HETHYR H159r, 235, 274 etc.; HIDER 162:4, 167:2; HYDUR C281, 625; HEDER 101/12-17-23; HEDYR 102/20.

HEUED n. head 70:1r. Cf. HEDE n.[1]

HEUEN n. heaven 9:5, 17:4r, 145:3r etc.; C148, 173, 260; 141/13; 100/30; HEUENE C118; 103/12, 135/11; HEUYN H15, 114; HEVEN(E) 99/27, 103/13, 111/20 etc.; HEVYN 104/12, 112/20, 118/21 etc..

HEUEN BLIS n. the joy of heaven 8:3r, 198:5; HEUEN BLYSSE 64r, 33r; HEUYNBLYSCHE H4r; HEUYNBLYSSE H29r.

HEUEN GATE n. the gate of heaven 183:3.

HEUEN KING n. the King of heaven 18:6r.

HEUEN RYCHE n. the Kingdom of heaven C21r; HEUYN RECHE H 17r.

HEUI adj. grievous 167:4.

HEWE n. colour, complexion 79:6r, 114:1r.

HEWYNG pr.p. hewing, cutting 117/16.

HY(E) pron.3 pl. they 4:4r, 42:4, 43:2 etc.; acc.dat.refl. HEM 3:2-6, 6:4 etc.; C8, 21, 50 etc.; H5, 171, 587; 97/27, 101/19, 107/22 etc.; HAM 111/24. poss.adj. HIR(E) 1:5; 107/10-20-21 etc.; HYR(E) H346, 355, 533; HERE 99/10, 103/5, 107/19 etc.; HAR C229. See ÞAI. HER 4:5-6, 25:1 etc.; C14, 78, 104 etc..

HIDE See HERD.

HIDER See HETHER.

HIDOWUS See HUDIOUS.

HIGH adj. high 129/24, 135/19, 143/2; exalted 105/16; HYGHE 106/17, 136/19, 144/2; HYE C318; 130/24, 138/1; *137/1; HYEE 130/22; HEIȝE 121:1, 145:2-6 etc.; glorious 50:1, 165:3; HEY(E) H214, 305, 374r etc.; HYȝE C415r, 417; ON HEY loudly H269r; ON HYȝE C276r; WIÞ HEYE 26:1r; AN HEIȝE on high, in heaven 152:5r; ON HEIȝE 185:6r.

comp. HEYR FESTE very solemn Feast-day H53.

HI3T See HYTE.

HILL n. hill 143/2; HYLL 144/2. pl. HILLES 115/27; HYLLYS 116/27.

HIMSELUE pron.refl. himself 172:5r; HIMSELF(E) C10, 16, 42 etc.; H12, 37; 143/6; HYM SELFFE 132/20; HYMCELFE H6.

HING, HYNGE, HYNGYNG See HANGE.

HIR(E), HYR(E) See HY(E).

HIRSELF pron. herself 143/8-9; HYRSELFE 144/6.

HYT pron.3 sg.(neut.nom.acc.) it C40, 63, 71 etc.; 100/21-24, 114/6; HYTT 100/23-25, 104/17 etc.; HIT 105/11, 113/27, 135/29; IT 2:5, 9:4, 12:1 etc.; H374; 97/24, 99/19-22 etc.; YT H34, 36, 43 etc.; (with pl. complement) IT 140:6, 148:1; HYT C512; YT H50, 327.

HYTE pr.3 sg.(passive) is called H58r; HATTE C63r; HATH H85.
pa.t.sg. HI3T 30:1.

HOGHE See HOWGE.

HOKES n.pl. hooks, awls 58:5, 73:2, 119:3; (meat-)hooks 77:2, 83:6, 89:1; HOKYS H370.

HOLD(E) v. maintain, hold C74; 117/4. pr.3 sg. HOLT HIM considers himself 157:6. pa.t.sg. HELD held 19:1; HILD continued 103/19. pl. HELD considered 2:5; held 191:1. pp. YHOLD 171:4.

HOLE adj. hole, healed, sound 128:5; C338; spiritually saved C673; complete, uncut 107/20.

HOLE n. hole, pit 11:5, 14:1r, 23:2 etc.; C633. pl. HOLES (eye sockets) 111/8; HOLLES 112/10.

HOLY adj. holy 184:1; C27, 184, 189 etc.; H20, 23, 177 etc.; 99/26, 105/3, 127/4 etc.; 134/8, 142/21; HOLI 195:1. See HOLY CHIRCH(E).

HOLY adv. completely 143/29; HOLLELY 144/27.

HOLY CHIRCH(E) n. Holy Church, The Church Catholic as a body 7:1r; 37:4r; 105/5-7-17 etc.; HOLY KYRKE 106/8, 124/11, 126/4.

HOLYRODE DAY n. Feast of (the Exaltation of) the Holy Cross, Sept.14th 97/8.

HOM(E) adv. (toward) home C641, 656; H636, 646r; 145/12.

HOM(E) n. home H408r, 410, 661.

HOME-WARDE adv. towards home 145/16.

HOND(E) n. hand 10:2, 18:5r, 19:1r etc.; C62r, 165r, 219r etc.; H212r,

315r, 672r; 101/1, 107/11, 133/19 etc.; HAND(E) H57r, 160r; 102/3, 108/11, 134/19 etc.. pl. = 60:1, 70:1, 114:6r; HONDES 121/28; HANDYS H382; 122/30. (TO TAKE) AN/ON= undertake 32:6r; 99/2, *105/1; HAND(E) *100/2, 106/1.

HONDRED(DE) See HUNDRED.

HONESTLY adv. chastely, virtuously 170:1r. (See note.)

HONGING, HONGYNG See HANGE.

HONOUR n. honour 176:4r.

HONOUREÞ pr.t.pl. honour 176:5. pa.1 sg. HONOWRED worshipped 103/24.

HOPE n. hope H323.

HOPE pr.1 sg. hope C151; H146, 417.

HORNES n.pl. horns 103/2; 104/3; horn-shaped head gear 107/18; 108/18.

HORRIBLE adj. horrible, fearsome 101/30, 111/28; HORRABYL 134/6; HORRABYLL 112/21, 122/17-18 etc.; HORRYBYL 114/26; ORRIBLE 107/30, 121/30, 123/4; ORRABYLL 108/30, 124/7, 136/14; ORIBLE 141/10; HORRIBULL 130/18.

HORSES n.pl. horses 115/4; 116/4.

HOTE adj. hot C388, 609r; 111/24, 117/28, 119/16 etc.; HOOTE H437; HOTT 134/20; HOWT 118/28. comp. HATTER 111:2. (absol. as n.) HOYTTE heat 114/2; HOTTE 124/14. Cf. HETE n.

HOTT adv. hot(ly) 112/13; HOTE 125/17; HOTH 114/23.

HOU See HOW(E).

HOUNDE n. dog 116:4r.

HOVYNG pr.p.adj. poised, suspended in the air 121/2.

HOW(E) adv.interrog. how C36; H319; 141/5, 143/7, 145/7; 120/18, 142/4, 144/6 etc,; HOU 42:5, 108:5, 113:2 etc.; so that, by means of which 6:2.

HOWGE adj. great 128/11; HOGHE 136/17. sup. HOWGYSTE 136/3.

HOWYN See OWNE.

HOWS n. house C271; HOWSE 122/13-14, 128/15 etc.; HOWSSE H393; HOUS 127/15-16-17 etc.. pl. HOWSYS C264; H355r; HOWSES 130/25; HOUSES 129/26.

HOWSYLD pp. received sacrament of Holy Communion H181.

HOW-SO See WHO.

HUDIOUS adj. frightful, causing horror 103/4, 115/22, 127/11; HIDOWUS 137/12.

HUNDRED adj. hundred 84:1; H599; HONDRED C583; HONDREDDE C581; HUNDYRD H597.

HUNDRE FOLD adv. hundredfold, hundred times H518r.

HUNGER n. hunger 62:5.

HUNTYNG n. hunting 127/3; HUNTTYNGE 126/29.

HUS, HVS See WE.

HUSBONDYS n.pl. husbands 120/12.

I, Y pron.1 sg. I 40:5, 49:4, 59:2 etc.; C78, 106, 113 etc.; H73, 109, 113 etc.; 97/5-9-15 etc.; 98/5-9-15 etc.; ICH 10:4, 95:1, 112:4 etc.; acc.dat. ME 35:3-4, 181:1; C175, 250, 349; H245; 97/11-14 etc.; 98/12-14-15 etc.; MY 131/7. poss.adj. MI 28:4; MY C136, 169, 177; H132, 160, 168 etc.; 99/25-30 etc.; 98/13, 100/27-32 etc.; MIN 180:6; MYN C165; MYNE H323; (as n.) 103/22, 141/28, 145/13 etc.; 104/23.

ICH(E) adj. each 44:6, 101:1; every 95:6, 182:1, 185/2; H184, 360, 585; (after ÞIS or ÞAT) same, very 7:4, 10:6, 14:1 etc.; YCHE C555. Cf. ECHE.

ICHIL See WILL(E) v.

YDYLL adj. idle, foolish, vain 126/29, 128/10.

YEN, YNE See EIȝEN.

IF, YF See ȝIF.

YFERE adv. together 57:6r.

YHERE v. hear, listen to 28:6r, 30:3r, 63:2r. pa.t.pl. YHERD 59:4.

YKNEWE pa.t.sg. recognized 79:3r.

YLICHE adj. like 21:3r, 165:6r; similar 170:5r.

YLICHE adv. alike, equally 157:3r; YLYCHE C22r; ALECHE H18r.

YLKE adj.[1] same C554; 132/11.

YLKE adj.[2] each, every 104/4, 110/2.

ILKONE pron. each one C491.

YLLE adj. severe C597r; YLL evil 104/21; bad 122/16.

YMAGE n. image, picture 139/13-14; carving? 139/16.

IN(NE), YN(NE) prep. in 1:3-6r, 5:4 etc.; C7, 13, 38 etc.; H9, 34, 35 etc.; 97/2-3-5 etc.; 98/3-4-5 etc.; into 10:2; H209; on 44:6, 99/6; with C459; = TIL into 62:3, 87:6, 127:6 etc.. See HER(E) adv

INCLYNED pa.1 sg. bowed 138/17.

INCREYSE v. increase 122/10. Cf. ENCRESE.

IN-DEDE adv. indeed, truly 105/18.

INDEWRE See ENDURE.

INJONES pr.3 sg. imposes, prescribes 106/29.

YNKE n. ink 122:1r.

*INOGH adj. enough 114/16.

INSAMPYLL; YNTENT(E) See ENSAMPLE; ENTENTE.

INTO, YNTO prep. TO, INTO 3:5, 24:5, 48:3 etc.; C50, 67, 70 etc.; H62, 65, 298 etc.; 97/6, 109/2-11 etc.; 98/7, 110/4-12 etc.; until 121/18.

INWARDE adj. inward 142/3; YNWARD 141/4.

INWYTTYS n.pl. wits, conscience 146/10. (See note.)

IREN adj. iron 65:6, 70:2, 77:2; C90; YREN(E) 111/2, 117/13, 119/1 etc.; 114/24, 118/13, 126/15 etc.; YRYN(E) H87; 109/11, 120/2.

IS, YS pr.3 sg. is 16:6, 21:3, 21:4 etc.; C1, 26, 36 etc.; H1, 22, 32 etc.; 97/13, 99/5-6 etc.; 98/13, 100/5-6 etc.; (with pl. complement) 156:5; 127/4.

ISE n. ice 93:4r; YSE 121/22-25-26; 122/23-27.

YSE v. see 129:2r, 130:1r, 166:5r. pa.t.sg. YSEYE 12:4; YSEIȝE 61:1, 152:4r. pl. = 159:1, 161:5r; YSEIȝE 126:1.

IT, YT See HYT.

YWIS adv. (rhyming tag) certainly 5:2r, 8:6r, 16:3r etc.; YWYSSE C589r.

JACOBINS See FRERE.

IAGGES n.pl. ornamental points on edges of garments, produced by cutting wedge-shaped incisions 107/19-28, 123/18; JAGGYS 108/19-29, 124/18.

JANGYLLYNGE pr.p. chattering excessively 114/13.

JASPERS n.pl. jaspers 131:1.

IOIE n. joy 16:5, 26:5, 54:5 etc.; IOY(E) 105/10, 145/15; YOY H515; JOY H532, 575 etc.; JOYE C108, 489, 506 etc.; 106/11. pl. IOIES 26:2, 27:2, 141:2 etc.; IOYES 135/25; JOYES C668; 136/24.

IOIFULL adj. joyful 141/14.

IUGEMENT n. (particular) judgement 141/30, 143/29; JUGEMENT 142/30, 144/29.

IUGGE n. judge 111/20, 117/21. pl. JUGES 98/3.

JVROURS n.pl. jurymen, those sworn to give evidence 118/7.

KEY(E) n. key 23:5; C91, 93; H88, 90.

KEMPTE pp. combed H350.

KENDE pa.t.sg. taught 37:6r.

KENE adj. sharp 118/14. comp. KENER sharper edged C414.

KEPE v. obey, keep 110/20; = WYTH with which to keep 129/22. pr.3 sg.subj. = C180. pa.t.pl. KEPYD 120/8. imper.sg. = 187:1.

KEPER n. keeper 98/10.

KYLL v. kill 102/18; KILLYN 117/25. pa.t.pl. KYLDEN 117/21. pp. KILDE 117/23.

KYND(E) n. sort, kind, variety C523r; race, stock C587. pl. = H568r.

KINDENESSE n. kindness 99/21, 141/2, 143/7 etc.; KYNDNES 100/22, 146/6. pl. KYNDNESSE acts of kindness 119/20.

KYNE n. crack, fissure (in earth) H345r.

KING n. king 29:1; KYNG(E) C26r, 114, 682r; H22r, 406r. pl. KINGES 137:3; KYNGES C499; KYNGGYS H542; KYNGYS 106/16; KINGIS 105/15.

KINNE n. kin, stock 177:1r; KYNNE C286; H603; 105/16-17; 106/18.

KYRKE n. Church 114/12. See HOLY CHIRCH.

KNAUE n. boy H74r; (low) servant C79r; KNAWE H278r.

KNE n. knee C381r; H430r; 103/4; KNEE 104/4. pl. KNES 55:2; KNEIS 135/23, 137/17, 139/19 etc.; KNESSE 136/22, 138/17.

KNELD pa.t.sg. kneeled 19:1; KNELED C197, 425; KNELID 135/22-28; KNELYD H190, 472, 633; KNELYDE 136/27.

KNI3T n. knight 29:4r, 35:1, 37:1 etc.; KNY3T C115; KNY3TE C120, 160, 397 etc.; KNYTH H110, 111, 152 etc.; KNY3TH C186, 197, 203r etc.; KNY3THE C384r. gen. KNYTHTYS H157, 251; *KNY3THES C162; KNY3TES C256. pl. KNI3TES 137:4; KNYGHTYS 128/5-7.

KNITTE v. tie 137/7; KNYTT 138/8.

KNYVES n.pl. knives 111/7, 115/3, 117/14; KNYVYS 112/8, 116/3.

KNOKKYD pa.t.pl. knocked 124/2. pr.p. KNOCKYNG 121/30.

KNOTTES n.pl. embossed ornaments 132:5.

KNOW(E) v. know, recognize 84:5; C48r, 537r; H43r, 550r; 107/13; KNAW 108/13. pr.1 sg. = 143/28; 102/7, 144/28. pr.2 sg. KNOWES 102/13-19; KNOWEST 101/16-22. pl. = 119/23; 120/24. pa.t.sg. KNEW(E) 114:2r, 155:2; C321r; H157, 369; 103/23, 107/15; 102/29, 104/24, 108/15. imper.sg. = 101/10. pr.p. KNOWYNG 132/20. pp. = 99/15; KNOUE 144/23; KNOWEN 143/14-24; 100/16; KNOWNE 144/14; YKNAWE 58:4r.

KNOWLAGE n. knowledge 99/20; KNOLEGE 100/22.

KOWÞE pp.adj. known C670r.

LABOUR n. labour, pains, effort C436.

LADDER n. ladder 135/27-29-30 etc.; LEDDER 136/26, 138/8; LEDDYR 136/28, 138/6-9.

LADI n. OWRE = Our Lady, Virgin Mary 103/27; LADE 104/28. gen. = IS 135/25; LADE 136/24. Cf. LEUEDY.

LAYTE n. lightning C259.

LAK n. lack, want 115/12.

LAKKYDE pa.t.sg.impers. THEME = they lacked 110/30.

LANDE, LANDYS See LOND(E).

LASSE adj.comp. as n. = AND MORE the lower and higher in rank, i.e. all 28:1; MORE AND = C539r; LESSE H552r; MORE NO LESSE i.e. at all 123:6r; MORE NE LESSE C68r; LESSE less C342. sup. LEST 148:3, 157:4.

LAST n. (intensifier of measure of number) TEN ÞOUSAND = an immense number 189:4r.

LAST pa.t.sg. ON HIM = weighed on (attacked) him 111:2; LASTED reached, extended C464.

LAST(E) adj.sup. last AT ÞE = in the end, after all C15, 123, 131r; H127r, 589; ATTE = 109/28.

LASTEN v. endure, last 112:6; LEST continue 186:2r. pr.3 sg. LASTEÞ 16:5; LASTES C680; LASTYS 114/16; LESTE H681. pa.t.sg. LASTE 121/16.

LATE adj. late 22:2r; 109:1r. See OR conj.[2]

LATYNE See LETANYE.

LAUGHED pa.t.pl. laughed 97/29; LOGHE 98/28.

LAW(E) n. law 13:3r; 105/7, 143/5; 106/7-15, 132/13; scripture 37:6; 124/12. pl. LAWES 115:3r.

LAWNES See LOWNESSE.

LECE See LESE.

LECHE See SOWLE(S)LECHE.

LECHERIE n. lechery 58:3r; 131/21; LECHERY(E) 119/4; 120/5, 130/17, 132/22.

LEDDE n. lead 78:2; LEDE 103:2r; 111/5; LEYDE 112/6.

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LIKNES n. likeness, form 102/27.

LILI n. lily 147:2.

LYME n. lime (trap) C278r. (See Note.)

LYMME n. limb 117/13; LYME 118/13. pl. LYMMES 111/28, 113/27, 121/10; LYMMYS 118/15.

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LOND(E) n. land, country 44:5r, 62:3r, 114:3r etc.; C7r, 30, 61 etc.; H25, 26, 43 etc.; 137/12; LANDE 138/13; (dry) land = 94:6, 169:6; (vaguely) ON EUURY/EUERY = all about, everywhere C327r; H314r; = AND LEDE land and vassals 87:3r. pl. LONDES estates 115/27, 117/1; LONDYS 118/7; LANDYS 116/27, 118/1.

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LONG(E) adv. (a) long (time) 15:4r, 45:1, 58:4 etc.; H118, 661; 103/22, 107/10, 135/18; 108/10, 116/17, 136/18. comp. LENGE 50:5; LENGER H234, 248; C253; LENGUR C239.

LONGYNG pr.p.adj. + TO befitting, appropriate to 127/5.

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LORD(E) n. Lord C51, 361, 390 etc.; H439, 482, 623 etc.; 97/3, 99/14-22 etc.; 98/4, 100/15-24 etc.; gen. = 136/24; LORDES 99/18; 100/20; LORDIS 135/24.

LORE n. teaching, doctrine 28:2r, 69:3r; C28r, 184r; H24r, 177r.

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LOÞLY adv. horribly 88:5.

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LOUE n. love 71:5, 144:2-4 etc.; 131/26, 137/23, 141/12 etc.; LOVE 99/21, 141/2; LUFFE 100/24, 110/28, 138/22.

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LOW n. flame 122/3.

LOWDE adj. loud C264, 430.

LOWE adj. low C318r, 417r; H305r, 464r, 479r; 105/17.

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LOWNESSE n. humility, lowliness 143/13; LAWNES 144/12.

LOWTID pa.t.pl. bowed down 139/8.

LUCOR n. lucre 131/27.

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MACK n. equal 12:2r; MAKE 151:5.

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MADMAN n. madman 103/10, 135/8.

MAGESTE n. majesty, glory (of God) C600r; MAGYSTE H610r.

MAY, MAI pr.1,3 sg. may, can 16:4r, 93:5, 122:1 etc.; C34, 76, 173 etc.; H71, 263, 481; 133/7-8; 134/8, 142/27. pr.2 sg. = C148, 171, 339 etc.; H413, 466; 142/25; MAYIS H625; MAIST 141/23; MIȝT 107:4, 124:2; MYTH H143, 166. pl. = 30:3, 50:2, 67:5 etc.; C239, 253,

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MAYNE See MEYNE.

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MAISTER n. master 46:2; teacher 122:3; (quasi adj.) chief 55:1; MAYSTYR H406. pl. MAYSTERYS H534.

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MAKYNG n. making, building 132/17.

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MAN n. man 3:4r, 24:5, 29:5 etc.; C314, 555; H8, 63, 67 etc.; 97/25, 99/28, 105/5 etc.; 98/24, 106/6-14 etc.; MON C12, 42, 72 etc.; gen. MANYS H11; MANNYS 134/19; MAN IS 133/19; MONNUS C15, 610. dat. = 80:6. pl. MEN men, people (in general) 10:5, 21:2, 28:2 etc.; C3, 14, 28 etc.; H10, 17, 24 etc.; 99/9-10-11 etc.; 100/8-11-12 etc.; MAN 91:2r. gen. MANNES 155:6; MEN IS 115/6.

MAN pron.indef. one C569.

MANER(E) n. kind (of) 109:6; H424; 107/13; 108/13; way 128:2, 157:1; 117/25; manner H158r; fashion C535r; H548r; AL(LE) = all kinds of 9:4, 138:4, 169:1; C373, 473, 486; 115/2, 137/16; 116/2; NO = no kind of 62:4. pl. = ways 77:6r; kinds (of) 106:1, 148:1r; C529, 530, 563; H575; 113/3; MANERS 125/10.

MANI adj. many 58:2, 102:4, 116:5 etc.; MANY H20, 21, 39 etc.; 101/30, 103/6, 107/29 etc.; 102/6, 104/6, 108/19 etc.; MONY C24, 130, 142 etc.; 125/2, 129/30, 131/2; = A(N) 24;5, 65:3, 119:5; H276, 341; MONY A C25, 76, 142 etc.; = ANOÞER many others 47:2r; MANE 102/30.

MANI-FOLD adj. manifold, of many kinds 34:6r.

MANKINNE n. mankind 144:3r.

MAR See ȝETE.

MARGARITES n.pl. pearls 131:2.

MARKED pa.t.sg. marked 97/28, 101/25; MARKID 103/17, 135/15-25 etc.; imper.sg. MARK 103/12, 135/10.

MASSE n. Mass 154:4; C187r, 644, 645; MESSE 163:5r; L180r. 649, 650. pl. MASSES 133/13; 134/15.

MATERS n.pl. affairs, business 132/27.

MATRIMONIE n. matrimony 132/23.

MEDE $n.^1$ mead 149:2r.

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MEDOWYS n.pl. meadows H563; MEDEWUS C520.

MEYNE n. retinue, attendants 123/20, 131/6; MAYNE 131/3; MENY 132/6.

MEKELY adv. meekly, humbly 105/28, 141/8; 142/7.

MEKENESSE n. meekness, humility 109/19, 143/13; MEKENES 144/12.

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MELE n. meal 182:2.

MELODY(E) n. melody, (sweet) music 140:1r, 141:3r. pl. MELODYES C498r; MELADYS H541r.

MELTTE v. melt 122/24; MYLT 121/24. pr.p. MELTYNG 115/25. pp.adj. MOLTEN 78:2; 111/5-13-15 etc.; MOLTON 111/16; 112/5, 116/25; YMELT 99:6r.

MEMBRIS n.pl. (i) limbs, parts of the body 111/15-27-29; MENBRES 111/26; MEMBRYS 112/16; MEMBYRS 112/29. (ii) genitals MEMBRYS H367; MENBRIS 119/5; MEMBYRSE 120/6; PREVY = 119/1; PREVEY MEMBYRS 120/1.

MEMORIE n. memory 61:4r; IN MEMORYE remembered (as) C101r.

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MENE n. mean, intermediate part in harmonized composition, esp. tenor/alto 145:5.

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MENSTRACIE n. minstrelsy, music 141:6r.

MERCY n. mercy C250, 300, 358 etc.; H245, 293, 331 etc.; 99/3, 103/15, 109/30 etc.; 100/2, 104/16, 106/1 etc.; MERCI 66:4; 105/1, 137/14; MERSY 122/19. As interj. MERCI have pity! 66:2-3; MERCY H623.

MERELY adv. merrily, happily 138/29. Cf. MIRI adv.

MERY adj. merry, joyful C496, 498, 659; H539, 664; 141/22; 140/2-4, 142/23; MERI 139/2. Cf. MIRI(E) adj.

MERUAYLE n. marvel C76.

MERUELLYS adj. marvellous H71.

MESCHAUNCE n. disaster, misfortune 56:4r; MISCHAUNCE evil fate 36:4r.

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METAL n. metal 99:5r; METALL C373r, 470; 111/9-11-13 etc.; METELL H424r, 441; 111/16; 112/13-15-17 etc.; METTELL 112/11. pl. METALS 111/5; METELLYS 112/5.

METE n. food 101:6, 163:5; 129/10. pl. METES 143/21, METTYS 144/22.

METE v.impers. HIM GAN = he dreamt 8:2r.

METELY adv. fittingly H217.

METYN v. meet H556; METTE 100/8. pa.1 sg. METT 104/21-22; METTE (+ WITH) 103/21.

MICHE adj. much 141:3, 150:5, 153:5; MYCH(E) C508; H253, 338, 396 etc.; great C489, 506; H373, 393, 427 etc.. Cf. MOCHE.

MICHE n. much 133:2, 172:6.

MICHEL adj. great, huge 30:4, 83:4, 121:6 etc.; MYCHELL 145/11. See MYKELL.

MICHEL adv. much 5:2, 61:2; very (wide) 11:5.

MYDDE n. middle C447r; MYDE H494r; MEDYS H464.

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MYKELL adj. great, grave C106; 99/28; MYKYLL(E) C108, 410; H103, 371, 419; 128/12; MEKYL(L) 100/22, 102/29, 106/21 etc.; MEKILL many 139/27. See MICHEL.

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MILD(E) adj. gentle, kindly 17:3-5, 51:3 etc..

MYLE n. mile C462r; 103/20; 104/21; MYLL H509r. pl. = 116:5.

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MYND(E) n. mind C248r; H243r; 99/13-17, 105/23; 100/14, 106/24; (HAUE) = ON/OF to consider, think about 101/24, 103/7-10 etc.; 104/29, 136/7.

MYNE v. undermine, dig away the foundations 132/5.

MINT n. mint (plant) 147:4.

MIRI(E) adj. merry, joyful 141:4, 145:4. Cf. MERY.

MIRI adv. joyfully, gaily 142:6. Cf. MERELY.

MYRTHE n. happiness C526. pl. MYRTHES delights, joys 125/29; MYRTHYS 126/30.

MISBILEUE n. false belief 1:5.

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MISDEDE n. evil-doing 4:5, 14:3r, 27:6r; MYSDEDE C133r, 567r; MYSSEDEDE H129r. pl. MYSDEDES 119/26; MYSDEDYS 144/25; MISDEDES 143/25.

MYSDOERS n.pl. offenders, malefactors 117/24.

MYSDONE pp. done wrong C134.

MYSELF pron. myself 139/21.

MISGILT n. offence, crime 101:1r.

MYSGOUERNANCE n. evil living 144/17-28.

MYSKEPENG n. improper keeping or observance 129/21.

MISOURS n.pl. misers 102:5.

MISSAYS n. hardship, suffering 164:3r.

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MYTER n. mitre 131/8; 132/8.

MYTIGACION n. mitigation, alleviation of pain 133/8; MITTIGACYON 134/9.

MO adj.comp. and as pron. more, (more people) 41:5r, 48:2r, 80:3r etc.; C24r, 309r; 103/6, 107/19, 133/7 etc.; MOO C595r; H20r, 607r; 134/7.

MOCH(E) adj. much, many C531; 105/19, 115/12-13 etc.; great 107/22, 133/31. Cf. MICHE.

MOCH(E) adv. much C143; 103/1; FOR AS = AS because, in so far as 129/25, 131/17; FOR AS MYCHE AS 130/25; IN SO = THAT to the extent that 139/11-12.

MOCHEL adv. greatly 133/29.

MODE n. passionate grief 91:3r.

MODER n. mother 104:3, 127:3, 143:6 etc.; 113/29, 119/17-19 etc.; 120/20-23, 140/8. pl. MODERS 120/17-19.

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MOLD n. earth 52:5r; ON = in the world 136:5r.

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MONE $n.^1$ moon C206r; H199r.

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MOROW n. morning C105r; H102r. A = in the morning C187; ON MOWROW H180; ON ÞE MORWE 192:5r. See AMORWE.

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MOUNTEYN n. mountain 90:2r, 93:2, 168:2.

MOUÞE n. mouth 169:4r; MOWTH C402r, (report) 669r; H453r; MOWÞE C610. pl. MOUTHES 121/7; MOWTHES 110/10, 122/7; MOWÞIS 109/9; MOWTES 114/5; MOUGHTHES 127/22.

MOWE n. derisive grimace H266r. pl. MOWES C272r.

MOWNTENANCE n. distance C462.

MURDERARS n.pl. murderers 118/19; MURDRES 117/19.

NA adv. no 142/24. Cf. NAY.

NADDER n. adder 106:6. pl. NEDDREN 71:2; ADDERS 123/27; ADDRES 107/29; ARDERS 121/8. Cf. EDDER.

NAY adv. no 36:1, 75:1; C619; H286, 322, 414 etc.; Cf. NA.

NAILES n.pl. nails 70:2; 109/11, 127/1; NAYLES C329, 353, 356; 109/2, 125/17; NAYLLES 110/3; NAYLYS H326; NAYLLYS 110/12; NALYS 126/17; fingernails NAYLES 111/11-27; NALYS 112/11; NAYLLES 112/28.

NAYLED pp. nailed C328, 331; NAYLYD H315, 317; YNAYLED 70:3.

NAKED adj. naked 65:3, 173:4; NAKID 127/18, 129/6; NAKYD 128/18.

NAM pa.t.sg. took 171:6r, 189:2; H155r; went 175:1r; NOME C160r. pl. NOM 110:2; NOME 158:2r. pp. NOME 140:5r; YNOME 43:4r, 63:4r, 107:1r etc..

NAME n. name 20:4, 50:1r; C66, 200, 391; H61; 98/5, 142/5; reputation 121/14; 122/16.

NAMORE adj. no more 41:1.

NAROWE adj. narrow C415; NARROW 100/5; NARU 117:2, 121:3.

NAS pa.t.sg. was not (usually with other neg.) 9:1, 60:5, 66:4 etc.; pl. NER(E) 141:5r, 173:5.

NATT, NAWȝTE See NOT.

NAUEL n. navel 100:4. pl. NOVELYS H367r.

NE adv. not (preceding v.) 15:5; C8, 75, 84; (with other neg. after v.) 96:3.

NE conj. nor 103/7, 109/27, 121/15 etc.; 110/26.

NECKIS n.pl. necks 107/17; NECKES 107/19; NEKKYS 108/17-19, 116/3.

NEDE adv.needs , of necessity C208r, 560r; NEDES 130/18; NEDYS H631; 132/26, 142/28.

NEDE n. need, (moment of) necessity, time of difficulty C362, 438r; H201r,445, 485r; 99/28, 109/18, 113/12 etc.; 100/31, 110/23, 116/23 See NON(E)SKINES.

NEDY adj. needy 129/9-27.

NEDID pa.t.sg.impers. (T)HEM = they needed, was necessary for them 113/17, 125/5. pl. NEDYDE 126/4.

NEGHEBOR n.gen. neighbour's 122/15. pl. NEGHBOURS 121/14; NEGHBURSE those in close proximity 114/14.

NEIȝE adv. near 64:3, 129:4r, 183:4r; almost 94:3; NEGH 103/9; NEIGH 139/19; NYȝ(E) C275r, 467; NYGH 107/13; NERE 108/13. comp. NER(E) 136:1r, 190:1.

NEYSES See NOSE.

NEYTHER adv. =...NOR neither...nor H63, 199, 211 etc.; NEYTHUR...NER C206; NOÞUR...NER C168, 218; NOTHER...NOR 114/15.

NEMPNE imper.sg. call 50:1.

NER...NE adv. neither...nor C84. See NEUER.

NER(E) See NEIȝE.

NERE adv. nearly H399.

NEÞER adj.comp. deeper 111:1.

NEUER adv. never 9:3, 56:4, 76:2 etc.; C488, 542; H75, 97, 299 etc.; 106/23; 121/17; NEVER 105/21, 115/14, 121/13 etc.; NEUUR C100, 312, 315 etc.; NER C588; NERE H618; = SO no matter how 106/17; NEVER SO 105/16; NEUUR-ÞE-LATTER nevertheless C453; =-ÞE-LES(SE) H280, 500; 100/13, 106/24; NEUUR-ÞE-LESSE C287.

NEUER MO adv. never again 172:1r.

NEUER MORE adv. never again, never at- any time 188:4r; H108r; NEUUR MORE C112r.

NEWE adj. new 115:3, 119:4.

NEW(E) adv. newly, recently 46:1; C231, 494; H226.

NEXT adj. following 97/2-8.

NICE adj. wanton 143/27; NYSE extravagant, flaunting 109/17-26, 129/12; 110/25; NYCE 123/20.

NYȝE See NEIȝE.

NIȝT n. night 14:4, 192:3r; NYȝTH C73r, 171, 312 etc.; NYTHE H68r, 143;

NYGHT C84r, NYGTH H79r; NYTE H166; NYTH H299, 475r. pl.
IN NYGHTES at night 143/19; ON NYGHTTYS 144/19-21.

*NYLL pr.2 sg.subj. WYLL ÞOU = ÞOU willy-nilly, whether you wish to or notH403. pr.3 sg. NEL will not 139/30. pa.t.sg. NOLD 37:2, 59:1; pl. NOLD would not 109/26; NOLDEN 4:4.

NYNE adj. nine C581.

NIS, NYS pr.3 sg. is not 9:2, 41:1, 122:1 etc.; 105/13.

NIST pa.t.sg. did not know 128:2. pl. NITE 163:2.

NIÞE n. malice, hatred 95:2.

NO adj. no, (with neg.) any 2:6, 9:2, 44:2 etc.; C68, 92, 96 etc.; H89, 93, 120 etc.; 103/7, 105/13, 109/27 etc.; 100/13-20, 102/14 etc.; NON 90:5, 129:5, 187:5; H659; NONE 99/18, 101/11, 103/7 etc..

NO adv.(of negation prec.v.) 2:5, 12:2, 40:5 etc.; = FOR ÞAN nevertheless 57:1.

NO conj. (with neg.) ...nor 4:6, 9:3, 60:5 etc.; 103/7.

NODER; NOGHT, NOȝT See NOTHIR; NOT.

NOISE n. noise 109:4; 135/1; NOYSE 97/16-19, 103/4 etc.; 98/16, 104/5-9 etc.; pl. NOYSES 103/6, 125/2; 104/6; NOYSE melodious sounds 138/30.

NOIÞER...NO conj. neither...nor 123:6; NOTHIR neither 115/14.

NOLD(EN) See NYLL.

NOM(E) See NAM.

NON adv. not C80, 488r; H531r; = SWICHE (with prec.neg.) one like it 96:3, 116:3.

NON(E) adj. no, none C317, 321; 129/10, 145/16.

NON(E) pron. none, no one 3:2, 15:6, 21:3 etc.; C30; H26; 135/3; 136/1.

NONE n. noon 97/8; 98/9.

NONES In FOR ÞE = for the occasion 131:6r (practically meaningless tag); C469r.

NON(E)SKINES adj. FOR = NEDE for any reason at all 124:3, 187:3.

NONNE n. nun 97/27, 143/23; 98/26. gen. NONNES 143/5. pl. NONNES 138:3; C496; NONNYS H539.

NOR conj. (after neg.) nor H79; 104/7-8, 105/13; 106/14-23, 110/25 etc..

NORSCHYDE pa.1 sg. nourished 120/21; NORSHID 119/19.

NORÞ adv. (to the) north 39:6r.

NORTHCONTREE n. the north of England 99/24.

NOSE n. nose 110/10. pl. NOSES 109/9, 121/7; NEYSES 122/7.

NOSELYNG adv. face downwards 119/5.

NOT adv. not, not at all C40, 167, 333 etc.; H8, 30, 36 etc,; 101/10-14-18 etc.; NOTE H388, 394; NOTH H512, 525r, 547; NOTT 102/16, 144/11; NOTTE H625; NAT 102/18, 110/25, 114/14 etc.; NATT 102/13, 104/31, 108/10 etc.; NAWȝTE C267; NOGHT 129/4, 145/15; NOȝT C378; NOUȝT 4:5, 9:1, 36:2 etc.; NOWGHT 119/28; NOWȝT C34; NOWȝTH C141r, 291r, 561; NOWT H260; NOWTE H137r, 286r, 482 etc.; NOWTH H322r, 483.

NOTES n.pl. (musical) notes 145:4.

NOÞER, NOTHER adj. NO = no other 78:6; nothing else H165r. See NEYTHER.

NOTHYNG adv. not at all, in no way (qualifying vb.) 134/23. See ÞING.

NOTHIR pron. neither (of two persons) 105/10; NODER 106/10.

NOÞUR See NEYTHER.

NOUȝT, NOWGHT, NOW(ȝ)T(H) See NOT.

NOUȝT n. nothing 50:3, 89:6r, 130:6r; NOWȝT C304; NOWȝTH C482r.

NOURE adv. = NEIȝE nowhere near, not nearly 185:3.

NOVELYS See NAUEL.

NOW(E) adv. now 28:4, 76:4, 86:3 etc.; C322r, 642, 670; H404, 648; 115/30, 117/24, 123/13 etc.; 100/31, 110/19, 114/15 etc..

NOWYNGE pr.p. gnawing 110/1. Cf. GNAWYNG(E).

NUNNERY n. nunnery 141/29.

O adj. one 103:6, 120:4, 182:1; first 150:1. Cf. ON, *OO.

O prep. = SLEPE from sleep 18:1.

OCCUPACYONYS n.pl. occupations, pastimes, activities 126/30.

OCCUPIED pp. occupied 127/2-6-8; OCCUPYDE 128/9.

ODER, ODYR See OÞER adj.

OF prep. of 1:5, 3:2, 4:1 etc.; C1, 54, 61 etc.; H1, 49, 56 etc.; 97/3-5 etc.; 98/1-2 etc.; OFF H289, 447, 529 etc.; C348, 486; 98/8, 100/12-22 etc.; of, about 9:4, 28:5; C6, 21, 28 etc.; H17, 24, 29 etc.; from 93:3, 130:6, 189:5; C99, 160, 604; H2, 155; off, from 12[illegible]:4, 127:1; 109/7, 111/11-13; 112/11-14-16 etc.; by 189:1; C528; 113/14; 124/21, 134/4, 138/21; for/in H588; with 2:4; over 113/12; on H245; because of C478; H521; O (in descriptive phrases) of 70:5, 93:2, 101:5 etc.; See HER(E) adv.

OFFICE n. office, position of responsibility 131/20.

OFFICERS n.pl. (ecclesiastical) officers 131/3-29; OFFECERS(E) 132/3-19-27 etc.;

OFSPRING n. offspring 172:1.

OFT(E) adv. often 2:1, 5:4; C652, 667; often, frequently H350r; 133/22, 139/8, 141/6; 134/22, 140/8; OFTEN 100/31, 142/4; OFTYN H657, 670; OFTEN TYMES 99/29.

OFTOK pa.t.sg. overtook 80:2.

OȝAIN adv. again, back 25:2, 97:4, 109:1 etc.. Cf. AȝEYN.

OȝAIN prep. against 30:6, 135:5; (back)to 74:6; towards 144:3. Cf.AȝEN.

OȝAINS prep. against 79:2; OȝAINES 13:3; 179:6; facing 190:6.

OKERING n. usury 103:4.

OLD(E) adj. old 167:5; C677r; H363r. sup. ELDEST C227, 233; ELDES H222, 228. See ȝONG(E).

OMNIPOTENT adj. omnipotent 6:5r, 75:5r, 104:2r etc.;

ON adj. one, (first) C439; 117/2; ÞAT = 121/21; ÞE = 122/22; OGN 139/7-8. Cf. O.

ON prep. on 31:1, 70:4, 79:1 etc.; C237, 250, 300 etc.; H139, 293; 97/8-27, 99/4 etc.; 98/8, 100/4-5 etc.; at 54:2; C272; H389; 98/28; in H219, 221, 551; 134/24; ON GOD in God 6:5; C245; ON GODDES NAME in God's name C154; A GODDYS NAME H149; = TO unto, to H386; AN HEIȝE on high, i.e. in heaven 152:5.

ON n.pron. one 149:3; H307, 332r; 99/4, 125/21, 143/4; 100/4, 126/19, 144/4. OON AND = one by one C601.

OND n. spite, 'animus' 95:2r, 95:4.

ONDED See VNDO.

ONEÞE, ONNETHE See VN(N)EÞE.

ONY adj. any C316, 414, 544; H461, 463; 97/15, 117/28-29 etc.. See ANI, ENY.

ONICLES n.pl. onyxes 131:5.

ONYS adv. at some (future) time or other H627r; ONUS C623r.

ONYTHING n. anything 135/30. Cf. ANIÞING.

ONKINDENESSE See VNKYNDENESSE.

ONLY adv. only 103/8, 105/1, 111/21 etc.; 104/8.

ONLOKKED pa.3 sg. unlocked C199.

ONWYLLD adj. feeble, weak H679r.

ONWYN n. grief, sorrow, distress H419r.

*OO adj. one 3:4. Cf. O.

OO interj. O! C617.

OPEN adj. open 44:6; C222; *127/16; 128/16; OPYN H215; exposed 114/2; WIDE OPPYN spreadeagled 122/5.

OPENEDE pa.t.sg. opened C468; OPEND 143/5; OPYNDE 144/5.

OPON See VPON.

OR conj.[1] or 97:5; C79; H74, 97; 97/15-17, 105/15 etc.; 98/15, 106/16-17 etc.; (redundant usage, with sense - perhaps ?) 143/20.

OR conj.[2] before C605; H411; 135/26, 141/4; 136/25, 142/2; = THAT H613; = TO LATE before it is too late 109:1; = THAN before H15; AND = 104/19-20.

ORDENDE pa.3 sg. made, appointed 146/12.

ORDER n. vow. ÞAT = HAD YTAKE that had entered the ministry of the Church 138:6; ÞE = OF WEDLAKE i.e. those married, those who have entered marriage as a sacrament 139:1. ORDYR religious rule or order 126/9, 144/16.

ORDYNAUNCE n. control C591.

ORE n. mercy, grace 188:2r; ÞYN OORE have pity! C617r.

ORISOUN n. prayer 5:5r, 38:2r; 98/12; ORISON 97/11; ORYSON H676r; 98/14; ORYSUN H473r; ORYSOWNE C426r, 675r.

ORRABYLL, OR(R)IBLE See HORRIBLE.

OS See AS.

OÞER, OTHER adj. other, another 28:5, 36:5, 99:5 etc.; 103/8, 107/24, 117/7 etc.; 108/25; second 150:4; H75; OÞUR C80, 416, 442 etc.; pl. = 145:1, 148:1, 160:5; H297, 495, 534 etc.; 103/6-26, 107/30 etc.; 104/6, 112/16, 114/7 etc.; OTHYR H335, 354, 447; 116/8; OÞUR C24, 309, 448 etc.; ODER 112/3, 120/10; ODYR 108/30, 110/12, 114/4 etc..

OÞER conj. or 73:5, 133:2, 164:1; OÞUR...OR either...or C568.

OTHER pron. (the) other 105/7-10, 115/7 etc.; 106/7, 118/13, 122/22; OTHEIR 105/17; ODER(E) 106/11-19. pl. = H239; 107/23, 111/27, 113/5 etc.; 108/23, 112/29, 116/30 etc.; OÞER 69:5, 153:3r, 156:5; 115/26, 123/5; OÞUR C244; ODYR 114/15. See ÆTHER.

ÞERWISE adv. otherwise, in other ways 77:5; ÞURWYSE C400; ÞWTHER WEYES H451.

OUER adv. over 118:2; C320; H507; OUUR C457, 460; OUYR H307; = too, excessively 104/31. See HER(E) adv.

OUER prep. over 124:2, 167:3, 183:5; H460, 468, 616; 110/5, 130/30, 134/30; OUUR C413, 421, 608; OVER 121/2, 129/30.

OUER AL adv. everywhere 86:3r.

OUERCUM v. overcome H643; OUURCOME C242. pp. OUERCOMEN defeated 192:4.

OUEREST adj.sup. uppermost, highest H375.

OVERGILT pp.adj. covered with gold (leaf) 143/18-19.

OUERMOCHE adv. excessively, to too great a degree 124/16.

OUERSCHAKEN pp. dispelled 68:4r.

OVER SETTE pp.adj. covered, decorated 107/21; OUER SETT 108/21-22.

OUERÞREWE pa.t.sg. overthrew, knocked down 72:5r.

OUȝT adv. at all, in any way 94:4r, 108:5r.

OURN pa.t.pl. ran 84:3r.

OUT adv. out 25:6, 50:6, 62:1 etc.; C112, 382, 393 etc.; 118/16; OWT 103/5, 111/8-22; 104/5, 112/9-23; OWTE H431, 514.

OUT (OF) prep. out of, from 6:3, 72:3, 85:1 etc.; C570; OWT 107/2, 115/7-8 etc.; 104/19, 116/8-22 etc.; OWTE H262, 395; 116/9, 134/27; OWTH H527.

OWAY See AWAY(E).

OWETH pr.t.pl. ought C232. See OWGHT.

OWGHT pa.t.sg. (present sense) ought, is duty bound (to) 109/18. pl. = 143/13.

OWNE adj. own C156, 641; 99/11, 105/12, 115/18 etc.; 116/11, 120/17; OWENE C540, 590, 632; OWHEN 87:6; OWYN H 636; HOWYN H151, 647; ONE 98/21, 116/19, 142/17; AWNE 106/13; (as n.) OF MYNE = of my own 104/23.

OWNERS n.pl. owners 115/19.

OWRE n. hour 97/8; 98/9.

OXEN n.pl. oxen 115/4; OXON 116/4.

PAY(E) v. please C172r; H144r, 166r.

PAIN(E) n. pain, torment 4:1, 25:1, 67:3 etc.; 139/17; PAYN(E) C297, 452, 480etc.; 105/20, 107/25, 115/7 etc.; 106/21, 110/15, 116/22 etc.;PEIN 101:2; PEYN H32r; PEYNE C334; H325. pl. PAINES 15:5, 25:5, 82:2 etc.; PAYNES 107/13, 109/30, 115/10 etc.; 108/13-26, 112/26 etc.; PAYNYS 116/8-9-11; PAYNS 121/2; 134/12; PAYENS 128/1; PEYNES 82:6; PEYNUS C107; PEYNYS H104, 349, 522 etc..

PAYNES pr.t.pl. torture (as punishment) 117/1; PAYNETH 117/2, 123/16, 127/10. pa.t.sg. PAYNED 121/27. pr.p. PAYNENG(E) 125/10, 131/24. pp. PAYNYD 116/17; PAYNED 119/9, 123/3-5 etc.; YPAYNED 115/25, 117/12, 121/23 etc..

PAINTOUR n. painter 133:2r.

PAYS See PES.

PALMES n.pl. palm leaves/branches 140:3.

PAPPYS n.pl. breasts H429; PAPPIS 119/20; PAPPUS C379r.

PARADIS n. paradise 16:6r, 117:5r, 122:5r etc.; PARADYS 26:5r; PARADYSE C577r,668r; H593r; PARADYSSE H671r.

PARCELS n.pl. parts, pieces 110/9.

PARTE n. FOR ÞE MOST = mostly, in most cases 132/19.

PARTI n. part, some 14:2; A = partly 103:5. pl. PARTIES parts 117/15.

PARTYS n.pl. persons contracted to a marriage 132/24.

PARUINK n. periwinkle (evergreen with light blue flowers) 147:3r.

PASCE m. EUER A = at every step H490r.

PASSE v. pass (over) C434r; 99/10, 98/21, 100/9-10; PASSEN 101/21; PACE H481r. pr.2 sg. PAS 159:6r; PASSIST 145/16. pl. = 165:2. imper.sg. = 141/16, 145/12. pa.2 sg. PAS H584r. pa.1,3 sg. PASSED 97/21; PASSID 103/19; PASSYD surpassed 122/28. pl. PASSED 101/3; PASSYDE 102/4; pp. PASSED 53:1; C554, 574; 107/1; PASSID 115/19, 137/6, 139/9 etc.; PASSYD(E) H584; 108/1, 140/9; PAST 138/16.

PASSYNG(E) pr.p.adj.adv. exceeding(ly), beyong the limit of 121/25, 127/18-27 etc.; 120/12, 122/25, 128/18 etc..

PASSION n. the Passion (of Christ) 99/13, 101/24, 103/11 etc.; 100/20, 102/24, 104/30 etc.; PASSYON 100/14, 104/11, 110/21 etc.; PASSIOUN 175:4r; POSSION 99/18.

PATER MOSTER n. 'Our Fater', lord's prayer 133/17; 134/18. pl. = 136/23; PATER 135/24.

PEIN, PEYNES See PAIN(E).

PELLEURE n. fur 144/17; PULER 143/17.

PENANCE n. penance C597; 106/25-28-30 etc.; PENAUNCE 13:5, 14:2, 32:6 etc.; C281r, 560; 105/22-24-27 etc.; PENANS H581, 588; PENANSE 122/7; PENNANSE 106/23; PENAWNS H274r.

PENS n. coins 101:5.

PEOPLE n. people, inhabitants 107/8, 123/13, 125/4 etc.; PEPYL(L) 108/8, 130/16-26; PEPUL(L) C48; 124/12, 126/3, 132/16 etc..

PERCED pa.t.sg. pierced 63:3.

PERESSH v. perish 125/5; PARYCHE 126/5. pr.p. PERISHYNG 103/9. pp. PERISSHID destroyed, ruined 101/13; PERYSHYD 102/16; PERSHID 101/18.

PERYD pa.t.sg. appeared H46.

PERYLL n. peril, danger 140/9; PERIIL 124:4. pl. PERELLES C182; PEROLES 139/9; PERELLYS H175, 231, 236; GRETTE PERELLYS YT YS it is extremely dangerous H163.

PERILOUS adj. perilous, dangerous 139/24.

PERLE n. pearl 110/11; PERLLE 108/24. pl. PERLES 107/24; PERLOUS 109/10.

PERSON $n.^1$ person 141/7; 142/5, 144/8.

PERSON $n.^2$ parson 125/23; 126/22. pl. PERSONS 126/24, 130/21; PERSONES C497; 125/25, 129/1-19; PERSONYS H540.

PES n. peace 76:4r; PAYS 164:6r.

PESTILENCE TYME n. time of plague 103/22-23.

PICHE n. pitch 105:6, 116:6r; PYCH(E) C294; 117/28; PYKE C405r; H289, 456r; 118/28, 130/29.

PYCTUREDE pp. represented, figured forth 102/8.

PIKE n. pick-axe 172:4.

PYKE See PICHE.

PYKYS n.pl. spikes 136/1.

PILERS n.pl. pillars 44:3, 132:3; supports 131/5; PYLLERYS H216; PYLLERS 132/5.

PILGRIMAGE n. 133/16-18; PYLGRYMAGE C77r; PYLGRYMMAGE H72r; PYLGRAMAGE 134/17.

PYLYDE pp. piled 128/19; IPILED 127/19.

PYLLOWYS n.pl. pillows H351.

YPILT pp. thrust, put 101:2r.

PINACLES n.pl. small ornamental turrets, pinnacles 132:6.

PINE n. suffering, torment 36:3r, 48:3r, 55:4r etc.; PYNE C35r, 570r.

PYNYDE pp. tortured, tormented 110/24, 128/8; PYNED(E) 120/14-16, 128/1.

PIPIS n.pl. large wine casks 123/25.

PIT n. pit 64:2, 107:2-6 etc.; PYTTE C384. pl. PITTES 99:2; PYTTYS H421, 425, 427 etc.; PYTTUS C370, 374, 376.

PYTE n. pity, compassion C299r.

PLACE n. place 184:3r; C305r, 443r, 586r; H602r; 125/23, 139/24; 141/6 etc.; PLAS 139:6r; C554r. pl. PLACES 111/14-18, 113/16; 112/18.

PLACEBO n. Vespers of the Dead 133/14; 134/15. (See note.)

PLAY n. or v. play 56:6; game 119:4r. n.pl. PLAYES (dramatic) plays 114/10; amusements, pastimes 126/29.

PLAS See PLACE.

PLATES n.pl. plates 125/15; 126/15-16; PLATIS 125/16; PLATEES 126/26.

PLEYNG vbl.n. revelling, sexual indulgence 125/28.

PLENTE n. GRET = in great numbers (abundance) 137:2r, 145:5r.

PLESAUNT adj. pleasing 135/14.

PLESE v. please 109/18; 110/19; PLEYSE 110/18.

PLESYNG(E) pr.p.adj. pleasing 99/19, 103/16; 100/21, 104/17, 136/12 etc.; PLESING 141/20.

PLESYNG(E) n. pleasing 131/13; 110/18.

PLOUȝ n. plough-land 86:5r. **(See Note.)**

PLUKKYNG pr.p. stripping 132/11.

PLUNCHYNG pr.p. plunging, thrusting 131/10.

POINT n. IN = OF on the point of, about (to) 103/9; IN POYNTE FOR TO 121/24; POYNT point, item 143/6.

POKES n.pl. full, wide, hanging sleeves 107/21, 109/4; *POKYS 108/22; POWKYS 110/6.

POMPE n. pomp, vainglory, in phrase = AND PRIDE 143/11; POMPPE 144/10.

PONESCHES pr.t.sg. punishes 118/1. pl. PONESCHYS 132/30. pp. PONESCHYDE 118/8, 132/14, 134/9 etc.; PONYSCHYD 134/4; PUNYSSHID 115/16-22, 117/8 etc..

POPES n.pl. popes 137:1.

PORE adj. poor C22, 555; H585; 129/6-27, 130/26; POWRE 126/11.
See POUER.

POSSIBLE adv. possible 107/8.

POTTES n.pl. pots 113/8; POTTYS 114/8.

POUDRE n. powder, ash 85:6.

POUER n.pl. poor people 21:6.

POUERTE n. poverty 110/27.

POURE adj. humble 47:5; pure 15:2.

POURPER n. purple garment (esp. as dress of emperor or king) 154:2.

POWER n. power, strength C458, 558; 99/10, 113/12, 141/5; POWRE 100/11, 134/2, 142/4; POUWERE 156:6r.

POWKYS See POKES.

PRAY n. preying, depredation H505.

PRAY(E) v. pray, beg 5:6r; 114/14; PREY H186r. pr.1 sg. = C149r. pa.t.sg. PRAYD 33:2, 188:2. pl. PREYED H195; PRAYDE C639; 114/13.

PRAYER n. prayer 97/14-28, 135/7 etc.; 98/27, 100/15, 102/15 etc.; PRAIER 7:3r, 189:1; 99/14, 101/25-28 etc.; PREIER 28:3, 51:6r; PREIERE 78:6r. pl. PRAYERS 97/10, 113/11, 127/4 etc.; 98/11, 114/12, 134/24 etc.; PRAIERS 195:3; 127/7. See MAKE.

PRAYSYNG n. praise 132/17.

PRECHE v. exhort, instruct C253r; discourse H248r. pa.3 sg. PRECHED(E) C29, 31, 33 etc.; PRECHYD H25, 27. pp. PRECHID 123/12; PRECHYDE 124/12.

PRECHERYS n.pl. preachers H20; PRECHORUS C24.

PRECHYNG(E) n. preaching 109/27, 121/15; 110/25, 122/17.

PRECHOURS See FRERE.

PRECIOUS adj. precious 130:5; 103/14, 107/24, 109/10; PRECIOSE 104/15; PRESYOUS C470; PRECYVSE 108/25; PRECIUUS 110/12.

PRELATES n.pl. prelates, high-ranking ecclesiastical dignitaries 123/11-19; 124/11-20.

PRESSE n. (clothes') press 128/19. pl. PRESSIS 127/19; PRESSYS 128/19.

PREST(E) n. priest 154:4; C191, 647; 105/29; PRYST(E) H184; 106/30. pl. PRESTES C232, 497; 129/2-12; PRESTIS 125/26; PRESTYS 126/25, 128/4, 134/15 etc.; PRISTES 127/5, 129/14, 139/5; PRYSTYS H227(dat) 540, 652.

PREVAYS n.pl. privies 114/4.

PREV(E)Y; PREUY See MEMBRIS; PRYUE.

PREUELY adv. secretly C10r; H6r.

PRIDE n. pride 58:3; 109/15-27, 123/16 etc.; 110/18-19-25 etc.; PREDE 112:5r; PRYDE C18r; H14r; 124/16-22.

PRIIS n. value, worth 150:5r; OF = excellent 148:3r, 149:3r.

PRYME n. Canonical Hour for Divine Office at sunrise, Prime C643; PRIME BELL bell to summon convent to Office of Prime H648.

PRIMROL n. primrose, cowslip? 147:3.

PRINCIPALLY adv. principally 131/18; PRINCYPALLY 134/12; PRINCIPALLICH 133/11.

PRIORESSE n. prioress 141/29; 142/29.

PRIOUR n. prior 38:4, 39:1, 43:1 etc.; 97/14-19-29 etc.; PRYOUR C93r, 98, 158 etc.; PRIOR 97/9; 98/9-11-14 etc.; PRYOWR H651, 663; PRYOWRE H154, 155, 173 etc.; PREYOR H90r, 95; PREYORE H153. gen. PRYOWRYS H191. pl. PRIOURS 137:4r.

PRISOUN n. 110:4r, 175:5r.

PRYUE adj. secret C70; PREUY H65.

PRIUETE n. divine mystery 9:6r.

PROCESSION n. procession 98/10; PROCESSIOUN 38:4, 136:3r, 138:5r etc.; PROSESSYOUN H653r; PROCESSYOUN C192r, 485r, 648r; PROSESSUN H55r; PROSEYSSUN H185r; PROSEYSSYUN H528r; PRECESSION 97/10.

PROPHETYS n.pl. prophets C5.

PROUED pa.3 sg. tried, endeavoured 2:1.

PSALMS n.pl. Psalms 133/15; PSALMES 134/16; SALMES 133/15.

PSAUTERS n.pl. (a selection of) Psalms 134/15. Cf. SAUTER.

PULER See PELLEURE.

PULLE v. PULL 132/5. pr.p. PULLYNG 131/5.

PUNYSSHID See PONESCHES.

PURCHES v.refl. endeavour, exert oneself to attain 128/11. pr.t.pl. = 146/12.

PURCHESE n. reward, that which is striven for 128/13.

PURE adj. real, true, genuine 123:2.

*PURFYLD pp. trimmed with fur H302r; PURFULD H302r(MS.)

PURGATORY(E) n. (i) St.Patrick's Purgatory, Station Island, Lough Derg, County Donegal, Ireland C102r, 138; 98/4-7-10 etc.; PURGATORI(E)

24:3r, 35:5r, 192:2r; 97/2-6-10 etc.; PURCATORE H99r.
(ii) Purgatory (in general) = C37r, 80, 549 etc.; 116/21; PURGATORI(E) 42:6r, 67:6r, 72:6r etc.; 115/19, 133/25; PURCATORY H580, 582; PORCATORY H33r, 75.

PURPOS n. IN FUL = WAS fully intended 143/26; PURPASSE 144/26.

PUT v. put 133/23; 134/23. pr.2 sg. PUTTYSTE H231. pr.3 sg.subj. = 133/21; 134/21. pl. = 109:2. pa.t.sg. = 138/10. pl. = 111/24; 114/24; PUTT 112/24. pr.p. PUTTYNG 111/13, 121/14, 127/21; 122/16. pp. = 97/9, 133/20; PUTT 98/9, 134/29.

QUANTITE n. quantity, amount 133/21.

QUAREL n. bolt 93:3, 189:5, 190:1.

QUEYNTAUNCE n. acquaintance 79:4r.

QUEINTER adj.comp. more skilful 133:2.

QUENE n. queen 144/20. pl. QUENES 137:3.

QUIC adj. live, fiery 78:2, 99:6; alive 139:6; QWEKKE H619; QWYKKE C613.

QWEYNTE pp. extinguished C301.

QWHAN See WHEN.

QWERNE n. mill H381r.

QWYTE v. reward, requite C284; QWYTTE 138/19; QUITE 137/18.

RAYN(E) n. rain C422, 429; 129/19; 130/21.

RASOUR n. razor 121:2r; RASOR 137/2; RASOWRE 138/2.

RAÞE adv. quickly, without delay C341r. comp. NO RAÞER no sooner 92:1. sup. RAÞEST soonest, most quickly 6:2.

REBELL adj. + AȝENST disobedient to 145/9.

RECHE v. reach 137/1; 138/1. pa.1 sg. REGHT 137/8. pr.p. RECHING 135/27; RECHYNG 136/27.

RED(E) adj. red 70:2r, 90:3, 129:6 etc.; 110/3.

REDE n. counsel, advice 2:3r, 57:2r; C169; resolve, plan H273r; course of action C280r.

RED(E) v.[1] read 20:6; C568r; make out, discern C534r; H547r. pr.1 sg. OF = read about 112:4r. pl. REDYN 145/20. pa.3 sg. = H156; REDDE C161.

REDE v.[2] pr.1 sg. advise C145, 167; H142, 162, 164. pr.2 sg. REDEST C175.

REDELY adv. quickly H5r; REDYLYE C9r.

REDEMPCIOUN n. redemption 123:5r.

REDY adj. straight, lying directly ahead C631; prepared H663; ready 110/23.

REFRESSHID pp. refreshed, provided refreshment 129/7; REFRESSHYDE 134/12

REGHT See RECHE.

REGNES pr.3 sg. reigns 86:3.

REHERSID pa.3 sg. recounted, told again 119/20; repeated 139/29.

REIOYSED pp. gladdened, made more joyful 97/30; REIOYSYD(E) 98/29, 142/14.

REJOSYNGE n. feeling of joy 122/15.

RELES n. release 115/20.

RELEVID pp. relieved, assisted 125/12; RELEVYDE 126/12.

RELIGION n. religious rule or order 143/10; RELIGEON 144/10; RELIGIOUN 138:4r; RELYGYOUN C146r, 486r; H529r; RELYGION 144/12; RELYGIOUN H142r; RELEGYON 126/6; RELYGYON faith H677r.

RELIGIOUS adj. belonging to a religious rule or order 125/6; 143/13.

RELYQUUS n.pl. relics C57; RELEKYS H52; RELYKES C190; RELYKYS H183.

REMEDY n. remedy, relief 134/8; REMEDI 133/8.

REMEMURE n. remembrance H98r.

RENNEÞ pr.3 sg. spins 86:1; RINNEÞ spreads 71:6; flows 151:3.

pa.t.sg. ARN 88:4; RAN 93:2, 121:4; H380, 511; RANNE H376r. Cf.VRN

REPENTANCE n. repentance 110/29, 144/25; REPENTAUNCE 143/25.

REPENTI v. repent 4:5r, 13:4r. pa.t.sg.refl. REPENDEDE C123.

*REPREVYD pa.t.pl. reproved, condemned 124/22.

REQUIRE pr.1 sg. ask, request 99/21.

RESAYUYNGE pr.p. receiving 122/2.

RESOUN n. speech, account, talk 46:6, 158:6r; BY RESON OF on account of 128/2-3.

REST v.refl. rest 141/21. pa.t.pl. RESTYDE 122/7.

RESTE n. repose, peace C68; 144/21; set (of sun) C214r.

RESTYNG(E) PLACE n. resting place 97/20; 98/19.

REUELACION n. revelation, vision 97/1-21; REUELACYON 98/20.

REVERSHID pp.adj. attired in ecclesiastical garments 139/15.

REUÞE n. pitiful sight 67:1r; REWTHE pity 138/21; HADDE REWÞE OF had pity on 1:4-5; RUTHE 112/19.

REWYD pp. taken away, reft H259.

REWÞE See REUÞE.

RIBAUDIE n. wanton mockery 2:5r.

RIBES n.pl. rubies 131:4.

RICHE adj. costly 131:3; rich, well off 157:6r; RYCHE C53; 56, 57 etc.; H183; powerful C614; RECHE H48, 52, 81 etc.; powerful H620.
comp. RICHER more splendid 132:2.

RICHE n. kngdom 165:3r, 170:4r.

RICHE n.pl. rich people 21:6r.

RICHER adv.comp. more richly 133:5.

RICHES n.pl. riches, wealth 143/12; 144/11.

RYFFE v. rive, tear apart 118/12. pr.p. RYVYNGE 116/5, 132/10.

RIGGE n. back 77:4r.

RIGHT, RYGHT See RIȝT.

RYGHT n. right, that which is just C2r, 34; RYȝTH C541r; RYTH H2r; BE = OF on account of 128/6.

RIGHTFUL(L) adj. just 117/21, 125/3; RYGHTFUL 143/29.

RIGHTFULLY adv. justly 145/14.

RIGHTHOND(E) n. right side *99/4-5-9 etc.; RYGHT HAND(E) 100/4-5-8 etc..

RYGHTWASNES n. righteousness 118/21.

RIGHTWOUS adj. righteous 111/20; *RYGHTWOSE 126/3; RYGHTWYS 144/29.

RIȝT(E) adj. true, proper 24:2, 37:6; just 29:1r; direct 74:5r, 87:5r; RYȝTE C420, 679; RYGHT C4; H467; 102/15; RIGHT 101/12-18; RYȝTH C50; right C219; direct C632; RYTH H4, 644r, 680; right C212.

RIȝT adv. straight, directly 11:3r, 39:3, 151:3r etc.; exactly 83:5; right 194:1; at once 46:6r; just 89:6; RYTH H465; RYȝTH C642; RYGHT 134/24; very C89; 136/29, 140/3; RYTH(E) H161, 362, 616r; correctly H59r; RIGHT very 103/18, 135/22; RYGHTT 104/20; RYȝTH straight, directly C262, 590r; 608r; REYTH very H327; RIGHT AS just as 133/19; RYGHT AS just like H381. See ANON(E).

RIME n. poem 29:6r.

RYNGE v. ring C643r; *H648r. pa.t.pl. RONG 142:6r.

RINGES n.pl. rings 143/18; RYNGES 144/18.

RYSYNG See ROSSE.

RIUER n. river 93:1.

RYVYNGE See RYFFE.

ROBBERS n.pl. robbers 115/6; ROBBARS 116/7.

ROBBYD pa.t.pl. robbed 116/12; ROBBEDEN 115/11. pp. ROBBID 137/21; ROBBYDE 138/21.

ROCHE n. rock, cliff 121/2-3, 135/18; 122/2-4, 136/17. pl. ROCHES 116/27; ROCHIS 115/27.

RODE $n.^1$ (facial) colour 114:1.

RODE $n.^2$ Rood (Cross) = TRE tree of the Cross 196:3; C16r, 237r; H12r, 232r; 139/17.

RODE pa.t.sg. rode H307r.

RONG n. rung 135/30, 137/2-9.

ROPPE n. rope 138/8.

ROSE n. rose 147:2.

ROSSE pa.1 sg. rose 102/3; refl. ROOS ME 101/3. pa.t.sg. ROS 196:4; ROSE 135/26-28; 136/25; = 136/28. pr.p. RYSYNG 121/7; 144/21.

ROUNDE adj. round, circular 12:1, 99:2r.

ROUT v. howl, roar 88:5r.

ROW pp. rolled H255.

ROW(E) n. row C538r; H551r. pl. C271r. ROWYS BE ROWYS row upon row H264.

ROWTE n. troop, band C226r, 347r, 396r; H221r, 335r, 447r.

RUFUL adj. sorrowful 139/29; REWEFUL 52:2.

RULE n. rule (of a religious order) 143/5.

RULID pa.t.sg. governed 143/7.

RUTHE See REUPE.

SACRED pp. consecrated 129/21.

SAFER-STONES n.pl. sapphire stones 131:3r.

SAY v. say 23:2r, 32:5r, 37:1r etc.; 97/4, 135/2; 98/14, 100/9, 106/5 etc.; SAI 111/19; SEY H222r; SEYN H413; SIGGE 77:5r. pr.1 sg. = 141/26. pr.2 sg. SEYSTE H622. pr.3 sg. SEYT 24:6, 29:6, 42:3 etc.; SEIP 110:2. imper.sg. = 145/13; 100/15; SAI 99/14. pa.t.sg. SAID(E) 97/28-30, 99/1 etc.; SAYD(E) C72, 131, 135 etc.; 98/27-29, 100/1 etc.; SEDE 2:6r, 27:3r, 162:4r etc.; SEYD 13:1r, 33:5, 34:4 etc.; H67, 127, 131 etc.. pl. SAID 97/29, 101/7-10 etc.;

SAYD(E) C397; 102/9-12-17 etc.; SEDE 57:1r, 103:1r; SEYD 3:1, 4:4, 25:3 etc.; H187, 448; SEYDE C41; SAIDEN 101/20, 145/6; SAYDEN C276, 547; SEYDYN H269, 347, 450. pr.p. SAING 119/19, 121/13; SAYNG 117/20, 119/18-21 etc.. pp. SAID 101/5, 105/2, 125/27 etc.; SAYD 114/12, 126/27, 134/16; SAYDE C81, 134r; 106/2, 130/23; SEYD H76, 130r; YSEYD 17:1, 92:1r.

SAING n. saying, reciting 133/14.

SAYNT See SEYNT.

SALIDOINES n.pl. sardonyxes 131:4.

SALMES See PSALMS.

SALUACION n. salvation 135/14; SALUACYON 136/13; SALUASYON 104/17; SAUACION 103/16.

SALUD pa.t.sg. greeted 46:3.

SAME adj. same H85; 97/10-11-26 etc.; 98/10-11-25 etc.; pron. 114/30.

SANT(E), SANTT See SEYNT.

SARMOUN n. = TO MAKE to preach a sermon 2:1.

SATAN n. Satan 75:1r.

SATESFACTION n. satisfaction (payment of temporal punishment due to sin) 115/14; SATISFACCYON 116/14.

SAUE v. save 102/20. pr.3 sg.subj. = H173. pp. SAUED 125:3; C662.

SAVE prep. excepting 106/1.

SAVYNG prep. excepting 105/1.

SAUEOUR n. Saviour, Jesus Christ 133:1r.

SAUNFAYLE adv. without fail, without doubt (a tag) 30:5r.

SAUOUR n. perfume C475, 476, 478; 137/28; SAVOR H521; SAUERE 138/27; pl. SAUOURRES C474.

SAUTER n. psalter 176:1r; SAWTERS (a selection of) Psalms 133/14. Cf. PSAUTERS.

SAUTRY n. psaltery (stringed instrument) 142:5r.

SCALDYNG(E) See SKALDE.

SCARLET n. rich cloth (of bright red colour) 154:1r.

SCHAKE v. go, (descend) 107:5r.

SCHAL pr.1,3 sg. shall (forming future); must 9:3, 15:5-6 etc.; 102/16; SHAL 101/9, 117/3; SHALL C62, 78, 80 etc.; 105/19, 117/2; 102/11; SCHALL H57; 106/21; XALL H73, 75, 136 etc.. pr.2 sg. = 56:5;

100/18, 134/11; SCHALL 100/9-17, 102/12 etc.; SHALL C282; 100/3-8; XALL H320, 613, 658; SCHALT 40:1-2, 41:4 etc.; SCHALLTE H279; SHALT C141, 342, 552 etc.; 99/3-9-12 etc.; SHALTE C285, 605; XALTE H174, 275, 403r; (elliptical for) shall go = 118:4; (with suff.pron.) SCHALTOW 36:2, 109:3. pl. = 100/11-15, 128/6 etc.; SCHALL 100/9-11-20 etc.; SHAL 99/18, 117/7-25 etc.; 142/9; SHALL C182, 284, 286 etc.; *H236; XALL H277, 283, 451 etc.; SCHUL 41:6, 42:1-4 etc.; SHUL 99/10-14, 111/29 etc.; SHULL C349, 400, 422 etc.; 141/14; SHULLEN 99/10, 109/29, 113/29 etc.; SHULLYN 115/15, 119/10, 121/17 etc.. pa.2 sg. SCHULDE 106/31, SHULDEST 105/30. pa.1,3 sg.,subj. SCHOLD(E) 52:4r; 106/8-10; SHOLDE C449, 639; SCHULD(E) 6:1, 14:1-5 etc.; 98/16, 104/8, 108/10; SHULD 97/16, 103/8, 105/8 etc.; SHULDE C92, 262; SHULLDE C32; XULDE H303; SCHUDE H28. pl. SCHULD 2:2, 172:2; 116/19, 122/24, 128/2 etc.; SCHULDE 98/18, 108/9, 114/12 etc.; SHULD 97/18, 105/10, 107/9 etc.; SHULDE C20.

SCHALDE See SKALDE.

SCHAME n. injury, harm 50:2r, 76:3.

SCHANO(W)N(YS) See CHANON.

SCHAPE v. escape H237.

SCHARE pa.t.pl. cut, sheared 112/14.

SCHARP(E) adj. sharp 121:2, 125:5; H463. comp. SCHARPER 138/2; SHARPER 137/2.

SCHENYS See CHEYNES.

SCHET pa.t.pl. shut 43:3.

SCHYN n. shin H429r.

SCHON pa.t.sg. shone 129:6; H199; SHONE C206. pl. SHONE C543.

SCHORN(E) pp. shorn, cut 46:1r; 126/20. Cf. SCHARE.

SCHOWE-YD; SCHOWFFYLLYS See SHEW(E); SHOVELIS.

SCHRICHE n. screeching 64:6.

SCHRIST See SCRICHE.

SCHRIUE v.tr. shrive, absolve after confession 33:3r; SCHRYWE H657r; refl. make confession SHRYUE C127r, 558r, 652r; SCHRYVE H587r; 142/3; SCHRYWE H123r; SHRYVE 113/11. pr.3 sg.refl. SHRYUETH C559. imper.sg. SHRYVE 105/26; SCHRYFE 106/28. pr.p. SHRYVENG 141/4.

pp. SHRYVE 105/28; SHREVEN 105/21-23; SCHREVYN 106/25-30, 110/29; SCHRYVYN 106/23; YSCHRIUE 31:5.

SCHRODE adj. malicious 122/13.

SCORE n. score, (group of) twenty 53:3r.

SCRICHE v. shriek, screech 66:1. pa.t.pl. SCHRIST 100:2.

SCRIFT See SHRIFT(E).

SCRIPPE n. (pilgrim's) bag (for food) 195:6.

SE $n.^{1}$ sea 169:6r.

SE $n.^{2}$ (bishop's) see C126r; *H122r.

SE(E) v. see 15:5, 48:1, 144:1r etc.; C43, 69r, 215r etc.; H64r, 466r, 532r; 99/16, 117/7-8 etc.; 100/17, 112/19, 142/29; SEN 16:4; SYN H38, 613; (OP)ON TO SE(NE)/SEE to look at 106:6, 156:4r, 181:3r 134/29. pr.1 sg. = 107/5; 108/5. pr.2 sg. SYST(E) H319, 404, 410; SEEYS 108/4, 110/15; SEYS 108/12, 118/1; SEIST 107/4-12, 115/9 etc.; subj. SEIȝE 188:4. pl. SEES 118/8. imper.sg. = *105/27. pa.2 sg. SAWEST 141/10. pa.1,3 sg. SAW H203, 499; 97/27, 107/14-16 etc.; 98/3-24-26 etc.; SAWE C463; H213, 312, 339; 97/2-24, 115/26; 108/16, 108/26, 112/8 etc.; SAUE 108/26, 110/11; SAVE 118/11, 120/15; SAY H455; SEY H421, 425, 510 etc.; SEYE H375r; SEIȝE 62:6, 65:1, 68:6 etc.; SEYȝE 153:1; SYE C227r; SYȝ C325, 370, 374 etc.; SYȝE C220, 396, 416 r; SAGHE 128/21. pl. SEYN H104, 105, 388; SEIȝE 26:2r, 168:1r, 193:6; SEN C109; SYȝ C107. pp. SEEN 121/3, 145/14; SEN 25:4, 98:2; SENE C479r, 621r, 665r; 140/10; SEIN 139/10; SEYN H253; SYN H523r, 668r.

SECE See CESE.

SECULAR adj. secular 129/13.

SEYNT adj. (prefixed to names) Saint C29, 45, 83 etc.; H25, 60, 78 etc.; SAYNT C65, 138; 98/7; SANT 100/28, 102/1-6 etc.; SANTE 98/19; SANTT 104/10-25; SEIN 5:1, 123:2; SEYN 1:4, 18:1, 20:5 etc.; SEINT 97/7-20, 99/25 etc.; SEYNTH H40, 99, 134. (Applied to Owayne) SEYN 94:1; = 149:4, 188:1, 198:4. n.pl. SEINTES 141/13; SANTTYS 142/13.

SEYNT See ASSENTE.

SEKE adj. sick H397r.

SEKENES n. sickness, illness 110/27.

SEKYR, SEKERER; SEKERLY, SEKYRLY See SIKER; SIKERLICHE.

SELE n. seal C156r; SELL H151r.

SELED pa.3 sg. sealed C156; (with suff.obj.pron.) SELYDYTH H151.

SELKOWTH adj. marvellous C224; SYLKEWETH H218.

SELL See SELE.

SELLY adv. wonderfully, marvelously 44:1.

SELLYNG pr.p. selling 114/11.

SELUE See BI.

SEMBLAUNCE n. image, likeness 156:1r.

SEMED pa.t.sg. seemed C217; impers. ME = it seemed to me 131/1; SEMYD(E) H210, *380; 122/24, 132/7.

SEMLY adj. beautiful, fair 152:3.

SEND(E) v. send 6:1r, 35:3r; C422r, 423; H469r, 470. pr.3 sg. SENDYTH H3. pa.3 sg. SENT H642; 129/22; SENTE C3; H16r; = C19r; 100/30. imper.sg. = C433; H480. pp. SENT 101/12-17; SENTE C240; SENTT 102/20; *SEYNTH H235; YSENT 19:3r, 127:4r, 128:3r etc.; = 101/23; 102/14.

SENGYLL adj. single H216.

SERIAUNCE n.pl. servants 42:2.

SERPENTES n.pl. serpents 121/29, 123/4-17 etc.; SERPENTTYS 124/17.

SERTEYN, SERTENLY See CERTAYN.

SERUANTES n.pl. servants 123/16; SERUANDYS 124/16-21.

SERUE v. serve 22:2; C172; H144, 167. pr.2 sg. SERUYST H408. pp. SERUED 58:2, 119:5; C283; SERUYD(E) H276, 279; 118/17; SERVYD 128/2.

SERUICE n. (church-)service 125/26-29, 127/4 etc.; 144/21-28; SERUES 126/26; SERUECE 126/30, 130/23; SERUISE 67:4r; SERVIS 143/21.

SERVID pp. deserved, earn (of punishment) 111/21.

SETT(E) v. build, place 20:2r. pa.t.sg. = installed 22:1; put, placed 125:4; C439, 442; 139/12; H486, 489; 136/22; =...NOWȝTH thought nothing (of) C482. pl. = placed, fixed 112/12-17, 118/17; SETTYN OWTE let forth H496; SET 111/17. pr.p. SETTYNG 111/12, 117/17. pp. SET 115/11, 139/21; SETT placed 115/8; 116/9-11; YSETT decked 154:2r.

SEUEN adj. seven 106:1, 197:6r.

SEXTI adj. sixty 114:4-6.

SHAFE pp. shaven C231r; SHAUEN C494; SCHAUYN H226r.

*SHAPE n. style, cut of a garment C535; SCHAP H548; SHAP shape 99/11, 101/7; SCHAPPE 100/12, 102/8.

SHAPPUS n.pl. genitals C380r.

SHARPNESSE n. sharpness 137/9; SCHARPPENES 138/11.

SHAUEN, SCHAUYN See SHAFE.

SHE pron.3 sg.fem. she 107/2, 143/6-7 etc.; 104/11; SCHE 108/2, 144/6-9 etc.; SHO 145/4. acc. HIR 107/2, 143/7-10, HYR 144/9. poss.adj. HERE 141/30; HYR 142/30, 144/8-16 etc.; HIR(E) 143/7-12-18 etc..

SHEDDE pa.3 sg. shed C604.

SHELDE n. shield C366r.

SHEPERD n. shepherd 105/14; SCHEPPARDE 106/15.

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SHRIFT(E) n. confession 109/27, 121/16; SCHRYFTE 142/12, 144/24; SCRIFT 143/25; imposition of a penance = 109/28.

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SIDE n. side 44:6r, 63:3r, 71:3r; 133/30, 135/17 etc.; SYD H562r, 617r; SYDE C17r, 222r, 268r etc.; H13r, 215r, 458r etc.; 136/16-18; SYYD H261r; IN A = to one side 139/20-21. pl. SYDES 112/28.

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SI3T n. sight 12:4r, 66:6r, 152:3r etc.; SY3TE C478r; SIGHT 103/18-20, 107/3 etc.; SYGHT(E) 104/19, 108/16, 118/12; SYTH H521r; OF = to see 11:6r, 23:3r, 83:3r; = OPON view of 185:5; BY SIGHT/ SYGHT 101/6; 102/6. IN SYGHT to look at 100/7; TO SIGHT 99/8, 129/29. pl. SIGHTES 99/16, 139/9; SYGHTYS 100/17, 140/10.

SIKELATOUN n. precious (scarlet) material 154:3r.

SIKER adj. sure, assured 24:1; confidant 135:4; SEKYR 102/28. comp. SEKERER 101/28.

SIKERLICHE adv. certainly 3:2r, 25:4r; SIKERLY 41:3r, 52:1r; SEKERLY 102/17; SEKYRLY 108/7.

SILUER n. silver 86:5; 107/17-18-21 etc.; SYLUER 108/17-18-21 etc.; adj. SYLLUER 144/18; pl. SILUERS 143/17.

SYMPYLL adj. poor, low in rank 100/30; weak, feeble SIMPELL 103/30; SYMPUL 104/31.

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SINFUL adj. sinful 13:2, 30:5; 103/15, 135/13; SYNFUL(L) C250, 358, 428; 99/28; 104/15-16, 130/17 etc.; n.pl. SINFULL sinful men 103/14; SYNFUL(L) 135/12; 136/10.

SING v. sing 20:6r, 163:5; SYNGE C568, 644r; *H649r. pr.p. SINGENG 137/30; SINGING 26:3r; SINGYNG 139/1; SYNGYNGE 138/29. pa.t.pl. SONG(E) cried 81:2r; sung 142:3r; C194.

SINGYNG n. singing 133/14, 137/30; SYNGYNG 134/15.

SINNE n. sin 1:3r, 14:5r, 31:1 etc.; SYNNE C104r, 121r, 147 etc.; H117r, 120, 230r etc.; 105/21, 119/9, 127/9 etc.; 120/14; SYN(E) H101r, 581r; 106/22, 112/2, 122/17 etc.; pl. SINNES 55:5; SINNUS C130; SYNNYS H126, 169; 118/8, 146/10; SYNNUS C177; SYNNES 113/18, 127/3.

SINNE v. sin 33:5. pr.3 sg. SYNNETH 105/17; SYNNYS 106/19. pl. SYNNETH 139/28; SYNNYS 146/9. pa.t.pl. SYNNED 119/4-5; SYNNYD 120/6. pp. SYNNED 105/5, 141/7; SYNNYDE 106/5, 142/5.

SIR n. (as address) sir 108:5, 117:5; SYR C135, 149, 196 etc.; H111, 159, 224; SYRE C175; H131, 168, 189 etc..

SISTER n. sister, spiritual sister 100/28; SYSTER 102/1, 104/23-24 etc.; SOSTER 153:6; SUSTER 99/25-30, 103/22 etc.; pl. SUSTERN 143/7.

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SYTH pr.3 sg. sits H406. pl. SITT 70:4. pa.t.sg. SAT 46:4; C257. pl. SAT 145:3; SETE 71:1, 102:6r; SETTE (refl.) C230; SETYN H225; SOTYN H352.

SIÞE n. time, occasion 182:1r.

SYTHYN adv. afterwards H31, 127, 135 etc.; SEÞÞEN 92:6, 197:4; SETHEN C35, 131.

SKALDE v. scald C392r; SCHALDE H441r. pr.p.adj. SCALDYNG(E) 133/20-22; 134/20; (absol. as n.) 134/22.

SKAÞE n. harm, hurt, injury C342r.

SKY n. sky 72:3r.

SKYNNE n. skin 109/3; SKYNE 110/5.

SLENE pa.t.pl. slew 118/22.

SLEPE n. sleep 10:3, 18:1.

SLEPE pa.t.sg. slept 8:1-4; SLEPTE 97/23; SLEPYD 98/22.

SLEPEING n. ON = asleep 7:5r; sleep 12:6r.

SLEVES n.pl. sleeves 107/22; SLEVYS 108/22, 110/6.

SLEWÞE n. sloth 67:2r.

SLEYERS n.pl. slayers 118/18; SLEERS 117/19.

SLOWE adj. slow, slack 67:4.

SLUMBERED pa.1 sg. slumbered 97/22; SLOMERED 98/22.

SMAL adj. small 85:6r, 99:4r; SMALE 117/28; SMALL 118/29, 124/27, 126/20; SMALLE 123/29, 125/20; slender = 132:3r. See GRET.

SMAL See SMELL.

SMEKE n. reeking smoke H396r.

SMELL n. smell C471r; H514r, 518; SMAL (fragrance) 134:2, 182:4, 183:6r.

SMERT adj. painful, severe 49:2r; sharp 120:1r.

SMERT v. feel pain, suffer 111:3.

SMICHE n. smoke 96:6r; SMYCH 107/9, 121/6.

SMYTE v. smite, clash, strike C262; 109/2. pa.3 sg. SMOTE rushed C610r. pl. SMOTE 113/26; SMOTTE 112/9, 114/27, 118/14. pr.p. SMYTYNG 111/13, 115/3, 117/14 etc.; SMYTTYNGE 110/3-13; SMYTENG 111/8. pp. SMETEN 125/18; SMETON 112/16, 126/26; SMYTEN 129/18; SMYTTEN 130/20; SMYTTYN 126/17.

SMOKE n. smoke, smoking 107/5; 108/6, 122/2-6.

SMOLDER v. smother, suffocate 117/3.

SNAKE n. snake 71:2r. pl. SNAKES 121/8-29, 123/17 etc.; SNAKYS 122/8-30, 124/18 etc..

SNOW(E) n. snow 121/22-26, 129/20; SNAW 122/27, 130/21.

SO(O) adv.demons. such 12:3, 91:3, 95:3 etc.; C41; so, thus 14:1, 48:4r, 58:4 etc.; C81r, 95r, 167r etc.; H36, 76r, 162 etc.; 99/24, 103/8-27 etc.; 100/27, 104/28, 106/10 etc.; to such a degree 72:4, 88:5, 160:1; *C152, 252, 301 etc.; H139, 147, 396 etc.; 99/20, 28, 103/6; 100/30, 104/7, 110/21 etc.; in such a way 81:3; H143; 103/15 104/16; so that C48; = ÞAT with the result that H387; in order that 101/12-18.

SODENLY adv. suddenly 101/26, 121/24; 102/26, 132/5; SODAYNLY 123/14, 131/6.

SOFTE adj. soft H351r.

SOLACI v. comfort 41:6r.

SOLAS n. delight, solace 21:5; = MAKE amuse yourself 107:4.

SOLEMPNYTE n. celebration, ceremony C508, 592r.

SOMDEL(E) adv. somewhat C664; 99/7; 100/5.

SOME See ALLE; SUM.

SOMER n. (in) summer 148:5; SOMER TYDE summertime H459r; SUMMER TYD H563r; SOMERES TYDE C408r, 520.

SOND n. (God's) dispensation or ordinance 19:2r, 191:2r.

SONE adv. soon 7:5, 40:2, 43:4 etc.; C81, 162, 205r etc.; H76, 154, 198r etc.; 101/4-29, 133/28 etc.; 102/4-30, 104/18 etc.; SOWNE 124/3; = ANON immediately, straight away 40:2r, 64:4r; = SO as soon as 94:4. comp. THE SONER C570.

SON(E) n. son 175:3; C619; H625; SUNNE H685.

SONG(E) n. song, singing 146:1r, 169:1r; C496r, 659r; H358r, *539r, 664r. pl. SONGYS 138/30; SONGUS 139/1.

SONNE n. sun 41:2; C206, 214, 544; SON H199; = BEME sunbeam 120:5r; SUN RESTE sunset H207r.

SORE adj. severe, harsh 33:4r; C297.

SORE adv. bitterly 5:3, 188:1r; greatly, severely 12:3, 31:3, 52:3r etc.; C385; *H119r, 257, 434 etc,; 99/17, 121/27, 123/3; 116/17, 122/24, 142/20; SOORE C123.

SORYNES n. distress, sorrow 122/15.

SOROWFUL adj. grievous, sorrowful 124/3.

SORWE n. sorrow 66:5, 67:1, 68:6 etc.; SOROW C106r, 479, 582; H103r, 523 141/4; 128/13, 142/3; SOROWE 114/16, 120/21; SOWROW H371, 598; THEM TO SOROW into a cause of sorrow for them 124/19. pl. SOWRCYS 122/10.

SOSTER See SISTER.

SOTHEFAST(E) adj. true C12, 26.

SOTHEFASTENES n. truth 98/2.

SOTHELY adv. truly, certainly 102/16, 118/28, 122/25 etc..

SOÞE See FOR SOÞE.

SOTYN See SYTH v.

SOULE n. soul 37:3, 48:6, 49:4 etc.; SOWLE C173, 343, 344 etc.; H284, 285; 103/16, 105/12, 113/13 etc.; 106/13, 112/28; SOWLL H10, 629; SAULE 104/17, 136/13, 142/29 etc.; SAVLE 144/2. pl. = 153:1; SOLES C410; SOULES 16:1, 69:4, 72:5 etc.; SOWLES C14, 406; 105/8, 111/6, 113/4 etc.; SOWLYS 118/6; SOULEN 4:2; SAULES 118/30, 120/16, 130/19 etc.; SAULYS 114/27, 118/14-18 etc.; SAULLYS 118/5; SAVLES 114/24, 116/10, 126/11 etc.; SAWLES 106/9, 112/7, 116/8; SAWLYS 114/23, 116/8, 118/12 etc.; gen. = 182:5.

SOUR adj. unpleasant, disagreeable 108:6r.

SOWKYNG(E) pr.p. sucking 107/30, 123/28, 125/10; 108/30.

SOWGHT pa.1 sg. sought 139/4. pa.3 sg. SOUȝT 196:1r. pp. resorted SOWȝTH C142r; SOWTE H138r.

SOWLE(S)LECHE n. confessor C136r; H132r.

SOWND(E) adj. sound, uninjured C338r, 673r; H674r.

SOWTH adv.n. (to the) south C401r; H452r.

SPACE n. distance 103/20, 107/23, 121/20 etc.; 104/21, 108/23; = OF time for 109/28, 121/16, 145/4; 110/29, 146/3.

SPADE n. spade 172:4.

SPARE v. spare, refrain from punishing C290, 333r; *H283, 348r. imper.pl. = C332; H347.

SPARK n. spark 60:5. pl. SPARKYS 114/26.

SPARKELYNG pr.p.adj. sparkling 118/29.

SPECHE n. speech, speaking 128/10.

SPEDE n. assistance, aid (of God) 97/30; 98/29.

SPEDE v. prosper 14:6r; fare 164:2r; succeed H388r; GOD = God speed thee (as greeting) 97/29; 98/28.

SPEYKE v. speak 134/31. pr.3 sg. SPEKEÞ 9:4, 176:1. pa.t.sg. SPAC 171:2; SPAK 101/4; SPAKE C234; H29, 31, 33 etc.; 105/2; 106/2; SPAKKE C65. pl. SPEKE 142:3; C335, 546; SPEKEN C636; SPAKE H577, 640; SPOKYN H318, 554. pr.p. SPEYKYNE 122/14.

SPELLE n. speech 107:3r.

SPENDE v. spend 132/24. pa.t.pl. SPENDID spent, squandered 125/12. pr.p. SPENDYNG 129/22.

SPERIS n.pl. spears 117/14.

SPYCERY n. spices H517r.

SPICERS n.pl.gen. dealers in spices 137/29.

SPILLYN v. kill, destroy 101/21; SPIL 101/15. pr.2 sg.subj. SPYLL 102/21.

SPYSSE n. spice 138/28.

SPOURGED pp. purged, freed from guilt, cleansed 162:2.

SPREDDE pa.3 sg. spread H616; SPRADDE C608.

SPRINGEÞ pr.t.pl. grow 148:4r. pa.t.sg. SPRANG sprang 105:2; SPRONG(E) 183:2; dawned C642.

SPRIT n. spirit, supernatural creature 97/15; SPRITE 135/5; SPRETE 136/4; SPRETT(E) 98/15, 104/21. pl. SPRITES 97/16, 145/17; SPRITIS 97/17; SPRETYS 100/18; SPRETTYS 98/17, 100/14, 102/14 etc.; SPIRITES 99/12-16, 101/11 etc.; SPIRETES 103/20.

SQWYER n.[1] squire, young man of good birth attendant upon a knight C79.

SQWYER n.[2] neck H365r. Cf. SWER(E). n.

STABLE adj. stable 119/7.

STABLED pa.t.sg. made stedfast 29:2.

STAF n. staff, baculum 10:2r, 10:4-5 etc.; C54r, 671; STAFFE C56, 62, 64; H49r, 51, 57 etc.; STAFTE H59, 672.

STALEN pa.t.pl. stole 115/11.

STANG v. pierce, sting 126/1. pa.t.pl. STANGYD 124/9-28.

STANK, STONKE See STINKING.

STARK adj. fierce 105:3.

STATE n. estate, rank 155:3.

STEDE n. place 20:1; 64:3r, 76:1r etc.; C101; H98; (i.e.as substitute) 105/3; STEYDE 106/3. pl. STEDES 82:1. See STOND(E).

STED(E)FAST(E) adj. steadfast, firm 15:3, 111:6; C246; H8, 22, 241; 103/30; 104/31.

STEDFASTLY adv. firmly, securely C441r; H488r.

STEIED pa.t.sg. climbed 137/11; STIȝE ascended 197:3.

STEYLE See STYLE.

STEL(E) n. steel 130:4; C90r; STELL H87r.

STENCH(E) n. stench 113/2-20-25 etc..

STER n. star 156:4. pl. STERRES 156:3.

STERN adj. stern, fierce, threatening 174:2.

STEUEN n. voice 17:5, 145:6r.

STYFFE adj. firm C245r.

STIȝE See STEIED.

STYKKYNGE pr.p.adj. sticking 116/4; STIKENG piercing 115/3.

STYLE n. rung 136/30; STEYLE 138/10.

STILLE adj. meek 171:4r; STYLL(E) motionless, quiet C430r.

STYLL(E) adv. motionless C161r; H156r, 385r, 477r; always C565r; H606r; STIL 97/17.

STYNG v. sting 125/1. pr.t.pl. STYNGEN 123/19. pa.t.pl. STONGYN 123/5. pr.p. STYNGYNG 109/1, 123/29.

STYNK(E) n. stink *H396, 399; 108/9, 114/2-26 etc..

STINKING pr.p.adj. stinking 95:5; STYNKYNG(E) 129/15; 108/7, 122/6, 130/16; STINKAND 93:1, 116:2; STINCKAND 110:5; STYNGKYNG 107/7. pa.t.sg. STANK 85:3, 116:4; STONK(E) C409; 127/27.

STINT pa.t.sg. ceased, stopped 97:1; STYNTE C84; STYNTYD H398.

STOKE pa.3 sg. stuck, stopped H385.

STOMPYNG pr.p. stomping, stamping 121/11.

STOND See STOUNDE.

STOND(E) v. stand C220r, 441; H213r; withstand C307r; STAND(E) H488; 118/5. pr.2 sg. STANDES C397; *STANDYST H448. pr.3 sg. STANDYS 106/4-6; STONDETH 105/4-6. pl. = 101/9; STANDE 102/10-12. pa.t.sg. STOD(E) 173:4r; C161, 303r, 395 etc.; H79, 156, 220 etc.; 139/14; STOODE C225; STOND 62:6r. pl. STOD H428, 430, 551; STODE 44:3, 90:4r, 100:1r; C275, 538, 606; H268, 614; 112/14, 114/24; STODYN H265, 458. pr.p. STANDYNG 136/21; STONDYNG 113/24, 117/4, 135/21.

pp. STOND 45:1; STANDE IN GRETT STEDE been of great help 132/29-30; YSTONDYN...IN GRETTE STEDE 131/23-24.

STON(E) n. stone 40:4r, 43:6r; C316r; H381; 121/4, 122/5; (attributive- made of) stone 23:4, 129:3. pl. STONES 118:1; C261r; gems 150:6; C470r; 107/24; 109/10; 108/25, 110/12; = 130:5r; STONYS H254r.

STOPPE v. stuff, stop up 113/7. pa.t.pl. STOPPED 109/8; STOPPYD 110/10, 114/5. pr.p. STOPPENG 113/5-6, 127/21.

STOPPYNG n. being stuffed, stuffing (process) 113/20.

STORE adj. violent 105:3r.

STORY n. story H34r; book, Bible history C38r; STORI(E) 24:6r, 42:3r, 67:3r etc..

STOUNDE n. time, while 163:2r; C332r; STOWND(E) C337r, 411r, 674r; H675r; STOND H347r.

STOWPENG pr.p. stooping, lowering 113/24.

STOWTE adj. magnificent, splendid 120/10.

STRAYTT adj. strict, rigorous 144/7.

STREYNYD pa.t.pl. stretched H328. pr.p. STREYNYNGE squeezing (out) 110/1

STREM n. stream 150:1r, 151:1-4. pl. STREMES 149:5.

STRENGÞE n. strength 134:5; STRENGHT 131/4.

STRYFE n. strife C526r; STRYFFE H571r.

STRONG adj. severe, intense 15:5, 72:1r, 82:6r etc.; difficult 64:5, 107:4; gross, flagrant 74:2-3; strong 117:2; H326r.

STRONG adv. intensely, fiercely C354r; STRONGELY strongly 128/15; STRONGLICH 127/15.

SUCH(E) See SWICHE.

SUFFRE v. suffer C560; 109/29, 113/29, 115/13 etc.; SUFFER 113/19; 112/30, 120/25, 122/18; SUFFRI 55:4, 135:3, 163:3; SUFFYR(E) 114/29, 126/10, 130/18; permit, allow = 101/16-22; SUFFER 102/19, 124/21. pr.t.pl. SUFFRI 4:2; SUFFYR 112/21, 128/10; SUFFERS 112/26; SUFFREN 129/5. pa.2 sg. SUFFREDES 160:4; SUFFREDIST 135/12; SUFFYRDE 136/10. pa.3 sg. SUFFRED 49:3, 175:4; 131/11, 139/17; allowed 131/25; SUFFERD allowed 132/21; SUFFYRDE 132/24. pl. SUFFRED 25:1, 79:5; allowed 125/5, 131/29; SUFFREDEN 115/12, 129/6; SUFFYRD(E) allowed, tolerated 124/22, 126/5; suffered 126/9. pr.p.adj. SUFFERANDE 110/23; SUFFRENG 141/13. pp. SUFFRED 117/6; allowed 131/21; SUFFERD 117/9; SUFFYRDE allowed 132/28.

SUFFERYNG n. suffering 109/29.

SUM adj. some 36:5, 40:6; SUMME H347, 590; SOM C47; SOMME C560, 567.
pl. = H42; SUMME 113/5.

SUM pron. one 106:3-4; some (part) 138/22; pl. = some 71:1, 77:1-3 etc.; H100, 107; 107/17-20, 115/29; 104/1-2-3 etc.; SOME C103, 111, 272 etc.; SOMME 125/19; SUMME H266, 268 etc.; 103/1-2-3 etc..

SUM TYME adv. once H23; 100/28, 124/11-15 etc.; SOM(E)TYME C27, 502, 536.

SUMWHAT adv. somewhat, a little 97/22-28-30 etc.; 98/22-27-29 etc.; SUMME WAT H666.

SUM WHILE adv. sometimes 162:6.

SUNDYR adv. IN = asunder, apart 116/6; ON SONDER 117/16. See ASONDER.

SUNNE See SON(E).

SUSTER, SUSTERN See SISTER.

SWART adj. black 116:6; SWERT 120:2r.

SWER(E) n. neck 77:3r, 80:4r, 101:4r. Cf. SQWYER $n.^2$

SWERD n. sword 174:1; *H463r; SWARD H463r(MS.). pl. SWERDES 111/7-10, 115/3; SWERDIS 117/14; SWERDYS 112/8, 116/3, 118/14.

SWERE v. utter a prophane oath 82:4r. pr.t.pl. SWEREN 111/25.

SWERYNGE n. blaspheming 111/28; 112/27.

SWETE adj. sweet 182:4, 183:6; C433; H329r; delightful 198:6; C474, 609; 138/30; SUETE 139/1. comp. SWETTER 148:6, 149:2; 137/28. sup. SWETTYST 138/27.

SWETE adv. pleasantly 8:1r.

SWETE v. sweat 96:5r.

SWETENISSE n. sweetness 134:4r; SWETNES H519.

SWEUENING n. dreaming 18:3r,

SWICHE adj. such 9:2, 40:5, 44:2 etc.; SUCH(E) C213, 320, 474 etc.; 99/15; SWECH(E) H206, 337, *518 etc.; SYCHE 128/4. pron. = such a one 171:3; SUCHE A 125/23; SYCHE (A) 126/22, 128/8; SUCH ON C366; SWECHE ON H307. See NON adv.

SWIÞE adv. very 12:5, 29:5, 30:5 etc.; severely 34:2r; swiftly 96:1, 191:6; very quickly C572r, 655; SWYDE C220, 485.

SWOLLEN pp. swollen 123/30.

TA Unemphatic form of TO (+ inf.) H670.

TABERNACLES n.pl. ornate canopied niches 132:1.

TAYLLYS n.pl. backsides 124/25.

TAKE v. take 195:6r; H165; 125/19, 141/1, 145/7; 132/8, 146/6; TO GOD = commit, devote (themselves) to God 2:2r; = PENAUNCE do penance 13:5, 34:4, 59:3; receive penance imposed 141/8; 142/7. pr.1 sg. = entrust, commend H287; 143/29; 144/29. pr.2 sg.subj. =74:5, 87:5; C146; H142. imper.sg. = C170; 99/8; 100/7. pa.t.sg. TOK(E) 120:4, 134:5; C55r, 157, *198 etc.; H50r, 90, 152 etc.; 145/18; 132/19, 138/2; entrusted 97/11; TO HIM HE TOKE brought next to him 46:5; VP...TOKE picked up 18:2r-5. pl. = C190r; TOKE 109/7, 111/17, 127/21; 110/9, 112/17, 116/19 etc.; TOKEN 111/22; TOKYN H382; 115/18; TOKE VP raised C450. pr.p. TAKYNG 109/16, 113/5, 117/16 etc.; 132/10; eating 113/16. pp. = 99/2, 115/7-8 etc.; committed 143/27; TAKEN 68:5r, 88:2r; 131/19; TAKYN 100/2, 116/8-9 etc.; committed 144/27; YTAKE 138:6r; 105/23. See HOND(E); ORDER.

TALKID pa.t.sg. talked 141/15; TALKYD 142/15. pr.p. TALKYNG 139/15.

TALKING n. talking, (recitation) 28:4r.

TALYS n.pl. tales H71; 122/13.

TAPERS n.pl. wax candles 136:4.

TAVERNS n.pl. taverns 113/16; TAUERNYS 114/10.

TECHE v. teach 58:1, 115:3, 119:4; C9; H5; 101/12-17, 129/6. pr.3 sg. TECHETH 105/8; TECHES 106/8. pa.3 sg. TAWȝTE C14; TAWTE H10; TAUGHT(E) 97/14-29; *98/14. pl. TAWȝTE C28; TAWGHT 101/25; TAWTE H24, 258; TAGHTT 102/26; TECHYD 98/12. pp. TAWGHT 129/2; YTAWȝTE C265.

TECHEING n. teaching 3:3r; TECHING 129/14; TECHYNG 97/19, 109/27; TECHYNGE 98/18, 110/26, 122/18.

TELL(E) v. tell 28:5, 49:4r, 151:2 etc.; C21, 117r, 182 etc.; H17, 71r, 113r etc.; 103/6; 104/6, 128/14, 142/4; count C270r, 532r; 133/7; 134/7; reckon H308r; be of advantage to H263r; OF = tell about C76r; TELLEN 180:2. pr.1 sg. = 105/12; 106/13; pr.3 sg. = 123:1r; pl. = 100/25. pa.t.sg. TOLD(E) 36:3, 69:6; gave (a talk) 46:6; C32, 665, 667; H28, 668, 670; 102/5. pl. TOLD C6r; TOLDE C106,

399; TOLDYN H103. pp. TOLD H116r; TOLDE C120r; (compared) C476r; H519r; OF TOLDE esteemed C120r; YTOLD 34:3r.

TEMPTACION n. temptation 142/13. pl. TEMPTACIONS 141/13.

TEN adj. ten 80:3, 153:2, 162:6r etc..

TENDYR adj. tender, loving 120/24.

TENDERLICH adv. lovingly, with affection 139/6; with tender emotion 145/6.

TENDERNESSE n. tenderness 119/23.

TENE n. affliction, suffering C582r; H598r.

TERE See WEPE.

TERESTRI adj. terrestrial, earthly 170:2r.

TERYNG pr.p. tearing 115/5, 117/12, 131/5 etc..

TESTAMENT n. (will), testament 116/20.

TIDE n. time 70:3r; TYDE C408r, 505r, 612r; H459r, 545r; TYDDE H618r. See SOMER.

TIDING n. news, information 3:6r.

TIL(L) conj. till, until 86:6, 90:2, 96:2 etc.; 109/30, 145/2; TYLL C216; H117, 209; = ÞAT 162:2; TYLL so much that H435; until C404, 559; TYLL ÞAT C585.

TIL prep. to 153:3; TYLL for 110/23; See IN(NE).

TIME n. time 24:4; 125/24; TYME C103, 122; H100; 97/22, 115/16, 117/9 etc.; 98/21, 126/23, 138/13 etc.; reign = 29:3r; TYME C113; H109. pl. TIMES 191:3; 139/30.

TINE v. lose 48:6r.

TINE See ÞOU.

TYNE n. tin 112/6.

TO adj. two 103:6r; TOO 122/21.

TO adv. too 109:1; C143; 103/30; AL = all too 71:6.

TO prep. to 2:2, 6;4, 8:6 etc.; C51, 85, 214 etc.; H46, 80, 90 etc.; 97/20, 99/21-28 etc.; 98/15, 98/19-23 etc.; at 58:5; 123/1; until 110/26, 112/4, 116/20 etc..

TO-BOWNEDE pp. swollen up 124/24.

TOBRENT pa.t.sg. consumed (with fire) 89:2r.

TOBROSID pa.t.pl. smashed, crushed to pieces 127/30; TOBRYSSED 130/20.

*TODAY n. today H85r.

TODE n. toad H341r. pl. TODES 71:1; 107/29, 121/8-29 etc.; TODYS H352,

354; TOWDYS 108/30, 124/1-26; TOODES 124/17; TOODYS 122/8.

TOES n.pl. toes 123/26; TOWSE 112/12.

TOFORE adv. before 103/22.

TOFORE prep. before 125/24, 137/17.

TO-FORESAID pp.adj. aforesaid 121/6.

TOFORN prep. before, in front of 7:6.

TOGEDER adv. together 105/9-13; TOGEDYR C262; H255; 106/9-14; TOGEDRE 111/6; TOGIDERS 153:4.

TOKYNE n. token, sign C47. pl. TOKEN 18:2; TOKENES C13; TOKENYS H9, 42.

TOKENING n. portent, sign 192:3; TOKENYNG C25r; H21r.

TO -MANGYLDE pa.t.pl. hacked to pieces 118/15.

TONG(E) $n.^{1}$ tongue 78:4, 81:1r; C270, 532; 111/21; 126/19, 128/14. pl. TONGYS H366; 104/5, 112/22-23 etc.; TONGIS 127/6; TANGES 103/5; TONNGES 125/19; TOUNGES 111/22; TUNGES 127/10; TUNGIS 127/8.

TONGES $n.^{2}$pl. tongs 111/12; TONGYS 112/12.

TONICLES n.pl. vestments (resembling dalmatic, worn over the alb at celebrations of the Eucharist) 154:5.

TONIȝT adv. tonight 167:1r.

TONNES n.pl. tuns, barrels 123/25.

TOP n. top 135/21-27, 137/6 etc.; TOPPE 136/20-26, 138/7 etc..

TOPES n. topaz 131:1.

TORENT pa.t.pl. tore in pieces 89:1r. pp. = torn to shreds 113:3r.

TO-SWOLLYN pp. swollen up 123/25.

TOTERE pa.t.pl. tore to pieces 73:2r.

TOÞE n. tooth 66:5r.

TOÞER adj.pron. ÞE = the other H339, 499, 638.

TOUCHEÞ pr.3 sg. is pertinent, relevant 176:2.

TOUȝ adj. tough, violent 56:2r.

TOUR, TOURRES See TOWRE.

TOUTEN n.pl. arses 54:2r.

TOWARD(E) prep. towards, on 65:4; H467; 113/24, 127/26, 129/28 etc.; 130/28; TO ME-WARDE adv.phrs. in my direction 138/4.

TOWNE n. town 126/22.

TOWRE n. tower 121/30, 135/21, 137/6; 122/23-26, 124/2 etc.; TOWER 121/25 TOWOUR 135/19-26-27 etc.; TOUR 108:3r, 121:1r. pl. TOWRES 122/22; TOWERS 121/21; TOWERYS H543r; TOWRYS 124/25; TOURRES C500r.

TOWSE See TOES.

TRAYLES n.pl. trains (of robe) 109/6.

TRAYLYNG pr.p.adj. trailing 108/23; TRAYLENG 107/22.

TRAYNES m.pl. trains (of robe) 110/7-8.

TRAYTTORES n.pl. traitors 128/7.

TRAVELL n. labours H483r.

TRAVELL v. travel 132/24.

TRE n. tree 62:6, 130:4, 146:4 etc.; C218; H211, 570; TREE C525; 138/26-29. pl. TRES 145:2; TREES C261, 521; TREIS 137/27-30; TRYN H254, 566.

TRECHERIE n. treachery 61:5r.

TREDYNG pr.p. treading 121/11.

TRENDYLL n. (mill-)wheel H380.

TRENT pa.t.sg. revolved, turned 83:2r.

TRESOUR n. treasure C94r; TRESOR H91r.

TRESPAS n. offence, crime 25:1r; 105/12; TRISPAS 31:5r; TRYSPASSE 106/12, 112/22, 120/26.

TREW(E) adj. true, good 47:6, 115:6; 118/19, 132/26-27; TRUE 117/19.

TREWLY adv. truly 112/19, 114/2, 118/4 etc.; TREULY 132/29; trevly TREVLY 110/3, 116/1, 132/16 etc.; TRULYCH 131/23; TREW rightly 116/12.

TREWTHE n. truth (personified) 118/9.

TRIBULACION n. misery 105/20, 145/11; 106/21.

TRYN See TRE.

TRINITE n. (Holy) Trinity 129:1r, 144:5r, 176:3r.

TROSTE pr.t.pl. trust H139r; TRYSTE C143r.

TROWE pr.1 sg. suppose, expect C273r, 352r; H267r. pr.2 sg. (with suff. pron.) TROWESTOW think you 108:5.

TRUST n. IN = OF trusting upon 139/28.

TURMENT n. torment, torture 104:1r, 111:5r, 127:5r etc.; H360r, 439r; TURNEMENT C390, 574r. pl. TURMENTES 121/21, 131/12; TORMENTYS 132/14, 134/10.

TURMENTID pp. tormented 111/29, 117/8; TURMENT 117/25.

TURMENTRI(E) n. infliction and suffering of torture 76:6r, 98:4r.

TURN(E) v.tr. turn, convert 19:5; C50; 107/10; 108/10; TOURN 84:6r; intr. turn = 135:4; C336; 142/16. pr.2 sg. TURNEST 141/18.

pl. = 107/29; TURNYS 146/11. imper.sg. = 97:4, 109:1. pa.3.sg. TURNED C201; 115/20; TURNYD(E) H194; 116/23, 120/11. pl. TURNED(E) C363, 545; TURNYD(E) *H346, 400, 576; 108/29. pr.p. TURNYNG 123/27, 127/26. pp. TURNYD 110/12, 124/19; YTURNYD 109/10.

TURNEMENT See TURMENT.

TURNYNG n. turning 142/8.

TVAY adj. two 140:5, 158:2. pron.pl. 140:2.

TVELUE adj. twelve 153:2r, 162:6.

TWEY adj. two 121/21.

TWEYN adj. two H48, 503, 557 etc.; ON TWEYNE in two (pieces) 111/23.

TWO adj. two C53, 271, 512 etc.; 100/4; IN TOO in two (pieces) 112/24. Cf. TO.

ÞAI pron.3 pl. they 1:6, 2:2-4-5 etc.; 99/18, 101/7; 102/4-12; ÞAY 189:5; THAY 98/16-17-18 etc.; ÞEI 97/16-17-18 etc.; 102/17; THEI 97/29, 99/14-15 etc.; ÞEY C6, 20, 44 etc.; H104, 105, 106 etc.; THEY C59, 353, 355 etc.; H139, 195, 291 etc.; 98/28, 100/16-26 etc.; ÞI H325; ÞIE H353. acc.dat.refl. ÞEM C36, 667; 101/14; THEM H228, 359, 379 etc.; 101/7-13, 125/5 etc.; 98/26, 108/25-27 etc.; THEME 110/30; THAME 114/28. poss.adj. ÞER C630; 104/2, 108/10-17 etc.; THER H10, 101, 224 etc.; 110/22-24, 112/2 etc.; THERE 127/1; 112/14; ÞUR C198. See HY(E).

ÞAN adv. then 3:5r, 16:4, 35:1 etc.; H658; 97/29-30, 101/13 etc.; when 41:2; ÞEN C37, 83, 256 etc.; 100/29; THEN C43, 215, 268 etc.; *H382r; 115/24; 98/28-29, 100/21 etc.; THAN H39, 41, 196 etc.; 99/29, 101/10-23 etc.; 100/1, 114/1; THANNE 99/19-22, 113/22 etc.; THENNE C655, 669; 119/27, 125/14.

ÞAN, THAN conj. than 77:5, 116:4, 181:2; H173, 499; 101/1-28, 103/6 etc.; THEN C179, 344, 368 etc.; 102/1, 104/6-20 etc.; ÞEN 102/28, 104/29, 126/4.

THANK(E) n. thanks, gratitude 132/17, 142/10; THONKE 141/11.

THANKE pr.1 sg. = HYT ÞE I thank you (that) C361; H444. pa.t.sg. ÞONKED 18:6, 19:2, 127:2 etc.; gave thanks for 184:6, 191:2; C459; THONGKID 103/18; ÞONKED...OF thanked...for C306; THANKYD

H506. pl. ÞONKED 139:3; C638; THANKYD H641; 140/9; THONKID 139/8-11. pp. THONKID 139/14.

ÞARE See ÞER.

ÞAT, THAT adj.demons. that 7:4, 16:5, 19:5 etc.; C30, 61, 62 etc.; H26, 45, 56 etc.; 97/21, 99/1, 101/29 etc.; 98/21, 100/7-8 etc.; (with pl.n.) = 111/16, 121/19.

ÞAT, THAT conj. that (introducing subj. or obj. clause) 2:6, 3:2, 4:4 etc.; C25, 42, 146 etc.; H22, 110, 128 etc.; 99/23, 103/7, 105/4 etc.; 98/23, 100/26, 104/16 etc.; WHEN = when 12:4; = until 15:5; so that 2:2, 43:5, 187:2; C49, 75, 92 etc.; 102/15, 104/6, 114/14; such that 92:4, 96:5; H43, 44, 89 etc..

ÞAT, THAT pron.demons. that 26:5; C43, 385r; H38, 414, 415 etc.; 101/1, 121/23; 100/23, 102/2, 120/27 etc.; that which C6, 134; 135/13; 136/12; (emphatic vicarious usage) 128/20; WYTH = at that moment, then 145/18; 138/3, 144/1; they, those (with pl.vb. and complement) 80:5, 81:4; NO FOR ÞAN nevertheless 57:1; BI ÞAN by that 194:3r.

ÞAT, THAT pron.rel.indecl. that, which, who(m) 1:6, 4:3, 8:5 etc.; C1, 2, 5 etc.; H1, 8, 14 etc.; 97/19, 99/11-20 etc.; 100/22-30-31 etc.; TAT H616.

ÞE, THE def.art. the 4:1-2, 6:5 etc.; C4, 7, 15 etc.; H4, 25, 35 etc.; 97/1-2-3 etc.; 98/1-3-9 etc.; dat.sg. = 192:2; dat.pl. = 186:1.

ÞEDE n. country 87:6r.

THEDER, THEDYR(E) See ÞIDER.

ÞEI conj. though 52:4, 189:3.

THEM-SELFE pron.pl. themselves 114/15.

ÞEN, THEN See ÞAN.

ÞENCHE v.[1] seem 91:6. pr.3 sg.impers.(+ dat.) ÞENKEÞ 157:5, 181:1; THINKITH 141/22. pa.t.sg.impers. ÞOUȝT it seemed 8:4r, 10:1, 11:2 etc.; ÞOWȝT(E) C451, 464, 489 etc.; ÞOWȝTH C484; THOGHT(E) 98/23, 114/25, 136/29 etc.; THOWȝTE C477; THOWGHT 111/19, 127/2, 131/7 etc.; *THOWT H511, 557; 137/2; THOWTH H525; THOUGHT 97/24.

ÞENCHE(N) v.[2] think 94:4; THINKE consider 134/7. pa.2 sg. ÞOWSTEDEST C616. pa.1,3 sg. ÞOUȝT 31:4, 61:4, 89:3 etc.; ÞOWȝTE C124; ÞOWȝTH C297r; THOGHT 102/24; THOWT(E) H120, 362, 509. imper.sg. ÞENK 49:2. pa.t.pl. THOWȝTE C334.

ÞENNES adv. thence 11:3; ÞENS C255.

ÞER(E), THER(E) adv.demoms. there 11:5, 17:6r, 21:5 etc.; C57r, 115, 197 etc.; H104r, 176r, 190 etc.; 97/22, 107/6, 113/4 etc.; 98/21, 100/18, 104/22 etc.; (unemphatic and introductory preceding vb.) 9:2, 92:3; C27, 86, 109 etc.; H23, 81, 111 etc.; 101/30, 105/12; 106/13; (to) the place where 57:5, 74:6; 112/4; ÞARE 45:3r, 73:1r, 89:5r; ÞORE C183r, 511r, 552r etc.; *H52r; = AFTER afterwards 52:1; = AFTUR C211; = AMONG(E) among them 146:2; C495r; = AS where C196; = AT(E) there, at that place 22:1; C467r; = BI of that 71:5, 81:5, 95:6 etc.; = BY next to it C442r; H489; = FOR(E) therefore, for it, on account of that C212r; H205r; 99/13, 101/17-23 etc.; 100/14, 102/20, 106/20 etc.; = FRO away from it 137/3; = IN(NE), YN(NE) there, in there 4:3r, 15:4, 40:4 etc.; C73, 103r, 116; H112, 373, 428 etc.; 107/12-13, 117/11 etc.; 100/28, 108/12-13 etc.; into it 187:2r; C36r, 87r, 96 etc.; H32r, 82r, 93 etc.; = OF of it 13:4; H308, 394, 463 etc.; 105/22-23, 117/29; 106/23-25, 106/30 etc.; with that 34:1, 97:3; = ON on it 90:4, 130:4; C439r, 456; H377, 503; in them 100:1; on them 145:3; of it 129:5; in it H216; = OPON thereon 132:5r; = VPON H486r; = OUER over it 117:1; C322; H309; = OUT outside (it) 45:1; = ÞAT where H189; = TIL to it 84:3; = TO(O) 16:2r; for it C91r; H88r; in addition C264, 409r; to it 133/21-23, 137/1; 134/21-22, 138/1; = VNDER under it 120:2; = WITH/WYTH with it 109/8-19; 110/11, 130/16.

ÞER, THER(E) conj. where 10:3, 32:4, 68:6; H63, *299; 115/1; adv.rel. in which 30:2, 32:5, 43:6 etc.; where C553; 130/22, 136/27; =...FRO from whence 124:5; in the place whence 135:6.

THERKE See DERK(E).

ÞEUES n.pl. thieves 80:5; THEFES 115/6-11; THEVYS 116/7-11, 138/22; *THIWES 137/22; gen. = 80:5.

ÞIDER adv. to that place 26:6, 35:6; ÞYDUR C34, 142; DYÞUR C141, 176; THEDER H30, 163; THEDYR(E) H138, 170; THYÞUR C177.

THYKE adj. numerous, dense H168r, 457r; THYKKE C371, 406r; ÞYKKE C408. comp. THYKKER H422; ÞICKER 120:6.

ÞYKKE adv. densely, thick (on the ground) C327; THYKE H314, 345, 459.

ÞILK(E) adj. that 170:5, 186:2; 107/14, 115/8, 117/16 etc.; THILK 119/16, 129/29, 137/20. pl. those = 101/26, 115/16-17 etc.; THILK 109/25, 111/14, 123/2 etc.; ÞYULK 121/5.

ÞILK pron. that one 125/22. pl. = those 117/18; THILK 117/6, 119/28; ÞILCHE 69:4, 92:2.

ÞING, ÞYNG, THINGE, THYNG n. thing 7:4r, 28:5r, 120:4 etc.; 103/8; 136/17; enterprise 99/2; 100/2; (with) NO nothing H200; 135/18, 141/25; 104/8, 136/30, 142/26 etc.; IN ALLE ÞING by every token 155:1r. pl. ÞINGES 8:2, 53:5; THYNGYS H48; ÞYNKES C53.

THYRDE adj. third 114/1.

ÞIS adj.demons. this 10:6, 14:1, 16:3 etc.; 99/24, 101/21; 132/15; ÞYS C148, 165, 248 etc.; THIS 97/14, 101/10-15 etc.; THYS H160, 243, 439; 98/14, 100/27-31 etc.; THUS C346; 100/22. pl. = 125/4, 131/15; 122/18; ÞISE 125/9; THES 114/9, 116/10, 134/25; these C255; 119/25-27, 133/9; ÞESE 109/30, 113/14-28 etc.; THEYS H319; THYES H250; 112/26, 114/28, 116/7 etc..

ÞIS, ÞYS pron.demons. this 5:1r, 108:2, 117:4r; C77, 121, 148 etc.; 105/5, 145/14; THIS 97/13, 131/12, 145/20; THYS C119; H72, 98, 468 etc.; 98/13, 106/6, 112/30 etc.; pl. = these 108:1; THES H52; 116/28; ÞES 118/18; THESE 123/11-15, 125/6; ÞESE 111/25, 123/15-19 etc.; THEIS 110/15; THYES 110/24, 116/6-11 etc..

THISELF pron. thyself 101/15; ÞI-SELF 101/21; ÞI-SELFFE 102/18; THY-SELFFE 102/22.

ÞO(O), THO(O) adj.demons.pl. those 80:4, 81:1, 98:5 etc.; C57, 77, 355 etc.; 103/1, 109/6-16 etc.; THOW(E) H175, 471, 576; THOWS 124/15; THOSE 121/18; ÞOS(E) 100/11, 102/9, 124/2; THOS 104/19, 130/21; THOYS 110/8; THOWYS 116/22, 142/9.

ÞO(O), THO(O) adv. then 13:1, 64:1, 79:6 etc.; C65r, 107r, 153r etc.; H60r, 92r, 192r etc.; 101/28, 109/5, 133/21 etc.; THOWE H148r.

ÞO conj.[1] when 89:1, 104:6.

ÞO conj.[2] though 128:3; ÞOW 105/14; THOW C302; H516; THOWFFE 106/15; ÞOWGH 139/7.

ÞO pron.demons. that one 148:3; 107/6; pl. THO those 139/18; THOO 131/25; THOWSE 126/10.

ÞOLE v. suffer, endure 14:2r.

ÞONDER n. thunder 121:5r; ÞONDUR C259r; THUNDYRE H252r.

ÞORE See DORE; ÞER(E).

THORHT prep. through 98/6.

ÞORN n. thorn 197:2r.

ÞOROW prep. through C49, 355, 569 etc.; (of motion) C572; 125/17; because of C18; by, with C97; THOROW(E) C152, 573; 113/26-27; 98/18, 100/2, 102/15 etc.; THOWROC 106/26; THROW H117, 147; *THROWE H44, 601.

THOROWOUT prep. right through 109/1.

ÞOU pron. thou 35:4, 39:4-5 etc.; C136, 141, 146 etc.; H159, 240, 270 etc.; 99/15-17-27 etc.; 100/9-17-18 etc.; ÞOW 99/2-3-4 etc.; 100/1-3, 102/17 etc.; THOW H142, 143, 166 etc.; C150, 277, 281 etc; 99/1-9, 129/5 etc.; 100/32, 104/29, 136/7; (oblique) ÞE/THE 41:6, 48:3, 49:4 etc.; C135, 145, 239 etc.; H141, 162, 164 etc.; 99/10-15-18 etc.; 100/11-16-20 etc.; DE C167; refl. ÞE 36:6, 39:6, 48:4 etc.; H231; DE C652. poss.adj. ÞI 39:2, 47:6, 158:5; H161, 230, 241 etc.; 99/6-9-15 etc.; 100/14-15-16 etc.; ÞY C145, 147, 166 etc.; THI 99/5-11-13 etc.; THY H233, 246, 284 etc.; 100/12, 102/19, 104/11 etc.; THEY H141; ÞIN 87:6; ÞINE 36:6r, 49:1, 103:4 etc.; THYNE 106/13; TINE 55:5.

ÞOUSAND adj. thousand 84:1, 135:2, 189:4 etc.; ÞOUSLND 48:2, 80:3; ÞOWSANDE C583; THOWSOND H599; THOWSAND adv. a thousand times 137/11 See LAST n.

ÞOUSANDFOLD adv. (by) a thousand times 181:1r; ÞOWSAND FOLDE C475r; THOWSANDE-FOLDE 138/3.

ÞOWGHT n. mind, thought C251r; ÞOWÞ C459, 481r; THOWTE H415r; THOWTH H246r, 506r, 524r; THOGHT 100/20, 104/7-11 etc.; pl. THOWGHTIS 127/9.

THOWSE See ÞO pron.demons.

ÞRAWE See ÞROWE.

ÞRE adj. three 156:5r; C11; THRE 106/9.

THRET n. torment C348.

THRYST pa.t.pl. thrust 114/6.

ÞRITTEN adj. thirteen 42:1, 45:4, 190:5.

ÞRYTTY adj. thirty C11.

ÞROTES n.pl. throats 127/22; ÞROTTYS 114/7.

ÞROWE v. knock down, cause to fall 118:1r; ÞRAWE hurl, fling 58:5r. pa.t.pl. THREW 110/6, 112/15; DROW 111/15. pp.adj. DRAW 129/11; YTHROW OF thrown by 127/23.

ÞRUST n. thirst 62:5.

ÞURTH prep. through, by 25:2, 28:2, 28:3 etc..

THUS See ÞIS adj.demons.

ÞUS, THUS adv. thus, in this way 28:1, 32:1, 40:1 etc.; C349, 569; 105/2, 111/18-28 etc.; 106/2, 112/18, 124/20 etc.; thence, therefore H84.

VGELY adj. ugly 100/18; VGGELY 114/24.

VNBOOLDE adj. weak, frail C678r.

VNCOUÞE adj. unknown, strange 62:3.

VNDEDE pa.t.pl. opened 134:1r.

VNDER prep. under 93:2; 137/12; VNDUR C260r; VNDYR 138/12; = underneath 121:4r, 122:5; in accordance with H83; UNÞUR C88; = GODES GLORIE AN HEIȝE i.e. under heaven, on earth 152:5. adv. under(neath) 117/4.

VNDERNOME pa.3 sg. took up, donned 197:5r.

VNDERSTOND v. understand 19:4r, 27:2r, 61:3r; 133/10; VNDYRSTANDE 134/11 VNÞURSTONDE C8r. pr.1 sg. = 10:4r, 95:1r; VNÞURSTONDE C113r; VNDYRSTOND H109r. pa.1 sg. VNDERSTODE 135/1. pp. VNDERSTOND H161r; VNÞURSTONDE C166r.

VNDO v. undo, open C92r; ONDOO H89r. pa.3 sg. ONDED unlocked H192. pp. = undone 105/29; VNDONE 106/31. See VNDEDE.

VNKYNDE adj. ungrateful 146/8-10.

VNKYNDENESSE n. ingratitude, unkindness 142/6; ONKINDENESSE 141/7.

VNKLENE adj. filthy, impure 129/15.

VNLUSTE n. want of appetite, disinclination 110/27.

VN(N)EÞE scarcely, hardly 63:2; C416; *H375; VNNETHE 110/28, 138/1; ONEÞE C372; ONNETHE 135/30, 137/1.

VNPONYSCHYDE pp. unpunished 132/22.

VNTIL prep. to 68:5.

VNTO prep. to 97/15, 99/1, 109/14 etc.; 100/23, 104/11, 116/19 etc.; until 123/28; 122/19.

*VNTREWÞE n. unbelief, lack of faith 1:5r.

VNWYTTY adj. foolish, unwise 146/11.

VP adv. up 19:1, 64:4, 92:4 etc.; C303, 338, 377 etc.; H428, 430; 101/3, 111/17, 117/17 etc.; 112/17; =...TOK(E) picked up 18:2-5; = AND DOWNE/DOUN up and down, back and forth 107/11; 141:1, 158:3.

VPON prep. upon, on C16, 51, 143; H12, 46, 232; 124/ 3; in C226, 538; VPPON 115/27, 119/2, 121/27 etc.; OPON 49:2, 84:2, 87:4 etc.; (of reference) of, about 176:4; APON 114/24, 116/28, 122/27 etc..

VPRIȝTES adv. on their back, face up 102:4r.

VPWARD adv. face upwards 69:4r; upwards H316.

VRN pa.t.pl. ran, flowed 149:5. Cf. RENNEÞ.

VSAGE n. usage, custom, manner 109/17.

VSE n. use 115/18; 116/19.

VSYDE pa.t.pl. used 110/16; VSID 113/18, 129/12; VSIDDEN 123/19; WSYD 124/18. pp. = 110/19.

VAYLE n. veil 97/27; VELLE 98/26.

VAYNE GLORY n. vainglory, worthless boasting 110/19; VAYNGLORIE 131/18; VANEGLORY 132/17.

VALAY n. valley 63:6.

VANESHID pa.t.sg. vanished 131/9, 135/16; UANESCHYDE 138/6; VANYSCHYD 132/9; VANYS(S)HID 133/29, 137/5. pl. = 101/26, 103/18; VANYSCHYDE 104/19. pp. = 107/2; VANYSCHYDE 108/2.

VANITE n. vanity, idle foolishness 109/16; VANYTE 120/11. pl. VANYTES idle activities 114/10, 120/9, 144/27; VANITES 120/8; VANITEIS 127/3-9, 143/27.

VAREY adj. true 142/11.

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WELCOME interj. welcome 55:3. Cf. WELLCOME.

WELE n. happiness 62:4r; C530r; riches, wealth C502r; WYLLE H575r.

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WICK(E) adj. wicked 95:3; horrible 110:4.

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WORLD(E) n. world 16:3, 40:5, 130:3 etc.; C623; 101/7, 105/26, 107/8 etc.; 108/15, 114/11; WARLD 12:2, 52:4, 190:3; WARLDE 102/8, 106/27, 108/8 etc.; WARD H569, 627. gen. WORLDES 146:3; C502; 143/11. FOR ALL ÞE = exactly (like) C263.

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WROÞ adj. angry 173:1r.

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WULLEPAK n. wool-pack 113/7.

YARE adv. promptly, immediately C334r.

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MATHEUS Name of the Prior of St. Patrick's Purgatory at the time of William of Stranton's visit 98/10. (See Note.)

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NORÞHUMBERLAND Northumberland, England north of the river Humber 29:4.

OWAYNE Owen C202r, 203, 229 etc.; OWAYN 35:1; C352; OWAIN 36:1, 46:5, 68:2 (dat.) etc.; OWEIN 51:4, 55:3r; OWEYN(E) *30:1r; 39:1r; C115r, 212, 509r; OWEN C196; HOWYN H111r, 189, 193 etc..

PATRIKE (St.) Patrick 1:4, 5:1, 12:4 etc.; 98/19, 106/27; PATRIK 97/20, 105/25; PATRYKE C29r, 45, 65 etc.; PARTRYKE H60, 78, 86; PERTRYKE H25r, 40. gen. = 98/3; PATRIKES 24:3, 28:3; PATRYKUS C102; PATRYKES C138; PARTRYKYS H99, 134; PATRIK IS 97/2.

*PETER St. Peter (the Apostle) 20:5.

*PISON One of the four rivers flowing from the Earthly Paradise - MS. reads Dison 150:1.

POULE St. Paul (the Apostle) 123:3.

QUITIKE Quethiock, Cornwall 99/25.

REGLES Reglis 21:4; REGELYS H85, *412r. (See Note.)

STEUENES gen. of (King) Stephen of England, reigned 1135-54 C113; STEUYS H109.

TIGRIS 151:4.

WHYTBY Whitby 100/28.

WYLLYAM OF STRANTON 98/1-5; WILLIAM STAVNTON 97/1-5; WILLIAM 99/1-19, 101/2 etc.; WYLLYAM 100/1-21, 102/9 etc..