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An Abbreviated Middle English Prose translation of the *Elucidarius*

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I: *Introduction*

This article is an edition of a previously unnoticed Middle English prose translation of the Latin text known as the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis (c. 1070 to c. 1140), found in National Library of Wales manuscript Peniarth 12.¹ Details of the career of Honorius Augustodunensis are sketchy, but the work of Valerie Flint has done much to give it coherence and to offer plausible answers to a number of uncertainties.² He has been referred to as Honorius 'of Autun' but his association with that city has now been rejected. Honorius was in England for the early part of his career where he was a follower of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109). The *Elucidarius* dates from this period, and some of the earliest and most authoritative manuscripts are of English provenance. Its account of the redemption shows the influence of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* (1098) possibly prior to its publication, because there is evidence to suggest that the *Elucidarius* may date from as early as 1096.³

The *Elucidarius* is a dialogue between a master and a pupil and is designed to make accessible some of the central doctrines of Christianity from the creation to the final judgement. It was a very popular work in the Middle Ages; the most recent census places the number of manuscripts of the the Latin text at 336.⁴ There is a printing of the Latin text in the *Patrologia Latina*,⁵ and in 1954 Yves Lefèvre published a new edition based on manuscripts in French libraries; he did not consult manuscripts in other European collections.⁶ Nevertheless, Lefèvre's work gave the fullest account thus far of the textual history of the Latin *Elucidarius*, and subsequently, using the evidence of manuscripts of English provenance found in British collections, Valerie Flint has been able to give a more precise picture of the relationships of the different manuscript traditions and versions.⁷

The Latin manuscripts, along with the large number and variety of vernacular translations and adaptations, are testimony to the importance of the *Elucidarius* to medieval religious and spiritual life. There are translations and adaptations in most European Romance languages and in German, Old Norse, and Welsh.⁸ The medieval French tradition is particularly interesting and complex.⁹ On the other hand, the number of translations into English is relatively small with only three known versions prior to the discovery of the text in Peniarth 12,¹⁰ although parts of it were used in the compilation of the *Cursor Mundi*.¹¹ The three translations are (1) the twelfth-century fragments in BL MS Cotton Vespasian D.xiv,¹² (2) the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century translation of book one and five chapters of book two, found in Cambridge, St John's College MS G.25 and Cambridge University Library MS li.vi.26,¹³ and (3) the printings by Wynkyn de Worde (STC 13685.5 and 13686) dated 1507 and 1523 (?). The second version is of interest because the compiler's revisions in a number of places and the addition of fourteen questions and answers suggest Wycliffite sympathies.¹⁴

II: Peniarth 12

National Library of Wales manuscript Peniarth 12 is a composite manuscript with fragments in different hands of different dates.¹⁵ Evans's description used the older pagination, but what follows refers to modern foliation. The codicological history of the manuscript is complex, but the basis of it is a Welsh language manuscript with the inscription 'Llyfr Hugh Evans yw hwn Anno 1583' (This is Hugh Evans's book, 1583) (f. 79^V). This is a paper manuscript approximately 10 x 7 inches; in terms of modern foliation it consists of ff. 12-38, 67-81, written in one hand which is that of the inscription. The Middle English *Elucidarius* is found on ff. 1-11^V which is paper and approximately the same dimensions as the Welsh language manuscript. The hand is of the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. Folios 12-38, 39-58 and 67-73 contain a Welsh language *Elucidarius*,¹⁶ ff. 39-58 being an early fifteenth-century vellum fragment of the text around which Hugh Evans constructed his text.¹⁷ These folios are followed by other religious writings in Welsh (ff. 74-81^V), with the exception of a Latin text of the Creed (f. 73^V). Necessary modern conservation work has meant that it is impossible to discover the original physical make-up of the paper manuscript. One hypothesis for the juxtaposition of the Welsh and English texts of the *Elucidarius* is that the compiler, Hugh Evans, beginning with the Welsh version, wrote the series of Welsh religious texts on the blank paper leaves of the fifteenth-

century paper manuscript already containing the Middle English text. On the other hand, the paper of ff. 1-11 is more faded and worn than that of the Welsh portion of the manuscript, and another explanation might be that Hugh Evans joined ff. 1-11 to his paper manuscript in which he had compiled or planned to compile his collection of Welsh religious texts, beginning with the already well known and well established Welsh version of the *Elucidarius*. Whichever explanation is the more convincing, the juxtaposition of the two versions of the text was no doubt purposeful, and part of a programme to compile a group of religious texts mainly in Welsh.

The manuscript has been bound in 8 parchment folios from a fifteenth-century liturgical manuscript, now numbered ff. iii and iv at the beginning and ff. 82-87 at the end. Folios 86-87^v contain an English language text (ending imperfectly), also previously unnoticed, of 'Instructions on preparing for death'.¹⁸

III: The Language of the Elucidarius in Peniarth 12

On the basis of my census of the linguistic forms of the fragment of Peniarth 12 containing the *Elucidarius* (ff. 1-11), Professor Angus McIntosh has indicated that the scribe's language is of the late fifteenth century, and could have originated in SW Worcestershire or S Herefordshire, with the latter as the most likely location. It is not highly distinctive dialectally, and there is little evidence of earlier forms, which suggests that the language of the manuscript is close to that of the translation. Of the linguistic profiles from Herefordshire and Worcestershire given in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*,¹⁹ the language of the fragment of Peniarth 12 shows the closest correspondence with LP 7481 which is of the language of hands A and B of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 173.²⁰ This manuscript is of the middle of the fifteenth century and contains a text of the prose *Brut* ending at 1431.²¹ Internal evidence associates the manuscript with a number of sites in west Herefordshire including Abbey Dore, and the *Linguistic Atlas* places LP 7481 in the extreme west of Herefordshire, near the Welsh border.²² The linguistic profile of the fragment of Peniarth 12 that follows is necessarily selective.

THESE these	AGAINST ayenst	HAS hathe, hath
SHE sche (she)	BEFORE afore	((hæpe))
HER hur	YET yet	HAUE <i>inf</i> : haue
IT hit	STRENGTH strength	<i>pt-sg</i> : had (hed)
THEY they (pey) ((he, thay))	DEATH dethe ((deþe))	HIGH hie (hye)
THEM hem ((them, þem))	EARTH erthe	HILL hill
THEIR þer (her, hur, ther, there)	NOT not	HIM hym
SUCH suche	WORLD worlde	I y
WHICH whiche	(world)	LITTLE litill, litull
((which))	WORK worche	MOTHER moder
MANY many	MIGHT <i>vb</i> : myght	NEITHER + NOR
MAN man	(mighte)	noper . . . nor (noper . . .
ANY eny	WHEN when	noper, noper, noper . . .
MUCH moche (muche)	<i>Sb pl</i> : -s, -is (-es)	ne)
((much))	<i>Pres part</i> : -yng, -ing	SAY sey (say)
ARE byn ((be, byne, ben))	<i>Str pt pl</i> : -en, -yn, --,	SEE <i>pt-sg</i> : say
IS is	(ne)	SELF selfe, self
WAS was	ASK aske, ask-	SIN <i>sb</i> : synne (syn)
SHALL <i>sg</i> : schall	BEFORE <i>pr</i> : afore	SON son ((sonne, sone))
(schal, shall)	BOTH bothe (boþe)	SOUL soule
<i>pl</i> : schall, schull	BUT but ((butt))	SUN sone
SHOULD <i>sg</i> : schulde	CALL <i>ppl</i> : callid,	THEE the
(schuld)	clepid, clepte, ycallid,	THIRD thrid
WILL <i>sg</i> : woll	callyde, called	THOU thou ((thow, þou))
WOULD <i>sg</i> : wolde	CHURCH churche	THY + <i>vow</i> : thyn, thi
(wold)	(chyrche)	UNTIL tyll
FROM from, fro ((ffro))	DAY <i>pl</i> : daies	WENT wente (went)
AFTER after	DIE <i>pt</i> : died	WHETHER weþer
THEN then ((þen))	DID <i>pt</i> : did	(whare)
THAN than (then)	EYE <i>sg</i> : ye	WHY why ((whi))
THOUGH though,	FATHER fader	WITHOUT without
thouȝ	FIRE fire (fyre)	YE ye
IF yef	FIRST furste, furst	YOU you
	(firste, first, fyrst)	
	GATE yate	
	GIVE <i>ppl</i> : geve	
	GOOD good ((gode))	

This linguistic profile contains 84 tests, 64 of which were also used to construct LP 7481. Of those 64 tests applied to the language of the fragment of Peniarth 12, 49 correspond with majority or minority features of LP 7481. The linguistic profile of Peniarth 12, although not identical with LP 7481, shows a close affinity with it. Some of the differences could be accounted for as the result of late fifteenth-century 'modernizing' of the language. The minority forms 'clepid' and 'clepte' in Peniarth 12 have not been counted among the correspondences with LP 7481. LP 7481 has only the form 'cleped' for the past participle, while the majority forms in Peniarth 12 derive from 'call'. Peniarth 12's minority forms 'clepid' and 'clepte' may be survivals of an earlier dialectal feature that was gradually being replaced. The process of 'modernizing' may obscure an even closer affinity between the languages of the Peniarth 12 fragment and LP 7481.

The place names found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 173, which was used to construct LP 7481, are all from west Herefordshire in a region known as Ergyng (Archenfield) which 'disappeared definitively into Herefordshire but remained Welsh-speaking for three hundred years' after the act of union (1536).²³ Gwyn Williams further describes Ergyng as an area which was 'to produce so many Welsh notables that it begins to look like some lowland Snowdonia with a West Country accent'.²⁴ Here the landowners and gentry were Welsh speaking, and these households provided the main context for the preservation of manuscripts. That the language of the Peniarth 12 fragment may be from west Herefordshire and therefore this same region, goes some way to explain its survival in what is predominantly a post-medieval Welsh language compilation.

IV: The design of the text

This section examines how the compiler worked with the source, and from that will attempt to discover something of the design and purpose of this Middle English version of the *Elucidarius*. A medieval translator cannot always be assumed to have been guided by the sole purpose of rendering the original as accurately as possible. A translator would *use* a text in a number of different ways; translation could mean – and frequently did mean – adaptation of an important text for a different purpose or audience. Medieval translation needs to be seen as involving several processes, and some of the processes involved in the compilation of this Middle English text will become apparent in the discussion that follows.

It is important at the beginning to acknowledge that the compiler worked in

such a way that the question of the language of the translator's exemplar cannot be finally resolved. However, two types of evidence suggest Latin. First, passages discussed below that reproduce the sense of the original seem at the same time to be drawing directly on the Latin vocabulary; there is little to suggest an intermediary. Where there are departures from the original – and these are many – they seem purposeful, part of the design of the compiler. Second, one passage of Middle English in particular is awkward and problematic in such a way as to suggest that at this point the translator had difficulty with the Latin text:

For anon as Eue was made, sche was preuaricate. And the iij
owre after was preuaricate, and then they put names to bestis,
and þe sext owre was woman made, and anon sche presumyd to
ete of the appyll, and so she toke parte þerof to Adam, whiche
for hur loue did ete therof, wherefore at nyne of the clocke God
put hem out of Paradise. (30/2-6)

The counterpart in the Latin reads:

Quia, mox ut mulier fuit creata, confestim est praevaricata; tertia
hora vir creatus imposuit nomina animalibus; hora sexta mulier
formata continuo de vetito pomo praesumpsit viroque mortem
porrexit, qui ob ejus amorem comedit; et mox, hora nona,
Dominus de paradiso eos ejecit. (I.91)

[For, as soon as the woman was created, immediately she sinned.
At the third hour, the man, who had been created, named the
animals. At the sixth hour the woman, who had been formed,
straightaway took of the forbidden fruit, and offered death to the
man, who ate it because of his love for her. And soon afterwards,
at the ninth hour, the Lord expelled them from Paradise.]

The first phrase of the Latin version reads, 'As soon as the woman was created, immediately she sinned (*est praevaricata*)'. The translator renders the verb element by element, 'was preuaricate', but does not understand its sense. The *MED* records only 'prevaricatour, prevaricatrice'. The next phrase of the Latin reads, 'at the third hour, the man, who had been created, named the animals'; in the Middle English this is rendered as, 'And the iij owre after was preuaricate . . .'. In these two instances the

Middle English makes little sense, and the problems stem from the Latin, either the translator's misunderstanding of the verb *praevaricor*, or an error in the exemplar. Both types of evidence are not decisive, but the balance of probability favours a Latin source.

The evidence of the text edited by Schmitt suggests that this passage of Latin presented some difficulties for translators:

For anoon as þe womman was maid, soone aftir sche was pryued
fro þe grete lordschip þat sche hadde to breke goddes heestis, &
leide deef biforn hir husbonde, þat was dampned for to moche
loue schewynge to hir & to litil to god.²⁵

Here the translator evades the more difficult aspects of the Latin text.

The original Latin text of the *Elucidarius* is in three books, and its content and structure are set out below; references are to book and chapter divisions in the Lefèvre edition.

Table One
Latin *Elucidarius*

Book I: De Divinis Rebus

I.1	prologue
I.2-15	God, the Trinity
I.16-26	creation
I.27-56	angels, devils
I.57-93	creation and fall of human kind
I.94-118	redemption
I.119-140	incarnation and life of Christ
I.141-161	passion of Christ and the redemption
I.162-176	ascension of Christ
I.177-184	the body of Christ and the Eucharist
I.185-202	the priesthood and corrupt priests

Book II: De Rebus Ecclesiasticis

II.2-20	evil, sin, and sinners
II.21-33	providence and predestination
II.34-45	creation of souls, corruption of souls, baptism
II.46-51	marriage and impediments

II.52-66	the estates, religious and secular
II.67-77	forgiveness of sins, acts of penance and devotion
II.78-87	condition of humanity; relations between God and humanity
II.88-93	guardian angels; role of devils
II.94-105	extreme unction, death, and burial
Book III: De Futura Vita	
III.1-11	departure of the spirit after death; Paradise; Purgatory
III.12-23	the fate of the damned after death; Hell
III.24-32	the state of souls before the Judgement
III.33-37	the Antichrist
III.38-49	the general resurrection
III.50-78	the Judgement
III.79-121	eternal blessedness

The second table shows the content of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century Middle English prose text of the *Elucidarius* edited by Schmitt from two manuscripts: Cambridge, St John's College MS G.25, and Cambridge, University Library MS li.6.26.

Table 2
Schmitt edition of the ME prose *Elucidarius*

I.1	Prologue
I.2-6, 10-15	God, the Trinity
I.16-21, 23-26	creation
I.27-36, 40-50, 54-56	angels, devils
I.57-59, 61, 63, 65-73, 75-77, 82-85, 87-93	creation and fall of human kind
I.94-104, 107-108, 112-118	redemption
I.119-125, 130-134, 138-139	incarnation and life of Christ
I.141-146, 148, 160-161	passion of Christ and the redemption
I.162, 166, 168-170, 173-176	ascension of Christ
I.178-179, 181-182	the body of Christ and the Eucharist
I.185-188, 195-198	the priesthood and corrupt priests
Eleven questions and answers not found in the Latin text (Schmitt, pp. 29-31)	
II.8	religious orders
One question and answer not found in the Latin text (Schmitt, p. 32)	
II.3-4, 6-7	evil, sin, and sinners

Two questions and answers not found in the Latin text (Schmitt, pp. 34-35)

The third table shows the parts of the Latin that are represented in the Middle English prose text in Peniarth 12; references in bold are to book and chapter divisions in the Lefèvre Latin edition, followed in brackets by page and line references in the Middle English text. Indentation indicates that references are uncertain; these are discussed below. The manuscript shows that at some stage an exemplar had been damaged so that the text breaks off at III.59.²⁶

Table three
The Middle English *Elucidarius* in Peniarth 12

- I.1** (26/1-3 Myn . . . this): prologue
I.2-3, 6 (26/3-20 Hit . . . fire): God, the Trinity
I.62-63 (26/21-25): creation of human kind
I.29-40, 45, 48, 50, 56 (26/26 - 28/15): angels, fall of the angels, devils
I.68-71, 74-76, 79-82, 85-91, 93 (28/16 - 30/8): creation and fall of human kind
I.120, 126, 130 (30/9-24): incarnation and life of Christ
I.147-149, 159-161 (30/25 - 31/21): passion of Christ, redemption, descent into Hell
I.164-165, 167-169, 172-174 (31/22 - 32/22): resurrection and ascension
I.179 (32/23-28): body of Christ and the sacraments
I.190, 198 (32/29 - 33/8): corrupt priests
II.2, 17, 19 (33/9 - 34/10): evil, sin, sinners
II.22 (34/11-14): providence
II.44-45 (34/15-18): those conceived in adultery
II.53-62 (34/19 - 35/31): the estates, religious and secular
II.68-70, 72, 77 (35/32 - 36/17): forgiveness of sins, acts of penance and devotion
II.79 (36/18-26): condition of humanity; time of death
II.88-92 (36/27 - 37/17): guardian angels; role of devils
 III.1-23 (37/18-25): fate of souls after death
 III.30 (37/26 - 38/5): state of souls before Judgement
 II.92-93 (38/12-20 But . . . Hell): role of the devils
III.14 (38/26 - 39/4 Maister . . . lemmys): fate of the damned after death; the pains of Hell
III.18 (39/4-8 And . . . ordeynd): fate of the damned after death
II.94, 100-104 (39/14-31 And . . . theryn): extreme unction; despair; death and

burial

III. 13, 19-23 (39/32 - 40/19): Hell, fate of the damned after death

III.25, 30, 32 (40/20-31): state of souls before the Judgement

III.33-35, 37 (40/32 - 41/27): the Antichrist

III.39, 45, 43, 44, 47, 49 (41/28 - 42/20): general resurrection

III.51-52, 54-56, 59 (42/21 - 43/17): Judgement

The three tables show that while the compiler of the text edited by Schmitt was prepared to alter the text by adding new questions and answers at two strategic points – and we discover that elsewhere he altered the emphasis in some passages²⁷ – he followed closely the structure and content of the Latin original as far as the beginning of book II. This is in sharp contrast to Peniarth 12's radical approach to the original. In Peniarth 12 the Latin *Elucidarius* is represented in the Middle English text in a fragmentary way; of a possible 368 chapters of the Latin text, 120 have counterparts in the Middle English – this does not include those marked as doubtful in table three, and to which at best the text only alludes. This means that roughly one third of the Latin text is in some way incorporated into the Middle English text. The Commentary and the discussion of the compiler's strategies that follows show that even where the compiler uses chapters from the Latin, he frequently omits large portions, or changes the substance of chapters. In the light of what emerges about the compiler's treatment of the Latin text, it would be more accurate to say that less than one quarter of the Latin is represented in the English text. This degree of selectivity encourages us to investigate the design and purpose of this version of the text, and the processes by which a compiler adapted a popular work for an imagined audience. This version might be explained in whole or in part in terms of the exemplar of the translation, that is, that some or all of the features of selection and design of this version were features of a Latin recension. This hypothesis remains a possibility, but none of the evidence provided by the work of Lefèvre on the Latin and French texts and the editions of the French texts by Martha Kleinhans and Henning Düwell suggest an exemplar for the text in Peniarth 12.²⁸

At this stage something should be said about the Latin textual tradition from which the Middle English text of Peniarth 12 derives. In his edition of the Latin text, Lefèvre concluded that his 'short text' was the original, and he printed passages – that he considered additions – from two separate textual traditions in two distinct ways. Valerie Flint has demonstrated that although Lefèvre was basically correct in the way he isolated the separate families of manuscripts, he was incorrect in his conclusion that the 'short text' represented the original version; it would be better referred to as

the 'shortened text'.²⁹ Nevertheless, where the highly selective text of Peniarth 12 runs parallel to the Latin, there are no instances where the Middle English contains translations of those passages that occur in the longer versions and that were identified by Lefèvre as additions.³⁰ This evidence links the Middle English text of Peniarth 12 to the 'shortened text' of the Latin, the manuscripts of which are late ones.

The design and purpose of the Middle English text are suggested as much by what has been omitted as by what has been retained of the Latin text. We cannot be certain that every omission or selection of material is purposeful or part of the same campaign of translation and revision. However, in the light of tables one and three, several features about the Middle English text emerge. The Middle English version is not concerned with historical doctrine; it includes nothing of the *Elucidarius's* discussion of the doctrine of the redemption (I.94-119). And, it is not concerned with the subtleties of theological argument; although the text includes questions from the Latin concerning God and the Trinity (I.2-15), the Middle English uses only three of those chapters (I.2-3, 6), and ignores a long series of questions on the nature of God, heavenly beings, and the first stages of creation (I.7-28), for example: 'Cum omnipotentia vel summa clementia de Patre praedicetur, quare non mater vocatur?' (I.7), 'Scit Deus omnia?' (I.13), 'Sentiunt elementa Deum?' (I.21), 'Quare novem angelorum?' (I.24). For the life of Christ, beginning with questions on the incarnation (I.120-140), the Middle English has only 3 chapters (I.120, 126, 130), but represents the passion of Christ and Christ's work of redemption (I.141-161) more fully, but still selectively, using 6 chapters (I.147-149, 159-161). Although the compiler includes questions such as 'Cur voluit nasci de virgine?' (I.120), and 'Cur jacuit in sepulcro duas noctes et unum diem?' (I.159), questions such as 'Quare in triginta annis nec docuit nec signum fecit?' (I.137) and 'Quid dedit ei Pater pro hoc merito?' (I.154) are ignored. For the final sequence of book I on the body of Christ, the Eucharist, the role of priests, and the issue of efficacy of the sacraments administered by corrupt priests (I.177-202), the Middle English has only 3 chapters (I.179, 190, 198). In contrast, these are a particularly important subject for the version of the *Elucidarius* edited by Schmitt, where they may have been made controversial through possible Wycliffite influence.³¹ The compilation acknowledges the main subjects of the Latin text, but has selected chapters in a judicious way to provide what the compiler perceived as materials essential to the church's teaching on creation, fall, and Christ's passion, and the role of priests.

Book II of the Latin is concerned with human salvation in the world through the church. From this, questions of providence and predestination (II.22-33) are represented by only one chapter (II.22), on the nature of providence, and from the

sequence on the creation of souls, corruption of souls and baptism (II.34-45) there are only two chapters in the Middle English, those concerning whether a soul is harmed that was conceived in an adulterous relationship (II. 44-45). There are no chapters reflecting the questions on marriage and impediments to marriage (II.46-51). On the other hand, the compiler takes over much of the sequence on the estates, both religious and secular (II.53-62), and the chapters concerning forgiveness of sins, acts of penance and devotion. Of the questions on the condition of human kind and the relationship between God and human kind (II.78-87) only one, II.79 on the hour of one's death, appears in the Middle English, but almost the whole of the sequence on guardian angels and the role of devils has been included (II.88-93). Again, the interest of the text is less on doctrine and abstract concepts such as predestination and the creation and corruption of souls, and more on the immediate and practical aspects of forgiveness of sins, salvation and protection for the soul from the forces of the Devil. An important feature of this version is the emphasis on the salvation of the individual: it omits questions such as those concerning marriage, and focuses on the questions of the salvation of members of religious and secular estates through which individuals define their identities in the world.

The range of subjects of the chapters from the first part of book III (1-32) on the fates of souls after death appear in the Middle English, although the compiler has used them selectively, and has altered the order of the materials. The later questions of book III (33 ff.), the Antichrist, the general resurrection, and the Judgement are fully represented in the Middle English, although it breaks off in the midst of III.59 because of damage to the exemplar. As with the emphasis in the material drawn from book II, here the text is concerned with the salvation of the soul and the fate of the soul after death, in Heaven or Hell, something that was of profound importance to individuals in the Middle Ages.

Apart from the compiler's selection of materials from the standard text of the *Elucidarius*, the most radical revision comes in 37/18 - 39/14. This is of a piece, and is placed between materials drawn from II.92 and II.94. It comes in the context of 36/27 - 37/17 which is drawn from II.88-92 and which concerns angels and how spirits – both good and evil – appear to individuals on earth; 37/18 - 39/14 begins with the question of the different fates of the spirits of human beings after death, and this is the subject of book III of the Latin, 'De futura vita'. Thus, 37/18-25 might refer in general terms to Latin III.1-28. The next paragraph, 37/26 - 38/5, addresses the question of the appearance on earth of souls after death, which is taken up in III.30, but the debt of the Middle English for specific details is slight:

. . .[Animae] quae autem in poenis sunt, non apparent, nisi ab angelis permittantur, ut pro liberatione sua rogent aut liberatae gaudium suum amicis suis nuntient. [Animae] quae in inferno sunt, nulli apparere possunt; si autem aliquando videntur apparere sive in somnis sive vigilantibus, non ipsae, sed daemones creduntur in illarum specie, qui etiam in angelos lucis se transfigurant, ut decipiant . . . (III.30)

[Souls which are in punishment may not appear unless they are permitted by the angels, so that they may ask for their freedom or, having been freed, may announce their joy to their friends. Souls which are in Hell, may in no way appear. If, however, they seem to appear at any time, either in sleep or to those who are awake, it is not they, but are believed to be devils who have taken their form, who indeed may transform themselves into angels of light so that they may practise deception.]

The question raised in 38/12-13 is based on II.92-93: 'Sunt daemones hominibus insidiantes?' and 'Possunt [daemones] obsidere quos volunt?'. But the answer in the Middle English (38/14-15) is more practical and immediate teaching on the consequences of committing sin, concluding with a warning about the pains of Hell. At this point the compiler introduces material taken directly from book III of the Latin (38/26 - 39/4: Latin III.14) on the pains of Hell. The list in the sentence 39/4-8 is drawn from III.18, but has been adapted to the context of the vernacular text. The address of the pupil to the master (ME 39/9-14) has a precedent in III.1, and this leads to the question with which this passage ends (39/14-15) and which has been taken from II.94, 'Quid valet olei unctio infirmis?'. Here the compiler has returned to roughly the point in the Latin text from which he departed at 37/18. As a whole, this passage shows more extensive revisions than are found elsewhere in this version, and that these revisions were carried out self-consciously is suggested by a remark in 40/1, ' . . . and in this hell byn the peynes that Y rehersed afore'. The context of the remark is the abbreviation of III.13 on the nature of Hell which in the Latin leads to an account of the pains of Hell, III.14, a passage that in the Middle English has been moved to the earlier context (38/26 - 39/4). The revision is characterized by the self-assured way in which the compiler is prepared to improvise and to develop the text. It is a measure of the compiler's sense of purpose that he takes such radical steps to summarize and revise such a large portion of the original, and that he locates it in a

new context.

But, what is that purpose? The passage 39/4-8 provides one indication:

And, sone, therfore exorte all these proude men, enuyouse men, gylefull men, gloteouse men, dronkyn men, lecherouse men, these manslears, cruell thefis, these maynteners of false maters by extorcion, advowtrers, ffalse lyars, blasphemars, bakebytars; for these the peynes of Hell byn ordeynd.

The counterpart for this in the Latin text is:

D. Qui sunt membra ejus [Diaboli]? **M.** Superbi, invidi, fraudulenti, infidi, gulosi, ebriosi, luxuriosi, homicidae, crudeles, fures, praedones, latrones, immundi, avari, adulteri, fornicatores, mendaces, perjuri, blasphemi, malefici, detractores, discordes. Qui in his fuerint inventi ibunt in praedicta supplicia nunquam redituri. (III.18)

[**Pupil:** Who are members of the Devil's company? **Master:** The proud, the envious, the deceitful, the faithless, the gluttonous, the drunkards, the lecherous, the murderers, the cruel, the thieves, the robbers, the bandits, the impure, the greedy, the adulterers, the fornicators, the liars, the perjurers, the blasphemers, the evil doers, the disparagers, the quarrelsome. Whoever is found among these will go into the foresaid torments never to return.]

In the vernacular text the pupil is being instructed – almost commanded – to warn individuals about their sinful activities, and to this is attached the threat of the pains of Hell. The vernacular text is designed here to serve almost a preacherly function and to construct an audience of the sinful.

Revisions of the original are not confined to this one passage, and many of the distinctive features of this Middle English version of the *Elucidarius* emerge in the ways in which the compiler treats the Latin text. These in turn reflect strategies to make the text more accessible, more practical, and more persuasive in terms of an implied audience. In answer to the question in I.87, 'Fuit scientia boni et mali in illo pomo?' the Latin has:

Non in pomo, sed in transgressione. Ante peccatum scivit homo bonum et malum, bonum per experientiam, malum per scientiam; post peccatum autem scivit malum per experientiam, bonum tantum per scientiam. (I.87)

[Not in the apple, but in the sin. Before sin, man knew good and evil, good through what he had experienced, evil through knowledge. After sin, however, he knew evil through what he had experienced, and good only through knowledge.]

The Middle English version reads:

Nay, forsothe, not in the appull only, but in the transgressioun.
So the appill myght haue ben take that whoso had ete of hym
he schulde haue had all maner of connyng and knowleche of
good and eke evill. (29/26-28)

The Middle English renders the first sentence but the introduction of 'only' adjusts the sense slightly. This prepares the way for the second sentence which bears little relation to the Latin, and contradicts the sense of the first Latin sentence. The Middle English evades the subtleties of the Latin and reproduces something more familiar which is closer to the sense of Genesis ii.17. This instance, and others, reveal aspects of the translator's strategy, to offer simple, uncomplicated explanations, and where necessary to override the sense of the Latin.

Some instances of revision show that one of the compiler's strengths is that he is able to harness the vernacular to create distinctive treatments of the raw materials of the Latin; in other words, the compiler is not a slave to the source. An example of this comes early in the text:

The godhede is in the Trinite whos ymage, as hit is saide, hath a soule inasmuche that he hath yn hymselfe thre pryncypall thingis, that is to sey, he hath mynde, by the whiche he thynkith at oonys all thingis that byn paste and byn to comme; he hath also vndyrstonding, by the whiche all invisibill present thingis he vnderstondith; he hath also will, by the whiche all euyll he puttith away and takith to hym all goodnesse. And this, the soule of God, is callyde a spirituall fire. And God hymself is callid a

spirituall substaunce. And this Y sey, my childe, that in the
Trinite is but oon god, that is to sey but oon spirituall fire.
(26/13-20)

At the basis of the Middle English is a short passage from I.6: 'Ex Patre omnia, per Filium omnia, in Spiritu Sancto omnia. Pater memoria, Filius intelligentia, Spiritus Sanctus voluntas intelligitur' ['From the Father all things, through the Son all things, in the Holy Spirit all things. The Father is understood to be memory, the Son understanding, the Holy Spirit the will']. The compiler has used the Latin to develop the idea of the Trinity and the implications of the metaphor of the spiritual fire, the soul of God. The metaphor is unique to the Middle English at this point, but has been drawn from elsewhere in the Latin text. Honorius accounts for the 'natura angelica' ['angelic nature'] as 'spiritualis ignis, ut dicitur, "qui facit angelos de flamma ignis" (Hebrews i.7)' (I.29) ['spiritual fire, as it is said, "who made the angels from the flame of fire"']. And in answer to the question about the origin of spiritual substance he gives the answer: 'Ex spirituali igne, ut creditur, in qua imago et similitudo Dei exprimitur' (I.60) ['From spiritual fire, as it is believed, in which the image and likeness of God are expressed']. Whereas the Latin (I.4-9) goes on to explain why the terms Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are used, the Middle English continues by developing the notion of the Trinity and avoids the fine distinctions of I.4-9. The work of the compiler here reflects considerable self-assurance and sense of purpose.

If the translator purposefully avoids rendering subtle arguments and precise distinctions in the Latin, he shows skill in developing imagery and metaphors. One strategy is to extend imagery in the Latin text. On the question of whether illegitimacy means that children are denied salvation, the Latin uses the simile: '. . . sicut nec tritico nocet, si furatum per furem fuerit seminatum' (II.44) ['just as it is not harmful to wheat if, having been stolen by a thief, it should be planted']. The Middle English text reads: '. . . no more than hit is hurte to whete when hit is thefe stolen; and sowen hit woll grow neuer the worse' (34/16-17). The translator has developed the conceit in idiomatic English. Elsewhere the pupil asks why Christ died on the cross, to which the master replies: 'Ut quadrifidum mundum salvaret' (I.149) ['so that he might save the four corners of the world']; the Middle English has this version of the answer:

For like as a crosse hathe iiij cornars, right so hape this worlde
iiij quarters, and so the crosse that he died vpon betokynde the
iiij quarterds worlde whiche was sauyn and redemyd ayeyne by
that crosse. (30/33 - 31/1)

Whereas the Latin uses a metaphor, the translator draws out what is implicit and expands the metaphor into a double simile. The effect is less subtle and more explicit. The compiler will also introduce new metaphors. I.74 has the simile, 'sicut oculus se levat ad videndum, ita sine delectatione illud sensibile membrum perageret suum officium' ['as the eye lifts itself to see, so without pleasure the sexual organ would have carried out its function']. The Middle English version reads: 'And as the ye of a man beholdith sodenly that thing that he remembrith without eny labour or delectacion, right so schall that membre do his dere office' (28/31-33). The translator has developed this simile by moving the notion of 'sine delectatione' from the reference to the image, and by making the image more familiar in human terms – the experience of sudden recognition. At I.79 the Latin asks the question concerning Adam and Eve in the garden: 'Erant nudi?', to which the answer is: 'Nudi erant et non plus de illis membris quam de oculis erubescabant' ['They were naked and no more ashamed about their sexual organs than their eyes']. The Middle English reads: '... for pey schamyd no more that tyme of ther membris then a fayre woman dothe now of her clere and bewtifull face' (29/7-8). Here a more vivid and extensive comparison has been substituted for the phrase 'quam de oculis'.

The compiler's confidence with language includes developing didactic arguments and refining theological concepts for the audience of the Middle English text. He is able to create a narrative out of a traditionally formulated problem: 'Aliquando devorat lupus hominem et caro hominis vertitur in suam carnem; lupum vero ursus, ursum leo. Quomodo resurget ex his homo?' (III.45) ['When a wolf eats a man, and the flesh of the man is turned into his flesh, and a bear eats the wolf, and a lion eats the bear, how shall a man rise again from these?']. The Middle English version addresses the same issue, but is more expansive and less succinct:

Maister, oþerwhiles a man is by aventure myschevide oþer with
thefis oþer wilde bestis, and so lieth in the wildernesse till foulis
and bestis han deuowrid hym and the nature of man ther by
sustentacion is turned to the nature of an unresonable beste. How
schall he rise at the dome or no? (41/35 - 42/3)

Here the question is conceived more as an exemplum than as a conundrum. The compiler of the *Cursor Mundi* develops this passage from the Latin *Elucidarius* in a similar way as an exemplum:

A sample sal i sceu yow þar-bi

Pat i fand, of sant gregori.
Par he was in a stede sum-quar,
An crafti clerc and wis o lare
And asked him a questium
Of a wolf and a leon,
And of þe thrid þat was a man,
Quer-of þe tale þus bigan.³²

On the question of sin II.2 reads:

Omnia autem quae fecit Deus subsistunt; omnis vero substantia bona est, sed malum non habet substantiam: igitur malum nihil est. Quod autem malum dicitur nihil est aliud quam ubi non est bonum, sicut caecitas ubi non est visus aut tenebrae ubi non est lux, cum caecitas et tenebrae non sint substantiae. (II.2)

[Everything which God made subsists; every substance is good, but evil does not have substance; therefore, evil is nothing. However, what is called evil is nothing else than where there is no good, just as blindness where there is no sight or shadows where there is no light, since blindness and shadows are not substances.]

The Middle English follows this (33/21-27), but embellishes the argument:

. . . And so Y sey the, my son, that synne is nothing ellis but lacke of goodnesse. Where is synne, ther is no goodnesse, and þer is no goodnesse there is synne. And so, to conclude schortly, synne is nothing but absens of grace, and so synne may well be lykenyd to darkenesse for where is no light, ther is darkenesse. Right so, where is no grace, whiche is light of the soule, there is synne, whiche is darkenesse of the soule. (33/26-31)

The translator reformulates the argument and the simile (*sicut caecitas* . . .) by introducing the term 'grace' and the idea of 'grace' as the light of the soul, which are not referred to in the Latin, and by using grace in place of the concept of *substantia*. The compiler is sensitive to the effects of language; clearly the notion of 'grace' would

be more immediate to his imagined audience than the Aristotelian concept of 'substance'. The way in which the compiler treats the difficult concept of the sin against the Holy Ghost again shows confidence with language:

D. Quae est 'blasphemia Spiritus Sancti, quae non remittitur neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro?' (Matthew xii.31-32). **M.** Impoenitentia et diffidentia. In Spiritu Sancto datur remissio peccatorum; qui igitur de gratia Spiritus Sancti diffidit et non poenitet, hic blasphemat Spiritum Sanctum et hoc est irremissibile peccatum. (II.100)

[**The pupil:** What is 'blasphemy against the Holy Spirit which is not remitted either in this world or in the world to come?'. **The master:** Impenitence and lack of faith. Remission of sins is given through the Holy Spirit; therefore, whoever does not believe in the grace of the Holy Spirit and does not repent, blasphemes against the Holy Spirit and this is an irredeemable sin.]

The Middle English reads:

D. What is this, the syn in þe holy goste? **M.** Hit is no noþer but mystrust in ioynynd penaunce and that is called dispeyre. And whosoeuere is in this synne, he schall neuer be forgeve here nor yn the worlde that is to com. (39/20-23)

In its second sentence, the answer incorporates part of the quotation from Matthew xii.31-2 from the question in the Latin version. Here the Middle English is not a translation of the Latin but a succinct and idiomatic definition of what the compiler calls 'despeyre', introduced as a vernacular term.

The feature of the Middle English text that does most to set this version apart from the Latin and to reveal its function, is the way aspects of the text are used in a preacherly fashion to formulate moral arguments or warnings against dangers to the soul. The treatment of the following passage illustrates this strategy:

D. Cur jacuit in sepulcro duas noctes et unum diem? **M.** Duae noctes significant nostras duas mortes, unam corporis, alteram

animae; dies significat suam mortem, quae fuit lux nostrarum mortium; unam abstulit, alteram ad exercitium electis reliquit, quam denuo veniens exterminabit. (I.159)

[**The pupil:** Why did he lie in the tomb for two nights and one day? **The master:** The two nights signify our two deaths, one of the body, the other of the spirit. The day signifies his death, which was the light of our deaths. He took one and left the other as a trial for the elect, which at his coming again he will destroy.]

The translator follows the first part of the Latin closely but he develops more fully the sense of the last clause ('unam abstulit . . . exterminabit'):

Then oon of oure dethes he toke away from vs that was dethe of the soule, and that oþer dethe he lefte behynde whiche we die now-a-daies, that is, dethe of the body, by the whiche dethe, when he cometh ageyne at the day of the grete and dredfull iugement, he schall deme euery man after the way of rightfulnessse. (31/5-9)

For the first half of the Latin the compiler *translates* in the strict sense of the term, but where the Latin is succinct, almost cryptic, the compiler abandons translation in favour of explanations and warnings about the final judgement. Another instance of this preacherly strategy comes in ME 35/3-15 (Maister . . . dampnacion); the counterpart in the Latin is:

D. Habent spem ioculatores? M. Nullam. Tota namque intentione ministri sunt Satanae; de ipsis dicitur: "Deum non cognoverunt; ideo Deus spreuit eos et Dominus subsannabit eos, quia derisores deridentur" (Psalm ii.4) (II.58)

[**The pupil:** Do jesters have hope (of salvation)? **The master:** None, for in all their doings they are ministers of the Devil, of whom it was said, 'They do not recognize God, and so God has spurned them, and the Lord will mock them, because the derisors will be derided'.]

The translator expands on the implications of the question and develops the answer into a homily against boasting about sins committed. The master urges on the pupil the role of instructing sinners: 'Therefore, my sonne . . . Y charge the that thou avise euery synner . . .'. In the context of the account of the fall of humankind, the translator uses the text for another preacherly warning:

D. Locutus est serpens? **M.** Diabolus locutus est per serpentem, ut hodie loquitur per obsessum hominem, quemadmodum angelus locutus est per asinam, cum nec serpens nec asina scirent quid per eos verba illa sonarent. (I.85)

[**The pupil:** Did the serpent speak? **The master:** The Devil spoke through the serpent, as today he speaks through man possessed, just as the angel spoke through an ass, since neither the serpent nor the ass knew what those words said through them.]

D. Did the serpent speke to Eue? **M:** Nay, but the Deuyll speke in the serpente as they do now-a-daies by dede men, by the whiche many a man is gretely bygylid. And all is no more but temptation of the Devill to make hem lye vpon a soule wengfully which is to euery man that so dothe grete perile to his soule (29/17-21)

The translator follows the Latin up to 'by dede men', after which he abandons the source and uses the context to introduce a warning concerning the Devil's deceit. The episode of the Devil speaking to Eve is made to apply to the dangers faced by individuals in contemporary terms. Generally, the compiler uses strategies of persuasion and introduces practical didacticism into the Middle English text.

Several processes have gone into the construction of this Middle English version of the *Elucidarius*. The compiler has used close translation of the Latin original; he has developed images, metaphors and similes from the Latin into idiomatic vernacular expression; he has introduced new metaphors and similes; and he has introduced theological and religious language in a vernacular form. The compiler has also undertaken a radical programme of selection and restructuring of the original. And finally, the compiler has introduced into the text a preacherly strategy whereby many of the issues raised in the text are applied to the spiritual

needs of the audience. The imagined audience for the Middle English version is not theologically sophisticated, but nevertheless needs to understand essentials of salvation and the means to salvation through the church. The text addresses anxieties about souls conceived in adultery and the efficacy of the sacraments administered by corrupt priests. It also confronts the audience with the terrors of the afterlife for those who fail to work out their salvation within the framework of the church. This version of the *Elucidarius*, while it is not in itself a sermon, is a useful teaching aid and characterized by an important element of practical didacticism. What is remarkable about this text is the self-assurance of the compiler, particularly in the way he uses language. Within the constraints of his didactic purpose, he has produced a distinctive vernacular version of a text that was central to medieval religious life.

The edited text uses modern punctuation, capitalization and word division. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. Emendations are enclosed in square brackets, and omissions are signalled by ⁺. The apparatus records all rejected readings and scribal corrections.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to the National Library of Wales for permission to reproduce the text in NLW MS Peniarth 12, ff. 1-11, and to the staff of the Reading Room of the Department of Manuscripts and Records of the NLW for their help in making this manuscript available. I wish to acknowledge the help and advice that I have received from Janet Burton and Oliver Pickering in preparing this article.

² Valerie Flint has published extensively on many aspects of the career and writings of Honorius Augustodunensis. She has gathered together a number of her articles in: *Ideas in the Medieval West: texts and their contexts* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988). And, she has usefully summarized and up-dated her work on Honorius in: *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West, Authors of the Middle Ages, 6 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

³ Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, pp. 3-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162; Dagmar Gottschall, ed., *Das 'Elucidarium' des Honorius Augustodunensis: Untersuchungen zu seiner Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Ausgabe der niederdeutschen Übersetzung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992), pp. 297-306. Gottschall gives a list of 329 manuscripts and fragments, to which Flint adds seven.

⁵ *Elucidarium sive Dialogus de Summa Totius Christianae Theologiae*, PL 172.1109-1176.

⁶ Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 180 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954).

⁷ 'The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 18 (1964), pp. 91-4.

⁸ Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 131; Gottschall, ed., *Das 'Elucidarium' des Honorius Augustodunensis*; Ernstpeter Ruhe, ed., *Elucidarium und Lucidaires: Zur Rezeption des Werks von Honorius Augustodunensis in der Romania und in England* (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1993); *Elucidarius in Old Norse Translation*, ed. by Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Kaaren Grimstad (Reykjavík: Stofnun Arnar Magnússonar, 1989). The Welsh version survives in over 20 manuscripts from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century; see: D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*, Writers of Wales (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1986), pp. 62-3. The Welsh text has been edited from Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 in: *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346*, ed. by J. Morris Jones and John Rhys (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894).

⁹ Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et Les Lucidaires*, pp. 269-329; Martha Kleinhans, ed., *'Lucidare vault tant a dire comme donnant lumiere': Untersuchung und Edition der Prosa-Versionen 2, 4 und 5 des 'Elucidarium'* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993); Henning Düwell, ed., *Eine Altfranzösische Übersetzung des Elucidarium: Edition des Elucidare der Handschrift Lambeth Palace 431*, Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 7 (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1974).

¹⁰ English language prose texts of the *Elucidarius* or *Lucidarie* are listed under items 257 and 454 in R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards, *The Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York: Garland, 1985). See also 'Elucidarium' in Francis Lee Utley, 'Dialogues, Debates, and Catechisms' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, vol. 3, ed. by Albert E. Hartung (Hamden, Conn: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1972), pp. 741-2, 899-900.

¹¹ John J. Thompson, *'The Cursor Mundi': Poem, Texts and Contexts*, Medium Ævum Monographs, 19 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1998), pp. 100, 159-68.

¹² Max Förster, 'Two Notes on Old English Dialogue Literature', in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 86-106 (86-101); the text printed corresponds to Lefèvre's edition I.164, 166-174 (pp. 390-92). *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS Vesp. D. XIV*, ed. by Rubie D-N. Warner, EETS OS 152 (1907), pp. 140-43 (Lefèvre II.2-16, pp. 405-412) and 144-45 (Lefèvre I.164, 166-74, pp. 390-92).

¹³ Friedrich Schmitt, ed., *Die Mittellenglische Version des Elucidariums des Honorius Augustodunensis* (Burghausen: W. Trinkl, 1909).

¹⁴ Martha Kleinhans, 'Zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie: Die Englischsprachige Rezeption des Elucidarium', in Ruhe, ed., *Elucidarium und Lucidaires: Zur Rezeption des Werks von Honorius Augustodunensis in der Romania und in England*, pp. 291-324.

¹⁵ The manuscript is described in J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The First Portion of the Welsh Manuscripts at Peniarth, Towyn, Merioneth*, Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, vol. I, part II (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1899), pp. 323-5.

¹⁶ This is a text of the Welsh *Elucidarius* edited from Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 in *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346*, pp. 5-76.

¹⁷ In his description of the manuscript, J. Gwenogvryn Evans demonstrates the relationship of the text in ff. 39-58 to the main text of the *Elucidarius*. This fragment was originally part of the *Red Book of Talgarth* (NLW Llanstephan MS 27). A second fragment, ff. 59-66, originally numbered pp. 117-32, was removed to Peniarth 4 in 1940. The contents are listed in Evans's description.

¹⁸ This is the 'A' version; see IPMEP 460 and P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), L.5 and N.9. For the counterpart to the text in Peniarth 12 see William Masskell, ed., *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols (London: William Pickering, 1846-47), III, pp. 353-6.

¹⁹ Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), III, pp. 161-175, pp. 550-564.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 172-3.

²¹ F. D. W. Brie, *Geschichte und Quellen der mittenglischen Prosachronik: the Brut of England oder The Chronicles of England* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), pp. 92-3; Lister M. Matheson, *The Prose 'Brut': the development of a Middle English Chronicle*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 180 (Tempe, Arizona, 1998), pp. 101-102, 312.

²² See 'Key map 2', *LALME* II, p. 384.

²³ Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 119.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²⁵ Schmitt, ed., *Die mittenglische Version des Elucidariums*, p. 15.

²⁶ There are 122 paragraphs in book III of the Lefèvre Latin edition.

²⁷ On the changes of emphasis see Martha Kleinhans, 'Zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie', pp. 298-306.

²⁸ See above notes 9 and 13. Martha Kleinhans (pp. 262-633) conveniently provides a synoptic edition of the Old French prose versions 2, 4 and 5 along with the Latin text.

²⁹ Flint, 'The Original Text of the *Elucidarium*'.

³⁰ See the Commentary under: 26/21-25; 27/2-24; 27/32 - 28/11; 28/16-27; 30/9-16; 30/25 - 31/1; 31/2-21; 32/29-35; 34/15-18; 34/19 - 35/31; 36/27 - 37/17.

³¹ See Martha Kleinhans, 'Zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie', pp. 298-306.

³² R. Morris, ed., *Cursor Mundi*, 7 vols, EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (1874-93), IV, pp. 1308-10; the lines given are ll. 22887-94; the narrative runs to l. 22933.

NLW Peniarth 12 (*olim* Hengwrt 202), fols. 1^r–11^v

fol. 1^r

Myn owne dere maister, in wey of informacyon Y beseche you that ye woll awnswere to me to all suche questions as Y schall aske you, in whiche questions Y am yet fer from the very trew way of vndyrstonding. And my furst question schall be this. Hit is saide that no man can tell what is God, whiche seying is full derke and contrary to oure feith that we schulde worschipp that thing that we know not. Therefore, my gentill maister, tell me what thing is God?

The maister: God, as ferforthe as man may know, is a spirituall substaunce.

The chylde: Maister, Y pray you tell me also how Y schall vndyrstond that in the Trinite is but o God?

M: Thus, in the sone ther byn thre thyngis that may not be departid from oper. The fyrst is fyry substaunce, the secunde is brightnesse, the thrid is heete. In this firy [substaunce] we vndyrstonde the Fader; in the brightnesse the Sone; in the heete the Holy Goste. The godhede is in the Trinite whos ymage, as hit is saide, hath a soule inasmuche that he hath yn hymselfe thre pryncypall thingis, that is to sey, he hath mynde, by the whiche he thynkith at oonys all thingis that byn paste and byn to comme; he hath also vndyrstonding, by the whiche all invisibill present thingis he vnderstondith; he hath also will, by the whiche all euyll he puttith away and takith to hym all goodnesse. And this, the soule of God, is callyde a spirituall fire. And God hymself is callid a spirituall substaunce. And this Y sey, my childe, that in the Trinite is but oon god, that is to sey but oon spirituall fire.

The childe: Maister, did God make man with hondis or no?

M: Nay, sone, but only by his commaundement.

The childe: Why did God make man of so vnclene a mater?

M: To the grete and more schame of his enmye, the Deuyll, that so vile and so fraile a thing schulde enter into euerlastyng ioy ffro the whiche ioy he fell adown.

D: Yet, Y pray you, tell me whate is the nature of angelis?

M: Hit is a [f. 1^v] spirituall fire as hit is preuyd by scripture that God made angels of a flam of fire.

D: Han Angels names or no?

M: Nay, for ther is so grete connyng in angels that they nede no names. Michael,

Gabriel, Raphael byn not names but only as by office.

D: How [did] Lucifer contary to God?

M: When he say hymself excell all the orders of angels in ioy and worschip, then he wolde haue byn egall with God or gretter than God.

5 D: How wolde he haue byn egall or grettyr?

M: A bettyr astate then God hed geve to hym he wolde haue had notwithstanding his will.

D: What befill of hym then?

10 M: Anon, he was caste out from the hie palice of pease vnto the euerlasting prison of peyne.

D: Knew he his fall or no?

M: Nay, forsothe.

D: How long was Lucifer in hevyn after he was made?

M: Not fully an owre, for anon as he was made, he fell adoun.

15 D: Whi was he ther no lengyr?

M: Leste that he schulde haue tastid and know eny thing of the hye conning and preuteis of Hevyn.

D: What did oper angels that fill with hym?

20 M: They concentid to his will; and thought yef he myght haue had his will forto haue bynn gretter then God, pat they then wolde haue had a grettyr power then they hed at that tyme.

D: What become of hem?

M: Som of hem were caste into Hell with hym, and som into the darkenesse of the eyre in the whiche they brenn as in Hell unto this day.

25 D: Whi did not God make angels suche that they myght not synne?

30 M: For rightfulnessse only, that they mighte of per owne merite deserve the grete rewarde of euerlasting lif, for and they hed byn so made that they myght not haue synnyd, then they had byn in maner as bonde, and so by rightfulnessse they schulde haue had no rewarde, for God did geve hem fre will and vndirstonding to chese good and to leue all euyll. And yef they had so do, then of right they schulde haue had rewarde.

D: Maister, know deuyllis all thingis as angels don?

M: Nay, forsothe, they know noþing of future [f. 2^r] thingis, and that knowleche that

they haue is only of angelike nature, whiche was geve þem at ther creacion. And so þey know noþing of tyme to com but only hit be by Godis grete sufferaunce. And also thought and will no man knowith but only God, thouȝ comyn seying be contrarye. Therefore, thought and thing that is to com is reseruide only to God and to suche that he woll geve power by revelacyon.

D: May they do all thyng that they wold?

M: Nay; good they noþer will to do noþer woll not [to do]. All evill they be euer redy [to do] as ferforthe as they may.

D: What rewarde had good angels?

M: After the fall of evill angels, they hed to hur rewarde that þey were made so stedfaste that though they wolde synne, they may not.

D: Know gode angels all thing?

M: Per is no thing vndure nature and kinde but they know hit, for all that euer they know or may do, they do hit by the hye and grete power of God. And all that euer they woll do, thay may do hit without eny difficulte.

D: Maister, Y pray you tell where man was made?

M: In Ebron, and þen he was put into Paradise.

D: What is Paradise?

M: My childe, Paradise is a place moste merieste in the est, in the whiche place ther growen dyuerse trees of kynde which bere frutis of grete vertu ayenst dyuerse sikenesses. Sum hed suche vertu that yef thou ete of his frute thou scholdiste neuer hungre, noþer þurste, and of som thou schuldiste neuer wery. And yef thou ete of som maner frute, þou scholdiste neuer wax elde, whiche frute spryngith of the tre of life, and whoso etith of hym, he schall neuer dye.

D: Where was Eue made?

M: In Paradise of the side of man being aslepe. And so likewise as they be in flesche oon, so they scholde alway be oon in will and mynd.

D: How schulde the office of generacion haue ben do and Adam hed not synnyd?

M: I schall tell you: likewise as thou woldyste put thi oun honde into thyn other, right so schulde that sensible membre do [f. 2^v] his office without eny maner concupiscence. And as the ye of a man beholdith sodenly that thing that he remembrith without eny labour or delectacion, right so schall that membre do his dere office.

D: What wise schulde the moder [haue] bere the childe?

M: Forsothe, without all sorowe and vnclennesse.

D: Schulde the children haue byn as feble then as now without speche?

M: Nay truly, my sone, for anon as they were bore, he schulde haue walkid and spokyn, and the furst mete that he schulde haue etyn schuld haue be of the tre of life,
5 and so he schulde haue be euermore in oone astate euer in age and goodnesse.

D: Was Adam and Eue nakid & bare when they were in Paradise?

M: Ye, forsothe, for þey schamyd no more that tyme of ther membris then a fayre woman dothe now of her clere and bewtifull face.

D: Why schamed they not as well afore they hed synned as they dyd after ther synne?

10 M: For, afore that they synnyd they hed no maner of concupiscence nor voluptuosite of that membre whiche they schame most now of, and for because þat they haue so moche concupiscence only in that membre, therfore hit is assigned by God to haue hit in moste scham of all oþer.

D: Did they se God in Paradise?

15 M: Ye, forsothe; likewise as Abraham and oþer prophetis say hym, that is, as he did ascende.

D: Did the serpent speke to Eue?

M: Nay, but the Deuyll speke in the serpente as they do now-a-daies by dede men, by the whiche many a man is gretely bygylid. And all is no more but temptacion of the
20 Devill to make hem lye vpon a soule wren[g]fully whiche is to euery man that so dothe grete perile to his soule.

D: Why did he apere in likenesse of a serpent raper than yn lykenesse of an oþer beste?

M: For a serpent is so slevery and so crokid in all cursidnesse, like to the Deuill.

25 D: Was ther connyng boþe of good and ill in that appill, as hit is seide in scripture?

M: Nay, forsothe, not in the appull only, but in the transgressioun. So the appill myght haue ben take that whoso had ete of hym he schulde haue had all maner of [f. 3^r] connyng and knowleche of good and eke evill.

30 D: Schulde ther haue be bore eny euyll and cursid peple in Paradyse and Adam had not synnyd?

M: Nay, forsothe, but good and vertuos.

D: How long was Adam and Eue in Paradise?

M: Seven owris.

D: And why no lengyr?

M: For anon as Eue was made, sche was preuaricate. And the iij owre after was preuaricate, and then they put names to bestis, and þe sext owre was woman made, and anon sche presumyd to ete of the appyll, and so she toke parte þerof to Adam, whiche for hur loue did ete therof, wherefore at nyne of the clocke God put hem out of Paradise.

D: Where went Adam fro thens?

M: Into Ebron, and þer was the furst gener[a]cioun of Adam.

D: Whi wolde God be borne of a mayde, oþerwise than the lawe of kynde requireth?

M: Y schall [tell] the foure maner wise God made man. The furst wise was without fader and moder, as Adam whos fader and moder was the erthe. The secunde wise was of a man wonly, as Eue was of a rib of Adam. The thrid wise was of man and woman as they be boren now-a-dayes. And the iiijth wise was only of a woman. And so he was borne of a woman, and for as moche that dethe entrid to mankynd by a woman, therfore the hie gentilnesse of his mercy wold that lyfe euerlasting schulde com by a woman ageyne, whiche woman was that Blessed Virgyne Marye.

D: How and in what wise did a maide bere Criste?

M: Without eny defoule or dissesse. Anon the yate beyng schete, he entrid into the clene cloyster of his moderis wombe, ther taking and ioynnyng to hym manis nature. The same palice ayen beyng schete and close, he wente forth as a spouse from his propur place.

D: Knew God in his yong age al thing as now?

M: Ye, forsothe, he knew playnly all thing as God, in whom was also all tresouris of wisdom and connyng yhid.

D: Maister, yet hit is said in scripture that the Fader betraiede the Sonne and the Sonne betrayed hymselfe. What synnyd Iudas then when [f. 3^v] he betraied God?

M: I sey that the Fader betrayed þe Son and Son betraied hymself oonly for cherite. And Iudas betrayed God only for false covetise.

D: For what cause wolde Criste dye vpon a tre?

M: For as moche that man loste his ioy and fill from his ioy by a tre, he wolde that man schulde be bought ageyne by a tre in more spite of mannys enmye, the fende.

D: Whi died he vpon a cros?

M: For like as a crosse hathe iiij cornars, right so hape this worlde iiij quarters, and so the crosse that he died vpon betokynde the iiij quarterds worlde whiche was sauyd and

redemyd ayeine by that crosse.

D: Whi lay God two nyghtis and oon day in this sepulchre and no lengyr?

M: For this cause: the ij nyghtis betokenyth the ij deþes of mankinde, that is to say, the dethe of the soule and the dethe of the body. And the day betokenyth the deþe of
5 hymself, whiche dethe was light of all oure deþes. Then oon of oure dethes he toke away from vs that was dethe of the soule, and that oþer dethe he lefte behynde whiche we die now-a-daies, that is, dethe of the body, by the whiche dethe, when he cometh ageyne at the day of the grete and dredfull iugement, he schall deme euery man after the way of rightfulnessse.

10 D: Wheþer wente the soule of God after his dethe?

M: Vnto the euerlastyng hevenly Paradise, for he seide to the thefe that was hongid on his right syde, this wordis, 'This day thou schalt be with me in Paradise'.

D: What tyme did God descende vnto Hell after his dethe?

M: In the myddis of the nyght of his resurrexcion, for like as God send his angel into
15 Egypte to ouercom Egipte at myddis of the nyght, the same oure Criste robbid Hell of suche bodies as that were afore in Paradise. And with strength and victory of his hie godhede ther he toke hem all with hym, and in his goyng he visetid his owne body beyng in the sepulchre, and ther toke hit vp from [f. 4^r] dethe to lyfe as we all belevyth. Nerthelese, som sayne that fro the owre of his dethe vnto the owre of his
20 resurrexcion, he was in Hell and wente forth so fro thens with all his electe soules vnto his resurrexcion. But myn oppynyoun is not so.

D: Why rose he in the furst daye of the weke rather than in an oþer day?

M: For his hie will was that thihe day the worlde schulde be renewid and bought as hit was made on, for on the Sondag hit was furst made.

25 D: Why rose he the iij day fro his resurrexcion?

M: For his mercifull will was to saue all mankynde whiche was dede [in] iij maner wise, that is, afore the lawe, and vnder the law, and vnder grace, and that we schulde also bothe in worde, in dede, and in thought, arise agayne in the perfite feith of the very Trinite.

30 D: What forme had God after his resurrexcion?

M: Seven tymes brighter then the son.

D: Vnder what forme did his disciplis se hym?

M: In the forme as they saye hym byfore-tyme.

D: Apperid Cryste yclothid or nakid to his disciplis?

M: The clothing that he had was of þe eyre only, whiche cloþing, when he did ascende, they wente into the eyre agayne.

D: Did he ascende allone and nobody with hym, or no?

5 M: Nay, for as many as rose with hym at his resurrexcion did ascende with hym at his ascencion.

D: Vnder whate forme and lykenes did Criste ascende from his discipils?

10 M: Fro the erthe into the clowdis of the eyre he was in the forme whiche [he] was in afore his passioun. And so fro that tyme that the clowdis had receuyd hym, he was in the forme that he apperid to his discipils in the hill when he made his praier to the Fader.

D: What is the cause that God did not ascende as sone as he was resyn fro dethe to lyfe?

15 M: Son, þat schall Y tell the, for iij causis. The furste cause was þat his discipils and oper schulde not stonde in doute of his resurrexcion, but that they schulde playnly say that [f. 4^v] he was reson. And for that cause he did bothe ete and drynke with hem as mencyon is made in the tyme of Ester afore the ascencion. The secunde cause was that he wold fulfill the seying of the theologgis and of the foure euaungelistis, whos seying was this, 'And after that xl dayes he wolde ascende'. The iij cause is this, that forasmoche that holi chyrche, whiche is clepid the body of Criste, schall suffir at the
20 comyng of Antecriste a grete passion and a persecucyon, then withyn xl daies after will he sende his grace and mercy downe to the distruccion of Antecriste, and to the sesyng of the temptacioun of the pepyll.

D: Whate wise is the churche ycallid the body of Criste and good pepyll his membyrs?

25 M: Like as the body of man is inherit to the hed and gouernyd by hym, right so is the churche by the sacramentis of the body of Criste ⁺ inyoined to hym, and so the body of Crist and the churche byn called as oon body, of whiche body all rightfull folke in ordyr byn gouernyd as membris of the body.

30 D: Maister, may synfull prestis make sacrate and make a perfite sacrament by the vertu of worde.

M: Son, Y sey to the that, the most sinfull preste in the world alife, by the wordis that he rehersith is ymade the blessid holy sacrament, for the prest dothe but reherse and Crist dothe halow hit. And Y sey the furpermore, that the worst preste on lyve cannot apeyre the sacrament, and the beste preste on lyve cannot amende hit ne make hit in
35 no degre bettyr, for hit is hie goodnesse without eny comparyson.

D: May prestis lowse and bynde, as hit is said in holy church?

M: Ye, forsothe, in this wise euery prest is an officer vnder Criste, and so God lowsith and byndith by the mynistracion of the preste, wherfore euery preste stonding within the lawis of the church owith to be worshipte gretely of euery man, for thou³ 5 he be good or though he be evill, and thou worschipe the preste, thou doste worschip God, whiche is his maister. But and so be that a prest stonde exclude fro the lawe and serveys [f. 5^r] of the church, thou owist not of no dewte to do hym reverence, but all only grete dispising and more than thou woldyst do to a laife man.

D: Maister, hit is seide that synne and all euyll is nothing, and yef hit be so, why did 10 God dampne angels and man when he dothe nothing? And yef synne schulde be anything, then we must sey that God made firste synne, for we sey that God made al thing, and no þing was made without hym. And so hit must folowe herof that God schulde be the causer of all euyll, and so therby hit muste folow also that onrightfully he dothe dampne men for synne.

M: Son, thou haste movide of many grete and sotell questions whiche thou 15 desirideste of me to haue the trew wey of vndirstonding of hem, but now thou askiste of me here a grete question to the whiche Y were right lothe to awnswer but yef that thou wolde suffur gentely and abide tyll tyme of grace come, for hit is so sotell a question that youthe hathe not naturall power to vnderstonde hym but by the menys of 20 grace.

M: Son, thou schalte furste take for t[r]owith that God made al thing that euer bare 25 substaunce, bothe corporall substaunce as man and incorporall substaunce as angels, wherfore inasmuche that synne is no maner of substaunce, hit must nedis folow that God made not synne, and also hit is recordid in scripture that God behilde euer all thing as hit was made and say well that hit was good, and synne is not good; therefore, synne muste nedis be nothing. And so Y sey the, my son, that synne is nothing ellis but lacke of goodnesse. Where is synne, ther is no goodnesse, and þer is no goodnesse 30 there is synne. And so, to conclud schortly, synne is nothing but absens of grace, and so synne may well be lykenyd to darkenesse for where is no light, ther is darkenesse. Right so, where is no grace, whiche is light of the soule, ther is synne, whiche is 35 darkenesse of the soule. Then, my son, thou schalt sey [f. 5^v] that God rightfully dothe dampne all suche that don wickidnesse, for hit is a thing that God ordeynd schulde not be don, for hit is contrary to his commaundemente, whiche was that man schulde do good and leve ill. Now, my son, take good hede to this lesson, and Y schall teche the more after that.

D: Of whom comyn all these dignitees in erthe?

M: Of God, for ther is noþer dignite ne power but of God wheþer hit be good or evill. Yef hit be good, hit is of God, for all goodnesse commythe of hym. And yef hit be evill, hit is of hym, for he sufferith to be for som cause deseruyd afore.

5 D: Schall kingis and prestis and men of grete degrees haue gretter merite then oper lowe degreis?

M: And so be that per wordes and dedis and examples byn good to the good examples of oper subiectis, they schall haue as grete a degree in ioy aboue oper as they haue here above ther subiectis. But and her examples byn evill, by the whiche examplis oper peple byne the worse, then schall they haue as grete degreis in payne
10 afore oper as they haue now in the erthe.

D: Maister, whate is the hie providence of God?

M: Son, the providence of God is the whele of the hie wisdom of the whele Trinite by the whiche euery person beholdith and seithe all thing that byne paste & byn to com presently.

15 D: Is hit no hurte to soules whos bodies byn getyn in advowtri?

M: Nay, and they haue ther whole Cristendom no more than hit is hurte to whete when hit is thefe stolen; and sowen hit woll grow neuer the worse. Also, the childe schall bere no blame of þe faderis synne nor the fader the childis.

D: What sey ye, maister, by the religiouse peple?

20 M: Y sey, yef they leve relygiouly after the rule of her ordre, they schull be iugis in Hevyn with Criste. And yef they leve not well after her ordris, they schull be the moost wreched peple in her payne perpetuall.

D: And what sey ye by knyghtis and suche other seculer gentillmen?

25 M: Of hem byn but few good, for with extorcion they lyve and gete there leving, and therefore they [f. 6^r] schall haue hur meritis with that outrages extorcionar, Lucifer, whiche was king of pride and envye, and of hem hit is seide also in scripture, that the daies of hem schull faile in hur owne vanites, and the ferefull wrath of God schall descende evyn vpon them.

D: What hope han these merchaundes?

30 M: A litill or non, for with catelis and wilis they gete her good, and therefore [with] that wily serpente, the Deuyll, schall suche [haue] her rewarde. And of hem hit is seide also, 'and all suche that truste in the multitude of there richese, even as schepe they schull bren in Hell, and dethe euerlasting schall fede hem'.

D: And what sey ye by all craftismen?

M: Forsothe, the most parte don pari[s]he, for with fraudes and gilis they worche to gete her levyng.

D: Maister, Y pray you hertely, tell me what schall betide of suche men that scham not of synne but woll reherse hit, and law3 and be mery to hyre of hit.

5 M: Son, Y sey that all suche byn as good as without the mercy of God yef man myght so sey, for Y sey that God may not of his grete rightfulnessse geve grace to suche oon that refusith grace, for he that dothe synne and of that syn makith a reherse in wey of his disporte, Y sey that he and all suche byn out of hope. And he that is out of hope, is out of mercy; wherefore, Y say playnly, whoso makith his boste and
10 ioyethe in reherse of hys syn, God cannot of rightfulnessse geve hym mercy at the day of rightfull iugement. Therefore, my sonne, in parte of my reward, Y charge the that thou avise euery synner neuer to ioy in rehersing perof, but so be that hit be vnder forme of confession that he hathe suche grace that hit schulde come to his mynde and to take penaunce for hit, for though a man synne, yet he is the childe of saluacion, but
15 and he synne and ioy theryn, then is he the childe of dampnacion. Also, some ther byn [f. 6^v] that don opyn penaunce, and they make but a disporte perof, som for manslaw3ter and som for o syn and som for other, and all suche byn derisors and law3ars to skorne of Crist. And of them hit is saide, 'God schall geve to hur flesche wormes ymmortall and fire inextinguible for per reward'.

20 D: And what sey ye of these that byn foles boren?

M: They schull be savid among children forasmoche as þey can do no bettyr as children cannot; þerfore, they schull be savid. But, Y mene not thus of these feyned fooles; þerfore, beware all suche that feyne hemsylf folis, and han wisdom ynough yef hit be well ocupied.

25 D: And what sey ye of these plowmen?

M: The most parte of hem schull be savid, for they gete þer leving with grete and sore laboure of ther owne body, without eny sotell wile or gile.

D: But, maister, what schall Y sey of childryn? Whate schall betide of hem?

30 M: Also many that beryn lyfe within the space and tyme of speche, they schall be savide, but after they com to age that they can oones speke, and specyally to the tyme of v yere, then Y say that som ben savid and som byn dampned.

D: Maister, how many manerwise may synne be lowsid fro a man?

35 M: Seven manerwise. And the firste is by bapty[m]; the secunde by martyrdome; the iij by confession and penaunce; the iiij by teeris of weping for his synne; the v by almusdede and almusgeving; the vj by indulgence of pardonis; the vijth by workis of

cherite, for cherite opynnith the multitude of synnes.

D: But maister, whate availith confession?

5 M: For hit availith as muche as thy firste Cristendome, for like as the sacramente of bapty m toke awaye all originall synnes, so dothe the sacrament of confession take awaye all actuall synnes.

D: Availith penaunce and almusdede and a man be in syn?

10 M: Forsothe, loke what hit availith to ley a medycyn to a sore when hit is stoppid with oper mater; right so hit availith a man to do penaunce when he is in synne. But yet, by my counseill, [f. 7^r] what case euer thou stond yn, love well to do bothe penaunce and almusdede in wey of good hope, for therin lieth the grete mercy of God.

D: Maister, is hit grete merite to vse grete pilgrimages as Ierusalem and Rome and oper place of deuocion?

15 M: Son, hit is good so hit may be vsid, butt myne oppyny on is that hit were as good and as grete a rewarde [he] schulde haue to geve his mony at home to suche that leve in grete pouerte, as many oon dothe. And many oon also gothe on pilgrimage to his disporte, to ete and drinke and se many disportis, whiche iorney vailith but litull after myn oppyny on.

D: Maister, hit is seid that euery man hathe his oure of dethe assigned at the first oure of his birth.

20 M: Son, hit is ordeynyd euery man on lyve how long he schall lyve in this worlde, whiche teerme no man noþer by clergy nor non oper connyng cannot make schorter ne lengur, for hit is seid, 'Thow hast ordeyned to man his termys whiche schall not passe'. But hit may com dyuerse wise as by fors of armes in bataile and in operwise also, by veneme poysenyd, by hauking, by fyre, and many dyuerse wise. Nerthelesse, 25 what the meritis of oure blessid moder and virgyne, Marie, and of oper seintis of Hevyn may do, Y cannot discryve.

D: Haue euery man an angell to wayte opon hym as hit is seide?

30 M: Euery soule of euery creature resonable hathe an angell to wayte vpon hym to present to God and all the companye of Hevyn the dedis that he dothe in erthe where they byn good or yll.

D: What thing nedith to be presentide to God when he knowith hit as sone as hit is don?

M: Y sey that [þe] presenting that thyn angell presentith ⁺ to God of ther good dedis, is noþing ellis but forto make God and his angels to ioy of hem, and yef hit be evill

dedis to grete indyngnacion of hem. Hereof is recorde in scripture where hit is saide, 'hit is grete ioy to God of a synner when he dothe penaunce', that is to sey, when [f. 7^V] he leuith the hys synne and then dothe penaunce.

D: Byn angelis owrely watyng apon euery man?

5 M: Nay, they byn in Hevyn, but with a momente of an ye they wolle be here in erthe and in Heven ayen, for they come neuer to man but when he is in will to syn, and then he is redy to vnderstonde the manis will. Yef he refrayne þe temptacion and syn not, anon with the twynkelyng of an ye thyn angell is in Hevyn and tellith God and all the angelis that byn with hym.

10 D: How don angelis appere to men in erthe?

M: Forsothe, in manis likenesse euermore without eny disseyte, and for thes same cause, for þer is no creature corporall that hath power to se an angell in his proper likenesse, nor no maner spirite, good nor ill, and therefore, bothe angelis and oper spiritis take them a corporall substaunce in the eyre when they com, that the corporate
15 bodies of the erthe may haue power to se them. But suche evill spirites appere to man oftentymes in dyuerse lykenesse of dyuerse bestis in kinde, and that only be cause of gile.

And here, my sone, Y schall tell the furþermore that the spirite of a man, after som menis appynyng, as sone as hit is departid from the corporat body in erthe hit gothe streyght oper to Hevyn oper to Hell, oper to Purgatory. And this thou schalte beleve
20 well, that yef a soule be ones in Hevyn, he schall neuer com out therof, and yef he com ones in Hell, he schall neuer com out therof. Then hit is a comyn seyng that the soules that byn in Purgatory byn yn wey of saluacion. Then, son, as muche as ther byn dyuerse hevyns, thou schalt vnderstond ther byn dyuerse hellis, and dyuerse purgatorys, and yn eueriche of these byn dyuerse degreys of ioy and peyn.

Then my son, marke well this litill lessoun. Som men sey that the spirite of a man schall not apere in erthe after he disseise, but thereto thou schalt sey that thyn oppynyng is this, that a soule, whiche Y call the spirite [f. 8^r] of man, may haue his purgatory bothe in the eyre and also in the erthe, but here is the disseite of men: they
30 byn so full of iugement anon that they wolle deme a soule, and sey by the soule of suche a man or suche a woman gothe [the Deuyll to tempte pepill]. But Y schall tell the how thou schalte know wheþer hit be the Deuyll that gothe to tempte pepill or wheþer hit byn soules in her purgatorye conducid by her gode angell to seke after som helpe and grace. And this thowe schalt knowe: yef hit be noþer sauid nor dampned but
35 in wey of saluacion, hit schall apere in likenesse of a ferefull goste goyng from his grave and in non oper likenesse to manis sight. And yef hit apere in eny oper

lykenesse as men sey som dothe apere like a dogge & in dyuerse lykenesse of bestis, then beware, for that is no good spirite. But, son, thou schalt not sey that eny spirite, noþer sauid noþer dampned, dothe towche the erthe, for ther is no þing may tewche erthe but hit be erthely hitsylf, and angelis and all spiritis haue noþer flesche ne boon,
5 nor noping that is corporat terrestre.

D: Maister, Y thanke you hyly for this lessoun, and also of youre excellent wisdom considering my symple and yong wit, that ye set this noble and subtile mater vnder so gentill and easy teermys, ffor hit were right perelouse to my lernyng and hit were set vnder youre soleyn termes of rethoryk, but the gentill wrytyng of youre subtile sentens
10 hathe geve me a superabundable swetenesse to conduse and [breue] all these commendable queriblis to my memorable mynde whiche is clepte the cloyster of connyng. But, maister, Y muste aske you furthermore wheþer devillis haue power to nye and hurt men in erthe or no.

M: Son, thou doyst neuer euyll dede but the Devill is at the firste begynnyng and at
15 the ende. And as sone as thou haste doone, he tarieth not but gothe his way and presentithe that [f. 8^v] dede to the prowde prince of pride, Lucifer, and to all the devilis of Hell. And, my son, take gode hede hereof, ther is no dede that euer man dothe in erthe, be hit do neuer so prevey, but God knowith hit and all the angelis in Hevyn. Yef hit be good and yef hit be evill, God knowith and all the seyntis in Hevyn
20 and all the devils in Hell. Perfore, beware, my childe, and þynke when thou arte about to do a synne prevely; thynke how many byn redy to beholde the, and at the hie day of rightfull iugement when þe secunde persone of the Trinite schall haue sight and iugement of euery manis dedis, ther thou thyself schall recorde and deme thyn owne dedis, for ther schall thou haue noon oþer witnesse ne recorde but þyn owne dedis and
25 þiself. Yef they byn good, thou schalte haue ioy; yef they be ill, euerlasting peyne.

D: Maister, what byn these peynes of Hell that ye sey byn euerlasting?

M: Son, this souerayn sentens that Y schall to the now rehearse Y charge the by obedience that thou neuer hit trauerse. And first thow schalte vndyrstonde that ther ben ix peynes in Hell whiche byn callid spirituall peynes. And the furste of hem is
30 this. The furst is fire, whiche and he be ones ytende, all the water in the see hathe no power to quenche hym. The secunde peyne is intollerable cold, and of these ij peyns is weping and grisbatting with tethe. The iij peyne is wormes immortall, as serpentis and dragons whiche schull neuer dye, but like as suche leve in the water, so dothe they leve in mennis soulis. The iiijth peyne is a stenche without mesure and
35 comparison. The v peyne is skorging and betyng of fyndis. The vj peyne is palpable darkenesse, as hit is callid in scripture the londe of darkenesse, where is euermore

peyne without all mesure and euerlasting lif in wrechednesse. The vijth peyne is dedely confusion of synners. The viij peyne is horrible sight of devilis and dragons [f. 9^r] and wrechid crye of weping and weyling. The ix peyne is bondis of fire whiche constrayne all the proporcions of man and his lemmys. And, sone, therfore exorte all
5 these proude men, enuyouse men, gylefull men, gloteouse men, dronkyn men, lecherouse men, these manslears, cruell thefis, these maynteners of false maters by extorcion, advowtrers, ffalse lyars, blasphemars, bakebytars; for these the peynes of Hell byn ordeynd.

10 D: O thou reducer of resons rethorizid, that with thy noble nurture th[u]s sapiently doste enforce me wiht a sad solempnysacion whiche my ignorant intelleccion now is somewhat clarified with a full clene contemplacion, but that the dredefull declaracion of youre moraliteis hath ybrought my body into a depe darkenesse and my soule into a peynfull pensifenes. But yet my dere maister, in confortacion of my carefulnesse, tell me what remedy is that man may kepe hym fro these seide peynes of Hell. And firste
15 tell me what avaylith anuelyng?

M: Son, hit wypith away all synnes confessid, but whosoeuer that is anoyntid and is in syn, that sacramente profityth hym not but rapen is aye[n]ste hym, wherfore that sacrament is ordeynd last of all the vij to be mynystrid, and for this cause that a man schulde stonde clene from all synne.

20 D: What is this, the syn in þe holy goste?

M: Hit is no noþer but mystrust in ioynyd penaunce and that is called dispeyre. And whosoeuer is in this synne, he schall neuer be forgeve here nor yn the worlde that is to com.

D: Ys hit eny hurte to the soule of a good man yef he die sodenly?

25 M: Nothing at all, for he neuer diethe sodenly that eueryday thynkith forto dye, and Y sey the, that whate dethe euer a good man die, his goodnesse schall neuer be takyn fro hym. And where euer a good man [f. 9^v] be beryed, hit hurtith not the soule of hym; right so the contraryewise where euer a evill man be beried, hit availith hym neueradell. But and so be that a soule be yn purgatorye, hit profitith hym that the body
30 lieth in eny holy place as in church or churcheyarde for the prayers that byn seide theryn.

D: Maister, Y pray yow, yet tell me what thing is Hell?

35 M: Son, ther byn ij hellis, principall, that is, the hie Hell and the low Hell. The hie Hell is that oon parte of ⁺ the lowiste party of the worlde whiche is full of peynes, and that other hell is spirituall fyre whiche may neuer be queyntyd, and this is benethe

erthe, and in this hell byn the peynes that Y rehersid afore.

D: But, maister, schulde savid men se them that lye in peynes of Hell?

M: Ye, for the more ioy of hemself, remembryng that they hed suche grace in erthe to rule hem so forto serue þat sempiternall ioy and to avoide that perpetuall peynes. And
5 all evill men schull se the savid souls vnto þe day of the dome, but after the iugement they schall neuer se them but that sight, as they se, is no refreschyng to them but raper encresing of ther peyne. And thouȝ the fader beyng in ioy se his son in Hell, he schall not onys haue pyte ne sorow therfor, but raper ioy þerof, for ther is recorde in
10 scripture: 'Letabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam peccatorum; a rightfull man schall ioy in the vengeance of synne'.

D: Woll not they praye to God for hem that lye in Hell peynes?

M: And they wolde so do, then they wrought agaynes God, a[s] any man that praith for a soule that is onys dampned.

D: In whiche Hell were rightfull men afore the commyng of Criste?

M: In the hier Hell whiche is ioyned to the lower so nye that the soules that byn in the toon may see the peynes of bothe, yet þike soules that were þer [f. 10^r] at that
15 tyme hed not suche peynes as soules haue þer now, for that peyne was nothyng but darkenesse oonly, and therto recordith scripture this seying: 'To them that dwellid in the kyngdome of the schadow of dethe, now light is sprongyn to them'.

20 D: Do not soules in Hevyn pray for hur frendis?

M: Ye, forsothe, and for all suche that pray to them to helpe them from her synne.

D: May soules that byn in Hevyn appere when they woll?

M: Ye, forsothe, and when they woll and to whomeuer they woll, but soules that byn in peyn, may not do so but yef they be lad by her angell. And soules that byn onys
25 dampnyd schall neuer appere.

D: Whereof comen these dremys, Maister?

M: Som com of God, forto know som thing to com or that is a paste by revelacyoun, and herto recordith the story of Ioseph. And som com of the Devyll as forto bryng hym into som sodeyn myschefe of dethe or madnesse, as hit hathe be sayne. And som
30 comen of a manis owne sensualite as forto dreame of that thing that he seithe or pinkithe moche vpon in the day tyme.

[D]: Now, mayster, yet and Y durste, Y wolde fayne hyre somwhate of Antecriste.

M: Sone, Antecriste was borne in grete Babylone of a strompet, and he was fulfilled with the Devyll or he was borne, and yn all evill he was norschide and brought vp.

And he schall be emperoure of all this worlde, and all mankynde schall be holde
vnder his yocke and obeysaunce oper for love or for fere, for he schall haue richesse
of this worlde and he schall haue obeysaunce for drede, and he schall haue connyng,
for he schall haue an incredible eloquens of all maner craftis and scripture. And he
5 schall ouercom moche pepill with his fallible signes and myraclis that he schall
schew, for he schall commaunde the fire to discende from the hye Hevyn above, and
[f. 10^V] all his aduersariis he schall haue power to destroy hem with his worde and to
reise dede men from ther grave to bere hym witnesse that he was God and come to
geve the dome.

10 D: But, maister, schall he haue power to reise very bodies and to make hem speke?

M: Nay, but the Devill is redy to obey his commaundemente, and gothe to som body
whos soule is dampnid, and of that cadauer he hath power. And so the Devill spekith
ther in likenesse of that body that somtyme levid in that coorse. Then schall Enok and
Hely com and couerte the peple aȝeyn by hur preching, and all that lyfe han at that
15 tyme schull haue grete maysterdom for the most parte.

D: In whate age schull they two com?

M: In the same age as they were when they were takyn vp from the erthe, and they
two schull be slayne of Antecriste also, and iij yere and an half he schall opteyne all
the worlde. Then he schall make hym a tente in the Mow[n]te of Oliuete in the whiche
20 he schall be fownde sodenly ded with the spirite of the worde of God. And then ther
schall be xl daies of space lafte for suche that were ouercom with the fallible gyles of
Antecriste to amende þem, and to turne them. But forto sey that at þek xl daies ende
the doome schall be, Y woll not so sey, for ther was non mortall creature that euer had
that knowleche of God. For the oure of iugement schall com so sodenly that þeke that
25 ben alyve and in ther occupacions schull be take sodenly vp into the eyre, and there
theke that byn good, there angelis byn redy when the body is ravesched from the soule
to leden hym to that rightfull iuge.

D: What is the resurrexcion of men?

M: Ther byn ij resurrexcions as ther beyn too dethes, oone of the soule, anoper of the
30 body. When a man synnyth, then the soule i[s] dede and is beried in the body as a
dede body in his grave. And when he is schrevyn and hathe don his penaunce, þen he
is reson as from that dethe to lyfe. And this is oon resurrexcion. Anoper resurrexcion
[is] at the day of doom, and ther bothe the body and the soule schull rise whole to-[f.
11^r]-gedyr.

35 D: Maister, operwhiles a man is by aventure myschevide oper with thefis oper wilde

bestis, and so lieth in the wildernesse till foulis and bestis han deuowrid hym and the nature of man ther by sustentacion is turned to the nature of a vnresonable beste. How schall he rise at the dome or no?

5 M: Forsothe, my son, he schall arise, for he þat made all þing of nought can right well discern and know the flesche of man fro the flesche of a hert or a lyon or a bere or eny suche vnresonable creaturis, and whate fawte or differaunce that eny man had here in erthe, he schall be so perfite at that tyme that he schall not lacke as moche as oon here of his body, and this thou schalte feithfully beleve.

D: How schull they arise that dye in the moderis bely?

10 M: Y sey the that all the resonable creaturis that euer had onys the spirite of lyfe schull aryse, and they schall be of as perfite a stature as theke þat were xl wynter in the worlde, for ther euery man schall apere in the age of xxx wynter, but yet thou schall take þis for trowthe, that suche as byn boren with ij heddis, at þe day of doom schull haue ij bodies, and euery body his soule without eny difformite. But suche [as]
15 haue vj fyngers on on honde or vj toys on oon fote, they schall not do so, for that commythe of contrary cause of the whiche these naturall philosophurs doon trete.

D: Whate manner bodies schull rightfull men haue at the day of iugement?

M: They schull haue bodies ymmortall and incorruptible, and as bright as a schynnyng glasse and dampnyd men sowlis schull haue bodies corruptible and immortall whiche
20 schull euer be yn peyne.

D: In what forme schall Crist com to doom?

M: In the same forme as he did ascende, with all the ordris of angelis with hym. And angelis schull bere a crosse afore hym, and with the voice of a trumpe all coorsis schull be reysid and all the elementis schull be gretely trobled with a grete tempast of
25 fire and of colde, ffor this is recordyd in scripture, 'Fyre schulle goo [f. 11^v] afore hym, and in his Trinite a ferefull tempast'.

D: Schall the iugemente be in the vale of Iosaphat?

M: The Vale of Iosaphat is the vale of iugement, and euermore a vale is nye som hill; right so, the vale is callid this worlde and the hill is callid the hevyen an hye. Then, my
30 son, Y sey that the iugemente schall be in the Vale of Iosephat, þat is to sey, in this worlde, in the eyre, where all riȝtfull men schull stonde vpon the right honde of Criste, and all oper vpon the lyfte honde. And that right side is nopeng ellis to vnderstonde but ioy, and that oper side but Hell.

D: In whate foorme schall Criste apere that day?

M: He schall apere to his chosene men in that foorme as he did apere to his disciplis in the hill, and to reprevid men he schall apere in that foorme as he was doon vpon the crosse.

D: Schall there be the same crosse as he died vpon?

5 M: Nay, but there schall apere a light in maner of a crosse whiche schall be brighter than the son.

D: Why schall the son of man, whiche is callid the secund persone in Trynite, geve iugement that day?

10 M: For, sone, hit is a grete reson that he schulde geve iugemente to whom the trespas was doon, and the trespas that man and angell did was to the sone of man, that is, the secunde persone in Trynite. But yet thou schalt not pinke but ther is bothe the Fader and the Holy Goste worching the same iugemente, with the Sone; and, my childe, pou schall feithfully beleve also that where euer be the Fader, per is the Son and the Holy Goste, for wher euer is on of þeke thre, ther byn all thre, and eueriche of hem perfite
15 God in hymself.

D: How schall the iugement be doon?

M: The iugement schall be devydid in fowre ordris. The fyrste ordre schall be [. . .]

Apparatus

26/12 substaunce] *om.* MS.

27/2 did] *om.* MS.

28/7 to do] do to MS; All] + *suche dotted for deletion* MS; 8 to do] *om.* MS; 34 haue] *om.* MS.

29/20 wrenghfully] wrenfully MS.

30/8 generacioun] genercioun MS; 10 tell] *om.* MS.

31/26 in] *om.* MS.

32/7 he] *om.* MS; 11 that] + *d stroked through* MS; 26 Criste] Criste is MS.

33/21 trowith] towith MS; 27 goodnesse (2)] + *ther is syn dotted for deletion* MS.

34/30 with] *om.* MS; 31 haue] *om.* MS.

35/1 parishe] parithe MS; 12 euery] + *man dotted for deletion* MS.

36/14 he] *om.* MS; 33 þe] þer MS; presentith] + *is* MS.

37/31 the ... pepill] *om.* MS; 34 noþer] + *d stroked through* MS.

38/10 breue] breuely MS; 29 ben] + *otiose stroke* MS.

39/9 thus] this MS; 17 ayenste] ayeste MS; 34 of (1)] + *is* MS.

40/12 as] ar MS; 18 that] + *pray for hure frendis dotted for deletion* MS; 32 D] *om.* MS.

41/30 is] in MS; 33 is] *om.* MS; 35 wilde] + *S stroked through* MS.

42/14 as] *om.* MS.

43/17 The text breaks off at this point.

COMMENTARY

References to the Middle English text are to page and line number(s) (1/1). References to the Latin text of the *Elucidarius* are to book and chapter in the Lefèvre edition (I.1).

26/1–3 Myne ... this (I.1): The Latin text reads: **Discipulus** – Gloriose magister, rogo ut ad inquisita mihi ne pigriteris respondere ad honorem Dei et utilitatem Ecclesiae. **Magister** Equidem faciam quantum vires ipse dabit; nec me labor iste gravabit' (I.1) [**The pupil** Honourable master, I ask that you should not be reluctant to give a reply to me to the things I have asked, to the honour of God and the benefit of the Church. **The master:** Indeed, I will do so as much as God will give me strength, nor will this task burden me]. The Middle English shifts the emphasis to the more personal and everyday; the 'discipulus' is asking for 'informacyon', and he, rather than the master, signals the 'furst question'.

26/3–7 Hit ... substaunce (I.2): The Latin phrase 'valde absurdum' is expanded in the Middle English to 'whiche seying is ful derke and contrary to our feith'. In response to the question 'what thing is God?', the answer follows the Latin for the first sentence, but omits 'tam inestimabilis pulchritudinis, tam ineffabilis suavitatis, ut angeli, qui solem septuplo sua vincunt pulchritudine, jugiter desiderent in eum insatiabiliter prospicere' [both of inestimable beauty and of unutterable sweetness, so that the angels, who by their beauty exceed the sun by sevenfold, desire perpetually to gaze insatiably on him]; that is, the vernacular omits the more complex formulations of the concept.

26/8–13 The chylde ... Holy Goste (I.3), but with the omission of 'ut, si velis inde splendorem segregare, prives mundum sole; et, si iterum calorem tentes sejungere, careas sole' [so that, if you wish to separate the splendour from it, you deprive the world of the sun; and, if you try a second time to separate its heat, you lack the sun]; the effect is to remove a more complex expression. For the remainder of the paragraph (**26/13–20 The godhede ... spirituall fire**) the compiler has used a short passage in I.6, on which see Introduction, pp. 15-16.

26/12 substaunce: The emendation is by analogy with the phrase 'fyry substaunce' in 26/11.

26/21–25 (I.62–63): This passage is introduced abruptly, and is out of sequence with the order of the materials in the Latin. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to I.63.

26/26 – 27/1 (I.29–31): '... that God made angels of a flame of fire' (Hebrews i.7). Here the Middle English omits a further comment on the origin of names for the angels: 'Magis sunt agnomina, quia ab accidenti sunt eis ab hominibus imposita, cum ea non habeant in caelis propria; unde et primus angelus ab accidenti Sathael, id est Deo contrarius, nomen accepit' [They are rather names given because of office, because they have been imposed on them by men by chance, since they may not have their own names in Heaven. Therefore, the first angel, Sathael, took this name which means 'contrary of God' by chance]. The more complex arguments are omitted from the Middle English.

27/2–24 (I.32–40): This passage on the fall of the angels follows the Latin closely, with only a few omissions. The phrase in ME 27/6-7 'notwithstanding his will' translates 'Deo invito'. The Latin continues with 'arripere et aliis per tyrannidem imperare' [to snatch and rule over others by tyranny], which is not translated in the Middle English. The sentence in ME 27/9-10 continues in the Latin with 'sicut prius pulcherrimus, ita post factus est nigerrimus; qui prius splendidissimus, postea tenebrosissimus; qui prius omni honore laudabilis, post omni horrore execrabilis' [the one who was formerly the most beautiful, afterwards became the most black; the one who was formerly the most brilliant, afterwards became the most gloomy; the one who was formerly praiseworthy in all honour, afterwards became detestable in all terror]. This kind of rhetorical embellishment is out of place in the Middle English version. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.37a).

27/25–31 (I.45).

27/32 – 28/11 (I.48–50): The translation omits the first three lines of I.48, and begins with 'Futura nesciunt', which has the effect of making the answer more direct. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.48a).

28/8 to do: The emendation is by analogy with the intended phrase 'to do' in 28/7.

28/12–15 (I.56).

28/16–27 (I.68–71): The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.171a).

28/28 – 29/5 (I.74–76): On 28/31–33 **And as ... office** see Introduction, p. 17.

28/34 haue: The context demands the past tense.

29/6–16 (I.79–82): On 29/7–8 **for pey ... face** see Introduction, p. 17.

29/17 – 30/6 (I.85–91). On 29/17–21 see Introduction, p. 21. On the treatment of I.87 in 29/26–28, see Introduction, pp. 14–15. On the sense of 30/2–6, see Introduction, pp. 6–7.

30/7–8 (I.93): The translator uses only the question and the first sentence ('In Hebron est reversus, ubi et creatus').

30/9–16 (I.120): The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.120a).

30/10 tell: The emendation is conjectured and based on the demands of the context.

30/17–21 (I.126): 'as a spouse from his propur place' (Psalm xviii.6).

30/22–24 (I.130): 'in whom was also all tresouris of wisdome and connyng yhid' (Colossians ii.3).

30/25 – 31/1 (I.147–149): 'that the Fader betraiede the Sonne and the Sonne betrayed hymselfe' (Romans viii.32; Ephesians v.2). The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.149a).

30/33 – 31/1: See Introduction, pp. 16–17.

31/2–21 (I.159–161): On 31/5–9 see Introduction, p. 20. **31/12** 'This day thou schalt be with me in Paradise' (Luke xxiii.43). The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.161a).

31/22–29 (I.164–65): In the Latin the reply in I.164 reads, 'Ut ea die mundum innovaret, qua eum creaverat' [So that he might renew the world on the day on which he had created it]. This is expanded in ME 31/23–24.

31/26 in: The omission can be explained as a confusion over minims where 'iij' follows.

31/30 – 32/2 (I.167–69).

32/3–22 (I.172–174): The latter part of the answer of I.173 reads, 'susceptus autem a nubibus, ea qua in monte apparuit' [having been taken up by the clouds, he appeared there on that mountain]; this is expanded in the Middle English (32/7–10) to give a fuller explanation. ME 32/16–18 expands on the Latin of I.174 in a similar way, to make explicit what is implicit in the original. The latter part of I.174 reads, '... deinde post quadraginta dies creditur caelum ascensura' [then after forty days it is believed he will ascend into Heaven]; the Middle English reading (32/19–22) gives a more vivid account of last things.

32/7 he: The omission can be explained as the result of eyeskip; the previous word ends with '-he'.

32/23–28 (I.179): The Middle English uses only the first sentence of the Latin.

32/26 Criste] Criste is MS: The second 'is' in the clause is redundant.

32/29–35 (I.190): The Latin for the question of I.190 reads 'Conficiunt corpus Domini tales' [can such men make the body of Christ], where the context is the larger question of corrupt priests. In the Middle English this issue is first mentioned at this point, and so the question has been expanded to introduce it. The last clause of the Latin I.190 is a simile, 'sicut solis radius a caeno cloacae non sordidatur nec a sanctuario splendificatur' [just as the ray of the sun is not defiled by the filth of a drain nor brightened by a sanctuary]; the Middle English replaces this with the less vivid phrase, 'for hit is hie goodnesse without eny comparyson'. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to I.190.

33/1–8 (I.198): The translation is selective.

33/9–35: This is based on Latin II.2, but is embellished and simplified. 33/15–20 have no counterpart in the Latin. In 33/21–35 the translator has used the Latin, but paraphrased the argument. See Introduction pp. 18–19. ME 33/24–25 '... hit is recordid in scripture ... hit was good' (Genesis i.31).

33/36 – 34/3 (II.17): The Latin text includes 'non est potestas nisi a Deo' [there is no power but of God] (Romans xiii.1) which is paraphrased as part of the Middle English.

34/4–10: This is based on II.19 but is much abbreviated. The question in the Latin refers to 'prelati' but the Middle English expands on the implications of this to include a range of types that exercise power. The answer in the Middle English is not a translation of any one part of the Latin, but the formulation is a succinct summary of what is implicit there.

34/11–14 (II.22).

34/15–18: This is drawn selectively from II.44–45; the emphasis in the Middle English is on the effects of a child conceived in adultery, whereas the Latin refers as well to children born of relations between members of religious orders. The sentence 'Also, the childe ... the childis', based on the Latin (II.45) is from Ezechiel xviii.20. See Introduction p. 16. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to II.44.

34/19 – 35/31 (II.53–62): ME 34/21–22 'they schull be the moost wreched peple in her peyne perpetuall' paraphrases II.53 'descendunt in infernum viventes' (Numbers xvi.30). ME 34/26–27 'and of hem hit is seide ... vanites' is based on Psalm lxxvii.33, and ME 34/27–28 'the ferefull wrath ... vpon them' is based on Psalm lxxvii.30, in II.54. ME 34/32 'and all suche that truste ... there richese' is based on Judith ix.9 in II.57. ME 35/18–19 'God schall geve ... rewarde' is based on Judith xvi.21 in II.59. ME 35/25–27 paraphrases 'Labores manuum qui manducant beati sunt' (Psalm cxxvii.2) in II.61. On 35/3–15 see Introduction, p. 20. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to II.54.

34/30–31 with and haue: The syntax is faulty; the emendations are conjectured on the basis of the demands of the context.

35/32 – 36/5 (II.68-70): In the Latin the list of the ways in which sin may be released is embellished with biblical references; these have been omitted in the Middle English except for the phrase 'for cherite opynnith the multitude of synnes' (I Peter iv.8).

36/6–10 (II.72): The sentence 'But yet ... mercy of God' has no precedent in the Latin, but is typical of one type of addition, those giving (preacherly) advice. See Introduction, pp. 20-22.

36/11–17 (II.77): The Middle English is abbreviated from the Latin, and the second sentence is a paraphrase. Here and elsewhere embellishments are presented as opinions of the 'Maister'.

36/14 he: The syntax is awkward. The Latin (II.77) reads: 'Melius est pecuniam cum qua ituri sunt in pauperes expendere' [it is better to spend on the poor the money with which they are to journey]; the implied subject of the subordinate clause is third person plural ('It is better that they ...'). In the Middle English the phrase 'his mony' implies that the subject of the subordinate clause is 'he', hence the emendation: '... my opinion is that it would be (for him) as good and as great a reward (if) he should be required to give away his money at home ...'.

36/18–26 (II.79): 'Thow has ordeyned ... schall not passe' (Job xiv.5). The final sentence ('Nerthelesse ... discryve') does not have a basis in the Latin.

36/27 – 37/17 (II.88–92): 37/2 'hit is grete ioy ... penaunce' is from Luke xv.10 in II.89. The final sentence ('But suche ... be cause of gile') is a brief summary of II.92. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to II.91 and 92.

36/33 þe: The scribe probably mistook a superscript 'e' for the abbreviation for 'er'. The reading 'is' in the manuscript is otiose.

37/7 Yef he refrayne þe temptacion: 'refrayne' is used as a transitive verb in the sense 'exercise control over' (*MED* *refreinen* v (2), 2 (b)).

37/18 – 39/15: On this passage see Introduction, pp. 12-14. ME 38/26 is from III.14, and 38/30 – 39/4 'The furst ... and his lemmys' is also from III.14. The remainder of the paragraph, 39/4–8 'And ... ordeynd', is based on III.18. ME 38/32 'weping and

grisbatting with tethe' (Matthew xxiv.51); 38/36 – 39/1 'the londe ... wretchednesse' (Job x.22).

37/31 the Deuyll to tempte pepill: The manuscript reading is awkward; the emendation is by analogy with ME 37/32 'the Deuyll ... pepill'.

38/10 breue: The manuscript reading, the adverb 'breuely', does not make sense in context; the emended reading is the infinitive 'breue' with the sense 'report or tell (sth.)' (*MED* breven *v.* 3 (a)). The other infinitive in this context, 'conduse', has the sense 'guide, lead' (*MED* conducen *v.*). The reading 'queriblis' has the sense 'debate, dispute' (*MED* querele *n.* 1 (b)).

38/30 ytende: 'set alight' (*MED* tenden *v.*).

39/9–10 thus: The error in the MS probably resulted from a confusion over minims; 'thus' is used here as an adverbial intensifier (*MED* thus *adv.* 10 (a)). The sense of 'enforce' is 'aid, or give support' (*MED* enforcen *v.* 3 (c)). For 'solempnysacion' the *MED* (solempnisacioun *n.*) gives only 'religious or ceremonial celebration' and 'religious rites'; the word would appear to be used here figuratively.

39/14 what remedy ... Hell: 'what remedy is (there) by which a man may keep himself from the pains of Hell'.

39/14–19 And firste ... synne (II.94): The clause 'wherfor ... synne' has no basis in the Latin.

39/15 anuelyng: 'sacrament of extreme unction' (*MED* enoiling *ger.*).

39/20–31 (II.100–104): On 39/20–23 see Introduction pp. 19–20. The answer (39/21–23) incorporates part of the quotation from Matthew xii.31–2 from the question of II.100: 'he schall neuer be forgeve here nor yn the worlde that is to com'. The question in 39/24 is for II.101, but the answer draws piecemeal from II.101, 103–4.

39/21 ioynynd penaunce: 'prescribed or imposed penance' (*MED* enjoinen *v.* 1 (c)).

39/32 – 40/1 (III.13): The text has been abbreviated. The final clause, 'in this hell

byn the peynes that Y rehersed afore', refers back to ME 38/26 – 39/4 which was drawn from the Latin III.14.

39/34: The reading 'is' in the manuscript is otiose.

40/2–19 (III.19–23): The text has been abbreviated; the answer for III.20 has been merged with that for III.19, and the answer for III.23 has been merged with that for III.22. ME 40/9–10 'Letabitur iustus ... vengeance of synne' (Psalm lvii.11) in III.20. ME 40/18–19, 'To them that dwellid ... to them' (Isaiah ix.2) in III.23.

40/20–21 (III.25): The text has been abbreviated.

40/22–25 (III.30): The text has been abbreviated.

40/26–31 (III.32).

40/32 – 41/27 (III.33–35, 37): The answer for III.37 has been incorporated into the answer for III.35, and begins at 41/20; 41/24–27 'For the oure ... rightfull iuge' is an addition.

41/14 couerte: an attested spelling for 'converten' (*MED*).

41/28–34 (III.39): The Latin text of the question uses the phrase 'resurrectio prima', from Revelations xx.5.

41/3 is: The context requires a verb.

41/35 – 42/8 (III.45): On 41/35 – 42/3 **Maister oþerwhiles ... or no**, see Introduction, pp. 17-18. **41/35 oþerwhiles**, *adv.* 'sometimes, at times' (*MED* *otherwhiles adv.* (a)).

42/9–16: This passage is made up of material drawn from a number of different parts of the Latin. The question is from III.43, 'Resurgent qui in matribus sunt mortui?', and the answer is from III.43, 44, and 47. ME 42/14–16, 'But suche ... doon trete', is an addition by the compiler.

42/14 as: The emendation is required by the context.

42/17–20 (III.49).

42/21–33 (III.51–2): 'Fyre ... tempast' (Psalm xlix.3).

42/34 – 43/15 (III.54–6).

43/16–17 (III.59): The text breaks off in mid-sentence, approximately two-thirds of the way along the line; there are at least four blank lines on the remainder of the folio. This suggests that the scribe's exemplar was faulty and that the present fragment has not been damaged.