The Middle English Charters of Christ

by

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PREFACE

The following study of the several texts of the Charter of Christ, substantially in its present form, was submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1912, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. With the exception of the Kent Charter, which is reprinted from the text published by W. D. Macray in Notes and Queries (9th Series, Vol. vii, p. 240), and of the Fairfax text of the Short Charter, which was printed by B. Fehr in Herrig's Archiv (cvi. 69-70), none of the texts presented in the following pages has hitherto been printed. For the text of the Long Charter in Cotton ms. Calig. A. ii, as also for the texts of the Short Charter in mss. Sloane 3292, Stowe 620 and Harl. 116, I have availed myself of transcripts which Professor Carleton Brown kindly placed at my disposal. In the case of the Short Charter in St. John's College Cambridge ms. B. 15, and Carta Libera, in ms. E. 24 of the same library, as well as the extract from Carta Celestis Hereditatis (Appendix II), I have used transcripts made for me by Alfred Rogers, Esq., of the Cambridge University Library. For the fragmentary text in the manuscript at Magdalen College, Oxford, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian, Rev. H. A. Wilson, who put himself to much trouble to transcribe this text and sent me also a full description of the manuscript. For all the other texts which are printed herewith I have depended directly on photographs of the original manuscripts.

I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging my great indebtedness to Professor Carleton Brown of Bryn Mawr College, who first suggested the subject of this investigation, and directed my attention to the larger part of the manuscript material. To him I am under obligations also for helpful criticism in revising the dissertation preparatory to its publication, and for reading the proof sheets.
The classification of the numerous texts of the Charter of Christ and the study of the sources of the material were undertaken under the direction of Dr. Samuel Moore, in 1911-12 of Bryn Mawr College, now of the University of Wisconsin. To his assistance and encouragement throughout the preparation of the dissertation, I am greatly indebted. He has also courteously read the proof sheets as it was passing through the press.

In conclusion I desire to express my appreciation of the kindness shown by the Rev. Father Amadée Viger, O. S. A., Master of Novices, and Doctor Tourscher, O. S. A., Librarian of the Monastery Library at Villanova, Pennsylvania, in placing the books of the Library at my disposal and in obtaining special references for me; I also wish to thank the Librarians of Harvard University, the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, Pennsylvania, for permission to use these libraries, and especially Miss Mary L. Jones, Librarian of the Bryn Mawr College Library, for repeated kindnesses.

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INTRODUCTORY

The Charter of Christ belongs to a class of mediæval allegorical compositions, constituting a literary type, in which the theme is developed under the figure of a legal charter or grant. In the Charter of Christ, the allegory is explicit; essentially, this document purports to be a grant of Heaven's bliss, made to mankind by the Saviour, upon condition that man give, in return, his love to God and to his neighbor ¹ (an implied reference to the two great commandments of the Law). The structure of this Charter is based, in general, upon that of its legal prototype; in some versions even the *formulae* that mark the several divisions of the mediæval legal charter occur either in Latin or in English translation. Like the legal charter, moreover, one of the texts of the Charter of Christ is written in Latin prose; most of them, however, are in English verse.

Instead of the term “Charter,” ordinarily employed for the grant by Christ to mankind, one finds in three manuscripts ² the title *Testamentum Christi*. For this designation, more than one explanation may be suggested. In the first place, the Charter of Christ may have come to be thought of as a dying bequest through its definite connection with the death on the Cross. Again, the term *testamentum* was not restricted in the Middle Ages to instruments for the disposal of property after death, but was often employed, as DuCange notes, ³ of any kind of charter or deed of gift.⁴

¹ There are also other minor requirements.
² MSS. Ash. 61, Vernon, Harl. 2362.
³ *Glossarium Med. et infm. Lat. vi.* (Paris 1846) s. v. *testamentum*.
⁴ In the 15th cent. the word *testament* had also another meaning. The *New English Dictionary* (s. v. *testament*) records the erroneous acceptance, *testimony*, *witness*, and cites Sir G. Haye, *Law Arms* vii
But although testamentum in this more general sense may have been perfectly understood in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is an unfortunate term to-day to designate the Charter of Christ, since it tends to confuse it with the Last Will and Testament, which constitutes a wholly distinct literary type. To this latter class belong a host of Testaments, both religious and secular, among them, for example, the Testament of Christ in Deguileville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine.

(1456): "The pape convertit . . . . by his Testament." Whether or not this meaning was common in the Middle Ages, or existed earlier than the 15th cent. there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to determine. It is possible that compositions such as the Testament of Love may have derived their title from such an application. As to this cf. Skeat: "Professor Morley well says that 'the writer of this piece [the Testament of Love] uses the word Testament in the old Scriptural sense of a witnessing, and means by Love the Divine Love' (Chaucerian and Other Pieces, in Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer vii—supplementary vol. Oxford 1897—p. xxviii). I cannot, however, discover any evidence of an old Scriptural sense of witnessing for the word testament, nor any instance of such a meaning being applied to it in England earlier than the 15th cent. In France, the "Testament" of Jean de Meung furnishes evidence that the title was applied at least as early as the beginning of the 14th cent. to compositions having no Will element.

*This seems to be also the opinion of Horstmann (Herrig's Archiv lxxxix. 424, footnote) and of Cook (Cynowulf's Christ, 1900, p. 208); both suggest that charter is a better title than testament for the versions of the Charter of Christ found in ms. Vernon and Harl. 2382.

*Another well known form is the Testament of the Christians, fifteenth century (Rel. Antiq. i. 280), in which the Christian leaves his body to the earth, his sins to the fiend, his goods to the world, and his soul to God. One similar to this is recorded in E. Hoskins's Horæ Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers (London 1901) 370. For other testaments, religious and secular, see H. R. Lang, Cancioneiro Gallego-Castilhano (New York 1902) 174 ff. (for which reference I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Lang), and a monograph by Dr. E. C. Perrow, The Last Will and Testament as a Form of Literature, which is soon to appear in the Wisconsin Academy Series. Dr. Perrow has kindly permitted me to see the proof-sheets of this article. Cf. also H. Thien, Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen (Kiel 1906) 82.

The apocryphal work, Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesus Christi,
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The ambiguity arising from a loose application of the title is well illustrated in Professor George C. Taylor's article, The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric. Under the general term testament, he includes, without distinction, poems in which Christ is represented in the first person, a) as making His will, b) as granting a charter to man, c) as lamenting man's ingratitude and reproaching him for it; hence, when later he proceeds to discuss the influence of Christ's Testament upon the Middle English Drama, it is uncertain to which type of composition he is referring: "In the English passion play there is no more evidence that the planctus [Mariæ] was the germ or starting point of the passion plays than there is for the Christ's Testament. . . . So far as I have been able to discover, it seems by no means certain assigned by Mgr. Rahmani to the end of the second century, and by J. Cooper and A. J. McLean to about 350 A. D., is of a different type, being an apocryphal compilation of canons and ordinances for Church government. In the Syriac ms. it also bears the title, First and Second Books of St. Clement. It is doubtless called Testament of Christ, because it embodies such ecclesiastical regulations as Christ was supposed to have instructed the Apostles to enjoin upon the Church.

I add here a note concerning a testament, apparently not extant, entitled, Librum de Testamento Christi in Cruce. It is ascribed by Fabricius—Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infinn. Aetatis (Florence 1858) i. 18—to "Aegidius Aurifaber Vossio, alius Fabri, Carmelitanus," who (according to Fabricius) died in 1506. Of the authorities cited by Fabricius, only Aeglius—Paradiseus Carmel. Decoris (Lugd. 1639) 380—mentions De Testamento Christi in Cruce as the work of Aegidius—"de Aegidio Fabri [Aurifaber]"; but neither of the authorities of Aeglius appears to mention this Testamentum. I have no other knowledge of the work. It does not appear to be in the British Museum. Whether it is actually a testament, or whether it is a charter miscalled testament, cannot be decided from the above data concerning it.

* Mod. Phil. v. 1 ff. This monograph now forms part of Prof. Taylor's dissertation.

* Prof. Taylor says (op. cit. p. 8): "Almost as widespread as the Christmas Carol, and far more uniform in its type, is the Testament of Christ, termed variously, the Lament of the Redeemer, Christ's Charter, and Christ's Complaint."
that the planctus was dramatized any earlier than the Testament of Christ. Since, however, there appears to be no example either of the Last Will and Testament or of Christ's Charter in the Middle English drama, the type that Professor Taylor here has in mind is undoubtedly the Lament, or Complaint, of Christ, a motive repeatedly utilized in the Passion and Judgment plays. The essence of this form is the Saviour's reproach, "Man, this have I done for thee; what hast thou done for Me?" It makes no bequests and

op. cit. p. 9.

In the Digby Burial of Christ, however, there is an interesting reference to Christ's Body as a parchment book, written in bloody letters:

Mawdeyn—

271 'Cum bithere, Ioseph, beholde & looke,
How many bludy letters ben wret en in pis buke,
Small margente her is.'

Ioseph—

274 'Ye, this parchement is stritchit owt of syse.'

See, for example, York Plays (ed. L. T. Smith) Crucifixio Christi vv. 253-58; Towneley Plays (E. E. T. S.) Crucifixion, stanza 38; Digby Plays (E. E. T. S.) Burial of Christ vv. 277-282, Joseph's speech, "O all the pepill that passis hereby," etc. For a list of Complaints of Christ see Taylor, The Relation of the Middle English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric (Mod. Phil. v. 8, footnote). See also Cook, Christ 208 ff. (ed. 1900). To these I add the following: Complaints of Christ in Bonner Beitr. xiv. 128, 208, 210; Rich. Rolle i. 118-119 (in the 2nd arrow); Leg. Aurea (Nuremberg 1488) fol. lxviii (2nd. col.)—lxviii b.; Firmiani Lactantii Opera, ed. Migne, Tom. ii. cols. 283-286, a poem of doubtful authorship on the Passion; and the following in mss. for which I am indebted to Professor Brown, who has kindly permitted me to copy the references from his ms. transcripts:—Caius Coll. 174, p. 481; Camb. Univ. Fm. 5. 48, fol. 43 b; Bod. Tanner 110, fol. 238 a (also in Caius Coll. Camb. 84, p. 180).

Cook (Mod. Lang. Notes vii. 134-137, and Christ p. 208) suggests Lamentations i. 12: o vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus, as a possible source for the Complaints of Christ, and adds that in the Sarum use this verse is employed as follows:—1) as Antiphon for Lauds in Saturday of the
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grants no deed, and is thus distinct both from the Testament (properly so called) and from the Charter.

Accordingly, I have found it advisable, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, to employ the title Charter and not Testament for those compositions which have the actual

Pascali vigil; 2) as Respond to the ninth lesson of the 3rd Nocturn of the same day; 3) as part of the first lesson for the 1st Nocturn of Good Friday. It appears to me that Cook is certainly right. See also York Breviary i. (Surt. Soc. LXXI. 1880) Feria Basta in Parasceve domini, Lectio viii. col. 393, where the same verse is used. Out of this verse, there seem to have developed a number of forms. One of the commonest has for theme the words, In cruce sum pro te; qui peccas, desine pro me! to which are often prefixed a few lines such as the following:

Aspice mortalis, fuit unquam passio talis?
Peccatum sperne, pro quo mea culnera corne
Aspice qui transis, quia tu mihi causa doloris, etc.

According to John Weever these and similar verses were often inscribed under crucifixes or pictures of Christ in old Abbey Churches; see Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments (1631) 117-118, and 488; see also Rich. Rolle i. 434; Ms. Trin. Coll. Camb. 323, no. 8; Ms. Emman. Coll. Camb. 106 (14th cent.) art. 10d, fol. 36: Tu qui egeredes mea figura; Jeu ou deu tu ma facture (address of Christ on the Cross). It occurs also in countless other places. Another development of the same theme takes the form, Homo uide quid pro te patior, an English version of which appears in Ms. Trin. Coll. Camb. 1157, fol. 69: “O man unkyn, haue thow ye mynde my passion smert,” etc. See also Ms. Phillips 8336, Art. 18: Vous ke me vees en la crois morir E pur l'amour de vous si dure mort suffrir. Miss F. A. Foster of Bryn Mawr College called my attention to this poem, recorded in an account of the manuscript by Paul Meyer, Romania XIII. 518. Again, a third type is found in Christ's reproach to His people, York Breviary i. Dominica quarta Quadragesime, Lectio ix, col. 334; Popule meus, quid feci aut quid molestus fui tibi? Richard Rolle (Med. de Passione Domini, Horstmann, R. R. i. 88) enlarges upon this theme, which has given rise to a number of Complaints, as for instance that (mentioned by Taylor) in Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel in Das Drama des Mittelalters iii. (Deut. Nat. Litt. xiv. Stuttgart) 764-65, and also another in the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493, Das Drama des Mittelalters II. 505-06: O liebes folge, sage mir an: was han ich dir zu leide getan, etc.
Charter form, or in which the Deed is the organizing element of the piece, as in the *Long Charter.*

Dr. Perrow (op. cit.) thinks that the use of the title *testament* for the *Long Charter, Version A* (my own designation for the text contained in MSS. Vernon etc., see pp. xiv ff.) might be justified on the ground that this Charter contains: a) the autobiographical element, which he has shown to be a frequent feature of the legal testament and its imitations; b) the same subject matter as the New Testament (of the Bible), which he believes was regarded as Christ’s Last Will; c) the Last Will of Jesus. On the other hand, it may be replied, first that neither autobiography nor the subject matter of the New Testament is peculiar to the type known as the *Last Will and Testament,* since these features often appear in various other types of composition, such as the *Complaint* and the Passion poems; and secondly, that the Will of Christ occupies but eight lines out of 234 in the shortest version of the *Long Charter,* the organizing element being the Deed itself, which forms the centre of unity in the poem. It seems to me, therefore, that *testament* as a title for this version of the Charter, as well as for those consisting merely of the Deed, is misleading.
I

CLASSIFICATION OF MATERIAL

§ 1. Extant Charters of Christ

There are five distinct compositions extant which belong to the literary type known as the "Charter of Christ." These are:

I. A Latin prose charter, of about twenty-one lines, entitled Carta Domini Nostrri Iesu Christi, in a vellum manuscript of the fifteenth century, Brit. Mus. Add. 21253, which belonged in 1633 to John Edwards of Stansti, and is chiefly made up of Latin homilies for Sundays throughout the year. The Charter (f. 186*-186*) manifestly forms part of a homiletical discourse. The document itself is followed by the application, presented in the form of a curious analogy: as in civil law, a son may not receive the inheritance of a father who has been slain by an enemy, unless he pursue and avenge his father's death upon the slayer; so man, a sinner, may not receive the heavenly inheritance granted by Christ's Charter, unless he pursue and destroy sin, the slayer of our Father Christ. This text, which, so far as I am aware, has never before been printed, will be found in Appendix II.

II. A Latin poem, of from thirty-six to thirty-eight lines, entitled, in ms. St. John's Coll. Camb. E. 24, Carta Libera d. n. Ihesu Christi, and in ms. D. 8 of the same college, Carta Redempctionis humane. Ms. E. 24 is a vellum manuscript of the fourteenth century, with twenty-six lines to

1 See Cat. of Add. to the ms's. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years 1854-1860 (London 1875) 347-8. Where place of publication is omitted below, London is to be understood, and titles to catalogues are occasionally otherwise simplified.
the page; the Carta Libera begins at fol. 22. Ms. D. 8, also vellum, is a fifteenth century manuscript with thirty-two to forty-two lines to a page, and the Charter is found at fol. 174⁴. In Appendix II of the present study the text of E. 24 is printed with the variant readings of D. 8. The important relation which the Carta Libera bears to the Short Charter (iv below) will be discussed in Chapter II.

III. Carta Dei, in Middle English verse, consisting of forty-two lines in couplets, printed by W. D. Macray in Notes and Queries (Ser. VIII. Vol. viii. 240), from Bod. ms. Kent Charter 233. The date of this manuscript is 1395, though the transcript of the poem which, according to Macray, is written on the back of the Charter, is probably later. I have no means of knowing the date of its writing. It is reprinted in Appendix II.

IV. A Middle English poem of thirty-two lines, in couplets, which I shall call for convenience the Short Charter. It occurs, under various titles, in thirteen manuscripts which will be described in detail in Section 3. The only version of the Short Charter hitherto printed, so far as I am aware, is that in Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 5465 ("Fairfax ms."), which is one of the latest and worst texts (B. Fehr, in Herrig’s Archiv cvi. 69-70). The earliest of the extant manuscripts is probably Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 37049, which was written in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is clear, however, from other evidence, that this form of the Charter originated in the fourteenth century. For the texts of the Short Charter, see pp. 4 ff.

V. A Middle English poem, also in couplets, which appears under various titles in the different manuscripts, but in the present study will be designated the Long Charter. Three distinct versions of this poem occur:

*See p. xx.
1) Version A, normally two hundred and thirty-four lines, is represented by seven manuscripts, of which two (ms. Rawl. poet. 175 and ms. Vernon) belong to the fourteenth century, and the others to the fifteenth century. This text has already been printed from the Vernon manuscript by Horstmann and Dr. Furnivall. Version A is the shortest and simplest of the three. Christ addresses man directly, and after briefly reproaching him for his ingratitude, in the manner of the Complaint of God. He tells him of the heavenly inheritance that He has bestowed upon him. This gift was made, the Lord explains, by His birth into the world; it was confirmed in the Passion, and the Deed of it was written upon the parchment of His Body. He concludes by telling man of the Indenture left him as surety for the gift, and admonishes him to pay his rent and keep from sin. If man will faithfully do these things, he may claim his inheritance when he will. The allegory upon which the poem is based consists in representing Christ's Body as the Charter—the actual crucified Body being the original document, and the Sacramental Body being the Indenture, the copy delivered to man.

2) Version B, containing four hundred and eighteen lines in its most reliable form, occurs in six manuscripts of the fifteenth century. It includes nearly all of the text of A, and two hundred lines in addition, some of which consist of digressions, and some of explanatory and transitional passages. There are also important differences between the texts of A and B in the lines which are common to both; these will be considered in Chapter IV. The text of ms. Harl. 2382 has been printed in comparison with the


*Political, Religious, and Love Poems (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 15, A) 191 ff. The theme is, of course, exceedingly common.*
Vernon text of A, by Horstmann and Furnivall, as cited above.

3) Version C, preserved, so far as I am aware, in but one manuscript, Royal 17, C xvii., of the first half of the fifteenth century, is much longer than B, containing six hundred and eighteen lines. It includes all but fifty-seven lines of B, and has in addition two hundred and fifty-seven lines which are not found in either B or A. These consist chiefly of digressions and enlargements. Of the fifty-seven lines of the B-text which are here lacking, twenty-nine appear to have been accidentally dropped by some scribe (see below, pp. lxxxvii ff.). Differences in the readings of lines common to C and B will be discussed in Chapter IV. Version C has also been printed by Dr. Furnivall in comparison with the Vernon text.

A text of the Charter of Christ which may perhaps be merely another manuscript of the Short Charter, is described by Dr. Furnivall in the Athenaeum for November 11, 1876 (p. 623), as follows:

"An Early English Poem in the form of a legal deed or Grant by Christ to mankind of his love and life, reserving the rent of men's faith and obedience; the deed being sealed with Christ's seal on the Cross, etc., all in regular legal form." According to Dr. Furnivall, the poem occurs at the end of a Latin sermon in a manuscript possessed by the Bedford Library at that time, and of a date later than the thirteenth (?) century. I learn further that on June 17, 1904, this manuscript was sold at Sotheby's (Lot. 457), for £9, to Bernard Quaritch. This is the only information I have been able to obtain regarding this text. Though the grant described above (Christ's love and life) does not correspond with that in the Short Charter (Heaven's bliss), the Reservation clause appears to be the same, and the form of the Deed, the seal, etc., suggests the Short Charter.
§ 2. The Charter of Pardon

A type of Charter distinct from the deed of gift with which the present study is concerned, yet in some respects related to it, is Christ's Charter of Pardon. Like the deed of gift, this purports to be a document drawn up by the Lord in behalf of man. The only example of this type which I have seen is a poem of fourteen seven-line stanzas, entitled the Charter of Pardon or the Charter of Mercy, found in the thirty-fourth chapter of the Pylgrimage of the Soule (ed. Carton, 1483), an English translation of J. Gallôpe's French prose version of the Pèlerinage de l'Ame of Guillaume de Deguileville. According to Dibdin's record,6 this translation was made in 1413. The Charter, along with other poems occurring in the Pylgrimage, has been assigned by Dr. Furnivall to Hoccleve. For the text and Dr. Furnivall's remarks concerning it, see the Early English Text Society Extra Series lxxii. pp. xxviii. ff. and xx. ff.

This poem contains the initial formula of the Royal Pardon in English translation,—"Jhesu Kyng to Mychael and all thyn assessours etc. . . . my gretyng." After thus beginning, Christ declares that at the instigation of Miserycord and the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, He will receive into His peace all those who cry "Jesu Mercy" before their death and defy their earthly lusts.7 He further grants them full release from hell pain, and forbids Michael to proceed against them. All, however, who remain in sin without purpose of amending, trusting only to this Charter for salvation, and all who are obstinate and desperate, are excepted

6 See Typ. Antiq. i. (1810) 152 f.
7 For a legal writ of Perdonavimus, see H. Hall, A Formula Book of Eng. Official Hist. Documents Pt. I. (Camb. 1908) 84. This writ, dated in the 3rd year of Edward I., contains the clause: ad instanciam karissimè matris nostrè, Alianorè Reginè Angliè, perdonavimus, etc., an interesting parallel to Christ's declaration that His Mother and Miserycord interceded with Him on behalf of sinners.
from the benefits of the Pardon. The final formulae—In cuivs rei testimonium and Teste Rege (or me ipso) apud, etc.—are lacking.

The two documents described below are inaccessible to me. From the accounts given of them, they appear to be Pardons similar to that which Furnivall attributes to Hoccleve:

I. "A General Free Pardon or Charter of Hevyn's Blys, compiled in our old Englyssh Tong in 1400." Dibdin, from whom I obtained the reference, says it was issued by Lant's press, though he assigns no date for its appearance.

II. The General Pardon, described in 1858 by Charles C. Babington, of St. John's College, Cambridge, as follows:

"An imperfect copy of a small tract (measuring five and a half inches by three and a half inches) has recently come into my hands, of which I much desire the wanting parts. It is entitled: 'The General Pardon, geuen longe agone, and sythe newly conffyrmed, by our Almightye Father, with many large Priuileges, Grauntes, and Bulles graunted for euer, as is to be seen hereafter: Drawne out of Frenche into English. By Wylyam Hayward.' Imprinted at London, by Wylyam How, for Wylyam Pickeringe." "There is no date," says Mr. Babington, "but it is believed to have been printed in or about 1571. It is in black letter, and is an imitation of the Roman Catholic pardons. It consists of twelve leaves.

8 *Typ. Antiq. III.* (London 1818) 582, footnote. Herbert, according to Dibdin, refers to White's Cat. of 1789 for this work.
9 I do not know Lant's date. He is spoken of in 1541, and "became a member of the Company in 1556." See Dibdin III. 579.
10 *Notes and Queries* 1st Series vii. 15. Mr. Babington's note is dated Jan. 1, 1853.
11 "This Wylyam Hayward is doubtless the same as the author of the "Bellum Grammaticale. A discourse . . . betwene . . . the nounes and the verbe . . . Turned into English by W. H.(ayward)." H. Byneman. (London 1589). See the Catalogue of Books in the Brit. Mus. under Andreas Guarna."
In my copy, the last seven of these are torn through their middle vertically." Mr. Babington searched for this tract without success in the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University, Lambeth, and in several of the college libraries. Possibly it is a copy of No. I. above. The phrase "compiled in our old Englyssh Tong," in the description of No. I., suggests that its source may have been in a foreign language; and The General Pardon is definitely stated to be a translation from the French.

It is to be noted that in No. I., if we may judge from the title, the pardon and the deed of gift seem to be combined. We find the combination also in one text of the Short Charter—ms. Ash. 189—where seven lines referring to a pardon are annexed to the Deed. No. II., though said to be drawn up in imitation of the Roman Catholic Pardons, contains "many large privileges, Grauntes," etc.; these "Grauntes" may have included a grant of Heaven within the Pardon. Having but one text of the Pardon type accessible, it is not possible to determine the relation that it bears to the Charter of Christ. It seems probable, however, from such evidence as we have, that the Pardon was merely a later outgrowth of the Charter.

§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SHORT CHARTER

A. Brit. Mus. ms. Sloane 3292, Art. 3, fol. 2. The title of the poem is Magna Carta de Libertatibus Mundi. The date of the manuscript is given as the sixteenth century by the cataloguer. It contains but three other articles:—

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13 See p. 15.
14 For my transcript of this Charter, I am indebted to Professor Brown, and for examination of the seal and legend to Dr. Helen E. Sandison.
16 Index to the Sloane MSS. in the Brit. Mus. (1904) 430. Here the Charter is incorrectly cited as Latin poetry instead of English. Cf. also Ayscough's Cat., issued in 1782.
(1) Medical Receipts (or Prescriptions), anonymous; (2) Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer; and (4) Receipts for dyeing silk, making colours and inks. In regard to the date of the Charter, this manuscript furnishes some interesting information. Written in the two spaces at each side of a large roundish seal, drawn at the base of the Charter as though appended to it, and inscribed with a wounded heart marked with five drops of blood, is the following note: "Mr. Lambert a Justice of Peace in Kent \( ^{15} \) found this on a grave-stone in an Abbey in Kent bearing date A.D. 1400 a copie whereof was given to Mr. Humfry Windham of Winsecombe in the county of Somerset. Uppon the other si[de of the seal there was should be a P[elican] pick[ing her bloo[d] for. . . .]" If this statement is true—and I can see no reason to doubt it—the Charter belongs to the fourteenth century. The words "Uppon the other si[de of the seal," etc., I am inclined to interpret as meaning that a pelican (for the reading pelican cf. account of ms. Stowe 620 below) was actually carved upon the stone beside the seal; \( ^{16} \) but that the person who copied from the stone did not care to reproduce the picture upon his own Charter. The letters \( R \& B \) [or D] are written in pencil above the strap of the seal.

The couplets of the Charter are arranged in groups, each containing one or two Latin rubrics. The scribe of this text,

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\( ^{15} \) This is evidently William Lambard, author of the Perambulations of Kent. There is, however, no reference in the Perambulations to this Charter or the stone upon which it was found.

\( ^{16} \) Though so late in date, the following may have interest, as being perhaps a survival of an ancient custom: on a stone, a flat tombstone, in the Church Yard of Leigh, between Worcester and Malvern, is the "pelican in her piety" on the top of the Cross which is sculptured in the stone. The stone bears the label "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." The earliest date on the stone is 1797. This is an abstract of a note, signed by Cuthbert Bede, which occurs in Notes and Queries 5th Ser. ix. 261, dated Apr. 6th, 1878.
whether "Mr. Lambert" or another, has inverted the order of the two last groups, that introduced by His Testibus coming at the end instead of the group containing the date.

B. Brit. Mus. ms. Stowe 620, fol. 11v. Title, Magna Carta de libertatibus mundi. The manuscript is a folio of paper, with thirty-eight leaves, of the late sixteenth century. It contains "Kentish pedigrees, evidences, heraldic and genealogical notes taken in Churches and private houses, etc., collected in or about the years 1592-1594," together with other items chiefly relating to legal affairs. Among early documents copied in Stowe 620 are: (1) "Memoranda of the committal of [John] Foxley, Baron of the Exchequer, on a charge of improper conduct at the assizes at Winchester, 3 Edw. II. [1309-10] . . .;" and (2) "Extracts from the Collectors' accompts of an aid in Kent on the knighting of the Black Prince, 20 Edw. III. [1346]." At the middle of the lower edge of the Charter is represented a pointed seal which bears the legend: De Charta redemptionis humane Sigillum salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Xpū. Upon the seal also is a heart with the spear-thrust and five drops of blood. To the left of the strap attaching the seal to the Charter, and after the last words of the Charter itself, occurs the following: Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli; which continues on the other side, spretā morte tui solus id egit amor. To the left of the seal itself, and therefore not forming part of the Charter, are the words: Matris ut hec proprio stirps est sacrata cruore Pascis item proprio Xpē cruore tue; something seems to be missing to complete the sentence. At the right of the Charter are some English words: "ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale within this charter was sett downe was a pellicane a pickinge Her brest and with bloode flowinge Her yonge one in the nest

"Cat. of the Stowe mss. in the Brit. Mus. i. (1895) 482."
with the verses about her.” Then under all this are the Latin verses:

\[ Ut\ pellicanus\ fit\ patri\ sanguine\ sanus \]
\[ Sic\ nos\ salvari\ sumus\ omnes\ sanguine\ nati \]

The words “ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale,” seem to mean that in the original the seal was attached to one corner of the Charter instead of depending from the centre of the lower margin, as it is represented in the Stowe ms. It will be noted that the original contained a pelican (and here the word is plain, furnishing me with the clue for the reading in Sloane 3292) within the Charter itself, if we are to take the literal meaning of the words.

C. Brit. Mus. Add. Charter 5960. “Charta [Jesu Christi] de libertatibus Mundi, written in English verse, in imitation of a charter, about the year 1500.” Upon application to Sir George Warner of the Department of Manuscripts, I was informed that Add. Ch. 5960 belongs to the end of the sixteenth century. It contains the legend: Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli spretam morte, tui solus id eget amor, in common with ms. Stowe 620, and bears two lists of formal signatures. The first is headed: “Sealed & delivered in ye presence of” . . . after which follow the names of the three Marys, St. John, and the centurion Longinus. The second reads:

\[ Ita\ fidem\ facimus\ \{\begin{array}{c}
Matthew \\
Marke \\
Luke \\
John \\
\end{array}\} \quad Notary\ Publici\]

Upon the strap of the seal (which does not itself appear in my rotograph) are the letters “CHS IHS,” and below, 

\[ ^{28}\text{List of Additions to the Department of Mss. [in the Brit. Mus.] in the Year 1841, p. 64.}\]
factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques . . . . Psal. 22, 13 [?].

D. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 6848, Art. 36, fol. 221. The Harleian catalogue describes the manuscript as follows: "A Folio, containing Papers chiefly relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs. A great part of them bought of Mr. Baker by Mr. H. Wanley." Art. 36 is said to be "a paper in old English Verse, entitled Magna Charta de libertatibus Mundi. In form of Letters patent from our Saviour." 20 The date of the manuscript was given me as the eighteenth century by Sir George Warner. This text, written as prose, is almost exactly the same as that in Add. Ch. 5960, except for spelling, and there is good reason to believe that it is a copy of the other; see p. lxv. It contains the same list of witnesses, etc., and the sentence beginning cor charte, but lacks the words on the strap of the seal: factum est cor meum etc. This strap is represented by two strokes down from the body of the document, and no seal is drawn at the end. The letters "CHS IHS" of Add. Charter are "CHS CHS" in Harl. 6848.

E. Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 37049, Art. 16, fol. 23°. The manuscript contains: "The Desert of Religion and other poems and religious pieces, etc., mostly illustrated, in Northern English . . . . Paper (except ff. 1, 2); ff. 1 + 96. First half of the XV. cent. The colored drawings are in the crudest style. On f. 1 is an old number 94. 10½ in. x 8 in." 21 The title given to the poem in the catalogue,

Incorrect reference. It should be either Psal. 21. 15 (Vulgate), or Psal. 22. 14 (Eng. Versions). We should expect the Vulgate numeration, since the verse is quoted in Latin. It looks as though the scribe, after copying the verse, added the reference from an English Bible.

Cat. of Harl. ms. III. (1808) 435. The title cited by the catalogue does not appear in my photograph of this Charter.

Cat. of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years 1900-05 (1907) 324 ff.
which does not, however, appear in the Charter itself, is, 
*The Charter of Human Redemption*. It is written as prose. 
The Deed is represented as inscribed upon an immense sheet, 
held in the two hands of Christ on the Cross. The drawing of the body of Christ is very crude. He is covered with the marks of wounds, and His hands and feet are pierced with nails; He wears a curious sort of turban and a halo surrounds His head. The spear wound is also to be seen, dropping blood. Instruments of the Passion (scourges, spear, hammer, the pillar, wrapped with the cords and stained with blood, the sponge on a pole, and, of course, the Cross itself) are all to be seen, not in the Deed but upon the folio containing it. At the bottom of the sheet are representations of grinning skulls, and bones. To the middle of the lower edge of the Charter is attached a pointed seal, drawn as though fastened by thongs in the usual fashion, and in the centre of the seal is the heart with the spear thrust and the five drops of blood. The sacred monogram "IHS" appears on the seal.

F. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 116, Art. 2, fol. 97*. Title, 
*Carta Redemptionis Humane*. "A Parchment Book, written by different Hands, in a small fol." . . . "[The Charter] is a short Poem, feigned to be Spoken by our Savior, and composed in the Form of a Deed of Feoffment. In the Index of Contents at the Beginning of the Book, it is called *Magna Carta Salvatoris." 22 The Catalogue gives no indication as to where the hands change. The date assigned to Article 2 by Sir George Warner is the second half of the fifteenth century. This copy of the Charter contains no seal and no Latin sentences.

is *Carta Redempcionis humane*. The text is "in English verse, framed in imitation of a grant of land; . . . . [The manuscript is] vellum; XVth cent. Small Quarto." There is no seal attached to this Charter. At the top of fol. 6⁰ are the letters "I H C," and at the bottom of fol. 7⁰ are the words: "Min harte life and dere," written in a different and more modern hand. From the rotograph in my possession, I should judge the manuscript to be much stained, and fol. 6⁰ gives the appearance of having had a portion of another piece erased upon it, or faded, over which the Charter was written. The lines of the Charter are inscribed between the very faint lines of the erased article. It is impossible to determine what this may have been. The only other article in the manuscript is No. 1, which the catalogue describes as follows: "*Les cink ioyes de nostre Dame*, in French verse; preceded by, and interspersed with, prayers in Latin and French."

H. Caius Coll. Camb. ms. 230, Art. 21, fol. 25⁰, written in double columns. Title (given in the Colophon), *Carta Humane redempcion* . . . . the rest is cut off by the edge of the page. The manuscript is vellum, of the fifteenth century, and came "from St. Alban's Abbey, as appears by many of the verses contained in the volume. It is closely connected with Abbot John Whethamstede." The Charter has no seal or illustrations.

I. Bod. ms. Ashmole 61, Art. 28, fol. 106, occupying but little more than one-half of one of the double columns in which the manuscript is written. The title heading the

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*Cat. of Add. to the mss. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years 1854-75 II. (1877) 67.*

*James's Cat. of the mss. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College I. (Cambridge 1907) 268-76; and "Corrigenda," II. p. xv.*
poem is Testamentum domini. The manuscript is thus described: "A very tall and narrow folio volume, consisting of 161 leaves of paper of the largest size folded down the length of the sheet. On a flyleaf at the beginning is fixed a torn leaf containing a spoiled copy of 30 lines of the first article, and part of a list of the contents of the volume, which are: A collection of Metrical Romances, Lays, and other Poems in Old English, made by one Rate, in or before the time of Henry VII." 25 At the end of the Charter is drawn a shield, described thus in the catalogue: "a shield charged with a cross between 4 suns, and in the centre a heart with a sun in it." The four suns and the sun within the heart seem to be intended to represent the five wounds of Christ, that in the heart being the one made by the spear. What appears in the drawing to be rays may be blood marks.

J. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 237, Art. 19, fol. 100-100°: Carta Humane Redempcionis, written in double columns. The manuscript is described as a "Codex Chartaceus et male-habitus in 4to." 26 The date of this text (art. 19), as furnished me by Sir George Warner, is the late fifteenth century. The Charter is crowded in between art. 18, De Ordinatione, and art. 20, Formula in jungendi populo preces, in Ecclesia Parochiali. The text begins with line 7, immediately following the title, Carta humane redempcionis, and proceeds in this order: 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 1, 2, 3, 4, [5 and 6 lacking], 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34. It will be evident that the mistake is due to the scribe's having copied his lines in the wrong order from a text arranged in double columns, something like this:


**Cat. of Harl. mss. i. (1808) 73.
The scribe of the original manuscript, having some space left to the right, began his article there; but he had first written his title at the end of the preceding piece, as was customary, before he thought of saving the blank space to the right. The scribe of Harl. 237, seeing the title just above what is in reality line 7, supposed that to be the beginning of the Charter and proceeded to copy from that point down the left column and then down the right. As he had presumably just finished a Latin prose treatise, and would not be looking for rhyme, and as the first few lines he copied of this text made sense, he continued without noticing that after line 17 he was writing nonsense. The Charter has the colophon, *quod I lang.* Whether this is the name of the supposed author or of the scribe I cannot say. The preceding article is subscribed as nearly as I can make out, *H. Goffridus de tempore ord.*

*K.* Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 5465 (ms. Fairfax), Art. 50, ff. 119*-124.* This manuscript is described in detail by B.
Fehr, in Herrig's *Archiv* cvi. 48-70, and the songs it contains, of which the Charter is one, are printed with the description, exclusive of the musical notation which accompanies them. "Robert Fayrfax" was, according to Fehr, a celebrated musician and composer who received in 1504 the degree of Mus. D. from Cambridge, in 1511 the same degree from Oxford, and died in 1529. Fehr believes it possible that the manuscript was written by Fairfax's own hand, as we know from entries in the "State's Papers" that he increased his income by writing music books. "So viel ist sicher," says Fehr, "dass die Handschrift Fairfax' Besitz war: sein Wappen ist auf dem Titelblatt gezeichnet, und auf S. 40 in die beiden Anfangsbuchstaben M hineingeflochten. Wie das Titelblatt weiter andeutet, gehörte das Liederbuch im Jahre 1618 dem General Fairfax, von dem es später in die Hände des Ralph Thoresby von Leeds überging;" etc.

L. Bod. ms. Ashmole 189, fol. 109, written in single column, about twenty-five lines to the page. In this manuscript, as in ms. Fairfax, the Charter figures as a song. It is the tenth in "'A collection of Hymns and religious ditties' in Old English," which is the sixth article (apparently) in the second of the four manuscripts that are bound in Ash. 189. Black's account of this second manuscript is as follows: "The second ms. consists of 40 leaves (ff. 70-109), rudely written, on lines ruled with red ink, in the XVth century. On the upper corner of the second page is a distich, written in a cypher of Arabic numerals for the vowels; which may be read thus:

'Qui scripsit certe Ricardus nominatur aperte
Quod si queratur recte Wrasall cognominatur.'

On the middle of the last page but one is the following inscription: 'Dominus Ricardus Coscumbe prior de Muchelney est possessor huius libri.' This being in the same hand-

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*See his Cat. op. cit. col. 151.*
writing as the other note (though without cypher) shows a probability that both names mean the same person. The handwriting of the book is very different." Under the entry of the Charter occurs the following note: "This is a version of what was called Carta Christi or Testamentum Domini: it is longer than the copy in No. 61, art. 28: and pretends to grant an indulgence of 26030 years and 11 days." The refrain is: "Wette ye All that bene here," the first line of the Charter.

M. St. John’s Coll. Camb. ms. B. 15, fol. 53. The manuscript is described by Dr. M. R. James (Descriptive Catal. of the MSS. in the Lib. of St. John’s Coll. Camb., 1913) as: "Vellum and paper . . . several volumes. Cent. xv and xiv. Ex dono Magistri gent ecclesiae Barbrooke in Essexia Rectoris." Under I, presumably designating the first volume of the set, is entered Carta redemptoris, beginning: "Weyteth now alle that ben here," etc. From the fact that no date is assigned to this volume, and that Vol. iii is definitely assigned to the fourteenth century, I infer that Vol. i is written in a fifteenth century hand. Dr. James refers to this Charter as "printed by Furnivall, E. E. T. S.," but so far as I am aware neither Furnivall nor the E. E. T. S. has printed the Short Charter.

§ 4. Manuscripts of the Long Charter

A-Text 28

F. Bod. ms. Rawl. poet. 175, Art. 7, ff. 94v-95v; in columns of about forty-two lines each. Mr. Madan’s account

28 The symbols F, G, H, etc., of these mss., as well as A, B, C, etc., used of the mss. of Version B and of the Short Charter, have no significance as regards priority or rank of the mss., but were applied arbitrarily when the writer first began work upon them. Later, the difficulties involved in altering the symbols to an order more consistent with the results attained, made it seem unwise to change them.
of the manuscript is as follows: "in English, on parchment: written in the middle of the fourteenth century: 11 1/2 x 8 in., 1 + 136 leaves, in double columns. Old English religious and moral poems. . . . Owned in 1630 by 'Christofer Fauell': perhaps earlier by 'Raphe Warmoud.' The manuscript came to Rawlinson from the Thoresby collection." The Charter has no title, but just above the first line it bears the legend, Ihesus est amor meus.

G. Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 11307, Art. 2, ff. 89-97, written in single columns, each containing about twenty-six or twenty-eight lines. This manuscript is described in the catalogue as a vellum octavo of the XVth century. Sir George Warner assigns it to the first half of the century. The Charter is without title, and is accompanied by a recent transcript, which is unsigned. Four recent transcripts of other articles contained in this manuscript were made by Joseph Haslewood, but the catalogue does not say that he is the author of the transcript of the Charter.

H. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 2346, Art. 16, ff. 51-55, in single columns, of about twenty-eight lines each. The manuscript is a small quarto, written upon parchment, and composed chiefly of theological tracts. Article 16 is "An old English Poem upon the Love of our blessed Savior to Mankind, & his Sufferings for us: wherein, by a Prosopopoeia, he is made to be the Speaker." Sir George Warner informs me that the article was written in the first half of the fifteenth century.

I. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 5396, part of Art. 4, ff. 301-305. written in single columns, varying from twenty-two to twenty-

* Summary Cat. of Western MSS. III. (Oxford 1895) 321-2.
* See List of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Year 1838 (1843) 2-3.
* See Cat. of Harl. MSS. II. (1808) 662.
six lines in length. Under Art. 4, which the cataloguer describes as "A very curious Book on paper," is an inscription in a modern hand, running thus: "A collection of ancient Poems, with some other memorandums, dated the 34th year of K. Hen. VI. 1456." The same hand gives a summary of the chief contents. Sir George Warner's date for this Charter is late fifteenth century. The title heading the Charter is, What Chryst hath done for us. Opposite line 32 is some writing, unintelligible to me, which appears to form two or three words. Again, at the end of the Charter, on page 305, are two are three words illegible (at least to me), after which Explicít is written in a hand different from that of the poem.

J. Bod. ms. Add. C. 280 (Summary Cat. No. 29572), Art. 4a, ff. 124-5, written in double columns, with about forty lines in each. The manuscript is "on parchment: written in the first half of the fifteenth cent. in England (1): 10 1/2 x 7 1/2 in., 127 leaves: binding, stamped brown leather, early 17th cent. English work." The chief contents of the manuscript is the French text of the Travels of Sir John Mandeville. "Fols. 124-127 contain two English poems, added about the middle of the 16th cent.: (1) Carta domini Nostri Ihesu Cristi . . . . in 212 lines: (2) on the life of Christ, beg.: 'Alle je mowyn be blythe & glade,' in 358 lines." The title quoted just above is given in the colophon. On fol. 127 occurs the following mark of ownership: Isti liber constat Johanni Hervui de Lyncolnes Inn; and just below, signa dede. The catalogue notes that Hervy was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1509.

K. Bod. ms. 89 (Sum. Cat. no. 1886), ff. 45-49, Art. 2, in single columns of about twenty-eight lines each. The

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*See Cat. of Harl. Mss. III. (1808) 254-5.

*Summary Cat. of Western Mss. V. (Oxford 1905) 646.
poem is headed: *Hic incipit Carta Xpi.* On folio 49, at the bottom of the page and, I should judge, in the scribe's own hand, are the words: *Iste liber constat Domine Thome Seybrygge.* Just at the end of the Charter is the following in a different hand: *Deux pere sapite nous donn pais & plenteocus & sancte abstinence et charite bon vie & bon & fyn et vitam eternam amen.* At the top of fol. 49 a mark of ownership with the date 1431 is written in a third hand, as follows: *In bigit-siem Margarete lan miijxxx Harwod.* Bodley's librarian informs me that both the Charter and the only other article contained in Bod. 89 (*Speculum Christiani*, ff. 1-44, in a different hand from the Charter) were written about the year 1400.

L. Magd. Coll. Oxf. ms. St. Peter-in-the-East 18 e. This Charter is a fragment which is written on the back of a secular charter document preserved in the muniment room of Magdalen College, Oxford. The following description of the manuscript and fragment was most kindly furnished me by the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford: "The parchment on which the fragment is written measures about ten inches by five. It contains on the one side a document numbered '18 e' belonging to the series of charters and deeds relating to the parish of St. Peter in the East in Oxford preserved in the muniment room of Magdalen College. The document is a record of a presentment made in the King's Court in Oxford, on the part of the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, on the Monday after the Exaltation of the Cross, in the 13th year of Henry IV. (i. e. on Sept. 19th, 1412), for the abatement of a nuisance caused to them by the Proctors of the University having made a new window in a hall called Blakehall (Black Hall), in the parish of St. Peter in the East, opening on the land of a tenement belonging to the Master and Brethren. The fragment is written across the back of the document [in long double lines] in a small neat hand of
the 15th century, probably of a date nearly the same with that of the document. It begins about an inch from one end of the parchment and about three inches remain blank at the other end after the last line."

V. Bod. ms. Vernon, ff. 317r-318r, of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The title of the Charter is Testamentum Christi. It has been printed twice: by Horstmann in Herrig's Archiv, and by Dr. Furnivall in the Publications of the Early English Text Society, as has been already noted.

B—Text

A. Brit. Mus. ms. Cott. Calig. A II., Art. I. (20), f. 77. The manuscript is of the fifteenth century. Article I. is a "collection of old English poems or lays . . . with some prose tracts intermixed," of which no. 20 is entitled Carta Jhu Xpi. A description of this manuscript is to be found in Dr. Edith Rickert's edition of Emare. Dr. Rickert assigns the manuscript with great probability to the period between the years 1446 and 1460. Cf. also Glaunning's ed. of the Two Nightingale Poems.

B. Camb. Univ. ms. Ff. 2. 38, Art. 25, ff. 39r-42r. "A folio on paper, 247 leaves, double columns of about 40 lines each, handwriting uniform and of the middle of the XVth century: wants some leaves. A collection of Early English

*I am indebted to Professor Brown for the number of the folio containing the end of this text.

**See p. xv.
**See Cat. Cott. mss. (1802) 42.
**This was originally ms. Vesp. D 8. See Dr. Rickert, Emare (E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser. 99) p. ix.
Pieces, chiefly metrical.” 40 The Charter is entitled, pe Chartur of Criste. For further information regarding the manuscript, see J. O. Halliwell, Thornton Romances (London 1844) pp. xxxvi–xlv.; and McKnight, Horn,41 who describes it as being in the hand of a Southern scribe.

C. Camb. Univ. ms. II. 4. 9, Art. 2, ff. 42⁴⁷. A fragment of the Charter only, containing 248 lines. The title in the colophon is feoffment Ihec. The manuscript is “a quarto on paper, containing 197 leaves [written in single columns] with about 28 lines in each page; handwriting of the XVth century.”42

D. Camb. Univ. ms. Ee. 2. 15, Art. 7, ff. 90⁴⁴. “Running title: The Chartur, a poem on the last sufferings of Our Blessed Lord. [The ms. is] a folio, on paper, very much mutilated, 95 leaves [written in single columns] about 35 lines in each page, handwriting of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.”43 This text is imperfect, lacking the first sixty-eight lines.

E. Camb. Univ. ms. II. 3. 26, Art. 2, ff. 235⁴⁷. Title, Bona Carta gloriæ passionis domini nostri iũ xpi. The Catalogue describes this manuscript as “a folio, on parchment, containing 237 leaves, with 43 lines in each page. Date, the fifteenth century.”44 But the Charter is written in double columns, with about forty-four lines in each, not forty-three lines to the page. At the bottom of folio 236⁴ is the following record of ownership: “Thys ys George Towkars bowke, lent to hym by George Harolde surgentt, the fyrst day of August, Anno Domini 1558.”

* Cat. of Mss. i: Camb. Univ. Lib. II. (Cambridge 1857) 404.
* Cat. of Mss. in Camb. Univ. Lib. III. (Cambridge 1858) 448.
* Cat. of Mss. in Camb. Univ. Lib. II. (Cambridge, 1857) 31.
* Cat. of Mss. in Camb. Univ. Lib. III. (Cambridge 1858) 429.
X. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 2382, Art. 8, fol. 111\textsuperscript{b}; Testamentum Christi. "A paper book in 4to, wherein are contained several Theological Poems, composed by Dan, John Lydgate Monk of Bury, Geffery Chaucer, & others." \textsuperscript{45} The Charter has been twice printed from this manuscript: in Herrig's Archiv lxxix. 424-32 by Horstmann, and in the Minor Poems of the Vernon ms. Part ii. (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 117) by Dr. Furnivall.\textsuperscript{46}

C-Text

R. Brit. Mus. ms. Royal 17, C xvii. Art. (†), leaf 112\textsuperscript{a}-leaf 116\textsuperscript{b}, of the beginning of the XVth century. This Charter has been printed by Furnivall in Minor Poems of the Vernon ms. Part ii. (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 117).

\textsuperscript{45} Cat. of Harl. MSS. ii. (1808) 675.

\textsuperscript{46} Through Mr. Flower, of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, I learn that ms. Addit. 11809 (2nd half of the 15th cent.) contains, at fol. 34, an Irish prose translation of the Middle English Testamentum Christi, according to the version in ms. Harl. 2382. The Irish text is a close and literal translation of the Middle English verses. It is the only instance, of which Mr. Flower is aware, of an Irish translation of a Middle English poem.
II

HISTORY AND SOURCES

§ 1. THE CHARTER AS A LITERARY TYPE

It would be natural, perhaps, to suppose that a form which lends itself so readily to imitation as the legal grant or deed of gift, would have been seized upon eagerly by medieval writers, whose fondness for allegory would presumably have led them to see in the Charter, as in the Last Will and Testament, a convenient medium of symbolic expression.

This, however, does not appear to have been the case. Examples of the type represented by the Charter of Christ, in which the legal form is made to subserve a literary purpose, are exceedingly rare both in England and on the Continent. Indeed, I know of but one example originating in France—Rutebeuf’s version of the deed granted to the devil by Theophilus;¹ even this, however, is not a true illustration of the type, since it contains no allegorical element but purports to be an actual charter drawn by Theophilus. It is noteworthy that in the Middle English versions of this legend the deed itself does not appear until the latter part of the fifteenth century.²

¹ See Achille Jubinal, Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf II. (Paris 1839) 104-105.
² See for this legend and its various versions, E. Kölbìng, Beiträge s. Vergl. Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosae des Mittelalters (Breslau 1876) 1; and Eng. Stud. 1. 10 ff., XXXII. 1 ff.; the last of these contains the deed, stanzas 45 ff. (ed. W. Heuser). See also Jubinal, op. cit. Note B, pp. 260 ff.

The Devil’s Charter by Barnabe Barnes, a play acted probably for the first time in 1607, contains a Charter between the Devil and Pope Alexander VI. (ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1904, in Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas VI.).
In considering examples of the charter type in Middle English we may also leave out of account the spurious grants of land purporting to be executed by Athelstan, Edward the Confessor, etc., since these too are not allegorical, but actual, deeds.\(^3\) Aside from the Charters of Christ I know of only two instances of the allegorical charter in Middle English: the "Charter of Favel to Falsehood," in Piers Plowman,\(^4\) and the Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost.\(^5\)

The "Charter of Favel to Falsehood," including the description of its witnesses, sealing, etc., occupies in the A-text but twenty-two lines. Like certain versions of the Charter of Christ, it follows fairly closely the phraseology of a legal instrument:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hit witen and witnesses} & \quad \text{that woneth vppon eorthe}, \\
\text{That I Fauuel, feffe Fals} & \quad \text{to that mayden Meede.}
\end{align*}
\]

Then follows a list of their holdings, the "erldam of envys," etc., "to habben and to holden and al heore heyres aftar," on condition that they yield their souls to Satan at the year's end. After the list of witnesses, "Wrong, Pere the par- doner," etc., the deed is sealed "in the date of the deuel, be siht of sir Symoni and notaries signes." In the B- and C-texts, the Charter is introduced by the words Sciant presentes et futuri, etc., also found in the Charter of Christ. The C-text drops the formula "to have and to hold," and

\(^3\) These have been printed from time to time in Notes and Queries; see for example a grant of King Athelstan, 6th Ser. xii. 194. A correspondence concerning the age and authenticity of these documents extends through several numbers of the N. and Q., references for which may be obtained from the indices.

Another rhymed Charter occurs in Ms. Cott. Julius F. X., Art. 29, f. 154, beginning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Iche Sancti Edwardi Regis} \\
\text{Have yeoven of my forest the keping, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^4\) A-text ii. 60-82; B-text ii. 74-113; C-text iii. 79-115.

\(^5\) Printed by Horstmann, Richard Rolle i. 338 ff.
both B- and C-texts spoil the simplicity and clearness of the A version of the deed by introducing amplifications, and by changing from the first person to the third. Aside from the parallelism in structure, the "Charter of Favel" shows no resemblance to either of the others.

In the Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, on the other hand, we find a closer parallel to the Charter of Christ. In the first place, the subject—God's ceding to man a "lytel preciusse place that is celpid Conscience"—is not unlike the grant of Heaven to man made by Christ in His Charter. Again, between the Charter of the Abbey and the Short Charter are certain likenesses which, though they may be due to the employment in both of the phraseology of legal instruments, yet possibly indicate some connection between them. In both, the formulae of the legal deed are in Latin, followed by an English translation. One or two of these appear also in the Long Charter, but they do not occur consistently throughout. Again, the witnesses named in the Abbey Charter—"sungel and man, heuene and erthe, sone and mone and al the sterres"—suggest the list of phenomena cited as witnesses of the Deed in the Short Charter. Finally, the phrase "to the chef lord of the fee" in the Abbey Charter finds a parallel in "as to the chief lord of the fee" in the Short Charter. We need not, however, attach much significance to this point, since the phrase is evidently a translation of a Latin formula, such as is found, for example, in a charter of the fiftieth year of Henry III: habenda et tenenda eidem Rogero et heredibus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius seu nobis vel aliis imperpetuum.7

Should there be any connection between the Charter of the Abbey and the Short Charter, it may fairly be assumed that the dependence was on the side of the former, even

---

8 B later introduces the first person at line 86.
though we cannot prove the Short Charter to be earlier than the year 1400.8

§ 2. Antiquity of the Charter of Christ

1. The Charter of Christ probably existed in Middle English verse as early as the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The oldest extant manuscript of the Long Charter—Rawl. poet. 175—was written about 1350; but between the Rawlinson ms. and the archetype, as I shall undertake to show in Chapter V, no less than three manuscripts intervened, so that the archetype may reasonably be assigned to the early decades of the century.8 To the fourteenth century belongs also the Latin metrical Carta Libera, as we are as-

8 Horstmann (Nachträge zu den Legenden Herrig's Archiv. LXXXIX. 470) thought that a close relation existed between the Long Charter, Versions A and B (he calls it Testamentum Christi) and the Cursor Mundi Pt. II. (E. E. T. S.) 978 ff. But the likeness here seems to me no greater than exists between the Charter and other poems on the Passion. He later (1895, Rich. Rolle, i. 71) suggests a Complaint in ms. Camb. Univ. Dd. 5. 64, beginning: "Unkynde man, gif kepe til me and loke what payne I suffer for þe," as furnishing the theme for the Long Charter in ms. Vernon. One line in this poem, "With hanger, thirst, hitte & calde," suggests line 48 of the Long Charter, "In hongur and purst, colde and wo"); but the details in the Complaint find so many parallels in other pieces that it would hardly be safe to stress such a resemblance. Cf. for the source of the theme of this poem and others similar to it, note 12, pp. x f., and compare Thien's opinion, Über die Eng. Marienklagen 82.

Fürster (Herrig's Archiv cx. 358) suggests that the texts of the Short Charter in Ash. 61 and 189 may belong to the class known as "Himmelsbriefe." So far as I can see there appears to be no relation between the "Letters from Heaven" and the Charter of Christ. For these Letters, Fürster refers to A. S. Napier, Contributions to Old Eng. Lit. 1. (An Old English Homily on the Observance of Sunday), and R. Prieboch, John Audelay's Poem on the Observance of Sunday, both in the Furnivall Miscellany 365 ff. and 397 ff., as also to a number of other articles.

Moreover, linguistic tests show that final e was sounded when the A-text was composed. For detailed proof of this see Appendix I.
sured by the date of the earlier of the two manuscripts in which it is preserved. The other extant versions of the Charter of Christ contribute no evidence that would point to an earlier origin for the type. None of the manuscripts of the Short Charter is earlier than the fifteenth century. The fact that ms. A is copied from a gravestone bearing the date 1400, makes it clear that this version was in existence before the close of the fourteenth century, but linguistic tests, so far as they go, suggest a date late in the century. The Kent Charter is written on the back of a legal conveyance dated 1395, but we have no means of determining when the poem was added. Linguistic tests show, however, that at the time of its composition final e was not pronounced. Carta Domini is preserved in a manuscript of the fifteenth century.

§ 3. THE ORIGIN OF THE CHARTER OF CHRIST

The idea of a charter, drawn up in imitation of a legal document, according to which the Saviour grants to mankind title to the Kingdom of Heaven, may possibly have arisen merely as a variation upon the theme of Christ's Last Will

"See pp. 92 ff. The formula employed in this Charter afford but little assistance in determining the date of composition. According to H. Hall, Formula Book of Eng. Off. Hist. Documents, Pt. i. (Camb. 1908) 25, the formula Habendum et tenendum came into use during the reign of John (1199-1216), and had disappeared by 1409. Habendum (without the last two words) is found in one ms. of the Short Charter (Sloane 3292). The phrase, In cuius rei testimonium, which occurs in six mss. of the Short Charter, was peculiar to the Letters Patent, a form which gradually superseded the regular Charter, but was not well established until the close of the minority of Henry III. (Henry declared his majority in 1227). See Formula Book 53.

"Note the rhyme words: biod-god (pl. adj.), 27-28; god (pl. adj.) -stode (3rd sing.), 29-30; long (pl. adj.) -stong (3rd sing.), 31-32.

"See p. xiii. As regards the Bedford ms. (see p. xvi) and the two texts described at pages xviii-xix, such data as we have is not sufficient to determine the time of composition in the case of any of them.
and Testament, a literary type to which reference has already been made.¹ Christ's Last Will is occasionally mentioned in mediæval works, which describe the Lord as bequeathing upon the Cross various legacies to those He was leaving on earth.² Though quite distinct in the legal form upon which it is based, the Charter resembled the Will in being the Saviour's dying gift; thus it will be noted that all the Deeds are dated on the day of the Crucifixion.

Again, a suggestion for the Charter may be found in a passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix: 15-18):

Et ideo novi testamenti mediator est; ut morte intercedente, in redemptionem earum prævaricationum, quæ erant sub priori testamento, repromissionem accipient qui vocati sunt æternum hereditatis. Ubi enim testamento est: mors necesse est intercedat testatoris. Testamentum enim in mortuis confirmatum est: aliquin nondum valet, dum vivit qui testatus est. Unde nec primum quidem sine sanguine dedicatum est.

The Greek διαθήκη, here rendered by testamentum, combines the meaning of "covenant" and "testament" so that the lines just quoted embody a two-fold figure: (1) the Last Will and Testament made by Christ on man's behalf; (2) the new Covenant instituted by Christ through His

¹ Exemplified by Christ's Testament in Déguildieville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine; cf. p. viii.
² See, for example, St. Ambrose, Comment. Lib. x in Eclog. Luc. Cap. xxxiii:


See also Leg. Aur. (Nuremberg 1483) De Passione Iesu Christi fol. lxvi; and Abbatus Ernaldus Bonevallis, in a discourse concerning the Seven Words of the Cross, Migne, Pat. Lat. cxxxix. Col. 1696, etc., etc.

²See Thayer's remarks on this passage in his Grk-Eng. Lexicon of the N. T.
death on the Cross, whereby man receives the promise of an eternal inheritance.

The word "testamentum" was, of course, familiar to mediæval readers in the sense of "covenant" as well as of "testament." The first interpretation, applied to the passage in question, would represent Christ as the sacrificial victim slain, according to Hebrew custom, to confirm the covenant with mankind. The second interpretation would identify Christ as the testator who grants a charter to man as his dying bequest. But either interpretation may easily have served to suggest the representation of Christ's grant to mankind under the form of a legal deed or charter.

From this figure of the Redemption as a legal deed—tracing its ultimate source very possibly to these sentences in the Epistle to the Hebrews—the several extant versions of the Charter of Christ presumably derive. But before proceeding to define more closely the nature of the prototype, or to consider the textual relations of the various extant versions, it will be necessary to note the occurrence, in two of them, of a figure which is directly related to the question of origins.

§ 4. The Metaphor of the Crucified Body as the Charter

In the Long Charter and Kent Charter, but in no other versions, an extended metaphor identifies the Deed with the cru-

*Dr. Richard G. Moulton, commenting on the passage in Hebrews, explains it by reference to the Hebrew animal-sacrifices, "which were the formal sign of a covenant between parties, the Stroke of Death being the irrevocable seal set on an agreement from which there can be no departing" (see the Modern Reader's Bible, 1907, notes on this passage). Cf. also, in this connection, notes and text of the Bible Containing the Marginal Readings adopted by General Convention (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, 1903), a reference kindly pointed out to me by my father, the Rev. Charles N. Spalding, D.D.

*The term allegory seems hardly applicable, as the figure is not developed through narrative but by explanation.
cified Body of Christ. In the Long Charter the Deed is written upon the parchment of the Lord’s skin with pens which are the scourges used by the Jews. The letters are His wounds, the sealing-wax His blood, etc. The Indenture, or copy left with man, is the Sacrificial Body of the Lord in the Eucharist. The same figure is expressed also in the Kent Charter:

I Jhesus of Nazaren . . .
Have grantyd, yovyn and confermyd is*
Thourch my Charte that the mon se
My body that heng on the tre,
A mes housyd fayir and fre
It is hevene blysse I telle the . . . etc.

Other versions of the Charter, it is true, also have some features which at first sight suggest that the metaphor, though not explicit, was yet implied: in the Carta Libera and the Carta Domini the document is said to be written in the Lord’s blood, while in the Short Charter the wound in His side is the seal. Since similar points form a part of the metaphor in the Long Charter and Kent Charter, where Christ’s blood is either sealing-wax or seal, it would be natural to suppose that the occurrence of such features in the other Charters implied the same metaphor.

This supposition, however, can hardly be justified. In the first place, the expressions proprio sanguine conscripsi, hec—sanguine scripta, and “the wounde in my syde [or “herte”] the sele it is,” of the Carta Domini, Carta Libera and the Short Charter respectively, may be otherwise explained. They may have reference to the shedding of blood necessary to the ratification of the covenant discussed in Section 3, the terms conscripsi, scripta, and “sele” being attributable to the fact that in our texts, the covenant is expressed under the figure of a written charter. Again, had

*Probably an error for pis.
the metaphor of Christ's Body been in the minds of the several authors of these three Charters, it would indeed have been strange that they should not have expressed it definitely. The idea is appropriate and too suggestive for them to have neglected it, especially in the case of the author of the Carta Libera, who introduces much detail regarding the sufferings of our Lord at the Crucifixion. Moreover, in the Carta Libera, the words hec mors, homo, fit tua carta are better explicable as referring to the ratification of a covenant than as intending to suggest the metaphor in question.

Accordingly, this metaphor, in my opinion, was not present in the Charter of Christ, as it was originally conceived, but was introduced later as an adornment. It may possibly have grown out of the phrase in the Carta Libera already mentioned: hec mors, homo, fit tua carta, or from hec... sanguine scripta, or from a reference to the wound in Christ's side as a seal in some early text of the Short Charter, etc.  

On the other hand, the figure may go back to a Scriptural source. In the Epistle to the Colossians (II: 13-14) St. Paul speaks of a bond or writ as being nailed to the Cross:

Et vos cum mortui essetis in delictis, et præputio carnis vestrae, convivificavit cum illo, donans vobis omnia delicta: delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tuit de medio, affigens illud cruci: . . . .

Though the bond here mentioned is not, of course, the same as that with which we are concerned, yet it is a legal document nailed to the Cross by Christ in effecting man's redemption from sin. That the Middle Ages played upon

1 Also in Carta Libera.

2 The fact that the Long Charter is an early text (see p. xxxix) and that our only text of Carta Domini, for example, occurs in a 15th cent. ms., does not affect the argument here; for there may have been very early texts both of Carta Domini and of the other versions in which the metaphor is not found.
this idea is shown in the following passages from the *Legenda Aurea*:

Huiusmodi autem debitum apostolus vocat ciographum quod quidem christus tulit & cruci affixit. De quo ciographo dicit Augustinus. Euæ peccatum a diabo•o mutuavit. ciographum scripsit. fideissorem dedit. & vsura posteritati creuit. Tunc enim a diabo peccatum mutuavit. quando contra preceptum dei sue praui irusioni vel suggestioni consensit. ciographum scripsit. quando manum ad pomum vetitum porrexit. fidei•usionem dedit. quando Adam peccatorum sentire fecit. & sic vsura peccati posteritati creuit.

The same figure is used by Ludolphus de Saxonie, in his *Vita Jesu Christi*, as follows:

Quia enim primus homo ad lignum preuariacionis manus extendendo & pedibus accedendo ciographum damnationis nostræ diabo•o confecerat : iæo salvator nostrer : vt ciographum illud deleter manibus et pedibus ligno salutifere cruæ aßgi voluit clauæ inuictissime charitatis delens per hac ciographum decreti quod erat contrarium nobis : et ipsum tulit de medio aßgesæ illud cruæ . . . . Jesu qui durissimis clauæ cruæ aßgi voluisti : ac per hoc ciographum peccatorum nostrorum & mortis eidem cruæ aßgist. Conflige quææo timore tuo carnes meas . . . . etc.

From this it would be but a step to connect the *ciographum* with the Body of the Saviour and incorporate the metaphor into the Charter of Christ, a document already purporting to deed to man the inheritance of Heaven.

*De passione thesu Christi*, ed. Nuremberg 1488, fol. lxix. col. 1.

*Secunda Pars* Cap. lxiii., ed. Lyons 1530, fol. cccxiii.

In this connection, it should be noted that in the *Short Charter MS. A*, the following six lines standing at the beginning just before the *Soient presentes et futuri* (which is supposedly the beginning of the Charter) speak of a *writ of man’s debt cancelled by Christ*:

Jhesus Christ his Charter Great
That bloud and water so did sweat
Though the Pauline text be recognized as furnishing the original suggestion for the figure, it was not necessarily the source upon which these Charters directly depended, for the same metaphorical representation of the Body of Christ, in both simple and elaborated forms, occurs in various treatises at least as early as the fourteenth century and very possibly even earlier. Notwithstanding variations of detail such as might be expected in the development of the Pauline figure—for example, the document is sometimes represented as a book or a bill of pardon as well as a charter—yet the parchment is always Christ’s Body. Perhaps the simplest expression of the figure is to be found in the two following citations, wherein, it will be noted, no actual document is mentioned:

oure blessed fadir of heuene spared not his own sone but suffrede hym to be streyned on the harde cros, moore dispitously & greuously þan euer was schepys skyn streyned on the wal or vp-on þe parchemyn-makeris harowe ægens þe sonne to drye.\(^{12}\)

And had his heart I-wounded sore  
To save mankind forever more  
Christ hath cancelled the writ of man’s debt  
And by the great Charter him free hath set.

This allusion to a writ would have led me to include the above passage from Colossians among the possible sources of the Charter, discussed in the preceding section, except that it is not probable that these lines formed a part of the original text of the Short Charter. They do not occur in ms. E, of the early 15th cent., nor in any other ms. except that the last two are found in ms. B, of the late 15th cent. Metrically, these lines appear to be of late origin. Moreover, the metre in the last two differs from that of the Charter itself. So that, although ms. Sloane 3292 (ms. A) purports to contain a version copied from a gravestone in 1400, and hence probably represents a fairly early text of the Short Charter, yet as the ms. itself belongs to the 16th cent., these introductory lines may well have been added, or rather, prefixed, to the Charter when the ms. was written.

\(^{12}\) A meditacion of þe fyue wounded of Iheu Crist, printed by Horstmann, Richard Rolle II. 440, from Univ. Coll. Oxford ms. 97, of the end of the 14th century. The Meditacion has been wrongly attributed
And whene he [Christ] was thus sprede o-brode one þe crosse more straite þan any parchemyne-skyne es sprede one þe harowe, so þat mene myghte tell all þe blyssede bones of his body.¹³

With the exception of these two, all the examples I have noted speak of a document, or book. In An ABC Poem on the Passion of Christ, one finds in the introductory stanzas a comparison between Christ's Body on the Cross and the horn book, or ABC, from which children learned to read: ¹⁴

1 In place as man may se,
Quan a chyld to scote xal set be,
3 A bok hym is browt,
Naylyd on a brede of tre,
þat men callyt an abece,
6 Pratylych I-wront.
Wrouþ is on þe bok with-oute,
. V. paraþys ¹⁵ grete & stoute
9 Bolyd in rose red;
þat is set with-outyn doute,

to Richard Rolle. It also occurs in Ms. Simeon (Brit. Mus. Ms. Add. 22283) at fol. 61³, which was transcribed about 1380-1400; see Horstmann, op. cit. 436, and the Cat. of Add. Ms. in the Brit. Mus.

¹² Bonaventura de mysteriis passiooe Iesu Christi, or The Privity of the Passion, meditation for midday; printed by Horstmann, Richard Rolle 1. 206, from Ms. Thornton (c. 1430-40). This is an anonymous work, a "free and abridged translation" of the Meditationes Vitæ Christi, Cap. 74-92, formerly ascribed to Bonaventura. The Latin treatise does not contain the figure of the parchment, which is thus an addition by the author of the so-called translation.

¹³ Ms. Harl. 3954, which is dated by Furnivall about 1420. The poem itself may be somewhat earlier. It has been printed in the Reliq. Antiq., and in Pol. Rel. and Love Poems (ed. Furnivall E. E. T. S.) 271.

¹⁵ "Paraphe: The flourish, or peculiar knot, or mark set unto, or after, or instead of, a name in the signing of a Deed, or Letter; and generally, any such graceful setting out of a man's hand, or name in writing; also a subsignature, or signing under."—Cotgrave. Cf. also Sainte Palaye, Dict. hist. de l'anc. langage fr. The word also means "paragraph."
[No gap in the ms.]

12 In tokenyng of cristis ded.

Red letter in parchemyn
Makyth a chyld good & fyn

15 Lettrys to loke & se.

Be þis bok men may dyuyne
þat cristis body was ful of pyne

18 þat deyid on rodë tre.

On tre he was don ful blythe
With grete paraffys, þat be wondis .V.

21 As þe mou vnder-stonde.
Loke in hys body, mayde & wyfe,
Qwon hee gun naylys dryue

24 In fot & in honde.

Hond & fout þer was ful woo,
And þer were lettrys many moo

27 With-in & with-oute,
With rede wondis & strokis blo
He was dryue fro top to þe too,

30 Hys fayre body aboute.

About þis, a pece I wyl spede,
þat I myth þis lettrys rede

33 With-outyn ony dystaunce;
But god þat let hys body sprede
Vp-on þe rode for manys nede,

36 In heuene vs alle avaunce!

Another very similar example of this figure is found in the Disputacion between Mary and the Cross,\textsuperscript{16} in the Vernon ms. (c. 1370-80):

Finally, the metaphor in elaborated form is to be found in the *Carta Celestis Hereditatis*, one of a series of fourteenth century tracts of uncertain authorship entitled collectively *The Poor Caiif*. The parts of this text which concern

"Another mention of the Pardon Charter is found in Chaucer's *ABC Poem*:

He vouched sauf, tel him, as was his wille,
Bicom a man, to have our alliaunce,
And with his precious blood he wroth the bille,
Up-on the crois, as general acquitaunce,
To every penitent in ful creatance; . . . .

This allusion does not occur in his source."
Christ's grant of Heaven to man are printed in Appendix II. of the present study. An examination of the Carta will show that it not only contains the features of the figure which appear in the Disputacion, etc., but adds also the following (1) the wounds numbered 5475; (2) the pens that wrote the Charter were the nails, spear, and thorns of the crucifixion; (3) the print of the seal was the shape of our Lord upon the Cross; (4) the sentence of the Charter is our belief, and (5) the laces of the Charter are forgiveness of sin and trust in God. 18

It will be observed that certain of these pieces present striking points of resemblance with the Charters. One of these consists in the identification of Christ's wounds with letters, with which compare the following lines of the Long Charter:

How many lettres thereon ben
Red and pou may wite and sen
Sseit thouand foure hundred fyfti and ten
Woundes on me bope red and wen.

There is also an interesting parallel between the Carta Celestis Hereditatis, and the Long Charter in that both mention pens and a specific number of wounds. The pens in the Carta however, are nails, spear, and thorns, while those in the Long Charter are scourges. The number of the wounds in one is 5475 and in the other 5460; but this is not as significant as at first appears, for these numbers,

"Two other (15th cent.) references are as follows:

1) His herte blod wrot oure hele,
   And Ihesus body be porchemyn is;
   Wip trewe loue he prented oure sele,
   Dat is heritage of oure blis.

   J. Kail, Twenty-six Pol. and Other Poems
   Pt. i. (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 124) 78.

2) The passage from the Digby passion play, already quoted in another connection at p. x, note 10.
or others almost equally large, are also features in other medieval descriptions of the wounded Body of Christ.19

Consequently, it is entirely possible that the Long Charter and Kent Charter may have drawn the metaphor of Christ’s Body from one or more of these or similar pieces. On the other hand, the reverse might have been the case. As to this one can hardly attempt to decide; the dates of the several texts furnish no clue as they are all of the fourteenth century.

§ 5. A COMPARISON OF THE DEED OF GIFT IN THE FIVE CHARTERS

Of the five texts of the Charter of Christ, three consist of the Deed of Gift alone.1 The other two—Carta Domini and the Long Charter—contain also additional matter enlarging upon themes suggested by the grant, although it is difficult, particularly in the case of the Long Charter, to decide just how much of the poem the author intended to include within the instrument itself.2 Since the points of resemblance between the Charters are confined to the Deed itself, we may exclude for the present the discussion of this additional material (except such portions as may serve to explain details in the instrument proper) and may proceed to compare the several Charters with respect to the forms of the Deed contained in them.

1 See, for example, the 4600 wounds mentioned in the Lamentatio Sancte Marie (ed. Frölich, Leipzig 1902) 71. v. 197.

1 The term “Deed” is used here and elsewhere to designate the instrument itself, whereas “Charter” sometimes refers to the Deed and sometimes to the piece containing it.

2 As illustration, observe the occurrence of the words “Consummatum est, this charter is done,” v. 187 (A-text), long after the Deed itself (vv. 99-134) is presumably at an end. Again, at line 155 the Jews are mentioned as witnesses of the Crowning of Christ with thorns; later on, at line 169, the formula “Hic Testibus Matthew and John, Luke,” etc., is introduced, but seems to refer not to the witnessing of the Deed, but to the witnessing of the offer of drink to the Lord.
At the outset one perceives that *Carta Domini*, the only Latin prose Charter, possesses marked characteristics which distinguish it from all the others. In tone it is learned and ecclesiastical, showing a fondness for abstract terms as contrasted with the concrete style of the rest. For example, *Carta Domini* differs from all the others in not citing as witnesses of the Deed concrete incidents of the crucifixion or the names of persons who were present—as John, the Blessed Virgin, or the Evangelists—but reads: *Sigillum que mee diuinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus*. *Nam hij tres testimonia dant in celo*—an evident adaptation of 1 John v:7: *Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in celo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus*. In view of the divergent character of *Carta Domini* it hardly seems necessary to include it among the other four texts in the tabular comparison which follows, though its omission is not intended to imply that it differs from them in the essential features of the Deed.

Coming now to examine the details of the Deed as it appears in the other four texts of the Charter, we may best indicate their mutual relations by arranging in parallel columns the features which they have in common.

1. This Charter gives most evidence of having been written by a theologian. It will be remembered that it occurs in a book of sermons; see p. xiii.
2. In this table brackets indicate that the matter enclosed has been transferred from the order of its occurrence in the Charter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARTA LIBERA</th>
<th>SHORT CHARTER</th>
<th>KENT CHARTER</th>
<th>LONG CHARTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Sciant presentes atque futuri quod</strong></td>
<td>Writ of man's debt cancelled, and man set free (only in mss. A and B).</td>
<td>Knowyn all men that are schulen ben, that</td>
<td>Sciant presentes &amp; futuri wite ye pat are and shal byde that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uir ego Ihesus bethlehem...natus, Ierusalem Jesus, crucifixus, ludificatus</td>
<td>Sciant (and nouverint)</td>
<td>I (born in Bethlehem...) made a sejin, when I was born, to thee, man, with my Father's will and love. I confirm it with my present charter.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Dando concessi cunctis...Regnum celeste, si semper uiuam honeste</strong></td>
<td>Dodi et concessi</td>
<td>I have granted Heaven's bliss—confirmed through my charter (my body housed fair &amp; free in the mass).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[In calvarie summo sunt dec data, etc. See 8. below]</td>
<td>I have granted (thee) to live with me in Realm of Heaven's bliss. [My skin was the parchment on which the Deed was written].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between East and West, North and South, it is well known to those dwelling here.</td>
<td>[The Charter was sealed on Calvary between 2 thieves, that East and West, on high hill, I may judge both good and ill. Quia neque ab oriente, neque ab occidente.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARTA LIBERA</td>
<td>SHORT CHAPTER</td>
<td>KENT CHAPTER</td>
<td>LONG CHAPTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Habendum</td>
<td>To havyn and heldyn</td>
<td>To have and to holden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as long as I am Heaven's King.</td>
<td>that sweet place, heritable and in fee.</td>
<td>without miss—free—with all the appurtenances.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Nec quicquam cupio redde nisi cordis amorem... pro feodo cor redde tuum mihi gratum. Taliter ecce modo tibi tradó meum laceratum (heart). Inspice, devote, ostendo pro te que quanta sunt mea pena. Hic sunt transfossa caro, uene, etc. [nee ab inde recessi (i.e. from my Deed) ... Aut si quando ... faciant ... gravamen, non ita delebor; si peniteant miserebor].

Redendo
True love to God. Charity to one's neighbor.
"Keep I no more for all my smart but true Love, man, of thy heart, and that thou be in charity," etc.

For the service of the chief lord of the fee, to keep from sin.

I ask no more but that thou be kind & remember my love deeds; that thou pay as ren the four-leaved grass of abridgment, repentance, abandoning of sin, fear of God; which four—a True-Love ... [Do not delay this rent. You may find it through the year. I will not forsake my deed, and if you fail, you shall have mercy.]

5. Omnia sunt nuda... probra, sputa, flagella que plura, crux, clau, spine... lancea, passio dura. Et sive pactior uideantur non satis arta, post hec en morior, hec more, homo, fit tua carta. Nemo potest iure privare quin ista tenebunt, en, quot secure warrantizore ualebunt.

Warrantizatio
If my deed—i.e., saying man—is disputed, I would do it again.

In Warrantysse
I, Jesus, & my heirs bind ourselves to Christian men forever.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Carta Libera</strong></th>
<th><strong>Short Charter</strong></th>
<th><strong>Kent Charter</strong></th>
<th><strong>Long Charter</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 6. *Testibus his factis tenebris... velo... petri... remotut... testante Johanneque mater, se alius multis cum sacro neupmate patre.* | *Hijs Testibus* The day darkening The Sun withdrawing light The earth quaking The stones breaking The vail rending Men rising from the dead The Virgin mother The Apostle St. John Others many that were there. | *These am the wyttnesses trece and god garland of thorns scourges nails spear stoppe of eysil & gall* The cry "Eli-Eli!" my bloody tears my bonds my pains other things. | *(The crowning with thorns) witnessed by the "Jewes alle," who said "Hail be thou, etc."
*(The giving of the eysil and gall)* *Hijs Testibus* Matthew and John, Luke, Mark and many a one, and especially my "Mo- der Swete." |
| 7. *In cuius rei testimonium requieyi et stet tranquillum proprium cor pono sigillum... sunt hec... sanguine scripta.* [The following occurs only in the 15th cent. text: sanguine tamen puro cartam, frater, tibi scripsi, et pro securo proprium cor penditur ipsi, amen]. | *In cuius rei testimonium, I hang my own seal, & for more surety the wound in my heart is the seal.* Cor charte appensum roesi vice cerne sigilli, etc. (only in late mss. B, C, D) | *In wyttneses of thy thing my side was opened for sealing, & I have set the seal of my heart's blood.* | The ink for the Charter was the blood from the crown of thorns. [The five seals were wrought of steel and iron. They are—Father and Son, God and man, the Conception by the Holy Ghost.] Sealing wax = blood sought at Christ's heart. |
| 8. *In caluarie summo sunt hec data gratis... die quo iam morior valeatis.* | *Datum apud Hierusalem at Calvary, the first day of the great mercy.* | *Given and granted on Calvary, on that hill, Friday before the Passover in yr. of my reign 30 winter & 30 half year.* | *[Consummatum est this Charter is done.]
[Date implied would be Good Friday, etc.] |

9. Legend on strap of seal—*factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques(cent).* Psal. 22 (131). (Only in mss. C and D). | | | The sealing wax was sought at my heart's root; *Factum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei.* |
An examination of this table, and of the text of *Carta Domini*, shows that all the Deeds have in common:

(a) the legal form of a charter (including *formula* clauses, such as *Reddendo, Hija Testibus*, etc.), which is followed, however, in greater or less detail;
(b) the grant of Heaven to man (in *Carta Domini*, the grant is not expressed as such, but is clearly implied by the whole context of the Charter);
(c) the day of the crucifixion as the date of sealing or bestowal of the Deed.

It is probable, therefore, that these features belonged to the prototype of the extant texts.

It will be observed further, that *Carta Libera*, the *Long Charter*, and the *Short Charter*, besides particular resemblances of one with another, all contain in the *Reddendo* clause, the requirement of love or "true love" to God. Accordingly it will be well to note in detail the special relationship of these texts to one another.

First, however, it should be said that *Carta Libera*, though containing numerous popular features which ally it more closely with the other Deeds, yet is the only text clearly showing points of agreement with *Carta Domini*, exclusive of those already mentioned as belonging to all the Deeds. These points are: (a) the occurrence, at the end of its long list of witnesses, of the words *cum sacro neupmate patre*,\(^5\) which seem to mean that the Father and the Spirit were also witnesses to the Deed; (b) the statement that the Deed was written in Christ's blood.\(^6\) Thus *Carta Libera* may perhaps represent a state of transition from one type of Charter to

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5. The sense seems to require a connective between *neupmate* and *patre* though the metre forbids. Note a similar omission of connectives in line 19.
6. In the Long Charter, however, the ink was the blood which flowed from the wounds made by the crown of thorns.
another. Its closest resemblance, however, is to the Short Charter, with which it has in common several points not to be found in the other Deeds:

(a) the phenomena of darkness, earthquake, etc., the Virgin Mary and St. John, as witnesses;
(b) Christ's own heart attached to the Deed for more security;
(c) Likenesses between the expression *et sique patior videantur non satis arta, post hec en morior*, of Carta Libera, and the following lines of the Short Charter:

If anyone should say now
That I have not died for man's prow,
Rather than man should be forlorn,
Yet would I eft be all to torn.

These resemblances might seem sufficiently striking to suggest that the Short Charter was translated directly from Carta Libera, with such omissions as the author saw fit to make; but to this theory there are two objections. One is that the Short Charter, by connecting the wound in Christ's side or heart with the seal, resembles the Long Charter and Kent Charter; and the other is that we should hardly expect so brief and concise a text as the Short Charter to derive from a source as detailed and complex in portions as Carta Libera. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to regard the Short Charter as originating from an older and simpler Deed—either the text from which Carta Libera itself derived, or another farther back in the line of its descent.

Let us next examine the Long Charter. This version appears at first sight to be most closely related to Kent Charter by virtue of the fact that these two alone contain

'A reversal of this relationship, though possible, is too improbable to be seriously considered.
the metaphor identifying the Saviour's Crucified Body with the Deed. This resemblance, however, must be regarded with caution. This figure, as has already been shown, was common in the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it may, therefore, have been introduced independently into each charter from one of these extraneous sources. Two other resemblances of the Long Charter with Kent Charter are:

(a) the mention (in 2) of East and West—a slight and probably wholly accidental parallelism. The context does not justify our assuming relationship from this likeness.

(b) the seal of one and sealing wax of the other identified with Christ's blood flowing from the wound in His heart or side.

It is possible that this last feature, joined to the common possession of the metaphor, may indicate that the Long Charter and Kent Charter were specially related. But on the other hand, the Short Charter also connected the wound in Christ's side with the seal, and it bears no other likeness to Kent Charter. But this resemblance in the three versions may, it seems to me, be accounted for most naturally by supposing either cross influence, or influence from some outside allusion such as those mentioned in Section 4. Early in the fourteenth century we find such expressions as the following, in a poem of Phillipps ms. 8336 (fol. 204 b) by William Herebert, a Franciscan who flourished about 1330:

*See pp. xlvii ff.

*The Long Charter here evidently intends a reference to Psal. LXXXIV. 7: Quia neque ad oriente, neque ad occidente, neque a desertis montibus.

and it is likely that the feature of the seal varied in its details in other works also.

The *Long Charter* also resembles *Carta Libera* and the *Short Charter* in recording as witnesses the Virgin and St. John, but adds also the other three Evangelists while lacking the phenomena of darkness, earthquake, etc., which appear in both the other texts. It has, beside, two features in common with *Carta Libera* alone:

(a) Christ’s promise of mercy to the repentant;
(b) the description of the place of crucifixion by the adjective "high."

Moreover, in addition to these points of resemblance, there is further evidence that this Deed traces its descent from some text related to *Carta Libera*, and that is the treatment

\[ \text{In mss. C and D of the Short Charter, there are two additional points of resemblance with the Long Charter: the legend } \text{factum est } \text{cor meum } \text{tanquam } \text{cera } \text{liqueescens } \text{in } \text{medio } \text{ventris } \text{mei, and the four Evangelists—named, however, at the end of the document as Notarii Publici, and not as witnesses, such as they appear to be in the Long Charter. However, as these features do not occur in the earlier mss. of the Short Charter, they are not of much significance in determining its relation to the Long Charter.}

Moreover, by its addition of kindness to the rent of love to God in the *Redendo* clause, the *Long Charter* might be regarded as resembling the *Short Charter*. Since, however, the *Short Charter* expresses this idea as loving "thy neighbor as I do thee," the likeness between the two Deeds does not appear to be very striking, and is more simply explained as coincidence. Love to God and to one's neighbor would naturally be associated in the mind of any Christian writer.]

\[ \text{I do not here include Carta Domini; because, though it, too, as} \]
it accords to the matter of the sealing. It contains not one seal but five, the nails and spear of the crucifixion, to wit, Father and Son, God and Man, and the Conception by the Holy Ghost. This, however, is not very clear, and I suspect that we have here an indication that the author of the Long Charter was adapting the Trinity, in an earlier version, to suit his metaphor of Christ's Body and the Deed. For both Carta Domini and Carta Libera contain, in this connection, references to the Trinity. In Carta Domini we seem to have something near the primary form: Sigillumque me divinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus. Nam hii tres testimonia dant in celo, etc. In Carta Libera, the corresponding passage runs: pono sigillum, and then, after enumerating other witnesses, aliiis multis cum sacro neupmate patre. If now we assume that the words "God and man," in the Long Charter, are in apposition with "Son," we shall have, not five seals (representing the nails in the metaphor) but three: the Father, the Son, and the Conception by the Holy Ghost, corresponding apparently to the Persons of the Trinity, mentioned as seal and witnesses in the other two texts.

One other point remains to be noted in connection with Kent Charter. This text corresponds in some of its witnesses with the list of Christ's sufferings in the Warranty clause of Carta Libera. This again, it appears to me, must be an instance of outside or cross influence. Kent Charter is too unlike any of the other Deeds for us to be able to assert near relationship with them unless we accept its points of resemblance with the Long Charter as proof of such relation. Another stanza of Herebert's poem quoted above, will illustrate the difficulty of attempting to define exact relationships among these texts:

well as Carta Libera, is concerned with the following discussion, it has no other points of resemblance with the Long Charter.
HISTORY AND SOURCES

v
Ich take to wytnessinge
The spere and the crounynge,
The nailes and the rode,
That he that ys so cunde,
Thys ever haveth in munde
That bouhte ous wyth hys blode.

Here a number of the so-called witnesses are identical with those mentioned both in Kent Charter and in the Warranty clause of Carta Libera, and it is impossible to say which list gave rise to the others, or whether there is not also a fourth to which these may later be traced. In general, we may regard Kent Charter as a fairly late text,¹ hence as particularly likely to contain material from various sources rather than from one version alone.

In conclusion, it may be said that the foregoing attempt at defining relationships among the Charters is by no means intended to be regarded as establishing facts, but merely as indicating probabilities. The evidence is too meagre, and the possibilities of outside elements contributing to the features of any Charter is too great a factor, to admit of certainty in the results attained.


Besides the Deed itself, as has previously been stated, Carta Domini and the Long Charter contain additional material developing themes suggested by the instrument. In these additions, however, neither text resembles the other even remotely. This portion of Carta Domini consists of a didactic discourse,¹ for which I know of no source. But for

¹ Cf. p. xl.
¹ See p. xiii.
the additional passages in the Long Charter, which are narrative and descriptive in nature, it is evident that the author drew upon the stock material of his time. From the Complaints of Christ he may have borrowed details of the crucifixion scene, though these may quite as well have come from the numerous Passion poems, homilies, etc., of the period. It is impossible to trace the sources of this material, for it was the common fund of the age. One often finds details of this theme expressed in the same words by men who probably never saw each other's work. Such an expression as: "From His foot unto His head, He was nought else but all bloodred," for example, was picked up and handed about from one work to another, until it might almost be said to form part of the mediæval vocabulary, where Christ was the subject. The five wounds, the five red roses, Christ's coat- armour, etc., are subjects that received treatment at many different hands. The figure of the Indenture, however, as the Sacramental Body of Christ, I have been able to find nowhere except in the Long Charter. It may be that this conception belongs to the author of the A-text.

The expansion of the theme which one finds in the B- and C-texts consists likewise of material which was common to the religious literature of the time, though it is, for the most part, more didactic in character than that of the A-text. Examples are, the seven sacraments, the grief of the Virgin, Christ's admonition to man, etc. In one or two cases we can trace the source, as where the C-text incorporates material from the Lamentacio Sancte Marie. But usually these expansions are so general in character that it is impossible to assign them to any particular source.

* See pp. lxxix ff.
THE INTER-RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SHORT CHARTER

The text of the *Short Charter* comprises, in most of the manuscripts, but thirty-four lines, and the variants, except in a single case, do not offer an opportunity of distinguishing true from spurious readings. It is therefore impossible, with so little available material, to determine the inter-relations of the manuscripts, or to decide which manuscript best represents the text of the original. The following discussion makes no pretense of solving either of these problems; its purpose is merely to present such evidence as exists. This consists: (a) in the external features common to two or more texts; (b) in common readings.

The agreements of the manuscripts in external features may be exhibited in tabular form as follows:

| Mess. containing Latin charter formula headings (no. of formulae varying) | A. | B. | C. | D. | E. | F. | G. | H. | I. | J. | K. | L. | M. |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| contain mention of pelican | { } | { } | contain legend *Cor charte appendum* etc. | { } | { } | { } | { } | Contain seal | { } | { } | { } | { } | { } | Do not contain seal |

\(^1\) Ms. *I* has at the end of its text a shield with a heart inscribed.
It is reasonable to suppose that the original of the *Short Charter*, being written in imitation of a legal document, would have either an actual seal, or a representation of one. Moreover, the seal is found in *A*, our oldest datable manuscript, as also in *E*, a manuscript of the early fifteenth century. Hence we may conclude that the seal was an original feature of the *Short Charter*, and that *mss. F, G, H, J, K, L, and M* depart from the original text in not retaining it. Now, the seals of *A, B, and E* are alike in containing the drawing of a wounded heart with five drops of blood. Since the drawing (or seal) of *ms. I* is unique in form, and is attached at the wrong place after the words, "my own seal thereto I hang," it may have been added by the scribe of this manuscript, and not derived from the manuscript he was copying.

Thus we have two groups: *ABCDE*, and *FGHIJKLM*. This group-division is corroborated by the readings in line 14 where *FGHIJLM* agree in the reading, *as I do thee*, against *BCDE* (*A* unique). *K*, however, agrees here with *BCDE*; but this is probably merely a coincidence, since *K* does not resemble these manuscripts in other particulars, and is a very free version of the text.

The group *FGHIJKLM* is itself divided into *FG* and *HIJKLM*; because (a) *HIJKLM* have none of the Latin *formulae*, which, since they exist in *mss. A* and *E*, and were regular parts of the legal form, were probably in the original upon it. This may have been intended to represent a seal, as it follows the words "my own seal thereto I hang." See discussion below.

*What was on the seals of *C* and *D*, I do not know, as my rephotographs of these *mss.* show only the upper portion of the strap from which the seal depended.

*Whether the drawings called "suns" in the catalogue description of this *ms.* are really suns, or whether, as I believe, they are intended to represent wounds, does not materially affect the point under discussion, since at any rate the drawing in *ms. I* differs essentially from that in *mss. A, B, and E*. See the description of *ms. I*, pp. xxxv f.
of the Short Charter; b) IJKLM agree in at to brake, 24, against ABCDEF, in sonder brake (mss. G and H being unique here, do not affect the grouping); c) FG agree in the readings of 23, 25, 29, and 30; in this last, G appears to be an emendation of the false reading of their common original. The reading of L in 30 is evidently a scribal blunder.

Within the subgroup HIJKLM a special relationship is disclosed between I and J, which agree in line 1 against HKLM. Since no other manuscript of the Short Charter —either within or outside the subgroup—confirms IJ in this line it is certain that the reading of these two mss. is to be regarded as a perversion.

Turning now to ABCDE, we find that mss. A and B agree in containing, at the base of the Charter, an allusion to a pelican, which is not found in C, D, and E. Moreover, A and B have in common two lines, e and f, which do not occur in the other manuscripts. A and B, then, are specially related. Mss. B, C, and D have in common the legend cor charte appensum etc., which does not occur in A probably because it was not reproduced upon the gravestone from which A was copied. E has none of these features. Whether they all belonged originally to the Charter, or to Group ABCDE, it is impossible to say, since none of them is an intrinsic feature of the Charter like the seal, which, as we should expect, is common to all this group.

Ms. D is clearly a copy of ms. C. They read exactly alike, except for very slight differences in spelling and capitalization, and the omission in D of the verse of Scripture which is written on the strap of the seal in C.

The results of the above classification, may be expressed in the following diagram:
IV

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF VERSIONS A, B, AND C, OF THE LONG CHARTER

It is my aim, in this chapter, to show that the A-text represents the oldest extant form of the Long Charter; that the B-text is a redaction made from A, with additions; and that the C-text represents a still later version derived from B.

In the succeeding discussion, the three versions will be referred to as A, B, and C, respectively. It will be necessary to have before us the following tables: the first, giving all the lines of A, with those corresponding in B and C; the second, giving lines which B has in common with C. The numbers in smaller type represent, in the first table, lines in B not occurring in A; in the second table, lines in C not occurring in B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line Correspondences Between A and the Other Versions</th>
<th>Line Correspondences Between B and C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A B C</td>
<td>B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-24</td>
<td>1-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 25-28 31-34</td>
<td>16a-16d 17-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8 29-32 45-48</td>
<td>20a-20b 21-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 33-34 63-64</td>
<td>23-24 27-30</td>
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<tr>
<td>11-16 37-42 67-72</td>
<td>25-28 31-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-18 42a-42b</td>
<td>23a-23d 35-38</td>
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<td>19-20 45-46 77-78</td>
<td>28-28h 41-44</td>
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<td>21-22 43-44 75-78</td>
<td>29-32 45-48</td>
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<td>33-42 63-72</td>
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<td>25-28 53-58 89-92</td>
<td>42a-42b 73-74</td>
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<td>67-68</td>
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<td>29-34 61-66 99-104</td>
<td>43-62 75-84</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>85-88</td>
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<tr>
<td>36 67 (altered)</td>
<td>53-60 89-96</td>
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<td>68-70</td>
<td>97-98</td>
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<tr>
<td>37-38 59-60 95-96</td>
<td>61-74 99-112</td>
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<tr>
<td>39-40</td>
<td>118-116</td>
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<tr>
<td>Line Correspondences between A and the other Versions</td>
<td>Line Correspondences between B and C</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 72 110</td>
<td>75-76</td>
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<tr>
<td>42 71 109</td>
<td>77-78</td>
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<td>43-44 75-74 111-112</td>
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<td>113-116 193-196 last line only, 268</td>
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<td>234 (suggests)</td>
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An examination of these line correspondences brings out at once the following facts:

I. A and B have thirty-five lines in common which are not found in C.

II. B and C have one hundred and seventy-five lines in common which are not found in A.

III. A and C have no lines in common which are not also found in B.

1 Both by position and rhyme.
2 Because they are peculiar to ms. E alone of the B-text, I have not here included lines 16a-16d, 28a-28b, and 152a-152d. If they be included, the number becomes 191.
It is evident, therefore, that B occupies an intermediate position with respect to A and C. Hence we are obliged to accept one of the following alternatives: either (1) A derives from B; in which case either C is derived from B, or else B is derived from C; or (2) B derives from A; in which case it follows that C must be derived from B.\footnote{Thiem, in his discussion of the Planctus contained in Version C (\textit{Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen} 82) remarks in passing: \textit{"Die genannte längste Version [C-text] \ldots, ebenso wie die zweitlängste [B-text] \ldots aus der kürzesten [A-text] \ldots entwickelt, ist die einzige der Versionen die eine Mk. enthält." He had evidently not noted the intermediate relation in which B stands to the other two texts.}}

The second of these alternatives, as I hope to show, is the true one. The evidence offered has to do both with structure and wording, but as these in some cases cannot be considered separately, I have made no attempt at a rigid distinction between the two classes of evidence. In the succeeding discussion, unless otherwise stated, any manuscript of either version will serve to exemplify the facts pointed out, except, of course, where part of the text of a manuscript is missing. Passages quoted have, where possible, been taken from \textit{ms. G} in Version A and from \textit{ms. C} in Version B, for these manuscripts furnish, on the whole, the best texts of their respective versions.\footnote{See Chapter v. §§ 1 and 2.}

It seems advisable to begin with a passage, which even without other evidence, would, in my opinion, be sufficient to show that B was taken from A. Let us compare A 171-86 with B 267-322.

First, if we suppose that A was derived from B, we must assume that the author of A skipped about in the text before him and picked out his lines (omitting some entirely) in this sequence: B 267-8; 293-4; 297-300; 283-4; 289-90; 277-8; 321-2. While the altered order of these lines might be explained on the hypothesis that A wished to restore the order of events according to the Scriptural narrative, by placing the committal of the Virgin to St. John before the
cry Pater lamazabatani; yet this is not a satisfactory solution, since A was not following the Scriptural account very closely. Secondly, upon this hypothesis it would be hard to account for his having altered the subject matter of B 300-20.

On the other hand, if we suppose that B was taken from A, the situation, as it seems to me, admits of a plausible explanation. First, we should have the following sequence: A 171-2; 8 new lines; 183-4; 4 new lines; 179-80; 4 new lines; 181-2; 2 new lines; 173-4; 2 new lines; 175-8; 20 new lines; 185-6. This would mean simply that A 179-84 were taken out of their place and inserted between 172 and 173, but that the last two were put in first. B's reasons for these changes can, I think, be explained, if one notes that in the A-text the passage we are considering covers only sixteen lines, all of which probably lay before the reviser on a single page, so that his alterations would not involve the turning of leaves or reading ahead for any considerable distance. B, being, as we suppose, a reviser and not a mere copyist, read lines 171-186 of A before writing them down. On coming to A 177-80, he did not grasp their meaning:

177 † I ne hadde wher to take
My testament wherof to make

*The committal preceded the offer of vinegar (St. John xix. 26-30); but as the cry Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani was the immediate occasion for the offering of drink to Christ (St. Matth. xxvii. 46-48; St. Mark xv. 34-36), the committal must also have preceded the cry.

*Note that the Gospels recording both the offer of vinegar and gall to the Lord and the cry Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani (Sts. Matthew and Mark), place the drink immediately after the cry, which is followed directly by the death of Christ; whereas in A (and B) the incident of the vinegar and gall precedes not only the cry but also the committal of the Virgin—a double departure from Scriptural order.

*Had A, on the contrary, been the reviser, he would have been dealing with a block of text comprising fifty-four lines, and his task would have been much more complicated.
But of my moder lef and dere
Sho stod by me wip reuful chere [ms. G].

Line 178 probably suggested to him—as it did to me on first reading—that Christ had nothing out of which to make His Testament, just as He had no parchment for His Charter, lines 51-54. The next line, then, would have no connection, and would, to him, mean simply, “But to speak of my mother, she stood by me sorrowing,” etc. Hence the lines mentioning the Testament would look like an isolated couplet, meaning little, and separating two groups relating to the Virgin. But lines 175-77:

So bare I was of wordles god
When I sholde deye vpon þe rod
But I ne hadde wher to take [ms. G]
did suggest to B the text of Scripture in which Christ declares that He has nowhere to lay His head. This inspired

Ne mighte I fynde no parchemyn
For to laston wel and syn
But as loue bad me do
Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer to [ms. G].

St. Matthew viii. 20: “And Jesus saith unto him, ‘The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nestes; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.’” [Rev. Vers.] Cf. also St. Luke ix. 58. The treatment of this theme was sufficiently common in the Middle Ages. See for example, Disputation between Mary and the Cross, Minor Poems of the Vernon ms. ii. (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 117) 614.

ffoules fourmen heor nestes in þe eyr;
Wolues, in den, reste þei fynde;
But Godes sone, in heuenes heir,
His hed nou leoneþ on þornes tynde.

Cf. also Thien, Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen (Kiel 1906) 51, who refers in this connection to the Lamentacio sancti Bernardi, ed. Kribel, Eng. Stud. viii. 85 ff., lines 369-72:

allas, þin heuid þei al torace,
þat was wonið lye to my brest:
I saw it honge & had no space,
Wher on it myghte ouht han reste.
B's imagination to enlarge upon the theme, and so, after prefixing two lines (295-6):

Upon my shuldur y layde myn hedde
When y prow; faste vnto my deed [B-text, ms. A].

by way of introduction, he changed A 178 to what we find in B 300:

Reste to myne hedde wher-of to make

and followed it by a long digression upon Christ's having no rest in the world, etc.

But this passage of B's, if written directly after A 178, would separate widely the two dealing with the Virgin Mary. So B moved the second of these (179-184) back to connect it with the first (A 171-2), making interpolations to develop the theme of the Virgin's grief, a subject which appealed strongly to the medieval imagination. In this shifting, however, A 183-4 is put first instead of last where it would ordinarily occur:

In sowlychynge I made a cry
Pater lamaşabatany

B making slight alterations. Curiously enough, A and B both connect the cry Pater lamaşabatany with our Lord's distress at seeing His mother's suffering. It is possible, therefore, that B thought that the proper place for it was, not after the committal of the Virgin to St. John, but immediately connected with lines 171-2 and the new lines B 269-76, which deal very vividly with the Virgin's grief. Or, another reason for the position B gives to 183-4 might be

*The fact that B chose to connect A 173-174 with what followed it rather than with what preceded it, is confirmation of this explanation, as it shows that B did not grasp the meaning of the passage. He doubtless took testament 178 as referring to chartre 173, regarding 173-178 as a unit. Perhaps his copy of the Charter was entitled Testament of Christ, as is the version of ms. Vernon.
that he wished to make Christ's cry of dereliction the cause of the swooning of Mary, which he introduces as a new feature in the lines following, B 279-80.

It is interesting to note the changes B made in A 179-80:

But of my moder lef and dere
Sho stod by me with rueful chere [Ms. G].

We recognize them in B 283-4, altered in such a manner as to incorporate them into the description of the scene with less abruptness:

When y layde my hedde her & þer
My moþer changed all he[r] chere [Ms. A].

Moreover, a very significant alteration is that made by B in A 171-2, which read as follows:

And namely my moder swete
ſfor ſhe luft neuer teres lete [Ms. G].

ſfor ſhe is in B altered to the relative pronoun that, because B wished to begin the interpolated passage immediately following, with for, thus:

267 And namely my modyr swete
That for me biody teres gan lete
269 ſfor þer she stode unþer þe rode [B-text, Ms. A]

The next passage we shall examine is A 29-42 = B 57-72. The most important differences between the two texts here involve: A 41-42 = B 72-71; A 37-38 = B 59-60; and B 69-70, which has no equivalent in A. Now B 71-72, as it stands, does not make good sense:

69 Nowe derworſthly soule herke to me
And A newe Ioye I xal telle the
To make A chartore of feffement
72 heuen And erth schuld be present [Ms. C].
Line 71 cannot be connected with line 70, and if connected with 72 the statement means nothing. Heaven and earth were not to make the Charter! But upon examining these lines in A, we find that they are joined in thought and syntax to lines 38-40:

37 Wel he fond hym geyned nost
38 another help was in my poynt
    more syker þe to make
40 a geyn þi fo ful of wrake
    Heuene and erthe in present
42 To make a chartre of feffement [ms. G],

and mean clearly enough: "another help was in my mind to make thee more safe against thy foes, namely, heaven and earth being present, to make a charter of feoffment." The infinitive to make of line 42 is in apposition with another help of line 38. But line 38 (= B 60) is very different in the B-text, and stands in an altogether different place, i.e., immediately before the description of the temptation, B 61 (= A 29):

59 wrotch he was it helpe hyme noughts
    for to helpe the was All my thoughts
    he tempted me to gret folly
    in pride covetyse And glotenye [B-text, ms. C].

This leaves the infinitive to make, B 71 (A 42), without logical connection. B did not see, or else he forgot, the intimate relation existing between lines 38 and 42 of A. So, wanting some material to make the transition between A 28 and 29 less abrupt—

27 Tho belsabub and sathanas
28 Hadde gret wounder whi it was
    He fondes me wip felonye
39 Wip pryde couetise and glotenye [ms. G]—
he moved A 37-38 up to this point, altering as he desired, and prefixed two explanatory lines of his own, B 57-58:

55  pat cursed fende Sathanas
      hade gret wondyr why it was
57  wher for I schulde so mechc loue the
58  that so unkend hast be to me
59  wroth he was it helpe hym noughte, [B-text, ms. C].

This assuredly improves the poem, for in A 28 the expression whi it was is by no means clear, and the transition from line 28 to 29 is very abrupt.

But this left A 39-42 in bad shape. The author of B now cut out 39-40 which had lost their connection, and substituted two lines of his own (69-70) perhaps for the purpose of emphasizing the Charter, which is here mentioned for the first time:

69  Nowe derworthily soule herke to me
70  And A newe Ioye I xal telle the

This, of course, left A 41-42 absolutely stranded. So B altered them to read as follows:

71  To make A chartore of fessements
72  behune And erth schuld be presentes  [ms. C].

Had the author of B been the author of the poem, he would have changed these lines to read:

    behune And erth in presents
    I make A chartore of fessements

thus making good sense, as well as fulfilling the grammatical requirements. But B shows in his treatment of this passage that he has not grasped A's idea at all, and feebly alters the lines so that, though remaining grammatically correct, they are logically without point. We have, therefore, in B 57-72, clear evidence, not only that B was derived from A, but also
that the author of the B-text was not the author of the Charter, but a reviser only.\footnote{The changes made by B in A 33-36 (B 65-68) are unimportant, and doubtless arose from B's effort to improve upon A. Certainly A 34 is a very poor line.}

The construction of B 93-102 also throws light upon the question of the priority of A over B:

\begin{verbatim}
89 Parchement to fynde wyst I none
90 To make thy charture Aȝene thy fone
     þat wolde last wyth oute ende
     herkenyth now to my wordes hende
93 but as trewe loue bad me do
     Myn owne skyne I toke þere-to
95 And whanne I hade sit so I-do
96 wul ßewe frendes had I þo
97 to get me frendes I þaf gret mede
     as doth þe pore þat hath gret mede
     But for to þeue the I hade no more
100 for thi sowle þat was for-lorne
     þanne myselfe for to þeue the
102 þat for the dyed vppon A tre \textit{[ms. C]}.  
\end{verbatim}

Lines 95-96 are very poor, and their logical connection with the preceding is not of the clearest. Moreover, the next six lines do not progress but leave us at the end just where we started. The thought of the passage might be expressed in this way: "as true love bade me, I gave my own skin for the Charter. When I had done this, I had but few friends; to get some I gave good reward, but had nothing to give but myself." Now I believe that this awkwardness arose from B's not grasping A's thought. The parallel passage in A runs as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
51 ne myste I fynde no parchemyn
52 ffor to laston wel and fyn
\end{verbatim}
But as loue bad me do
Myn owne skyn y saf per-to
55 To gete me frendes I saf god mede
So dop pe pore pat hap gret mede [ms. G].

It will be noted that A lacks B 95-96 and 99-102. A's meaning is undoubtedly this: "as love bade me do, I took my own skin for the parchment—to obtain followers (disciples) I gave good reward indeed; just as the poor man does in his need"; i.e. the reward, or payment, is the giving of His skin to be used as parchment, or, in other words, the death upon the Cross. Since B missed the connection between A 54 and 55, he thought the reference to friends must be made clear; and having in mind those who forsook the Lord in the time of His need, he inserted lines 95-6 to lead up in some degree to line 97. In the same way, supposing the word mede, in A 55, to be without connection, he wrote 99-102 to show what the mede was. Had B been the original, and A the revised text, it would be difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for A's omission of B 95-6 while retaining 97-98, and for his omission of 99-102.

The next passage indicating that B was derived from A is found in A 165-71 = B 251-67. A reads:

165 Aporst I was ful sore y-swonke
pe beuersche moste nepes ben pronke
A lone drynk I asked of pe
Eysel and galle pou jeue me

"As I understand A in this passage, there is no intention of leading up to the Last Supper in the expression: I saf good mede. The Last Supper was not instituted by Christ in any sense as a bribe, or price of men, nor could it have been so conceived by A. Indeed, both A and B describe the Eucharist as being intended "Bope frend and fo to maky glade" (ms. G, line 58) with heavenly food, and to be the memorial of the Passion of Christ. Hence the colon punctuation after line 58 of the Vernon text, in the E. E. T. S. edition, p. 641, is wrong, and a period should be substituted.
Now in B 251-4, corresponding to A 185-8, we see preparations leading to the introduction of a new idea, namely, a figurative drink asked of man by the Lord, which is developed in B 255-264 (not occurring in A). Beginning at 251, B reads:

251    Well drye y was & thurstede sore
       But of such drynk myyth y no more
       for aysell & galle pey sef to me
       But on drynke aske y of the

255    That pou be loung towards by fone
       ober drynke of pe aske y non
       sef pou me loue haue pis yn mynde
       To by enimyes be pou ryght kynde
       Ensaumpull pou myst take her of me

260    For loue of my fone y honge on tre
       But my fadyr y pray the
       Vpon my enimyes pat pou haue pyte
       And as y do do pou to pyne
       Then saued shalt pou be fro helle pyne

265    He ben wytneasen mo þen on
       Marke Mathew luke & jon         [ms. A].

The preparatory lines 251-4 are, however, not skilfully managed by B. Line 252, which has no equivalent in A, is wellnigh meaningless. But the significant feature about them lies in the inversion of the order of lines 253-4 from that in the A-text. It is clear that B made this change because “on drynke aske y of þe” leads up better to his interpolated passage 255 ff.11 Moreover, it will be noticed that

“One might question whence B could have drawn this peculiar conception of “on drynke ... that þu be louynge,” etc. Perhaps the word loue-drynke in A suggested it to him; or possibly he copied loue as one because he missed seeing the I (it may have been illegible or widely separated from the rest of the word).
the interpolation of B 255-264 leaves lines 265-266 (A 169-170) without connection with what precedes them. In A, however, these two lines are in very close connection with the preceding lines. The differences that appear in this passage between the two texts are easily explainable on the hypothesis that B is derived from A, but are much less easily intelligible on the contrary hypothesis.

Again in B, lines 197-8, which have no equivalent in A, suggest a misunderstanding of the A-text on the part of the author of B:

197 In my blysful Ioye eyr to dwelle
198 for þe rent þat I xal þe telle [ms. C].

Now B inserts these lines between 116 and 117 of the following passage of the A-text, separating a direct object from its verbs, and implying a false relation:

107 Wip my chartre here in present [B 187]
I make heron confirmament [B 188]
That I haue granted and yeue [B 189]
110 To þe mankynde with me to leue [B 190]
In my revme of heuon blisse
To haue & to holden with-outen mysse
In a condicioun jif þou be kynde
And my loue dedes haue in mynde
115 fre to haue and fre to holde [B 195]
116 Wip al þe purtinaunce to wolde [B 196]
117 Min erytage þat is so fre [B 199]
ßfor homage ne for fewte [B 200]
118 No more wole I aske of þe [B 201]
120 But a four leued gras to þelde me [ms. G].

Min erytage, line 117, is the direct object of to haue and to holde in 115. But in B this object is separated by lines 197-8 from its verbs. Moreover, line 198 introduces the mention of rent, which does not belong at this point, but after 199 (== A above, line 118). I believe this interpola-
tation shows that B did not observe the connection of min
erytage with to have and to holde of A 115, but supposed
their object to be the same as that of to have & to holden
with-outen mysse in A 112, namely, a feffment, which B
substituted for the confirmament of A 108.\textsuperscript{12}

There are, in A, certain words and expressions that B
seems to have altered either because they were archaic or
unfamiliar to him, or because they were not sufficiently re-
fin'd for his taste. These alterations I offer as evidence
corroborative of what it has been my effort to prove in the
preceeding paragraphs of this chapter:

A 29: fondes or fondede = B 61: tempted
A 67: kirtel = B 135: mantylle
A 74: forletton = B 140: forsoken
A 75: piht, or plyt = B 151: bound\textsuperscript{18}
A 76: tawed = B 152: beten
A 83: neb, nesse\textsuperscript{14} = B 161: face
A 84: Of iewe spotted on
   me to stykke\textsuperscript{15} = B 162: thornes in my
   hed gan to synke
A 136: stiph = B 218: smyth
A 141: shuldedon, or thrille-
don = B 225: smytten
A 165: yswonke or swon-
gen = B 251: dry
A 209: bykeþe or bykeye = B 361: a wel faire
   thyng
A 212: þar þe not drede = B 364: to kepe þe euer
A 218: camelyn = B 376: satyn

\textsuperscript{12} In Dr. Furnivall's print of Harl. 2382, \textit{Minor Poems of the Vernon
ms. ii.} (E. E. T. S.) the punctuation of a period after line 198, and
of a comma after line 199, is therefore incorrect. There should be a
period after 199, and a comma after 198.

\textsuperscript{14} But see line 247, where the word is retained.

\textsuperscript{18} Ms. H of the A-text reads face, but, as will be seen later (Chapter
v. § 4), the readings of this ms. do not affect those of the B-text.

\textsuperscript{15} Mss. I and K read differently; but see Chapter v. § 4.
Now since a revised text is necessarily of a later date than its original, there is a strong probability that it will show modernization, rather than archaization, of vocabulary; hence the above list certainly contributes to the argument that A is the original text. It adds force also to the argument that B was not written by A.

This concludes the evidence I have to offer regarding the dependence of B upon A.16

It has already been demonstrated (pp. lxix f.) that if B is derived from A, C is derived from B. If, therefore, my argument for the derivation of B from A is sound, it follows as a necessary consequence that C was derived from B. Nevertheless, it seems desirable to consider certain passages of B and C, both because they show that the differences between the two texts confirm the validity of my argument, and

***The two following lists of classified interpolations made in the poem by B may prove of interest as showing B's contribution to the material he found. Interpolations discussed in the preceding pages are not recorded here, since they have already been accounted for.

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<th>I. To explain A-text.</th>
<th>II. To add interesting subject matter.</th>
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<td>B 47-48</td>
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<td>142-50</td>
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<td>154-56</td>
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</table>

With B, lines 20a-22 (C 25-28), compare the Lamentacio Sancte Marie of the Vernon ms. (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 98, p. 398) lines 15-16:

pe mon pat con, and techie nille,
He mai hauie drede of godes wrecche.

B's additions in 154-156, and 177-178, present difficulties, in that the former is a clumsy repetition of 151-152, and the latter does not join with what follows.
because they enable us to perceive the method which the
author of C pursued.

The Charter, in the A- and B-texts, makes a grant of
eternal life in heaven to man. See B 37-39 and 188 ff.:

Myne erytage that is so fre
In þi myschefe I þaf the
And whanne þat solynge A þeue þe solde, etc.

I make to mannes Soule a ffeffement
þat I haue grantyd and I-þeue
To manke in wyth me for to be
In my kindome of hevene blysse [ms. C],

which correspond to A 11-13, and 108-111. Now C has
changed myn heritage to my blysful body, lines 67 ff., thus
substituting the Sacrament as Christ’s gift to man. This
is in accord with C’s emphasis upon the Sacrament all
through (for instance, note his interpolations of 132-138;
141-154; and 580-64). But when referring, in a later pas-
sage, to the grant made by Christ’s Charter, C does not seem
to remember his previous alteration of heritage to my blysful
body, and retains the idea of heaven in the grant, as in B.
See C 264-72:

264 þat I ihesus of nazaret, godys sone,
265 as gyn for euere, & grauntyed,
and þis charter confirmed,
how mans sawle in my joy to belde,
Wyt all þe purtenance þer with to welde,
to af & to hald with-out[n] mysse
270 þat for-sayd place, heuen blysse,
In þat blyseed place for euere to dwell,
272 for þe rent þat I sall þe tell . . . .

Next, let us consider an important alteration made by C
in the following lines from B:
353  Oon endentur y lafte with þe  
Wher-of þou shalt euer sykur be  
355  In þe prestus honde my flesh & blode  
That for þe was honged on þe rode [Ms. A].

This reads, in C:

557  þis charter þus celyd, lewe I wyll þe,  
Ware-by þu sall ay sekyr be:  
My þrecyus body, of þe preste hande  
560  for to resaywe, þu sall vnderstand

On comparing C 557 with B 353, we see that C has changed the word *indenture* of B (as of A) to *charter*. Here C misses the whole point of the allegory as conceived by A and followed by B. For note that in A and B, the *Charter* is that Body of Christ which was sacrificed on the Cross, written upon by scourges, sealed with nails and spear, and completed by the death of Him who grants it— "Consummatum est, þis Charter is doon"; but the Body of Christ as present in the Eucharist is the *Indenture*:

B 353  Oon endentur y lafte with þe  

In þe prestus honde my flesh & blode, etc.

They are, of course, in a sense, identical, yet different. Now originally, an *indenture* was a deed having two copies. "Both copies," says the *New English Dictionary*, "were written on one piece of parchment or paper, and then cut asunder in a serrated or sinuous line, so that when brought together again at any time, the two edges exactly tallied, and showed that they were parts of one and the same original document: hence the expression 'pair of indentures.'" This, it is stated, is the earliest sense of the word.17 The

"Among examples given by the *New English Dictionary* is the following from Barbour's *Bruce* l. 513: "The barownys thus accordyt
conception of A, followed by B, is, then, that the Sacramental Body of Christ is the copy of the ascended Crucified Body, given to man by the Saviour as surety of the heavenly heritage. The Charter is to be read at the last day (cf. A 228, B 386); but those who have received the Sacramental Body, the "Indenture," may claim their inheritance when they will.  

This ingenious and poetical application of the figure in the word _indenture_ was overlooked by the author of C, who, as has been pointed out, alters the word to _charter_; so that what was, in A and B, a consistent and effective allegory becomes, in C, a confused mixture of two ill-defined ideas—namely, the literal and sacramental aspects of Christ's Body; indeed, I should say of three ideas, since the heritage of heaven is also involved (in 269-73, previously quoted).

Another passage radically altered by C, requires notice, namely, B 267-292 (= C 333-364). The significant changes are chiefly in the order of the lines, and usually we can trace C's reason for the shiftings. The first point to be noticed is the insertion of B 289-292 after B 270 and the interpolation of C following it, and of B 279-82 immediately after these—changes resulting in C 351-358.

This shifting is easy to understand. B 289-92 is as follows:

289 When seyn john y her betoke
290 She caste on me a dwlye loke

ar, And that Ilk nyght writyn war Thair Endenturis, and aythis maid." Another is from Caxton's _Chron. Eng._ _OXLIII_ 127: "The fourme of accord . . . was in a payr of Endentures and they put her seales vnto that one part, and they that comen in the kynges name putt her seales to that other part of endentures."

"Cf. A 232: Come and cleyme whan þou wilt
   þe bliese þat loste oure former frende,

and lines in B expressing a similar idea.
As pouȝ y hadde her all forsake
And to an-ȝer sone her be take

[ms. A; == C 351-54]

and B 270 (referring to the Virgin):

She sawe my body all on blode  [== C 336]

After this line C has inserted an interpolation of fourteen lines, developing the scene at the Cross more fully, the last five of which record the committal of St. Mary to St. John:

345 & I sayd to my moder Mary:
'Be-halde þi sone þat standes þe by!'
To Ion I spak wordes of pyte:
'Behald þi moder! hy tak hyre to þe'
Wen I spak þis wordes þere,
350 Vntyll hyre hart þai went ful nere;

At this point, therefore, it would naturally occur to C that the above lines in B, 289-92 relating to the same subject, fit better here than where they stand in B. C accordingly inserts them at the end of his interpolation, consequently after B 270.

He next inserts B 279-282 directly after this altered passage, as follows:

C 355 Onone scho fell downe in swounynge
Be-for þe cros at my dyynges
þe paynes þat I hade were full sore,
C 358 Bot for my moder þai were wel more!

Thus C evidently preferred that the swooning of the Virgin should result from her being resigned to St. John rather than from Christ's cry, Ely lamanabatany. To be delivered over to the care of another would bring home to a mother's heart more bitterly than anything else would, what her son's death was to mean to her. The touch is a natural one, and shows keen insight into human nature. Accordingly, C is
oblighed also to change the position of B 277-8, containing Christ's cry, to a point where it shall no longer be the occasion of the Virgin's swooning. Hence, after aptly changing "for sorrow of her y made a cry" (B 277) to "for sorrow of my passion I made a cry," C inserts B 277-8 before B 273-6, where they produce the effect of merely intensifying the Virgin's misery. This is, however, not a very satisfactory change, since it leaves Christ's cry still in the midst of a description of the Virgin's grief, instead of, as in A and the Scriptures, immediately preceding Christ's death, its proper place:

C 357 ye paynes pat I hade were full sore [== B 281]
358 Bot for my moder pai were wel mor[e]! [== B 282]
359 for soro of my passion I made a cry, [== B 277]
360 A cryed 'hely lama zabadany.' [== B 278]
   it semed my moder hart wald brek; [== B 274]
   No worde to me per myght scho speke; [== B 273]
   No wonder was if hyre were wo, [== B 275]
364 Wen sho saw me dyght so!, etc. [== B 276]

Observe too, that whereas B had shifted the episode of the committal of the Virgin to a point after the Saviour's last cry, C has returned to the original sequence in placing the cry after the committal, as in A. To do this it was not necessary that he should have seen a copy of A, for in all the Gospels the "Eli! Eli! lama-sabachthani," or another cry not expressed in words, is uttered by Christ just before His death; and C may very well have noticed the false sequence in B, and have sought to alter it.

An omission from C of twenty-nine lines of B (94-122) requires special notice. The gap is just after C 131. Instead of the B lines that would naturally stand here, the C-text gives seven new lines, and then goes on to B 123-4. These B lines, however, were not dropped by C himself, but by the loss of a leaf from some manuscript between C's own text and our copy, ms. Royal 17. C xvii., as an exami-
nation of C's seven new lines and their relation to the preceding text will show:

127 to mak pi charter of pi wele-fare, [B 90]
parchemen to fynde wyst I neuer ware [B 89]
pat wyld last to pe warldes end;— [B 91]
130 harkyns now to my wordes hend!— [B 92]
Bot as trow loue bad me do, [B 93]
loke ware I af not done so.
pis wordys are þus to vnderfong
to lewed men in ynglys tong:
135 My flesche trewely es mans fode,
pat for mans saule dyed on þe rode;
My blode for sothe þi drynk sal be,
pat for þe was sched on þe rod[e] tre.
Wo-so it resaywes wyt-outyn mys, [B 123]
140 Sawyd sal he be, & cum to blys; [B 124]

It will be evident that the seven new lines do not connect with what goes before, but contain an explanation of the Sacrament. Now since a reference to the Last Supper, followed by an explanation of the Sacrament, is exactly what we have in the missing text of B, it is probable that C's seven new lines were merely an addition made by him to B 94-122, which were present in the copy from which he was transcribing, and that pis wordys, of C 133, refer to Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem, which occur in the missing passage. That this rubric stood, in the original text

28 Cf. with this, De Lamentacione Sancte Marie ed. Fröhlich (Leipzig 1902) 84:

526 To cry full lound my son bigan:
‘Hely, hely,’ his crying was,
‘Lamazabatany’ efter þan.
pir wordes er als men may se
530 In ynglysch tong to vnderstand:
‘Fader, whi forsoke þou me,
þus to be bon in bytter band?’

[from ms. Rawl. poet. 175.1]

Here “pir wordes” refer to the Hebrew which needed translation.
of B, directly after line 122, is probable, because the marginal rubric of ms. E, memoriam fecit [mir]abilium suo[r[um]], is written opposite lines 121-22, thus seeming to agree with A, which records the rubric Hoc facite etc., at this point. Moreover, upon the hypothesis that the missing text of B was retained by C, we can explain C 167, "Bot or þat I fra þe borde rase"; should we assume the contrary hypothesis this line would be left unrelated to what goes before. A word must be said regarding line 132 in C. This line, as it seems to me, must have been composed by the scribe who was using as copy the manuscript from which the leaf was lost, in order to complete the couplet with line 131. It is manifestly not a part of the C addition which follows it.

Beginning with line 379, C has inserted a long passage extending to 453, and comprising chiefly a lament of the Virgin Mary, which is addressed to Mary Magdalene. The scene is at the Cross. The Magdalene’s replies are in much the same vein as the Virgin’s lamentation. Hermann Thien, in his dissertation, *Ueber die Englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel 1906) has already pointed out that the author of the Charter has used for this passage material from a Planctus in the form of a dialogue between the Virgin and St. Bernard, in which the Virgin narrates the sufferings and death of Jesus, and bewails her bereavement. This Planctus has been several times printed: by G. Kribel in 1885, by Horstmann in 1892, and by W. Fröhlich in 1902.

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*And not, as in ms. ARDX, after line 112, where they were probably moved by the scribe of the source of these mss. to fit with the preceding couplet, 111-112.

*Ms. F, of the A-text, shifts the rubric to the point between lines 60 and 61, but this has no significance for the present discussion.

*Lines 165-66 of C certainly do not furnish a sufficient antecedent for line 167, but rather show a necessarily ineffectual effort of the scribe to connect what he perceived to be unrelated material.


*E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 98, Part i. 297-328.

*De lamentacione Sancte Marie (Leipzig 1902).
pp. 83-4, prints such passages from the Planctus and Charter as show the influence of the one upon the other, namely:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLANCTUS</th>
<th>CHARTER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>379-80</td>
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<tr>
<td>385, 390</td>
<td>387-88</td>
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<td>393-96</td>
<td>389-92</td>
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<td>397-400</td>
<td>395-98</td>
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<td>419-22</td>
<td>401-04</td>
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<td>423-28</td>
<td>405-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>429, 431</td>
<td>413-14</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

and he calls attention to line 413 ff. of the Charter, which, as he says, “beweisen dass der Dichter des Testaments [i. e. of the Charter] aus der Lamentacio abschrieb, und dass nicht etwa das umgekehrte Verhältnis vorliegt.” I quote the lines in question:

413    I prayd hyre go were hyre wylles was
       (i. e. the Virgin prayed Magdalene)
414    for I wold byde & syng alas!
415    I prayd þam go weder þai wolde,
       þfor a song of murnyng syng I sulde.
       Scho sette hyre down be syde þe rode,
       & lokyd o-pon hyre blody fode:
       & als scho stode & lokyd me on,
420    Scho saw my lyfe was nere gon.

"I quote this pair of parallels by way of illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLANCTUS</th>
<th>CHARTER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>393  Maudeleyn seide: ‘I con no</td>
<td>Magdalan sayd: ‘I can no 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red,</td>
<td>nober rede,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care had smiten myn herte</td>
<td>I knele &amp; se my lorde nere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sore;</td>
<td>dede;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I stonde, I see my lord neih</td>
<td>suffl grete soro has amytyyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ded,</td>
<td>my harte,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396  And þi wepyng greuþ me</td>
<td>And þit me rewes þi payn[e]s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more.’</td>
<td>smarte.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
     392
Alas, alas! gan sho synge;
ful fast hyre handis gan scho wryng.

"Diese Verse haben Sinn nur im Munde der Maria, die sie in der Lamentación auch spricht; der Dichter hat nach Übernahme der Mkl. Aus Z [i.e. the Planctus] einen Augenblick vergessen, dass nach der Anlage seines Stückes Jesus erzählt und nun fortfahren müsste. Thien is undoubtedly right; cf. lines 417 ff., especially me in 419, which of course means Christ."

For the remainder of the Virgin's lament, as it is contained in the Charter, lines 424-34, Thien says that he knows no source. It is quite possible that C himself may be the author of this, and of the conventional description of the effect of the Virgin's grief upon her, which occupies the lines immediately following.

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Other correspondences between this Planctus and the Charter have already been pointed out in connection with the B version as well as with C, p. lxxxii, note.

Attention should be called to the misplacement in C of lines 523-556 (= B 217-250). The passage covers the description of the seals of the Charter, and in A and B it follows immediately upon the words of the Deed as read by Christ. In C, however, it occurs directly after the mention of Easter—hence, after the descent into hell and the Resurrection:

521 pe fest was of ioy & blyse
Pasche-day called it ese
pe seles pat pe charter es seled with

524 pai ware made at a smythe; etc.

At first I thought the passage must have been on a loose page in C's original, which had somehow slipped in at the wrong place. But, though this may be the explanation, the lines immediately following appear to have been altered from what they were in B in order to unite with it closely, thus making the shifting seem intentional:

C 557 pis charter þus celyd lewe I wyll þe
ware by þu sall ay sekyr be
My precious body, of the prest hande

which compare with the corresponding lines in B (353-55):
one indenture y left to the,
where-of bu shalt ever syker be
In prestys bandes my fleashe & blode

If C purposely shifted the position of the description of the sealing,
he lost rather than gained, since the proper place for it was after
the reading of the Deed, more especially as the Deed was not sealed
after the Resurrection but on the Cross:

B 217  Thes selys that it is selyd wit\[C 523, etc.\]
they were made alle at a Smyth
of gold ne Siluer were thei noght
of Stile and yren were thei wroght
with a spere of Stile myn hert was stonge
222  thurf my syde & thurf my hunge
. . . . . . . . . .
225  with yren nayles they smyten me
thurghe fete & bandes on be rode-tre
The selyng-wax was dere y-boght
228  at myn herte-rote it was sought, etc.  ms. X.
VERACITY AND INTER-RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LONG CHARTER

§ 1. THE A-TEXT

A study of the most important variations in the manuscript readings of Version A leads to the following conclusions:

I. That $G$ is the best manuscript, having preserved more of the readings of the common original than any other of the extant manuscripts.

II. That there are, in A, two main groups, namely, $G$ and $IKFVHJL$, the latter of which is subdivided into $IK$ and $FVHJL$, and $FVHJL$ again into $FV$ and $HJL$.

III. That none of these manuscripts can be shown to be a direct copy of another without the intervention of other copies.

Slight variations in readings have not been considered in the present investigation, since the possibility of chance correspondence in minor details makes it unsafe to base conclusions upon them. Evidence of the veracity of the various manuscripts, considered with reference to the text of the common original, and evidence of manuscript inter-relations, must alike be derived from the presence, in certain manuscripts, of readings which we can ascertain to be spurious. The following lines afford evidence of this character, the decisive lines, containing clear errors, being distinguished by an asterisk from the corroboratory lines, which contain probable errors: 17*, 22*, 79*, 122*, 147*, 149*, 218*, and 12, 57, 76, 83, 84, 90, 206.

We shall take up the decisive readings first in order.

Line 17*: Correct, $GIK$. Spurious, $FVHJL$. Here the...
readings in FVHJL make no sense. The reference is not to Christ and man, but to Christ alone.

Line 22*: Correct, GFVIK. Spurious, HJL. As in line 17, this reference should not include man, since Christ alone was received by the Virgin.

Line 79*: Correct, GFVH (JL lacking). \(^1\) Spurious, IK. Streyned to drye vpon a tre carries on the figure of parchment introduced at line 51, and contained in line 80, etc. To dethe destroys the figure.

Line 122*: It is necessary, in order to avoid confusion, to postpone the discussion of this line until the subgroups of the manuscripts are ascertained, since the decision made in regard to this reading affects the main groups only. See pp. c ff.

Line 147*: Correct, GFVHJ. Spurious, IK. See the context, especially line 149.

Line 149*: Correct, GVHJ. Spurious, FIK. The word fyff refers, of course, to the fifth seal. Fyrst is a scribal blunder. Cf. for this line also p. cviii.

Line 218*: Correct, HJ. Spurious, GFVIK. The original reading must have been as it is in HJ, white camelyn, since the reference is evidently to the skin of our Lord's Body. Moreover, three lines down, this camelyn is described as being ypoudred wip fyf roses red, the Five Wounds. Red camelyn scattered over with red roses could hardly have been the picture in the mind of the author. The reading red camelyn may possibly have been due to a confusion, in the mind of some scribe, with the scarlet robe which the Jews (according to St. Matthew's Gospel) put upon Christ at the time of the mocking. He may have forgotten for the moment that the figure had reference to Christ's Body. Cf. also for this line pp. xcvi f.

Corroboratory Readings.

\(^1\) As the text of ms. L comes to an end with line 62, L will not in future be accounted for in references to lines after that point.
Line 12: Correct, GFVHLJ. Spurious, IK. IK has altered the infinitive construction, which, judging from the context, is evidently intended.

Line 57: Correct, GFVHLJ. Spurious, IK. The word soper is more natural in a reference to the institution of the Sacrament than feste, which is later applied to Easter (197, 203). Here, it is probably a scribal alteration.

Line 76: Correct, probably GFVH (J lacking). Spurious, IK. Tugged and tawed, as the more archaic reading, is likely to have been in the original. Cf. p. lxxxi.

Lines 83, 84: Correct, GFVH (J lacking). Spurious, IK. The alterations here were evidently introduced by the scribe of IK's source in order to refine the language. Moreover, mss. G and V use the word neb, which is changed in the other manuscripts to the less archaic neese and face.

Line 90 Correct, GK (I unique): red and \{ wan; wen
spurious, FVH (J lacking): black and \{ wen (Wan, however, in H and K is not correct, as the rhyme shows). The scribes did not understand the meaning of wen, which was an unusual word. The meaning of wen I take to be, beautiful, good to look at; and red and wen here refers to the illumination of the parchment. Red is therefore more appropriate, in this connection, than black.

Line 206: Correct, GFVIK. Spurious, HJ. Note the metre.

Now with regard to the veracity of the manuscripts, it is obvious from the above results that G is nearest to the origi-

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* Especially as Maundy Thursday is, in Latin, Coena Domini.
* Cf. Bradley-Stratmann: wēne [O. E. (or-) wēna, = Goth. (ur-) wēna; O. N. wēn; O. H. G. (ur-) wēn] hopeful, beautiful. The only adjective use of this word quoted by B. S. is in the comparative degree; Syr Gascoyne and the Greene Knight 945: wēner þen Wemer. In Morris's Glossary this word is traced from O. N. wēn, O. Dan. wēn, and defined "fairer."
nal text, since it records the correct reading in five of the six decisive lines (I am excluding line 122), and in all the seven corroboratory lines, making together twelve out of thirteen cases. The other manuscripts follow in this order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECISIVE LINES</th>
<th>CORROBORATORY LINES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>J</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next, let us consider the inter-relations of the manuscripts of A.

For purposes of convenience I wish first to show that, of the extant manuscripts,

a) I and K have an original common to them alone.

b) H, J, and L have an original common to them alone.

It has been seen that mss. I and K agree in the erroneous readings of lines 12, 57, 76, 79*, 88, 84, 147*, against the rest. Other readings which they alone have in common are to be found in lines 1, 15, 28, 30, 45, 49, 73, 100, 121, 124, 135, 158, 162, 163, 193, and 199. Moreover, both manuscripts lack lines 69-72, lines 93-98, and lines 139-40 inclusive. These lines occur in all the others, with the exception of lines 69-72, which are also lacking in ms. J. In ms. J, however, lines 69-72 are only four in a block of missing text beginning at line 63 and ending with 90; so that there is no significance in the absence of 69-72 from ms. J, as far as mss. I and K are concerned. Therefore it is clear that mss. I and K are derived from an original common to them alone.

*From this information it is clear that G would be the best ms. upon which to base a critical text of A.

*Not a full text.
Neither of these manuscripts is a copy of the other. ms. K was not derived from ms. I, as is proved by lines 79*, 90, 218*, and 231. ms. I was not derived from ms. K, for in K lines 63-66, and lines 201-202, are lacking; but they occur in I, as in G and the rest.

Mss. H, J, and L have also a common original to which none of our other manuscripts may be traced. This is established by their agreement in the erroneous readings of lines 20, 22*, and 206, in the latter of which ms. L is, of course, lacking, since it contains but sixty-two lines of text. H, J, and L agree against the other manuscripts also in the readings of lines 38, and 50; and H and J in line 218*, where L is lacking. Their agreement in this line is of particular interest, since it represents a correction, made by the scribe of their common original, of an error traceable to the original of all the extant manuscripts; cf. p. xcviii. Besides, in mss. H and J occur two lines immediately after line 230, which are not found in any of the other manuscripts.⁶

Neither H nor J could have been derived from L, which is only sixty-two lines in length. L was derived neither from H nor from J, as H lacks lines 34-37, and J lacks 29-32 and 55-56 inclusive, all of which are to be found in L. H was not copied from J, as J lacks 29-32, 55-56, and 63-90, which occur in H; and finally, J did not come from H, since H lacks lines 34-37 inclusive, and lines 210 and 212, which J contains. All these omitted lines are to be found in G and the other manuscripts, as regular parts of the Charter.

Passing now to the other manuscript relations, we have seen by the analysis of lines (pp. xciii ff.) the mss. GFVHJ (L) show correct readings against IK's erroneous readings in lines 12, 57, 76, 79*, 83, 84, and 147*. But on examining lines 17* and 90, we find that FVHJL in 17* agree in an erroneous reading, while G and IK are correct, and that in 90 FVH(JL) are erroneous and again G and IK are cor-

⁶Namely, 230*-230*. 
Further, we note that in line 218*, $GFVIK$ agree in the erroneous reading, and $HJL$ alone are correct. This is more clearly seen if put in the form below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79* $GFVH(JL$ lacking)</td>
<td>against $IK$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147* $GFVHJ(L$</td>
<td>“$IK$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 57 $GFVHJL$</td>
<td>“$IK$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76, 83, 84 $GFVH(JL$</td>
<td>“$IK$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17* $GIK$</td>
<td>against $FVHJL$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 $GK$ (I unique)</td>
<td>“$FVH(JL$ lacking)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218* $HJ(L$</td>
<td>against $GFVIK$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence we see, from II., that $FVHJL$ may be traced to a common original from which none of the other manuscripts is derived; and from I., II., and III., that ms. $G$ contains no erroneous reading found in one group (either $IK$ or $FVHJL$) which does not also occur in the other; for its only erroneous reading appears in line 218, under III., where $IK$ and two manuscripts of $FVHJL$ are also spurious. The fact that $F$ and $V$ record this error shows that it occurred in the original of the group $FVHJL$, and therefore that the reading of $HJ(L)$ is a correction on the part of the scribe of their source. Here, then, we have evidence of the existence of an error in the common original of all the extant manuscripts of the $A$-text.

\footnote{Here the scribe of $I$ has altered the line so as to give a unique reading, but it does not invalidate the reading of his source, since the correct reading occurs in $K$—i.e. $red$ instead of $black$. $Was$ in $K$ is incorrect but the error is not significant in this connection.}
Hence, up to this point, our evidence points to three main groups: G; IK; and FVHJL, in the last of which HJL forms a sub-group, as has already been shown. This evidence, however, is exclusive of what a consideration of the readings of line 122 may afford. But before dealing with the problem of line 122, it will be advisable to settle the relations of mss. F and V to each other and to their source. Since F and V belong to the group FVHJL, and since HJL forms a sub-group within this group, the question remaining to be answered is, are these manuscripts, F and V, derived independently of each other from the common source of FVHJL, or are they grouped together by readings which assign them to a common source exclusively their own, which takes its origin from the source of FVHJL? That these two manuscripts do form a subgroup by themselves, is established by the readings of lines 6, 25, 68, 69, and 79*. Lines 68, 69, and 79* by themselves would not be agreements of sufficient significance to prove the existence of the subgroup; but line 25 is strong evidence.

This line introduces another phase of the question, in that its readings point to a Northern original for the mss. F and V. The original rhyme was ydo-fo (see mss. G, H, K and L. Mss. I and J, do-fo). F and V have the rhyme \{ swa-fa
so-fa. —a change which must have been due to a Northern scribe, presumably the scribe of their source, who evidently made the alteration because do-fa, the Northern forms, no longer made even an approximate rhyme. But compare with this the rhyme of 123-4, where V retains the Southern rhyme, while F has altered the line to obtain the Northern a to rhyme with ma:

\be thred I will no mare do swa
\be ferth breded god whare so \{ou ga \[ms. F].

*See for this line also pp. cv ff.
That \( V \) does not agree with \( F \) in this variant shows that the variant is by the hand of the scribe of \( F \), and is not traceable to their common source. Hence, if the scribe of their source were a Northern man, he must have passed over some Southern forms without attempting to change them into his own dialect; possibly he was not skilful enough to do so. The scribe of \( F \) himself lets a number of such forms pass unaltered; see lines 49-50; 209-10; 211-12.

Ms. \( V \) was certainly not derived from ms. \( F \), as is clear from the reading of 124, and from 48 (where \( F \) has altered for the dialect), 209, 210. That ms. \( F \) did not come from ms. \( V \) is probable from 15 (where \( F \) agrees with \( G \)) and certain from 23. In this last line the manuscripts read:

\[
\begin{align*}
G & \quad \text{— By my manhede} \\
FHIKL & \quad \text{— me my [or \( \beta \)] manhede} \\
V \text{ and } J & \quad \text{— porw} \quad \text{“} \\
\end{align*}
\]

What must have happened is, that in the source of \( IKFVHJL \) the word \( me \) was substituted for \( By \) through a misreading, and that ms. \( V \) and \( J \) corrected the error, while the other manuscripts continued to copy it.

Let us now consider line 122. The discussion of this line was postponed from page xciv, because the determination of the true reading here is a problem towards the solution of which little could be accomplished until we had ascertained the approximate relations of the manuscripts, and arrived at some conclusion with respect to their relative values as regards the preservation of true readings. Line 121, which forms a couplet with 122, must be considered also, as the question of the rhyme is involved.

A study of the different forms taken by these two lines in the various manuscripts shows that the original reading must have been either that of ms. \( I \) and \( K \) or that of ms. \( G \).
I. That oon lef ys shrift of herte
   That oper for synne hert smert
   [from ms. K. I has made some slight changes.]

II. That on lef is opon * shrift
    That oper thin herte to smerte skyft
    [from ms. G.]

All the other manuscripts are clearly erroneous, since in none of them does the couplet rhyme:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{O lef is sopfast schrifte} \\
&\text{be topur is for synne herte smerte}
\end{align*}
\]

[from mss. F, V, and H.]

Ms. J gives a variant of no importance, due doubtless to its own scribe:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{pat on it is sopfastly schryfte} \\
&\text{pat other it is senne haue sorow}
\end{align*}
\]

Now, it is by an examination of the error in \textit{FVHJ}(L) that we may hope to arrive at the true reading of line 122. For this error is manifestly due to one of two causes: its source was either a manuscript in which the phrase of hert was gone from line 121 in couplet I. above, leaving:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{That oon lef ys shrift} \\
&\text{That oper for synne hert smert}
\end{align*}
\]

or its source was a manuscript in which the word skyft was lost from line 122, leaving the following from couplet II:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{That on lef is opon shrift} \\
&\text{That oper thin herte to smerte}
\end{align*}
\]

Should the first cause be the true one, ms. G would share

*In the original, this may have been sopfast, as in \textit{FVHJ}(L).
the error of $FVHJ(L)$, since it too lacks the phrase of hert. The word opon in $G$, and sopfast in the other manuscripts, would be supplied to eke out the metrically defective line 121. The word is, in mss. $FV$ and $J$, could presumably be accounted for in the same way. And finally, the scribe of $G$, being, we will suppose, of a more inventive turn of mind than the other scribes, would have attempted to correct the rhyme on his own responsibility, whence

That oper thin herte to smerte skyft.

According to this explanation, mss. $IK$ alone would have the true reading of line 122, and our manuscripts would fall into two main groups, ms. $G$ being now united with $FVHJ-(L)$ in a common error, as follows:

But, assuming the second to be the true explanation, ms. $G$ would be the only manuscript preserving a true reading of line 122. We must suppose, then, that $IK$ and $FVHJ(L)$ have a common error, due to the loss, in their source, of the word skyft. In the source of $IK$ and $FVHJ(L)$, moreover, the defective line
That oper thin herte to smerte

has been altered, for obvious reasons, to

That opere (ys) for synne hert smert.

The scribe of the source of IK has further added the phrase of hert to line 121, in order to correct the rhyme, and has cut out open or soptast; but the scribes of FVHJ have left the rhyme false. Our manuscripts would then have the following relations, with two main groups, G and IKFVHJL:

Now, since G is a fifteenth century manuscript, and mss. F and V are both of the fourteenth century, it follows that, as G is derived from a, the source of all the extant manuscripts, another manuscript (β) must have intervened between a and the source of IKFVHJL, in which the word skyft was lost; because a) G contains skyft and b) in the source of IKFVHJL line 122 was already corrupted, as is proved by the common reading of all these manuscripts. If ms. G did not copy directly from a, but from an early manuscript derived from a, this would not necessarily follow; since it would be possible, though hardly probable, that a might have lost the word skyft after the copy had been made from which G was derived.
At length, after having considered what is involved in assuming either of our couplets to be the reading of the original, I arrived at the conclusion that IK is spurious, and that ms. G alone records the true reading; because

1) G is our best manuscript. Whereas I and K have frequently been proved spurious in their readings, in no other instance of which we are certain has ms. G been found to err from the reading of the common original.

2) It is more reasonable to suppose that the extraordinary line 122 in G

That oper thin herte to smerte skyft 11

was written by the hand of the author himself than to suppose that a scribe, at a loss for a suitable rhyme, was the

11 Certainly what the author meant to express here was one of the three parts of a true repentance—Contrition—which theologically, however, should come before shryft, the regular order being Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction. It is to be noted that ms. I does put Penance second, but this is not significant since I does not mention shryft at all, but for it substitutes love of hert; and since K has the same order as G, shryft first, then hert smert, or Contrition.
inventor of it. The word *skylf*, used in this abstract sense, is very rare. Indeed, the nearest approach to it that I have been able to find is in the *Metrical Homilies* (1325), line 61: "Bot Godd that skilfulli can skift, mad them," etc., where *skylf* means to *ordain.*

3) The expression *shryft of hert* in *K* is probably an emendation for the sake of the rhyme, since it is inaccurate as regards meaning, and can not have been what the author intended to express. This emendation we must trace to the source of *IK*, for the word *shryft* obviously belonged to the original. The scribe of *I*, perceiving the inaptness of *shryft of hert* altered it to *loue of hert*, as has already been pointed out. It must be remarked with reference to the reading in *IK*, that it is much more obvious as an emendation than that of *G*, and would naturally occur to a scribe confronted with the false rhyme *shryft-smert*.

4) To assume that *IK* has preserved the correct reading is also to assume that our author was so clumsy as to use the word *hert* both in 121 and 122, which produces an unpleasant effect in reading the couplet. This is not in accord with his style in the rest of the poem.

5) No objection can be taken either to the metre or to the rhyme of *G* 122. Indeed, metrically, *G* 122 is a better line than *K* 122 or 122 in any of the other manuscripts. As to the rhyme, *skylf*, as in ms. *G*, is probably a syncopated form of the present indicative, 3rd person singular, having as its subject *that oper*.

Certain lines offering special difficulties must now be considered separately. The first of these is line 6. Here we have what at first sight would seem evidence of contamination.

---

12 For this word see the Glossary. Its ordinary meaning is: to change, move away, assign, divide, in the concrete.

13 Cf., for example, syncopated forms of verbs in *t, d, s*, occurring in the *Troilus*, Kittredge's *Observations of the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* (Chaucer Society, second ser. xxviii.) 220-1, § 95, as *blent, sent, last, lyst, put*, etc.
Ms. G reads with HJL:
With treson and wythoute gult

Ms. I:
Wyth treson & also with gylt

Ms. K nearly the same:
Wip tresoun and wip þi gylt

Ms. F:
With tresone & with þine awen gylt

Ms. V:
With resoun and wip þin ouné gult.

But this situation can be explained without the necessity of assuming contamination.

Manifestly, G and HJL are wrong as they stand, since the second half of the line flatly contradicts the first. The other readings are all possible, so far as sense goes. The readings of F, I, and K would mean that man's expulsion from Paradise was because of treachery towards God, and was due to his own fault; of V, that man was driven out with good reason and by his own fault. But if we assume the readings of any of these manuscripts to be correct, how can we account for the reading of HJL? Certainly contamination would not explain it, since the meaning of the line is spoiled instead of improved by the supposed alteration. The only possible explanation is that the scribe of the source of HJL was copying exactly what he found. In that case, the error must be traced back to a, the source of all the extant manuscripts. The original reading was undoubtedly not tresoun but resoun, and the line ran:

With resoun and wythoute gylt

i.e., that man was driven from Paradise for good reason and without injustice. The scribe of a, or of some manuscript
perhaps even farther back, prefixed a \( t \) to the word *resoun*, very likely because the \( t \) of \( w \) was near enough to confuse him. Hence ms. \( G \)'s reading. The mistake was retained in \( \beta \) and \( \gamma \) and again in \( \theta \). The scribes of \( \epsilon \) and \( \zeta \), however, emended the texts they found, since the reading puzzled them, as well it might. This would also explain the variant in \( \upsilon \).

The readings of line 19 should be noted. All the manuscripts but \( G \), read *forty weeks and forty days* in referring to the period of time between the conception of Christ and His birth. Ms. \( G \) reads forty weeks *saue \( \upsilon \) days*. I am inclined to think that \( G \) is correct, and that the other manuscripts record a corruption traceable to \( \gamma \) or to \( \beta \). If we imagine "saue" written "s aue," with the \( s \) rather far from the other letters and pretty close to the preceding word (which ends in \( s \)), we can see how the scribe could have omitted to connect it with *saue*. The final \( e \) may very easily have looked like \( d \). In some manuscripts it is impossible to tell the difference between \( e \) and \( d \) except from the context. Next, there is the figure \( \upsilon \), or the word *fiue* (or *fyfe*, or *fyue*, or *fife*). The word may have been blurred all but the initial \( f \), whence the scribe was left to conjecture as to the original. In that case, he may have written *forty* for the sake of the sound effect it would produce with the first *forty*; or simply as a guess, without thinking of the meaning he was conveying. I see no other explanation for this line.\(^{14}\)

\(^{14}\) In the *Chartier of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (of Ms. Laud 210, printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle I. 352*) the period between the conception of Christ and His birth is reckoned as *nyne and pritty wokes & a day*, or 274 days. *Piers the Plowman B xvi. 100*, gives *forty wokes*. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate Lib. iv. Cap. v.* [Migne, *Pat. Lat. xlvi. col. 894*], records it as 276 days: "Dixerunt enim: 'Quadragesinta et sex annis edificantem est templum' [St. John ii. 19]. Et quadragesexies sexi, fiunt ducenti septuaginta sex. Qui numeros dierum complet novem menses et sex dies, qui tanquam decem menses partentibus feminis imputantur: non quia omnes ad sextum diem post nonum mensem
The next problem is that presented by the various readings of lines 29 to 37 inclusive. In 29, the pronoun he can be either singular or plural. We should expect a plural pronoun throughout, referring to Belsebub and Satan as in ms. V. G, F, and L, however, take the word he as singular, to judge from what follows, and continue to do so throughout, doubtless having Satan alone in mind, since two devils tempting Christ are not Scriptural. Ms. I leaves one in doubt; he is used in some lines, pei in others, but the possessives are all plural. H, J, and K vary; H begins with the plural, and changes to the singular with line 31. J does the same, changing however, at 35 to the singular. K is plural up to 33, when it too changes to the singular form. On the whole, there seems to me no safe way of grouping the manuscripts according to the singular and plural readings of these lines. There is too much that might easily confuse a scribe; the possibility of taking he in either way, and the danger of forgetting that two fiends are involved where but one would be expected.

Another case of the same nature is to be found in the readings of line 149. FYFF is certainly the true reading. The variant fyrost of mss. F, I, and K, I believe to be a natural error of the scribes of F and of the source of IK, who doubtless misread the word because they expected that after the enumeration Father and Son, God and Man, each seal would be more fully described, beginning with the first.

Finally, there are certain agreements in the readings of manuscripts not grouped together, which may be attributed either to chance coincidence or to cross influence. I should attribute to chance coincidence the following:

perveniunt, sed quia ipsa perfectio corporis Domini tot diebus ad partum perducta compertitur, sicut a majoribus traditum suscipliens Ecclesiae custodit auctoritas. Octavo enim calendas aprillis conceptus creditur, quo et passus . . . Natus autem traditur octavo calendas Januarias."
$K$ with $L$ in line 4.
$H$ " $IK$ in line 154.
$H$ " $K$ in line 172.
$F$ " $K$ in line 204.
$I$ " $HJ$ in line 231.

172 and 231, especially, are slips that might very naturally be made by two scribes on account of association of ideas. *Tears* and to *weep* are more closely allied than *tears* and to *lete*; *paying* and *debts*, more allied than *paying* and *rent*.

Two other cases I do not feel sure of, namely, $J$ and $IK$ in lines 35 and 232. In 35, $J$ may have altered *maistraye* to *envye* to rhyme with *destrye*, though it would seem as though he must have known of the form *maistraye*. Possibly he changed *cleyme* to *chalenge* in 232 to get a dis-syllable. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that $J$ and $IK$ show merely chance agreement in these lines, since they do not agree in other readings where chance could not be the explanation.

§ 2. THE B-TEXT

The veracity of the manuscripts of Version B is to be determined both by a comparison of their readings with the corresponding readings in Version A, and by such means as we have already made use of in the analysis of the manuscripts of A. The inter-relations of the manuscripts, however, present a much more complicated problem than we have had to deal with in the case of A, since here it is necessary to reckon with certain agreements in readings that seem at first sight to be due to contamination of manuscripts, but which appear, upon further analysis, to be due to other causes. We shall begin with the test for veracity.

With the aid of the A-text, and in other ways when that source of information failed, I have found that in the following lines we can attain either an absolute or a reasonable
certainty as to the reading of the archetype of the various manuscripts of the B-text: 42a-42b*, 44*, 74*, 101*, 151-2*, 167-8*, 170*, 172*, 194*, 196*, 200*, 210*, 214*, 227*, 377*; and 121, 171, 186, 241. A comparison with readings in the A-text enables us to determine, in all but one of these lines, 101*, the original reading of B. Line 101 will be considered last:

\[42a-42b^* := \text{A-text 17-18. Correct, mss. } C, E, \text{ and } A, \text{ which preserve these lines. They are dropped by mss. } B \text{ and } X.\]

\[44^*, 74^*, 172^* \]

\[194^*, 196^* \}

In all these lines the reading of A is preserved in mss. C and E only; though in 194* the correspondence with A is not exact, the reading of C and E is nearer to A than are the readings of the other manuscripts.

\[151-2^* := \text{A-text 75-76, preserved most nearly in } A, B, D, \text{ and } X. \text{ Lost in } C \text{ and } E.\]

\[167-8^* := \text{A-text 89-90. Correct, } C \text{ and } E, \text{ which preserve the rhyme word of the A-text.}\]

\[170^* := \text{A-text 92, preserved in } C \text{ and } E. A, B, D, \text{ and } X \text{ insert } \text{here}, \text{ and } D \text{ and } X \text{ introduce } " I " \text{ in addition, which is also in } C \text{ and } E.\]

\[200^* := \text{A-text 118, preserved most nearly in } C. A, B, D, \text{ and } X \text{ add } \text{else}. \text{ E is spurious.}\]

\[210^* := \text{A-text 128. The rhyme word of Version A is preserved in mss. } A, B, D, \text{ and } X. \text{ Spurious, } C \text{ and } E, \text{ though these do not agree.}\]

\[214^* := \text{A-text 132. } C \text{ is nearest to Version A in this line.}\]

\[\text{Since the text of mss. } D \text{ does not begin before line 89, } D \text{ will not be mentioned in the discussion of lines earlier than this point. In the same way, mss. } C \text{ and } E \text{ will not be mentioned under lines in which they are lacking. } C \text{ stops with line 248, and } E \text{ frequently drops couplets and passages throughout the entire poem.}\]

\[\text{Ms. } C \text{ has } I \text{ sende, rhyming with } be-hynde.\]
227*: A-text 143. Correct, C, E, D, and X. Spurious, A, B.

377*: A-text 219, preserved in R, and imperfectly in E, B, and D (though B and D do not agree with E). Cf. p. cxv, for discussion of these readings. Spurious, A and X.

**Minor Lines.**

121*: A-text 61, preserved in C, A, B, D, and X, insert only.


186*: A-text 106, preserved (with slight variation) in C and E only.

241*: A-text 155, preserved most closely in A, B, and D.

101*: the word self in ms. C, E, and B, is the correct reading. Soul, in A, D, and X, is manifestly incorrect from the context.

Summing up results, we find that out of a total of sixteen major and four minor readings,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms.</th>
<th>True Major Readings</th>
<th>True Minor Readings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ms. C is, therefore, our best manuscript as far as it goes, which unfortunately is only to line 248. It is not remarkably well written; there are lines omitted, evidently by accident, here and there, as 18, 78, 110; and there are besides
some very bungling lines, as 9, 116, 152, 238. It needs to be
corrected frequently by the aid of the other manuscripts.
Ms. E is written with a very free hand. Consequently,
in spite of its high rank in the list above, it is not to be
depended upon for readings that cannot be tested by Ver-
sion A or supported by ms. C or by mss. A, B, D or X.
Moreover, E frequently drops couplets, and sometimes longer
passages. The manuscripts, C and E together, are never-
thless very valuable for constructing a critical text of Version
B. Where they agree, they are almost invariably correct;
and where they disagree, the preference should, generally
speaking, be given to the version which is supported by the
other manuscripts.

Let us now examine the manuscript relations of the B-text.
In proportion to the length of the B version, there are fewer
important variations among the manuscripts than in the
A-text, if we except the unique readings of ms. E. I hope
to show that B contains three groups, the first two being repres-
sented each by a single manuscript, C and E respectively,
to the latter of which Version C is particularly related, as
will be explained in § 4. The third group comprises mss.
A, B, D, and X. The difficulties presented by the read-
ings of this group, together with the results I have reached,
will be set forth in the succeeding paragraphs.

From the analysis of lines above, it is evident that
A, B, D, and X are differentiated from mss. C and E by the
spurious readings of lines 44*, 74*, 167*, 170*, 172*, 194*
(A is unique here), 196*, 200*, 214*, and 377*. Since in
mss. C and E the readings of these lines agree with Version
A, the source of ABDX is responsible for the changes in the
four manuscripts.17

"Other lines in which the readings of ABDX vary from those of
C and E, though we can not be certain as to whether they are spurious
or correct, are these: 1, 61, 182, 281, and 301 (partially). I have pur-
That $C$ and $E$ belong to different groups of Version B is probable from the fact that they do not agree in any reading that we can recognize as spurious. Such agreements as these manuscripts show (and they are many) are uniformly in readings which we have ascertained to belong to the common original.

It is evident that $C$ was not derived from $E$, for $C$ does not share the peculiarities of $E$ which unite that manuscript to Version $C$, nor does it bear marks of the editing for which $E$ is so conspicuous, but keeps pretty close to the text, as a comparison of its lines with those of $ABDX$ and of Version $A$ will show. Also, while $E$ drops many couplets and longer passages at times, $C$ gives the whole text as far as line 248, except for a single line accidentally dropped in one or two cases.

Posey omitted to mention the readings of 233 and 240. In 233, fifth is, of course, the correct reading, but it would have been very easy for any scribe to have written first, thinking that each point in the enumeration of the seals just preceding was to be separately dealt with, so that it is not safe to use this line as basis for classification. In 240, since my and py could have been interchangeable, a scribe might easily have made a mistake here.

**The nearest approaches to such agreement are:**

a) 225, where $E$ reads three nayles and $C$ be nayles, the other manuscripts having yres nayles. But I believe this is explained by a y being read p, and the stroke over the e being omitted in a manuscript between $E$ and the source; and in $C$, the likeness to $E$ is probably coincidence. The matter is too uncertain to rely on, especially as the three nails were a well known symbol of the Passion. b) 151-2, where, though $C$ and $E$ are both erroneous (Cf. Version A and $ABDX$), they do not agree in their readings of the lines. Each seems to have altered independently, perhaps because two very similar lines occur a little later, 155-6. c) Both $C$ and $E$ have but two Latin rubrics (though only one in common) of those which occur at intervals in the A-text; $ABDX$ has retained five. $E$ has written its rubrics not in the text, but in the margin, and has altered one of them from Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem to memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum. The second, O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, etc., was so common that the fact of $C$ and $E$'s both having retained it proves no relationship between them. It is a frequent theme in the Complaints of Christ.
That $E$ was not derived from $C$ is plain, since $C$ gives but 248 lines of text.

The manuscript relations, as ascertained up to this point, may therefore be represented thus:

Let us now examine the manuscripts of $ABDX$ more particularly. In some of the lines of this group it is difficult to distinguish true from spurious readings; but we are enabled to detect many of them by a comparison with the readings of mss. $C$ and $E$, and also of ms. $R$ of Version $C$, which, as I have said (p. cxii), is closely related to $E$. Since in the following discussion of $ABDX$ and its subdivisions, as well as in § 3, I shall frequently have occasion to refer to ms. $R$ to corroborate or to disqualify the readings of ms. $E$, I here refer the reader to § 4 where $R$ and $E$ are shown to be derived from the same manuscript ($\gamma$), and proceed now as if this were already established.

$AX$ agree against $B$ and $D$ in the following readings:

1) $20^a$-$20^b*$: These two lines, as has been pointed out, were probably in the original, since both $C$ and $ER$ record them. $B$ contains them, but $A$ and $X$ omit them.

2) $112$: The variants of the manuscripts here suggest
that the reading in ms. $\beta$ was blurred. $AX$ read loke ye hem preche, $B$ and $D$ read I pray you hem preche; while ms. $C$ reads I bydde you hem preche. $E$ is very different, and $R$ does not give the line. I believe that $C$ has the original reading, as there seems no good reason for the variants in $AX$ and $B$ and $D$.

3) 126: The correct reading here is in $B$ and $D$; cf. mss. $C$ and $R$ ($E$ omits the line). $AX$ probably represent an attempt to improve the metre.\textsuperscript{19}

4) 150: The original reading would seem to be that of $B$ and $D$, since $C$ and $R$ both agree with these manuscripts. $AX$ altered the line by crossing out forth, though the metre is not improved by the emendation.

5) 377*: Here all the manuscripts of $ABDX$ are in error, cf. Version $A$, and mss. $E$ and $R$. It would seem as though the wr of wryste were obscured or lost in $\beta$. $AX$'s source (which we shall call $\theta$) attempted to correct the error with betought, whence ms. $X$. The scribe of $A$ substituted towyste, and struck out me. The scribes of $B$ and $D$ did not attempt an emendation.

From these cases, it is evident that mss. $A$ and $X$ agree in the common errors of lines 20a-20b* (dropped by $AX$), 126, 150, 377*, the last three being lines emended by the source of $AX$ from the reading of $\beta$. Moreover, line 112, while not offering proof of certain error, nevertheless supports the evidence for a subgroup $AX$ within $ABDX$. As to the other two manuscripts, $B$ and $D$, it is doubtful whether

\textsuperscript{*}A word should be said regarding the readings of line 300. Rest to my head for to make is the reading of $B$, $D$, and $E$, while $AX$ (hence its source) has whereof to make in place of for to make. At first sight, it would seem as though $AX$'s version were that of the original of the $B$-text, since the corresponding line 78, in Version $A$, reads my testament whereof to make. But I believe that Version $B$'s original reading was for to make, because: a) $E$ agrees with $B$ and $D$ in this reading, and b) for to make would be a poor alteration, whereas whereof to make might easily suggest itself to the scribe of $AX$'s source from the line preceding.
they were derived separately from $\beta$, or from an original common to them alone. The only evidence for the latter supposition would be line 112; but here we are on very doubtful ground, for it would have been natural for $B$ and $D$ separately to have applied the word *pray* to fill the supposed gap in their source. It must be noted that the word order in $B$ and $D$ is the same as that in $C$; this is not the case with the word order in $AX$, which makes the correspondence in these two manuscripts much more significant than that in $B$ and $D$. On the whole, I am inclined to regard $B$ and $D$ as having no relation except through $\beta$.

If my analysis of the manuscripts holds, we may represent the relations of the versions as in the diagram below. For convenience, ms. $R$ (Version C) is included in this plan. I am assuming here that within the group $ABDX$ no manuscript is derived from another. For the proof of this, see p. cxx.

![Diagram of manuscript relations]

Certain cases of readings which do not accord with this analysis must be examined. These I cite below, with such explanations of the difficulty involved as I am able to offer:

A) The agreement of $X$ with $B$ in a common error.
16: B and X are in error, reading that ye may (or now) know in all your thought. C omits the line. E, R, and A read: may (or most) keep. Here A probably emended know to keep to make better sense.

42a-42b: B and X have both dropped these lines. A retains them. They were in the common original (cf. Version A and mss. C, E, and R where the lines have been altered; see p. cx). The fact that they are redundant may have led B and X independently to omit them.

B) The agreement of A and B in a common error.

227*: This line offers peculiar complications. Mss. A and B agree in a common error, but they are not exactly alike. A reads The sesyng wax was dere y-bought, and B, The sesyng was dere y-boght. The correct reading occurs with unimportant variations in all the other manuscripts, The sesyng wexe was dere a-bought. I would suggest the following explanation: ms. $B$ read The sesyng wax, ms. $\theta$ and ms. A the same. Ms. X corrected the obvious blunder sesyng to selyng, as did D, while B emended erroneously by dropping the word wax. Such an explanation obviates the necessity of supposing contamination in this line.

C) The agreement of A, B, E, and R against C, D, and X.

140: The simplest explanation of the line I believe to be this: the original reading was And alle myn frendys sone me foresoken. C emended to And alle myn frendys me sone foresokn. The source of E and R ($\gamma$) emended by dropping sone to make the line smoother. B retained the original reading, followed by D, $\theta$, and X. A and B, however, emended in the same way that $\gamma$ did, by omitting sone, which is the most obvious thing to do.

D) The agreement of A, B, and C against E, (R), and X.

21: mss. A, B, and C read without great strife. E, R,

*Ms. E reads: This selyng was dyre y-bought, but R records the regular version.
and \( X \) read \( \text{withouten strife} \). I would suggest here that the older reading may be that of \( E \), \( R \), and \( X \), and that the other manuscripts, independently of each other, inserted \text{great} for metrical reasons, since unless the word \( \text{without} \) is regarded as having three syllables, the line will not scan.

60: \( C \), \( A \), and \( B \) read \text{for to helpe the was all my thought}; \( E \) and \( X \), the to helpe (\( E \), ever was; \( X \), was al) \( my \) tho\-\( ght \). \( R \) is unique and quite different. Since the correspondence between \( E \) and \( X \) is not exact, the readings of these two would seem to be independent emendations for the sake of the metre. Moreover, as there is little likelihood that the line, as it stands in \( E \) and \( X \), would have been altered to the other form, the original reading is probably that of \( C \), \( A \), and \( B \).

E) The three readings \( A \) and \( B \); \( C \), \( E \), and \( X \); and \( D \).

171: The correct reading is probably \( Y e \) \text{men that go forth by the way} in \( C \), \( E \), and \( X \). \( A \) and \( B \) have \( \text{here} \) instead of \( \text{forth} \), while \( D \) has \( \text{forth here} \). The explanation might be that \( \beta \), after having written \( \text{forth} \), preferred \( \text{here} \), and set it down right after \( \text{forth} \), with a faint line through the rejected reading. \( \theta \) and \( D \) did not see the line and copied both words. \( B \) did see it and rejected \( \text{forth} \). \( A \) and \( X \) emended the reading of \( \theta \) separately, one choosing \( \text{here} \) and the other \( \text{forth} \).

F) \( E \) and \( B \) against \( ADX \).

101*: The correct reading here is obviously that of \( C \), \( E \), and \( B \): \( \text{my self} \), and not \( \text{my soul} \). The error \( \text{soul} \) must have appeared in \( \beta \). \( B \) independently emended the line by restoring \( \text{self} \).

287: The original reading of this line (see ms. \( E \)) and

\[ ^* \text{See ms. } G, \text{ A-text.} \]

\[ ^{**} \text{It will be obvious that we cannot depend upon ms. } E \text{ here, nor indeed upon any of the mss., for the correct reading of the pronoun. The word } \text{suffered} \text{ is the reading with which we are concerned in this line.} \]
the context) was probably *The pains that she suffered were full smert.* Ms. B introduced a spurious reading, *The pains that I had,* mistaking the author's meaning, and wishing to use a different expression from that employed just above in line 281. He may have taken line 287 to be merely a repetition of 281. B corrected this to *the pains that she suffered,* using the word *suffered* from line 281 again, and not, as I believe, from ms. E.

G) The agreement of E (R) and A against B, D, and X.

312: Here ms. A reads *thou shalt stand on my right hand,* with ms. E, against *thou shalt be soothly on my right hand* of B, D, and X. Ms. R does not help us here, as it is quite different: *On my reignt hand wend salt he.*

370: The true reading would seem to be that of E, R, and A, which gives the better interpretation to the author's thought. The emendation *will* in B, D, and X, instead of *belief,* was doubtless made for metrical reasons in B. A may have independently altered this to improve the sense; the change would have been a natural one to make.

It will be observed from this analysis that we have nothing except lines 42a-42b and 312, to weaken our general argument for the manuscript divisions. I have suggested an explanation of 42a-42b; but it must be acknowledged that one could understand better the omission in B and X of the following two lines, 43-4, on the ground of redundancy, than of these two. I cannot, however, accept manuscript contamination as the explanation in these cases; for if B and X are examples of *cross influence* here, why not in other lines? If the scribe of X were using B, why did he not emend his plain error in line 101; and why, if the scribe of B were using X, does his text contain the error of 227? The same may be said regarding the readings of 312. If A were influenced by E here, why not also in 101 and 227? In the same way, it will be evident from all the lines discussed above as offering
special difficulty, that we cannot detect any case of a manuscript showing consistent contamination by another manuscript. Hence we are forced to conclude that, even in the cases of lines 42a-42b and 312, cross influence is not a factor, and that these two must be added to the list of coincident readings.

It is now possible to show that no manuscript of Version B is derived directly from another.

Neither B nor D was derived from A or X, as is shown by the lines 20a-20b, 31 (for B), 377a. Neither A nor X was derived from D, as is obvious from D's lack of lines 1-68. A was not derived from B, since B omits lines 42a-42b, which A has, and which were in B; nor was X derived from B—see lines 101, and 203 (where B has made an emendation and X retains the common error of Version B and certain manuscripts of Version A. See p. cxxi for full discussion of this line). Finally, X, was not derived from A, as we see from lines 16, 140, and 203; nor did A come from X, as is shown by 42a-42b and 167.

§3. Relation of the Parent Manuscript of Version B to Version A.

It is probable that the source of Version B had its origin either in that A manuscript which was the source of IK and FVHJL, or in a manuscript derived from it. For by line 44, we see that the B-text does not possess the common error of HJL 22; and by 376, that it has not corrected the erroneous reading red, which HJL has done. Again, in 53, Version B does not contain the error of FV 25; and in 42a it lacks the spurious reading of FVHJL 17. Moreover, in 171 it contains the word forth, which is dropped by the source.

\[28\text{It will be remembered that HJL emended to the true reading white in this line.}\]
of *FVHJL*, but which belonged to the original line (93) as is shown by *ms. G*. Hence Version B does not derive from any manuscript of *FVHJL*.

Next, as B shows no agreement with *IK* in its important divergences from the other A manuscripts, namely in lines 28, 30, 45, 49, 57, 73, 76, 83-4, 94, 100, 147, 158, 162, 193 (= B 56, 62, 81, 87, 103, 140, 152, 161-2, 172, 180, 231, 244, 248, 345), it cannot have been derived from that group.

Finally, B 203 does not agree with *ms. G* in the reading of line 122 (where *G* alone has the true reading), but shows the common error of *IKFVHJL*, in that it records the false rhyme of *FVHJL*, *schrift—smert* (*IK* having altered this to *hert—smert*). One point, however, must be noted in this connection. Mss. *A, B, (and R,\(^24\) of Version C*) have emended this line so as to rhyme *hert* and *smert* as was done by *IK*; see *A* and *B* 203-4, and *R* 277-8. *R* in particular has made a much better couplet by putting *smert* in the first line instead of *hert*, and combining *hert* with *soro* in the second line. (See pp. c ff. for comparison with the A-text on this couplet.\(^25\)) From the above facts, then, we infer that Version B was not derived from the common source of *G* and the other manuscripts of Version A (*a*).

Since B is not derived from *ms. G* or its original, or from either one of the subgroups *IK* and *FVHJL*, its source must be a non-extant text which was derived, directly or indirectly according to the foregoing evidence, from the source of the subgroups *IK* and *FVHJL*. This may be represented as follows:

---

\(^24\) See p. cxxiv, where my reason is given for citing the readings of *R* before showing its relation to Version B.

\(^25\) This line is not evidence of contamination of *msss.*, since the emended readings in *A, B, and R* do not agree with each other, nor with those of *IK*. 
Certain sporadic common readings of manuscripts of the three groups may be noted. They do not, I believe, show contamination, since there are no other proofs of cross influence between Versions A and B or A and C. They seem to be due merely to coincidence. The most important, perhaps, is the agreement between E 168 and FVH(JL) 90, in the reading black instead of red. Other slight agreements are:

\begin{align*}
E 86 & \text{ with Version A, F 48} \\
E 290 & \text{ all mss. 182} \\
{EBD 300} & \text{ J 178} \\
\{\text{Version C, ms. R 458} & \text{ J 182} \\
\text{Various B mss. 138} & \text{ J 146} \\
\text{Version C, ms. R 536} & \text{ J 135} \\
\{\text{Version C, ms. R 528} & \text{ J 135} \\
\text{Version B, ms. E 217} & \text{ J 135}
\end{align*}
§ 4. Relation of Version C to Version B.

We shall now consider the relationship of Version C, or ms. Royal 17. C xvii., to the manuscripts of the B-text.

Version C (or ms. R as I shall call it here to distinguish it from ms. C of Version B), traces its descent from a B manuscript which was closely related to the source of ms. E; for E and R are the only manuscripts containing the following lines:

\[
E^{16a-16d} = R^{17-20} \\
E^{28a-28h} = R^{35-38; 41-44} \\
E^{152a-152d} = R^{209-10; 213-14}.
\]

Moreover, E and R record common errors in

\[
E^{151-2*} = R^{207-8} \\
E^{200*} = R^{274} \\
E^{210} = R^{284} \\
E^{212} = R^{286 2^6} \\
E^{217} = R^{523}
\]

as may be seen by comparing these readings with those of Version A, and with those of the other manuscripts of B. E and R show coincident readings not distinguishable either as errors or as true readings, but not found in the other manuscripts, in lines:

\[
E^{145} = R^{187} \\
E^{281} = R^{357} \\
E^{301} = R^{459}
\]

Slight agreements also exist between E and R, as in \(R^{280} = E^{206}; R^{584} = E^{380}\).

*This line is proved to be a common error by the agreement of C and \(AB(D)\) in another reading.
R is an unreliable manuscript, because its scribe, or the scribe of some source of R, has in numerous instances dealt very freely with the text. See, for example, lines 24, 30, 45, 46, 89, 90, 108, etc. On the other hand, sometimes R will seem to be correct where E is apparently incorrect. R is a valuable manuscript for the purpose of checking the readings of E, particularly in those lines that are lacking in C; for (in the last part of the poem) where a reading in R agrees with ABDX, but not with E, we may feel reasonably sure that R is correct and E is not; and vice versa. R shows one or two coincident readings with ABDX, but they are insignificant, the most important being in line 76, where R agrees in part with ABX 44 against C and E.  

The following is a list of such interpolations made by Version C in the B-text as we have not yet noted in other connections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative additions</th>
<th>Didactic and moral additions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49-62</td>
<td>Dealing with Seven Sacraments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-88</td>
<td>291-314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189-90</td>
<td>Dealing with the Eucharist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193-204</td>
<td>560-64</td>
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<tr>
<td>219-224</td>
<td>Dealing with Penance</td>
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<td>227-234</td>
<td>595-96</td>
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<td>237-238</td>
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<td>253-256</td>
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<tr>
<td>337-348</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-510</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*The others are, R 118 with X 76; R 358 with A 282.*
The Texts

of

The Charter of Christ
In printing the texts, no attempt has been made at emenda-
tion, except in a few instances, recorded in the footnotes, where
scribal errors are unmistakable. Very few marks of punctuation
appear in the manuscripts. In some, for example ms. Add.
11307, periods occur at the end, and sometimes in the interior,
of the lines; but as these marks do not appear with regularity
the editor has ignored them for the sake of consistency. Dots
over y are also ignored. Capitals, except in two or three cases
where they occur in the middle of a word, are retained. Certain
apparently meaningless tails after various letters, such as those
sometimes after f and t in mss. Harl. 2346 and Ash. 189, are
not represented; nor are strokes crossing ll and h—except in
Ihe which is expanded in the usual manner. Other strokes and
curls are expanded according to the editor’s understanding of
the symbols. In mss. Camb. Univ. Ii. 4. 9., Bod. C. 280, and
sometimes in Harl. 237, y and þ are written alike: in these cases
þ has been printed when it properly occurs. The Latin rubrics
occurring at intervals in the poems are represented in a uni-
form type in the printed texts, whether illuminated, underlined,
or left unmarked in the mss. The numbering of the lines in
the Long Charter is made, for purposes of convenience, to cor-
respond to the numbering in the E. E. T. S. edition.
MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE SHORT CHARTER
Magna Carta de libertatibus Mundi

a Ihesus Christ his Charter great
b That bloud & water so did sweat
c And had his Heart I-wounded sore
d To saue Mankinde for euermore
e Christ hath cancelld the writ of Mans dett
f And by this Charter him free hath sett

Nouerint presentes & futuri
Wat yee now all that be heere
and after shall be leif and deere
That I Ihesus of Nazareth
for Loue of Man haue suffered death
5 Uppon the Cross with wounds fyue
Whilst I was heere on Earth alyue

Dedi et Concessi
I haue geuen and made a graunte
to all people repentant
Heauens Bliss without ending

Habendum
10 As long as I am Heauens King

Redendo
11 Keap I no more for all my smart
but the true Loue of all thy hart
and that thou be in Charety
and Loue thy Neighbour as thyself
15 this is the Rent thou shalt give me
as to the Cheif Lord of the ffee

Warrantatio
17 And if any one shall say now
that I dyed not for mans prow
Rather then Man should be forlorn
20 Yet would I be eft all to-torne

In cuius rei testimonium
29 In wittnes of the which thinge
Myne owne seale there-to I hing
and for the more sikernes
the wounde on my syde is

Datum apud Hierusalem
34 the first ¹ day of the great mercy

Hijs testibus
21 Wittnes the day that turnd to night
the Sonn that then withdrew his ligh
Wittnes the Earth dat² then did quak
and stones great dat² in sonder brake
25 Wittnes the Vaile that then did ryne
and men that rose from dead to lyue
Witnes my Mother and St John
28 and other then their many one

M'r Lambert a Justice of Peace in
Kent found this on a grauestone in
an Abby in Kent bearing date A°
Dni 1400 a Copie whereof was geuen
to Mr Humfray Windham of Wines-
combe in the county of Somerset.

¹ First written great, but corrected by the same hand.
² y instead of p.
Or D? ⁴ The last part is entirely illegible. Cf. p. xx.
THE SHORT CHARTER

STOWE 620.

Magna Carta de libertatibus mundi

fol. 11b-13a

e Crist hathe cancelled the writinge of mens dette
f and by the great charter him free hathe sett
1 Sciant presentes et futuri Wetyg now all that are here
And after shal be leife and dere
that y Jesus of nazareth
for louve of manne haue suffred deathe
5 Vpon a crosee with woundes yfue
Whilst y was manne yn yerthe one lyue
Dedi et concessi
Y haue gyfen and made a graunt
to all that askes yt repentant
hevin blysee without endinge
10 as longe as y ame there kinge.
kepe y no moore for all my smarte
but true love manne of thyne harte
and that thowe be in charite
and love thy neigbour as y love thee
15 this is the rent thow shalt gyue me
as to the cheif lorde of the fee
Warantisabo gyf any mane will saye now
that y ne haue dyed for manne his prowre
rather ther 2 manne sholde be forlorne
20 yet wold y eft be all to-torne
Htis testibus Witnesse the day that toerned to nighte
and the sonne that withdrew his lighte
Witnesse the yerthe that then did quake
and stoones great that in sonder brake
25 Witnesse the vayle that then did Ryue
and men that roose from death to lyue
Witnesse my muther and Seint Johne
and others that were there many one
In cuius rei testimonium
In witnesse of the whiche thyng
30 Myne owene scale therto J hynge
and for the more seckernesse
the wounde of my syde the scale yt is
Data &c. this was yeven at Calvare
34 the first daye of great mercye

cor charte appensum rosei Spreta morte tui solus id
vice cerne sigilli egit amor

1 Space for another word is left just before this word in the ms.
2 Should be than or then.
Matris ut hec proprio Stirps est sacrae cruore Pascis item proprio Xpc cruore tua ther vnder nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale within this Charter was sett downe was a pellicane a pickinge Her brest and with bloode flowinge Her yonge one in the nest with the verses about her

vt pellicanus fit patria sanguine sanus
sic nos salvati sumus omnes sanguine nati.

Legend on the Seal: De charta redemptionis humane sigillum salvatoris domini nostri Iesu christum.

ADD. CHARTER 5960.

Noverint Universi Presentes et futuri

Weeis all that bee heere
Or that shall bee leife and deere
That I Iesus of Nazareth
for mankinde have suffered death

Upon the crosse with wounds five
Whilst I was man on earth alive
Dedi et concessi
I have geoven and doe graunt
To all that aske in faith repentaunt
Heavens blisse withouten endinge

So longe as I am their King
Keep I noe more for all my smart
but the true love of thy heart
And that thou bee in charitie

And thy neighbour love as I love thee
Warrantio

If any man dare to say
That I did not his debt pay
Rather then man shall bee forlorne

Yett would I oft bee all to-torne
his testibus
Witnesse the Earth that then did quake
And stonyes great that in sunder brake
Witnesse the day that turnd to night
And the cleere sun that lost his light
THE SHORT CHARTER

25 Witnesse the vaile that then did rend
And graves which their tenantys forth did send
Witnesse my moder and St Ihon
And bystanders many a one
In cuius rei testimonium
ffor furder witnesse who list appeale
30 To my heere vnder-honged seal
ffor the more stable surenesse
this wound in my hearte the seal is
Datum
yeoven at Calvary
34 The first day of the great mercie

(strap and seal)

CHS IHS

factum est cor meum
tanquam cera liquesuq
[sic] Psal 22: 13 (?)

Sealid & deliuered
in ye presence of

\{ Mary Mother of God \}
\{ Mary Cleophe \}
\{ Mary Iacobi \}
\{ John ye disciple \}

Ita fidem
facimus

{ Matthew \}
{ Marke \}
{ Luke \}
{ Iohn \}

Notariij
publici

Long[i]nus Centurion

Cor charte appen-
sum rosei vice
cerne sigilli spretà
morte, tui solus id
egit amor.

Readings of Harl. 6848 exclusive of differences in capitalization:
1) be 2) shal belefe 3) Nazareth 4) Mankind; suffred 5) cross;
woundis 6) whilst; upon 7) yeoven; do 8) unto 9) bliss; ending
10) long 11) no; smarte 12) my; heart 13) That omitted; be;
Charitee. Warrantize. 19) than shal be 20) yet; be 21) Witness
30) here underhanged 31) surenness 32) wundde; heart.
In the attestation, Mary is spelled Marie; some of the words “Sealed
and delivered,” etc., are missing in the rotograph. CHS appears
instead of IHS, and the remainder of the writing on the strap is lack-
ing. Chartae appears instead of Chartes.
Sciunt presentes & futuri
Wete now al þat ar here
And after sal be lefe & dere
Þat I Þesus of nazareth
Þor þuf of man has sufferd deth
5 Opon þe cross with woundes fyfe
Whils I was man in erth on lyfe
Dedi & concessi
I hafe gyfen & made a graunt
To al þat asks it repentaunt
Heuen blis with-outen ending
10 Als lang as I am þair kyng
Kepe I no more for al my payne\textsuperscript{1} smert
Bot trew luf man of þi hert
And at þou be in charite
And luf þi neibhour as I luf þe
15 þis is þe reyt þou sal gyf me
As to þe chefe lord of þe fe\textsuperscript{2}
If any man wil say now
Þat I ne hafe dyed for mans prow
Rather or man suld be forlorne
20 sit wald I eft be al to-torne
Hijs testibus
23 Witnes þe erth þat þan dyd qwake\textsuperscript{3}
24 And stones gret þat sonder brake
25 Witnes þe vayle þat þan did ryfe
26 And men þat rose fro ded to lyfe
21 Witnes þe day þat turned to nyght
22 And þe son þat withdrewe his light
27 Witnes my moder & sayn Ion
And oþer þat wer per many one
\textit{In cusius rei testimonium}
In witnes of whilk þinge
30 My awne seal þerto I hynge
And for þe more sikirnes
32 þe wounde in my syde þe seal it is
a With perchyng sore of my hert
b With a spere þat was scharpe
\textit{Datum}
Þis was gyfen at Caluery
34 þe fyrst day of þe gret mercy &c

\textsuperscript{1}A word has been stroked through before payne.
\textsuperscript{2}ms. \textit{fe} supplied in the margin by the same hand.
\textsuperscript{3}ms. \textit{qwake} written twice, the first occurrence of the word being stroked through.
HARL. 116.

Sciunt presentes & futuri &c
wetys ye now all bat 1 bene here
And after shall ben leef & dere
That I ghesus of Nazareth
for lufe of mane haue soturde dethe

5 Upon the crosse with woundis fife
Whilis I was man here one lyfe
dedi & concessi &c
I haue 2 yevyne and made a graunt
To all that askys me repentaunt
hevene blissse withoute endyng

10 As long as I am pe 3 Kyngs
Kepe j no more for my smart
but trulofe man of pi harte
And that pou be in charite
And lufe pi neyghbure as j do the

15 This is the rente pou shalt gyfe me
As 4 to the chefe lord of the fre
if any mane woll say now
Dat j ne haue done for mannes prow
Rathers thane mane shulde be forlorne

20 I wit wolde j all 5 be efte to-torne

Testibus his &c

Witnesse the day that turnede to nyght
Ande the sunne withdrew his lyght
Witnesse the erth that gane quake
And stones gret bat sondure brake

25 Witnesse pe vaile that gane rife
And mene that rose fro dethe to lyfe
Witnesse my modyr and saynt Johne
And other bat wer ther many one
In cuius rei testimonium &c
In witnesse of the same thinge

30 Myselfe perto forsoth j hynte
And for the more sikernesse
My herte wounded the sele it is

Data etc

This was yolvyne 6 at caluarie

34 The firste day of grete mercye

Carta Redempconis humane 7

1 Ms. yt. 2 Final meaningless curl on this word.
3 Ms. y. 4 Ms. wt. 5 Added above the line. 6 Or yowyn.
7 The rubries are in red ink throughout, as well as the colophon.
Siant 1 presentes & futuri &c
Witnes now al that bene here
And efers schall be leve and dere
That I ihesus of nazareth
for the loue of mane than tholed deth
5 Apon the crosse with woundes fyve
Qwan I was yn e[r]th of lyve

Dedi & Concessi
I haue gyue and mad a graunte
To all that askes now with repentans
Heuenys blis with-outyn endyng
10 Als longe as I am euere ther kenke
I aske no more of the for my smertte
Bot the trew loue mane al of th[i] herte
And that pou lyve yn charite
And loue thi newghpure als I do the
15 This is the rent thu schall geue me
16 Als for the cheyff lord al of the ffee
a With sore woundis & grevanse
b Thi loue I bought with scheld & launce
17 Gyve my mane will sai nowe
That I ne died for manes prow
Or manes saule schuld be lorne
20 Ofte I wold be al too-torne

hijs Testibus
Witnes the day turnned too noghtte
The sone withdrew his lightte
Witnes the erth that gane quake
And stoines grete that gane brake
25 Witnes the wale that gane ryve
And mene that rose frome deth to lyue
Witnes my moder & sain[t] Iohn
And vder that wer ther mony one

[In cujus rei testimonium] 2
30 My-selue on crosse al blody I hyng
And sitte for [more] s[i]kirmese
The wound yn my herte the celle it [i]s
D[a]ta
This was gyuyne at Caluere
34 The firste day of gret mercye

Carta Redencionis Humane 3

1 Thus the ms. 2 Hardly legible.
3 The words, Min harte life and dere are scribbled below in a different hand.
Wytheth now alle pat be here
& after schal be leef and dere
pat Ihesus of nazareth
for loue of man haue suffred dep
5 Up-on a cros with woundes fyue
Whylis i was man in erpe on-lyue
I haue yeue & maad a graunt
To alle pat aske it repentaunt
huenee blis with-oute endyng
10 As i am pere oonly kyng
kepe i no more for al my smerte
But loue me man of al pyyn herte
And pat pou be in charite
& loue pi neybur as i do pe
15 pis is pe rente pat pou schalt yeue me
As to pe cheef loord of lond & se
yet eny man wil sey now
pat I not deyde for mannys prow
Rather panne he schulde be forlorn
20 Yit i wolde eft be al to-torn
Witnessyng pe day pat turned to nyht
& pe sonne pat withdrawh his lyht
witnessyng pe erpe pat panne quok
& stonys harde pat po brook
25 witnessyng pe vayle pat panne dede [ryue] &
& men pat roos from dep to lyue
witnessyng my moder and also seynt Ioon
& opre pat ware pere many oon
In witnessynge of which pyng
30 Myn oon sele perto i hyng
& for pe more sykernys
pe wounde in my side pe seel it is
pis was yeue at caluary
34 pe firste day of pe greet mercy

Explicit carta humane redempcio[nis]

1 The words al of pe fee appear in the margin opposite this line.
2 Cut off by edge of folio.
THE MIDDLE ENGLISH CHARTERS OF CHRIST

ASHMOLE 61.

Testamentum domini.

Wytch wele all þat bene here
And after schall be leue & dere
That I Ihesus of nasareth
fore lufe of man haue soferd deth

5 vpon a crosse with wondes fyue
Whyle I was man off lye
I haue gyuen & made a grante
To all þat askys repentante
heuens blysse withouten endynge

10 Als longs as I ame þer kyngs
kepe I no more fore all my peynes smerte
Bot trew lufe of mannys herte
And þat thow be in charyte
And loue þi neybour as I do the

15 Thys is þe rente thow schall gyff me
As to þe cheffe lord of þe fe
If þe any man cane sey now
That I ne haue dyed fore manys prow
Raper than man schuld be fore-lorne

20 þite wold I efte be all to-torne
Wytnes þe drey þat turnd to nysht
And þe sone withdrew hys lyght
Wytnes þe erth þat þan dyde quake
and þe stones þat all to-brake

25 Wytnes þe vayle þat thane dyd ryue
And dede men rosse fro deth to lyue
Wytnes my moder & seynt Iohns
And oþer þat there were many one
In wytnes off þat yche thynge

30 Myne awne sele þerto I hynge

[Seal.]
THE SHORT CHARTER

HARL. 237.

Carta humane redemptionis

Witnes wele al pat bene here &
And eftor sal be leue and ders
pat I ices us of Nazaret
fors luf of mane has suffered deth
5 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
I haue gyne and made a grant

to al pat askes it repentant
heyns blis withoutyn endynge
10 als longe as I am per kynge
a (kepe I no more nore othert thinges)
Kepe I no more fere al my smerte
Bod luf man of pin hert
Bod pat tou be in charite
and luf pi nythbur as I do pe
15 pis is pe rent tou sal gife me
as to pe chef lord of pe ffe
If ony man kane say nowe
Pat I ne diede for manys prow
Raper pi man sulde be forlorne
20 jit walde I eft be al to tornes
Witnes pe day pat turns in-to nytyt
and pe sonde withdraw his lyyt
Witnes pe erth pat ben gon qwake
And pe stane pat al to b[rake]
25 Witnes pe vail pat pas gon ryfhe
and men pat raius fra ded to lyfhe
Witnes my moder and sent Iohne
And othir pat ber were . . .
In testimonying of pe whilk thinges
30 Mi awne sel her-to I hynghe
And fore more sekirmes
Pe wondes in my side pe seil it is
Dis was gifyn at caluarye
34 dayt pe first * day of pe gret Mercy quod I lang ^

*This line is cancelled, evidently by mistake.
*Extra line. Doubtless the one the scribe meant to cross out instead of the one above it.
*Incomplete.
*The scribe first wrote gret here and cancelled it, putting first in above with a caret below.
*See description of this ms. at p. xxvi for the order in which the lines occur.
THE MIDDLE ENGLISH CHARTERS OF CHRIST

FAIRFAX.

[ADD. 5465] ¹

Be hit knowyn to all that byn here
and to all that here affir to me shalbe leffe and dere
That Jhesus off nazareth
for thi loue man haue suffered deth
5 Vppon the crosse with woundis smert
6 In hed in fete in handis in hart
a an for I wolde haue thyne herytage agayne
b Therfor I suffyrdd all this payne.

7 A man I haue gevyn and made a graunt
to the end and thou wilt be repentsant
heuyn bliss thyne eritage withoute endyng
10 as long as I am lord and kyng
not covetyng mor for all my smert
but a louyng and a contrite hart
and that þou be In charite
loue þi neybour as I loue the
15 I loue the this þat I axe of the
that am the cheffe lord of the fee

Be it knowyn [etc. ut suprajian
If any man will say here agayne
that I suffird not for the this payne
Yet man that þou sholdest not be lorne
20 In the awter I am offerd my fader beforne
21 witness the day turnyd to nyth
22 witness the sonne that lost his lyth
25 witnesst the vale that then did ryve
26 witness the bodies þat rose from deth to lyve

Be it knowyn [etc. ut supra]
23 witnesst the erthe that did quake
24 witnesst stonyis that all to brake
27 witness mari witnesst seynt John
28 and othir witnesst many one
In to witnesst of which thyng
30 my nowne sealde ther to I hyng
and man for the more sykyrnessée
The wounde in myn harte þe sealde it is
I gevyn vpon the moynt of caluary
34 the grete daye of mannys mercy
Be it knowen to all (etc. ut supra).

¹Reprint from the text printed by B. Fehr in Herrig's Archiv, C.VI.
69-70.
THE SHORT CHARTER

ASHMOLE 189.

Vol. 108
Wette ye All that bene here
And here-Aftre that shal be lefe & dere
That I Ihesus of Nagareth
for the loue of man haue suffred deth

Vol. 109
5 A-pons A crosse wyth woundys fyve
While pate I was in yerth man A-lyve
That I haue yeve & made A graunte
To All tho pat wyll Aaske it repentaunte
Heuene blys wythoute yendeynge

10 As longe I Am in heuene reynynghe
Kepe I no more for All my smerte
But tru loue of pe man with All thyne herte
And pat pou be in full charite
And lone thy neighbour As I do the

15 Thys is the rent pat pou shalt yelde vnto me
As to pe cheffes lorde of pe fee
And yf Any mans sey vnto pe nowe
That I haue not dyed for manis prowes
Rather pene man shuld be for-lorne

20 Yet yeft-sones wold I be All to-torne
In wittenesse of pe daye pat turned to nyght
And of the some pat wythdrewe hys lyght
In wyttenesse of pe yerth pat pene dyd quake
And of pe harde stones pat All to-brake

25 In wyttennesse of pe vylene pat pene dyd reve
And of men pat rose from deth to lyue
In wyttennesse of mary my moder & of seynynt Iohnes
And of odre pat ther were meny one
In wyttennesse of the whych thynge

Vol. 110
30 Myne owne selfe therto I hyngge
And All-so for pe more sekernesse
The wounde in my syde pe seale it ys
Thys was graunted At Caluarye
The fytrste daye of pe grete mercy

35 xiiiij M yeres of pardoun
wyth-oute popes twelve
Eche of them .vj. yeres by themselfe
Patriarkes Archebysshopyes & byshopyes Also
Mekell pardoun haue graunted therto

40 The some of pe indulgence rekene or pou gois
Is xxiv M. yeres xxxiv yeres & vj days
Carta redempciones

Wotyth now all that ben here
And after schal be leue and dere
That I ihesu of nazareth
For loue of man hath suffred dede

5 Up-on a croe with woundys fiue
whilis I was man in herthe alyue
I haue yeuyn and made a graunt
to alle that askyn repentant
Heuene blis witowtyng endyng

10 As longe as I am there hire kyng
Kepe I nomore for alle myn smerte
But the loue man of thyne herte
And that thu be in charite
And loue thi neythburgh 1 as I do the

15 This is the reste that thow shalt yeue me
as to the scheef lorde of the fee
yff ther be ony man that can say now
that I haue not deyd for mannys prow
rather than man schul ben lorne

20 Sit wold I efft be alle to torn
wetenesse the day turnyd into the nygh
and the sunne that lost hise lygh
wetenesse the erthe that than dede qwake
and the stonyes that al to brake

25 Wetenesse the veyl that dede rive
and men that roos from deth to lyue
Wetenesse myn modyr and seynt John
and other that were ther mony on 2
In the wetenesse of the qwych thyngh

30 Myne owne sele ther-to I hyng
And for the more sekernesse
The wounde in my syde the seel it is
This was yowyn at Caluerye

34 The fyrsste day of the gret mercy

1 The transcript reads thincyth burgh. 2 Ms. monyon.
MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE LONG CHARTER

A-TEXT
THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

RAWL. POET. 175

Ihesus est amor meus

Ihesu kyng of heuuen & hell
Man & woman I will pe tell

What luf I haue done to pe
And luke what pou has done for me
5 Of all ioy pou was out pilt
With tresone & with pine awen gylt
ffor pou was dryuen o-way
Als a best pat gase onstray
ffra my ryche I com doune
10 To seke pe fra toune to toune
Myne herytage pat es so fre
12 In pi myschef to gyf it pe

ADD. 11307

Fol. 98

Ihesu kyng of heuene and helle
Man and womman I wolde pe telle

What loue I haue don to pe
And loke what pou hast don for me
5 Of alle ioye pou were out pult
With treson and wythoute gult
Pore pou were dryuon a-way
As a best pat gope on stray
ffro my rych I cam a-doun
10 To seche pe fro toun to toun
Min erytage pat is so fre
12 In pi myschef to seuon it pe

BOD. 89

Hic incipit carta Christi

Fol. 65

Ihesu crist of heuene and helle
Man and womman I wolde
3ow telle
what loue I haue don to
the
looke what loue thou hast don to me
5 Off alle ioyes pou were oujt pilt

wip tresounes and wip bi gilt
Pore thou were dreuen awaie
As a best pat gope astray
ffrom heuene riche I come downse
10 To seche pe from towne to towne
My Erytage pat is so free
12 In thyng myschief I seue hit pee

1 Ms. Ad.

18
THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346

Fol. 51

Ihesu kyng of heuene & helle
Man & womman y wol yow telle
What loue I haue do to pe
Loke what peu hast do for me
5 Of alle Ioye pe were out pulte
With tresoun and wip-oute gulte
Pore peu were dryuene a-way
As a best pat goup astray
ffro my riche I cam a-doun
10 To seche pe fro toune to toune
Myne heritage pat ys so fre
12 In pe myschif to seue hit pe

Fol. 124

Ihesu kyng of heuene & helle
Man & woman I yow telle
What loue I haue do for pe
Loke what peu hauyst do for me
5 From ioye pey me vt pelte
Wyth tresoun & wyth-vtn gelte
Pore & naked pey drefyn me away
As a best pat gayt in stray
ffro my ryche y cam a-doun
10 To sekyn pe fro toun to toun
Myn heritage pat is so fre
12 In pe mesch有价值 to seuyn it pe

HARL. 5396

What Chryst hath done for us

Fol. 201

Ihesu cryst of heuyn & helle
Men & wemen I wyl you telle
What lone I haue don to pe
Loke what peu hast don to me
5 From all Ioyes peu ware outspylt
Wyth treson & also with gylt

7 Pore peu was & dreuyn away
As a best pat gos on stray
ffro heuyn Kyndom I come doun
10 To seche pe fro toun to toun
Myn herytage pat ys so fre
12 In pe myschyfe I yf y hyt pe

1 Of was first written, then cancelled, and from written above it.
2 The α is written below the line.
13 When þat gyft I gyf þe sulde
   I did als þe law wolde
15 Till a mayden I dismetted me
   ffor na chalange sulde þan be
   Wele derely he keped þe & me
   Till I my tyme wolde se
   Fourty wokes & fourty days
20 To fullfyll þe ald lawes
   þe mayden was trewe mylde & fre
   Scho resayued me for þe
   Me my manhede & my grace
   þus come sesyng in-to place
25 When þe sesyng was done swa
   full gret envy had þan þi fæ
   þan belzebub & sathanas
   Had gret wonder whi it was
   He fanded me with felony
30 With pryde couatyse & glotony
   Wele he wist I was a mans
32 Bot syn in me fand he nane

Bod. 89

13 Whanne I þat þeȝte þeȝe sholde
   I dede as þe lawe wolde
15 To a mayden I demede to me
   ffor none chalenge sholde be
   Wel derwruthly she kept me
   Till I my tyme wolde see
   fourty wokes and fourty dayes
20 To fulfille the olde lawes
   That made was mylde and free
   She rescuyed me for the
   Me thi manhode and þi grace
   Thus come þis sesyng first in place
25 Whanne þat sesyng was I-doo
   Wele grete enuy hade þy foo
   Belsabub and sathanas
   hadde grete ferly whi hit was
   Thei fonden me þip felonye
   Wip Couetise and glotonye
   Wel thei wiste þat I was man
32 But synne on me founde þei none
HARL. 2346

13 Whan pat syft I seue pe shulde
   I dede as pe lawe wolde
15 To a mayden I ordened me
   ffor [no] chalinge shulde be
   ff[ul wor] pely she kepte me & pe
   [Tyl y] my tym wolde y-se
   ffourty wykes & ffourty dayes
20 To fulfille pe ryzt lawes
   pe maide was mylde trewe & fre
   She rekued bope me and the
   Me pi manhede and by grace
   Pus com pe sesyng ferst a place
25 Whan pis sesyng was y-do
   Ful gret enye had pan by fo
   Pe belsabub and sathanas
   Had gret wonder why hit was

   Pe fonde me with felonye

Fol. 81b

30 Wyf pride coetise and glotenye
   Wel he wyst I was a man
32 But synne in me fond he non

ADD. BOD. C. 280

13 Wan pat I pis syfte seue schulde
   I dede ryth as pe lane wolde
15 Til a meydyne I hordayn me
   ffor per schulde no chaleynge be
   fful wortheilye she kepte both pe & me
   Till pat I my tym wolde se
   XL wockys & XL dawys
20 ffor to full-fyllyn pe rythe lawys
   pe maydyn was trwe mylde & fre
   Sche rescuyd both pe & me
   pere pi manhot & my grace
   pus cam pis sesyn fyirst in place
25 or pan pis sesyn was fully do
   ffull gret enye had pan my foo
   Belsebub & sathanas
   pay had gret wondyr what pat it
   was

HARL. 5396

13 When I pat syft syf schulde
   I dyd as pe lawe wolde
15 A maydyn I demyd to me
   ffor no chalange schulde be
   ffol der-wortheily sche kepyd me
   Tyl I my tym wolde se
   XL wekys & XL dayes
20 To fulfylle pe old lawe
   pat mayden was trewe & fre
   Sche receuyd me for pe

Fol. 801b

25 When pat sesyng was do
   ful gret enuy had by fo
   Belsabub & sathanas
   Had gret ferly why hyt was
   pat asseyed me with foly
30 With couttyse & gloteny
   Wyle he wyst I was a man
32 But synne yn me fonde he non

* The letters in this word and in those bracketed in the two next lines are blurred.
* Written above the line.
* Ms. sathanas.
* Opposite this line in the margin is some writing illegible to the editor.
33 Hard he threated me in his thought
That sesyng solde be dere bought
35 He sent his servaunce with maistrey
Wip wo and sorow me to destroy
And wele he fand him gayned noght

Ane other help was in my thought
More syker he to make

40 Ogayne pie fa full of wrake
Heuen & erthe in present
To mak a charter of feffement
In slyke a maner bus it be
Pat me bus gyf my lyf for pe

45 ffor pou art ded & I am lyfe
I mot die to giue pe lyfe
Many a way haue I to go
In hunger & thirst & cald all swa
Thretty wynter & mare pe two

50 Or my ded war I-do
Ne myght I fynde na parchemyn
52 ffor to last with-outen fyne

---

In which manere be-houethe to be
That I moste jeue my lyf for the

45 ffor thou art dede thorough rief
I moste deye to jeue pe lyf
Many a way I haue I-goo
In hunger therst chele and woo
Thystery jere and more panne too

50 Or my dede were fully doo
Ne myght I fynde no parchemyn
52 ffor to laste wip-outy fyn

1 Ms. Ad with a final curl. Cf. line 4.

2 Ms. panne.
THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346

33 Hard he pretened me in his poust
35 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Anoþer þing was in my poust
More syker þe to make
40 Agayn þi fo ful of wrake
Heuene & erþe in present
To make a charter of feffement
In suche maner by-houþe to be
þat I most þeue lyf for þe
45 ffor þu art dede & y am a-lyne
Y most daye to þeue þe lyffe
Many a way y haue go
In hunger in þurste chele & wo
XXX wynter & mo þen two
50 Or my chartre was y-do
Ne myst þey fynd no parchemyne
52 ffor to laste wyþ-oute fyne

ADD. BOD. C. 280

33 harde þay thretten me in her thoght
þat þis sesyn schul dere by boght
35 He sent his seruente wyth enuye
wyth sorow & wo me for to destrye
wel þe fundyne hym geynede noght
an-hoþer þynge was in my thoght
wel mor sykyr þe to make
40 agayns þi fo full of wrake
heuene & herth in presen
To make a charter of teoffament
In swyche a maner be howit to be
þat I most þeuyyn my lyf for þe
45 ffor þou art dede & I am lyf
I most deyn to þeuyyn lyf
harde gatys he hauyt gone
In hungure & thyrst & many won
XXX wynter & mo þan two
50 or þan þis chartre wer fully do
Cowde ye fyndyne no parchemyne
52 þat wolde lastyn wyth-vtyn fyne

HARL. 5396

33 hard þey thret me in þer post
þat sesyng schuld be dere boþt
35 They send her sergant with enyve
with wo & sorow me to destrye
fful wele he gaynyd nost
Another help was yn my poght
Moore sykyr þe to make

40 Aþeyn þy foo so full of wrake
heuyn & ethe þe 1 present
To make a chartur of feffment

In syche a maner hyt behouys to be
þat I must þeue my lyf for þe
45 ffor þou dyed þugh synne ryfe
I must dye to þyf þe lyfye
Many a way I haue goo
[y]n hungyr thyrst colde &
mekyll woo

50 Or my deth was ydo
I myght fynde no parchemyne 2
52 ffor to last with out fyne

1 Ms. þa
2 Ms. parchemyne, the n having been written over something erased.
RAWL. Poet. 175

53 But als luf bad me do
Myne awen skyn I toke par-to
55 To gette me frendes I gasf gud mede
So dose pe pore pat has gret nede
On a thursday a sope I made
Both frende & fa to make pam glade
With mete & drynk to saue fode
60 With haly word my flesh & blode
Hoc facite in meam commemorationem
Pis I made for mankynde
My luf-desdes to haue in mynde
Or I fra pe bord rase
Of my frend betrayd I wasse
65 He fand me gangad in pe way
Als pe lyon gase to his pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo [paratus ad pre[dam]

BOD. 89

But as loue badde me doo
Myn owene skynne I toke perto
55 To gette me frendes I saf gret mede
As dothe the pore pat hath gret nede
On a thursday a feste I made
ffrendes and foo to make glade
60 Wip mete and drinke to saule foode
Wip holy wordes my fleshe and blood
This I made for mankynde
62 My loue-desdes to haue in mynde

ADD. 11307

52 But as loue bad me do
Myn owene skyn y saf peer to
55 To gette me frendes I saf god mede
So dop pe pore pat hav gret nede
Vn a thoresday a sope y made
Bope frend and fo to maky glade
Wip mete and drynk to soule fode
60 Wip holy wordy my flesh and blode
This I made for mankynde
Mi loun-dedis to haue in mynde
Hoc facite in meam commemorationem
Or I fro pe bord aras
Of my frend betrayd y was
65 He fand me goynge in pe way
As pe lyon gope tyll his pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad predam

67 A kyrtell I hadde and clopes mo
And sone I hadde all for-ga
Pan had I pis chartre wryten
70 Pan was I nakend wele may yhe wyten
Pai kest lote als wald bi-fall
72 Whether aune suald haue all or par-ten all

They caston lot as wolde by-falle
HARL. 2346

53 But as loue bade me to do
   Myne owne skyn y tok þer-to
55 To gete my frendys þat good mede
   So do þe pore þat hæþ fæ good mede
   On a þursday a soþer y made
   With mete & drinke to sole cæde
   With holy wordy my flesch & my blode
   Þis I made for mankynde
   My loue-dedys to haue in mynde

ADD. BOD. C. 280

53 But as gret loue bade me do
   Myn houene skyne I toke þer-to
55 To gete my frendys þat good mede
   Þrenf & fo to makyn all glade
   Wyth metys & drynkys sowle fode
   With holy wordys my fleisch & my blode
   All þis I dye for mankynde
60 All þis I dyde for mankynde
   My loue-dedys to haue in mynde

Fol. 52 *hoc facite in meam commemora-
cionem *
65 He fonde me goande in þe way
   þe ﬂyon goþ to his pray
   A curtel I had & cloþes mo
   Alle y hadde some for-go
   þey þat had þis chartre wryten
   Þey casten lot as wold by-falle
   Wheþer on shuld haue or parten alle

HARL. 5396

53 But as loue bad me do
   Myne owen skyn I toke þer to
55 To gete me frendys I þat gret mede
   As doþ þe pore þat hath mede
   On a thersday a feste I made
   øf þrenfæ & foo to make glade
60 With holy wordys my ﬂesh & blode
   Thys I made for mankynde
   My loue dedys to haue yn mynde

63 Or I fro þe borde ras
   Of my frend betrayed I was
65 They toke me goyng yn þe way
   As a lyon gos to hys pray
   Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus
   Ad predam
   A kyrtyl I had & not a cloth mo
   All I had some forgo

70 Þo was y naked wel mow þe wyten
   Þey casten lot as wold by-falle
   Wheþer on shuld haue or parten alle

1 The ð is written below the line.
2 Hoc facite cancelled, and Hoc facite written above.
3 Ms. commemorationem
RAWL. POET. 175

73 ffrend & fa pat with me meten
In my most rede all me leten
75 Till a pyler I was pyght
Tugged & tawed all a nyght
And waschen in myne awen blode
And straytelty steren on pe rode

Streyne to drye on pe rode tre

80 Als parchemyn owpe to be
Here now & yhe sall wytten
How pis charter ¹ was wryten
Opon my nees was made pe ynk
With Iewes spyttynge on me to stynk
85 Pe pennes pat pe lettr was with wryten
was of skourges pat I was with smyten

Fol. 95b How mayntes pe:ie-on bene
Rede & pou may wytten & sene
ffyue thousand four hundreth fyfty & ten

90 woundes on me beth blak & wen
Quinque milia CCCC.mo L. X.
To schew yhow all my luf-dede
92 Miself I will pis chartre rede

ADD. 11307

73 ffrend and fo pat with me metton
In my rede alle me for-letton
75 To a pyler I was plyyt
I tugged and tawed al a nytt
Fol. 95b And waschon in myn owne blod
And streyte y-streyned vpon pe rod

Streyne d to drye vpon a tre

80 As parchemyn oveth for to be
Hereth now and je shulle weton
Hou pis chartre was y-wytton
Vpon my neb was mad pe enke
Of iewes spottel on me to stynke
85 The pennes pat pe lettres wryton
Weron scories pat I wip was smyton
Hou many lettres per-on ben
Red and pou maist weton and sen
five thousand CCCC fifty and ten

90 Woundes on me bope rede and wen
To shew you alle my loue-dede
92 Miself I was pe chartre rede

BOD. 89

73 ffrend and foo pat wip me eten
In a my neede alle from me seden
75 To a pilier I was pight
Tuggyd and drawen alle a nytt
and waschen me myn owen blode
and strayed me strayet on pe rode
I-strayed to dethe on a tree

80 as parchemyn owpe to be
here hit now and je shull wete
how pis Chartre was I-wrette

¹ Ms. charter.
² Ms. Im.
THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346

73 ffrend & fo pat wyþ metten
In my nede alle me for-leten
75 To a pilour y was pyþ
I tugged and towed al a nyþ
And waschen on myn owne
blode
And [str]eyþ y streyned on þe rode
S[trey]ned to drye on a tre
80 As parchemyne ont for to be
Hyreþ now & þe shul wytten
How þis chartre was wryten
Vpon my face was made þe ynke
With Iewes spotel on me to styneþ
85 þe penne þat þe letteres was with wryten
Of scorges þat I was with smyten
How many lettres þer-on bene
Rede and þu myþt wyte and sene
V. þousand .iiij. c. fyfty and ten

To scheue you all my loue-dede
90 Wondes on me boþe blac and wan
92 My-selfe will I þis chartre rede

ADD. BOD. C. 280

73 ffrend & fo þat wyp metten
In my nede alle me for-leten
75 To a pilour y was pyþ
I tugged and towed al a nyþ
And waschen on myn owne
blode
And [str]eyþ y streyned on þe rode
S[trey]ned to drye on a tre
80 As parchemyne ont for to be
Hyreþ now & þe shul wytten
How þis chartre was wryten
Vpon my face was made þe ynke
With Iewes spotel on me to styneþ
85 þe penne þat þe letteres was with wryten
Of scorges þat I was with smyten
How many lettres þer-on bene
Rede and þu myþt wyte and sene
V. þousand .iiij. c. fyfty and ten

To scheue you all my loue-dede
90 Wondes on me boþe blac and wan
92 My-selfe will I þis chartre rede

 Fol. 53a

HARL. 5396

73 ffrend & foo þat with me etyn
In my nede for geton
75 To a peler I was pyþ
Tuggyd & drawyn all a nyþ
And washyyn yn myn owen bloode
And strayste straynyd vp-on þe rode
Straynyd I was upon a tre
80 As pa[r]chemyn owyth to be
Hereyt now & þe schall wyt
How þys charter was I-wryt

83 þe Iowys fell with gret swynk
Of my blode þey madyn ynke
85 þe pennys þat þe lettrys dyd wryte
Where skoges with whych þay dyd me smyty
Rede & þu may wyte & sene
V m CCCC senuty & V

80 Wyndys * I suffyrd here yn my lyfe
To scheue you my lofe-dede
92 My-selfe wyl þys charter rede

1 This line is twice written in the margin, as follows:
   a) In my nede for getone
   b) Al þel had me for yety[n]

An imperfection in the parchment has destroyed most of the line in the text,

* Above the line.
* Ms. w wyndys.
RAWL. PONT. 175

93 ye men path gase bi pis way
Abydes & lokes on me to-day
95 And rede on pis parchemyne
If any sorow be lyke to myne,
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite & videte & cetera
Standes & here pis charter rede
Whi I am wounded & all forbeld
Sciant presentes & futuri & cetera wytt yhe pat bene & sail be-tyde

100 I Ihesu crist with blody syde
path was born in bethlehem
And offred in-to Ierusalem
De kyng son of heuen oboufe
With my fader will and lufe

105 Made a sesyng when I was born
To he mankynd path was forlorn
With my chartre here present
I mak now confirnament
Path I haue graunted & gyfen

110 To he mankynd with me to lyfen
In my rewme of heuen byls

112 To haue & hald withouten mys

ADD. 11307

93 ye men path gon for by the weye
Abideth and lokep with soure ye
95 And redep on pis parchemyn
Sif eny serwe be lyk to myn
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite

Wipstondep and herep pis chartre
Whi I am wounded an al for-blad
Sciant presentes & futuri &c
Witeth ye pat ben and ahul betyde

100 I ihesu crist with blody syde
That was born in bedlem
And offred in-to Ierusalem
De kynges some of heuene a-bone
Wip my fader will and loue

105 Made a sesyng when I was born
To he mankynd path was for-lorn
Wip my chartre here in present
I make heron confirnament
That I haue granted and y-ene

110 To he mankynd with me to lene
In my reve of heuene bliss

112 To haue & to holden withouten mysse

Bod. 89

93 . . . . . . .
95 . . . . . . .

O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite & videte etc

97 wipstonde and here the chartre rede
whi I am woned and for-bled
Sciant presentes & futuri &c
wete ye pat ben and shall be-tyde

100 I ihesu wip wondes wyde
That was born in Bedelem

102 and Offred into Ierusalem

The kynges some of heuene above wip myn fadre will and loue

105 Made a feffynge whanne I was borne
To mankynde path was for lorlorne
wip my Chartre her in present
I make here a confirnament
That I haue graunt and I-ene

110 wip my kynde for to leue
In my regne of heuene blisse

112 To haue and to holde wip-out mysse

*Ms. kyngson

*aucowe cancelled and above interlized.
THE LONG CHARITER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346.
93 Ye men pat goþ by þe way
A bideþ & lokeþ wyþ youre ey
95 And redeþ on þis parchemyn
Is þer be any sorwe like to myne
O uos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite &c
ȝet stondeþ & hireþ þis chartre red
Whi I am wonded & al for-bled
Sciart presentes et futuri &c
Wyte ye þat ben and shall be-tyde
100 Ihesu crist wyth blody syde
þat was bore in betlehem
And offred in to Ierusalem
þe kinges some of heuene a-boue
Wyþ my fader wyl and loue
105 Made a sesyn whan y was born
To þe mankinde þat was for-lorn
Wyþ my chartre here present
I make now confirmanent
þat I haue graunted & y-jeue
110 To þe mankynde with þe to leue
On my reme of heuene blisse
112 To haue & holde wyþ-oute mysse

ADD. Bod. C. 280
93 ye man & woman þat goyt be þe way
abidis & loke vp with sowr ey
95 Redyn vpon þis parchemyne
ysf any sorow likith to myne.[rede
with-stondyt & hereyt þis charter
how I am for-wondid & all for-bled
100 Ihesu crist wyth blody sydyne
þat was borne in bedlem
& offerid vp in to ierusalem
þe kyangys sone heye a-boue
with my faderys wil & loue
105 I made a seesyn wan I was borne
To þe mankynde þat was forlorne
with my charter her in present
I made to þe a confirment
þat I graunte & I yeue
110 To þe mankynd wyth me to leue
In my regne of heuene blys
112 To haunye & holdynye with-vtyn mys

HARL. 5396
93 . . . . . . . 102 And offyrd ynto Iersalem
95 . . . . . . . The kynges sone of heuyn Aboue
. . . . . . . With my fader wele by-loue
105 Made a fetment whay I was borne
To mankynde þat was forlorn
With my charter here yn present
I made here a conferment
þat I haue grauntyd for to gyf
110 With mankynde for to leue
In my reme of heuyn blysse
To haue & to holde with-owtyne mysse
100 I ihesu with wovndes wyde
Pat was born yn bedlem

\(^1\) Ms. futuere.
\(^2\) Written he ye.
113 In a condicioun if þou be kynde
And my loue-dedes haue in mynde
115 Þre to haue & Þre to hald
With all þe purtenaunce to wald
Myn erytage þat es so fre
ffor homage ne for fewte
Na mare will I ask of þe
120 Bot a foure leued gryss yheld þou
A lefe es soth fast schryft
þe tother es for syn hert smyrte
þe thred I will no mare do swa
þe fyrth dreed god whare so þou ga
125 When þir foure leues to-gyder er
A trewe loue men clepon it
Of þis rent be noght be-hynd
ffor alle þe yerhe þou may it fynde
Els may yhe seke it in my wound
130 Þffor þære may trew luf ay be found
All if yhe fall & gretyly mystake
132 Mi ded I will neuer forsake

Boo. 89

113 In condicioun þif thou be kynde
And my loue-dedes haue in mynde
115 Þre to haue and Þre to holde
Wip al þe purtenaunce to wolde
Myn erytage þat is so free
ffor homage ne for fewte
Nomore wolle I aske of the
120 A foure leued gresse þilde thou me
That oon leef is shrift of herte
That ðepere for synne hert smyrte
The thridde in wille nomore do so
130 Þffor there may trewe love be founde
That oon leef is shrift of herte
The thridde in wille nomore do so

\[^1\text{An upward curl on the line crossing the } \text{t} \text{ of this word is evidently due to an attempt to make at the same time with the last letter the upper mark of a colon. The same attempt may be seen at the end of many lines.}\]
HARL. 2346

113 In a condicion if þou be kinde
And my loue-dedes haue in mynde

115 ffre to haue & ffre to holde
With al þe purtenaunce to wolde
My heritage þat is so fre
ffor homage ne for feute
No more wol I ake of þe

120 A foure leued gras þu seld to me

ADD. BOD. C. 280

113 In a condicion þat þou be kynde
My loue-dedys þat þou haue in mynde

ffor to hauyn & for to holdyns
wyth all pertinancye for to woldyns
Myn heritiage þat is so fre
for homage ne for feute
But no more wil I aakyn of þe

But a iiiij leuede gras þat þou
granste me

Pat o leef is sopfast shryst
Pat oþer for synne hert smert
þe prydde I wol no more do so
þe ferþe drede god euer mo

[sett]

125 When þes foure leues to-gedire ben
A trewe loue men clepeþ hit
Of þis rente be not by-hynde

ffor þourþ þere þu may hit fynde
Els may þe se in my wounde

130 ffor þer may trewe loue be founde
þouþ þu sall drede gretyly mystake

132 My dede wol I neuer forsake

HARL. 5396

113 In condicion yf þou be kynde
My loue dedes to haue yn mynde

115 ffre to haue & ffre to hold
with 2 all þe appertynantys wolde
In myne heritiage þat ys so fre
ffor homage ne for fewette
No more wolde I ake of þe

120 But a foure þe leyd gras þou þyf me
Pat on lef ys loue of hert
Pat oþyr for synne penans smert

125 When thys leyys to-gedyr be
A trew loue men clepyn hyt
Of þys rente be not be-hynde
ffor þow þe þere þou may hyt fynde

Or ellys take hyt in my wounde
Þer may þe trewe loue be fownde
yf þou be fallyn yn mys-tayle
My dede wyl þe not a-vayle

*Obscure in Ms.
*And deleted before with.

The u is written above the line.
*Ms. prov.
Thyn Erytage shalt pou haue
Thy were grauon on a stipe
Of gold ne seluer ne ben pei noght
Wiþ spere of stil myn herte pei stongan
Thow myn herte and my longon
Iron nailes thrilleden
Thow fet & hande to pe tre
The selyng wax was dere about
At myn herte rote it was souyt
Of my blode pei ran adounen
factum est cor meum tanquam
cera liquecens &c . . .
Fyue seles war sett þereþon
Of fader & son god & man
The fiue þat is to leue meste
That I cam of þe holy gost
In playn power þi state to make
A corone on myn hed haue I take

The final letter is blurred by a crease in the manuscript.
HARL. 2346

133 If þu amende and mercy craue
þyn heritage truly shalt þu have

135 Þe seel þat hit is seled with
þei weren graued upon a styth
Of gold ne syluer were þei noþt
Of styel & yren þey were wrouȝt
With spere of stile my hert þey stongen

140 Pourȝ myne herte and my longen
þre nailes þerled me
Pourȝ feet & hondes to þe tre
þe selyng wexe was dere bouȝt

Fol. 52 At myn herte rote y-souȝt
145 And tempred al with vermyloun
Of my blode þat ran doun
factum est cor meum tanquam
cera liquescens &c
ffyue seles were y-sett per-an
Of fader & sone god & man
þe fylpe ys for to lone most
150 þat I cam of þe holy gost
In pleyn poweres þy state to make
152 A signe on myn hed þat take

ADD. BOD. C. 280

133 yf þou þe amende & mercy craue
þyn heritage sall þou have

135 þes selys þat þis charter were
selyde witht
þai weryne wroght vp-on a styf
Of gold ne of siluer wer þai nath
But of stel & heryn þai wroght
wyth spere of stel I was stongyne

140 þrow myn hert lyuer & longyne
heryne neyles þerleden me
Thorȝ hot & handys þer till a tre
þe selyng wex was dere a-bowt

144 þrow my hert rot² it sowth
þat was tempered all wyth ver-
mylione [adone³
þat was myn hert blod þat ran

ffactum est cor meum tanquam
cera liquescens &c
V sely were set þer vp-one
Of fadyre & sone god & mane
þe V is to be-leue most

150 þat he cam of þat holy gost
In pleyn power for to makynë
152 a corone of myn hed I takynë

HARL. 5396

133 Tyl þou mede & mercy craue
Myne herytage þou schalt not haue145 Tempryd all wyth vermylon

135 þe selys þat I was selyyd wyth
They were grauyn on þe styth¹
Of gold ne syluyr were þey noȝt
138 but of yryn & stele wete þey wroȝt²
140 . . . . . . . . . . .
Yryn naȝlys thyrylyd me
142 Thorow hand & fote vnto þe tre
143 þe selyng wax was dere boȝt

And at my hert rote hyt was soȝt
Tempryd all wyth vermylon
Of my blode þat ran down
Seylyng wax was dere boȝt

Fol. 304 Iron nailes were set þer than
On fader & sone god & mane
Pe fyrst þat þou leue most

150 þat I com of þe holy gost
In pleyn power for to makynë
152 A crowne upon my hede to take

¹ Between v. 135 and v. 138, "Of yryn & stele wete þey wroȝt" is cancelled.
² Written r'ot.
³ a above the line.
⁴ Ms. seems to be rera.
Of thornes in takenyng þat I am kyng
And frely may gyf þe þi thing

Dis witnes þe Iewes all
On knes to me þai gan doune fall

And lowd cryed on þair skornyng
Hail be þou lord of Iewes kyng
Bettwene twa men þis was seled
Bath war seke þe tane I heled
Be-twene twa theues on hegh I-pyght
In takenyng þat I was man of myght
þat north & west on hegh hyll
þat I may deme bath gud & ill
Q[uis neque] ab oriente neque ab occidente &c.

I thirsty was & full sore swongen
þe berygge moste nede be drongen

A luf-drynk I ask of þe
Aysell & galle þai gaf to me

Hij testibus matheus & Ioane
Luke & Marke & many one
And namely my moder swete
Sfor scho left neuer teres to lete

153 Of thornes in token þat I am kyng
155 This witnesse Hitis all
160 Bope were seke þe ton heled
Bettwene too þeues on highe pight
That I of alle men myght haue a siste
That Est and west on wilde hille
I may luge bothe gode and elle

Bod. 89

153 Of thornes in token þat I am kyng
And frely may syuon my þyng

Dis witnesse þe iewes alle
On knes to me þey gone doun falle

And loude cryede in hure scornyng
Hyl þe þou lord of Iewes kyng
By-twene to men þis was y-seled
Bope weron syke þat on I helud
By-twene to þeues on hy y-pynt
In tokon þat I was man of myyt [hulle
That north and west on wilde
þat I may juge bope gode and ylle
Quia neque ab oriente neque ab &c.

A dorst I was ful sore y-swonke
þe beuerage moste npe benn pronke

A loue-drynk I asked of þe
Eysell an galle þou jaf me
Hij testibus Matheus and Iohan
Luk Mark and many on
And namely my moder swete
Sfor she luthe neuer teres lete

153 Of thornes in token þat I am kyng
155 This witnesse Hitis all
160 Bope were seke þe ton heled
Bettwene too þeues on highe pight
That I of alle men myght haue a siste
That Est and west on wilde hille
I may luge bothe gode and elle

155-6 above.
HARL. 2346

153 Of þornes bi-tokenyg þat I am king
And flely may þeue al þing

155 Wytnesse of þe Iewes alle
On knees to me þey gon fallc
And loude cried on her scornying
Hail be þu lord & Iewes kyng
By-twyne two men þis was y-seled

160 Boþe were sike þat on y heled
By-twyne two þefes on hye I-pygt
In tokne þat I was man of myþt
þat north & west on hye hulle
þat I may demne boþe good & ylle
_Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occi-
dente, &c_

165 A þurst I was ful sore y-swonke
þe beueraghe most nedes be dronke
A loue drylke I asked of þe
A ysel & galle þey jàne to me
_Hus testibus_ Matheu and Iohn

170 Luk. Mark. and many on
_Fol. 54_ And namely my moder swete
172 _ffor she lefte neuer terys to wepe_

ADD. BOD. C. 280

153 Of thorinis in tokynynþ þat I kyng
& flely may þeue þe my thynge

155 þis wytnessit þe ieuys all
_vpon her knys þay can doum fallc_
_þful loude þe crides in her scornynge_  
_heil be þou lorde & ieuys kyng_
_Betwen two men þis dede was selyd_

160 Boþe wer sek þat one was heyllys
_Betwen two ieuys heye pyth_
_In tokenynþ þat I am man of myth_
_norw & west on heye helle_
_þat I may demyn boþe goode & ylle_
_Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occi-
dente, &c_

165 a-prost I was & sor swynkyne
þis beuerasche most nedys be dronkyne
_a loue drylk I askede of þe_
_heysell & galle þou þeue yt me_
_þis wytnesseyt mathe[?] & Ione_

170 luk & mark & many one
_Namelech my modyr swete_
172 _ffor sche lefte neuer terys to lete_

---

HARL. 5396

153 Of thoriniums yn tokyn þat kyng
And frely may þeye all thyng

155 þys wetenes þe ieuys alle
On knees to 'me þey con falle
And lowd cryed yn her scornying
Wilcom be þe Iewys kyng

159 By twene ij theuys I was seld
161 Be twene ij theuys on hygh was I pyt
160 þe t[other] was seke & I hym helyd
162 þat all men on me þynt haue syst
_I am Iuge both of god & ylle_

_Quia neque ab oryente neque ab occi-
dente &c_

165 for thyrst I was ful sore byswonke
þe beuerage most nedes by dronke
_A lytyl drylk I askyd of þe_
_168 Aysyll & galle þou gaf me_
_a þys wytnessey þe ieuys alle_
_b On knees to me þy con falle_

170 luke marke & othyr many one
_And also beryng wetnessey mathu & Iohn_
172 _ffor sche lefte neuyr terys to lete_

*Lines 159 and 160 cancelled in MS.
*The following couplet written at the bottom of the page is marked for insertion between lines 162 and 163:

"þe toper was seke & hym helyd
The toper in my charter was not selyd."

*See note preceding page.
RAWL. POET. 175

173 Ar þis chartre wryten was
     full oft scho said allas allas
175 So bare I was of wordes gode
     When I suld dy on þe rode
     Pat I had noght wharof to take
     Mi testament whare-of to make
     Bot of my lefe moder & dere
Scho stode bi me with a sorowfull 180
     When I to my cosyn hir bi-toke
     Scho kest me many a sorowful luke
     In knawlegyng I made a cry
     Pater lamaʒabatany
     Be-hald now men with hert & eghe
     ffor yhour luf how I sall degh
     Consummatum est þis chartre es
     done
     Man þou has ouer-comen þi fone
     To hell I went þis chartre to schew

ADD. 11307

173 Or þis chartre wryto was
     Wel ofte sho seyde alas alas
175 So bare I was of wordles god
     When I sholde deye vpon þe rod
     Pat I ne hadde wher to take
     My testament wherof to make
     Bot of my moder lef and dere
180 Sho stod by me with reusable chere
     When I my cosyn hure bytok
     Sho caste me many a sory lok
     In cnownlychynge I made a cry
     Pater lamaʒabatany
     Byhold now man wip herte and ye
     ffor thy loue how I shal dye
     Consummatum þis chartre is don
     Man þou hast ouercome þi fon
     To helle I wente þis chartre to showe

185 Be-for þi fa sathanas þat schrew
     By-fore þi fo sathanas þe shrewe
     þan he was schent & broghte to
ground
190 With nayles bored & speres wound

BOD. 89

173 Or þis Chartre wreten was
     Pater lamaʒabatany
     Oft sche saide allas allas
     Beholde man wip hert and eye
     Thanne I deyege on þe rode
Fol. 45
177 So bare I was of worldes gode
     ffor þi loue now shall I deye
ten ne hadde where-to to take
     Consummatum est this Chartre is
     But my leef moder dere
     now doone
180 She stoude by me wip rufull chiere
     Man þou hast ouerecome þi foone
     whenne I to my Cosyn here tok[e1]
     To helle I went this chartre to
183 In knowynge I made a cry
     Thurlg nayles bore and speres
     shewe
wounde

190 By-fore þi fo sathanas þe shrewe
     Tho was he shent and bropt to
     grounde
192 With nayles bored & speres wounde

1. e is indicated here, but hidden by a fold in the paper.
HARL. 2346

173 Or pis chartre y-witen was
    ful ofte she seyde allas allas
  175 So bare I was of worlych good
      When I shuld dey vpon pe rood
    Pat I naddde wher-to to take
      My testament where-on to make
    But of my leef moder dere
  180 She stode by me with sorful chere
    When I my cosyn hir by-toke
      She cast on me many a sory loke
    In knowleche y made a cry
      Pater lamabatany
  185 By-hold now man with herte & ye
    ffor ["] loue how I shal dye
      Consummatum pis chartre is done
    Man pu hast ouer-come pi foon
      To helle y wente pis chartre to shewe

ADD. BOD. C. 280

173 Or pis charter wrytyn was
    ful oftyn sche seyd allas allas
  175 So bar pat was of wordys goode
      wan pat I schulde deyn vpon pe rode
    Pat I ne hade werof to takyn
      My testament for to makynse
    But of my leue modyr dere
  180 sche stod be me wyth sory chere
    Wan pat I my cosyn here be-tok
      sche cast vp-on me many rewful look
    In knouelachyng y mad a cry
      Pater lamabatany
  185 Be-holde man wyth hert & eye
    ffor pi ["] how I schall doye
      pis charter is done
    Man pou hast ouer-comyn pin
      To helle I went pis charter to scheuyns

HARL. 5396

173 Or piys charter wretyn was
    Pater lamayabathanye
  175 So bare I was of worldys gode
      Oftyn sche seyd allas allas
    Pen I dyed upon pe rede
      By-hold now man with herte & eye
    Pat pen had noght & wherwith to take
      how I schall doye
      pis charter ys now all don
    My testament where-wyth to make
      Man pu hast ouyrecome pi fone
    But of my leev modur dere
      To helle I went pis chartre to scheuwe
  180 Sche stode bymewith rufull chere
      185 But hold man with hert & eye
    Pen I my cosyn hur be-tok
      ffor pi loue now schal I dye
    Sche hast up many a sory loke
      Psy chartre ys now all don
    In swonyng y made a cry

190 By-for pi fone satan pe schreue
    Pat he was shent & brouynt to grunde
  192 With nailes bore and speres wonde
      To helle I went pis chartre to scheuwe
      190 Before pi fo sathanas pat schrewe
      he was schent & brouyt to grovnde
      192 Thorow naylys bore & sperys wovnde

\textsuperscript{1} Immediately following this in the ms. is a $y$ cancelled.
\textsuperscript{2} A written above the line.
\textsuperscript{3} The word in this space is blurred.
\textsuperscript{4} Blank space in ms.
\textsuperscript{5} Above the line.
RAWL. PORT. 175

193 A strayt cowand made þer was
Bi-twene me & Sathanas
195 All my catell to haue o-way
þat he reft with fals pray
O-gayne I come & made a feste
O-mang þe mast & þe leste
A-party men þan gan know me
200 þat I was man of gret pouste
þat fest lasted fourty dawes
To do men know my new lawes
þat fest was all of ioy & blys
þat Pasch day yhit called es
205 Ane endenture I left with þe
þat euere þou suld syker be
In prestes handes my fleisch & blode
þat for þe dyed on þe rode
And my kay I toke all-so
210 In taken þat I was vn-do
to bere with þe whare so þou go
212 þan that þe noght dreed þi fo

ADD. 11307

193 A scrit* of couenaunt I-mad þer was
By-twene me and sathanas
195 Al my catel to haue away
That he me raftte with fals fray
Agayn y com and made a feste
Among þe leste and þe meste
Aparty þo men gonne knowe me
200 That I was man of gret pouste
That feste lesteþ fourty dawes
To do men knowe my newe lawes
That feste was of ioye and blis
That esterday þet y-cleped ys
205 On endenture I lafte with þe
That euere þou sholdest syker be
In prestes hond my fleisch and blod
That for þe dyed vpon þe rod
A by keþe* I tok þe also
210 The tokene þat I was onne y-do
To bere wip þe were so þou go
212 Thanne þar þe not drede of þi fo

Bod. 89

193 A Chartre of couenauntes made
was
Betwene me and sathanas
195 Alle my cataill to haue a-way
That he me reft wip his fals pray
sein I cam and a feste
a-monge the meeste and the leste
Thanne atte þe firste men gan
know me
200 That I was man of grete postee
210 The Tokyn þat I was on doo
212 Thanne dare the noust drede þi fo

That feste was of Ioye and blys
That pasche day cleped is
exclude
On endenture I laft wiþ þe
That euere thou scholdesst seke be
In prestes honde my fleisehe and
blod
That for þe deyde on þe rode
a bykeye I toke þe also
To bere wip the where thou goo

1 A second with also occurs.
2 Ms. A scrit, bylwepol—see Glossary.
HARL. 2346

193 A wryt of couenaunt I-made per was
By-twyne me and sathanas

195 Al my catel to haue a-way [pray
pat he me rauesched with fals
A-zen y come and made a feste
Among alle bope mest and lest

Fol. 125 a-jan y come & made a fest
a-monges all men most & lest

Fol. 54 A-party men po guane knowe me
A-party po men gunyn knoue me

200 pat I was man of grete pouste
pe feste laste fourty dawes
To do men knowe my newe lawes
pe feste was al of ioye and blisse
pat yesterday yet holden ys

205 On endenture y laft with pe
pat ouer al pou schuldys syker be
In prestes hond my flesh & blod
pat for pe deyed on pe rood
A key y toke pe al-so

210 ... ... ... ... ... ... 210
To bere with pe where pu go

212 Danne darst pou 1 nere dreydyn
pe fo

Bod. Add. C. 280

193 a scryth of a conenaunt mad per was
Be-twexyn me & satanas

195 alle myn to haunyn a-way
pat he me be-reft wyth fals pray

Fol. 125 a-jan y come & made a fest
a-monges all men most & lest

200 pat I was man of grete powste
pe fest last XL dawys [lawys
To done men knawyn my ryth
pe fyrst it is of ioye & blys
pat hesterne day clepyd is

205 hon endenture y lefte with pe
pat ouer al pou schuldys syker be
In prestys hand my flesche & eke
my blode

210 pe rode pat i was vp-on ydo
To beryn wyth pe were pat pou go

HARL. 5396

193 A charter couenant made was
Bytwene me & sathanas

195 All my catel to haue a-way
pat he me ref with fals pray
A-jeyn I come & made a fest
A-mong pe most & pe lest
pen atte furst men knowe con me

200 pat I was man of gret powste
pat fest lastyd XL dayes
To do men knowe pe newe wes

210 pe cros pat I was on do
To bere with pe where-so pou go

212 pen thar pe not drede by fo

1 "darst pou" is written twice.
2 "me" repeated.
### Rawl. Poet. 175

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>To my fader I most gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>ffor all his will I haue done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>A cote armure I bare with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ffor pat I take of pi lyuere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pe cloth was ryche &amp; wele fyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pe chaumpe it was of red camelyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>Out of hir boure I it broght</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Powderd with fyne roses rede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woundes pat I tholed in dede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pat when I come o-gayn to pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Dare-by pou myght know me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Add. 11307

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>To my fader I moste gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>ffor al his wille I haue y-don</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>A cote armure I bar wip me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ffor pat I tok of by leuere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The clop was ryche and ryst fyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The chaumpe it was of red camelyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>Out of hure bour I it brouyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I-poudred with fyue roses rede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wip woundes pat I deled dede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whanne I com eft agayn to pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Ther-by pou mayst knowe me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### Bod. 89

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>To my fadour I most goones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>ffor alle his wille I haue doon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>a cote armouer I bare wip me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ffor pat I tooke of thy lyuere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That chothe was good and fyyn [lyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | The chaumpe was of rede chame-
|      | A wele faire may hit wrought |
| 220  | and ought of here bour I hit |
|      | brought |
|      | I powdred wip fyne roses rede |
|      | woundes pat I tholede dede |
| 224  | Ther-by pou mayst knowe me |
HARL. 2346

213 To my fader I most gon
214 ffor al his wille I haue done

ADD. BOD. C. 280

213 ffor to my fadir I most go
214 all is wyl I aue do

a on halprost day I vndyr-stond
b y went vp-on my fadyr reth honds
c To deme pe qwyk & eke pe deydy
\[\text{[wroght]}\]
d al myn to schyledyn fro pe qued
e a witsnday werement
f a-don I sent wyth goode talent
g wit & wysdame to all mankynde
h all men to scheldene fro pe fende

215 A cote Armure y bare with me
ffor pat I took of pi lyuere
Pe clop was riche & wel fyne
Peh champe was of white camelyn

A wel faire maide to me hit
ffor pat I tok of pi lyuere
Pe cloth was ryche god & fyne
Pe chomp it was oft whyt camelyn

A wel faire mayden to me it
Vt of her body he me it broght
It was pouderyde with V rose rede
Pat were pe wondys pat I for man

Out of hire boure I hit broust
Of wondes pat I poled dede
When y com efte azen to pe

224 Per-by myyt pu knowe me

HARL. 5396

213 To my fadur I must gon
214 ffor all hys wyl I haue don

215 A kote armur I bart with me
ffor pat I toke for loue of pe
Pat cloth was bothe gode & fyne
And hyt hath suffryd mych pyne
A full fayr may hyt wrogt

Out of hur body hyt was broght
hyt was powdryd all with red
Wondyd pat suffryd ded
When I come efte agenn to pe

224 Wher-by \(^1\) pou may knowe me

\(^1\) A written above the line.
225 Þa se þat bene of rent bi-hynde
And þes dedeshaue noght in mynde
Sore may þai be a-dred
When þís chartre sall be red
All þa sall to hell pyne
And with me to blys sall myne
230 Pay þi rent kepe þe fra gylt
Come & clayme when þou wylt
Þe blys þat lost oúre forme frende
234 To þe whilk crist vs bring without ende.

A—M—E—N—.

Amen

BOD. 89
225 Thise þat ben of rent by-hynde
and this dedes haue not in mynde
Sore may thei þa ben a-dradde
Whanne þís Chartre shall be redde
230 wip me to blis hulle gone myn

Vol. 49 Pay þei rent and kepe þe from gylt
Come and chalenge what þou wilt
To þat blis þat lost oúre forme frende
234 Crist vs bryngæ wip-outen ende

Explicit carta Christi

¹For marks of ownership, etc., occurring upon this folio, see description of the MS. at pp. xxxi f.
THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346

225 po pat ben of rente bi-hynde
225 All po pat be of rente be-hyndyns
And pese loue-dedes haue nost in
mynde
& my loue-dedyg haue noght in
Sore may pey pan be a-drad
mynde
Whan pis chartre she be rad
All pey schull til helle pyne
Alle pey shulle to helle pyne

POL. 55
230 Wip me to blisse shul go
myne
230 wyth me to blis schull gone all
a Pay pi rente bue noyst by-hinde
myne
a perfor paypi rent be nath be-hynde
b flor poir pe jeere pu myst pat gras
b prov pe jer pou myst grace fynde 2
fynde

231 Pay pi dettyys & kep pe fro gylt
Come and clayme when pu wylt
231 Pay pi dettys & kep pe fro gylte
& come & chalange wen pat pou
Pat blesse pat lese vr form frende
wylte
234 Crist vs graunt with-oute ende
Amen.
234 Crist it vs grante with-vtyne ende
a Pat is to seyn pe blyssse of heuyn
b amen for is name seuyn
Explicit carta domini nostri ihesu
2 Explicit 5
Christi

HARL. 5396

225 pey pat bene of rente be-hynde
And thysse dedys haue noyst yn
mynde
Sore may pey ben 1 a-dredde
When pe charter schall ben red
All pey schall to helle pyne
230 With me to blyssse schall go alle
myne
231 Pay py dete & kepe pe fro gylt
Come & chalange what 4 pat wylt
pe blyssse pat lastyth euyr to my
frende
234 Cryste us brynge with-owtyn ende
Explicit 5

1 A faint mark, as though half erased, occurs over this word.
2 Cf. lines 127-8.
3 For marks of ownership on this folio see description of the MS. at p. xxxi.
4 so is written after this word.
5 Some scribbling follows which seems to read: "Fayre Fayre sone he sayde."

Ihesu kyng of heuen ant helle man & woman y kil pe telle
What loue y haue do to pe loke what loue pou hast do to me
5 Of alle ioye pou were out-pult with treson & with-oute gylt
Pore pou were dryue a-way as a best pat gof on stray .
Fro my ryche y come a-doune
to seche pe fro toun to toun
Myn heritage pat is so fre in hy mischief to syue hit pe whenne pis syft syue pe y sholde y dyde as pe lawe wolde
15 To a mayde y ordeynyd me for no chalenge shulde be
Wel worpily he kepte pe ant me til y my tyme wolde see
Fourty wokes and fourty daies
to fulfille pe riȝt lawes
Pe mayde was triwe hende & free he rescuyed 1 bope 2 me & pe Me by manhede & by grace pus cam seesing furst a place
20 When pis sayng was y-do ful grete enuy hadde po hy foo po belzebub & sathanas hadde grete wonder wh[i] hit was
He fondit me with felonye
25 With pride couetyse & glotonye Wel he wiste y was a manne but synne on me fonde he none
30 33 Hard he pretned me in hys pouȝt 40 aȝens hy foo ful of wrake
35 He sent his servantes with maistrie Heuen & erȝe in present
Wel he fonde hym gayned noȝt to make
anothe ryng was in my pouȝt
More syker pe to make
In suche a maner be-houȝp to be
45 For pou art dede ant y am lif y most dyue my lyfe for pe Mony a way y haue go
in hungre & thirst thole & wo
40 For pou art dede ant y am lif y most dyue my lyfe for pe
Mony a way y haue go
in hungre & thirst thole & wo
Pritti wynter & mo þan too
50 er my chartere were full doo
No myȝt y ȝ fynde no parchemyn for to laste with-oute fyne
But as loue bad me doo
myn owne skyn y toke þer-too
55 To gete me frendys y gaf good mede so dop pe pore þat haue more ned
On a þorsday a souper y made frend & fo to make glade [fode
5 With mete ant drynke to soulys With holy wordes my fleshe & blode
pis y made for mankynde
60 62 My loue-dedys to haue in mynde Hoc facite in meam comemoracioni-
* Transcript resteymed.
* The last letter is blurred but looks like o.
* The first letter has been altered in writing.  * Transcript misty.
MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE LONG CHARTER

B-TEXT
THE LONG CHARTER—B-TEXT

Bona carta gloriosae passionis
domini nostri Ihesu Christi

ho so euyr will rede this boke
And with gostely ey there-yn loke
To othir thynge schall he not wende
To saue his sowle fro the fende

5 Than for to do as this boke tellyth
for holy wytt for-soth hit spellyth
Whare-fore y pray yow for charite
In this booke ye reede and see
With all youre hert and youre mynd

10 And kepe trewly pat ye per-yn fynde
And that ye fulfyll in dede
Which in this booke ye doth reede
Nowe ye schull hyre anon ryght
Howe criste spekyth to vs al tyst

15 Wordis of a chartour pat he hape

16 that ye schall kepe with all your powyt

{ With all youre hert and your mynde
{ And kepe trewly pat ye there-yn

\[a\] to make a chartour by-houyp
many hyng
b As parchement pen and ynke
c Wax and seele wytnyssh also
d Youre rent \(\text{pat ye per for schall do}\)

\[1\] At the top of this folio is some writing, illegible to me.
\[2\] Repetition of lines 9 and 10, apparently by mistake.
\[3\] For lines corresponding to this and the following three, cf. C-Text (Ms. Reg. 17. c. xvii).
Who so wyll ouer-rede thys boke
And with hyse gostlye ye þer-on loke
To ðer skole dare he not wende
For to saue his sowle fro þe fende
Then for to do as þis boke telleth
For holy wryte for-sôke hit spellethe
Wherfore y praye you for charyte
þe þat þis boke wyll rede or se
With your herte & all your mynde
Bereth derworply þat ye her fynde
And fulfylle hit in dede
That ðo now yn þis boke shall rede
For þe shall here a-none ryght
How your sauyour speketh to you
as-tyme
Words of a charter þat he hath wroght
That ye now kepe yn all your thoght
...
CAMB. Univ. II. 3. 26.

17 Who this chartour doth vnadirstone
    techte hit forth in diuerse londe
    to othir pat hauepe it nowst sayne
20 hit sauype sowlis fro pe payne
    a Ye that comepe and wol nojt teche
    b May be a-gast of god-is wreche
21 Ellis schull ye nojt withoutyn stryfe

Passe fro the world to pe lond of lyfe

Now schall y be-gyn to rede per-on
Criste grawnt yow pes every-chone

25 Ihesus lorde of heuen and hell
    to man and woman woll y tell
    loke whate loue y haue y-do to pe
28 loke whate loue jou hast do to me
    a Aftyr my-silfe jou were the beste
    b Of all creaturis jou art fayrreste
    c A fayrer creature may none be
    d Aftir my-silfe y made the
    e But for jou were vnbusum to me
    f And etyste an appull of a tre
    g Pat y forbode jou scholdyst nojt take
    h jou were y-drene a-way whith by make

29 ffram paradise jou were y-pulte
30 With care and sorow all to-spulte
    And there jou were y-dryue a-waye
    As a beste that goth in-straye
    ffrom my kyngdome y come downe
    to seche the fram townse to townne
35 To helpe the of thy myschefe
    Dereworth sowle jou art me lefe
    My heritage pat is so fre
    In thy myschefe y yauce the
    . . . . . . . .
    . . . . . . . .

* Cf. C-Text, vv. 35-38 and 41-44 inclusive.

CAMB. Univ. II. 4. 9.

17 Pat ye thys boke cuynne vnadirstone
    Telle ye it in All thyis londe
    To other pat thyis boke haue not seyne
20 To Saue here sowles as yours owens
    a for they pat cuynne And wyl not teche
    b It is to drede of ful grete wrethe
21 for ellys ye schul nat wyth-outs grete
    stryfe
    frome thyis worlde passe to pe londe of
    lyfe
    Now he wyl be-gynne to rede per-e-one
    his pees he ywene vs everychone

Fol. 48b

25 Ihesu lorde of heuene & helle
    Mane And womane I wyll the telle
    loke what lone I haue do for the
28 And loke what loue jou hast do for me
    a . . . . . .
    b . . . . . .
    c . . . . . .
    d . . . . . .
    e . . . . . .
    f . . . . . .
    g . . . . . .
    h . . . . . .

29 frome paradyse jou were owt pytte
30 Wyth care And sorowe jou were spylte
    And for jou were I-drawe A-waye
    as best that gooth A-straye
    for my ryghte I came A-downne
    To seke the frome townne to townne
35 To helpe the in thynne myschefe
    derworthely soule pat Art my lyfe
    Myne ertyagne that is so fre
    In thy myschefe I yat the
    And whanne pat solynge A-yeuse pe solde
40 I dyde as pe iewes wolde
17 And when ye pis boke kan unperstonde

Teche hit forth porow all pis londe

Vntyll opér pat pis boke haue not sownen

20 To saue peyr sowles ryth as your owen

... ... ... ...

21 For ellys ye shall not without grete stryfe

Fro pis worlde passe into pe londe of lyfe

Now y wyll begynne to rede pe person

Hys pees he yeue vs every chone

25 Thesu lorde of heuene & helle

Man & wommon y wolle sow telle

Loke what loue y haue to pe

28 And loke what loue pou hast to me

... ... ... ...

... ... ... ...

29 Fro paradys pou were out pylte

30 With kare & sorowe pou bep all spylte

And forpe pou bere drawe a-way

As a beste pat goth a-staye

For my ryght y come a-downe

To seke pe fro town to towne

35 To holpe pe yn by myschef

Derworth sole pe art me lef

Myn Erytage pat ys so fre

In by myschef to yeue hit pe

And when pat sesung y yeue shulde

40 A dede as pe jewys wolde

1 Before do the scribe wrote house and afterwards cancelled it.

2 There is a tail on the e in this word.

3 Hic et passim after words ending in dd this scribe adds a tail which probably represents a final e.
41 To a mayde y toke me
42 Whan y conseuyd schulde be
   a Derwardly sche kept me
   b Till tyme fulfylld schulde be
43 the mayde was mylde and free
   he reseyuyd me for the
45 Nyne mounthys with hir y was
   to make a-mendis for thi trespas
   Whan y was to pis world y-borne
   to saue the that were forlorne
   Throwe vertu and throwe grace

50 Come this seyson first in place
51 Virgyn marie mayde mylde
   Wyth me he went grete with childe
   . . . . . . . . . . .
   . . . . . . . . . . .
55 That cursyd fend sathanas
   Had grete meruayle why hit was
   . . . . . . . . . . .
   . . . . . . . . . . .
59 Worthe he was hit helpid him nost
60 the to helpe euery was my thought
   He temptyd me to grete foly
   With pryde covetyse and gloteny
   Well he wyste y was a man
64 But synne in me fownde he none
   . . . . . . . . . . .
   . . . . . . . . . . .
68 . . . . . . . . . . .

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41 To a mayde I be-toke me
42 Whanne I consewyd schulde be
   a ful derly for-soth sche kepte me
   b To the tyme fulfylld be
43 the mayde was mylde trew & fre
   sche reseyuede me for the
45 Xe monthes wyth here I was
   to makc A-mendis for thy trespas
   here I in-to the worlde was borne
   To Saue mankynde bat was forlorne
   thorow myn wertu And thorow myn grace

50 thus came first this selynge in place
53 virgyne marie mayde mylde
   wyt me thus went gret wyth childe
   And whanne thys Selynge was I-do
   wyl gret Envye hade the foo
55 bat cursed fend Sathanas
   hade gret wondyr why it was
   wher-fo I schulde so meche loue the
   that so vnkend hast be to me
   wroth he was it helpe hymy noughts
60 for to helpe the was All my thoughts
   he tempted me to grete foly
   In pride covetyse And gloteny
   And wyl he wyste I was A manys
   But synne in me fonde he none
65 for-soth ful herde he thrett me
   that seynge schulde ders A-boughts be
   for to dystroy me thorow his myghts
68 And put the for euyr frome my syghts

---

1 Ms. for corrected from forth.
41 Vntyll a mayde y be-toke me
42 When þat y conceyued shulde be
   a full wordly she kepte me
   b Tyll þe tyme fulfyllde shuld be
43 The mayde was trwe mylde & fre
   She me resseyued for loue of þe
45 Nyne monethes with her y was
   To make amendes for þy trespas
   Or y ynto þis worlde was borne
   To saue mankynde þat was forlorn
   Thorow þe vertu of my grace
50 Thus kome þis sesyng fyrst in place
   Vyrwyn Mary mayden mylde
   With me went grette with chylde
   And when þis sesyng was all y-do
   Grete enuye hadde þy fo
55 That cursedde fende satanas
   Hadde gret wonber why hit was
   Wherfor j wolde so myche loue þe
   That so vnkynde hast be to me
   Wroth he was hit helpede hym noþt
60 For to helpe þe was all my þowyt
   He tempted me yn so gret foly
   An pride couetyse & glotenye
   And well he wyste y was a man
   But synne yn me fonde he none
65 ffor-sope well harde he þretened me
   How þat sesyng shuld dere y-bowyt b[e]
   For to destroye me þorow his m[yht]
68 And putte þe for euer out of m[y syht]

41 Tyll a maydyn y be-toke mee
42 When y conceyuyd schulde bee
   . . . . . . .
   . . . . . . .
43 The maydyn was trewe mylde & free
   Sche resseyuyd me for loue of thee
45 Nyne monethes with hur y was
   To make amendys for thy trespas
   Or y in-to thys worlde was borne
   To saue mankynde þat was forlorn
   Throrowe my vertue and my grace
50 Thus came þys sesyng fyrste on place
   Vyrwyny me maydyn mylde
   Wyth me went þus grete with chylde
   And when þys sesyng was all y-do
   Well grete envy hadd thy foo
55 That cursydd fende satanas
   Had grete wondur why hyt was
   wherefore y wolde so moche loue þe
   That so vnkynde haste þou be to me
   Wroth he was hyt helpyd hym noþt
60 ffor to helpe the was all my þoght
   He tempted me in so gret folye
   Pryde couetyse and glotenye
   And well he wyste y was a man
   But synne in me fonde he none
65 ffor-sothe ryght harde he threted me
   That sesyng schulde haue beten me
   ffor to dystroye me þorow hys myt
68 And put the for-euer owt fro my syt

¹The s in this word is followed by a tail.

69 Derwarde sowle herkny to me
70 And a newe ioye y tell to the
71 to make this chartour of feoffament
72 Heuen and erpe schall be present
73 Hit schall in such maner be
74 Dat y mote yeue my lyfe for the
75 Whan y am dede man be thow kynde
76 And haue this chartour euer in mynde
77 for thy enemy pat pe hath sowyt

Fol. 285 the woll fer-yete ryght nowght
there-fore y wol day for thy folye
80 to bryngye the in my company
81 I am a lyue and pou art dede
82 y yeft the lyfe a-yneste pe quede
83 To helpe the y am redy
84 And to saue the fram thy enmye
85 Many a way y haue y-goo
86 In hungyr chele and thrurste also
87 Thryt wyntyr and thre there-to
88 Was all ar all my dise se were y-do
89 Parchemente to fynde wyste y none
90 To make a chartour a-yneste thy fone
91 That schall lestede with-outyn mynyde
92 Herkeneth to me wordis and eynde

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

69 Nowe derworthily soule herke to me
70 And A newe Ioye I xal telle the
71 To make A chartore of feffement
72 heuene And erth schuld be presente
73 But in soth A maner it mot nedee be
74 Dat I xall yeue mynye lyfye for the
75 And whanne I Am dede man be pou kende
76 And haue thys chartur euyr in mendee
77 for A enmye pou hast pat hath pe soughtis

Fol. 44 for I wylde for thyne folye
80 And bryngye the in-to my company
81 I am lyf And pou art dep
82 I wull yeue lyf A-ungen pe qued
83 for to helpe I ame All redy
84 to saue the euyr frome thy enmye
85 for many way I haue goo
86 In hunger thryst schel And wo
87 xxxwyntyr And thre peere-to
88 or my deseye were All do
89 Parchemente to fynde wyst I none
90 To make thy charture A-ungen thy fone
91 Pat wolde last wyth-out ende
92 herkenyth now to my wordes hendende

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.

The Chartur

Fol. 92

69 Nowe derworthily Sowle herkyn to me
70 And a newe Ioye I shall telle the
71 To make a chartur of feffment
72 chevyen and erthe shall be present
73 But in such manere hit myst nedys be
74 That I shall yeldye my lyfe for the
75 And whanne I am dede man be pou kynde
76 And haue thys chartur euyr in thy
77 mynydende
78 for an enmye that hathe pe souht
79 But I shall for no thynge less the nought
80 for I wylle dye for thy folye
81 And bryngye the in-to my companye

1 Immediately preceding this line is a duplicate of it, which is cancelled, the fourth word being spelled chartour.
2 Thus the ms.
3 pe is inserted above the line.
THE LONG CHARTER—B—TEXT

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

69 Now derworth soule herken [to me]
70 And a newe joye shall y telle [pe]
To make a chartur of feflem[ent]
Heuen & erpe shall be pres[ent]
Hit moste nedus in suche man[er be]
That y most sole de my lyf fo[r pe]
75 And when y am deed man pe[n be
houte kynde]
And haue pis chartyr euer yn p[y
mynde]
ffor þyn enmy þat hath þe so[wght]
And yyet shall y loose þe nows[t]
ffor y woll dye for þy foly
80 And brynge þe yn-to my cu[mpanye]
I am lyf and þou art dede
Call þou my lyf aeyn þy [nede]
ffor to helpe þe y am redy
To saue þe euer fro þyn en[my]
85 ffor many a way haue y [goo]
In hungur þryste chele & woo
Thrytty wyntyr & þre þerto
Or my desese wer all y-do
Parchemyn to fynde wynste y none
90 To make a chartur aeyn þy fone
That wolde laste with-owten ende
92 Herken now to my wordes hende

CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.

69 Now derworth soule herken to me
70 And a newe yoye y schall telle to þe
To make a chartur of feflemement
Heuen and erthe schall be presente
But in soche a maner hyt muste be
That y schall sole de my lyf for the
75 And whan y am dede man be houte kynde
And haue þys chartur euyr in þy mynde
ffor an enmy that hath the soght
But y schall for noþyn lese þe noþt
ffor y wold dye for þy folye
80 And brynge in-to my companye
I am a-lyue and thou art dedd 2
Fol. 40 2 I wold yeue my lyfey aynste þy quede
ffor to helpe þe y am all redy
ffor to saue þe euer fro þyn enmye
85 ffor many a way y haue y-goo
In hungur thryste cheyle & woo
Thrytty wyntur & thre therto
Or my dysesse were all y-doo
Perchement to fynde wynste y noone
90 To make thy chartur a-ynste þy foney
That wolde laste with-owten ende
92 Herkenyth now to my wordys hende

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.

81 I am lyfe and thou art dede
I wyll yeue my lyfe a-yenste thyne quede
ffor to helpe the I am alle redy
ffor to saue the euer 1 fro þyn enmy
85 ffor many a way I have goo
In hungur thryste chele and woo

1 Euer is inserted above the line.

2 Or dede!

93 But as trewe loue me bad to do
Myne owne skynne y toke there-to
95 And whan y hadd so y-do
Swe fremedis hadd y tho
To geete me fremedis y safe gret mede
98 As doth the pouris that hath nede

101 Than my selue for the
Was y-naylid to the tree
On a thorseday a sopery y made

104 With fremedis and foes to make hem glad
105 Of brede and wyne the sacrament
Euyr to be oure testament
hit is my flesche and my bloode
To hem that lyunth in mylde mode
To hem that dyeth out of charite

110 her dampnacioune for euyr schall be
hers schall y foure wordis teche
to the peple and it preche
therefore take hit to yowres mynde
yf ye will to heuen wende

115 Now this word is of the sacrament
116 that men schall reseyue verament

Camb. Univ. II. 4. 9.

93 but as trewe loue bad me doo
Myne owne skynne I toke þere-to
95 And whanne I hade sit so I-do
Wul fewe fremes had I po
to gete me fremes I saf gret mede

100 for thi sowle þat was for-lorne
þanne my-selfe for to þeuve the
þat for the dyed vppone A tre
vppone A thursday A sopyr I made
Both frem & foo to make hemes glade

105 of bred And wyne the sacramente
for euyr to be oure testament
the wyche is myne fesche & myne bloode

To the þat heres levynse with mylde mode
And the þat deyne oute of charyte

110 her wyl I iiij wordys teche
to the pupyl I bydde you heme preche
And þat pey haue heme euir in mende
here mende in heuene they schul fynde

115 these wordys towchene þe Sacrament
116 þat mend sundyrly resceuyens verament

Camb. Univ. Ec. 2. 15.

93 But as trewe love bad me doo
Myn owyn skyn to take ther-to
95 And whan I had so I-doo
Well fewe fremdis had I tho
To gete me fremdis I saf gret mede
As doth the pouris that hath gret nede

99 . . . . . .

100 for thy soule that was for-lorne
Than my soule to yeve for the
That for the dyed vp-on the tree
Vp-on a thursday a supper I made

104 To frende and foo to make hem glade

*After of in this line there stands in the ms. what looks like a cancelled h.

*In the ms. this line was omitted from its place and was written after line 108.

*þyme deleted before the.
93 But as trewe loue badd me doo
Myn owene skynne y take þer-to
95 And whan y hadde so y-doo
Well fewe frendys had y tho
To gete me frendys y gafe grete mede
As dop þe pore man þat had grete mede
But for to yeue þe had y no more
100 for thy soule that was for-lore
Then my-selue to yeue for the
That for the dyed vpon a tree
Vpon a thursday a soper y made
To frende & foo to make þem gladd
105 Of bredd and wyne þe sacrament
for euyr to be my testament
Whych ys my fleshe & my blode
To þo þat leuen yn mykyll mode
And to þem þat dyen out of charite
110 Ther damnnacioun for euyr to bee
Here wold y my wordes yow teche
And to þe pepull y pray yow þem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
[Þ]o þat haue hem euer yn mynde
[þ]ygh mede in heuen shall þe fynde
115 These wordes techeth the sacrament
116 That men receyuen verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

93 But as trewe loue ladde me þo
Myn owene skyne y take þer-to
95 And when y hadde so y-do
Well fewe frendes hadde y tho
To gete me frendes y ȝaf grete mede
As þoþ þe pore þat hath myche mede
But to gyf þe y hadde no more
100 for thy soule that was for-lore
Then my-selue to yeue for the
That for the dyed vpon a tree
Vpon a thursday a soper y made
To frende & foo to make þem gladd
105 Of bredd and wyne þe sacrament
for euyr to be my testament
whych ys my flesche & my blode
To þem þat leuen in mylyde mode
And tho þat dyen owt of charite
110 Ther damnnacioun for euyr to bee
Here wold y my wordes yow teche
And to þe pepull y pray yow þem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
And that they haue þem in mynde
Ther mede in heuene þere schull þey fynde
115 These wordys tovchen þe sacrament
116 That men resseyuen verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

105 Of bred and wyne the sacrament
For ever to be in my testament
Wyche ys my fleshe and my blode
To thoo þat levyn in mylyde moode
And to þoo þat dyen out of charyte
110 here damnonciouns for evyr to be
And to the peple I pray you hem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
And that they have hem ever in mynde
here mede in hevyn there shall þey fynde
115 These wordys tovchyth the sacrament
116 That men receyuen verament

1The de in this word has a stroke over it.
2In the MS. line 116 follows line 117.
3teche deleted before preche.

117 Hit semyth meny and is but oone
Hit semyth brede and it is none
Hit is quykk and semyth dede
120 Hit is my body in forme of brede
Hit is y-made for man-kynde

122 My wondirfull dedis to haue in mynde

125

127 And ar y fram the borde a-rose
To the iewe betrayed y vos
When y hadd y-soped y ros a-none
130 to grete maystris bey gan goones
And browght me forth in the way
As a lyon that goth a-bowte his pry
And a-none they be-gan to pyle me
And sayde y schulde day vpon a tre
135 My mantell and othir clothis mo
All y hadd well sone for-goo

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

117 It semyth many & it is but one
It semyth bred And itt is none
It is qwye and semyth dede
120 It is myne body in forme of brede
this made I for mane-kende
My wondyrfull dedys to haue in mende
Who-so it rescuyith in clennes
Sauyd xal he he And come to blyssse
125 And to haue in mynde myne passyoun
the qwych xal pin saluacioun
or I frome that borde ros
of myne dyscipule trayed I was
Whanne he hadde suppyd he ros A-none
130 To gret maystrys he gan gone
And broughte heme wyt hym in pe waye
As a lyne goth A-bowte hys pry
A-none the be-giene to vnspyyle me
And seyd I schulde dye vppon a tre
135 My mantyl And other clothes moo
All I hade heme sone for-goo
they cast lot as wolde be-falle
weyther one schulde haue all or part
Alle
But Alle myne clothys frome me they
tokens

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.

117 hit semyth many and ys but oon
hit semythe bred and it ys noon
hit ys queke and semyys dede
120 hit ys my body in forme of breede
Thys made I oonly for man-kynde
My wonderfulle dedys to haue in mynde

123 Who-so resseyvryth it in clennes
Savid shall be and come to blys
125 And to have in mynde my passioun
The wyche shall be thy sanacyoun
Or I fro the boorde a-roos
Of my dyssyple be-trayed I was

1 Opposite this line in the margin is written Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum.
THE LONG CHARTER—B-TEXT

COTT. CALIG. A II.

117 Hyt semyth mony & ys but on
Hyt semyth brede & hit ys none
Hyt ys qwylke & semeth deed

120 Hyt ys my body in forme of breed
Thys made y only for mankynde

[Ma]y won[ferful] werkes to haue yn mynde

Who so reseyue hit yn clennesse
[S]aued shall be & come to blyssse

125 [A]nd to haue yn mynde my passyon125
That shall be py sauacyon
Ere y fro pe bord arose
Of my dyscppull betr[ayd] y wose
When he had sowped he rose a-non

130 To grete maystroys ryde he gone
And bowyt hem with hym yn pe way
As a lyon goth abowte his pray
Suscepi me sicut leo patatus ad predam

Anon pey begun to spoyle me
And sayde y shulde dye vpon a tre

135 My mantell & opur clopus mo
All y hadde hem sone for-go
They caste lotte as wolde befall
Wher[er] on shuld hem or parte hem all
So all my clopus fro me pey token

140 And all my frendus me for-soken

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

117 Hyt semep many hyt ys but oone
Hyt seemep bredd and hyt ys noone
Hyt ys quykk and semyth dedd

120 Hyt ys my body in forme of breed
Thys made y oonly for mankynde

My won[derful] dedys to haue in mynde

Who-so rescuyeth hyt in klennesse
Sauydd schall be and come to blyssse
And to haue in mynde my passyoun

The whych schall be thy sanaciou[n]
Or y fro the borde arros
Of my dyscppull be-trayd y was
When he had sowyde he roos anone

130 To the grete maystyr ys he gone
And broyt þem with hym in þe way
As a lione þat goth a-bowte hys pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo patris ad predam

Anon þey be-ganne to spoyle me
And sayd þey shulde dye vpon a tre

135 My mantell & opur clopyes moo
All y hadde þem sone forgoo
They caste lotte as wolde be-falle
whelþer oon schulde haue all or parte þem all
But all my clopyes fro me þey tokene

140 And all my frendys me for-sokene

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

When he had soped he roos a-noon
130 To grete maysteyes he gan goon
And brought hem with hym in þe way
As a lyon that goth a-boute hys pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus and
predam

A -NOON they be-gonne to spoyle140
And seyde I shulde dye vpon a tre

1 Thus the ms.
*Ms. be ganne corrected from be game.

*The k is blurred.
*a hem is inserted.

141 Nakyd y stooed a-monge my ¹ foen
Othin sokours had y none
Redy they were to do me disese
there was none that wolde me plese
145 they made skorges scharpe and grete
Where-with my body schulde they bete
And thowgh y wolde haue playnyd me
there schulde no socowre to me haue be
Sore a-ferde forsoth y was
150 Whan they ledde me in-to place

151 To a piloure y was bownde ful sore
152 On me they had no pite thore

a they seyde be gladd and mery of chere
b they buth thy frendis þat stondiphe here
c We schall neuyr forsafe the
d till we se the laylid on tree
155 this he stooed y-bownde all nyght
156 till the morow hit was day lyght
153 y waysche with my own blode
154 And on the erth colde y stooed
157 Sone aftyr y-straynyd vppon a tre
158 As parchement owxt to be
159 Herknyth and ye schall wete
160 How this chartour was y-wrete

CAMB. UNIV. I. 4. 9.

141 nakyd I stode A-monge myne foone
for other sokour had I none
Redy þey weren me to dysese
But neuyr one þere me to please
145 they madene þere skourges grete
wherwyt my body schulde be bete
And thow I wolde haue playneyd me
þere schulde none socure haue ² bene
ful sore a-ferde for-sothe I was
150 quan they ledde me forth so grete A
pace

151 Towarde A peler they ledde me swythe
152 And þere A-boundene And betyne I was
be-lyue

153 And waschynys wyth myn owene blood
þat one þe erthe A-boute colde it stode
155 And so ij stooede boundene al þat nyghte
Tyl one þe morowe þat it was daye
lyghte

157 Strayned wel herde vppone A tre
As parchemente myghte to be
heryth nowe And þe schul wetyne
160 howe thys charture was wretyn

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

141 Nakyd I stode a-monge my foon
For other socour had I noon
Redy they were me for to disese
But noon ther was me for to please
145 They mad scorges harde and grete
Ther-wyth my body shulde be bete
And thowgh I wolde have pleyned me

¹ my is inserted.
² After socoure, A has been cancelled, and after haue h has been cancelled.
³ The chartur is written in the margin.
⁴ had was written after they and then deleted.
COTT. CALIG. A. II.

141 Naked ye stode amonge my fones
    for oper sokour hadde y none
    Redy pey wer me for to dysese
    But none per was me to plese

145 They made skourges hwge & grete
    Therwith my body for to bete
    And pow3 y wolde haue playned me
    Ther shulde to me no sokour haue be
    ffull sore aferd for-sope y was

150 When pey ledde me so grete a pase
    To a pyler y was bownd all ny3t

152 Tugged & beten tyl hit was day ly3t

153 And washen with my owene blode
    That on pe yrpe abowte me flode

155 And so y suffred all pe ny3t
    Tyll on morn hit was day-ly3t
    Streyned well harde to a tre
    As parchemyn oweth for to be
    Herkeneth now & je shall wyten

160 How pe chartur was wryten

CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.

141 Nakyd y stode amonge my foones
    for odur socour had y noone
    Redy pey were me for to dysese
    But none per was me for to plese

145 They made scorges harde & grete
    Ther-with my body schulde be bete
    And thoght y wolde haue pleyned me
    Ther schulde no socour to me haue bee
    ffull sore aferde for-sothe y was

150 When pey ladd me forpe so grete a pase
    To a peler y was bownden all pe nyght

152 Scorged & betyd tyl hyt was day-lyght

153 And waschen with my wyn owne blood
    That on erpe abowte flode stode

155 And so y stode bounden all pe nyght
    Tyll on pe morne pat hyt was lyght
    Streyned well harde vpone a tree
    As perchemyn owtyth for to be
    Herthy and ye schall weten

160 How thyse chartyr was y-wretone

CAMB. UNIV. ES. 2. 15.

155 And so I stood bounde all the nyght
    Tyll on the morowe pat it was lyght
    Streyned well faste vp-on a tree
    As parchemyn owth for to be
    heryth nowe & je shall wetyn

160 howe thyse chartyr was I-wretyn

1 Or pis
161 Of my face fill downe the ynke
Whan thornys on my hed gan synke
the pennys that the lettris were with
wrytene
were skorges that y was with betyne
165 How many lettris there-in bene
Rede and thow myste wyte and scene
With .V. M. CCCC, fyfty and ten
Wondis in my body blak and whane
Fol. 236 ffor to schew the of my loue-dede
170 my-sylue y Woll the chartor rede
. ye that goth forth by the wcy
take hede and loke with yowre ey
Redith vppon this parchemyne
Of eny sorow were grettir pan myne
175 He thiat hirith this chartor y-redde
How y am wondind and all for-bled
Reportith ye that beth hider y-come
178 that y am ihesus nazareth god-is son
180 . . . . . .
181 that was y-bore in betheleem
Of mary y-offrid in ierusalem
The kynges is son of heuen above
184 A merciful fadir and full of loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

161 Vppone myne hede A crowne þey sett
thornes thorowe myn brayne þei mette
The pennes þat þe letteres wretyn
Fol. 40b:Werene scourges þat I was wyt smetene
165 how many lettrys there-one bene
Rede and þoue maye wete & scene
Ve Milia V. C.l And x e
Wondes one myn body both rede & wanes
for to schew þe of loue-dede
170 My-selfe I wol the charture rede
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
þe mene þat gone forth in þe wye
takyth hede and lokyth with your eye
And redyth vppone this parchement
þif any sorowe be so gret as myne
175 þet stondyth and heryth þe charture rede
why I Am wondyd & all for-bled
Sciant presentes & futuri
wote þe þat be here and be fore to come
þat Thesu of nazareth goddes sone
vndrestond þe wyl þat wollyn Abyde
180 þat Thesu hath now A blody syde
þat bore was in bedleme
of marye offered in ierusalem
þe kynges sone of heuen a-boue
184 A mercyfull fadyr þat wel I loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ec. 2. 15.

161 Ouer alle my face fell the ynke
Thornys in myn hed be-gonne to synke170
The pennys þat the letterys wretyn
Were scorges þat I was wyth smetyn
165 howe many letterys þat ther-on ben
Rede and thou may wete an seen
V m l v c fyfty and ten thanne
Woundys on my body bothe rede
and wante.

1 nota bene is written in the margin opposite this line.
2 In the margin is written o vos omnes qui transitis per viam.
COTT. CALIG. A. II.

161 Ouer all my face fyll þe ynke
With þornus þat in my hedde gonnynke
The pennus þat þose letterus wryten
Wer skourges þat y was with smytyn

165 How many letterus þat þer-on bene
Rede & þou may wyte & sene
ffyue þowsande fyrue hundered þen
Wonþus of my body rede & wanne
ffor to shew þe of my loue-dede

170 My-self wyll here þe chartyr rede
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite videite si est dolor sitis sicut
dolor meus

171 je men þat gon her by þe way
Beholde & se both nyht & day
And redeth vpon þis parchymyn
yf any sorow be so gret as myn

175 Stondyth & herkeneth þis chartur redde
Wytyn þo þat ben her & þo þat ben to come

That þy ihesu of nazareth goddus sone
Vnþerstondeth well þe þat woll abyde

180 That þy ihesu haue a blody syde
That borne was yn bedleem
Ouer-more ofryn nd-þo iherusalem
The kyngus sone of heuen above

184 A mercyfull fader þat y so well loue

CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.

161 Ouer all the face felle the ynke
Thornys in myn hyed beginne to synke
The pennys þat þo leturs  setSupportActionBarl
Were scorges þat y was with smetyne

165 How many lettres þat þer-on bee
Rede & þou may wytt & see
ffyue thousande .v.c fyyt & x. than
woundes on my body rede & wane
ffor to schewe þe for my loue-dede

170 My-selfe wolde here the chartyr rede
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite & videite si est dolor sitis sicut
dolor meus

171 þe men þat gone here be þe way
Be-holdeþ & see bope nyght & day
And redyþ vpon thys parchemyne
If ony sorowe be os gret as myne
Stondyth & herkenþ þys chartur redd
Why þy am wounded þ & all for-bledde
Sciant presentes et futuri

ETEN þo þat ben here & þo þat be to come
That þy ihesu of nazareth godd-
is sone
vndurstondyþ well ye þat wyll abyde

180 That þy ihesu hath a blody syde
181 Ouer more of-redd in-to Ierusaleem
182 That borne was in bedleem
The kyngys sone of heuen aboue

184 A mercyfull fadyr þat well y loue

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.

173 And redythe vp-on þis 1 parchemyne
yef ony sorowe be so gret as myn

175 Stondyth an herkenyth thys chartur rede
Why I am woundid and all for-bledde
Sciant presentes et futuri

Iten alle thoo that ben here
& þþ tho þat ben to com
That I Ihesu of Nasareth
godys son

1  my has been deleted and þis inserted.
2 There is a tail after the s in this word.
Camb. Univ. ii. 3. 26.

185 Made a sesynge whan y was bore
to mankynde that was forlore
With my chartoure in playnte
Made to man a fessament
y haue him graunid and y-yeue
190 In my kyngdome with me to leue
Euyr to be in heuen blisse
To haue and to holde withoutyn mysse
vpon this condicion to be kynde
And haue my wondirfull dedis in mynde

195 frely to holde and frely to yelde
With all the purtenanse pat y may welde
197 In my blisse for to dwell
For a rent that y schall tell
My herytage pat is so fre
200 With-outyn homage othir fute
None othir rentis ax y of the
But a foure leuyd gras pat yelde to me
the firste leue ys sorow of hert ¹
the secunde leue ys verryay schryft
205 the thrid y nell no more do so
the firste is penance y-yeued þerto
Whan this leue to gadere ys ysett
208 A trew loue men clepith hit

Camb. Univ. ii. 4. 9.

185 I made a sesynge whane I was bore
to mankynde þat was for lore
But wyth my charture here-in presente
I make to mannes Soule a fessements
þat I haue graunyd And I-yeue
190 to mankeind wyth me for to be
In my kyndome of heuene blysse
to haue and to holde wyth-owte mys
So in þis condyçiouν þat þou be kende
And myne wondyrfull dedys to haue in mende

195 frely to haue and frely to holde
wyth all þe portenaunce with þe wolde
In my blysful Ioye euyr to dwelle
for þe rent þat I xal þe telle
Myν herytage þat is so fre
200 for homage or for fewte
no more wyl I aske of the
But A iijþ leued gras rent to me
þe fyrst lefe is wery schryfte
þat other for þi synne thyn hert smerte
205 the iijde Is I wyl do no more so
þe iijþe is the pennaunce þere-to
And haue thys leuys to-gedyr be set
208 A trew loue me clepyth it

Camb. Univ. Ec. 2. 15.

185 I mad a sesonyng whan I was borne
To save mankynde that was for-lorne
But wyth my charter here present
I make to manyþ soule a fesment
That I have graunted an yeve
190 To mankynde wyth me for to leve
In my kyngdom of hevyn blys

195 Frely to have and frely to holde
To have and to holde without mys
So in thyss condyçion þat þou be kynde
And my wondyrfull werkys to have in mynde

196 Wyth alle the portenaunce for to be bolde

¹ In the margin opposite this line is written nota bene.
THE LONG CHARTER—B—TEXT

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

185 I made a sesynge when y was borne
To saue mankynde bat was forlorn
But with my chartur here-in presente
I make to mannys soule a feffement
That y make haue granted & yeue

190 To mankynde with me for to leue
In my kyngdome of heuen blysse
To haue & to holde withowten mysse
With pis condycyon so pat pou be kynde
And haue pis chartor euer yn mynde

195 frely to haue & frely to holde
With alle pe pertynanse to be bolde
In my blysfull joye euer to dwelle
For pe rente bat y shal be telle
Myn herytage bat ys so fre

200 for omage or ellys for fewte
No more woll y aske of pe
But a four leued grasse ylde to me
That on lef ys verry schryfte with hert
That ober ys for synne sorowe smerte

205 The pyrde ys y wyll no more do so
The fourpe ys do py penanse per-to
And when pese leus togeder be sette
A trewe loure men klepe hyt

208 A trewe loure men callyth hyt

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

197 And in my blysfull Ioy euer to dwelle
for the rent that I shalle the telle
Myn eritage that ys soo free

200 for omage of ellys for fewte
Nomore woll I aske of the
But a four leaved gras ylde pou me
That oo lefe ys verray shryfte

And when these levis to-gedir be sett
A trewe loure men clepe hitt

1 Nota in margin. 2 Ms. Tath. 3 Ms. pe deleted before for.

195 frely to haue and frely to holde
Wyth all pe purtenaunce for to be bolde
And in my blysfull yoye euer to dwell
for the rente pat y schall pe telle
Myn herytage that ys so free

200 for homage or ellys for fealte
Nomore wyll y aske of the
But a four leued grasse ylde pou me
That oon lefe ys very schryfte of hert
That ober ys for py synne here smert

205 The thrydd y wyll no more do soo
The fourpe do py penaunce mekely perto
And peb pese leues to geder byn sett

208 A trewe loure men callyth hyt

And in my blysfull Ioy euer to dwelle
for the rent that I shalle the telle
Myn eritage that ys soo free

205 The thryrd ys I wolde no more do soo
The fourte ys do thy penaunce mekely per-too
And whan these levys to-gedir be sett
208 A trewe loure men callyth hyt

\[\text{Nota in margin.} \quad \text{Ms. Tath.} \quad \text{Ms. pe deleted before for.}\]
209 Of this rent be noght be-hynde
210 Yf thow wilt to heuen wynde
   And yf pis rent þou trewly pay me
212 My grete mercy y yeue to the
   . . . . . . .
215 . . . . . .
217 þe first seele þat þis chartour was seld with
   Was y-made at the smyth
2nd Col.
220 But of stele and yren it is wrowȝt
   With a sper my hert they stonge
   Þrow my lyuyr and my longing
Vpon my syde they made a wownede
that my hart blod ran to grownde
225 With thre nailis they pourlid me
   throw foote and hond in-to the tre
   This selynge was dyre y-bowght
   At my hert rote hit was y-wrowȝt
   Y-temperid with fyne vermelon
230 On my rede blod it ran downe
   fyue selis were sett there on
232 Þfadir son god and man

209 Of thys rent be þou noughts be-hynde
210 Þe waye to heuen þane may I fende
   And if þou thyss rente trewly paye me
212 My grete mercy I geshe the
   for if þou falle And getry mistake
   yet myn chartre wyll I not for-sake
215 jif þou A-mendes and mercy crave
   thyne herytage soothly þoue xalt haue
   þe seylys þat it is a-seyled wyth
they werene I-made at a smyth
of gold ne syluer be they noughts
of stele And Irone they bene wroghtes
for wyth a sper of stele myne hert þei
sthonge
threrow my sydys and threrow myne
lounge
vppone my syde they made a wounde
þat myne hert blod run downe one
grownde
225 And with þe nayles they bored me
   thorow feet & hondys in-to þe tre
   the selyng wxe was dere a-boughte
   at myn hert rote it was soughte
   al temperd wyth fyne vermeloyn
230 of myn reed blod þat ranne A-downte
   v seylys bene set vp-one
232 Þadyr and some god & man

209 Of thys rent be not be-hynde
210 The wey to hevyn than myght þou fynde
   And yf thys rent þou truly pay me
My grete mercy shal I shewe the
ffor yf thou falle & gretyt mys-take
yet my charter wylle þat I be not for-sake220
Of Stele and yryn they 2 wern wroght

\*This was written first, and then cancelled.
\*Ms. be deleted before they.
THE LONG CHARTER—B-TEXT

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

209 Of þis rente be not behynde
210 The way to heuen þen may þou fynde
   And yf þou trewely þis rente pay me
   My grete mercy þen shall y shewe þe
   ffor yf þou falle & gretely mystake
   yf my charter wyll not þat y þe forsafe
215 þf þou amende & mercy craue
   Thyn erytage soply þen shalt þou haue
   The sele þat hit ys a-seled wyth
   Hyt was made at no Smyth
   Of golde ne syluer ys hit nowyth
220 Ne stele ny yren ys hit of wroth
   But with a sperre my hert was stongen
   Thorow my syde & thorow my longen
   Vpon my syde þat made a wonde
   Þat my hert blode ran downe to þe
grownde
225 And with yren naylus þey boredden me
   Thorw fote & honde yn-to þe tre
   The sesynge wax was dere y-bowxt
   Alle myn herte rote hit was y-sowxt
   All y-compered with fyn vermeler
230 Of my rede blode þat ran adown
   Factum est cor meum tanguam lique-
sens in medio ventris mei
   ffyue seles be sette þer upon
232 ffadyr & sone god & mon

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

209 Of thys rente be not be-hynde
210 The wey to heuene þene mytt þou fynde
   And yf þou þys rente trewly pay me
   My grete mercy wolde y schewe þe
   ffor yf þou falle & gretely mystake
   If my chartour wolde þat þe not
   forsake
215 If þou amende and mercy craue
   Thyn herytage sopely þen schalt þou
   haue
   The selys þat hit ys selyd with
   They were made at a Smyth
   Of golde ne syluer ys þey noghth
220 Of stele and yren they were wroght
   ffor with a sperre of stele my hert was
   stongen
   Thorow my syde & thorow my longen
   Vpon my syde þey made a wounde
   That my herte blode ran to grounde
225 And with yren nayles they bored me
   Thorow fete & hondes in-to þe tre
   The sesynge was dere y-boght
   At my herte rote hyt was y-soghth
   All tempurd with fyne vermylone
230 Of my red blood þat rane a-downe
   Factum est cor meum tanguam cera
   lique scens in medio ventris mei
   ffyue celys put ther-one
232 ffadur and sone god & man

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

222 ffor with a sperre of stele myn hert was
   stongen
   Thorowe my syde and þorugh my longen
   Op-on my syde they made a wounde
   That myn herte blode ran to þe grownde
225 And wyth yryn naylys they boredyn me
   Thorowe feete and handys in-to the tre

And selyng wax was dere I-bought
   At myn hert rote it was sought
   Alle I-temperyd wythe fyn vermyleone
   Of my red blode that ran a-dovne
   ffactum est cor meum tanguam cera li-
quessens in medio ventrys mei
   Ffyue seles been set ther-vp-on
   ffadur and sonne god and man

'The Chartur is written in the margin.'

233 the fythe that y louyd mest
that y come of holy goste
235 And ther-fore pou myste well yse
that y am a man of grete poteste
Of playne power pat y myght make
A crowne of thornys they did me take
And that be-toknyth that y am kynge

240 And frely mye yeue my owne thynge
And that reportid the iewis all
On kneys by-fore me did they fall
lorde they seyde in her skornynge
Hayle be thow lord iewis kynge

245 By-twyyte to theuys be chartour was
both were seke that othir was helid

248. . . . . . .
250 . . . . . .

251 Derewardly me thurstyd sore
253 Eysell and gall pey toke me thore
252 this was the dryneke they toke to me
254 Such dryneke ax y none of the
But that thou louy well thi fone
256 Othir dryneke ax y none

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

233 Pe fyrst pat is to be-lene most
pat I came of pe holy gost
235 And perre-for here may pou see
pat I ame kynge of gret poste
In playne pouer thy state to make
A crowne of thornys one myn hede here
I take
thys crowne be-toknyth pat I am kynge

240 And frely may yeue myne owene thynge
Wytteneysyth the iewes Alle
one knees they guanne be-fore me downe
falle
And lowde Seyd in hyr skornyng
All heyll be pou iewes kynge

245 Be-twene ij Iewys pis chartour was
Selyd

248 Ihesus hygh & kynge of ryghts
"Explicit feooffmente Ihesus"

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.

233 The fyte pat ys beleve mvst
That I come of the holy goost
235 And ther-fore here may pou now see
That I am a kynge of grete postee
In pleyne power thy state to make
A crowne of thornys on myn hed I take

240 And frely may yeve the pin owyn thynge
Thys witnessythey the Iewys alle
On knees the gonne be-fore me falle
And lowde seyde in here skornynge
Alle hayle be thou lorde of Iewys kyng
233 The fyfte þat pou beleue most
That y kam of þe holy goste
235 And þerfore here may þou now see
That y am kyng of gret powste
In playn power þy state to make
A crowne of þornus on my hedde y take
Thys crowne betokeneth þat y am kyng
240 And frely may þef myn owene þyng
Thys wytnessed þe jewys alle
On kneus þey gan before me falle
And lowde sayde yn her skornyng
All hayle lorde & of jewes þe kyng
245 Betwene two þeues þis charter was seeld
Boþe wer seke þat on was heled
Betwene two theuus hyse y-pyght
In token þat y was lord of myght
This be tokeneth both good & yll
250 At þe day of dome how y may saue or spyl
Well drye y was & thursted sore
But of such drynk myght y no more
þor aysell & galle þey þef to me
But on drynke aske y of þe
255 That pou be louyng towards þy fone
256 Ôper drynke of þe aske y non

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

233 The fyrste þat be-leue muste
That y come of the holy goste
235 And therfore here may þou now see
That y am kyng of þete poustede
In playne power þey sate to make
A crowne of þornys on my hedde y take
Thys be-tokeneth þat y was kyng
240 And frely may yeue þyn owne thyng
Thys wytnessyth þe yewe all
On knees þey can be-fore me falle
And lowde sayde in ther skornyng
All heyle be þou of yewe kyng
245 Betwene ij theuus þe chartur was selyd
Boþe were syke that oon was helydd
Betwene ij theuus on hyse y-pyght
In tokyn þat y was kyng of myght
Thys be-tokenyth bothe goode & ylle
250 At þe day of dome to saue or spylle
Well drye y was þþ thursted sore
But of soche drynke myst y no more
þor eysell and galle they yaff to me
But oon drynke aske I of thee
255 That pou be louyng towards þy fone
256 Other drynke of the aske y noone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

245 Be-twene two thevys þis chartur ys selyd
Bothe were syke that oon was helyd
Be-twenn two thevys on hyse I-pyght
I tokyn that I was lord of myght
Thys be-tokenyth bothe goode and ille
250 At the day of dome to save or 1 spille
Well dry I was I thursted sore
But of suche drynke myght I no more
For eysylle and galle they yaff to me
But oon drynke aske I of thee
253 That pou be louyng toward thy foon
256 Other drynke of the aske I noon

1 Ms. and deleted and or inserted.
2 Thus the Ms. Grete?
3 Thus the Ms. Doubtless an error for state.
4 y is inserted above the line.
257 Yf thou loue me haue this in mynde
And to thy enemy loke þou be kynde
Ensample þou mygt se by me
260 flor love of my foos y honge on tre
Be mercyfull y bydd the
And on thyne enmyes haue pite
And as y do by thyne do þou by myne
264 y-sauyd yf þou wolt be fro hell pyne
a Þf þou do as y the telle
b Y warrant the fro the paynys of hell

Fol. 236b

265 And that witnysseth mo than one
Mark luke mathu and Iohne
And namly my moder swete
that for me the blody teris did let
There sche stode vndir the rode
270 he sey my body all in blode
ffram the foote vp to the hedd
there was noght ellis but blod reede
273 No word to me myght sche speke
274 Hit semyd hir hert to breke

277 flor sorow of hir y made a crye
278 And seyde Eloy lamazabatany

277 flor me loue have thyss in mynde
To thyne enmyis be thou ryght kynde
Ensample þou mygt take here of me
260 flor love of my foon I honge on tree
To my fader I pray the
Vp-on myn enmyes thou have pete


Camb. Univ. II. 4. 9.

Camb. Univ. Ee. 2. 15.

264 Savid shall þou þanne be from helle-pyne
266 Marcke Mathewe luke and Iohn

1 These lines occur in this ms. only.

2 See p. xxxiv for mark of ownership at the end of this folio.
257  If þou me loue haue þys in mynde
    To thyn enemies be þou ryght kynde
   Ensaumpull þou myst take her of me
260  ffor loue of my foon y honge on a tre
    But mercy fadur y pray the
   Vpon my enemies þat þou haue pyte
   And as y do. do þou to þyne
Then saued shalt þou be fro helle pyne

264  Sauyd schalt þou be fro helle pyne

265  He ben wytnesses mo þen on
    Marke mathew luke & jon
   And namely my modyr swete
270  That for me blody teres gan lete
   ffor þer she stode vnþer þe rode
   She sawe my body all on blode
   That fro my foot vnto my hedde
   I was not ellys but blode reed
275  No worde to me myyth she speke
   Hit semed well her hert wolde breke
   No wonþer hit was þowþ she wer woo
   When she sawe me on þe crosse so y-do
   ffor sorow of her y made a cry
278  And sayde well lowde hetylamaþbatany

267  And namely my¹ modir swete
       That for me blody teres gan lete
       ffor there she stode vnþer the rode
270  She sawe my bodi alle on blode
       That froo my foot vn-to myn hed
       I was not ellys but alle blode reed

275  No wonder it was powe she were woo
   When she me sawe on the crosse I-doo
   ffor sorowe of hyr I made a cry
278  And sayde full lowde Eli lamaþbatani

¹ Ms. ms deleted before my.
² Lines 273 and 274 are here inverted from the order of their occurrence in the other mss.
279 Anon sche fill downe in sownynge
280 By-fore me at my daynge
    the paynys that y hadd were ful sore
    ffor my modir they were the more
    ...
285 ...
    the peynes that he sufferd were smert
    the swyrde of sorow perschiid my hert
    And when seynt Johone y hir by-toke
290 Sche caste on me a sory loke
    As thowye y had hir forsake
    And anothir sone had hir y-take
    jit ar the chartour selyd was
    ffor-soth sche sayde alas alas
295 Vpon my schuldir y leyde my hed
    When y drownen to be dede
    Y was so bare of worldly goode
    What y schulde day vpon the roode
    I nadde whare-with for to take
300 Reste my hedd for to make
    Poure man haue this in mynde
302 Whan þou in worlde no rest myst fynde

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

279 Anon she fell down yn swonyng
280 Ther be-for me at my dyng
   The paynus pat y suffred wer full sore
But for my moder þe wer well more
When y layde my hedde her & þer
My moþer changed all he[r] chere
285 ffull fayn she wolde haue holpen me
But for þe jewys hit myght not be
The paynus þat y hadde wer full smert
The swerde of sorow peryshed her hert
When seyn john y her betoke

290 She caste on me a drwy loke
   As þow þad her all forsake
And to an-oper sone her be-take
And or þis charter wryten þus was
   ffull ofte she sayde Alas Alas

295 Vpon my shuldur y layde myn hedde
   When þow; faste vnto my deed
ffor so bare y was of worldly gode
When y shulde dye vpon þe rode
   That y ne hadde wher-of to take

300 Reste to myne hedde wher-of to make
Pouer & ryche haue þis yn mynde
When þou yn þis worlde no reste kan
fynde

CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.

279 Anon sche felle downe in swownyng
280 There be-fore me at my dyeing
   The peynes þat y suffurde were full sore
But for my modur þey were þe more
When y leyde myn hedd here & þere
   my modur chaunged all hur chere
285 ffull fayne sche wolde haue holpen me
But for þe yewes hyt myght not be
Peynes þat sche suffurde were full smert
The swerde of sorowe peryshed hur hert
When to seynyt Iohn y hur be-toke

290 Sche caste on me a drery loke
   As thowe y had hur all for-sake
And anothur sone y had be-take
But or þys chartur þus wretten was
   Well ofte sche seyde allass allass

295 Vpon my schouldur y leyde my hedd
   When y droue faste vn-to my dedd
ffor so bare y was of worldly gode
When y schulde dye vpon the rode
   That y ne hadd where-of to take

300 Reste to myn hedd for to make
Poure and ryche for to haue in mynde
When þou in þe worlde no reste may
fynde

CAMB. UNIV. EC. 2. 15.

391 As thowe I had ¹ here alle for-sake
   And another sone I had here be-take
And or thys chartur thus wretyn was
   Wele ofte she sayde allass allass
295 Vp-on my shulder I leyde myn hede
   When I droue faste vn-to my dedd
ffor soo bare was I of worldly ² good
   Whanne I shulde dye vp-on the rood
That I ne hadde wher-of to take

300 Rest to myn hede for to make
Power and ryche have evir in Mynde

302 When þou in the worlde no reste may
fynde

¹The scribe repeated the words I had and then deleted them.
²Corrected from worldlys.
303 Whate rest y had for loue of the
Whan y was naylid on the tree
305 Well thou mayste wyte y had none
for y was a-monge my foene
When thow art a-monge thy foen browth
Be redy to suffre with all thy thought
To stond in the barse hit is ful hard
310 As pou art worthi to take by reward
311 Yf thow for me suffre wronge
Pou schalt stonde in my ryst honde
Yf pou vengiste pe on thi brothir
Pou schalt stonde in that othir
2nd Col.
315 Yf thow wolt the soth schewe
As thow louyste thow schalt owe
thowe y be neuyr so full of woo
syt of this worlde y moste goo
In paynes of deth y am now bownde
320 My sowle wull passe withyn this stownde
By-holde man with hert and eye
for thy loue how y schall deye
I honge on crosse for loue of the
forsake thy synnes for loue of me
325 Mercy asketh a-mendis sone
326 And for-yeue y woll all pat is mysdone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

303 What rest I had onely for the
Whanne I hynge nayled vp-on the tree 310 As ben worthy to take rewarde
To stonde at barse it ys wele harde
Thou shalt for me suffre wronge
Thou shalt ben sothely on my ryght
honde
And pou pat wengyst the vppon pe
brothyr
And whanne thou a-monge thy foon art
brouyt
Be redy to suffre wyth alle thi thougt 314 There stodyst thou not but on that othyr

1 Exam (Exemplum) is written in the margin.
2 Espirituit is written in the margin.
3 The Chartur is here written in the margin.
THE LONG CHARTER—B-TEXT

COTT. CALIG. A. II.
303 What reste y hadde only for pé
When y henge nayled vpon a tre
305 Well may pou knowe bat y hadde none
for ther y was among my fone
And when pou among by fone art broght
Be redy to suffre with all by powst
To stonde at pé barre hit ys well harde
310 As pe bene worpy to take rewarde
Thou bat for me sufferest wronge
pou shalt stonde on my riȝt honde
And pou bat vngest pe on by brodyr

Ther stondest pou not but on bat odyr
315 yf þu wyll þe sope knowe
Ryðth as þou sowest so sha[1]t þu mowe

I fele me now so full of wo
That out of þis worlde y moste go
With peynes of þeth harde am y bownde
320 My sowle shall passe her yn a stounde
Beholde now mon with herte & ye
for þy loue how y shall dye
I honge on crosse for loue of þe
for-sake þe synne for loue of me
325 Mercy þou aske & amende þe sone
326 And y woll forȝf þat þou hast mysdone
And y y for-yeu þe that ys mydoone

CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.
303 What reste y had only for the
When y hynge naylyd vpon a tree
305 Well may þou know þat y had none
for there y was among my fone
And when þou among þy fone art broght
Be redy to suffur wyth all þowre þoght
To stonde at the barre hyt ys full harde
310 As ye be worthy to take rewarde
Thou þat for me suffurste wronge
Thou schalt be sopelely on my riȝt honde
And þou that vngest þe vpone þy brodur

There stondest þou not but on þat othyr
315 If thou wylt the sothe knowe
Soche as þou sowest soche schalt þou mowe
I fele me now so full of woo
That owt of þe worlde y muste go
With peynes of dethe harde am y bownde
My soule schall passe here in þys stounde
Be-holde now man wyth herte & eye
for þy loue how þ Schall dye
I honge on crosse for loue of the
for-sake thy synne for loue of me
325 Mercy aske and amende þe sone
326 And y y for-yeu þe that ys mydoone

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.
315 Yef thou wolt the sothe to knowe
Ryght as þou sowyst suche shalt þou mowe
I fele me nowe so fulle of woo
That out of thyss worlde I mvst goo
Wyth peynys of deth hard am I bovnde
320 My soule shall passe here in thys stovnde
Be-holde nowe man wyth herte and yse
For thy loue howe I shalle dye
I honge on crosse for loue of the
for-sake thy synne for loue of me
Mercy aske and amende the soone
And I for-yeue þe that ys mydoone

'y' is inserted above the line.
327 ful mercyfull y am trewly

to hem that woll my mercy cry

330 . . . . . . . .

he that woll no mercy craue

of me no mercy schall he haue

335 . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

340 . . . . . . . .

To hell y went pis chartour to schew

By-fore sathanas pat grete schrew

345 there y covennant y-made was

By-twixte me and sathanas

All my catell to take a-way

that he had by fals pray

The thrid day y a-ros and made a faste

350 Both to the meste and eke to pe leste

---

327 ffor fulle of mercy I am trevly

To alle that crye mercy

What shall it greve to repent the

330 And in endles Ioy to dwelle wyth me

ffor thoo that wolle no mercy crye

They shalle to helle whanne they

shalle dye

335 Thou synfull man have pitee on me

338 And thanne myn herte shall to-breke

Nowe whanne I have oo worde spoke

Myn yzen to-gedyr I must loke

ffor thyn owyn soule pur charyte

Thys worde I mvest nedys speke

---

1 Ms. craue was written before crye and then cancelled.
COTT. CALIG. A. II.

327 for full of mercy y am trewly
To all tho that cryen mercy
What shall hit greue to repente pe
330 And yn endeles joye to dwelle with me
for tho pat wyll no mercy crye
They go to helle when pey shall dye
Now when y haue oon worde spoken
My yen togeder y most lokene
335 Now synfull man haue pyte on me
for thy owene sowle for charyte
Thys worde y most nepus speke
And peyn herte shall to-breke
Consummatum est pis chartur ys done
340 Man now hast poy overcyme by fone
Anon to helle y went pis charter to shewe
Before sathanas pat mykyll shewe
Thys y hym schent & browst to grounde
Thorow my paynes of spytuous wounde
345 And after a covenante made per was
Betwene me & sathanas
All my catell to haue a-way
That he berafte me with his play
The prydde day y rose & made a feste
350 To pe moste & to pe leste

CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.

327 for full of mercy y am trewly
To all tho that cryen mercy
What schall hyt greue to repente pe
330 And in endeles yoye to dwelle with me
for tho pat wyll no mercy crye
They schall to helle when pey schall dye
Now when y haue oon worde y-spoke
Myn eyen to-gedur y muste looke
335 Thou synfull man haue peete on me
for thy owne soule for charyte
Thys worde y muste nedys speke
And then myn herte schall all to-breke
Consummatum est Thys chartur ys done
340 Man now haste poy overcyme all by foone
A-none y went to helle pys to schewe
Be-fore sathanas pat moche schrewe
2nd Col.
There y hym schent & broght to grounde
Thorow my nayles a spetous wunde
345 Aftur a covenant made ther was
Be-twene me and sathanas
All my catell to haue a-wey
That he be-rafte me be hys play
The thrydde day y rose & made a feste
350 To the most and to the leste

CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.

339 Consummatum est thy charth yr doon
340 Man nowe hast pou over-come alle thy foon
A-noon to helle I went thy chartur to shewe
By-fore sathanas pat moyche shrewe
There I hym schent and brought to grounde

Thorugh my naylys and spitous wounde
345 And after a covenaut made there was
Be-twene me and sathanas
Alle my catell to have a-way
That he be-rafte me wyth hys play
The thrydde day I roos and made a feste
350 To the most and to the leeste

351 the feste is both ioy and blisste
Easter day y-clepyd hit is
Saue a denture y bere with me
Whare-of þou schalt scoure be

355 In the preste-is honde flesch and blode
ffor the was naylyd vppon the rode
Ho-so beleuyth very there-vpon
Endeles payne schall haue none
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.
.
.
.

361 A well fayre sygne y leuyd also
A token of the crosse þat y was in do
To bere with the where-euyr þou go
the to sauy fro thy foe

365 Nowe to my fadir schall y wende
His will y haue browȝt to ende
I take my leue as ye seyne
At the day of dome y come a-ȝen
Man to deme aftir his werke

370 As is the by-leue of holy cherch
And euyr aftir in ioy to dwell
to be saue fro the peyne of hell

Camb. Univ. Ee. 2. 15.

351 That feste was of Ioye and blys
Ester day clepid it ys
One endentur I left with the
Where-of thou shalt evir sekyr be

355 In the prestys honde my flethe my blode
That for the was honged on þe roode

Who-so-evir þat beleveth ther-on
Endlee peyne shall he fynde noon
Alle-though I dye yet dyeth not he
ffor vppe shall he ryse and leve with me

360 And a wel fayre sygne I toke the here also
A tokene of the crosse that I was on doo
COTT. CALIG. A. II.

351 The feste was of joye & blys
Estur day called hit ys
Oon endentur y lafte with pe
Wher-of pou shalt euer sykur be

355 In pe preestus honde my fleesh & blode
That for pe was honged on pe rode
Ho-so-euer hit be pat beleueth per-on
Endeles payne shall he fynde none
All-powe y dye yet dyeth not he

360 For vp shall he ryse & leve with me
A well sayr syngne y toke pe her also
A token of pe crosse pat y was on doo
To bere with pe wher-euer pou go
To saue pe euer fro py fo

365 To my fader now moste y go
Sfor all hys wyll now haue y do
Her y take my leue so haue me seyne
At pe day of dome y come agayne
Mon to dome aftyr hys werke

370 Thys ys to beleue of all holy kyrke
And euer after yn joye to dwelle
Saued to be fro pe paynes of helle
But a kote Arrour y ber her with me

374 The whych y toke of py lyuere

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

351 The feste was yoye and blysse
Estur day clepyd hyt ys
Won enture y lafte wyth the
Where-of pou schalt euyr seker bee

355 In preestes honde my flesche & blood
That for pe was honged on pe roode
Who-so-euyr hyt be pat leuep per-one
Endeles dephe schall he fynde noone
All-thogh y dye yet dyeth not he

360 Sfor vp he schall ryse & leve with me
And a well feyre syngne y toke pe here &
A tokyn of pe crosse pat y was on doo
To bere with pe so wyde thou goo
To saue the euer fro thy foo

365 To my fadur y muste goone
Sfor all hys wylle y haue done
Here y take my leue ye haue me seyn
At pe day of dome y come a-gyne
Man to deme aftur hys wyrke

370 Thys ys the wylle of holly kyrke
And euer aftur in yoye to dwelle
Sauid for to be fro pe peynys of helle
But a cote armour y bere here with me

374 The whych y toke of thy lyuere

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

363 To bere wyth the so whedyr thou goo
To save the evir fro thy foo

365 To my fader I mvust goon
Sfor alle hys wylle I have doon
here I take my leue ye haue me seyn

368 At the day of dome I come ageyne
Man to deme after hys werke

370 Thys ys the wylle of alle holy kyrke
And evir after in ioye to dwelle
Savid for to be fro the peynys of helle
But a cote armvre I bere here with me

374 The wiche I toke of thy leverey
375 The cote is ryche and fyne
Hit is y-wrowst of rede satyne
A well fayre maybe me hit reyst
And oute of hir bosom y hit brost
Hit is y-pouderyd with roses rede

380 Woundes y pourseled whan y was dede
And whan y come a-yen to the
By the cote poy schalt know me
Ye that buth of rent be-hynde
And habbeth me noght in mynde

2nd Col.
385 Sore mowe ye be a-drade
Whan this chartour schall be radd
Of the Iustysye be well ware
Certeysse he nell no man spares

. . . . . . . .

390 Power with my fadir y haue
to saue all hem that woll me craue
. . . . . . . .
. . . . . . . .

395 . . . . . . .
. . . . . . . .
. . . . . . . .
. . . . . . . .

398 . . . . . . .

CAMB. UNIV. ES. 2. 15.

375 The cote ys ryche\(^1\) and well fyne
The champe ys nowe of rede Sathyn
A wele fayre maybe me it ought
And out of here bourne I it brout

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.
And whanne I come ageyne to the
By thys clothynge may poy knowe me
Thoo that ben of thys rent be-hynde
And these woundys wole not have in
mynde

Fol. 94b
Poured hit ys nowe wyth v rosys rede 385 Wele sore they shalle dyen a-dradde
380 With woundys that I suffrede thorowe peynes of dede
Whanne thys chartyr shalle be radde

\(^1\) Fyne was first written and cancelled.
375 The cote ys ryche & well fyne
The champe ys now of redd satyne
A well feyre maybe me hyt oght
And owt of hur bowre y hyt broght
Poudurd hyt ys with .v. roys red[d]

375 The kote ys both rych & fyne
The campe ys now of rede satyne
A well fayr maybe hit towyte
And out of her bowr y hit browyte
Powdered hit ys now with fyfe roses rede

380 With wonpus pat y poled with paynes of dede
And when y come aseyyn to pe
Be my clopyng pou mayst knowe me
And po pat ben of per rente behynde
And pes wondus woll not haue y mynde

380 With woundes pat y suffurd porow peyn[es] of [de]dd
And when y come ageyne to the
Be thys clopyng may pou knowe mee

385 ffull sore shall pey be a-ferde
When pis chartur shall be reddye
Of pe hye; justys be pey full ware
For perse shall he non spare
ffor all pat euer pou hast wroght

385 Well sore they schall be adredd
When thys chartur schall be radd
Of pe hie Iustysce be pou full ware
ffor-sothe pero schall y noon spare
ffor all po synne pat pou haste wroght

390 ffro by yowth pen shall be sowythe
But power of my fader y haue
To saue all po pat mercy wyll craue
And paye by rente jyf pu haue space
390 ffro thy youthe pey schall be soght
But power of my fadur y haue
To saue all tho that mercy craue
And paye by rente jyf pu haue space

395 And yf pou dye full sopenly
Vpon by sowle y shall haue mercy
A couenaunt ys made betwen vs to
395 And yf thou dye full sodenlye
Vpon by soule y schall haue mercy
A couenaunt y made be-twene vs twoo

398 As y haue done so muste pou doo

398 As y haue done so muste pou doo

CAMB. UNIV. Ec. 2. 15.

387 Of the hyse Iustysce be they full ware
ffor-sothe there shall be no spare
ffor alle thi synne that pou hast wrought

390 ffro thy youthe they shall be sought
But power of my fader I have
To save all tho that mercy crave

\[1\] Blurred in the ms.

400

405

409 there-fore y rede pay well your rent
410 that with the fende ye be not schent
   With mochill ioye pan schall ye come
   And in my blysse than schal ye wone
   to that blysse he may ve brynge
414 that made of noyt all maner thynge
   Explicit Carta ihesu Christi

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Loke what thy pater noster seythe pe
too¹
400 Ryght as I for-yeve for-yeve thou moo
do ther-after yif thou wilte
So that thy soule be nat spilte

Vp-on alle holy writte I may put me
Whether I be curteys or noon to thee
405 Be thou lered or be thou lewde
The way to hevyn I have the shewed

¹Ms. the too the was written first, then altered.


\textbf{COTT. CALIG. A. II.}

Loke what \textit{by} pater noster sayth to be

400 Lyke as \textit{y} foryeue forsyf \textit{pou} me
Do \textit{per}aftur \textit{yf} \textit{pat} \textit{pou} wylte
So \textit{pat} \textit{by} sowle be not spylte
Vpon all holy wryte \textit{y} may put me
Wheter \textit{y} be curteys or not to \textit{be}

405 Be \textit{pou} lerred or be \textit{pou} lewed
The weye to heuen \textit{y} haue \textit{be} shewed
Be \textit{be} tyxte of holy wryte
In what place \textit{pou} wolte seke hyt
Therfor \textit{y} bydde \textit{be} pay \textit{be} rente

410 That \textit{with} \textit{be} fende \textit{pou} be not schente
Wyth \textit{me} to blysse \textit{pen} \textit{pou} shalt come
And \textit{yn} my blysse \textit{pou} shalt wone
To \textit{pat} blysse \textit{y} may \textit{be} brynge

414 That of nowyte made \textit{be} & all \textit{byng}
Ihesu \textit{yn} \textit{pat} holy place
\textit{Graunte} \textsuperscript{1} vs to se \textit{by} holy face Amen
Explicit

\textbf{CAMB. UNIV. FF. 2. 38.}

Loke what thy pater noster sey\textit{p} to the

400 Ryght \textsuperscript{2} as \textit{y} foryeue for-\textit{yene} \textit{pou} mee
Do ther-aftur \textit{yf} thou wylte
So that thy soule be not spylte
Vpon all holy wrytt \textit{y} may put me
Whedur \textit{pat} \textit{y} be curtes or not to the

405 Be thou lerne\textit{dd} or be \textit{pou} lewde
The wey to heuen\textit{e} \textit{y} haue \textit{be} schewe\textit{d}
By the tyxte of hooly wrytt
In what place thou wylte seke hyt
Therfore \textit{y} by\textit{d}d the pay the rente

410 That \textit{with} \textit{be} fende \textit{pou} be not schente
With \textit{me} to blysse thou schalt come
And in my blysse \textit{pou} schalt wone
To blysse \textit{y} may the brynge

414 That of nought made all thyng
e Amen

\textbf{CAMB. UNIV. EE. 2. 15.}

407 Bi the tyxte of holy wrytte
In what place \textit{pou} wolte seke ite
Ther-for I byd the pay thy rent

410 That wyth the fende \textit{pou} be not shent

414 That of nought made alle thyng

\textsuperscript{1} In the \textit{ms.} the sign for \textit{ra} occurs above the \textit{a}.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{y} was written after \textit{Ryght} and then deleted.
APPENDIX I

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE LONG AND SHORT CHARTERS

These observations are based, in each case, upon what I have judged to be the critical reading of the text. Cases where it has been plainly impossible to determine the critical reading have been ignored, and those where a reasonable doubt exists have been especially noticed. The evidence for the pronunciation of final e in the Short Charter and in the B-text of the Long Charter is not offered as conclusive, since in the opinion of the writer there are too many doubtful readings and corrupt lines to enable one to rely upon the results of the test. In the case of the A-text of the Long Charter, however, it is hoped that the results are reliable, since the manuscripts, in most cases, enable one to arrive at the reading of the original.

THE LONG CHARTER, A-TEXT

§ 1. FINAL E.

A. Rhyme words.

Words ending, in Anglo-Saxon, in final e, rhyme only with others so ending, except in the following cases: 1

1. bloð O-stem, acc. sing. in two instances,
   rød A-stem, acc. sing. 77-78; 207-208.
   fode Wk. stem, acc. sing. 59-60.
   blode O-stem, acc. sing.  

1Doubtful cases are (a) ᵛýle (M. Jo-stem, acc. sing.)—ȝyle (Scand. ildr) 163-164; and (b) lyf-lyf (O-Stem, acc. sing.) 45-46, where it is doubtful whether the first lyf is noun or adjective. I find no example elsewhere of lyf as an adjective. Adown, as in the Troilus (cf. Kittredge, Observ. Ch. Soc. Ser. 2, xxviii, 201, note 1) takes no final e. See 9 where it rhymes with tow (acc.), and 146, where it rhymes with vermilion (OFr. vermilion).
frend e M. Cons. stem, acc. sing. } 233-234.
ende M. Jo-stem, acc. sing.
blis Ja-stem, acc. } 203-204.
y s Pres. Indic. 3rd sing.

II. Rhymes containing weyé: ³
(by the) weye O-stem, acc.
ye N. Wk. stem, acc. } 93-94.
(in the) way O-stem, acc.
pray OFr. proie, preie } 65-66.

III. Containing a petrified dative:
(to) grounde O-stem, dat. sing. } 191-192.
wounde A-stem, acc. sing.

B. Final e in the Interior of the Line.

The following cases exist of final e pronounced in the interior of the line; when sounded before a vowel or h, it is marked by an asterisk:

I. Nouns, Singular.

A-Stems.

(a) nom. sing. 
lawé, 14.
loué, 53.

(b) in compounds.
soulé-fode, 59.
loué-dede(s), 62, 91, 114.
loué-drynk, 167.

Ja-Stems.

(a) acc. sing.
blisse, 230.

(b) in compound.
hellé-pyne, 229.

³In Chaucer final e in weyé is frequently sounded; cf. rhymes with infinitives, Canterbury Tales, B 1698, 1747, and Prologue 467, etc.
THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHARTERS

Weak Stems.
(a) masc. acc. sing.  (b) feminine.
tymē, 18.  erthē, 41.*
hertē, 140.*

I-Stem.
dedē, 50, 132.

U-Stem, masc. acc.
sonē, 148.

Romance Words.  Latin Words.
erytagē, 134. festē, 201, 203.  Lukē, 170.

II. Verbs.
(a) Infinitives.  (b) Pret. Ind. 1st sing.
sechē, 10.  dedē, 14.*
makē, 58.  woldē, 18.
leuē, 149.  madē, 61; haddē, 68;

(c) Pret. Ind. 2nd sing.  (d) Pret. Ind. 3rd sing.
geuē, 168.  sholdē, 16;keptē, 17.

(e) Imperative sing.
cleymē, 232.

III. Adjectives.
(a) Plural, weak.  (b) Plural, strong.
oldē, 20.  fyuē, 221.
lestē, 198.*  busē, 226.
(c) Singular, weak.  (d) Strong, with final or-
ownē, 54, 77.  ganic e.
ferdē [fēorpa], 124.  (1) in the predicate.

(e) Strong, in attrib. position  (2) in compound.
wildē, 163.*  trewē, 126, 130.
allē, 5 (before ioye).
IV. Adverbs.

morë, 39, 119; loudë, 157; sorë, 227.

V. Prepositions.

betwenë, 194.

VI. Pronunciation of the plural inflexional endings of verbs (i.e., e, eth [imperative], or en) is necessary to the scansion of lines 71, 81, 95, and to the scansion of 138 and 147, unless the past participles in these lines had the prefix y. Plural inflexional endings in fo and hand, lines 40 and 142, must also have been sounded, as the metre shows.

From the above evidence afforded by the rhyme and metre of the A-text, it is clear that, at the time of its composition, final e was generally sounded. The exceptions noted under A may be regarded as make-shifts of the poet, in the face of the body of evidence on the other side.

§2. DIALECT OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

A. The rhymes of the A-text that throw light upon the question of the dialect of the original text are few; but these few are clear evidence as far as they go:

I. That the dialect was not Northern is shown by

(a) the stressed vowels of the following rhyme words:  

*If my readings for lines 6, 19, and 122 are correct (see pp. c-cvii) final e is sounded also in the following cases: without, 6; fyue (pl. adj.), 19; smerto (noun) 122. Lines metrically defective are 48 and 220 where two accented syllables fall together: (a) thást and chéle; (b) bôr and I. Lines offering difficulties in scansion because of doubtful readings are: 52, 120, 152, 154, 177, 179, 196.  

*scholde  } 13-14, shows that the dialect was not Northumbrian.
THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHARTERS

\[
\begin{align*}
y-do \quad \text{fo} \quad \{ \quad 25-26. & \quad \text{so} \quad \text{euermo} \quad \{ \quad 123-124. \\
also \quad y-do \quad \{ \quad 209-210. & \quad \text{gon} \quad \{ \quad 213-214. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(b) the participle go or y-go in line 47, rhyming with wo. In a Northern text the participial form would be gan, and there would be no rhyme.\(^8\)

(c) Contributory evidence in the pronunciation, in certain cases (see §1, BVI.) of plural inflexional endings of verbs.

II. The prefix y in the participle y-\(do\), 25, 50 and 210; y-\(wryton\), 82; y-\(jeue\), 109; y-\(seled\), 159; y-\(pyzt\), 161, show Midland or Southern origin, since the prefix is necessary to the scansion of these lines.\(^7\)

III. Final conclusive evidence that the dialect of the common original was Midland is found in the rhyme of lines 87-88, ben (Pres. Indic. 3rd pl.)—sen, which appears in all the extant manuscripts.

\(^7\) The Northern form ga of ms. F is due to the scribe's emending to obtain a Northern rhyme for suca. Of euermo I find no occurrence later than the 13th century, either in the North or South; See O. E. Homilies I (E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser.) p. 165, v. 106, and p. 171, v. 200, and for mafrema see Ormulum 4206 and O. E. Homilies, p. 63, v. 166. The regular Northern form for euermo was euermar(e); See Cursor Mundi 98, 410, 1920, 23834.

\(^8\) I add also to the evidence against Northern origin the contracted form skyft in line 122, ms. G, which I have tried to establish as the correct reading (see pp. c ff). Other contributory evidence is found in the pronunciation of the plural inflexional endings of verbs (e, eth imperative, or en) which is necessary to the scansion of lines 71, 81, and 95, and also to the scansion of 138 and 147, unless the past participles in these lines had the prefix y. Were the prefix y sounded, the fact would also point to Midland or Southern origin.

\(^9\) The prefix y must also have been sounded in the following cases, or else final e of the forms:

- 
  
  \textit{hawe} (1st sing. pres. Indic.) lines 3 and 47.
  \textit{were} (2nd sing. and 3rd sing. pret. Indic.) lines 7 and 50.
  \textit{sore} (adverb) 165.
THE LONG CHARTER, B-TEXT.

§ 1. Final e.

A. Rhyme words.

A study of the rhymes in B not occurring in A reveals six cases in which words ending, in Anglo-Saxon, in final e. organic or inflexional, rhyme with words not ending in e:

I. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boke</td>
<td>F. Cons. stem, acc.</td>
<td>1-2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokes</td>
<td>Verb, infin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wende</td>
<td>Verb, infin.</td>
<td>3-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fende</td>
<td>M. nd-stem, acc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>understonde</td>
<td>Verb, infin.</td>
<td>17-18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>londe</td>
<td>N. O-stem, acc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seyne (or sowen)</td>
<td>Verb, pp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owen</td>
<td>Wk. adj. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rode</td>
<td>A-stem, acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blode</td>
<td>O-stem, acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chere</td>
<td>OFr. chere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Special cases:

(1) explicable as containing petrified dative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wonde</td>
<td>A-stem, acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grounde</td>
<td>M. O-stem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) not explicable except as containing the old plural ending e, which is improbable, taken with other evidences of B's age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>werke</td>
<td>N. O-stem, acc. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyrke</td>
<td>F. Wk. stem, acc. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bryng</td>
<td>Verb, infin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thyng</td>
<td>N. O-stem, acc. pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. B has retained the rhymes of A with three exceptions: *lyf-lyf* 45-46, which B alters to *dede* (adj.) -pe quede 81-82, evidently to avoid the identical rhyme; *fode-blode* 59-60, to *blode-mode* 107-108; and *blode-rode* 77-78 to *blode-stode* 153-154.

These last two cases might be regarded as emendations of B to restore true rhymes, but that in the first case changes made by B in the lines immediately preceding seem naturally to lead to a different rhyme here; and that in the second, B seems to have broken the rhyme in order to introduce more detail, the progress of the narrative in A being at this point very rapid. Moreover, in another place, B retains this same rhyme of A (A 207-208, B 355-356), which seems to show that he was not aware of its irregularity.

B. Final e in the Interior of the Line.

The scansion of the B-text is, in general, difficult, because (a) the manuscripts frequently offer several different readings for the same line, and (b) the lines are often manifestly corrupt. Moreover, since certain lines not involving a final e scan only when the stress is placed awkwardly, it is possible that some of those cited below, which scan well only when final e is sounded, were not intended to contain any final e syllable, as 35, 83, 91, 130 and 358. The critical readings, however, would indicate that in the following cases final e was probably sounded in the original of the extant manuscripts:

I. Nouns

|--------------------------|---------------|

Weak stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>hertē</em>, 338; in compound, 224.</th>
<th>Romance words.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Joyē</em>, 197.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>placē</em>, 408.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* As lines 11, 261, and 403.
N. O-stem, acc. sing. (which took e in the *Troilus*)
Sothē, 315.

II. Verbs

Infinitives

helpē, 35, 83; fyndē, 89, 358; spoylē, 133; repentē, 329; demē, 369*; sekē, 408*; put[ē or en]? 403.

Pres. Ind. first sing.
pray[ē], 261.

Pret. Ind. 3rd plur.
madē, 145.

Pres. Ind. 3rd sing.
woldē, 91.

2nd Optative sing.
pyē, 211.

Pret. Ind. 1st sing.
haddē, 95; most[ē], 318.

III. Adjectives

Strong:

sing. myldē, 108.
plur. grotē, 130.
fewē, 96.
allē, 414.

Weak, plur. ownē, 240.10

On the other hand, the following lines, in which final e was pronounced in the A-text, have been altered in the B-text, apparently to avoid final e’s counting as a syllable: 40, 42*, 88, 93, 104, 122, 136, 194, 214, 216, 222, 350, 379 (corresponding to A 14, 18, 50, 53, 58, 62, 68, 114, 132, 134, 140, 198, 221). Certain lines in A requiring the pronunciation of final e were taken over by B, however, without alteration: A 10, 17, 21, 54, 77, 91, 119, 126, 148, 149,

* See Kitt. *Observ.* p. 44.

* Lines difficult of scansion are, for example: 11, 13, 78, 107, 262, 269, 283, 388.
157, 194, 203 = B 34, 42, 43, 94, 153, 169, 201, 208, 232,
233, 243, 346, 351.

From the above inconsistent evidence it hardly seems safe
to draw conclusions as to the pronunciation of final e at the
time of the composition of the B-text. Such evidence as
there is, however, appears to indicate a general laxity of
usage in this respect.

§2. DIALECT OF THE ORIGINAL B-TEXT.

The stressed vowels in the following rhymes indicate
Midland or Southern origin for the B-text:

\[
\begin{align*}
{ydo} & \{95-96 \} && {too} & \{275-276.} \\
{po} & \{283-284.} \\
{per} \\
{chere} \\
{more} & \{99-100.} && {two} & \{397-398.} \\
{forlore} & \{369-370.} && {do} & \\
{werke} \\
{kynke}
\end{align*}
\]

On the other hand, the text contains one rhyme with the
Northern k from AS. c:

The indications of Midland or Southern origin noted above
are corroborated by the prefix y in y-do, lines 95, 276, and
perhaps in y-spoke, 333, though the evidence supplied by the
prefix is not in itself altogether reliable, since the scansion of
the original is not certain.

THE LONG CHARTER, C-TEXT.

The following rhymes occurring in portions of the C-text
which are not found in the B-text, indicate a Midland or
Southern original for this version, though the unique manu-
script is chiefly Northern:
The rhyme *do-so*, 131-132, is of particular interest, since it represents a scribe's attempt to join two portions of text that seem not to be in proper sequence. Line 132 appears to be of this scribe's own composition, and the rhyme indicates that he was not a Northern man (cf. p. lxxxix).

Two occurrences of one distinctly Northern rhyme, however, are found:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{werke} & \quad 297-298; 305-306. \\
\text{kyrke} & \quad \end{align*}\]

THE SHORT CHARTER.

§ 1. Final e.

A. Rhyme words.

The following words ending in Anglo-Saxon in final *e* occur in rhyme with words that did not:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ending} & \quad \text{A-stem, acc.} \quad \{9-10. \\
\text{kyng} & \quad \text{O-stem, nom.} \quad \} \\
\text{seckernesse} & \quad \text{acc.} \quad \{31-32. \\
\text{is} & \quad \text{verb. 3rd sing.} \quad \} \\
\text{here} & \quad \text{adv.} \quad \{1-2. \\
\text{dere} & \quad \text{pl. adj. in the pred.} \quad \}
\end{align*}\]

Doubtful cases:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{smerete} & \quad \text{noun, acc. sing.} \quad \{11-12. \\
\text{herte} & \quad \text{wk. noun, acc. sing.} \quad \}
\end{align*}\]
THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHARTERS

The critical reading here would make smerte a noun. Compare Kittredge, Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus, who believes the form in final e to be an adjective. Mss. E and I insert paynes before smerte.

Rhymes Occurring in Particular Manuscripts.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dette} & \quad \text{OFr.} & \quad \text{e-f. Ms. A and B only.} \\
\text{sett} & \quad \text{Past part.} & \quad 9-10. \quad \text{Ms. L only.}
\end{align*}
\]

B. Final e in the Interior of the Line.

Critical readings indicate that final e was pronounced in the following cases:

sayë, inf., 17; whichë or samë, wk. adj. sing., 29; ownë, wk. adj. sing., 30; morë, wk. adj. sing., 31; firstë, wk. adj. sing., 34.

Cases of doubtful scansion, where final e may have been sounded, are:

hauë Pres. Ind. 1st sing., 7, 18.
gyfe Infin. 15.

The plural inflexional ending es in woundës, 5, and stonës, 24, were also probably sounded.

In view of such incomplete lines (metrically) as 10 and 28, it is uncertain whether final e was actually sounded or not in the cases mentioned in this paragraph; but see the next paragraph.

§2. Dialect of Original Text.

The dialect of the original text was Northern, as is shown by the vowels in the stressed syllables of the two rhymes:

\[\text{Chaucer Society, Ser. 2. vol. xxviii, 140-1, note.}\]
quake Infin.  


thing Noun, acc.  


and in corroboration

seckernesses

is (would have been es) \} 31-32.

The fact that the dialect was Northern makes it probable that final e was sounded only in cases where the metre made it indispensable.
APPENDIX II

ADDITIONAL TEXTS

1. CARTA DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI


Sciant presentes et futuri. scilicet. omnes qui sunt celo et in terra. Quod ego Iesus Christus filius dei patris et Marie virginis deus et homo pro hereditate mea Iniuste et proditione a meis ablata diu sub manu aduersarij detenta teste toto mundo in stadio pugnai aduersum diuici. victoriam optinui et hereditatem meam recuperavi sessinam in parasceue cum heredibus meis accepi. habendum et tenendum sessinam in longitudinem et latitudinem in eternum. secundum dispositium est a patre meo. libere et quieta. Annuatim et continue Reddendo cor mundum deo et animam puram. In cuibus rei testimonium hanc presentem cartam proprio sanguine conscripsi. legi. per totum mundum publicai. Sigillum que mee diuinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus. Nam hij tres testimonii dant in celo scripta. lecta et confirmata. et generi humano tradita feria. quinta. parasceue. super montem caluaria publice et parte in eternum durature. Anno a creatione mundi. 5. 2. 3. 2. Nota quod condicio amplia est vt continue Reddamus deo cor mundum et animam puram al[i]oquin satisfaci-mus contra ius nostrum Si autem preuemus a peccato. Iusto titulo vendicare possimus regnum celorum. [f. 186 b] Dicunt enim Iura ciuilia quod filius habens patrem suum interfectum non potest vendicare hereditatem patris sui nisi prosequatur interfectorum patris sui Pater noster Christus est interfectus. Quis eum interficit. Certe peccatum. quia peccatum erat causa quare captus est. flagellatus. et occisus. Si ergo vis esse heres eius oportet quod prosequeris. peccatum quod eum interficit. sicut filius prosequitur interfectorum patris sui. non desistens eum damnare et alios ad eius odium aluere. Age quod illud iudiciio cetur. exulet. et interficiat et omnino et finaliter destruatur.
Numquam patiaris quam in te est quod peccatum favorem habeat et quod omnes illud odiant. que interfecit patrem tuum Christum. Et sic poteris iuste vindicare eius hereditatem. scilicet Regnum celorum.

2. CARTA LIBERA


Variant readings from St. John's Coll. ms. D. 8, f. 174 are recorded in the footnotes. The rimes would be restored in lines 19 and 20 by transposing pedes and manus, and by reading des te instead of te des.

Hic incipit carta libera domini nostri Ihesu Christi

Hec quicunque sciant presentes atque futuri
Et memores fiant nisi sint sensus sibi duri
Quod uir ego ihesus bethlehem de uirginem natus
Ierusalem iesus crucifixus ludificatus
5 Dando concessi cunctis nec ab inde recessi
Regnum celeste si semper uiuant honeste
Aut si quando tamen faciant quocunque gruamem
Non ita delebor si peniteant miserebor
Nec quicquam cupio reddi nisi cordis amorem
10 Hoc homo iam sicio pro quo tibi fundo cruorem
Ergo pro feodo cor tuum redde mihi gratum
Taliter ecce modo tibi trado meum laceratum
Inspice deute precor inspice mente serena
Ostendo pro te que quanta sunt mea pena
15 Hic sunt transfossa caro uene cor cutis ossa
Ac mea premunda te lauit sanguis etunda
Nam qui per pomum fueras sine fine peremptus
Nec es abinde demum sub tele sorte redemptus
Ecce cor ecce pedes capud ecce manus ego sanus
20 Sum mihi si te des tibi do me fac ita pro me
Traditus a iuda sum captus et inde ligatus

 quicquid.
 sitis.
 redde tuum (correctly).
Omnia sunt nuda que plebs fecit atque pilatus\(^*\)
Scilicet in fine probr\(a\) sputa flagellaque plura
Crux claudi spine fel lancea passio dura
25 Et sique pacior uideantur non satis ar\(a\)
Post hec en morior hec mors homo fit \(\textit{sit}^7\) tua carta
Nemo potest iure privare quin \(^*\) ista tenebunt
En quot secure warrantizare ualebunt
Testibus hiis factis tenebris velo quoque scisso
30 Petris contractis terremotu sub abysso
Si plures uultis testante Johanne que matre
Ac aliis multis cum sacro neumate patre
In cuius rei testimonium requiesi
ut stet tranquillum cor\(^*\) proprium pono sigillum
35 In caluarie summo sunt hec data gratis
Sanguine scripta die quo iam morior valeatis
\(\textit{Sanguine tamam puro cartam frater tibi scripsi}\)
38 \(\textit{Et pro securum proprium cor penditur ipsi, amen}^{10}\)

3. \textit{CARTA DEI}


Knowyn alle men that are & schuln ben
That I Jhc’ of Nazaren
Wyt myn wyl and herte good
For myn handwerk and for my blod
5 Have grantyd, jovyn and confermyd is
To christenemen in erthe I wys
Thourch my charte that the mon se,
My body that heng on the tre,
A mes housyd fayir and fre,
10 It is hevene blysse I telle the,
Betwen est and west, north and south,
To hem her dwellyn it is wel couth,

\(^*\)After line 22 \(\text{ms. D 8 (perhaps correctly)}\) places lines 27-28.
\(^7\) \textit{sit.} \quad \textit{quod.}\n\(^*\)proprium cor (correctly).
\(^{10}\)These two lines occur only in \(\text{ms. D 8.}\)
To havyn and heldyn that sweete place
Wel gud in pes thourch my grace,
15 To crystene man that synne wyl fle,
Heritable and in fee,
For the servise that lyt therinne,
That is, to kepyn man fro synne,
Of the chel [read cheff] lord of that fee
20 Every synne flede hee.
And I Jhe’ of Nazaren
And my eyris qwat so he ben
In warantyse we schuuln us bynde
To crystene man wythoutyn hende
25 In wytnesse of thyss thing
My syde was opned in selyng.
To thyss charte trewe and good
I have set my seal, myn herthe blod,
These am the wytneesses trewe and god;
30 The garlond of thorn on myn hed stode,
The schorges and the naylis long,
And the sperre my herte stong,
The stoppe ful of eysil and galle,
And Hely ely that I gan calle,
35 My blody terys me ronnyn fro,
My bondys, my peynis and othir mo.
3ovyn and garantyd be my wyl
At Calvarie on that held [read hyl]
The friday befor the paske day,
40 Therof I may nost seyn nay,
The yer of my regue her
Thretty wyntyre and thredde half yer.
Hec est carta Dei.

4. CARTA CELESTIS HEREDITATIS

(A Prose Tract, related to the Charter of Christ.)

This treatise, entitled variously, Carta Celestis Hereditatis,
Chartre of Heuene, Charter of our heuenli Eritage, Chartre of
Heven Blisse, Diploma Caeli, forms part of the Poor Caitiff, a work comprising a series of tracts, which has been ascribed to Richard Rolle, to Wycliff, and to an unknown friar. So far as I know, the earliest mss. date from the fourteenth century, and there are several of the fifteenth century. On a “spare page” at the beginning of one of the manuscripts, Harl. 2336, is the following: Dixit Episcopus Cicestrensis quod Frater Minor compilavit hunc librum in suo Defensorio. The compiler of the Harleian Catalogue from which I obtained this information, adds: “I doubt not but that this Bishop of Chichester was Reginald Pecok, who was thought to favor the Lollards, and was openly persecuted and deprived, as guilty of Heresy.” It will be seen that the Carta of the Poor Caitiff is not a charter, in spite of its name, but a tract which discusses the Charter of Christ, its component parts, etc., and urges man to be mindful of it and to study it. Its relation to the Charter of Christ has been discussed in Chapter II.

1 See Cat. of Camb. Univ. MSS., Vol. III (1858) under the description of MS. II. 6. 40, where this treatise is recorded with the title, A Charter of remission, and ascribed to Richard Rolle.

2 By Mr. Wharton, according to Cat. Harl. MSS. of Brit. Mus. 1808, under MS. 1706. I do not know where Mr. Wharton makes this statement. This is ascribed to Wycliffe also by Robert Vaughan (John de Wycliffe, D.D., 1853, Appendix, p. 533). See also Cat. of Ash. MSS. under MS. 1286, and Report Hist. MSS. Com. viii (London, 1881) App. part iii, 101, under Ashburnham MS. Add. 27d. Compare with these, Shirley, Fasciculi Zivanorum, Rolls Series (London, 1888), p. xiii, note 3 (referred to in this connection by ed. of Cat. of Stowe MSS., 1895, Vol. i, 23).

3 The two oldest of which I have record are: Ms. Ashburnham Add. 27d (See Report Hist. MSS. Com. viii. App. part iii, 101) of the fourteenth century. The others are Ms. Bod. 4 (of which I do not know the date); Mss. Ashmole 1286 (about 1400); Douce 13, 288, 322; Rawl. C. 751; Bod. 938 (See Horstman, Richard Rolle i, 3), all of the fifteenth century; Mss. Harl. 1706, 2322, 2335, 2336, 4012, of which I do not know the dates; Ms. Add. (Brit. Mus.) 30897, Ms. Stowe 38, both of the fifteenth century; Camb. Univ. MSS. Ff. 5. 45, Ff. 6. 34, II. 6. 40, Hh. 1. 12, all of the fifteenth century; Bibl. Nat. Paris, Ms. angl. 41, fol. 95* ff.

4 John Bale has the following entry concerning another charter of the fourteenth century: “Brendanus monachus et abbas Hibernus, scrip-
[Cambridge University ms. Pp. 6. 34.]

[f. 72.] A good tretys of a notable chartour of pardoun of oure lorde Ihesu crist &c. [in a different and later hand].

Eueri wise man þat cleyneþ his eritage. eiþir askeþ gret pardoun: keþþe bisili & haþ ofte mynde wpon þe chartre of his calenge | & þerfore eche man lerne to liue vertuously: & kepe & haue mynde wpon þe chartre of heuene blisse | & stodie stidfastli þe witte of þis bille: for þe pardoun þerof schal dure wipouten ende | vnderstonde wyl þat þe chartre of his eritage, & þe bulle of his euerlastinge pardoun: is oure lord ihesu crist. wrihten wip al þe myyt & vertu of god | þe parchemyn of þis heuenli chartre. is neþþer of scheep ne of calf: but it is þe body & þe blessid skyn of oure lord ihesu loomb þat neuere was spot- tid wip wem of synne | & was þere neuere skyn of scheep neþþer of calfe so sore & so hard streined on þe teynture eiþir harewe of eny parchemyn makere as was þe blessid body and skyn [f. 72b] of oure lord ihesu crist. for oure loue streined & drawen wpon þe iebat of þe cros herde neuer man fro þe biginnynge of þe world til to now. neþþer schal hens to domesdai: þat euere wriere wroht wpon scheepis skyn eiþir on calnes wip so hard & hidouse pennes. so bittirli so sore & so depe as wriht þe cursid Iewis wpon þe blessid body & swete skyn of oure lord ihesu crist. wip harde nailies. sarpe spere & sore prickinge pornes inside of here pennes | thei wriht so sore & so depe. þat þei perciden hise hondes & feet wip harde nailies: þei opendenen his herte wip a scharpe spere | þei perssiden wpon þe heu a corowne of

sit . . . Cartam coelestis hereditatis, li. 1. ‘Quisquis sapiens hereditatem vendit.’ [authority] Ex domo Michaelis Hobley.” Index Brit. Script. ed. R. L. Poole, Oxf. 1902, pp. 49-50; and Script. Illus. . . Catalogus (post. pars), Basileae, 1559, p. 236. Concerning this work, Dr. Gustav Schirmer (Zur Brendanus Legende, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 10-11) expresses the opinion that the Carta coelestis hereditatis can not be attributed to St. Brendan. I have no means of arriving at a knowledge of the contents of this charter; but it would seem to me probable that it is a version of the Carta Coelestis hereditatis. The initial sentence of the Carta of Brendanus and that in the Poor Caistff suggest a common origin, the Poor Caistff Charter beginning, in one version. “Everi wise man þat cleyneþ his eritage,” and in another (Ms. Douce 13) “Everie wise man that deyneth his heritage.”
scharpe pornes pat licli perciden to his brayn panne | be woundis vpon pat blessid bodi and swete skyn of crist: weren insidie of lettris | & as clerkis seyn & speciali seint anseile. 

ere weren vpon be blessid bodi of crist open woundis bi noumbre fyue pouesend four hundrid seuenti | fyue | pis is be noumbre of lettris: wiþ whiche oure chartre was written | bi which we moun clymne oure eritage. if we liven [f. 73] riþli: & kepe pis chartre stidfastly in mynde | be sentence & vndir-standing writen wipisne & wipoute pis blessid chartre & bodi of ihesu crist: is oure bleue | for he is be cofre in whom is closed & locen: al be tressour of witte & wisdom of god | vpon pis blessid chartre, was writen weillinge, eipir mornyngye. song & sorwe | weillinge eipir mornyngye: for sorwe of oure syannes | for be whiche zu ben helid & waschen awaye: crist god and man must suffre so hard & payneful woundis | vpon cristiis bodi 

pat is oure heuenli chartre: was writen singinge to alle pilke pat parfiteli forsaken here syannes | for be han ful medicine & helpe: þorou: vertu of the bittir woundis & precios blood of ihesu | & vpon be woundis of ihesu mai be red sorwe. to alle hem pat for false likinge & lust pat durip but a while. bynden hem-self to synne & seruage of be fend | & lesen be help of be heuenli chartre & so here heritage: & wenden blyndli to sorwo 

pat durip for euere | be laces of pis heuenli chartre: is þe biheeste of god & pat god mai not lie. for he is souereyn treuþe | þe firste laas is his [f. 73 b] biheeste: þat was dai eipir oure a synful man eipir woman leueþ here synne hooli & hertli wiþ bittir sorwe & turnep hem to him: he schal receive hem to his mercy | but eche man be war þat he tarie not longe: leat for his owne vnkyndenesse grace be taken fro him | þe secounde laas is þe ful trist þat we han þat god may not lie nepir be false of his biheeste | hereinne hangþi sikirli: oure trist of oure eritage | & bi þese two lacies hangþi þe seele of oure chartre: 

selid wiþ þe blood of þe lomb crist | þat is cristiis flesche taken | of the clennest dropes of blood in þe swettest virgine marie: 

more craftili & merueylouali. þan euere ony be. bi craft of kynde gadriþ þe wax of flouris of þe feeld | þe printe * of pis

* Transcript reads prince.
seel! is pe schap of oure lord ihesu crist hanglege for oure synne on pe cros. as we moun se bi pe ymage of pe crucifix | he hap his heed bowid don; redi to kisse alle pilke pat verili turnen to him he hap hise armes spred abrood; redi to biclippe hem | he is nailed caste foot & honde to pe crosse; for he wole duelle wip [f. 74] hem & neuere wende awey fro man; but if man forsake him first porouj synne | he hap al his bodi spred abrood: to seue himself hoolly to vs cleuynge to him | vitterli he hap his side opened: & his herte cloue for or oure sake | so pat wipoute lettinge we moun crepe in to cristis herte & reste porouj stidfast bileue & herti loue | pis chartre may not flīr brene ne watir drenche; neipir peef robb neipir ony creature distrioie | for pis scripture pe fadir of heuene hap halewid eipir maad stidfast | & sente it into pe world; pe whiche scripture mai not be vndo as pe gospel witnesi? | pis scripture is oure lord ihesu crist; chartre & bulle of oure eritage of heuene | Locke not pis chartre in pi coffre; but sette it eipir write it in pin herte | & alle pe creatures in heuene neipir in helle moun not robbe it neipir bireue it fro pe. but if thou wolt pi self assentinge to synne | & if thou kepist weel pis chartre in pe coffre of pin herte wip good liuynge & denote loue lastinli to pin ende | as tristeli & treuli as he is trewe [f. 74b] god! porouj vertu of hise chartre thou schelt haue pin eritage of blisse duringe wipouten ende. . . .
GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL WORDS

BS = Bradley-Stratmann's Mid. Eng. Dict. BT = Bosworth and Toller's Old Eng. Dict. NED = New Eng. Dict. A = Long Charter, A-Text; B = Long Charter, B-Text. The numbers refer to lines in the texts. The glossary aims only at furnishing a convenient record of unusual terms and of special meanings of common words, and the above authorities have been freely used in compiling it.

abye: infin. [OE. a + bycgan], suffer, pay the penalty. B 66.
als-tyte (-tite): see as-tyte.
a-party (-i): adv. [from a prep. + party > Fr. partie], in part, somewhat, a little. A 199.
as-tyte (-tite; also spelled erroneously -tight(e), tyste, tyht, etc., cf. NED): adv. [North. as + tite Scand. cf. ON. títt, frequently, etc.], immediately. B 14.
bykepe: noun [perhaps from OE. by-cwíde, proverb, fable, tale <ME. by-qwíde, biy-cwíde, also spelled bequéde, biqwethe, becwede, etc.? bequeat. A, ms. G 209. Bykeye (-kaye) of the other mss. of A is probably intended for the same word.
by-keye (-kaye): probably intended for bykepe, q. v.
betought: vb., 3. sing. pret. [OE. betācan], to entrust, commit, give in charge to. B 377.
demed: vb. 1. sing. pret. [OE. dēman], to decree, ordain, appoint. A, ms. IK 15.
demytted: vb. 1. sing. pret. [Lat. dēmittēre, cf. OFr. demetre], fig. sig., to humble, abase. But the NED gives no example of this word earlier than 16th cent., and of this meaning none before 17th cent. A 15.
feld (fondede): vb. 3. sing. pret. [OE. fandian, þefandian], to test, put to the proof, tempt, try. A 29.
fondede: see fand.
fray: noun [aphetic from affray, effray > OFr. effre, esfrei], assault, attack. A 196.

hende: adv. [appar. an aphetic form of OE. gehende], courteous, kindly, gently. B 92.


neb: noun [OE. nebb], face. A 83.

piht (pyht, y-piht, y-pyht, etc.); vb. pp. [ME. picche (n) prob. from OE. *pīcci(ē)an of 1st wk. cl., pret. *pīhte. The NED says there is no recorded instance of this word in OE., nor in cognate languages], placed, set, driven into the ground, set up, etc. A 75, 161; B 247.


qued: noun [early ME. cuead, cued, cuad — O. Fris. quad, etc.], the evil (one), the devil, a meaning derived from the adjective qued(-e) evil, wicked. B 82.

scryt(e): noun [aphetic from OFr. escrit], a writing, written document. A 193.

sesyng (saying, etc.): verbal noun [OFr. saisir, saisir], the act of taking possession of, investing or establishing in a holding. A 24, 25, 34, 105; B 39, 50, 53, 185.


stī: noun [ON. steði], anvil, stithy.


wen (wēne?): adj. [OE. (or-)wāna = Goth. (us-)wōna, ON. vōna, OHG. (ur-)wani], hopeful, beautiful. BS gives but one example of this word, in the comparative degree. Cf. p. xcv. A, mss. F, G 90. In OE. BT records the form wōn-īc, fair, handsome, comely.
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