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A Ryght hooly Virgin: An Edition of Harley MS 630 Lives of Female Saints and Saint Alban

By Larissa C. Tracy

PhD
Trinity College, Dublin
2000

Cover illustration:
Saint Catherine of Alexandria
Gualenghi-d'Este hours; Ferrara, ca. 1469
Illuminated by Taddeo Crivelli
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Declaration

I, Larissa Tracy, declare that this PhD thesis, *A Ryght Hooly Virgin: An Edition of Harley MS 630, Lives of Female Saints and Saint Alban,* has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university.
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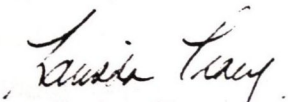

Larissa Tracy
March 2000

Summary

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (*LgA*) is one of the most influential books to come from the Middle Ages. It was originally written in Latin in about 1260 but was translated into many European venaculars. It is a measure of its popularity that Caxton should have published a translation of the *LgA* in 1483. But there are eight more or less complete manuscripts of an earlier Middle English translation, the *Gilte Legende* (*GiL*), and three additional manuscripts containing selections which date from the beginning to the latter half of the fifteenth century. Some of these manuscripts contain material not derived from *LgA*, so the process of translating the *LgA* also involved adding cognate material.

There is much work to be done on the *Gilte Legende*. Both Sister Mary Jeremy in 1946 and Auvo Kurvinen in 1959 stressed the importance of editing the text. As the latter put it: "Even more pressing is the need for a critical edition of the *Gilte Legende*, not only on account of Caxton but also, and especially, on account of its own merits". None of the Middle English manuscripts, however, has been fully edited, though Richard Hamer and Vida Russell are producing a critical edition of the *Gilte Legende* for the EETS and have already completed their edition of the supplementary material found in some *GiL* manuscripts. Richard Hamer edited the lives of three male saints from all the *GiL* manuscripts in 1978. Auvo Kurvinen completed an edition of the life of Saint Katherine from seven manuscripts in 1958 for her Oxford D.Phil. thesis, which has never been published.

My principal interest is the lives of female saints, and this thesis consists of an edition of 29 lives from BL Harley MS 630, and two from TCD MS 319, one of which, Dorothy, is important because it does not appear in other versions of the *Gilte Legende*. The introduction describes the manuscripts, including BL Additional MS 35298, which I used for comparison of the life of Saint Alban and to look at the large quantity of supplementary material which appears in that manuscript, attempts to come to terms with the sources used for the lives, and considers the agenda behind the writing of lives of female saints (cf. pp. 47-61). I also seek to demonstrate the importance of BL Harley MS 630 in relation to John Lydgate, who I believe used Harley MS 630 to compile his *Life of Saint Alban*, and what I believe to be its provenance to St. Albans monastery (cf. pp.30-37). I will also trace the history of Edward Goldesburgh's family and try to paint a clearer picture of the man who once owned Harley MS 630 (cf. pp. 37-43). I will discuss the similarities between Osbern Bokenham's *St. Dorothy* and *St. Katherine* and the versions found in TCD MS 319, and try to explain how TCD MS 319 could be a copy of Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* or his source (cf. pp.43-47).

The texts are presented with modern punctuation so that they may be more available to contemporary readers. The notes and glossary are also intended to help the reader understand a set of texts far removed from contemporary culture, but which are, nevertheless, part of the process by means of which that culture evolved.

Acknowledgements

I would to acknowledge my gratitude to the following people for their invaluable contribution to my research: Julia Boffey, Diane Bolton, Ian Doyle, Martha Driver, A.S.G. Edwards, Derek Pearsall, Pam Robinson, and John Flood.

I would like to thank Richard Hamer and Vida Russell for their guidance, support and assistance; Mark Chambers, Angie Gleason, and Aisling Hayden for tirelessly helping me compile my glossary; and Owen Delaney for going through the Latin passage at the end of *Saint Dorothy* and providing the translation.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Prof. John Scattergood for his supervision, direction, guidance, support and patience over the past five years.

Finally, I would like to thank the manuscript department at Trinity College, Dublin and the British Library for their assistance in compiling this edition.

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INTRODUCTION

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (*LgA*) is one of the most influential books to come from the Middle Ages. It was originally written in Latin in about 1260 but was translated into many European venaculars. It is a measure of its popularity that Caxton should have published a translation of the *LgA* in 1483. But there are eight more or less complete manuscripts of an earlier Middle English translation, the *Gilte Legende* (*GiL*), and three additional manuscripts containing selections which date from the beginning to the latter half of the fifteenth century. Some of these manuscripts contain material not derived from *LgA*, so the process of translating the *LgA* also involved adding cognate material.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS

Harley MS 630

I CONTENTS

Lives of Saints from the Golden Legend or *Gilte Legende* (*Legenda Aurea*)[4]

(fols. 1r-4r)	The Life of Seint Nicholas; The life of Saint Andrew is listed in the table of contents but is missing from the MS, f.1r starts in the middle of the Life of Saint Nicholas.
(fols. 4r-5r)	The Life of Seint Luce
(fols. 5r- 8r)	The Life of Seint Thomas of Iude
(fols. 8r-11v)	The Natiuite of Oure Lorde Ih(es)u Criste and Saucour(e)
(fols. 11v-12v)	The Life of Seint Anastace
(fols. 12v-15r)	The Life of Seint Steuene
(fols.15r-18r)	The Life of Saint Iohn Euangeliste
(fols.18r-19v)	The Life of þe Innocence
(fols.19v-21r)	The Life of Saint Thomas of Caunterbury
(fols.21r-25v)	The Life of Saint Siluestr(e)
(fols.25v-26v)	The Circu(m)cision of O(ure) Lorde
(fols.26v-29v)	The xij dai þe which is called Epiphanie
(fols.29v-30v)	The Life of Seint Poule the Heremite
(fols.30v-31v)	The Life of Seint Remigie þe holi confessoure & doctour
(fols.31v-32r)	The Life of Seint Hillari the Bisshopp
(fols.32r-33r)	The Life of Seint Makarie
(fols.33r-33v)	The Life of Seint Felix
(fols.33v-34r)	The Life of Seint Marchall
(fols. 34r-36r)	The Life of Seint Anthonie
(f. 36r)	The Life of Sei(n)t Fabian
(fols.36r-38v)	The Life of Seint Sebastian
(fols. 38v-40v)	The Life of Seint Anneis
(fols. 40v-42r)	The Life of Seint Vincent
(fols.42r -45r)	The Life of Seint Basile
(fols.45r -48v)	The Life of Seint Iohn the Awmoner
(fols. 48v-50r)	The Conu(er)sion of Sei(n)t Poule
(fols. 50r-52v)	The Life of Seint Paulyne
(fols. 52v-57v)	The Life of Seint Iulian
(fols. 55v-57r)	The Septuagesine
(fols. 57r-57v)	The Sexagesine
(fols. 57v-58r)	The Quiquagesine
(fols. 58r-59v)	The Lente
(fols. 59v-60r)	The Quatertemps
(fols. 60v-61v)	The Life of Seint Ignacien
(fols. 61v-66r)	The Purificacon of O(ure) Ladi

(fols. 66r-67v) The Life of Seint Blaise
(fols. 67v-69v) The Life of Seint Agace
(fols. 69v-70r) The Life of Seint Vedast
(fols. 70r-70v) The Life of Seint Amande
(fols. 70r-71r) The Life of Seint Valentine
(fols. 71r-71v) The Life of Seint Iulian
(fols. 71v-73r) The Cathedra s(ancti) Perti
(fols. 73r-76v) The Life of Seint Mathew the Apostle
(fols. 76v-82r) The Life of Seint Gregori
(fols. 82r-82v) The Life of Longins
(fols. 82v-87v) The Life of Seint Benet
(fols. 87v-89r) The Life of Sei(n)t Patriark
(fols. 89r-92v) The Anu(n)ciacon of O(ure) Lorde
(fols. 92v-99r) The Passion of O(ure) Lorde
(fols. 99r-100r) The Life of Seint Second
(fols. 100r-101v) The Life of Mari of Egipcien
(fols. 101v-106r) The Life of Seint Ambrose
(fols. 106r-109r) The Life of Seint George
(fols. 109r-112v) The Life of Seint Mark þe Eu(a)ngeliste
(fols. 112v-113r) The Life of Seint Marcelli(us)
(f. 113r) The Life of Seint Vital Kniȝt
(fols. 113r-119r) The Life of Seint Petr(e) of Malaue
(fols. 119r-119v) The Feste of Philipp & Iacob
[(fols.119v-124r) The Life of Seint Iames the Apostell [left out in the second table of contents.]
(fols. 124r -128r) The Fynding of þe holy crosse
(fols. 128r-129r) The Life of Sei(n)t Joh(n) þe Apostle
(fols. 129r-131r) The Life of Latenyes
(fols. 131r-135v) The Ascencon of O(ure) Lorde
(fols. 135v-141v) The Pentecoste
(fols. 141v-145r) The Life of Seint Ierome docto(ure)
(fols. 145r-145v) The Life of Seint Gardian which was vicar of Iulian
(fols. 145v-146r) The Life of Seintes Nery and Achilley
(fols. 146r-147r) The Life of Seint Pancrace
(fols. 147r-147v) The Life of Seint Vrban Pope
(fols. 147v-148r) The Life of Saint Pernel
(fols. 148r-148v) The Life of Seint Petre the deken
(fols. 148v-149r) The Life of Seint P(ri)me and Felician

(fols. 149r-150v) The Life of Seint Barnabe
(fols. 150v--151v) The Life of Seint Victe
(fols. 151v-152r) The Life of Seint Quiryne
(fols. 152r-153r) The Life of Seint Marine
(fols. 153r-154v) The Life of Seint Geruase and Prothase
(fols. 154v-168v) The Life of Seint Albon
(fols. 168v-172r) The Natiuite of Seint Iohn þe baptiste
(fols. 172r-173v) The Lifes of Seint Iohn and Paule
(fols. 173v-174v) The Life of Seint Leon þe Pope
(fols. 174v-180r) The Life of Seint Petr(e) the Apostell
(fols. 180r-186v) The Comemoracon and þe Life of Seint Poule
(fols. 186v-187r) The Lyves of þe vij Breþeren
(fols. 187r-189r) The Life of Saint Theodora
(fols. 189r-190v) The Life of Margaret of Antioch
(fols. 190v-192v) The Life of Seint Calixte
(f. 192v) The Life of Seint Prayedis
(fols. 192v-197v) The Life of Mari Maudeleyn
(fols. 197v-199r) The Life of Seint Appolynaire
(fols. 199r-200r) The Life of Saint Christina
(fols. 200r-204v) The Life of Seint Iames
(fols. 204v-207r) The Life of Seint Xpofore
(fols. 207r-209v) The Life of þe vij Slepers
(fols. 209v-211r) The Life of Seint Nazaren
(f. 211r) The Life of Seint Felix
(fols. 211r-211v) The Life of Seint Simplicien
(fols. 211v-213v) The Life of Saint Martha
(f. 213v) The Life of Abdon and Sennes
(fols. 213v-215v) The Life of Seint Germaine
(fols. 215v-216v) The Life of Seint Euseve
(fols. 216v-217r The Lifez of Seint Machabeus
(fols. 217r-219v) The Life of Seint Petr(e) avincula[5]
(fols. 219v-220r) The Inucuc(i)on of þe holi body of Seint Steven[6]
(fols. 220r-225r) The Life of Seint Domenyk
(fols. 225r-225v) The Life of Seint Sixte
(fols. 225v-227v) The Life of Seint Donate
(fols. 227v-228v) The Life of Seint Ciriake
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(fols. 251v-254r)	The Life of Seint Bartilmew
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(fols. 259v-261r)	The Life of Seint Sauynyan
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(fols. 261v-262r)	The Life of Seint Mamertyn
(fols. 262r-263r)	The Life of Seint Gile
(fols. 263r-267v)	The Life of þe blessed n(atiute) of oure lady
(fols. 267v-270v)	The Life of Seint Cecile
(fols. 270v-272v)	The Life of Seint Adrian
(fols. 272v-274r)	The Lifes of P(ro)the & Iacincti
(fols. 274r-277r)	The Exaltac(i)on of þe holi c(ro)sse
(fols. 277r-279r)	The Life of Seint Crisostome
(f. 279r)	The Life of Seint Cornelien Pope
(fols. 279r-280r)	The Life of Seint Eufemie
(fols. 280r-280v)	The Life of Seint Lambert
(fols. 280v-283v)	The Life of Seint Mathewe the eu(au)ngest
(fols. 283v-285v)	The Life of Seint Moris
(fols. 285v-287v)	The Life of Seint Iustine
(fols. 287v-289v)	The Liues of Cosine and Damiane
(fols. 289r-290r)	The Life of Seint Fursyn
(fols. 290r-292v)	The Life of Michel
(fols. 292v-294v)	The Life of Seint Ierome
(fols. 294v-295v)	The Life of Seint Remigius
(fols. 295v-296v)	The Life of Seint Leodegari
(fols. 296v-302v)	The Life of Seint Fraunces
(fols. 302v-303v)	The Life of Pelagien
(fols. 303v-304v)	The Life of Mergerete þat is seid Pellagien
(fols. 304v-305v)	The Life of Seint Thais[7]
(fols. 305v-311r)	The Life of Seint Denys
	The Life of Seint Calixt[8]
	The Life of Seint Leonard[9]
(fols. 311r-315r)	The Life of Seint Luke
(fols. 315r-315v)	The Life of Seint Crissant
(fols. 315v-317v)	The Passion of þe xi m Virgines[10]

(fols. 317v-320v)	The Life of Seint Simonde and Iude
(f. 320v)	The Life of Seint Q(ui)ntyne
(fols. 320v-323v)	The Life of Seint Eustas
(fols. 323v-328v)	The Life of Al Seintes
(fols. 328v-333v)	The Life of Al Soules
(fols. 333v-334r)	The Life of iiij crowned marteres
(fols. 334r-334v)	The Life of Seint Theodore
(fols. 334v-339r)	The Life of Seint Martyn
(fols. 339r-339v)	The Life of Seint Brice
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(fols. 348r-353r)	The Life of Saint Clement
(fols. 353r-353v)	The Life of Seint Crisogone
(fols. 353v-364v)	The Life of Seint Kat(er)ine
(fols. 364v-365r)	The Life of Seint Sat(ur)nyne[11]
(fols. 365v-366v)	First Table of Contents
(fols. 366v-367v)	Second Table of Contents

The contents have altered over the years and some folios have been lost. The second table of contents is missing the second rendition of the *Life of Saint Cecilia* which is in the text of the MS and is exactly the same as the one found earlier on fols. 267v-270v. The lives of Saint Clement, Saint Chrysogonus, Saint Saturnius, Saint Perpetua and Saint Felicity are also missing from the second table of contents but they are actually in the MS. The MS ends after the Life of Saturninus (chapter 166).[12] There are also other lives which appear in the original Latin version of the *Gilte Legende* which are not in this MS including: Saint James the Dismembered, the lives of Saint Pastor, Saint John Abbot, Saint Moses Abbot, Saint Arsenius Abbot, Saint Agathon Abbot, Saints Barlam and Josaphat, Saint Pelagius, Pope, the History of the Lombards and the Dedication of a Church. The Life of Saint Leonard is not listed in the first table of contents but it is in the MS.

II ILLUSTRATION AND DECORATION

Illuminated capitals at the beginning of each saint's life (red, blue, black and gold ink) with scrolled borders down the margins on some folios. Size of the capitals varies depending on amount of text. Major episodes have a full border illumination around the entire folio in varying colours of ink. Illuminations are mainly elaborate scrollwork and flower designs with no figures or images. All Latin passages are written in red. People and place names are written in red on f.27r. *Narracio* usually written in red but f.14v has a small illuminated capital for the first letter of *Narracio*. Paragraph rubrics are done in alternating red and blue,

except on f.163 which is done only in red. The passages indicating the end of one life and the beginning of another are in red.

III TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

(i) Smooth, well preserved vellum, averaging 280mm x 205mm.[13] There is a large margin around the text. The MS has been repaired in several places with patches, e.g. f.259.

(ii) Original pagination is not clear on all the folios and there are two sets of page numbers: an older, fainter number following the original pagination in the first table of contents, and a second, heavier, blacker gothic hand following the pagination of the second table of contents. There is some pagination at the beginning of the MS e.g. f.1r is ij; f.2r is vij; f.3r is viij; f.4r is ix to xvj (f.11r). Beginning on f.28r, beside the penciled folio number, is 33 in faint brown ink then the pages follow: f.29r, 3l; f.30r, 35; f.31r, 36; f.32r, + 3\ (37); f.33r, 38; f.34, 39 (with extensive marginal corrections in black ink); f.35r, lx; etc. It is now foliated as fols. 1-367.

(iii) i^{2+1} (fols. 1-3) including a small rectangular leaf pasted in before f.1 which is practically illegible; ii-x^{8} (fols. 4-75); xi^{6} (fols. 76-81); xii^{8} (fols.82-89); xiii^{6} (fols. 90-95); xiv-xx^{8} (fols. 96-159); xxi^{8+1} (fols. 160-168) including an extra leaf which appears to have been pasted in before fol. 164; fols. 165 -167 are each pasted to a centre strip of vellum; xxii-xlv^{8} (fols.169-360); xlvi^{7} (fols.361-367) with possibly one folio pasted in after f.366, this gathering includes the final page of text and the two tables of contents (fols.365v-366v). There is a total of 46 gatherings and 367 folios. Catchwords in the bottom right corner on the folio at the end of each gathering, e.g. f.256v, 'is yeue me.' There are very small scribal catchwords at the the far bottom of some folios, e.g. f.61v 'but.' Quire and leaf signatures on the first four folios of each gathering, beginning on f.1r, a ij and continuing through the MS except where they have been cropped and are barely visible, e.g. quire xlvi fols. 361r and 363r. There are two sets of quire and leaf signatures on quire xxxii; 20i-iiij and gi-iiij. The quire and leaf signatures change from letters to numbers after qi-iiij (xvi) beginning with li-iiij (4i-iiij).

(iv) Written space 210mm x 160mm[14]; but variable between hands and repairs. Prick marks are visible on nearly all folios at the farthest right hand edge but trimmed off in some cases. There are no prick marks on f.163. Ruled horizontal and vertical lines are visible, e.g. f.36r. The text runs in two columns of 39 lines on most folios, except f. 162V, f.163 and 365v which have two columns of 38 lines and f.367 which has two columns of 35 lines. But f.89v has 40 lines in the second column with a 41st line partially rubbed out leaving one word 'clothedest.'

(v.) There is evidence of three main hands in the MS: two are the primary scribes; one does correction folios. A fourth hand has corrected the manuscript. There is evidence that at least some of the corrections were made from a different exemplar.[15] There is also a great deal of later marginal annotation.

fols. 1-11, 20-27, 36-43, etc. in alternating gatherings to the end of the MS.	Hand A. Clear, even Anglicana Formata, dating alternating gatherings from the first quarter of the 15th century. There is consistent use more or less to the end of the thorn with a Hybrid Secretary form of 'g' dating from the early 15th century. Brown-black ink.
fols. 12-19, 28-35, etc. in alternating gatherings to the end of the MS. especially f.95v-96r	Hand B. This hand is neat, clear and heavier than Hand A, leaning more towards Gothic than Anglicana Formata. In the middle of words the double chambered 'a' is replaced by the single chambered 'a'. Brown-black ink.
fol.163	Ian Doyle has identified the scribe of f.163 as Stephen Dodesham who worked in the mid-15th century in a number of scriptoria. (See below on St. Albans).
fol.243v, 244r, 244v and 245r.	Hand C. Neat, Gothic book hand dating from the early to mid- 15th century with extremely ornate 'w's and sharp single-chambered 'a's. Light brown ink. There is a decorated ascender on f.244r which reaches into the top margin. Fols. 243v,244r-v and 245r are written in both Hand A and Hand C. Hand C picks up in the middle of columns where text may have been left out or erased.

Omissions from the text and corrections to the text are entered in the margins. One hand, Hand D, is responsible for almost all of the marginal corrections of which there are quite a few. The text has also been crossed out in several places where passages were repeated. There are also detailed instructions on how the text should be corrected on some folios, the most legible of which are included below. There is evidence of several different hands in the margins in the form of practice scrawls, page headings and personal notes which cover a wide period of time. Again, the following are the more legible.

f.4r	'he asked her' correction in the right hand margin. Hand D.

f.9v 'The Natiuite of o(ure) lord' page heading in a later, scrawling secretary hand. Same on f.11r.

f.26v A tiny correction written between the lines of the text so as not to interfere with the scrollwork at the bottom in a neat gothic hand.

f.61v The corrections in the margin are written over some of the scrolls in a broader hand than the other corrections.

f.74r 'At þe marke aboue shuld begyn that begyneth at a lyke marke in þe lefe next her folowing. And *þat þat* begyneth at þis marke shuld be at such an odir*e* marke in þe lefe next befor this' in light brown ink. This hand is a spidery secretary and appears a few more times in the MS giving correction instructions. The "marke" refered to is a flower-shaped mark. The 'lefe next befor this' is midway down the first column of f.73r: 'for segn v^{t} h^{c}'

f.75r This is the 'lefe next her folowing' and the mark is at the top of the second column: 'the[re] foloweth her*e* shuld be in first side of the lefe next befor this at þe sign in þe midel m*ar*gyne.'

f.78r 'Sceynt Gregori' page heading in brown ink.

f.80r 'Gregory' page heading in black ink in a strong, bold, Gothic hand.

f.93r Two page numbers: 'pm9' in a small neat hand in brown ink and 'C' in the same Gothic hand as the newer set of page numbers, in black ink.

f.162r 'bodi (of) [ ]obena' in a loose practice scrawl which has been faintly crossed out.

f.162v 'next aftr*e* this shuld folowe [ ] *þat* is þe begynnyng of þe next lefe saue oone at other sign' in the same hand as f.74r and f.75r. The mark is another flower design.

f.163v 'Se more atte this same marke' the marke is a circumflex shape. The same hand as f. 162v.

f.179r '[ ]hgo [ ]ll madie xviijth day of August / In the yere of our lorde god 1555/ [M]arye bye the grace of god kynge/ Amen' upside down in the bottom margin in

a loose scrawl like that found on the top of some pages. These three lines have been carefully crossed through in faint brown pencil.

f.233v '[D]ie septem triginta trib$_3$ [d]ie octo Maria / virgo mat*er* vidua vixit in orbe pia'[16] in a faded brown ink. The hand is similar to that of Hand C, but smaller and very neat. Early 15th century.

f.234r 'Edwarde Goldisburgh constat liber' in the extact same hand as the inscription on f.233v.

f.353r A symbol in the right margin of the first column is explained in the bottom margin: 'which was cleped Costis and Anon aft*re* that died the qluene[17]' The mark is a triangle with a dot on each side and one in the middle.

f.365r The text of the MS ends with a brief epilogue in red: 'Here endeth the Boke of the life of Seintes called in latyn legenda aurea compiled and drawen into englissh bi worthi clerkes and doctours of Diuinite [suengly] aftre þe tenure of þe latin.'

(vi) Punctuation varies significantly with each scribe. Scribe A uses a great number of paragraph marks to indicate speech and new sentences, with occasional use of *punctus* and *punctus elevatus*. Scribe B uses the paragraph marks less frequently. The most striking example of this shift is seen on f.96r. The paragraph marks are replaced by faint dashes or back-slashes. *Punctus* and *punctus elevatus* are used more frequently. This is where three folios were lost (f.95v) and the narrative was picked up by another scribe on f.96r.

(vii) Brown leather 19th-century boards, with gold stamping on the spine.

(viii) Good condition generally. Any damaged folios have been repaired and patched, e.g. f.259, f.41. The page corner is cut on f.15 but the prick marks follow the edge of the cut. There is a slit down part of the middle margin on f. 101.

IV HISTORY AND PROVENANCE OF THE MS

Linguistic analysis reveals that Harley MS 630 was written in dialects from Leistershire and Norfolk (Scribe A) and dialects from Norfolk and Warwickshire (Scribe B).[18] The spelling of Scribe A can also be attributed, in some cases, to Warwickshire, e.g *þorowe* (Lei, Wrk)

and *porogh* (Lei, Wrk) and others to Norfolk, e.g. *answhered* (Nfk), *poure* (Lei, Nfk) and *power* for 'poor' (Nfk). Scribe A also uses spellings which can be attributed to Leistershire, Norfolk and Warwickshire: *flessh* (Lei, Nfk, Wrk), *soule* (Lei, Nfk, Wrk), *yeveth* (Lei), *yeue* (Lei, Nfk), *yaue* (Lei, Wrk), *gaf* (Lei, Nfk), *ayene* (Lei), *segh* (Lei), *togidre* (Nfk), *togidre* (Nfk). The dialect of Scribe B is distinct in *Agatha* and appears to be predominately Norfolk and Warwickshire, though Lincolnshire is also a possibility: *blessid* (Li, Nfk, Wrk), *answhered* and *answhere* (Nfk), *filth* (filth), *either* (Li, Nfk), *epir* (Nfk), *sich* (Nfk, Li, Wrk), *a bouȝt* (Nfk), *shalt* (Wrk), *a yene* (Wrk), *wolt* (Wrk), *wol* (Nfk), and *wil* (Nfk) in second person singular. Norfolk is the predominant dialect of both scribes. Hamer noted in his description of the language of the *Gilte Legende* that Harley MS 630 "is not consistent in its spellings, but forms *dud*, *mony*, and *begon* (sg.) suggest the West Midlands".[19]

Harley MS 630's relationship to St. Albans monastery, Hertfordshire and to the poet John Lydgate, will be discussed in a separate chapter. (cf. pp.30-37: Harley MS 630: St. Albans and Lydgate)

V DISCUSSION

This book is a well-cared for, late 14th century version of the Middle English *Gilte Legende*. There is evidence that it was written in the scriptorium of St. Albans monastery, and was used by John Lydgate as a supplementary source of his 15th century poem *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*. A marginal inscription indicates that it may have belonged to Edward Goldesburgh who was from a prominent Yorkshire family and who may have had connections to St. Albans monastery, a connection which will be discussed in more detail further on. (cf. pp.30-37; for discussion of the Goldesburghs, cf. pp.37-43)

Trinity MS 319

I CONTENTS

There are 17 lives from the *Gilte Legende* and a version of the life of Saint Dorothy which appears to be based on Osbern Bokenham's *Legend of Holy Women* and a different version of the life of Saint Katherine.

(fols. 2v-4v, 15r-16v)	The Life of Saint Dorothy
(fols. 7r-14v, 5r-6v, 1r-2r)	The Life of Saint Katherine
(fols. 17r- 20r)	The Life of Saint Anthony

(fols. 20r-21v)	The Life of Saint Fabyan
(fols. 21v-24v)	The Life of Saint Sebastian
(f. 24v)	The Life of Saint Agnes (fragment)
(fols. 25r-28v)	The Life of Saint Peter the Apostle
(fols. 29r-38v)	The Life of Saint Paul the Apostle
(fols. 39r-40v, 43,45v)	The Life of Saint George
(fols. 45v-50v)	The Life of Saint Denis
(fols. 41, 51r-56v)	The Life of Saint Leonard
(fols. 42, 57-59r)	The Life of Saint Barthlomew
(fols. 59r-68r)	The Life of Mary Magdalene
(fols. 68r-75v)	The Life of Saint Lawrence
(fols. 75v-77v)	The Life of Saint Hippolyte
(fols. 77v-81v)	The Life of Saint Christopher
(fols. 81v-88r)	The Life of Saint Nicholas
(fols. 88v-93v)	The Life of Saint John the Baptist
(fols. 94r-96v)	The 11,000 Virgins (fragment)

II ILLUSTRATION AND DECORATION

There is no illustration or decoration, save paragraph marks and Latin passages in red.

III TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

(i) Thin, worn vellum, averging 215mm x 150mm.[20]

(ii) Many leaves are lost and the surviving folios are wrongly bound. It is numbered 1-96 with 81 repeated. Auvo Kurvinen has shown that the order should be: 7-14, 5-6, 1-4, 15-40, 43-50, 41, 51-56, 42, 57-96.[21]

(iii) The 96 leaves of the MS are so disordered that there are no clear gatherings. The first fragment contains the lives of Saint Katherine and Saint Dorothy (fols. 2,3,4,15,16). The second fragment, which is in a different hand but in a similar format, begins with the life of Saint Anthony. Kurvinen has f.7 as the first folio in the proper order, but f.7 begins chapter seven of *Katherine*, e.g. f.7 (chapter 7), f.8 (chapter 8) and so on. Between f.25r and f.28v *Agnes* ends, abruptly and incomplete, and *Peter* begins. Between f.40v. and f.41r *George* ends, incomplete, and *Leonard* begins.

(iv) Written space on average 195mm x 125mm with 25-35 lines to the page.[22] Prick marks have been cropped. There are no ruled lines for the text, only the text boundaries.

(v) There is evidence of several different hands, varying in size and neatness. There is also a great deal of marginal scrawl, indicating that it was used as a practice book of sorts because words are copied out in the margin in various styles, as though the scribbler was trying to imitate the scribe.

(fols.7-14,5,6,2-4,15,16)	Hand A.The letter forms are consistent with late 14th century Anglicana Formata and early 15th century Hybrid Secretary. The chapter headings in *Katherine* are textura rotunda (13th to 16th century). Light brown ink.
(fols.17 to end)	Hand B. This is a later hand, with letter forms consistent with rounded Anglicana Formata, mid-15th century. The lines are more widely spaced. Dark brown ink.

The rest of the hands are marginalia. The following are the clearest examples:

f.33r	'ate*quam* 'O [ ] hi discipulis puer c*um* cupit ate*quam* doceri / huc u[itat] hic animo concepe dict*am* tuo' in a very fine, small italic script. Brown ink.
f.47v	'Poule ys he a man onely or a spyrte Than sayde Denyse [s]ayed he a man ys god and man but he ys he that' in a contemporary 15th century hand. Light brown ink.
fols.49r,50v,56r	'Phillipe hay pater noster qui is in celis','Phillip ohaye Phillip hay', 'Phillipe hay Phillip hay' all in a secretary hand, like practice script. Black ink.
f.57r	'Katherin Walsh' written twice, in two different forms in a late 16th century hand. Brown ink.
f.62r	'The condisions of thre oble [E]arion is the[ ] the berer here of [G]anise Philipp [A]ole [ ] [E]aranust.' In a 16th-17th century secretary. Faded brown/black ink.
f.67r	'Patrick Campowle' in a later, more child-like hand. Black ink.
f.74r	'Beati imaculati in via' in large red letters, underscored in red.

f.88r 'Thynke on me and haue in mynde/ howe I to the haue be so kynde/ And loke thow neuer louer take/ But me that dyed for thy sake.' This verse follows the closing of *Nicholas*.

(vi) Punctuation varies with each fragment. The *Dorothy* and *Katherine* fragment uses *punctus*, and paragraph marks to indicate quotations. Latin sections are in red. The *Gilte Legende* fragment uses *punctus* and *punctus elevatus* as well as paragraph marks.

(vii) Russet 19-century leather boards. Lined with cream paper.

(viii) Fairly bad condition. The text is worn and faded, in some places illegible. There is quite a bit of marginal scrawl and doodling. The damage to the vellum is very heavy from f.85r on; the leaves are torn and dog-eared, and the last few folios are almost black.

IV History And Provenance Of The MS

After linguistic analysis of the spelling of various words the *Dorothy* and *Katherine* fragment of TCD MS 319 can be traced to three different counties. The spelling of 'father' as *fadire* points to Nottinghamshire; 'whose' as *whos* indicates Norfolk, as does *tyll* , *sustres, wylt* as the second person singular of 'shall', *worshyp, brennyng, brent, agene* and *yef; ayene* for 'again' points to Leicestershire. Many of the words which are of the Leicestershire and Norfolk dialect are also from Lincolnshire. Many words are found all three counties (Nfk, Lei, Nt) or two of the three as their main location: *blyssyd, sowle, seene* (Nt, Lei), *moche* (Lei, Nfk), *to gidir* (Lei, Nfk), *yowre* (Lei, Nfk), *flesshe* (Nt, Lei), *cowde* (Nt, Lei, Nfk), *thynke* (Nt, Lei, Nfk), and *opon* (Nt, Lei). The liguistic evidence suggests that this fragment was written by either a Nottingham scribe with a Norfolk exemplar, or a Norfolk scribe with a Nottingham exemplar. The Leicestershire spellings simply seem to be mixed in, there are not enough that are indigenous to Leicestershire alone to suggest that it was written by a Leicestershire scribe.

According to Hamer, the *GiL* section of TCD MS 319, excluding *Dorothy* and *Katherine*, was most likely copied from Harley MS 630, however the spelling is inconsistent, sometimes copying the Harley spelling and sometimes "substituting others presumably from his [the scribe's] own dialect".[23] He draws the conclusion that the forms *sylfe* and *sy* in conjunction with *hundreth* "fit only North Bucks or the Suffolk-Essex border".[24] However, in his description of TCD MS 319, Hamer says the manuscript "contains nineteen lives, consisting of a *Katherine* of the version found in *GiL*, a *Dorothy* which is not the *ALL*, and seventeen *GiL* lives"[25]

But he gives further evidence of the uniqueness of *Katherine* in TCD MS 319 in his discussion of the affliations of the *GiL* MSS: "Of the half dozen or so agreements of H1T (Harley MS 630 and TCD MS 319) in *Katherine*, all are trivial except 571 *ful of envie to* H1T for *ful enmy to*, and even this could easily have happened twice independently. There is no reason to think that b or b1 on Kurvinen's stemma was a *GiL*, and the most likely explanation is that the compiler of T copied *Katherine* and *Dorothy* first from another source and then turned to H1 for the rest of his selection."[26] I will examine the relationship of these manuscripts to one another and reproduce the relevant stemma further on. (cf. pp.25-26)

Based on textual evidence, I believe that a segment of TCD MS 319 may well be either a prose copy of Osbern Bokenham's *Dorothy* or, perhaps, his source. I will examine this evidence in greater detail in a later chapter. (cf. pp.43-47: The Provenance of TCD 319: A Copy of Bokenham's *Saint Dorothy* and *Saint Katherine* or his Source?)

V Discussion

TCD MS 139 is a badly battered book containing two separate fragments, one of which may be part of Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* and the other which is part of the *Gilte Legend.* It has been written in two or three different hands with a multitude of marginal annotations. The end of the MS is badly damaged and blackened; it is almost illegible. Both sections were written in the early to mid 15th century and were most likely bound together because of the similarity of their subject matter, or because both were deemed to be the work of Osbern Bokenham. The folios are misbound and many are missing. This MS contains one of the few surviving versions of the *Life of Saint Dorothy* and a version of *Katherine* which is not in the original *Legenda Aurea.* (cf. pp.43-)

Additional MS 35298

I Contents

The *Gilte Legende* occupies fols. 2r-168v with four other extra items and the lives of various early English and Anglo-Saxons saints not found in the *Gilte Legende.* The text begins:

> Legenda Sanctorum in Englysshe. Here begynneth the boke of þe lyfe of seyntis callid in Latyn Legenda Sanctorum. Of þe whiche begynnyth first þe lyfe of Seynt Andrewe þe Apostle...

The order of the saints' lives follows the same order as Harley MS 630 with the English saints tucked in between the *Lyfe of Seynt Leon the Pope* and the *Catyvyte of Seynt Iohn*

þe baptyst and then again between the *Lyfe of Seynt Appollynar* and the *Lyfe of Seynt Crysoyne vy(r)gyn*. After the English saints, there are some episodes from the Old Testament. There is also a series of chapters on the meanings of certain church services and symbols, including church glass and the holy bread, towards the end of the MS, e.g fols.168v-178v: *Certein tretys that declarith whate the churche betokenyth and dyvers oþer maters.*[27] These are as follows:

(fols. 48r-53r)	The Lyfe of Edward kyng & co(n)fesso(ure)
(f. 53r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Wenefrede þe v(yr)gyn
(fols. 53r-57r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Erkenwolde
(fols. 57r-61v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Albon & Amphiabal
(fols. 73r-74v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Edmond pf po(r)tency
(fols. 74v-75r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Bryde v(yr)gyn
(f. 75r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Edmond þe ma(rt)yr
(fols. 75r-75v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Frydywyde
(fols. 75v-76r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Edward þe ma(rt)yr
(fols. 76r-76v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Alphey
(f. 76v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Austyn Anglor
(fols. 76v-77r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Oswold bisshop
(fols. 77r-77v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Dunston bisshop
(fols. 77v-78r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Aldeline
(fols. 78r-78v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Thyophyle
(f. 78v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Swythen
(fols. 78v-79v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Keneline kyng
(f. 79v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Chadde bisshop
(fols. 79v-80r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Cuthbert
(fols. 80r-80v)	The Lyfe of Seynt Feythe þe v(yr)gyn
(fols. 80v-81r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Dorathe v(yr)gyn
(fols. 81v-84r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Brandon
(fols. 90v-91r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Ensebee
(fols. 95v-96r)	The Lyfe of Seynt Syzyat
(f. 153v)	The Lyfe of Abbot Pastor
(fols. 153v-154r)	The Lyfe of Abbot John
(fols. 154r-154v)	The Lyfe of Abbot Moyses
(fols. 154v-157r)	The Lyfes of Bazalaam & Beremyte
(fols. 162r-165r)	The Lyfes of Adam and Eve
(fols. 165r-167r)	The v. Wyles of Kyng Pharao
(f. 167r)	The holy tyme of Advent
(fols. 168v-end)	What þe chirche betokenyth and dyuers oþer maters

II ILLUSTRATION AND DECORATION

Elaborate illuminated presentation page on f.2r in pink, green, lavender, light blue, dark blue, white, purple, gold, black, and red all around the text and down the middle margin between the two columns. Large illuminated initial on f.2r intertwined with the border. The manuscript has red headings, gold initials with elaborate multi-coloured scrollwork, alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

III TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

(i) Vellum, mid-15th century, measuring 420mm x 300mm.[28]

(ii) Original foliation j to Clxxiij starts on f.2r.[29] There is a large red number 1 on f.2r in the top right hand corner and the page numbers are present through the MS, e.g. f.9 is p.8. The foliation is now: fols. 1-178.

(iii) i^{8+1} (fols. 1-9) with one leaf pasted in before the presentation page (f.2r) on which the table of contents is written in a different hand. ii^{8} (fols. 10-17) with page numbers continuing 9-16. There are no quire and leaf signatures after i (i-iiij on fols. 2-9) but there are catchwords at the end of each gathering, e.g. f.17v 'do ayenst þe com(m)and.' Each gathering appears to be individually stitched and then all the gatherings were bound together, e.g. f.72v which has a great deal of white space left after the end of a life which is at the end of a gathering. There are 22 gatherings in total with the last gathering missing four leaves. There is a total of 178 folios.

(iv) Written space in the first hand averaging 325mm x 225mm, in the second hand 315mm x 240mm, in double columns of 67 to 73 lines in the first hand and 70 to 83 lines in the second hand.[30] At the end of *Appollanarius* (f.72v) there is a blank column and a half, which most likely marks the end of a gathering. The text continues on f.73r with the rest of the English saints, beginning with *Edmonde Confessor*. Perhaps the separation was done to indicate the two different sections of the manuscript. Ruled lines visible, both vertical and horizontal, eg. f.57r.

(v) Hamer writes that there are only two hands evident in this MS, but there is evidence of three distinct hands. There is very little marginal annotation on the first folio and on the text.

f.1 Hand A. A closely written table of contents in mid-15th centuryAnglicana Formata mixed with Secretary. There is extensive use of dropped 's'

but not 'r'. The handwriting gets larger and more untidy on the second side (f.1v) as the table of contents continues.

fols.2-9 Hand B. This hand is very small and neat with fere-textura, rotunda formata 'd' and 'r'. It is a hybrid secretary from the early to mid-15th century. Faded black ink.

fols.10-178 Hand C. This hand is the same kind of hybrid secretary as hand B, but it is much bolder and less rounded than the previous hand. Elaborate ascenders into the top margin are a mark of this hand. Dark black ink.

There are marginalia on f.1r in the top right corner and along the table of contents, all of which are in different hands. Throughout the MS there are occasional marginalia, but these are rare, and in many cases unreadable.

f.1r Thomas Norte (earliest hand); Wm Browne; Wm Herbert 1776. Bishop (next to St. Leger), Pope (next to St. Felix), The Confessor (next to St. Edmond of Poteny).

f.110r 'Sptuans times 9^{8} nogh' in the top margin, very faint later hand, probably 17th century.

f.134r 'with S. Ursula' in a very small faint hand, probably 17th century, written below the text at the beginning of the *11,000 Virgins*.

f.170v Very faint Latin note, most likely a correction to the adjoining text.

(vi) There is no punctuation except paragraph marks.

(vii) Leather bound 19th-century boards, rust-brown. Various crest plates on the inside front cover, including a leather one from a previous binding and a paper one that reads: 'From the Library of the Earl of Ashburnham May 1897.'

(viii) Virtually perfect condition. Folio 1 is a bit smudged and marked, and has been written on by various owners but the rest of the MS is in pristine condition, despite the fact that four leaves are missing at the end. There are a few holes in the vellum: fols. 145,170 and 174. In the first two instances the text is written around the hole and in the third, the

hole is in the margin. In some places the ink is faded and difficult to read, e.g. 106r and 109v.

IV HISTORY AND PROVENANCE OF THE MS

From the inscriptions on f. 1r it is clear that this MS belonged variously to Thomas Norte (i.e. Thomas North, knight,[31]), William Browne and William Herbert. The latter, who had possession of the MS in 1776, has been identified by Kurvinen as the bibliographer and poet who possibly translated Plutarch.[32] The book plate inside the cover indicates that it was also part of the Earl of Ashburnham's collection before being sold or given to the British Library in 1897 or 1898. It was previously catalogued as the Ashburnham Appendix 91[33] or the Ashburnham MS.[34] Kurvinen draws interesting parallels between MS Additional 35298 (which she refers to as A_2) and Caxton's printed edition of 1438. She compares the contents of MS Additional 35298 against Caxton's edition, MS Douce 372 and a selection of the other *GL* MSS, and points out that several legends which appear in Caxton also appear in the Additional manuscript but not in the other *Gilte Legende* MSS.

> Out of Caxton's total of 250 - or 249 - legends, 175 are found in the *Gilte Legende* as represented by MSS [Douce], [Egerton], and [Harley 4775], 152 in the mutilated [Addit.11565] and 189 in [Addit. 35298], while [Lambeth], before the loss of the first 22 chapters, contained 152. These figures show that in its contents [Addit. 35298] is nearer to Caxton's *Golden Legend* than any other of the extant MSS, with the possible exception of of [Addit. 11565], whose original contents cannot be ascertained. Furthermore, a point worth particular notice is that [Addit. 35298] is the only MS that contains the lives of SS. *Edward the Confessor*, *Winifred*, and *Erkenwald*, found in Caxton as Nos. 190, 200 and 22.[35]

Kurvinen then goes on to compare the text of seven of the *GL* MSS with that of Caxton's edition, concluding that MS Additional 35298 may be the anonymous English source used by Caxton in his translation and edition:

> In view of the close agreement between Caxton's *Golden Legend* and MS [Addit. 35298] in contents as well as wording, it is possible that Caxton used this very MS of the *Gilte Legende* as his English source. However, the omission of a chapter in [Addit. 35298] which occurs in the *Gilte Legende* and Caxton and the few readings common to Caxton and a MS or MSS other than [Addit. 35298] point to the alternative possibility that Caxton's English MS was not [Addit. 35298] itself but a parent or sister MS, now lost, which was very close to [Addit. 35298] but without some of its omissions and individual readings.
>
> Whichever of the alternatives is considered the more probable, [Addit. 35298] is among the extant MSS of the *Gilte Legende* the one that must be the basis of comparison between the *Golde Legend* and the *Gilte Legende*. In other words, all study of Caxton's use of his English source, of his use of the English language, and of his style in the *Golden Legend* must be based on a comparison of his text with [Addit. 35298].[36]

V DISCUSSION

This MS was obviously designed to be a showpiece and was evidently kept as such. There are no marks on any of the folios, except the first one, so it was probably meant for important eyes only. The presentation page is beautifully illuminated, indicating that it was an expensive book to produce, and the individual leaves are so clean and white that it appears to have been carefully stored and only occasionally read. It was professionally done, most likely started by scribe B, who provided the example for the style of the text, and completed by scribe C. The table of contents was added later by scribe A.

Other *Gilte Legende* MSS[37]

BL ADDITIONAL MS 11565

Refered to by Hamer as (A1) with BL Additional MS 35298 refered to as (A2). Vellum, late fifteenth century, 214 leaves measuring 425x310mm, written space 305x205mm, in double columns of 56 lines, with red headings, gold initials and blue paragraph marks. The bookplate on the inside cover is that of George Courtenay, and on f.170v are marginal scribblings: "Tho: Elger, John Elger 1680 IOHN ELGER INR." This manuscript contains ff.1r-30r *Speculum vite Domini nostri Ihesu Christi* translated by Nicholas Love (also in MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 142), incomplete at the beginning, ff.30r-33v *A shorte tretise of the hiest and moste worthy sacrament of Cristis blessid bodi and the myracles therof,* incomplete at the end, and ff.34r-214v *Gilte Legende*, beginning: "Here begynnyth the life of seyntes and this boke is called yn Latyn Legenda Sanctorum. Of the whiche first bygynneth the life of Seint Andrew the Apostle..." and ending during 165 *Catherine*. Based on the original foliation, forty leaves have been lost by that point as well as an unknown number at the end. This manuscript contained the set of Additional Lives (*ALL*) found in BL Additional MS 35298, but parts of them are lost, being among the missing leaves.

DOUCE MS 372

Bodleian Summary Catalogue No. 21947, refered to by Hamer as (D). Vellum except ff.164-9 of paper (added later), now 170 leaves numbered 1-40, 40, 41-169, measuring 400x280mm, written space 310x210mm, in various hands, in double columns of 47 lines, with red headings, gold initials on a coloured background, and paragraph marks alternately of blue and of gold on a red background. MS Douce 372 contains only the *Gilte Legende*, including *Saint Alban*. It is badly mutilated and many of its leaves are lost and its margins are damaged. According to Kurvinen's careful reconstruction, it originally contained 33

quires of eight leaves, 100 of which are now lost. MS Douce 372 contains the colophon which has been the focal point of dating the *Gilte Legende* manuscripts to 1438 and another which shows that the manuscript was written before 1460:

> [B]e hit remembryd that Iohn Burton, citizen and mercer of london, past oute of this lyfe the xx day of Nouember the yere of oure lorde Mill. CCCC. lx. and the yere of kynge Herry the sixte after the conquest xxix. And the said Iohn Burton bequeth to dame Kateryne his douȝter a boke callyd Legenda sanctorum, the seyde Kateryne to haue hit and to occupye to hir owne vse and at hir owne liberte ...

BL EGERTON MS 876

This is the manuscript used as the copy text for Hamer and Russell's critical edition of the *Gilte Legende* manuscripts. Hamer refers to this manuscript as (E). Vellum, mid-fifteenth century, 323 leaves (of which ff.1 and 321-3 are later paper additions) measuring 375x230mm, written space 255x165mm, in double columns of 45 or 46 lines, with illuminated capitals and borders, paragraph marks alternately in gold and in blue filigree on a red background with red chapter headings. This manuscript contains only the *Gilte Legende* and is incomplete at the beginning and the end, and has one or more leaves missing after ff.6, 56, 63, 85, 240, 315 and 319, lacking a total of 25 leaves.

MS GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL XII

Refered to by Hamer as (G). Paper, mid-fifteenth century, 214 leaves measuring now 255x200mm (the top of the pages having been cut off, removing all or part of original page headings), written space 210x140mm, with 35-41 lines to the pages, gold initials on backgrounds of red and blue, and alternating red and blue paragraph marks. This manuscript was owned by "Henricus Fowler Rector de Minchinhampton in Com Gloucester" which is recorded on f.1. MS Gloucester Cathedral XII was identified by Görlach as the first half of a *GiL*; it ends with 93 *James the Greater*, the last few words of which have been inserted in a later hand at the bottom of the page. The last few leaves are wrongly bound and should be in the order 204, 211-3, 205-210, 214. A quire of twelve leaves is missing after f.168, which ends in 78 *Gervase & Prothase*, and f. 169 begins in 79 *Alban & Amphibalus*. Hamer cites Ker in suggesting that this missing quire must have contained extra lives, such as *Edward, Winifred*, and *Erkenwald* which appear in Additional MS 35298 at this point, but adds that the missing part of *Alban* would have filled ten leaves of this manuscript, and the rest of *Gervase* would have filled the other two.

BL HARLEY MS 4775

Refered to by Hamer as (H2) with BL Harley MS 630 refered to as (H1). Vellum, late-fifteenth century, 264 leaves with more than twenty scattered leaves having been lost, measuring 455x325mm, written space 320x215mm, double columns of 48 lines, with illuminated capitals, red or blue paragraph marks, and red chapter headings. According to Hamer, this manuscript is a "magnificent volume", "beautifully written"[38] and the scribe has been identified by Ker as having also written MS University College, Oxford, 85. This manuscript contains only *Gilte Legende* and is incomplete at the end, finishing during the last item, 179 *Five Wiles of Pharaoh.* It begins on f.1r::

> Here biginnyth the meroure and the liuynge of holie martires and of seintis that suffriden here in her liuis grete peyne and passioune in encresinge her ioye in the blisse of heuen, to excite and stere symple lettrid men and women to encrese in vertue bi the offten redinge and hiringe of this boke. For bi hiringe of this boke. For bi hiringe mannes bileuinge is mooste stablid and istrengthid. Whos names ben rehersid sewynge in this table ymarkid with this moumbrarie...

The table of contents ends on f.2v, after this colophon, and the *GiL* begins on f.3 with the following preface: "This boke is compiled of the lyues of the seyntes, callid in Latyn Legenda Aurea."

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 142

Refered to by Hamer as (K). Vellum, mid to late-fifteenth century, 126+ii leaves measuring 330x225mm, written space 285x200mm, double columns of 40 lines, gold initials on a coloured background and red paragraph marks and chapter headings. The names of two early owners are recorded, one on f.126v: "betrys beuerleys" and the other on the last fly-leaf: "Wylliam Bodleys and Elizabethe hys wyffe". This manuscript contains eight religious pieces, including *The myrrour of þe blessid liif of Ihesu* (ff.1-85), translated by Nicholas Love, which is also in BL Additional MS 11565 (A1), and three lives of the *GiL* (ff.93r-107v): 2 *Nicholas*, 165 *Catherine*, and 87 *Margaret.*

Lambeth Palace Library MS 72

Refered to by Hamer as (L). Vellum, late-fifteenth century, i+420+i leaves measuring 330x225mm, written space 225x160mm, double columns of 42 lines, blue initials on a red background, alternate red and blue paragraph marks, red chapter headings. This manuscript contains the *GiL* augmented by the *ALL* and four other items, but omitting 35 *GiL* items. There are 40 leaves missing from the beginning and the manuscript starts in 23 *Agnes.* According to Hamer: "Probably one leaf is lost at the end of the text, which is followed by an early table of contents which includes the missing first 22 items."[39] The name Francis Clarke, in various forms, appears frequently in the manuscript. This verse appears on f.252:

Hope well and haue well
So it may fall
But hope not to myche
and at last lose all

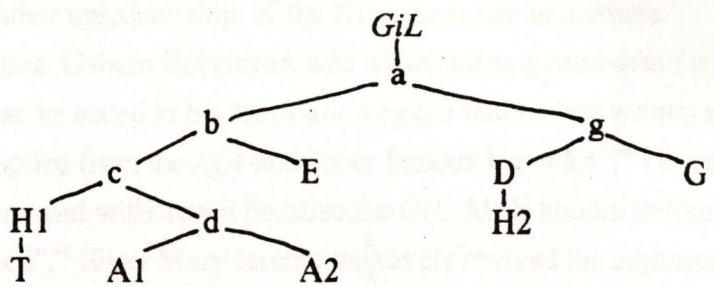
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 0.9.1

Refered to by Hamer as (T2). Vellum, before 1477 (the date of an indenture on a flyleaf),[40] 225+vi leaves, in various hands, measuring 300x215mm, written space 215x155mm, 32-36 lines to a page, illuminated initials and full borders. The manuscript begins with five *GiL* items (ff.1v-48v), 112 *Assumption of BVM*, 165 *Catherine*, 93 *James the Greater*, 36 *Purification of BVM*, and 49 *Annunciation*. According to Hamer, Kurvinen showed that *Catherine* in this manuscript and that in Douce MS 372 are closely related and share a common ancestor, and the same may be true for the other *GiL* items.

AFFLIATIONS OF *GILTE LEGENDE* MSS

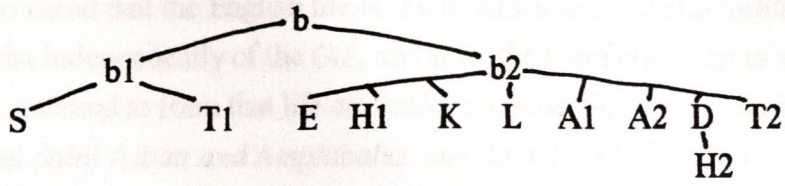
In his 1978 edition, Richard Hamer fully outlines the relationship of each of the *GiL* manuscript and the possible exemplars, which have been lost. I will focus primarily on the conclusions which he drew for Harley MS 630 (Hamer's H1) and TCD MS 319 (Hamer's T). As already stated, according to Hamer, T was copied from H1, except for *Dorothy* and *Catherine*. They have many conjunctive errors, but T also has separative errors (*causyd* for *cesed*)[41], and in some cases T has made corrections to the text of H1: "H1 was extensively corrected, and errors which can be shown to have been inherited have been put right and omitted passages inserted; but also some correct readings have been changed to incorrect ones."[42] Hamer goes on to examine the relationship between the three lives which are the focus of his edition, *Nicholas*, *George*, and *Bartholomew* as they appear in each manuscript and draws his stemma primarily from these lives.

From his extensive textual evidence, Hamer provides the following stemma for the relationship of the *GiL* manuscripts:



Hamer expounds on the relevant variations in the other manuscripts and amplifies the stemma accordingly, but as these variations do not include either H1 or T, I have not

included those stemmata. However, there are some variations, particularly in *Catherine*, which are relevant. Kurvinen's stemma for *Catherine* is as follows (b2 corresponds to Hamer's a, T1 to Hamer's T and S is Stonyhurst Archives MS B.xliii which only contains *Catherine*):[43]



As stated above, Kurvinen showed that the agreements between the *Catherine* in H1 and T are trivial, and that *Catherine* and *Dorothy* derive from another source other than the *GiL*.

In January 1980, a large single leaf of an "apparently once grand fifteenth-century manuscript in Middle English"[44] was discovered among a collection of thirty-one leaves of various medieval manuscripts which was sold at California Book Auction Galleries where it subsequently came into the possession of Toshiyuki Takamiya, who established that the leaf is part of the *Life of Saint Silvester*, from the *GiL*. According to Takamiya and Hamer, this leaf is part of a previously unrecorded manuscript which belongs to Hamer's 'b' group and shares some "five variant readings with BL MSS, Egerton 876 (E), Harley 630 (H1), Additional 11565 (A1), and Additional 35298 (A2)"[45]

TRANSLATOR AND DATE OF THE *GILTE LEGENDE*

Many of the *Gilte Legende* MSS refer to a Latin exemplar from which the story was translated, or as Harley MS 630 says, "drawen into englissh bi worthi clerkes and doctours of Diuinite suengly after þe tenure of þe Latin". The colophon of Douce MS 372 says the *Gilte Legende* is the English for the Latin *Legenda Aurea* "which was drawen out of Frensshe into Englisshe The yere of oure lorde, a MCCCC and xxxviij bi a synfulle wrecche". This colophon has been the starting point of many debates on the date and authorship, or rather translatorship, of the *Gilte Legende* as a whole.

At one time, Osbern Bokenham was advanced as a candidate for being the "synfulle wrecche" because he stated in his *Mappula Angliae* that he had written a collection of saints' lives compiled from the *LgA* and "oþer famous legendes".[46] Horstmann put forth Bokenham's name and withdrew it because the *GiL* MSS known to him "contained none of the lives named".[47] Sister Mary Jeremy tentatively revived the argument when new manuscripts which did contain some of these lives came to light: A1, A2 and L. However, Hamer has since called her theory into question and has advanced one of his own based on the passage at the end of *Saint Alban* which refers to the author of *Alban* as being

"synfulle" and "wrecched". However, as I point out further in this thesis, this section of *Alban* is a direct translation of William's *Vita*, one of the Latin sources used in the compilation of the *Life of Saint Alban and Amphibalus*.

Hamer also suggests that the *Gilte Legende* collection was compiled and possibly translated at St. Albans monastery, an idea which I will examine further in a later chapter. However, it should be noted that the English life of *Saint Alban and Saint Amphibalus* does not appear to exist independently of the *GiL*, and since the two Latin sources which were translated and combined to form that life are found in known St. Albans' manuscripts, it is fair to suggest that *Saint Alban and Amphibalus*, and therefore the *GiL*, was translated at St. Albans.

Manfred Görlach suggests that the *Gilte Legende*, and *Saint Alban*, may have been translated from the French *Legende Doree*. However, I do not believe this to be the case. Only the Douce manuscript refers to a possible French source, and there is no reason to believe that the compiler of the *GiL* used a French exemplar and not the Latin *LgA*. Hamer gives a very solid argument for the *GiL* having been translated from an exemplar of the *LgA*. However, I will discuss this idea further in the chapter on *Saint Alban* and I will put forward my own theories on the provenance of the *GiL*. (cf. pp.28-34)

As for the date inscribed in the Douce manuscript, no other alternative has been put forward. There is substantial evidence that Caxton used a copy of the *GiL*, one closely related to BL Additional MS 35298 as many of the lives included in Caxton's edition follow those found in this manuscript. Therefore, the collection was obviously translated before Caxton's edition of 1483. It is a possibility that the translator may have produced the manuscript himself, or worked closely with the scribe who did because of the many variations in content in the different manuscripts. However, this is just conjecture on my part. But considering the date in the Douce manuscript, and the position of the Douce manuscript on Hamer's stemma, dating the *GiL* collection to the early-fifteenth or late-fourteenth century seems the most plausible.

Sources

(a) Lives of female saints

The majority of the saints' lives in the *Gilte Legende* are taken from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. However, Jacobus took his legends from a variety of sources, sometimes using the works of Church fathers, such as St Ambrose and St Jerome.

Jacobus left a list of his major works, six in total, in his *Chronicle of Genoa*, probably written between 1295 and 1297.[48] These works include: the *Chronicle* itself, *The Golden Legend*, a *Marialis*, and three volumes of sermons.[49] Jacobus often lists the source for each legend in the etymology before each life. These etymologies are a unique feature of

Jacobus' *Golden Legend* and are not included in the *Gilte Legende*. They consist of an explanation of the meaning of the name of the saint and how the name relates to the virtues of that particular saint. In most cases, these etymologies are completely fabricated, which may be why they are not included in the Middle English translations. Jacobus uses the popular saints of the liturigical calendar for his collection, using the most up-to-date lives of the most recent saints. Because of this desire for current material, many of the legends vary in style, length and contents, for example in *Saint Elizabeth* where Jacobus may have turned to the most readily available material, the official documentation of her canonisation, to write her legend.[50] However, he acknowledges his three main sources as the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, the *Tripartite History* of Cassiodorus, and the *Scholastic History* of Peter Comestor.[51] Jacobus also says that he adds many things.

Richard Hamer points out that "a substantial proportion of *The Golden Legend* was closely derived from works by two Dominicans, Jean de Mailly's *Summary of the Deeds and Miracles of Saints* (a lengthy work, despite its title) and Bartholomew of Trent's *Afterword on the Deeds of the Saints.*"[52] In cases where Jacobus turns to a single life for his source material, he is careful to say so, as in the life of Paula. However, Jacobus is not always explicit about the source for individual legends and in some cases says nothing at all. I intend to trace the sources for each of the female saints in Harley MS 630 individually, focusing, where possible, on the origin of each legend.

(b) Life Saint Alban and Saint Amphibalus

The *Life of Saint Alban and Amphibalus* which appears in the *GiL* is a compilation and translation of two Latin lives of St. Alban, the *Tractatus de Nobilitate, Vita et Martiro Albani et Amphibali* (BL MS Cotton Claudius E.iv ff.334v-336r) and William's *Vita*, but the legend of St. Alban has much earlier roots.

The first mention of Alban, the British proto-martyr, appears in the *Vita S. Germani* (Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, 418-448), written by Constantius of Lyons c.480.[53] However, the earliest account of his martyrdom was written by Gildas, in Latin, around the middle of the sixth century. Alban is found about thirty years later in a poem of Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers c.600-609, and in 731 Bede produced another account of Alban's martyrdom. Bede embellishes the legend somewhat, adding "local colour" and other attributes including the miracle of the river which dries up at Alban's feet. According to Van der Westhuizen, in 1904 Professor Meyer published "three versions of an earlier *Passio* which he showed to have been the source of Bede, and perhaps also of Gildas".[54]

The next version of the Saint Alban's martyrdom was written by Geoffrey of Monmouth, c.1139, in a chapter of his *History of the British People* dealing with the Diocletian persecutions in Britain. Though his source is Gildas, Geoffrey offers a less detailed account of Alban's martyrdom. He also makes the important addition of Saint

Amphibal as the confessor of Alban, an addition which may have arisen from a mistranslation of Gildas by Geoffrey; the reading of *amphibali* as a proper noun instead of translating it as a 'cloak'.[55] Geoffrey was the first, not only to give Amphibalus a name, but also to attribute a church to this "saint" in Winchester.

Not long after Geoffrey wrote his account of Alban's martyrdom, Abbot Simon of St. Albans (1167-87), one of Geoffrey's successors, improved the martyr's shrine during a time of increasing interest in the history and veneration of the saint. During this time, a monk at St. Albans, "a certain William, set about deliberately fabricating a longer and much more circumstantial narrative, which he dedicated to Simon".[56] This is the *Vita* which has been translated to form part of the *GiL*. William attempted to give his *Vita* credibility by beginning it with the "supposedly original author's preface".[57] This idea of creating a "history" to verify the events listed in the saint's life is not specific to William; it was picked up by later chroniclers of Alban:

> In spite of this allegedly original preface, there can be little doubt that the whole work is a fictitious product of William's pious zeal. William's pretence that his work is translated from a very old original, constitutes simply an attempt to give credence to the new, enlarged life. Indeed later, in Matthew Paris' *Life of Abbot Eadmer* (Abbot of St. Alban's in the late tenth century) we find a story about a very ancient book in the *British* tongue (idiomata antiquorum Britonum quo tunc temporis utebantur) – apparently Matthew knew better than to call the language 'Anglico'. This book was discovered in a recess in a wall while various excavations were being carried out in the old city of Verulamium, and was found to contain a Passion of St. Alban. The abbot commanded a certain learned priest, Unwona, to translate the work into Latin. When the translation was completed, the original immediately disintegrated into a little heap of dust. Nothing is known of the fate of Unwona's translation.
>
> Stories of this kind and claims such as the one William makes undoubtedly have their propaganda value for the monastery, but they are very difficult to believe...There seems to be no reason to give serious thought to what William has to say about his source.[58]

William's *Vita* is also the first to give Amphibal a "life" of his own; one in which he leaves Alban to his fate, converts thousands in Wales, who are all slaughtered by their kinsmen who have come to bring them back to Verulamium, and returns to the city to face his own martyrdom as decreed by the Roman judges. There he is eviscerated and stoned to death. This is an important addition to the legend on the part of William, even if "his circumstantial accounts of the words, deeds and martyrdom of this alleged teacher of Alban is wholly ficticious".[59]

William's *Vita* was influential and widely read. Another monk at St. Albans, Ralph of Dunstable, paraphrased William's work in Latin elegiacs at William's own request. Ralph of Dunstable's version is found in the same manuscript as the *Tractatus de Nobilitate*, BL MS Cotton Claudius E.iv. Matthew Paris summarised William's *Vita* in Latin prose, and

Paris is believed to have composed the Norman-French poem, *Vie De Seint Auban*, (between 1236 and 1250) from William's work.

The narrative of William's *Vita* begins when Alban is already a grown man; it is the later *Tracttus de Nobilitate*, apparently written under the direct supervision of Thomas Walsingham in St. Albans before 1394, which gives the story of Alban's life before his religious conversion and meeting with Amphibal. This later work, along with William's *Vita*, was used by John Lydgate as his primary sources for his verse *Life of Saint Albon and Amphibalus*. I believe that Lydgate may also have used the only English translation of these two works, which existed at the time in the monastery of St. Albans – the *Life of Saint Alban and Amphibal* found in the *GiL*.

Harley MS 630: St. Albans and Lydgate

There is some evidence in Harley MS 630 which places it in a large monastery or scriptorium, including the inscription at the end of the manuscript: "Here endeth the Boke of the life of Seintes called in latyn legenda aurea compiled and drawen into englissh bi worthi clerkes and doctou(r)s of Diuinite [suengly] aftre þe tenur(e) of þe latin.' But there is further evidence which indicates that the manuscript may have been written or compiled at the monastery of St. Albans in Hertfordshire, not the least of which is the *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal* found on fols. 154v-168v.

Alban is one of the longest episodes in Harley MS 630, he is the only English saint in the manuscript, apart from *Thomas of Canterbury* from the *GiL* proper. In other words, Alban is the only English saint that the scribe or monastery considered important enough to be included in this manuscript, whereas several *GiL* manuscripts, including Additional MS 35298, have a large number of English saints' lives. *Alban* belongs to the corpus of the *GiL* and therefore is not unusual in its inclusion, but it is unique in its treatment in Harley MS 630. *Saint Alban* covers 16 folios and it is found in its calendar order, right in the middle of the manuscript. But though it is in its liturgical sequence, *Alban* has a full border decoration on both its first page and its last which it shares with the beginning of *John the Evangelist*. By contrast, other *GiL* manuscripts add many saints to the *GiL* corpus but none so conspicuously as *Alban* is added to this one. This kind of elaborate, full colour decoration is reserved only for important feasts in this manuscript, two of which are *The Nativity of Oure Lorde* and *The Assumption of Oure Lady*. There are only nine such full-page borders in Harley MS 630 and *Alban* is one of them.

One of the many other interesting features of this manuscript is that an extra folio has been inserted into one of the gatherings in order to accommodate additional material.[60] This is the most extensive and careful correction in the manuscript and it occurs in the middle of *Saint Alban*, where a large part of the text, which details the miracles leading up to Saint Alban's martyrdom, was originally left out by the scribe. This may have been due

to an eye skip. An additional folio was inserted later so that the missed material could be added. The first addition is the "correction folio" (f.163). This leaf is actually pasted in with the other folios of the gathering; it has no quire or leaf signature, while f.164 is marked 9iiij, which suggests that this leaf was not part of the original binding sequence. The medieval foliation, which appears in the top right-hand corner of the other folios in the manuscript, is absent from f.163, and the stub of this folio is attached to f.165v. The narrative continues on f.164 and there is a second stub attached to f.166r. Unlike the other gatherings in the manuscript, most of which contain eight folios and occasionally six, this is a gathering of nine folios.

Ian Doyle has identified the scribe of the correction folio as the Carthusian monk Stephen Dodesham, a member of the houses of Witham and Sheen, who also appears to have worked as a freelance scribe for other monasteries and patrons.[61] Dodesham was at work from the 1430s, if not before, to his death in 1482. During that time he undertook at least one commission for people associated with the monstery. He copied Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae* for Dame Eleanor Hull while she was living, at least from time to time, in Sopwell Priory, a house of Benedictine nuns dependent upon the Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans and less than a mile away from that house.[62] She is recorded as having given these four volumes to St. Albans in 1457, but reserved their use for Roger Huswyff for the length of his life.[63] Huswyff served as her executor and was the former attorney for St. Albans, where he retired after qualifying to take the degree of Bachelor of Theology from Oxford, which he declined, in 1437.[64] Dodesham is also connected to St. Albans by his work, in collaboration with its editor, on the *Sanctilogium salvatoris*, which he wrote for Syon Abbey but the main source for which, John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium*, was associated with St. Albans, as was its probable adaptor, Simon Wynter.[65] Doyle suggests that Dodesham was most likely *in situ* at St. Albans for his work on the *Sanctilogium*.[66] Dodesham is also linked to Lydgate, as is Dame Eleanor Hull, and he is known to have copied three surviving copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*. As for Harley MS 630, Doyle does not make any suggestions as to where Dodesham carried out his corrections, but says: "It looks as if Dodesham was one of several hands called on for piecemeal ameliorations, in what circumstances is uncertain, but possibly commercial."[67]

There has been some debate about the source for the *GiL* version of *Alban*. According to Manfred Görlach:

> ...the source of *Alban* remains to be found. The variants at the beginning of the *GiL* text quoted below and the wording of the corresponding sentence in the Latin *Tractatus de Nobilitate*, *BHL* 214 (which in MS Bodley 585, f.1 is claimed to be translated from the French) indicate a French source, but no extant *LgD* collection appears to contain such a text, nor does a separate French version of the *Tractatus* exist. It is therefore impossible to decide whether the *GiL*

> translator found the text in an expanded *GiL* MS written in England, or whether the inclusion of the legend of the protomartyr of England was his own idea.[68]

However, there is no reason to believe that the *GiL Alban* was translated from a French source, nor any indication that it should have been. At the end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, England was still struggling to develop its own literary vernacular after two and a half centuries of French influence.[69] Therefore, despite the similarities in language, I do not believe the *GiL* MSS were translated directly from the French, though there are probably exceptions. However, this is just conjecture on my part and I will not address it further. The text of *Alban* in the *GiL* manuscripts, including Harley MS 630, for the most part clearly follows the text of the *Tractatus de Nobiltate* and that of the *Interpretatio Guilleimi*, also known as William's *Vita*,[70] which were identified by Van der Westhuizen as two of Lydgate's sources for his version of *Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*.[71] In fact, William's *Vita* was written at St. Albans at the end of the twelfth century.[72] Since that is the case, and there appears to only be one surviving copy of this Latin life of Alban, would it not be safe to assume that whoever wrote it did so in St. Albans monastery, just as Lydgate did?

Richard Hamer made a case for the "synfulle wrecche" named in the colophon of MS Douce 372 as the author of the *GiL* and as the author of *Alban*.[73] Unfortunately, his case for the authorship of *Alban* is based on the passage at the end of the life that reads:

> But yef any desire to knowe my name, wete they wele that yef they will call me a true man and a true name thei moste call me most wreched and most sinfull. To Rome I went to putte fro me the errour of paynimes, and ther I resseiued bapteme, and for to haue remission of my synnes this boke I brought in my hondes to be examined of þe Romaynes that yef it were not as it shulde be thei to correcte it into beter be oure Lorde Ihesu Crist that liueth and regnithe worlde witheoute ende amen.[74]

This segment is almost identical to the end of *Alban* found in Harley MS 630; it is a direct translation of the Latin of William's *Vita*:

> Sed ne posteri super meo nomine reddantur nimium soliciti sciant quia si voluerint verum mihi ponere nomen, me miserum, me peccatorem ultimum nominabunt. Romanum autem proficiscar, ut illic gentilitatis errore deposito, et lavacro regenerationis adapto, veniam merear assequi delictorum: libellum quoque, istum, qui habetur in manibus, afferam examini Romanorum; ut si quid in eo secus quam debuit forte prolatum fuerit, hoc per eos dignetur in melius commutare Dominus Jesu Christus, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.[75]

According to Van der Westhuizen, William is giving an account not of himself, but of "the original author (i.e., the author of William's alleged source)."[76] But this does not

mean that Harley MS 630 or perhaps the *GiL*, as Hamer suggests, was not written or compiled at St. Albans monastery. I believe that Hamer was making the right argument, but from the wrong evidence.

Görlach quite pointedly rejects Hamer's argument in a footnote in his 1998 *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*:

> Hamer (1978:16-21) thinks that the anonymous translator who calls himself "synfulle wrecche" in the colophon of MS D and the translator of the Alban legend may be indentical, that the text of Alban points to the text coming from St. Albans, and by implication that the *GiL* may have been translated there: the addition of an independent ME text of the patron saint would have been a natural idea. All this is very persuasive but based on plausible speculation; we are still waiting for hard evidence thrown into our path by serendipity.[77]

Of course, Görlach was no closer than Hamer to unravelling the mystery of *Alban*, nor could he provide a source for the story (cf. Görlach 1972, p.18 and 1998, p.79). But there is clear evidence in the text of *Alban* in Harley MS 630 that gives clues to its location. Near the beginning of *Alban*, the founding of the monastery at St. Albans is described:

> But þe victori was contineuelli graunted to þe Bri/tons and aboue all oþere of þe / Britones hadde Albon þe price of knyght{l}i strengthe in whom a/ bode þe sou(er)aigne name of victori/ whos armes as it is seid was/ of Asure with a Sauter of gold/ ¶ The which armes aftre him/ *bere þe noble and worþi Kinge / Offa þe Foundre of þis monasterie/* [78] eiþere casuelly or miraculously/ vndere which armes he hadde/ euer glorious victories: aftere/ his dethe he lifte þe armes in þe monasterie of Seint Albon raþer / yelding hem a yene.

The text clearly states that King Offa left Saint Alban's armor in "*þis monasterie*". As Hamer suggested, the translator might have omitted these words if he were not himself at that monastery.[79] It should also be noted that the text of *Alban* in MS Douce 372 also reads "this monast{r}ie". The translator is working from the *Tractatus de Nobilitate*, which was written under the direct supervision of Thomas Walsingham before September 1394. It reads:

> ...inclitus rex Offa, fundator monasterii eiusdem, casu aliter seu potuis miraculose portavit, sub quibus armis semper gloriose triumphauit, eaque post mortem suam eidem Sancto Albano et eiusdem monasterio potius reddidit quaia legavit.[80]

The *Tractatus* is found in BL MS Cotton Claudius E.iv (Acts 7-20) f.334v, a known Saint Alban's manuscript. But the scribe was not merely copying the words of his exemplar. The version of *Alban* in Additional MS 35298 is also a translation from the *Tractatus* and

William's *Vita*, but the scribe of the Additional MS did not use the exact words of his source (f.57r):

> ...name abode in hym of victory whos armour / as it is saide was asire with a sawture of golde the/ which armes after hym *have the noble and worthy/ kyng Offa the founder of the monastery that nowe/ is called Seinte Albones*[81] oper casuelly oper myraculously vnder / which armes he had euer glorious victory and after/ his dethe he lefte the armes in the monastery of Seint Albones fro whom there came fro and in þis wyse / the fame of the Bretons aroos...

If it were merely a question of copying the exemplar, then the Additional MS should also read "þis monasterie". John Lydgate also used the *Tractatus* as one of his primary sources, though he reworked the text into verse. He wrote (ll.638-651):

> Off blissid Albon the Armys in his sheeld,
> Squar on his shuldris bi antiquyte,
> Of fyre Asur sothly was the feeld,
> Therin of gold depicte was a sawtre,
> In whoos story, at leiser who list to see,
> Aftir his passion, as I afferme dare,
> In his [cote]-Armour kyng Offa sothly bare
> *Of whoos menstre he aftir was foundour,*[82]
> As the cronycle makith mencion
> A manly knyght, a notable gouernour;
> In his day is thoruh many Region
> His name sprad& his hih renon:
> Vndir thes Armys, as put is in memorie,
> In every feeld he hadde euyr the victorie.[83]

Lydgate is also quoting a known St. Albans manuscript, and his work was commissioned for the monastery in 1439 by Abbot Whethamstede, who most likely gave him a series of books to use for his Middle English translation of *Alban*, but he does not refer to it as "þis monasterie". Therefore, I believe that the passage in Harley MS 630 indicates that it was at least copied, if not translated, in the monastery of St. Albans.

There is also a connection between this manuscript and Lydgate. Van der Westhuizen, in his summary of Lydgate's poem, notes where Lydgate was translating from the *Tractatus* and William's *Vita*. He also notes where Lydgate was inventing material of his own. Some of these 'invented' passages appear in the version of *Alban* found in Harley MS 630, e.g., f.158v: "I forsake þe deuell and hate all þe ennemyes of Crist in him oonly beleuyng ¶ And to him oonly I comitte me the which þu affermest þat roos fro deth to life on þe third dai." This passage does not appear to be from William's *Vita*, and Lydgate

quotes this passage closely in ll. 1683-1688; in fact, Van der Westhuizen lists this as Lydgate's own original material. There are also numerous occasions on which Lydgate borrowed exact words and phrases from the text of Harley MS 630, e.g., f.160r: 'þis feith is more dere to me þan all þe richesse *þat* thu be hightest me,' compared to ll.2040,2042; and f.159v: 'And as a worthi Maistre a legged him for his disciple sothly howe moche gile and falsenesse is hidde in his doctrine' compared with ll.1967-1970.[84]

Görlach says that Lydgate *may* have used the Latin *Legenda Aurea* as a source for his saints' legends, but he makes no specific reference to either MS Harley 630 or *Alban*. He provides evidence that the composition of Lydgate's saints' lives corresponds with the composition of the *GiL*; particulary if "the date given in MS D(ouce 372), 1438, is interpreted as the year in which the work was completed – or even the year in which it was copied."[85] Ian Doyle says that Harley MS 630 was written by a main copyist who "wrote a mixed set cursive of the middle of the century, hastily and on poor membrane, with various mistakes corrected by more than one other hand."[86] This could mean the second quarter of the fifteenth century, between 1425 and 1450. Lydgate wrote *Alban* in 1439. Considering the sources for Lydgate's *Alban*, Görlach cites Schirmer: "...only the legend of Alban contains the following note: 'Translatyde oute of Frenssh and Latyn' (Schirmer, 1952:144, n.84). The explicit information makes it impossible to connect the legend with the *GiL*, but since the collection existed from at least 1438 and included the translation of the *Tractatus*, which was also used by Lydgate, it was at least possible that Lydgate knew the *GiL*."[87] So did Lydgate know the *GiL*? Görlach says maybe, but probably not: "There is no positive evidence, then, that Lydgate knew the *GiL*. He probably used the Latin or French versions of *LgA*; since his audience was so different from that of the *GiL*, he might even have known the collection and disregarded it."[88] Görlach says nothing more about Lydgate's use, or lack thereof, of the *GiL*. He does not search any further into the similarities between Lydgate's *Alban* and the *Alban* in the *GiL*, namely, the version in Harley MS 630. I believe that Lydgate used Harley MS 630 as one his sources, along with the *Tractatus de Nobilitate* and William's *Vita*. This would be entirely plausible if the manuscript was at St. Albans when Lydgate was compiling his poem in 1439, which I believe it was. George Reinecke, in his 1985 edition of Lydgate's *Alban*, takes Hamer's argument for provenance into account:

> Because the attribution of the *Gilte Legende* to 'a synful wretche' is seen by at least one modern scholar as derivative from the language of the nameless convert as repeated in Lydgate, III, 1314, it is not impossible that the *Gilte Legende* was translated at St. Albans. If this be true, then what could have been more likely than that Abbot Whethamstede should make available to the poet the year-old prose version, recapitulating the sequence of William's prose and Ralph's versification many years before. That Lydgate should have used a Latin source while (like Chaucer in the *Clerk's Tale*) occasionally referring to a vernacular version is not unlikely.[89]

Reinecke makes a series of comparisions between the Latin, Lydgate and the *GiL* version of *Alban* found in Harley MS 4775, and outlines both where Lydgate agrees with the Harleian version and not the Latin and where Lydgate agrees with the Latin and not the *GiL*. However, I have found that there are instances in which Lydgate does not follow Harley MS 4775 but does follow Harley MS 630, such as the spelling of "Asclepeodot": Lydgate usually has "Asclepeodot" for the Latin "Asclepiodotus", whereas Harley MS 4775 generally has "Askopedot" of "Asclepedot."[90] However, Harley MS 630 has "Asclepiodote" or "Asclepeodot" which corresponds with the form used by Lydgate. Reinecke also points out several instances where Lydgate corresponds with the *GiL* in Harley MS 4775, examples which also match the version of *Alban* in Harley MS 630.

I believe, based on the textual evidence cited above from both Lydgate and the text of *Alban,* that it is more than a fair assumption that Harley MS 630 was transcribed and possibly copied in the St. Albans scriptorium and that is where Lydgate obtained it and used it as one of his sources for the *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal.* I believe that this textual evidence could finally provide the "hard evidence thrown into our path by serendipity" that Görlach has been waiting for.

Harley MS 630 and the Goldesburgh Family

At some point, the MS left St. Albans and came into the possession of Edward Goldisburgh whose name appears on f.233v: "Edwardo Goldisburgh constat liber." There is no other mention of him or any other specific owner in the MS. The Goldisburghs, or de Goldesburghs (also spelled Guldesburgh, Goldsborough and Gildesburgh) were a prominent land-owning family originally from Goldisburgh, Yorkshire. The family has a long standing connection to the church through various family members, and there is also a family connection with the monastery of St. Albans. On June 5, 1327, in York, Roger de Guldesburgh was ordered:

> ...to supersede until the king's return from the north, or until otherwise ordered, the execution of the king's appointment of them to survey the estate of the abbey of St. Albans, of the foundation of the king's progenitors, and to enquire concerning the defects that have arisen in the abbey and in the manors and woods of the same during the time of the present abbot.[91]

It was in his capacity as king's clerk and auditor that the family had contacts with St. Albans monastary, Hertfordshire. There is a second reference to his commission in 1327 to "supervise the state of the abbey of St. Albans, and to inquire by whose negligence and in what manner the existing defects in the said abbey and dissipation of its revenue were brought about."[92]

There are numerous other Goldesburghs mentioned in the rolls, but in 1321 the name Gildesburgh appears. I believe that this may indicate a split in the family; one where a segment breaks off from the Yorkshire Goldesburghs and establishes itself in Northamptonshire, possibly from the estates granted to Thomas de Goldesburgh in 1301. In which case, the Gildesburghs are part of the Goldesburgh family.

The Gildesburgh branch figures quite prominently in the rolls and the unsung history of England. The first of these is Roger de Gildesburgh, who was mentioned above in connection with St. Albans. He is listed as a king's clerk in 1321, and appears frequently over the next few decades. He was parson of Crawley in 1321 and was appointed to audit the accounts and belongings late of Thomas "sometime earl of Lancaster and other rebels and persons"[93] in 1322 during the civil war in the reign of Edward II. He was also given charge of Bermondsey Priory and its possessions in 1327. In 1328, Queen Isabella requested Roger to do "speedy justice in the complaints of her tenants in Suffolk of extortion and oppression by her constables, bailiffs and other ministers"[94].

While Roger de Gildesburgh appears to have been held high in royal favour, his contemporary Peter de Gildesburgh was a direct servant of Edward, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester; otherwise known as Edward the Black Prince. Peter de Gildesburgh, who may have been Roger's brother, served the Black Prince in a variety of posts; he served as the prince's treasurer before 1344, in 1343 he was keeper of the prince's wardrobe and in 1346 he was one of the men appointed to look after the lands and affairs of the Black Prince while he was in France with his father, Edward III. Early in his career, as prebend in the church of St Wolfram, Abbeville, Peter accompanied Bartholomew de Burghershh, constable of Dover, warden of Cinque Ports and seneschal of Ponthieu, on various duties abroad. In 1330, notification was given that Peter, late the parson of Fletmerston, had spent the previous three years on the king's service with de Burghershh and that "no loss or damage to his reputation may befall him by reason of that service."[95] It appears that after his service to the Black Prince, Peter de Gildesburgh was retired back into the life of a parson and prebend.

A few of the Richards in the Goldesburgh branch were either fined or cited for various crimes, petty theft and not-so-petty-theft; such as the 5th Richard de Goldesburgh. In 1345, with a number of others, this Richard broke into the park of Robert de Nevill at Farneleye, hunted and killed deer and six horses and assaulted his men and servants. In 1371, he was pardoned at the request of John de Nevill for having broken the Exchequer of the Bishop of Durham and stealing £1,000. It should be noted that the Nevills appear in conjuction with the Goldesburghs a number of times in the rolls and that the Nevills were a very prominent family including such members as Richard Nevill, 'The Kingmaker', earl of Warwick and Salisbury; John Nevill, Lord Montagu, earl of Northumberland and George

Nevill, archbishop of York. It was Richard de Neville, earl of Warwick and Salisbury, who was present at the coronation of Henry VI in Paris which Lydgate may have attended.[96]

There were numerous political allegiances between the Goldesburgh/ Gildesburgh family and heavy political players down through the centuries. John de Gildesburgh served as the king's approver and was enfeoffed of land in Ewyas, Wales by Bartholomew de Burghersh in 1365. From 1377, John de Gildesburgh served as a commissioner of array and then a commissioner of peace for Essex directly under Thomas de Wodestok, earl of Buckingham and constable of England. In 1380, John de Gildesburgh and Buckingham were included in a list of those to be paid for going on a small expedition to France. John de Gildesburgh appears as a commissioner under Buckingham in 1377, 1380, 1381, 1382 and in 1386 and 1388 under Thomas de Wodestock's new title of duke of Gloucester, during the civil unrest and chaos which marked the regency before Richard II seized power for himself in 1389. Gloucester, who was the youngest son of Edward III and Philippa, was condemned to death and executed as a traitor by Richard II, his nephew, along with Richard, earl of Arundel.[97] Thomas, duke of Gloucester is also one of the personages whom Lydgate laments in the short poem *Fates of Princes,* or *Of the Sodeine Fall of Princes in Oure Dayes,* which was possibly written before the longer work the *Fall of Princes* which was commissioned in 1431-9 by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, one of Lydgate's most prominent patrons.[98]

Another name which appears in conjunction with John de Gildesburgh and Gloucester is that of Robert de Vere, 9th earl of Oxford. He is linked with them in the commission of 1382, then as Marquess of Dublin in 1386 and Duke of Ireland in 1388. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland is lamented with Thomas, duke of Gloucester in Lydgate's *Of the Sodeine Fall of Princes*. Lydgate is also connected to the de Veres by the priorite at Hatfield, which Lydgate was granted in 1423. The priory, which is in Essex, north-north-east of Windsor, was founded in the 12th century by Aubrey de Vere and under Robert de Vere, 3rd earl of Oxford (d.1221), who called himself *primus fundator* of Hatfield Priory, where he is buried, it seems "to have become independent of St Melaine and to have entered into connection with Bury St Edmunds.[99] Elizabeth Vere, countess of Oxford was also one of Lydgate's patrons, and she was admitted as a lay member of Bury St Edmunds with Humprey, duke of Gloucester and Henry VI. She is also listed as one of Osbern Bokenham's patrons. Humphrey also spent a great deal of time at the monastery of St. Albans to celebrate Christmas and other festivals there, and he was a great friend of Abbot Whethemstede who frequently lent him books from his prodigious library at the abbey.[100]

The Goldesburgh connection with the de Veres also includes Robert de Vere's younger brother, Aubrey de Vere. This connection seems to have been first established when he and John de Gildesburgh served together under Buckingham in 1382. Then later

in 1387, John witnessed a grant of land to Aubrey de Vere in Essex. He also witnessed the grant of the manor of Amys to de Vere in 1388. The connection continues after both of their deaths when Robert de Gildesburgh, possibly John's son, is mentioned as "mainprise" of a commitment of Joan de Bohun, countess of Hereford in 1401, to keep the castles, lordships, manors, lands and possessions "late of Aubrey de Vere, late earl of Oxford and to hold them from the time of the death of Alice, late the wife of Aubrey until the lawful age of their heir." (p.125) A grant in similar language was made to the countess of Hereford in 1416, again by mainprise of Robert de Gildesburgh. Joan de Bohun is possibly a relation of Mary de Bohun, wife of King Henry IV and mother to King Henry V, both of whom were staunch patrons of Lydgate's.

The Goldesburgh/Gildesburgh family has a long and distinguished history which, at times, brought them in contact with St. Albans. However, the one who most interests me is Edward Goldesburgh, who may have penned his name at the top of f.234r.

There are four Edward Goldesburghs who occur throughout the sketchy history of the family, but three of them are either too early or too late to be the owners of Harley MS 630. The only possible owner is the Edward Goldisburgh who appears in 1471. He is mentioned when he made a grant in special tail to Richard de Goldisburgh and his wife Alice with the remainder to go to Richard's rightful heirs[101] of a messuage in Goldisburgh as well as 'his lands and tenements in Newton near Flaxby; and his tenements and reversions in Creskeld and Poule.' This Richard de Goldisburgh is the son of Thomas de Goldesburgh esq. who granted him land in 1466, and is most likely Edward's nephew.[102] I believe that it is this Edward Goldesburgh who owned Harley MS 630. Doyle, in his brief discussion of Harley MS 630, says the MS: "soon belonged to a London layman who died in 1495."[103] However, I do not believe that Edward Goldesburgh came from London, because of his family's history, though his will, made in 1494, is registered in the London Guildhall.

He appears again in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1467-1477*. In 1473, Edward Goldesburgh, among others in York, was commissioned to inquire into a land petition. In 1467 and 1468, Edward Goldesburgh was given a commission of the peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire. In the *Calendar of Close Rolls* of 1471, Edward is listed as "gentilman" and is given a gift of land and goods along with a few others, including Laurence Booth, the bishop of Durham, who later became archbishop of York and chancellor of England. In 1471 as well, he was one of those who received demise and quitclaim in the manors of Burghersh, Mase and Ewell, etc., in Sussex, Surrey and Middlesex. In 1486, he was among a group of people given land in Essex. But by then, Edward had left his native Yorkshire for Hertfordshire. In 1483, Edward was given a commission to "assess certain subsidies and appoint collectors of the same so that the sums

shall be answered for etc," for Hertfordshire. I believe this is when he may have obtained MS Harley 630 from St. Albans monastery.

He and his family remained in Hertfordshire. He was given a commision of array for the county in 1484, during the middle of Richard III's short reign and in the midst of the civil war. He was given a second commission in 1485 for Essex when Richard III was mustering troops to face the imminent threat of Henry Tudor's landing from France. He was also given commissions for keeping the peace in Hertfordshire in 1483 and 1485. In 1483, he was appointed third baron of the Exchequer and he was present at the coronation of Richard III, for which he was granted livery.

Though Richard III fell at Bosworth Field in 1485 and his short-lived Yorkist dynasty with him, Edward Goldesburgh remained in favour. This is hardly surprising, for as S.B. Chrimes points out in his biography of Henry VII: "All justices held office at the king's pleasure, but none was dismissed for political reasons, or indeed for any reason in the Yorkist and early Tudor periods, except after the Readeption of Henry VI in 1471." (p.158) In 1488, Edward was appointed second baron of the Exchequer "during good behaviour" which suggests that though he was not dismissed from service for political reasons, that he was in fact held in probationary state during the beginning of Henry VII's reign due to his Yorkshire background and the apparently strong Yorkist leanings of his family. It is possible that Edward Goldesburgh somehow got embroiled in the plots which sprung up during those first years of Henry VII, particularly that which brought Perkin Warbeck into the arena as a Yorkist pretender.

In 1491, Perkin Warbeck was put forward as Richard duke of York, the younger brother of Edward V, who had supposedly been murdered in the Tower by Richard III. While this was generally assumed, it was never proven.[104] Henry VII had discovered the plot by 1493 and began taking measures to stamp it out. The most prominent personage implicated in this plot was Sir William Stanley, a former Yorkist who had deserted Richard III at a decisive moment at Bosworth, joining Henry's forces and remaining with him and in his favour. Stanley was proclaimed a traitor by Richard III in 1485. During the reign of Henry VII, Stanley was appointed a chamberlain of the Exchequer, one of the high officials of the Exchequer, a position which he held until he was dismissed, attainted and executed in 1495. When Henry received information from Sir Robert Clifford, who may have been operating as an agent of the king all along, implicating Stanley in the plot to place the pretender on the throne, Henry's justice was swift and far-reaching. The first crop of attainders relating to the treasonable acts connected with the Warbeck conspiracy came in 1495, but a number of the accused had previously been arrested and some executed.[105]

It was due to the information of Clifford and others that a large number of Yorkist sympathisers were tried and convicted. It is possible that Edward Goldesburgh, being a

baron of the Exchequer and a former Yorkist supporter, may have been implicated in this plot with Stanley, one of his superiors in the Exchequer.

> For there can be little doubt that the effective work of Henry's agents, the sudden arrests of Yorkist malcontents, and their speedy trial and conviction, and the downfall of so powerful a personage and one so near the king as Sir William Stanley broke the plot before it reached any overt point at home... In addition to Sir William Stanley, three others now attainted had been convicted of high treason by oyer and terminer, and sixteen other were now convicted and attainted. (p.85)

While it is possible that Edward Goldesburgh somehow got embroiled in this plot, it is uncertain. There is no evidence that he was executed, though many around him fell under the axe, but he was dead by November of 1495, when his will was executed. I have not been able to find any other record of the circumstances of his death. However, the last references to him deal with the property and money due to "Joan, late the wife of Edward Goldesborough." In 1496, she is listed with a writ *diem clausit extremum* directed to the escheators in three counties: Hertford, Essex and Leicester.

Edward left a two sons, who are mentioned in his will, and a step-son. In 1498, Thomas Holgrave was granted the wardship of the lands of Joan Goldesburgh in the counties of Hertford, Essex and Bedford "with the wardship and marriage of Elizabeth Grey and Mary Grey, kinswomen and heirs of the said Joan to wit, daughters of Ralph, son of the said Joan." (p.129)

There is also evidence which suggests that Joan, who married Edward Goldesburgh and was left as his widow in 1496, was also the widow of Sir Ralph Grey, who was a staunch Yorkist during part of the War of the Roses when he was one of the beseigers of Alnwick Castle which fell to the Edward IV's supporters in 1462. Grey beseiged Alnwick castle along side Lord Hastings and Sir John Howard, who was one of Bokenham's prominent patrons. Later, Sir Ralph Grey along with others who became disgruntled under Yorkist control such as Sir Ralph Percy, switched sides and in 1463, Grey turned over Alnwick Castle to the Lancastrian forces under Lord Hungerford. Grey was tried and executed on July 10, 1464. Joan Goldesburgh was married to a Sir Ralph Grey,[106] and if he was in fact this known rebel and Joan was his widow when she married Edward Goldesburgh, it would explain why Henry VII was a bit wary of Edward's loyalties when he appointed him as second baron of the Exchequer "during good behaviour."

The Provenance of TCD MS 319: A Version of Bokenham's *Saint Dorothy* and *Saint Katherine* or His Source?

Kurvinen dismisses MS TCD 319 as an example of the *Gilte Legende:* "Jeremy includes also MS 319 of Trinity College, Dublin among the MSS of the *Gilte Legende*. This I do

not consider justified, since the MS, now imperfect, is unlikely ever to have contained more than a selection of legends."[107] Hamer refutes this and writes that TCD MS 319 was copied from Harley MS 630, except *Dorothy* and *Katherine,* and that they share an number of scribal errors. But he also points out that the Trinity MS has separate errors of its own and in some cases corrects the errors of the Harley MS in its own text.[108]

My work on *Dorothy* has yielded significant findings about the provenance of the MS. I have come to believe that the life of *Dorothy,* which appears as a fragment with *Katherine* and is bound with an incomplete fragment of the *Gilte Legende,* may either be a copy of the life from Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*[109] or Bokenham's source. In her introduction, Delany makes a case for the separate and independent circulation of of Bokenham's legends, including saints Katherine and Dorothy. She alludes to a fragment of Dorothy in BL Additional MS 36983: 'suggesting that he anticipated separate circulation of individual lives for recitation at home or convent."[110] Most strikingly, however, she says that Bokenham used Jacobus' *Legenda Aurea* as his primary source, though *Dorothy* does not appear in the *Legenda Aurea* :

> While working within a narrowly defined genre with well-known stories, Bokenham is no mere copyist. He does not simply transcribe his main source, the thirteenth century *Legenda Aurea* , nor only imitate English collections such as the *South English Legendary*. Everywhere Bokenham reworks the material, reshaping it according to his own vision.[111]

Jeremy discusses the possibility that Bokenham was the anonymous translator of the *Gilte Legende* from the Latin and gives evidence to this end. She was working from MS Harley 4775, because that was the only manuscript "of which rotographs are at present available"[112] and her comments are directed to all the Middle English translations of the *Legenda Aurea,* but cast light on the possibility that MS TCD 319 contains a fragment of one of Bokenham's sources.

> It may be that the anonymous translator of what RW Chambers calls this 'great translation' was Osbern Bokenham, the Augustinian friar of Suffolk who wrote *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* and *Mappula Angliae*. In the latter work he speaks of 'the englische boke the whiche y haue compiled of legenda aurea and of other famous legendes' and further remarks that the volume contains lives of SS. Chad, Felix, Oswald, Edward, 'and many other seyntis of Englond.' Many years ago Dr. Horstmann regretfully dismissed Bokenham's claim to authorship of the extant English translation because the manuscripts known to him did not include these lives - all of them, in fact, except S. Felix (of east Anglia). It is possible that his legend may be in some lost copy of the English *Legend* or even in one of the extant copies. There are several saints of this name and the addition or substitution of the English Felix might easily pass unremarked by cataloguers. The chronology of Bokenham's life and writings would make this work, if it be his, a product of his early middle age. He was born about 1393, and the translation was made before

> 1438, the date of Douce 372. *Mappula Angliae*, in which he speaks of his translation of the *Golden Legend*, was written before 1445, for in the unique manuscript it is followed by a tractate copied in that year by the same scribe. *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, versified lives of women saints (some of them from *Legenda Aurea*) was begun in 1443 and finished before 1447, according to information given in the poems themselves.[113]

All of this information is extremely relevant in looking at the version of *Dorothy* found in TCD MS 319 and at the *Gilte Legende*. In TCD MS 319, *Dorothy* is coupled with Katherine, which is incomplete at the beginning; whereas at the end of Dorothy the Latin Antiphonia is complete but rules have been left, possibly for further material. *Katherine* is also found in Bokenham's *Legendys*, so its pairing with *Dorothy* in the fragment supports the possibility that the first 16 folios of TCD MS 319 are a segment of Bokenham's *Legendys* that was circulated independently and then later bound with an incomplete fragment of its contemporary *Gilte Legende*.[114] It is also possible that these folios are Bokenham's prose source for *Dorothy*, which has never been identified. Another possibilty is that this part of TCD MS 319 and the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* are both copies of the same exemplar.

As Jeremy says, Bokenham wrote his *Legendys* between 1443-1447. Hand A, which wrote *Katherine* and *Dorothy* is distinctly early to mid-15th century, differing from the fragment of the *Gilte Legende* in handwriting but not date. I believe that whoever bound the two sections may have done so because they are of similiar subject matter, or as a collection of Bokenham's writings, as Tony Edwards points out in his article "The Transmission and Audience of Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*" in *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission*:

> The balance of probability adds the Claudian translation to his poetic oeuvre and might also credit him with the authorship of the 1438 *Gilte Legende*. One of a number of factors that strengthen his claim to the latter work is that it is the only other collection of ME saints' lives to include all those that appear in the *Legends*.[115]

This is true for all the lives except *Dorothy*. This life seems to be a rare inclusion of Bokenham's in which case, any version of it, if it follows the same language and story-line as in TCD MS 319, could be either attributed to him or be his source. Edwards describes the habit of circulating individual lives as separate quires and says that because of this, portions "may have achieved a wider circulation". The *Life of Saint Dorothy* in London, BL MS Additional 36983 is "seemingly of Bedfordshire provenance."[116] This fragment is only the beginning of Bokenham's *Dorothy*, and is found on the verso of the final leaf of BL MS Additonal 36983 (f.305v). "It seems that the manuscript once contained a complete

text of just this one of Bokenham's *Legends*...And that the texual variants suggest that the process of transmission had been quite extensive."[117]

Just as *Dorothy* appears partially in MS Additional 36983, which is a large, mid-15th century compilation including *inter alia*, the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Three Kings of Cologne, The Abbey* and *The Charter of the Holy Ghost* along with various Chaucer lyrics,[118] could TCD MS 319 also be a compilation of 15th century fragments of saints' lives, the author of which is Bokenham or maybe his source? Perhaps these fragments are the individual exemplars discussed by Edwards which were used in the compilation of the complete *Legendys*, such as MS Arundel 327. Edwards says it was not uncommon for individual legends to be circulated and that it appears separate quires were used by Burgh as exemplars for MS Arundel 327:

> The circulation of such pious booklets, at times probably amounting to no more than a quire, seems consistent with other indications of the circulation of devotional and other works in East Anglia and elsewhere in the mid fifteenth century.[119]

Based on this fact and my own findings in TCD MS 319, I believe that *Dorothy* and *Katherine* in TCD MS 319 could be an excerpt of one of those booklets which found itself coupled with a larger fragment of the *Gilte Legende*. There are difficulties: there are no dedications in TCD MS 319, and there is the unique presence in that MS of the Latin Antiphona after *Dorothy*. Bokenham also wrote his *Legendys* in verse and TCD MS 319 is in unrhyming prose. However, there is another version of *Dorothy* in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Bodley MS Eng. theo.e.17. This manuscript contains only *Dorothy* and is nearly identical to the version found in TCD MS 319. Furthermore, it appears that this manuscript only ever contained *Dorothy* and that it was not part of a larger manuscript, which may indicate that this was circulated on its own.

Mary Serjeantson edited and transcribed what she titled *Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen* in 1938. Her text is entirely based on that found in MS Arundel 327. A note in the MS describes it as a translation into English:

> Translatyd in to englys be a doctor of dyuynite clepyd Osbern Bokenham, a suffolke man, frere Austyn of the conuent of Stokeclare, and was doon wrytyn in Canebryge by hys soun Frere Thomas Burgh.

The note itself is in two different hands while the MS is in three different hands. Serjeantson also quotes a passage from Bokenham's prose work the *Mappula Angliae* which lists other works of his, including a compilation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*:

> For as moche as in the englische boke the whiche y haue compiled of legenda aurea and of oþer famous legendes at the instaunce of my specialle frendis...[120]

This could mean both the *Gilte Legende* and *The Legendys of Hooly Wummen* or just the latter. I believe that it may indicate that Bokenham translated and compiled both works. Serjeantson does not make that connection:

> The collection of legends which he compiled from the *Legenda Aurea* and other sources cannot be simply that found in the present volume, but obviously was a larger work, to which the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* may have formed an addition. Nothing more is known of the whole work, which may have perished.[121]

The first two editions of *Legendys* (1835 and 1883) both were titled *Lives of Saints* from the "seynys lyuys of the list of contents at the end." *Dorothy* is listed as 245 lines. Serjeantson states that Bokenham constantly makes it clear that he is translating from Latin (Voragine) and he mentions Saint Ambrose's work in *Saint Agnes*, which Voragine does, and which is also stated in the *Agnes* of the *Gilte Legende*. Serjeantson also says that Bokenham:

> ...several times quotes directly or refers to the *Legenda Aurea* of the 13th century writer Jacobus a Voragine. The Latin text of the last work is extant in a number of manuscripts, and it is possible that Bokenham used as his authority a version or text which as yet remains unpublished, or perhaps no longer exists...The relation of the *Legendys* to the *Legenda Aurea* and other possible sources was investigated by Gottfried Willenberg...[122]

Willenberg wrote in 1888 that 'the immediate source is unknown' for *Dorothy*, in which case, I contend that any existing 15th century versions of that life could be Bokenham's or the texual source for his *Dorothy*. The existence of TCD MS 319 makes three surviving versions. Hamer, describing *Katherine* in TCD MS 319, says that it is a version different from all the versions in the other *Gilte Legende* MSS, as did Kurvinen who edited *Katherine* in 1958. Kurvinen said *Katherine* and *Dorothy* in TCD MS 319 have no known source. I believe that despite the fact that *Dorothy* and *Katherine* are written in prose instead of 7-stanza verse that both may either be from Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* or his source. There are a number of places where the text of *Dorothy* in Bokenham correlates closely with that in TCD MS 319, however, it is uncertain which is the original. It is also possible that Bokenham's *Dorothy* and that in TCD MS 319 derive from the same unknown source. I have provided some examples of the similarities in the text below.[123]

Bokenham ll. 4752-6: 'He Rome forsoke & al hys possesyoun / Both vynys, feldys & eek statly plaas / Wyth theodora hys wyf, feyr c faas, / And here two dowtrys, of wyche / Trystem Hyght þat oon, the othyr Kalystem	TCD MS 319 f.2v: 'forsoke the coun*e* and felyshyp of the lothsome Romanes w*ith* all hys possessyons of castelles, houses, londe rentes and vynes wyth all other rychesses a passys ouer the see w*ith* hys good wyfe Theodora and hys two dougtres whos name were Trystem and Calystem.
Bokenham ll.4827-8: 'And euene furth-wyth in þe eyr alofte / Was herd a voys a deuelys crying.'	TCD MS 319 f.4r: 'And sodenly therw(yth) w herde a voyce of deuylles crying in the eyre.

There are many other examples of similarities throughout the text, and I believe that these may be the key to finding that unknown source of Bokenham's, or providing further clues to the history of that fragment of TCD MS 319.

Writing the lives of female saints

It was a common view in the Middle Ages that women were meant to be silent: they spoke only when necessary, keeping all gossip and excess prattle to themselves. As St. Paul wrote in his first epistle to Timothy: "Let the woman learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed; then Eve. And Adam was not seduced; but the woman being seduced was in transgression." (Tim. 2:11-14, cf. p.49) Virtuous women were judged by their ability to hold their tongues, for only loose women had loose lips. Antifeminist clerics did their best to pin women into that silent position, but some women managed to rise above that designated role and speak for themselves, to write for themselves and in some instances, to write for others. Christine de Pizan, Julian of Norwich, and Margery Kempe in their different ways, are examples. By the 11th and 12th centuries, clerics writing the lives of saints and other religious figures elevated some women to a high and sacred position next to the Saviour Himself. The Blessed Virgin Mary was revered and worshipped in her own right as a giver of salvation, just as much as Eve was chastised and reviled for the fall of humankind.

Cycles of mystery plays, which were written between 1378 and 1575 in various areas of England, recounted the events of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, giving life to the figures who had previously appeared in sermons or in the pages of the Bible, but neither Mary nor Eve was really given her own voice, in fact the Virgin was noted for her silence and Eve for the treacherous nature of her speech. These female figures were held up as the two extremes; the Blessed Virgin as the epitome of purity and virtue which no woman could ever possibly attain, and Eve, the temptress of man and mistress of the devil which no women sould ever strive to imitate. So out of the two images of Mary and Eve came the figure of Mary Magdalene, the woman who was given the authority to speak for

herself and for others by Christ. Geoffrey of Vendome wrote in his sermon "In Honour of the Blessed Mary Magdalene" in 1105 AD, that Mary Magdalene, caught between fear and hope in the house of Simon the Pharisee, "confesses her sins" and in doing so saves herself. She even becomes an agent of redemption, a woman who "has healed not only her own wounds but those of many other sinners and who everyday heals still more."[124] Her speech becomes an instrument of salvation, for herself and for those who hear her, like the mediaeval preacher whose words were the road to salvation for his flock.

This image of Mary Magdalene also encompasses her role as an intercessor between humankind and God and as a medium between the Blessed Virgin Mary and Eve; a topic which is too lengthy to be discussed here and has been the subject of a number of books by recent authors, including Marina Warner. Therefore, I will not address it further. However, Mary Magdalene was an object of veneration for medieval women and was held up as a role model. But she was not alone.

The *GiL* corpus includes 29 lives of female saints who fall into four basic categories; the virgin, the mother, the repentant whore, and the holy transvestite. I will examine these four categories each in turn, but I will focus now on the overall importance of these legends and the influence they held for medieval women by providing role models for sanctity.

Silence into speech

Saints lives served a twofold purpose; while elevating the subject they also provide a clear picture of what role women were expected to play and how they played it, very often in their own terms, with their own voice "...for unlike many other sources of the Middle Ages, saints' lives focus a great deal of attention on women: the vitae are directly concerned with female roles in the church and society as well as contemporary perceptions, ideals, and valuations of women."[125] St. Paul believed that women should be silent in their worship of God (cf. Tim. 2:11-14; p.48), but many female saints were very outspoken in their faith and their eloquence was used as a testimony to their holiness. In this way, the Church hoped to use these women as exempla or models for saintly behaviour.[126] The women who were classed as saints and set forth as exempla defy the notion that women were seen only as the root of evil and daughters of temptation in the Middle Ages. Nor is this category limited only to "ryght hooly virgines" but included, as I have pointed out, mothers, wives and repentant prostitutes. Their role as icons of saintly behaviour is an important one.

The *GiL* was a widely circulated body of literature, unlike some of the more localized hagiographies of the time which were intended for a geographically limited audience, usually provincial or even regional. Unlike these legends, such as that of Belgian Saint Berlind, the female saints' lives in the *GiL* were intended for a much wider audience.

They were intended as a rule for women to follow, much like the thirteenth century *Ancrene Riwle,* which instructed them how to behave and how to live their lives. However, works like the *Ancrene Riwle* were primarily written for the anchoresses and recluses who were attached to local churches. But, for the most part, saints in these legends are not women who have locked themselves away from the world in silence. Many of them speak out vehemently in their own defense, their words being a key to their passion and the "holy crown of marterdom". The audience for this sort of work consisted mainly of monastic or noble women, both classes of which were in a position to be highly influential. Many of these women were self-reliant because they belonged to a community or held a noble position, and therefore had a greater amount of independence, perhaps inspired by the legends intended for their edification which were "recited in their monastic choirs... read to nuns in chapter and in the refectory during their meals, as well as in their workrooms while they occupied themselves with various manual tasks such as weaving, sewing and embroidery."[127]

Most of these saints' lives were written by identifiable male authors; according to the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* for the years 500-1100, 39 percent of the female lives have identifiable authors, all of whom were male except two.[128] So why did male ecclesiastical authors, if they were so concerned with the lasting obedience and silence of women, give their female saints a voice of their own? Is this voice their own, or is it simply the voice of Christian doctrine? I believe that this strong, intelligent, articulate and authoritative voice is so striking in the case of female saints precisely because they were not expected to have one.

"O þu with oute worshipp or shame and abhominable to God, seest þu not howe þei fallen? Prei þi godd(es) þat yeue hem vertu and strength" (199r). These words of Saint Christina to her father who was torturing her for her Christian beliefs are only some of the more forceful words she uses in defence of her religion. The *Life of Saint Christina,* though only one and a half folios in length (fols. 199r-200r), has a great deal of forceful, aggressive dialogue between Saint Christina and her various tormentors. For a female saint, her speech is very commanding; she "co(m)maunded to þe idole þat he shuld falle and þe idole fill and bi come powder" (f.200r). She "co(m)maunded to þe serpentez to go into deserte places" (f.200r).

Her speech is given the power to overthrow pagan gods, drive out serpents – the symbols of Satan and the fall – and she is given the power to raise the dead: "She araied þe dede man fro deth to life" (f.200r). Unlike the other female saints, Christina does not supplicate Christ to do her will by praying. Her prayers are never mentioned; she is given the power, by her speech, to do God's will on her own. This is why Julian commands that her tongue be cut out but, significantly, that does not stop her from speaking, preaching and putting out his eyes: "And aftre þat, he made her tonge to be kit of. But she lost neuer her

speche þerefor(e). But she toke þe pece of her tonge þat was kit of and threwe it in þe iuges visage and smote oute both his eyen þer(e)with" (f.200r). The power of her speech is emphasised by this act, as it is emphasised by her role as a preacher. She preaches to her father the notion of the Trinity after he who is "unkunnynge" questions the existence of one God. She preaches to her father many times; condemning his worship and him as a product of the devil, saying that he does her great grace by disowning her for not performing a sacrifice: "Nowe hast þu do me a grete grace sith I shal no more be called þe develes doughter ffor he þat is borne of þe deuell is þe deuell and þu arte ffader of þe same Sathanasse" (f.199v). She curses him and taunts him to eat the flesh which he has begotten, after he has it torn from her body. He is found dead after commanding that she be beheaded. She is strong and powerful in her speech, her actions, and therefore her holiness. Christina does not succumb mekely to the blow of the executioner, but must be greviously tortured and shot with arrows before she finally recieves her crown of martyrdom – and even when she is being boiled, her voice triumphs as she sings with angels for five days.

Christina is only one example of how speech is used as an implement of power in the lives of the female saints. Saint Martha is described as "faire of speche and gracious in the sight of all" (f.211v). Saint Margaret defends herself against the fiend and stamps on his neck, which draws on the imagery from Genesis about the crushing of the serpent, while he wails: "A blessed virgine Margarete, I am ouere come of a yonge tender maide, and þat I may moost sorowe" (f.190r). She constrains him forcibly, interrogating him until he tells her the truth of his temptations and she is able to dispell him with her command: "Fle þu wrecched Ca(i)tif" (f.190r). She proves her holiness by her speech, which is powerful enough to command and control demons and drive them away.

Mary Magdalene is described as a preacher; she converts large numbers of people by the virtue of her speech, including the Prince of Marseille who challenges her to defend her preaching, to whom she replies "Seker(e) I am redy to defende hyt as she that ys confermyd euery day by myracles and by the p(re)dicacion of owre mastre Seynt Petyr(e) that sytteth in the see of Rome." (f.61v) It is only fitting that Mary Magdalene spread the Word of God for she had washed her feet with her kisses and wiped them with her hair:

> She arose her(e) vp pesybly w(yth) a glad vysage and a dyscrete tonge and well spekyng, and began to preche Ih(es)u Cryste and to w(yth)drawe the pepyll from the worshyppyng of idols, and than all had grete m(er)uell of the beawte and of the reson that was in hyr(e) and of hyr(e) fayre spekyng, and hit was nowondyr(e) though the mowth(e) that so debonayrely and so goodly had kyssyd the feete of owre lorde was more enspyred w(yth) the worde of God than other(e). (f.60v)

The Mary Magdalene who appears in the *GiL* and the mystery plays is actually a composite of three women, according to Jacques Dalarun in his essay "The Clerical Gaze", and it is in this combination of Mary of Magdala, whom Christ healed of the seven devils

and who became his disciple and followed him to Calvary to be the first witness of the Resurrection; Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus; and the anonymous woman sinner (the "Sinner of the City") who, at the home of Simon the Pharisee, "moistens Christ's feet with her tears, wipes them with her hair, covers them with her kisses and anoints them with perfume"[129] who became the venerated female figure in the Middle Ages. Gregory the Great is responsible for first combining the images of the three women into the popular figure of Christ's lover, companion and preacher, Mary Magdalene. It is this tripartite figure who appears in the mystery cycles and the corpus of saints' lives and to whom news of the Resurrection is first given for dissemination and who is elected as the bishop of Marseille after converting the prince and princess and saving their lives and souls through a number of miracles.

In the Bible, there is no mention of the actual words which Mary Magdalene spoke to the Apostles at the Resurrection. Though each of the four Gospels tells a different version of the story they are all consistent in passing over what Mary Magdalene actually said to the disciples[130]. The Gospel of St Mark has both the angels and Jesus appearing to Mary Magdalene and has Jesus revalidating her right to preach his message while chastising the Apostles for doubting her word: "and he upbraided them with their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them who had seen him after he was risen again,"[131] whereas the Gospel of St Luke does not even name Mary Magdalene at first and has many women spreading the news of the Resurrection.[132] St Matthew speaks of two Marys delivering the news.[133] Mary Magdalene is identified in the Gospel of St John and it is made clear that Christ instructs her to speak, and while the text of what she says is not given, Jesus speaks to the disciples directly after her so that the two blend into one another and it seems as though he is speaking through her: "Jesus saith to her: Mary. She turning, saith to him: Rabboni (which is to say, Master). Jesus saith to her: Do not touch me, for I am not yet ascended to my Father. But go to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God. Mary Magdalen cometh, and telleth the disciples: I have seen the Lord, and these things he said to me."[134] In the apocryphal *Gospel According to Mary*, which is part of the Gnostic Gospels, Christ appears to Mary in a vision and she relates that vision to the disciples using her own voice: "Then arose Mary, saluted them all, and spake to her brethren: 'Weep not, be not sorrowful neither be ye undecided, for his grace will be with you all and will protect you. Let us rather praise his greatness, for he hath made us ready, and made us to be men.'"[135] She relates the revelations which she received from Christ, who "loved her above all other women".[136] However, Andrew and Peter question the validity of her vision, and the other disciples rebuke them, refering to Peter's hostility towards women and Mary Magdalene in particular:

> Then Mary wept and said to Peter: 'My brother Peter, what dost thou then believe? Dost thou believe that i imagined this myself in my heart, or that I would lie about the Saviour?' Levi answered (and) said to Peter: 'Peter, thou hast ever been of a hasty temper. Now I see how thou dost exercise thyself against the woman like the adversaries. But if the Saviour hath made her worthy, who then art thou, that thou reject her? Certainly the Saviour knows her surely enough. Therefore did he love her more than us. Let us rather be ashamed, put on the perfect Man, [form ourselves (?)] as he charged us, and proclaim the Gospel, without requiring any further command or any further law beyond that which the Saviour said...But [when Levi had said this], they set about going to preach and proclaim.[137]

There is no biblical precedent for Mary Magdalene being specifically a preacher or a saintly figure, it is a medieval invention in its truest form. In fact, certain areas of the Bible speak specifically against women preaching, as in the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians; "Let women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted them to speak, but to be subject, as also the law saith. But if they would learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church."[138] Despite the reinforcement of Mary Magdalene as preacher in the *GiL*, and later in the mystery plays, there was serious opposition to the idea of women as preachers, or even speaking in public, in the Middle Ages before and during the time the in which the *GiL* was being compiled and disseminated, validated in part by biblical passages such as the one found in Corinthians.[139]

This example was held up by many antifeminist clerics in the Middle Ages who wished to keep women in what they deemed to be their proper place, submissive and adhering to the virtues of humility, gentleness and obedience. They strove to achieve this by admonishing women who behaved otherwise in their sermons and "prescriptive treatises." Carla Casagrande points out in her essay "The Protected Woman" that Mary Magdalene was not always revered as a saint or as a model for mediaeval women to follow; "The adventurous alternative of independence – experienced, for example, by Mary Magdalene who according to Jacobus of Voragine, was sinful and exerted a bad influence over other women because she was free and her own mistress (*sui domina et libera*)--was eyed with disapproval and suspicion."[140] She also mentions the medieval writer Christine de Pizan, who in her *City of Ladies* wrote against preachers who claimed that Christ chose to come to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection because he knew that, being a woman, she would soon spread his word far and wide.[141] This reinforces the antifeminist idea that women were not really preachers, nor were they meant to be, not even the revered Mary Magdalene, but were simply gossips who delighted in spreading news without, perhaps, considering or even understanding the worth or meaning of what they were saying. Jacques Dalarun also points out in his essay that Geoffrey of Monmouth was writing for his monks, not for women, when he spoke of Mary Magdalene; and that she was to be

venerated as a figure, not as a woman.[142] She was thought of as the soul to man's spirit and was meant to be held up as a model for female sinners of the flesh, namely prostitutes, and not as a preacher spreading the Word of God. The image of Mary Magdalene in the Middle Ages is one still tied to the form of her female flesh, an image from which she rarely escapes.

I have chosen to focus on Mary Magdalene in illustrating this point about speech as an implement of power in medieval female hagiography precisely because she is an example of how widely the views of women as role models and religious icons differed in the Middle Ages, and were often contradictory in a single text. However, the text of the *GiL* tells a different story, one in which women spoke for themselves of their passion, their love for God, their place as his spouse, and how their words were instrumental in the conversion of thousands to the Christian faith. As Tibbetts Schulenberg points out, women were essential in the early days of Christendom and were able to transcend even their sex in the name of the Christian cause.

> Through their aristocratic birth and exercise of autonomy and power, they formed an elite group who were singled out for their religious dedication and zeal. While the lives of these holy heroines do not seem to have been fully coterminus (sic) with the experiences of religious women in general, it appears that especially during the early stages of conversion to Christianity, when the nobility played a central role, there were a great many aristocratic women with more power and visibility in the church and society than usual. They were then rewarded for their leadership roles in the church by being elevated to sainthood. These female saints and their vitae therefore provided society with some idea of the ideals and the kind of life being practiced (sic) by this very special spiritual elite.[143]

The fact that the female saints of the *GiL* corpus are predominantly early Christian saints echoes this sentiment, and it stands to reason that these are the women which the church fathers would elevate as role models for the women of the Middle Ages, even though by the medieval period female speech was viewed with a certain amount of suspicion, even from the mouths of saints.

> In the age of conversion, the word had unequivocally been the Word of God; by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, words were recognised to be double-edged. Words could nourish faith; they could also destroy it: the cup of knowledge might turn out to be a poisoned chalice.[144]

That poisoned chalice may not have been intended for female consumption, as the writings of the Church Fathers against women reading and interpreting the scriptures for themselves would indicate, but if not for women, then for whom? Many male religious houses operated with a joint house for women, if not on the same premises, then close by

and dependent, so it would be inaccurate to believe that these legends were not intended as models for pious women. These legends speak clearly of men and women spreading the faith together, as it was originally spread: "In the age of the conversion, holy men and women were, at least initially, committed to an enterprise of equal opportunity based on teaching and learning the new faith together."[145] As words developed a double-edge, so did their use. For though women speak very vehemently in their own words and for their own defense, the words were still largely dictated by men, even in the case of such vocal role models as Mary Magdalene. However, these words were filtered through the popular vernacular of the time, including the Middle English *GiL*.

> Mary of the Gospels is given only few words; those anxious to reinforce the Pauline message that women were to be silent in church found this a reassuring precedent. But for many late medieval men and women, the Virgin they knew stepped out of vernacular drama not Latin Gospels.[146]

This also seems to be the case with the female saints of the *GiL*, whose stories were compiled and translated from Latin into both French and English. the women in these legends are neither silent nor submissive to their antagonists, until Elizabeth of Hungry, whose life follows more closely the Pauline tradition, in so much that she is utterly submissive and obedient to her master and confessor.

However, there is a great deal of variance in the kinds of women featured in the medieval hagiography, and though fairly uniform in its selection of male saints, the *GiL* offers a wider selection of female saints which I shall look at. They fall into four distinct categories, though in places these overlap. However, they all had one common trait among them, they were all born of noble blood. In reference to Bede's female saints in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Leyser says:

> The paradoxes and strains of Christianity which so trouble Bede's men seemingly impinge not one whit on his women. They take up its challenges with alacrity and with evident success. They become saints apace, exercising power in life and in death: in life in positions of influence as abbesses, in death through miracles worked at their shrines. Yet it is not any woman who can play this part, royal blood is an essential prerequesite. The high profile such women achieve would indeed seem to be explicable only if Christianity was in fact offering a continuation, albeit with significant variations, of roles in which aristocratic women were already well versed.[147]

With this in mind, we shall look at the female saints of the *GiL* who are also of noble blood but of varied circumstance.

A Ryght hooly Virgyne

The majority of the females saints in the *GiL* corpus are virgin saints, tormented by lustful prefects who would either marry them or defile them; either way their virginity is threatened and they defend it with their faith and eventually their lives.

It is in the legends of these virgin saints where the largest amount of torture takes place. As they refuse to wed or be defiled, their bodies are defiled and destroyed. Their virginity is a symbol of the faith which they refuse to relinquish, and as their bodies are ripped apart; they become the key to their martyrdom. Saint Christina is one of these virgin saints; her father ordered her breasts cut off, her tongue cut out, her flesh torn off and finally for her to be boiled in hot oil, all in the name of preserving her virginity and in doing so, preserving her faith. In fact, most of these women would probably not have been tortured had they consented to the sexual demands made upon them; their religion plays a secondary role to the preservation of their chastity. Saint Agnes challenges her tormentors to do their worst:

> To whom Anneis seid, 'What wilt þu do? For þu maist never haue þat þu requirest. I praise neþer þi fair wordeȝ, ne þin manasinge.' Than þe prouost seid, 'Chese oon of two þinges: eiþer þu shalt sacrafice to oure godd(es) in þe cloþinge of goddis, or elleȝ þu shalt be brought to þe bordell as oþer comen women ben.' For he might not do hir(e) no wronge, fore cause she was noble kinrede, but oonly bi cause þat he put vppon here þat she was Cristen. To whom she answhered, 'I tel þe playnlye, I shal never sacrafice to þi godd(es), ne I shal never be defouled with strange filþes, fore I haue with me þe keper of my body þat is þe angell of oure lorde.' (f.39r)

Saint Lucy debates the finer issues of the Christian religion with Faspasien, telling him that she is bound by the ordinance of her God and therefore is not bound by the laws of the pagans, and though he seeks to still her tongue by beating her, she defies him and says he cannot silence the Word of God within her:

> She answered and seid, 'Þat sacrafice þat liketh [to God] is to visete þe poer and help hem in here nede. And for I haue no mor(e) goode, I offre my self to God in verri sacrafice.' And than Faspasien seid, 'Þu might wel sey þeis wordes to a Cristen sole as þu art, for to me þu seist hem in vayne þat kepe þe ordinaunce of princes.' To whom Luce seid, 'Þu spekest þe ordinaunce of þi princes and I kepe þe ordinaunce of my God. Thu dredest þi princeȝ, and I drede my God. Thu wolt please hem, and I coueyte to please my God. Thu wolt not wreth þi princeȝ, and I wol not wreth my God. And þer(e)for do þu þat þe thinketh profitable to the.' And þan Faspasien seid, 'Thu spendest thi goode and þin heretage in ribaudr(e) and þerefor þu spekest as suche oone as þu art.' To who(m) Luce seid, 'I haue my heritage in suer place, for I wist neuer what corrupcion of bodi ne of þouȝt was.' Than Faspasien seid, 'Who be þoo corumpour(es) of body and þoughteȝ?' And þan Luce seid, 'Ye among yow þat techen þe souleȝ to forsake here creature and also ye be corrumper(es) of þe bodi þat put þeire deleccacion to þe temp(er)all goodeȝ before sp(ir)uall goodes.'
>
> Than Faspasien seide, 'Whan beting(es) come wordes shal cese.' To whome Luce seid, 'The worde of God shal neuer cese.' Than seid Faspasien, 'Art þ(ou) þan God?' And Luce

> answerd, 'I am þe s(er)unt of God þat seith 'Whan ye be befor kingez þinkeþe neuer what ye shal sey, for it is not ye þat speke but it am I that shal speke in yow." Faspasien seid, 'Þan is þe holi goost in þe?' To whom Luce seid, 'Tho þat lyuen chastinli ben temples of þe holi goest.' And Faspasien seid, 'I shal make þe led to þe bordelles and þere þu shalt lese þine holi goest.' Than Luce seid, 'The bodi mai not be corrupt but if it come of consent of þought, for þough þu madest me to be corrupte with strength, my croune of chastite shal encrese for it lieth not in þi c(ur)sed power to bring my consent ne my wil þerto. Se here my [body] is redi to al þe tormentes þat þu canst devise. Whi tariest þu, sone of þe fende be gyne to do be times the desire of þi paines' (f.4v)

Elevating these women who refused to be physically used by men to the level of saint and basing that sanctity on their desire to keep their bodies for themselves, or God, as they argued, lends a new dimension to these legends which were written by men who, for the most part, had a certain fear of the female body which was rooted in the idea that all temptation was born from Eve. Perhaps some of that fear is exercised in the way the torture of these virgins was written, focusing on the offending female parts, and on the fact that their tormentors were driven by lust. It is the "ryght hooly virgines" such as Saint Christina, Saint Lucy and Saint Anastasia, who are, besides Mary Magdalene, the most vocal and the most vehement in their arguments for their religion and who are the most greviously tortured for their adamant protestations of faith, a subject which could provide enough material for an entirely separate thesis.

The symbol of holy motherhood

The next category focuses on a much smaller group, the female saints who are mothers and who find their sanctity in forsaking their children for the love of God. Saint Paula is the clearest example of this idea of holy motherhood, having left her children weeping on the shore as she sails for Jerusalem. Her ultimate sacrifice is that of her children, and her holiness is measured by that pain and suffering it caused her.

Saint Felicty is venerated by Saint Gregory who writes that she was "more þan marter, ffore she suffered .vij. deþes in here .vij. sones and þe .viij. in her self." (f.187r). She had rather watch them die before her and know that they received their martyrdom, than die before them.

Saint Julietta is pleased when her three-year-old son has his head smashed by the provost who is questioning her because she would rather not leave her son behind her as she received martyrdom. Saint Paula keeps her eyes to heaven as she leaves her children weeping on the shore on her way to Jerusalem:

> And what mor(e) wher(e)for(e) abide I, her brother, her cosynes, her ffrendz, and yit moost of all, her owne childeren folowed her. But þe saile was drawen vpp, and þe shippe dryven forth with þe condit of ooris and the Thoroche held vpp her hondez besechinge vppon þe ryuage and resyne to

> be maried redy, praied her to a bide his weddynge and half died in wepinge. And she alwayes helde her eyen toward(e)s the heven and toward(e)s ffekonye in her sonez and pite in God... And yn þat reioysing, her corage coueyted þe loue of childeren to be grettest aftr(e) kinde, yit she left hem all fore the loue of God...and in þe mene tyme þat þe shipp(e) sailed forthe in the see, all tho þat wer(e) with her w(ith)yn befiled þe ryuage, and she held her eyen to heuen and turned hem from þat she miȝt not bihold with oute sorowe and turment as she come to þe place of þe holy londe. (f.50v).

These women are placed as models, not of motherly love and care, but of spiritual love and devotion. Saint Elizabeth, who is more an example of the ideal of medieval female sainthood than early-Christian sainthood, is less forceful than her predecessors. She is subservient to the religious men in her life and takes her devocion from them:

> Her(e) confessour(e), Mast(er) Conrand, wold many tymes put vppon her(e) hevy and contrari berthenes, and þat it semed that she loued moost, she wold voide from her(e) felashipp so ferthforthli þat .ij. yong men, right goode & true, þat wer(e) norshed with her(e) of childehode, wher(e)fore þer(e) was many a teer shedde in bothe sides. But þis he did to breke her(e) wil and þat she shuld dresse all her(e) affeccons to God. (f.343r).

The converted sinner

Mary Magdalene is the most notable of these converted sinners, and I shall only touch on her briefly here. She is the most vocal of all the female saints, owing to her association with Christ before his crucifixion. However, in her legend her past is not dwelt upon to any great length and she appears to have transcended the taint of being "that sinfull woman".

There are, however, other women who feature in this category. Saint Thais, the Courtesan, is the most striking. She is a Christian whore, who knows her sin but must be converted to a chaste life by a monk who had sought her favours. It should be noted that there is no indictment of the monk for seeking the favours of a courtesan, but only his praise for bringing her around to the "true way of life". In fact he becomes her confessor and the mediator of her penance, which she serves as a recluse. However, her merits win out over those of that monk, and she is received into the bosom of heaven. But though, she was Christian before and knew her sin, she must be vilified by this monk and brought to penance by him before she can be saved. Here we see a more traditional slant on the legend, where the salvation of the woman is contingent on the intercession of the man. However, there is a paradox in that the abbot had come to Thais to purchase her favours as a courtesan, but stopped when he found her a Christian whore, blaming her for his own sin. He then seeks to punish her himself [f.305r]: "And whan þe abbotte shuld go, Thais seid, 'Fader wher(e) wilt thou co(m)maunde þat I put oute þat which cometh oute of þe condites of nature?' And he seid, 'In þe celle, as thou arte worþi.' And than she asked how she shuld

prey to God and he seid, 'Thou arte not worthi to nempne God, ne þat þe name of þe Trinite be named in þe mouthe, ne for to lift vpp þin hondes to heven, for þi lippes ben full of wickednesse and thi hondes full of wicked touchinges of filthe.'"

However, Thais redeems herself by her penance and her worthiness is shown to be above that of the abbot and the other holy men [f.305v]: "And whan Poule hadde seid that þe grace of þat vision was oonli bi þe merites of Seint Antony, an hevenli voice was herde that seid þat it was not bi þe merites of Antony, but bi þe merites of Thais, þe sinful woman."

Her holiness is illustrated when her cell door is opened and she reveals the extent of her penance [f.305v]: "'I take God to witnesse that sith I entred into þis sell, I haue set al my synnes be fore my eyen. And right as þe brethe parteth never fro þe mouthe and fro þe nostrelles, right so my synnes passid never my sight, but I haue ever bihold hem and wept for hem.'"

However, in acknowledging her sin and accepting her penance, Thais is meekly accepting her fate without a word of contention. After Mary Magdalene, these "fallen women" barely have a voice at all. They accept their penance as just and adhere to it, silently.

Holy transvestism

There are only four female saints in the *GiL* corpus who fall into this category, and three of those could also be counted among the sinful women. Holy transvestism is the adoption of the opposite gender, in dress and lifestyle, in order to achieve sanctity. Saint Theodora, Saint Pelagia and Saint Margaret (Pelagia) are all women who have sinned and who take refuge and penance for their sins dressed as men, living as monks in a monastery, or as a hermit.

Saint Marina is raised as a boy in a monastery by her father, after the death of her mother, and encouraged by him to keep her gender a secret after his death. In each case, except Saint Pelagia who lives as a hermit, these women are falsly accused a impregnating a local country girl and forced out of the monastery in disgrace to rear the child in abject poverty as a reminder of their sins. None of these women protest, in fact, very few of them speak at all. The truth of their gender is not discovered until after they die, usually having been admitted back into the confines of the monastery for serving out their penance so meekly, and when they return, their innocence is revealed and they are buried with great worship. Their gender is seen as a miracle when it is discovered, mainly because it had gone undetected before. The scribe even changes the personal pronoun as the saint changes gender, from "she" to "he" and back to "she". Holy transvestism implies that the women can only be holy, or repent their sins of the flesh (except Saint Marina), by not being a woman. Saint Margaret is given as an example of this, but as a man [f.304]:

> And he moost mekkli & moost paciently susteyned & suffred all the wronges and was not troubled [f.304v] in no þinge, but euer hertli loued & þonked God and conforted him in his chastite bi þe enaumple of seintes. In þe laste ende, whan she wist þ(at) her(e) dethe neghed, she wrote l(et)tres to þe abbot and to þe monkes in þis wise: 'I, of noble kinrede, was called Mergarete in þe worlde. But for I wold eschue þe temptacons of þe worlde, I called my self Pellagien. I am a [wo]man, I haue not lied for to deceyue, for I haue shewed þ(at) I haue vertu of man and I haue hadde vertu of þe cr[y]me þat was put vppon me and I, innocent þer(e)of, haue do þe penaunce. But I p(ra)i yow, for as moche as men knewe me not for woman, þat þe holy susteres mai beri my bodi so þat þe shewing of me dying be clensing of my lyving, and þat þe wy(m)men know þat I am a virgine þat thei iuged for a vouterer.'

All of these legends highlight the meekness and pacience of these saints, compared with their outspoken counterparts who have not sinned.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to illustrate the power and influence which female saints exerted in their legends and how these legends were held up as models for the women of the Middle Ages. According to Andrea Hopkins:

> We think of the Middle Ages as being repressive, but it may surprise us to learn that women enjoyed more opportunities and suffred from fewer restrictions than in subsequent centuries until our own...(These ideas) were also reinforced by secular taboos and legislation that defined what women could and could not do, but, most importantly, they were drummed into everybody by ceaseless repitition in every kind of literary and oral culture, from minstrels' fabliaux to the theological theses of the mightiest intellectual authorities. But the weight of misogynist tradition and increasingly repressive legislation did not actually succeed in keeping women chained to the kitchen sink (so to speak) until well into what we think of as the modern era.[148]

I believe, based on the text of the lives of women saints in the corpus of the *GiL*, that women were not as silent as some historians would have us believe. Nor did they serve their religion in silence and obedience. The female saints of the *GiL* who were held up as examples to medieval women, for the most part, were vocal, authoritative and eloquent, and it is best to let them speak for themselves.

VI NOTES ON THE TEXT

In compiling this reader's edition, I have arranged the text of the manuscript with the episodes from Harley MS 630 first, followed by those from MS TCD 319. I have included *Saint Alban* as an appendix to this edition because of its importance for determining the history and provenance of Harley MS 630. I have modernised punctuation to make the text more accessible, but I have left the spelling in its original form including word separation

which is not consistent throughout the MS. I have indicated lengthened abbreviations with parenthesis, and words and phrases which appear in the margin with brackets. Words or letters which are unclear are indicated by { }.

I have expanded superscript 'r' as (ir) and superscript 'o' as (oure) or (ure). Superscript 'e' has been expanded as (e) and 'e' loop as (es). In the interests of consistency, I have expanded 'p' stroke as (er), 'p' with a macron as (ra), 'p' with a subscript flourish as (ro), 'p' flourish as (re), 'þ' with superscript 'u' as (ou), 'þ' with superscript 't' as (at), 's' flourish as (er), superscript 'r' as (ure), 'g' flourish as (es), 'p' with a superscript 'i' as (ri) 'r' flourish has been expanded in both manuscripts as 'e'. In Harley MS 630 I have expanded w^{t} as w(ith) which is the regular occurence when the scribe spells it out, but in TCD MS 319, I have expanded it as w(yth) to follow the regular occurence in that manuscript. In some cases, the expansion varies as with 't' loop; where appropriate I have expanded it as (er) based on context. Macrons have been expanded where appropriate with the expansions in parenthesis, e.g. co(m)maunded, co(m)e þe and l(et)res. There are some special cases of spelling, e.g. s(er)u(a)nt, which follow the regular occurence in the manuscript.

I have not compared my transcriptions from Harley MS 630 and TCD MS 319 against other *Gilte Legende* manuscripts, except in the case of establishing the provenance of *St Alban*, because it is a lengthy procedure which is beyond the scope of my purpose and has already been undertaken by Richard Hamer and Vida Russell.



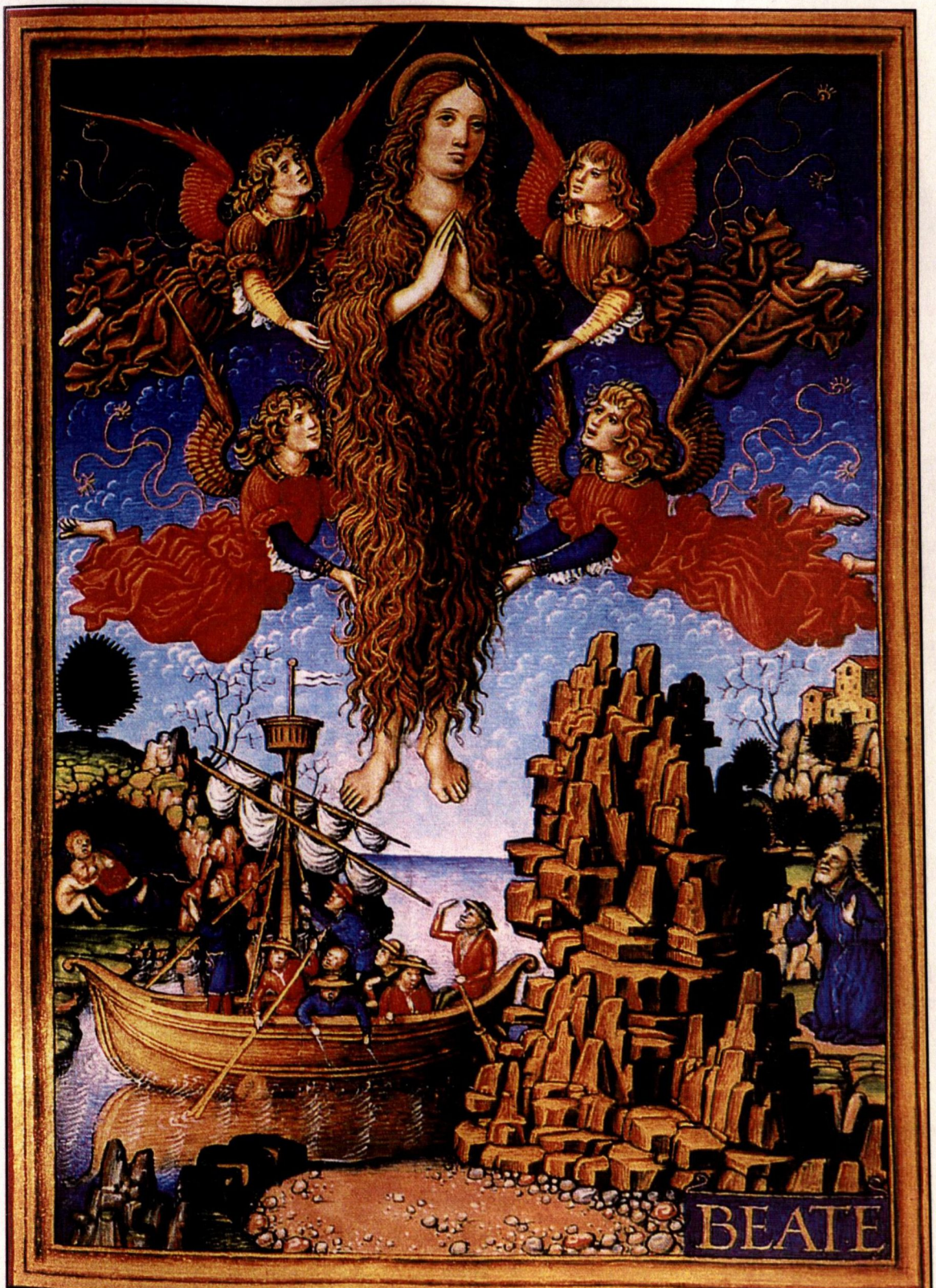
Saint Anne, The Virgin and Christ with four female saints (St. Dorothy and St. Agnes not shown)
This tapestry is a fine example of the iconography of female saints, and the depiction of St. Dorothy (not shown) is one of very few representations of her which exist. She is portrayed holding a basket with apples and roses.
Middle Rhine 1475-1500; tapestry, wool, silk, gold and silver threads with some embroidery.
(Burrell Collection)



Procopius offers St. Agnes a box of Jewels

In this scene, Agnes is shown with her lamb which is the symbol of Christ and of her place as the lamb of Goc

Enamelled scene from the lid of the Royal Gold Cup of the Kings of England and Franc Paris, c.1380 (British Museum)



St. Mary Magdalene, *Suffrages of the Saints*

Here, Mary Magdalene is being raised by angels to receive her daily gift of manna during her 30-year sojourn in the desert. Various scenes from her life in Marseilles are depicted in the bottom corners, and her covering of hair is symbolic of the washing of Christ's feet.

Giovan Pietro Birago, from the Sforza Hours, late 15th century, BL Additional MS 34294, f.211v.



The Three Marys at the Tomb

A depiction of one version of the visitation story from the Bible, featuring the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany. Mary Magdalene is kneeling with her hair uncovered.
Bartolommeo Rigossi, an historiated initial from an antiphonal; Lombardy, c.1465 (J. Paul Getty Museum, LA)





Statue of St. Dorothy

Another rare depiction of St. Dorothy. Her basket can be clearly seen.
Wood and gilt, 15th century
(Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

St. Mary Magdalene

A more traditional depiction of Mary Magdalene; her hair unbound, holding the oils with which she annointe Christ's feet.
Boucicaut Master, book of hours, Paris, c.1415-20
(J. Paul Getty Museum)



The Feast of All Saints

A lively depiction of a host of saints, all displaying their icons, attending Christ. Bedford Hours, f.235 (British Library)



Beheading of a female saint

It is not clear which saint is being executed, but the method of execution is clearly apparent. Bedford Hours, f.256v. (British Library)

The Female Saints of Harley MS 630

1. The Life of Saint Lucy - Harley MS 630[149]

[f.4r] Here endeth the life of Seint Nicholas & þan biginneþ(e) þe life of Sei(n)t Luce þ(e) v(ir)gine.

Seint Luce þe holi virgine was of kinrede of Sircuse[150] and wha(n) she herde þe renoun of Seint Agas þat was talked of in [all] Cecile, she hadde grete deuocion. Hir moder Euticia[151] had suffred þe blody flix[152] þe space of .iiii. yere and might nat be cured þer(e)of. It befel in a sole(m)nite as þei were at masse, she herd þe gospell þat in makeþ mencion how þat oure lorde heled a woman of þat sikenes,[153] and þan Luce seid to hir moder, "Moder if ye leue þies þinges þat ben seid her(e) vereli þat Agas hath present[ed] him with hir for þe which she suffred passion. And I dare wel sei if þu leue and touche here sepulcre þu shalt be p(er)fitli hole." Than whan al were goone, þe moder and the doughter abiden in praiers besides the sepulcr(e). And Luce fel a slepe and segh seint Agas in þe middes of angels araied with precious stones and seid to here, "Mi suster Luce, deuoute virgine to God wher(e)for requerest þ(ou) of me þat þu maist gyue anon to þi moder, for she is heled bi þi beleue." And than Sei(n)t Luce a woke and seid to hir moder, "Mi moder beth in good co(m)forte for ye be p(er)fiteli hole. And I besech yow for loue of hir praiers þat fro hens forward ye speke neuer to me of no mariage, þ(at) that ye wolde gyue me in mariage, gyue it to pouer men." And þan the moder seid, "A dought(er), shit raþer myn eyen and late me die or I do so as þu biddest me." Than seid Luce, "A goode moder, þat þat ye gyue after y(oure) life ye gyue, for ye mow no lenger haue it y(oure)self. And for þat gift des(er)ue ye litul þank, and þerfor giue the whiles ye leue, and þan ye shal haue thonk and guerdon."

And whan þei were come home ayene, eu(er)y dai þei began to sell of here þinges and yaue largeli to the power. And in the mene tyme, þat þei dep(er)ted þus hir goodes & heritages, it came to the knowleche of him that shuld wede hir [and he asked hir] norice what it ment. And the norice answered subtili þat þis wife had founde better possession þan she wolde bi in his name, & þerfor she solde so hire thinges [f.4v] and þe fole leued þat it hadde be a wordli possession and beganne to be a seller of þing(es). And wha(n) all was solde and giue

to þe pou(r)e, he accused her(e) to þe consul Faspasien[154] and seid þat she was Cristen and did ayenst þe ordinaunceȝ of the Emp(er)ours. And þan Faspasien bede her(e) do sacrafice to þe idoles. She answered and seid, "Þat sacrafice þat liketh [to God] is to visete þe poer and help hem in here nede. And for I haue no mor(e) goode, I offre my self to God in verri sacrafice." And than Faspasien seid, "Þu might wel sey þeis wordes to a Cristen sole as þu art, for to me þu seist hem in vayne þat kepe þe ordinaunce of princes." To whom Luce seid, "Þu spekest þe ordinaunce of þi princes and I kepe þe ordinaunce of my God. Thu dredest þi princeȝ, and I drede my God. Thu wolt please hem, and I coueyte to please my God. Thu wolt not wreth þi princeȝ, and I wol not wreth my God. And þer(e)for do þu þat þe thinketh profitable to the." And þan Faspasien seid, "Thu spendest thi goode and þin heretage in ribaudr(e) and þerefor þu spekest as suche oone as þu art." To who(m) Luce seid, "I haue my heritage in suer place, for I wist neuer what corrupcion of bodi ne of þouȝt was." Than Faspasien seid, "Who be þoo corumpour(es) of body and þoughteȝ?" And þan Luce seid, "Ye among yow þat techen þe souleȝ to forsake here creature and also ye be corrumper(es) of þe bodi þat put þeire deleccacion to þe temp(er)all goodeȝ before sp(irit)uall goodes."

Than Faspasien seide, "Whan beting(es) come wordes shal cese." To whome Luce seid, "The worde of God shal neuer cese." Than seid Faspasien, "Art þ(ou) þan God?" And Luce answerd, "I am þe s(er)unt of God þat seith 'Whan ye be befor kingeȝ þinkeþe neuer what ye shal sey, for it is not ye þat speke but it am I that shal speke in yow.'" Faspasien seid, "Þan is þe holi goost in þe?" To whom Luce seid, "Tho þat lyuen chastinli ben temples of þe holi goest." And Faspasien seid, "I shal make þe led to þe bordelles and þere þu shalt lese þine holi goest." Than Luce seid, "The bodi mai not be corrupt but if it come of consent of þought, for þough þu madest me to be corrupte with strength, my croune of chastite shal encrese for it lieth not in þi c(ur)sed power to bring my consent ne my wil þerto. Se here my [body] is redi to al þe tormentes þat þu canst devise. Whi tariest þu, sone of þe fende, be gyne to do be times the desire of þi paines."

And þan Faspasien made to come [forþe] cursed ribaudes and lecherous and bede hem go to hir(e) [f.5r] and defoule hir til she were dede. And whan þei wold haue draw here to þe bordell, þe holi goost made hir so hevy þat she might in no wise be meved. And þan Vaspasien made to come a (1,000) men and (50) Oxen and al þei might not remeue the virgine. And þen were called forthe þe enchaunto(ur)s for remewe here enchauntementes, but þei might in no wise remeve hir(e). And þan seid Faspasien, "What malificeȝ bene thoo þ(at) a maide mai not be remeued w(ith) a (1,000) men?" Where to Luce answered and seid, "Þei bene none malificeȝ but thei ben benefices of Ih(es)u Crist. For þough þu settest (10,000) men more, yit shul be with oute remeving as I am nowe."

Than Faspasien was fulfilled with wreth, co(m)maunded þat a grete fire were made aboute hir(e) and he made [to pute] pitche, terre and oile brennyng hote vppon hir(e). And þan Luce seide, "I haue asked terme of my martirdome, for I wolde take þe drede of suffring deth of tru bileuers and also for I wold restraine þe waies of ioy to mysbileuers." And whan þe ffrendes [of] Faspasien segh þat he was ful of anguysh and troubeled, þei toke a spere and put it þorowe hir(e) þrote and yit she lost neu(er) hir(e) speche þerfor but she seid, "I denounce yow þat þis dai is gyue pece to þe chirche and Maximian is þis day dede and Dioclician is put oute of his kindome.[155] And as mi suster Agas is ordeigned to be defendresse of Sathaneuse,[156] so am I ordeigned to prai for the cite of Ciracuse."

And as þe virgine seid þies wordes, þe ministresse of Romaines came in and token Faspasien and bounden hi(m) and lad him to þe Emp(er)oure, for þe prouost had herde seide þat he had robbed al þe prouynce. And whan he was comen to Rome, þe Senato(ur)s accused him and he was convicte and punished and receiued sentece of his hede smyting of. And þe virgine Seint Luce was neu(er) remeved oute of þe place wher(e) she was smitte, til prestes came and toke hir(e) þe precious sac(ra)me(n)t. And whan she had worshipfulli receiued it, and al þe peple seid "Amen", she yelded vp the spirit and here holi bodi was beried in the same place, and now here bones resten at Venise.[157] She suffered deth in þe time of Constantine and

Maximian,[158] þe yere of oure lorde ccc&x. Here endeþe þe life of Seint Luce, and þan begineth þ[e] life of Seint Thom(a)s.

2. The Life of Saint Anastasia -Harley MS 630[159]

[f.11v] Thus endeth þe Natiuite of oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist and saueo(ur) & hire begineþ þe lif of Sei(n)t Anastece

Anatece was born of right noble ki(n)red of Romaynes, doughter of Pretaxtat[160] a noble paynemyn, hir moder hight Fauste.[161] And Anastece Cristenlye taught in þe faith of Ih(es)u Crist of blessed Crisogone[162] and sche [was] gyue to wife to Papillian.[163] She feyned hir(e) to be sike and kept hir eu(er) from his felaship. And he herde þat she vsed to viset Cristen men þat were in prison in a vile habite and oon chamberer with hir(e), and mi(n)stred to hem here sustinaunce. And þan he shit hir(e) vp streitly so þat she had no sustinaunce, and so he purposed þat she shuld die for hungre [þ(at) he wold be deliu(er)ed of her(e) & whan sche supposid þ(at) sche schuld dey for hu(n)ge], she sent peteuous l(et)res to here fader [Grisodon][164] and þan he sent hir(e) a yene confortable wordeȝ. And in the mene tyme hir husbonde died and þan she was deliu(er)ed of prison.

And she had .iij. faire chambres with hir, al susteres; þe one name was Sapen, þe ij^{de} Clionia, and þe {iij^{de} was Irene and þe}[165] .iij. citees[166] were Cristen and wold not obei to þe p(ro)uost. Wherefor he enclosed hem in a chambre where as þe vessell of þe kychen were kept. And the prouost þat brenned cursedlye in here loue and went to hem to fulfil his cursed luste, and as sone as he was entered he wex mad and went to haue take þe virgines and toke pottes and pannes, and cawdorns and clipped hem and kessed hem. And whan his false luste was fulfilled, he came oute blak and foule and horrible to be holde and all his [f.12r] cloþis to rent. His s(er)unteȝ þat aboden with oute, whan þei segh hi(m) in þat aray, þei went he hadde be vexed with a fende and beten him with roddeȝ and fled al awai fro him and lefte him þer(e) alone. And þan he went to þe Emp(er)o(ur) to pleyne of þis thing for some [smote] him with

roddes, some spete in his visage & buffeted him with her(e) hondez, venyng vereli þat he had be made. And al þis time he segh no þing of himself, howe foule he was, and þerfor he merveiled of mesure, what cause it myȝt be þat þei dud to him so grete despite þat were wont to do hi(m) so moche worship. And him þought þat he was clothed al in whight clopes. And whan he knewe bi oþer how foule he was, he went þe virgines hadde made him so be som wichcrafte and co(m)maunded anon þat þei shuld be dispeiled al naked bifor him þat he miȝt se he(m). And anon here clopes cleued so fast to here skynnes þat þei miȝt not be take of in no wise. And sodeinli, þe prouost fell on slepe and slept so harde þat he rowted þat al his peple wondered on hi(m), ne þei might not a wake him for no steri(n)g.

And atte laste þies virgines receiued croune of martirdome and Anastece was betake to þe prouost þat he might make hir(e) do sacrafice, he shulde haue hir to his wife. And whan he hadde brought hir(e) to his chambre, he wolde haue take hir(e) in his armes, and anon he wex al blynde. And þan he went to his godd(es) and asked hem where he shulde escape þat disese. Þei seid to hi(m) in þise wise: "For þat þu hast wrethed and troubeled Seint Anastece, þu art deliu(er)ed to vs and shal be tormented with vs in eu(er)lasting payne." And as he was ledde home, ended his life in wrecchednesse in þe hondes of his s(er)untez.

And þan was Anastece[167] take to anoþer prouost to kepe hir in p(ri)son. And whan he herde þat she had grete possessions, he seide to hir(e): "Anastece, if þu wolt be cristen, do as þi God co(m)maundeth þe. For he seith, 'Who þat wol be my disciple forsake al and folowe me.'[168] And þerefor, giue me al þat þu hast and þan þu shalt be verri Cristen and go where þu wolt." And she answered, "Nay, þu hast misvnderstonde, for my God co(m)maundeth 'Sel al þat þu hast and yeue to þe pou(re) and not to þe riche.'[169] Þu arte riche and þerfor, if I gaf it to þe, I shuld breke þe comaundiment of my God." And þan was Anastece put into a cruel prisonne, for to be slai[ne] with houngre, but she was fed with heuenli mete be Seint Theodore þat .ij. monthes bifore had receiued croune of martirdome. And atte last she was sent into exile into þe Ile of Palmers with .cc. virgines, whereyn þei founde many þat had be sent þider be fore for þe name of Ih(es)u Crist. And few daies aftr(e), þe prouost made hem al com by for him,

and he made Seint Anastece [f.12v] be bounde to a piller and brent her(e) in a grete fire and slew al þe othir bi diuerse tormentez. And þere was oon þat oft had be despoiled for þe loue of Ih(es)u Criste, atte laste she seide, "Take as oft and as moch as ye wil, for I am suer I nowe ye mai not take Ih(es)u Criste a wai fro me." And Seint Apolyn[170] made a chirche in her gardin and beried þe bodi of Seint Anastece within it worshipfulli. And she suffered deth vndr(e) Dioclisien, þat began a bout the yere of oure lorde .cc.lxvij. Here endeth the life of Seint Anastece.

3. The Life of Saint Agnes -Harley MS 630[171]

[f.38v] And þan beginneth þe life of þe blessed virgine Seint Annes.

Seint Annes, þe right wise virgine, so as Seint Ambrose telleth[172] þat wrote her(e) life and her(e) passion, loste þe deth in þe .xiiij. yere of her(e) age and fonde life. Þe childehode was countted to his yeris, but she was auncien of here age and of grete wisdom, yonge of bodye, but olde of corage, fair(e) of visage but more faire of feith. In a day as she come from scoles, þe son of þe prouost loued her(e) and behight here precious stones and richesse with oute nu(m)bre so þat she wold accorde to be his wife. To whom Annes seid, " Go hens from me, Shipperd of deþ(e), bigynnyng of synnes, norshing of felons, ffore I haue an oþer loue." And þan she began to preise her(e) loue and her(e) spouse of .v. þingez þat ben cou(en)able betwene þe spouse and þe spouse. First of þe noblenesse of þe kinrede, of þe maner of beute of þe habundaunce of riches, of þe dignite of strengthe and might, and of þe excellence of loue and seid in þis wise: "He þat is ful ferre mor(e) noble þan þu bi kinrede and by dignite of whom his moder is a virgine and þe ffader knewe neuer woman, to whom þe angels s(er)uen, of whos beaute sonne and mone merveilen ne disencresen, by whos Sauour þe dede quicken, þe sike ben conforted, of whom þe loue is chastite, þe touchinge is continence and þe assembeling, virginite." And þies .v. þingez she put in oon auc(oun)te; of whom þe noblesse is moste farre [in line],[173] the might is moost stronge, þe biholdynge moost faire, þe loue moost swete, and þe grace grettest of all oþer. And aftre she put .v. b(e)nfice þat here

spouse yeveth here and to all oþer spouses, for he maketh hem noble with þe ringe of feith; he clotheth and araieth hem with many diuerse vertuose and bindeth he(m) by þe passion of his blode, he yeveth hem to him by þe bonde of loue and maketh riche with hevenly tresours of ioye. And she seid, "Ouer þis is he þat hath bitrow[þ]ed me with þis ringe in my right side, he hath beclipped my nekke with precious stones, he hath cloþed me with a mantell of Tyssoi of golde,[174] and he hath araied me with [f.39r] right noble broches, and he hath set his signe in my visage, so þat I take no oþer loue þan him, and hath araied my chekeȝ with his blode. He hath nowe streyned me w(ith) his chaast clippingg(eś) and his body is nowe yoyned to myn, and haþ(e) shewed me nowe his tresours þat mowe not be numbred, þe which he hath be hight me yif I p(er)seu(re) and kepe me to him."

And whan þis yonge madde man herd þis, he leied him downe sike in his bedde and þe phisiciens seid þat he was sike for loue, so that þe ffader of him tolde it to the virgine al þe causes of his sikenesse, and she seid him þat she might in no wise breke þe aliaunce of her first husbonde. And þe prouost enquered what he was þat Annes vaunted her(e) so gretly to, and som tolde him þat she said þat Ih(es)u Crist was her(e) spouse. The p(ro)uost þan exhorted hir(e) with fair blandissh wordeȝ and sith manast hir(e) with dredeful wordeȝ. To whom Anneis seid, "What wilt þu do? For þu maist never haue þat þu requirest. I praise neþer þi fair wordeȝ, ne þin manasinge." Than þe prouost seid, "Chese oon of two þinges: eiþer þu shalt sacrafice to oure godd(es) in þe cloþinge of goddis, or elleȝ þu shalt be brought to þe bordell as oþer comen women ben." For he might not do hir(e) no wronge, fore cause she was noble kinrede, but oonly bi cause þat he put vppon here þat she was Cristen. To whom she answhered, "I tel þe playnlye, I shal never sacrafice to þi godd(es), ne I shal never be defouled with strange filþes, fore I haue with me þe keper of my body þat is þe angell of oure lorde."

Than þe prouost co(m)maunded þat she shulde be dispoiled and brought naked to þe bordell, and anon our(e) lorde made her(e) her(e) so longe and so þikke þat she was better cloþed with her(e) here þan she was a fore with her(e) owne cloþinge. And whan she was entred into þat place of filth, she fonde þe angel of oure lorde redy þat illumyned all þe place

with grete light and brought her(e) a right whight cloþe to do on hir(e). And so þat place of a bordell was turned into a place of Orison, and for(e) grete light men come þens more clerer þan þei went yn. And þan þe son of þe prouost come to the bordell with oþer yonge men and taught hem to go bi for(e) hir(e). And whan þei were entred, anon þei were repentante and fore þat miracle he called hem cursed wrecches and went yn him self in grete wodenesse. And whan [he] wold haue touched her(e), þe brightnesse of þe light come a yenst him and [f.39v] he yelded no worshippes, ne þonkes to God. Wherefore he was anon strangled of þe fende, and whan þe prouost herde it, he come to her(e) w(ith) grete wepinge and asked her(e) diligently þe cause of his deth.

To whom Anneis seid, "He of whom he wolde fulfil þe wil, toke power vppon him and slewe him. And whan his felawes sai þe miracle of God, þei turned ayene al dredefulli, with oute ony harme." Than seid þe prouost, "In þat it shall appere þat þu hast not do it bi arte magike, if þu maist aske grace for him þat he might be releued ayene to life." And þan Annes went ayene to Orison and preied hertely oure lorde, and anon þe yonge man aroos frome deth to life and preched oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist openly.

And þan þe bisshopps of þe Idoles meved grete contenc(i)on to þe peple and cried sayinge: "Take a way þis wicch fro vs þat chaungeth þe herteȝ and meveth þe corageȝ of þe peple." And whan þe prouost hadde say so grete a miracle, he wolde fayne a delyuered her(e), but he durst not for þe strif of the peple. Wherefor he ordeyned a noþer vicarie þat hight Aspasien(us), and went his way all sorifully for he might not delyuer her(e). And þan þe new vicarie co(m)maunded þat she shuld be cast into a grete fire. And whan þat she was in þe myddeȝ of þe fir(e), þe ffire dep(er)ted in two p(er)tieȝ and brent þe peple of mysbileu(er)s. And þan Aspasien(us) charged þat þei shuld put a sper þorogh her(e) þrote, and so her(e) spouse, whight and rede, hath sacred her(e) to him, virgin and marter.[175] She suffred deth as men leuen in þe tyme of Constant þe Grete,[176] in the yere of oure lorde .cccix.

And as þe Cristen and her(e) kynrede her(e) with grete ioy vnneþe þei might escape fore þe panymes þat casten stones a yenst him. A right holy virgyn, Emerenciane,[177] which was

felawe to her(e), þough it wer(e) so þat she was newe in the feith, as she sete bi sideȝ þe sepulture of her(e) and repreued þe paynymes of her(e) wickednesse, þei stoned her(e) to þe deth. And þan anon þe erth trembled and þondred and lightenynge was so grete þat it slewe many of þe panymes. So never sith þei durst hurt none þat come to þe Sepulcre of þat virgine. And þe body of Seynt Emerenciane was leied by sid(es) þe Sepulcre of Seint Annes. And as her(e) kyn woke þe .viij. day at her(e) tombe, þei say a company of virginis cloþed with cloþes of golde, amonge þe which þei sey blessed Seint Annes, cloþed with like cloþinge and a lombe whitter þan eny snowe in her(e) right side. Than she seid, "Biholdeth me and biwepeth me not as dede, but ioy [ye] with me [f.40r] for I haue received þe right shinyng segeȝ with al oþer virgnis." And for(e) þis vision is halowed secondly þe Fest of Seint Annes.

Narracio. Constance, þe doughter of Constante, was sike of a stronge sikenesse, and whan she herde þis vision, she come to þe toumbe of Seint Annes. And as she was in Orison, she fill a slepe and segh in vision Seint Annes þat said to hir(e): "Constance if þu wilt werk stably and leue in oure lorde, þu shalt anon be delyuered." And with þis word(es) she awoke and felt her(e)self p(er)fitly heled and þan she receyved bapteme and founded a chirch vppon þe bodye of þe virgine. And þer(e) she abode in her(e) virginite and assembled þere many virginis by her(e) ensample.

Narracio. There was a man and hiȝt Paulin and vsed þe office of prest in þe chirch of Seint Annes and began to be tormented bi temptac(i)on of flessh. This si(m)ple man þat wold not in no wise wreth God, asked leue of the Pope to mari him. Than þe Pope considering þe beute and þe simplenes of him, toke him his ringe with an emerawde and co(m)maunded him to go to his chirch where an image of Seint Annes was peinted, and pray her(e) þat he might take hir(e) to his wife. This simple man did so, and anon þe image put forthe her(e) finger and he set þe ringe þer(e) on[178] and she drowe her(e) finger to her(e) and kept þe ringe fast. And þer(e) anon, all þe temptac(i)on was take away of þe prest. And yit, as men sayen, þe ringe appereth vppon þe finger of þe image and also it is redde þat whan [þe pope behilde þe chirche of Seint Anneþo] he said to a preste þat he wold yeue him a spouse to norissh and to kepe and þat he

ment bi þe chirch of Seint Agnes þat he wold co(m)mitte to him and þan he toke hi(m) a ringe and co(m)maunded him to wedde þe image and þe image put forthe her(e) finger and with drewe it with þe ringe and so he wedded hir(e).

Of þis virgine, seith Seint Ambrose in þe boke of virgines:[179] "This virgine her(e) preisith yonge and olde and childeren. Þere is no mor(e) to praise þan þo þat mowe be praised of men. Wher(e)for(e) withoute nu(m)bre prechen þis marter abaachin yow all whan þei speken þat ye ber(e) witnesse of gret diuynite. For yit, might she not by age be arbitrore of her(e)self, she made at þe ende þat þis was loued of God, þat þat was not loued of man. Fore what þinge þat is ouer kinde, longeth to þe marter of kynde. This is a newe maner of m(ar)ter [f.40v] þat she þat was not couenable yit to haue peyne, and þat[180] nat(ur)e hadde a stronge strife of þe victori was couenable to be crouned and to haue þe maistry of vertuose, þe which bere þe iugement of here age. And yit, as þe newe maried hasteth to go to þe chambre, þis virgine went gladde and ioyful a grete pace to þe place of torment(es)." Seint Ambrose seith also in his preface þat þe blessed Annes displesed þe delitez of noblesse, she des(er)ued þe hevenly dignite in leuynge þe desires of manny(es) felashipp, she hath founde the felashipp of þe euer lasting kinges. And she receyvinge a p(re)cious dethe fore þe confession of Jh(es)u Crist, is made þere with like to him and endelesly with ioye with him. Here endeth þe life of Seint Annes, and after beginneth þe life of Seint Vincent marter(e).

4. The Life of Saint Paula - Harley MS 630[181]

[f.50r] Here endeth the conuersion of Seint Poule. And next foloueth þe life of Seint Paulyn.

Paulyn was a noble lady of Romaynez, of þe which Seint Ierom wrote the life by this word(es): "If all þe membres of my body wer(e) turned into tonghez, and þat all my membres might speke mannys voice, I might not sey no þinge worthi to þe vertuose and holynesse of þe noble and worshipfull Paulyn þat was noble of kyn, but moche more noble by feith and bi holynez, and som tyme mighty in richesse. But she is nowe mor(e) enuolued with þe pouerte of Jh(es)u Crist. I witnesse in Ih(es)u Crist and in his angels, and in the same

angell þat was felawe and keper of þat mervelous woman, þat I may no þing say sufficiant to þe grace [of and as] of her(e), ne in þe mone þer(e)of þe praysers of her(e). But þat I haue to sey I put it for(e) witnesse of þe leste of her(e) meritez. And if þe reder wil vet þe vertuose of hir(e), she left her(e) por(e) of all. And right as amonge many stonez, þe precious stone shyneth and þe brightnesse of þe sone derketh and shadoweth the litul light of sterres, right so surmounted she þe vertuose and þe mightez of all by her(e) humilite. She was þe le[e]st of all for to be þe grettest of all. For of as moch as she dispised her(e)self moost, she was þe more enhaunsed of God. For in þe fleying of ioy she des(er)ued ioy, þe which foloweth vertue as a shadowe and leuen hem þat coueyted him and sey hem that despisen him.

This same her(e) hadde .v. childeren þat was Blesile,[182] vppon þe deth of which I conforted Poule at Rome, the which seint lost Pamachien[183] her(e) heir(e) and prouost of her(e) þingez, to whom we made a litull boke vppon þe dethe of her(e) and to Eustoche[184] þat is nowe a p(er)cio(us) iuell in þe holy placez in þe chirch of virginite, and Rufyme[185] that wrecched the corage of her(e) moder for þat she died with oute ripenes of age and thorowe þe which she left beringe as she þat wold no more s(er)ue to do þe office of mariage, but she hadde obeied to þe will of her(e) husbond that desired to haue an eir(e) male.[186]

And whan her(e) husbond was dede, she biwept him so þat þer(e) failed litull þat she ne hadde deyed for sorowe. And þan she conuerted her(e) so to þe s(er)iuce of God þat she desired to haue þe same deth þat he hadde. And what shal I more seie, the grete and the noble houses and þe right(e) grete riches [f.50v] of be fore, she yaf to þe poer. She was so enflaumed bi þe vertuose of Paulyn, þe bisshopp of Antioche,[187] and of Epiphanes[188] þat wer(e) come to Rome, þat she purposed her fully to leue her(e) owne contrey. And what mor(e) wher(e)for(e) abide I, her(e) brother, her(e) cosynes, her(e) ffrendz, and yit moost of all, her(e) owne childeren folowed her(e). But þe saile was drawen vpp, and þe shippe dryven forth with þe condit of ooris and {litul} Thoroche[189] held vpp her(e) hondez besechinge vppon þe ryuage, and Refyne[190] to be maried redy, praied her(e) to a bide his weddynge and half died in wepinge. And she alwayes helde her(e) eyen toward(es) the heven and toward(es) Fekonye[191]

in her(e) sonez and pite in God. And she vnknowe her(e)self to be the s(er)u(e)nt of God and she was tormented in her(e) bowellz, right as men hadde drawe oute of her(e) membrez. And she faught w(ith) sorowe and suffred plenyer creaunce hem ayenst þe right of nature.[192] And yn þat reioysing, her(e) corage coueyted þe loue of childeren to be grettest aftr(e) kinde, yit she left hem all fore the loue of God. She conforted her(e) only yn Eustace þat was felowe yn her(e) bi age. And in þe mene tyme þat þe shipp(e) sailed forthe in the see, all tho þat wer(e) with her(e) w(ith)yn besiled þe ryuage. And she held her(e) eyen to heuen and turned hem from þat she miȝt not bihold with oute sorowe and turment as she come to þe place of þe holy londe.

The Prouost of Palestine þat knew right well the worthinesse of hir(e). The peple of hir(e) sent by for(e) his meyne to aray a grete paleice for(e) her(e). But she chose a litull sell and visited eu(er)y day þe holy placez with so gr(e)t stody, and with so grete feruour(e) þat but þe cause of hastinge to oþer had ben, she might not be drawe from þe first. And whan she kneled by fore þe crosse, she worshipped in biholdyng our(e) lorde as þough he honged on the crosse. And whan she was entred into þe sepulcre, wher(e) he aros, she kissed þe stone þat þe angell hadde take a wey fro þe moneme(n)t, and biclippinge þe placez wher(e) þe holy body hadde layn and drew into her(e) mouthe þe desired waters of bileue þat she coueyted. And all Ier(usa)l(e)m is witnesse of þe teeres and wepinggez shed of her(e) eyen and our(e) lorde himself she prayed to.

And fro þens, she went into Betheleem and entred into þe pitte of our(e) saueoure and segh þe holi place and swore, heryng my self, that she segh with þe eyen of her(e) bileue, þe child wrapped in cloþes and weping in the cracche, and þe kyng(es) worshipping our(e) lorde and the ster shynyng vppon the virgyne and moder [f.51r] and þe shippardez noreshinge þe bestes þat come to se þe son of God þat was made for to die.[193]

Then beginnyng of Ih(o)n þe eu(a)ngelist, the which is: 'In principio erat verbum et verbum caro factum est.'[194] And she sai Herodes in his wodenesse sleyng childeren,[195] Mari and Ioseph fleyng into Egipt[196] and speke with ioy medled with teers, and seid, "God saue the

Bethelems house of pees in which is borne þe brede þat descended fro heuen, God saue þe effrata contr(e) plenteuouse of þe which plente David speketh in þis wise: 'Verrely, we shull entre with yn þe tabernacles of him and worshipt þe place wher(e) þe fete of him stode.'[197] And I, right wrecched synner, am iuged worthi to kisse þe cracche in which oure lorde cried full litull and in the pit in þe which þe virgine bar(e) God. Her(e) is my rest, her(e) I shall dwell, ther(e)for(e) I [shall] chosen it and my Saueoure chase it be for(e) me."

She demed her(e) life by so grete humilite þat who þat se her(e) and had seyn her(e) be fore in her(e) grete worshipp, he wold not haue leued þat it hadde ben sche, but þe leste of her(e) chambres. And whan she was oft tymes environd with þe felashipp of virgines, she was þe lowest of all in spech, in habit, and in going. And sith þat her(e) husbond was dede, she ete never with man [&] knewe she him never so holyer in highnesse of a bisshopp, ne she entred neuer sith in no bath but if she wer(e) sike, ne hadde never sith soft bedde þough she wer(e) in right a greuous ffeuer, but lay vppon þe harde grounde in strailez of heir(e), and þat she accounted her(e) rest. But her(e) rest might be called night and day in Orison, ffor the most p(er)tie conteyned. And she wept for her(e) light synnes þat men wold haue wende þat she hadde be gilti in right greuous synnes. And as she was oft taught of vs þat she shuld spare her(e) eyen and kepe hem to þe lesson of þe gospell, she seid þat: "Þe face shuld be troubled þat I haue so oft peinted with colours ayenst þe co(m)maundementez of God. And þe body shuld be turmented þat hath tended to so many delicez; fore þe longe laughing most be recomp(n)essed bi wepinge, and þe soft and precious clothes of silk most be chaunged into þe sharpenes of heir(e). And I þat haue plesed man and þe worlde, desir(e) nowe to plese Ih(es)u Crist. And if I wold prech in þat same chastite amonge so many vertuose, it shuld be outerage." The which, whan she was at Rome, was ensample to all ladies of þe cite for she demened hir(e) so þat never renoune of none euell word(es) [f.51v] þere durst none [feme][198] a yenst here.

And I confesse my erroure þat whan she was to moche abandoned yn yeving, I vndertoke her(e) and purposed her(e) þis seyinge of the apostell: "It app(er)teyneth yow not to refressinge as to oþer but tribulac(i)on. But it moost be of qualite in tyme, so þat yo(ure)

habu(n)daunce be to þe nede of hem, and so it bihoueth to purvey þat þinge þat men wold ful fayne do þei mow not alweies do."[199] And I seid to her(e) many oþ(er) þingeȝ, the which she with grete shame and fewe wordes receyved. And I cal oure lorde to witnesse þat she did all for Ih(es)u Crist. And þat she desired to dye so poer þat she wold not leue oo peny to her(e) doughter and to her(e) owne bodys at here last ende wer(e) lapped in a stronge snayre. And she seid me whan I asked hir(e): "I shall fynde men I nowe þat will yeue me oon. And if a poer man haue not of me þat I may yeue[200] if he is dede of whom shal þis soule be asked."

She wol not dispend her(e) mony in stones þat ben transitorie her(e) with erth, but þat ben founde aboue erth, of þe which Seint Ioh(n) seith in þe Apocalipse þat þe cite of þe grete kynge ys made of.[201] She toke vnneþes oyle in her(e) mete þe hie festes so þat oo þing might be supposed of her(e), þat is þat she did fast fro wyne, fro liquors, ffro fisshes, fro mylke, ffro hony, from iron of his and of other þingeȝ þat ben soft in the tast in the which þingeȝ takyng som wenen to ben right abstinent. And if þei haue fulfilled þeir(e) belies, þei wene he be a despitous man þat blameth him. She was so debonaire þat for(e) the grete brennynge of vertuose it semed to som þat it was half madnesse, and whan men seid hir(e) þat þe breyne moost be sustened and norshed, she answhered, "We ben made tresour(e) biholdyng to þe worlde to angels and to men, and so we be foles to Ih(es)u Crist and .oo. Godd(es) fole more wise is þan many men."[202] Aftre oure chirch þat she hadde take to þe gouernaunce {of}[203] men, she ordeigned .iij. chirches & put with in hem .iij. felashipp of virgineȝ þat she hadde assembled of diuerse prouinces of many noble as of men and lowe kynrede, in such maner þat þei were dep(er)ted at þeir(e) werk and at þeir(e) mete.[204] But in psalmes and in orisons, þei were ioyned oonly, and whan þei chiden to gidr(e) among hem self [c]he wolde reherce hem with softe wordeȝ, and breke þe flessh of þe yonge virgineȝ bi double and of fastingeȝ, and loued better that þe stomak shuld ake þan the þought be disselut. Seying þat þe clenneȝ of body and of cloþing is felth to þe soule, and þat þing þat is nought or light amonge men of þe worlde is ful hevye [f.52r] an greuous amonge religious. And þof she yaue al þinges largeli to þe sike of flessh and of meteȝ, here owne p(er)sone she wold no þinge take whan she was sike, and yn

þat she was not egall, for(e) þo þingeȝ þat she did to oþer in pite she turned to her(e)self in hardenesse.

I shall tell þat I haue hadde exp(er)iens of. It fell in þe riȝt brynnyng hete of Iuly þat she was in a brynnynge feuer and aftre þat men wende she wold haue died but she turned to life by þe mercy of God, so þat phisiciens seiden þat she most drink and vse smale wyne and drink no water lest she felle into a dropsey.[205] And I praied to þe blessed Epiphanes, þe bisshop(p),[206] þat he wold byde her(e) and yn ioyne her(e) to drink wyne, fore she was of wise and of subtile engine. She felt anon & smyled vppon him, and who stered him þer(e)to, she told him, and whan euer þat blessed bisshopp come [to] her(e) and aftre money exortacous went oute fro her(e) ayene. I asked hir(e) how she had done, and she answhered: "I haue so moche profited þat w(ith) moche peyne I haue stered þis old man þat I shall drink no wyne."

She was debonair(e) to her(e) husbond and in wepyng, mylde, and she breke mekly her sensualite and moste a yenst her childeren. She was euer in perell of deth and whan she signed her(e) with þe crosse in þe fforhede and in þe breste, þe impression of þe crosse enforsed her(e) a yenst þe moderly sorowe and aswhaged and ouer(e)come þe corage, þe feithful mynde, and þe bowelleȝ of the moder[207] were troubled so she ou(er)come þe freelte of þe bodye and was ou(er)come.

She helde in gret remembraunce holi scripture, and as she loued þe stori and seid þat it was þe foundement of trouth, yit she folowed mor(e) þe spirituell vnderstondyng and by þat highnesse, she defended þe edificacon of þe soule.[208] And she speke anoþer tonge, þe which þing is not light to þe envious. She lerned þe tonge of Ebrewe, þe which I lerned of myn youth with grete peyne and many harde swete of pite, and with oute lesing euer þinking þer(e)on, lest she left me er I her(e).[209] She lered hem in such wise þat she songe all her(e) psalmes in Ebrewe sowned þat worde with oute eny oþer(e) p(ro)prete of Latyn tonge, the which [thing] we se into þis day in Eustache, her(e) doughter. We haue into þis tyme dryven our(e) shippes be goode wyndeȝ and our(e) ship hath coruen þe right passyng waters of þe see yn rennyng and now our(e) talkyng renneth [f.52v] in estaffes[210] þat ben litul shipps. What is he þat might

tell Paula is dying with oute weping. She fell in right grete feblenesse and desired for(e) to leue vs and for(e) to be more playnly with oure lorde. Wherefore abide I so longe and make my sorowe more longe in abidyng, in oþer þingeȝ is right wis amonge women felt the dethe be to hir(e) and a p(er)ti of þe body and of þe membres wexen colde and she felt but oonly þe brethe a litull mevinge at her(e) holi brest for to passe forthe.

And þan she seid softely þis vers: "Lorde I haue loued þe beute of þin house and the abitacon of þi glorie." And þan she seid, "Lorde of vertuose, how moche haue I coueyte þi beloued Tabernacles. My soule faileth in þe beyng of my lorde. I haue rather chosen to be despised in þe house of my God þan to dwell in þe tabernacles of synners."[211] And whan I asked of her(e), whi she held her(e) still and whi she answhered not to my crying and sorowyng, she answhered me in Greke þat she hadde no sorowe, ffor(e) she felt þat all þingeȝ wer(e) pesible and inquides. And þan she recorded þis vers w(ith) eyen closed into she yelded vpp þe soule with so lowe a voice þat vnneþis I might vnderstonde her(e).

And þer(e) was no monke hidde in his cell in deserte, ne non virgine þat moost bisilidst kept þe secrete placeȝ of her chambre, but þat þei had wende þ(at) it hadde be sacrilege if þei had not ben atte office þat she wer(e) worshipfulli leide in þe pitte by sides þe chirch. And Eustoche, þe worshipfull virgine dought(er) of her(e) might not to be drawe fro her(e) moder, kissing hir(e) and euer having hir(e) eyen to her(e) visage, and enbrased þe bodye and wold haue ben biried with the moder. And God to witnes þat she left never a peny to hir(e) doughter, but mony of strangers. And þat more wondreȝ, she left her(e) grete multitude of breþeren and susteren þat was a harde þing to susteyne and wicked in þe puttyng awey. Oure lorde saue þe, Paula. Helpe, I pray the, þe last age of him þi worshipper." Here endethe þe lif of Seint Paulyn, and aftre biginneth the life of Seint Iulian.

5. The Life of Saint Agatha – Harley MS 630[212]

[f.67v] And next folouethe þe life of Seint Agathe.

Agathe the noble virgine was riȝt fair(e) of body and of youthe and worshipped alwaies God in all holinesse in þe cite of Catheueuse.[213] Quyncint þat was consult of Cecile[214] was not noble but vnchast and a couetouse and worship(ed) þe idoleȝ and enforsed him to take Agace. And fore he was vnnoble in taking .on. þat was noble, it was to drede ffore he þat was vnchast wold vse her(e) boute a mys. He that was couetouse wold take her(e) riches, and he þat was an idolater wold make her(e) sacrafice to idoles. And þan he made her(e) be brouȝt be fore him.

And whan she was broȝt, he knewe þat her(e) purpose was vnmeueable and toke hir(e) to a comyn woman þat hight Affrodisse by name and to .ix. doughteres that she hadde þat weren all right wicked and vnclene, so þat by their felth and folie and wickednesse, þei shuld chaunce her(e) corage by hitinge hir(e), nowe gladnesse, now sorowe; so þat by behestes and manasses, þei might take fro her(e) goode purpose.

To whome Agace seid, "Mi thought and myn entenc(i)on is sadder þan ony stone,[215] for(e) it is founded in Ih(es)u Crist. Yo(ure) wordes ben wynde, your(e) behestes [f.68r] ben reyne and youre dredful manasses ben but iapes, ffore what euer thei do, þei mowe not make þe foundement of myn house to fall." And with þat seying, she wept and praied eueri dai, tresting to come to þe ioy of marterdome. And whan she hadde ben þere .xxx^{ti}. daies, Affrodisse segh þat she was vnmeueable, she seid to Qui(n)ciane: "A stone miȝt rather be made soft and iren t(ur)ned to softnesse of lede þan þe þouȝt of þis maide miȝt be turned fro the entenc(i)on of Criste(n) feith.

And þan Quyncien made hir(e) be brought be fore him and seid to here: "Of what condic(i)on art þu?" And she seid, "I am not oonly a noble woman, but I am also of noble kynrede [as all my kynrede] beren witnesse." To whom Quincien seid, "If þu be noble, whi shewest thu bi þi werkeȝ to be a p(er)sone s(er)uinge?" And she answhered, "I shewe me a serving p(er)sone fore I am þe seru(e)nt and handmaiden of Ih(es)u Crist, whom I serue." Thanne Quyncien seid, "Thu seist and affermest þi self noble. Howe arte thu þan seruaunt?" She answhered and seid, "It is sone seien noblenesse fore to be s(er)u(e)nt of Ih(es)u Crist."

Than Quyncien seid, "Chese which þu wolt either do; sacrafice to oure godd(es) or elleȝ receiue diu(er)se tormentes." And she answhered and seid, "Suche be þi wife as benys þi godd(es) and sich be thu as Iubiter thi god." And þan Quyncian co(m)maunded þat she shuld be bete with bofettes abouȝte her(e) hede, seying [to] here, "Ne iangel not so with þi presumptuose mouthe to þe iniurie of þe iuge." And þan Agas seid to him, "I mervaile þat þu a man wise arte wrap(ed) in so moche folie that þu seiest hem þi goddeȝ þat þu and þi wife wolde not resemble, and þu seist it iniurie to lyue aftr(e) her(e) ensaumple. Fore if þei be goddes [þei] haue wisshed þe a goode thinge. And if þu blame hir(e) felashipp, þu felist as I do."

Than Quincian seid, "What haue I to do with þi vayne wordes, eþir þu shalt sacrafice to þe goddes or elleȝ I shall make þe die by diuerse tormentes." And Agas answhered, "If þu behiȝt me wilde bestes and whan thei here þe name of God, her(e) cruelte woll aswage. And if þu delyuer me to fire, the angels of heuen wol mi(n)stre a swete dew. If þu make me to receyve woundes or tormenteȝ, I haue þe holi goost with yn me by whom I despise all þies goddis." And þan he co(m)maunded þat she were drawen into þe prison, fore she confounded him with here wordes to fore the commune. And she went gladly and gloriously as þough she hadde be boden to a goode dyner and reco(m)maunded here self to oure lorde.

The dai folowynge, Quyncien seid, "Reny þi Crist and worship oure goddes." and whan she had refused it, he co(m)maunded þat she were honged on þe crosse turned vp so downe, and þe two endes fastened in þe erthe. And þer(e)to [f.68.v] be tormented. And þan Agas seid, "I delite me in þies peynes, as he þat hereth goode tidyngges, or seeth þat he hath longe desired, or as he þat hadde founde grete tresours, fore þe pure whete may not be put in þe garney but the chaf and þe strawe be gretly beten and defouled and take away. Right so my soule may not entre into p(er)adis with croune of marterdome but if I suffre my body to be tormented with bocheres."

And þan Quyncien co(m)maunded þat here brestes shuld be drawe of. And whan þei had longe be drawen, þei were cut of. Thanne Agas seid to him: "O þu cruell and wicked

tyraunt, art þu not a shamed and confused þat þu haste made kit of a woman [brestes] þat þu þiself sukedest in þi moder. I haue with yn my soule hole brestes wher(e)with I norishe all my wittes, þe which I haue fro my youthe sacred to oure lorde." And þan he co(m)maunded þat she were put a yene in þe prison and defended þat no leche shuld entre into her(e), ne no man shuld mi(n)stre hir(e) nether brede nor water.

And abouȝt mydniȝt, an auncien man come to hir(e) havyng a litull childe by for(e) him bering light and dyuerse medycynes and seid to here: "Though it be so þat þei made a wicked prouost tormented the with his tormentes, þu hast more tormented him with þi answers. For þough he haue drowe of þi brestes, þe grete plente of his tormentes turned him to bitternesse. And fore I was there whan þu suffredest, I segh wel þat þi brestes might receyue cure of help." To whom Agas seid," I put neuer bodely medicyn to my flessh and it were a foule þinge to lese þat I haue so longe kept." And than þe auncien man seid to her(e): "Doughter, drede the not ne be not abasshed for I am a Cristen man." And Agace seid, "Wher(e)fore shuld I be a shamed sith þu arte of grete age and I al to rent with torment þat no man may take delite in me. But I thonke the, holy ffader, of þat þu woldest putte þi cure to me." And than he seid, "Whi wolt not þu suffre þat I hele the?" She answered and seid," For(e) I haue my lorde Ih(es)u Crist, that by his oonly worde and co(m)maundement cureth and heleth all þinges." And þan þe olde man smyled and seid, "I am þe apostell of Ih(es)u Crist and wit well that yn the name of him, þu arte heled fore he sent me to the." And with þat Seint Petre vanshed a wey. And than þe blessed virgine Agas fil downe prostrate and thonked God of þat she founde here self heled and her(e) pappes restored to her(e) brest. Her(e) [f.69r] kepers were a basshed fore þe grete light þ(at) þei seien and purposeden to fle away and leue the p(ri)son open, praying here to go a way. And thanne she seid, "God defende þat I shuld flee and lese þe croune þat is ordeigned fore me, or that I put my kep(er)es in tribulac(i)on fore me."

So þan .iiij. daies aftre, Quyncien seid to here þat she shuld worshipp þe godd(es) obere receyue greuo(us) tormentes. Than seid Agas to hi(m): "Þi wordes ben vayne and ful of foli and defoulen þe eyre, þu cursed wight with outen wit or vnderstondyng, how woldest thu

510 þat I shuld worshipp þi godd(es) and loue God of heuen þat hath heled me?" And Quyncien seid, "Who hathe heled the?" Aga(s) seid, "Ih(es)u Crist, þe son of God." "How durst þu," he seid," name Crist be fore me a yene sith I wol not here of him?" Þan Agas seid," As longe as I shall leue, I shal call Crist with herte and w(ith) mouthe." And Quyncyen seid, "Now I shal se wheþer Crist shal hele [þe] or no."

Þan co(m)maunded he, þat men shuld bring broken sherdes and strewe he(m) þik in þe flore and throw brennyng coles vppon hem and make here naked and torne her(e) vppon hem. And as þei wer(e) abought to ordeigne therefore, a right [grete] trembelyng of þe erthe beganne and tormented so the cite þat oon p(er)ti fill downe and slowe two of Quyncien(s) counselo(ur)s. Þan all þe peple come and cried vppon him seyinge: "We suffre þis vengaunce
520 fore thes torment þat þu doest to Agas with outen reson." And þan Quincien dred in þat .oo. parte þe tremblyng of þe erthe, and in þat oþer, þe mevyng of þe peple [and] co(m)maunded þat she were put a yene in p(ri)son wher(e) she praied and seid, "Lorde Ih(es)u Crist þat formedest me and hast kept me fro my youth and kept my body fro(m) all filth and hast take fro me þe loue of þe worlde and hast made me [to] ouer come the torme(n)teȝ and hast yeue me a yenst hem þe vertu of pacience. Nowe goode lorde receyue my spirit and co(m)maunde me to come to þi merci." And whan she had seid that, with a grete voice she yafe vpp þe spirit þe yere of oure lorde .ccliij., vnder Dacien, þe emp(er)o(ure).[216]

And as good Cristen peple anoynted þe body fore to put it in [to] þe sepulcre, þere come a fair(e) yonge man cloþed in selk with mo þan a hundred men with him, right faire and
530 wel be seyn,[217] cloþed all in white; which meyne hadde neuer be seyne of hem be fore, and sette a table at her(e) hede of marbail and anon þey onapered fro þe sight of al. And in þe table were writ þies wordes: "Holy mynde of gode will worshipp to God and to [þe] contrey delyu(er)ance."[218] [f.69v] The which writinge is in þis wise vnderstonde. She was holi in þouȝt. She offered freli worship to God and she was deliueraunce of þe contrey.

And whan þis miracle was herde and published, peynemes and Iues by gonnon to worship her(e) sepulcre. And þan whan Quyncien went fore to enquere here richesse, two

horses begon to fight to gidre as he passed bi hem. And þat oon smote him with his fete and þe oþer bote him and so be twene hem thei threwe him in a flode that he might neu(er) be founde aftre. And whan the yere was turned a yene, abought þe fest of hir(e), a grete hill by þe cite breke vpp and putte oute fire that descended frome the mounteyne as a streme and brent roches and erth[219] and come toward þe cite. And thanne grete multitude of paynemes descended fro the hill and fledde to þe sepulcre of Seint Agas and toke þe keuerynge wher(e) with þe sepulcre was heled and set it ayenst þe fire. And anone þe fire a bode and passed not ouer. Of þis holi virgine, seith Seint Ambrose: "A blessid virgine and noble þat deseruest that oure lorde shulde worshipp thi blode by the praysynge of marterdome. A, thu noble and glorious worshipped with double bent that a mong þe {sharp}[220] tormentes were set by fore by shinynge miracles, þat disseuerest to be cured of þe Apostell bi his visitac(i)on. And so maried to God, þe eire receyved the and at þe glorious entring of thi me(m)bres shynyng where þe feleshipp of angeles shewyng þi holynesse and the delyu(er)aunce of the contrey."[221] Here endeth þe life of Seint Agas, and next beginneth þe life of Seint Sedast.

6. The Life of Saint Juliana – Harley MS 630[222]

[f.71r] Here endeth the life of Seint Valentine, and next beginneth þe life of Seint Iulian

Seint Iulian, the virgine, was wedded to Eulogiene, prouost of Nichomedy,[223] but she wolde in no wise consent to him but if he wold receyve the feithe of Ih(es)u Crist. And thanne her(e) ffader co(m)maunded that she shuld be greuousli beten and delyuered to the prouost. And than the prouost seid to her(e): "A, thu my right swete Iulian, whi despisest thu me and forsakest me in such wise?" She answered and seid to him: "If þu worshippest my God I wold obey the, or elles thu shalt neu(er) be my husbond." Than seid the prouost to here: "Madame þat may I not do, ffore the emp(er)o(ure) wold sone make my hede to be smyt of if I did that." Than seid Iulian, "If thu dredest hir(e) a dedely emp(er)o(ure), howe trouest thu I drede not the vndedly emp(er)o(ure)? Wher(e)fore do as thu wolt, ffore þu maist

not deceyue me." And þan þe prouost made her greuosly to be beten with roddes & made her(e) honge all a day by here here and poured on her(e) hede hote molton lede.

And whanne he segh that it greued hir(e) not in no wise, he vnbounde her(e) of here cheynes and closed hir(e) ayene in prison. And thanne the fende appered to hir(e) in likenes of an angell and seid, "Iulian I am the angell of oure lorde þat sent me to the, fore to tell the, þat þu shuldest do sacrafice to þe godd(es) so that thu be no more turmented, ne suffre thi self to dye so wickedly." And thanne Iulian p(ra)yed to oure lorde with wepynge teres and seid, "Lorde God, suffre me not to p(er)issh but shewe me what he is þat stereth me to this þing." And than a vois seid to hir(e) that she shuld take him and aske him what he was and constreyne him to tell her(e). And whanne she hadde asked of him what he was, he seid that he was a fende, and that his ffader hadde sent him to her(e) to deceyue hir(e).

Thanne Iulian seid, "Who is thi ffader?" He answered, "Belȝabub[224] þat sendeth vs to all euelles, and if we be ouercome with Cristen men, he maketh vs greuosly beten; and I knowe well that I am come hidre fore my harme, fore I may not ouercome the." Amonge other thinges, he knowlech to her(e) and seid þat her(e) occupac(i)on was gretely to tempt hem that were abouȝt þe misteri of the sacrament, and hem that tendeth to orisone and predicac(i)ons. And than Iulian bonde his hondes bi hynde his [f.71v] bakke and cast him downe to here fete and bete him sharpely with þe cheyne wher(e)with she was bounde. The fende cried and seid, "Madame Iulian, haue merci on me." And aftre that the prouost co(m)maunded þat Iulian were brouȝt oute of p(ri)son. And whan she went oute, she drewe the fende aftre her(e), fast bounden, crynge and seyinge, "Madame Iulian, do me not þis dispite, fore I shal neuer greue þe more. Men seyne that Cristen peple bene peteuous but [þ(ou)] hast no pite of me." And she made as she toke no hede of his crie, but drewe him thorowe þe market, and aftre, threwe him in a grete diche and a foule.

And whan she was come to the prouost, she was set in a whele so that all here bones were to brosten þat men might se the mari of her bones. And than the angell of oure lorde breke the whele and heled hir(e) in a moment, and whan tho that were there segh þis, þei leued in

God & were anone biheded bi nu(m)bre .v^{c}xj. and .x. wymmen. Aftre that, she was put in a vessell ful of hote molton lede and anon þe lede wex as temp(er)e as a bathe. And þan þe prouost cursed his godd(es) þat myght not punche a maide that did hem suche wronge and despite. And than he co(m)maunded þat she shuld be biheded. And as men ledde hir to be biheded, þe ffende that she hadde beten appered in [þe] forme of a yonge man and cried seying, "Spar(e) hir(e) not, for(e) she blameth oure godd(es) and hath bete me this night fulle greuously. Yeld [her] þat she hath des(er)ued." And whan Iulian opened a litul þe yen fore to se who it was that seid such wordes, þe ffende fledde cryinge, " Alas, alas! I trowe she wol take me a yene and bynde me." And whan the blessed Iulian was biheded, þe prouost seiled in the see with .xxiij. men and a tempest come and drowned hem, and whan the see hadde cast vpp the bodies, thei were deuoured with bestes and birdes. Here endeth the life of Seint Iulian, virgine, and next foloueth the feste called Cathedra Sancti Petri..

7. The Life of Mary of Egypt - Harley MS 630[225]

[f.100r] Here endeþe þe life of Seint Second and next beginneþe þe life of Mary Eipcien.

Mari Egipcien þ(at) is called a sinful woman, leued a ful harde & streit life .xlvij. yer(e) in des(er)te . And as she was doing here penaunce i(n) þat des(er)t, an holi fader þat hiȝt ȝiȝt(er) 3oȝimas,[226] passed þe floume Iordane[227] as he went þorow þat desert, seking if he might finde, bi aventure, eny holi ffader. And as he we(n)t, he segh going be fore hi(m) in þe des(er)t, a creature þat was al naked, and þe bodi al blak [and] bruled þorowe þe hete of þe sone, and þat was Marie Egipciane. And as sone as she segh him, she began to fle awai. And 3oȝimas be ren after as moche as he might. And þan seid she, "3oȝimas, fader, whi p(er)suest þu so me? Foryeue me, for I dare not turne my visage to þe, for I am a woman al naked, but I prai the, caste to me þi mantel þat I may keu(er) me, and þan I shal se þe w(ith)oute shame."

And whan he herd hi(m)self named, he was a basshed & toke hir his mantell, and kneled downe to hir(e), and preied hir(e) to blesse hi(m). And þan she said, "Fader it longeþe

better to þe, þat þu blesse me þat art araied with þe dignite of preesthode." And whan he herd þat she knew boþe his name & his dignite, he merveiled moche more, and preied hertly mor(e) here to blesse hi(m). And þan she seid, "Now blessed be God, þe aȝenbier of oure soules." And as she helde here hondes vp to heuen and preied, þe olde man segh hou þat she was lift vp fro þe erth, an arme lengthe fro þe grounde and [f. 100v] houered in þe eire.

And þan þis holi man bigan to drede lest it hadde ben a spiret, and feined to make his orison. And þan she seid to him: "Oure lorde for geue þe þat [þou] hast went þat I, a vile sinner, were a wicked sprit." And þan he coniured hir bi þe vertu of o(ure) lorde þat she shuld tel him al condic(i)ons. And þan she seid to hi(m) pitousli, "Fader for yeue me, for if I shuld tel the myn estate and gou(er)naunce þ(ou) wold fle fro me with grete drede, as fro a venemos serpent, and þine eres shuld be defouled w(ith) my wordes, and þe eire shulde be vnclene of my filþes." He charged hir(e) in eny wise to tel him. And þan she seid to him: "I was born in Egipt, and in þe .xij. yer(e) of myn age, I come into Alisaundre.[228] And þer(e) I put my self .xvij. yere to lyue as a comune woman. I denyed neu(er) to none, and as men of þat religion toke her(e) wai touardeȝ Iherusalem for to worship þe holi crosse, I preied þe shipmen þat led hem, þat þei wold lat me come into þe shipp with hem. And whan þei asked hir(e) of me ouer, I seid to hem: 'Breþeren, I haue no þing to [ȝeue] yow, but takeþ my bodi for youre hire.' And so þei toke me and did her(e) willes. And so whan we were come to Ierusalem and I come with oþer to þe yates of þe chirch for to worship þe crosse, sodenly and with oute oni seuing, I was refused and not suffre(d) to entre; and þus I went mani times to þe entre of þe yate, and sodenly I was put abak. And al other had fre entre and founde no let.

"And þan I be gan to be hold with in my self, and þouȝt vereli þat all þis was bi fall me for my wicked sinnes. And [þan] bigan to bete mi brest, and to shed bitter teers, and to sigh right heuyli. And as I stode wailing, ful of sorowe, I be helde into þe porche of þe chirch, and þere I segh a virgine of þe blessed virgine Marie. And pan I began to prey to hir(e), right peteousli, þat she wold aske for me forgeuenesse of my sinnes and late me entre to worship þe holi crosse; and I be hight hir for to forsake þe worlde & for to lyue chaste fro þens forward.

And as sone as I had made my p(ra)yer, I toke trest in þe name of þe blessid virgin and went a yene to yates of þe chirche and entered with in with oute ony lettyng. And whan I had right deuoutely worshipped þe holi crosse, a man yaue me .iij. pens wher(e) with I bought me .iij. loues. And þan I herde a voice þat seide to me: 'If þu passe þe flode of Iordane, þu shalt be saued.' And þan I passed it and come into þis deserte wher(e) I haue ben [f.101r] .xlvij. yere with oute seing oni ma(n). And þies .iij. loues þat I bare w(ith) me endured long and suffised to me .xvij. yere to gidre. I haue ben greuousli peined a grete while goon, and .xvij. yere to gidr(e), I hadde grete tormenting with temptacions of þe flessh. But bi þe grace and goodnesse of God, I haue al ou(er)come hem nowe, and my cloþes þat I bere with me ben roten and wasted many yer(es) agoon. Now haue I tolde þe all mi werkeȝ, wher(e)for I beseche þe þat þu p(ra)i, and do prei for me."

And þe olde ffader fill downe to þe erþe and blessed oure lorde in his chambre. And þan she seid, "'I prai þe, ffader, þat on shere Thursday,[229] þu come a yene to þe flom Iordan and bring our(e) lord(es) bodi, and I shal come a yenst þe and receiue þe holi sacrament of þine honde. For sith þe tyme þat I come to þis desert, I was not houseled."

And þan þe holi fader turned a yene to þis monast(er)i. And whan þe yere was passed and shrestorsedi[230] come, he toke þe blessed sacrament of our(e) lord(es) bodi and went to þe ryuage of fflom Iordan. And whan he come þider, he segh þat woman þat was bi the oþer side of þe riuer. And as sone as she p(er)ceiued hi(m), she made þe signe of þe crosse vppon þe water to þis holi man and come forþe. And whan he segh hir(e), he kneled hi(m) mekeli doune to her fete al abasshed, and þan she seid to hi(m): "Loke fader, þat þu do neuer so more for þat [þou] hast þe sac(ra)ment of oure lord(es) body with þe, and also þu shynest bi þe dignite of presthode. But I beseche þe, ffader, þat þe next yere folowing þu come to me a yene." And whan she had receiued þe sacrament, she made þe signe of þe crosse and went a yene vppon þe water to desert and þe holi man torned ayene to his chirche.

And þe .iij. yere, he come a yene to þe place wher(e) he had spoke with here & founde here dede. And þan he be gane to wepe, he durst not touche hir(e), but seid to hi(m)self: "I

wold fayne beri þis holi body so it were not displesing to God, ne to hi(re)." And as [he] þouȝt in þis wise, he segh bi sideȝ her(e) hede l(et)res writen with in þe erthe þat conteined þise wordes: "3oȝimas, beri þe bodi of Mari and yelde to the erþe her(e) sepultur(e). And prei for me to oure lorde, bi þe co(m)maundement of who(m) I left þe world in þe second kalende of Auerell."[231] And þan wist þis holi man certenli þat as sone as she had receyued her(e) sacrament, and turned a yene to þe disert, she ended hir(e) lif to oure lorde.

And þis holi man digged þe erþe, he myȝt not wel [f.101v] laboure. He segh a lion come debonayrli to hi(m), and þan he seid to þe lion: "Þis holi woman co(m)maundeth þat her(e) bodi shulde be beried and I haue no þing cou(en)able for to make her(e) pitte. Wherefor, I co(m)maunde þe þat þou digge þe erþe with þi clees, til þ(ou) haue made a cou(en)able pit wher(e)in þat I mai bery hir holi body." And anon þe lion began to digge and to arai a cou(en)able pit and whan he hadde p(er)fourmed it, and she was leid with yn, he went a yene, as a debonaire lambe.[232] And þe holi man went a yen to his chirche glorifying God & wrote þe life and þe penaunce of hir and published ou(er) all. Here endeþe þe lif of Mari Egipcian, and next foloweþe pe lif of Seint Ambrose.

8. The Finding of the Holy Cross or The Life of Saint Helena – Harley MS 630[233]

[f.124r] Here endeþ þe life of Seint Iames and of þe destruccion of I(er)sel(u)m. And next foloweth of the finding of the holi crosse.

The finding of þe holy crosse was .cc. yere and more, after þe Resurreccion of our(e) lorde. Men reden in þe Gospell of Nichodeme[234] þat whan Adam was seke, Seth [h]is sone we(n)t vnto þe yates of p(er)adis terrestre, and asked piteuosly of þe oile of m(er)cy for to anoynte his ffader to haue his hele. To whom Michael the Archangell appered and seid, "Ne travail þu not, ne wepe not as þu doest for to gete þe oile of þe tree of merci, ffor þu might non haue in no wise bi for þat (5,000) an (500) yere be fulfilled. Þat is to wite, fro Adam vnto þe passion of Ih(es)u C(ri)ste. Of which .v.m^{t} . and .vc. yere þan passed, but .ij^{c} and .xxxiij. yere.

And it is redde elles where þat þe angell toke him a branche, and co(m)maunded him to plante it in þe mounte of Liban.[235] And vereli, in a stori of þe Grekes, þof it be apocrifie, it is writen þat þe angel toke him of þe tre of which Adam hadde synned; and seid him þan, whan þe tre shuld bere fruite, his ffader shuld be heled. And whan Seth come a yene home, he founde his ffader dede. And þan he planted þis bough on his ffaders tombe. And whan it was planted, it grue and begonne a grete tre and dured vnto þe time of Salamon. But whether þies þinges be true or no, þat leue I in þe will of þe reder, ffor þei be not redde in no cronicle, ne in no storie autentike.

Salamon[236] þan segh þis tree so faire, he co(m)maunded to smyte him downe, and put him safe in þe house of Sauxe.[237] And as Iohn Beleth[238] seith, þat tre wolde neuer be mete for no maner werk(es), [f.124v] for either it was to longe or to shorte. And þer(e)for, the werkmen hadde it in dispite, and toke no hede þ(er)of but leid it ouer a water as a brige men to passe ouer. And whan þe Quene of Saba[239] come to her(e) þe wisdome of Salamon[240] as she shulde passe ouer þat water & ouer þe tree, she segh in sprite how þat þe Saueo(ure) of þe world shuld die on þat tree. And þer(e) for she nol not passe þer(e) ouer, but worshipped þat tre. And it is redde in þe Maister of Stories[241] þat þe Quene of Saba segh þat tree in þe house of Saux. And whan she was goen home to hir owne contre, she sent Salamon worde þat a man shuld be honged on þat tre, by whos dethe þe kindom of Iues shulde be distroied. And þan Salamon toke a wai þat tre and hidded depe in the erthe. And after þat, þe piscyn(e) of probac(i)on[242] was made þere where men wisshen the sacrafices. And men seyne þat þe meving of þe water, ne þe curacion of seke puple, was not oonli don(e) ffor þat þe angell come down(e), but bi þe vertu of þat tree.

And whan þat þe passion neighed, it is certein þat þe tre fflotered aboue. And whan þe Iues seen it, þei toke it vpp and made þe crosse of oure lorde þ(at) was of .iiij. maner of trees. Þat is to sai, of palme, of cipres, of cedre and of oliue.[243] Wher(e)of a verse seith, þe trees of þe crosse ben palme, olyue, cedre and ciprisse.[244] In þe crosse ther(e) were .iiij. difference: þat [is to sey] þe tre, [& þe] ou(er) twarte, thee table þat was set aboue, and þe mortasse þat þe crosse

was fastened in. This difference of trees is seyn to touche the Apostel Poule whan he seith that: "Ye mowe comprehende with al þe peyntes, which is þe length, the brede, the hight, the depnesse." Which wordes Austin, þe holy docto(ur)[245] expouneth in þis maner: "The brede of þe crosse of our(e) lorde is seid in þe trauers, wher(e) oure lord(es) hondȝ were strecched ou(er). The lengthe fro þe erthe to þat brede of þe armes, wher(e) al þe bodi was tormented, on þe hight was fro the brede, where þe hede cleued ou(er). Þe depnesse was þat was hidde in the erthe where þe crosse was fastened ou(er). In which signes of the crosse, al Cristen mennes dedes bene discribed, þat is to sai, to wyrk wel in Crist, and to cleue in him p(er)seuerantly and to hope in heuenly sacrament(es) and not misvse hem.

This precious tree of the crosse was hidde with inne the erth .cc. yere and more. But it was founde after, in þis maner by Elen(e), þe moder of Constantine, þe emp(er)oure. In that time grete multitude of barbarins wiþ oute nu(m)bre were assembled bi sides [f.125r] þe reuer of Danibe[246] and wolde haue passed ouer(e) and submitted all þe regions of þe Orient to her(e) lordeshipp. And whan Constantine þe emp(er)o(ure) wist þat, he remeued his hoost and come a yenst hem vpon þe Danibe. Thiese men of Barbarie encresed al dai and passed ouer the flode. And þan Constantine hadde grete drede and segh þat he mooste fight with hem in the morowe. In þat same night, þe angel of God a woke him and seid to him, þat he shulde loke vpwarde. And þan he loked vpp to heuen warde and segh þe signe of þe crosse shining right clere with grete light. And þere was writen a boue with l(et)res of golde: "Þu shalt ou(er) come þi ennemies bi þis signe." And þan he was conforted for þat heuenli vision. And þan he lete make a crosse and ordeigned it to be bore be for him and all his oste. And þan manli he ranne on his ennemyes and put hem to flite and slewe of hem grete multitude. And after þat, Constantine lete call to him þe bisshops of þe idoles and enquered of hem diligentli of what god þat signe was, and þei tolde him þat þei wist neuer. And þan þer(e) come Cristen men that tolde playnli þat it was the signe of þe holi crosse. And þan þe emp(er)oure bileued p(er)fitli in Ih(es)u Crist and receiued bapteme of þe Pope, Eusebie,[247] or, after some oþer bokeȝ, of þe Bisshopp Cesarience.[248]

But mani þinges be put in þis storie, to which þe stori parted in three a yene sith, and þe Maistr(e) of Stories[249] also, and þe life of Seint Siluester, and þe gestes[250] of þe bisshopps of Rome, and after som oþer writers; þis was not þat Constantine which was baptisede of Siluester, and þe Pope, like as oþer stories shewen, but it was Constantine, þe ffader of þis Constantine. For þis Constantine come oþer wise to þe feith, so as men reden in þe Stori of Seint Siluester, þat telleth þat he was baptised of Seint Siluestr(e) and not of Euseby. For whan Constantine, þe ffader, was dede, Constantine his sone remembred him of þe victorie þat his ffader hadde bi þe signe of þe crosse, and sent his moder Elyne to Ierusalem for to finde þe verri crosse so þat it is seide here after.

And þe Maistr(e) of Stories[251] telleþ þat þis victorie was doon in þis wise. He seiþ þat whan Maxence[252] assailled þe Emp(er)o(ure) of Rome, þe Constantine Emp(er)oure come bi sides þe brige of Albynn[253] for to fight with Maxcence. He was ful of anguissh and oft times lift vp his eyen touard(es) heuen to be seche almiȝti God of helpe. And as he slepte, [f.125v] he hadde a vision fro heuen towarde þe Orient, for he segh þe signe of þe crosse in likenes of fire, and an angell after þat that seid to hi(m): "Constantine, þu shalt ou(er)come þine ennemyes bi þis signe." And as it is seid in þe storie parted in thre, þat as he m(er)veiled her(e)of what it might be, þe same night folowing Ih(es)u Crist appered to him with þe signe þat he had seen in heuen and co(m)maunded þat he shuld make þat figure of þat signe and þat shuld help him a yenst his ennemyes in bataile.

Than was Constantine gladde and was all suer to haue þe victorie and made a signe in his forhede, þe signe þat he hadde seen in heuen, and changed all his banars of werre and made on hem þe signe of þe crosse [have_sse] of golde in his honde and besought oure lorde þat he wold not suffred þat right side, which he had worshipped with þe signe of þe hele and sauac(i)on to be bledde with þe blode of Romaynes, but þat of his m(er)cie, he wolde graunte him þe victorie of þe tirantes withoute sheding of blode. And þan Maxcence co(m)maunded þo þat were wiþ him in his shippes, þat þei shuld go vnder þe brigges and þat þei shuld kitte þe brigge for to deceyue her(e) ennemyes þat shuld passe ouer. And whan Maxcence segh þat

Constantine approched þe flode, he for yete his werke þat he hadde do made and went hastely a yenst Constantine wiþ(e) few men and co(m)maunded þe remen(au)nt of þe peple to folowe him anon. And so he went forth onto þe brigge and was deceiued with þe same deceite þat he wold haue deceiued Constantyne, and so he was drowned in þe depe flode. And þan was Constantine received lorde bi al þe accorde.

And as it is redde in a storie auntentike þat Constantine leued not p(er)fitly on God þat tyme, ne he had not receyued yit þe holy bapteme. But wiþ inne awhile after he segh a vision of Seint Peter and Seint Paule, and þan he was baptised of Seint Siluester, þe pope, and so he was heled of þe lepr(e) and after þat, he bileued in God p(er)fitli. And þan he sent his moder Elyne into Ierusalem for to seke þe crosse of oure lorde. Notwithstondyng þat, Ambrose seith in his epistell of þe deth of Theodosien,[254] and þe storye p(er)ted in thre holte[255] the same; þat Constantine abode for to be baptiȝed vnto his last daies. And he did it to þat ende þat he wold be baptiȝed in flom Iordan. And þis same, seith Ierom in his cronicles,[256] but it is certen þat he was Cristen vnder Siluester, þe pope. But it is a doute wheþer he abode to be baptiȝed or non, and so men doute in þe legende of Seynt Siluester mony þinges. For þis stori of þe Inuencion of the [f.126r] crosse, which is founde in þe storye of Ealiast,[257] to whom þe cronicle accordeth, semeth more autentik þan þat þat is recorded in the chirch, ffor there be many þinges within þat accordeth not with þe trouthe; but if oni, p(er)auenture, wolde sei so as it is seid oft aboue þat þat same was not Constantine, but Constant, his ffader, the which is not right autentik, þough it be so þat it be redde in stories by yonde þe see.[258] And as Elyne was come be yonde þe see, she co(m)maunded þat al þe wise Iues of þat region shulde be brought be fore hir. And þis Eleyne hadde first an osteler,[259] but for þe grete beutee of her, Constant ioyned hir(e) to hi(m).

After þat, Ambrose telleth by þise wordes: "Men seien," s[e]ith Seint Ambrose,[260] "þat she was an ostiler but well I wote she was wedded to Constante þe Olde, þat after was emp(er)o(ure). She was a goode osteler, þat so diligently sought þe cribbe of oure lorde; she was a goode ostiler þat misknew not him þat lai in þe stable; a goode osteler þat accounpted al

þing at nought saue þe loue of Ih(es)u Crist, and for to gete þat was all here ioy and all her(e) laboure, and þer(e)for(e) oure lorde lift here vp fro þis foule place to his endles blisse," and þis seith Ambrose. But oþer seyne þat it is redde in a stori autentik, þat Eleyn(e) was þe doughter of Thoell, King of Bretayn.[261] And whan Constant was in Bretayne, he toke here to his wife. And þan þe Ile of Bretaine fil to him bi þe deth of Thoell, and þis þe Bretaines witnesen.

And þan þe Iues dredden gretli and seid vnto anoþer, "Whi trou þe þat þe quene maketh vs to apere bi for hir?" And þan oon of hem þat hight Iudas, "I wote well she wolde knowe of vs where þe tre of þe crosse is þat Ih(es)u Crist was honged on, but none of yow knowlech þat to hir. For I wote well þat oure lawe shal be destroied and the techinge3 of oure kinrede amentised. For Sachee,[262] my graunsir(e), tolde my ffader, and my ffader tolde me whan he died and seid, 'Sone, I charge þe þat whan þe tyme cometh þat men seke þe crosse of Crist, þat þu shew(ed) to man to fore thou haue suffred to moche torment. For after þat it shal be founde, þe puple of Iues shal haue no kyndome, but þei shul haue it, that worshippen þe crucified, ffor he is Criste, þe sone of God.' And þan I seid him, 'Fader if youre auncien ffaders knewen þat he was þe sone of God, whi henge þei him in þe gybbet of þe crosse?' Than seid his ffader, 'God wote I was neuer of her(e) conseill.' But ayene seid hem oft, ffor he was a rightwis man and [f.126v] reproued þe vices of þe Pharesees, which made him to be crucified. And he aros vereli þe þirde dai and stied into heuen, seying his disciplis. And Steven, þi broþer,[263] bileued in him [and þe(re)fore þe abode Iewis stonyd hym to deth] And þerefore, kepe þe, good sone, þat þ(ou) blame him not, ne his disciplis.'"

But it is not prouable þat þe ffader of þis Iudas might haue be in þe tyme of the passion of Ih(es)u Crist. For it was .cc.yere. & .lxx. fro the passion of Crist into þe comyng of Eleyne, in whos time þe crosse was founde, but if it were p(er)auentur(e) þat men lyued lenger in þo daies þan þei do nowe.

And þan seid Iudas to þe Iues: "We herde neuer of þise thinges, but loke if the quene enquere of þise þinges þat 3e diskeu(er)et [þys] not." And þan after whan þei were all brou3t be fore the quene, and she asked hem where þe place was þat Ih(es)u Crist was crucified on. Thei

wold not tell her(e) in no wise. And þan þe quene co(m)maunded þat þei shuld all be brende in a fire, so þat þei dred þe deth and deliu(er)ed hir(e) Iudas seying, "Madam, þis is þe son(e) of a right wise man and a p(ro)phet and knew þe lawe right well, and he can shew yow all þat ye woll aske him." And þan she late go all þat oþ(er) and kept Iudas alone. And þan she seid to him: "Chese of two thinges: whether thu wolt die or lyue. Shew me þe place þ(at) is called Golgatha[264] where Ih(es)u Crist was crucified, so þat I may finde þe crosse." Iudas answered and seid, "How may I know þe place sith it is .ij.c. yere a gone and more, and I was not yn þat
840 tyme?" To whom þe quene seide, "Bi him þat was crucified, but þu tel me þe trouth, I shal make þe dye for hungur." And þan she co(m)maunded þat he shuld be cast in a depe pitte, and þere to be tormented with hungur.

And whan he had be þer(e) .vij. daies, he besought to come oute and he wolde shew þe place [of þe crosse. And when he was hadde oute, he come to þe place]. And whan he had made his praiers, þe place beganne to meue sodenli and men felt a mervelos sauour(e) of swetnesse, so þat Iudas merveiled and reioysed and ioyned his hondes to gider and seid, "In trouth Ih(es)u C(ri)st þu arte the saueoure of þe worlde."

And as men rede in þe Maistr(e) of Stories[265] þat þe temple of Venus was in þat place, þe which Adrian,[266] þe emp(er)o(ure) lete make for þat cause, that if eny Cristen man come to
850 worshipp þat place, þat he shuld be sei to worshipp þe idole of Venus. And þerefore þat place was not haunted but as all foryeten. And þan þe quene made þe temple to be distroied [f.127r] and þat place to be worshipped. And þan after þat, Iudas began to digge migthli and digged .xx^{ti}. paas depe, and þere he founde þe crosses hidde, the which he brought to þe quene. And þan þei coude not knowe þe crosse of Ih(es)u Crist for þe thefes crosses. Thei leied hem, al þre, in midd(es) of þe cite and abode þere þe g(ra)ce of God. And abought þe hour(e) of none, men bere a yong man dede bi þe way. And þan Iudas toke þe first crosse and the seconde and leied hem vppon þe dede body, but he meued neu(er) þe more. But as sone as he was touched with þe third crosse, he aroos anon from deth to life.

Men reden the Storie of Eccliast,[267] þat as a lady, which was lady of þat cite, lay in hir(e) bedde as half dede, Makarie, þat was bisshopp of Ierusalem,[268] toke þe first crosse and þe second and þei profited her(e) not. And þan he toke þe .iij. crosse and touched hir(e) þerwith and she aroos anon all hole.

Ambrose seith how þat þei knewe þe crosse of oure lorde bi þe titul þat Pilate hadde set þer(e) vppon,[269] þat was founde and redde there, and þe ffende cried in þe eire and seid, "O þu Iudas, whi hast þu do þus? Thu hast not defouled myn oþer Iudas but hast don(e) þe contrarie. For he did þe treson þat I counseilled him and þu hast forsake me and hast founde þe crosse of Ih(es)u. By my Iudas I haue wonne many a soule, and bi the I shal lese þoo of þe Iues þat I hadde geten som time. I regned bi him in þe puple and bi þe I shal be cast oute of þe puple. And þer(e)for(e) vereli, if I mai, I shal ou(er)come þe for I shal meue ayenst þe anoþer knyght þat shal leue þe lawe of þe crucified." The which thing þe Deuell ment bi Iulian the Apostata,[270] þe which tormented after the same Iudas with mani grete torment(es). For he was made bisshopp of Ir(usa)l(e)m after and a marter of Ih(es)u C(ri)st. And whan Iudas herd þe deuel so crie and dred him not but cursed him stronggely seying, "Ih(es)u Crist hath dampned þe depe in hell in euer lasting fir(e)." And after þat, Iudas was cristened and called Quiriacus and he was ordeigned to be bisshopp of Ierusalem.

And wha(n) blessed Eleyne segh þat she had not þe nayles of oure lorde, she preide Quiriacus þat he wold go [to] þe same place and seke hem diligentli. And wha(n) he come þider and made his preieres, the nailes of our(e) lorde begonne to shyne aboue þe erth as golde, he toke hem and bere hem to þe quene. She kneled doune and enclined her(e) hede and worshiped hem with grete reu(er)ence. [f.127v] And þan Seint Eleyne toke .oo. parti of þe crosse and þat oþer she made be put in a fair(e) shrine of siluer and bare it into Ierusalem. And þat oþer partie, she bare to here sone þe nailes þat oure lorde was nailed with. Of þe which nailes, so as Cerasiens seith,[271] Constant made set [oon of] hem in a bridell which he vsed whan he went into bataile. And with þe oþere he araied his helme. But mani affermen, as Gregori of Toures[272] seith, þat þer(e) wer(e) foure nailes fastned in oure lorde, of which Elene

put two in here sones bridell, and þe .iij. was set in þe ymage of Constant þat is atte Rome and appered aboue all þe citee, and þe fourþe, she cast in þe See of Adrian,[273] the which vnto þat tyme hadde be a deluge and destruccion of all þo that come there in. And she co(m)maunded þat þis fest of the Inuenc(i)on of þe crosse were eu(er)y yere halowed solempnely.

And Ambrose seith þe same also. Elene souȝt þe nailes of oure lorde and founde hem, and of þat oþer a corone, and she made set þe naile right in þe forhede, the croune in the bak of þe hede, and þe reyne in þe honde, so þat þe wit appered, the ffeith shined, and þe might gou(er)ned.[274] And after þat all þise þinges were doon, Iulian the Appostata slowe Seint Quiriacus, þe bisshopp, ffor þat he hadde founde þe holy crosse and enforsed him in all þat he couthe to destroye the holy crosse.[275] For whan Iulian went a yenst þe men of Perce,[276] he toke Quiriacus and wold haue made him to do sacrafice to þe idoles. And whan he hadde demed it, he made kit of his right honde, and seid he hath write to many l(et)res with his hande, bi þe which he hathe withdrowe moche puple to sacrafice to oure godd(es). And Quiriacus seid to him, "Thu wode hounde, þu hast do to me a grete profite, ffor er I was Cristen, I wrote oft into þe Sinagoge of Iues þat non shulde leue in God. And now þu hast cast a wai al þe disclaundr(e) of my bodi." And þan anon, Iulian lete melt lede and pour(e) it in his mouth. And after, he made a gerdner of iren and made him to be leied þer(e)on and grete fire to put vnder of coles, and made his woundes to be froted with salte and grece. And Quyriace held him stil with oute meving.

And þan Iulian seid to him, "If þu wilt not sacrafice to oure godd(es), yit reny þat þu art a Cristen man." And whan he hadde do to refuse þat in scornyng, Iulian co(m)maunded to make a depe pit in þe erthe and putte þer(e) yn Quiriacus and cast vppon him venemus serpent(es). But þies serpentes were dede anon. And þan Iulian co(m)maunded þat Quiriace were put [f.128r] in a caudroin [ful] of oile boiling hote. He blessed him and entered in with his goode will, and preied to oure lorde þat he wolde baptise hi(m) a yene in þe lauatorie of marterdome. And þan was Iulian wroþ(e) and co(m)maunded þat he were smyt þorow þe bodi with a spere. And so deserued he to fulfil his marterdome.

How moche the vertu of þe crosse is, it appered in þat true notari þat an enchaunto(ure) wolde haue deceuied and brouȝt him into a place where he called þe ffendes, and bihight him þat he shulde habunde in al maner riches. And than he segh a grete Ethiope[277] sit an hie vppon a sege and hadde abouȝt him mani Ethiopes þat holden swerdeȝ and staues in here hondes. And þan he asked of þe enchaunto(ure), what man þat was. And þan he seid, "Lorde, it is youre s(er)u(a)nt." And than the Ethiope seid, "Wil he worship me and be myne and renye his Crist? And I shal make him sit in my right side." And þan anone, þis notari made vppon him þe signe of þe crosse and seid þat he was s(er)u(a)nt of Ih(es)u Crist. And anon, þat multitude of fend(es) vanished awai. And after þat, as þis notari in a tyme, went with his maister and entred into a chirch of Seint Sophie and stode bothe be for(e) þe image of þe Saueo(ure). His maister segh how þat þe image biheld þe notarie verreli, and hadde his eyen set vppon him ententifli. And whan he segh þis, he hadde grete merveile and made him tu(rn)e into þe right side of þe image and yit he segh þe ymage haue alwey his eyen vppon him and þan he turned him to þe lift side, and þe ymage turned his eyen vppon hi(m) and bihelde him, and þan his master coniured him and preied him to tel him what he had deserued touard(es) God þat þe ymage biheld him so. He seid þat he couthe not remembr(e) him of no good dede þat he hadde done, but þat he wold not renye him a fore þe fende. Here endeþ of the holi crosse. And next beginneþ(e) of þe life of Seint Iohn the Appostell.

9. The Life of Saints Nereus and Achilleus or the Life of Saint Domitilla – Harley MS 630[278]

[f.145v] Here endeth the life of Seint Gerdiane, and nex beginneth þe life of þe seintes Nery and Achilley.

Neryn(us) and Achille were chaste and ful of vertu and þei were chamberleynes to Domicelle þat was nece to þe Emp(er)o(ure) Domicien,[279] the which Seint Peter þe Apostel baptiȝed. And whan Domycell was maried to Aurelien, þe sone of a consult & was cloþed with purpure and precious stones, Neryus and Achille preched to here þe feith and comended to hir(e) greteli virginite, shewing to hir(e) how þat virginite was ny to

God, suster to angels and cosin to seyntes, and how þat þe woman þat is suget to man is oft tym(es) bete with fete and with handes. And oft tyme w(ith) suche betynges þei be made to cast here childeren. And þei shewed her(e) howe þat she coude vnneþis suffre þe soft techinges of her(e) modere. But nowe she moste nedis suffre þe grete and bitter chidinggeȝ of here husbonde. And þan she answered and seid to hem: "I wote wel þat my ffadere was ialous and þat my modere suffred moche sorowe with him, but myn husbond wil be [non] suche." And þan þei seid to here: "Þenk fully, þe feyrer þat þei speke and þe mor(e) þei seme debonaire whan þei haue here entent and ben maried. Thei take anon vppon hem lordship more cruelli and mony tymes þei putte þe chamb(er)ers by fore here wyfies. And all þe holinesse lost mai be rekeu(er)ed by penaunce, but virginite onys loste may neuere be brought to his ferst estate. All synnes may be put a wei by penaunce but [oony] virgiinite lost may not be rekeuered þat euer she come to her(e) firste estate of holinesse."

And so bi þise wordeȝ, Domicelle bileued in oure lorde and avoued chastite and was halowed and veyled of Seint Clement. And whan here husbond herde þat, he asked leue of Domicien to sende þe virgine with Neriu(nus) and Achill into þe Ile of Poncien[280] and supposed þat þer(e)by he shuld chaunge her(e) purpose. And so with in a litulle tyme aftere he went into þat ile wenyng bi his yeftes to haue made þe seintes to haue remeued þe virgine of her(e) p(ur)pose, and þei refused it in alle [f.146r] wise, and conforted hir(e) more in oure lorde. Fore which þing thei were constreined to do sacrafice, and þei seid howe þei were baptiȝed of Seint Peter and þat þei wolde in no wise do sacrafice, and þan here hedes were smytte of a boute þe yere of our(e) lorde .ccc. and .iiij.^{xx}.[281] and here bodies were biried by sides þe sepulture of Seint P(er)nell[282] and oþere seintes þat is to sai, Eustace, Victorien and Marro[283] which were a boute Domicell as s(er)u(a)nteȝ. Thei made eu(er)y dai to laboure as bonde s(er)u(a)ntes i(n) here londes and in þe euentide fore her(e) lyuelode thei yaue hem hogges mete. And aftere þat he co(m)maunded that Euthice were so sore beten þat he yaf vpp the spirit. And Victoren, he made to be drouned in stinking water. And he co(m)maunded þat Marro were alto broste with a grete roche, and þat þei cast vppon him a grete roche þat .lxx.

men vnneþis myȝt meue. And he toke þat stone vpon his sholdres and bere it as lightly as it had be a strawe, two myles þens. And fore þis miracle, many leued in God. And þan þe consulte made him be slayn.

And after, Aurelian brought a yene Domicell fro her(e) exile and ordeined to hir(e) two virgines to s(er)ue hir(e). The ton hiȝt Eufrodice and þat other Theodore fore to tech her(e) and to counsell her(e) to obei to him, þe which she conu(er)ted bothe to þe feith. And þan Aurelius and þe husbondes of þe two virgines comen to Domicelle with thre iogelers to make her(e) dw wedding(es), eithir to make hem with force. And as our(e) lorde wolde, Domicele conu(er)ted þe two yong men to þe feith. And whan Aurelian(us) segh þat, he ledde Domicelle with him into the chambr(e), and þere he made þe iogelours to daunce & to synge and made oþer(e) to daunce and to syng with hem, and he purposed after þat to haue defouled here. And whan alle oþer wer(e) so weri þat þei might no more daunce, ne singe, Aurelien(us) cesed neuer to daunce, nor to singe in two daies. And at þe last he died in daunsing. And þan Luxymyen(us),[284] his broþer asked leue of þe emp(er)oure and slowe all þo that bileued in oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist, and sithen he set fire in þe chambr(e) where þe virgines were so þei passed to oure lorde in holi praiers. And Seint Cesarien founde þe bodies in þe morowe, all hole and vntained and buried hem. Here endeth þe life of Seint Neryn(us) & Achille, and next foloweth þe life of Seint Pancrace.

10. The Life of Saint Petronella – Harley MS 630[285]

[f.147v] Here endeth þe life of Seint Vrban, and next foloweth the liff of Seint Pernelle.

Pernelle, of which Seint Marcelle[286] wrote þe liff, she was þe doughter of Seint Petre the Apostell. She was right fair(e). And so bi þe will of her fader, she was sike of ffeu(er)es. And as þe disciples dyned with hi(m), Titus seid to him, "Sir thu hast heled þis dai all þe seke þat come to þe. Whi leuest thu Pernell seke?" And þan Seint Peter seid, "For it is spedefull so fore her. But not with stonding ffore ye shulle well wite þat it is not impossible to me to make her hole. I co(m)maunde þe P(er)onell, arise vpp and s(er)ue." And

anon she aroos vpp all hole & s(er)ued him. And whan hir(e) s(er)uice was fulfilled, he seid to her(e): "Pernell, torne a yene to þi bedde." She went anone and beganne to travell with þe ffeuers right as she did bi fore. But as sone as she be gan to be p(er)fite in þe loue of God, she was p(er)fitly heled.

The erle Flaccus come to here and wold haue hir(e) to his wife for here beute, to whom she seid, "If þu wilt haue me in þi wife; co(m)maunde þat the virgines come to me to bere me felashipp into þine house." And whiles he made redy þe virgines and þe fest of Pernell, she putte here self in fasting and in prayer and receiued þe body of oure lorde and leide her(e) downe in her(e) bed and passed to oure lorde þe .iij. dai.

And whan Flaccus segh þat he was deceiued, he turned toward(es) Felicule, the ffelawe of P(er)nell, and co(m)maunded hir(e) eiþer to be his wife, eiþere to do sacrafice to þe idoles. She refused bothe þat oon and þat oþere and þan he put hir in prison and made hir to be metelees .vij. daies and drinkeles. And siþ(e) he made hir to be tormented vppon þe torment þat is called renlee.[287] And sith he did her to be slayne and hir body to be cast in a priue. And Seint Nichodemus toke hir vpp and buried hir. And þan was Nichodemus called be fore þe Erle Flaccus and fore þat he wold not do sacrafice, he was bete with plombes of lede and so died. And his body was caste in Tibre[288] of Rome, [f.148r] þat is a ryuer called so but Iuste, his clerk, toke him vpp and beried him worshipfulli. Here endeth þe life of Seint Pernelle, and next folowe þe life of Seint Petre the deken.

11. The Life of Saint Quiricus and his mother Saint Julitta – Harley MS 630[289]

[f.151v] Here endeth the life of Seint Victe and his ffelashipp, and next foloweth þe life of Seint Quyryne.

Qvyryny was son of a noble lady of Iconye,[290] the which lady wold fle þe p(er)secucon and went with Quirice, here sone which was but thre yer(e) olde into Tarse,[291] a cite of Sisile.[292] And not with stondyng she was presented to þe Prouost Alisaundr(e)[293] and bere heire childe in here armes. And her(e) two chamberes segh þis þing, thei fledde anon

and left here alone. And þan þe iuge toke the childe in his armes and constreyned Iulit to do sacrafice. And she refused it atte alle and þan he comand(ed) þat she shulde be bete with rawe sennes.[294] And whan þe childe segh his moder bete, he wept bitterly and cried peteosly. The prouost toke the childe in his armes and vppon his knees and wold haue plesed þe childe with kyssing(es) and with faire wordeȝ, and þe childe by helde his modere and hadde an ahominacon of þe prouostes kissing(es) and turned away his hede [f.152r] [by] grete despite and stratte him in þe visage and yaue a voice according to his modere as þough he seid, "I am Cristen," and continuelli he fau[ȝ]te with the p(ro)uost.

And at þe last, he bote him by þe ere and rased it fro his hede. And þan þe prouost was cursedli meued with anger and with peine þat he þrewe þe childe doune the degrees þat þe tendere breyne was shedde. And whan þat Iulit segh þat her(e) sone was go before hir(e) to þe kindom of God, she was gladde and yaue thonking(es) to God. And þan it was co(m)maunded þat Iulit were slayne. And þan her(e) body [was] wassh wiþe boiling picce, and aftere þat to haue here hede smite of.

It is founde in a noþer legende þat Quyrice dispised the tirant as welle whan he glosed him as whan he blamed him, and confessed þat he was Cristen. And after the tyme he was a childe and with oute speche, yit the holi goost was in him, and whan þe prouost asked hi(m) who hadde taught him, so he seid, "O thu prouost, I merveile of þi ffolye sith þu seest me so yonge a childe. Whi enquerest thu of me who hath taught me, ners thi blynde malice thu myght clerly see that the devyne wisdom of God techeth me." Whan he was bete he cried, "I am Cristen", and euere as he cried, so he rekeuered more strength and more amonge his tormenteȝ. And þe iuge made dismembre þe modere and þe childe membr(e) fro membre and co(m)maunded that þei shulde be caste her(e) and there to that ende þat þei shull not be biried of Cristen men. But for all pat, the angell of oure lorde God gadered hem to gidre and thei were biried be night of Cristen men in the tyme of Constantine the Grete. Whan pees was yolde to þe chirch, thei wer(e) shewed bi one of the chamberers þat þan lyued and they be holde in grete

deuocion of alle puple. And þei suffered deth in the yere of oure lorde .cc. and .xxx.ti vndere Alisaundre. Here endeth þe life of Seint Quirice, and next foloueth the life of Seint Marine.

12. The Life of Saint Marina – Harley MS 630[295]

[f.152r] Here endeth þe life of Seint Quirice, and next foloueth the life of Seint Marine.

Seint Marine was a noble virgine & was oonli with here ffadere, withoute brother(s) or sustere. And here ffadere, aftere the dethe of here modere, entred into a monast(er)i of monkes and chaunged the cloþing of his doughtere so that men wende that she hadde be his sone. And þan þe ffadere preied þe Abbotte of the house and the monkes that thei wolde receyiue his sone as a monke, ffore he hadde no mo childeren. And þei graunted him goodly and was called amonge hem Broþere Maryn(us). And she beganne to leue right religiously and was at all obedience. And whan she was of the age of .xxvijti. [f.152v] yere here ffader felt him seke nye to þe deth. He called his doughtere to him and confermed hire in here goode purpose and charged hire vppon his blessing that she shulde neuere diskeuere it to no creature þat[296] she was a woman, and so he died. And she abode in here holi purpose and continued here life as an holi monke, vnknowing to alle creatours that she was a woman.

And than it felle so þat she went oft times with othere monkeȝ to þe wode with here carte and her(e) oxen, ffore to bringe home wode to here monasterye. And here custume was whan he went so to her(e)borowe hem in a ffrankeleins house which hadde a doughtere þat had conceyued a childe bi a knight. And whan it was p(er)ceiued and þat she was aresond who was the ffadere, she seid suerli that it was þe monke Maryn which had gote hir(e) with childe. Whan þe ffadere and the modere herde this, thei went to the abbotte and made an horrible clamoure vppon him fore his monke. The abbot, hauyng grete shame and sorowe fore this foule clamoure, sent fore Maurin and asked him whie he hadde do so horrible synne, he mekeli answered and seid, "Holi ffadere, I aske oure lorde m(er)ci ffore I haue sinned." The abbot, hering this, was oute of him self fore sorowe and shame, and co(m)maunded þat he shuld shamefulli be put oute of her(e) monasteri.

He pacientli abode with oute and dwelled stille atte yate .iij. yere. And vnneþes thei þrewe him a morselle of brede in a daie. And whan the childe was borne it was sent to þe abbot, and he sent it anon to Maryn(us)[297] & bade him kepe suche tresoure as he hadde brought forth. Þan þis seli Maryn(us) mekeli and paciently toke his childe and kissed it and wept sore and kept it tenderli to here powere, and þonked God of all in grete pacience. And so she kept it .ij. yere. And so atte þe laste, here bretheren hadde grete pite and compassion of her(e) humilite and of here pacience and preied þe abbot þat he wolde haue pite on him. Here brothere(n) considering þe grete pon(i)ching and þe shame þat he hadde receiued, and also þe grete mekenesse and obediens þat þei segh in him beseching him that he wold atte reuerence of God fore yeue him, and þat he might be receiued into here monasterie ayene. And so atte þe laste, the abbot with grete instance graunted þer(e) to charging that he shulde be inwarde to alle the foule occupac(i)ons þat were to do in þat monasteri. He mekeli and pacientli did all s(er)uice gladli and deuoutely and þus endured his life in holy werkeȝ til she passed to oure lorde.

Than þe breþeren come to þe [f.153r] abbot to aske where þei shul beri þe body. He answered and seid in þe wildest place þat þei couth finde with oute þe cimitarie; seyinge that he had defouled him self so horribli shuld not be amonge his breþeren in non holi place. And þan þei wente to wassh þis bodye as þe costume was [and as þey wissh hire þay perseyuyd þat she whas] a woman. And in þat sight þei were hugely abasshed and ronnen in grete haste after the Abbot, seying to hi(m): "Fader come, come and se þe merveles of God." And he merveiling greteli what þei ment, went with hem. And whan he segh þat she was a woman, he fille dovne to þe grounde askinge mercye and grace of þat injoure þat he hadde shewed hire; coniuring hir(e) þat she wolde take no vengaunce vppon him ffor his ignorance and misdede, seying to þe body w(ith) grete wepingeȝ and sighingg(es): "A holi chamberere of oure lorde, what wronges haue I do to teche a holi pure virgine. For yeue me, ffore I haue to sore offended God and the. Thu servest in þi grete mekenesse 'Pater peccaui'.[298] But I mai seye fore my grete wickednesse 'Mater et soror'.[299] I haue greuousli synned to God and to þe, and seid in my maleice that þu shuldest be biried in a vile place. But holi virgine, þu haste deserued a precious place of

clennes. And þere fore þu shalt lye in þe worshipfullest place of oure monasteri. Fore þu arte oure worshipp and oure ioy." Thus with grete sorowe and lamentac(i)on, þei wosshyn vpp the bodie and toke it vpp with grete reuerence to bere it to þe chirche. And with þat, þe belles of þe monasteri begonne to rynge with oute mannys honde, solempli. And so þei continuede to þis blessed bodi was buried. And þat woman þat defamed þis holi Maryn was vexed with a fende and confessed here felonie and come to þe sepulture of þis virgine and was heled. And alle þe peple assembled aboute here toumbe & preised God fore his virgine. And mony notable miracles bene done there continuelli. And she passed to oure lorde the xiiij dai of Iuly. Here endeth the life of Seint Maryn, and next foloweth þe lyues of þe seintes Geruase and Prothase.

13. The Life of the Seven Brethern and Their Mother Saint Felicity – Harley MS 630[300]

[f.186v] Here endeth þe life of Seint Poule. And next foloweth þe life of .vij. bretheren whos names ben rehersed aftr(e).

The .vij. bretheren weren of þe blessed Felice and þe names of he(m) ben þise: Philip, Aluanye, Alexander, Vitall, Iain(er)ber and Marciall;[301] all þise with here moder were called bi þe co(m)maundement bi þe Emp(er)o(ure) Antoigne[302] before Publien,[303] þat was prouost. And þan he counseiled þe modere þat she wold haue pite on here self and on here sones, þe which answered in þis wise: "Ne(i)þere with þi blandisshinge wordeȝ, ne with þi thretenynge, þu shalt not be traye me, ne be þi merites þu maist not breke me. I am suer bi þe holy goost that is with me, þat I lyvinge shall ou(er)come þe and ȝit moche better whan I am dede." And þan she turned her(e) to hire sones and seid to hem, "Mi dere sones ben sadde and beholdeth vpp to hevenwarde ffore Ih(es)u Crist abieth vs fighteth strengely fore his loue and shewe yow tru knyȝtes to hi(m)." And whan þe prouoste [f.187r] herde here speke in þis wise, he commaunded þat she shulde be bete w(ith) pannes. And as þe modere and sones abode right stable in þe feiþ(e), þe modere conforted hem all and so in here presence þei were slayne al with diuerse tormenteȝ.

And Seint Gregori[304] calleth þis blessed Felice more þan marter, ffore she suffered .vij. deþes in here .vij. sones and þe .viij. in her(e) self. And he seith in his Omelye þat: "Þe blessed Felice, in belevinge, was made þe s(er)uant of oure lorde and in prechinge, she was made þe marter of oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist, and here .vij. sones þat she dred in suche wise to leue hem behinde hire in prison, like as worldeli ffrendȝ vsen to drede lest þei shulde dye in prison. She hadde borne hem bi þe holi goost, þo that she hadde borne of her flessh, and nowe bi prechinge, she brought to God þe sones þat she hadde borne to þe worlde and þoo þat she segh þat were come of here flessh she might now(i)se die with oute sorowe. But there was a strengthe of loue with inne hir þat ou(er) come the sorowe of þe flessh. And thereof I haue seid right wiselye þat this woman is mor(e) þan marter þat so oft desired deth, desiringli in here sones whan she hadde in þat multiplied marterdome, and she ou(er)come þe victorie of marterdome, wha(re)fore þe loue of God her(e) oonli deth sufficed here not. And they suffred deth aboute the yere of oure lorde .c.v.x. Here endeth the lyves of the .vij. breþeren, and next ffoloueth þe life of Seint Theodore, martere.

14. The Life of Saint Theodora – Harley MS 630[305]

[f.187r] Here endeth the lyves of the .vij. breþeren, and next ffoloueth þe life of Seint Theodore Martere.

Theodore was a noble woman and a faire in Alisaundr(e),[306] in þe tyme of þe Emp(er)our(e) Zenonys,[307] and hadde a rich man to her(e) husbonde, dreding God. And the ffende which hadde envye to her(e) holynesse, meved a riche man to loue hir(e) and hasted her(e) greteli be yeftes and be messages and required hir þat she wold consent to him. But she refused the messages and despised þe yeft(es), and he continued his besines abought here þat she might haue no tyme of rest, but was almoost ouercome. And sith he sent to here an enchaunto(ure) þat preied her to haue pite of þat man and consent to him. And whan she tolde him þat she wold not do so grete a synne in þe sight of God, he ioyned with here wordes and seid to her(e): "I wote well þat as moche as is done bi dai, God knoweth

and seth. But whan it is even and þe son(e) is downe, God seeth no þinge þat is done." And þan seid Theodore to þe enchaunto(ure) [f.187v] "Thu seist not true." And he seid to here sekirly: "I sei trouthe." And þan Theodore was deceiued bye þe wordes of þe enchaunto(ure) and seid to him, whan it is even þat he shulde make him come and she wold fulfil his wille. And whan he hadde tolde þis to the man, he was fulfilled with moche ioye and come at his houre assigned and laye with here and þan went his waye.

And þan whan Theodore was come to her(e) self, she wept bitterli and bete here visage seyinge: "Allas to me, alas to me, fore I haue lost my soule and destroied þe beute of my name." Than her(e) husbond come fro with oute and segh his wife so discomforted and wepinge and knewe not þe cause; he enforsed him to conforte her(e) and she wold take no conforte. But on þe morowe, she went to an abbei of nonnes and asked of þe abbesse if God might knowe a grete syn that was done bi night. And she seid her(e) a yene that no þinge might be hidde fro God, ffor(e) God seeth and knoweth al þat is done, in what houre þat it be. And þan she seid with wepinge bitterly, "ȝeue me þe boke of þe gospell so þat some lotte falle to me." Than she opned þe boke & founde writen with inne: "Quod scripsi scripsi."[308] And than she turned a yene to her house, and in a time whan her husbond was oute, she toke þe cloþinge of a man and went to a chirch of monkeȝ þat was fro þens .viij. mile and required þat she might be receiued with þe monkeȝ. And þei graunted her(e) and asked her(e) name, and she seid her(e) name was Theodore.

And þan she did humbli all þe offices and her(e) s(er)iuce was agreable to all. And with inne [a] yer(e) aftre, the abbot bade him þat he shuld co(u)ple þe oxen and go to þe towne and bringe hem oile, and in that oþer side, here husbonde gretely dredynge lest she hadde be go a waie with some oþer man. And þan þe aungell of our(e) lorde seid to him: "Arise erli in the morowetide and holde þe in the wey of Marters Petre and Poule, and she þat þu shalt mete is þi wife." And þan Theodore come with þe camels and segh here husbond and knewe hym and seid to here self: "Alas, my goode husbond, howe t(ra)vaile I to bringe my self oute of syn(ne) þat I did a yenst þe." And whan he neighed to her(e), she salued him and seid, "Oure lorde,

if[509] þe ioye my lorde." And he knewe her(e) no thinge, and whan he hadde a bidde [a]longe hir(e) þere, he helde him deceiued. Than a voice seid to him: "That same þat salued þe in þe morouetide was thi wife." [f.188r]

And Seint Theodore was of so grete holinesse þat she dud mani miracles; ffore she toke a wey fro wilde bestes a man al to rent with hem and araised [hem] fro deth to life bye her(e) praiers. And she folowed þat best and cursed it and anon he fell dede. And þe ffende havinge envie to her(e) holinesse þat he might not suffre hir, appering to here seyinge: "Thu wicked woman aboue all oþere and avouterer(e), þu hast left þi husbond fore to come hidre to dispise me, fore my vertuose þat be dredful, I shal a reise ayenst þe such bataile þat if I make þe not renye þe crucified, sei not þat it am I." And anon she made þe signe of þe crosse and þe ffende vanshed awaye.

In a time as she come fro the toune with þe camels and was herboured in an hostri, a maide come to him and seid to him: "Slepe with me þis night." And whan he had refused hir, she went and laye with anoþer(e) þat gete her(e) with childe. And whan her bali aroos, þei asked her who had brought here with childe and she seid þe monke Theodore hadde laien with here. And whan þe childe was bore, þei sent it to þe abbot of þe chirche þer(e) Theodore was and þe abbot blamed gretli Theodore and she preied mekely of foryeuenes. Than þe abbot toke hire þe childe and shoved hir(e) oute of þe yates and bede hir(e) kepe with sorowe þat she hadde gete in so grete syn and shame.

And .vij. yere she norshed þat childe with melke of bestes and þe ffende hadde envie to her(e) pacience and transfigured hi(m)self in likenesse of her(e) husbond and seid to hir(e): "What doest þu here my wife? I languissh fore þe and haue no conforte. Come with me þat arte all my ioye. Fore þough þu haue lay with anoþer man, I shal fore yeue it þe." She wende that he hadde be here husbonde and seid to him: "I shal no lenger be with þe, ffore þe son of Sir Iohn, þe knight, hath lay with me and I will do my penaunce ffore I haue synned a yenst þe." And þan she went to here preier and þe ffende vanshed a waie, and þan she knewe þ(at) it was þe ffende.

Another time, þe ffende wolde make hir(e) a fraied and come to hir(e) in likenesse of .iij. wilde bestes. And a man seid to hem "Eteþ þis wicked woman." And þan she preide and þei vanshed awaie. Anoþer [tyme], grete multitude of knightes come to her(e), and here prince went be fore and euerech of hem worshiped hir(e). And þan oon of the knightes seyde to her(e): "Theodore [f.188v] arise vp and worshipp our(e) p(ri)nce." And þan she seid, "I worship onli God Almighti." And whan þei had tolde þis to here prince, he co(m)maunded þat she were brought forth and so moche tormented þat men deme here dede, and þan al þat companie vanished awai. 3it anoþer time, she come þidre and þere she founde a grete hepe of golde and þan she blessed her(e) and reco(m)maunded her(e) to God and fledde awey. Anoþer time, she segh a panyer full of diu(er)se metes of all maners, þat a man bare and seid to her(e): "Oure p(ri)nce þat bete þe, sent þe þis and bede þe take it and ete it , ffor thu diddest þat bi vnkonnynge." And she þan blessed her(e) and he vanished awaye.

And whan þe .vij. yere were co(m)myn(e) oute, þe abbot considered the pacience of þat broþer and reconsiled him and put him in þe chirche with his breþeren and his sone with him. And whan she hadde fulfilled .ij. yere preisabli, she toke here childe and closed him with her(e) in her(e) selle. And whan it was tolde to þe abbot, he sent some of his monkeȝ priuely to wite what she wold sey to him. And þan she toke and cleped þe childe and kissed him and seid, "Mi right dere sone, þe time of my life is come and þerfore I leue þe to God that he be thi ffader and þi helper. Sone, loke þ(at) þu abide in fastinge and in Orison and s(er)ue thi bretheren deuouteli." And in þat seyinge, she yeld vp þe spirit and slept in oure lorde abought þe yere of oure lorde .iiijclxx. And whan þe child segh þis þinge, he beganne greuously to wepe.

And þat night, a vision was shewed to þe abbot in þis wise: him þought a grete weddynge was ordeigned and þider come orders of angels and of p(ro)phet(es), of marters and of all oþere seinteȝ. And in þe myddell of hem, ther(e) was a woman be set with so gret ioye þat no þing might tell it, and she come right to þe weddinge and sette hir(e) vppon the bedde. And all þo that wer(e) a bought here did here worship; and þan ther(e) come a voice to þe abbot þat seid: "This is Theodore þat was falsely accused of þe childe. The tymes be chaunged with

here, ffore she is chastised ffor she hadde defouled þe bedde of here husbond." And þan þe abbot awoke and went al meued to here sell with his breþeren and founde here dede. And þan he entred in and vnkeuered hir(e) and founde hir(e) a woman. And þan þe abbot sent to seke þe ffader of hir(e) þat had defamed hire and seid to him: "Lo, þe man þat þi doughter defamed is dede." And þan þei toke a wey þe clothe and seyne þ(at) [f.189r] she was a woman. And þan þer(e) was grete drede to all þo þat seen or herde þis þinge. And þan þe aungell of oure lorde spake to þe abbot and seid, "Arise hastely & light vppon þi horse and ride into þe cite, and if þu metest ony man, take and bringe him hidr(e)." And as þe abbot went, he mette with a man rennynge, and þe abbot asked him whiþer he ranne. And he seid, "I go to se my wife þat is dede." And þan þe abbot toke þe husbonde of Theodore vppon his horse and brought him þidre, and þere he wepte gretli. And þei beried þe bodye with grete deuoc(i)on. And þan þe husbond of Theodore toke his wives sell and dwelled þere, and at his ende slept in oure lorde. And þan þe childe of Theodore folowed his norice in all vertues and werkes & encresed so gretelie in name of goodnesse, that whan þe abbot was dede, he was chose of all to be abbot. Here endeth the life of Seint Theodore, and next foloueth the blessed life of Seint Margarete.

15. The Life of Saint Margaret – Harley MS 630[310]

[f.189r] Here endeth the life of Seint Theodore, and next foloueth the blessed life of Seint Margarete.

Seint Margarete was of þe cite of Antioche, doughter of Theodosien,[311] a panyme patriark, and she was delyuered to a norse. And whan she come to p(er)fit age, she was baptiȝed. And þerefore she was gretli hated of here ffader, and in a dai whan she was .xv. yere, she kept her(e) noris shepe in þe felde amonge oþer maydons. The Prouost Olibrius[312] passed þerbi and considered þe beute of þis virgine and was take with here loue and all meved, sent messagers anon and seid to hem: "Goeth and takeþ(e) þat maide. And if she be fre, I shal take hir(e) to my wife, and if she be bonde, I shal make her(e) my concubine."

And whan she was presented be fore him, he enquered her(e) of her(e) name and of here kinrede and of her(e) religion. And she answered þat her(e) name was Margarete and þat she was noble of kin and of Cristen religion. Than the prouost seid to hir(e): "The two first þinges p(er)teinen to þe right fulli, fore thu arte amiable & noble and arte prouide to be right a faire Margarete.[313] But þe .iij. þinge app(er)teneth not so faire and so noble a maide to worshipp a god þat was c(ru)cified." To whom she seid, "Wost þ(ou) þan þat God was crucified?" And he seid, "3e, bi þe boke3 of C(ri)sten men." And þan seid she to him: "A what shame is þis to yowe, whan ye rede there þe mi3t and þe glorie of him þat ye beleue þat oon and reny þat oþere." And þan as she affermed [f.189v] þat he hadde be c(ru)cified of his own propre will fore þe redempcion of man kinde.

Than þe p(ro)uost co(m)maunded þat she were put in prison. And þe dai folowing, he made hir(e) be called bi fore him, and seid to her: 'Thu void and veyne ma[y]de, haue pite of þe beute and worshipp oure godd(es)." To whom she seid, "I worshipp him to whom þe erthe trembeleth, þe see dredeth, þe wynde and all creatures obeien." To whom þe prouost seid, "If þu wilt not consent to me, I shall make þi bodie to be all to rent." To whom Margarete seid, "My lorde Ih(es)u Crist deliuered hi(m)self to þ(e) deth for me, and þer(e)fore I drede not to die fore þe loue of Ih(es)u Crist." And þan the prouost co(m)maunded þat she wer(e) so strongli bete þat þe blode shuld renne of hir(e) as plenteuously as of a well, and þan þat she shuld be strecched oute to þe torment of Eculee.[314] And þoo þat were there wepten and seiden: "Margarete vereli, we pleyne þe gretely fore þat we se þe so pitously rent and to torne. Alas, what beute hast thu lost with þi bileue. Yit haue pite on þi self so þat þu maist lyve." To whom she seid, "A, ye wicked counselo(ure)s, parte yowe fro me and goeth hens, ffore þis torment of þe flessh as sauynge of my soule." And pan she t(ur)ned hir(e) to þ(e) p(ro)uost and seid, "Thu shameles hounde þat cantest[315] not be fulfilled. Thu maist haue power of my flessh, but God kepeth my soule." And þe prouost keuered his visage with his mantell ffore þat he wold not se so grete shedinge of blode.

And aftre þat, he made here to be [e]nclosed[316] in prison and merveilous brightnesse of light shined with yn. And whan she was in prison, she preied oure lorde þat he wold shewe here visibli him þat so cruellye vexed hir(e) and faught with her(e). And þan come there forthe a grete dragon and appered to hir(e). And as he assailed hir(e) for(e) to deuoure hir(e), she made a signe of þe crosse and he vanshed a way. Or, as it is redde elleȝ where, he opned his mouthe and swalowe hir. And bi þe vertu of þe crosse þat she hadde made, þe dragon brek anon and the virgine went oute of him all hole and sounde.

And þanne þe fende come a yene to here and transfigured him in forme of a man fore to deceyue her(e). And whan she segh him, she went to here preier and whan she aroos þe ffeende come to here and toke here bi þe honde and seid, "Sese nowe as to my persone and suffice þe þat þu hast done." And þan she toke him bi þe here and threwe him [f.190r] to þe erth and set here right fote vppon his nekke and seid to him: "Ly stil, þu ennemye, vnder the fote of a woman" and bete him & þe ffeende cried and seide, "A blessed virgine Margarete, I am ouerecome. If a yonge man hadde bete me, I hadde not t{h}ought. But I am ouercome of a yonge tender maide, and þat I may moost sorowe, ffore here ffader and here moder haue be my good ffreendeȝ." And þan she constreyned him so soore þat he shuld tel hire whi he te(m)pted þe Cristen puple so oft. And he answered hir(e), ffore he hadde kindely haterede to hem and to all vertuose. And þough he were oft tymes put a bak by he(m) and deposed of hem, yit he p(er)sued hem with continuell desir(e) fore to deceyue hem. And fore þat he hath envie to þe wele of man, ffore þe blesse þat he lost þat he may neuer rekeuer a yene, but he hope to exclude hem þere fro. And þan he tolde hir(e) howe Salamon hadde enclosed in a vessell of glas right grete multitude of fendeȝ.[317] But aftre his deth, þe ffendeȝ put oute fire of þe vessell so þat men wende þat þere hadde be grete tresoure there yn and breke þe vessell. And þan þe fend(es) went oute and fulfilled þe eir(e). And whan he hadde seid all þis, þe virgine lift vpp her(e) fote and seid, "Fle þu wrecched Ca[i]tif." And anon þe ffende vanshed awey. And þan was she suer fore he so hath ouercome þe p(ri)nce, [who] with oute faile [may] lightli ouercome þe mi(n)stre.

And þe daie folowynge, þe peple assembled and she was presented to þe iuge. But she wold in no wise sacrafice to her(e) godd(es). And þan was her(e) tendre bodye broiled w(ith) brondes of fire so þat all m(er)veiled howe so tendre a maide might suffre so moche tormentez. And aftre þat þei put her in a vessell fulle of water fast ibounde, so þat bi þe chaunginge of peynes þe strengthe of þe peyne shuld encrees. And anon, sodeinli, þe erth trembeled and þe eire wex right hidous and þe virgine went oute with oute ony harme. And þan .v.m^{t}. men bileued in God and were biheded fore the name of Ih(es)u Crist. And þan the prouost dredde him, lest oþer(e) wolde haue do þe same and co(m)maunded hasteli þat þe blessed virgine Margarete shulde be biheded. And þan she besouȝt a time forto preye fore her(e) self and fore here p(er)secuto(ure)s and for all þos þat maden eni mynde of here or asked her(e) helpe deuoutely. And she preied full deuouteli and seid that what woman asked here helpe in travailinge of childe, þat she miȝt be deliuered with oute perell, [f.190v] of woman or of childe so that both might be saved, þe woman to life, þe childe to Cristendome.[318] And as sone as she had p(re)ied, a voice come fro hevene and seid þat she was herde of her p(re)iers. And þan she thonked our(e) lorde and seid to þe turmento(ure): "Broþer take þe swerde & smite." And þan he smote of here hede at .oo. stroke. And so she receyued a coroune of marterdom. And she suffred deth þe .xij. kk of Iuyll. And an holy man[319] seith in þis wise of þis virgine, "The blessed Margarete was sadde and stabli in þe loue and drede of God, worshipp with religion, araied with compunccion, environd with preisable pacience. And þan was no contrarie þinge founde in her(e), she was hatfulle to her ffader and frende and loue to oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist." Here endeth þe life of þat blessed and virgine Seint Margarete, and next folouеþ(e) þe life of Seint Aliyix.

16. The Life of Saint Praxedis – Harley MS 630[320]

[f.192v] Here endeth the life of Seint Alixe, and next folouеth þe life of Seint Praxedis.

Seint Praxedis was suster of Seint Potencian,[321] and were bothe suster(es) of Seint Thumothe[322] and was taught of þe Apostels in þe feith. And whan the persecucion was of þe Cristen(s), thei beried þe bodies of the Cristens and yauen all here goodeȝ to the poer. And yn the ende, þei slepte in pees in oure lorde in the yere .c.lx. vnder(e) Marke Antoyne.[323] Here endeth the life of Seint Praxedis, and next foloueth the life of the blessed Marie Magdalene.

The version of Mary Magdalene *in Harley MS 630 is identical to that in TCD 319, therefore I have not included this version*

17. The Life of Saint Christina – Harley MS 630[324]

[f.199r] Here endeth þe life of Sei(n)t Polynare, and next foloueth þe life of þat holy virgin Seint Cristen.[325]

Cristen was bor(e) of right noble kinrede of Tiri in Itaile[326] and her(e) ffader put her(e) in a toure with .xij. chambers, and also she hadde with her(e) þe godd(es) of golde and of siluer. And fore she was right faire, she was desired of many to haue hadde hir(e) to wife, and her(e) ffader(e) wolde graunte her(e) to none. But he wolde þat she wolde abide and worshipp her(e) godd(es). She þat was taught by þe holi gooste dredde þe sacrafice of idoles and hidde þe encence wher(e) with þei sacrafied in a windowe.[327]

And whan her(e) ffader come þidr(e) in a time, her(e) chamber(er)s seid him: "Thi doughter þat is our(e) lady, wil not do sacrafice to godd(es) and she seith þat she is Cristen." And þan her(e) ffader flatred hir(e) and plesed hir(e) for(e) to make her(e) do sacrafice þem. [She seyd to him]: "Preysinge bilongeth for(e) I offr(e) sacrafice to God of heuen and not to dedely goddes." And þan þe ffader seid to hir(e): "Mi doughter ne offr(e) not sacrafice to .o. God a boue lest þat oþer goddes wreth hem w(ith) þe." And þan she seid to him: "Thu hast wisely spoken þat arte vnkunnynge, ffor(e) I offr(e) to God [þe fader, to] God þe sone, to God þe holy goste, thre p(er)sones and .oo. God." And þan here ffader seid, "If þu worshipp thre

goddez, whi worshipst þu not oþer as well?" To who(m) she seid, "For(e) þies .iij. þat I worshipp is .oo. Godhede."

And than her(e) ffader went þens and Cristine toke all his goddes and brak hem and yaf þe golde and silu(er) to poer men. And þan aftr(e) þat þe ffader come a yene for to worshipp his goddez, but he founde hem not and þe chamberers tolde him what Cristine hadde do. And þan her(e) ffader commaunded þat she shuld be dispuled and beten with .xij. men til þei were all weri. And þan seid Cristen(e) to her(e) ffader: "O þu with oute worshipp or shame and abhominable to God, seest þu not howe þei feilen? Prei þi godd(es) þat yeue hem vertu and strength." And þan he co(m)maunded þat she shuld be fast icheyned and put in prison.

And whan þe moder of þe virgine vnderstode þis þinge, she rent her(e) cloþes and ranne to þe prison and fille downe to þe fete of her douȝter and seid, "A doughter Cristen, þee light of my eyen, haue pite on me." And þan she seid to hir(e): "Whi callest þu me þi doughter? Wost þu not wele þat I haue þe name of my God?" And whan it wold [f.199v] none oþer wise ben, she come a yene to her(e) husbond and tolde him howe she hadde answhered. And þan þe ffader co(m)maunded þat she shulde be brought bi for(e) him in iugement, and so she was and þan he seid to hir(e): "Sacrafice to our(e) godd(es) or ellȝ þu shalt suffre diu(er)se tormenteȝ and thu shalt no mor(e) be called my doughter." And Cristen(e) answered him and seid, "Nowe hast þu do me a grete grace sith I shal no more be called þe develes doughter, ffor(e) he þat is borne of þe deuell is þe deuell and þu arte ffader of þe same Sathanasse."

And þan he co(m)maunded þat her(e) tender flesh shuld be al to rent with hokes and all her(e) membres tore fro oþer. And þan Cristine toke an handeful of her(e) flessh and threwe it to her(e) ffader and seid, "Holde, þu tiraunt, and ete thi flessh þat þu haste gote." And þan her(e) ffader set her(e) on a whele and put vnder fire and oile, but suche a flawme come onto þer(e) of, þat it slewe a m^{l} and .v.c. men. And her(e) ffader accounted all þis but to arte magike and made hir a yene be put in prison and co(m)maunded þat, as sone as it wer(e) night, þat þei shuld bynde a grete stone a bought her(e) nekke and cast her(e) into þe see. And wha(n) þei hadde so doon(e), anone the angels toke her(e) and Ih(es)u Crist descended downe to her(e)

and baptiȝed her(e) in þe see seyinge, "I baptise the in þe name of God, my ffader and in my name Ih(es)u Crist, his sone and of þe holy gooste." And sith he co(m)maunded hir(e) to Seint Mighell, þe Archangell, þat brought hir(e) to londe. And whan þe ffader herde þis, he smote him self in þe for(e)hede and seid, "By what wicche craft doest þu þies þinges þat doest suche wicch craft in þe see." And she answhered and seid, "Thu cursed wrecch, I haue þis grace of Ih(es)u Crist." And þan he put her(e) a yene into prison & seid þat she sholde be bihedede in þe morowe.

And þat same night, Vrban, her(e) ffader, was founde dede and þan aftre him come a ffelon iuge þat hight 3ien(us), þe which ordeined a ton of iren and put þer(e) in picche and oile and terre. And whan all was brennynge, he made caste Cristen in þe mydde3 ther(e)of and made .iiij. men to meve þe tonne fore to make her(e) all to wasted þer(e)in. And þan Cristen(e) preised Ih(es)u Crist, by whom she hadde be nulye cristened, and nowe he wold þat she shulde be rokked in a cradell as a childe.

And [þan] þe iuge made to haue her(e) hede and made her to be ledde [all] naked þorough þe cite vnto þe temple [f.200r] of Apolyne.[328] And þer(e) she co(m)maunded to þe idole þat he shuld falle, and þe idole fill and bi come powder. And whan þe iuge herde it, he was a ferde and died; and to þis succeded Iuliane[329] and he made to enbrace a ffurneis and made Cristine to be cast þer(e) inne. And þer(e) she was .v. dayes, singing wiþ(e) angels and went oute with oute eny harme. And whan Iulien knewe þis pinge, he helde [it] al done bi enchauntement(es) and lete go to her .ij. adders, .ij. serpente3 and .ij. aspides [but þese serpentis likkid her fete and þe .ij. aspides] hanged at her brestes and did her no harme, and the adders wounde hem a bought her nekke and likked vpp her snotte.

And þan seid Iulian to his enchaunto(ure): "Arte þu not ko(n)nynge to meve þise serpente3?" And þan, as sone as he stired hem, þei made a sante[330] to him and slewe him anon. And þan Cristine co(m)maunded to þe serpente3 to go into deserte places and she araised þe dede man fro deth to life. And þan Iulian co(m)maunded þat she shuld haue her(e) brestes kit of and oute of he(m) come mylke in stede of blode. And aftre þat, he made her(e) tonge to be

kit of, but she lost never her(e) speche þer(e)for(e) but she toke þe pece of her(e) tonge þat was kit of and threwe it in þe iuges visage and smote oute both his eyen þer(e)with. And þan was Iulian wroth and made two arowes to be shot towardes her(e) herte and oon(e) towardes her(e) side. And whan she was smiten, she yelded vpp þe spirit to o(ure) lorde a bought þe yere of our(e) lorde .cc^{x}.iiij^{x} and .vij. vnder Dioclician.[331] And þe holy body rested in a castell þat is called Buffe, inn betwene Orbenice & Viterbe and Tire[332] þat is be side þe castele was anon destroied. Here endeth þe life of Seint Cristen(e), and next foloweth þe life of Seint Iames.

18. The Life of Saint Martha (Capitulum) –Harley MS 630[333]

[f.211v] Here endeth þe life of Seint Simplicien and next biginneth þe life of Seint Martha Capitulum .iiij^{xx}. xix.

Seint Martha þe ostesse of our(e) lorde Ih(es)u Criste was descended of riall kinrede. Her(e) ffader hight Siro[334] and here moder Eukarie.[335] Her(e) fader was Duke of Sury[336] with all þe p(er)ties of þat see, and Martha, with her(e) suster, possedid bi right heritage of her(e) moder .iij. castelles: Magdalon, Bethanie,[337] and a p(er)tie of Ierl(use)l(u)m. And it is not redde þat she hadde euer husbond, ne felashipp of man. And þis noble hoostes s(er)ued our(e) lorde with gret diligence and her(e) suster wold do no suche s(er)uice, ffor(e) her(e) thouȝt her(e)self not sufficiant to do s(er)uice to so gret(e) an ooste.

Aftr(e) the passion of oure lorde, whan the dep(er)tinge of þe disciples was made, she and her(e) broþer, the Lazar, Mari Magdeleyn her(e) suster, and Seint Maximian þat had baptiȝed hem and to whom they were comitted bi þe holi gooste with many oþer þat wer(e) set in a shippe with oute gou(er)nayle and with oute saile, with oute ony sustinaunce of lyvinge by þe mysbileued Iues. And by the leding of þe holy goost thei come [f.212r] to Marcelle,[338] and sith þei went to Ays,[339] and þere þei conuerted þe peple to þe feith. And þis blessed Marthe was faire of speche and gracious in the sight of all.

And þat time þer(e) was in a wode, vnder þe Rone,[340] betwene Arle[341] and [ ], a dragon, halfe beste and half fissh, more gretter þan ony ox and lenger þan a horse and hadde

his wyngez longe and sharpe as a swherde and was horned on eueri side and he did him in þe wat(er) and slowe all þo þat passid bi it and drowned þe shippes. And þis dragon was come bi þe see of Galacie[342] and hadde be engendered of Lauiecana,[343] a riȝt cruell s(er)pent of þe water,
1450 and of a beste þat is called snake, þat þe region of Galacie engendereth, and whan he is folowed by a certeyne space of tyme, he put oute his felthe, oute of his bely as shynyng as a mirro(ure), and brenneth all þinge þat it toucheth. And Martha, bi the praier of þe peple went þidr(e) and founde him etinge a man. And þan she threwe vppon him holi water and shewed him þe signe of þe crosse, and he was anone ouer(e)come and was meke as ony shepe. And Seint Martha tyed him with her(e) girdell and anon, he was slayne with speres and with stonez. And þat dragon was called of hem of þe countre, Carasture or Taracle,[344] and yit in remembraunce of þat is þat place called Tharaston,[345] and before it was called þe blak place, ffor(e) asmoche as þer(e) was a shadowinge wode.

And þan þe blessed Seint Marthe, bi þe licence of Maximian, her(e) maistr(e), and of
1460 her(e) suster, she dwelled ther(e) fro þens forward and toke hede, with oute cesing, to fastinge & to praiers. And aftr(e) þat, she assembled a grete companye of women and edified a chirch in þe worshipp of our(e) ladye, þe blessid virgine Marie, and þer(e) þey ledde right a sharpe life and she eschewed to ete flessh and all fatte [þing] eyren: chese, butter and wyne. She ete not but ones in þe dai, and she kneled an .c. tymes in þe day and as moche in þe niȝt.

In a tyme as she preched bitwene Abion and Rone,[346] a yong man desired to her(e) s(er)mon and he couthe gete no vessell to bringe hi(m) ouer, an dispoiled hi(m)self for(e) to swymme. But he was drowned anon by þe strengthe of þe water and his body was vnnethes founde þe secounde dai aftr(e) and was presented to þe fete of Seint Martha and she leid her(e) streite to þe grownde in wise of a crosse and praied in þis wise: "O, Adonay, lorde Ih(es)u
1470 Crist þat þi ffrende, my brother areredest from deth to life bihold the feith of hem þat be her(e) and arere þis childe." And þan she toke him bi þe honde and areised [f.212v] him a{non}[347] and he receyved bapteme.

Eusebie[348] telleth in þe boke of Ecclesiast þat seth þat woman was cured of her(e) maladie, she made an image likenesse of Ih(es)u Crist in her(e) courte or in her(e) gardyn, and made hem frenges as she hadde sene him wer(e) and worshipped it gretly. And þe herbeȝ þat growed vnder þat image þat befor(e) wer(e) not worthe, as sone as þei hadde touched þe frenge of þe vestiment of þe image, þei were of so grete vertu þat þei heled many sikenesse. And þat sike woman þat our(e) lorde heled was Marthaas, Ambrose telleth.[349] Seint Ierom(e) telleth, and it is writ in þe stori p(er)ted in thre,[350] þat Iulian Apostata[351] toke awei þat image and set his image in þe same place and it was broke with a stroke of thundre.

Oure lorde reueled to Seynt Martha her(e) passing hens a yere before hir(e) deth, and all þat yere she was sike of þe ffeuer, and the dai befor(e) her(e) passing hens, she herde þe felashipp of angels þat bar(e) þe soule of her(e) suster to heuen. And þan she assembled al þe felashipp of susters and of bretheren and said to he(m): "Mi felawes þat haue be longe norshid togiders, reioyse yow with me for(e) I se þe felashipp of angels bere þe soule of my suster to þe blesse of heuen. O my right fair(e) suster and frende, lyue now with my maistr(e) and myn oste in þat blessed sege." And anon, þe blessed Martha þat felt her(e) passing, tauȝt her(e) fowe to light vppon light and wake abought her(e) til her(e) passing oute. And a bouȝt midniȝt, bifor(e) her(e) passinge, here kepers wer(e) gretli greued with slombringe and yn þe mene time þer(e) entred in a gret wynde þat quenched all her(e) liȝt and she sawe a grete turbe of wicked spirites and began to pray and seid, "Mi ffader, my oste dere, þies traitours be assembled to deuoure me holdyng in her(e) hondes my wicked dedeȝ þat I haue done. Nowe der(e) Ely,[352] be not fer fro me but entende to my helpe." And than she shawe her(e) suster come to her(e) that held a bronde in her(e) honde and lighted ayene al þe lampes and torches and eche called oþer by her name.

And in þis mene tyme, Ih(es)u Crist came and seid, "My der(e) ostes, wher(e) as I am þu shall be with me. Þu receyvedest me in þi house and I shal receyue the in myn heven. And I shal enhaunse hem þat prai to þe for(e) the loue of the." And whan þe hour(e) of her(e) passinge oute neghed, she made here self to be borne oute þat she might beholde þe heuene.

And she bade that she might be leide on þe erth in asshes and þat men shuld hold before her(e) þe crosse. And þan she praied in þies wordeȝ: "Mi der(e) hoste kepe now þi poer hos[tes].[353] [f.213r] And as þu d[e]ynedest to be her(e)boroued with me, receyve me now yn thi heuenly house." And þan she co(m)maunded þat þe passion aftr(e) Seint Luke shulde be rede bifor(e) her(e). And whan he þat redde it saidde, "Fader in þi hondes I reco(m)mende my spirit."

And þe day folouyng þat was on a Sonday, whan þei seid laudeȝ aboute tierce, oure lorde appered atte Peregorke[354] to Sei(n)t Frount[355] þat halowed þe masse and aftr(e) þe prest whan he sat in his chaier and said to him: "Mi frende, if þu wilt fulfil þat þu hightest a grete wile, go to my oste. Arise vpp hastely and folowe me." And he did his co(m)maundement and comen bothe to Taraskon[356] and bigan to synge abouȝt þe body and did all þe office, and the oþer answhered and sith ther put þe body with her(e) propre hendeȝ in þe sepulcre. And verely whan þe songe was ended atte Peregorke þat þe deken shuld rede þe Eu(au)ngeli and he awoke þe bisshopp to say þe Beneson. And whan he awoke sodenli, he answhered and seid, "Brother, whi awake ye me? Our(e) [lorde] Ih(es)u Crist hath ledde þe body of Marthe, his ostesse, and we haue leied her(e) in her(e) sepulcr(e). Sendeth anon a messager for(e) to bringe me my ringe of golde and my gloues and my crismatorie, for(e) whan I araied me to beri þe bodi, I toke hem to þe sextayne and for(e) ye hasted me so sodenly I forgate hem þer(e)."

And þan þer(e) wer(e) messangers sent and þei founde it riȝt as þe bisshopp had seid, and þei brought þe ringe & one of þe glouеȝ only and left þat oþer þer(e) in token of þis þi(n)g, þe which þe sextayn kept. "And yet," saide Fronte, "þat whan he went oute of þe chirche aftr(e) þe sepulture, a wise broþer of þat place, þat was a clerk, folowed vs and asked of our(e) lorde whom he was called. And he answhered him no þing, but shewed hi(m) þe boke open þat he held in his honde, wher(e) yn was write no oþer þinge but þis verse: 'Mi ostesse shal lyue in euer lastyng mynde and shal not drede her(e) of euel in þe last day.' And as he turned þis boke, he fonde þis vers writen oncraw[357] and many a faire miracle was done at her(e) toumbe."

And þan þe kynge, Cloouys, kinge of Fraunce[358] þat was late made Cristen of Seynt Remy, suffered grete turment in his reynes[359] and come to her(e) toumbe and bar(e) þens

p(er)fite hele. And he enriched þe place gretely and gaue hem þe place of .iij. mile of londe abought hem on eu(er)y side and gaue grete ffrauncheis to her(e) place. And Marcell[360] wrote þe life of his maistresse and aftre went into Esclanoyne[361] and þer(e) he preched [f.213v] þe gospel of Ih(es)u Crist and the .x. [day] aftre þe passing hens of Martha, he rested in oure lorde in pees. Here endeth þe life of Seint Martha, and next biginneth þe lif of Abdon and Sennes Cap(itulum).

19. The Lives of Saints Savinian and Savina – Harley MS 630[362]

[f.259v] Here endeth þe life of Seint Felix, and next beginneth þe life of Seynt Sauynyen.

Seint Sauynyan and Savyne wer(e) childeren of Savyn(us), a right noble paynym, and he had Sauiynien bi his first wife and by þe .ij[de]. he had Savyne, his doughter, and yaf hem bothe þat name. In a tyme as Sauiyen redde þis vers "asp(er)ges me"[363] and asked what it was to sey, but he couth in no wise vnderstonde it. And þan he we(n)t into his chambr(e) and did on þe heir(e) and kneled in asshes and seid that he had leuer to dye þer(e) þan þat he shuld not vnderstond þe sense of þat vers. And þan þe angell of God appered to him, that seid to him: "Torment thi self no lenger for þ(ou) hast founde grace before oure lorde. Whan þou shalt be baptiȝed, thou shalt be whiter than snowe and þan thou shalt vnderstond þat thou sekest nowe."

Than was he glad bi þe comfort of þe aungell and dispised al þe idoles and wold no more worship hem. Wher(e)for he was reproued and oft tymes chid of his fader, and þe ffader wold oft tymes sey to him: "Whi worshippest thou not oure goddis? It is better that þou dye alone, þan þat we be all wrapped with þe in þe dethe." And þan Sauynyan fled awey p(ri)vely [f.260r] and came to þe cite of Troies. And whan he passed þe water, he praied oure lorde þat he might be baptiȝed þere, and so he was, and þan our(e) lorde seid to hi(m), "Now hast thou founden þat þou hast long sought with grete labo(ure)." And þan he set his staf in þe erthe and anone as he had made his praier, his staff wex ful of leves and floured be fore al þe peple so þat .m[l] .c.viij. leveden in God.

And whan Aurelyan, þe emp(er)o(ure), herd þis þing, he se(n)t many knightes for to take him and þei founde hi(m) praying and dradden for to go to him. And þan þe emp(er)o(ure) sent as many mo as þe first, and whan þei came to him, þei founde hi(m) praying and þei praied togiders with him and whan he was risen fro praier, þei seid to hi(m): "The emp(er)o(ure) wold se þe." And þan he went þidr(e) and he wold not do sacrafice. He made him to be bounden bote[364] and honde and to be bete with cheynes of iron, and Seint Sauinien seid to him: "Encrese
1560 þies tormentes if þ(ou) maist." And he co(m)maunded þat he wer(e) bounde in þe myddle of þe cite vppon a forme and þat þei shuld set abought him wode, fire and oyle anon, þat he wer(e) brent vp. And þan þe emp(er)o(ure) beheld him and sawe him stondyng within þe flawme praying, and he was abasshed and seid to hi(m): "A þou wicked best, suffiseth not to þe [þe] soules þat þou hast deceyued, but if þou assai to deceyue vs bi þi art magyk."

To whom Sauinian seid, "Yit be ther(e) many soules and þu art one he(m) þ(at) shal beleue in oure lorde by me." And þan the emp(er)our(e) blamed þe name of o(ure) lorde þer(e)fore and co(m)maunded þat in þe morowe, he were bounde to a piller & shot þer(e)to with arowes hangyng in þe eyre. And whan men shot to him þe arowes, þei hinge in þe eire on eu(er)y side of him and none touched him. And þe next dai, þe Emp(er)o(ure) came to hi(m)
1570 and seid, "Wher(e) is þi God now? Whi comes he not and delyueres þe fro þies arowes?" And anone, oone of þe arowes lept and smote þe kyng in þe ye þat he was blinde, and þan he was right wrothe and co(m)maunded hi(m) to be put in prison and in þe morow to be biheded. And þan Sauiinian praied to our(e) lorde þat he might be in þe same place wher(e) he was baptiȝed. And þan þe cheynes to brast and þe dores wer(e) opned and he went þorough þe knightes right to þe same place, and [whan] þe emp(er)oure herd þat, he co(m)maunded þat he were foloued into þat place and þat he wer(e) biheded euen þer(e).

And [w]þan Seint Sauinian sawe þe knyghtes þat folowed him, he went vppon þe water til he come to þe place of her(e) baptime. And whan þe knightes had passed þe water and
1580 þei came to hi(m), þei dred for to smyte hi(m) and he seid to hem: "Smyte me suerli and ber(e) of my blode to þe emp(er)o(ure) and he shal receyue his sight and knowlach þe vertue of God."

And whan his hede was smyt of, he toke his hede and bare it .xlix. pace. And whan the [f.260v] emp(er)oure had touched þe blode and leied it to his eye, he was hole anone. And þan he seid, "Now verrely þe God of Cristen men is grete and ful of godenesse." And þan a woman þat had lost hir(e) sight .xl. wy(n)ter, made hir(e) to be bore þidre and made hir(e) praier and receyued hir(e) sight anone. And he suffred deth abought þe yer(e) of oure lorde .cc.lxx. in þe .ix. kalendis of ffeuerer, and þe stori of his suster is ioyned her(e) to for þat þe fest is þe same [dai].

And as Savyne, his suster, wept eu(er)i day hir(e) broþer(e) [&] sacrafied for him [to] idoles. Atte last, þe angel appered to hir(e) in slepe and seid, "Savyne, wepe not but leue as moche as þu hast and þ(ou) shalt finde þi broþer þat is in grete worship." And þan she awoke and seid to hir(e) woman, "Mi frende, haue ye ony þing herd?" and she seid, ["3e madame." and þan sche seide, "I suppose þ(ou) wilt not acuse me." a sche seide] "No, forsothe I madame, and þer(e)for do right as þu list." And so þey went forthe in þe morowe tide togidre. And whan þe ffader had do seke hir(e) many long tyme, he lift vp his eyen toward heuen and seid, "If þou be al mighti God in heuen, destroy my idol3 þat might not haue saued me my childeren." And þan oure lorde, with a þondr(e) to brast al his idoles and many men saw it þat lyueden in God.

And þan þe blessid Savyne came to Rome and was baptiȝed of blessid Euseby, þe pope, and dwelled þere .v. yere and heled .ij. lame and .ij. blinde. And þan þe angel appered to her(e) in hir(e) slepe and seid, "What is þis þat [þ(ou)] doest Savyne? Hast þ(ou) not lost al þi richesse and nowe þou dwellest her(e) in delices. Arise vpp and dyne and go into the cite of Troies, and þere þou shalt finde þi broþer." And þan she seid to hir(e) chaumberer, "We wil no lenger dwel her(e)." And she seid, "Madame, whiþer wil ye go? Al folkes loven you gretly[365] her(e) and ye wil go die." And she seid, "God shal purvey for(e) vs." And þan þei toke a barly lofe & went to þe cite of Ravenne to þe house of a sike man, of which men wept þe doughter þat was dede. And þer(e) she p(ra)ied þe maide of þe house þat she might be herborowed þer(e). And she seid to hir(e): "Madame, how might ye be herboroued her(e) se[t]h þe doughter of þis house is dede and al be ful of hevynesse." And she seid, "She shal not dye for

me." And þan she entred yn and toke þe honde of þe maide and lift hir(e) vp all hole. And þan þei wold [ne] with hold hir(e) but she wold in no wise accorde to hem.

And whan she came a mile fro Troiles, she seid to hir(e) chaumberer þat she wold rest a while and þan þer(e) came a noble man oute of þe towne þat hight Lecherion and asked whens þei were. And Savyne seid, "Of þis town(e)." And he seid, "Whi make ye a lesyng sith your(e) tonge[366] sheweth þat ye be a stranger." And she seid, "I am a straunger sothely & seke Sauinian my broþer." And he seid to hir(e): "That man þat ye seke was slayne but a whiles goon for þe name of Ih(es)u Crist and is biried in suche a place."

And þan she set hir(e) in praier and seid, "Lorde, þ(ou) hast kept me alwey in chastite, late no lenger me be travailed by þis hard weies, ne my body be remeved fro þis place, lorde I reco(m)maund [f.261r] to þe my chamberer þat þou susteyned so grete peyne for my sake and my broþ(er) þat I ne haue, ne may se in þis worlde, make me worþi to se him in þi kindom." And whan hir(e) praier was ended, she passed to oure lorde and whan her(e) chaumberer saw and herd þis þing, she began to wepe for she hadde no þing to bery hir(e) with. And þan þat man sent a crioure thorowe þe cite þat al shuld come to beri þe strange woman. And þan þe peple came and biried hir(e) worshipfulli. And in þis same day is þe feste of [Seint] Savyne þat was wife of Seynt Valentyne, knight, þat was biheded vnder Adrian, emp(er)oure, for þ(at) he wold not do sacrafice to þe idoles. Here endeth þe life of Seint Sauyne, and next biginneth þe life of Seynt Lowe.

20. The Life of Saint Cecilia – Harley MS 630[367]

[f.267v] Here endeth þe blessid Natiuite of our(e) ladi, and next beginneth the life of Seint Cecile

Seynt Cecile, þe glorious virgine, was of þe noble kinrede of Rome & fro hir(e) cradel she was norshed in þe feith of Ih(es)u Crist & she bare alwey the gospell of oure lorde hidde with in her(e) hert, ne she cesed neu(er) night, ne dai for to worship, ne for to p(ra)y to oure lorde and hir(e) praier was sp(ec)ialli þat oure lorde wold kepe hir(e) virginite.

But atte last, hir(e) frendes wold nede wed hir(e) to a noble yong man þat hight Valerian. And whan þe dai of weddyng was, Seint Cecile clopes hir(e) next hir(e) tendre flessh with þe heir(e) and a boue þat she araied her(e) with precious clopes of gold.

And whan þe instrumentez song, she song to oure lorde and seid, "Mi blessid lord God, I beseche þe þat my hert and my body bi þi grace may be kept vndefouled and þat I be not deceyued." And she fast .iij. daies in the reco(m)maunding hir(e) to our(e) lorde. And þan came þe night þat she shuld entre into þe chambr(e) with hir(e) spouse. And whan þei were togiders alone, she resound him in þis wise, "Lo, right swete and louely yong man, I know a consail þat I shuld tel yow if ye wold swer(e) to me not to discou(er)e me, but kepe it counsail with all yo(ure) power." And þan Valerian swar(e) hir(e) þat he wold not diskyu(er)e hir(e) for no þing. Thanne she seid to him, "I haue an angell [f.268r] of Godd(es) to my loue, and he kept my body with grete loue and tendernesse þat if he might fele þat ye wold touche me bi ony vnordinat loue, he wold smite you in suche a wise þat ye shuld lese þe floure of yo(ure) age. And if he knew ye loue me with pure loue, he wol loue you aswell as me and shew yow his loue."

And þan Valerian þought, be þe will of oure lorde, and seid, "If ye will þat I loue you, shewe me þat angell and if I may truly knowe þat he be an angell, I will do þat ye require me." To whom Cecile answhered and seid, "If ye levid in þe verri God and wer(e) baptiȝed ye myȝt se him. But while ye stonde in þis blindenesse, ye mai not. Wher(e)for I shal send you in þe wey þat [is] called Apien,[368] which is a myle fro Rome, and ye shul sey to þe poer man þat ye shal finde þer(e): 'Cecily hath sent me to you þat ye shull shewe me Vrban, þe holy man,[369] for I haue a secret cou(n)sell to tell him fro hir(e).' And whan ye se him, tel him al þat I haue told you and doute you not, but whan ye shul be baptiȝed of him ye shul se þe angell þat I haue told you of."

And þan went Valerian to þe Bisshopp Vrban þat was hidde with in þe sepulcres of dede men for drede of grete p(er)secucon þat was a yenst þe Cristen religion and told him al þe wordes of Cecile. And whan Vrban herd him, he held vp his hondes to heuen and seid, "O þu

lorde Ih(es)u Crist, þe sower of rightwis cou(n)saill, receyue þe sede þat thou hast sawed in þi yong s(er)u(a)nt Cecile, for blessid lord Ih(es)u Crist, Cecile þi yonge maiden s(er)ueth the as a be to þe hony euer(e) in encresing, for hir(e) husbond that she toke as a lyon, she hath sent him to me as a debonair(e) lombe."[370] And anone ther(e) appered bitwen(e) hem an auncyen man cloþed in whiȝt cloþing þat held a boke in his honde writen with l(et)res of gold. And whan Valerian saw him, he fel down(e) for(e) drede as dede and anon þis auncien man lift him vp and redde him þat was writen in þe boke a for seid whic(h) sentence was þis: "O God, O bileue, O bapteme .on. is God and fader of all and is aboue all and in vs all." And whan he had redde þus, he seid to Valerian, "Levest þ(ou) þat þis is tru or doutest þou yit." And Valerian answered, "Ther(e) is no þing vndr(e) heven so wel to be bileued." And anon he vanshed awey and Valerian receyved bapteme of Seint Vrban.

And whan he had done, he turnid ayen and found Seint Cecile in her(e) chambr(e) speking with þe angell and þe angell held in his hondes .ij. crownes of roses and of lilies. And whan Valerian saugh þe angell, he fell ayene downe for drede and þe angel benignly toke him vp and seid, "Valerian, for thou hast goodli leued þe p(ro)fitable counseill of þi wife, oure lorde hath sent the her(e) one of thies .ij. crownes for to be of þe s(er)uete of þi wife. Wher(e)for loke ye kepe þies .ij. crownes with hert and body [f.268v] withoute defouling, for I haue brought hem from p(er)adise to you bi þe co(m)maundement of all mighti God, ne þei shall never fade, ne neuer lese her(e) odoure, ne þei mowe not be seyne of none but if þei haue charite. And Valerian, for þi mekenes our lorde hath comaunded me to sey to þe that loke what þou desirest of him, he wilt graunt the."

And þan Valerian, with sou(er)aign gladnesse seid, "Worship and ioy be to þe oure soueraign lorde of his grete m(er)cy done to me. Wher(e)for, if it like to his hie goodnesse to do me suche grace, I wold beseche him to shew his grete m(er)cy to a broþer of myn þat he might come oute of his blindenesse and se þe clere wey of trouthe." The angell answered and seid, "It liketh to oure lorde þat ye haue required, wher(e)for ye shall both come to hi(m) by þe payne of marterdom."

And aftr(e) this, Tyburcien,[371] brother of Valerian, entred into þe chambre of his broþer
. And as he felt so grete a sauo(ure) of swetnesse of roses þat he was all astonyed and seid, "I merveil gretly þat I fele in þis tyme suche sauo(ure) of roses and lilees, for þough my hondes wer(e) full, I might not fele so grete a sauo(ure) of swetnesse as I do truly, my dere broþer and suster. I knawlache me to þou þat I fele me so refresshed with þis swetnesse þat I am alterid and chaunged." To whom Valerian seid, "Der(e) broþer, we haue crownes that thyn eyen mow not se, of colours of roses and of lilies. And right as þ(ou) feles þe sauour(e), þou maist se hem if þou wilt bileue in God." Than Tyburcien [seide, "Is this a dreme þ(at) I do her(e) or is þis trewe þ(at) þ(ou) seyþe Valerian? And Valerian seid, "We haue {be unto} þis tyme in a dreme but we be now in þ(at) very {soth}." And þan Tyburcyen] seid, "Wher(e) hast þ(ou) þis broþer?" And Valerian seid, "The angell of God hath tauȝt me, þe which þ(ou) mightest see with thyn eyen if þ(ou) were purified and haddest clene forsaken all idoles."

This same miracle of crownes of roses witnesseth Seint Ambrose in his preface[372] and seith Seint Cecile was so vtterli fulfilled with þe yeft of þe holi goost þat she despised þe world and toke vppon hir(e) þe peyne of marterdome. And of þis witnesseth þe confession of Valerian, hir(e) husbond, & of Tiburcien, his broþer, þe which our(e) [lord] crowned bi þe honde of þe angell w(ith) smelling floures and þe virgin [lady] þies men to ioy. And þe world might clerli p(er)ceyue how myche þe deuoc(i)on of chastite is worthe. Thies ben þe wordes of Seint Ambrose. Than Seint Cecili shewed hem clereli þat al þe idoles wer(e) but defe and dumbe and with oute ony witte.

Than answhered Tyburcien, "Truly who so bileueth not þat ye sey is werse than an vnresonable beest." Cecily, heryng hi(m), with grete ioy, she kist his brest and seid, "This day I knowlache the to be my broþer, ffor(e) right as þe loue of God hath ioyned to me þi broþer, right so þe forsaking of idoles hath made me þi cosyn. Go now, my der(e) broþer, with þi broþer for to resceyue purificac(i)on so that thou maist se þe visages of angels." And þan seid Tyburcien to his broþ(er): "I wold pray you tel me, to whom ye will lede me." And Valerian seid, "To þe holi bisshopp Vrban," & Tiburcien seid, "Is that Vrban that so many tymes hath

be condempned, þe which is hid [f.269r] in prive places,[373] and if he might be fonde he shuld be brent and we with him if we were know þat we went to him, & þus whan he shuld seke þe divinite þ(at) is hidde in heven, we shul renne in þe brennyng wodnesse of tiranny her(e) in erthe?" Than seid Seint Cecile, "If þere were no mo lyues but þis oone, be reson we shuld drede to lese it, but þ(at) is a better life þat mai not be lost, þe which þe sone of God hath told vs of, ffor tho þat be made, þe sone engendreth of þe fader made & all þinges made þe holi goost co(m)myng fro þe ffader. And þis same sone of God techeth vs þat þer(e) is anoþer lif(e)."

Than seid Tyburcyan, "Truly þis is a grete mervail to me þat ye afferme .o. God to be, and now ye shew vs to be .iij. godd(es)." Cecili answhered and seid, "Right as in þe wisdome of .o. men ben .iij. þinges, þ(at) is kunnyng, mynde, and vnderstonding, right so in .o. beyng of dyvinite ben .iij. p(er)sones." And þan she began to p(re)che of þe kunnyng of þe son(e) of God into þis world, of his moost blessed lyueyen, and of his paynfull passion, for she seid þat: "Godd(es) son(e) suffred for to be take and bounde þat mannys soule, which was hole and bounde in syn, miȝt go at large. He þat was moost blessid suffred to be cursed for that þat cursed man shuld resceyue blessing. He suffred for to be despised for to bring man oute of despite of þe fende. He suffred his precious hede to be crowned with sharp thornes for to deliu(er) man fro þe capital sentence of dampnac(i)on. He receyved bitter gall for to restore men to his swete taste. He was dispoiled for he wold ouercome nakednesse of our(e) first fader. He was hanged on a crosse for he wold take a wey þe trespasse & þe outerage of þe tre of life."

Whan Tiburcian herd all þis, he seid to his broþer: "A my der(e) broþer, haue pite on me and bring me to þat blessed man so þ(at) I mai resceyue purificac(i)on." And þan Valerian ledde him to Vrban, and whan he was baptiȝed he saw oft tymes þe angel of God and hadde of him anone what he desired. And þan Tiburcien & Valerian dep(er)ted, for the loue of God, her(e) goodes to pou(er)e men largeli, and beried þe holy bodies þ(at) Almachien, þe p(ro)uost,[374] slewe for C(ri)sten feith. And whan þis tirant p(er)ceyued þat, [he] lete call hem befor him and asked hem ho made hem so hardy for to berie þos bodies þat were da(m)pned to

þe deth for her(e) felonies. And Tyburcyen answhered, "Mi will were þ(at) we wer(e) s(er)u(a)ntes to hem þat þou seaist so litul, by for þei haue despised that that semeth to be and is not, & haue found þ(at) that is not seyn to be and is." The prouost seid, "What þing is þat?" And Tyburcien seid, "Þ(at) þat is seyn to be and is not, is al þat is in this world þat bringeth men to [nouȝt] and þat þat is not seyn to be and is, is þe life of right(e)wis men, which is eu(er) lasting ioy."

Than seid þe p(ro)uost to Tyburcyen: "I trowe thou seist not þis in ernest, or elles thou art not well with þi self." And þan he co(m)maunded Valerian to com(e) befor(e) him and seid to him: "Valerian I suppose þat [f.269v] þi broþer is {unwell} w(ith) him self, for þou must answhere more wiseli." Þan seid Valerian, "It semeth to me þat ye ben grete foles þat refusen þe ioyes and coueiten peynes, for I haue seyn in tyme of grete frostes children & idel folkes ren & plai vppon þe ice and scorned werkmen & laborers, but whan somer came þat þe glorious frutes were ripe, þan þe laborers reioysed hem & þo þat scorned, wept. And so fare ye nowe, ye lagh and scorne vs for we suffre tribulac(i)ons and laboures, but in tyme to come whan ye shull waile & sorowe, we shull haue for oure mede eu(er) lasting ioy." Than seid þe p(ro)uost, "What wenest thou þat we noble princes shal haue euer lasting weping and þe, vile p(er)sones, euer lasting ioy?" Than Valerian seid, "Ye be men and not princes, born(e) in our(e) tyme for to dy hastly and shal yeld accountes to God more þan ony oþer lower degre." Than seid þe p(ro)uost, "Wher(e)to tari we so long in word(es)? Offrith sac(ra)fices to god and go quyte." And þe seintes answhered, "We yeue eu(er)y dai sacrafices to Almighti God." And þe p(ro)uost seid, "What is his name?" And Valerian seid, "Þou might not finde his name, þough thou might flee with wynges." And þe prouost seid, "Is not Iuipiter þe name of a god?" And Valerian seid, "Þat is þe name of a man sleer and of avouterer." Than seid þe tirant, "And þis wer(e) trew þan al þe world wer(e) blinde and þou þat[375] þi broþer knowing oonly þe trouþ(e)." To whom Valerian seid, "We be not alone, for grete multitude of men with oute nu(m)br(e) haue receyued this holynes."

And þan were þies seinteȝ put in p(ri)soun in þe keping of Maximien[376], to þe which he seid, "O beaute of youth, whi hast þe so fast to yo(ure) dethe, and þat with as goode a will as ye wer(e) bode to a feste?" To whom Valerian seid, "If þou wilt behote vs þat þou wilt bileue in God, thou shall se vs bi fore oure dethe." And Maximien seid hem: "If it be true þ(at) ye sei, I shal confesse me oonly to God þat is of suche power." And than Maximien and all his housold leveden in God and wer(e) baptiȝed of Seint Vrban þat came þidre prively.

And whan þe dawnyng of þe day appered, Cecile came to þe prison to confort hem & cried with a lowde voice to hem and seid, "O ye kniȝtes of Ih(es)u Crist! P(er)tith a way þe werkes of derkenesse and cloþe you with þe werkes of light." And þan þe seintes wer(e) ledde .iiij. mils fro þe cite to þe idole of Iubiter. And whan þei wold in no wise do sacrafice, þei were biheded in þe same place. And Maximian sware truli þat whan þies holi seintes wer(e) martered, he sawe a grete multitude of angels a bought hem and her(e) soules go oute of here bodies as fair(e) virgines oute of her(e) chambres, and þe angels bringing hem vp to heuen. And whan Almachien herd þat Maximian was Cristen, he made him to be bete with scourges knotted with lede so longe [f.270r] til he yeld vp þe spirit.

And Almachien toke all her(e) goodes and sent for Cecile, as for þe wife of Valerian, þat she shuld come and do sacrafice or elles resceyve sentence of deth. And whan she herd þis message, she armed hir(e) gladli with þe sign of þe crosse & reco(m)maunded hir(e) holi to hir(e) soueraigne lord(e) Ih(es)u Crist. And whan þe peple & hir(e) s(er)uauntes saw þat so noble & so faire a maide put her(e) self frely to þe deþ(e), þei wept and cried þat it was pite to her(e), to whom Cecile seid, "O ye yong peple, beth of goode comfort, for I lese not my youth but I change it into better. I yeue myr and fecine[377] and resceyue gold. I leue a foule abite and resceyue a p(re)cious cloþing. I yeue a litul corner and resceiue a large & a right grete place. O goode lorde, if ony man wold yeue shillinges for a peny, how ye wold hie you faste þiderward. Whi take ye no hede than oure blessid lorde taketh a simple thing and yeueth an .c. fold? Leue ye not þis þat I sey?" And þei answhered, "We bileue it and also we bileue vereli þat Ih(es)u

Crist is verri God þat hath suche a s(er)u(a)nt." And Cecile sent p(ri)vele for Vrban and þere were baptiȝed at þat tyme .iiij^{c}. & mo.

And þan þe tirant Almachien called Seint Cecile to him and seid to hir(e): "Of what condic(i)on art þou?" And she answhered and seid, "I am of noble kinrede." And Almachien seid, "I ask þe, of what religion?" And Cecile seid, "Thi demaunde hath a lewde beginnyng. What wenest thou þat I oonclude .ij. answhers vnder on(e) demaunde." And Almachien seid, "Fro whennys cometh to þe þis grete p(re)su(m)pc(i)on to answhere me in suche wise." And she seid, "Of verri consciens and of stedfast feith." Than Almacien seid, "Wost þou not of what miȝt I am?" And Cecile seid, "Yes, ffulwell, for youre might is in your(e) bely þat is full of wynde. For if it wer(e) prikked a litul with a nedell or a pyn, all youre might wold sone fade." "What!" seid Almachien. "Thou began with iniuries and so þ(ou) perseu(er)est." Cecile seid, "Iniurie is not seid but by deceyvable wordeȝ. Shewe me þe iniurie þat if I haue spoke vtterli or elles amend thi self seying malice. For we þ(at) know þe holi name of God mow not deny him, for it is moche better to dye goodly þan for to lyue wickedly." And Almachien seid, "Whi spekest þ(ou) with so grete pride?" She answhered, "As I told þe are, it is no pride but sadnesse of feith." Than Almacien seid, "A þou wrecche, wost thou not wel þat it is in my miȝt for to yeld þe life or deth?" Cecile answhered and seid, "I shal preve anon þat þou hast made a grete lesing a yenst þe .oo(n)e. trouthe, for þou maist take awey þe life of hem þat ben quyk, but thou maist not yeve life þat ben dede and þan art thou a ministre of deth and not of life." To whom Almachien seid, "Hold þi tonge and do a wey [þi] madnesse & sacrafice to [f.270v] oure godd(es)." And Cecile seid, "I trou þou hast lost þi sight for þo þat þou seist ben godd(es), we se all þat þei ben stones. Put forthe þi hande and fele but if þ(ou) may se."

Than Almachien, fulfilled with wodnesse, co(m)maunded þat she shuld be ladde to his house and þere, al a night and al a dai, he made hir(e) stond in a bath continuelli boiling. And she felt neu(er) disese of hete but sate as fresshli as she sate in a medewe of swete floures. And Almachien herd it, he co(m)maunded þat she shuld be biheded in þe bath. And þe bocher smote .iij. strokes and might in no wise smyte of her(e) hede. And for it was þe custume þat þo þat

shuld be biheded shuld not haue þe ferth stroke, he left her(e) half dede, al blody. And she, ouer that, lyued .iij. daies & yaf all þat she had to pouer men and al þo þat she conuerted to þe feith, she reco(m)maunded to Seint Vrban seying, "I haue required þe space of .iij. daies for to reco(m)maund hem her(e) to þi blessednesse. And for þat also, þat þ(ou) shalt sacre myn house into a chirche." And atte ende of .iij. daies, she offred vpp hir(e) blessid soule to þe blisse of heuen, wher(e) it was receyved with sou(er)aign worship and ioy of all þat blessid court. And Seint Vrban beried hir(e) body among þe bisshopps and edified hir(e) hous into a chirche as she had p(ra)ied him. And she suffred deth & found euer lasting life a bought þe yere of oure lorde .cc.xxiij. in þe tyme of þe Emp(er)oure Alisaundre.[378] Here endeth þe life of Seint Cecile, and next biginneth þe life of Seint Adriane.

21. The Life of Saint Euphemina – Harley MS 630[379]

[f.279r] Here endethe the liffe of Seint Cornelien, and nexte biginneþ(e) the life of Seint Eufemie.

Seint Eufemie, þat was doughter of an vserer, and whan she saw Cristen men suffre so grete turmentes in þe tyme of Dioclisian, she came to þe iuge and in knowlaching Ih(es)u Crist, she conforted of Cristen men bi hir(e) grete sadnesse. And as þe iuge slewe þe Cristen, oon aftr(e) an oþer, he made oþer stonde and behold þe cruelte of þe tormentes þat þei shuld þer bi be a ferde and sacrafice for drede.

And whan Eufemye sawe the seintes all to manglid with torme(n)t(es), she was more confermed bi þe sadnes of þe ma[r]ters. And þan she came to þe iuge and seid that he did hir(e) grete wronge. And þan þe iuge, wenyng þat she wold haue do sac(ra)fice, asked hir(e) what wrong he hadde don(e) to hir(e). And she seid to him, "Seth I am of noble kinrede, whi hast thou put be for me strange men and vnknowen to marterdome and makest hem go be fore me to Ih(es)u Crist?" [f.279v] Than þe iuge seid to her(e), "I went þat þou haddist torned þi þouȝt, þer(e)for I reioysed me þat þou recordest þi noblenesse."

And þan she was closed in prisoun, and þe day folowyng, she was brought forthe vn bounde. And þan she compleyned hir(e) right greuously þat she alone was spared a yenst þe lawe of þe emp(er)oures to be bounden. And þan she was [bete] right sore with peynyis and put ayene in prisoun. And þe iuge folowed hir(e) and wold haue enforced hir(e), but she defended hir(e) mightly and þe vertue dyvyne made þe hondes of þe iuge contrait. And þan þe iuge went þat he had be enhaunsed and sent to hir(e) the prouost of his house for to be hote hir many þinges for to make hir(e) consent to him. But he might neuer open þe prisoun doer, neþer with key, ne with axe into tyme þat he was rauyshed of þe fende and all to rent him self, so þat vnnethe he escaped.

And þan she was drawe oute of þe prisoun and sette vppon a whele all full of brennyng coles. And þe craftes man þat was mastr(e) of þat torment hadde youen a token to hem þat shuld torne þe whele, þat whan he made a sowne, þei shuld torne in all haste. And þan þe barres of iren þat weren in þe fir(e) shuld al to rende þe virgine. But bi þe will of God, þe yren þat þe maistr(e) held in his honde fil to þe erthe & made a sowne and turned in haste so þat þe whele brent þe maistr(e) of þe turment. And Eufemie was kept vnhurt þat sat vppon þe whele. And þe kynrede of þat man wept and put fire vnder þe whele for to haue brent Eufemy with þe whele, but þe whele was brent and Eufemy was vnbounde with an angell and was sey stonde in an high place.

And þan Apulyen seid to þe iuge: "The vertu of the Cristen is ouer come bi no thing but by iren, and þerefore I conseil þe þat þou make hir(e) be biheded." And þan þei set vp ladders and as þei put forthe her(e) hondes to haue take hir(e), þei were smyte w(ith) þe pallasie and born(e) þens half dede. And anoþer þat hight Sustenes, stied vp but he chaunged his will anone and asked hir(e) foryevenes and seid to the iuge playnely þat he hadde lever sle him self þan hir, for he sawe þe angels of God þat defended hir(e).

And atte last, whan she was take downe and þan þe iuge seid to his Chaunceller that he shuld make all þe yong men þat he might gete for to go to hir(e) and enforce hir(e) til she wer(e) dede. And þan ther(e) entred into hir(e) and ther(e) he sawe right faire virgines prayng

with hir(e) and she made hem all Cristen bi hir(e) teching. And þan þe iuge made þe virgines hange bi þe her(e), but she was stable with oute meving and þan she was set vp in prisoun .vij. daies. And in the .vij. dai, he lete presse hir(e) betwene [f.280r] .iiij. grete stones as þough he wolde haue made oyle of hir(e). And whan she lay betwene þies harde stones, she made hir(e) praiers and þe stones were conuerted into right grete softenes and she was fedde eueri day with angeles.

And þan þe emp(er)o(ure) hadde grete shame þat he was so ouer come with a maide, he made hir(e) to be cast into a depe pitte wher(e) yn there wer(e) bestes of grete cruelte for to devoure ony creatoure. And anon þei ran to þe virgin, and as þei couth, made grete ioy of hir(e) and þei ioyned togidre her(e) tailes and ordeined a maner of a chaier for her(e) to sit yn. And whan pe iuge sawe þat, he was confused þat he deied ny for anguish. And þe tormento(ure) came for to revenge þe sorow of þe lorde and smote the virgin with his swerde and made hir(e) þe marter of Ih(es)u Crist. And þe iuge, for his mede, made cloth him in cloþes of silke and araied him with broches of gold. But as he wold haue come oute of þe pitte, he was deuoured with best(es) þat þere was no þinge left of him but a fewe of his bones with þe cloþe of silke and þe broches of gold. And Priske, þe iuge,[380] ete him self and was founde dede.

Seint Eufemi[n]e was biried in Caladonie[381] and bi her(e) merites, all þe Iues and paynems of Caladoyne were co(n)uerted to þe faith of Ih(es)u Crist. And she suffred dethe þe yere of oure lorde .cciiij^{xx}. Seint Ambrose seith[382] in þis wise of þis holi virgine: "Victorious with holdyng þe mitre of virginite, des(er)ued to be cloþid with þe crowne of the passion bi þe prayer of whom the ennemy is ouercome. Priske, hir(e) aduersarie, is sermounted and she went oute hole of þe furneys of fire, and þe stones be conuerted into asshes. The wild bestes were made pryve & obeied hem to hir(e) praiers and atte last, she martrid bi swerde, left the cloyster of þe flessh and is yoyned to þe hevenly felashipp full of yoy. Now holy virgin, I reco(m)maunde to the, þi chirche and we beseche þe to prai for vs sinfull. And þis holy virgine florysshing with [oute] corrupc(i)on, graunt vs oure desires by hir(e) holy merites. Amen."
Here endeth the life of Seynt Eufemie, and next bygynnethe the liffe of Seynt Lamberte.

22. The Life of Saint Justina – Harley MS 630[383]

[f.280v] Here endeth þe liffe of Seint Morys, and nexte bigynnethe the liffe of Seint Iustine, þe virgine. C^{iii}Cxxx.vi^{iii}.

Seint Iustine, þe virgine was of þe cite of Antioche, doughter of a prest of idoles. And eu(er)y day, she sate in a wyndow nye a prest þat redde þe gospell, and she herd it and was atte the last conuerted bi him. And whan hir moder had told to hir(e) fader in her(e) bedde [how] Ih(es)u Crist appered to hem with his angels seying, "Comeþ(e) to me and I shal geue you þe kindom of heuen," and whan þei awoke, þei made hem anone to be cristened with hir(e) doughter. And þis maide, Iustine, was gretli vexed w(ith) Ciprien and atte þe last she co(n)uerted him to þe faith. And this Ciprian, fro his youthe, hadde be an enchaunto(ure), for fro tyme that he was .vij. yere olde, he hadde be sacred to þe fende bi his fader and moder and serued þe craft of enchauntement and didde many wondre þinges. And þis Cip(ri)an couueyted gretly þe loue of this virgine and began to werk his craft vppon hir(e) for to make hir(e) consent to him or elles to a felaw of his þat hight Gladien, which couueyted hir(e) gretly also.

And þan he called þe fende to him, and he came anone and asked him: "Whi hast thou called me?" And Cip(ri)an seid, "I haue a fair(e) virgine. Maist þou do so moche þat I may haue hir(e)?" And þe fende answhered anon to him: "I that som tyme hadde miȝt and power for to cast man oute of p(er)adis and þorough my procuryng and ordinaunce made and purveied þat þilk Cayme slew his rightfull and iuste brother, Abell. And aftr(e)ward, longe tyme made and p(ro)cured þe cursed Iewes to sle Ih(es)u Crist. And also than, þorough my malice and envie tro[beled] [f.281r] all þe worlde. Whi trouest þu now þat [I] ne may wel help the to haue þi lust of a simple virgine and for to do al þi lust with hir(e) & plesaunce? Take þis oynement and shedde it all abought hir house withoute and I shal come myself ouer þat and set hir(e) a fire in þi loue and constreyne hir(e) to obey to þe."

And þe night folowing, þe fende went with hir(e) & enforced hir(e) and meved hir(e) to vnordinate loue. And whan she felt þis, she reco(m)maunded hir(e) deuoutely to God all hir(e) bodi and also hir(e) soule and blessid hir(e) w(ith) þe holi signe of þe crosse. And þe ffende, being all full of drede for þe token and þe signe of the crosse, fledde awey and came to Ciprian and stode be for him. And þan Ciprian seid, "Whi hast þou not brought me þis virgine?" & þe devill seid, "I sawe [in] hir(e) a token þat made me so feble þat it toke a wey al my strength, so þat I failed in my self." And þan Ciprian left him and called a noþer, more mightier devill for to fulfill his purpose. And þe deuel came anone and seid, "I herd þi commaundement and am come and I haue seyne þe nonne power of my felawe, but I shall a mende all hardeli and fulfill þi co(m)maundement and þi will and I shall go to hir(e) and wounde hir(e) hert with þe loue of lecherie. And þan þ(ou) shalt mowe do all þi will with hir(e)."

And þan þe fende went to hir(e) and enforsed him al þat euer he miȝt to stere and to meve hir(e) hert to lecherie and into wrecched loue and for to enflaume hir(e) corage vnto vnlefull þinges. And a none, she reco(m)maunded hir(e) to God deuoutely and put a wey from hir(e) all temptac(i)ons bi vertu of þe crosse and blewe a yenst þe fende and cast him oute anone, and he fled þens al confused and come before Cip(ri)an. And Ciprian seid, "Wher(e) is þe v(ir)gine to whom I sent þe?" And þe fende seid, "I knowlache þat I am ou(er) come, and I drede to tell howe, ffor I sawe hir(e) haue an orrible signe and I lost anone all my strengthe and vertu." And þan Ciprian left him and blamed him and called þe p(ri)nce of þe fendes.

And whan he was come, he seid, "Whi is yo(ure) power and youre vertu so litul þat it is ouer come with so yong a maide?" And þe prince seid, "I shall go and t(ra)vail her(e) with diuerse fires and enflaume hir(e) corage more brennyngly and make hir(e) al frentyk. And I shal offre before hir(e) diuerse fantesies and bring þe to hir(e) at mydnyȝt." And þan þe fende transfigured him self in forme of a virgine and seid, "I am come to þe for I desir(e) to lyue with þe in chastite, and I pray þe, tell me what guerdon we shall haue for oure labour(e)." And þe virgine a(n)swhered, "Þe guerdon is grete and þe laboure is litull." "And what meneth it,"[384] seid þe fende, [f.281v] "þat God co(m)maundeth for to encrece and multiplie and fulfil þe erthe,

and therefor goode suster, I drede if we abide in virginite, that we shuld not fulfill þe worde of God, but make it veyne and as dispisers and vnobediencers. We shul fall in ful greuouos iugement where we shul no hope haue of guerdon, but greuouos tormentez."

And þan, bi þe mevyng of þe fende, þe hert of the virgin was troubled with greuo(us) þoughtez and was gretely enflaumed with þe syn of couetise of þe flessh, so þat she was in pointe to go oute. And þan þe virgine came to hir(e) self and considered who it was þat spake to hir(e) and marked hir(e) deuoutly with þe crosse and blewe a yenst þe fende. And anone, he fled and melted as wex. And þan aftr(e) þat [he] t(ra)nsfigured him in likenesse of a faire yong man and entred into hir(e) cha(m)bre and founde hir(e) in her(e) bedde and went to bedde to hir(e) and wold haue had do with hir(e). And whan she saw þat & knew þat it was a wicked spirit, she blessid hir(e) as she was wonte, and he vanshid awey as wex. And þan, bi þe suffraunce of God, he was tormented with feuers and he slew many men and bestes, and made to be seid to hem þat wer(e) vexed with fendes, þat þer(e) shuld go grete mortalite þorough oute Antioche but if Iustine wold consent to him, for which þing all þo of þe cite languysshed bi sikenes and criden to þe kynrede of Iustine þat þei shuld mari hir(e) and deliuer þe cite fro þe grete p(er)ell þat it was yn. But Iustine wold in no wise consent þerto. Wher(e)for she was manased to dye of many one.

In þe .vj^{te}. yere of mortalite, she praied for hem and chased oute all þe pestilence. And whan þe fende sawe þat he miȝt in no wise profit aftr(e) his entent, he transfigured him in þe likenes of Iustine for to slaundr(e) hir(e) name and to scorne Ciprien and avaunted him þat he hadde brought hir(e) to hi(m). And whan Ciprien sawe hir(e) & went it hadde be Iustine, he was fulfilled with ioy and seid, "Now welcome Iustine, þe fairest of al wy(m)men." And anone, as Ciprien had named Iustine, the fende miȝt in no wise suffr(e) þat name, but vanished awey as wex or smoke. And whan Ciprien sawe him deceyued, he was full of sorowe & began to be more brennyng in the loue of Iustine þan he was before and woke longe atte þe dore of Iustyne. And as him semed, he chaunged oft into þe likenesse of a [woman, a su(m)tyme i(n)to þe likenesse of a] bridde bi his enchauntyng. But as sone as he came to þe virgines dore, he

appered neþer woman ne brid, but Ciprian and Cladyen was chaunged into a sparowe by craft of þe fende, but as sone as he fley to þe windowe of þe v(ir)gine, he appered Cladien, and not a sparowe. [f.282r] And þan he bigan to tremble and to drede how he might come downe for breking of his nek. And þan Iustyne made him to be take downe bi a ladder and exortid him þat he shuld cese of his cursednesse lest he were punyshed aftre þe lawes as full of wickednesse.

And þan þe fende, ouer come and confused in all þinges, returned to Ciprian and stode shamfulli before him. And þan Ciprian seid to him: "Thou wreche, art thou not ouercome? What c(ur)sidnes is your(e) vertue þat ye mow not ou(er)come a simple [virgyn], neþer haue no power ouer hir, but in contrarie wise she ouer cometh you and þroweth you downe in eu(er)y poynte shamfully. Tell me wher(e)in is þat she hath so moche power ouer you?" And the fende seid, "I wil not tel þe, but if thu swere to me þat þou shalt neuer p(er)te fro me." Ciprian seid, "By whom shall I swhere?" And þe fend seid, "Þat þou shalt swer(e) be my gret vertues." Than seid Ciprian, "I swhere be þi grete vertues that I shal not p(er)te fro þe." And þe fende seid to hi(m): "As sone as she maketh vppon hir(e) þe token of þe crosse, anon we wex so feble þat we lese all oure vertues and we melt awey right as wex bifore þe fire." And þan seid Ciprian, "It semeth here bi þat, he þat was crucified is gretter þan þou." "Ye suerly," seid þe fende, "he is gretter & mightier in al þi(n)geȝ and he deliuereth all þo þat we deceyue her(e) for [to] turment in þe fire þat mai not be quenched." And þan Ciprian seid, "It is goode þat I be made s(er)u(a)nt and frende to hi(m) þat was c(ru)cified, lest I fall her(e) affr(e) in suche peynes." And þe fend seid to hi(m): "Thou haste swhere bi þe vertues of my strenghteȝ þat none may for swhere, þat thou shalt never depart fro me." To whom Ciprian seid, "I despise þe and all þi vertues þat ben as smokes, and I forsake the and al þe fendeȝ of hell and I merk me with þe token of þe crosse." And anone, þe fende p(er)ted fro him all confused.

And thanne went Ciprian to þe bisshopp, and whan þe bisshopp sawe him, he went he had be come for to put þe Cristen in erro(ure) and seid, "Suffice þe Ciprian, hem þat ben withoute, for thou maist not a yenst þe chirche of God, for þe vertu of Ih(es)u Crist mai not be

ouercome." And Ciprian seid, "I am certeyn þat þe vertue of God Ih(es)u Crist is vnvincible." And þan he told what had befall him self to be baptiȝed of þe same bisshopp.

And aftr(e) þat, he profited gretly as well in conyng as in life, so þat whan þe bisshopp [was deed, he was made bysshop]. And he put þe blessid virgine Iustine in a monasterye and made hir(e) abbesse of many holi virgines. Seint Ciprian þan sent pistels to martirs and conforted hem in her(e) bataill. And þe erle of þat region herd þat grete renoune of Cip(ri)an and of Iustine and made hem for to be presented before him & asked hem wheþer þei wold do sacrafice. And whan he sawe that þei abode [f.282v] in þe faith of Ih(es)u Crist stabli, he co(m)maunded þat þei shuld bothe be put in a caudron ful of wex and of picche and of grece and þer in for to be boiled. And all þat yaf hem a mervelous refresshing and did hem no maner of harme. And þan þe prest of idoles seid to þe prouost: "Co(m)maundeth þat I be set before þe chaundron and I shal ouercome all her(e) vertue." And þan he was brought forthe and seid, "Grete is þe god of Hercules and Iupiter, þe ffader of godd(es)." And anone þe fire went fro vnder þe caudron and brent þat prest all eu(er)y dele.

And þan þei toke oute Ciprian and Iustine of þe caudron and sentence was yove vppon hem and thei were biheded bothe togiders and her(e) bodies cast to þe houndes. And þer(e) þei wer(e) .vij. daies. And aftre that, þei wer(e) bor(e) to Rome and nowe, as men seien, þei resten at plesaunce. Þei suffred deth in þe .vj kl. of Octobr(e) abought the yere of oure lorde .cciiij. vnder Dioclisian. Here endethe þe liff of Seint Iustine, and next biginneth þe liff of Cosine & Damiane.

23. The Life of Saint Pelagia – Harley MS 630[385]

[f.302v] Pelagen

Pelagen was þe worþiest in þe cite of Antioche & she was full of riches and of al worldli goodes. She was right fair(e) of bodi, noble of cloþing, veyn and variable of corage and vnchast of her(e) bodi. In a tyme, as she went þorough þe towne in her(e) grete quentises þat þer(e) was no þinge might be seyn vppon hir(e) but gold and siluer

and precious stones. Wher(e)euer she went, she filled þe eyer with flauo(ure) of swete sauoures and þer(e) went bifore, grete multitude of yong men and also of yong [f.303r] wymmen þat were cloþed with right noble cloþing and riche.

And an holi bisshopp þat hight Noyron, bisshopp of Leopoleos[386] þat is now called Damiette,[387] passed bi þe cite and sagh hir(e). And þan he bigan to wepe right bitterli for þat she had more cure & besines to plese þe worlde thanne he hadde for to plese God. And he fell downe vppon þe pament and smote his visage to þe erthe and wet all þe pament with his teeres & cried on hie and seid, "Lorde haue merci on me, sinfull for þe grete cure and besines of .o. sinfull womannys aray hath ouer passed al þe wisdome in my life. Goode lorde, lete not þe aray of þis wrecched woman confounde me before þe siȝt of þe dredfull mageste. She hath araied hir(e) self with all[388] her(e) power(e) for to plese[389] erthly þinges. And I hadde purposed for(e) to plese þe endeles God, for my negligence I haue not fulfilled." And þan he seid to hem þat wer(e) with him: "I tell you in trouth, þat God wol bring þis woman in iugement a yenst vs, for as moche as she doeth grete harme in peyntyng hir(e) for to plese worldly louers, and we for slouthe þe tyme for to plese þe heuenly spouse."

As he seid þies þinges and many oþer, sodeinli he fell on slepe and it semed him in his slepe þat he was at his masse and þat a blakke dove, al defouled, fly besily abought him, the which þan co(m)maunded þat al þei shuld voide þat were not baptiȝed. And anone, þe dowue vnappered. And aftr(e) masse, she came ayene and of þe same bisshopp she was plunged in a vessell of water and þan she went oute white and clene and fly so hie þat she miȝt not be seyn. Than he a woke, and in a tyme as he went to þe chirche and preched, Pellegian was present. And þrogh þe goodenesse and merci of God, she hadde so grete co(m)pu(n)cc(i)on þat she sent the bisshopp l(et)res seying, "Holi bisshop(p), þe s(er)uant of God and tru disciple, and I Pellagien, þe disciple of þe fende, if þou arte proued þe verri disciple of Crist, þat as I haue herd seid came downe fro heven for sinners, vouchesaue for to receyve me, sinfull repentaunt." To whom he sent a yene and seid, "I pray þe dispise not my lownesse, for I am a sinfull man, but if thou desire for to be savid, thou maist not se me alone, but among oþer þou shalt se me."

And as she [came] to him before moche peple, she fell downe at his fete and wept bitt(er)ly and seid, "I am Pelagien, moder of wickednesse, þe flode of synnes, þe depnesse of p(er)dic(i)on. I am the deuourer of soules. Many haue I deceyved, þ(e) which nowe I lothe hem all. "Than þe bisshopp asked her(e) what was hir(e) name. To whom she seid, "For my birthe, I am called Pelagian, but for þe pompe and pride of myn araie, men callen me Margarete."[390] [f.303v] Then þe bisshopp benigneli receyi(n)g her(e), enyoyned her(e) penaunce & tauȝt her(e) diligently in þe lawe of God and baptiȝed her(e) in holi bapteme. The fende, beyng þere present seying, "O what violence I suffr(e) of this olde croked felawe. O þou violence, O þou[391] wicked cursed be
2070 þe day in which þou were bore contrarie to me, for my moost hope thou hast take fro me."

Narracio. In a night, as Pelagien slepte, þe ffende come to hir(e) and seid, "O lady Margarete, what euer harme haue I do to yow? Haue I not araied þe with al riches and glorie? I prey þe, tell me wher(e)in I haue displesed þe and I shal a none make þe amendes. But how euer it be, I beseche þe that þou forsake me [not] lest I be made reproue to Cristen men." Than she anone, made þe signe of þe crosse and blewe vppon him and he[392] sodenly vanissh awey.

And þe þird day aftr(e) she gadered to gidr(e) all þat she had and departed it amonge poer men. Within awhile aftre, vnwyting of eny body, she stale awey by niȝt and went to þe mounte of Olyvote[393] and þer(e) she toke þe abite of an heremite. And in a litull celle she closed hir(e) and s(er)ued God in grete abstinence. She was had in grete ffame of al þe peple and Frere
2080 Pelagien she was called. Aftr(e) þat, a deken of þe bisshopps had cristened hir(e) went to Ier(usa)l(e)m for to visite þat holi place. To whom þe bisshop seid, "Whan ye haue visited þe holi places, goeth and visiteth an holi monke þat hiȝt Pelagien, which is þe verry s(er)u(a)nt of God."

And whan he come thider, she knew him anone, but he in no wise knew hir(e), she was disfigured with penaunce. To whom Pelagien seid, "Ye haue [a] bisshopp?" And he seid, "Ye." And þan she seid, "Prey him to prey for me suerli, he is a verri appostole of Ih(es)u Crist." Than he went his wey, and þe þirde dai he come a yene and knocked atte hir(e) doer, but þer was none þat answhered. He went þan and opened a wyndowe and saw hir(e) dede. And

þen he ron to þe bisshopp and told him. Anon, þe bisshopp & his clerkes, with all þe monkes,
asse(m)beled hem togidre for to do s(er)uice for þat holi man. And whan þei had brought þe
body oute of þe selle, þei founde þat she was a woman. And all þei gretely merveiling yafe
þonkangeȝ to God and biried hir(e) body worshipfully. [Sche] deied þe .viij. day of Octobr(e)
the yere of oure lorde .cclxxx. Here endethe the liffe of Seint Frauncis[394] and next beginеþ þe
life of Seint Margarete.

24. The Life of Saint Margaret – Harley MS 630[395]

[f.303v] Here endethe the liffe of Seint Frauncis, and next beginеþ þe life of Seint Margarete.

Mergerete, þat is seide Pelagien, was a right noble and a fair(e) virgine ful of
riches. And she was nobli and curiously kept of hir(e) so þat she was taught to
kepe all [f.304r] gode maners. And she was so ententif for to kepe honeste and
chastite that she refused to be seyn amonge men in all wise, and atte þe laste was desired of a
noble yong man. And bi þe accorde of oon and othir of her(e) kyn, all þinges wer(e) ordeined
þat longed to her(e) fest of þe mariage with grete glorie and grete richesse. And whan þe day of
þe mariage come þat þis yong man and þis maide wer(e) assembled with right grete noblenesse
befor(e) the chambre þat her(e) kinrede made þan þe fest of weddyng with so grete yoie and
solempnite, þis holi virgine enspired of God, considered how þe harme and losse of her(e)
virginite was bought with armefull reioysing.

She fell downe to þe erthe in teeres and bigan to þenke in hir(e) herte þe recompense of
þe virginite & þe sorowes þat foloweth weddy(n)g(es) so þat all þe ioies of þis world, she
accompted hem for nought. And than þat nyȝt, she kept hir(e) from þe felaship of hir(e)
husbond, and at mydniȝt, she reco(m)maunded hir(e) to God and kut of her(e) her(e) & cloþed
her(e) in mannys cloþing & fledde ferr(e) into a monasteri of monkes and called her(e) self
Pelagien. And þer(e) she was receyved of þe abbot and taught dilige(n)tly. And she bar(e)
her(e)self ful holely and religiously.

And þen, when þe ruler and þe keper of a no(n)nri þat was þer(e) fast by was dede, bi þe counseil of þe abbot, he was made mastre of þe abbey of nonnes, þough it were so þat he refused it ful gretly. And as he mi(n)stred to hem not oonli her(e) bodeli necessitees, but also þe gostli pastes of hevenli fode w(ith) oute ony blame continuelli, the ffende, havyng envie of þis grete vertu of him þought [how he] might put a bak his goode name bi som obiecc(i)on of syn. And as he þouȝt, he parformed his cursed purpose; for a virgine þat dwelled with oute þe yates did avuoutry by þe instigac(i)on of þe fende so that her(e) wombe aroos þat she might no lenger hide it. Then were al þe virgines so shame faste & so dredfull of all þe monkes of þat oþer abbey, þat þei wist not what to do and wenden vereli þat Pelagien þat was prouost, and famulier with þe virgines, hadde done þis. And was co(m)dep(m)ned of all with oute iugement. And þan he was put oute and he wist not whi and was reclused in a pit with[in] a roche.

And þan þe moost cruell of þe monkes was ordeigned for to mi(n)str(e) to him, and he s(er)ued him with barli brede and water, and þat in right litull quantite. And whan þe monkes hadde enclosed him, þei went hir(e) wey and left Pellagion all oone þere. And he moost mekkli & moost paciently susteyned & suffred all the wronges and was not troubled [f.304v] in no þinge, but euer hertli loued & þonked God and conforted him in his chastite bi þe enaumple of seintes.

In þe laste ende, whan she wist þ(at) her(e) dethe neghed, she wrote l(et)res to þe abbot and to þe monkes in þis wise: "I, of noble kinrede, was called Mergarete in þe worlde. But for I wold eschue þe temptacions of þe worlde, I called my self Pellagien. I am a [wo]man, I haue not lied for to deceyue, for I haue shewed þ(at) I haue vertu of man and I haue hadde vertu of þe cr[y]me þat was put vppon me and I, innocent þer(e)of, haue do þe penaunce. But I p(ra)i yow, for as moche as men knewe me not for woman, þat þe holy susteres mai beri my bodi so þat þe shewing of me dying be clensing of my lyving. And þat þe wy(m)men know þat I am a virgine þat thei iuged for a vouterer." And whan þe abbot herd þies þinges, the monkes of þe nonnes ron to þe pitte where she was reclused and the wymmen knew þat she was a woman and a pure virgine with oute touche of man. And þei diden al penaunce for þe wronge þat þei

had do to hir(e) and beried hir(e) holi bodi worshippulli amonge þe virgines. Here endethe the life of Seint Mergarete, and next bigynnethe the liffe of Seint Thais.

25. The Life of Saint Thais Courtesan – Harley MS 630[396]

[f.304v] Here endethe the life of Seint Mergarete, and next bigynnethe the liffe of Seint Thais.

Thais, as it is red in the Liffe of Faders was a comyn woman and she was of so grete beute þat mani folowed hir(e) and solden all hir(e) substaunce and put hem to pouerte. And tho þat loued hir(e) foughten many a tyme togidr(e) for ielosye and slough eche oþer diuerse tymes, so þat mani tymes bi her(e) fytinges her(e) house was full of blode and yong men that drew to hir(e).

So in a tyme, ther(e) was an holi man þat hight Payne,[397] and herd of her(e) wrechednesse. He went and toke vppon him seculer cloþing and toke a shilling and went into a cite of Egipte and yaf hir(e) þis shillyng, þat is to sey .xij.{d} as he hadde yeve it bi cause of syn. And [whe(n)] she hadde take þis money, she seid to him: "Gowe into þe chaumbre togidre." And whan þei wer(e) in þe chaumbr(e), she bade hym go to bedde þat was preciously couered with a covertoure.

Than he seid to hir(e): "Is þer(e) no mor(e) sec(re)te place her(e) in þat we may go to?" And whan she hadde ladde him by many diuerse places, he seid ever(e) he was a ferde to be seen. "Ther(e) is a place," she seid, "þat no man co(m)meþ, ne no man shall know vs but oonli God." Than he seid to hir(e): "Knowest þou that God is and þat he seeth all þinges clerli?" And she answhered and seid, "I beleue þat God is & seeth and knoweth all þing moost clerely." Than seid þat blessid man, "Thu seist þou knowest all þis, knowest thou not how he will punyssh synners with endeles tormentes of hell and reward vertuos lyvers with sou(er)aigne blisse in heven?" [f.305r] And she seid, "Al þis I knowe and beleue." And þen he seid to hir(e): "Sith þou knowest all þis, whi hast thou p(er)isshed so many soules? Wite it well þat þou shalt [not] oonli be dampned for thyn oonli synnes but thou shalt yeve accountes, bi peyne, for all þo þat þou haste made syn."

And whan she herde þis þing, she kneled her(e) downe to þe fote of þe Abbot Payn(e) with bitter teeres and bisought him to resceyve hir(e) to penaunce. And she seid, "Fader I wote well [what] penaunce is and I wote wel þat bi þi praiers I may haue for yevenesse. I aske þe oonli þe terme of .iij. houres, and aftr(e) þat, I wil go whithir þou wilt and do and obey what euer thou co(m)maunde." And whan he hadde graunted her(e) þe terme and assigned hir(e) þe place wher(e) she shuld come to him, she went and gadered all hir(e) þinges togidre þat she hadde goten bi syn and bare hem all into þe myddell of þe cite, bifore all the peple, and brenned hem in þe fire, seying, "Cometh hider to me & al þ(at) hath synned with me and se how I bren þat þe which ye haue yove me." And þe price of þe golde and of the ringes was .v.c. li.

And whan she hadde brent it, she went to þe place þat she was assigned to bi þe abbot Payn(e) and þere was a chirche of virgines wher(e) he enclosed hir(e) in a cell and seled þe doer with lede; and þe cell was litull and streite and left all oonli but a litull wyndowe bi þe which þei might mi(n)stre to her(e) lyving. And þe abbot co(m)maunded þat þei shuld eu(er)y dai mi(n)stre to hir(e) a litul brede and a litull water. And whan þe abbotte shuld go, Thais seid, "Fader wher(e) wilt thou co(m)maunde þat I put oute þat which cometh oute of þe condites of nature?' And he seid, "In þe celle, as thou arte worþi." And than she asked, how she shuld prey to God and he seid, "Thou arte not worthi to nempne God ne þat þe name of þe Trinite be named in þe mouthe, ne for to lift vpp þin hondes to heven, for þi lippes ben full of wickednesse and thi hondes full of wicked touchinges of filthe. But loke oonly a yenst þe orient in recording of þis worde: 'Lorde þat formedist me, haue merci and pite on me.'"

And þanne, whan she hadde be enclosed .iij. yer(e) in þis plite, the abbot remembred and biþought him of her(e) and went þan to þe Abbot Anthoni to enquere wher(e) God hadde for yeve her(e) synnes and told him þe cause. And than Seint Antonye called his discipules and co(m)maunded hem þat þei shuld þat night wake and prey þat God wold of his merci, declare þe cause of þe Abbot Peynes co(m)myng. And þan as þei preied withoute sesing, þe Abbot Poule, þat was þe grettest of þe discipules of Antony, saw sodeinli a bed in heven araied with precious cloþes þat .iij. virgines with clere faces kept, and þies .iij. virgines wer(e) þies: The

first was drede of þe peynes in hell that withdrowe þis Thais fro her(e) synnes. The second was shame [f.305v] þat she hadde for her(e) synnes þat she hadde done. The .iij. made hir(e) deserue pardon. The þirde was love of right wisnes þat lift her(e) vpp to þe souereigne place. And whan Poule hadde seid that þe grace of þat vision was oonli bi þe merites of Seint Antony, an hevenli voice was herde that seid þat it was not bi þe merites of Antony, but bi þe merites of Thais, þe sinful woman.

And in þe morowe, when þe Abbot Poule hadde told this vision and þat þei hadde knowe þe will of God, the Abbot Payn(e) departed þens with grete ioy and went anon to þe monasterie þer(e) she was and opned þe dore of þe selle and she required him þ(at) she might abide still lenger. And þan þe abbot seid, "Come oute, for þi synnes be foryeve of God." And she answhered and seid, "I take God to witnesse that sith I entred into þis sell, I haue set al my synnes be fore my eyen. And right as þe brethe parteth never fro þe mouthe and fro þe nostrelles, right so my synnes passid never my sight but I haue ever bihold hem and wept for hem." To whom þe abbot seid, "Than God hath not oonli for yeve þe þi synnes bi þi penaunce but for thou hast hadde euer drede in thi corage." And þan he toke hir(e) oute fro þens, and .xv. daies she lyved aftre, and þen she rest in pees with oure lorde.

And þe Abbot Effraym[398] wold in like maner conuerte a co(m)mune woman. As þat wrecched woman drewe Seint Effraym to syn folyousli, he seid to hir(e): "Folowe me," and she foloued him. And whan þei comen in to a place wher(e) was a grete multitude of men, he seid to hir(e): "Sit downe, ffor I wil haue [to] do with þe her(e)." And she seid to him: "Howe may I do suche a syn be for(e) suche a multitude of men." And þan he seid to hir(e): "If þou hast shame of man, how moche mor(e) gretter shalt þou haue shame of God, þi creato(ure) þat knoweth all hid þinges?" And she went fro him all confused. Here endeþ the liffe of Seynte Thais, and next beginnthe the life of Seint Denyse.

26. The Life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins – Harley MS 630[399]

[f.315v] Here endethe the liffe of Seint Crissant and nex begi(n)neþ(e) þ(e) passion of .xi mt. v(ir)g(ines) Cap(itulum) cli.

The passion of þe .xi mt. virgines was halowed in þis maner. Ther(e) was yn Bretaigne, a noble king and a C(ri)sten þat hight Nothus, or Manþus,[400] þat engendered a doughter þat hight Vrsula. This doughter was full of grete wisdome and hight beute and ful of vertuouse condic(i)ons. And þe renoune of her(e) went ouer all, and þe king of Inglond þat was þan right mighti to submite to his lordeship mani nac(i)ons, herde of the renonvne of þis virgine, and seid him þought he shuld be blessid in all þing if he might couple þis virgine to his son(e) in mariage. And þat yong lorde had grete desire aftr(e) her(e). And þan þei sent a solempne ambassiatrie to þe fader of þe virgine, with grete p(ro)misses and seid mani faire wordes & þere with made grete manaces if þei turned ayene werned to her(e) lorde.

And þan þe king of Bretaigne began to be ful of sorow and care for that she þat was made noble bi feith of Ih(es)u Crist shuld be wedded to him þat worshipped þe idoles. And also, he knewe well þat she wold in no wise consent þer(e)to, and in that oþir side, he dred gretli þe cruelte of þe king.

Than she þat was enspired bi þe holi goost, did so moch to her(e) fader þat he consented to þe mariage with suche a co(n)dic(i)on, þat for to do her(e) solas & conforte, the king shuld send to her(e) .x. virgines of þe moost noble that miȝt be gete. And also to her(e) and to eu(er)y of tho .x. virgines [f.316r] he shuld sende a .mt. virgines and þat he shuld yeue her(e) terme of thre yere for to halowe her(e) virginite, and þat þis yong lorde shulde be baptiȝed, and in þe .iij. yere, he shuld be tauȝt sufficiantli in þe feith so þat bi þis wise counsaile, and bi þe strengthe of the condic(i)on set, he shuld with drawe his purpose. And þis yonge lorde receyved gladli þis condic(i)on and hasted his fader, and he was anon baptiȝed and co(m)maunded þat all tho þinges þat þe virgine hadde required where do in haste.

And þe ffader of þe maiden ordeigned þat his doughter, þat he bileued moche, and all the oþer virgines þat hadde nede of þe conforte and of þe s(er)uice of men, þat þei shuld haue

with hem for(e) to do hem s(er)uice. And þan come ther(e) virgines from eueri p(er)tie, and men also for to se þis grete compani, and many bisshops come to hem for to ber(e) felashipp with hem in her(e) pilgrimage, among which, Pantule, bisshopp of Iuse,[401] was with hem and brought he(m) to Rome, and returned a yene with hem and receyved marterdome.

Seint Gerasine, quene of Cecile,[402] þ(at) had made of her(e) husbond, þat was full cruell, a meke lambe, and she was suster of Seint Moreis, the bisshopp,[403] and of Dari,[404] þe moder of Seint Vrsula, to whom þe fader of Seint Vrsula hadde sent pryve l(et)res of all þies þinges. Than, bi þe inspiracon of God, she toke anone þe wai with here .iiij. dought(er)es, þat is to sei, Babile, Iuliene, Victoria and Aurea, and her(e) litul son(e) Adrigen[405] þat put him self, with his owne will, to þis pilgrimage fore loue of his suster. And þus she left her(e) reamne in [þe] gouernaunce of oon of here sones and came to Bretaigne, and fro þens she sailed into Englond. And bi þe counseill of þat quene, þe virgines wer(e) gadered of diu(er)se nac(i)ons and she was euer a leder of hem. And atte last, she suffred marterdome with hem.

And thanne, aftre þe condic(i)on sette, all þinges were made redy. Than þe quene opned hir(e) counseill to þe knightes in her(e) felashipp and made hem all swere þat new knighthode. Than þei began to make pleies of many maners, now pleies of batailes, nowe rennyng, now leping, and þei feyned all maner of pleies to make, and for all þat þei left not that þei hadde in purpose som tyme. Thei came from her(e) plai atte mydday, and some tyme vnneth atte euensong tyme, and þe barones and þe grete lordes assembled hem togiders to se þe fair(e) games. And all hadde grete ioy in þe biholdyng. And atte laste, whan Vrsule hadde conuerted all þe virgines to þe feith, than she and all her(e) felashipp toke the see and for þe goode wynde þat þei had, þei came in þe space of a dai to a porte in [Almayn][406] that is called, Tielie,[407] and from þens, þei come to Coleyne.[408] And þer(e) appered þe angell of oure lorde to Seint Vrsula and seid to her(e) that she and all [hyre] numbre [f.316v] shuld ret(our)ne hole þidre ayene, and þan þei shul receyve crowne of marterdome. And from [the(n)s by the] teching of þe angell, þei come towardes Rome and þei londed atte cite of Basile[409] & þei þer(e) left her(e) shippes and went to Rome on fote.

In þe co(m)myng of hem, þe Pope Ciriaques[410] was greteli reioised, for as moche as he was born in Bretaigne & hadde amonge hem mani cosynes, and he and his clerkes receyved hem with grete ioy and worshipp. And þat night, it was releued[411] fro God to þe pope þat he shuld receyve with tho virgines, crowne of marterdome, þe which þing he didde & kept it to him self and baptiȝed mani of tho virgines þat wer(e) not yit baptiȝed. And whan he saw couenable tyme þat he hadde gou(er)ned þe chirche a yere and certeyn wekes aftre Peter, þe xix pope, he purposed befor(e) all & shewed his purpose þat he resigned the office and þe dignite. But as all with seid him and principalli the cardinalles, þat wendend þat he hadde be so blinded þat he wold haue loste his glorie of his estate for to folowe som(e) of this folissh women. But he wold not accorde for to abide, but ordeigned an holi man for to abide in his place þat hight Methos.[412] And for asmoche as he left þe sege of þe pope ayenst þe will of þe clergi, þe clerkes haue put oute his name of þe cathologe of popes and all þe grace that he had des(er)ued in his office was take from him for þat holi felaship of wymmen.

And þan two felon princes of þe knighthode of Rome, Maximian & Aufrican,[413] sawe this holi compani of virgines and how þat moche peple of men & wy(m)men drew to him, and dredde lest þe region of Cristen shuld encrese bi hem greteli. Wher(e)for þei enquered diligentli of her(e) viage. And þan þei sent messagers to Iulian, her(e) cosyn, prince of þe peple of Hynno(us),[414] that he shuld bringe his ooste ayenst hem, and that they shulde assemble atte Coleyn and þer(e) behede hem all for that thei were Cristen. And þe blessid Ciriaque went oute of þe cite of Rome with þe blessid companye of virgines, and Vincent, prest cardinall, and Iames þat was come owte of his countre of Bretaigne into Antioche and helde þer(e) .vij. yer(e) þe dignite of bisshopp, þe which had folowed þe pope & was goen oute of þe cite and made him felawe to þo virgines and suffred marterdome with hem. And Morise, bisshopp of Leuitane[415] þe cite, was vncle to Basile and to Iulian; and Ciliciene, bisshopp of [Luce a Silicie bischop of] Raven(e)[416] þat þan wer(e) come to Rome went forth with þies virgines.

And Otheryn, þat was husbond to þe virgine[417] Vrsula, was in Bretaigne tauȝt bi our(e) lorde bi þe avision of an angell þat he shuld ster(e) his mo[der][418] [f.317r] to be Cristen, ffor in

þe first yere þat he was cristened, his ffader deied and Etherin, his son(e),[419] was kyng aftre him. And þan, as þies holi virgines retorned hem fro Rome, Etherin þat was taught of oure lorde þat he shuld arise a none & go a yenst his spouse and þat he shuld, with here, receyve crowne of marterdome atte Coleyn(e), þe which obeied to þe teching of God and made anone to baptise his moder and Florence,[420] his litull suster, [þ(at)] wer(e) þan Cristen, and with þe bisshopp Clement and came a yenst þies virgines and felashipped hem with hem in marterdome. And Marcule, bisshopp of Grece, and Constance, his moder, and þe doughter of
2310 Dorothe, king of Constantinopole, þat hadde be wedded to þe son(e) of a kyng but he deied before þe mariage and she vowed hir(e) virginite to God and weren taught bi a vision and come to Rome and ioyned hem with oþer virgines to marterdome. And þan, all þies virgines with her(e) bisshops, come to Coleyn(e) and founde that she was biseged.

And whan þis cursed peple sawe þe multitude of þies virgines, þat is to sai Hungres men of Hungeri, þei ron vppon hem with grete cri & wodenesse, right as wollfes vppon lambes, and slowe al þe multitude. And whan þei come to Vrsula, þe prince of hem sawe her(e) grete beute, so grete and so mervelous, and was all abasshed and began to confort her(e) vppon þe deth of the virgines and behight her(e) þat he wold take her(e) to his wife. And whan she had refused him vtterly and despised him in all wise, he shotte atte her(e) an arowe and smote
2320 her(e) þorogh þe body and so she fulfilled hir(e) marterdome.

And oone of þe virgines, þat hight Cordell, was so hougeli aferde þat she hid hir(e) all þat night in a shippe. But in þe morowe, she suffred dethe with gode will and receyved crowne of marterdome. And aftre that, whan þat her(e) feste was not halowed for þat she suffred not deth with þat oþer, she appered [a] longe tyme [aft(re)], to a recluse and charged him that þe dai folowing of þe feste of þe virgines, her(e) feste wer(e) remembred And þei suffred deth þe yer(e) of our(e) lorde .ccxxxviij. But som men seyne þat, bi reson of þe tyme, it standeth not þat þei suffred dethe in þat tyme, ffor Cecile & Constantinopole wer(e) not þan re{wames} but men wene more vereli þat þei suffred dethe longe tyme aftre, whan Constaunt was

emp(er)our(e) and that þe Henunes and þe Gothes didden so grete cruelte a yenst þe Cristen in
2330 þe tyme of þe Emp(er)oure Marcian,[421] þat regned þe yer(e) of our(e) lorde .cccclix.

There was an abbot þat praied to þe abbas of Coleyn(e) þat she wold graunte him oone of þe glorious virgines bodies, and he hight her(e) þat he wold shryne her(e) yn a riche shryne and set her(e) [f.317v] in his chirche. But whan he had his desire, he kept þe bodi all a hole yere in a shryne of tre besides the auter and atte yeris ende, whan the abbot and þe monkes weren atte matens atte mydnight, the virgyn aroos from þe auter bodeli and enclined her(e) reu(er)entli be fore þe auter and went þorogh þe quere seyng all þe monkes þat wer(e) þere, the which wer(e) gretli abasshed. And þan þe abbot ran to þe shryne & founde her(e) all voide and þan he went to Coloyne and told the abbas all þat wondr(e) bi order. And þan þei went to þe place wher(e) þei hadde take þe body, and þer(e) they founde þe same. And þan the abbot
2340 asked merci and besought þat he might haue þat holi body a yene, be hotyng right certanlly for to do make hastely a p(er)cious shryne, but he coude not gete her(e) in no wise.

Narracio. There was a religious monke þat hadde grete deuoc(i)on to þies virgines, so þat in a tyme as he was right sike, ther(e) appered to him a right faire and a noble virgine and asked him where he knowe her(e) & he, all mervailed of þat vision, seid nay he knew her(e) not. And þan she seid to hi(m): "I am oon of þe virgines to whom thou hast so grete deuoc(i)on, and for that thou shalt haue guerdon if it so be þat þou wilt sai þe orison of oure lorde, which is þe Pater Noster, .xj. m^{t}. tymes for [þe loue] and [þe] worship of vs. We shull be to þe bothe keper and conforto(ure) atte houre of þi dethe." And whan she was p(er)ted, he fulfilled her(e) request as sone as he might and anone, aftre he called his abbot and made him
2350 self to be anointed. And as men woke hi(m), he cried sodeinly, "Fleieth, ffleieth and maketh place to þe virgines þat comyn." And whan þe abbot asked what he ment, he told him [by] order þe promise of the virgines. And þan all thei with drewe hem abakke & come a yene within a while aftre and fonde him passed to God. Here endeth the liffe of .xj.m^{t} virgines, and next biginneth the liffe of Simon and Iude. Capitulum. clij.

27. The Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungry – Harley MS 630[422]

[f.339v] Here endethe the life of Seint Brice, and next biginnethe þe life of Seint Elizabeth.[423]

Seint Elisabeth was doughter of the noble kyng of Hungri, and if she wer(e) right noble bi kynrede, she was moche more noble bi feith and religion. And her(e) right noble kynrede, she enbeluysshed bi ensaumple and clered it by miracle. She embelisshed it bi grace of holynesse, for þe Aucto(ure) of Nature lift her(e) vpp in maner a boue nature.

Whan þis maide, [f.340r] norshed in delites reals, renunced all childesnes and put her(e) full in the s(er)uice of God, wher(e)in it appereth clerli howe her(e) tendre childhode enforced in simplenesse and how she beganne by swete deuoc(i)on, þat fro þens for(e)ward she bigan for to costome her(e) in goode custumes and for(e) to despise þe plaies of vanite and for to flee þe p(ro)sp(er)itees of þe worlde and fore to p(ro)fite all wei in þe worshipp of God. And whan she was but .v. yer(e) olde, she wold so ententiffly abide in the chirche for to pray þat vnnethes here felawes and s(er)uauntes might take her(e) þens, and whan she met with ony of her(e) felashipp or chamb(er)ers she wold folowe as in game toward þe chapell, for she wold haue occasion to entre into þe chirche. And whan she was entred, she wold knele downe and ly flat on þe pament, and if it wer(e) so þat she hadde at þat tyme no knowing of l(et)res þat she wold open þe sauter, oft tyme befor(e) her(e) for(e) to feyne þat she radde and þat none shuld lete her(e) as þough she wer(e) occupied.

And [wan] she was amonge othir maidons of her(e) estate for(e) to play, she wold considr(e) wel þe maner of þe play þat she might ever ber(e) worshipp to God vnder þat occasion. And in pley of ringes and oþer games, she set her(e) soueraign trust euer and hope in God, and of al þat she wan or of þe goodes she had in any oþer(e) wise, she being yonge maide, she gaf þe .x. parte to poer maidens and ledde hem oft tymes with her(e) for to say her(e) Pater N(ost)res, and oft tyme into þe chirche for(e) to grete our(e) lady. And as she encresed [by age of tyme, soo encresyd] she bi deuocon, for she chase þe virgine Marie, moder of God, to her(e) soueraigne lady and to her(e) aduocate, and Seint Iohn, þe Eu(au)ngelist, fore to be keper of her(e) virginite.

And in a tyme, þer(e) were scrowes leide vppon þe auter and in euery skrowe, þer(e) was writ the name of apostle, and eueri of þat oþer maidones toke at auenture suche as fell hem, but she made her(e) praier and thre tymes she toke þat she desired, wher(e)in was write þe name of Seint Petre, to whom she had so grete deuocon þat she werned no þing [to noo creatur(e)] þat asked ony þing in his name, and for þat goode auentures of þe world shulde not deceyue her(e), she with drowe eu(er)y dai som thing of her(e) p(ro)p(er)tees. And as sone as she toke plesaunce in any game, anone she wold leue þe remenaunt and sey þat her(e) lust no
2390 lenger to play but say to her(e) felashipp: "I leue you þe remen(au)nt fore God." She went neuer gladly to caroles but withdrewe oþer as moche as she might, she dredde euer to were fressh aray but she loued to go honestly. She had ordeigned her(e)self for to say a certein nombr(e) of orisons, and if she were occupied þat she might not sey hem or þat she was constreyned by her(e) wymmen for(e) to go to her(e) bedde, she wold wake and sey hem to God in her(e) bedde.

This holi maide worshiped al þe solempne daies so gre[teli][424] [f.340v] þat she wold suffr(e) no bodi to lase her(e) sleues for(e) non occasion til þe solempnite of þe masse wer(e) done and fulfilled. She herd þe office of þe chirche with so grete reuerence þat whan þe gospell was radde or whan þe sacrament was lift vp, she wold take of her(e) broches of golde and
2400 sercle of her(e) hede and ley it on þe grownde.

And in þis mene tyme þat she kept þus holely her(e) virginite, she was constreyned for(e) to entre into a mariage bi her(e) fader þat greteli desired for(e) to haue fruite of her(e) not with stonding þat it was full gretly a yenst her(e) will but she durst not withsay þe co(m)maundement of her(e) fader. And than she avoued to God and behight her(e) trouthe to Conrat, an holi man that was her(e) confessour(e), þat if she might ouer lyue her(e) husbond þat she wold kepe p(er)petuell continence. And þan she was wedded to landegraue of Thorynge,[425] as þe reall might wold. And þe dyvine ordinaunce hadd ordeigned for þat she shuld bring moche of her(e) peple to þe loue of God. She was so feruent in praier, þat she wold go previli to þe chirche befor(e) ony of her(e) meyne, so þat she miȝt, by her(e) secrete praier,

gete som grace of God. She wold full oft a rise a nyȝt to prai whan her(e) husbond wold ful hertly pray her(e) to ly still. She ordeigned a lady þat was mor(e) famulier with her(e) þan oþer, that if so wer(e) that she wer(e) ouer take with slepe and passed her(e) hour(e) þat she shuld take her(e) bi þe fete softly for to a wake her(e).

Narracio. So in a tyme, bi auenture, this ladi wold haue take her(e) bi þe fote and toke her(e) husbond bi þe fote, and he awoke sodeinli, and anone he considered the þing as it was and lete passe wisely. And fore she wold offre gode sac(ra)fice to God with her(e) praier, she wet her(e) body oft with habundaunce of teres and she shed hem ioyusly and with oute changing ony semlaunte, so þ(at) oft tymes, she wept with sorowe. She was of so grete humilite, that fore þe loue of God, she leid in her(e) lappe a sike man with horrible visage and stinking hede, and she wissh his visage and his hede and clipped of þe felthe from his hede, wher(e)for(e) hir(e) wymmen lough her(e) to scorne. Alwey in þe Rogac(i)on daies,[426] she wold folowe þe processyon bar(e) fote and wolward, and in tyme of preching, she wold sit with oþer poer folke. She wold aray her(e) self with [no] precious stones as oþer didde in þe dai of þe purificacon, ne clothe her(e) with no clothe of gold but bi þe ensaumple of þe v(ir)gine Marie. She wold ber(e) her(e) son in her(e) armes and a lambe and a candell and offered it vp mekely, so that þer(e) by she shewed þat þe bobaunce & iapes of þe worlde wer(e) for(e) to be put awey. And whan she come home, she wold yeue to a poer woman the cloþing þat she hadde wered that day. She was of so grete humylite þat bi þe consent of her(e) husbonde, she put her(e) in þe obediens of Maister [f.341r] Conrat, a poer man and a litull of degre, but he was of noble suence of p(er)fite religion, so þat she did with ioy and reuerence whateuer he co(m)maunded her(e) for(e) to haue the merite of obediens and of God that was obedient vnto þe dethe.

Narracio. Hit fell on a tyme þat she was called fore to go to preching and in þe mene tyme, come þe Marquis of Losenge,[427] wher(e)bi she was let and went not and her(e) confessour(e) held him not wel paied, wherefor(e) she wold not relese her(e) of her(e)

obediens befor(e) þat she wer(e) dispoiled into her(e) smok with som(e) of her(e) wymmen þat wer(e) gilti with her(e), and that he made hem well betyn.

She was of so grete abstinence þat whan she sate with her(e) husbond atte mete, rialli s(er)ued with many messes, the simple brede shuld suffice her(e). She was so rigerous to her(e) self þat she lay all pale and lene Maistr(e) Conrand defended [her] þat she shuld touche none of her(e) husbondes metes of which she hadde not hold conscience. And she kept his co(m)maundement with so grete diligence that whan oþer habunded in delices, she ete with her(e) chaumberers þe com(u)ue boystes meteȝ.

In a tyme, as she was travailed with goyng, þei brought to her(e) husbond diuerse meteȝ þat were goten of tru conquest, but she refused hem and toke her(e) refecc(i)on of hard brede temp(er)ed with water. And for þis cause, her(e) husbond opposed her(e) with which she lyued with her(e) chambereres þat consented to her(e) purpose and her(e) husbond suffred all in paciens and seid þat full gladly he wold haue lyued in þe same wise nor(e) drede of groching of his peple. And so she þat was in þe state of soueraigne worship and glorie, coueited þe astate of soueraigne pouerte to þat ende þat þe world hadde no p(er)te in her(e) and þat she wer(e) verri poer as oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist was. And whan she was allone with her(e) chaumberers, she wold cloþe her(e) self in vile cloþing and set an old poer vile vppon her(e) hede and sey merely, "Lo, þus I will go whan I am in þe state of a widow." And þough she wer(e) right abstinent and streit to her(e)self, she was full fre and large to þe poer so ferforthli þat she wold suffre none in nede dwelling abought, butte gaue largely to hem all, for(e) she entented to all power to þe .vij. werkes of merci.[428]

Narracio. In a tyme, she gaue a poer woman an honest clothing, and whan þis poer woman saw þat she hadde so noble a yeft, she had so grete ioy þer(e)of þat she fell downe to þe erthe as dede. And whan blessid Eliȝabeth sawe that, she [sorowed][429] gretly þat she hadde youe her(e) so noble a yeft dreding lest she hadde be cause of her(e) dethe. And þan she praied for(e) her(e) and she aroos anone all hole. Many tymes she wolld s[p]ynne woll[430] with her(e)

chamberers & þer(e) of she wold make clothe so that bi her(e) owne propre labour(e) that she gaue to þe chirches, she miȝt resceyue glorious fruite and yeue goode ensaumple to oþer.

In a tyme that her(e) husbond, Landegraue, was goen to þe [courte of the emprour þ(at) was then at] [f.341v] Cremone,[431] she assembled in a garner al þe whete of the yere and mi(n)stred to eueriche þat come þidre from al parties, for it was þan right grete derthe þorowe al þe contre. And many tymes whan siluer failed her(e), she wold sell all her(e) arai for(e) to yeue to þe poer, but for no þing þat she gaue, þe garners wer(e) never lessid of corne þat was in hem. She made a grete house vnder þe castell wher(e)in she might resceyve and norish grete multitude of poer folke. And eu(er)y day she visited hem spari(n)g for no corupc(i)on of euell eir(e) ne for no maner of foule sikenesse, but wasshed hem and wiped hem with her(e) owne hondes and with her(e) kercheffes whan she lakked oþ(er) cloþes. And also she norshed vpp in þat house the childeren of poer wymmen so benignely that all thei called her(e) moder. She made þe sepulcres for þe poer folke whan þei deied and went deuoutely to her(e) deying and halpe to bery hem with her(e) owne hondes in þe cloþe þat she hadde do made and many tymes she wold bring þe shete þat she lay yn her(e) self for to beri dede bodies ther(e) yn.

And among all þies þinges, the deuoc(i)on of her(e) husbond is gretly to preise, ffor þough it wer(e) so þat it was gretely occupied yit alwey he was deuoute in þe seruice of God. And for(e) asmoche as he miȝt not hi(m)self p(er)soneli entende to inward þinges he hadde yeve power to his wife to do al þat she might do to þe worshipp of God and to þe helthe of soules. And blessid Eliȝabeth hadde grete desire þat her(e) husbond shuld leue all voide al worldly occupac(i)ons and with all his power & might go and defende þe faith of God. And so she drowe hi(m) by meke and debonair(e) praiers þat he wold visite þe holi londe, and he full vertuously applied to all goodnesse and went thider. And whan he was þer(e), þat noble true and deuoute p(ri)nce, full of feithe and deuoc(i)on, yeld vp his spirit to oure lorde God and receyved glorious frute of his werkeȝ. And þan she, with grete deuoc(i)on, receyved þe state of wydowhode. And whan þe dethe of her(e) husbond was published þorogh all Frise, som(e) of

her(e) husbondes meyne held her(e) but a fole and a wastour(e) of goodes and put her(e) vngoodely oute of þe heretage.

And for(e) that, her(e) wisdom wer(e) mor(e) cler(e) and that she might be suer of þe pouerte that she hadde longe desired, she went her(e) by nyȝt into a poer mannys house and leid her(e) self in a place þer as hogges lay. And she yaue þonkinges to God with all her(e) herte. And [at] matens tyme, she went to the house of frer(e) menoures[432] and praied hem þat þei wold þank God for(e) her(e) tribulac(i)on. And þe dai folowyng, she her(e) self come with her(e) litull childeren to þe place and þe house of her(e) ennemye and þan he deliu(er)ed [f.342r] to her(e) a streite place to dwell yn. And whan she sawe þat she was ho[u]gely greved with her(e) hoste an ostesse she gret and kissed þe walleȝ and seid, "I wold fayne take my leue of men, but I fynde none."[433] And so constreyned bi necessite, she sent her(e) yong children her(e) and ther(e) for to norise in diuerse places and returned her(e) to her(e) first place. And as she went þer(e), ther(e) was a streite wei wher(e) þat men passed vppon stones and þe mire was riȝt foule and depe vndre and al aboȝt. And as she passed, she met with an olde woman to whom she had do moche goode to fore þat wold yeve her(e) no wey but shoued her(e) in þe mire, and she fell downe in þe deppest of þe mire and þan as she might, she aroos and wiped her(e) cloþes and lough.

Narracio. In a tyme as she [was] besely praied of religious p(er)sones for to go into her(e) cloystre & she went withoute licence of her(e) confessour(e). And whan she come home ayene, he made her(e) to be bete so cruelly þat thre wekes aftr(e) the traces appered.

She was of so grete humilite þat she wold not in no wise suffr(e) þat her(e) chaumberers called her(e) lady, but þat þei shuld speke to her(e) as to þe leste and louest in her(e) house. She wold som(e) tyme wassh the disshes and þe vessell of þe kechin and wold hide her(e) that her(e) cha(m)berers shuld not let her(e), and she wold sey, "If I coude haue ifonde a more dispisable life I wold haue chose it. Sche [chase] þe better p(er)ti as Mari did, she held spi(ritu)all grace in sheding of teeres and for [to] se hevenly visiones and for(e) to enflaume oþer to þe loue of God."[434]

In a day of Lent as she was in þe chirche, she biheld touard þe auter ententiffly riȝt as her(e) mynde had be rauisshed. And in þat tyme she was conforted and replenysshed with dyvyne revelacon. And þan she ret(our)ned to her(e) house and p(ro)phecyed of her(e) self þat she shuld se Ih(es)u Crist in heuen, and anone she was leide downe for(e) feblenesse in her(e) womannys lappe, she began to loke vpp to hevenward and she fel into so grete a ioy þat she began to laugh right hertely. And whan she hadde endured in þis gladnesse a grete while, she was sodenli chaunged into weping, and than a yene she loked into heuen and anone she was turned into her(e) first ioy. And whan she closed her(e) eyen, she began to wype and she ledde this life into complyne tyme and abode in dyvyne visiones and þan she held her(e) pees a while. And aftr(e)ward, she seid, "A lorde, wilt þou be with me and I with the lorde, I wol never parte from the." Than aftr(e) that, her(e) cha(m)berers asked her(e) whi she hadde so loughed and wept and she seid, [f.342v] "I sawe þe heuen open and my lorde Ih(es)u Criste þat enclined him toward me and I was of that auysion glad and wept from þe parting. And he seid, 'Yif thou wilt be with me I shal be with the.' And I answhered as ye herd."

Her(e) orison was of so grete vertue þat she drowe oþer to God, as it appereth, bi a yong man, the which she called to her(e) and seid, "Thou lyvest a desolate life, wolt þou þat I prai for(e) the to God?" And he seid, "I wold full gladly and I required her(e) ther(e)of." And þan she went to orison and þe yong men also praied for him self. And with in a while, þe yong man be gan to cry, "Ceseth þe, gode lady, ceseth." But she praied continualli more fervently and he began to cry, "Ceseth lady for I began to faile so I brenne." And he was take with so grete an hete that he swet and smoked and cast his cloþes fro him as a madde man and þrew armes abrode as he hadde be oute of him self so þat men ran to him and helped hi(m) to dispoile him. And þe hete that came fro him was so grete, that vnneth thei miȝt endure touche him and gan to aswage and came a yene to him self and entred into þe order of Frere Meners[435] aftr(e) þis.

An abbas þat was of hir kyn hadde grete compassion of hir poverte and lad hir(e) to a bisshopp þat was hir(e) vncle, þe which receyved hir(e) with gret ioy, purposing fulli for to wedde her(e) a yene, þe which purpose a gentell woman of hers herd that had a voued chastite with hir(e), and with grete sorowe and weping she told it to hir(e) lady Seint Eliȝabeth, þe which conforted hir(e) and seid, "Trist in our(e) lorde, for(e) loue of whom I haue a voued p(er)petuell chastite, and he wol kepe my counseill and þough my vncle wol p(ro)fre me mariage, I shall discent with my soule, a yene say hi(m) with my worde, and if I se no oþer remedy, I shal cut of my owne nose and make my self so disformed that eueri man shal haue abhominac(i)on of me." And as she was a yenst hir(e) will sent to a castell to þe bisshop(p), hir(e) vncle, þer to abide til he hadde purveied for a mariage for hir(e), she with weping teres, reco(m)maunded hir(e) chastite to God.

In þis mene tyme, bi þe ordinaunce of God, the bones of hir(e) husbond wer(e) brouȝt fro be yonde þe see and anone þe bisshopp sent for(e) her(e) for(e) to mete deuoutely with hem. Than þe bisshopp and she resceyved thies bones with solempne procession and grete deuoc(i)on and sheding of teres. And þan she turned her(e) to God and seid, "I yeld þe thonking(es), my lorde God, þat thou wilt vouchesaue for(e) to conforte me, thi wrecched creatour(e), with þe bones of my der(e) husbond. Thow knowest lorde, þat if I loued the and yit for thi loue I forsoke his presens gladly and stered him for(e) to go to þe holi londe. And þough it had be dilectable to me [f.343r] for to haue lyued with him [w(ith) swech condic(i)on fo(re) to haue goo w(ith) hy(m) a beggid] in þe porest wise thorough þe worlde, þat I take witnesse of þe þat I wold not ayenst thi will by him a yene with þe leste her(e) of my hede, nor I wold not call him ayene to be a dedely man. And þer(e) for(e) lorde, bothe him and me, I reco(m)maunde fulli to thi grace."

And þan, for she wold [not] lese þe frute of an hundred folke[436] tho þe which is youe to hem that kepe þe p(er)fecc(i)on of þe gospell, she toke þe cloþing of religion, þe which she chase to be rude and foule and abiecte, keping p(er)petual chastite aftr(e) þe dethe of her(e) husbond, beclipping p(er)fite obediens and wilfull pou(er)te. Her(e) abite was dispisable her(e)

mantell of þe foulest grete russet and her(e) gowne of anoþer vile colour(e), her(e) sleves toren and clouted w(ith) olde cloþe.

Her(e) fader þat was king of Hungri, sey how þat his dought(er) was fall into so grete myschefe and nede, he sent an erle to her(e) for(e) to bring her(e) home to hi(m) into her(e) contre. And whan he come ther(e), she was founde sittyng ther(e) mekely in þis moost simple aray, spy(n)nyng, þe which for(e) shame & confusion and ho[u]ge wondring, cried and seid, "Alas he sow euer a kinges doughter sit in so vile an abite and do so foule an occupac(i)on as for to spyn woll. And as he labored with all his power for to haue brouȝt her(e) to her(e) fader, she wold in no wise consent ther(e) to, seying that she hadde leuer lyve in verri pou(er)te þan for to habounde in all þe richesses of þe worlde and that her(e) soule miȝt al passe to God and none impediment be to her(e) deuoc(i)on. She praied to God þat he wold put [in] her(e) [herte] dispisio(n) of all temp(er)al þinges and with drawe þe hert from þe loue of her(e) childeren and þat she miȝt, with sadde and stable herte, be content with al tribulac(i)on and afflixions. And whan she had made her(e) p(ra)yers, she seid to her(e) s(er)u(a)nteȝ, "Our(e) lorde hath herd my praier, for I accounte all temp(er)all þinges but al filthe and mire, and I loue [noo] mor(e) my owne childeren þan þe childeren of oþer mennys and I rek of no peyn, ne repreef, ne despising and now I fele that I desire nor loue no þing but God."

Her(e) confessour(e), Mast(er) Conrand, wold many tymes put vppon her(e) hevy and contrari berthenes. And þat it semed that she loued moost, she wold voide from her(e) felashipp so ferthforthli þat .ij. yong men, right goode & true þat wer(e) norshed with her(e) of childehode, wher(e)fore þer(e) was many a teer shedde in bothe sides. But þis he did to breke her(e) wil and þat she shuld dresse all her(e) affecc(i)ons to God and þat none of her(e) s(er)uauunteȝ shuld bryng a yene to her(e) mynde her(e) first worldly glorie þat she hadde be yn. In al þies þinges, she was founde gladde and obedient and sadde and pacient þat she myght possede her(e) soule in pacience and [f.343v] be made faire with þe victorie of obediens. And oft tymes she wolde sey, "If I dredde a dedeli man thus moche for(e) the loue of God, how moch am I bounde to drede God, þe hevenly iuge, and þer(e) for I haue chose to be obiedient to

a poer begger, my Maistr(e) Conrade and lest riche bishoppes, that þer(e) bi I might cutte vtterli fro me al confortes of t(em)p(er)al þinges."

She was continualli occupied in þe workes of mercy. Ther(e) was deliuered to her(e) .vc. mark for her(e) dower, wher(e)of she departed half to þe poer and with þat oþer half she made an hospitall; for that cause she was called a waster of goodeȝ and al þei called her(e) fole and leude, and she humbli and gladly suffred al þies iniuries and tribulac(i)ons. And whan þe hospitall was made, she ordeigned her(e)self in her(e) own(e) p(er)sone for to be s(er)u(a)nt to al þe poer folk in þe hospitall, and she bar(e) her(e) so hombeli and so mekeli in þis s(er)uice þat she wold, be night, ber(e) þ(e) [syke bodyes to her(e) p(re)ueyes for to ese he(m) a bere] hem ayene to her(e) beddes. She wissh her(e) cloþes and clensed hem from al felth and vermyn, she had lepres and kept hem and wessh hem and wiped her(e) woundes and she did in her(e) propre p(er)sone all þat longed to hospitalite. And whan she hadde no poer folke, þan she wold spyn woll þat was sent her(e) from an abbey þat was þer(e) ny and {y}if þe price þor(e) of to þe poer.

And þan, whan she hadde þus longe tyme a bide in grete pouerte, she receyved oþer .vc. mark fore her(e) doweri, þe which she dep(er)ted ordinatly to þe poer. And þan she lete make an ordinaunce, þat who so euer remeued of his place in preiudice of oþer whanne she ȝaue her(e) almesse þat her(e) heer shuld be kutte of, so þat, bi fortune, ther(e) come a maide þat hight Radegunde, which maide hadde a woundre faire heer(e). She passed þer(e) bi, not for to haue almesse, but for to visite her(e) suster that was sike. And þan she was brouȝt to Seint Eliȝabeth as a trespasso(ure) of þe ordeinaunce and she co(m)maunded anone þat she shuld kut of her(e) heer(e), and þe maide wept, and a yene seid it as moche as she might. And as a man that was þere seid þat she was innocent, Seint Eliȝabeth seid, "Atte harvest she shall not a gode while go to no caroles for to show her(e) heer(e)."[437] And þan Seint Eliȝabeth asked her(e) whеþer euer she hadde purpose to þe life of hele and she answhered þat if the loue of her(e) heer(e) had not ben, she had a grete while goon take þe abbite of þe religion. And þan seid

Seint Eliȝabeth, "Hit is leuer to me, that þou hast loste þi heer þan my son wer(e) made emp(er)oure." And anone þe maide toke þe abite of religion.

Whan the tyme ne[y]ghed þat God had ordeined þat she þat had dispised þe dedly kyndom of Angels, she leid her(e) [f.344r] downe in her(e) bedde and turned towarde þe wall, and þo þat wer(e) ther(e) biheld her(e) and þan þere was herde a swete melodie comyn fro her(e). And one of her(e) chamberes asked her(e) what it was, and she answhered and seid, "Ther(e) come a birde bitwene me and þe wall and he songe so swetli that he meued me to syng also." And in þat sikenes, she was euer gladde and in orison. The last day of her(e) passing, she asked of her(e) wymmen, "What wold ye do?" And þe fende come anone, she began to crie thre tymes: "Fle, ffle," as she had chased þe feende from her(e). And þan she seid, "Midnight neighed, in whiche tyme my lorde Ih(es)u Crist was bore. Hit is tyme that my lorde God cal his frendes to his wedding." Than our(e) lorde Ih(es)u Crist appered to her(e) seying, "Come, my biloued, and entre into þe tabernacule of þi lorde God." And þis wise she slept in oure lorde the yere of oure lorde .m^{t} ccxxvj. And than þe grettest multitude of birdes wer(e) seien vppon þe chirche that euer wer(e) seyen. And than thei began so swetly to sing that þe melody was so grete þat no hert miȝt þenk it and it semed that þei wer(e) come to do s(er)uice of her(e). And þan her(e) body was leied .iiij. daies on þe erthe or she wer(e) beried. And she was euer ful of swetnesse and no corrupc(i)on noyed hir(e). And þan hir(e) body was leide in a monument that anone aftre welled oyle, and þan þere fell many fair(e) miracles atte her(e) toumbe aftre her(e) dethe.

Narracio. In the parties of þe diocise of Saxon, þere was a monke þat hight Hemer,[438] and he was fall in so grete a sikenes þat he cried and wold suffr(e) no creature to haue reste abought him. And in a niȝt, þer(e) appered to him a worshipfull lady clothed in whight that bade him þat he shuld avoue him to Seint Eliȝabeth if he wold haue hele, and þe niȝt folouyng, she appered a yene and þan bi þe counsell of his abbot, he made þer(e) a voue. The þirde night, she appered to him and made a crosse vppon his shuldre and he receyved p(er)fite hele. And whan the abbot and þe prioure come to him, þei had grete merveile and þei dredde greteli of þe

fulfilling of þis vove, and þe prioure seid that oft tymes, vndre þe likenesse of gode, þere come illusiones of the ennemye and conseiled him to be confessed of his a voue. And the nyȝt folouyng, that same p(er)sone appered to him and seid, "Thou shalt alwey be sike til thou haue p(er)formed thin a voue." And anone his sikenesse toke him and þan, bi þe licence of his abbott, [f.344v] he fulfilled his a voue and was anone p(er)fite hole.

Narracio. O maide asked drinke of her(e) seruaunte and she toke her(e) drinke and seid, "The deuel mote þou drinke" and she dranke and her(e) þought þat brennyng fire entred into her(e) body and she swal as grete as a barell so þat eueri body might se þat she was demoniak. And .ij. yer(e) she was in þis estate and þanne she was ledde to þe toumbe of Seint Eliȝabeth and hadde þer(e) ful hele.

Narracio. Herman, a man of þe diocise of Tholose, was hold yn prison, and he with grete deuoc(i)on praied and called to Seint Eliȝabeth for(e) to be his helpe. And þe night folowing, she appered to him and conforted him gretli and in þe morow, sentence was youe a yenst him so that he was honged. And though þe iuge yaue leue to his kinrede to take him downe, and þei bare him dede and praied to Seint Eliȝabeth, and he aroose fro deth to life anon(e) before hem all.

Narracio. A childe was fall into a well and drowned, and anone oone come to drawe water and fonde him dede and drewe him oute. And than he a voued him to Seint Eliȝabeth and he was restored to his first hele. Also, anoþer maide drowned in water, she was yold a yene to liffe by her(e) meritees.

Narracio. Fredrik, þat was a konnyng man in þe craft of swe(m)myng, bathed him in water and scorned a poer man þat Seint Eliȝabeth had youe sight to. And þan þe poer man seid, "That holi lady that hath do me grace wol venge me on þe so pat þou shalt neuer come þens a lyue." And a none, he lost his strengthe & might not help him self but sanke downe to þe bottom of þe water as a stone and was drouned and drawen oute dede. And þan som of his neighboures a voued him to Seyint Eliȝabeth, and he made .viij. daies iorney þiderwarde and she yeld hi(m) a yene to life.

Narracio. Theodorik, a man, was greuosly sike in his knees and in his þies, so that he might not go. And than he a voued þat he wold seke þe toumbe of Seint Eliȝabeth, and þan he was þer(e) a monthe and fonde remedie and went ayene to his house. And þan him þought in his slepe þat a man sprenged water vppon him, and he a woke & was all angerie and seid, "Whi hast þou caste water vppon me." And he seid, "I haue wete þe, and leue well þis weting shal be p(er)fit to þe." And þan he aroos all hole and yafe þonkinges to God and to Seint Eliȝabeth.

Here endeth þe life of Seint Eliȝabeth, þe king(es) dought(er) of Hungri, and her(e) beginneþe þe life of Seint Cecile.

This version of Saint Cecilia *is almost identical to that found on folios 267v-270v, therefore I have not included it..*

Saint Dorothy and Mary Magdalene from TCD MS 319

28. The Life of Saint Dorothy - TCD MS 319[439]

[f.2v] Here begynneth the lyfe of the gloryous virgyn(e) and martir Seynt Dorothe.

Thys gloriouse virgyne and martyr Dorothea, whos fadirs name Dorotheus and her(e) moder Theodora, whyche was comen of the noble progeny of the most famouse and worthyest senatoures of Rome. In whos dayes grewe full gretly the greuous persecucion of Crystyn peple eu(er)ywhere, but most specyally amonge the Romaynes, whyche causyd thys blessyd Dorothe(us), ffader of thys holy vyrgyne, hatyng and despysyng the cursyd and abhominable mawmetry of the Romaynes, forsoke the contre and felyshyp of the lothsome Romaynes w(yth) all hys possessyons of castelles, houses, londes, rentes and vynes; wyth all other rychesses and passyd ouer the see w(yth) hys good wyfe Theodora and hys two doughtres whos names were Trystem and Calystem, and came to the region of Capadosy,[440] and entryng in to a feyre cyte of that region called Cesarea and dwelled theryn, wherein a gracio(us) doughter was begoten, of whos lyfe nowe, wyth Goddys grace, we purpose to speke of.

Whan thys holy vyrgyne was brought forthe, anone, after the holy custome of Crystyn relygion, she was crystened full pryuyly of the holy bysshop Seynt Appollynar(us), whyche good man of her(e) ffadyrs and modyrs names compownyd her name and namyd her(e) Dorothea.

Sone after, when nature had auaunsyd thys gracyous and holy vyrgyne w(yth) more age, and yet but tender of age to speke of, she was so replenysshed w(yth) the diu(er)syte of vertues of the holy goste in all partyes, also well of body as of sowle and so suffycyently taught in gracious vertewesnes, all be hyt that nature had so excellently avaunsyd her(e) w(yth) singuler beawte that the fame of her(e) beawte w(yth) her other singler vertues ouersprad all the maydones of that regyon.

[f.3r] To the whyche verteous bounteuosnes, the enemy of all mankynde, the deuyll of hell, enuyed so sore, that may nat ne can nat susteyne no creature to profyte that intendeth to

grow in vertuos lyuyng, and specially to that excellent vertew of aungelyke chastyte whyche
30 that he knew wele that thys yonge chosyn vyrgyne to aspyre to suche innent[441] age, whos vertuos fame clerely dyd shyne thorought that region, stered, meued and gretly excyted one of hys lecherouse dysciples, Fabricius by name, whyche kepte the offyce of p(re)fecture, otherelles by whom passyd all the iugementes of that region.

Thys wreched and blynde, lecherous tyrant, so gretly meued and stered w(yth) flesshly concupiscence, oppressyd hym so sore in vnlefull desyre of thys gloryous vyrgyn, that hys blynde nature myght nat susteyne hit. Wherfore in all haste, vnder the colour(e) of hys offyce, he sent for hyr(e) and opened to thys chosyn vyrgyne the synfull tresoure of hys abhominable desyres, behotyng her suche plente of tresoure w(yth) plente of all other worldly goodes that he supposyd shuld please her(e) youthe w(yth)outen any mesure for her endowance, and also
40 promysyng hyr(e) to wedde lawfully after(e) the custome of the region.

Thys chaste, swete and gracious vyrgyne, when she had herde hys vnclene and blynde desyres, hys ryche promyses of hys erthely tresores, saying(es) and behestes, maydenly and holyly and in man(er) w(yth) a lothyng indignacion, she vtterly dyspysyd hem as she wolde haue do cley or any other(e) erthely corrupcion, opynly declaryng hyr(e) and boldly in hyr(e) virginall langage, saying and knowlechyng her(e) by her(e) answere that she was dyspoused by her loue and feythe in sp(irit)uall matrymony as trewe spousesse vnto owre sauyo(ure) Cryste Ih(es)u.

When thys blynde and lecherouse tyraunt had herde thys holy vyrgynes answere,
50 hauyng a maner of gladnes that vnder the colo(ure) of the offyce of hys [f.3v] prefecture, he myght execute the malycyous vengeance conceued in hys vnclene hert, anone wexed so woode in hys furyose tyranny that anone in all haste possyble, co(m)maundyng hys tormentoures, w(yth)oute more langage or tarying, to caste that gloryous vyrgyne in to a ton[442] of brasse full of hoote oyle feruently boylyng.

But that blyssyd and louyng lord, Cryste Ih(es)u, that comforteth all hys louers in her moste necessyte and ys chyef refuge to all hys louers in all man(er) of tribulacion, anone shewed hys myghty hande of louyng and comfortable helpe to thys gracious vyrgyne Dorothe, that w(yth)outen any man(er) of peyne of that turment, she felt none but vnwe(m)myd. Wherfore, she gretly reioyed, thankyng her(e) spouse Ih(es)u also louyngly as though she had be anoyntyd or bathed in the moste p(re)ciouse and redolent bawme in erthe. Anone, after(e) thys myracle seene, many of thos paynemes that were p(re)sent and beholdyng hyr(e) paynefull torment and seyng thys grete myracle of thys chosyn vyrgyne, pryuyly purposyd w(yth)in hemselfe in all the haste possible to be baptysed, and so were there many full pryuyly conu(er)tyd.

Thys blynde tyraunt, Fabricius, when he sawe thys grete myracle, trowed and also veryly beleued that hit had be done by som magyke, otherwyse callyd Nygromancy, co(m)maundyng anone, thys blessyd virgyn(e) to be put and closyd in a derke pryson .ix. dayes meteles and drynkeles, w(yth)outen any man(er) of foode or sustenaunce. The whyche blessyd vyrgyne, in all thys tyme of her(e) imprysonment, was so norysshed and fedde of blessed aungelles w(yth) heuynly food that whan she was brought forthe before thys cursed iuge, and when he sawe her(e) beawte was manyfolde encresyd myche more fayrer(e) then euer(e) she was before, whereopon all the pepyll that sawe her(e) beawte meruelyng gretely howe so tender(e) a virgyne [f.4r] that was kepte solong w(yth)outen any foode myght apere so beauteuous, and therw(yth) anone, thys tyraunt blyndyd in malyce sayde vnto her(e): "Trewly, but thow worshyp my goddes anone, thow shalt nat passe the punysshment of thys sharpe bed of iron, whyche was full of prykkes of full sharpe iron."

Thys holy Dorothe full mekely answered, "I worshyp God and no deuylles, for thy godd(es) that thow worshyppest be nought elles but deuylles." And than anone forthw(yth) thys blessyd vyrgyne fell downe prostrate to the grounde, lyftyng vp hyr(e) eyen in to heuyn, praying to almyghty God of hys et(er)nall goodnesse to shewe there howe he ys myghty and that ther(e) ys noon other(e) God but he alone.

And in thys meane tyme, whyles thys blessyd vyrgyn(e) was in deuoute prayeres to Almyghty God, thys tyraunt Fabricius let areyse a grete pylo(ure) and ther(e)apon he let set the chyef idole of hys mawmetry, whyche he worshyppyd most in hys paynemes wyse for hys god. And anone i(m)mediately, God sent a grete multytude of aungelles from heuyn sodenly, and w(yth) a grete hasty vengeaunce, threwe downe to grounde thys cursyd and lothsom mawment w(yth) the pyllo(ure) that hyt stood on, in so moche that ther(e) was no party of the pyllo(ure) founde.

And sodenly ther(e)w(yth), was herde a voyce of deuylles crying in the eyre: "O Dorothea, why consumest thow vs and dryuest vs frome owre possessyons and dwelly(n)g places? Thow lyuest to longe in thys erthe." And anone forthew(yth), many a thowsand of paynems opynly and feythfully were turnyd to Crystyn feyth, whyche by the vyctoryous dethe of martyrdom entred in to the kyngdom of heuen.

And then anone, she was hangyd vp opon a gebet or gallous w(yth) her(e) fete vpward and her hede douneward, and w(yth) hookes of iron, her(e) fayre and tender(e) [f.4v] body was all to rente and torne, and w(yth) smale yardes, all to betyn and w(yth) grete scorges, all sore woundyd. And more ouer all these diu(er)se torment(es) done, brennyng brondes were put to her(e) maydynly brest(es) to consume hem awey w(yth) brennyng, and thus was she left halfe dede, and therw(yth) co(m)maundyd to sharpe prysone tyll on the morow.

And on the morow, when she was brought forthe, thys tyraunt, her(e) iuge, sawe wele that there appered nether spot ne hurte of her(e) former(e) torment(es) in no place of hyr(e) beauteuous body, in somoche that he m(er)ueled gretly. And than anone, he sayde to her(e): "O swete and beauteuous vyrgyne, whether yet ye be remembred in any man(er) of wyse toward owre conu(er)syon, for ye haue bene somwhat chastysed for yowre inordinate rebellyon." And anone, he sente to her(e) her(e) two sustres Trystem and Calistem, the whyche for drede of temp(er)all deth had forsake Cryste and were tornyd to paynemes lawe, and thus by hyr two

sustres, yef they cowde haue brought hit aboute, thys blessyd vyrgyn(e) Dorothe shulde haue forsaken Cryste and be turnyd as they were to theyre hethen lawe.

But thys blessed Dorothe spake full mekely and seyde to her(e) systres so feythfully, so blessydly, so heuenly in somoche that she toke fro(m) hem the blyndnes of theyr(e) hertes that they stood in at that tyme, and conu(er)ted hem bothe aȝene to Crystyn lawe. And anone, as thys tyraunt Fabricius herde thys, he co(m)maunded anone bothe these sustres to be bounde to geder(e) bak and bak, and bothe to be caste in to a grete fyre to be brent and so they were.

And than he sayde to Dorothe, "Howe longe wylt thow w(yth) thyne enchauntmentes and thy wychecraftes thus in thys wyse disceue vs in prolongyng thy lyfe in suche maner wyse? Other do sacryfice as thow owest to do to owre goddys that thow mayst lyue, orelles thyne hede shalbe smyte of anone." Thys holy vyrgyne w(yth) a glad chere answered and sayde, "What so euer thow can thynke the [f.15r] opon any maner(e) of peyne, I am redy to suffer(e) for the loue of my lord and sauyo(ure) Cryste Ih(es)u, my chosen spowse, in whos p(re)cyouse gardeyne so plenteuosly full of all man(er) delyces I haue gadered rooses w(yth) appulles where I shall ioye w(yth) hym worlde w(yth)outen ende."

And when thys tyraunt, blynded in malyce, herde howe ioyfull she answered, wexyng almost wood for wrethe, and malyce fretyng hym by the hert full sore, and in hys cursed wyse grennyng, frownyng and w(yth) an hygh wood voyce crying, co(m)maundyd anone that her fayre vysage synglerly replenysshyd so full of beawte shulde anone be all to betyn w(yth) staues and buffettes that none imp(re)ssyon of her fayre vysage myght be knowen. And so hit was done tyll her(e) tormentoures wexed so wery that they myght no lengor susteyne. And so was she sent to pryson ayene to be kept ther(e) tyll on the morow.

And opon the morow, when thys gloryos vyrgyne Dorothe was brought forth before thys tyraunt her(e) iuge, forsoth ther(e) was no we(m)me ne no maner of hurt that apered in her maydynly body ne vysage, for that same nyght before was she heled and cured by owre sauyo(ure) Cryste Ih(es)u. And when thys tyraunt sawe thys myracle, the whyche he cowde

nat vnderstand for lak of feythe, anone he gaue sentence of iugement that her hede shuld be smyte of.

And anone forthw(yth) was she lad w(yth)oute the walles of the cyte toward her iugement where oone Theophilus,[443] whyche was the prothonary chyef of that region and he was the most solempne docto(ure) of lawe of all that contre, sawe thys gloryous vyrgyne Dorothe ladde toward her(e) dethe, spake to her in thys wyse, in maner(e) scornyng her(e). Full desyrously he prayed her(e) to sende hym some rooses of her(e) spowses gardeyn, for as he had herde her say before her(e) cursyd iuge in the tyme of her(e) passyon, and thus in thys wyse scornyngly he prayed her(e) oftyn tymes. And anone thys blessyd vyrgyn(e) full of feythe promysyd hym to sende hym that he desyred, natw(yth)standyng that tyme [f.15v] he desyred thys hit was full colde, for hit was in wynt(er) season when all the erthe was bareyne.

And when thys gloryous vyrgyne came to the place where her hede shuld be smyte of, she prayed to owre lord for all theym that in the honowre and worshyp of almyghty God dyd any maner of thyng in the remembraunce of her(e) passion, that hyt myght be the cause of theyre saluacion and specyally fro worldly shame of greuouse pouerte, also to be delyu(er)ed from shamefull sclaunderyng and lesyng of theyre name. And also that they may haue grace, or they departe from thys lyfe, to haue verrey contrycion and of all theyr(e) synnes plen(er) remyssyon. Also for all women that w(yth) deuocion in her(e) name prayen or callen for helpe, and specyally in the tyme of trauelyng of theyr(e) chyldren, that they may sone haue releuyng and he[l]pe of theyr(e) sorowes and dyseses, and also in what howse that a booke of her(e) passion were in or an image of hyr(e) remembraunce, that hyt may be preserued from all man(er) of p(er)ell of her(e) fyre w(yth)yn he(m), and that noman(er) of lyghtenyng hurte hyt.

And anone after(e) thys prayer(e), there was herde a voyce from heuen aboue, "Com on my welbelouyd, com on my spouse, thow haste grauntyd in heuen all thy peticions and

askyng(es) and also from whom thow prayest fore shalbe saued." And then anone she bowed downe her(e) hede to the stroke of hym that shuld smyte her(e).

And anone sodenly therw(yth) there appered a passyng fayre chylde y clothed in purpure, bare legges and feete, w(yth) a feyre crolled hede, whos garment was powdred full of sterres, beryng a lytell basket in hys hande w(yth) .iij. rooses and as many appulles and offeryng hem to thys blessyd vyrgyn Dorothe, to whom thys gloryous vyrgyne sayde, "I beseche the, [f.16r] my lorde, bere these rooses w(yth) the appulles to the Docto(ure) Theophilus."

170 And anone as thys was sayde, she bowed downe her hede and suffred the stroke of a swerde and so passyd she to God. The .viij. Idus of February suffred she her(e) martyrdome of the iuge Fabricius, vnder the emp(er)oures of Rome Dioclisian and Maximian, the yer(e) of Cryst(es) Incarnacion .CC.iiij^{xx}.viij.

And thys tyme stode myghty Theophilus doctor of her lawe in the iuges palyce. And ther(e) come to hym thys feyrechyld beforesayde and toke hym aparte besyde, and toke hym thys lytell basket w(yth) rooses and appulles and seyde to hym in thys wyse, "These rooses w(yth) appulles my suster(e) sent the from the delycyous gardyne of paradyse of her(e) spowse Ih(es)u." And therw(yth) anone, thys fayre chylde was passyd away so sodenly that no creature cowde wete where thys gracious chylde was become.

180 Then anone after(e) thys, sodenly thys famous docto(ure) Theophilus brake owte anone in to an hye and grete voyce of louyng and praysyng, gloryfying and gretly manyfying Cryste Ih(es)u, the grete God of the vyrgyn(e) Dorothe, that in the moneth of February in so grete colde and froste whyche at that tyme had ouerfrozen the erthe when neyther(e) felde ne orchard be wey of nature knoweth no grenenes, ne bowgh can bere no leefe. "Suche rooses and appulles thys myghty lord Ih(es)u to whom he wyll, he graciosly sendeth, whos myghty graciouse and gloryos name must eu(er) be blessyd world wythouten ende. Amen." Of whos testymony and affirmacion and by whos p(re)chyng all that cyte was conu(er)ted anone to the feythe of owre Sauyo(ure), and were baptysed and resceued crystyndom.

And anone when thys cursyd tyraunt and iuge Fabricius sawe thys, [f.16v] that thys grete docto(ure) Theophilus had thus conu(er)tyd the pepyll and all the cyte hoole, anone many man(er) of torment(es), many moo than euer(e) Dorothe was tormentyd w(yth), he let hym to be tormentyd. And at the last, he co(m)maundyd hym to be all to hewen in to small gobett(es) as who choppeth flesshe to the pot, and tho peces of hys flesshe to be caste to bestes and to byrd(es), and so malycyously and tyrauntly to be deuoured.

But thys gracyous docto(ure) Theophil(us) had furst receued the sac(ra)ment of baptym and also was comened w(yth) the p(re)ciouse sac(ra)ment of Cryst(es) gloryose flesshe and blood. And so by holy martyrdo(m) full of feythe he folowed that blyssyd and gloryouse virgyn(e) Dorothe and changyd thys dedely lyfe and passyd to blysse to owre sauyo(ure) Cryste Ih(es)u, that gloryfyeth hys loueres and seynt(es). And owre sauyo(ure) Ih(es)u ys gloryfyed in hem, that wyth the fader(e) and the holygost consubstantly and coet(er)nally lyueth and regneth, God in to the worlde of worldys. Amen.

Antiphona:[444] In quacu(m)q(ue) domo nomen fuerit vel imago virginis eximi(ate) Dorothe martiri(s) alme Nullus abortiuus { }sn(is) nascetur in illa. Ignis nec furti domus illa p(er)icula sentit. Nec quisqu(am) ambi poene malo morte p(er)ire Celestiq(ue) pane mone(re) { }qum p(eriur)ium natur(e). P(er ihesum cristum dominum nostrum...) Virgo pia Dorothea pollen(es) in miraculis tua pace nos em(un)da. a peccatorum maculis. Et a cuncte vite huius defende p(er)iculis. Pro nobis indignis exora O martir (Christi) Quae carnem mund(um) diabolumq(ue) vicisti. Ora pro nobis beata Dorothea vt digni efficiamur[445] p(er)missionis (Christi). Oremus. Ora. Omnipotens [et] mitissime deus in cuius nomine gloriosa[446] virgo (et) martir Dorothea multor(um) genera tormentor(um) superans[447] supplicit(er) exoramus vt euis interuentu cuncta p(er)icula ducamu(s) ipsamq(ue) in nostri(s) necessitati(s) (et) t{e} cru{ci}b(us) {be}atam ad[iu]tricem sentiamus (per) dominum nostris Ih(es)u (Christum) filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in [eter]nitate omnino.

29. The Life of Mary Magdalene – TCD 319[448]

[f.59r] Here endeth the lyfe of Seynt Bartilmew, and next begynneth the lyfe of the blessyd Mary Magdalene.

Mary Magdalene was surnamyd of Magdalon(e), the castell, and she was borne of the kynrede that was descendyd of royall kyngys and hyr Fadyr(e) hyght Syrus and her(e) moder(e) Eucharye. And she and Lazar(e), her(e) brother(e) and Martha, her(e) sustyr(e) helden the castell that ys two myle fro Genazereth and Betany that ys nygh to Ier(usa)l(e)m and grete party of Ier(usa)l(e)m. And they dyuydyd these thyng(es) betwene them in suche wyse that Mary had Magdalen(e) wherof she was surnamyd, and Lazar(e) had the party of Ier(usa)l(e)m and Martha had Bethany.

And when Magdalen(e) was yeuyn all to the delytes of the body and [t]her(e) brother(e) Lazar entendyd moste to knyghthode, Martha that was wyse gou(er)nyd the party of [t]her(e) brother(e) and of [t]her(e) sustyr(e) and mynystryd two knyghtys and two s(er)uaunt(es) and two pore men [t]her(e) necessytees. And they solde all these thyng(es) aftyr(e) the ascension of owre lorde and brought all the money therof to the aposteles fete. And Mary Magdalene haboundyd gretly in rychesse and for that delyte ys felowe in habundaunce of thyng(es). And in as moche as she shynyd more in beawte and rychesse, somoche more she had her(e) body soget to de[lytes][449] [f.59v] And therfore she loste her p(ro)pre name and was of custome callyd the sinfull w{oma}n.

And when owre {lorde preched} here in {erthe} she was enspyryd w(yth) grace and wente to the howse of Simon lepre when owre lorde dynyd there. But she durst nat appere amonge the ryghtwyse men. For she was sinfull, but she came to the feete of owre lorde, and there she wysshe hem w(yth) her(e) teares and wypyd hem w(yth) hem her(e) heare, and anoyntyd hem w(yth) precy{ous} oynementes[450] for the dwellers of that londe vsyd bathes and oynementes for the ryght grete he{t} of that londe. And for that Symond thought in hymselfe

that yef owre lorde were a verrey p(ro)phete he wolde nat haue suffred that a synfull woman shulde haue towchyd hym.

And therfore, owre lorde vndertoke hym of verrey pryde and foryaue the woman all her(e) synnes. And thys ys Mary Magdalene, to whyche owre lorde yaue so many grete yeftys and shewyd so many grete tokenes of loue that he delyu(er)yd her(e) of fendes[451] and sette her(e) all a fyre in hys loue, and made her(e) ryght famulyer(e) w(yth) hym. He wolde that she were hys hostesse and hys procuresse. He wolde that she were w(yth) hym in hys vsage, he excusyd her(e) alwey swetely. He excusyd her(e) ayenst the Pharysees that seyde that she was nat clene and ayenst her(e) sustyr(e) that she was idell, and ayenst Iudas that seyde that she was a wasto(ure) of goodes. And when he sygh her(e) wepe, he myght nat kepe hys teares and for [f.60r] her loue, he raysyd Lazare fro dethe to lyfe[452] whyche had lay iiij dayes dede and he helyd her(e) suster(e) of the blody flux[453] that had holde her(e) vij yere. And by the merytes of her(e), he made Marcell, the chamberer(e) of Martha, to be worthy to sey these swete wordes: " Blessyd be the wombe that bare the, and the brestes that yaue the sowke." But Ambrose seyth hyt was Martha that seyde these wordes, and they were the wordes of her(e) chamberer(e).

Thys Mary, seyth he, ys she that wysshe the fete of owre lorde and wypyd hem wyth her(e) heare, and anoyntyd hem w(yth) p(re)cious oynement(es)[454] and dyd solempne penaunce in tyme of grace, and was the furst that chase the beste party that sate at the feete of owre lorde and herde hys wordes. Thys ys she that anoyntyd hys hede,[455] that at the passion was besyde the crosse,[456] that made redy the oynement(es) and wolde haue anoyntyd hys body and partyd nat from the sepulcre,[457] to whom Ih(es)u Cryste apperyd furst when he aroose from dethe to lyfe.[458] And she was felowe to the aposteles that aftyr(e) the Ascension of owre lorde in the xiiij yere of hys passion aftyr(e) that Iewes had slayne Steuyn and dryuyn oute the other(e) dyscyples of that contre,[459] and they were dysp(er)bled abrode amonge the gentyles and shewed the worde of God. Than was seynt Maximie amonge the aposteles of the lxxij discyples of owre lorde, to whom Mary Magdalene had be reco(m)maundyd of blessyd Seynt Petyr(e). And then the [f.60v] dysciples were departyd.

Seynt Maximie, Mary Magadalene, Lazar(e) her brother(e) and Martha, her sust(er) and Marcell Chamberer(e) of Martha and seynt Cenodyne, that was bore blynde but owre lorde yaue hym syght.[460] All these togedyr(e) and many other Crystyn were take of the mysbeleueres and put in a shyppe and sette in the see w(yth)oute gou(er)nours to that ende that they shulde all be drownyd but by the wyll of God they came to Marcelle.[461] And there they founde none that wolde receue hem in to her(e) howse. But they dwellyd in a porche that was before a temple of the pepyll of that contre. And when the blessyd Mary Magdalene sye the pepyll assemblyd to that temple forto sacryfyce to ydols, she arose her(e) vp pesybly w(yth) a glad vysage and a dyscrete tonge and well spekyng, and began to preche Ih(es)u Cryste and to
280 w(yth)drawe the pepyll from the worshyppyng of idols. And than all had grete m(er)uell of the beawte and of the reson that was in hyr(e), and of hyr(e) fayre spekyng, and hit was nowondyr(e) though the mowth(e) that so debonayrely and so goodly had kyssyd the feete of owre lorde was more enspyred w(yth) the worde of God than other.

And aftyr(e) that, hyt befell that the prynce of the prouynce dyd sacryfyce to the idols, he and hys wyfe, for to haue a chylde. And Mary Magdalene p(re)chyd of Ih(es)u Cryste to hym and reprouyd hys sacryfyce. And w(yth)in awhile aftyr(e), Mary Magdalene appered to the lady in a vysion [f.61r] seying, "Howe ys hit syth thow hast so grete plente of rychesse that thow durst leue the pore s(er)uaunt(es) of owre lorde dye for hungor and for thyrste and for colde." And she was aferde to shewe thys vysyon to her(e) lorde. And the seconde nyght, she
290 aperyd to her(e) ayene and seyde to her(e) the same and manasyd her(e) gretly that but yef she wolde stere her(e) hosbond forto refresshe the pore s(er)uaunt(es) of owre lorde, she shulde repente her(e). But yet wold she nat sey hit to her(e) hosbond. And than, the thryd nyght, she apperyd to hem bothe as they were in bedde togedyr(e) and seyde w(yth) an angry vysage: "Slepest thow tiraunt and membre of thy fadyr(e), the fende, w(yth) thy wyfe, the s(er)pent that lyste nat to telle the my wordes, reste now thow enemy of the crosse that hast the glotony of the wombe full. And thow suffrest to p(er)ysshe the seyntes of God. Thow lyest in thy palyce, wrappyd w(yth) clothes of sylke. And thow seest them w(yth)oute house, all discomfortyd and

takest none hede. Thow shalt nat escape so lyghtly, thow felon, ne thow shalt nat parte w(yth)oute punysshyng that thow hast abyde solonge." And when [s]he had thus seyde, she departyd, and the lady awoke and syghed, and the hosbond syghyd also for that same cause and tremblyd.

And than she sayde, "Syr(e), haue ye seen the dreme that I se?" "I haue seen hit," he seyde, "And haue grete m(er)uayle and [f.61v] am sore {aferde}." And than hys wyfe seyde to hym: "Hit ys more pro{fitable} to vs to obey hyr(e) than for to renne in the wrethe of her(e) God that she p(re)cheth." For whyche cause they receuyd hem in to her(e) howse and mynystred to hem the necessitees.

In a tyme as Mary Mag[e]dalen(e) p(re)chyd to the forsayde prynce, and than the prynce seyde to her(e): "Wenest thow that thow myght defence the lawe that thow prechest?" And she seyde, "Seker(e) I am redy to defende hyt as she that ys confermyd euery day by myracles and by the p(re)dicacion of owre mastre Seynt Petyr(e) that sytteth in the see of Rome." To whom the prynce seyde, "I and my wyfe byn redy to obey the in all thyng(es) yef thow wolt by thy prayer(e) gete vs a sone of the God that thow prechest." And than Magdalene seyde, "For that hit shall nat abyde." And than, the blessyd Mary Magdalene preyed to owre lorde for hem that he wolde, of hys m(er)cy, graunte hym a chylde, and owre lorde herde her(e) prayer(e) and that lady conceuyd.

And than, the hosbonde wolde go to Seynt Petyr(e) to preue whether(e) the meryte were suche of Ih(es)u Cryste as Mary p(re)chyd. And than hys wyfe seyde to hym: "Syr(e), wene ye go w(yth)oute me. Nay in nowyse, ffor when ye go, I wyll go and come ayene, yef God wyll when ye come." To whom her(e) hosbond seyde, "Wyfe, hit may nat be so, for ye be w(yth) chylde and the p(er)yles of the see be w(yth)oute nombre and ye myght lyghtly p(er)ysshe. Ye shall abyde at home and take [f.62r] hede of owre possessions." And the lady strofe as a woman and wolde nat chaunge her(e) womanly manerys and felle downe on her(e) knees to hys feete wepyng. And at the laste, he grauntyd her(e) her(e) requeste. And than,

Mary Magdalen(e) markyd hem on her(e) shuldres w(yth) the crosse for that the wykkyd enemy shuld nat let hem of her(e) way.

And so they chargyd a shyppe w(yth) grete habundance of goode of all thyng(es) that were necessary to hem and lefte all her(e) other(e) thyng(es) in the kepyng of Mary Magdalen(e) and wente her(e) way. And when they has seyled the course of a day, and a nyght, the see began to swell and the wynde to encrece so that all were full sore aferde, and namely the lady that was w(yth)chylde and febyll, was full of anguysshe of so grete wawes and trowble of the see. And for anguysshe, the lady began to trauayle sodeynly. And betwene the grete turment of her(e) trauayle and the streyngthe of the tyme, she brought forth a sone and the lady dyed. And whan the chylde was bore hit cryed forto haue had the breste of hys moder(e) and made a pyteous noyse. Allas, in what sorow the chylde was bore and was made sleer(e) of hys moder(e) and he must nedys dy ffor ther(e) was nothyng that myght norysshe hym.

[f.62v] Allas, what shall thys pylgreme do that sye hys wyfe dede and hys chylde breying w(yth) wepyng voyce, sekyng the {bre}stes of hys moder(e). The pylgreme wepte pyteosly and seyde, "Allas I wreche, what shall I do? I desyre to haue hadde a sone and nowe haue I loste bothe the moder(e) and the sone." And the sh{yp} men cryed on that other syde seying, "Caste we thys dede body in the see leste we p(er)ysshe all, ffor as longe as hit ys w(yth) vs, thys tempest woll neu(er) cese." And when they had take the body forto caste hyt in to the see, the pylgreme seyde, "Suffreth awhyle, suffreth, and though ye wyll nat spare me ne my wyfe, yet spareth at the leste thys lytell babe that wepeth and cryeth. Abydeth awhyle forto wete, p(er)auenture, yef the woman be in sowne w(yth) woe and peyne and may, yef God wyll, awake ayene."

And then an hyll appered nat ferre fro the shyppe, and when he sye hyt, hym thought hit more goodly to bere the body and the chylde thedyr(e) then for to caste hit in the see forto be deuoured in the see. And then they dyd somoche by preyers and by yeftys that they set her(e) shyppe towarde that hyll and bere the body theder(e). And when they seyen that they

myght nat dygge the erthe for hardenesse of the roche, they leyde the body in the moste secrete place in the mountayne and keu(er)ed hyt w(yth) a mantell. And then the fadyr(e) leyed the chylde at the breste of [f.63r] the moder(e) and seyde w(yth) sore wepyng, "O Mary Magdalene, thow came to Marcell to myn euyll auenture. Allas, I wreche, why toke I thys iomay opon me? By thy techyng haste thow required of thy God that my wyfe shulde conceue to p(er)ysshe, hyr(e) and the chylde. {Th}ys ys that that I haue receuyd by thy prayers. I reco(m)maunde her(e) nowe to the whom I haue co(m)mandyd all myne other(e) thyng(es) and I reco(m)maunde her(e) to thy God, that yef he be myghty, that he helpe the sowle of the moder(e), and that by thy prayer(e), he haue pyte of the chylde that hyt p(er)ysshe nat." And then he kou(er)ed all the body of the moder(e) and the chylde w(yth) hys mantell and wente ayene to the shyppe.

And when he was come to Seynt Petyr(e), Seynt Petyr(e) came ayenst hym and sy the tokyn of the crosse opon hys shuldre and askyd hym what he was and whense he came. And he tolde hym all {t(hyn)ge} man(er) by ordyr(e). Than seyde Seynt Petyr(e), "Pease be w(yth) the, thow art welcome, for thow hast beleuyd good counsell. Be nat sory, ne heuy though that thy wyfe slepe and thy lytell sone resteth w(yth) her(e), ffor owre lorde Ih(es)u Cryste ys almyghty to yeue lyfe to whom he wyll, and to take ayene whom hym lyste that he hath yeue, and forto turne all wepyng in to ioy." And than Seynt Petre ledde hym in to Ier(usa)l(e)m and there he shewyd hym all the [f.63v] places where Ih(es)u Cryste had p(re)chyd and the places where he suffryd dethe and where he styed in to heuyn. And when he was well taught of Seynt Petyr in the feythe, and that two yere were passyd, he toke hys leue of Seynt Petyr(e) and wente in to a shyppe for to retorne in to hys contre. And as they seylyd, they came by the ordynaunce of God besydes the roche where the body of hys wyfe and of hys chylde had be put, and than he dyd somoche by prayer(e) and by yefte that they set the shyppe thyder(e).

And the chylde had al{wey} be kepte all that tyme by Mary Magdalene and wente ofte tyme when he cowthe go to the see syde, and as the chylde pleyed w(yth) the lytyll stones that he founde aboute the ryuage, and when they came thedyr(e) they founde the chylde pleying

vppon the seesyde as hit was wonte and m(er)uelyd gretely wh{o} hyt myght be and came thedyr(e). And when the chylde sy hym whyche had neu(er) say suche thyng before, he was aferde and fledde pryuyly vnto the brestes of hys moder(e) and hydde hym vnder(e) the mantell. And than the pylgryme wente forto se more clerely thys thyng and sey the chylde that was ryght fayre sowkyng the breste of hys moder(e).

And than he toke the chylde and sayde, "O blessyd Mary Magdalene! O blessyd Mary Magdalene, howe I were blessyd and all thyng(es) well happyd me yef my wyfe myght torne ayene to lyfe and come w(yth) me home to my [f64r] contre. I wote veryly and beleue w(yth)oute any drede that thow hast youe me the chylde and hast fedde hy(m) two yere in thys roche, myghtest well, by thy p(ra)yer restore the moder(e) to the furst helthe?" And w(yth) tho wordes, the moder(e) respyred and seyde ryght as thowgh she had awakyd fro an harde slepe, "Blessyd Mary Magdalene, howe thow art of grete meryte and gloryous in the syght of God, ffor in all my grete sorow of my trauayle of chylde, thow were to me a mydwyfe and in all my necessytees thow haste benygnely s(er)uyd me."

And when the pylgreme herde thys thyng, he m(er)uelyd hym and seyde, 'Lyuest thow my ryght dere wyfe?" To whom she sayde, "Ye, sewerly I lyue and am ryght nowe come fro the pylgyrmage that ye come fro and ryght as the blessyd Seynt Petyr(e) ledde the abowte Ier(usa)l(e)m and shewyd the all the placys where owre lorde suffryd dethe and was buryed and many other(e) places, I was w(yth) yow and Mary Magdalene was my felowe and my leder(e). And I sy all the places there and haue hem well in mynde." And then all the places and all the myracles that her(e) hosbonde had seene and wente neuer(e) owte of the wey in oon artycle. And than the pylgreme receuyd hys wyfe and hys chylde and wente full of ioy in to shyppe.

And w(yth)in awhyle aftyr(e), they arryuyd at the porte of Marcellys and fonde the blessyd Mary Magdalene prechyng w(yth) her(e) dysciples, and then they knelyd downe to her(e) and tolde her(e) all that was befalle [f.64v] hem and receuyd bapteme of Seynt Maximien. And than they dystroyed all the temples of idols in the cyte of Marcellys and made

churches of Ih(es)u Cryste and chosyn, by oone acorde, the blessyd lady for to be theyre bysshop of that cyte, and in the ende they came by the wyll of God to the cyte of Dais,[462] and by many myracles they brought the pepyll to the feythe of God and there was Maximien made bysshop.

In thys mene tyme, the blessyd Mary Magdalene was so coueytous of the sou(er)eyne loue of God, that she chase ryght a sharpe place in deserte, and was in a place that was ordeynyd to her(e) by the handes of aungeles and there she dwellyd xxx^ti^ wynter(e) w(yth)oute knowleche of any creature, in whyche place ther(e) was neuer course of watyr(e), ne comforte of trees, ne of herbes, and hyt was done for thys cause that hyt shulde be clerely shewyd that owre lorde wolde fede her(e) w(yth) heuynly metes and nat w(yth) erthely metys.[463] And euery day at eu(er)y howre of the day, she was lyfte vp an hygh w(yth) aungeles and her(e) gloryous songe of the heuynly felyshyp w(yth) bodyly eares, wherew(yth) she was eu(er)y day fedde w(yth) these ryght swete metes and than was she borne w(yth) these angeles to her(e) p(ro)per place so that she had no nede of bodyly norysshyng.

So hyt felle on a tyme that a preeste that desyryd to lyue a solytary lyfe, toke a celle for hy(m)sylfe euyn .xij. bowe shottes from her(e) place. And in a day, owre lorde openyd the eyen of that preste that sey w(yth) [f.65r] hys bodyly eyen in what maner(e) the angelles descendyd to the forsayde place where Mary Magdalene dwellyd and howe they lyfte her(e) vp in to the eyre, and than aftyr(e), by the space of an owre, they brought her(e) ayene w(yth) dyuyn(e) praysyng(es) to the same place. And than the preste de{sy}ryd to knowe the trowthe of that m(er)uelous v{ysion} and {re}co(m)maundyd hymsylfe by hys prayers to owre lorde, hys maker(e), and went sewrly w(yth) grete deuocion to the forsayde place. And when he neyghyd nygh by a stones caste, hys thyes begon to wex so styffe as though they had be harde bounde, and all hys inwarde lymes began to t(re)mble for feare. And when he turnyd hym to haue {go} fro thens, hys thyes and hys feete were redy to go, but when he enforsyd hym to go to that place, all {hys} body was in a langо(ure) and myght nat meue hym. And than he vnderstoode w(yth)oute any fayle that hit was { }ne secrete heuynly thyng and place that none

erthe{li} man myght come to. And then he callyd the name of Ih(es)u Cryste and cryed, "I coniure the by the vertew of oure lorde, that yef thow be man or any other(e) resonable creature that dwellest in that pytte, that thow answer(e) me and telle me the trowthe of the."

And when he had seyde thre tymes so, the blessyd Mary Magdalen(e) answeryd and seyde, "Come nerer(e) and thow shalt knowe the trowthe of thy desyre." And than he came trembly(n)g halfe wey towarde, and than she seyde to hym: "Hast thow that mynde of the gospell that maketh mynde of that ryght namyd synfull woman that wette and wysshe [f.65v] the feete of owre sauyo(ure) w(yth) her(e) teares and wypyd hem w(yth) her(e) heare and deseruyd foryefenesse of her(e) synnes?"[464]

And than the preste sayde, "I remembre me well and hyt ys more than thrytty wynter(e) passyd that {lady} churche leueth and confesseth that hyt was done." And than she sayde, "Hyt am I that by the space of xxx^{ti} wynter(e) haue be here w(yth)oute any worldly felysh{yp(p)} and as hit was yestyrday suffred the to se. Ryght so I am eu(er)y day lyfte vp by the handes of angelles in to the eyre and haue des(er)uyd to here w(yth) my bodyly eares eu(er)y day .vij. tymes, the ryght and swete songe of the heuynly felyshyp. And for hit ys shewed me that I shall passe oute of thys worlde, go to Seynt Maximian and sey to hym that the next day aftyr(e) the Resurreccion of owre lorde, in the same tyme that he ys wont to go to mateyns, that he entre alone into hys oratory. And there he shall fynde me by the mystery and seruyce of aungelles."

And the preste herde the voyce of her(e), ryght as the voyce of an aungell but he sy nothyng. And than he wente anone to Seynt Maximien and tolde hym all by order(e). And then was Maximien fulfylled w(yth) grete ioy and yeldyd grete thankyng(es) to owre lorde. And in the day and howre that hit was seyde to hym, he entred in to hys oratory and sy the blessyd Mary Magdalen(e) that was in the quere in the felyshyp of aungelles that had brought her(e) thyder(e). And she was lyfte vp fro the erthe .ij. cu[bytes][465] [f.66r] of heygthe and preyed, and had her(e) handes streyte vp to owre lorde. And Seynt Maximian dredde forto go to her(e).

She tornyd hyr(e) towardys hym and seyde, "Come hyder(e) myne owne fadyr(e) and fle nat thy dought(er)." And than whan he nyghyd hyr(e), as hyt ys redde in the bokes of Maximien,[466] he sy that by the contynuell vysyon of aungelles euery day, the vysage of thys holy lady shynyd as hit had be a bryght beame of the sonne.

And then all the prestes were callyd and blessyd Mary receuyd the body of owre lorde of the bysshop w(yth) grete habundance of teares. And aftyr(e) that, she strechyd her body before the awter(e) and her(e) ryght holy sowle passyd to owre lorde. And aftyr(e) the passyng of her(e) holy spyryte, so grete a sauoure of swetnesse abode there that hit was felte by the space of .vij. dayes amonge hem. And Seynt Maximian anoyntyd the body of her(e) w(yth) diu(er)se oynementes and beryed her(e) worshypfully and syth he ordeynyd to be beryed w(yth) her(e) aftyr(e) hys dethe.

Egysyp aftre som bokes, and Iosephus[467] accordyn well w(yth) thys forsayde story, ffor Iosephus seythe in a tracte that he made, that Mary Magdalene aftyr(e) the ascension of owre lorde was so sette afyre w(yth) the charyte of Ih(es)u Cryste that for sorow and noye that she felt, she wolde haue seene noman. And therfore, when she came in to the lande of Ayes,[468] she wente in to deserte and dwellyd there .xxx^{ti}. yere w(yth)oute [f.66v] knowleche of eny creature. And he seyth that eu(er)y day in eu(er)y howre canonike she was lyfte vp in to eyre w(yth) aungelles. But he seythe that whan the preste came to her(e), he founde her(e) closyd in her(e) celle and she askyd of hym a clothe and he toke her(e) oone, and then she wente w(yth) hym to the churche, and there she receuyed her(e) hosyll and then wente to her(e) prayer(e), the hand(es) ioynyd to owre lorde, and so she restyd in pease.

In the tyme of the Kyng Charles the Grete,[469] in the yere of owre lorde .lxxj. the Duke of Burgoyne[470] myght haue nochylde by hys wyfe, wherefore he yaue hys goodes largely to the pore pepyll and foundyd many churches. And when he had made the Abbey of Sehaȝense,[471] he and the abbot of that churche sent to Ayse[472] for to brynge thense, yef they myght, the relyques of Mary Magdalene, a monke w(yth) suffysiaunt sewrte, and thys monke came to thys forsayde cyte and founde hyt all dystroyed w(yth) paynemes, and than by

owne loue. And they seyen that he worshypped hym before other(e) w(yth) swetnesse of hys famylyaryte in asmoche as he hadde take hym fro the sayde delyte.

And a man that was blynde made hym be ledde to the churche of Mary Magdalen(e) by way of pylgremage for to vysyte her(e) body. And as they walkyd, hys leder(e) seyde to hym that he sy the churche, and than the blynde man cryed w(yth) hygh voyce and seyde, "A blessyd Mary Magdalene, that I myght deserue {in} tyme to se yo(ure) churche." And anone hys eyen were openyd and he sey clerely.

A man wrote hys synnes in a scrowe and leyde hit vnder the helyng of the awt(er) and Mary Magdalene, preying her(e) of hyr(e) goodnesse to aske grace for hym. And w(yth) that, w(yth)yn awhyle aftyr(e) he toke the scrowe and founde all hys synnes defasyd.

Ther(e) was a man that was holde in pryson for money and he callyd in hys helpe the blessyd Mary Magdalen(e) oft tymes. In a nyght, there apperyd to hym a ryght fayre woman that brake hys yrons and vndyd hys doer(e) and bade hym go faste hys wey, and when he felte hymsylfe vnbounde, he fledde faste.

A clerke of Flaunders, that hyght Steuyn, was falle in so grete wrechydnesse that he hauntyd all man(er) of synnes and [f.68r] that longyd to hys gostely hele, he wolde in nowyse here. Natw(yth)standyng that, he had alwey grete deuocion to Mary Magdalene and fastyd her(e) {euyn} and worshyppyd hyr(e) feste. And in a tyme as he vysytyd her(e) tombe, betwene slepyng and wakyng, and wakyng, Mary Magdalene apperyd to hym in lykenesse of a fayre woman susteynyd w(yth) two angeles in eu(er)y syde of her(e) and she sayde to hym w(yth) a depytuos loke, "Steuen, why accomptest thow the dedes of my meryt(es) vnworthy? Why mayst thow nat, by the instaunce of my merytes, be mevyd to no repentaunce? For sothe, thow begannyst to haue deuocion to me I haue eu(er) stedfastly preyed for the, and therfore aryse vp and repente the and I wyll nat leue the tyll thow be reconsylyd to God."

And w(yth) that, he felte so grete grace comyn in hym that he forsoke the worlde and entryd in to relygion and was ryght of p(er)fyte lyfe. And at hys dethe, Mary Magdalen(e) was

auenture, he founde the sepulture of marbere[473] shewyd that the blessyd body of Mary Magdalen(e) restyd in and the story of her(e) was m(er)uelously entayled in that sepulcre. And than the monke openyd hyt by nyght and toke the relyques and bare hem w(yth) hym to hys howse. And that same nyght, Mary Magdalen(e) apperyd to hym seying, "Drede ye nat but p(er)forme thy werke." And than he came but halfe a myle from hys monastery, but he myght in nowyse [f.67r] remeue the relyques thense tyll the abbot and the monkes came w(yth) procession and receyued hym worshypfully.

A knyght that eu(er)y yere had in custome to vysyte the body of Mary Magdalene, was slayne in a batayle and as hys frendes wepte for hym {on} hys bere, they seyde in swete compleynyng wyse to Mary Magdalene, "A good lady, why hast thow suffryd thy deuoute s(er)uaunt to dy w(yth)oute shryfte and penaunce?" And than he that was dede arose sodenly before hem all and let calle a preste to hym and shroue hym w(yth) grete deuocion and receuyd the sacrament, and then anone he restyd in peese.

There was a shyppe that was chargyd w(yth) men and wemen that were a drownyng in the see, and amonge hem there was a woman w(yth) chylde that was in drownyng. And asmoche as she myght in her(e) mynde, she callyd Mary Magdalene and be{s}owghte her(e) that by her(e) merytes she myght escape and yef she had a sone, she wolde yelde hym to hyr(e) churche. And as sone as she had avowed thys vowe, a woman of grete beaute was in worshypfull clothyng, appered to her(e) and toke her(e) by the chynne and brought her(e) to londe all hoole, and all the other(e) were p(er)ysshyd. And aftyr(e) that, she brought forthe a son and fulfyllyd her(e) avowe goodly.

Som seyen that Mary Magdalen(e) was weddyd to Seynt Iohn the Euangelyst[474] and that owre lorde callyd hym fro the weddyng and she, for dyspyte that owre lorde had take awey her(e) hosbond, yaue her(e) body to all delyte of the flesshe. But for [f.67v] hit was nat couenabyll that the callyng of Seynt Iohn shulde by occasion of { }ion and for dampnacion of her(e), owre lorde conu(er)tyd her(e) pet{iou}sly to penaunce, and for that he hadde take her(e) fro the flesshely delyte, he fulfyllyd hyr(e) w(yth) souereyn heuynly delyte that was w(yth) hys

say stonde besydes hys bere w(yth) aungeles and bare w(yth) her(e) the sowle of hym in lykenesse of a dowue.

Here endeth the lyfe of the blessyd Mary Magdalene, and next begynneth the lyfe of Seynt Laurence.

Saint Alban from Harley MS 630

[f.154v] Her(e) endeth þe life of Seint Geruase and Prothase, and next foloweth þe life of Seint Albone.

Aftere þat Iulius Cesar, þe ffirste emp(er)oure of Rome, hadde so deliuered þe londe of Fraunce, he made an arivall to Brethayne wich is nowe called Ingelond in þe tyme of Cassovolan.[475] And after(e) mony batailles with grete difficulte he hadde the victorie, and put þe londe vndr(e) tribute. He ordeined þan statutes which were long tyme kept in þe Ils. Amonge which, he ordeigned [þat] noon of þat londe shulde receyue the ordere of knighode, but oonly by þe hondeȝ of þe emp(er)oure of Rome, lest p(er)auentur(e) þe rude peple and vnworþi wold take vppon hem þat order and vnworshipp so grete a dignite. And fore asmoche as þise knyghtes shulde neuere araise a yenst þe emp(er)o(ure) of Rome, þey shuld make an open othe neu(er) to bere armes a yenst þe emp(er)ours. The which statutes were not only kept of þe king(es) of þat londe, but of all king(es) þan being vnder þe subiecc(i)on of Rome vnto þe tyme of Kinge Seuerus, kyng of Bretayne[476] which was aftr(e) emp(er)oure of [f.155r] Rome. Also he ordeigned þat in eueri londe þere shulde be a p(ri)nce of knyghtes, and anoþere a stewarde, the which shuld rule þe peple and do to hem rightwisnesse and restreyne hem fro all conspirac(i)ons a yenst the Empire of Rome. And right as a diademe eiþere a croune is þe ornament of a king, riȝt so he wold þat a pilion shuld be ornament of a prince, and a clothe frenged with golde shulde be þe cloþing of þe stuard. The which bothe degrees shuld be youe of þe emp(er)oure, that whiles þe prince of knyghtes and þe steward were oon with þe emp(er)oure, þer(e) shull be none in euery reme þat durst presume hem to disasent a yenst him.

Regnyng þan in þat londe, Kinge Seuere, the which fore to plese þe emp(er)o(ure) Dioclician, sent his sone þat hight Bassian with mony oþere lordes sones, with alle þe noble of Cornuaill, of Wales, of Scotlonde, and of Irelonde vnto þe nu(m)br(e) of a thousande v. hundreth and sexti.[477] Amonge the which þere was a p(ri)nces sone of Wales, in grete a ray, þat hight Amphiball, a goodly yonge man and well taught in þe langage of Latin, of Frenssh, Greke, And Ebreu. Also þere was in þat felashipp, a lord(es) sone of þe cite of Verolamie,[478] a semeli yong man of body and well a vised in his gou(er)naunce, which was called Albone. All

þis felashipp came to Rome in prosp(er)ite and were receiued of þe emp(er)oure with grete worshipp.

In þat same tyme was Seint 3epherinus[479] pope of Rome,[480] the which, seing so moche beaute of youth, labored in all þat he might to conuerte hem to þe feithe of Crist. And among oþere, he conuerted þe sone of þe prince of Wales secretely and taught him þe feith, and sone aftre baptiȝed him, þe which casting away all wordly pride toke vppon him wilful pouerte fore þe loue of Criste and continued his life in all p(er)fecc(i)on. And þere were many oþere of þat felashipp conu(er)ted in þo[481] daies.

Wher(e)fore, Dioclician,[482] whan he hadde knowlech þereof, he was gretely meued and co(m)maunded þat þei shulde be sought þorogh þe londe and þe see, and brought to his presence, but þei myȝt in no wise be founde. Þan Dioclician lefte þe sekynge of he(m) and ordeined a day yn which þise yonge knyȝtes shuld receive here ordere by his hondes and he him self gert her(e) swerd(es) a bought hem with his own hondes, enfourmyng hem of þe [f.155v] estate and gou(er)naunce of þis ordere, co(m)maundyng þat amonge al þing(es) þei shuld be p(er)fite men and kepe here bodies fro all foly and inordinate delectac(i)ons, taking vppon he(m) harnesse, and in all wise eschewe cowardise, redy to fight fore rightwisnesse, and if necessite fell to offre hem self to dy gladly þere for[e]. And also þat þei shuld neuere bere armes ayenst him þat hadde yeue hem so grete a worshipp, and fore no þinge in erþe þei shulde do no wronge, ne harme to [no] creature. Whan alle was fulfilled þat longed to þe othe of knyghthode, Bassianus, þe sone of king Seuerus, beynge þat tyme xxx^{ti} wynter(e), be sought þe emp(er)oure þat þei myȝt dedyen þe ffirst ffruit(es) of her(e) order(e) bi iustes or elleȝ knyȝtly excercises at Rome in his presens. Dioclician graunted him frely a provying and a co(m)mending gretly the manlye desiring of þat yong lorde, seying to him: "I oon yowe grete þonke of youre desire, and al þis weke ye shul iuste and turney with my knyghtes þat ben her(e) present. And in þe mene tyme, I shal sende aboute & calle oþer fro ferre contreyes to fulfill youre manly desire."

So al þat werke[483] Basianus with his Bretons diden so worthly in armes þat þei des(er)ued to be greteli praised of þe emp(er)our(e) and of all Romaynes. In þis mene tyme þat þis tornament was contynued by Basian and his felashipp, and by þe Romaynes, þe fficulnesse,[484] þe Speyners, and þe hardynes[485] with kniȝtes of Almayne, of Cipre and of Cretence[486] comen and deden in armes worthely. But þe victori was continuelli graunted to þe Britons and aboue all oþere of þe Britones, hadde Albon þe price of knyghti[487] strengthe, in whom abode þe sou(er)aigne name of victori whos armes, as it is seid, was of asure with a sauter of gold. The which armes aftre him bere þe noble and worþi kinge Offa,[488] þe ffoundre of þis monasterie, eiþere casuelly or miraculously vndere which armes he hadde euer glorious victories & aftere his dethe, he lifte þe armes in þe monasterie of Seint Albon raþer yelding hem a yene. And in þis wise, þorowe all Italie, þe fame of þe Bretons encresed gretly. But specialli þe emp(er)oure hadde ioy of her(e) worthinesse.

Whan all þise knyghtly ded(es) were ended, Bassianus asked leue of þe emp(er)our(e) to turne ayene to his awne contre with all his felashipp. The emp(er)o(ure) hauyng speciall loue to Albon before all oþere ffor(e) his semelyhede of p(er)sone and for his worþinesse of armes seid, "Ye shul with youre moste fauour(e) [f.156r] go a yene whan ye will: saue onli Albon shal abide in oure seruise and be oon of þe kepers of o(ure) body." And in þise wise, Bassiane w(ith) al his Britons and all oþer þ(at) come with him, turne a yene to her(e) owne contre, saue oonly Albone abode in þe s(er)uise of þe emp(er)oure .vij. yere.

In þis mene tyme, þere was a knyght þat hight Carausius[489] þe which by sufferaunce of þe senato(ure)s, was made keper of þe Bretissh see,[490] the which traitourly slewe Bassiane þat hadde receiued þe kingdom aftre his ffader(e) Se[ue]rus. And whan he hadde slayne him, he vsurped þe londe of Breteyne a yenst her(e) first othe. He denyed to pay the tribute þat was þan yeuen to þe emp(er)o(ure)s of Rome, and he yaue dwellyng places to þe Pictes[491] in Albaine, þe which is nowe called Scottelond. And fore þis cause þer(e) was sent fro Rome into Breteigne, a grete senato(ure), which was called Alectus, a yenst Caraucien with þre ligions[492] of knyghtes for to sle Careucian and to put him oute of mynde, the which slayne, the

Romaynes gretly oppressed þe Bretons ffore which cause, þei haue chose amonge hem the Duke of Cornuaile, þe which hight Asclepeodot, fore to resiste þe Romaynes, þe which slewe Alectus[493] in þe felde and put his felawe, þat hight Gallum to flight. And þei slew so many at London vppon þe ryuer of his name þei called Walbroke.[494] Than with oo will, þe Bretons haue chose Asclepeodot, duke of Cornuaill,[495] to be her(e) kyng, þe which, þouȝ he agreed to þe eleccion, he wold not bere þe crowne with oute þe ffauoure of þe emp(er)oure. Dioclician vnderstode þat þe Romaynes were slayne by þe depolucion of Bretons and oþere vnrightfull causes. He sent Maximian, his felawe, fore to croune Asclepeodot. And so at þat time, the Emp(er)o(ure) Dioclician hadde remembred him of þe noble s(er)uise and trouthe of Albon and hath ordeigned him prince of knightes þorowe all Bretaine and Stuarde of þe same Ile. And so he sent him home a yene into þe soile of his berth þat he might be with Maximien atte coronac(i)on of þe newe kinge, and also fore he shuld make his othe to Maximien after the custume bi reson of þe dignite þat was yeuen to him.

Whan all þise þinges were fulfilled, Maximien torned a yene to Rome with iij . m^{t}.li.[496] owing of þe time of Carausius, þe tiraunt, with many othere precious iuels fore to pees þe emp(er)oure. And so in þat time, Seint Pancian[497] sate in þe sege of Rome, the w(hi)ch by him self and oþere of his sesed not what by preching & [f.156v] doyng of miracles fore to conu(er)te þe Romaynes to þe feith of Crist. And so ferthforthli, he p(ro)fited in his worching þat in þe cite of Rome þere were conu(er)ted to þe right feith .xlvij.m^{t}.[498] the which, whan þe emp(er)oure hadde knowlech of, he was troubeled not a litull and co(m)maunded þat all þe senato(ure)s and þe worþi of þe kindome shuld come bi fore him fore to here what þei felt and what was to do in so streite a nede þat touched hem all. And whan þei were come, þei yaue her(e) avise þat þe pope shuld be called oute openly amonge all þe puple, and þer(e) he shuld be dampned with all his Cristen puple, and not oonly in þe cite of Rome, but ou(er) all yn euerylonde.

Thei haue ordeyned to seke þe Cristen, and to punyssh hem with diu(er)se tormentȝ. And ou(er) þat, he ordeigned þat all þe bokes of Cristen men shuld be brent & with holders

sleyne in eu(er)y place. The which ordinaunce, whan it was knowe amonge þe C(ri)sten þat were at Rome of diuerse p(er)ties of þe worlde, þei toke her(e) way into her(e) awne contrees. Amonge þe which, Seint Amphiball, þat be many yer(es) hadde dwelled at Rome in holi places, towarde þe soile of his birthe he dressed his way. And bi ledyng of oure lorde, he come to þe noble citee of Verolamie, wher(e) þer(e) was none þat wold receiue him into her(e) house and so he walked aboute þe stretes abyding þe comforte of God.

So it happed þat he met with Albon, which was lorde of þe cite and prince of knyghtes and senescall of all þe prouince w(ith) multitude aboute him of s(er)u(a)ntȝ cloþed richely with cloþes frenged with golde, to whom all þe citeȝeines & oþer strangers beren grete worshipp. And as sone as Amphiball segh hi(m), he knewe him anone. But Albone knewe not Amphiball, notwithstonding þat þei hadde passed the see towarde Rome in .oo. felashipp. Than Amphiball þat hadde foresake all worly armes and toke vppon hi(m) þe signe of a clerke, besought Albon of herborough fore the loue of God. The which Albone, with oute ony faile had euer be a louere of hospitalite, gladly graunted to þis clerke and receyued him benignely and mi(n)stred to him his necessari leving.

And whan he was p(er)ted fro his s(er)u(a)nteȝ, he went priuely to þis pilgrime and speke to him in þis wise: "How is it," he seid, "sith ye be a Cristen man, þat ye durst parte or passe þorowe þe p(er)ties of þe gentiles and come to þis cite vnhurt." To whom Seint [f.157r] Amphi[b]all seid, "Mi lorde Ih(es)u Crist, þe sone of God leving, hath be my suere gide and kepe[th] me amonge þe p(er)eles bi his might. And þat same lorde hath sent me into þis prouince fore I shuld preche and anounce þe feithe of Crist to þe gentiles þat þei be to him acceptable puple." And þan Albone seid, "What is he þat is þe sone of God? What is þat ye afferme, þat God shulde be bore? This ben newe tydingeȝ ffore I herde hem neu(er) be fore. I wold fayne wete what ye Cristen men fele þ(er)of." Than Amphiball seid vnto þe disputac(i)on of þe gospell[459] & seid to him: "Þe affermyng of o(ure) feith þat is þat we sey God þe ffader and God þe sone, to be þe which God þe sone, fore þe hele of man kynde, toke vppon him oure kynde of his grete benignite. And þus he procured þat he þat made man shuld be come

man, and he þat is maker(e) of virgines, shuld m(er)velously be made of a virgyne.[500] And whan þe tyme was come þat þis nouelte shuld be shewed, a heuenly message was sent to a virgine, the which whan he was entred to her(e) he seid, 'Haile ful of grace, oure lorde is with þe iblessid be þu amonge all women.' The which whan she herd þis salutac(i)on, she was troubeled in his word(es). Than þe angell seid to her(e): 'Drede þe not Marie, ffore þe holy goost shal come in þe and þu shalt bere a sone, and þu shalt call him Ih(es)u.' Than seid Mari to þe angell: 'How may þis be, sith I knewe neuer man?' Þe angell answered, 'The holy goste shal come in the and þe vertu of þe Almighty shall shadowe þe. Ther(e)fore, þat shall be borne of þe, shall be holy and called þe sone of God.' Than seid Mari to þe angell, 'Lo me her(e) þe s(er)u(a)nt of God. Be it to me aftere þi worde.' In þis wise, þe virgine to God, þe s(er)u(a)nt to þe lorde, the doughter deserued to be[r(e)] her(e) fader(e). The virgine is made a moder(e) and left not þe noblenesse of her(e) virginite. This þing was long time be fore talked of by þe prophet(es).

"Wherefore my goode ooste, if þu wolt bileue þise þinges to be true, all þinges þat longeth to þe feith may worthly be fulfilled anentes the foresothly if þu be made Cristen. Þu shalt inowe hele with namyng of þe name of Criste the blynde, þe lame and all maner of sikenesse. Þer(e) is none aduersite þat shal noy þe. Deth may not negh þe, but if it be þe will of þe creato(ure). But atte þe last, þu shalt ende þis life by marterdome, holy and blessed is þi p(er)ting hens þat shal passe fro þe world [f.157v] to God. Þe benigne lorde, wil recompence with heuenly life þe charitable office þat þu vsest."

Than seid Albone, "What reu(er)ence or worshipp shuld I yeue to Crist if so were þat I receyued þe feith?" He answered, "Bileue þat oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist, with þe ffader, and þe holy goost, be .oo. God. And þan þu doest a grete þinge in his sight." Than seid Seint Albon, "What is þis þat þu spekest, þu madde man? What talkest þu? Ther(e) is no þeson[501] in þi talkyng that may admite þine affermyng. Ne vnderstonding takeþ it not. If it wer(e) knowe in þis cite þat þu spekest suche þinges of C(ri)st, thu shuldest be punished as fore blasfeme &

haue þi hede smyte of. I am ful sore a ferde þat some aduersite take þe or þu go oute of þis place."

And with þat, he roos vpp and went oute all meued with anger, notwithstondyng þat he hadde ful paciently herde all þat he had seid. But he wold not shewe by his visage þat he was plesed with þe techinge. Amphiball abode al þat night allone in his p(ra)yers and Albon in his chambre resting, to whom mervelous þing of þe diuinite was shewed þat night. And as he was gretely affraied and troubled with þis newe vncouth sight, he roos anon and went downe to his ooste and seid, "Mi ffrende, if it be tru þat þu prechest of Crist I pray þe þat þu drede not to shewe me þe trouthe of my dreme. I dremed þat I be helde and segh a man come fro heuen with
170 inum(er)able multitude of men haue taken and dispended in him diu(er)se tormentȝ. Thei haue bounde his hondeȝ with cordeȝ and rent his body with scorgeȝ. His holy body þey hongen on a crosse. This man þat was þus tormented was all naked & hadde no shone on his ffete. His hondes and his fete wer(e) harde fastened with nailes and his side opned with a spere of þe which wounde of his side, þer(e) come oute a large streme of blode and water as me semed. Thei put a rede in his honde, and crouned his hede with a croune of sharp þornes, and fulfilled all þat mannys cruelte coude put vppon him. Þei scorned him with wordes seyinge to him, 'Aue rex Iudeo(rum). If þu be Godd(es) sone, ascende downe of þe crosse and we shuld beleue in þe.'[502] And in all þise despites þat goodly yong man answered no þinge to her(e) wordes. And whan þey hadde seid and done all þat þey couthe[503] atte laste, he cried w(ith) a hie voice and
180 seid, 'Pater in manus tuas co(m)mendo sp(iri)t(um) meum.'[504] And þus seid he and yeld the spirit. Þe body with oute þe soule was take downe of þe crosse, þe blode of þe woundeȝ ȝit largely [f.158r] flowinge[505] oute. Thei putte þe body into a sepulture and enseled þe stone, and ordeigned kep(er)s to kepe þe sepulture. A wondre þing þat þe dede bodi turned a yene to life taking his mightes,[506] he went oute of þe cloos monument. And howe he aroos fro dethe to life, I be helde with my p(ro)pur(e) eyen. Thanne come there men fro heuen cloþed in whight cloþing and toke þis man with hem and ladde him vp from whens he come and singers with oute numbr(e) folowed him, that by all þe way songine with oute styntyng and I wote not what,

and som continuelli blessed singing: 'Benedictus sit de(us) Pater de(us) filius q(ue) vnigenit(us).'[507] The ioy amonge hem was a grete an vnspekable, so ferth forþe þat none erthli ioy may be likened þerto. Thise þinges & many other þat is liefull fore non erthly man to tell, wer(e) shewed me þis night in a vision. But what it betokeneth, I pray the shewe me the trouthe and drede not.'

Whan Amphiball hadde herde all þis, he ioied more in oure lorde þan eny man couth thenk, knowyng well þat he was sp(ec)ialli visited of God. Than anon he brought forþ(e) þe crosse þat he hadde with hi(m) and seid, "Lo in þis signe þu maiste openli knowe what þi nightes dreme bitokeneth. The man þat þu seest come fro a boue is my lorde Ih(es)u Crist, the which denyed not to obey him self to þe torment of þe crosse ffor þ(at) he wolde deliuere vs bi his blode fore þe gilte þat we were streitly holden inne bi þe defaute of oure first fadere.[508] Tho þat ye segh set hondeȝ on him and torment hi(m) with diuerse peines, bitokeneth þe peple of þe Iues, the which hadden bi bihest þat God shuld sende his sone to hem fro heven. And at þe laste he come þat þei hadde al longe abide, but neþer þei receiued him whan he come, ne thei knewe not þe aucto(ure) of here helth. But in all þinge þei with seid him, and euer did him euell fore goode, and yeld hi(m) hate[509] fore loue. And atte þe laste, þei were so ladde be envye a yenst him, þat þei breke oute with þe grete wickednesse, and þei toke þat man in whom þey founde no cause of deth, þey crucified him and slewe him. Þus þat benigne lorde þat bought vs with his preciouse blode and so yn dying he was victor. And he, lift vp on the crosse, drewe to him all þingeȝ descendyng by his fre will to þe cloister of hell and vnbounde his owne þat were holde ther(e), and bounde the Fende wiþe eu(er) lasting bondes, and þrewe him downe to þe lowest place of derkenesse."

Than Albon, gretely merveling vppon þise wordes breke oute with a grete [f.158v] spirit and seid, "Thei ben vereli true þo þingeȝ þat þu hast seid of Crist. Ne þei mowe not in no wise argue any falsnesse, fore my self þis night knewe it euidently howe Crist ou(er) come þe fende and þrewe him downe into þe depe mouthe of helle. With my p(ro)p(r)e eyen, I be helde howe þat blak laye alle forewrapped in eu(er) lasting bondeȝ. And by þis, I knowe þat all þat

þu hast seid is vereli true, fro hens foreward I offre me to be þe moost true herer to þat þu shalt teche me. Telle me, I prai the, nowe þat knowest all what longeth me to do to þe ffader and what to þe holy goost. Howe shall I negh to þe s(er)uise of þe sone?"

The which wordeȝ, Amphiball hering with sou(er)eigne ioy, he seid, "I yeue thonking to my lorde Ih(es)u Crist þat þu canst shewe þise þre names bi þi self allone. Therefore þise thre sones,[510] þe which openli þu haste tolde here names, bileue only on God, sadly and truly knowlech him." Albon ansuerde and seid, "I beleue fulli, and þis is my feiþ(e) þat þer is no God but my lorde Ih(es)u Crist, þat fore þe redempcon of man wold take vppon him mankynde and susteyne the passion of þe crosse, he with þe ffader and þe holi goost is .oo. God. And besides him is non oþer." Þus seid he oft tymes and fill downe be fore þe crosse. And he be helde oure lorde as þouȝ he hadde honged on þe crosse, and mekeli þe blessed penitant asked foryeuenes. And so þan, continuelli he kissed þe hondeȝ and þe fete, as þough he hadde be vereli atte þe same place wher(e) oure lorde was crucified and segh all his passion with blode medled. The teeres renne down(e) plenteuously bi his mouthe þat thilk worshipfull crosse was all by wette.

Here he seid, "I foresake þe deuell and hate all þe ennemyes of Crist in him oonly beleuyng, and to him oonly I co(m)mitte me, the which þu affermest þat roos fro deth to life on þe third dai."[511] Than seid Amphiball, "Be stronge of feith, ffore oure lorde is with the and his grace wol not fayle þe ffore feith þat hath be taught to oþere men be fore þis tyme. Thu hast not only lerned of man, but bi reuelac(i)on of Ih(es)u Criste, wher(e)fore sith I am suer(e) of þe, I moste go ferther contrees shewe þe day of troubþe to þe panymes." Than seid Albone, "I beseche þe, maistr(e), abide with me .oo. weke, and in þe mene tyme, while þu shalt labo(ure) to shewe to me þe true doctrine of þe feithe, I may knowe and be more pleynely taught of þe worshipp þat longeth to Cristen religion." Amphibale, felyng[512] þan þat his partyng shulde be heuely take of Albone, [f.159r] consented.

And so eu(er)y day, as sone as it drewe to night, þe maistre and þe disciple eschewyng þe hante of men, drewe hem to a ferre place, whereyn was a litull house þ(at) was called

Tug(ur)rin. And there, alle þe nightes þei were in þe preysing of God. And þis did þei þat here counsell shuld not be knowe to vntrue leuers, þe which wold not folowe þe feith. And so in þis tyme, there was a panym þat hadde espied hem, the which toke his wai to þe iuge and boldeli shewed him all þ(at) he herde and left vntained no þing that might noye the innocentez, either compelle þe iuge to wodenesse. And whan it was knowe to þe iuge, anone he was sette a fire in grete wodnesse and co(m)maunded þat Albon and his maistr(e) shuld be brought to his presence that þei, with thoo þat were worþi of reu(er)ence, þei shuld offr(e) her(e) sacrafices to here godd(es). And if þei woll not, than þei shulde be take with violence and streittely bounde and leid vppon þe auter of her(e) godd(es) and þer(e)to be slayne in stede of sacrafice.

This iugement was not hidde fro Albone, þe which couetyng to go be fore þe malice of þe princes, he made Amphiball to go oute of þe towne and did cast vppon him a cloþe of gold þat he might þe more suerli be kept fro his ennemyes for(e) the dignite of þat cloþing was so grete in þat time and of so grete reu(er)ence, þat who so þat wered it might passe þorogh an ooste of men vndesesed. And Albone with helde to him self his maister slauen, knowing certeinly þat his cruel ennemyes couth not biholde him paciently with þat cloþing. Amphiball, doyng bi Albones co(u)nsaill, toke his wai erly or the day oute of þe citee toward þe northe and Albon led him on his way as longe as him þought nedfull. But whan þei shuld departe, and eu(er)ye toke leue of oþere, who myght with oute teres talk of þe pitous teers þei shedde? And so Amphiball hied him to his marterdome into Walys and Albone to þe cite of Verolamie cloþed in his maistr(e) cloþing so þat, in þat wise, he might prouoke þe panimes hertes a yenst him þe more lightly.

Whan the day was spronge sodeinly vnware, þere come to Albones place horsemen with grete power of fote men. And as wode men with grete crie and noise, þei sought all þe hidde places in his house and atte þe last þe come to þat Tigurin wher(e) þei founde þis noble man Albon in a pilgrim cloþing, kneling bare the fete bi fore þe crosse of oure lorde. Than anon, þat cursed felashipp rennyng yn and asked wher(e) [f.159v] was þat clerke þat he hadde receiued. To whom Albone seid, "He is with God bi whose helpe he is susteined þat he dredeth

not þe thretenyngg of men. Where to seke ye him?" And whan þei coude not finde hi(m) þat þei sought, the mi(n)stres of wickednesse t(ur)ned vppon Seint Albone all here c(ru)elte: þei toke him, thei drue him, þei bounde him with harde cheines. And some drewe him bi the cloþes, some by þe heer and þretened him in þe mooste cruell wise with many iniuries. And so þei brought him to here idole where all þe cite were[513] gadered to giders with þe iuge Asclepiodote.

But fore Albon wold be knowen vereli þe s(er)u(a)nt of God,[514] he bere ope(n)ly þe signe of oure lorde in his honde. The peynymes, be holdyng þis newe vnknowen signe were gretely troubeled and aferde. But þe iuge þat went bi fore all þoo of þe cite, bihelde þat signe and þat blessed man with cruell visage and thretenyng eyen whos wreth, it is seid, þat Albone despised so ferre forthe þat him list not to tell him of what kinrede he was come, ne whos s(er)u(a)nt he hadde ben. But among many questions þat were asked him he answered þat his name was Albon and þat he was fully a C(ri)sten man.

Than þe iuge beganne to speke to him in þise wordȝ: "Albon, where is þat clerke þat is entred into oure cite nowe newly speking of Criste, I not what for to begile and by iape oure citesens. Knowe it well þat he wold freli haue come be fore oure sight, but if his gilti conscience had remorded him and þat he had mistrest þe qualite of his cause and as a worthi maistr(e) alegged him for his disciple sothly howe moche gile and falsenesse is hidde in his doctrine. He hath shewed well bi þis ensample, whan him þat he shulde defende in his cause, he hathe forsake and fledde fro him for(e) drede. Be the which in dede þu maist euidently vnderstonde to howe folissh a man þu hast yeue þi consent þat nowe sodeinly arte wrapped in so grete madnesse, that all þat is in þis worlde þu woldest foresake anon and dredest not to despise oure grete godd(es). Wherefore, þat we be not seyne to ouerepasse lightely the iniurie doon to oure goddeȝ, it liketh vs to revenge þe dispising of hem be deth of him þ(at) dispiseth hem. But fore as moche as þere is none, but þat may be bigiled with penaunce and fore thinking þu maist bowe a way fro here indignac(i)on. The graces of whom then [f.160r] þu maiste des(er)ue so greteli in þis manere if þu wilt be departed fro þat moost wicked sete and do bi

holsome counsell, and deferre not to do sacrafice to oure godd(es), and þan þu shalt not haue oonli foryeuenes of synne, but more ouere, townes and men, gold, prouinces and all man(er) power shall lightly folowe the."

Than Albone, with oute ony drede of his threnyngg or ioy of his promisse, answered in þis wise to þe iuge: "O þu iuge, þi wordes in which þu hast sore labored howe þei ben veyne and sup(er)flue is openli knowe. That clerk, if it hadde þought him goode and profiable, and if bothe oure hert(es) hadde a corded þereto, he hadde come to þine audience. But I wolde not assent thereto in no wise, knowyng well þat þis puple is euer redi to euel. Fore þat iuge plesed neuer(e) to hem þat wold do riȝt wisnesse, in doine his doctrine I knowlech þat I haue receyued, and þat me repenteth no þing and þat I haue not yeue feithe to þe wordes of an on wise man, ne to none of þe co(m)mune puple. Perauenture, ye shul knowe bi þat þat folowe aftr(e), the feith þat I haue receyued þe feble and þe seke restoreth to here first hele. This to be tru preueth þe witnesse of here hele. Þis feith is more dere to me þan all þe richesse [þ(at)] thu be hightest me, more precious þan all þe worshipp þat þu p(ro)posest. Fore þough he hadde all þe richesse þat euer was, yit shall he dye, wil he nyl he, ne þat golde is kepte with so grete diligence may not call a yene his kep(er) fro deth. But wher(e) to shall I drawe my wordes alonge shortely? 3o(ure) is fals & failing. I will no[t] sacrafice to þe which haue norshed all my kynrede in veyne hope, ffore whiles þei besely s(er)ued hem, þei most wrecchedly deceyue hem."

This seid, sodeinli þere was made grete sorowe in þe puple. Here weping, þer(e) clamour(e) and multitude of noyse is sprongen vpp. But þis moost blessed mart(er) dredde not þe thre[t]nyngg of þe iuge, ne þe wodnesse of men þat stode aboute him. Than anon, þere come forth a grete turbe of panymes and with strengthe wold haue compelled þis holy man to do sacrafice co(m)maundyng him þat anon he shuld offre to here goddes. But þe mynde of .oo. man, a grete multitude miȝt not breke þat he wold in eny wise consent to her(e) moost cursed rites. Than by þe co(m)maundement of þe iuge, he was take and strecched oute to scorges. And as he was greuously bete, he t(ur)ned hi(m) to oure lorde with a gladde visage and seid, "Mi

lorde Ih(es)u [f.160v] Crist I beseche þe, kepe my mynde þat it meue not me ne þat she fall not away fro þe state þat þ(ou) hast youe here. Fore lorde, w(ith) al my herte I offre my soule to þe in veri sacrafice. And I desire to be made þi witnesse by shedyng of blode." Thise word(es) amonge his beting(es) he sowned, and as þe hondes of þe turmentoures wexen weri and yit þei hadde not þe effecte of þat þei desired, the puple hoping yit in some oþerwise þe mynde of þe ma[r]ter(e) to reuoke ffro his purpose, made him be putte vnder gou(er)naunce of þe iuge. And þer(e) he was .vj. wekeȝ & more.

And þan anon, þe eleme(n)tȝ bere witnesse of þe iniurie do to þe marter, for fro þe tyme of his taking into þe tyme þat he was assoiled fro þe bondeȝ of his flessh, there come neu(er) dud ne ioy ne vppon þe erthe, but eu(er) brennyng hete of þe sone and þe nyghtes were vnsuffrable hote, so þat neþer þe trees, ne þe feldes brouȝt forthe frute in eny wise. All elementeȝ fou[ch]ten fore þe rightwis man ayenst þo wicked men, but the Iuge Asclepeodot dred gretly to sle him ffore þe grete familiarite þat he hadde with Dioclicien and fore þe reu(er)ence of þe dignite, and fore pouer of his kynne vnto thes tyme þat he had enformed pleynly Dioclician of his conu(er)sac(i)on. And whan Dioclician hadde sene þis l(et)res of Asclepiodot, he anon sent his felawe Maximian Hercule,[515] yeving him power þorgh all Bretaine fore to do dome to puple and to destroi þe feith of þe Cristen and all her(e) chirches co(m)maundyng: Noo Cristen shulde be spared saue only Albon, ffore whan he occupied hi(m) seying, "Loke ye assai to bry(n)g yn Albon be all faire promisses and make hi(m) a ferde with þrethinges, and compelleth hym to turne a yene to oure secte. And if he wolt agree to oure prayers in oni cou(and) and co(m)maundementeȝ in þis p(er)tie where þat euer he will in all þe worlde, I shall make him grete & worshipfull. And if he wol not be conu(er)ted in no wise, late hi(m) be sharpely scorged, and if he be not þan corrected, ledde him to þe iugement þat shall be sich: late him be beheded by some knight þat is worshipfull in þe order of knighthode. And þe clerk þat hath conuerted hem, late be slayne with þe moste foulest deth þat can be imagened, þat þe biholders þere of mowe haue drede and horro(ure)."

Whan Maximianus come into Britayne, he toke with him þe kyng Asclepeodot and went streit into Verelamy for to fulfill þe co(m)maundent of Cesar(e) [f.161r] emp(er)oure. Than anon, Albon was brought oute of p(ri)son and be all þe weies þat þei coude ymagine, þei tempt hi(m) to p(er)u(er)te hi(m). But as þe s(er)u(a)nt of God haþe no cure ne þere to her(e) hem ne to do hem reuerence, þei hauyng indignac(i)on þer(e)of, anon þei ordeined a dai of iustice, the which co(m)men þei hadde iuged þat Amphiball, where euer he mai be founde, shal be take and cruelli scorged, and after þat, all naked be bounde to a stake fastened in þe erthe, and þan his navel to be opened and draw oute eueri bowell of his bodye and fasten þat bowel fast to þe stake. And þan speres & swerdes and knyfes compell him to go a boute, till all his bowell hing aboute þe stake.[516] And whan þis is do to haue his hede smyte of. Thise wer(e) þe iugement(es) yeuen in writyng ayenst Albone & Amphiball be Maximien and Asclepeodot.

Than all þe burgeis of Verolomie, of London and of all þe tounes aboute wer(e) soned þat þei shuld come þe next Thursday folouyng fore to here þe iugement & execucon yeuen by Maximien and Asclepeodot ayenste Albon, prince of knyghtes, and som(e) tyme lorde of Verolamye and senescall of all Bretayne. And at þat day sette, there come puple with oute nu(m)bre ffore to here and se þe nouelte of so grete a thing. Than was Albon(e) brouȝt oute of prison and monshed for to offr(e) encense to Iubiter and Apolyn, þe principall goodes of þe cite. The which holi marter, willyng in no wise to do it but eu(er) þat he preched so þat he conu(er)ted moo to þe feith of Crist and many of hem douted which feith þei myȝt cleue to. Than Maximianus and Asclepeodot yaf sentence vppon hem vnder þise wordes: "In the tyme of þe Emp(er)o(ure) Dioclician, Albon, þe lorde of þe cite of Verolamie, p(ri)nce of kniȝtes and senescall of all Bretayne terme of his life, hath despised Iubiter and Apolyn[517] and hem haue do derogac(i)on and vnworshipp, ffor(e) þe which cause, bi þe lawe, he is iuged to be dede bi þe honde of som(e) kniȝt, ffor(e) he is a kniȝt. His hede shall be smit fro þe body and þat his body be buried yn þe same place wher(e) he lost his hede,[518] þe sepulture of whom be worshipfull for worshipp of knyghthode wer(e) of he was prince. The crosse þat he bere i(n) þe slavyne he de[e]d be buried with hi(m) in þe erthe, his body þat it be wrapped in a chest of lede and leid in

a sepulture. This sentence þe lawe late ordeyned ffor he hath renyed þe principall godd(es)." [f.161v]

Than grete murm(oure) a roos amonge þe puple, and seiden þ(at) þei miȝt not esely suffre þe iniuries of so noble and so goode a man and namly his kyn and his frendeȝ which labored sore fore his delyu(er)aunce. This maner of m(er)cy Albon toke heuely lest he shuld haue be deferred fro his marterdome, stonding in mydd(es) of all þe puple with grete weyling biheld to heuen and drewe forth þe crosse of oure lorde and seide, "Lorde Ih(es)u Crist, I besech þe þat þu suffre not þe fende to p(re)vaile a yenst me bi his wileȝ and þat þe accorde of þis puple let not my marterdome her(e) enforsing, I beseche þe lorde, to make feble, represse her(e) boldenesse." And þan he, turnyng to þe peple seid, "What abide ye, whome susteyne ye? Se ye not well þat þe tyme passeth fast away? If ye woll not enclyne to þis sentenc, gooþ, takeþe counsell of yo(ure) lawes. Secheth þe statutes of yo(ure) cite and þat woll tech yowe what ye awght to do. What suffr(e) ye so longe abiding? Weteþe well all, þat I am a stronge ennemye to yo(ure) godd(es). Wheþer ye be worþi enye dignite, þe which is knowe nooþing, to haue in him of þe dyuinyte, ye youre self be her(e) witnesse, þat neþir þei here, ne see, ne vnderstonde. Desireth ony of yow so to here or to se as yo(ure) godd(es) þat ye worship? Nay hardely, what shul ye sey of suche godd(es) whan þe worshippers of hem wold hold hem despised to be like hem. O vanite! how moche þu arte detestable þat hopest lif of hem þat neu(er) had life, to offr(e) p(ra)yers to hem þat neu(er) herde, to seke hele of hem þat felt neuer wele. Wherfore, I anounce playnly þat who so worshipeth such godd(es) is worse þan madde. I p(ra)i yow, what is more wrecched þan þat man of whom his honde werk hath mercy. Ther(e)fore, wo to idoles what semeth yowe þise þinges."

Than all þe paynemes speke togidr(e) &, bi oon wil, þei haue assented to his deth, and þat to be doon þei haue chose anon a place which was called Holinherst.[519] But þan aroos a grete contenc(i)on amonge þe puple not finding by what maner of deth þei miȝt sle her(e) ennemye. Some wold haue him crucified as þe disciple of him was crucified. Oþer wold þat he shuld be biried quyk in þe erthe, ffor he was ennemye to her(e) godd(es). But þe iuge and all

þe puple of þ[e] cite, bi þe co(m)maundeme(n)t of þe emp(er)o(ure) wold haue his hede smyten of. Than bi þe iugement, Albon was drawe to his marterdom and al þe puple leuyng þe iuge in þe toune ronne oute to be hold þis m(er)veyll, þe which bisely folowed þis holy man w(ith) chiding & grete rebukyng(es) seying forth: "Oute þ(ou) ennemye of þis cite and [f.162r] of oure goddes. Go oute fast fore thi wickednesse calleþ þe þat þu may receyue þi mede fore þi merites." But þe blessed marter answered no word to him.

So moch multitude of peple come to be hold þis sight þat þe place which was large and brode bifore nowe, for þiknesse of men, semed wondr(e) narowe. And þ(er)w(ith) þe strength of þe sone was so grete þat wiþe þe brennyng of þe erth scalded þe fete of hem þat went ther(e)on. And so þei ledde hi(m) til atte laste þei come to a swyft ryver, atte which ryver, þe puple stonding might not lightly passe ouer(e) ffor grete prees. But as þei passing ou(er) vnordinatli, many one was shoft ou(er) and were drowned piteuosly. Than many of þe puple þat miȝt not suffre þis deliaying did of her(e) cloþes and sui(m)omen ou(er) þe ryver. Oþer þat couth not suioom presumed to do þe same and wrecchedly ended her(e) lyues in þe water. Wherefore þere was grete weping and grete sorowe in þe puple. And whan Albon þ(er)ceiued þis, he wayled and wept þe harme of þe puple perisshing and was gretly meved with m(er)ci vppon þe puple. He kneled downe and lift vp his hondes to hevene and dressed his my(n)de to C(ri)ste and seyde, "Lorde Ih(es)u Crist, of whos moost holy side I beheld both blode and water come oute, I besech þe þat þis water may be lassed and þ(at) þ(e) flode with drawe, so þat þis puple mowbe w(ith) me at my passion."

A wondr(e) þing, as Albone bowed downe his kne, þe water was anon dried vpp þe whiles sent Albone shed oute teres þer(e) left no watr(e) in þe reuer, his orison drewe vp þe vertu of þe water of þe ryver & shewed a way to þe puple. Þan miracles bigon to encrese and þe m(er)it(es) of Seint Albon were more clerli shewed bi þe m[y]ght of Crist for(e) þe creatures þat a litul be fore were rauisshed and lost bi strength of þe ryvere, bene nowe founde in þe depnesse of þe ryver hauyng no harme, ne no token of deth shewed vppon hem.

Than oon of þe kniȝteȝ þat drewe Albon to his torment, des(er)ued[520] to com(e) to his
30 sauac(i)on by Seint Albone, ffore whan he segh þise glorious miracles þat God did fore hi(m), he þrew away his swerde and fill down to þe grounde and seid, "I knowlech myn erroure and aske foryeuenesse" & w(ith) grete weping seid ayene, "O Albon! þe s(er)u(a)nt of God, verely þi God is all miȝty God and none but he. And þerefore I knowlech fro hens foreward me to be his s(er)u(a)nt, ffor þis flode þat be þe preyers be turned to nought, bereth witnesse þat þer(e) nys none like to hi(m) of miȝt and of doing m(er)veiles vppon þe erth."

This herde, anon wodnesse encresed in her(e) s(er)u(a)ntes of wickednesse encresed fercely [f.162v] turning to hi(m) & seid, "It is not as þu seist, ne as þu affermest þat by Albon þis ryvere is so sone vanished away, but we to whom þe secrete þinges of sciens be youen be þe benignite of oure goddes kon shewe whi þis þing is fall. We oonli worshipen o(ure) goddes
40 and aboue al þinges, we do hem grete reu(er)ence and þei, hauyng mynde of oure deuoc(i)on and fore our(e) ese, þei haue take vpp þe water by þe strength of þis grete hete so þat all þis multitude, al hole and sounde, mowe with gladde eyen be holde þe deth of o(ure) ennemye. But sothly þu þat presumest to turne the benefice of oure godd(es) to oþer wicked interpretac(i)on hast deserued þe peyne þat longeth to blasfeme."

Whan þei seid þus, þei toke þe knyght and drewe oute his teth. And þat holi mouþe þat hadde bore witnesse of þe trouth was greuously bete with wicked me(n) but as so many houndes miȝt not suffice to peyne þat .oo. me(m)bre of þe body, [þan went to all þe body] and brest all his bones and left no þing on hi(m) vnhurte, saue oonly feith, which was so feruent in his brest þat þei myȝt in no wise hurt it. And his bodi is alto rent, þei left him half dede vppon
50 þe sondes.

But who might with teers recorde how þis moost holi man was ledde þorow harde breres and þornes and among þe sharp stones, so þat þe precious blode of his fete colored þe wey þat he went yn and þe stones were al blody? Than atte laste, þei come to the hill wher(e) þat þis holy goddes knyght is fore to ende þe course of his bataile. Ther(e) lai in þat place, a company with oute nu(m)br(e) þat with þe hete of the sone wer(e) ny stuffed and dede fore

hete and threst, þe which whan þei say Albone, þei gneysshed her(e) teth vppon hi(m) seying, "O þu moost wicked man, how þi wickednesse is so grete þ(at) þu makest vs die with oute remedye, ffor(e) by þe arte magik þat Albon stenteth non to werk. Oure daies be do and we be p(er)shed." The wrecchednesse of who(m) Seint Albone sorowed with grete affeccion and with feruent hete of charite to yeue vp praiers for his p(er)secuto(ure)s he stented not. "Lorde," he seid, "þat madest man of erth, I besech þe suffr(e) not þi creatures in eny wise to p(er)issh in eny cause. Þe eire, blessid lorde, make it temp(er)e and sende plente of waters, þe wynde[521] and to blowe more fresshly and þat þis þrest & hete þat þis puple is labored with be þi mercifull yift be sone restreined." And in þe mene tyme þat he preied in þis wise, sodeinly þer(e) sprong vpp a well [f.164r][522] atte his fete and þe puple stonding all abought a m(er)velous vertu of Crist. Þe erth was gretely brent with þe sone and yit fro þe coppe of þe hill, and fro þe poudri erth a colde wel sprong vp anon, flowyng al aboute wiþ large stremes rennyng downe to þe lowest p(er)tie of þe hill. Than ronnen þe puple to þe water & dronken and were gretly refresshed. And þus, bi þe m(er)it(es) of þis holi man, all her(e) m(er)ites wer(e) quenched. But yit, fore all þis þei þrested continually mannys blode, þei were relesed of threst of þe body, but þe feruo(ure) of her(e) cruelte was not lassed, hele was goten to þe seke, but þei wold not knowe þe aucto(ure) of helth.

Wher(e)fore, in blasfemeyng Crist, þei seid, "Worshipp and preising be to þe grete god Venus þat haþe vouchedsaue to prouide remedy to his s(er)u(a)nteȝ þat were so harde be stadde in yeuyng vs plente of water in oure grete nede." This seid anon thei toke þis blessid marter and bounde hi(m) to a stake abought and souȝt amonge þe puple who shuld do þis dede. Oon was redy anon, and toke a swerde and with gret cruelte he smote so þe holi mart(er) in þe nek þat his hede was p(er)ted fro þe body.[523] [f.163r] At .oo. stroke þe body falling dou(n) to þe grou(n)de, þe holy soule redy to heue þe hede honging on þe bowe by hys here þ(at) was wrapped aboute. Þe crosse þat he hadde in his honde al blody, fill vpon þe erþe oute of his honde. The whiche oon þ(at) was priuely Cristen, vnwiting þe paynems, toke & hidde it and as þe turmento(ure) þ(at) slowe him had smyte þat stroke, boþe his eien sterte oute of his heed,

but þis wreche myght i(n) no wise be restored to his hele. Wherfore many of þe paynemes spucing togidres, seide þ(at) þis venghau(n)ce come of gret rightwesnesse.

Whan þis was done, sodenly þat knight þ(at) was lafte half dede a litel before in þe sandes bynebe & forsaken of þe paynems as for deed, enforsing himself as he mighte, he crepte vpon his hondes to þe coppe of þe hille where Seint Albon was bihedid. Than þe iuge sawe him and began to scorne þe miracles þ(at) were done þer(e) by Seint Albon and seide, "O þou lame & croked, now praie þyn Albon þ(at) he restore þe to þy first hele, renne & hye þe
490 faste, leeue þe body & take þe heed þ(at) þ(ou) may by him resceiue hele. Wherto tariest þ(ou)? Go burie þe dede & do hy(m) seruice."

Than he, ysette al afire wiþ charite, seide, "I bileue stedfastly þ(at) þe blessid Albon, by his m(er)ites, may gete me parfit hele & he may bringe our(e) saueour(e) to suche m(er)cy þ(at) it may lightly be fulfilled in me þ(at) ye saie now in scorne," & whan he hadde seide þis, þe holy martir beclipped þe heed & reu(er)ently vnsesid þ(at) holy relike. Than þ(at) febel knight broughte it to þe body & sette it þerto wiþ his hondes. And þan anoon, þer(e) fill a gret m(er)ueile, for þis knight began to recou(er)e all his mightes & was restorid to his first hele. Þe whiche anoon, stintid not to preche to all þe peple þe might of oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist and þe merites of Seint Albon & þen, he was more streng(er) to labour(e) wiþ his oone hondes, he
500 yelde due s(er)uice to þ(at) holy seint. He buried þe body[524] in þe erþe & leide a tombe ou(er) hym & whan þe paynems sawe what he dide, þei were fulfilled wiþ stele & spake togidres & seide, "What shul we do? Þis man may not be slayn wiþ noon yren, we had all to broste his bones and he is restored to his first strengþe & his flesshe is all hool & ne faire as eu(er) it was. What shul we more do to him? Ordeine we a cou(n)seile what we ought to do."

Than oon of hem stode vp among hem & seide, "Þis man {gd}he[525] þer(e) may no swerde sle him, but if he wer(e) dismembred before membre fro membre, for he is an enchaunto(ure) & by his arte magike þer(e) may noon yren noye him." The whiche þinge anoon, herde þe knight & was co(m)maundid to be take & bou(n)de wiþ iren cheynes & þan his body was al torente & at laste þei smoten of his heed & so [f.163v] þis blessed knight

p(er)seuering in þe feiþe of Crist vnto þe ende, deserued to be lifte vp by croune of martirdome þat same day soly wiþ moost blessed Seint Albon(e), & he þ(at) was made felowe of passions lefte not þe felouship of consolacions.

Whan this m(a)rtirdome was fulfilled, the iuge yaaf licence vnto all the peple forto gone home ayen & as the peple wente homward. They despiseden and gretly lotheden the cruelte of the iuge and seyden, "Woo to þ(at) iuge in whom is noon equyte and woo to that iuge in whos dome woodnesse hath lordship and not rightwesnesse and that endith his sentence oonly by wille withouten resoun."

The next nyght folewynge, our(e) lorde Ih(es)u hath declared by evident tokenes the merites of his seruantes Seynt Albon, for whan the nyght come, there was seen a clere beme come fro hevene strecchyng right dovn vpon the sepulcre of Seynt Albone and aungeles all the nyght descendynge and goyng vp ayen with hympnes and preisynges, dryvyng farthe all þat nyght. And amonge oþre songes that they songe, þis voice was moost contynuely herde: "Albon, the gloriouse man is a nobil martir." And as the concours of the peple come to this spectacle more and more, the nombre encresced of the beholders, the whiche peple stondyng & wondring were troubled wiþ þe vncustumable light and the nouelte of this thinge, thei turned it in to a myracle. Tha(n)ne oon of hem whiche sawe the peple stonde so astonyed and afraide seide, "This merveile that we beholde is openly wrought by Crist the sone of God. And tho false goddes that we haue worshiped vnto þis tyme, thei ben rather preued fendes, tha(n)ne havinge eny godhede with hem. Oure werkes haue ben vnprofitable werkes and oure days haue foluwed oute in ydelnesse. Loo! the derkenesse of the nyght is couered with the light of heuene and the citezeynes of hevene goon and co(m)men contynuelly preisyng the holynesse of Seynt.[526] Allas!" he seide, "the worlde is now all wrapped in derkenesse, but the clernesse of Seynt Albon suffrith no derkenesse, for hys merites mowe not be derkid. There fore we that haue vsed[527] an vnprofitable religion vnto þis tyme. Late vs nowe dampne þe old errour(e) and turne we fro falsenesse to trouth and fro all fals feith to a true feith. And go we seke þat blessed man of God, þe which conuerted Albon as ye know by his p(re)dicac(i)on. How tru it is þat he

spelleth of Crist, ye mowe openly se by þise merveils þat ben shewed by Albon, ffore þe werkes þat ben don(e) by þe disciple with oute faile bere witnesse of þe wordes of þe maistr(e)."

And as þis man had spoke þise wordes, all þo þat herd him receyued his preysable sentence with fauo(ure) and anone, þei foresake her(e) first erro(ure) and þe feith of Crist is preched of all. And as sone as þei miȝt, þei dressed here way toward(es) Wales where þei hoped to fynde Amphiball, þe s(er)u(a)nt of God, and þei were not deceyued for her(e) opyneon, ffore with yn a while aftre þei hadde knowlech wher(e) he was bi þe fame of his holynesse. And whan þei come into Wales, þei founde hi(m) p(re)ching þe worde of God to all þe men of þat region. And whan þei hadde tolde him þe cause of here co(m)myng and offred to hi(m) þe crosse þat he hadde som(e) time taken to Albon, which was all rede of fressh blode þat was shed vppon him of þe marter, which was an euident token to Amphiball of his marterdom. Than anon, þis holy man yeuyng sou(er)aigne þonking(es) to God for(e) all þise þinges [f.164v] bowed him a downe and worshipped the crosse with dire reuerence and deuocion, and than he made a solempne sermon to thise newe herers. Than anon, all thei consented to the feithe, castynge awaye the superfeccion of here vanyte and receyued gladly of his holy hondes þe sacrament of bapteme.

And as many dayes passed, þe ffame of þis dede is talked of in all þat region. The which, bi prossesse of tyme, came atte laste worde here of [to] the cite of Verolamye, affermyng þat diuerse men of that cite haue folowed a strange man, and by his steringe þei haue with all her(e) hertes caste awaye the worshyppe of here goddes and the lawes of here contre, which thingge herde, all the cite was meued & troubeled. Than þei sought who went and þei founde that thei lakked a .m^{t}. men of þe cite whose names were anon writen. Than they araied hem fore þe werre and with grete noyse thei goo to bataille warde. Heryngge thanne the holy name of Amphiball, with yn fewe daies thei come there he was and hem that they sought þei founde aboute him intendyng to his sermons. The which seyne, anone oon of hem with grete cruelte hath a resounde þat holy man and seid, "O thu deseyuoure and moost wicked of all

men! Whi hast þu þus with thi begiling wordes deceyuest þise vnwise puple þat coude not be ware of þi wiles? What hast þu do? Thi steryng hathe made hem to foresake her(e) lawes and presumed hem to forsake here goddes? How is it that thu dredest not to wreth oure goddes? Thu shalt in no wise fele ease thereby, ffore if hem lust to reuenge þe iniurie þat ye haue do to hem, weteth it well that ye shull all perissh. But if thu wilt appere vngilty with þise þat þu hast brought yn bondes of þine erroure comaunde hem þat þei departe from here newe erroure and
570 turne a yene with vs into oure contre and if so be þat þei be so presumptuose in her(e) erroure that þei wil not consent to turne a yene, ther(e) shal not one leue a life of hem, but þei shull be slayne. This sentence shall stonde."

Than oon of þe Cristen þat was all set a fire with þe hete of feith answered for þe clerke seying, "This man þat þe beholdeth p(er)auenture þis same day ye shull preve þat he is a verry s(er)u(a)nt of God, ffor(e) we trest [f.165r] that in oure sight he shalle restore some sike man to his first hele by the name of Criste. And wite it welle that we be come to his holinesse and alle that longeth to the feithe of Crist is fulfilled in vs, hopyngge that he shall make vs partiners of eu(er) lasting life. God defende that eu(er) þ(at) wickednes be fou(n)de i(n) vs þ(at) we for(e)sake þe steppes of þis holi man & folowe yowe a yene in yo(ure) veyne sup(er)ficience.
580 But we wil consail you to take þe feiþe of C(ri)ste p(ro)uoked by o(ure) ensample & leue your(e) strife þat ye mai com(e) with vs to endeles ioy, ffor(e) as touching vs, we be all redi for(e) þe loue of Crist gladli to suffre deth. God o(ure) lorde ordeigne for his s(er)u(a)nteȝ as him list. Whereto enforce ye yowe to reuoke vs fro [a] good & a p(ro)fitable p(ur)pose. Weteþ well þ(at) we lest onys for Crist, we shul neu(er) turne a yene þer(e)to and þerfor(e) þis sentence shal holde." Whan þe panymes herd þis, þan anon þei wer(e) set all a fire with anger and ronnen to armes and shedden þe blode of þe innocent(es). Allas what pite it was to se howe cruelly þe wicked mi(n)stres demened he(m), ffor þe fader spared not to sle þe sone, þe broþer his broþer, þe sone þe ffader, þere was no reu(er)ence yevi(n)g to age ne m(er)ci to kinrede. Sothli þe holi mart(er)es obeied hem freli & gladli to þe c(ru)elte of þe swerd(es) of þi
590 terantes.

Sei(n)t Amphibal al biclipped w(ith) dede bodies on eu(er)i side hi(m) r(e)co(m)maunded þ[e] soules to God with spi(ritu)al ioi of her(e) victori. And þa(n) þise wicked mansleers t(ur)ned all her(e) wreþ vppon Amphiball & sworen þ(at) þei shuld neu(er) ete vnto þe time þ(at) þei had brouȝt hi(m) quik or dede to her(e) cite. Þei bounden his hondes to gidre with harde cordes and drof hi(m) forþ[e] bi for(e) her(e) horse for þei were al on her(e) hie horses but onli Amphiball went bar(e) fote. But þ(e) ner(e) þ(at) he neghed Albon, þ(e) mor(e) esy he felt his iniurie & in his labo(ure) in þe wey. And as þei labored in her(e) wai, þei fou(n)de a seke man which was come fro Verolamie toward Amphiball. Bi fortune, he fil so sike bi þe wai þ(at) he miȝt no ferþer w(ith) his felaship. And as þe sike man p(er)ceiued þat
600 Amphiball passed by hi(m), he began [to] call & sey: "Seru(a)nt of þe hie God help me þ(at) I, which am depressed w(ith) grete siknes, may be releued bi þi p(ra)yers, ffor(e) I beleue if þu wilt name ou(er)[528] me þe name of Crist þat þ(ou) maist lightly gete me hele."

Thise turmento(ure)s, not inowyng, ber(e) þe inportunite of þis clamo(ure) louggen hi(m) to scorne, but w(ith)oute ony tarying vnder her(e) scor(n)efull eyen, þe sike man a roos and bi vertu of him þat was streitly bounde his sore bondes of sikenes wer(e) so losed. And þis don, þe went forth in her(e) way, but þat miracle doon myȝt be no counseill but anon it was sprede abrode all þat region. Also þe same turmento(ure)s toke hede þ(er)of, so ferforthly þat som(e) of hem [f.165v] glorified God seying, "A how þ(e) God of C(ri)sten me(n) is g(re)te & miȝti & ful of v(er)tu."

610 Than atte laste, þei come to þe soile of her(e) berth so nye þ(at) þei miȝt se her(e) cite & þei were ner(e) ou(er)come with anger an labo(ure). Þei rested a while & refresshed hem & set her(e) speres & her(e) swerdeȝ by hem and did of her(e) shildes. And whiles all oþer rested, oonli Amphiball streitli bounde had no rest, and þogh he wer(e) harde co(n)streyned with bondes, yit he stynt not to p(re)che þe worde of God to his p(er)secuto(ure)s, ffor þe worde of God miȝt not be bounde.

In þis mene tyme, tiding(es) come to þe cite þat þe citeȝeynes of þ(at) cite were t(ur)ned ayene and þe maistr(e) of Albon with hem, ffor to do solempne and acceptable sacrafice to þe

godd(es). And whan þis was herde, grete ioy & gladnesse was þorow þe cite for(e) þei t[ro]wed[529] þ(at) þei had brouȝt wiþ hem þo þat þei went aftr(e). But whiles þis gr(e)te ioy was amongest hem, sodeinly ther(e) come to þe cite [on] of [þis] turmento(ure)s & seid, "All o(ure) labo(ure) is loste, ffore þo þat we hoped to haue brought(e) a yene, ben al peressht with swerde." And whan þei herde þis, all her(e) ioy and gladnesse was turned into sorowe and weping; þe ffader fore þe son(e), þe broþer for þe broþer, cosyn for(e) cosyn, neigbo(ure) fore neghbo(ure). Thei rent here cloþes and þorowe þe cite was clamo(ure) and sorowe, her(e) weping, her(e) weiling & seying amonge: "Wo to vs! Whi comen þis sorowe vppon vs? Vndedli[530] go, ne p(ra)y þe if euer(e) we did þe s(er)uise distroi þis man & reuenge o(ure) sorowes & o(ure) iniuries in him."

Whan þis tormento(ure)s p(er)seiued þe vntollerable sorowe þ(at) þe puple made, he went a mong hem and seid, "O ye citeȝeynes! Wepeth not þus ou(er)e mesur(e), restreyne yo(ure) teeres, receyueth conforte þat ye be not seen to haue envye of þe ioy of yo(ure) children. It is no nede fore to make ou(ere) grete sorowe vppon þe dede whos deth is liff and of whom ioy foloweth þe sorowe. We knowe wel þ(at) þer(e) is no sorow gr(e)tter þan þe departing of frendeȝ bi deth & nameli among vs wher(e) no hope of co(m)fort co(m)meþe after, but þat be þus passed be raþer, for(e) to make ioi fore hem þan forto sorowe for he(m), þe which blessidly regnen w(ith) C(ri)st. Ne we shuld in no wise make sorowe but gretely yif þonking(es) to Crist þ(at) vouchesaueþe of his spi(ritu)al g(ra)ce to take so grete a multitude of þis towne and lede he(m) w(ith) hi(m) to his blisse. Hereth first what was done aboute þis dede and ye shul knowe þat yo(ure) weping is in veyne."

And þei swore þan þ(at) þei wold in no wise medle her(e) tale w(ith) ony falsnes and þan þei began her(e) tale in þis wise: "We went oute, as ye knowe, to seke o(ure) kyn & o(ure) frend(es) i(n)to Wales wher(e) we [f.166r] fou(n)de þis clerk p(re)ching. And þan we, w(ith)oute oni noise, disseu(er)ed o(ure) frend(es) fro(m) oþ(ere), and we seing þ(at) i(n) gr(e)te ang(er) ren to armes and reuenged the iniure of oure contemptes in slaughter of hem of oure cite. And verelych eche of hem stryved wiþ oþere who might sones come vnder þe

swerde and with grete gladnesse þei toke here dethe fore Crist. And it was a pitous sight to se how þe ffader slowe þe sone. There was no merci, ne no reu(er)ence was youe to age. Alas, fore sorowe we mowe not reherce þis deth wiþ out(e) grete wailing and sorowe. Whan al þis woful iorney was done, lo þat Ih(es)u, ffore who(m) þei hadde youe here lyues, bihelde fro heuen and seid with a clere voice: 'Cometh to me, my knightes, ffore þe yate of heuen is open to yowe, þat blisse þat neu(er) shall lesse is ordeigned to yow, and þe ioy þat neu(er) shall faile is redy to yow.' Þe which þing herde of vs, we wer(e) fulfilled with more ioy þan oni man mai þenk, vnderstonding þ(at) oure frendes and oure kyn wenten from deth to heuen and dwillen with Criste. And vs þouȝt þat we were blessed þat we had suche kinrede þat were citeȝeines with angels and þat Crist list to come and mete with hem. But not with stonding our(e) ioy, we were greteli troubeled and a ferde with þis dyvyne heryng, that we desired to know howe mani hadde fall by þat sclauter[531] and we accoumpted the dede bodies and founde .ixc. and xxx^ti. And all suffred deth fore þe loue of Crist and þere þe bodies lay all trode with horse fete þat we might not knowe oon frome anoþere. But whiles þis holi man offred vpp his praiers to God for(e) grace to þis nede, sodeinli all the woundeȝ of þe dede bodyies were woxen hole and here blode is turned vnto likenesse to mylke and here flessh is turned a yene to here first fourme, so ferforth þat no token of woundeȝ was seen in hem. This is þe trouth þat we knowlech of þe fourme of man which we had take away be oure cruelte was (re)stored a yene bi the praier of þe right(e)wis man.

"Than þe puple turnyng þe benefice of Crist to þe worse p(er)te ayene seid þe vertuose of Criste[532] in all þing and denyed þe bodies of her(e) sepulture in all wise. But the grace of oure lorde was nye which wold glorifie his s(er)u(a)nteȝ aftre here deth and yelde here ennemyes more m(er)cifull to hem. He sent sodeinly an egle and a wolf[533] to kepe þe dede bodies, þe wolf fore to kepe hem from wild bestes, and þe egle from all man(er) foules of raueyn. And þis [wan] was seien, þe puple þ(er)ceiued anon [f.166v] þat þei were sent fore her(e) kepinge and þan was þere a grete m(er)veile. The Walssiuen wondred þe pittes were a ferde,[534] þe wodnesse of man cessed a yenst hem þat the devyne powere defended. Than shuld

ye see of all p(er)ties þe puple with grete concourse co(m)myng abought hem and with grete reuerence biclipping þe reliques of þe maistres. And þo þat þei hadde a litull be fore in grete scorne and dispite, nowe þey wer(e) gladde to yeue hem due s(er)uice in her(e) birying and yaue sou(er)aigne þonkingeȝ to þe high God þat wold vouchesaue to halowe þe region with þe blode of so many worthi men. All þis multitude þat went oute to gidr(e) haue seen and herde all þat we haue tolde, and of all þise þinges we be veri witnesse."

Whan theise turmento(ure)s had seid all þat þei wold of þise m(er)veiles, þe puple be gon to stynte of weping and lesse here sorowe. And manye þat herden it preised þe myght of Crist, and of here frendes yoye þey ioyden and seid, "The God of Cristen men is grete and miȝti þat yeldeth his s(er)u(a)nteȝ so glorio(us) yeftes. A synfull man might not hele þe woundes of dede bodies. Sothely he is a goode leche þat so sodeinli can call a yene þe first hele to his s(er)u(a)nteȝ woundeȝ. Of þis, if I may lightly begadered howe grete þe m(er)ites of þis clerke is a fore God, and howe goode it is to beclip his s(er)monies, þat bi his oonly preyers might gete all þo þingeȝ þat we haue herde of yow."

Than þe iuge, heringe þise wordeȝ, fore to plese þe panymes, breke oute in a wode maner seying þise wordes: "Howe longe shall we suffre þis disclaundre? This man may not be of God þat bi his word(es) hath slayne so many innocent(es). This clerke can deceyue with his wordeȝ þe eyen of hem þat biholde him and þat þat is false he maketh hem deme þat it is tru by his deceyuyng word(es). The worthiest of oure cite be p(er)shid, and þerefore we co(m)maunde þat who so euer folowe þis man or magnifie the wordes of þise bochers wher(e) eu(er) þei be founde þat þei be punshed with swerde." Than he sent fore all þe puple and seid to hem, "Go we oute a yenst oure ennemye, and þat we may knowe þat he hath offended vs all and we shull shewe our(e) vengaunce vppon him."

And þis seid, all þe puple ronne, toke in her(e) hondeȝ what þei founde of wepen and þei cridd ech to oþer(e): "Go! go fast." And so þei drew oute of þe cite toward þe northe. The puple þat went oute of þe cite was so grete a multitude þat þei myȝt [f.167r] not be remembred, and [so] þei left here cite all voide. In þis mene tyme, oon of hem þought þat þei taried to longe,

he toke a bipath and longe er his felawes come, he was where þis holi man stode harde bounde,
700 þan anon crualli, he dispoiled him and opned his nauel and drewe oute a bowell, and stikked a stake fast in þe erth and tied þe bowel þereto, and w(ith) scorges drof þis holi man abought þe stake. And as þis holi marter among all þise tormentȝ, by þe yelft of God, yaf no token of sorowe ne disese. The tormento(ure)s seyng þis more and mor(e) sette a fire with wodnesse, þei ronnen on him with swerd(es) and sper(es) and co(m)pelled him continualli to renne aboute to all þe bowelleȝ honge vppon þe stake. This holy man stode stabeli with a glad visage as þough he had suffred non harme and the token of his marterdome he shewed in all his body, ffore he was a m(er)vell to all þe puple wondring þat amonge so mani diuerse tormentȝ þat he might lyue. Wherefore many of the puple, by þe touching of grace, weren compuncte and forsoke her(e) idoles and obeied hem to þe Cristen feith, praying þe marter þat by his holy
710 praiers, þei miȝt des(er)ue to be p(er)tiners of that endelese blisse that God hath ordeined for him, ffor geting of which blisse þei dred not to forsake here bodeli life.

Whan þe princes knewe þis, anon þei called tormento(ure)s and co(m)maunded hem to sle all þo þat hadde forsake þe worship of her(e) godd(es) and folowed þe teching of þe clerke. Thei anon fulfilled þis co(m)maundement and haue slayne of þat felashipp a.m^{t}. men, þe which sclachter blessed Amphiball biheld and with grete ioy, reco(m)maunded here soules to God. Than oon þat was elder[535] þan a noþ(er), spak to þis holy man and seid, "O þ(ou) moost wicked of al men, whi hast þu with þi begiling word(es) deceyue[d] þis simple and vnwise puple? What hath oure cite offended þe þat þu so c(ru)elli dispoiled þe puple? Þu arte cause of þe deth of þis puple. Wherefore þu stondest as þu seest, all fore wounded and arto be set with
720 þine ennemyes rounde aboute þat þu maist in no wise fle. And yit þough þu haue proued bothe god and man to wreth a boue all mesure þu maist des(er)ue here grace by sorowe and forþinking. And þis shal be þe shewing of þi penaunce þat þu forsake þe secte and worshipp oure godd(es) þat þu hast offended. And be not sory for þat is done, ffore oure godd(es) mowe restore the to þi first [f.167v] hele and make al þi woundes ful hole of þi bodi."

Than seid Seint Amphibal, "O þ(ou) payne(m), wit it wel þat þu offendest greteli in þat

þ(ou) enforsest þe to lift vp þi godd(es) bi false p(re)ising. Onli my lord Ih(es)u C(ri)st areiseth þe dede and yeuef hi(m) life. And soþeli þo godd(es) þat ȝe worship an deme hem miȝti in heuen, sufferen ful mighti tormenteȝ in hel, ffore þer is þe mynde of eu(er) lasting dwelling places of hem, for þer is weping and gnaisting of teth, þere bene þe wormes þat shal neu(er) dye and þe fire þ(at) shal neuer quenche. The vnrighwis men, þe anoutrers þei cursed, shul be made here felawes and p(er)tiners wiþ hem in torment. And al oþer which, while þei lyued here, ȝalde hem self to þe fende bi reprouable werkes, þe wil of whom þei folowed bi accorde of vices, þei shul not faile here felaship in suffring of torment(es). Therefore, thu paynemys, with oþere þat ben here with fals worshippers of idoles, but if ye forsake þe sonner yo(ure) erro(ure) of yo(ure) false secte, and þenkeþ þ(at) þe m(er)ci of God is grete and despeire yow not & be conu(er)ted to þe feith of C(ri)st lest ye fal in al þise sorowes, þan ariseth fro yo(ure) wicked weyes and co(m)meþ to þe g(ra)ce of bapteme, reneþ w(ith) most hast for what bapteme yeueþ take hede diligently. In receyuyng þe sac(ra)ment of bapteme sinnes be for(e)yeue. And heuen is opned to man and it makeþ in maner, a newe c(re)ature and þo þat were first bi her(e) gilt, þe sones of þe fende, ben made after þat, bi grace, þe sones of God. To þis grace, I counsel yowe to fle in haste þat ye mow eschewe þe eu(er) lasting peyne"[536] Whan þei herde þis, þei ronnen anon on him and with her(e) c(ru)el hondes þei stoned hi(m), þe wickedde were feruent in þe deþ of þe innocent and labored with al her(e) mighteȝ to put oute his blessed spirit. But þouȝt þis glorious marter were greuosly smyten w(ith) harde stones in eu(er)y side, yit he abode continuelli in his praiers sadli with oute meving i(n) eny p(er)t or bowing a side. Atte last, whan his holy spirit shuld be yolde to God, he lift vpp his eyen and segh oure lorde Ih(es)u Crist stonde in þe riȝt side of his fader, and he herde þe songe of angels in heuen and amongest hem he knewe Seint Albon, þe which he called vnto his help and seid, "O holi Seint Albon, I be seche þe þat þu prey to our(e) lorde fore me þat he send me his good angell to lede me surely þat I be not lette in my waye be þat cursed ennemye, þe fende." Vnneþes he hadde ended þis worde, but sodeinli þer com(e) to hi(m) fro

heuen .ij. brigght shining angels and seid to hi(m) with heuenly vois: "We sey to the treuly þat þis night thu shalt be w(ith) Albon [f.168r] in p(er)adis."

Whan þe paynemes herde þis heuenly voice, þei stode all abasshed. Than þise angels toke his blessed soule and with songes and preysing(es) þei bere it vpp to heuen. But þe soules of men stired to wickednesse cessed not yit to þrowe stones atte body with oute soule. Thei might yeue no help to þe dede, ne delyuer hym fro þe hondes of cruelte, her(e) dukes and her(e) erles wer(e) nye ou(er) come with fasting and labo(ure). Than roos þer(e) a grete debate and strif amonge þe panemyes and eu(er)y faught with oþere ouer þat holi body. But all mighti God wold not suffre the ennemyes of trouth to be sothe seiers in þat þei hadde sworne þat þei wold bring the blessed marter to here cite quik or dede, ffor a Cristen man stele p(ri)uely þe body of þe marter and hiddid vnder þe erth. And whan God will, as we trist, þat blessed tresoure shal be shewed forth.

Whan all þis was doon, þe vengaunce of oure lorde be gan to be shewed vppon þe puple, for(e) her(e) visages be gon to be disfigured, here hondȝ, her(e) armes and al her(e) membres dried vp and many oþer diu(er)se torment(es) þe[i] suffred. The iuge hath lost his reson & vnderstondyng and is wex madde. Ther(e) is none þat might reyoise hem of þe dispite þat þei hadde do to God and to Seint Amphibal, ffor he þ(at) wol lift vp his honde a yenst God is worþi to receiue vengaunce for his merites of þe rightfull iuge. This þing might not longe be and many oþer þing(es) þat þe goodnesse of o(ure) lorde wold not shuld be hidde.

[537]I haue diligentli put it in writing, blessed be God, all vntrue felaushipp be gone þat yaf sentence in þe deth of Albon, but þe mynde of Seint Albon abideth endelesely. The tyme shall come, we trest, þat religious men shul come and p(re)che þe feiþ(e) of C(ri)st amonge þe paynemes in Bretayne. Than, þe trouth knowen, þat ile shal reioyse and þe bondȝ of þe erroure of paynemes shull be vnbounde. All þei shul be fulfilled with multiplying ioye. But þis seid tyme of grace of visitac(i)on þat is to come, ffor I am not suffr(e) whan it co(m)meþ. I loke not affor(e) þat gretnesse of ioy, but if eny desire to knowe my name, wit þey wele þat if þey will call me a trewe man and a tru name, þei most call me most wrecched and moost synfull. To

Rome I went to put fro me the erro(ure) of paynemes, and ther(e) I receyued bapteme, and
780 for(e) to haue remission of my synnes, this boke I brought in my hondez to be examined of þe Romaynes, þat if it were it as it shuld be þei to correcte it into bettr(e) be our(e) lorde Ih(es)u Crist þat lyueth and regneth worlde with outen [f.168v] ende Amen.

Here endeth þe life of Seint Albone and of worþi Amphiball, and next foloweth þe Natiuite of Seint Iohn þe Baptiste.

Appendices

APPENDIX – A COMPARISON OF THE LIFE OF SAINT ALBAN

JOHN LYDGATE'S *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*	*Tractatus de Nobititate*[538]	HARLEY 630 *Life of Saint Alban*
ll.145-53: Shold in that lond receive the ordre of knyht / I worthynesse, for meede, nor favour, / But bi the hondis o the Emperour./ And this wa doon lest peraventur sondry persones encloied with rudenesse,/ Nat disposid of blood nor of natur, / Shold n presume of rural boistousnesse, / Thouh that l had strenghe & hardynesse, / To take vpon hym whateuer that he bee, / The sacrament knyhtly dygnyte.	... ut nullus in hac terra susciperet ordinem militarem sed ille ordo a solis Romanis imperatoribus Romae donaretur, ne videlicet rurale uel indigni passim, accedente as dictum ordinem, tantam dignitatem ignavia dehonestarent	f.154v: noon of þat londe shu receyue the ordere of kingho but oonly by þe hondeȝ of þe Emperoure of Rome, lest perauenture þe rude peple an vnworþi wold take vppon he þat order and vnworshipp so grete a dignite.
l.185: A prynce of knyhthooc thei sett in euery lond	Statuit eciam ut in omni terra foret vnus princeps militum	f.155r: ...eueri londe þere shul be a prince of knghtes'
ll.188-9: In Rihtwysnesse law did ordeyn Fro willfull surfe comouns to restreyn.../To se ther were no conspiracion	...et ei iusticiam exhiberent at conspiracionibus contra Romanum Imperium cohiberent	f.155r: And do to hem rightwisness And restreyne hem fro all conspiracons a yenst the Empire of Rome
ll.220-1: As a diademe or a crounne of gold / Is of a kyn callid the ornement	Et sicut diadema siue corona est insigne regis	f.155r: as a diademe eiþere a croune is þe ornament of a ki
ll.247-8: A princis sone of walis, as I fynde, / Callid Amphiball, gracious of visag	...inter quos filius principis Kambrie missus est, cum maximo apparatu Amphibalu appellatus	f.155r: Amonge the which þei was a princes sone of Wales grete a ray þat hight Amphib
l.246:A goodly man & yong age		f.155r: a goodly yonge man
ll.265-6: Callid Albanus, riht seemely of statur, / To all ve disposid bi natur.	Dictus Albanus nomine, pro recipiendo ordine militari, iuvenis elegans corpore et opere circumspectus.	f.155r: a semeli yong man of body and well a vised in his gouernaunce which was call Albone
ll.342-3: Thoruh al the Cite comaunndid hem be souht / his presence bi force to be brouht.	...ussitque ut perterras et per mare requirerentur et eius presenciae sisterentur.	f.155r: shulde be sought þoro þe londe and þe see and brought to his presence.

l.382: rightwesnesse		f.155v: right wisnesse
ll.416,418: escewe blood to sheede/ god of rihtwissnesse		f.155v: eschewe cowardise; redy to fight fore rightwisnes
l.599: The first frutes of our chyvalrie		f.155v: First fruite*s* of here order
l.601,603: Iustis or tornaye/ knytly exercise	[hastu liabitis et tornementa facietis cum militibus meis presentibus]	f.155v: Iustes or elleȝ knyȝtly excercises
l.612: And comendid gretly tl deseeris		f.155v: comending gretly The manly desiring
ll.624-5: Siculnees, Cipre	Siculos, Ciprios	Siculnesse, Cipre
l.714: To be made keper of th Brittyssh se.	...factus fuerat custos maris Britanniei	f.156r: made keper of þe bretissh see.
l.723: slayn tretourly	[proditiose peremit et regnum vsurpanit]	f.156r: which traitourly slewe
ll.735-7: Grau*n*tid also withyn Albanye / To the pictys to ha a dwellyng place / The whicl now Icallid is scotlond.	Ipse dedit Pictis locum mansionis in Albania que nu Scotia nominatur	f.156r: And he yaue dwellyng places to þe pictes in Albaine þe which is nowe called Scottelond
l.745: his name put out of my*n*de	memoratum	f.156r: And put him oute of mynde
l.756: And put his felaw gallu to the fliht	...et Gallum collegam suum fugavit	f.156r: and put his felawe þat hight Gallum to flight
ll.789-91: Ordeyned hy*m* mad sura*u*nce with his hond / Prynce of knyhtis & stiward sovereyn / Vndir Romanyns thoruhout al Briteyn	...creauit eum principem milit totius Britannie et eiusdem insule senescallum	f.156r: hath ordeigned him Prince of knightes þorowe al Bretaine and Stuarde of þe same Ile
ll.800-1: Lik customvsid of antiquyte / Make his oth vnt Maxymyan	...et Maximiano fidelitatem c iuramento faceret iuxtra mor ratione dignitatis sibi collate quem eciam dominio patris...	f.156: And also fore he shuld make his othe to Maximien after the custume
l.846: To dampne hy*m*	quoque subuerterentur	f.156v: he shuld be dampned
l.849: punyssh		f.156v: punyssh
l.851: dyvers torment		f.156v: duvse tormenteȝ

JOHN LYDGATE'S *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*	WILLIAM'S *Vita*[539]	HARLEY 630 *Life of Saint Alban*
l.1079: Besouht hy*m* lowly graun*te* hy*m* herbergage	extranei honorem maximumdeferebant	f.156v: besought Albon of herhorough fore the loue of god
l.1097: Mynystred hy*m* al tha was necessarie	...vitae necessaria ministavit	f.156v: mistred to him his necessari leving
l.1134: Of god the fadre & go the soone also	ut Deum Patrem, et Deum Filium	f.157r: god þe Fader and god sone
l.1179: Troublid in his worde ffemynyte	turbata est in sermone ejus	f.157r: troubeled in his word*e*
l.1294: "What maner worship what maner reu*e*rence"	Quid reverentiae Christo, qui honoris impendam	f.157r: "what reu*e*rence or worshipp"
l.1345: adversite		f.157v: aduersite
ll.1388-9: "My freend" q*uo*d I "yif al the thyng be trewe / Which ye have prechid of cri	Amice si vera sunt quae de Christo praedicas	f.157v: "Mi Frende if it be tru þat þu prechest of crist"
l.1406: Bou*n*de his handis	Manus vinculis	157v: bounde his hondez
ll.1633, 5: "This is my feith & beleve thus.../ Ther is no go but my lord Ihe*s*us"	Credo, inquit et ex hoc fides mea est, quod nullus Deus ni Dominus meus Jesus Christu	f.158v: "I beleue fulli And þis my feiþe þat þer is no god bu my lorde Ihe*s*u Crist"
ll.1683-8: "I heer forsake The pompe of Sathan with al his aronage / And al t poweer of ougly feendis blake / Sowle & body to Ih *e*su I betake / Which fo mankynde deyed it is no n / Thus I beleeve & roos t thrydde day."	**[go, inquit, diabolum abnego, omesque hristi detestor inimicos; in illum solum credens, illi me committens, qui (sicut asseris) a mortuis die ter resurrexit][540]**	**f.158v: "I foresake þe deuell and hate all þe ennemyes of rist in him oonly beleuyng And to him oonly I committe me the which þu affermest þat ro fro deth to life on þe third dai"**
l.1690: "Be strong of feith ou lord is hool with the"	Forti animo esto; Dominus tecum est	f.157v: "be stronge of feith F oure lorde is with the."
l.1751: The Iuge he set affir with woodnesse	Judex mox iracundiae furore succeasus	f.159r: he was sette a fire in grete wodnesse
ll.196 - 0: Lik a maistir h shuld nat a gon / And his disciple in myscheeff left allon. / In his doct *r*i*n*e, as myn entent / Ther is	**[pro se suoque discipulo magister egregius allegaret]**	**f.159v: And as a worthi Maistr *e*a legged him for h disciple sothly howe moch gile and falsenesse is hid in his doctrine**

deceite outhir som falsnesse

l.2001: indignacion		f.159v: indignacon
l.2040-2042: Unto me mor pr*æ*cious & more deer/Th all the stonys that comen out of ynde,/ Or all the richesse that thou rehersi heer	**[Fidem hanc quam suscep debiles et aegroti, sanitat pristinae restituti, veram esse salutis suae testimonio comprobabunt]**	**f.160r: þis feith is more dere to me þan all þe richesse þ *at*hu be highte me**
l.2896: To alle the peeple the Iuge gaff licence	Judex soluto concilio populo dat licentiam abeundi	f.163v: Iuge yaaf licence vnto the peple
ll.2900-3: Woo to that Iuge th doth non equyte / Woo be to hy*m* that dooth no rihtwisnes / And woo to hy*m* that can have no pite / Woo to that Iu gou*er*ned w*ith* woodnesse	Vae Judici, apud quem locun non habet aequitas, partes su contra rationem exercet. Vae Judici, in cujus judicio dominatur furor, non justicia	f.163v: Woo to þ*at* Iuge in whom is noon eiuyte and wo to that Iuge in whos dome woodnesse hath lordship anc not rightwesnesse and that endith his his sentence oonly by wille withouten resoun
l.3054: Lat vs now dampne al sich old errour	...veterem tandem damnemus errorem	f.164r: late vs nowe dampne þ old erroure
l.3740: Free from al bestis disposed to Raveyn.		f.166r: foules of Raueyn
l.3867-8: The worthiest born (this Cite / Have bi p*er*isshid	urbis nostrae cives optimi perierunt	f.166v: The worthiest of oure Cite be p*er*shid
l.3872: To these bochers who that yevith credence		f.166v: magnifie the wordes (þise bochers
ll.3910-4: Roff his novil, took all his bowailes, To a stake which that stood withoute, Teied his roppis evyn rou*n*d aboute, With a scorge the martir he gan make In cercle wise gon aboute the stake.		f.167r: opned his nauel & drewe oute abowell And stikked a stake fast in þe erth tied þe bowel þereto And wi scorges drof þis holi man abought þe stake.
ll.3974-7: Commandid hath hi torme*n*tours to hye / Withou excepcion of hih or low p*ar*ti / To sleen all & no mercy tak / That have ther goddis of despite forsake	vocatis mox spiculatoribus, omnes qui deorum suorum culturam abjecerant, et doctrinam Clerici sequebantu jubet interfeci	f.167r: called tormento*ur*s An comaunded hem to sle all þo þat hadde forsake þe worshi of here godde*s*
ll.4165-6: Paynyms this tyme abidyng in the feeld / Gretly abassht wha*n* thei this thying	Pagani autem coelestem sonu audientes, stabant stupefacti	f.168r: Whan þe paynemes herde þis heuenly voice þei stode all abasshed

beheeld

l.4194: Othir quyk or ded hon
to th[er] cite

f.168r: to here Cite quik or de

ll.4272-4310: He that whilom
was besy to compile This
noble story, trewly of entent
latyn tonge to direct his style
Riht as he sawe so was he
diligent It to conveie, becaus
he was present Yit list he nc
I suppose of meckenesse Te
wat he waas nor his name
expresse. To hymself he gaf
non othis name Aftir the sto
as I reherce can, Except he
wrot of dreede & honest shai
He wolde he callid, as he tol
than, off all wretchis the
symplest man. Off othir nam
as bi *his* writyng To vs he le
non othir knowlachyng Saul
he of trust & of confidence
Which that aboode in his
oppynyon, Ther shoold com
with gret reverence Tyme
comyng, folk of religion
Specialli to Verolamye ton,
Which that shold do ther bes
peyn The feith of crist to
preche in Breteyn Than shal
the trouthe opynly be knowe
Whan the errour is losid &
vnbounde Off paynyms &
cristis worde be sowe Thoru
al that lond, fals ydolis to
confounde than to ther hertis
gladnesse shal rebounde At
vnset hour, whan Ihesu list t
grace Off his mercy a tyme t
purchace. This same man of
ful trewe entent Which besi
was his story to endite Vnto
Rome with the book he went
Bi gret avis his purpos for
taquyte And fynally, lik as h
doth write All fals goddis
ydolis to forsake Baptem
receyue & cristis feith to take
As I have told this book with
hym he brought To be seyn
ovyr with lowe subreccion,

ll. 4272-85 Were taken from
William's *Prologus Auctoris*
(summarised by Van der
Westhuizen p.36)
ll. 4286-92 Taken from
William's *Vita*: Tempus ecit,
confidimus, quo viri Christia
ad praedicardum Gentibus
venient in Britanniam.
Isti cum venerint, Dei magna
hoc modo libris adserta
reperient, legent at ad notitiar
deferent plurimorum. Tunc
veritate cognita laetabitur
insula: tunc Gentiles errorem
vinculis absoluti multiplici
gaudio replebuntur. Verum
tempus praedicatae visitation
et gratiae quando venturum s
quia certum non habeo; istic
hujus laetitiae magnitudinem
non expecto. Sed ne posteri
super meo nomine reddantur
nimium soliciti: sciant quia si
voluerint verum mihi ponere
nomen, me miserum, me
peccatorem ultimum
nominabunt. Roman autem
proficiscar, ut illic gentilitatis
errore depsito, et lavacro
regenerationis adepto, venian
merear assequi delictorum:
libellum quoque, istum, qui
habetur in manibus, afferam
examini Romanorum; ut si q
in eo secus quam debuit fort
prolatum fuerit, hoc per eos
dignetur in melius commutar
Dominus Jesu Christus, qui
vivit et regnat Deus per omni
secula seculorum. Amen.

f.168v: I haue diligentli put it
writing, blessed be god, all
vntrue felaushipp be gone þa
yaf sentence in þe deth of
Albon, but þe mynde of Sein
Albon abideth endelesely. Tl
tyme shall come, we trest, þ
religious men shul come &
preche þe feiþe of crist
amonge þe paynemes in
Bretayne. Than þe trouth
knowen þat Ile shal reioyse &
þe bondȝ of þe erroure of
paynemes shull be vnbounde
All þei shul be fulfilled with
multiplying Ioye. But þis sei
tyme of grace of visitacon þa
is to come, ffor I am not suff
whan it cometh. I loke not
Affor þat gretnesse of Ioy bu
if eny desire to knowe my
name wit þey wele þat if þey
will call me a trewe man and
tru name, þei most call me m
wrecched & moost synfull. I
Rome I went to put fro me th
erroure of paynemes, and the
I receyued Bapteme, and fore
to haue remission of my
synnes. This boke I brought
my hondeȝ to be examined o
þe Romaynes þat if it were it
it shuld be þei to correcte it ir
bettre be oure lorde Ihesu Cr
þat lyueth & regneth worlde
with outen ende Amen.

all that court meekely he besouht, Afftir ther dew examynacion, Crist Ihesu of hool entencion, Callid to record, this story maade of newe Lik as he wrot the eue word was trewe.

APPENDIX B

BOKENHAM'S *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* *The Life of St. Dorothy*	TCD 319 *The Life of St. Dorothy*
crystyene, crystys	crystyn, Cryste
ll. 4752-6: 'He Rome forsoke & al hys possesyoun / Both vynys, feldys & eek stat plaas / Wyth theodora hys wyf, feyr of faas And here two dowtrys, of wyche / Trystem Hyght þat oon, the tothyr Kalystem.'	f.2v:'forsoke the coun and felyshyp of the lothsome Romanes with all hys possessyon of castelles, houses, londes rentes and vyne: wyth all other rychesses and passys ouer th see with hys good wyfe Theodora and hys two dougtres whos names were Trystem an Calystem.
ll. 4757-60: 'And of Capadocye on-to þe kyngdom / He fled, & in-to þat royal cyte, / As was hys fortune, of cesary he cam / Wh of hys wyf a dowtyr gat he...'	f.2v: 'came to the region of capadosy and entrymȝ in to a feyre Cyte of that region call Cesarea and dwelled theryn wherein a gracious doughter was begoten'
ll. 4762-3: 'From þe fontstoon & in pryuy wy / The bysshop Apolynar hyr dede baptyse.'	f.2v:'she was crystened full pryuyly of the h bysshop Seynt Appollynar(us)
l. 4765: 'wyth grace of þe holy gost, in uertu euere grew.'	f.2v: 'of vertues of the holy goste'
l. 4770: 'She passyd alle þe maydyns of þat cuntre.'	f.2v: 'ouersprad all the maydones of the regyon'
deuyl	f.3r: deuyll
hath enuye	f.3r: enuyed
ll. 4775-7: 'For hyr sent & of tresore plente / He profyrd hyre, & in many a thyng / To endewyn hir, & to weddyn hyr wyth a ryng	f.3r: 'behotyng her(e) suche plente of tresour w(yth) plente of all other worldly goodes th he supposyd shuld please her(e) youthe w(yth)outen any mesure for her(e) endowar and also promysyng hyr to wedde lawfully'

l. 4785: 'Fabrycius wex wode wyth þis answere.'	f.3v: 'wexed so woode'
l. 4787-8: 'In-to a tunne men shuld hyr beere Ful of oyle feruently brennyng.'	f.3v: 'to caste that gloryous vyrgyne in to a ton(n) of brasse full of hoote oyle feruently boylyng.'
l. 4791: 'As wyth swete bawm she anoyntyd had be.'	f.3v: 'as thou(gh) she had be anonyntyd or bathed in the moste p(re)cious and redolent bawme in erthe.'
l. 4792: 'Many a paynym, þis myracle seyng,	f.3v: 'Many of thos paynemes that were present and beholdyng hyr(e) paynefull torment and seyng thys grete myracle...'
l.4796: meetlees; l.4804: meteles	f.3v: meteles
l.4806: 'But fabrycius, blyndyd in hys madnesse,'	f.4r: 'thys tyrannt blyndyd in malyce'
l.4811: 'God wurshepe I wyl, not deuellis'	f.4r: 'I worshyp god and no deuylles'
l.4820: pyller ; l.4825: pyler	f.4r: pylo(ure), pyllo(ure)
ll.4827-8: 'And euene furth-wyth in þe eyr alofte / Was herd a voys a deuelys crying.'	f.4r: 'And sodenly therw(yth) was herde a voyce of deuylles crying in the eyre.'
ll.4837-8: 'And wyth hokys of yren hyr flesh cruelly / They al to-rent'	f.4r-v: 'And w(yth) hookes of iron her(e) fay and tender body was all to rente and torne.'
l.4840: Half-deed	f.4v: halfe dede
l.4841: morowe	f.4v: morow
l.4843: 'Neythir spote ne hurt in hyr dede appere;'	f.4v: 'there appered nether spot ne hurte of her(e) former torments in no place'
l.4850: 'Wych cryst forsakyn'	f.4v: 'had forsake Cryste'
ll.4861-2: 'How longe wylt þou vs forth þus drawe / Wyth þi wychecrafth from day to day?'	f.4v: 'How longe wylt thow w(yth) thyne enchauntementes and thy wychecraftes thus thys wyse disceue vs'
l.4868: 'Or ellys þine heed I wyl of do smyte'	f.4v: 'orelles thyne hede shal be smyte of anone.'
ll.4891, 3-4: 'Oon Theophyl preyid hyr schornfully.../ That she sum rosys wold hyr sendyn hastyly / From hyr spousys gardyn.	f.15r: 'scornyng her(e) full desyrously he prayed her(e) to sende hym some Rooses of her spowses gardeyn'
ll.4902-3: '& specyally from shame of hateful pouert'	f.15v: 'specyally fro(m) worldly shame of greuouse pouerte'
ll.4965-6: 'For on many smal pecys hys body	f.16v: 'hym to be all hewen in to small

he hew / And to bestys & fowlys þe gobett: gobett(es) as who choppeth flesshe to the pc
he threw.' and tho peces of hys flesshe to be caste to
bestes and to byrd(es).'

APPENDIX C

BOKENHAM'S
Legendys of Hooly Wummen
The Life of St. Kateryne

ll.6415-6489: 'And whan she eyghtene yere
was of age,
Thys seyd Maxence in hys fers rage
Dede make a general proclamacyoun,
Chargyng al men to Alysaundy[r] toun, Bot
pore & ryche, at assygnyd day
To comyn, ych in hys best aray,
Wher he hym purposyd in solemne wyse T
hyse goddys to make a sacryfyse, Wyllyng
alle men þe same to do;
And yf ony þere were þat nolde so
But rebellyd ageyns hys seyd entent,
He fully ordeynyd þat by iugement
He cruelly shuld be brought adawe,
As a transgressour of hys lawe
And of crystene feyth as a meyntenour. An
whan e tyme come was & þe our That þis
sacryfyse shuld be do,
Greth confluence of peple cam þer-to, Wyth
hem bryngyng, as was þe guyse, Summe
beestys, sume foulys to sacryfyse; And sun
come wych in here preuy entent To do
sacryfyse no þinge ment,
For in affeccyoun þei crystene were.
And as þei alle were assemblyd þere, Redy
makyn here offryng
Anoon at þe comaundement of þe kyng, Th
trumpettys lowde begun to blowe, Wher-by
ych man myht knowe
Whan þai shuld make her offryng.
And fyrst of alle began þe kyng,
Aftyr þe guyse of þere vsaunce,
Wher many a spere & many a launce
And many a swerde men myht se drawe, Th
bestys to sle wych aftyr þe lawe
In þere sacryfyse wyth dew dylygence
To her goddys plesaunce & reuerence, The
noyse of þe bestys & peplys cry,
The voys of orgons & of dyuers menstralcy
So swyftly þe eyr dede furth dryue

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The Life of St. Kateryn

ff.11v-12r: 'The xij chapter. In thys mene tym
the Emperour Maximeins that was full of
enuy to goddys lawe and a crewell tyraunt, l
consydered the grete nobylnes of the Cyte o
Alysaunder he ordeyned hym to come thede
with multytude of pepyll to do a solempne
sacryfyce. And whan he was come, he mad
all the pepyll to assemble bothe pore and
ryche for to do sacryfyce to hys ydols. And
the crysten that wold nat do sacryfyce, he
made hem crewelly to be tormentyd. And th
yong quene Kateryn was than of the age of
eyghtene yere dwellyng in her palyce, full o
rychesse and of seruauntes. And as she sate
her stody in contmplacion of here moste der
lord and trewest spowse, she herde moche
noyse of songe and of instrementes of mys
and grete crying of bestes. And she wondre
gretly what hyt muyght be and called a
messanger anone and bade hym go and
brynge her worde anone what hit ment. He
dyd hyr commaundment and came ayene in
haste and tolde hyr all the maner therof. An
whan [she] had herde hyt she felle in to so
grete a sorow for the vnworshyp of her lord
and verrey spowse that hyr thought she my
nat endure hyt. Wherfore in grete haste she
rose her vp foryetyng hersylfe and all
wor[l]dly astate and made the sygne of the
crosse in her forhede and wente strayte to th
Emperour. And when she came theder and
behelde in euerysyde she sawe many a
crystyn man meued to do sacryfyce for dred
of dethe. Wherfore she was greuesly greued
in her sowle, she gothe her boldly thorough
the prese and all tho that her behelde hadden
meruayle of her grete beawte. And they left
her sacryfyce forto folowe her many oone o
hem and forto be holde her. And she came t
the Emperour with a sad chere and lokyd

A massager *pr*iuyly she þiddyr sent.
And when she had lernyd clause by clause (
þis greth noyse what was þe cause, And ho
it stood, & *in* what degre,
She wyth hyr took of hyr*e* meyne
Swych as hyr*e* lyst, & *in* ful sad wyse Thed
went wher þei dede sacryfyse. Whedyr wha
she kam, she dede aspye Among hem many
wepyng yhe
Of swych as p*r*iuyly crystyn were,
And sacryfysyd oonly of deth for fere; And
whan þis sey she was sory,
And euene furth-wyth, ful deuoutly
Hyr cause comendyng to goddys g*r*ace, Wy
crystys cros she merkyd hyr face and eek h
brest, & wyth sad chere
Wher þe emperour was she drow nere,
And as he was ocupyid in hys sacryfyse,
To hym she seyd euene in þis wyse:
'The to salusyn, o syr*e* emperour,
Wych lord art her*e* & eek gouernour
The dygnyte to þin ordur us shuld co*m*pelle
And þe weye of resoun þe same doth telle,
Yf þese sacryfysys wych þou doost to
To oo god aboue, wych is creatour
Of heuene & of erthe & sool gouernour,
And of al ther-yn wych is conteynyd.
But þese whom ma*n*nys errour hath feynyd
To be goddys uery deuelys be,
Or deuelys de*n*nys; wherfore ye
Wro*n*gfully to hem doon sacryfyse.'

ll.6501-6544: Why hast þou gadryd þis multytude
Thus in veyn of þis peple rude,
Of your*e* goddys to wurshyp þe fo*n*nydness
What is þe skyl, telle me expresse,
Why þou so wu*n*dryst þis temple hye
By Masouns handys her maad redy,
The ornamentys þer-of & eke þe ar[a]y.
Wych, be þai neu*er*e so fresh & gay,
Yet shul þei rote & a-wey pace
As doth dust beforn þe wyndys face?
Maruayle rathyr by al resoun
Why heuene is up & erthe is doun,
And al þe contentys wy*th*-yn both to,
As fysshys & foulys; maruayle also
The heuenys orbiculer r*e*uolucyoun
From est to west wyth-oute cessacyoun,
And why su*n*ne & mone wy*th* o þir st*er*rys fyue
Cont*r*aryous cours geyn al heuene dryue, A
han doon fro*m* þe werldys begy*n*nyng,
wey of reason shulde moue me to salute the
yef thow were the creature of heuyn. And th
thow woldest calle ayene thy corage fro thy
verrey god of heuen that made all thyng of
nought. Why haste thow now assemblyd all
thys multytude of pepyll as inveyne for to
worshyp thy madnes of Idols? Art nat thow
asshamyd of thy blyndnes? thow m*er*uelyst
gretly of thys temple that ys made w*ith*
manneshande, and of the p*re*cyous
ornamentes that shal be but powder afore th
face of the wynde. thow shuldest rather and
thow haddest any resonabyll wytte, mervell
heuen and of erthe and of all thynge*s* that by
conteyned therein, the sonne, the mone and
sterres howe they serue from the begynnyng
of the worlde vnto the ende, they ren nyght
and day to the occident and co*m*myn ayene
the oryent and they be neu*er* wery. And wh
thow haste p*er*ceued all these thynge*s*, Ask
and lerne who ys the former and maker of a
these thynge*s* and whan thow hast knowe
hym by hys grace, thow shalt fynde there y
none lyke hym for he ys almyghty god. An
therefore, hym all only worshyp and gloryfy
for he ys only almyghty god and noone but
he, kyng of kynges and lorde of all creature
And than began she to declare to hym the
incarnation and the m*er*uelous goodnes of th
son of hym, the incarnacion and the
m*er*uelous goodnes of the son of god.
Wherfore the Emp*er*o*ur* was wondurfully
abasshyd and cowde nat answere her. but at
the laste he sayde, "O thow woman, suffer
thow vs to ende owre sacryfyce and after th
we shall answere the." And than co*m*mau*n*d
he, that she shuld be brought in to hys palyc
and be kept there w*ith* grete dilygence.
Forsothe, he and all that herde her hadden
grete meruayle of her grete wysdom and
passyng beawte, for she was fayre befor all
other wemen that lyuedyn in tho dayes. An
so she a pered to hem that lokyd on her An
specyally to the crystyn that weryn constryn
to do sacryfyce for drede of dethe, they toky
suche a corage to hem in the beholdyng of h
sadnes and [e e] rent beawte that they hadd
leuer to haue suffred dethe then forto forsak
the feythe.

[f.13r] The xiij chap*ter*. "mayde euer we ha
herde of youre elloquence and we m*er* uele
youre grete wysdom, but we were so

And shul to þe ende wy*th*owte secyng,
Her offyhs p*er*formyng to þat entente
That þei wer set fore in þe fyrmament.
And whan þou wel hast co*n*syderyd al þis,
Vndyrstonde þat oon yet myhtyer*e* is
Than al þem, of alle þe creatour,
Vnmeuable, & of alle oþir þe motour.
And yf þou thurgh g*r*ace gun hy*m* aspye,
Hym preyse, hymi wurshype, hym gloryfye
For he is god alone & noon but he.'
And whan on þis wyse longe had she
Hyr dylatyd by many a resoun,
And more-ouyr of crystys incarnacyoun
Mych thyng dysputyd prudently,
The emp*er*our astoynyd was i*n*wardly,
And to hyr he seyd on þis wyse:
'Wu*m*man, lete us our sacryfyse
P*er*formyn & endyn as gu*n*ne haue we,
And þan douthles þou shalt answerd be.'
And anoon forwyth he co*m*mau*n*dyd & bad
that to hys paleys she shuld be lad,
And to be kept wyth good dylygence,
For grethly he maruaylyd of hyr prudence
In hyr talkyng, & of þe g*r*eth beute
Wych she hadde in excellent degre...

ll.6553-74: 'Damysel, ye knowe in what wys
Thys day, whyl we in our*e* seruyse
Ocupyid were ful deuouthly,
To us ye p*r*ecyde euene opynly,
And by maner of an exhortacyoun
Ye þer*e* maad a longe peroracyoun,
In wych we p*er*ceyuyd greth eloquence, An
wern eek ameruaylyd of your*e* prude*n*ce.
but for-as-myche as our*e* wyttys applyid
Were þat tyme & fully occupyid
In excucyoun of our*e* sacryfyse
On-to our*e* goddys aftyr oure lawys gwyse,
We myht not wel takyn your entent,
Ner clerly vndyrstond what ye ment.
And þerfore home hedyr on-to our*e* place
We you sent, tyl more le*n*ger*e* space
And laser*e* we my*th* han of talkyng.
Wherfore nowe at þe begy*n*nyng,
Er we ferþer*e* forth do procede,
Fyrst I wyl knowe of your kynrede;
And whan þat to me opyn is & cler*e*,
than wyl I spekyn of oþir matere.'
ll. 6589-6602: Wherfore hys eyr Iam by ryht
Of resoun, & kateryne I hycht.
But not-wythstondyng þat I was bore
In purpyl, & instruct in þe lore
Of þe seuene scyencys clepyd liberal,
occupyed in sacryfyce that we myght nat ter
vnto yow. Wherfor we aske yow nowe of
what kynrede ye be come?" And she
answered and sayde to hym "that all I shall
sey to yow nowe, shall nat be myne
accauntyng of pryde, but onely for the loue
trewthe. I am Kat*er*yn, the doughter of kyn
Costus and though I were borne and noryss
in purpyll and taught in all the lyberall artes
yet I shew yo[u] here howe I haue all world
thyng refusyd and yeue me frely to owre
moste sou*er*ayn lord Ihe*s*u Cryste that ys
verrey god and man.

Of my byrth, wych at þis our
Wyth al myn hert I her forsake
And set at nought for crystys sake,
Wych is my spouse, my lord, my loue,
For whoos sake to suffryn reproue
I now am redy & euere shal be,
For oþir god is þer noon but he;

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1] "Caxton and the Synfulle Wretche," *Traditio* IV, 1946, p.423, note 5.
[2] "Caxton's *Golde Legend* and the manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende*," Mitteilungen, 1959
[3] Kurvinen, 1959, p.375
[4] For a modern English translation of the original Latin *Legenda Aurea* see William Ryan's *The Golden Legend, Lives of Saints.*
[5] Ryan lists this episode as "the Life of Saint Peter in Chains."
[6] Ryan lists this episode as "the finding of the holy body of Saint Steven"
[7] Ryan has [illegible] this life listed as "the Life of Saint Thais, Courtesan."
[8] This episode is listed in the second table of contents and appears to be a repeat of the Life of Seint Calixte, but it is not in the MS. It is not listed in the first table of contents.
[9] This episode is not in the original table of contents, it is listed in the second table of content but it is not in the MS.
[10] This is the Life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins.
[11] Ryan lists this as the Life of Saints Saturnius, Perpetua and Felicity.
[12] Hamer 1978, p.31
[13] ibid.
[14] ibid.
[15] ibid.
[16] 'Between seven (years) 33 (days) and eight (years) Mary the virgin mother lived as a holy widow in this world.'
[17] Possibly 'quene.'
[18] All linguistic analysis based on spelling forms in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English.* ed. Angus McIntosh, ML Samuels, Michael Benskin, et al. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen Press, 1986.
[19] Hamer 1978, p.35
[20] Hamer 1978, p.33
[21] Kurvinen 1960, p.121
[22] Hamer 1978, p.33
[23] Hamer 1978, p.35
[24] ibid.
[25] Hamer 1978, p.33
[26] Hamer 1978, p.47
[27] Hamer 1978, p.27
[28] ibid.
[29] ibid.
[30] ibid.
[31] ibid.
[32] ibid.
[33] Kurvinen, 1959, p.355
[34] Jeremy, 1946, p.423
[35] Kurvinen, 1959, p. 364
[36] Kurvinen, 1959, p.371-2
[37] Hamer 1978, pp.26-33
[38] Hamer 1978, p.32
[39] Hamer 1978, p.33
[40] ibid.
[41] Hamer 1978, p.40
[42] ibid.
[43] Hamer 1978, p.47

[42] ibid.
[43] Hamer 1978, p.47
[44] Toshiyuki Takamiya "A Hitherto Unrecorded Manuscript of the *Gilte Legende* ", *Mediaeval English Studies Newsletter*, No.6, 1982.
[45] Takamiya 1982, p.1
[46] Hamer 1978, p.17
[47] Hamer 1978, p. 17 Horstmann 1887, P.6
[48] Richard Hamer. Introduction to *The Golden Legend: Selections* by Jacobus de Voragine. 1998, p.x
[49] ibid.
[50] ibid, p.xii
[51] ibid
[52] ibid, p.xiii
[53] Van der Westhuizen 1974, p.26
[54] Van der Westhuizen 1974, p.30 (Wilhelm Meyer)
[55] ibid.
[56] Van der Westhuizen 1974, p.36
[57] ibid.
[58] Van der Westhuizen 1974, p.36-37
[59] ibid., p.37
[60] I would like to thank Ian Doyle and Pam Robinson for the additional information on the foliation of *Saint Alban*, which they generously verified for me.
[61] Ian Doyle, "Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen" in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers, Essays Presented to M.B. Parkes*, edited by P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim, (London: Scholar Press, 1997), 98-100, 104.
[62] Alexandra Barratt, *A Commentary on the Penitential Psalms Translated by Dame Eleanor Hull* (Oxford: Early English Text Society and Oxford University Press, 1995), xiv.
[63] Doyle, 1997, 100.
[64] Barratt, 1995, xxvii
[65] Doyle, 1997, 100.
[66] ibid.
[67] ibid, p. 104.
[68] Manfred Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend.* (Braunschweig: Institut fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1972), 18.
[69] Walter Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century* (London: Methuen & Co, Ltd., 1961), 31.
[70] Identified by Schirmer as *Tractatus de Nobilitate, Vita et Martyrio Albani et Amphibali; Interpretatio Willelmi* (London: Schirmer, 1961), 167.
[71] John Lydgate, *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal* edited by J.E. Van der Westhuizen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974).
[72] Schirmer, 1961, 167.
[73] Hamer, 1978, 16.
[74] ibid., 17.
[75] Van der Westhuizen, 1974, 263.
[76] ibid., 59.
[77] Manfred Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends* (Heidelberg: Universitötsverlag Carl Winter, 1998), 79-80, note 117.
[78] My italics.
[79] Hamer, 1978, 17.
[80] The Latin transcription of the *Tractatus de Nobilitate* is taken from Van der Westhuizen's 1974 edition of John Lydgate's *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal.*
[81] My italics.
[82] My italics.
[83] Van der Westhuizen, 1974.
[84] See appendix for further examples.
[85] Görlach 1998, p.136.
[86] Doyle 1997, p.104.
[87] Görlach 1998, p.136.
[88] ibid.
[89] John Lydgate, *Saint Albon and Saint Amphibalus*, edited by George Reinecke (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), xxxiii-xxxiv.
[90] ibid
[91] *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III 1327-1330*, p. 200
[92] ibid. p.84

[90] ibid
[91] *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III 1327-1330*, p. 200
[92] ibid. p.84
[93] ibid. p.144
[94] ibid. p.136
[95] ibid. p.519
[96] Schirmer, 1961. p.137.
[97] ibid. p.25
[98] ibid. p.226
[99] ibid. p.90
[100] Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate*. London, 1970. pp.26, 44.
[101] *Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Yorkshire Deeds, Vol. 1*, p.71
[102] ibid
[103] Doyle, 1997. p.104
[104] *Henry VII*. SB Chrimes. Eyre Methuen Ltd., London, 1972. p. 85.
[105] ibid. p.84-85
[106] *Victorian History of Hertfordshire*, vol. 2, p.197, vol. 4, p.82
[107] Kurvinen, 1959, pp.355-6
[108] Hamer 1978, p.40
[109] Edited and translated by Sheila Delany, 1992
[110] Delany 1992, p.xxxiv
[111] ibid. p.xxxi
[112] Jeremy, 1946, p.427
[113] ibid.
[114] See Appendix C
[115] Edwards 'The Transmission and Audience of Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*': *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission*, ed. A.J Minnis, 1994. D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, p.167
[116] ibid
[117] Edwards 1994, p.163
[118] ibid. p.162
[119] ibid
[120] Serjeantson *Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, Early English Text Society OS 206, 1938, p.xviii.
[121] Serjeantson 1938, p.xviii
[122] ibid. p. xxii
[123] For further examples, see Appendix B
[124] "The Clerical Gaze", *A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages*, p.33
[125] Tibbetts Schulenberg, Jane. "Saints' Lives as a Source for the History of Women, 500-1100". *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, edited by Joel T. Rosenthal. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990) 285.
[126] ibid. p. 286
[127] ibid. p.288
[128] ibid. p.291
[129] ibid. p.32
[130] Matt 27:61, 28:1-10; Mark 15:47, 16:1-15; Luke 24:10-11; John 19:25-27, 20:1-19
[131] Mark 16:14
[132] Luke 24:10
[133] Matt 28:1-10
[134] John 20:16-18
[135] *New Testament Apocrypha* , ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963) Vol 1, p.342. It should be noted that Mary refers to herself as one of "men", a switch in gender which occurs in a few of the female saints' lives, particularly those which involve transvestism.
[136] ibid.
[137] ibid. p.343-344
[138] Corinthians 14:34-35
[139] ibid.
[140] Casagrande, Carla. "The Protected Woman", *A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages vol. 2*, ed. Christine Klapisch-Zuber. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.) p.91
[141] ibid. p.98
[142] Dalarun, Jacques. "The Clerical Gaze", Klapisch-Zuber, p. 15.
[143] Tibbetts Schulenberg, 1990. p.307

[144] Leyser, Henrietta. *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500.* (London: Phoenix Grant, 1995) p. 197
[145] ibid. p.201.
[146] ibid. p.223
[147] ibid. p.20-21
[148] Hopkins, Andrea. *Most Wise and Valiant Ladies: Remarkable Lives of Women of the Middle Ages.* (Oxford: Collins & Brown, 1997) p. 8

Explanatory Notes

Saint Lucy

[149] In the etymology, which is not in the *Gilte Legende*, Jacobus refers to Ambrose on the nature of light, but there is no direct reference to a source. (Ryan 1992, p.27)
[150] Syracusa, or Syracuse
[151] Euthicia
[152] This malady is commonly called the "bloody flux" of "an issue of blood" and is understood to be an incurable flow of blood, presumably menstrual blood. There are numerous references in the Bible to women being cured of this issue of blood by touching the hem of Christ's garment, cf. Matt 9:20-22, Mark 5:25 and Luke 8:43, and the life of Mary Magdalene which says Christ healed Martha this malady, p.178.
[153] Refer to the note above.
[154] Paschasius (Ryan p.28)
[155] Maximian, emperor of Rome ca. 240-310AD and Diocletian, emperor of Rome ca. 245-313AD
[156] Catania. Agnes was made the patron of Catania and Lucy the patron of Syracuse.
[157] Venice
[158] Maximian is listed here with Constantine whose reign began in 309AD.

Saint Anastasia

[159] There is no source given by Jacobus for this legend.
[160] Practaxtatus (Ryan, p.43)
[161] Faustina (Ryan, p.43)
[162] Chrysogonus. The Life of Saint Crysogone appears later in the manuscript and makes reference to the teaching of Saint Anastasia.
[163] Publius (Ryan, p.43)
[164] This has been inserted in the margin, but as her father is already named above, its significance is unclear.
[165] The scribe has left out the name of the third sister here so I have added it. Ryan (p.43) names the sisters as Agapete, Theonia and Irene.
[166] In light of the emendation of the line before, is must be assumed that 'citees' in this context should be 'susteres'.
[167] 'was' is struck through here.
[168] Possibly a reference to John 8:31, 13:35 or 15:8
[169] See previous note and cf. Luke 14:33, Ecclias. 31:8, and Matt 8:34. I don't think this is a direct biblical reference, but a paraphrase.
[170] Saint Appollynarus

Saint Agnes

[171] Jacobus lists Saint Ambrose's *On Virgins* (*De Virginibus libri tres*) as the source for this legend and refers to Saint Augustine in the etymology. This work can be found in the *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 17, 187.
[172] *De Virginibus libri tres.* Jacobus relies heavily on this work for his material and, according to Ryan, adds very little information of his own. (Ryan 1992, p.101)
[173] The corrector has emended the text in the margin to include [in line], possibly suggesting 'the nobleness is most fair in lineage', which, given the context, implies that the first virtue of Agnes' spouse, Christ, is that he is most noble in his lineage.
[174] Jacobus does not mention 'Tyssoi', but merely says "a robe woven of gold and jewels". (Ryan p.102)
[175] Just as Christ is white in shining purity, so is Agnes white by her virginity; and just as Christ is red with the blood of his crucifixion, so is Agnes red with the blood of her martyrdom. She is made sacred to Christ by the combination of 'whight and rede' as 'virgin and marter'. Cf. Rev. 7:13 "And one of the ancients answered and said to me: These that are clothed in white robes, who are they? and whence came

[179] cf. note 22
[180] 'marter' struck through here.

Saint Paula

[181] Jacobus says "Jerome wrote her life as follows..." This legend is extracted from Jerome's letter on the life of Saint Paula, in which he claims to have known her and witnessed all the miracles performed by her. All but a dozen or so words are taken from Jerome; it has been taken in "snippets" out of order and context and is not nearly as long as Jerome's letter. (Ryan p.121) According to Ryan: "Jacobus extracted paragraphs and snippets sufficient to establish Paula's sanctity by dwelling on the usual virtues – humility, charity, poverty, contemptus mundi, chastity. The 'snippets' are often taken out of context, which at times obscures the train of thought. Jerome's 'letter' is five or six times as long as Jacobus's chapter, and its rhetorical, eulogistic style is totally foreign to (Jacobus)." (Ryan p. 121)

Jerome wrote a series of letters discussing St. Paula and her two daughters, Blesilla and Eustochium, both of whom were virgins. His letter on the death of Blesilla, to which he makes reference in the letter on Paula, is found in the *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 22: 463, Epist. 38 and 39. Epistles 45 and 46 make reference to Paula and Eustochium (vol. 22: 480, 483); but that actual leter which Jacobus uses as his source is Epist. 108 (vol. 22: 878) which is addressed to her daughter Eustochium, virgin, and is titled "Epitaphium Paulae matris".
[182] Blaesilla. (Jerome)
[183] Pammachius. (Ryan, p.121)
[184] Eustochium. (Jerome)
[185] Rufina. (Ryan, 121)
[186] Her little son Toxocius, whom the scribe has not named. (Ryan's text includes the child's name, p.122)
[187] Paulinus, bishop of Antioch.
[188] Epiphanius. (Ryan, p.122)
[189] The scribe has "the Thoroche", but as Ryan translates Jacobus as refering to "little Toxocius" I have emended the text to make sense.
[190] Rufina, who was about to be married, prayed for her mother to wait until after her wedding to leave.
[191] Possibly a proper name, perhaps a form of 'Eustoche', which is the name given by Jerome. The meaning here is unclear.
[192] She suffered against the pains of her maternal nature.
[193] Matt 2:1-11.
[194] The beginning of the Gospel of St. John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." (John 1:1)
[195] Matt 2:16.
[196] Matt 2:13.
[197] The duties of wives and mothers is expounded in St. Paul's epistle to the Colossians (Col. 3:12-13): "Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy, and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience: Bearing with one another, and forgiving one another, if any have a complaint against another: even as the Lord hath forgiven you, so do you also."
[198] Written in the margin, this is an abbreviation for 'blasfeme'.
[199] 2 Cor. 8:13-14: "For I mean not that others should be eased, and you burthened, but by an equality. In this present time let your abundance supply their want, that their abundance also may supply your want, that there maybe an equality." It does not seem to be a direct quotation, however.
[200] Crossed out in the text: 'of oþer'.
[201] Jerusalem as described by St. John in Rev. 21, specifically Rev. 21:19.
[202] 1 Cor. 4:9-10; 1:25. (Ryan 1992, p.124)
[203] According to Ryan, Paula founded the monasteries and gave them "over to be ruled by men". I have emended the text to clarify this point.
[204] This may be a reference is to the "double monastery" which Paula founded in Jerusalem under the supervision of Jerome in 386AD for both monks and nuns, or, as suggested by Ryan, a reference to the "mean" estate of the nuns.
[205] This is the disease dropsy, or something similar, which involves serious fainting fits and may have been a mild form of epilepsy.
[206] The Bishop Epiphanius. (Ryan, p.124)
[207] cf. the "bowels of mercy".
[208] Jerome differentiates between the spiritual understanding of the Scriptures, which depends more on the emotional interpretation of religious texts, and the literal understanding which views the Scriptures as the Word of God to be followed in every detail, closely and literally.
[209] "I studied the Hebrew language from adolescence with much toil and sweat, got to know it fairly well, and have kept at it constantly so as not to lose it. Paula wanted to learn Hebrew and did learn it so well

that she sang the Psalms in Hebrew and spoke the language without any Latin peculiarities." (Ryan 1992, p.125)
[210] rocks or shoals. (Ryan 1992, p.125)
[211] Ps. 25(26):8; 83(84):I, II.

Saint Agatha

[212] Jacobus makes reference to Chrysostom in the etymology where he expounds on the three requirements of sainthood. He makes no other mention of his source until the end of Saint Agatha's legend where he quotes Ambrose's preface of *On Virgins* to give credibility to the story: "About this virgin saint, Ambrose says in his preface: 'O holy and glorious virgin, who faithfully shed her blood as a martyr in praise of the Lord! O illustrious, renowned virgin, upon whom shone a twofold glory, since amidst harsh torments she wrought all sorts of miracles and strengthened by support from above, merited to be cured by the apostle's visitation! So the airs bore his bride heavenward to Christ, and glorious obsequies shine about her mortal frame as the angel choir acclaims the holiness of her soul and the liberation of her native land." (Ryan, p.157)
[213] Catania, cf. with Sathaneuse in *Lucy*.
[214] Quintianus, consul of Sicily. (Ryan, p.154)
[215] Prov. 27:3., or more likely Matt. 16:18, "And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."
[216] Dacian, emperor of Rome, circa 253AD. Ryan says "Graesse notes that 'recent editions add "otherwise called Decius".'" (Ryan, p.156)
[217] Beautiful to see.
[218] "Mentem sanctam, spontaneam, honorem deo et patriae liberationem, which may be understood as meaning: 'She had a holy and generous soul, gave honor to God, and accomplished the liberation of her country." (Ryan 1992, p.156)
[219] This is a reference to a volcanic eruption which allegedly spewed lava and ash near Catania.
[220] 'Serarpe' is written in the margin, but since this is not only an unusual spelling, but a practically impossible spelling of 'sharp', I have emended it.
[221] *De Virginibus libri tres.*

Saint Juliana

[222] There is no source given by Jacobus for this legend.
[223] Eulogius, provost of Nicomedia. (Ryan, p.160)
[224] Literally translated as "the Lord of the Flies", but used frequently as a synonym for Satan.

Mary Of Egypt

[225] While Jacobus gives no source for this story, it is very similar to parts of the life of Mary Magdalene and may have its roots in the apocrypha or, considering that Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt were often confused, and in some cases, thought to be the same person, this legend may be a branch from the popular legends of Mary Magdalene.
[226] Zozimus. (Ryan, p.227)
[227] River Jordan; after this the scribe has written 'and', however, in this context it does not make sense, therefore I have emended the text and taken the 'and' out.
[228] Alexandria.
[229] Maundy or Holy Thursday.
[230] cf. note 229.
[231] The second day of April.
[232] This may be a refence to the phrase "the lion shall lie down with the lamb"; however, it must be a paraphrase, perhaps of the parable of the young lions, Ezek. 19:2 "And say: Why did thy mother the lioness lie down among the lions, and bring up her whelps in the midst of young lions?" Another possibility may be Is. 65:25 "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together; the lion and the ox shall eat straw; and dust shall be the serpent's food: they shall not hurt nor kill in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord."

Finding of the Holy Cross

[233] The original version of this story is found in the Gospel of Nicodemus and has Seth, the son of Adam, finding the cross. However, Jacobus alludes to another story in his rendition: "In a certain admittedly apocryphal history of the Greeks we read..." In saying the story is apocryphal, Jacobus allows the reader to

decide the validity of this legend: "Whether any of this is true we leave to the reader's judgement, because none of it is found in any authentic chronicle or history." (Ryan, p.277)

A great many of the components of the legend can be found in the Scriptures, such as the story of Solomon (1 Kings 7 and John 5:2) as well as in other religious works of the time such as the *Scholastic History* which details the part played by the Queen of Sheba and describes Solomon's house in the forest. According to Ryan, the description of the cross is most likely taken from Gregory of Tours, and Saint Augustine is mentioned in passing. (Ryan 1992, p.277-284) Jacobus also used the *Tripartite History* of Cassiodorus, the *Life of Saint Sebastian*, the *Acts* of the Roman pontiffs, and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesara (ca 260-339AD). There are also several references to the *Scholastic History* of Peter Comestor, which is found in the *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 198, 1050.

The account given here of Saint Helena is most likely that from the *Ecclesiastical History*: "This account of the finding of the holy cross, which we read in the *Ecclesiastical History*, seems more authentic than the story usually read in the churches." (Ryan, p.280) It was from all these sources that Jacobus compiled the life of Saint Helena and the *Finding of the Holy Cross*, and it is Jacobus's version which is used in the *GiL*. The *Ecclesiastical History* has been translated from the Greek by K. Lake and J.E.L Oulton.

[234] The Gospel of Nicodemus is also referred to as the Acts of Pilate. A great deal of the material on Seth and the oil of mercy is also found in the Old Testament Apocrypha; *The Life of Adam and Eve*, chapters 30 to 47.

[235] The Mount of Lebanon.

[236] King Solomon.

[237] 3 Kings 7:2, "the house of the forest of Libanus".

[238] John Beleth, according to Ryan, but there is no indication to whom this is a reference.

[239] The Queen of Sheba, though 3 Kings 10:1,4 refer to her as "the queen of Saba".

[240] 1Kings 10:1, Chr. 9:1; The *Wisdom of Solomon* is also a book of the Old Testament Apocrypha.

[241] This is a reference to the *Scholastic History*.

[242] Pool of Probation, John 5:2.

[243] palm, cypress, ceder and olive.

[244] Ligna crucis palma, cedrus, cypressus, oliva. (Ryan p.278)

[245] Saint Augustine, refered to by Jacobus as "the eminent doctor".

[246] The Danube River.

[247] Pope Eusebius.

[248] Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. It is possible that the scribe is trying to differentiate between the two, or that he is trying to sort out confusion within his sources, where one may refer to Eusebius as pope, and another as bishop of Caesarea.

[249] The *Tripartite History* and the *Ecclesiastical History*.

[250] The *Acts* of the Roman pontiffs.

[251] The *Ecclesiastical History*.

[252] Maxentius.

[253] Bridge of Albine. Ryan says this bridge is commonly called the Milvian Bridge, though Jacobus has Albine.

[254] Letter on the death of Theodosius of *De obitu Theodosii* written for Emperor Theodosius (379-395) with whom Saint Ambrose maintained mostly cordial relations. Ambrose also delivered a funeral oration for Theodosius aand Valentinian II.

[255] The *Tripartite History*.

[256] A reference to Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronicles*, which he translated from Greek.

[257] The *Ecclesiastical History*.

[258] "The confusion about Constantine's part in the finding of the cross (or his father's, whose name was not Constantine but Constantinus) no doubt goes back to the manuscript sources available to Jacobus, including not only Eusebius and the *Tripartite History* but the more or less 'authentic', or frankly apocryphal, documents to which Jacobus refers. The uncertainty about the time of his baptism persists among present-day scholars." (Ryan 1992, p.280).

[259] Helena had first been an hosteler or inn-keeper.

[260] This is a excerpt from Ambrose's *De Helia et ieiunio*, one of Ambrose's short exegetical works.

[261] Clohel, king of the Britons.

[262] Zacheus. (Ryan, p.280)

[263] cf. *Mary Magdalene*.

[264] Golgotha, the site of the crucifixtion, cf. Matt 27:33, Mark 15:22, Luke 23:33, and John 19:17.

[265] The *Ecclesiastical History*.

[266] Emperor Hadrian.

[267] The *Ecclesiastical History*.

[268] Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. (Ryan, p.282)

[269] "This is Jesus the King of the Jews", Matt 27:37, Mark 15:26, Luke 23:38, John 19:19.

[270] Julian the Apostate.
[271] Eusebius of Caesarea.
[272] The *Historia Francorum* of Saint Gregory bishop of Tours (538-594AD).
[273] Adriatic Sea.
[274] There may be a scribal error here which obscures the meaning of this passage. "Ambrose has more to say on this subject: 'Helena sought the Lord's nails and found them, and had one of them made into a bit and the other worked into the royal crown: it was right that the nail be on the head, the crown at the top, the bridle in the hand, so that the mind should be preeminent, the faith should shine forth, and the royal power should rule." (Ryan 1992, p.283)
[275] Crossed out: [And enforsed him in all þat he couth to destroye þe holi crosse].
[276] Persians.
[277] Ethiopian. Ryan points out that Ethiopian implies a black man, not based on race, but based on black representing evil. (Ryan 1992, p.283)

Saints Nereus and Achilleus (Saint Domitilla)

[278] Jacobus says: "The passions of these two saints were written by Euthices, Victorinus, and Macro, servants of Christ." (Ryan, p.309) However, the story is principally concerned with the life and passion of Saint Domitilla.
[279] Domitian, emperor of Rome (51-96AD).
[280] Island of Pontus. (Ryan, p.310)
[281] Ryan has 80AD. (Ryan, p.310)
[282] Saint Petronella.
[283] Saints Euthices, Victorinus and Marco.
[284] Luxurius. (Ryan, p.310)

Saint Petronella

[285] This very short legend, according to Jacobus, was written by Marcellus.
[286] Saint Marcellus. (Ryan, p.315)
[287] 'The torment which is called the rack.' This is an unusual spelling of the word.
[288] The Tiber River.

Saint Julitta

[289] There is no source given by Jacobus for this unique legend of a baby saint and his mother.
[290] Iconium. (Ryan, p.324)
[291] Tarsus. (Ryan, p.324)
[292] Sicily.
[293] Alexandria.
[294] raw sinews; a knotted whip made of leather.

Saint Marina

[295] In addition to belonging to the corpus of Jacobus's *Golden Legend*, the life of Saint Marina appears to be one from local tradition. According to *Butler's Lives of Saints*: "The story of this Marina is simply one of those popular romances of women masquerading as men." (*Butler's Lives of Saints*. PJ Kennedy and Sons: New York, 1963). There are other legends of saints who earned their sanctity while disguised as men, a trend referred to as "holy transvestism" which I examine in my last chapter.
[296] 'and' is indicated in the text to be struck out before 'þat'.
[297] St. Marina; this is one of a number of instances where the personal pronoun switches gender according to the disguise of the female saint in male attire.
[298] *Pater peccavi*, "I have sinned".
[299] Mother and sister.

The Seven Brethern and Saint Felicity

[300] Jacobus refers to Gregory and his comments on Saint Felicity, and though he does not explicitly say so, Gregory was most likely the main source for this story. (Ryan 1992, 364)
[301] Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martial; the scribe has left one out.
[302] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor of Rome 121-180AD.
[303] Publius. (Ryan, p.364)

[304] Saint Gregory, bishop of Tours.

Saint Theodora

[305] There is no source given by Jacobus for this legend, but she falls into the same category as Saint Marina and perhaps their legends had a similar origin.
[306] Alexandria.
[307] Emperor Zeno. (Ryan, p.365)
[308] Respondit Pilatus: Quod Scripsi Scripsi. John 19:22: "Pilate said: what I have written, I have written".
[309] Possibly a mistake for 'yif'.

Saint Margaret

[310] Jacobus says the legend of Saint Margaret was written by "Theotimus, a learned man" but gives no other clue to his identity. He also quotes a "certain saint" which, according to Ryan, may be a reference to Ambrose from his lives of the virgin saints, but at the same time Jacobus indicates that the story may be ficticious, stating that the legend "about the beast swallowing the maiden and bursting asunder is considered apocryphal and not to be taken seriously." (Ryan, 1992. p.369)
[311] Theodosius.
[312] Olybrius. (Ryan, p.368)
[313] There is a pun here on her name 'Margarete' which also means 'pearl'.
[314] Ryan has translated this as the rack: "she was now hung upon a rack and was beaten with rods." (p. 369)
[315] This form appears as 'cantest' in the text, and is probably a scribal error so I have emended it to 'canst'.
[316] The text indicates that 'vn' should be struck out and replaced with 'e'.
[317] In the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon*, Solomon entraps the demons in a bottle of brass. This may be a mistranslation or a scribal error. *The Testament of Solomon* in the Old Testament Apocrypha speaks of Solomon being given the authority, by God, to "confine all the demons both female and male." (*Apocryphal Old Testament*, p.738) It is referred to as "an essay in popular demonology and magic". (ibid. p.733)
[318] Margaret is asking to be the guardian of women in labour; to deliver both the woman and the child, either by saving the woman's life or acting as the mediatrix between the child and God.
[319] Jacobus never identifies this holy man, but Ryan suggests that it could be a reference to Ambrose's *On Virgins*. (Ryan 1992, p.368).

Saint Praxedis

[320] There is no source given for this extremely brief life, which leads me to believe that it may have been taken as an excerpt of the life of another saint, or that perhaps Saint Praxedis is a fictitious saint. Though her legend is short, she has a feast day and an important church in Rome.
[321] Pudentiana. (Ryan, p.374)
[322] Timothy. Ryan has Saints Timothy and Donatus, who appears to have been left out by the scribe.
[323] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor of Rome 121-180AD.

Saint Christina

[324] There is no source given for this most gruesome of female saints' lives.
[325] "Saint Christina's name suggests chrismate uncta, anointed with chrism. She had the balm of good odour in her relationships with others and the oil of devotion in her mind and benediction in her speech." (Ryan 1992, p. 385)
[326] Tyro in Italy.
[327] This is most likely a 'window alcove'.
[328] Apollo.
[329] Julianus. (Ryan, p.387)
[330] *a sante*, most likely a derivative from the French 'to leap'.
[331] Diocletian, Roman emperor ca. 245-313AD.
[332] "Her body rests near a fortified place called Bolsena between Orvieto and Viterbo, the tower which was once near that town has been completely demolished." (Ryan 1992, p.387) Ryan has tower but points out that Graesse suggested Tyrus (Tyro) instead of turris (tower).

Saint Martha

[334] Jacobus quotes the fifth book of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius as his source for the life of Saint Martha as well as Saint Ambrose and Saint Jerome who has "a story, also reported in the *Tripartite History*." (Ryan, p. 374; cf. note 233)
[334] Syrus. (Ryan, p.23 vol.II)
[335] Eucharia. (Ryan, ibid.)
[336] Syria.
[337] Magdalum and the two Bethanys.
[338] Marseille.
[339] Aix.
[340] Rhone.
[341] Arles.
[342] Galatia in Asia.
[343] "Begotten of Leviathan, an extremely ferocious water serpent, and Onachus, an animal bred in the region of Galatia." (Ryan 1992, p.24 vol.II)
[344] Tarasconus. (Ryan, ibid.)
[345] "Tarascon though previously it had been called Nerluc, i.e. black place because the forest thereabouts was dark and shadowy." (Ryan 1992, p.24 vol.II)
[346] Avignon and the Rhone river.
[347] The text reads "alonik", but the context implies "anon" or perhaps "along".
[348] Eusebius' the fifth book of *Ecclesiastical History*. (cf. note 331)
[349] Her maladie is translated by Ryan as an "issue of blood", most likely menorragia, cf. note 4 in Saint Lucy.
[350] The *Tripartite History* (cf. note 233)
[351] Julian the Apostate.
[352] Eloi. (Ryan, p.25 vol. II)
[353] The word is split between folios.
[354] Perigeueux. (Ryan, p.25 vol.II)
[355] Saint Fronto. (Ryan, ibid.)
[356] Tarascon.
[357] on each page.
[358] King Clovis, king of the Franks 466-511AD.
[359] suffering from a malady of the kidneys.
[360] According to Ryan, this is a reference to Martilla, her serving maid, though the name of the actual work is never specified and remains elusive, and the author is refered to as 'he'.
[361] Slavonia.

The Lives of Saints Savinian and Savina

362 Sometimes referred to as Saints Sabinian and Sabina. Jacobus gives no source for this legend, nor does the *Patrologia Latina*.

[363] This could be a reference to baptism; cf. Matt 3:11: "I indeed baptize you in water unto penance, but he that shall come after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire." Also Mark 1:8, Luke 3:16, and John 1:26. It may also be a reference to Ps. 51: *Quid gloriaris* or perhaps Ps. 15: *Conserva me, Domine*, "Preserve me, O Lord, for I have put my trust in thee. I have said to the Lord, thou art my God, for thou hast no need of my goods."
[364] This is a mistake for 'fote'.
[365] The text indictes that 'for' should be stricken here, so I have omitted it from the text.
[366] 'sheweth youre tonge' deleted.

Saint Cecilia

[367]There are two versions of the life of Saint Cecilia in this MS which are virtually identical, and neither of which allude to a source other than Jacobus. According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*: "Though she is one of the most celebrated Roman martyrs, there is no trace of a cult of Cecilia in early times. She is not mentioned by the Chronographer of 354 or by Ambrose, Damasus, Jerome or Prudentius." (p. 360)
[368] Appian Way
[369] Pope Urban
[370] Cf. Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* ll.195-199: "'Lo, lyk a bisy bee, withouten gile,/ Thee serveth ay thyn owene thral Cecile./ For thilke spouse that she took but now/ Ful lyk a fiers leoun, she sendeth heere, as meke as evere was any lomb, to yow!'" Also cf. Ryan, p.319

[371] Tiburtius. (Ryan, p.319 vol.II)
[372] This must be a mistake as Ambrose did not write the life of Saint Cecilia, cf. note 364 on the origins of the legend of Saint Cecilia.
[373] Cf. Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale*, ll.309-318: "'Ne menestow nat Urban,' quod he tho,/ 'That is so ofte dampned to be deed,/ And woneth in halkes alwey to and fro,/ And dar nat ones putte forth his head?'" Also cf. Ryan, p. 320, vol. II.
[374] Almachius. (Ryan, p.320 vol.II)
[375] Possibly a mistake for 'and'
[376] Maximian, emperor of Rome ca. 240-310AD, at the same time as Diocletian. They are often refered to together, more or less as a team of Christian persecutors.
[377] She is exchanging "myr and fecine", or "earth and feces" for the benefits of the celestial life.
[378] 223AD

Saint Euphemina

[379] Jacobus refers to Ambrose in his life of Saint Euphemina and quotes part of Ambrose's preface at the end of her legend, in which case, according to Ryan, a greater part of the legend may have been taken from Ambrose's *On Virgins*. Saint Euphemina is a 4th century saint (d.303) who is mentioned by Paulinus of Nola and Peter Chrysologus, though Jacobus does not refer to either of these early authors.
[380] Priscus. (Ryan, p.181 vol.II)
[381] Chalcedon. (Ryan, p.183 vol.II)
[382] Saint Ambrose's preface to his *On Virgins*. (cf. note 171)

Saint Justina

[383] There is no source given by Jacobus for this legend.
[384] 'is' is stricken from the text.

Saint Pelagia

[385] There is no source given by Jacobus for this legend. While there is no source given for this legend, it bears a certain similarity to the life of Saint Margaret (Pelagia) and to the lives of Saints Marina and Theodora in that it is one of the legends which incorporates the idea of holy transvestism and could be a product of local tradition.
[386] Veronus, bishop of Heliopolis. (Ryan, p.231 vol.II)
[387] Damietta. (Ryan, ibid.)
[388] 'and' is struck from the text after 'all'.
[389] 'him [to]' palimpsest.
[390] "...the Pearl, for the preciousness of my attire." (Ryan, 1992. p.231 vol.II)
[391] An insertion mark with no insertion.
[392] The text indicates that 'seid' should be struck out here.
[393] Mount Olivet.
[394] This is an obvious mistake in the text which was left in and not corrected.

Saint Margaret (Pelagia)

[395] Not to be confused with the life of Saint Margaret of Antioche, this legend makes no reference to another source besides Jacobus and it follows the same tradition as Saint Pelagia.

Saint Thais

[396] Jacobus quotes the *Lives of the Fathers* as the primary source for this legend. (Ryan 1992, p.234)
[397] Abba Paphnutius. (Ryan, p.235 vol.II)
[398] Abba, Saint Ephrem. (Ryan, ibid.)

Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins

[399] Though Ryan says this story probably has its roots in local tradition and in the work of Saint Ambrose, Jacobus refers to no other source. (Ryan 1992, pp. 256-260)
[400] Notus or Maurus. (Ryan, p.256)
[401] Pantulus, bishop of Basel. (Ryan, p.257 vol.II)

[402] Gerasina, queen of Sicily. (Ryan, ibid.)
[403] Bishop Macirisus. (Ryan, ibid)
[404] Daria, mother of Ursula. (Ryan, ibid.)
[405] Babilla, Juliana, Victoria and Aurea, and her little son Adrian.
[406] Germany.
[407] port of Gaul named Tyella.
[408] Cologne.
[409] Basel.
[410] Pope Cyriacus, 19th pope after Peter, but he is not listed in the *Acta Apostolica*. (Ryan, p.257 vol.II)
[411] Possibly a mistake for 'reueled'.
[412] Ametos, who is also not listed in the *Acta Apostolica*. (Ryan, p.258 vol.II)
[413] Africanus, the wicked Roamn army commander.
[414] Julian, chief of the Hunnish tribe.
[415] Maurisius, bishop of Levicana. (Ryan, p.258 vol.II)
[416] Sulpicius, bishop of Ravenna. (Ryan, ibid.)
[417] 'bisshopp' is struck from the text before 'virgine'.
[418] the word is split between two folios.
[419] Ethereus. (Ryan, p.258 vol.II)
[420] Florence or Fiorentina; according to Ryan, Florentina. (Ryan, ibid)
[421] Emperor Marcius, 452AD.

Saint Elizabeth

[422] This is one of the latest additions to the *GoL* as Elizabeth died in 1226. However, Jacobus does not give any clues to the identity of his source, though it was most likely a monk or priest in a house dedicated to Elizabeth, perhaps even in Mainz where a great number of her miracles took place. The version in the *GiL* is much shorter than that of the *GoL*. It appears that this is due to the omission of several of the miracles which Elizabeth performed and not of the omission of events surrounding her life.
[423] Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231)
[424] split between two folios.
[425] The landgrave of Thuringia; landgrave is a title equivalent to a count.
[426] The Rogation Days of the Greater and Lesser Litanies
[427] Ryan does not mention a "Marquis of Losenge" but a marchioness of Meissen.
[428] Cf. note 46, "the bowels of mercy" of St. Paula.
[429] 'scorned' is struck out in the text here.
[430] Spinning wool is a symbol of Elizabeth's humility; spinning silk was the usual occupacion of the aristocracy while spinning wool, since it was a necessity, was the occupacion of serving women and peasants. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, passus VI: "And ye lovely ladies with youre longe fyngres,/ That ye have silk and sandel to sowe whan tyme is/ Chesibles for chapeleyns chirches to honoure./ Wyves and widewes, wolle and flex spynneth:/ Maketh cloth, I counseille yow, and kenneth so youre doughtres./ The nedy and the naked, nymeth hede how thei liggeth,/ And casteth hem clothes, for so comaundeth Truthe./ For I shal lenen hem liflode, but if the lond faille,/ As longe as I lyve, for the Lordes love of hevene./ And alle manere of men that through mete and drynke libbeth,/ Helpeth hym to werche wightliche that wynneth youre foode." (The B Text, Passus VI, ll. 10-20)
[431] The court of Emperor Frederick at Cremona.
[432] Franciscans.
[433] Elizabeth desires to live a solitary life, possibly as a nun, but has been imprisoned and kept from her desires.
[434] This is a reference to the lives of Saint Martha and Mary Magdalene.
[435] Friars Minors.
[436] This may be a scribal error for "a hundred folde".
[437] The MS reads: "'Atte hardest she shall not a gode while go to no caloles for to show her(e) heer(e).'" This does not make sense. It is most likely a scribal error. I have emended the text based on the meaning in the *LgA*, substituting 'harvest' and 'caroles'. This is a reference to the seasonal festivals and ring dances which were often held at harvest time or at the beginning of summer.
[438] At a monastery in the diocese of Hildersheim, Saxony, there was a Cistercian monk named Henry. (Ryan 1992, p.313 vol.II)

Saint Dorothy

[439] There is no known source for this life of Saint Dorothy, though the story is the same as that found in Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wymmen* and there are many parallals in both texts.
[440] Cappadocia.

[441] It should be 'innocent', so this appears to be a scribal error.
[442] 'full' has been badly erased after 'ton'.
[443] Theophilus, solemn doctor of law and later Christian martyr and saint.
[444] The Latin antiphona is complete, though space has been left at the bottom of the leaf. The first fragment of TCD MS 319 ends after *Dorothy* and the *GiL* fragment begins.

An approximate translation follows: "In whatever house the name or image taken from the blessed virgin martyr Dorothy (may be found) nothing shall be born there prematurely. That house should feel no dangers of fire or theft. Nor would anyone suffer both evil pain and death. You will warn us about perjury against nature and the holy bread, through Jesus Christ, our lord.

"The pious virgin Dorothy, potent in miracles, by the stains of our sins brought us into our peace, and passed her entire life defending us against dangers. Pray for us unworthy, O martyr of Christ, who conquered the worldly flesh of the devil. Pray for us, blessed Dorothy, that we may be made worthy according to Christ. Let us pray. [I pray] all powerful and most gentle God, in whose name the glorious virgin and martyr Dorothy surpassed many kinds of torture, let us humbly pray that, by her intervention, we may be led, according to our necessity, through many dangers to her, and that, by your trials, we may realise you as our [blessed] helper, through Jesus Christ, our lord, your son, who lives and reigns with you for all eternity."
(Many thanks to Owen Delaney who struggled through the transcription of this damaged section of the MS with me and came up with the above translation.)
[445] 'profitiamur'?
[446] 'gloriose'?
[447] 'superauit'?

Mary Magdalene

[448] The legend of Mary Magdalene has its roots in the Bible and is a compilation of a number of segments of the Gospels including that of Mary Magdalene as the witness to Christ's resurrection, as the sinfull woman who repents and washes Christ's feet with her hair and as the sinfull woman from whom Christ drove the seven devils.

Essentially, the three Marys of the Gospel are combined into one saint. Jacobus does mention other sources, however, such as the treatises of Hegesippus (or Josephus) and a Gospel of John by Brother Albert who may have been Saint Albert, an older contemporary of Jacobus.

Most of the material in the legend of Mary Magdalene is apocryphal and appears in various forms throughout the Middle Ages, most notably, however, in the Digby play of Mary Magdalene of which the *GiL* may have been a source. This version of *Mary Magdalene*, though it is found in TCD MS 319, follows that in the *GoL* and the *GiL*, which supports my suggestion that TCD MS 319 is composed of two distinct fragments, one *GiL* and the other from another source, possibly the same as Bokenham's.
[449] split between two folios.
[450] Luke 7:36-50.
[451] "Mary who is called Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were gone forth." Luke 8:2; Mark 16:2.
[452] John 11:1-45.
[453] This malady is commonly called the "bloody flux" of "an issue of blood" and is understood to be an incurable flow of blood, presumably menstrual blood. There are numerous references in the Bible to women being cured of this issue of blood by touching the hem of Christ's garment, cf. Matt 9:20-22, Mark 5:25 and Luke 8:43 and the occurence of this malady in *Lucy*.
[454] Luke 7:36-50, cf. note 215.
[455] Matt 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; John 12:1.
[456] Matt 27:55-56; Mark 15:40, 15:47; Luke 24:10-11; John 19:25-27.
[457] The two Marys at the sepulcre; Matt 27:61.
[458] Matt 28: 1-10; Mark 16:1-15; John 20:1-19.
[459] Acts 7:59; Acts 8:1-4.
[460] Possibly the blind man who is given sight in Luke 18:41-43 or Luke 9.
[461] Marseille; the following material is not Biblical but is included in the Digby *Mary Magdalene* play.
[462] Aix. (Ryan, p.380)
[463] This section of *Mary Magdalene* is reminiscent of *Mary of Egypt*.
[464] Luke 7:36-50; cf. note 15.
[465] split between two folios.
[466] Maximian's own books. (Ryan, p.381)
[467] Hegesippus, or as some books have it, Josephus
[468] Aix.
[469] Charlemagne, 769AD.
[470] Gerard, Duke of Burgundy.
[471] Monastery of Vezelay.

[472] Aix.
[473] marble sarcophagus.
[474] According to Jacobus, this part of *Mary Magdalene* is discussed by "Brother Albert in his intro to the Gospel of Saint John". Ryan says this is most likely Saint Albert (OP) the Great, an older contemporary of Jacobus'. However, this attribution has been left out of this version of *Mary Magdalene*.

Saint Alban

[475] Cassivellaunus.
[476] King Severus of Britain.
[477] Lydgate gives 'a thousand v. hundrid'.(l.237)
[478] Verulamium.
[479] Pope Zepherinus.
[480] 'in prosp(er)ite and wer(e) receyued of þe emp(er)oure with grete worshipp' deleted after 'Rome'.
[481] 'two' deleted after 'þo'.
[482] Emperor Diocletian under whose persecutions (303-305AD) Alban, if he existed, may have been executed.
[483] sic in the MS.
[484] Van der Westhuizen; the *Tractatus* has 'Siculos' for Sicilians.
[485] The 'h' is over an erasure of a capital or paraph.
[486] Germany, Cyprus and Crete.
[487] sic in the MS..
[488] King Offa, the Saxon king who founded the monastery of St. Albans; cf. the chapter on the history and provenance of Harley MS 630.
[489] Carausius, who reigned undisputedly in Britain from 287 AD to 293AD. In 293 he was murdered by Allectus, who was defeated and killed three years later in battle against Constantius. After that, in 296, Britain came more effectively under Diocletian's control. (Van der Westhuizen, p.40)
[490] Lydgate makes a reference to "the Brittyssh se" and the *Tractatus* says "maris Britannici", it is either a refence to the Engish channel, or the Irish Sea.
[491] The Picts.
[492] The scribe emended his own mistake by erasing the 're' of 'religions' to make the word 'ligions'.
[493] Allectus.
[494] Both Lydgate and the *Tractatus* refer to the river as Walbroke, and Lydgate says it is called Walbroke "into this day". It was a tributary of the Thames.
[495] Aclepiodot, Duke of Cornwall.
[496] Lydgate; 'iij thous(and) pou(n)de of gold', a reference to tribute money which was owed to Rome.
[497] Pope Poncian.
[498] Lydgate; 'thous*and*is ful sixtene'.
[499] This is where Amphibal begins the disputation, or discourse, of the Gospels, and in teaching Alban, begins his conversion.
[500] The Annunciation and Canticle of the Virgin Mary which follows is found in Luke 1:27-38; cf. Isa. 7:14; Infra. 2:21; Dan. 7:14 and 27; and Mich. 4:7.
[501] sic in the MS.
[502] Luke 23:37-39.
[503] 'atte laste he cried with [an] hie vois and seid and done all þat þei wolde' deleted after 'couthe'
[504] "And Jesus crying with a loud voice, said; 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' And saying this, he gave up the ghost." Luke 23:46; Ps. 30:6.
[505] flowinge] folowinge with 'o' subpuncted.
[506] Gathering all his strength.
[507] This is a reference to Alban's vision and what he actually saw. It is not a direct biblical reference. But in reference to God the father and God being one, it may be an allusion to Matt 11:27: "All things are delivered to me by my father. And no one knoweth the Son, but the Father: neither doth any one know the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal *him*." Cf. Luke 10:22, John 6:46, 7:28, 8:19, and 10:15.
[508] Adam, the ancestor of man and the father of the sins of mankind.
[509] 'hate' plus two or three letters erased.
[510] A reference to the Holy Trinity; the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
[511] Van der Westhuizen says this passage is original to Lydgate (ll.1682-1688).
[512] felyngng] with the final 'ng' subpuncted.
[513] 'togidr(e)' deleted after 'were'.
[514] 'crosse' deleted after 'God'.
[515] Maximianus Herculeus.

[516] The judgement against Amphibal decrees that he be tortured in "þe moste foulest deth þat can be imagened" and by this, they devise to have him eviscerated. This is an unusally cruel and gruesome punishment which does not appear to figure in any other saints' lives, and if fact the only other reference to evisceration which I have come across is the evisceration of Broder, by the Irish, in *Njal's Saga* after he kills Brian Boru at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. This particular torture involves not only drawing the victim, but once the intestines are drawn out, the end is tied to a stake in the ground, and the victim is compelled to walk around the stake, usually with spears or swords, until he is tied to the stake with his own entrails and left to die, slowly.
[517] Jupiter and Apollo.
[518] This form of execution follows that usually prescribed under English law for a person of noble birth or a knight; execution by beheading with a sword, as opposed to death by hanging, drawing or quartering, or all three, which was usually reserved for the most heinous of crimes, treason, committed by persons of low birth. Alban is a knight, therefore he is to be executed as a knight, whereas Amphibal, even though he is a prince of Wales, deserves a more torturous death because he converted Alban to Christianity.
[519] Holmhurst.
[520] "Then one of the knights that drew Albon to his torment, deserved to come to his salvation by Saint Albon".
[521] 'þe gan' is subpuncted after 'wynde'.
[522] f.163 contains material which was omitted from f.164r, so I have followed the order of the narrative here.
[523] Here in the margin is the addenda symbol marking where the narrative picks up from f.163v.
[524] 'þe body' is repeated here; it is probably a scribal error.
[525] The text has been obscured here and the meaning is not clear.
[526] sic in the MS.
[527] This is underlined in the text to indicate where the narrative picks up on f.164r. This symbol is repeated in the lefthand margin of f.164r.
[528] This is a reference to the idea that a saint, simply by saying Christ's name over sick persons, could heal them. It is one the miracles attributed to Saint Amphibal.
[529] The text is messy at this point and is slightly obscured, but it appears that the 'ro' abbreviation is above the 'w'.
[530] The pagan gods were believed to be "vndedli" or immortal. In this case the adjective is used almost as a proper name.
[531] The text reads 'slaunder(e)' where it should be 'sclauter'. It appears to be a scribal mistake over the 'er' suspension, so I have emended it.
[532] 'to þe worse p(er)te þi vertuose of C(ri)st.' deleted after 'Criste'.
[533] The beasts of battle, eagles, ravens and wolves, usually eat the slain after a battle (cf. *The Battle of Maldon* ll.106-107). But here, the eagle and the wolf, forsaking their nature because of the sanctity of the slain, protect the bodies. Cf. Matt 24:28 and Luke 17:37: "Wheresoever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together."
[534] "The people of wales who wandered through the graves was afraid..."
[535] 'h' is erased before 'elder'.
[536] 'In receyuyng þe sac(ra)ment ...' This is an original passage where Amphiball expounds on baptism, Lydgate did his own but many of his words echo this version.
[537] "Sed ne posteri super meo nomine reddantur nimium soliciti sciant quia si voluerint verum mihi ponere nomen, me miserum, me peccatorem ultimum nominabunt. Roman autem proficiscar, ut illic gentilitatis errore deposito, et lavacro regenerationis adapto, veniam merear assequi delictorum: libellum quoque, istum, qui habetur in manibus, afferam examini Romanorum; ut si quid in eo secus quam debuit forte prolatum fuerit, hoc per eos dignetur in melius commutare Dominus Jesu Christus, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen." (Van der Westhuizen 1974) This passage is at the end of William's *Vita*.
[538] Transcribed by J.E. Van der Westhuizen, 1974
[539] ibid.
[540] Van der Westhuizen attributes these lines to Lydgate as original material, though there appears to be corresponding Latin as "running text" in his edition.

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Select Glossary

The vocabulary of the *GiL* is relatively conventional, and the dialect of the texts is close to that which eventually became standard English. Consequently, there is no need for a full glossary. The items included in this select glossary are such as may cause difficulty for the reader, either through their relative unfamiliarity, or through unusual spellings, or through contexts which demand that the word be interpreted at the limits of its normal lexical range. Words which begin with 'ŧ' and 'þ' are glossed together and the initial u-/v-, which is spelled as 'v-' in the text, are also glossed together.

The following abbreviations are used:
(A) Anglian dialects of OE
(AF) Anglo-French
(AL) Anglo-Latin
(CF) Central French
(CL) Classical Latin
(LOE) Late Old English
(L) Latin
(ML) Medieval Latin
(MDu.) Middle Dutch
(MLG) Middle Low German
(OE) Old English
(OF) Old French
(OI) Old Icelandic
(ON) Old Norse
(WS) West Saxon dialect (of OE)

parts of speech as follows:
adj. – adjective
adv. – adverb
n. – noun
n.pl. – plural noun
p. – past
part. – participle
per. pron. – personal pronoun
ppl. – past participle
pres. – present
pron. – pronoun
sing. – singular
v. – verb

Where the textual spelling varies from that in the *Middle English Dictionary* I have indicated the dictionary headword in non-bold parenthesis; eg. (afered).
The glossary is formatted as follows: word as it appears in text; dictionary headword; part of speech and definition; occurence in text by life and line number; and etymology.

abak: adv. of motion: backward, to the rear; forced backward, back (abak 7:661; abakke 26:2448) [OE on baec]
abasshed: ppl. of the v. abaishen. to lose one's composure, be upset, perplexed; show up, abash; ashamed (abaachin 3:246; abasshed 5:513, 7:689, 12:1132, 30:754; a basshed 5:522) [OF esba(h)iss-, esba(h)ir]
abbite: n. clothing, characteristic attire; a garment; religious habit (abbite 27:2721) [OF h)abit]
abhominac(i)on: n. a thing, a sight, a disease, an action, etc: that is physically loathsome; disgust, nausea; moral abhorrence. (adhominac(i)on 27:2648) [L & OF]
abiecte: ppl. lowly, downcast. (abiecte 27:2665) [L ppl. abject-um]
abitac(i)on: n. habitacion, abode, dwelling (abitac(i)on 4:426) [OF]
acceptable: adj. pleasing, agreeable (acceptable 30:640) [OF &L]

accorde: v. to agree or consent to; tell, relate. (accorde 3:152, 19:1671; accordeth, 3rd person sing. pres. 8:23, 8:824) [OF acorde]
accoumpted: ppl. of the v. ac(c)ompten. to account for, count (accoumpted 30:674) [OF acouter, ac(c)ompter]
aferde: (afered) ppl. of the v. afferen. frightened, terrified, afraid. (aferde 29:289, 26:2414, 30:283) [OF aferer, afuerer; cp. ML afforare]
affermest: 2nd person singular present of the v. affermen. to fix in place, make immovable; to assert, declare; agree something is true. (affermest 30:236; affermyng, pres.pl., 30:163) [OF afermer & L affirmare]
afire: adv. & pred. adj. on fire, in flames, afire; burning, aflame (afire 30:506) [OE on+fyr]
aȝeinbier: (ayen-bier(e) n. redeemer, one who ransoms or sets free; often Christ (aȝeinbier 7:643) [Modeled on ML red-emptor]
ake: (p. of v. aken) to ache or cause pain; parts of the body. (ake 4:387) [OE acan, oc]
alegged: ppl. of the v. aleien. to lay (upon something); to subdue, allay; to refute; (alegged 30:292) [OE alecgan]
amentised: ppl. of v. amentisen. to reduce or weaken. (amentised 8:845) [OF amenuisier]
amonge: adv. together, along with; prep. amid, among (amonge 11:1080, 30:130) [OE noun phrases: on gemong & advs. & preps: gemong, gemang]
anentes: prep. of location or movement: next to; of action: toward; adv. approximately, about (anentes 30:152) [OE onefen, on -efu]
anoþere: (other) pron. a different person, someone else, another (anoþere 30:15) [OE oþer pron.]
anone: adv. at once, instantly, forthwith, immediately. (anon 30:120) [OE on an(e]
araise: 3rd person plural past of the v. araisen. to raise upright; revolt against; rise up, rebel (araise 30:10) [Cp. raisen & areran]
arai: (arrai) v. to dig or arrange (as a grave); to prepare, get ready (arai 7:709; araied, ppl., 15:1381, 30:576) [AF ar(r)ai]
arbitrore: n. one who mediates between contending parties, or participates in the settlement of disputes. (arbitrore 3:257) [OF arbitreour, arbitrator]
areredest: 2nd person singular past of the v. areren. to raise something to a vertical position; to sit upright; in context: to rise from the dead, to be resurrected. (areredest 18:1525) [OE araeran]
a resounde: ppl. of v. aresounen. to address, inquire, ask. (aresond 12:1107; a resounde 30:579) [AF aresun, CF araison]
argue: (arguen) v. to present reasons or arguments; to consider, reflect upon; to expound. (argue 30:216) [L arguere & OF arguer]
arivall: (arivaille) n. act of coming to land, arrival, landing-place for an army. (arivall 30:4) [AF]
arte magik: (artemage) n. black magic, necromancy (arte magike 3:205, 17:1441; arte magik 30:471) [OF artimage]
ascende: 3rd person singular past of the v. ascenden. to move or proceed upward, ascend; to rise up; in context: rise up away from, ie., Christ from the cross. (ascende 30:181) [L & OF]
assembeling: ger. a coming together, a gathering or meeting; convocation; a crowd. (assembeling 3:161) [OF as(s)embler]
assoiled: ppl. of v. assoilen. to free; to release; to solve. (assoiled 30:338) [OF assoiler]
astonyd: (astoned) ppl. of the v. of persons: stupified, stunned; insensate, unconscious, upset, bewildered, dumfounded; perplexed, embarrassed. (astonyd 30:542) [CF eston(n)e]
aswhaged: ppl. of v. as(s)wagen. to mitigate, alleviate, relieve (aswhaged 4:406; aswage 5:485) [OF assuag(i)er]
auaunsyd: ppl. of v. avauncen. to help, assist, benefit; to promote. (auaunsyd 28:21; avaunsyd 28:24) [OF avaunc(i)er]
aucto(ure): n. author, instigator (aucto(ure) 30:206, 30:485) [OF au(c)tor & L auctor]
auncien: adj. old, ancient, wise. (auncien 3:149, 5:506, 5:512, 8:850, etc.) [OF]
aungelyke: (a(u)ngelik) adj. resembling an angel, befitting an angel, angelic. (aungelyke 28:29) [OF & L]
auntentike: (autentik) adj. authentic, true, worthy of belief or acceptance, reliable, trustworthy. (autentike 8:732; auntentike 8:812; autentik 8:823, 8:826, 8:837) [OF &L]

avouterer: (avouter) n. adulterer or one who commits adultery. (avouterer(e) 14:1232) [OF avoutre (L adulter)]

bali: (beli) n. belly, womb (bali 14:1238) [A belg, baelg, WS byl(i)g]
behestes: (bihest(e) n.pl. promises or pledges; what is promised. (behestes 5:457) [OE behaes; ME bihest has the suf. -t of the synonym hight]
behight: (bihot) 3rd person singular past of the v. to make a promise or pledge. (behight 3:151; behiȝt 5:484) [OE behat; for the variants cp. bihoten]
beme: (bem) n. light, beam of light; radiance; a ray of light. (beme 30:535) [OE beam]
benefices: n.pl. good works, benevolent act, a kindness; an act of piety. (benefices 1:63; benefice 30:459, 30:682) [OF benefice & L beneficium]
bent: n. the set of (someone's) mind, his attitudes, his intentions (bent 5:566) [From ppl. of v. benden]
be stadde: (bistad) adj. placed, set; beset, troubled, plagued. (be stadde 30:488) [OE be + ON stadd-r, pp. of steđja, place]]
besiled: ppl. of the v. besilen. carry away; made away with; leave. (besiled 4:315) [OF besillier, besiler]
besines: (bisinesse) n. the state or fact of being engaged in an activity; work; business; busily. (besines 14:1193) [From bisi]
be times: (bitimes) adv. in good time; promptly; early. (be times 1:55) [From prep. phrase.]
biclippinge: n. embraces; present participle of the v. to embrace, kiss or be surrounded. (biclippinge 4:323; beclipped, 3rd person singular past, 30:509; biclipping 30:691) [OE bi+clyppan]
bihoueth: 3rd person singular present of the v. bihoven: to be needed, required, requisite. (bihoueth 4:363) [OE sg. 3 behofaþ]
bipath: (bi-path) n. by pass, side path; a by way, short cut (bipath 30:718) [Cp. path & bi adv.]
bitokeneth: (bitoknen) 3rd person singular present of the v. to be a sign; to be an indication; to signify, to mean (bitokeneth 30:200; betokeneth 30:195) [OE bi+tacnian]
biwept: 3rd person singular past of the v. biwepen. weep for, mourn for, weep over (biwept 4:297) [OE bewepan, -weop, -wopen]
blandissh: (blaundice) adj. flattering; n. praise or flattery; allurement; deception. (blandissh 3:180; blandisshinge 13:1161) [CF blandice & blandissement]
blasfeme: (blasfemen) n. blasphemy. (blasfeme 30:164) [L & OF]
bobaunce: n. ostentatious or boastful behaviour, boasting; a boast; vain display, worldly vanity. (bobaunce 27:2523) [OF]
bocheres: n.pl. butchers; executioners (bocheres 5:498; bochers 30:711) [OF boch(i)er, bouch(i)er]
boden: (beden) ppl. of the v. to bid; to summon, invite. (boden 5:489) [OE beodan; beaed]
bofettes: (buffets) n.pl. buffets, blows (bofettes 5:476) [OF buf(f)et]
bordelles: (bordel) n. bordello, house of ill repute, whore house. (bordelles 1:51; bordell 1:58, 3:190, 3:194, 3:195, etc.) [OF]
bought: ppl. of the v. bien. to purchase, buy; to redeem (bought 30:210) [OE bycgan, boute]
bowe: (bouen) v. to bow to, bend, to be submissive, obedient; n. a stake or bow (bowe 30:300, 30:493) [OE bugan, bogen]
bowell: (bouel) n. an intestine, bowel. (bowell 30:364) [OF bŏele, bouele]
boystes: (boistous) adj. crude, rough, tough; in reference to meat or food: coarse, rough, tough. (boystes 27:2540) [OF boisteus]
brige: (brigge) n. bridge (brige 8:736; brigges 8:805; brigge 8:806, 8:809) [OE brycge]
brede: n. roasted or grilled meat; heavenly food, manna. (brede 4:335) [OE broed(u; braed(e]
brede: n. the width or bredth of an object. (brede 8:754) [OE]
breke: 3rd singular past of v. breken. to crush; to break (breke 4:386, 4:403) [OE brecan, brac]

brenned: ppl. of the v. brennen; consumed by fire; to burn; present participle. burning. (brenned 2:101; brennynge 4:378; brennyng 5:535, 30:339, 30:422; brynnyng 4:393; brynnynge 4:394) [OI brenna, OE inf. biernan]
breyne: n. brain, mind (breyne 4:379, 11:1069) [OE braegen]
bruled: ppl. of v. broilen. to burn; singe, scorch; broiled, burned. (bruled 7:633; broiled 15:1364) [OF bru(s)ler]
buffeted: ppl. of v. buffeten. to hit or strike repeatedy. (buffeted 2:108) [OF buffeter]

casuelly: (casuel) adv. due to chance, accidentally, incidentally. (casuelly 30:63) [OF casuel & L casualis]
cawdorns: (caudroun) n.pl. cauldrons; cooking pots or kettles. (cawdorns 2:103; caudroin 8:942) [AF caud(e)roun, CF chaud(e)ron, ML caldarium]
chamberer (chambre): (chaumberer) n. maid servant or chamber maid; close companion; body servant; lady-in-waiting, confident. (chamberer 2:92; chambres 2:98, 4:343; chamb(er)ers 9:984; chamberere 12:1138; chamber(er)s 17:1407) [OF]
chase: (chois) 3rd person singular past of the v. to choose or select. (chase 4:340, 27:2477) [OF chois]
chastinli: adv. in a chaste manner; abstinently; virtuously (chastinli 1:50) [From adj.]
chaunce: 3rd person plural past of the v. to change, alter (chaunce 5:456) [unique form, not *MED*]
chiden: 3rd person plural past of the v. to give vent to irritation or anger; rail, scold, nag. (chiden 4:385) [OE cidan, cidde]
clees: (claue) n.pl. claws, sharp nails, talons. (clees 7:707) [OE clawu, clea]
clere: (cleren v.) adj. bright, pure, clear. (clere 30:534) [OF clair]
clerke: n. a member of the clergy; learned person, scholar; monk, Christian priest (clerke 30:273; clerk 30:658) [OE clerc, cleric; OF clerc]
clernesse: n. a bright light; magnificence, spelndour; purity, sanctity, brightness (clernesse 30:548) [From cler; OF clair + OE nes]
cleued (cleue): ppl. of the v. cleven. to cling fast or cleve (cleued 2:114, 8:758; cleue 8:760, 30:377) [OE cleofian, clifian]
clippingg(es): n.pl. embraces; ppl. of v. to embrace, kiss (clipped 2:103; clippingg(es) 3:172) [OE clyppan]
closed: ppl. of the v. closen. to entomb or bury; to seclude; to enclose, shut up; adj. closed, sealed. (closed 6:588, 14:1267; cloos 30:188) [OF clos(e)]
compownyd: ppl. of the v. compounen. to mix or blend (different things); to combine different things to form a whole. (compownyd 28:19) [L componere & OF compon(d)re]
compuncte: (compunct(ed) ppl. conscience-stricken, overcome with remorse (compuncte 30:728) [L]
compunccion: n. remorse, contrition, repentance, regret, compunction. (compunccion 15:1381) [ML & OF. cf. prik of conscience]
comyn (comune): (com(m)une) adj. having an unfavourable or unsavory reputation, notorious, common, vulgar, base (comyn 5:454; comune 7:654) [OF com(m)une L commun-is]
concours: n. crowd or assembly. (concours 30:538) [OF concours & L concursum]
concupiscence: n. desire, esp. ardent or casual desire; lust (concupiscence 28:35) [L & OF]
condit: (conduits) n. means of guidance or conveyance, course. (condit 4:305; condites, pl., 25:2270) [OF conduit]
confused: ppl. of v. confusen. frustrated; ruined; upset, disconcerted; befuddled; deluded (confused 5:501) [L confus-um, ppl. of confundere]
coniured: ppl. of v. conjuren. to make, convince, goad; to make (someone) do something; question. (coniured 7:648, 8:961; coniuring 12:1136) [L & OF]
co(n)streyned: ppl. of the v. constreinen. to restrain, to constrain, bind (co(n)streyned 30:631) [OF constreign & L contringere]
consubstantly: (substantial) adv. Pertaining to the very nature of a thing, essential; in context: consubstantiation. (consubstantly 28:202) [L substantialis, OF substanciel]
contemptes: (contempt) n.pl. insults, injuries; disregard, scorn (contemptes 30:660) [L & OF]

contenc(i)on: (contencioun) n. discussion, quarreling, strife. (contenc(i)on 30:410) [L & OF]
contrait: (contract) v. to contract, seize up or become paralysed. (contrait 21:19273) [OF]
coppe: n. top of a hill, crest (coppe 30:480, 30:501) [OE cop, copp]
corage: n. inner strength, courage, fortitude; affection; heart, spirit. (corage 3:150) [OF]
coruen: p.ppl & ppl. of v. kerven. to cut or slice; glide, as a ship cutting through the ocean. (coruen 4:417) [OE]
corumpour(es): n.pl. those who destroy or bring to ruin, corruptors (corumpour(es) 1:42; corrumper(es) 1:42) [L &OF]
cosyn: (cosin) n. cousin, close relative, blood brother (cosyn 30:640) [OF]
cou(en)able: (covenable) adj. of things, costume, behavior, practice, environment, etc: appropriate or suitable. (cou(en)able 3:155, 7:706, 7:707, 7:709; couenable 3:259, 3:260) [OF covenable]
couered: (coveren) ppl. of the v. to cover with material; to cover; to shield, to envelop; engulf (couered 30:546) [OF covr -ir]
coueyte: 1 person singular present of the v. coveiten. to covet or desire. (coueyte 1:37; couetyng, pres. part., 30:257) [OF coveit(i)er, covoitier]
counsell: (counseilen) n. plan or strategy. (counsell 30:248) [AF counseil]
couthe (coude): (connen) v. to have the ability; could (couthe 8:928, 9:963; couth 30:197; coude 30:359) [OE cunnan]
cracche: n. crib, creche; birthplace of Christ (cracche 4:329) [OF creche, crache]
crismatorie: n. also crismator. a vessel for holding chrism, a mixture of oil and balsam consecrated for use by the church for the sacramental anointing, baptism, and confirmation. (crismatorie 18:1573) [ML]
crolled: (crul) adj. curled (crolled 28:165) [Cp. MDu crul, crol]
cubytes: (cubit(e) n.pl. a measure of length, a biblical unit of measure. (cu[bytes] 29:456) [OE cubit & L cubiture]
curacion: n. healing, cure. (curacion 8:745) [OF cure & L cura]
c(ur)sed: (cursednesse) adj. the condition of being under excommunication, or beset by evil fate. (c(ur)sed 1:53) [OE curs, prob. L cursus]

dampne: infinitive of the v. dampnen. to pass adverse judgement, to condemn; to damn, curse (dampned, ppl., 8:906, 30:107; dampne 30:550) [OF dam(p)ner]
debonair(e): adj. mild, gentle, kind; courteous, gracious, humble, meek. (debonaire 4:377, 9:983; debonair(e) 4:403; debonayrli 7:705) [CF debonaire, NF debonere]
dedyen: (don) v. to perform; to do; prove (dedyen 30:49) [OE don]
defaute: (defautif) n. fault, sin (defaute 30:202) [OF]
defende: infinitive of the v. defenden. to watch, guard; to protect; to forbid, deny. (defended, ppl., 5:504; defende 30:594) [OF defendre & L defendere]
defendresse: n. mediatrix, defender; patron saint; a woman who protects. (defendresse 1:73) [OF]
defouled: (defoulen) ppl. of the v. injure, abuse, torment; to foul (defouled 5:496, 14:1281) [Blend of foulen & OF defoler]
deliueraunce: n. deliverance, saving grace (delyu(er)ance 5:553; deliueraunce 5:554) [OF delivrance]
demed: ppl. of the v. demen. to pass judgement on; to sentence; to decide (demed 8:930; deme 14:1258) [OE deman]
demened: ppl. of the v. demeinen. to damage; injure; demean, insult (demened 30:603) [OF demener]
denyed: ppl. from the v. denien. to deny (a fact, truth or belief), refuse (to believe). (denyed 30:201) [OF deniier]
departe: infinitive of the v. departen. to sell, sell off or give away; separate, part company. (dep(er)ted, ppl., 1:24, 4:384; departe 30:265; departing, pres. part., 30:650) [OF departir])
depolucion: (depopulacioun) n. ravaging, disease or plague; destruction (depolucion 30:90) [L & OF]
depressed: ppl. of v. depressen. to force down, to oppress, to weigh down; conquer. (depressed 30:617) [L & OF]

derketh: 3rd person singular present of the v. derken. to grow dark, to dim. (derketh 4:283) [OE deorcian]
derogac(i)on: (derogacioun) n. infringement or impairment; detriment; false worship (derogac(i)on 30:380) [L & OF]
despite (despite): n. a feeling or attitude of contempt, disdain; ill will, malice, injury or dishonour (despite 2:111, 6:615; dispite 6:606) [OF]
despitous: adj. dishonourable, contemptuous, scornful, haughty (despitous 4:377) [OF despitos, -cus]
did of: (don) v. to take off; strike off (did of 30:629) [OE don & gedan]
dire: (dere) adj. expensive, excellent, beloved, dear (dire 30:567) [OE deare]
disasent: (disasenten) v. to dissent, disagreee with; rebel, challenge, authority (disasent 30:21) [OF desassentir]
discent: (dissent) v. dissent, protest, rebel against. (discent 27:2646) [L dissentire]
disclaundr(e): n. malicious misrepresentation; defamation, slander; a false or slanderous report. (disclaundr(e) 8:934; disclaundre 30:706) [From OF esclaundre, sclaundre]
discribed: ppl. of the v. describen. to give an account of, describe. (discribed 8:759) [L describere]
disencresen: v. to decrease in bulk or size; to reduce (disencresen 3:160) [From OF dis+encresen]
disfigured: ppl of the v. disfiguren. to be deformed, disfigured; a deformity, disfigurement; to mar the appearance of, destroy the form of. (disfigured 30:787) [OF disfigurer]
diskeuere: infinitve of the v. discoveren. to reveal, to discover; to uncover, remove; expose, reveal to view. (diskeu(er)et, ppl., 8:863; diskeuere 12:1100) [OF descov(e)r-, desc(o)uver-, etc.]
dispoiled: (despoilen) v. to take off (one's) clothes, undress, disrobe; strip. (despoilinge) ger: theft, ravaging, plunder. (dispeiled 2:114; despoiled 2:139; dispoiled 3:189, 30:738) [OF despoille, despueille]
disselut: (dissolut(e) adj. of persons: morally or religiously lax or negligent; frivolous, lascivious; dissolute (disselut 4:388) [L dissolutus, ppl. of dissolvere]
disseu(er)ed: ppl. of the v. disseveren. (disseveraunce) separation of parts; to sever, to separate (disseu(er)ed 30:659) [OF des(s)evraunce]
diu(er)se: (divers(e) adj. diverse, varied; differing in kind or character. (diu(er)se 5:474; diuerse 5:483) [L diversus & OF divers(e)]
doine: (don) v. to do; perform an action; doing (doine 30:310) [OE don, gedon]
drawe (drue): (drauen) to pull, tug, draw, pull away from (drawe 4:436, 5:499, 30:414; drawen 5:487, 5:500; drue, 3rd person pl. past, 30:277) [OE dragan]
drede: (dred(e) imperative of the v. (drede 5:513). 2nd person singular present subjuntive of the v. to fear, to have dread. (drede 30:172) [OE ondraedan]
dredefulli: adv. with fear or anxiety, with awe or respect; full of dread or fear (dredefulli 3:203) [OE ondraedan]
dressed: ppl. of the v. dressen. to direct; adjust, arrange, straighten; address. (dressed 30:114, 30:558) [OF drecier]
dropsey: (dropesi(e) n. fainting fit, epileptic fit; the disease dropsy (dropsey 4:396) [shortened form of OF idropesie]
dud: (dede) n. an action, a deed. (dud 30:339) [OE: A ded, K ded, WS daed]
dwillen: (dwellen) v. to dwell, live (dwillen 30:670) [OE dwellan]
dysp(er)bled: ppl. of the v. disparplen. to disband or disperse; scatter (individuals to various places). (dysp(er)bled 29:267) [OF desparpailler]
dyspoused: ppl. of the v. disposen. to make up one's mind, be resolved or willing; wed or joined. (dyspoused 28:45) [OF disposer]
dyuydyd: (dividen) 3rd person plural past of the v. to separate into parts, break up, cut up, divided. (dyuydyd 29:226) [L dividere]

eiþere (either): (either) conjuction. meaning or; ie. either...or (eiþere 30:17; either 30:251) [OE aeghwaeþer]
eire: n. air; atmosphere (eire 15:1368; eir(e) 27:2569) [OF airle, aer]

enchaunto(ure): n. wizards or magicians. (enchaunto(ur)s 1:60; enchaunto(ure) 8:948, 8:951, 14:1200, 14:1198, 30:522) [OF encha(u)nteo(u)r]
enchauntements: n.pl. Acts of magic or witchcraft, magic power; spells (enchauntements 1:60; enchauntmentes 28:116) [OF enchantement]
enflaumed: ppl. of v. enflaumen. to kindle or light, to be aflame; inflame (enflaumed 4:301) [OF enflamer & L inflammare]
enforsed (enforsing, enforce): ppl. of the v. enforcen. to encourage, strengthen; grow strong; to strengthen (someone's) resolve. (enforsed 4:406, 5:449, 8:927, 14:1207; enforsing 30:393, 30:500; enforce 30:599; enforsest 30:747) [OF enforcier]
enfourmyng: (enfourming) present participle of the v. informen. to inform, tell. (enfourmyng 30:41) [OF enfo(u)rner & L enformare]
engendereth: (engendren) 3rd person singular present of the v. to originate, grow; to beget or have, to be brought forth by natural process; to come into being. (engendereth 18:1504) [OF engendrer]
engine: (engin) n. innate ability or ingenuity, intelligence; talent, skill (engine 4:398) [OF engin, engien & L ingenium]
enhaunsed: ppl. of v. enhauncen. to elevate, uplift; to improve (enhaunsed 4:286, enhaunse 18:1554) [AF enhauncer, CF enhaucier]
enquere: (enqueren) v. to aquire, obtain, gain possession of; to search, to investigate. (enquere 5:556; enquered, 3rd person sing. past, 8:776) [Prob. AF]
enseled: ppl. of the v. enselen. to close or fasten, securely as with a seal; to seal, close tight (enseled 30:186) [OF enseeler]
entenc(i)on: (entencioun) n. intention; purpose, design; aim or object; ultimate purpose or goal; wish, will, desire; opinion or view; teachings (entenc(i)on 5:465; entent 9:983) [OF; L intention-em]
ententifli: adv. intently. (ententifli 8:958; ententiffly 27:2614) [OF & L]
environd: ppl. of v. environen. to surround in attendance or for protection; enclosed with (environd 4:343, 15:1381) [OF environner]
euidently: (evident) adv. clearly, visibly; plainly. (euidently 30:216) [OF & L evident-em]
eyen: n.pl. eyes (eyen 17: 1472; 30:708) [OE]

fame: n. fame, reputation, renown (fame 30:560) [OF fame]
fayne: adv. gladly. (fayne 30:134) [OE faegen]
feined: (feinen) v. to disassemble, make false pretences, to pretend. (feined 7:646) [OF fein-, fain-, faign-, etc.]
felashipp (felaship): (felaushipe) n. the condition of being in company with another or others; fellowship, troop, companions (felashipp 30:68; felaship 30:615) [From felaue]
felist: 2nd person present of the v. felen. to feel, experience tactile or muscular sensation. (felist 5:481) [OE ge)felan, ge)felde]
fell (fall): (fallen) 3rd person singular past of the v. befell, happened (fell 30:45; fall, ppl., 30:452) [OE feallan, afeallan]
felthe (felth): n. filth (felth 4:388; felthe 18:1504) [OE fylþ]
feme: (blasfemen) v. to blaspheme. (feme 4:359) [L & OF]
fende: (fend) n. demon or devil; evil spirit; an utter enemy, mortal foe. (fende 2:106, 6:588, 6:595; ffende 8:896, 14:1250; fendes 30:544) [OE feond, fiond]
ferre: (fer) adj. far; distant. (ferre 30:246) [OE feo(r, fier]
ferthforthli: (ferforthli) adv. altogether, completely; insofar as, as far as. (ferthforthli 30:101; ferre forthe 30:285; ferforth 30:678; ferforthly 30:625) [From phrase fer(re forth]
feruent: (fervent) adj. vehement (feruent 30:467, 30:771) [OF & L fervent-em]
first (ferst): num. adj. original, previous, former (ferst 9:986; firste 9:987; first 30:314, 30:517) [OE fyrst]
fle: (fleu) v. to flee, run away from, retreat. (fle 7:634) [OE fleon]
flode: (flod) n. a body of water (flode 5:558, 7:673) [OE flod]
folie: n. foolishness, dullness, stupity; folly, errour (folie 5:455; folissh 30:295) [OF folie]
flom (floume): n. channel, river; running water. (flom 7:681, 8:819; fflom 7:686; floume 7:631) [OF flum; Latin flumen]
folyousli: adv. foolishly, unwisely. (folyousli 22:2300) [From folie]
fore: prep. before, in front of, at the head of; because (fore 5:519) [From adv.]

foresothly: (forsothli) adv. truly, indeed. (foresothly 30:152) [OE forsoþ+lic]
formedest: 2nd person singular present of the v. formen. to form, create (formedest 5:542) [L formare & OF fourmer]
forsake: (forsaken) v. to repudiate, to forsake. (forsake 30:294) [OE forsacan]
forþinking: ger. of v. forthinken. to regret, to repent. (forþinking 30:742) [OE forþencan]
fou[ch]ten: 3rd person plural past of the v. fighten. to fight, do battle. (fou[ch]ten 30:341) [OE feohtan]
foundement: n. foundation (foundement 4:410, 5:461) [OF & L fundament-um]
fourme: (forme) n. form, wholeness, body (fourme 30:678, 30:679) [L forma & OF fourme]
fowe: (feue) n. a small number, a few persons or things; fellows, companions. (fowe 18:1544) [OE feawe]
frenges: (frang) n. an ornamental border of cloth or thread, a fringe. (frenges 18:1530; frenge 18:1532) [OF: frenge, F: frange]
frentyk: adj. frantic, temporarily deranged, phrenetic; delirious, crazed, frenzied, frantic. (frentyk 22:2023) [OF frenetique]
fulfilled: ppl. of the v. ful-fillen. to fill, pervade (fulfilled 4:376, 15:1359, 30:179) [OE ful-fyllan]

garners: (gerners) n. a storeroom or storehouse for grain; a storehouse of any kind; also, a store, supply. (garners 27:2566; garney 5:496) [OF grenier, gernier, grainer]
gentiles: (gentil) adj. of noble rank or birth; in context, n. non-Christians or pagans. (gentiles 30:128) [OF gentil & L gentilis]
gerdner: (gridere) n. a gridiron used as an instrument of torture. (gerdner 8:935) [From OF gridel]
gert: ppl. of the v. girden. to gird, to encircle the waist of (as with a belt or girdle) (gert 30:41) [OE gyrdan]
gneysshed (gnaisting): ppl. of v. gnasten. to grind, to gnash the teeth in anger or sorrow, bare (gneysshed 30:469; gnaisting 30:750) [ON; cp. OI gnastan]
going: ger. of gon. walking. (going 4:344) [OE gan]
goodes: (goddes) n.pl. gods, pagan or heathen deities (goodes 30:375) [From god n.]
gooste (goste): (gost) n. spiritual being; angel, devil, spirit.; the Holy Ghost. (gooste 18:1493; goost 18:1495) [OE gast, gaest]
groching: (grucchinge) ger. grumbling, murmuring; complaint; displeasure, resentment; impatience; a complaint. (groching 27:2546) [OF gro(u)chier]
guerdon: (guerdoun) n. recompense, renumeration, reward; a heavenly reward, salvation. (guerdon 1:22) [OF guer(r)edon, ger(r)edon]
gybbet: (gibet(e) n. gallows, gibbet (gybbet 8:850; gebet 28:95) [OF gibet]

haboundyd: (abound) 3rd person singular past of the v. habounde. to possess in great quantity, rich; full of (mercy, etc.), bountiful, generous. (haboundyd 29:234) [L. abund-um & OF]
habundaunce: (aboundance) n. an abundance, a great quantity, a great number of things; plenty. (habundaunce 3:156, 29:234; habundance 29:463) [L abund-antia, OF abonda(u)nce]
halowed: ppl. of the v. halwen. to make holy, santify, hallow; also purify ceremonially (halowed 8:922, 9:990; halowe 30:694) [OE halgian]
heir(e): n. a stiff and coarse cloth made of hair, haircloth. (heir(e) 4:348) [OE (WS haere, A here) & OF haire, from Gmc.]
hante: n. company, companionship, fellowship. (hante 30:246) [OF]
harde: adv. tightly, firmly, securely, close, fast; (slept so harde) implying a state of unconsciousness or a deep sleep. (harde 2:116, 30:487) [OE hearde]
harnesse: n. armour, military trappings. (harnesse 30:44) [OE harneis]
haunted: ppl. of the v. haunten. to frequent, visit often, resort to; adj. populated; company (haunted 8:882) [OF hanter]
hede: (hed) n. a human or animal head (hede 30:491) [OE heafod]
heled: ppl. of the v. helen. to cure, heal. (heled 5:563, 6:611; hele 8:803) [OE haelan]
heled: ppl. of the v, helen. to cover, cover tight, seal (heled 5:563) [OE helan, helian]

helme: (helm) n. helmet (helmet 8:916) [OE helm]
her (hir(e): adv. in this place, here; in this country. (hir(e) 6:583) [OE]
here: (her) n. an individual hair of the human head; pl. hairs, the hair. (here 6:586, 30:493; her(e) 3:190) [OE (cp. WS haer, A her) & ON (cp. OI har)]
her(e): pron. poss. pl. denoting possession in the broadest sense: their. (her(e) 3:154) [OE heora, hiora, heara]
herborough (her(e)borowe): (herberwe) n. a temporary dwelling place, lodgings; shelter, harbour, sanctuary (her(e)borowe 12:1105; herborough 30:123) [OE here-beorg]
heryng: (hering(e) ger. the action of hearing; listening (heryng 4:328, 30:673) [OE gehering]
hidded: ppl. of the v. hiden. to conceal, hide (hidded 8:743; hiddid 30:784) [OE hydan]
hied: 3rd person singular past of the v. hien. to go quickly, travel rapidly, hurry, rush (hied 30:266) [OE higian]
hiȝt: (hoten) to give (a person, place) a proper name; name; refl. call oneself. (hiȝt 3:239; hight 7:668, 18:1484, 30:23, 30:75) [OE hatan]
hing: 3rd person singular past of v. hongen. to suspend, to hang (hing 30:366) [OE hangian]
hir(e): (hir(e) n. hire, payment for passage, wages, payment for service rendered. (hir(e) 7:657) [OE hyr]
hitinge: ger. promising. (hitinge 5:456) [ME hoten, OE hatan]
holte: 3rd person singulr present of the v. holden. holds, maintains. (holte 8:818) [OE healdan]
hondewerk: (hond-werk) n. handiwork, a product of manual work. (hondewerk 30:406) [OE hand-weorc]
hoote: (hot) adj. hot, warm; high in temperature (hoote 28:55) [OE hat]
hoping: (hope) present participle of the v. to expect; expecting. (hoping 30:334) [OE hopian]
hounde: (hound) n. an ordinary domestic dog. (hounde 8:932) [OE hund]
houseled: ppl. of the v. houselen. to administer the sacrament of Holy Communion; shriven (houseled 7:683) [OE huslian]
hympnes: n.pl. hymnes, religious songs (hympnes 30:536) [unique form, not *MED*]

iangel: (janglen) v. to chatter, talk idly, gossip; jangle, make noise (iangel 5:477) [OF jangler, jengler]
iapes: (jape) n.pl. a trick, deceit, fraud; a magical or diabolical illusion; japes; jests; play (iapes 5:460; by iape 30:289) [OF japer to howl, to chatter, gossip, also cp. jabeir var. of OF gaber]
inowyng: present participle the v. knouen. to be aware of as a fact; know (inowyng 30:620) [OE cnawan]
into: (in-to) prep. until (a time or period of time) (into 4:161) [OE]
intendyng: present participle of the v. ententen. to attend to take after. (intendyng 30:578) [Cp. entente and L intentus]
interpretac(i)on: (interpretacioun) n. act or process of explaining or interpreting. (interpretac(i)on 30:457) [L interpretatio & OF interpretacion]
inquides: (inquiet(e) adj. restless, disorderly; of the sea: turbulent. (inquides 4:431) [L inquietus]
inuencion: (invencioun) n. finding or discovering of something, the discovery of the Holy Cross or of the body of a saint. (inuencion 8:822; inuenc(i)on 8:921) [L inventio & OF invencioun]
iogelers (iogelours): n.pl. jugglers, jesters, entertainers. (iogelers 9:1010; iogelours 9:1013) [OF]
iorney: (journei) n. a day's journey or march, passage, journey. (iornay 29:355; iorney 30:665) [OF jornee, jurnee]

kepe: (kepen) v. to watch, mind, keep (kepe 30:187) [OE cepan]
keu(er): (cover) v. to cover (keu(er) 7:637) [OF covert]
keuerynge: n. covering; head stone (keuerynge 5:562) [From cover]

kinrede (kynne): n. kindred, family; lineage, ancestors. (kinrede 1:4, 3:156, 3:158, etc.; kynrede 4:384, 5:468; kynne 30:346) [Late OE cynrede]
kit (kitte): (cutten) v. cut, slice; to cut with a sharp implement; make an incision. (kit 5:501, 8:930, 17:1470, etc.; kitte 8:806) [OE cyttan]
knowlech: (knoulechen) v. to make known, declare, say; speak tell. To acknowledge (that something is true), admit (something), grant. (knowlech 6:599, 8:844, 30:443, 30:445) [From knouen v. & -lechen suf.]
kynde: (kinde) n. the aggregate of inherent qualities or properties, of persons, animals, etc., nature (kynde 30:137) [OE cynd]

labo(ure); n. work, strain, physical labour. (labo(ure) 30:613, 30:638) [L & OF]
labored: (labour) ppl. of the v. laboren. work or strain; effort (labored 30:477) [L & OF]
ladde: (leden) ppl. of the v. to be led, to be drawn along (ladde 30:208) [OE laedan]
lakked: ppl. of the v. lakken. to be lacking, run short. (lakked 30:575) [Prob. from MLG lak n.]
large: adj. wide (large 30:420) [OF]
lauatorie: (lavatori(e) n. washbasin; the washing of baptism. (lauatorie 8:944) [ML lavatorium]
laudeȝ: (laude) n.pl. the canonical hour of Lauds. (laudeȝ 18:1562) [OF laude, pl. laudes & L laudes, pl. of laus]
leche: n. leech, doctour, physician (leche 5:504, 30:701) [OF lesche, laiche]
lecherous: (lechour) poss. pl.n. lasivious persons, fornicators, adulterers; or an adj. (lecherous 1:56) [OF lechëor, -our, -er, lichëor, from. Gmc.]
lepr(e): n. the disease of leprosy; spiritual affliction. (lepr(e) 8:815) [OF liepre, lepre & L. lepra]
lered: ppl. of v. leren. to learn; educated, cultivated, wise (lered 4:414) [OE laeran]
lesse: v. to lessen, decrease (lassed 30:485; lesse 30:667) [From OE les(se adj.]
lessid: (lessed p.ppl of lesen v.) diminished, decreased. (lessid 27:2566) [OE adj laessa]
let (lettyng, lete): n. barrier, obstacle; v. prevent or bar (let 7:662, 30:393; lettyng 7:671) [OE; cp. WS gelaete]
lete: v. to allow, permit, ordeign. (lete 8:775, 8:773) [OE]
leue: (leven) 2nd person singular present of the v. to think, realise; be sure, trust; to believe in God, have faith. (leue 1:9; leued, 3rd person sing. past, 1:28, 6:612) [OE cp. A lefan, WS lyfan, lifan]
leuers: n.pl. believers (leuers 30:248) [OE cp. A lefan, WS lyfan, lifan]
leuynge: (leven) ger. to take one's departure; depart from; leave (leuynge 3:264; leue 30:588) [OE laefan, p. laefde]
leving: (living) n. life or the fact of state of living; living, sustinence. (leving 30:125) [Cp. liven & OE lifiende pp.]
liefull: adj. full of lies, false, deceitful (liefull 30:194) [OE lyge + ful]
lifte: (liften) v. lifted up, exalt; to raise up (lifte 30:525) [ON; cp. OI lypta]
light: (lightli) adj. or adv. minor or slight; visible; easily (light 4:349, 4:412, 14:1288; lightly 30:268, 30:424, 30:508) [OE leohtlice]
list: n. desire, wish, with longing; craving (list 30:285, 30:671) [From listen v. OI lyst]
lombe: n. lamb; a follower of Christ (lombe 3:228) [OE lamb]
loste: ppl. of v. losen. to be dispossessed of; be deprived of; to be forced from (loste 3:148) [OE losian & -leosan]
lotheden: (lothen) 3rd person plural of v. to loathe, despise; to be hateful or distasteful. (lotheden 30:529) [OE laþian]
loues: (lof) n.pl. loaves of bread (loues 7:672, 7:674) [OE hlaf]
louggen: (laughen) v. to laugh, to smile or jeer. (louggen 30:620) [OE; cp. A hlaeh(h)an]
lymes: (lim) n.pl. any distinctive constituent part or organ of the body; a member. (lymes 29:428) [OE lim]

made as: ppl. of the v. maken. to pretend, deceive; (made as 6:607) [OE macian]
maistry: (maistri(e) n. mastery; control, dominance, rulership. (maistry 3:261) [OF maistrie]

malificeȝ: (malefice) n.pl. spells, black magic, malicious magic; sorcery. (malificeȝ 1:61; 1:63; maleice 12:1140) [L&OF]
manast: (manace) 3rd person singular of the v. to threaten, to menace. (manast 3:180; manasyd, 3rd person sing. past, 29:290) [OF menacer]
manasinge: n. the act of menacing; the act of threatening; a threat. (manasinge 3:182; manasses 5:457) [OF menace]
manli: adv. bravely, like a man, with courage; with religious courage. (manli 8:774) [OE manlice]
manyfying: (magnifiing(e) present participle of the v. magnifien. magnifying; glorification, praise. (manyfying 28:181) [OF magnifiier]
mari: (marwe) n. human bone marrow (mari 6:610) [OE; cp. WS mearg, A merg.]
mateyns: (matin) n.pl. the first canonical hour recited at midnight of in the early morning. (mateyns 29:449) [OF matin & matines]
mawmetry: (maumetri(e) n. the worship of idols, images or pagan deities; idolatry; also Mohammedanism. (mawmetry 28:8) [From OF maumet]
mede: n. a gift, noble or royal endowment; a suitor's blandishments. (mede 30:418) [OE med]
medled: ppl. of the v. medlen. to mingle; mixed, blend. (medled 4:334, 30:233; medle 30:663) [OF medler, meller]
membres: n.pl. limbs, apendages. (membres 4:423) [OF]
ment: 3rd person singular past of menen v. to intend to convey, mean; intend a certain sense. (ment 8:902) [OE maenan]
mervelous: (merveillous) adj. wonderful, astonishing, surprising, miraculous (mervelos 8:876; mervelous 30:169) [OF merveillos]
mete: n. food, meat, substance. (mete 4:373, 4:384) [OE mete]
meued: ppl. of the v. meven. to move, shift; remove, shake, disturb; stir with emotion. (meued 30:37) [OF movoir, meuvre, etc.]
meyne: n. retinue, household servants. (meyne 4:318, 5:550) [OF mei(s)nee]
mi(n)stre: (ministren) v. to be of service; minister, tend (mi(n)stre 5:505) [OF menistrer, ministrer; L ministrare]
ministresse: n.pl. ministers, agents; soldiers. (ministresse 1:74) [L minister & OF menistre, ministre]
misknew: 3rd person singular past of the v. misknouen. to be ignorant; to fail to recognise; did not know (misknew 8:834) [From knouen]
misteri: (misteri(e) n. mystery; hidden symbolism, doctrine. (misteri 6:600) [L mysterium & OF mistere]
misvse: (misuse) n. misuse, abuse (misvse 8:761) [From us(e n. & OF mesus]
moche: (much) n. a great deal, a great amount; much (moche 7:634, 8:947) [OE micel]
monshed: ppl. of the v. monesten. to warn; give warning; to give an order or command; admonish, urge. (monshed 30:374) [OF monester]
most: 3rd person singular present of the v. moten. to be compelled; must (most 4:354) [OE motan, p. moste]
mowe: v. mouen with implied inf. or pred. from context: to perhaps be able; to be able, be capable (mow 1:20, mowe 30:549) [OE mugan, magan]
multitude: n. a large number of persons or things; a large amount, abundance; great deal (multitude 30:322) [OF & L]
murm(oure): (murmur(e) n. a continuous noise; rumbling, buzzing, murmuring, persistent noise (murm(oure) 30:387) [OF & L]

nat(ur)e: (nature) n. nature, temperament, character; state condition. (nate(our) 3:260) [L natura & OF nature]
nayles: (nail) n.pl. nails; a metal nail (nayles 8:908; nailes 8:910, 8:914, 8:915, etc.) [OE naegl]
neghed: 3rd person singular past of the v. neighen. to advance, move close, draw near. (neghed 18:1555, 30:613; neighed 14:1224) [OE]
ny: adv. to be close or near. (ny 9:976; nye 12:1098; nygh 29:225; negh 29:154, 30:221) [OE]

nempne: (nemnen) v. to speak the name; invoke the name of God. (nempne 25:2272) [OE nemnan, nemnian & genemnan]
nol: neg. of the v. willen. would not (nol 8:740) [unique form, Not in *MED*]
norice: n. a wet nurse; nursemaid; a man who takes care of a child, foster father, tutor. (norice 1:26, 14:1294; norse 15:1302; noris 15:1304) [OF norrice, noriche, nur(r)ice, nourisse]
norshed: ppl. of the v. norishen. to norish, to nurture, bring up; ger. norishing (norissh 3:249; norshed 4:379; noreshinge, pres. part., 4:331; norshing 3:154) [From OF stem norriss- or norrir]
notari: (notari(e) n. a scirbe authorised to draw up and authenticate documents, act as a witness. (notarie 8:958; notari 8:947, 8:954, 8:956, etc.) [OF notaire & L notarius]
nouelte: (novelte) n. rarity, unusual thing, novelty (nouelte 30:139, 30:373, 30:541) [OF novelete]
nought: pron. nothing, empty (nought 4:389) [OE nawiht, naht, nowiht, noht]
nowe: (knouen) 1st person singular present of the v. to know (nowe 2:140) [OE cnawen]
nowyse: (no-wise) adv. in no way, by no means, not at all. (nowyse 29:318) [From no adj. & wise n.]
noy: (noien) v. to harm, injure or impair; to annoy, pester, trouble, cause pain or discomfort (noy 30:154; noye 30:251, 30:522) [Shortened form of anoien v.]
nulye: adj. newly (nulye 17:1455) [unique form, not in *MED*]
nygromancy: n. worship of idols or images; paganism. (nygromancy 28:67) [OF]

onapered: (un aperen) to become invisible or undetectable; disappeared (onapered 5:551) [From un+ap(p)eren]
oon: 1st person singular present of the v. to acknowledge, admit. (oon 30:52) [OE agnian]
ooste (ostesse): (host(e) n. host, hostess; one who entains guests in his own home; one who invites guests to a feast, a host; the landlord of an inn. (oste 8:774; ostiler 8:832; osteler 8:833, 8:834; ostesse 18:1483; hoostes 18:1488; ooste 18:1490; 30:151, 30:171) [OF]
ordeyned: ppl. of the v. ordeinen. to put in order; to prepare, make ready, to choose, appoint. (ordeyned 30:109) [OF ordener]
orison: (orisoun) n. the action or practice of praying; also a prayer; a prayer of dedication of oneself to God. (orison 3:194, 3:206, 3:234, 7:647; orisons 4:385; orisone 6:600) [OF oraison, orison, etc.]
orrible: (horrible) adj. horrible, dreadful, frightful; abhorrent to the senses. (orrible 22:2018; horrible 12:1109, 27:2516) [OF]
otherelles: (other) pron. or else. connecting alternatives that are mutally exclusive or opposites. (otherelles 28:33) [OE other + elles]
outerage: (outrage) n. immoderation; extravagance; wrongdoing; injury, harm. (outerage 4:357) [OF outrage]

paas: (pis(e) n. pace, unit of measurement (paas 8:884) [OF]
pallasie: (palasie) the failure of a part of the body to function properly; loss of motor power, paralysis, numbness, loss of tactile sensation. (pallasie 21:1939) [OF paralisie, parlesie; L paralysis]
panymes (paynemyn): (painim(e) n.pl. pagan, non-believer, heathen (paynemyn 2:89; panymes 3:220, 30:240, 30:705; panym 30:249; peynymes 30:282; paynemes 5:562; peynemes 5:555; paynymes 3:222) [OF paieni(s)me]
pappes: n.pl a woman's breasts (pappes 5:521) [L papilla]
parte: v. to depart, leave; travel. (parte 30:128) p(er)ted: ppl of the v. to be separated from; depart from (p(er)ted 30:127) [OF partir, pertir]
partiners (p(er)tiners): (pertener(e) n.pl. partners, companions; a sharer or partaker. (partiners 30:594; p(er)tiners 30:730, 30:752) [from parcener n. & part n.]
perauenture: (paraventure) adv. perhaps, maybe; peradventure, by chance (p(er)auenture 8:825, p(er)auentur(e) 8:859; perauenture 30:312) [OF]
p(er)fitly: (parfitli) adv. flawlessly, completely, thoroughly. (p(er)fitly 8:812; p(er)fitli 8:815) [OF parfit + OE lice]

p(er)secuto(ure)s: n.pl. oppressors, tormentors, persecutors, torturers (p(er)secuto(ure)s 30:473) [OF & L]
p(er)ti: (part) n. part or segment, part of a whole. (p(er)ti 4:422) [OF part]
peteuous: (pitous) adj. merciful, compassionate, wretched, sorrowful; pitious, pleading, supplecating. (peteuous 2:96, 6:606; piteuosly 8:720) [OF pitos, etc.]
peyntes: (pointe) n.pl. points; parts, details. (peyntes 8:753) [OF point, etc.]
peyne: (pein(e) n. the action of punishing, punishment; execution; that which is imposed or suffred in punishment. (peyne 30:457, paines 1:55) [OF peine, paine, etc.]
picche: (piche) n. wood tar; also, the residue of the distillation of wood tar. (picce 11:1071) [OE pic (from L) & L pix, picis & OF poiz, AF piz, piche]
pilion: (pilioun) n. a cap or hat; headgear associated with royalty or the priesthood. (pilion 30:18) [L pilleus & pilleum]
piscyn(e): (piscine) n. pool or pond. (piscyn(e) 8:744) [L piscina]
pistels: (epistels) n. written correspondance, letters. (pistels 22:2089) [OE e)pistol, OF epistle, epistole & L epistola]
pitte: (pit) n. a man-made depression in the ground; a secluded place or chamber; the crib or stable of Christ's birth; grave (pitte 4:327, 4:435, 8:873, etc.; pittes 30:688) [OE pyt & L puteus]
playnely: (plainli(e) adv. in a clear distinct manner; completely, entirely; fully, clearly, plainly. (playnely 21:1940; pleynely 30:243) [OF plain]
pleies: n.pl. sports, jests; games. (pleies 26:2354) [OE plega]
plombes: n.pl. rods, lead rods, rods with pieces of lead attached. (plombes 10:1047) [OF]
poudri: adj. powdery, soft; like a powder. (poudri 30:480) [From poudre n.]
power (poer): n. poor. (power 1:24; pou(r)e 1:29) [from OF peor, poor]
p(re)dicac(i)on: (predicacioun) n. preaching. (p(re)dicac(i)on 30:552) [L praedicatio & OF predicacion]
prees: (presse) n. throng, press of people, crowd (prees 30:424) [OF presse, prese & CL pressus]
presumed: 3rd person plural past of the v. presumen. to undertake without warrant; take upon oneself. (presumed 30:582) [L praesumere & OF presumer]
presumptuose: (presumptious) adj. arrogant, overweening. (presumptuose 30:587) [OF presoncios & L praesumptiosus]
preueth: 3rd person singular present of the v. preven. to test, try, tempt, prove. (preueth 30:314; proued, ppl., 30:741) [OF prover, prouver]
preisabli: adv. in a laudable fashion. (preisabli 14:1267) [From preisen v.]
p(re)ueyes: (prive) n. lavatory or toilet. (p(re)ueyes 27:2703) [OF prive]
preysable: (preisable) adj. praisable; praiseworthy, laudable. (preysable 30:556) [From preisen v.]
procured: 3rd person singular past of the v. procuren. to cause, bring about; obtain; enlist the aid of. (procured 30:137) [OF procurer & L procurare]
p(ro)pur(e): (propre) adj. belonging or pertaining to oneself; privately owned; own (p(ro)pur(e) 30:189) [OF propre, poupre & L proprius]
prossesse: (proces) n. a sequence, succession; process, progression. (prossesse 30:571) [OF proces & L processius]
p(ro)uoked: ppl. of the v. provoken. to urge, incite, encourage, supplicate; move. (p(ro)uoked 30:597) [OF provochier & L provocare]
priuely: adv. privately, secretly. (pryuyly 28:17; priuely 30:494) [OF prive adj]
punche: (punishen) v. to punish; to inflict legal or royal punishment on. (punche 6:614; pon(i)ching 12:1121) [OF puniss-]
purveied: (purveien) ppl. of the v. to arrange. (purveied 27:2649) [AF purveier, etc.]

qualite: n. character, nature, state; an inherent attribute; quality (qualite 30:291) [OF calite, qualite & L qualitas]
quicken: v. to rise from the dead, to resurrect or bring back to life; breathe life back into (someone) (quicken 3:160) [OE cwician]
quyk (quik): (quik) adj. alive, full of life; living, animate (quyk 30:412; quik 30:610, 30:783) [OE cwic, cwicu, etc.]

rauisshed: ppl. of the v. ravishen. to sweep away, destroy. (rauisshed 30:438) [From OF raviss-]
rede: (red) n. any of various varieties of reed plant, reed, palm branch (rede 30:178) [OE hreod]
redolent: adj. fragrant, smelling fresh and sweet. (redolent 28:61) [OF]
reherce: (rehersen) v. to tell, narrate; to repeat, rehearse (reherce 4:386, 30:664) [OF: cp. AF rehercer]
remenaunt: n. the rest; reserved portion; a remaining part, remenaunt. (remenaunt 27:2487) [OF: cp. remanant]
remeued: 3rd person singular past of the v. remeven. depart, to take away; remove, deploy (remeued 8:766) [OF removoir, etc.]
remorded: ppl. of the v. remorden. to afflict with remorse, cause remorse (remorded 30:291) [OF remordre & L remordere]
reny: (reneien) v. to forsake one's beliefs, to be apostate; recant heretical opinons; renege; deny, renouce (reny 5:491, 8:938; renye 8:953, 14:1234) [OF reneier, renaier, etc.]
reprouable: (reprevable) adj. blameworthy, culpable, reprehensible. (reprouable 30:753) [From repreven & OF reprovable]
resound: (resounen) 3rd person singular past tense. to question. (resound 20:1704) [OF raissoner]
respyred: 3rd person singular past of the v. respiren. to breathe again, to awaken from death, draw breath; recover breath. (respyred 29:388) [OF respirer & L respirare]
restreined: ppl. of the v. restreinen. to keep oneself in check, control, prevent, stop. (restreined 30:477) [OF restrei(g)n-]
reu(er)ence: (reverence) n. respect or courtesy; reverence (reu(er)ence 30:663) [OF reverence & L reverentia]
reynes: (reine) n.pl. a human or animal kidneys; the kidneys. (reynes 18:1585) [OF: cp. CF rein]
ribaudes: n.pl. those who participate in lechery, bawdy speech, coarse jesting; lechers, scoundrels, etc. (ribaudes 1:56) [OF]
ribaudre: (ribaudrie) n. debauchery, dissipation, ribaldry; bawdy speech, coarse jesting; a dirty story; lechery, illicit love, coarse immoral behaviour. (ribaudr(e) 1:39) [OF ribauderie]
right: adj. lawful; real, genuine, orthodox; pure, true. (right 3:193; right(e) 4:300) [OE: cp. WS riht, A reht]
rightwesnesse: (right-wisnes(se) n. justice; rightwitness (rightwesnesse 30:498) [OE: cp. WS, K rihtwisness]
ronnen: (rennen) 3rd person plural past of the v. to move quickly on foot; to run; ran (ronnen 30:602; ren 30:660) [OE rinnan]
rowted: 3rd person singular past of the v. routen. to snore (rowted 2:116) [OE hrutan; From OE hrutan]
rude: adj. base, vulgar, common; ignorant, simple. (rude 30:9) [OF rude, ruide & L rudis]
ryuage: (rivage) n. the coast of the sea; shore; position on water's edge; riverbank, stream of water. (ryuage 4:306, 4:315, 7:686) [OF rivage]

sacred: ppl. of the v. sacren. to consecrate. (sacred 5:503) [OF sacrer & L sacrre]
sadde: (sad) adj. sated, surfeited; satisfied; fixed, settled, grave, heavy; compound adj. sadder. (sadde 15:1383; sadder, comparative, 5:458) [OE saed]
sadli: adv. firmly, fixedly. (sadli 30:767) [OE saed]
say (saw, segh, seeth): forms of the v. sen. to see with the eyes, catch sight of; seen or saw; see (say 3:210; saw 3:226; segh 5:463, 8:768, 8:770, etc.; seeth 5:494; seying 8:854; seuing 7:660; shawe 18:1550; seyne 30:297) [OE seon, sion]
scalded: 3rd person singular past of the v. scalden. to burn with hot liquid; sear; scorch or burn; scald. (scalded 30:422) [AL scaldare, scaladare & OF eschauder]
sciens: (science) n. information, knowledge (sciens 30:452) [OF science, sienche, etc.]
sclaunderyng: (sclaundringe) ger. of v. sclaundren. speaking ill of people, uttering calumnies or defamation; scandalising. (sclaunderyng 28:152) [OF esc(l)andrer, esc(l)andrir]

sclachter: (slaughter) n. the killing of a person; murder, assasination, killing of large numbers of people; slaughter (sclauter 30:673; sclachter 30:735; slaughter 30:660) [ON slahtr]
scoles: n.pl. an institution for comparatively elementary education; school. (scoles 3:151) [OE scol, L scola]
scorgeȝ (scorges): (scourge) n.pl. scourges, whips, lashes (scorges 28:98; scorgeȝ 30:175) [AF escorge; OF eschurge]
sege: n. a seat; chair, stool, bench; throne, stage; the papal seat (sege 8:949, 18:1543, 30:99; segeȝ 3:230) [OF siege, sege]
seiled: 3rd person singular past of the v. seilen. to travel on water in a ship; sail (seiled 6:621; seylyd 29:372) [OE seglan, seglian]
sell: (celle) n. small enclosed chamber, cell; i.e, a monastic cell. (sell 4:318) [OF]
semeli: adj. visually pleasing, fair, good looking; worthy of respect; attractive, comely (semeli 30:28) [ON: cp. OI soemiligr]
semelyhede: (semelihed(e) n. beauty, attractiveness. (semelyhede 30:69) [From semeli adj.]
senescall: (seneshal) n. a principal officer in charge of domestic affairs in a king or emperor's household. (senescall 30:118) [OF seneschal, senechal & ML senescallus]
sensualite: n. physical desire or appetite, lust. (sensualite 4:404) [OF]
sentence: n. a personal opinion, way of thinking; doctrine, an authoritative pronouncement or teaching. (sentence 30:601) [OF sentence & L sententia]
sepulcure: n. tomb, sepulcre; place of burial, grave. (sepulcre 5:548, 5:562) [L sepulcrum, etc. & OF sepulcre]
sepulture: n. burying, burial; act or rite of burial; in the text sepulture is used interchangebly with 'sepulcure': (sepulture 9:998, 12:1147, 29:485, 30:186) [L sepultura & OF sepouture]
s(er)monies: (sermoun) n.pl. sermons; spoken discourse, particular speech or discussion. (s(er)monies 30:703) [OF sermon & L sermo, -onis]
s(er)uinge: present participle of the v. serven. worshipping, performing rites. (s(er)uinge 5:469) [OF servir, servier & L servire]
sete: n. position, situation. (sete 30:302) [OE saet]
sewrte: (seurte) n. subjective certainty, certitude; confidence. (sewrte 29:483) [OF sewrte, seurtei, etc.]
sherdes: (sherd) n.pl. shards, pieces; a piece of baked clay, a piece of broken pottery. (sherdes 5:534) [OE sceard]
shipperd: (shep-herd) n. shepherd; spiritual leader. (shipperd 3:153; shippardeȝ 4:330) [OE sceap-hirde, sceap-hyrde]
shipmen: (ship-man) n.pl. sailors. (shipmen 7:656) [OE scip-mann, scyp-mann]
shit: 3rd person singular past or imperative singular of the v. shitten. to shut, close up, seal up. (shit 1:18; 2:93) [OE scyttan]
shoft: ppl. of the v. shoven. to push, shove. (shoft 30:425) [OE scufan, sceofan]
shone: (shon) n.pl. shoes (shone 30:176) [OE scoh]
shynest: 2nd person singular present of the v. shinen. to send forth light; shine, shimmer; send forth a heavenly light (shynest 7:691) [OE scinan]
shryfte: (shrift) n. confession to a priest, penance assigned by a confessor. (shryfte 29:495) [OE scrift, LOE scryft]
sith: conjunction. since. (sith 4:344, 4:346, 8:780, 30:239, etc.) [OE siþþan, syþ]
slavyne: (sclavin(e) n. cloak; a pilgrim's cloak or mantle. (slavyne 30:384; slauen 30:261) [OF esclavine & ML sclavina]
slowe: 3rd person singular past of the v. slen. to kill, commit murder, behead; slew; slain (slowe 5:536) [OE slean, etc.]
smoten: (smiten) 3rd person plural past of the v. to strike, smite, hit; strike off; deal a blow. (smoten 30:524) [OE smitan]
snayre: (snare) n. snare, trap; noose (snayre 4:368) [OE snearu & ON: cp. OI snara]
snotte: (snot, snothe) n. nasal mucus. (snotte 17:1465) [OE gesnot & MDu., MLG snotte]
suget: (subget) n. subject, a servant or lover; one who is obedient to another. (suget 9:977) [L subjectus & OF subgis]

solas: n. consolation, comfort; alleviation of sorrow; also spiritual joy; a source of comfort or consolation; proper observance of formality, sacredness. (solas 26:2326) [OF solaz, solaiz & L solacium]
sole(m)nite: (solempnite) n. religious celebration or ceremony; solemnity (sole(m)nite 1:7) [OF solemnite, etc.: cp. L sollemnitas]
soly: (sole) adj. alone, solitary, without companions. (soly 30:526) [OF sol, sole & L solus]
sondes: (sand) n.pl. sands, dirt, ground (sondes 30:463) [OE sand]
sore: adv. strongly (sore 30:306) [OE sar]
sou(er)aigne: (soverain) adj. of a person: outstanding in some respect, excellent, worthy; having superior or supreme power or rank. (sou(er)aigne 30:693) [OF soverain(e, sovrain]
sowke: (souke) n. nourishment. (sowke 29:257) [OE sucan]
sowkyng: present participle of the v. souken. to suck, feed from the breast. (sowkyng 29:382) [OE sucan]
sowle: (soule) the spiritual and rational element in man, soul. (sowle 29:464) [OE sawel, sawol, etc.]
sowne: n. a sound, noise (sowne 21:1929, 21:1931) [AN soun]
sowne: n. a swoon, faint; the act of fainting. (sowne 29:345) [OE]
sowned: 3rd person singular past of the v. swounen. to swoon, faint, collapse. (sowned 30:332) [OE]
spectacle: n. public entertainment or display; a show; amazing sight (spectacle 30:539) [OF spectacle & L spectaculum]
spelleth: 3rd person singular present of the v. spellen. to talk or speak; narrate. (spelleth 30:559) [OE spellian, spillian]
speres: n.pl. spears; a thrusting weapon. (speres 30:635) [OE spere]
spete: 3rd person singular present of the v. speten to spit, to spit out saliva. (spete 2:108) [OE spaetan]
sp(irit)uall: (spiritual) adj. immaterial; consisting only of intellect; spiritual (sp(irti)uall 28:46; spi(ritu)al 30:608, 30:653) [L spiritualis & OF esperituel]
spousesse: n. a wife, a bride (spousesse 28:46) [From spous(e)n]
sprongen: (springen) v. to spring or well. 3rd person singular ppl.: sprang. (sprong 30:473; sprongen 30:322) [OE springan]
spucing: ger. speaking. (spucing 30:497) [OE specan, sprecan]
stably: (stabli) adv. steadfastly, faithfully; also persistently. (stably 3:235) [From stable adj.]
stele: n. steel, strength, courage (stele 30:516) [OE stile, style, stel]
stered: ppl. of the v. stirred; steered; v. incite, stir, motivate; ger. strirring; guide. (stered 4:398, 4:401; stereth, 3rd person sing. pres., 6:592; steringe, ger., 30:572; stired 30:778) [OE styrian, stirian]
sterte: (sterten) 3rd person lural past of the v.to leap, jump; to spring from or out; start, popped out (sterte 30:496) [OE styrtan]
stied: 3rd person singular past of the v. stien. to move in a vertical plane; move up or down; arose, ascended (stied 8:853) [OE stigan]
straile : (strail(e) n.pl. a cloth for covering a bed. blanket. (strailez of heir(e) 4:348) [OE strael, streag]
strecched: ppl. of the v. strecchen. to stretch out, extend. (strecched 8:756, 30:328) [OE streccan]
streite (streit): (streit) adj. bound tightly, constrained; prevented from doing something by a bond or oath. (streitly 2:93, 30:202; streit 7:628; streite 30:105) [AF e)streit; OF estroit]
streyned: ppl. of the v. streinen. to tie, bind, fasten; gird; to force (streyned 3:172) [OF estrei(g)n-]
strofe: 3rd person singular past of the v. striven. to quarrel; to engage in combat; plead or argue. (strofe 29:322) [OF estriver]
stuffed: ppl. of the v. stuffen. to kill by suffocation; suffocate by drowning; (stuffed 30:468) [OF estofer, estoufer, etc.]

stynte (stenteth, stintid, styntyng): infinitive of the v. stinten. to cease one's actions, to cease; stint, stop. (styntyng, ger., 30:191; stynte 30:698; stenteth, 3rd person sing. pres., 30:471; stintid, 3rd person sing. past, 30:512) [OE styntan]
suer: (seure) adj. sure or definite, firmly, tightly; safely, securely. (suer 1:40, 2:140, 8:799, 15:1361; sewerly, adv., 29:393) [OF sëur(e (e), sȯur]
sufferaunce: n. allowance of wrongdoing; tolerance; indulgence; permission, leave (sufferaunce 30:75) [OF sofrance, soffrance, etc.]
suioom: (swimmen) v. to swim, to move or travel through water. (swymme 18:1522; sui(m)omen 30:426; suioom 30:427) [OE swimman; p. swam, etc.]
su(m)tyme: (som-time) adv. at sometime, sometimes; in some cases. (su(m)tyme 21:2056) [From som adj. & time n.]
sup(er)ficience: (superficial) n. surface. (sup(er)ficience 30:596) [L superficialis & OF superficial]
sup(er)flue: (superflu(e) adj. worthless, vain; pointless (sup(er)flue 30:307) [OF superflu & L superfluus]
swete: n. blood, lifeblood; perspiration; sweat (swete 4:413) [From OF swaetan]

table: n. tablet of stone, headstone (table 5:551) [OF table, tabel & L tabula]
tale: n. that which one tells, personal narrative, an account; story, tale (tale 30:656) [OE talu, OE tal]
tariest: 2nd person singular present of the v. tarien. to delay in acting, procrastinate; hesitate, wait, tary; ger. tarying (tariest 1:55, 30:505; tarying 30:621) [Org. unknown]
temp(er)e: adj. temperate, mild, warm (temp(er)e 6:613, 30:475) [OF tempre]
terantes: (tiraunt) n.pl. tyrants, dictators, persecutors (terantes 30:606) [OF]
terme: n. a limit of space or capacity; end (terme 1:67) [OF terme, tierme]
terre: (tar, ter(r)e, ther) n. tar, the viscous liquid produced in the breakdown of an organic substance, usually wood or coal, used as a solvant, a caulking agent, or an incendiary material. (terre 1:66) [OE teoru, teru, taru, (infl.) tyrwe]
þiknesse: (thikkenes(se) n. the state of being filled with something; press of people (þiknesse 30:421) [OE þicness]
þrested: 3rd person plural past of the v. thirsten. to suffer from thirst (þrested 30:483) [OE þyrstan]
threst: n. thirst. (threst 30:469) [OE þyrst]
thyes: (thigh) n.pl. upper leg of a human being or devil. (thyes 29:427, 29:429) [OE:cp. WS þeoh]
þrethinges: (thretening(e) n.pl. threatenings; threat, menace. (þrethinges 30:349) [OE þreatnian]
tidyngges: (tiding(e) n.pl. tidings, news; report of an occurence. (tidyngges 5:494) [LOE tidung & ON: cp. OI tiðindi, tiðendi]
tierce: (Terce) n. the third canonical hour of the day, 9 a.m. (tierce 18:1562) [OF tierce, terce]
titul: (title) n. inscription; esp. the superscription on Christ's cross; stone memorial. (titul 8:895) [OF title & L titulus]
to brosten: (tobresten) ppl. of the v. to burst open, explode; split open forcefully; burst apart. (to brosten 6:610; to broste 9:1003, 30:517) [OE toberstan, tobirstan]
toke: (taken) 3rd singular past v. took; gave (3:242, 3:250, etc.; takeþ, 3rd person sing. pres., 30:162) [LOE tacon, etc.]
token: n. sign, indicator, token (token 30:439, 30:686679) [OE tacn, tacen, tacon]
tonge (tonghez): n. tongue of a person, goddess or fiend; a nation, region or community of persons sharing a language; the tongue as an organ for eating, drinking, swallowing, tasting. (tonge 4:411; tonghez, pl., 4:275) [OE tunge]
tormented (turmented): ppl. of the v. tormenten. to torture, torment (tormented 5:498; turmented 6:590) [OF tormenter]
tormentes: n.pl. tortures, physical pain caused by torture, torments (tormentes 1:54; 5:474, 5:483; torment(es) 8:904; tormentez 11:1080, 5:486; turment 29:332) [OF torment & L tormentum]
tormento(ure)s: n.pl. torturers, tormentors, persecutors (tormento(ure)s 30:722) [OF tormentor]

touard(es): (towardes) adv. forward, in one direction. (touard(es) 8:963) [OE toweardes adv.]
touche: (touchen) to deal with; in relation to, to pertain to; ger.: concerning, touching (touche 8:752; touching 30:598) [OF tochier, tocher]
traitourly: (traitourli) adv. craftily; in betrayal; seditiously; traitorously, treacherously (traitourly 30:76) [From traitour n.]
trauers: (traversein) n. traverse, cross beam; cf. the construction of the cross (trauers 8:755) [OF traversain, etc.]
t(ra)vaile: n. effort or labour; childbirth; toil, hard physical labour. (travell 10:1033; t(ra)vaile 14:1223; trauayle 29:331) [OF travaille, travalle, etc.]
trest: n. trust, comfort. (trest 7:669, 30:796) [ON traust]
trode: ppl. of the v. treden. to bring foot forcibly down on; trample, trod upon (trode 30:675) [OE tredan, etc.]
trowe (trou): n. trust, comfort. (trowe 6:620; trou 8:841) [OE treowan]
trowed: 3rd person plural past of the v. to trust, believe. (t[ro]wed 30:636) [OE treowan]
turbe: (turben) n. angry mob, violent crowd. (turbe 18:1547, 30:324) [OF torbe, turbe]
turne: infinitve of the v. turnen. changed, come full circle; turn or return. (time) (torned, 3rd person sing. past, 7:693; turned 5:559, 30:541; turne 30:68; t(ur)ned 30:634) [OE turnian, sbj. turinge & tyrnan & OF torner, etc.]
turney: (tournement) n. to participate in tournaments and jousts (turney 30:53) [OF tornoiement, etc]

vaunted: 3rd person singular past of the v. vauten. to speak vainly or proudly; boast praised (vaunted 3:178) [OF vanter]
vayne: (vein) adj. vain, conceited; without meaning or purpose or value; worthless; pointless (vayne 5:482, 5:527; veyne 30:655) [OF vain, vaine, etc.]
veyled: ppl. of the v. veilen. to veil or cover with a veil, accepted as a nun. (veyled 9:990) [OF voile]
venemus: (venimous) adj. venemous, poisonous, lethal (venemus 8:941; venemos 7:651) [OF venimos, venimeus]
venyng (wenyng): present participle of v. wenen. knowing, understanding. (venyng 2:109) [OE wenan]
vereli: (verreili) adv. in accordance with the facts, truly; with fidelity to an original. (vereli 1:9, 30:233; verreli 8:958) [From verrei, adj.]
verri (veri): (verrei) adj. true or right; proper or correct. (verri 1:33; veri 30:331) [OF verai, verrai(e, etc]
vertu (vertuose): n. virtue; virtues; physical strength, power, force, energy; rigor; ability or skill, talent. (vertu 30:436; vertuose, pl., 30:683) [OF vertu, virtu(e & L virtus]
vet: n. & adj. weten. understanding, realise (vet 4:283) [OE witan]
vicarie: n. one who stands in place of another, a representative, deputy; a thing that serves as a substitute. (vicarie 3:211, 3:213) [OF vicarie & L vicarius]
visage: n. face, physical appearance (visage 3:150, 14:1205, 17:1472, 30:167, 30:787) [OF visage, visaige]
vncouth: (uncouth) adj. unknown, unidentified, unrecognisable; alien, foreign, unusual; uncouth, vulgar (vncouth 30:170) [OE uncuþ]
vncustumable: (uncustumable) adj. unusual, extraordinary, unfamiliar; unaccustomed, unusual (vncustumable 30:540) [From custumable adj.]
vndedli: (undedli) adj. not subject to death; undying; undead, ever-living, immortal (vndedli 30:643) [OE undeadlic]
vnderstonding: (understonding(e) ger. the faculty of reason, cognitive power; knowledge, understanding; realisation (vnderstonding 30:162) [From understonden v.; also cp. OE understanding]
vndesesed: ppl. of the v. undetected, unseen (vndesesed 30:261) [unique form, not *MED*]
vnlefull: (unlefful) adj. not permitted by civil statues or ecclesiastical law; a crime; unfaithful; unlawful.(vnlefull 22:2014) [From lefful adj.]
vnmeueable: (unmevable) adj. incapable of motion, fixed in place; not inclined to move from a moral position; solid, unmovable (vnmeueable 5:453) [From mevable adj.]

vnnethes: (unethes) adv. as an adverb of manner [often difficult to distinguish from the adverb of degree]; with difficulty. not without effort. (vnneþe 3:219, 4:373; vnneþis 4:432, 9:979, 9:1004; vnneþes 12:1114, 30:773) [OE uneade, uned, unied, ungeaþe adv.]
vnnoble: (unnoble) adj. of low rank or birth, common; innoble, base (vnnoble 5:449) [From OF noble adj.]
vnobediencers: (unobediencer) n.pl. people who practise disobedience to or defy the teachings of the church; members of a religious order who violate their vows. (vnobediencers 22:2031) [From OF obediencer]
vnordinate: (unordinate) adj. of desires, lust, etc: not properly controlled or regulated. (vnordinate 22:2001) [From OF ordinat(e adj.]
vnprofitable: (unprofitable) adj. of no value; incapable; insufficient; useless, pointless (vnprofitable 30:545, 30:550) [From OF profitable adj.]
vnsesid: (unsesid) ppl. of the v. to be released (vnsesid 30:509) [From sesed(e, var. p.ppl. of OF seisen v.]
vnspekable: (unspekable) adj. not readily captured in speech, inexpressable; ineffable; over whelming (vnspekable 30:193) [From OE specan]
vnsuffrable: (unsufferable) adj. beyond the limits of physical endurance. (vnsuffrable 30:340) [From OF sufferable adj.]
vntained: (untained) ppl. not morally stained or corrupt, clean. (vntained 30:250) [From teined p.ppl. of OF teinten v.]
vntollerable: (untolerable) adj. insufferable, unendurable, intolerable. (vntollerable 30:645) [From OF tolerable adj.]
vnware: (unware) adj. not vigilant, unwary, without caution; unsuspecting; unwise; unaware. (vnware 30:269) [From OE unwaer]
vnwe(m)myd: adj. undefiled, pure; unwounded, without injury. (vnwe(m)myd 28:59) [OE unwemmed]
vnwiting: (unwitinge) ppl. of the v. unwiten: in secret, unintentionally; outwitting, unknown to (vnwiting 30:494) [From witen v; cp. OE unwitende ppl.]
vnworshipp: (unworship(e) n. disrespect; irreverence; disgrace, shame; dishonour. (vnworshipp 30:380) [OE unweorþscipe]
voide: adj. empty, without contents (voide 30:717) [OF vuide, wide, etc.]
vouchedsaue: (vouchen sauf) ppl. of the v. to grant, bestow; vouchsafe, promise or guarantee (vouchedsaue 30:487) [From vouchen v. & sauf. adj. etc.]
vsest: 2nd person singular present. to make use; to treat in a certain manner, have sex occupy (vsest 30:157) [OF user, usser, etc.]

wasted: ppl. of the v. wasten. wasted away, worn off, ruined; decayed (wasted 7:678) [OF waster & L vastave]
wede: (wedden) v. to take someone in matrimony, to wed. (wede 1:25) [OE weddian]
wel be seyn: adj. beautiful to look at; well proportioned (wel be seyn 5:108)
wel: n. a well, spring; a deep pool or tribulent whirlpool. (wel 30:480) [OE wel]
wele: (wel) adj. happy, glad, in sound health; healthy, well (wele 30:404) [From wel adv. OE wel,weol]
we(m)me: n. wound, injury, hurt, blemish. (we(m)me 28:132) [OE wemme]
wenest: 2nd person singular present of the v. wenen. to think, believe. (wende, ppl., 4:350; wende, 3rd person pl. past, 12:1094; wenyng, pres. part., 9:993; went, 3rd person sing. past, 2:112; went, 3rd person sing. past, 2:106) [OE wenan]
wepen: n. weapon, arms. (wepen 30:714) [OE waepn]
wex (wexen): v. to become (wex 2:102, 2:121, 30:796; wexen 4:153; woxen 30:677) [OE weaxan]
whele: n. wheel, cf. the wheel rack on which St. Catherine was martyred (whele 6:609) [OE hweol]
whight: adj. white, pure (whight 30:189) [OE hwit]
wight: n. thing; demon; scoundrel (wight 5:528) [OE wiht]
wileȝ: n.pl. wiles, tricks, deceits. (wileȝ 30:392) [OE wil]
wisshen: v. to wash, cleanse (wisshen 8:744) [OE waescan]
wit: v. to know, understand; thought, believed, perceived. (wote, 1st person sing. pres., 8:842, 8:844; wit, 2nd person sing. pres., 5:519, 30:746; wete, 1st person sing. pres.,

30:134; weteth, imperative, 30:584; wetep, imperative, 30:600; wite, infinitive, 10:1030) [OE witan]
withdrowe: v. to withdraw, draw back, pull away. (withdrowe 8:931) [OE wiþ + OE dragan]
with oute: prep. outside (with oute 2:105, 12:1130, etc.) [LOE wiþutan]
wittes: n.pl. senses, faculties (wittes 5:503) [OE wit(t)]
wode (wodenesse): adj. anger, the state of being angry. (wodenesse 3:198, 4:333; wodnesse 30:252, 30:323; wode 8:932, 30:270) [OE]
wonte: ppl. of the v. wenden. inclined, disposed to. (wonte 22:2040) [OE wunian]
wrap(ed): ppl. consumed, wrapped, surrounded (wrap(ed) 5:478) [Of unknown origin]
wreth: v. to be angry, annoyed. (wrethed 2:122; wreth 3:241) [OE wraþ = O Fris. wreth]
wroþe: adj. angry, mad, furious. (wroþe 8:944; wroth 17:1473) [OE wraþ]
wynter(e): winters, the passage of time, usually in years (wynter(e) 30:49) [OE winter]

yafe, yove (yeve): v. to give (yafe 5:104; youe 30:19, 30:664; yaue 30:106; yaaf 30:528) [OE giefan]
yardes: n.pl. rods or staves. (yardes 28:98) [OE gerd]
yates: n.pl gates (yates 7:659, 14:1242; yate 7:661, 30:667) [OE gaet]
yeld: imperative of the v. yield, give; administer (yeld 6:618) [OE geldan]
yelft (yeft): n. gift (yeftes 9:993, 14:1191, 30:700, yelft 30:722) [OE gift]
yoy: n. joy. (yoy 21:1970; yoye 7:706) [OF joie]
yoyned: adj. joined (yoyned 3:172) [OF joindre]