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THE THREE KINGS OF COLOGNE:

a diplomatic edition of the unabridged English version of

John of Hildesheim's *Historia trium Regum*

in

Durham MS Hunter 15,

with

a reconstruction of the translator's Latin text on facing pages

based on Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 275,

and a study of the manuscript tradition

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Eng^1 = witness of the standard Three Kings of Cologne *

Eng^2 = witness of the Lambeth Three Kings of Cologne *

Eng^R = the exemplar used by the R-editor *

G = London, B.L., Cotton Galba E VIII

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O = the "common text" of HTR, as printed in Hm. *

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* reconstructed witness

The Latin witnesses relevant to 3KCol.

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NOTES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

No other witness preserves the Table of Contents.

In this section we are presented with a summary of the work in 44 chapters.

f. 1a

1ff. Much of the first page (f. 1a and f. 1b) and parts of the next pages are difficult or impossible to read due to blackening; the bracketed restorations represent a best guess, and should be treated with considerable caution.

The Table of Contents is an addition of the F-editor (as signalled by the use of boldface type in the facing Latin text). The matter was taken directly from the Latin Table of Contents, and some discrepancies are found between the entries and the main text (see further the note at 1b15-19 below).

The notes for the Table of Contents will largely be confined to textual matters, comment on the content being reserved for the relevant notes to the main text.

7. ly.htned. This is probably to be read lyghtned, compare illustratus (as in Luke 2:32, "a light to lighten the Gentiles"); see MED lightnen v.(1), esp. 3.(b), 6.

f. 1b

15-19. This is apparently the entry for ch.7. The Latin refers to '. . . Herod the alien and the double prophecy of Daniel . . .'. Two prophecies are in fact quoted in the text, but only one is attributed to Daniel, the other being cited unambiguously as the words of the patriarch Jacob. This and other discrepancies with the main text may indicate that the Table of Contents was a later addition and not the work of the author himself.

f. $1^{v}a$

1. been descry.ed: describuntur 'are described'. The most likely reconstruction is descryued or descryved; the verb appears elsewhere in our text (e.g. 7a3,4) -- MED s.v. descriven v., cf. descrien v.

9. from her Cu...e and her londe: de terra sua. The context and the Latin suggest that the partly legible word is to be read Cuntre.

15. there Danyel was. This is an elaboration by the translator, evidently based on his knowledge of the context and/or his previous perusal of the main text; the equivalent does not appear in the Latin (but cf. C's reading).

f. 1^{V}b

1. of the newe. As the translator's exemplar, i.e. the Latin before the translator (henceforth "the exemplar"), would most likely have read noue legis, the English is presumably to be completed of the newe lawe (both CC's legitur and G's letis are obviously corrupt; O reads nostre legis 'of our law').

3. Ierusalem. This is a mistake for 'Bethlehem'.

9. the allegorye of th[e] ȝiftes (in the Latin, 'the three gifts') of thise iij holy kynges. The theme of threeness (three kings with three gifts, of three ages, heights, etc.) is a recurrent motif in the work.

13. The English translation here reflects the text that would have stood in the exemplar. However the original Latin, as represented by Hm.'s common text (O), has a fuller entry for this chapter summary, referring to the description in the main text of the place where Christ was born, and the clothes he and Mary were wearing.

(The readings of O are printed in the bottom register of variants to the Latin text. Henceforth only the more significant deviations of the exemplar from the original Latin will be discussed in NOTES.)

14. disposynge: disposicione. The senses 'disposition', 'constitution' given in MED s.v. disposinge ger. (c), (d) seem the most appropriate among those listed; however the description in the main text might imply a somewhat broader sense. In general, judging by MED s.vv. disposicioun n., disposing(e ger., the latter would seem to be a less common synonym for the former (which also, as for example at 3a14, translates disposicio). If that is the case, then some of the definitions of the former might be valid for the latter; specifically, the sense 'nature or state resulting from a certain combination of elements or factors' -- MED s.v. disposicioun n. 4.(a) -- seems appropriate in the present context.

20. No equivalent appears for the remainder of the original chapter entry. As there is no reason to suppose the text in the exemplar was corrupt or wanting, it may be that the translator was confused by the unfamiliar technical term tropologia, or else felt unequal to formulating an adequate English equivalent; compare the end of the next sentence, where no specific equivalent appears for tipus, another difficult technical term.

23. fel at to poudre. This would appear to be the reading of the MS. However there is no entry for a compound verb fel at in MED s.v. fallen v., and the text is probably to be emended to read fel al, on the analogy of parallels such as c1390(?c1350) Jos.Arim. 384: þenne Ioseph . . . strikes to þis Appolin with a strong wille, þat his nekke to-barst and brak al to poudre -- MED s.v. poudre n.[1] 2.(a).

23ff. and of the stone in the mount . . . The exemplar may have been somewhat corrupt here, but the translation reproduces in general terms the reference to the well known story of 'the stone that was cut out of the hill' (compare 80/9 and 78/34n).

f. 2a

1. at her costys: 'at their expense' -- see MED s.v. cost n. 1. But the Latin has sumptuose, literally 'extravagantly' though here perhaps 'at great expense' -- cf. sumptu regio 'at regal expense', which is represented by the same phrase at line 7 below. Assuming the translator intended to render the Latin with an English phrase of similar force, this might imply that in certain contexts the ME phrase could have a rather stronger sense than its literal meaning (compare ModE 'to their cost').

7. form: '(artistic) image, likeness'. Of the possible ME meanings the description in the main text favours this nuance (OED s.v. form sb. 2 'an image, representation or likeness') over OED sense 3, 'a body considered in respect to its outward shape and appearance' (for which we find shap as equivalent at 2b22 below). Actually the Latin forma does not really include the former nuance; but O has forma ymaginis pueri at this point, with clear reference to an imitation or copy.

The accusative formam suggests that the form of the Chylde is intended as the object of make, coordinate with chapel, rather than as a separate clause dependent on telleth.

15. the fleynge in to Egypte: fuga domini in egipto. The translation is less precise than the original, perhaps because the whole family fled -- similarly the following eiusdem domini fugientis is left untranslated.

23. pans: denarijs. The question why they been clepyd pans [argentei 'silver (coins)'] at 2b1 is discussed in the main text (250/22-24; cf. 100/17-23).

24. at diuerse tyme. The last word may be a scribal slip for times. But the use of the singular after diuerse seems common enough -- see MED s.v. divers(e adj. 2.(a) -- and may have been patterned on phrases like many (a) time -- OED s.v. time sb. 18.

30. sheephierde. This translation of Bodewini is a clear indication that the F-editor had read the main text before he embarked on his translation of the Table of Contents.

f. 2b

5. how they make her knyghtes: the Latin has quomodo inde milites fiunt, perhaps 'how they become knights on the basis of this', sc. bona 'wealth'.

20. wente hym self: either the pronoun is in appositional use ('how he himself went . . .'), or is reflexive, the verb being used in the sense of OED s.v. wend v. 4. refl. 'turn, direct, betake (oneself)'. The Latin se transtulit favours the latter interpretation.

36. and why he is clepyd Iohn: the loss of the following et de potestate patriarche et presbiteri Iohannis 'and of the power of the patriarch and of Prester John' would be easier to account for by homoeoteleuton in the English than in the Latin.

f. 2^{V}a

4-10. Due to loss of text two chapter summaries in the original have been condensed into one.

31. the Citee of the same place: de situ eorum[dem] locorum. A mistranslation of situ 'situation' by Citee would be an unusual blunder. Perhaps a more likely culprit is the scribe. Had the translator rendered situ by the analogous site, at this period a neologism, this might have been misinterpreted as a variant spelling of the more familiar cite -- the latter having been in English from the early 13thC; MED s.v. sit(e n.(2) gives c1380 for the earliest citation, and cites a comparable example of confusion between sitee and site.

35. hir: judging by columpna prope ipsam, this refers to the chapel. The gender of the pronoun here and elsewhere (eg. 28^{V}b30n) appears to be determined by that in the original language.

f. 2^{V}b

8. of cristene feith. For the absence of the definite article compare MED s.v. Cristen adj. & n. 2.(b), c1475(1438) Beckett(1) 271: She askid of hym of the rule of cristen feith.

18. and other reliques. The phrase is syntactically awkward. As it stands reliques could be taken as the coordinate object of leyde. But other has no equivalent in the Latin; moreover the equivalent of de disposicione ecclesie sancte Sophie et does not appear in the English, possibly due to homoeoteleuton loss. The explanation may be that the original version of the passage was (. . . leyde hem in the chirche of seint Sophie) and of the disposicioun of the chirche of seint Sophie and of her reliques -- de disposicione ecclesie sancte Sophie et reliquis -- but subsequent to the loss of of the disposicioun . . . and, the remaining words were altered to and other reliques.

27. and how. The word and is apparently a secondary addition.

35. of diuerse cristene men . . . and of scismatikes. However the original sense was 'of various schismatic Christians'.

f. 3a

3. erroures and customes of the londe of Ermonye. The original sense would be more apparent if the scribe had punctuated after customes; erroures and customes is coordinate with the preceding distinctions, and of the londe of Ermonye begins a new phrase (the Latin should be punctuated thus: Et ponuntur . . . nomina diuersorum cristianorum transmarinorum scismaticorum[que]; et distincciones religionis cuiusque secte, et errores ac ritus. De terra Armenie, et de . . .).

8. hate of. Here again, punctuation between these two words would better reflect the original sense.

12. fro the mount of seint Macharie: de monte sancti Macharij. This is a possible translation; but the context suggests that de means 'concerning' rather than 'from', and introduces a new phrase.

14. of Iordan fro the springinge. The equivalent Latin is somewhat difficult; however the English corresponds generally in sense.

17. and of serpentes: this is an explanatory detail added by the translator.

25. of certeyne custome: 'of a certain custom'; for the absence of article, compare MED s.v. certain adj. 3.(a), (1390) Chaucer CT.Mil.A.3494: After wol I speke, in pryuetee, Of certein thyng that toucheth me and thee.

27. the book Calmith and Messye. Judging by MED s.v. Messias n., the word and concept Messye were already familiar at this period; but as there is no entry before the 16thC in OED s.v. Talmud (strictly the body of traditional Jewish law, and not a book as such), this may be the first occurence of the word in English. However in the present context the sense of the name does not seem to have been clearly apprehended; indeed the translator may have taken Calmith and Messye to be the title of a book. The original sense of the entry was 'about the book Talmud, and the Messiah who is to come' (O: messie venturo). In actual fact only the former is discussed in the main text; the passage concerning the Messiah and other matter relating to the Jews is omitted -- see 29^{v}a2n.

f. 3b

1. were taken and kilde. The construction is awkard. The words were taken translate the active oppugnauerunt, 'they (the Tartars) took (T. and B.)', so and kilde is a syntactic anacoluthon -- perhaps in the sense 'were taken and (how they) killed', or '(how T. and B. were taken) and killed (was the) Caliph'.

7. ynde tarye. The first of these words is apparently written over an erasure of Tar, the remaining letters being underpuncted. The original -- accurately reproduced by the translator -- erroneously describes 'Dauid' as 'the son of the king of the Tartars', whereas in the main text he figures as the eldest son of Prester John. It would seem that the scribe first copied the passage with the reading Tartarye but subsequently noticed the discrepancy, and so, with the minimum of alteration, substituted the more accurate term ynde (since Prester John could in a sense be described as 'King of Inde').

17. been rehersed. The translation does not reproduce the sense of the commonly received reprobantur. But reprobantur may be a corruption, for the main text shows that the miracles of St. Thomas are not really 'rejected' or 'condemned'. The translator perhaps decided after perusal of the full text that the reading here was inappropriate, and substituted a more acceptable equivalent.

24. in the citee of Sewille. These words have no equivalent in the Latin. Perhaps they represent an attempt at clarification on the part of the translator, or an inadvertent repetition on the part of the scribe (compare in sewille at line 26 below).

29. and othere thynges: et aliorum, properly 'and other persons'. Perhaps the exemplar had a reading aliis.

31. fro..es: presumably frogges (rane).

32. wexeth. The present plural ending -eth is an rare variant form in this text (see further INTRODUCTION 12.8).

36. The remaining portion of the Table of Contents (from et quomodo in vinea) is left untranslated. This may indicate a corresponding abbreviation of the main text. The MS ends imperfectly, but the notion receives support from calculations based on the complementary loss of text at the beginning of the following work (see INTRODUCTION 11.3).

CHAPTER 1

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS (KDO wanting):

f. 3^{V}a 1 Incipit primum Capitulum] om. Y, anom. A, anom. R, anom. T, anom. E, anom. B, anom. N. 2 Itthe] seth YAT, And for as moche as R, om. B, anom. E, anom. N; thise] add thre YART, anom. E, the thre B, anom. N; worshipeful] add and glorious YR. 25 the] this Y?ATE. 35 crist the sone of god] the sunne crist Y?ARET(BN).

The main text begins with this introductory chapter in praise of the Three Kings.

f. 3^{V}a

1. The witness of the abridged tradition becomes available from this point (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS at the beginning of each chapter of NOTES).

The words Incipit primum Capitulum are an addition of the F-editor (as signalled by the bold type in the facing Latin): the unabridged text follows the Latin, not the abridgement, in its chapter numeration. In the abridged tradition a variety of incipits appear (see APPARATUS), none with any special claim to originality, and chapter numeration begins at the next chapter. Our second chapter thus corresponds to the abridged first chapter, and the abridged chapter numeration remains one behind the unabridged version for the time being.

(No further note on this matter will be made either in SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS or NOTES except where irregularities in the pattern occur. Among the abridged witnesses Q is exceptional in preserving the same chapter numeration as our MS; this is presumably the result of independent revision by the scribe, John Shirley.)

2ff. The general theme of this introductory chapter corresponds with the summary given in the Table of Contents (unreadable in our MS), viz. sicut oriens illustratus est per fidem trium regum magorum qui cristum viuentes in carne adorauerunt, sic occidens ornatur eorumdem magorum reliquis venerandis, i.e. 'as the East is illuminated by the faith of the Three Kings, so the West is adorned by their relics'. But the language poses many problems. The obscurity arises not so much from corruption -- there is substantial agreement between the witnesses in both the Latin and English traditions -- as from translator's struggles to make sense of the often difficult original and to find suitable English equivalents.

The syntactic complexity of the original is a major difficulty. In the original the whole chapter is one unbroken sentence, in which the main clause, corresponding to the final lines in the English (3^{v}b7-10), is preceded by a complex series of coordinate or parenthetic subordinate clauses, the explicit connections between which are often rather vague. This perhaps accounts for the freedom with which the corresponding transitions are handled in the English.

The figurative and rhetorical language is another problem. For example the Rising Sun is no doubt at one level a reference to the birth of Christ, but the expression at times seems to be employed in a more literal sense. In fact the translation tends to make the figurative interpretation more explicit, for example at 3^{V}a22 (the berthe of crist the verray sonne: ipsum ortum solis) and, with rather less justification, at 3^{V}a34 (in the birþe of crist the sone of god, var. the sunne crist: in solis ortu). (It is perhaps not surprising to find further elaborations of this theme in the secondary witnesses; thus (3^{V}a25)the goynge doun of the sonne may be a reference to Christ's death, but in H we find this interpretaton made more explicit by the addition of by suffering deth.)

Generally the translator's approach to the difficulties is straightforward but flexible. Where the original yields clear and unambiguous sense, the corresponding translation is accurate, even skilful. Where the sense is less clear, the translator tends either to opt for one unambiguous interpretation, or else to omit the passage altogether.

All the same in this particular chapter his hand sometimes shows signs of a lack of confidence, for example in an untypically close adherence to the Latin word order. Indeed there is a general impression of lack of finish, a sign perhaps that the translation never received a final revision. On the other hand one might argue that the blemishes are no more obvious than those in many ME translations; in any case the overworked metaphors and unclear connectives in the original would try the best translator.

2. of thise worshipeful kynges. The translation condenses the original venerandorum trium Magorum immo verius trium regum gloriosissimorum (alluding to the identification of the Magi as Kings). Originally the English read 'three' after thise. However, the addition and glorious in YR is an instance of independent revision against the Latin characteristic of the Y-text.

8. ther fore. It is hard to see how this represents the corresponding Latin word sed 'but'; however, as previously noted, connectives are very loosely used in this passage in the Latin, and the translator's equivalents probably make as much sense as those in the original. In any case according to Workman connectives are very freely used in English prose of this period.

(Workman, Samuel K. Fifteenth century translation as an influence on English prose. Princeton University Studies in English 18. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1940.)

9. þis worlde shyneth. It seems as if the translator has taken mundus in the preceding clause as one of the subjects of the verb prefulget, a possible though not a necessary interpretation (the exemplar would have had K's reading prout ortus solis rather than ortus solis prout.)

(It should be noted that above the dotted line in the Latin apparatus, K is a covering siglum for K and D, the two exemplars closest to the translator's; the numerous independent readings of D are reported only when of special relevance to the English -- see INTRODUCTION 6.4.2.)

15. The original suggests that the phrase crist verray god and man (verum deum et hominem) is intended as the object of the verbs soughten and worshipeden.

16. ȝiftes that were bodily and in menynge goostly: muneribus veris et misticis; the translation is a neat rendering of the original.

19. of myscreantes . . . the ferste byleuynge men. The Three Kings were traditionally regarded as the type or 'first-fruit' of the gentile conversion (primicie gencium, a phrase which goes back to St. Augustine -- for citations see Kaplan 22/n21).

22-32. the berthe . . . expressed. This is perhaps the most difficult passage in the chapter (and probably accounts for its omission in the R-text). The original suggests that the berthe of crist the verray sonne is the object of (23)shewed and halwed (for the latter in the sense 'honoured as holy' see MED s.v. halwen 2.(a); T reads honoured. shewed is added perhaps to ease the transition to the indirect object). One explanation for first . . . to mysbyleuynge men is that the translator took gencium primicijs together as an indirect object. The transition

and (so goynge doun . . .) seems unusually harsh and may be an instance of archetypal corruption; in the Latin the equivalent of the phrase goynge doun of the sonne is in the accusative, so the phrase in English is presumably object, though whether of shewed and halwed or of some other verb is unclear (the Latin is particularly obscure at this point). The phrase in the byleue of thise iij kynges perhaps derives from per fidem (gencium) in the preceding clause. The translation condenses the remainder of the passage; therefore it is not clear whether the verbs shewed and expressed correspond to ornauerunt or to approbauerunt (if to either), nor how the Kings could meaningfully be said to have expressed (?'symbolised' -- see below) the goynge doun of the sonne.

Hm. postulates a lacuna between maneres and shewed (2/26); but this is perhaps unnecessary. The original metaphor is so overstrained -- the 'setting' of the sun like a 'dawning' against its 'rising' -- that it is not surprising to discover no great coherence in the translation.

28. weder: auram (see the Latin apparatus; for the ML sense 'weather' see RMLW s.v. aura).

(RMLW. Revised Medieval Latin word-list. Ed. R.E. Latham. London: Oxford UP for the British Academy, 1965.)

32. expressed: 'represented symbolically', 'symbolised', according to MED s.v. expressen 6.(b), citing our passage as well as (a1449) Lydg.Letab.236: Of colour Reed, which colour doth expresse Cristes hooly blood. However MED's definition may be overly precise in the present context. Given the difficulties in the passage, it is not clear that the nuance of the verb can be defined unambiguously; nor does the collocation shewed and expressed do much to narrow the definition, given the wide variety of senses of the ME verb shewen.

33ff. In 3^{V}a33-b3 the translator seems to have taken in solis ortu (in the birþe of crist) -- and presumably also in occasu solis (cf. what they dede after) -- in a figurative and temporal sense ('in the Rising of the Sun', ie. at (the time of) the birth of Christ), as at line 22, and the clause que in occasu . . . as an elliptic clause parallel to the previous one. However it is also possible (by taking these phrases in a local sense, and the que clause as a relative clause dependent on quam plurima) to produce a more concrete interpretation, along the lines 'Forasmuch as in the East, where the Three Kings passed their lives, much has been written about them which remains unknown here in the West'. This alternative interpretation is perhaps more plausible: it fits the context equally well, and also incorporates an allusion to the author's claims to have used Eastern literary sources unlikely to be familiar in the West.

35. crist the sone of god. The reading of our MS can be explained as a trivialisation of the variant reading of the abridged tradition, the sunne crist, which continues the dominant metaphor.

36. is ofte writen and openliche: i.e. 'has often been narrated and is generally accessible'. Some MSS make the sense more explicit by the addition after openliche of shewed (T), or declaryd (B).

f. 3^{v}b

8. here been writen. At this point the original adds the words vestro iussu 'at your bidding', a reference explicable in the light of the preceding dedication to Florentius of Wevelinghoven, bishop of Münster, which some Latin MSS -- though not those most closely related to the translator's exemplar -- preserve after the Table of Contents (Hm. 211; see INTRODUCTION 1 passim).

CHAPTER 2

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS (KD wanting initially, O wanting):

f. 3^{v}b 14 the] om. YART, lac. BN. 22 he] om. YARTBN; folkes] folke YART, pepille BN. 23 contened] add fullich YARTEB.
f. 4a 9 for] of KYARTEB. 10 the] om. KT, a YR, an AE. 26 and] add in KYARTEN. 32 Sobab] Sabob KYARTDEBN?.

The story of the Three Kings begins with the prophecies of Balaam.

f. 3^{v}b

11ff. In the book of Numbers (22-24), Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab, fearing the Israelites who have come up from Egypt and are encamped on his border, seeks to persuade Balaam to come and pronounce a curse on the Israelite host. Balaam sets out riding on an ass, but his path is barred by an angel (see 4a10) with a flaming sword. The angel is at first visible only to Balaam's ass, which shies and, in response to repeated blows from its rider, utters words of protest in a human voice (10a5). The angel speaks to Balaam, and when the time for uttering curses comes, Balaam instead pronounces a blessing on Israel, extolling her might and prophesying her future greatness.

The story has internal inconsistencies, and later Jewish tradition portrayed Balaam as an enemy of Israel (Peake p.265). However Christian tradition took a favorable view of him because of the perceived reference in his prophecy to a star of messianic significance (4a3-5), and in our narrative he is given the complimentary (non-biblical) titles of 'priest' and 'prophet'. On the other hand a less intimate connection is drawn here between Balaam and the Magi than in other traditions, which asserted that the Magi were descendents of Balaam (Remigius; see 311/n2/12), or disciples of his (Origen), or even that Balaam himself was a magus (Basil the Great).

Among medieval depictions of Balaam as the foreteller of Jesus was one on the 14thC ceiling of St. Michael's chapel at Hildesheim (EJ s.v. Balaam, In the Arts) -- possibly the immediate source of inspiration for John of Hildesheim.

(EJ. Encyclopaedia Judaica. Ed. Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Widoger. 16 vols. Jerusalem: Keter, 1972.

Peake. Peake's Commentary on the Bible. Gen. ed. Matthew Black. London: Nelson, 1962.)

14. Madian: 'Midian' (the ME spelling reflects the Latin). In fact Balaam's origins are uncertain. At Num. 31:8 he is mentioned as being among the Midianites slain by the Israelites; but at Num. 22:4-8 the king sends "the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian" with gifts to Balaam at "Pethor which is by the river of the land of the children of his people" (this river is identified with the Euphrates).

15. amonge alle othere þynges: perhaps 'in particular'; compare 5a3, where a similar phrase translates inter que precipue.

16ff. The Vulgate reads: Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israel; et percutiet duces Moab, vastabitque omnes filios Seth. . . . De Jacob erit qui dominetur, et perdat reliquias ciuitatis (Num. 24:17, 19). However the text appears in its present form in the Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum, the source of many non-scriptural elements in our story (see INTRODUCTION 3.1 etc.).

Balaam's prophecy is echoed in Gen. 49:10. For the significance of these passages in Jewish astrological interpretations see Hughes 132-33. Some commentators have called attention to the fact that the evangelist did not cite this and other similar OT passages in the context of his description of the Star; see Hughes 9-10.

(Hughes, David. The Star of Bethlehem mystery. London: Dent, 1979).

23. contened. The abridged versions add fulli(ch) (. . . plenius continetur).

34. Balaam was a paynym. . . . As a gentile prophet prophesying to gentiles, Balaam is a precursor of the Three Kings who of myscreantes were the ferste byleuynge men and first shewed and halwed (the berthe of crist) to mysbyleuynge men (3^{V}a19-24).

f. 4a

9. shewede to Balaam: ?'made a demonstration to Balaam'. But the use of the verb without a direct object seems unprecedented (the idiomatic intransitive sense 'appeared to' would fit awkwardly with the context and the Latin). The anomalous usage is most likely the result of word for word translation of the text in the exemplar, which was already somewhat corrupt (O has magnam dilectionem et premunicionem, meaning that God showed 'great love and forewarning' to Balaam by sending him these signs).

10. the aungel. Whereas our MS has the, KT omit the article, YR read a, and AE read an. It may be that at an early stage the text was corrupted to by aungel, after which some witnesses independently supplied various versions of an article. On the other hand the Latin has per suum angelum, which might have led us to expect by his aungel.

21. of whom the Iewes . . . take kepe of. Actually Jewish teaching was divided on the subject of Job: opinions on his origins and significance differed, but by no means all the rabbis were disparaging (EJ s.v. Job, the Book of).

The story of Job, though influential in Christian tradition in various ways (perhaps in particular owing to the perceived messianic reference at Job 19:25), has no direct bearing on that

of the Magi; it would seem that Job's appearance in the present context simply represents a continuation of the polemical theme. The further reference to St. Paul follows from the local connection with Job's resting place.

28ff. The scriptural authority for Job's origins is Job 1.1: Vir erat in terra Hus, nomine Job. However the precise location of Uz (L Hus, ME Vs) is not known, despite our author's assertions; see also Gen. 36:28.

This passage, and indeed the whole chapter, furnishes some interesting insights into the question of the author's sources.

The continuity of the argument might lead one to assume that all the material derives from one source, namely the evidently polemic texts alluded to at 3^{v}b26,33. Reference to Jewish sources are found at other points in the work, and accord with the author's own statement (at 5b2) that his sources included bokes writen in hebrew and caldee. Unless these references are completely fictitious, there is a prima facie case for believing that some such source(s) stood behind the material in this part of the present chapter. However as no studies on the subject are available, this line of inquiry leads no further.

The matter later in the chapter proves more amenable to investigation. We have seen (INTRODUCTION 3.3) that the sources of the author's account of contemporary life and conditions in the East are quite well documented. In particular, Ludolf of Sudheim's account of his travels in the Holy Land often has close parallels with the "descriptive" matter in HTR.

In the present passage we find two relevant parallels in Ludolf. The first is a reference to a village called Sabab:

> At the foot of this castle [of Montreal] is a village called Sabab, wherein dwell more than six thousand Christians, earnestly looking for the Redeemer of the Holy Land. (129).

However, the location of the village near the castle would place it, on the basis of Ludolf's own description, east of the Dead Sea, and thus hardly in Syrie (except in so much as we have Ludolf's own statement that "Syria" figured in contemporary usage as a name for Judaea -- see Ludolf 97, cf. HTR 280/n21-22); nor is any explicit connection drawn between the village and Job.

However in another passage describing the land where "the Jordan divides Galilee from Idumaea", it is stated that one finds there many villages and places not mentioned in scripture, including:

> a village where Job is buried. It was near this village that St. Paul was cast down and converted, and it stands about one day's journey distant from Damascus. (Ludolf 128)

The verbal parallels with our text are undeniable. However this is the extent of the reference: there is no mention of the name of the village, nor any support for our author's identification of Job's resting place with the village Sabab.

Two points of interest emerge regarding the relations between our work and its sources.

The first is that in spite of the undeniable parallels, there are details and connections in HTR which cannot be accounted for on the assumption that the author of HTR used Ludolf alone, at least not in the form in which this source has been transmitted to us. It may be that the two authors

independently used each other's, or related, sources. Ludolf himself tells us that he made use of written and oral sources to supplement his own observations (Ludolf 2). Indeed, it is clear that there is material in common between Ludolf and the other "source" of HTR, the Book of Cologne (see INTRODUCTION 3.3.2).

A second observation is that for all the superficial continuity of argument in the chapter, there is no reason to assume that the author took all his material from the same source. Indeed, whatever the source of the material relating to the controversies between Jews and Christian, it is more likely that it was not the same as the source for the Ludolf-like material, Ludolf's work being primarily descriptive rather than polemical. This suggests that in investigating the sources care should taken not to underestimate the artifice with which HTR was composed; we shall see elsewhere that passages which give the impression of homogeneity may actually derive from a variety of sources skilfully blended into a smooth and continuous narrative.

32. Sobab; the other MSS preserve the spelling Sabob(be), as in the exemplar, though the original Latin had Sabab, on the evidence of Ludolf the original form. The name is not biblical, in spite of the author's implication at 4a29-32. Similarly the felde (line 36) and its location are not mentioned in Acts, which simply states that Saul's conversion took place as he "came near Damascus" on the road from Jerusalem (Acts 8, 9).

33. ix dayes iournay. The archetypal reading ix presumably derives from a primitive corruption of a, as the Latin reads fere per vnam dietam, and Hm. 6/n1 emends accordingly. However R's almost a dayes iorneye is almost certainly a later emendation by the R-editor, who corrected and supplemented his text by reference to a Latin exemplar (see INTRODUCTION 9.6, 10.3.3).

A similar independent emendation from the Latin is below at 4b3, where the R-text is exceptional in reading, in place of no of his wordes, neþer of Job (compare et beatum Job). The emendation to the verso text in Hm. ne of Iob (6/n3) implies the editor considered that R's reading was original, but later altered to ne of his woordes; however there is no reason not to retain the latter phrase (which may represent a translation of et dicta), as R's emendations have no archetypal authority.

For 4b1 Also, R has And so (Itaque), and the verso text is emended accordingly (6/n2). However the variation here may simply be lexical, as MED s.v. also adv. 1.(b) shows that the equivalence also: itaque is elsewhere attested.

CHAPTER 3

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS (O wanting):

f. 4b 13 and drede] om. KYARTDEB. 25 of the] and BN, or the YR. 26 the(2)] om. KYARTDBN. 31 made] add a KYARTDEB. 32 made] add a KYARTDEB.
f. 4^{v}a 23 that] the YARTDEBN. 25 of] add the KYARTDEBN.

This chapter tells of a high mountain in the East suitable both for military observation and star watching, and of a family connected with this mountain.

f. 4b

12. to sette a$_{3}$eyns hem: this is a plausible translation of contra eos . . . manu[s] mittere , a expression with no exact precedent -- cf. Lewis and Short s.v. manus II. A.; the passage is a crux in the original.

(Lewis, Charlton T, and Charles Short. A Latin dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879.)

13. fere and drede. Our MS perhaps echoes Dt 11:25, "There shall no man be able to stand before you; for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as he hath said unto you". But the ME doublet was in common use -- see MED s.vv. fere n., dred(e n.

14. an hille that was cleped Vaus. The ultimate origin of this motif may be the mammoth ziggurat temples used by Babylonian priests for star gazing (see Hughes 131); however the most immediate parallel is found in the Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum. The brief account in Op.Imperf. echoes our work at many points: the watch kept by the twelve astronomers (magi) for the Star prophesied by Balaam upon a Mons Victorialis (compare our mount of victorie), details of the description of the mountain (eg. as electis arboribus amoenissimus), the rise and nature of the Star (habens in se formam quasi pueri parvuli et super se similitudinem crucis, et locuta est eis), the journey of the Magi to Judea, their return, and their eventual baptism by St. Thomas.

There are, however, significant differences. Details peculiar to HTR are the alternative name Vaus for the mountain; its original function as a military observation point, and its historical connection with the period of the Israelite Exodus; its surpassing height; and certain other features (e.g., in ch.5, the chapel on the summit and its golden star).

The explanation may be that the account in HTR is a conflation of two traditions. In the first tradition, preserved in Op.Imperf., the mountain was known only by the name "Mount of Victory", whereas in a second tradition it was referred to by the name "Vaus". Our text preserves both versions (4b15-17). The Vaus-tradition does not survive elsewhere. However the connection made at 4^{V}a26ff would imply that this tradition derives from the author's alleged sources, viz. the books on the Three Kings once in the possession of the Vaus family.

15. Vaus . . . the hille of victorie. Speculation on the origins of the name is contained in MV 22ff; see further at 4^{V}a26ffn.

18. the warde and the kepynge. It is unclear whether the nouns are being used in a concrete sense ('guards' were stationed) -- OED ward sb.^{2} IV. 12, 13; MED keping(e ger. 4.(c), or a verbal sense ('guarding' was instituted) -- OED ward sb.^{2} I. 1; MED keping(e ger. 4.(a). The verb ordeyned would be appropriate in either case -- MED ordeinen v. 4.(c) and 4.(a) respectively.

25. countree of the kyngdome of ynde: cf. partes et regna indorum, which might suggest that BN, whose readings are generally inferior, has for once preserved the original text with contre and kyngdom of ynde; but this reading is most likely simply one among the countless examples of stylistic modification in this branch of the tradition. Y's plausible reading or the is presumably also secondary.

35. The Latin goes on to explain how a signal received from one quarter was transmitted by the watch to all the lower hills.

f. 4^{V}a

3. made hem redy to aȝeyn stonde: a parallel for this phrase is a1425(c1395) WBible(2) Judith 5.1: The children of Israel maden redi hem silf to aȝenstonde -- MED s.v. ayen-stonden v. (c).

10. grete lordes: this is a mistranslation of the idiomatic maiores natu 'elders'.

12. to se that sterre. The equivalent -- K's variant -- no doubt stood in the translator's exemplar, but the original states that the people '(greatly longed for) the fulfilment of the prophecy'.

19. in the eyre or in the firmament: the original has 'in the air, heaven (celo), or firmament'. Strictly speaking a distinction can be made between these three synonyms in terms of medieval cosmology -- although in the present context the accumulation of synonyms may represent no more than a rhetorical device characteristic of the author's style. It was customary in the Middle Ages to distinguish a variety of heavens. An early distinction was between the heaven (celum) created on the first day and the firmamentum brought forth on the second day. The sublunary region was divided into further heavens, including an elemental sphere of air. In Comestor we find a distinction between the firmament with the lesser stars, the "ether" with the planets, and the air nearest the earth (187b). It would presumably have been a matter of debate in which of these heavens a lumen vel sidus insolitum might have been expected to make its appearance -- see Grant 265-302; MED s.v. firmament, 1.(a), 2., 3.(a), where (in contrast to the air which is nere), the firmament is defined variously as 'the arch or vault of the heavens on whose surface the clouds, moon, sun and stars appear

to be'; 'the regions through which the heavenly bodies move'; 'the sphere of the fixed stars, the eighth sphere of the Ptolamaic system'.

(Comestor, Peter. Historia Scholastica. [Lyons], 1526.

Grant, Edward. "Cosmology". Science in the Middle Ages. Ed. David C. Lindberg. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1978. 265-302)

23. that [var. the] commune fame: communis fama. For this phrase compare (a1387) Trev.Higd. 1.285: Longe aftirward, as comyn fame telleþ, a . . . quene of Fraunce . . . wedded a boucher; ibid. 7.245: þe comyn fame accordeþ in þat citee to þat sawe -- MED s.vv. commun(e) adj. 6.(a); fame n.(1) 3.(a).

26ff. The identity of this progeny of Vaus is an "extremely complicated" question according to Harris (1959) 29-30 (with a reference to MV 195). In the following chapter the author claims that the books brought by the Princes of Vaus from Inde to Akre were one of his sources. In ch.34, he says that emissaries (ambasiatores) of the family of Vaus were present at the Papal Curia at Avignon in 1351, where we know John of Hildesheim himself was resident at the time. However references to this family, let alone their books, outside HTR are rare and disputed -- see further INTRODUCTION 3.3.3. The identification with the southern French family of Baux, which apparently goes back to Hermannus Crombach (fl. 1654), is discussed at BC 8/n8, cf. MV 195ff; see also Kaplan 92.

CHAPTER 4

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS (O wanting):

f. 4^{V}b 5 lorde] add a KYATDEBN. 18 thider] add and brouȝte thider KYATDEBN. 20 and broughte thider] om. KYARTDEBN; thider] add of KE.
f. 5a 6 and] þat KYAE. 12 Melchiores] Melchior KYAEBN. 15 merite] merites RTBN. 31 and] add many BN.
f. 5b 4 iij] add blessed KYAEBN, add hooly TD.

The story of the Princes of Vaus continues, and the sources of the present work are revealed.

f. 4^{V}b

7. Acon/Acres: 'Acre' -- Bibl. Accho, Gk. Ptolemais (e.g. Acts 21:7), modern 'Akka -- a city on the Levantine coast 40 km south of Tyre, recaptured by the Crusaders in 1191 and held by them till 1291. The city might be termed "the jewel in the crown" of the Crusader kingdoms, and its loss seems to have left a deep impression on the West. The present details follow naturally enough from the material in the previous chapter, though it is worth remarking that an account of the fall of Acre occupies a similarly prominent place early in Ludolf.

9. ioye. It may be that the word is being used in one of its recorded senses, e.g. MED s.v. joy(e n. 1.(a); cf. 1.(e), 1.(f). But florisshede and stode in his vertue ioye and prosperite is evidently the equivalent of in sua gloria et virtute floreret, suggesting that ioye might in some sense be an equivalent of gloria. There are no recorded parallels in a secular context, but the equivalence in a religious context is not only well established -- MED s.v. joi(e 5.(a) 'praise to God', 'worship'; 5.(b) 'the glory or majesty of God' -- but is found in the present work, at 7b9 -- MED sense 5.(a) -- and at 12^{V}a36 -- sense 5.(b). The present example may thus attest to the attraction of the secular meanings of gloria to the ME noun.

In fact, whereas the adjective gloriouse and the adverb gloriouseliche are found as equivalents of gloriosus and gloriose, there is no instance in 3KCol of the corresponding noun -- cited in MED (s.v. glorie n.) from the mid-14thC -- in spite of opportunities afforded. This and similar equivalences suggest that the translator had a certain aversion to direct (Latin-based) translation equivalents.

20. and broughte thider. The Latin and the alternative tradition show that these words should precede bothe by londe and by the see.

Instead of alle maner KE uniquely read of all maner; for this partitive use of the preposition, see MED s.v. of prep. 14.(d).

26. the gretteste of birthe: as at 4^{V}a10 (alle grete lordes: omnes maiores natu) we seem to have a misunderstanding of the expression maiores natu -- literally 'the greatest by birth', but idiomatically 'the elders'; but cf. MED s.v. gret adj. 8.(c).

f. 5a

1. riche and wondirful: rara et mirabilia ac nobilissima. Although rarus is a common enough adjective in HTR, bearing generally the connotations associated with ModE "rare", the now common sense "scarce", "seldom found" is not recorded in English before 1447 -- MED s.v. rar(e adj. 1.(d); compare 5^{V}a25n, and 10a33 wonderfulle and mervaylous (translating mirabili rara et insolita). Earlier citations refer to the primary sense, i.e. "rare" as the opposite of "dense".

6. and. KYAE read þat, the lectio difficilior. For this usage see OED s.v. that relative pron. B. 8.

12. Melchiores. The uninflected genitive of the alternative tradition perhaps reflects the dialect of the archetype, or is simply taken over from the Latin.

The original refers to Melchior as Melchior Regis Nubie, which the translation expands to Melchiores þe kyng of Nubye and of Arabie in keeping with the title bestowed on the King elsewhere in the text. This raises the problematic question of the origin of the "binomial nomenclature" of the Three Kings.

Melchior is regularly styled King of 'Nubia' and 'Arabia', as Balthasar is King of Godolye and 'Sheba', and Jaspar King of 'Tharshish' and the yle of Egriswille. It is generally agreed that the source of two of these names is Psalm 72:10 (The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts). The title of king of Arabia may derive from the region's proverbial reputation (e.g. 1 Kings 10:15) as a source of Melchior's gift of gold. The three names Arabia, Sheba, and Tharshish are common enough in the Bible, and occur together at Eze. 27:12-25. On the other hand the name 'Nubia' is non-Biblical, and Egriswille and Godolye have never received any very convincing explanation.

One explanation for the double titles is the conflation of two separate traditions concerning the origins of the Kings. In one tradition our author found one set of names for their kingdoms, those linked to Biblical and traditional sources. But a second, more arcane tradition may have existed which preserved the non-scriptural set of names; this tradition presumably appeared in the putative lost source which the present study identifies with the author's 'books of the Princes of Vaus'.

The present anomalous reference to Melchior by a single title in fact gives some support to this notion. If the author was closely following the Vaus-source in the present chapter (as the context would imply), then the single title might be a relic of the usage in this source, where Melchior was referred to simply as King of Nubia. It is noteworthy in this regard that the Nubians are represented in HTR as holding a special place of honour among Christian sects in the East; this would be consistent with a source that gave particular prominence to a King Melchior bearing the title King of Nubia.

In short what is suggested here is that the author found Nubia, godolye and egriswille listed as the Kings' titles in his Vaus-source. Other traditions recorded a second set of titles, mainly on the authority of Psalm 72. The author resolved the dilemma by conflating the material and giving the Kings double titles -- just as in ch.3 he recorded two names for the mountain ('Vaus'/'the Mount of Victory').

14. as they seyn ffor . . .: i.e. 'they say (that the diadem was Melchior's . . .); and the proof that it was his is this, that . . .' (the clause as they seyn qualifies the whole sentence and not merely the immediately preceding relative clause).

It is characteristic of the translation to make explicit the vague connectives in the original (in this case ffor for et); compare Wherfore afterward (for et) at 5a22 below.

15. merite. The Latin merita lends support to the variant reading merites, but the latter is attested only in inferior MSS.

20. the foul euel: cf. morbum caducum. The primary English witnesses agree on this reading; nevertheless the expression is problematic, since there appear to be no parallels for this phrase as a description of epilepsy, and the possible senses recorded in MED s.v. foul adj. such as 'filthy', 'festering', 'deforming' do not seem appropriate.

One explanation is that the translator was incapable of identifying the Latin term and the disease, and gave a generalised description of a presumably loathsome illness. Another is that there were many terms for the disease, and this is simply an unrecorded one.

Alternatively, the present reading may be the result of a primitive corruption. The common ME term for epilepsy appears to have been fallynge (also fallyn) evil, a calque, or loan-translation, on the Latin term -- MED s.v. iuel n. 5.(b); this may have stood in the original text, but been misread as foul.

23. the ordre of templers. Formed in the early years of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem as a religious community for the protection of pilgrims, the Order took its name from the former Jewish temple near which they had their quarters. They became a powerful military force and acquired considerable wealth. Fear of the Templars' powers and a desire for their wealth led Phillip IV of France to seek their destruction. He succeeded in having Pope Clement V suppress the order in 1312, and two years later had the grand master burnt at the stake (EB s.v. Templars).

(EB. Encyclopaedia Britannica (1974).)

27. late: 'until recently' (=dudum 'formerly'); but the spelling is ambiguous -- e.g. it could also be taken as pp. of lete(n) v. -- and became a source of scribal confusion (gate BN).

profite of offrynges: (maximum) fructum; this is a characteristic clarification of the translator.

36ff. Modern scholarship has generally reacted with scepticism to the author's claims. Harris believes that the existence of such translations is not impossible, but denies that the author owed very much to these sources (Harris (1954) xix; Harris (1959) 29-30). Translations from Arabic are well attested, but these were made in Spain or Sicily, not in the Crusader lands (an exception may be the Secretum secretorum; see Manzalaoui xv/n2). In INTRODUCTION 3.3.3, 3.3.4. the author's claims are reexamined in the context of the question of a lost source or sources.

The notion of "India" as a source of wisdom is found in Albertus Magnus (c1260), who writes, "Besides, the peoples of the torrid zone, far from suffering in intelligence by reason of the heat of the climate, are very learned, as is proved by the books of philosophy and astronomy that have come to us from India" (qtd. in Newton).

(Manzalaoui, M.A., ed. Secretum secretorum: nine English versions. [Oxford]: EETS, 1977.)

Newton, Arthur Percival, ed. Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages. History of Civilisation series. London: Kegan Paul, 1926.)

f. 5b

5. in to frenshe: in gallicum. The English translation is more plausible than the German versions, where this phrase was taken to mean that the books were translated 'into Welsh' (though the latter interpretation appears in certain modern studies).

6. Between the two sentences a rather obscure passage describing the fate of these books appears in the original.

10. The awkward juncture suggests that the subject of been is implicit, or that a word or words is missing at the beginning of this line (possibly these thinges, cf. hec sunt conscripta; but the Latin is prolix and unclear).

12. the olde kynrede: cf. omnes primogeniti 'all the first-born sons'. As there is little evidence that the English could ever bear the sense implied by the Latin, the phrase might at first sight be judged a mistranslation; but it can be demonstrated that the translator did know the correct meaning of the word primogenitus, since at 148/31 we find the equivalence his oldest sone: suum primogenitum. The implication may be that the exemplar had a peculiar variant reading.

19. At this point a sentence is omitted in the translation describing the battle array of Crusader armies, in which it is said the sign of the cross is always carried before the first battalion, and a banner with a star in honour of the Three Kings precedes the second.

To this point this chapter constitutes the second half of a digression on the Princes of Vaus, the first half of which appeared in the last chapter; but with this concluding sentence (And so it was . . .), we return once again to the main narrative. In the original this sentence is preceded by the formula sed (vt) ad propositum redeatur, a characteristic indication of the end of a digression, and in most texts the chapter break follows immediately; but some texts, including our base -- and also, to judge from the English, the translator's exemplar -- transpose the chapter break to the end of the ensuing sentence, presumably because the content was felt to belong more closely with the earlier material. Our base additionally (and exceptionally) transposes the formula as well.

CHAPTER 5

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS (O wanting):

f. 5b 34 propheciede ..] prophecied of KYARTDEBN. 35 h .] her soon KYARTDEBN. 36 con t] concipiet KYARTDEBN.

f. 5^{V}a 10 onliche] om. BN. 13 prophecies] prophecie KYARTDEBN. 24 And] add þan (K)YARTD(E)BN; the] þees KYARTDE.

f. 5^{V}b 2 but] add had KYARTDEB(N). 31 astronomie] add Capitulum quintum KYATD. 35 regned] add Amon and after hym reigned KYARTD(E)BN.

f. 6a 9 he] they BN. 12 and] add þere (K)YARTDE(BN). 20 Cyrus] Tirus KYAEBN, Tyro R, Titus TD. 23 as . . here/De lapide . . conscidencium] trs. KYATDEBN. 25 After] add and KYRT, hereafter And ATE, here afftyr but BN. 33 Cyrus] Tirus KYARE, Titus TD, the BN.

f. 6b 25 the] þat KYARTDBN. 32 the(2)] þey KYARTDEBN. 33 wiste] add welle YARTDEBN.

f. 6^{V}b 4 ther b. aboute] þer be aboute KYARTEBN. 5 men .o g . vp] men to go vppe KYAR(T)EBN. 6 anheigh.] add and also þere growe many goode trees and herbys and diuers spices alle aboute þe hille KYATE(B)N. 7 vp] vp on KYAE, add to BN. 8 is] add so KYATEBN. 9 And . . hille] om. KYATEBN. 11 Ther . also] There is also KYARTEBN.

This chapter tells of the miracle of the retrogression of the sun which brought the Chaldeans to the court of King Hezekiah. The Jewish books of prophecy were translated into Chaldean and Persian at the time of the Babylonian exile, and the watch on Mt. Vaus was more keenly pursued.

f. 5b

31ff. This chapter lacks obvious signs of internal discontinuity, but closer examination suggests the matter may have disparate origins. However, as the immediate sources have not been identified, the separate elements can only be tentatively reconstructed.

The historical material can plausibly be assigned to a single source. This was perhaps in the form of a commentary on the subject of OT prophecies or prophets, rather than a source specific to the main subject -- the story of King Hezekiah, for instance, is of marginal relevance to the Three Kings, but provides an opportunity to introduce a reference to the prophecy on the Virgin Birth.

Subsequent matter may have origins distinct from the "prophecy" material. The passage on the pursuit of astronomy which follows the story of Hezekiah (5^{v}b18-31) seems more "descriptive" in nature (see INTRODUCTION 3.3.1, 3.3.2 for this strand of HTR); but it cannot be paralleled in Ludolf or BC, and may therefore come from another source (see further below).

A short link passage intervenes at 5^{v}b32-36 (see 5^{v}b32n for the origins of this king list), after which the narrative returns to the subject of prophets and prophecies (Jeremiah, Daniel).

How far into the chapter the influence of this source extends is difficult to say; but at 6b16 the introductory formula wher by we shul vnderstonde that al þis was done of goddes ordynaunce . . . signals a further change. Similar passages (e.g

11^{V}a5, 12b4ff) contain comment on matters surprising or miraculous, and may be purely authorial in origin.

The final sections seem to be of different origins again. At 6b35 an account begins of the watch of the astronomers. This passage has parallels with Op.Imperf., though it differs in detail. It may therefore be that our text is partly independent (see further at 6b35n).

A clue to the immediate source is provided at 6^{V}a20. The sentence begins with a formula found elsewhere, viz. they of ynde and of Chaldee that come ofte tyme in to Ierusalem by cause of marchaundise and also for desporte . . . seye . . . (cf. 16^{V}a28-33, 32^{V}b14-18). At first reading one might imagine this derives from a travel account not unlike Ludolf or BC, which preserved the comments of Eastern informants recorded in the environs of Jerusalem. However the immediate introduction of a reference to Mt. Vaus and the subsequent detail on the same subject (much of it with no direct parallel in Op.Imperf.) point rather to the same "Vaus source" which accounts for previous matter concerning the mountain.

If so, this introductory formula provides an invaluable clue for identifying other passages from the same source. In fact it may be of immediate use in identifying the source of the passage at 5^{V}b18-31 describing the pursuit of astronomy in the East. The formula at 6^{V}a20 contains in the middle a description of the Easterners as being for the more partie . . . lernyd in astronomie. Unless this is a parenthetic comment of the author, the words suggest that the earlier passage on astronomy can also

be assigned to the Vaus-source, since the matter there is little more than an elaboration of the same theme.

33. ysaie: Isaiah. The career of the prophet spanned the reigns of several kings of Judah, ending with that of Hezekiah (Ezechias; r.716/15-687/86); see Isa. 1:1. However the Ecce virgo . . . prophecy -- the prophecy of the Virgin Birth to which the Evangelist alludes (Matt. 1:23) -- was actually delivered in the presence of King Ahaz (r.735-716), Hezekiah's predecessor (Isa. 7:3ff).

The details about Hezekiah derive from Isa. 38 and 39, but probably indirectly. The king's sickness, the miracle of the sun's retrogression, the lengthening of his life and the prophecy concerning the carrying off of the royal treasures all have biblical support. However the introduction of Balaam's prophecy is tendentious -- compare 6b3, 6b8ff etc. -- and the motives attributed to the King are a construction of the author or his source; see 5^{V}a34n.

34. [of] oure lady seint Marie and of h[er sone]. The translator avoids a specific translation of 'the Virgin Birth' (de virginis partu); compare 6b21, where the same phrase is rendered of the incarnacioun of oure lorde ihesu cryst.

f. 5^{V}a

8. as holy writ seith. The phrase is an addition of the translator.

10. onliche. The equivalent does not appear in the Latin; therefore it is conceivable that BN's omission of this word (which in literary terms represents a not insignificant variation) derives from the original text of the translation.

24. And the Chaldeys. In the alternative reading and þan þees Chaldees, þees presumably refers back to mention of them in the last chapter, and replaces a more extensive description in the Latin.

34. of verray innocence of herte: ex mera sui cordis simplicitate. Was Hezekiah acting out of ingenuousness or folly? The Latin admits either interpretation: for whereas in CL simplicitas has the former sense, RMLW gives 'half-wittedness' as a ML sense (the same ambiguity recurs later in respect of aliqualem simplicem arroganciam). MED opts for the second interpretation, citing the present passage s.v. innocenci(e n. (c) for the sense 'foolishness, fatuity'. However if this is correct, then the translator's choice of words would seem to have obscured his intended meaning, for MED cites no parallels for such a sense of innocence.

However, the blame for the ambiguity cannot be laid entirely on the translator. The Latin is undeniably difficult as it stands (e.g. the anacoluthon sed quia . . . quare, reflected in But for . . . wherfore), and it is doubtful whether it is possible to recover the sense originally intended by the author.

Whatever the nuances of meaning, the description of the King's reaction is an interpretation peculiar to the present work: the biblical account merely tells how the King showed off the royal treasures to the visiting Chaldeans, and subsequently received an unfavorable prophecy from the prophet (Isa. 39).

35. made a dissimulacion: hoc dissimulauit (the Latin means more or less 'pretended not to know what it was all about'). MED s.v. dissimulacioun n. 2.(b) gives 'evasion' as the sense here; but as this usage is unparallelled -- cf. s.v. dissimulen v. 3.(a) -- this may be an overly precise definition. We may in fact have the first use of the noun in English, 1420 being the earliest citation in MED (Hm. gives c1400 as the date of 3KCol). This perhaps accounts for the following elaboration and wolde nat knoweleche that this tokene was for hym; the translator does his best to elucidate difficulties in his text, despite obscurity in the original and the limitations of ME vocabulary.

f. 5^{v}b

2. but. The verb had has dropped out after this word in our MS.

7-9. alle the ȝiftes . . . messagers: but the Latin says 'everything the king showed to the Chaldean ambassadors' (see Isa. 39:6 and the last paragraph of 5^{V}a34n).

26. ȝit alwey: 'still', 'to this day' (adhuc cotidie); ȝeue in the next line is of course present tense.

30. to techen hem þat cunnynge of astronomie. This phrase does not correspond exactly to the Latin, which states that the rulers 'retain' (vacare faciunt; or perhaps vocare faciunt 'summon') 'at great cost astrologers and other masters in that art from far off countries'. It may derive from the meaning implicit in magistros ('masters', 'teachers'); or possibly a reading like (hanc artem) docere (for vacare/vocare) stood in the translator's exemplar.

After this sentence the abridged versions begin a new chapter (ch.5), so that the chapter numeration in the abridged and unabridged traditions remains in step for the time being.

32ff. During the reigns of Hezekiah and his successors, Judah had been forced to acknowledge Assyrian suzerainty. But as Assyrian power crumbled in the 7thC, a new national foe replaced them in the form of the neo-Babylonian empire of Nebuchadrezzar (Nabugodonosor) and the Chaldeans. There were two attempts at revolt from the new overlords, both disastrous: the first was instigated by king Jehoiakim (Ioachim) and led to a punitive campaign by Nebuchadrezzar and the subsequent "great deportation"

of over 3000 leading Jews in 597; the second in 589 resulted in the fall of Jerusalem in 586. Our account appears to telescope these two events; in any case it was traditionally the first which most profoundly affected the Jewish national consciousness, and from which were reckoned the seventy years of the Captiuite (Jer. 29:10).

In its turn the neo-Babylonian empire was overthrown by the rising power of the Medes and Persians. Cyrus became ruler of Babylon in 538, and issued his edict in favour of deported minorities; but perhaps, as the case of Daniel suggests, not all Jews took immediate advantage of the opportunity to return to their homeland.

The role played by the prophets in these events is detailed in the commentaries on Jer. and Isa. in Peake. As previously suggested the present material may derive from a biblical commentary; there is nothing to suggest that our author had independently researched these events or had any intimate understanding of the history of the period.

33-34. The tradition that the apostate Manasseh put Isaiah to death, while possibly correct, is late and unsupported (Peake 422a).

35. The abridged tradition preserves a reference to the reign of Amon (r.642/1-640/39) between Manasseh and Josiah. For the regnal years of the other kings of Judah, see the corresponding entries in GLOSSARY.

This list functions as a link between the Isaiah-Hezekiah story and the account of the later prophets. Whereas the material from 5^{V}b36 onwards presumably comes from the same "prophecy" source as the earlier material, it is possible that this list of reigns is an independent addition. The change of perspective between and in his tyme [i.e. Josiah's reign] Ieremie prophecied and the immediately ensuing and in þe tyme of Ieremie regned Ioachim may be the signal of the change of source. The king list could have been compiled from a reading of the OT, but more likely was directly transferred from the genealogy at the beginning of Matthew (Matt. 1:10-11 -- the chapter immediately preceding the account of the Magi); cf. Jer. 1:2-3.

f. 6a

9. he broughte: cf. duxerunt. In view of the Latin plural verb it is conceivable that BN's reading they (for he) is original.

16. bokes of the lawe. Only one book is mentioned in the Latin; Jer. 29:1 refers to a "letter" that Jeremiah sent from Jerusalem to the captive Jews, while "a book" is mentioned at 30:2.

20. vnder Cyrus that was kynge of Peers: sub ciro. Daniel did live on into the reign of Cyrus (Dan. 1:21, 10:1). But the text of our branch of the Latin tradition is corrupt, sub ciro 'in the reign of Cyrus' standing in place of the original sub typo

'symbolically'. The "prophecy" (Dan. 2:24) was really part of an interpretation of the dream of the statue with feet of clay, and was delivered to Nebuchadrezzar (however at 6a33 Cyrus, independently emended in our MS from Tyrus, is undoubtedly the original reading).

23. as ȝe shal here. The reference is to Chapter [23] (where the "prophecy" is correctly associated with Nebuchadrezzar, not Cyrus).

The phrase as ȝe shal here is an addition of the translator. But our MS has misplaced it slightly; its original position after the Latin quotation is preserved in the alternative tradition, which also adds and after After (line 25); in other words, After originally belongs on the end of the phrase, and the new sentence begins with And amonge, corresponding to et inter (cetera).

28-29. I have been unable to trace this quotation.

f. 6b

2. Chore. This mysterious name is also inserted in the Latin, though only in this branch of the tradition. It may stem from the corruption of the name of an OT prophet, in which case two explanations can be offered:

a) A similar list of prophets at the end of ch.12 (230/n2) runs Danielem Abacuc Ysaiam (et) Micheam et alios seruos suos prophetas. Abacuc is the the only name not also represented in the present passage, so Chore may have originated as a corruption of Abacuc, the latter having been inserted here from the later passage.

b) At the beginning of Matthew, a number of prophecies are cited in order to link the OT with the NT. The following four prophets are quoted: Isaiah (7:14 = Matt. 1:23; 40:3 = Matt. 3:3); Micah (5:2 = Matt. 2:6); Hosea (11:1 = Matt. 2:15); Jeremiah (31:15 = Matt. 2:18). As Isaiah, Jeremiah and Micah are mentioned in the present passage, it is possible that Chore derives from some version of the name Hosea, e.g. (et) ose(e).

11. And for thise prophecies . . . and for othere causes. The latter phrase is a perhaps deliberately vague equivalent of a confused passage in the translator's exemplar. The fuller version in O explains how Jewish scholars were called upon to explain and interpret the Hebrew books and prophecies to the Chaldeans and Persians.

20-23. Balaam . . . Iewes: the corresponding Latin is clearly unsound, and the original reading may no longer be recoverable. Among the variants the isolated reading of D vocacionis (cf. O vocacionem) is as plausible as any, and comes close to what the translator surmised.

25. the peple (var. þat peple): ?'the gentiles' (gencium); elsewhere the plural is attested in this sense -- MED s.v. peple 6.(b).

33-35. what god . . . perfourme it. Compare Rom. 4:21.

35ff. The remainder of the chapter provides further evidence for the nature of the Vaus-source. A number of motifs are unique to the present work; however two passages in Op.Imperf. display distinct resemblences to the present material, the first being:

> Itaque elegerunt seipsos duodecim quidam ex ipsis studiosiores, et amatores mysteriorum caelestium, et posuerunt seipsos ad exspectationem stellae illius. Et si quis moriebatur ex eis, filius ejus, aut aliquis propinquorum, qui ejusdem voluntatis inveniebatur, in loco constituebatur defuncti.

This passage has clear parallels to 6b36-6^{V}a11. The second passage is the description of the mountain as electis arboribus amoenissimus, which has echoes in 6^{V}b9-11.

By contrast it is interesting to note how much in Op.Imperf. has not made its way into HTR: many distinctive motifs (e.g. the Book of Seth and the details of the yearly ritual of the magi) are conspicuously lacking, while others seem almost contradictory to the present account (in Op.Imperf. the mountain does not seem to be especially high, and in place of the chapel this source speaks of a cave in the rock).

So does the material in the last part of this chapter derive exclusively from the Vaus-source; or did the author combine this with select material from Op.Imperf.? In favour of the first suggestion are the differences in detail between HTR and the

parallel material in Op.Imperf. In favour of the second is the treatment of the sources elsewhere in HTR. We have seen strong evidence in other contexts that the author combined and conflated his sources, though of course without giving any specific indication that he was doing so. There may be some remains of this procedure in parts of the present section (see 6^{V}b6n).

If we exclude the common material we can identify a number of interesting and unique details that can be attributed to the Vaus-source, including the description of the mountain as particularly high and difficult of ascent, the chapel found on top of the mountain, and the pillar with its star above.

(A more radical theory would be that the Vaus-source, while speaking of the activities of the Three Kings in building the chapel on Mt. Vaus, made no mention at all of the astronomers.)

The question remains why our author, if indeed he conflated his source with Op.Imperf., chose to omit so many notable details that appear in the latter. The most likely explanation is that he consciously selected those elements which conformed with his version of the story of the Three Kings. For example, in Op.Imperf., as generally in Eastern versions, the astronomers and the Magi are one and the same, whereas for our author they were quite distinct -- the Magi and the Kings were one and the same, the astronomers being mere instruments for bringing the rise of the Star to the Kings' attention. Another possible reason for some of the omissions is that the author chose to suppress details of the practices of the starwatchers which seemed too redolent of the rituals of paganism.

f. $6^{V}a$

4-15. This passage has been considerably recast by the translator; $6^{V}a4$-6 to kepe . . . Balaam is pure elaboration.

16. the peple: the astrologers, or the populace at large? The Latin implies the former, the English more naturally suggests the latter (but cf. MED s.v. peple 2.(a) 'a group or company of people').

25-28. in ynde . . . that mow nou3t be seye by nyghte. This implausible assertion represents the generally received English text. The Latin tradition does not provide any obvious explanation for the reading. Although the Latin had suffered corruption before the translator encountered it, there is no indication of any variant readings which would account for his version.

One possible explanation is that the translator's exemplar had a peculiar reading. A plausible conjecture is that appareant que in alijs certis locis had somehow dropped out, leaving as the remaining text (asserunt) quod in India . . . multe stelle de nocte non videantur. The main objection is that there is no obvious reason for the loss (e.g. in terms of homoeoteleuton error). It also leaves unexplained the appearance of the phrase in the firmament.

The origin of the English text thus remains something of a mystery. In the original Latin the visitors to Jerusalem maintain that many stars can be seen in the environs of Judea (not ynde, as at 6^{V}a25) which are not visible in their own homelands -- Inde, Chaldea, and Persia -- and vice versa. The introduction of this reference to the different stars visible in different regions of the Earth had an express purpose. Biblical commentators had perceived a difficulty in the gospel account concerning the reaction in Jerusalem to the arrival of the Magi and their account of the Star. Herod "was troubled and all Jerusalem with him" and he "enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared". This can be taken to imply that the star had not been conspicuous enough to be seen in that part of the world. Had the first appearance of the Star to the Magi been rather local, or something that could only be viewed in special circumstances, it would explain why Herod had apparently neither seen it nor had it brought to his notice.

31. stronge. This reading is evidently a corruption of strange (so Hm. 18/n3; the latter reading is found only in T, doubtless as a result of independent emendation). We have seen there was no exact equivalent in ME of the adjective rarus, and strange seems a reasonable choice in this context. The corruption may have a dialectal basis; see INTRODUCTION 12.8).

A further description of the chapel on Mt. Vaus appears in Ch. [26].

f. 6^{v}b

4ff. The unreadable words can be restored by reference to the alternative tradition (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

6. In the alternative tradition the sentence (9-11) And . . . aboute the hille is inserted here. The arrangement in our text seems to fit the context better, since (6-9) for elles . . . narwe follows from the matter in lines 4-6. Nevertheless, the alternative tradition preserves the arrangement in the original language.

One reason for the unevenness may be that the original text lacked a final revision. But a deeper cause perhaps was source conflation: the sentence dealing with the vegetation on the mountain is one of the passages paralleled in Op.Imperf., whereas the surrounding material apparently comes from a different source, and the two strands may have been somewhat carelessly integrated.

At the same time this is only one of several difficulties in the Latin text, so it is not suprising to find a number of discrepancies between the translation and the original. For example the clause by cause it is [so] heigh and so narwe is presumably intended to represent the the phrase pre altitudine tam arte; but although the English version is appropriate enough in the context, the exact sense of the original is far from clear (the translation appears to connect tam arte with artus (adj.) or

arte (adv.) 'close(ly)', 'tight(ly)'. In addition a sentence describing the view from the summit of the mountain is omitted in the translation, again perhaps because of textual difficulties in the exemplar, which are intimated by the corrupt reading luci ditentur -- for lucide considerentur -- in our text).

10. herbes. The alternative tradition adds and diuers spices (ac diuersis speciebus).

21. ȝeueth lyght: 'reflects the light', a sense paralleled by c1300 SLeg.Mich. (Ld) 412: ȝif þov heolde ane clere candele biside an Appel riȝt, Euene half þe Appel heo wolde ȝiuen hire lijȝt.

CHAPTER 6

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS (DO wanting initially, R abridges 7^{V}a10-8b3):

f. 7a 2 maundement] commandement KYARTEBN. 3 descriue] descrye KY(R)T, descroye AEBN. 4 descrivynge] discrying KYRTE, discriynges A, distruccion BN. 7 hom] forth KYARTEBN. 11 of] om. KYARTEBN.

f. 7b 15 fundacioun] fundament KYARTEOBN. 29 Cryst goddes] god cristis KYATE.

f. 7^{V}a 2 couered] heled aboue KYARTEB, hellid abowte O, helyd N. 13 of kyng Dauid] kyng dauid KYTBN, kynges dauid A, kyng Dauydes O. 23 Citee] citees KYATEOBN.

f. 7^{V}b 2 beste] add þat he wil for a certeyn prys and whan he hathe what beest KYA(TE). 6 hym of] hym K, om. YATE. 20 hyn] hym KYATE, hem OBN. 28 suche] add hows with swiche YATE.

f. 8a 25 also] all OBN. 33 and] om. KYO.

f. 8b 29 in] add to KYARTDEOBN.

f. 8^{V}a 5 myght] add euer KAE, add neuer Y, add ne wolde R, wolde OBN.

f. 8^{V}b 2 is langgist] om. KYARTDEOBN. 3 lengist] om. KYARTDEOBN; been bothe of oon lengthe] not cancelled KYARTDEOBN. 13 after the tyme] add als K, add is ATDE, om. Y, ben B, that O. 16 in som place] om. YARTDEOBN.

f. 9a 14 goode places of pasture] placys of goode pasture KYARTDOBN. 17 bygynneth] add to haue YARTDE, add to OBN. 20 fatte] add and þey beye barlych þere in þe feelde by a certein mesure and þei þat haue swich barlich to selle þey haue certein stables and in hem þey put her hors and her mules to make hem fatte YATDE.

This chapter describes the historical and topographical background of the Nativity.

f. 6^{V}b

26-33. The complexity of this passage is paralleled in the original, where the syntax of the chapter openings is often involved and characterised by asyndeton.

35. helde the empyre of: 'had control over'. The abstract sense of empyre is paralleled at 7a1. Compare the similar force of kingdom in e.g. (a1387) Trev.Higd. 3.137: After þe deth of Darius . . . his sone Cirus heeld þe hool kyngdom [L monarchiam] of þe est -- MED s.v. kingdom n. 1.(a) 'sovereignty', 'overlordship' etc.

36. In the ȝere of his empyre xlij^{o}. It is difficult to date precisely the beginning of this empyre, as Octavian's rise to power was gradual and his constitutional position unprecedented; the conventional date is 31 B.C., the year of his victory at Actium and his first consulship. The present date is perhaps reckoned from his victory at Philippi in 42 B.C.; cf. Comestor 18[6]^{V}a: Annos enim xij qui a morte Iulij [44 B.C.] fluxerant vsque ad Actium bellum regno Augusti connumeramus.

f. 7a

2. The text from here to 7b11 is based on Luke 2:1-14.

3. descriue. For this word (and also maundement) in this context, compare MED s.v. descriven v. 3.(a), (c1384) WBible(1) Luke 2:1: Maundement went out fro Cesar August . . . that al the world schulde be discryued.

For descriue some MSS have the variant descrye, whereas others read destroye/descroye. The latter is not a recorded spelling (either in MED s.v. descrien v. or s.v. descriven v.), although a spelling descroiinge is recorded in MED s.v. descrivinge ger. In many hands descroy would have been indistinguishable from destroy, and in one case at least seems to have been understood literally as 'destroy', since B reads distruccion for descrivynge at 7a4.

6. bisshop: preside. In the MS president (or possibly the Latin version of the word) has been written over bisshop. However the latter, while inaccurate, is not strictly a mistranslation. Although CL preses has the sense 'one who presides over' i.e. 'head', 'chief', 'governor', etc., and we know that Quirinius (Cyrinus) was a secular official (AV 'governor'; see Peake 720b), in ML usage preses could refer to a religious official; moreover the sense of ME bishop extends to any high ranking churchman and even to pagan highpriests (MED s.v. bishop n. 1., 3.).

9. oute of Galile that is a citee in Nazareth: a galilea ciuitate Nazareth. In fact Nazareth is the town, Galilee the region (O reads unambiguously 'from G., from the city N.').

11. of. The other witnesses omit the preposition, suggesting that the masculine genitive was uninflected in the dialect of the archetype; compare 5a12n, 7^{V}a13.

15. ther forre. The conjunction is recapitulatory rather than causal -- perhaps an example of the "unemphatic" use (OED s.v. therefore adv. 2.).

22. and was delyuered. The translator makes good from the context the loss in the exemplar.

23. For the choice of words here and at 7b1-3, compare MED s.v. cloth n. 3.(c) (clothes 'swaddling-clothes'), (c1384) WBible(1) Luke 2.12: ȝe schulen fynde a ȝong child wlappid in clothis, and put in a cracche.

25. ther was none other place: non erat ei locus in diuersorio; not a very precise translation -- unless the exemplar read something like locus diuersus for locus in diuersorio ('place in the inn').

f. 7b

9. Ioye: Gloria; for this equivalence see 4^{V}b9n.

11ff. The opening section of biblical paraphrase is followed by material of uncertain origin, but "descriptive" in character (see INTRODUCTION 3.3.1). Some of the insertions (e.g. the account of the Alchans at 7^{V}a22-b34) are quite general, and an account of Bethlehem and its environs would presumably have been a standard feature of pilgrim itineraria; but the concluding passage on the topography of the East (8^{V}b3-9a24) has distinct echoes in BC 64.

The source of the material dealing with the house of Jesse, the lytel vnthrifty hous, and the cave is less clear. These motifs reappear together throughout the chapter; the historical perspective is remarkable, and the notion that the Nativity took place on the site of the very house in which King David was born and raised seems novel (as far as I can tell makes its first appearance in the present work). At the same time there is an underlying conflict between the location of the Nativity in a manger and the tradition that it took place in a cave.

The narrative resumes at 8b3, but is strongly coloured by apocryphal sources (even such familiar details as Mary riding on the ass, and the ox and the ass by the manger do not appear in the canonical gospels).

14. And it hath a good fundacioun and a good grounde. good represents the translator's attempt to make sense of preciosum 'valuable'; O's reading petrosum 'rocky', anticipating the reference to caves, is clearly correct.

The limestone caves under the present Church of the Nativity have been used by human beings from very early times. The

apocryphal tradition that the Nativity itself took place in such a cave is of considerable antiquity, being attested already in the 2ndC Justin Dialogue with Trypho (PG 7, 675ff) and in the Protoevangelium of James, but seems suspiciously similar to various pagan myths of gods born in caves or grottoes. Nevertheless one modern commentator, noting that many houses in the area around Bethlehem are still built in front of caves, suggests that Joseph (then living with his parents) be envisaged as taking his wife into such a back area in order to give birth away from the confusion of the living room; the cave part would have been used to shelter animals in bad weather (Murphy-O'Connor 146ff). This modern comment is surprisingly similar to the present interpretation, where the cave is pictured in equally matter of fact terms -- even if our author seems to want to have the best of all worlds by locating the cave behind the 'little house' (tugurrium) and among the ruins of King David's house.

(Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. The Holy Land: an archaeological guide from earliest times to 1700. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980.)

15. fundacioun. MED s.v. foundacioun n. 1.(a). gives 'the foundation or substructure of a building'; but here a broader definition is called for. OED s.v. foundation 5 'the solid ground . . . on which an edifice is erected' is not much closer, and the first citation is 1494. However, the other MSS read fundament, which MED s.v. fundament 2.(a) glosses -- citing our passage -- as 'the ground upon which a house or city is built'. As this sense clearly applies to fundacioun here, we can record a new (or antedated) nuance for the latter word.

It is noteworthy that the word grounde would be a synonym in either sense -- see MED s.v. ground n. 4.(a).

18. ij lytel myle: presumably 'a mere two miles' -- see OED s.v. little A adj. 6(b) -- but the present example antedates the earliest citation in OED (1523). The original has 'two little miles of that country', suggesting the expression represents a technical term; cf. MED s.v. mile n.(1) 1.(b), (c); litel adj. 5.(a). Jerusalem is actually six miles north of Bethlehem.

19. Castel: 'village', 'small town' (oppidum non magnum); compare R's variant reading (but a) litil Castell and (a1425) Wycl.Serm. 1.197: þe gospel seiþ how Jesus wente aboute . . . boþ to more places and lesse, as citees and castellis. . . . Castels ben undirstonden litil touns, but wallid -- MED s.v. castel n. 5.(b).

23. Isay: Jesse (see Matt. 1:6). The story of David's origins and anointing is found in 1 Sam. 16:1-13. In the present work the nativity takes place not merely in David's town of origin but in the same street and house where his family lived, emphasising among other things the parallel between Christ's birth in poverty and David's humble origins, and the local continuity in the transmission of the kingship of Israel.

The following is a summary of the author's account of the history of the site of the Nativity. The house of Jesse, father of King David, had previously stood there (7b21-31). The earlier occupants had taken advantage of the rocky ground to convert an

(underground?) cave into a storehouse (Celer) for household perishables (7^{V}a16-22). At some later stage, but before the destruction of Jerusalem and its environs (as implied by 7^{V}b35-8a8), the house was converted into an inn. Bethlehem in due course shared the fate of Jerusalem (8a21-23, presumably referring to the destruction at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar and the Chaldeans -- see 5^{V}b32ffn -- though the original Latin totiens fuit destructa implies repeated destruction). All that remained of the inn were broken walls enclosing an open area used for selling bread (8a8-10, 8a26-33), plus perhaps remnants of the building's former function, such as a manger. The cave of course remained, and in front of it stood a tugurrium (lytel vnthrifty hous), i.e. a shed, erected for the storage of market goods and for tying up pack animals (8a33-b3). Meanwhile the street at the end of which these features stood must still have contained some structures, for it was heled aboue with awnings, in the shade of which trade was conducted (7b31-7^{V}a9).

29. Cryst goddes sone. All the abridged MSS read god cristis soone, the result perhaps of an incorrectly inserted gloss -- e.g. god <crist> sone. It is of interest how unthinkingly scribes will copy patently impossible readings.

f. 7^{v}a

5-9. The Latin puts it slightly differently -- women's old clothes and other articles were sold daily, but once a week there was a general sale, of timber in particular.

6. a grete chepynge or a feyre: commune forum. In view of the Latin we perhaps have a special sense of grete here, e.g. 'general'; but I have not found parallels in the dictionaries. There are other examples of the phrase 'great fair', e.g. MED s.v. feire n., (a1464) Capgr.Chron. 167: In the xvi ȝere of Kyng Edward was a grete feyer at Boston; OED s.v. fair sb.[1], 1611 Bible Transl.Pref. 12: To neglect a great faire and to seeke to make markets aftewards.

15. a denne vnder erthe: speluncam in rupe factam 'a cave formed (or built) in the rock' -- the English version is not quite same thing as the Latin. The translator no doubt had in mind the earlier reference to caues and dennes vnder the erthe, and the superficial parallelism of cellarium and English Celer may have misled him to regard the former as having the same nuances as the latter (the Latin word never implied an exclusively underground storage area; in English it is uncertain when "cellar" changed from meaning 'a storehouse' to 'an underground chamber', but the latter sense had already evolved in ME -- see OED s.v. cellar 2.a and note; MED s.v. celer n.(1) 3).

20. necessaries þat longed to housholde: 'household goods'; the implication is foodstuffs or other perishables -- cf. MED s.v. necessarie n. (c) -- since they were to be protected from the heat of the sun. housholde: 'domestic affairs', 'housekeeping' -- MED s.v. houshold n. 3.(b).

23. in Citee (var. in citees). The reading of our MS possibly represents a set phrase (like ModE 'in town'), but I can find no parallel citations in the dictionaries. It may therefore simply be a copying error.

26. alchan. This is in origin an Arabic word, formed from the article al and khan 'inn'; see OED s.v. khan^2. The present passage is the only citation for the word in MED, and the earliest occurrence in English (see OED), and the only citation where the word appears in combination with the prefixed al-.

The words that we clepe here hostryes are an explanatory note of the translator.

The prolix account of the alchans is radically abbreviated in the R-text. It is perhaps surprising, given his practice elsewhere, that the translator did not do the same originally. The abridgement was perhaps something of an ad hoc creation which gradually took shape in the mind of the translator as he began to realise the extent of the task before him.

30-33. that any pilgryme . . . that trauailleth . . . And hym nede. Strictly speaking this is a case of anacoluthia.

f. 7^{v}b

2. Some words have dropped out by eyeskip after what beste (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

4. ther as he wole abyde and reste hym for a tyme: qua attendit. The Latin phrase is virtually meaningless as it stands (the archetypal text has qua [?read quo] tendit 'where he is heading'). If the English and the Latin are comparable, then the translator's interpretation may possibly have been influenced by the ML sense of attendere 'wait for' (see RMLW s.v. attendentia; compare French attendre).

6-8. he deschargeth hym of his horse . . . of his berthen. This sentence, with its two "of" phrases, is clearly faulty. The other witnesses vary in their readings: K has he dischargeþ hym his hors . . . of his berthen; YATE omit hym of; OBN agree with our text.

At first sight it would seem that YATE have preserved the original reading; it is certainly the most linguistically acceptable, and generally agrees with the corresponding Latin. It remains however to explain the various less meaningful readings. Possibly hym originated as an intrusion into the text by dittography from reste hym in the previous line, the word being subsequently expanded by one group of witnesses to hym of.

A rather different interpretation is that there are survivals of archetypal glosses in the extant witnesses. It may be that K faithfully reproduces the archetypal reading, which would have derived from he deschargeth hym <his horse or what beste that he hath> of his berthen, the bracketed words being the gloss -- the gloss itself perhaps having been originally introduced to clarify the ambiguous hym ('himself' or 'it'?). The Latin has depositis suis rebus 'after unloading his wares', and nothing specific to correspond to the matter in the gloss.

13. the mayster of the hous: custos illius domus. This is the man in charge of the alchan, not its actual owner (the owners are the lordes of the grounde below; see 7^{V}b32n). This sense of mayster does not exactly correspond to any in the dictionaries; but cf. MED s.v. maister n. 2.(b).

18. ȝif it so be that he may not kepe hym: cf. si non statim sibi remittere poterit 'if he cannot immediately send (the animal) back to him (i.e. the owner)'; the marked difference in sense is enough to make one suspect that the translator had a different reading in his exemplar (e.g. retinere for remittere).

28. suche bestes. The additional words in YATE (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS) are presumably original (cf. custodes talium domorum), and their subsequent loss is easily explained as the result of homoeoteleuton error.

32. the lordes of the grounde: i.e. the owners (as ModE landlord) -- compare 8a15. The phrase is parallel to (and modelled on?) terrarum dominorum. However the original implies that ownership is in the hands of political overlords who levy a toll on these houses.

f. 8a

4. in so moche (þer was). This use of 'insomuch' without a following 'that' -- the reading here and in the best abridged MSS -- in the sense 'to the extent that' seems unrecorded (MED s.v. in so muche adv. (b); OED s.v. insomuch adv. 4. seems a different nuance, and in any case is not cited till the 17thC).

7. vnthrifty: Latin vile 'poor', 'paltry', corresponding to OED s.v. unthrifty adj. 2b 'characterized by absence of well-being, indicative of unprosperity'; but the reading of the English witness O, viz. sympill, would imply that at least one contemporary scribe interpreted the English word in a rather less depreciatory sense.

9. there men solde breed. This motif possibly originates in the traditional etymology of the name Beth(-)lehem as 'house of bread'.

20. lefte onliche to hym: ?'remained to no one but him'. A translation 'he was the sole inheritor' might seem appropriate in the context; but there are no recorded examples of "leave" intr. in the specific sense 'pass by inheritance' (though the transitive use is well attested in ME and of course in ModE).

25. also. This reading fits the context, but OBN's all better suits the Latin totaliter destructa. Possibly the original reading was *all so.

30-36. The scribal punctuation implies a major break after market in line 33; but this is very harsh, with the clause beginning and that myghte (and omitted in the abridged tradition) having a plural verb were. Only reference to the original unambiguously indicates that the most appropriate punctuation is to place the major break after solde in line 31, and only a comma after (33)market.

f. 8b

11. rydynge on an asse. This, like toward the Citee of Bethleem, is an insertion by the translator, who has a certain flair for dramatic colour.

17. in pouere aray. aray suggests the outward appearance of dress, e.g. as a mark of rank (or lack thereof) -- see examples in MED s.v. arrai n. 5.(b); in other words, the couple were obviously poor.

The motif is reiterated later (in tanta paupertate). It may be that the author wanted to stress this aspect of their condition simply for literary reasons (in order to strike a dramatic contrast with the Three Kings), rather than as a political statement. The translator on the other hand is less concerned to reproduce such references; compare his delicacy in referring to the physical condition of the holy mother and child (see the next note). By contrast at 8b34 he includes a gratuitous for sauacioun of al mankynde (cf. 9^{V}a15; 78/35; 102/16), suggesting perhaps a greater concern with the story's theological aspects.

23. heuy and sory. Another example of this collocation is found in MED s.v. hevi adj. 4.(a), (1473) Stonor 1.134: Y and wyff be right heve and sory.

Neither adjective admits a precise translation. hevy can mean 'slow-moving', 'dulled with weariness', 'burdened with woe', 'sorrowful', 'troubled' -- MED s.v. hevi adj. 3.(b), 4.(a), 5a.(a). sory can imply 'weak or distressed with sickness' -- OED s.v. sorry a. This vagueness may be a deliberate attempt to avoid the explicitness of the original gementem et suspirantem 'groaning and sighing'.

29. doune in (var. into) the lytel derke hous. In the Latin the Nativity is not explicitly pictured as taking place in a dark, subterranean setting. But the motif must have been familiar -- indeed, as previously noted, it was a very ancient one -- and the translator perhaps unconsciously reproduced it. It is noteworthy that the variant reading into implies that the lytel derke hous itself was regarded as being below ground level.

f. 8^{V}a

1. of olde tyme: (adhuc) ab antiquo 'from former times', viz. when the building served as an alchan.

5. that noman myght herberwe: ?'that no one was able to provide shelter for'. However the Latin apparently means that 'he' (i.e. the poor man) 'could nowhere find shelter for' the animal (though CL hospitari is deponent and means 'be a guest', examples in this chapter suggest that the verb in ML could be deponent or non-deponent and was equivalent in sense to 'in hospicium vel domum recipere'). The change of subject might seem a minor discrepancy. However the abridged MSS read eu(er) after myght. If the text is sound we should presumably class this use with the emphatic sense ('at all') of MED s.v. euer adv. 4 -- though the examples are mainly drawn from exclamatory clauses and rhetorical questions, and the emphatic sense does not seem particular relevant in this context. In the circumstances Hm.'s emendation

owher seems very attractive (cf. nusquam), and the variety of spellings gathered in MED s.v. o-wher adv. suggest that confusion with ever would have been easy. Alternatively, herberwe may be a noun, and euer a corruption of some verb such as take -- for take herberwe 'grant lodging' see MED s.v. herberwe n. 2.(a). It is possible on the other hand to propose emendments to the Latin in order to bring the two versions more closely into line, for example by reading nullus unquam in place of nusquam. Finally it is worth recording that the reading of the alternative tradition mystified most of the scribes, as did the word herberwe in some cases, where the word was interpreted as 'borrow her'.

9. wrappede hir blessede sone in clothes: the Latin more graphically pictures 'her wailing child' in 'miserable rags' -- see 8b17n,23n.

11. for þer was none other place: cf. prout melius potuit 'as best she could'.

12-25. The source of this passage about the mangers is presumably Ludolf (see Ludolf 94; cf. 20^{V}a26ff), which may therefore also have been the source of the comparable information about the alchans.

17. of iij or iiij fote of lengthe: circa trium pedum longitudine 'about three feet in length'; 'three or four . . . ' is possibly a ME way of expressing the approximation 'about three'.

25. The English translation omits a sentence in the Latin giving further details about stables in the East.

26. The abridged tradition begins a new chapter here, so that for the time being its chapter numeration is one ahead of our MS.

30. when he was a chylde. This is an addition by the translator. The details about David derive ultimately from 1 Sam. 17:34-36.

31. fedde: 'pastured'; a rare sense, but paralleled in MED s.v. feden v. 1.(d), a1425(a1382) WBible(1) Gen.37.13: Thi britheren feden [WBible(2): kepen] sheep in Sichemys. The variant reading in the citation suggests that feden and kepen were synonyms in this context; perhaps fedde in our text was chosen by the translator to avoid overuse of the verb kepe in the same passage.

35. to kepe her sheepe in the nyght: ?'to maintain an all-night vigil over their sheep'. It is not explained here why this was done at two specific times in the year; but Comestor, perhaps the ultimate source of the present information, describes the practice as a solar ritual, and speculates that it was adopted by the Jews from neighbouring peoples (18[6]^{V}b: Mos fuit antiquioribus in vtroque solsticio vigilias noctis custodire ob solis veneracionem; qui forte mos etiam apud iudeos ex vsu cohabitantium inoleuerat).

f. 8^{v}b

1-2. The scribe (or a later hand) noticed the mistranslation -- the Latin referring to the vernal and autumnal solstice, not to the equinoxes -- and corrected the text accordingly. As the equinoxes would enjoy a more moderate climate in England, the original mistake is understandable.

3ff. The difficulties in this description of the geography of the East were compounded by lacunae in the translator's exemplar.

The essence of the argument runs as follows (the matter in square brackets was lost in the exemplar):

"The geography of the East shows remarkable variety. Most of the country is mountainous; in some parts the alternation of seasons is not obvious; other parts are very cold. Some parts exhibit the pattern of seasonal variation familiar to us, but the variation depends on altitude; for example, in some parts snow remains even in August.

"However, the normal pattern in the East is that [it is generally far too hot during the summer months for growing crops]. By September milder conditions prevail, and crops can begin to grow. Consequently, their crop cycle begins in September-October, in contrast to March-April here, with the harvest not generally arriving until May.

"By Christmas barley is already beginning to ripen in the fields in the area around Bethlehem, where the soil is unusually fertile. This makes the season suitable for pasturing mules and horses. This local abundance of fodder, together with a mild winter and other factors, accounted for the presence of the shepherds in the fields around Bethlehem at the season of the Nativity."

Peake 28-29 confirms the general accuracy of the description. The distinction in valeyes or in pleyne contrees or in mountaignes corresponds to the threefold division of the Holy Land into coastal plain, central hills, and the Jordan Valley. Climate varies greatly between these regions: "snow can be falling in Jerusalem, while 15 miles away Jericho can be sweltering in almost tropical heat" (cf. 8^{V}b17: in som place of the Est men shal fynde snowe in the Monthe of august). In the wilderness areas "soil vegetation dies during the summer months, reviving again after the autumn rains, and giving pasture to bedouin goats and hardy mountain sheep". However Bethlehem lies in the central hills, where the climate is milder and there is ample rain.

13. after the tyme: secundum suum tempus 'in their due time' (in contrast to those areas where a man shal not wel knowe wynter from somer); but the passage could be interpreted as implying that winter and summer occur later in the East than in þis contree (for time 'season' see OED s.v. time sb. 13.b.). Unfortunately the translator's choice of words in this passage has at times been less than felicitous (e.g. bothe wynter and

somer), and in consequence he has made heavy weather of what was originally an already quite complex sentence. In the circumstances it is not surprising to find considerable variation and uncertainty in the readings and punctuation of the MSS.

16. in som place. This superfluous phrase is omitted in most MSS; it may have entered the text by dittography from the line below.

29. wasteth: 'melts' is not quite right: the nuance is rather, 'dwindles', 'changes its nature, and ceases to be what it is' -- OED s.v. waste v. 12.

31-36. The original meaning of this sentence was quite obscured by corruption in the translator's exemplar. After the equivalent of But comounlyche in al the contree of the Est the original Latin adds that the sun is far too hot in summer months for plants to grow (but ȝif it be . . .); furthermore the original text corresponding to or aboute an hille there any floode is actually means 'or along irrigation channels in gardens'. The final part of the sentence, which originally contained an allusion to intensive watering practices, had become quite garbled, so ther is eueremore . . . snow a boute in the contree (paralleled uniquely in the Latin witness D) is presumably a guess on the part of a mystified scribe who was unable to discern that the discussion had moved from conditions in colder regions to those in hot ones.

The ensuing passage (beginning In septembre and octobre), describes the milder conditions of autumn, and follows naturally from the original description of the hotter months.

f. 9a

1. whan the sonne comethe a litel lowe: sole paululum declinante 'as the sun declines a little'; the expression comethe lowe may have been something of a technical term.

2. seedis: cf. gramina 'grasses', 'plants'; perhaps the exemplar read semina.

9-12. after the place . . . lower: i.e. according to the altitude of the area (cf. secundum locorum situacionem); the second part of the phrase elaborates the first.

14. goode places of pasture (var. placys of goode pasture): (loca) pascuosa. (places) of hoot and fatte grounde: loca vberima 'very fertile land'.

20. At the end of this sentence the Latin has a further sentence to the effect that barley is sold in the fields according to measure, and the horses and mules are put into special stabula (ME stables, presumably temporary enclosures) until they are fattened. The equivalent English is only preserved in those MSS with the A-additions (see INTRODUCTION 10.3.1).

24. the tyme of herbes. This designation perhaps derives from the name of the Hebrew month Abib, lit. 'shooting into ear (spoken of barley)'; this month however corresponds to March-April.

24-33. The for as moche as clause implies that if these preconditions (peaceful conditions, a nearby town, and mild weather) had not prevailed at the time of the Nativity, the shepherds would not have ventured to remain all night in the fields.

30. but half a myle and a lytel weye more: presumably 'a little more than half a mile'. However the sense of et via aliquantulum longa is obscure; it may mean something like 'it was rather a long way to go (by road)', or alternatively, 'it was just a short journey'.

33. al þat wynter nyght and day: to judge by the Latin this means 'all that winter long, both by day and by night', and not 'the whole of that winter's night and the day (following)'. However the practice referred to in this sentence seems somewhat at variance with the earlier information (8^{V}a33-b2) that the solstices were the two points in the year when the shepherds kept an all-night vigil in the fields.

CHAPTER 7

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 9b 36 þat] þe YARTDEBN.

This chapter describes Herod's background, and introduces further polemics.

f. 9b

2ff. The material in the present chapter is of unknown origin, but can most plausibly be attributed to the source that provided the polemical material in earlier sections (e.g. ch.2, on the disputes between Christians and Jews on the subject of Balaam and Job). Interestingly, certain phrases in the Latin imply a specifically "overseas" or oriental perspective in this source (in partibus orientis et vltramarinis adhuc iudei . . .; . . . inter cristianos et iudeos in oriente de quibus inter eos in hijs partibus non est eis cura), which is consistent with the author's claims to have made use of sources from "Inde" written in Hebrew (see 5a36ffn; INTRODUCTION 3.3.3, 3.3.4).

5. thanne was erodes made and ordeyned . . .: 'by then Herod had been appointed . . .' (erat constitutus), i.e. state, not action.

Herod the Great was appointed King of the Jews by the Romans in 40 B.C. and ruled from 37 B.C. to 4 B.C. He was ruler at the time of Christ's birth and for some time after (until the return of the Holy Family from Egypt). He came from an Edomite family, and as a secular king pursued an active policy of Hellenization. After his death his kingdom was divided between his sons Antipas, Archelaus, and Philip -- a fact which has some bearing on the Jewish case concerning the continuity of their 'unction' (ODCC s.v. Herod family; OCD s.v. Herod(1)).

11. sogettes. The citations in OED s.v. subject adj. indicate that this form could be the inflected plural of the adjective, rather than a noun.

14. he: i.e. Caesar Augustus; the short main clause is an elaboration of the translator.

17. Alien: alienigena; this equivalence seems standard in this sense -- see MED s.v. alien n. 2.(a), (b) 'an outsider; one of a different kindred or religion'.

27. seyden: perseverant dicentes; the Latin is in the present tense (as negant: forsake below).

28. vnctioun. The present passage is the earliest citation for the sense in OED s.v. unction 2 'the action of anointing as a symbol of investing with a certain office, esp. that of kingship'.

32-33. There is no translation of proselitum here, though the the translator's addition and so he was no verray Iewe is a partial equivalent; similarly a womman paynym is an approximate translation of matre gentili chananea 'a gentile Canaanite mother'.

f. 9^{v}a

2-10. Non auferetur . . .; Gen. 49:10. The sense of this passage in the original Hebrew is much in dispute, and a Messianic reference in such an early part of the OT questionable (see Peake 172ff).

7. the stokke of the lynage (rendering dux de femore eius): 'the founder of the line' -- or perhaps 'of the tribe', referring to one of the twelve tribes of Israel (see MED s.v. linage 4a).

12. of her vnctioun and her kynges: ?'of the legitimacy of their kings'; compare H's reading of the unccion of her kynges. There is no specific equivalent in the original.

CHAPTER 8

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 9^{V}b 15 strede] stered KYRDEBN, stirid AO, sturid T; hym] hem Y. 16 hym] add self KYARTDEOBN. 23 quirendum] inquirendum KYARTDEOBN.
f. 10a 5 or made an asse] om. OBN.

The Star rises and delivers its message to the awestruck people.

f. 9^{V}a

19ff. The Star begins its rise at night, at the very hour of the Nativity. It ascends above Mt. Vaus in the forme (modum 'fashion') of an egle and remains motionless in primo intersticio aeris (in the heyest place of the eyre; see below). It is so bright (perhaps because of its proximity) that by day it seems like another sun. After remaining relatively close to the earth during the night of the Nativity and the day after, it ascends to the firmament, where it assumes an unusual and striking (and less purely sun-like?) appearance, and delivers its message.

The sources for this account can be only imperfectly identified. The gospel has nothing special to say about the Star as such. Suggestions of its unusual nature and appearance appear first in later writings. Origen (c185-c254) -- a theologian with whom our author has some acquaintance (285/n29ff) -- states:

> We think that the star which appeared in the east was a new star [compare HTR: stella noua] and not like any of the ordinary ones, neither of those in the fixed sphere nor of those in the lower spheres, but it is to be classed with the comets which occasionally occur, or meteors. . . . (Contra Celsum 1:58)

According to the probably mid-2ndC Protoevangelium of James (qtd. in Hughes 127), it was "an indescribably great star which dimmed the surrounding stars".

(More recent speculation on the Star of Bethlehem is reviewed by Hughes, who identifies it with a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces; he believes this to be the only contemporary astronomical event with an appropriate message, in that to the Babylonians and Jews alike it heralded the coming of the Messiah).

The present description blends a number of motifs: a) the Star was as bright as the sun; b) it looked like (or moved like) an eagle; c) it had the form of a young child and the sign of the cross above. In addition there is note of a tradition that the day of the Nativity was marked by the appearance of many suns.

Of these elements the third, namely the appearance of the Star as a young child with a cross, together with its message (9^{V}b15-28), clearly parallels the description of Op.Imperf. (habens in se formam quasi pueri parvuli et super se similitudem crucis et loquuta est eis et docuit eos et praecepit eis ut proficiscerentur in Judeam). The source of the other details is speculative. A clue comes from an earlier passage (describing the starwatchers' mountain), where one of the sources was clearly Op.Imperf., and it was suggested that the Vaus source was the most likely possibility for the other (see 4b14n, 5b30n, 6b35n).

All that can be added is that the spectacular nature of the Star is in keeping with source(s) dependent on Eastern traditions, such motifs being apparently alien to the West (as inferred by 9^{V}b5-8). Whether there is more than one lost source is impossible to say: there are references to variant traditions (e.g. at 9^{V}a35-b2), but these may have been present in the author's source.

25. the same sterre bygan to a ryse. . . . In the original the event is the more awesome in that God Almighty causes the Star to rise and at the same time is himself born man in Bethlehem.

29. in the heyest place of the eyre: cf. in primo intersticio aeris. In medieval cosmology the air was regarded as consisting of two or three layers, of which the uppermost (='the first'?) was the purest and clearest -- see MED s.v. air n.(1). Above the air was the sphere of fire and the firmament in which the heavenly bodies moved -- see MED s.v. firmament n. As the sphere of air was the lowest of the spheres, even the 'highest place of the air' would have been relatively close to earth.

31. In spite of the appearance of what seems to be a caret mark in the middle of this line, there is no sign of a corresponding correction in the MS, nor is there any suggestion in the other witnesses or in the Latin that text has been lost.

34. shynynge: claritate 'brightness'; a translation of the ME word as 'intensity', '(degree of) radiance' seems appropriate in the context, a nuance which would perhaps merit an entry in MED s.v. shynyng(e ger. 1.(a).

f. 9^{v}b

5. þat thus was shewed: 'that appeared in this way', or possibly, 'in the form that it then assumed'.

7. to sterres that be peynted here in diuerse places: the Latin says 'as it [the Star] is depicted here in churches'. It is not easy to account for the discrepancy. Possibly churches in England lacked such paintings, and the translator altered the unfamiliar reference, or the vagueness covers corruption in the exemplar (compare 6b11n).

9. strakes and bemes: radios 'rays'. The former word is etymologically distinct from "streak", but the two forms were often confused; compare OED s.v. strake sb.[1] 6. with s.v. streak sb.[1] 3.a, b.

10. more brennynge and more lighter: ardenciores 'more fiery'.

15. strede hym self a boute: circummouebantur 'moved about'. No record of the form strede appears in MED s.v. stiren v. or OED s.v. stir v.; the other MSS have stired, stured, &c.

Only Y has hem in place of hym (self); this is presumably a secondary correction of an archetypal mistake.

19-28. The Star's message is a pastiche of Balaam's prophecy and the gospel text.

The notion of a talking star must have been difficult even for contemporary minds to accept, hence the explanation at 9^{v}b28-10a10. In practical terms the introduction of this motif provides a direct, if naive, way around a traditional difficulty in the gospel account, namely how the Magi knew from the appearance of the Star that they were to go and seek the King of the Jews (as noted above, the message may have been couched in astrological terms; see Hughes 2).

31. this mater a foresayde: materiam et rem gestam. The Nativity in Bethlehem serves to afferme ('corroborate', 'confirm') the miraculous proclamation of the Star.

34-35. The citation is from Rom. 4:17.

f. 10a

2. þis: the word anticipates the following subordinate clause (compare hoc).

5. ȝaf a voys of an asse . . . made an asse to speke. The first phrase is a calque on the Latin daret vocem ex asina 'caused-to-emerge' (lit. 'gave') 'a voice from the ass', and the second a more idiomatic equivalent (the phrase is condensed in the B-text in line with 10a8-9).

11. al the peple bothe man and womman. For the singular forms in apposition to a plural noun, compare MED s.v. man n. 3c.(a), a1425 Here begynnes a new 295: Than yede al the postyls . . . to teche To holde & yong, lasse & more, To man & wyffe of alle kynd.

CHAPTER 9

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 10a 35 after] add þe sterre KYAE, add þis sterre RO.
f. 10b 30 beddynge or to chambre and to kechyn] chambre as beddynge and all that longith to halle and kechyn O, halle or kechyn BN.
f. 10^{V}a 36 fer] om. OBN.
f. 10^{V}b 3 lande] yle KYATD, om. R. 4 or] om. KAR, and TDEOBN; Vnde . . provincias] om. KYATDEOBN, anom. R.

The Three Kings prepare for their journey.

f. 10a

22. Ca^{m} ix. Our MS follows the abridged versions in setting the chapter break at this point; however all known Latin texts place the beginning of ch.9 at the equivalent of 9^{V}b28.

26. syker and enformed: informati et . . . instructi. Both Latin words fall within the semantic range of enformed ('instructed', 'taught'; 'informed') -- MED s.v. enfourmen v. 1, 4, 5. syker 'having certain knowledge' -- OED s.v. sicker a. II.8 -- is properly the state resulting from being enformed; compare the variants sikirly enformed (H), siker after the (in)formation of (OBN).

35. loked after. After these words the best abridged MSS add þe sterre. This addition may result from an overliteral rendering of a redundant eam in the Latin text; or it may arise from a misinterpretation of that . . . after (10a33-35) not as a relative clause but as a second noun clause dependent on þey were ryght gladde (for which the redundant þe sterre supplies the "missing" object).

f. 10b

3. þis sterre apperede to hem alle iij. This is not exactly what the Latin says ('they were each informed about the Star at the same time), nor what 10a27-28 implies. The translator's version was perhaps an unconscious alteration, but it points to a real difficulty: how did the Kings receive news of the Star so quickly, separated as their kingdoms were by vast distances (per nimiam et maximam earum terrarum et Regnorum distanciam separati)?

The problem no doubt goes back to the author's sources. At this point in the narrative, now that the story of the watch on Mt. Vaus and the Star had been treated, the author decided to introduce the Three Kings. But the identification of the Magi as three kings, however familiar to us, is in fact largely confined to Western versions of the legend (see INTRODUCTION 3.1); oriental traditions preserved different interpretations of their number and identity. If our author was up to this point

following sources that generally reflect Eastern traditions (as Op.Imperf. undoubtedly does, and presumably also the Vaus-source), it is more than likely that these sources portrayed the Magi as a people who were guardians of the knowledge of the Star prophesied by Balaam; in other words the Magi and the starwatchers were one and the same. At the same time this would have presented a real difficulty for our author, for whom the identity of the Magi as "great and glorious kings" (243/n9) was a crucial motif. It is this difficulty, I surmise, that lies at the heart of this rather abrupt transition in the narrative.

The sources of the present chapter are correspondingly indeterminate. The first part, the account of the preparations for the King's journey, may simply be an elaboration based on the implications of the description in 10^{V}a5-23. The source of the latter passage (dealing with travel in the East) may well be the same source that supplied the earlier description of the Alchans. Regarding the sources of the final section on the Three Indes, see 10^{V}a24n,29ffn.

5. ordeyned and purposede hem. This is possibly a translation doublet ('resolved-and-purposed' -- MED s.v. ordeinen v. 5.; MED s.v. purposen v.), with the dependent infinitive following at line 14. However, ordeyned could mean 'made ready' (MED s.v. ordeinen v. 3.), compare se preparauerunt, in which case this is presumably a conflated construction: 'made ready (with great gifts . . .) and purposed to seek . . .'.

11. and with grete nombre and grete multitude of peple. The idea that the Magi had attendants was rarely expressed before the late 13thC. It appears first in writing in Walafrid Strabo (early 9thC): " . . . since they were princes, who led many people in their retinue" (qtd. in Kaplan 8). Such descriptions may conceivably have been influenced by accounts in chronicles of the exotic entourage of the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II (1194-1250); see Kaplan 10/n1.

16. hadde commaunded spoke and preched: dixit precepit et predicauit; the wording is an exact echo of Op.Imperf.

22ff. The passage from here to 10^{V}a5 is a paraphrase of a complicated, and partly corrupt (e.g. omni eorum expedicioni; cf. omnem eorum expedicionem O) sentence in the original.

23. euery kyng by (the second by is of course redundant) hym self. This phrase may derive from omni eorum having been taken in a distributive sense, 'to each of them'.

30. (to chambre or) to kechyn. A common idiom in similar contexts is the phrase "hall or kitchen" -- MED s.v. hal(le n. 2.(b) -- as in some of the MSS (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

f. 10^{V}a

13. gone or ryde. Strictly ME gone means 'walk' -- hardly an appropriate mode of travel for lords. But the two verbs seem to be an idiomatic doublet meaning roughly 'travel'; compare gone and ryde at line 21, and examples in MED s.v. gon v. 1a.(b) and s.v. riden v. 2.(b).

16. profitable . . . ne honeste: commoda. For a similar collocation, compare (a1398) *Trev.Barth. 27b/a: olde men . . . chesiþ þe veynes of þe arme to assaie þe pulse & is more esy, more profitable & more honest -- MED s.v. honest(e adj. 2.c.

to hem reflects K's reading ipsis (commoda) for in ipsis. In fact even O's text is suspect; but the general sense is clear enough from the context, viz. that such inns do not have the resources to meet the large requirements of the retinues of lords, so that the latter are obliged to take with them all their own supplies, bedding, and so on.

24. ther been iij yndes of the whiche thise iij lordes were kynges. It is difficult to reconstruct a clear picture of what is meant by the terms ynde, or the 'Three Indes', in this work. The author's world view seems to be a composite of elements both classical (a single India?) and Biblical (e.g. the Nile as one of the (four) rivers of Paradise; 11a3). The notion of Three Indes is found in some classical writers and in Arabic geographers.

The author states at 10^{V}b8 that [i]n the firste ynde was þe londe of Nubye; however he says no more on the subject of Nubye, and all subsequent information concerns Melchior's other kingdom of Arabie. The latter is associated with Mt. Sinai and the Red Sea; both names would have been familiar from the Bible, and their location on the way from Egypt to the Promised Land would presumably have been appreciated. As for the Second Inde, it is associated only with the vaguely located Biblical Saba ('Sheba') and the unknown Godolie. The Third Inde is associated with the Biblical Thaars and the mysterious Isle of Egriswelle. The kingdoms are specifically designated as smale at 11^{V}a14, and their existence may depend solely on the Biblical prophecy cited at 11^{V}a17 (kynges of Thars and of the Ile shulle offer ȝiftes kynges of arabie and of Saba shulle brynge ȝiftes). To complicate matters, India and Ethiopia (Nubye?) were often confused.

It is clearly impossible to attribute to the author a internally consistent view of the East. His geography represents an accumulated patchwork of descriptions from his sources -- themselves confused (see Kaplan 65-66) -- onto which he imposed his own interpretations. Certainly we would do well not to confuse any of the Three Indes with our own notion of India. In the present context all that can be said about ynde is that it was a region of the world which could be reached by sailing through the rede see.

29ff. grete wateres and wildernesses . . .; cf. BC 9, 11-12.

While not directly connected with this text the Hereford map gives an idea of the state of contemporary geographic knowledge (the map dates from the late 13thC, but academic geography would not have changed greatly in the succeeding century).

(Bevan, W.L., and H.W. Phillott. Medieval geography: an essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa mundi. London: Stamford, 1873.)

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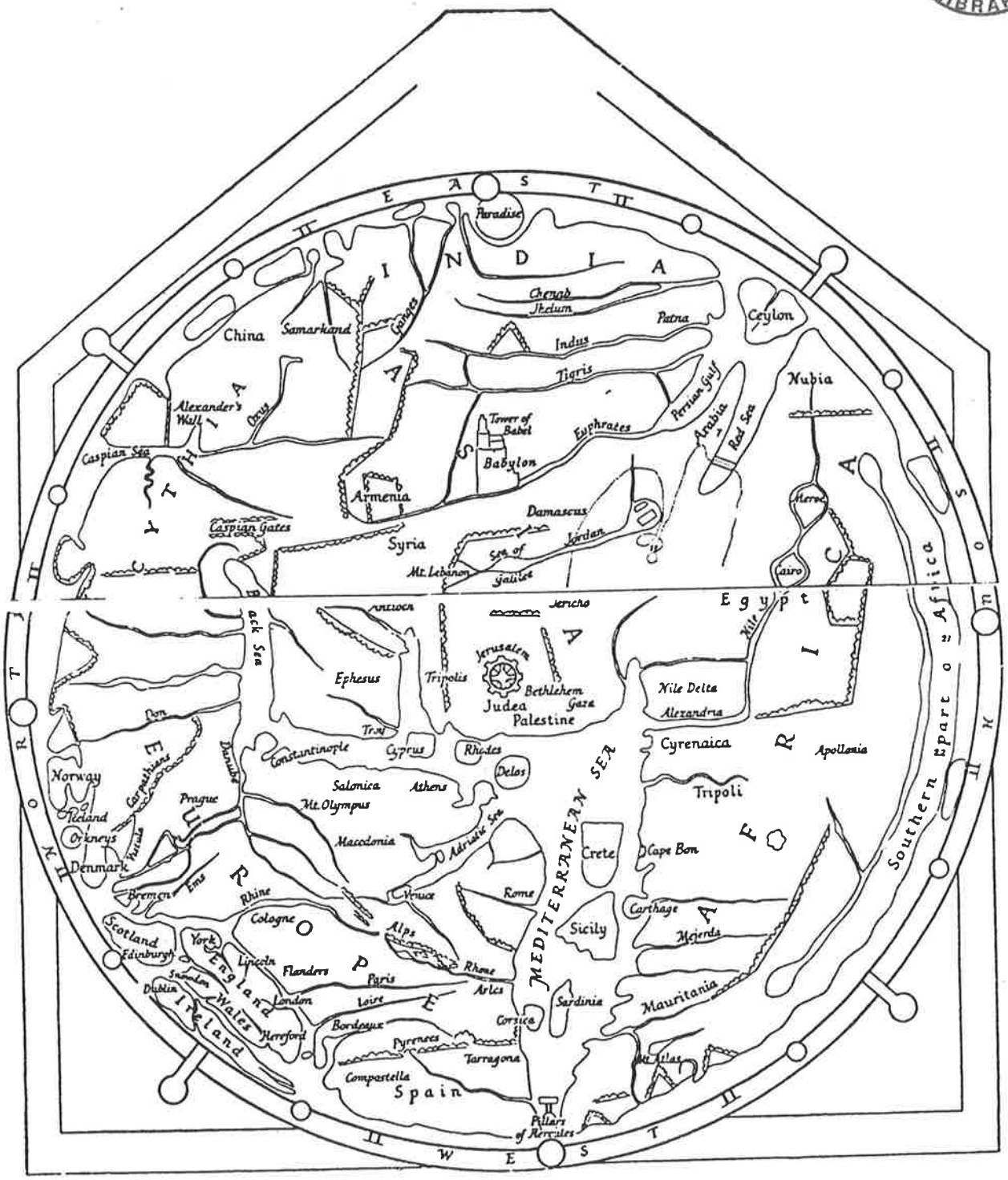

Fig. 8. The Hereford Mappa mundi.

f. 10^{V}b

1. ryght perilous bestes: cf. animalia et bestie speciales. The author elsewhere appreciates the sense of specialis, so either perilous represents a transfer of sense from the adverb periculose in the following sentence, or [ita] quod had dropped out in the exemplar, allowing (vltra modum) periculose to be taken as an adjective qualifying bestie, and et laboriose as the first words of the new sentence.

4. Vnde . . . provincias. These words appear in the Latin, but not in the other English MSS (in R a translated version of the text appears, undoubtedly as the result of editorial intervention). In themselves they are not very closely connected with the context. A possible explanation for the anomalous retention of these words in the original language in our MS is that they were taken to be a Biblical citation (they reflect the opening words of the book of Esther).

CHAPTER 10

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 10^{V}b 19 see] add it KYAR. 24 þat] add in KYARTDEOBN. 31 in the] of ATDEOBN.
f. 11a 3 flood] add into a flode YART(D)E. 5 so] þat Nilus KYARTD(E)OB(N). 25 Bona] Bena KYARTDE. 32 And . . (11b4)day] om. KYARTDEOBN.

This chapter describes the realm of King Melchior, the land of gold.

f. 10^{V}b

8ff. The opening description is marred by textual loss. A minor instance is after (13)the hille of Synay, where the equivalent of 'and the Red Sea' originally appeared but was lost in the translator's exemplar. More significant is the omission, evidently also through eyeskip, of a sizeable passage which in the original appears at 226/n17, corresponding to 10^{V}b16 (between in to ynde and fferthermore pilgrymes and marchantz). The lost text refers to contemporary political conditions in the area. Control of the Red Sea is divided between the Sultan, who controls the nearer part, and the Christian King Prester John (see 11a34n), who controls the farther part; both rulers monitor traffic and communications through the Sea, to prevent the other gaining any advantage.

(This description reflects the state of tension between Saracens and Christians in the period following the fall of the Crusader kingdoms, when repeated menaces of new Crusades kept the authorities in Egypt and Palestine apprehensive and suspicious of the intentions of Christian merchants and pilgrims visiting these parts.)

The matter concerning Arabia and the Red Sea has close parallels with Ludolf 83-84, though the form here differs, and some of the details are peculiar to HTR; in particular it is notable that Ludolf does not use the expression "the First Inde" (see the note at line 16). There are also parallels in BC 9, 13.

11. There is also: the original says 'He was also king of'.

16. ynde. It is unclear whether the author took this ynde to be the same as his "First Inde" containing Nubye and Arabie.

17. that from ynde passe by the rede see (passe by: 'pass through'). The text lost at 10^{V}b16 explains how there are fortified islands at the nearer approach to the Red Sea, where Christian merchants, friars, and travellers are stopped, and are then forced to travel a circuitous land route to "India" via Persia. Prester John likewise has garrisons at his end of the Red Sea. However, as the Red Sea is thre cornered (10^{V}b29), traffic entering the open end of the Sea would presumably have been more difficult to police. Thus it would have been those persons who pass from ynde through the Red Sea who were the principle informants for local conditions.

24. þat the. The reading of the alternative tradition þat in the supplies the obvious emendment.

26. descriue. As at 7a3n the MSS have a variety of spellings for this verb, some unrecorded (e.g. discreyve, discroy, descoy).

28ff. As the Occeane was thought of as a sea surrounding the earth (see 29^{V}a33ffn), then neither (31)in to the londe in the occeane nor the reading of some MSS into the londe of Occeane makes much sense. Our version corresponds to the exemplar's in terram et occeanum, O's reading being in terram ex occeano 'into the land from the Ocean' (indeed, this was how the scribe of P interpreted the passage, emending to into the londe <out> of Occeane). However the notion of an ebb and flow does not appear in the original description.

As the Red Sea is described as triangular, the 'four or five miles where it is widest' would refer to the base of this triangle, so that the Sea is pictured more or less in its true shape and orientation. However the term "Red Sea" was used designate various bodies of water, including what is now termed the Gulf of Aden, so once again we need to be on our guard against projecting modern geographic notions onto the text.

33. broddest. This spelling is unrecorded, though braddest, and bradder(e), brodder(e) comp., are cited in OED s.v. broad a., MED s.v. brod adj.

f. 11a

3. a grete flood of paradys. The abridged tradition reads a grete flood into a flode of paradys (alius fluuius . . . qui incidit in Nilum fluuium paradisi); this second river is of obscure identity and origins. The notion of a flood of paradys derives from the OT, where the Nile appears as one of the four rivers flowing out of Eden (Gen. 2:10-14).

5. and so. The alternative tradition reads and þat Nilus.

6. grete: nobilissima (referring to quality rather than quantity).

10. Babiloyne: this is not the Babylon in Mesopotamia (which at this period was only a ruin; see 298/n21ff), but the "new Babylon", one of the Sultan's cities in Egypt (see 246/n27-247/2, 284/n20).

11. that so forth been bore: 'that are then carried onwards'.

25. Bona (var. Bena): this is a phantom name, deriving from a corruption (already present in the exemplar) of the common noun vena (sc. smaragdina) 'a vein (of emerald)' reinterpreted as a proper noun.

32ff. The last sentence of this chapter is not included in the abridged versions, and thus represents the first supplement (apart from the Table of Contents, and the anomalous 10^{V}b4-8) that distinguishes the unabridged and abridged texts.

34. prestre Iohn. This is the first appearance in our MS of this legendary medieval figure (in the original he is introduced in the lacuna at 10^{V}b16.

From the 12th century, it was commonly believed in the West that there existed in some region of the Orient a powerful Christian king called Prester John, who would one day form an alliance with Western Christendom against the infidel. There was even a letter in circulation purporting to be a communication from Prester John to the princes of Christendom. The origins of this legend are unclear, but are probably to be sought against the background of the rise to power of the Mongols in the 12thC and 13thC; the Mongol leaders initially favoured Christians over Moslems, and some of their princes married Kerait princesses who were Nestorian Christians.

Gradually, however, the presumed location of Prester John's realm shifted from the distant East to Africa; it should be recalled that Nubia, Christianised in the 6thC, maintained a degree of independence until conquered by Moslem armies in the early 1300s, while a strong Christian dynasty emerged in Ethiopia in 13thC (Kaplan 48-49). Our present passage represents a stage in this shift, as does the later reference (12^{V}b28-30) to Prester

John as one among the 'princes of the kingdom of Nubia'. Needless to say we should not expect consistency in this matter from our author, who was bound to reflect the discrepancies present in his sources.

For further details see ODCC s.v. Prester John; EB and EB^{11} s.v. Prester John; Kaplan 43ff; Zarncke; etc.

(EB^{11}. Encyclopaedia Britannica. 11th edition.

Zarncke, Friedrich, ed. "Der Priester Johannes". Abhandlungen der phil. hist. Classe der K. Sächsichen Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften 17 (1878): 829-1028.)

CHAPTER 11

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 11b 20 in the worlde] Capitulum xiij^{m} KYATD, om. REOBN.
f. 11^{V}a 1 drawe hem] throwe ATDE, bynde hym OBN. 7 of(2)] add þe KYAOBN. 33 that] om. KYARTDEOBN.

The kingdoms of Balthazar and Jaspar -- the lands of incense and myrrh.

f. 11b

6. Godolie. The only reference to a kingdom of this name is at Ludolf 111, in the story of the Thirty Pennies, where the kingdom is linked not with Sheba, as in HTR, but with Melchior's kingdom of Nubia. However in the source cited by Ludolf (a 'history of those kings of the East who offered gifts to our Lord', probably to be identified as one of our author's sources; see INTRODUCTION 3.3.4 and MAJOR LACUNA 94/24n), the assignation of kingdoms to respective Kings may have differed.

10. ther was also in that londe of olde tyme the kyngdome of saba: the Latin says that 'among his other lands was also the famous' (var. 'was another') 'ancient kingdom Sheba'. The identification of saba with Sheba is confirmed by the reference to Quene Saba at 16^{V}b25.

17. it droppeth doun oute of: 'it exudes from the inside of'; compare MED s.v. droppen v. 2.(a), Trev.Higd. 1.101: Cedres treen and herbes . . . þat droppeþ gom and smelleþ swetely.

20. in the worlde. These words are omitted in the alternative tradition, and a chapter break follows (the abridged chapter numeration is henceforth two ahead of our MS).

22. Thaars: the Tarshish of the psalm (see 11^{V}a17n); in Young's Concordance Tharshish is identified variously as Tartessus in Spain, Carthage in the north of Africa, and Ceylon in the south of India.

(Young, Robert. Analytical concordance to the Holy Bible. 8th. ed. London: Lutterworth, 1939).

27. Egriswill[e]. The name is unexplained (see MV 216, BC 14/n5). The Latin connects the island with the resting place of St. Thomas, and later with the heretical sect of the Nestorines; this has clear parallels at BC 14, except that in BC Egsowa does not seem to be thought of as an island.

29-30. The cancelled text is identical with the first part of 11^{V}b23, where it also follows the words þe world, in the same area of the page -- though it is unclear why the scribe should have started to copy from the verso of the folio.

31. brente with the weder; compare MED s.v. brennen v. 3.(a), a1425(c1395) WBible(2) Gen.41.6: Eeris of corn . . . smytun with corrupcioun of brennynge wynd.

33. repe: as the text stands this presumably represents "reaped" (pp.) , and not "ripe" (adj.), since, as 9a18 shows, rype was the scribe's form for the latter. However, the alternative tradition reads ripe, and the Latin suggests "ripe", not "reaped", as the appropriate equivalent. As MED s.v. repen v.(1) lists ripe as a variant form of the participle, the explanation is presumably that the translator's ripe 'ripe' was taken by a later scribe as a participle and translated into his own form repe.

35ff. This description of the harvesting of myrrh presents some problems. While drawe hem al aboute is the archetypal reading, the sense is somewhat obscure (does al aboute mean 'around' or 'throughout'?), and some scribes altered the verb to "throw" or "bind". wronge oute is a good guess given the lacuna -- the original sense is that ripe myrrh is of the consistency of soft wax, and can be compressed into lumps.

According to Chamber's Encyclopaedia (s.v. Myrrh), myrrh is a gum-resin obtained from several species of small shrubs which grow in North-Eastern Africa and Arabia. It occurs in irregular tears which exude from the stem and harden into brittle brown masses. It has antiseptic properties, and is believed to have been an ingredient in a preparation used by the Egyptians for embalming and fumigating.

The R-text adds at the end of the description of the harvesting of myrrh, And in þe same manere wexiþ Thimeama. This sentence must have been reintroduced from the Latin, which in turn has a clear parallel at BC 85.

f. 11^{V}a

17. Dauid the prophete: i.e. the Psalmist. The citation is Ps. 72:10 (however for the Vulgate's arabum and saba, AV has 'Sheba' and 'Seba'; Young's Concordance identifies Sheba as a land in the south-west of Arabia, or in Africa near the Straits of Babel-mandeb, and Seba as the northern part of Ethiopia).

The notion that the Magi were kings seems ultimately to derive from this passage. In the West this tradition established itself at an early date; their number was set at three, and by the time of our author their names had also been settled on. However in different versions there is variation in regard to which kingdom (gift, age, etc.) belonged to which King.

Our author apparently felt that fuller explanation was required concerning the names and identity of the kingdoms of each King. Having stated that the Kings bore the titles of the relatively obscure lands of the "prophecy", he explains that this came about as an act of divine ordinance, whereby the Kings were to be known by the names of the lands the Three Gifts came from, rather than by the titles of their other larger kingdoms (meaning the other of the pair of names in their double titles?). But the

author seems to have had even less information about these other kingdoms. The point of the concluding remarks concerning the kingdom of Tharshish and the specification of the names has been irrecoverably lost through corruption (the point may be that the Kings owe their double titles to the obscurity or ambiguity of a single title; at line 32 the causal connection would make more sense if the same Ile referred to some island called Tarshish, but the reference could be to the Ile of Egriswille; that in line 33 is redundant -- see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

Regarding the author's sources, the brief description of the incense trees in saba has a parallel with a similar description of mastic at Ludolf 29, where however the place of origin of this substance is stated to be the island of Chios. As noted above, the description of the harvesting of myrrh has clear parallels with the description of the harvesting of thymeamen in BC 85 (compare et eodem modo et forma crescit thimiama in our text).

24. other names: presumably 'a second name each' (the original Latin specifically refers to the kings as binomij 'having double titles', but this reference was lost in the translator's exemplar).

CHAPTER 12

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 11^{V}b 5 and(1)] om. KYARTDEOBN.
f. 12a 15 euene] add and KYARTDEOBN. 17 neu..] neuer KYARTDEOBN. 18 ne(1)] add þei hemself ne KYATO, lac. R; her(2)] oþer KYATDE, lac. R. 20 nother eten] neuer etyn KY, eten neuer ATDE, neþer þei ete R, nothyr they did ete O, nor they did neyther ete BN. 31 dere] om. KYATDEOBN, lac. R. 34 an olde] þe KY, om. A, lac. R, a TDEOBN.
f. 12b 8 habet A. 9 vbi] cui KYRBN, cum O. Capitlm xiij] om. KYARTDEOBN.

The Kings reach Bethlehem in thirteen days.

f. 11^{V}b

13. euenlyche: 'similarly', 'equally', meaning presumably that the Star went before each of the Three Kings even though they were coming from different directions; 'constantly' is another possible translation, but the sense 'with uniform motion' seems to have developed later in the language -- see MED s.v. evenli adv. 2.(c), (d); OED s.v. Evenly adv. 2.

Like many other popular motifs the picture of the Magi following the Star to Jerusalem is without support in the gospel story (Hughes 2).

17. ȝeden or riden. This doublet has been discussed previously (see 10^{V}a13n).

18. in his vertue and in his strengthe. For other examples of this doublet see OED s.v. Virtue sb.I.6. vertue takes the meaning 'strength' from a ML use of virtus. The nuance '(act of) supernatural power', 'miracle' may also be present, but the basic notion in the present context is the strength of the Star's radiance; this is clear in the fuller text of O, which compares the brightness of the Star to the sun (whence it semede to hem that þe nyght was to hem day).

35. what they were. These words (an addition of the translator) perhaps imply that the inhabitants initially suspected that what they had seen in the night was some non-material or supernatural procession, and the confirmation of the hoofprints was needed to convince them of the real existence of the travellers.

f. 12a

3. othere bestes. This, like hors, is genitive plural.

27. þe xiij day. This figure derives from the thirteen days separating Christmas and Epiphany; however this tradition is at variance with Op.Imperf., which assigns two years to the outward journey (Proficiscentibus autem eis per biennium praecedebat stella, et neque esca, neque potus defecit in peris eorum).

36. in þe mydde of the day: in die meridiano. But the original Latin reads in dromedarijs, i.e. the Kings were travelling on dromedaries (racing camels). While the author's immediate source for this statement is unknown, the same explanation for the speed of their journey appears in other versions of the legend.

f. 12b

1-4. The Latin as it stands is equally obscure. Perhaps the original implication is that some books attribute the rapidity of the Kings' journey both to the use of dromedaries and to divine intervention.

5. seynt Gregory: Gregory the Great (c540-604), writer inter alia of "Homilies on the Gospels"; the present citation is from Hom. 2:26:1.

(Sancti Gregorii Papae I cognomento magni. xl homiliarum in evangelia libri II. Augustae Vindelicorum, 1761.)

13-15. Also byleue . . .: 'moreover, there is no merit' (or 'reward') 'in faith when human reason reveals these mysteries to Man' (or 'in faith which human reason verifies to Man').

hath implies that the translator's Latin contained the reading habet in line 8.

15. Capitlm xiij. The abridged versions make no break between the chapters, a defensible choice in literary terms. The Latin texts generally place the beginning of ch.13 at a later point, the equivalent of $12^{V}a9$; this however results in an unusually short chapter, which may be the reason why our Latin base, and presumably the exemplar, preferred to place the break at its present position.

CHAPTER 13

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 12b 16 that] om. OBN; oure] om. KYARTDE; lorde] add gode þat KYARTDEO, add god BN. 20 bytwixe] add in YR. 31 as] om. OBN.
f. 12Va 4 in] add þe KYATDEOBN, lac. R. 15 maked] meked YARTDE. 21 with] add þe KYARTDEOBN.

Justifying the ways of God to Man.

f. 12b

16. For that oure lorde. With the text as it stands, either the first word is a conjunction -- MED s.v. for conj. -- with that (demon. adj.) qualifying lorde, and the following clause being in parallel with the one beginning at line 25; or For that is a word-unit ('because', 'since' -- MED s.v. for-that conj.). But the superiority of the abridged reading for oure (or possibly þat) lord gode þat is confirmed by the original Nam ipse deus qui.

17ff. Abacuk: Habakkuk, a figure who appears in an apocryphal addition to the book of Daniel entitled Bel and the Dragon (verses 33-39), and who is perhaps to be identified with the Habakkuk of the OT book of prophecy.

19. Babiloyne. Although MED s.v. Babiloine lists Babilonie simply as a variant spelling of this name, it is worth bearing in mind the original distinction between Latin Babylon (the city) and Babylonia (the region) -- even though the latter appears to have been used for the former even in CL.

20. bytwixe goynge and comynge. The sense of the phrase seems clear enough: under normal circumstances the journey from Judea to Babylon and back took a hundred days. However the definition of bytwixe in the present context is problematic. As a preposition, it would normally mean 'in the period intervening between', i.e. after Habukkuk's going and before his return (see OED between prep. 3.), which is clearly inappropriate. If the word means what it seems to mean, i.e. 'in' in the sense of 'spent in the total process of', it is an unparalleled usage (the examples of "joint activity" in OED s.v. between prep. 13 and MED s.v. bitwix prep. refer to joint action between persons, not the sum of two actions). An alternative possibility is that the original reading is that preserved in Y, viz. with in added after bytwixe. But this too is difficult: the adverbial use of bytwixe is poorly attested at this period (MED s.v. bitwixe(n adv.), and the sense is elliptic.

22. the pitte amonge leonnes. This, or the variant þe pitte of leons, was apparently the ME equivalent for "the den of lions" -- see MED pit n. 1.; in ME den would have implied rather the natural lair of the animal -- see MED s.v. den n.(1) 2.(a).

31. Between the two clauses the Latin draws a further parallel from the story of Habakkuk. The R-version reintroduces the omitted material (53/5-11).

The reference at lines 31-35 is probably to John 20:19 and 26.

35ff. See Dan. 3 (esp. 3:25 and 27).

f. 12^{v}a

9. Between these sentences the translation omits a passage explaining how the Three Kings fulfilled the promises of the OT prophets.

9-22. If the speed of the Kings' journey to Jerusalem is evidence of divine intervention, a reader might ask, why then did the Allmighty not simply transport the Kings instantaneously to their destination? The present passage offers an explanation. God might have done so, had he wished; but it was his will that his birth should be accompanied by visible signs of his godhead in heaven and on earth -- that is, respectively, the appearance of the Star, and the journey of the Magi from their homes to Bethlehem in thirteen days, a journey which took two years on their return.

15. maked. The variant meked 'humbled' (compare ut exinaniret semetipsum) is clearly superior: the doublet is characteristic of the translator's style, and the original offers no support for the notion of God 'making himself'.

The phrase echoes Phil. 2:7.

CHAPTER 14

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 12^{V}a 23 iij] add blessed KYARTDE, add gloryous BN.
30 as the prophesie of ysaie] Of þis prophecied ysaias and KYARTDE.
f. 12^{V}b 12 there Crist was done vpon þe cros] om. KYARTDEOBN. 14 the[ ]es] thefys KYARTDEOBN. 23 tyme] add Capitulum xvj KYATD; And therfore . . (13a12)Caluarye] om. KYATDEOBN, anom. R.
f. 13a 12 Also . . (13b6)ther aboute] anom. KYARTDEOBN.

The Kings draw near Jerusalem.

f. 12^{V}a

24. euerych in his weye: quiuis ex itinere suo; i.e. each King was coming by a different path from a different direction.

30. the prophesie of ysaie: i.e. Isa. 60:1-2; a further citation (Isa. 60:6-7) appears in the following chapter. Isa. 60 contains a description of the New Jerusalem, based on the theme of the coming of the nations to Zion, the centre of revelations (compare lyght, ioye). At the same time the derknesse provides a mechanism for bringing the Three Kings together before their entry into Jerusalem.

If the derke cloude helede al the erthe, the Star itself would presumably not have been observed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This offers another perspective on why herodes . . . was distourbed and al Ierusalem with hym when the Magi told their story (Matt. 2:3).

35. take light: illuminare 'shine'; there does not seem to be a specific definition in OED s.v. take v. to cover this idiom; the closest analogy is perhaps sense 78 "take fire".

f. 12^{V}b

4-6. than . . . Ierusalem. The text is suspect, as the matter largely reiterates the previous clause (lines 3-4). Hm. proposes the emendment first for faste (compare primus). An alternative explanation is that the word primus had dropped out in the translator's Latin text -- in which case iuxta (faste by) may have been taken to convey a somewhat greater degree of closeness than prope (neigh).

9. thurgh the wille of god. The MS punctuation implies the reference is to the Crucifixion; the Latin however links it with the halt in Melchior's journey, or, if it is taken to refer to the Crucifixion, then so also must the equivalent of in a cloude and in derknesse.

The ambiguity of the Latin suggests the cloude and derknesse is meant as a presage of the "darkness over all the land" between the sixth and ninth hours of the Crucifixion (Matt. 27:45).

12. there Crist was done vpon þe cros. The scribe has repeated this phrase from line 8 (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

14. the[ ]es (i.e. "thieves", see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS) and other men: cf. scelerati 'wicked men', 'criminals' (not specifically thieves). The translator was no doubt thinking of the two thieves crucified with Christ.

22. they: i.e. Melchior's company (Melchior cum suis).

23ff. The account of the Chapel of the Nubians offers a perspective on the relations between the author's sources. At lines 28-31 Prester John is referred to as a ruler of Melchior's kingdom of Nubia; we have seen that this is a reflection of a later development of the Prester John legend which located his realm in Africa rather than Asia (11a34n). The most immediate parallel is BC, where the kingdom of Nubia is described as the place that 'Melchior came from and was king of, . . . and Prester John is lord over' (13). It is possible that Melchior's halt at Calvary was a local accretion to the legend formulated to explain the origins of the Chapel of the Nubians; on the other hand the Chapel is styled the 'Chapel of the Three Kings of the Nubians' in the present work (Capella Trium Regum -- also ad reges -- Nubianorum), in other words no specific connection is drawn

between Melchior and the Chapel. The description of Melchior as King of Nubia reflects the non-scriptural strand of the nomenclature of the Kings, and raises the possibility that the Vaus source was the origin of the present matter (and in turn the interesting possibility that the family of Vaus were themselves originally Christians of the Nubian sect). On the other hand it is equally possible that the Vaus material had little to say on this point, and that any links arise from the author's habit of conflating his sources. While the princes of Vaus seem to have traced their descent from one of the Three Kings, that they themselves or their books referred to him as Melchior, as the King who offered gold, or as ruler of Nubia may be no more than an inference on the part of our author.

The description of the Chapel (to 13a12) is omitted in the abridged versions; R has a version of part of it (55/12-15).

24. the worshipeful heleyne: St. Helena (c255-c330), mother of the Emperor Constantine and a zealous convert to Christianity famed for pious activities in the Holy Land.

The first Church of the Holy Sepulchre was dedicated c335, after St. Helena's discovery of the rock cave where according to an early tradition Christ was buried and rose from the dead. However the larger church comprehending all the neigbouring holy places including the site of Calvary (see 19b30ff) dates from the Crusader period (ODCC s.v. Holy Sepulchre, The).

35. dedye: 'dedicate', 'consecrate'. Only two other examples of this verb are cited in MED s.v. dedie v., both referring to churches or holy places.

f. 13a

12ff. Melchior and Balthazar are both a short distance from Jerusalem (Melchior at Calvary, Balthazar beside the Mount of Olives), when they are forced to halt in the mist.

The remainder of this chapter represents a textual anomaly: our version and that preserved in the abridged versions are quite distinct, and there is no immediate indication which of the two, if either, is the original one. However textual and stylistic analysis suggests that the "abridged" version is original, and the text in our MS a later addition.

The Latin tradition is one source of evidence. It has been shown that the "abridged" stratum of our text tends to reflect the peculiar readings of the Latin witness D. In this passage there are two coincidences between D and the "abridged" version:

a) the peculiar omission in D of sepius, and the corresponding absence of an equivalent at Hm. 54/26-27;
b) D's reading vnde dicitur (for the generally received vnde dicit scriptura), and 54/27 as hit is write.

The version in the Durham MS by contrast reads at these points ofte tyme and as holy writte seyth respectively (13a32,33), reflecting the general tradition (nevertheless it would seem that

the Latin exemplar behind the passage in the Durham MS still belonged to the same group as the original translator's -- the group analysed in INTRODUCTION 6 -- since its reading a little after that reflects the inversion (resedisset) parum extunc common to this group, the other strands of HTR reading parum resedisset extunc).

Stylistic anomalies support the limited evidence of the Latin tradition:

a) for resedit . . . et remansit the version in our MS has abode and taryed (13a22), yet the verb 'tarry', while common in ME, appears nowhere else in the text;

b) at 13b6 the version in our MS adds the qualification or ther aboute. This accurately translates the original (ad tres dietas) vel circa. Yet the translation generally omits such qualifications to a numerical expression (212/28, cf. 4a33; 217/n17, cf. 6a12; 292/n8-9, cf. *28^{V}a15 -- but 282/n16, cf. *27b23; 293/n11, cf. *28^{V}b28 [* = "unabridged" passages]).

The stylistic evidence together with the Latin tradition suggests that the version in the Durham MS is unlikely to have been the work of the original translator. Indeed, if the abridgement is the original form of the translation, as this study has argued, it is hard to see how the Durham version of the passage could be other than secondary.

The question then arises as to the origins of this anomalous version. In other words, what circumstances would have caused the loss of the original version, and the resulting insertion of a new version? The second part of the question is easier to answer: the loss would have produced a gap in the continuity of the narrative (the episode describing the arrival of the second King), which would have been apparent to an attentive reader. The cause of the loss is less clear: there is no obvious textual reason why the passage should have dropped out in the unabridged version. It is easier to envisage the loss occurring in the abridged tradition, if the copyist's eye had skipped from the chapter heading Capitulum xvjm to Capitulum xvijm (i.e. from Hm. 54/16 to 54/34). Alternatively the Durham passage might have been a supplement to make good a physical loss in some intervening witness of the tradition.

If the preceding passage on the Chapel of the Nubians (peculiar to the unabridged version) is analysed in the same way, similar evidence can be found. There are instances where the translation fails to reflect the peculiar readings of D, and the use at 12^{v}b34 of the expression halwe and dedie as an equivalent of dedicauerunt et consecrauerunt is anomalous (the verb dedie is used nowhere else in the work; the usual equivalent of either Latin verb is halwe -- e.g. 3^{v}a24 shewed and halwed: dedicauerunt; *16a31 halwed: dedicauit; 19b32 halwede: consecrauit).

This evidence agrees with the evolutionary theory presented in the present study. In fact the anomalous chapter in the Durham MS offers a clue to the original motivation behind the

reworking and expansion of the abridged translation. A reader, noting the narrative lacuna in his (abridged) copy, may have turned to consult the Latin original, and there discovered the missing portion of the text. At the same time he could hardly have failed to notice that the descriptive matter immediately preceding (the passage on the Chapel of the Nubians) was also missing in the English. After making good the loss of these two passages, he would have found further omissions in the previous and subsequent parts of the work, and ended up reinserting all the original excised material. (There is nothing to prove that the hand responsible for the "unabridged" version of the present chapter was also responsible for the reintroduction of other material peculiar to the Durham version, but it is highly plausible, given the stemmatic affinities of F.)

19-22. cam oute . . . abode and taryed: venit . . . et . . . resedit . . . et remansit; there are three coordinate verbs in the Latin, and the English text would read more smoothly if emended to include an extra and -- say, after (line 20) weye (alternatively, the lack of smoothness could be due to the loss of et in et iuxta montem oliueti).

20. the mount of Oliuete: the Mount of Olives, site of the Ascension and "a sabbath's day journey" east of Jerusalem (Acts 1:12).

21. Galile. There is no reference to a town named Galilee in Scripture, either near the Mount of Olives or elsewhere; all references are to a district in northern Palestine, one of the four administrative divisions of Roman Palestine. The present information derives from Ludolf (113), whose editor identifies the town with a tower called "Viri Galilei" (an allusion to Acts 1:11). The confusion is also noted in Von Harff (215).

(Von Harff, Arnold. The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff. . . . Ed. and trans. Malcolm Letts. Second series 94. London: Hakluyt Soc., 1946.)

24. in: cf. et; either the English should read and, or the Latin in. As well, gospel should perhaps be emended to the plural (cf. loquuntur euangelia).

There are further discrepancies between the original and the translation in this passage: the words et post have no equivalent; speke to gidre (13a28) is not a very exact translation of conuenire; and in (13a36) would read better as in to. Perhaps the exemplar used for this passage had many peculiar readings, or the English has many corruptions (or both).

29. for drede of Iewes: cf. John 20:19.

34-35. The citation is from Mark 16:7 (the speaker is the "young man" in the sepulchre).

CHAPTER 15

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 13b 26 And] add so KYARTDEOBN.
f. 13^{V}a 13 come] add in KYARTDEO. 15 þe] a OBN.
20 there] om. KARTDE, of Iewis YR.
28 reteyne] resceyue KYARTDEOBN. 35 domino laudem] trs. KYARTDEOB(N).
f. 13^{V}b 7 Also . . (14a10)stronge] om. KYATDEOBN, anom. R.

The Kings reach Jerusalem, and we learn about the "wethers of Nebaioth".

f. 13b

13. and gan wexe clere. This phrase, like many details in this chapter, is an addition of the translator; no doubt the growing drama in the narrative inspired him to embroider his source.

14. but the sterre apperede nought. This is a significant detail (see 14^{V}a20n), and not without scriptural support, since the reaction of the Magi on leaving Jerusalem (Matt. 2:9-10) implies that the Star in the meantime had disappeared from view.

35. anoon right: compare(?) insimul (CL 'at the same time', but perhaps confused with insemel 'at once'). However insimul here could have its ML sense 'each other', 'mutually', in which case anoon right is simply a dramatic addition.

f. 13^{V}a

3. semynge. In place of this word, E uniquely reads (as to her) speracyon, a word unrecorded in OED and MED.

12. sodeynliche: inopinate et improviso 'unexpectedly' -- referring principally to the reaction of the inhabitants, who would have been unaware of the Kings' arrival due to the descent of the "dark cloud" (compare 13^{V}a21-24), but to a degree to the Kings themselves, since the city had been hidden from their sight for the same reason (the nuance is worth drawing out, since the author goes to some pains to explain why the Kings came first to Jerusalem rather than Bethlehem).

13. come to: the abridged tradition reads come in to (intrauerunt); the reading in our MS (compare 14a12) may have been influenced by the implication of 13^{V}a24-28.

15. þe kynges Citee: ciuitas regalis; OBN's a (for þe) is plausible, but the wording at 14^{V}a22 supports the received reading.

20. the kynge: the original has regem Iudeorum 'the King of the Jews' (compare the secondary addition of Iwes in Y).

28. reteyne. If this is in fact the MS reading -- and <c> and <t> can usually be distinguished in this hand -- it is a mistake for receyue 'take in', 'accommodate', the reading in the other witnesses.

31-36. The verses in Isa. 60 refer generally to the coming of the nations to the New Jerusalem; but the references to saba, golde, encense and so on have obvious relevance to our author's theme.

f. 13^{V}b

6. saba: Sheba (compare 11^{V}a17n). The implication of the scriptural passage is that as the queen of Sheba gave gifts to Solomon, so shall her successors join with the pastoral tribes of northern Arabia (madian, effa, cedar, nabaioth) in paying tribute.

7. shewynge praysinge. AV retains a similar idiom in its translation, "they shall shew forth the praises of the LORD".

This is the end of the chapter in the abridged tradition (except that the R-text completes the quotation and adds a short description of the "wethers of Nebaioth").

The evidence of the Latin MS tradition argues against the originality of the ensuing matter in the Durham MS. As in the Chapel of the Nubians passage, the translation shows no signs of reflecting the peculiar readings of D (thus at 13^{V}b26 hipes reflects the common reading coxarum 'thighs', not D's costarum 'ribs'; at 14a1 flokkis reflects the standard turmis 'crowds', not D's siluis 'woods'; and at 13^{V}b25 tayl follows the reading caude (the original reading, restored in the Late Group witnesses) rather than corporis which is found not only in D but in K and V, and so would undoubtedly have stood in Eng^{1} as well.

Evidence also comes from stylistic anomalies. The phrase 13^{V}b14 Wher of it is to wyte, a calque of vnde (elsewhere: et, de quibus) est sciendum 'concerning which (or: and) one should know' is a common opening tag, but the normal equivalent is And ȝe shul vnderstande (5^{V}b18, 7b11, 8^{V}b3; 8^{V}a12 ȝe shul vnderstonde also; 10^{V}a23 fferthermore ȝe shul vnderstande; 12b4 wher of ȝe shul vnderstonde; etc.). The only other example where the phrase appears with the verb wyte (found elsewhere in 3KCol only in the past tense wyste) is 20a18 wherfore it is to weten (de quo est sciendum), another "unabridged" passage.

Another stylistic anomaly is as custome of her Contree was (prout in partibus illis est consuetudinis). Variants of this phrase are common in the work; but the normal equivalent is it is also the maner of (in) al that contree (7^{V}a22, 8^{V}a14, 10^{V}a5, etc.). Exceptionally in place of maner we find vsage (8a10) or vse (15^{V}b32), but on no other occasion do we find custome (though the word appears in other contexts, notably in the sense 'religious practice'), nor the particular form of the expression.

Finally there is a piece of formal evidence, namely the awkward insertion of the words Also ysaie the lxe chapitre seith thus in the middle of the scriptural citation (13^{V}b7-8); the reference in fact applies to the whole passage, and would more appropriately have been placed either at the beginning or the end of the citation -- the position one might expect to find it if the "abridged" (to 13^{V}b7) and "unabridged" (13^{V}b7ff) sections were a organic unity (the text in D does not include the scriptural reference, nor do any other witnesses except T and G, which place it at the end of the citation, in very similar form to that in which it appears at 13^{V}b13).

While none of these pieces of evidence is compelling in itself, together they favour the notion that the "unabridged" section of the chapter was the work of a different hand and depends on a different Latin exemplar from the "abridged" section.

18ff. And amonge . . . to Ierusalem. Unlike the original, the translation makes an explicit link between the narrative reference (lines 14-18) and the description which follows.

The unusual physical characteristics of the "wethers of Nebaioth" may have some basis in fact, but the description is confused, indeed hopelessly so in our version, owing to the corrupt state of the Latin exemplar on which it was based.

CHAPTER 16

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 14a 12 to] in to þe cite of KYARTD(E)OBN.
28 londe] add þe KYATDE, add than this OBN.
33 to done hym worshepe] om. KYARTDEOBN.
f. 14b 16 cometh] add aȝen and R, add agayn by me and OB(N). 25 and] add þere þey founden þe childe with Mary his modir and YARTE.

The Kings meet Herod.

f. 14a

17. but ȝonge of age: cf. annosus 'full of years', 'aged'; the English thus makes the very opposite statement to the original (the latter is historically more correct, since Herod was born c73 B.C. and died, according to Matt. 2:14-15, when the Holy Family were in Egypt). However the discrepancy went unnoticed, even in those branches of the tradition where the text is known to have been revised against the Latin (however R omits the whole sentence); see also INTRODUCTION 6.4.3.

23ff. The gospelle is Matt. 2:1-11.

28. thre (var. þe iij) kynges: magi. As at 14b10 the translator avoids a more exact equivalent of magi (AV "wise men"); this may represent caution on his part engendered by the author's remarks in ch.[24] on the derivation and use of the word (see MAJOR LACUNA 84/11n).

f. 14b

21. til they come: cf. vsque dum veniens properly 'until it (the Star) came'; some witnesses correct the discrepancy.

25. Our MS omits a sentence of the Latin which tells how, when the Magi entered the house, 'they found the boy with Mary his mother, and falling down they worshipped him'. The first part appears in those MSS with the A-additions, but the second part was apparently missing in the translator's exemplar.

27. Capm xvij. The abridgement has no break at this point.

CHAPTER 17

SIGNIFICANT VARIATIONS:

f. 14b 28 this iij kynges why they] þis why þes iij kyngis KYARTE.
f. 14^{V}a 7 kynge] kyngis KY. 15 that] last KYARTDO. 19 come] add in KYARTE. 27 þe Citee So that] that Cite and OBN. 31 bore] add In and so they OBN.
f. 14^{V}b 3 multum] multa YARTE. 4 this] add ysaac YR. 12 of] add þe KYARTE. 18 they(2)] om. KYARTEOBN. 20 but] add also O, also of BN. 23 her(2)] om. KYARTE.

This chapter tells why "Herod was troubled and all Jerusalem with him".

f. 14b

30. many bokes. Notable among such authorities is Remigius (Homily 7; PL 131: 901-02); the 13thC Legenda aurea of Jacobus a Voragine (s.v. De epiphania domini; 87-94) cites Remigius for the corresponding material, but our author seems not to have consulted this source (see INTRODUCTION 3.3.5).

Having raised the question why the Kings came first to Jerusalem rather than to Bethlehem, the author proceeds to enumerate under three headings an answer to what seems a separate question, viz. why kynge herodes and the Citee ware so destourbed for her sodeyne comynge; however at 14^{V}a17 Also a nother cause ther was . . . he returns to the original question.

f. 14^{V}a

7. her kynge. The plural variant reading is preferable in view of the context and the Latin (Reges). The Latin also suggests that her is singular (presumably referring to the Citee).

15-17. The Latin is more explicit: Herod and the Jews were concerned at the threat to Herod's position and failed to acknowledge the birth of their true King.

20. with oute any auysement: 'all of a sudden', lit. 'without any (time for) deliberation'. The decision to make for Jerusalem, the nearest city, was forced on them (compare coacte 'forcedly') by the loss of the Star's guidance. However it is only on a human plane that one can talk of a lack of auysement: their coming to Jerusalem was part of goddes ordinance, as the author explains.

24. moost abidynge. Other examples of the degrees of comparison of the present participle include 6b15 for thise prophecies . . . and for other causes the Chaldeis and they of Pers were the more feruent and studyinge after this sterre and 9^{V}b10 more brennynge.

33. seint Gregory in an omelie: i.e. Hom. I.10.2, the wording of which the remainder of this chapter closely follows.

f. 14^{V}b

4. by this. The reading of the Y-text by þis ysaac is adopted in Hm.; it has considerable point in the context, but it is difficult to see how it could represent the original reading, as it is only found in this one branch of the tradition (cf. INTRODUCTION 10.3.2). Moreover the stylistical parallel at Hm. 80/8 supports the present reading.

5ff. Gen. 27 tells how Isaac's blindness enabled Jacob to impersonate his brother Esau and to cheat him of the blessing due to the first born. Here the motif of Isaac's blindness is taken as a prefiguration of the blindness of the Jews in their unwillingness to acknowledge the arrival of the prophesied Messiah when he was born among them.

22. her kunnynge and her prophecie: the translation accords with the variant reading sciencia ('knowledge', 'science'), which undoubtedly stood in the translator's exemplar. However the passage represents a crux in the original. While Hm. adopts the reading sciencia of our group, all other witnesses read sententia, which, in the sense 'decision', can be defended as a reference to the decision of the Jews to turn their backs on Christ. The text of Gregory reads sciencia. In practice

variation between the readings is not surprising, as in abbreviated form -- scꝯa against sm̄(i)a -- the two words could easily have been confused.

25. and cause of oure saluacioun. This final flourish is a contribution of the translator.

CHAPTER 18

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 14^{V}b 28 by(2)] add þe KYARTEOBN.
f. 15a 12 the] a KYARTEOBN. 24 same] om. KYATEOBN, lac. R.
f. 15b 19 worshiped] add pause YAR. 21 were] add ferre KYARTEOBN. 26 bothe to hym and made hem] om. KYARTEOBN. 34 Therfore] add to KYARTEOBN.
f. 15^{V}a 1 stone] om. KYATDE. 6 Aungelis] a aungell R, the angill OBN. 9 Crist] add þes scheperdys ware þe first of Iwys þat leved on Crist KYR(E)(OBN). 12 thise] add kynges YR.

The Kings meet the Shepherds.

f. 15a

1ff. Cf. Luke 2:8-20. For all its dramatic force the meeting between the Shepherds and the Magi has no scriptural basis; indeed, the protagonists appear in separate gospels, the Shepherds in Luke and the Magi in Matt. It is noteworthy that the author chooses to introduce the Shepherds at this point rather than at the scene of the Nativity; see further at lines 15-17 below.

9. ronne to gider: accurrerunt (var. occurrerunt) 'ran up'. We can imagine the individual Shepherds, at scattered locations in the fields, running towards the Kings when the latter hailed them (15a8 spaken with hem, an addition of the translator).

12. the aungel. The alternative reading with the indefinite article is preferable, since there is nothing to suggest that the Shepherds identified the angel specifically.

15-17. al þat . . . done. This must be an allusion to the Adoration of the Shepherds; in the original Latin the reference is more obvious.

The author thus passes over the Shepherds' visit to Bethlehem, treating it as previous to and separate from the Adoration of the Magi. This is done perhaps in order to highlight the latter event, while still retaining the dramatic value provided by the Shepherds' appearance in the narrative.

21-26. and so . . . any thynge: i.e. the message of the Star was corroborated by the Shepherds' account of the angelic visitation.

24. of the same (var. of the) aungel. These words are an addition of the translator, and best regarded as a comment on the part of the narrator (based on line 26-31), since there is nothing to indicate that the Kings themselves identified the voice in the Star as the voice of an angel, let alone as the same angel that appeared to the Shepherds.

26ff. Summe bokis in the Est. . . . The passage sheds some light on the author's alleged oriental sources. The Arabic Gospel of the Saviour's Infancy, the first nine chapters of which are a Syriac compilation of Luke, Matthew, and the Protevangelium of James, refers to an angel in the form of a star which guided the Magi on their journey both outward and homeward (Hughes 20-21). It would have been easy to take the further step of identifying such an angel with the one which appeared to the Shepherds in the gospel account; thus Remigius' seventh Homily (PL 131: 902) lists among interpretations of the Star that alii dicunt fuisse [sc. stellam] angelum ut ipse qui apparuit pastoribus apparuerit etiam magis). The identification of this angel with the Pillar of Fire (Exod. 13:21 etc.) is a separate motif which the author says derives from Jewish sources (the English at line 32 reads They say . . ., but the original Latin specifically attributes this assertion to Jewish converts); this suggests that the author derived the material in this passage from a plurality of sources.

f. 15b

6. bygan to shyne: fulgebat; the translation correctly conveys the nuance of the Latin imperfect tense.

7ff. ffulgencius: presumably Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe in North Africa (468-533 or ?c462-527), who wrote many treatises against Arianism and Pelagianism. I have not been able to trace the present sermon in his published works (PL 65); the passage cited in ch.20 does not correspond with his sermon on the Epiphany. But it seems that only a few of the many sermons ascribed to Fulgentius are certainly authentic (ODCC s.v. Fulgentius, St.).

The content of the sermon owes much to Eph. 2. (as the translator's addition at 15b31 as þe apostil seith acknowledges). Verbal parallels include corner stone (see verse 20); oure pees makynge ij thynges oon (14); grace (7,8); mescreantz (19); ferre, neigh (13,17) -- and for the language generally, compare also MED s.v. mene adj.(2) 2.(a), a1425(a1400) Paul.Epist. Eph.2.14: He is oure pees, þe which makys boþe thynges one in þe mene wal of þe wal with oute morter. Paul's epistle implies an opposition between Jews and Gentiles; the extension of this antithesis to the Magi and the Shepherds is apparently the contribution of the homilist.

(Although the assumption that the Magi were gentiles is very ancient, and the theme of them as the primicie gencium is central to the present work, there is nothing in the gospel account which specifically excludes the possibility that the Magi were Jews. In the Hellenistic world magus had a wide range of meanings, and there are examples of Jews -- for example Simon Magus in Acts 8:9-24 and Elymas in Acts 13:6 -- who are referred to by this term; see Hughes 31ff.)

The first sentence of the sermon (15b8-15) can be regarded as an introduction summarising the theme, the translation proper beginning at line 15 (Thise ij sydes . . .).

18. Crist . . . knewe and worshiped. The MS punctuation suggests that the scribe took Crist as the subject of the verbs in line 19 (or alternatively, took Crist as object and thise ij sydes as subject -- but then the word order would be very harsh). The Latin (and the context) indicates that Crist is the object of the verbs (the sentence retaining a latinate word-order), and that the appropriate point of punctuation is after worshiped (as in some of the better MSS).

26. and made hem bothe to hym: ?'made them both attached to him'; but this odd looking idiom is best explained as a "ghost" caused by dittography of the words bothe to him and made hem; the words do not appear in the abridged tradition.

30. in grace of preuy byleue: in vna gracia sacramenti (the primary sense of sacramentum in LL and ecclesiastical Latin is 'something to be kept sacred' i.e. 'a secret'; 'the gospel revelation'; 'mystery'; 'sacrament'); for the use of preuy referring to the mysteries or secrets of religion, see MED s.v. prive adj.(1) 3.(c).

32. pees makynge. The punctuation in our MS implies that the two words are a unit (see MED s.v. pes-making n.). In fact they are separate, and the pause should come between them, not after them.

35. this. The variant to this is clearly correct -- compare ad (lapidem angularem).

f. 15^{V}a

2ff. The ensuing clauses offer a series of antithetical statements contrasting the Jews/Shepherds with the Gentiles/Magi; the parallelism is reinforced in the original by the antithetic use of illi ('the former' lit. 'those ones', 'those persons') and isti ('the latter' lit. 'these persons'), the reference to the former preceding the latter in each case. However eyeskip losses can be identified both in the Latin and English traditions.

A sentence in our MS has dropped out after (line 9) Crist, the lost text being preserved in the abridged tradition (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS). This sentence refers to the Shepherds as the first Jews that believed in Christ, and parallels the preceding Thise iij kynges were the ferste of mescreantz þat byleuede on Crist.

However another clause had already been lost in our group of Latin witnesses -- a loss which led to subtle but significant alterations in the translation.

The lost clause appeared at the beginning of the passage (corresponding to 15^{V}a2). The translator must have deduced from the context that a clause was required to balance (line 2) that one syde that one wal of kynges cam to Cryst whan a newe sterre apperede to hem; he therefore composed a reference to the

appearance of the angels to the Shepherds, which he introduced at lines 4-7. His conjecture corresponds surprisingly well with the original text.

However in inserting his supplement the translator was necessarily unaware that the lost passage originally appeared as the first half of the antithesis. Nevertheless it did not escape him that the following clauses presented their antitheses in the opposite order. This led him to reverse the original order and to place each subsequent reference to the Kings before the corresponding reference to the Jews. The significance of this rearrangement for the reading in line 12 will be discussed at that point.

6. Aungelis. Only one angel addresses the Shepherds in the gospel, and some MSS alter the text accordingly; but the plural reading is the generally received text, the translator no doubt having in mind the "multitude of the heavenly host praising God".

12. thise. Although in the context this clearly refers to 'the former', i.e. the Kings, this is an anomalous sense of the word: whereas there are parallels for the use of thise in the sense of 'the latter' -- OED s.v. these dem. pron. I. 2 -- there are none for its use in the sense of 'the former'. Three explanations can be offered:

a) thise is a corruption of those, meaning 'the former' (OED s.v. those dem. pron. and adj. (pl.) 3.) -- but there is no MSS authority for this variant;

b) the word kynges has dropped out (or is to be understood) after thise -- this would make the reference specific, but the addition is preserved only in the Y-text;

c) the translation arises from an oversight consequent on the rearrangement of the parallel clauses: the translator may have translated isti overliterally when he came to et isti scilicet Reges de longe sunt adducti, forgetting that the word no longer has the appropriate reference within the new arrangement.

The last explanation is the one which offers the fewest problems.

23. as they saide. This is apparently a reference to the words of the Magi at the opening of the gospel passage (Matt. 2:2).

CHAPTER 19

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 15^{V}a 28 with] add þes KYR, add the ATEOBN.
29 ȝaf] ȝove YARTE(O).
f. 15^{V}b 11 as it is afore sayde] om. KYARTEOBN.
25 right] but KYARTD, lac. E; is] add aforseyde þe liȝt abode in þe place þere cryst was and oure lady And as hit is YA(R)(T)(D)(E).
27 for] to KYARTDEOBN.

The Kings reach their goal.

f. 15^{V}a

28. hadde spoke with [þes] shepherdes. This phrase is one of a number of examples of amplification by the translator in the narrative portion of this chapter.

29. ȝaf, riden. As they appear in our MS these forms are simple past tenses; but the better MSS have the past participle in place of ȝaf -- with which reading riden too would be a past participle (both being parallel to spoke).

35. aray: vestimentis et alijs ornamentis. The Latin suggests that the meaning of aray in this context is not limited to clothing, but extends to other items of regalia; compare 8b17n.

f. 15^{V}b

11. as it is afore sayde; cf. (14)as it is tolde byfore. The second of these clauses is omitted in the abridged tradition.

16ff. The behaviour of the Star in the original is somewhat at variance with the translation. The Latin describes how the Star at first stood motionless over the walled enclosure (supra aream) in front of the litle house and the cave (cf. 15^{V}b16-18); next it descended below the walls until it was quite close(?) -- per modicum intervallum -- to the house, and illuminated the interior with its radiance (cf. 15^{V}b18-21); finally it rose again into the air, taking up a position above the house, but leaving its radiance behind (cf. 15^{V}b22-25 -- the text is better preserved in some abridged witnesses; see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

17. on the grounde. This phrase in its ostensible sense -- see MED s.v. on prep. 3.(a) -- suggests a rather different picture to the traditional scene of the Star standing above the manger. In fact the Latin supra (aream) would most naturally be translated 'above (the enclosure)'; but there is often confusion in the MSS between supra and super ('on', 'on top of' etc.). An alternative interpretation of the reading on is that it is an archetypal corruption of an abbreviated ouer.

18. sone after: ?per modicum interuallum. The original phrase was probably intended as an expression of distance, but the translator could well have taken it to be a time phrase (especially if, as it seems, the translator's exemplar read post for per).

19. departed hym self. The precise interpretation of this expression is unclear. MED s.v. departen v. 1a.(f) cites the present example with one other for a sense 'spread (out)', and implies that the verb is here intransitive, and the reflexive pronoun redundant. Although the sense is not implausible, the classification is questionable (though it may be valid for the other example cited).

In fact the reflexive use of the verb is unparalleled in any of the MED subcategories. However in the original the corresponding verb appears with the reflexive pronoun, suggesting that the pronoun in the English is not redundant: in other words, the present usage is basically transitive rather than intransitive. The most common transitive uses listed in MED -- the primary senses in the OED entry for the verb -- are 'separate', 'set apart' (sense 2b.); and 'break up', 'divide' (sense 3b.). In a reflexive sense these correspond fairly closely in meaning to the readings of the most immediately relevant Latin witnesses of our group (se diuisit V K, se dimisit D; the original reading, restored later in the tradition, was se demersit, referring to the 'sinking' or 'lowering' of the Star).

What exactly the translator had in mind is another question. The basic problem is that the present use reflects the description in a corrupt Latin exemplar of an inherently unprecedented phenomenon. Specific equivalents such as 'withdrew', 'dilated', 'diffused', 'extenuated itself', 'dissolved', or 'disintegrated' might suggest themselves, but the choice belongs more in the literary than the lexicographic realm.

25. right as it is sayde in the gospel byfore. The fuller reading of the MSS with the A-additions (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS) is closer to the original; the reading of our MS incorrectly associates the gospel text with the immediately preceding context.

36. but he haue golde or siluer or somwhat elles in his hondes: vacuis manibus 'empty handed'; the translator's paraphrase anticipates the items listed at 16a11.

The rule of the Franciscan Order (Order of Friars Minor) obliged its members to live by the work of their hands, or if necessary by begging (whence the name fratres ordinum mendicancium), and forbade them to own property or accept money (ODCC s.v. Franciscan Order). Here the Sultan reacts in good part (wiþ al reuerence and mekenesse) to the friars' offerings. A similar story of offerings of fruit to the Great Khan is told in the travel account of the Minorite friar Oderic of Pordenone (Yule 2: 333-34).

CHAPTER 20

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

This chapter is not preserved in the other versions.

The symbolism of the Three Gifts is explained.

f. 16a

15ff. The present interpretation of the Gifts of the Kings is of great antiquity (see Hughes 28), and was widely cited. However, although the symbolic interpretation is given preference here, the author in ch.22 cites a more prosaic interpretation (from St. Bernard) whereby gold was seen as a practical expedient to alleviate Mary's poverty, incense as an remedy against the odours of the manger, and myrrh as a salve to protect the infant from worms (Hm. 239/n20; not extant in our text). At 17a7-20 we find a further interpretation of the Gifts, as symbols of virginity.

A second version of the present interpretation appears at 24^{v}b3-25a7 (Hm. 276/n22, the Heresies Passage). It is on the latter version -- pace Hm. 79/n1 -- that the R-text version (79/1-11) is based, as witnessed by its readings (e.g. 79/1 glorious), notwithstanding the introduction of the passage at roughly the same point in the R-text as the present passage.

In the abridgement the text passes from 16a4 to 16b34 (68/31 to 70/9) without a chapter break.

23. sepulture and beryinge of dede men. Another example of this doublet -- not strictly a translation doublet, as two nouns appear in the original -- is cited in OED s.v. sepulture sb.1., (c1385)Chaucer L.G.W. 2553: Myn body mote ȝe se . . . In the hauene of Athenys fletynge With-oute sepulture & beryinge.

27. oon god verrey god and man: vnum eundemque verum deum verumque hominem. But the original Latin adds verum regem after deum: Christ is to be worshipped as God, King, and Man, three aspects symbolised by the Three Gifts.

29. first: ?primicias 'firstfruits', 'first offerings' -- or did the Latin have a peculiar reading, e.g. primitus 'firstly' (with which primicias could easily have been confused)?

The word recurs below in the phrase primicias gencium. This traditional epithet of the Kings (see 3^{V}a19n) appears to have been given a more literal, but contextually plausible interpretation here, as being an allusion to þe offrynges that thise iij kynges offred rather than to their persons.

Nevertheless the original sense seems to be that as Jehovah in the OT commanded the firstfruits to be offered to him (Exod. 23:19, 34:26 etc.), so in the NT he set aside the Kings of the Gentiles -- rather than their firstfruit offerings, as the translator seems to have taken it -- for his cult or worship (suo cultui dedicauit: halwed).

CHAPTER 21

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 16a 36 ȝifte] ȝiftes KYATD(E)OBN.
f. 16b 4 by wrapped] wrapped KYARTDEOBN. 5 his moder lappe] heyȝe in þe manger vppe to þe armes Also oure lady seint Mary his modyr YA(R)TDE. 7 flesshly] flesshy KYREO. 25 go] om. KYATDEOBN.
f. 16^{V}a 22 hottere] add and better and all maner of spyces be better Y(R), add and better ATDE. 28 fferthermore . . Capitulum xxij] om. KYATDEOBN, anom. R.

The Adoration.

f. 16a

34ff. A collation of all extant witnesses for this chapter is available in APPARATUS under FULL VARIANTS FOR SELECT CHAPTERS.

36. ȝifte. This must be a slip for the variant reading ȝiftes (munera); no plural form ȝifte is attested in OED s.v. gift sb.

f. 16b

4. he lay by wrapped. Our text may represent the substitution of bywrapped for the synonymous variant wrapped.

5. and in his moder lappe. The fuller text in SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS is closer to the Latin. The alteration is difficult to account for in terms of eyeskip, and may in part be influenced by the description at 16b15-16.

7ff. flesshly (var. flesshy): carnosa. The word is applied to women in MED s.v. fleshli(ch adj. 1.(b) -- see also MED s.v. fleshi adj.; it contrasts in certain citations with "boney", and appears to have had a complimentary, even sensual connotation.

broun (fusca) could refer to a sunburnt or racially dark complexion; while sometimes contrasting with "white" as an epithet of women, it is not necessarily uncomplimentary -- see MED s.v. broun adj. 3.(a).

The mantel (pallium) was a sleeveless overgarment -- MED mantel n. 1.(a); here it is presumably ankle length and opens at the front, since Mary held it cloos to fore hir. In this passage cloos is classed as an adverb ('closely together') in MED s.v. clos adv. (b), but in view of the equivalent clausum it more likely represents the participial adjective from closen v. (i.e. 'closed'). The translator's exemplar evidently described the colour of the mantel as blanco 'white', but the original has blaueo 'blue'.

The scene has a strongly pictorial and iconographic quality. Freeman suggests that the author's description of the swarthy Virgin and her plump Child derives from his having seen paintings of Italian Madonnas painted by Sienese artists in Avignon when he was there as a student (65a).

Each of the Kings is distinguished by his relative stature; the origin of this motif is unclear, but it does not appear to be stressed in other literary or artistic portraits (some witnesses however, notably a number of the Munich texts, and uniquely M in our group, add further details on the individual Kings' appearance, dress, and so on, which seem to be related to a passage in Ps.Bede Collectanea (qtd. in Kaplan 26); see also INTRODUCTION 6.4.1).

23. The abridgement begins a new chapter at this point (rather than at $16^{V}b16$).

25. go god: this is a partial dittography. leest of stature and of persone: minor in persona; the doublet is paralleled in MED s.v. persoun(e n.(1) 2, (a1456) Shirley Death Jas. 18: The Kyng was of his parsone and stature a mane right manly strong.

29-33. Iaspar . . . was a blak Ethiope wher of it is no doute. The present passage may be the first explicit statement in Western literature that one of the Kings was black; as Kaplan notes, the wording implies that the author was quite convinced on this point, though he expected that it might be somewhat novel to his readers (63; Kaplan's far ranging study examines the complex literary, artistic, and oral strands that interacted in the evolution of this motif, and the cultural and political factors that influenced them).

35ff. Coram illo . . .: the first half of the gloss is Ps. 72:9 (the verse preceding the previously cited Reges Tharsis et insule . . .), whereas the second half is a slightly modified version of Isa. 60:14 (Isa. 60 has as its opening Surge illuminare Ierusalem . . .). The divergent origin of the two halves is noted in some witnesses (before the second half M inserts by Et Isaie, and D et alibi).

f. 16^{V}a

10. hauynge rewarde . . . of þat tyme: i.e. relatively speaking the Kings were smaller than the general stature of their contemporaries. This may imply a belief that people were taller in ancient times (compare 20^{V}a6).

15. they were come fro fer contree out of the Est. This passage again underlines the need for caution in attempting to find a precise location for the iij yndes of the whiche thise iij lordes were kynges; their kingdoms are basically thought of as remote though distinct lands of the farthest East.

17-21. The Latin witness P attributes this to the effect of sun's heat, which 'consumes the moist principle' (237/n29: calor solis consumit humidum radicale quod influxu fundatur), a belief reflected also in the text of MP (the hete maketh hem to be the lesse of stature).

22. But herbys been hottere. Fuller versions of the text are found in some witnesses (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

28ff. The remainder of the chapter is omitted in the abridged versions (apart from R, which has its own version at 77/6-17).

32. for othere lustes: ?'for other motives, namely those of pleasure'. The context seems to demand a translation such as 'motives' for lustes, an unrecorded use, but not too far removed from the basic sense of 'wish', 'desire' (MED s.v. lust n.; OED s.v. lust sb.). This interpretation gains support from another "unabridged" passage (32^{V}b14ff) where in the same formula the phrase is rendered (and othere) causes. But the translator may have been influenced by the Latin equivalent of lust, viz. delectacionis, in the equivalent (causa) delectacionis ('for the sake of pleasure'). In short, it might be better not to strive for too precise a definition of the present sense of lustes; it is possible that we are dealing with a nonce usage brought about by the confusion of two distinct semantic notions.

f. 16^{v}b

1. a quakynge and brekynge: strepitu ac fragore. The English nouns are basically descriptions of physical motion and change, even though the corresponding Latin nouns are sound terms. The evidence in MED s.v. quaken v. 4.(g) for quakinge as an adjective with the meaning 'resounding', 'roaring', 'rumbling' is unconvincing, as none of the three parallels cited indisputably refers to a context purely or even primarily descriptive of sound; nor are any parallels at all available for breken or its parts as descriptions of sounds (breken v. 4. (d) is not the same thing, but rather a description of the physical effects of sound on air). In short, one might say that whereas the original uses two sound words which included in them an image of the physical causes of those sounds, the translator chose instead two words descriptive of the effects of physical impact, onto which the notion of sound has been superimposed by the context.

The information concerning the "sound of the sunrise" is found at BC 12, though the editors are unable to trace the source of the legend.

CHAPTER 22

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 16^{V}b 21 kynge . . worlde] Alizandre KYATE, Alisaundre Philippi Marcedo R. 25 Quene Saba] the quene of Saba A, þe Qweene saba E.

This chapter describes the Gifts offered by the Kings.

f. 16^{V}b

20. ornamentz. Though the text is not obviously faulty, the Latin suggests that there is a short lacuna here, either as a result of eyeskip in the exemplar -- e.g. ornamenta more Regali . . . omnia ornamenta -- or archetypally in the English. Of the English witnesses R alone supplies the missing text (69/34 þat is to seye all þe ornamentis -- as usual, an independent addition from the Latin).

21. kynge Alisaundre the Conquerour that conquered al the worlde: Alexander Philippi Macedo. The reading in our MS perhaps represents a gloss on the original reading Alizandre.

25. Quene Saba fonde. In the present passage Saba may have been interpreted as a personal name rather than a title; however, the translator gives þe quene of Saba for regina Saba at 96/7. The story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon is told in 1 Kings 10 and 2 Chron. 9; it was early interpreted as a prefiguration of the visit of the gentile Magi to Christ (see Kaplan 9ff, 37ff).

fonde is a guess by the translator to cover a lacuna in the exemplar; O reads optulit et 'offered and'.

26. dyuerse vesseles: cf. vasa concupis[c]ibilia; the rather general English equivalent may mask uncertainty about the meaning of the rare Latin adjective ('desirable').

31. by hem of Persee and of Chaldee. The story of the removal of the sacred vessels to Babylon (strictly speaking solely the work of the Chaldeans under Nebuchadrezzar, not the Persians), is told at 2 Chron. 36:18, and in more detail at 2 Kings 25:13-17.

36ff. According to the catalogue description a lacuna of probably eight leaves follows at this point (Ker 493). The text resumes in the middle of ch.33.

The line references in the ensuing notes refer to SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR LACUNA (included under APPENDICES). The missing sections have been reconstructed from the 2nd group texts (the verso version in Hm.), or, for passages omitted in the abridged English, from the Latin; the Table of Contents and the Latin tradition give some guide to the position of the chapter breaks.

The extant parts of the chapters at either end of the lacuna (viz. ch.22 and ch.33) are summarised in parenthesis. Parentheses at the head of paragraphs enclose line references to passages extant in the abridged versions; square brackets indicate those sections reconstructed from the Latin (a line of stops replaces passages believed to be corrupt in the F-editor's exemplar). Square brackets within the "abridged" passages mark off the A-additions (which would not have appeared in our MS).

239/n17. We can no longer be sure what the author intended the Golden Apple to symbolise; even the original Latin is corrupt, and the witnesses of our group offer varying interpretations.

I have been unable to trace the exact source of the story of the Golden Apple (by contrast the sources of the story of Melchior's other gift, the Thirty Golden Pennies, are more accessible; see 94/24n, INTRODUCTION 3.3.4). The story of Alexander's journey to the earthly paradise (74/30 paradis terrestre) was preserved in a Latin Iter ad Paradisum, a work very popular in medieval Europe but deriving from pre-AD 500 Jewish sources. According to the brief summary given in Cary, King Alexander was given a stone that would outweigh any amount of gold put in the balance; at the same time if but a little dust were scattered upon it the lightest feather would outweigh it (18-21). This, an allusion to the King's ambition and cupidity on the one hand, and his mortality on the other, gives the Stone a significance similar in general terms to that of the Apple in our work. The adaptation of the motif to the purposes of

Christian exegesis would have been a separate development (perhaps attributable to the Jewish sources cited by the author, e.g. at 235/n4ff).

In the Iter Alexander is portrayed as a virtuous monarch. The less favorable characterisation implied in our work (more apparent in the Latin, e.g. pomum aureum oblatum per Alexandrum tam potenter congregatum et tam arroganter conflatum) may to a degree reflect the preoccupations of the author: according to Cary, condemnation of Alexander as a figure of abominable pride was particularly characteristic of German theological writings during the medieval period (136-42).

(Cary, George. The medieval Alexander. Rev. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956.)

239/n20. In the original Latin the materialistic interpretation extends to cover the other two gifts as well (see further 16a15ffn); but the Latin tradition suggests that a corresponding lacuna would have been present in the F-editor's exemplar, as well as in Eng^{R} (indeed the restoration inserted at 77/19-20 in the R-text is similarly defective).

76/20. The reference to "Christian prisoners" reflects the variant reading christianis religatis which apparently stood in the translator's exemplar; but the original reading according to Hm. was christianis renegatis 'converts (to their religion) from Christianity' (ML renegatus 'renegade', 'apostate').

CHAPTER 23

78/34. The matter belongs closely with the previous chapter, and not all Latin witnesses place a chapter break at this point; however the evidence of the Table of Contents as well as the abridged tradition favours the break.

The story of Nebuchadrezzar's vision is told in Dan. 2. The "stone cut from the hill without human hands" -- Dan. 2:34 -- was taken as a symbol of the Virgin Birth.

80/33. See Matt. 2:12 (cited in the text); there is no scriptural authority for our author's account of the Kings' return journey.

82/11. In the apocryphal book of Judith, Nebuchadrezzar, "king of the Assyrians", sends the "chief captain of his army" Holofernes on a punitive expedition against "all the west country". The present reference to Holofernes possibly derives from the same source as the story of the assistance offered the Kings by the people of Tarshish.

The theme of reverence shown by men of the East for the Three Kings is reiterated in the later chapters.

82/34. The abridgement, but not the Latin, begins a new chapter here.

Herod's anger is recorded in Matt. 2:16, but as a prelude to the story of the Massacre of the Innocents, an episode which does not feature in HTR. The English refers to the victims of Herod's anger as hem of Thaars and of cecile, explaining that Herod putte vppon hem þat þey had suffrid hem [the Kings] priuelich to passe ouer þe see in her scheppys; the Latin calls them Tharsenses Cilicie, and states that Herod's anger was caused (242/n6) quod ipsos fluuium Siler [var. silenter] transire permiserunt. By these persons the author may have meant the inhabitants of the

city of Tarsus in Cilicia (in Asia Minor), a town famous in particular as the birthplace of the apostle Paul. However the Latin adjective could also be taken to refer to the 'people of Tarshish'; furthermore the present context recalls the "ships of Tarshish" of OT references. To compound the problem, the name T(h)arshish in the OT appears to refer to a number of distinct places (see 11b22n).

The English priuelich (to passe ouer þe see) -- where Hm.'s Latin has them 'cross the River Siler' -- suggests the translator's text had the variant reading silenter in place of Siler. Which was the original reading is unclear: the proper name might be preferred as the lectio difficilior, but there is no classical river of this name in Cilicia (there was a river Siler(us) in Lucania, and several rivers Silis, and a river Saleph in Cilicia, for which see 24a20n; but the city of Tarsus lay on the river Cydnus). The variant reading ('silently', as if 'without attracting attention') may therefore be correct; that however leaves the river unidentified -- and perhaps accounts for the translator's rather general equivalent see ("water"; see MED s.v. se n.1 2.(a) 'a body of water, . . . river').

The story of the Kings' escape by ship appears in Comestor, where confusion is already apparent between Tharsus and Tharsis (187b: venientes Tharsum cilicie cond[u]cto navigio redierunt in regionem suam. . . . [Herodes] cum iter faceret per Ciliciam audiens naues Tharsensium magos traduxisse in spiritu vehementi conbussit naues tharsis secundum quod dauid prophetauerat in Ps.47 'In spiritu vehementi conterens naues Tharsis'). It is

noteworthy, however, that there is no mention in Comestor of any river.

84/11. Although both the author and the translator direct the reader elsewhere for more detailed explanations of the word magus, etymologies are in fact cited at this point in the Latin.

The identity of the gospel Magi is a major issue. The evangelist is imprecise about their origins (he simply states that they came "from the east"), and offers no judgement as to their character and motives. It is an oversimplification to assert, as Elissagaray does, that there was no need for greater precision since contemporaries knew what the name referred to (le nom de "mages" etait a lui suffisament explicite -- 12). The earliest references refer to a priestly cult among the Medes, but later usage suggests that the term magus came to acquire a very wide range of meanings and overtones: besides the original magi, a large crop of imitators flourished in the Roman period, so that that the term "might mean anything from a genuine Medean priest or potentate to a fellow who peddled amulets or poisons to superstitious or jilted servant girls" (Smith 71-74).

Early commentators offer varying interpretations. It is notable that the benevolent image of the Magi that has since generally prevailed was not universally accepted in former times. In early Christian writers such as Justin, Ignatius, and Origen we find their visit represented as the submission of magic and superstition before their conqueror (Hughes 30ff). An echo of this tension underlies the present discussion. The author is evidently aware of the etymological connection of magus with the

word "magic", but dismisses any inferences from this as a misunderstanding of their true identity; in his eyes they are (84/33) glorious kyngis, and of þat londys and kyngdoms in þe eest moost worschippeful and my$_3$ty (compare the controversy in ch.2 concerning Balaam, a figure often portrayed as a forefather of the Magi).

The translator has condensed his material both here and in the following two chapters (perhaps by design, though it is noteworthy that in the closest Latin exemplar, D, the material is also considerably abbreviated).

(Smith, Morton. Jesus the magician. London: Gollancz, 1978.)

CHAPTER 25

84/33. There is no new chapter at this point in the abridgement.

CHAPTER 26

86/7. The reference to "a representation of the Star" (a sterre aftir þe same forme and þe same liknesse as hit aperid to hem) is more general than the Latin, which refers specifically to 'a star with a child and above the sign of the cross'; compare the form of the Chylde in the Table of Contents.

CHAPTER 27

88/8. A sentence describing the architecture of the chapel (245/9-11) is omitted in the translation.

The account of the chapel and the flecked stone is paralleled in Ludolf 95-96; the standard text of Ludolf contains no reference to a consecration, but the version edited by Neumann adds that the chapel is dedicated to St. Nicholas, though no mention is made of the Three Kings (350).

88/28. St. Helena's discovery of these relics is recounted in ch.36 (19^{V}a32ff).

90/6. For the prophecies of Simeon and Anna, see Luke 2:25-38. For the flight to Egypt, see Matt. 2:13-15; the Latin (246/n10) includes a note referring the reader to a Liber de infancia Ihesu for a fuller description of the journey.

90/31. Compare Ludolf 90-91. The Latin (246/n15-11) adds that these roses are considered by the Saracens to be of value to women in labour.

92/4. The account of the Garden of Balm and its harvest closely corresponds with the account in Ludolf 68-71. A few details in the latter do not appear in HTR; on the other hand the version in HTR records the additional information that the raw balm is poured into a silver vessel called a zerra (var. serra etc.; the word is not Latin and is elsewhere unrecorded). The presence of this unusual word supports Hill's assertion that the two versions are independent, or at least that our text goes back to a fuller text of Ludolf.

The R-text has a short addition at 95/5-6 (presumably from the Latin) describing the appearance of sode bawme; however the MS leaves a gap for the word describing its colour, where a later hand has inserted the word Brasyle (a reddish dye -- MED s.v. brasil(e n.). The original Latin describes this type of balm as being the colour of braxiua (i.e. brassiua 'malt'); on the other hand in Ludolf the balm is described as of "a reddish colour, with some mixture of black" (69), so the hand which inserted the English word seems to have independently discovered or divined the true description.

(Hill, G.F. "The Thirty Pieces of Silver". Archaeologia 59 (1905): 235-54.)

CHAPTER 28

94/24. There is no new chapter at this point in the abridgement. In Greek legend Ninus is the eponymous founder of Nineveh. For the burial ground in Hebron, see Gen. 23.

The origins and development of the legend of the Thirty Golden Pennies are well documented in Hill (see also Ludolf 111/n1). The legend may owe its ultimate origin to an apocryphal gospel of Matthew, but in the West it seems to have made its first appearance in a poem by Godfrey of Viterbo (d. post 1191). Ludolf's version of the legend (110-12) is very similar to the account in our work, but as it differs in details, it may not be the immediate source. Ludolf statement that his source was a Historia regum orientalium 'History of the Kings from the East', recalls our author's own claims concerning his sources, and leads Hill to suggest that Ludolf and John of Hildesheim followed a common source going back to this History, but later in date than Godfrey of Viterbo; see further INTRODUCTION 3.3.4. Later German versions of the legend (edited by Vollmer) are cited in Di Nola (56-57).

CHAPTER 29

96/24. The English rearranges the material in this section, and includes at the end material from the next chapter. The abridgement makes no break.

See Mark 15:36, John 19:29 for the vinegar offered to Christ; John 19:39-40 for Nicodemus and the myrrh; Matt. 27:3-5 for Judas and the thirty pieces of silver; Matt. 27:6-10 for the field for the burial of strangers; and Mark 28:11-15 for the money given to the keepers of the Sepulchre.

100/31. See Matt. 2:19-23. The abridgement places the break at the beginning of the next section.

102/5. See John 20:26-29. According to an early tradition mentioned by Eusebius (c260-340) and others, St. Thomas evangelised the Parthians; another tradition, reflected in the present work and deriving from the Gnostic Acts of Thomas, asserts that he brought the Gospel to India, where he was martyred (ODCC s.v. Thomas, St., Apostle; see von Harff 162/n3 for further references).

The point of Gregory's remarks is obscured by loss of half the text in the English. But the appeal to his authority seems tendentious; I have not succeeded in tracing the reference, but judging from the extant context the homilist's comments do not imply a connection between the ministry of Thomas and the conversion of the Three Kings.

102/31. An apocryphal Passion of Simon and Jude recounts the preaching and martyrdom of these two apostles in Persia; St. Bartholomew is traditionally said to have suffered martyrdom in Armenia (ODCC s.vv. Simon, St.; Bartholomew, St.)

"Inde" seems here to be synonymous with the whole East; "the sea" refers to the Mediterranean. The passage is a reflection of the modest self image of contemporary western Christendom.

CHAPTER 31

106/20. A new chapter begins here in the abridged tradition, and in some Latin witnesses (not O).

108/5. The name Sewill seems ultimately to derive from a city of similar name which medieval travel accounts, notably Marco Polo, record as the burial place of the Magi (see MV 81-90). In BC 9-10 Prester John is described as living in a city Sowa.

112/4. By "the book of his Passion" (sicud in passione eius legitur) are presumably meant the apocryphal Acts referred to at 102/5n.

For the dog faced men in whose land St. Thomas was martyred, compare BC 12. Originally the word cynocephalus referred to an ape with a dog like head, found in Africa. But Isidore used the term to refer to a kind of wild man (Orig. 11.3.15, 12.2.32), from whence arose the medieval legend of the race of dog faced men. Christern (1963) supplies further references, and suggests the text in HTR implies that this physical characteristic was a punishment for the martyrdom of the saint (136); see also von Harff 167/n1.

(Christern (1963). Christern, Elisabeth. Johannes von Hildesheim: die Legende von den Heiligen Drei Königen. Munich: dtv, 1963.)

CHAPTER 33

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 17a 1 And . . (20)mannes life] om. KYARTDEBN.
21 Ferthermore . . (25)sayde] And KYARTDEBN.
f. 17b 12 And . . (15)thanne] Than whan þis matiere was þus spoke amonge þe pepil þei assentyd þerto and of one acorde and of on will KYAT(D)(E)(B)(N). 24 name] man KYATDE, same name BN.
f. 17^{v}a 3 by cause . . heyres] om. KYARTDEB, lac. N.
22 preesthode] add ffor alle þe worlde oweþ to obeye to holy chirche and to preesthode KYARTDE; For . . (b12)day] om. KYARTDEBN.

The Patriarch Thomas and Prester John

f. 17a

1ff. The text resumes in ch.33 after the lacuna. However the starting point of the chapter is unclear. The Latin MS tradition suggests, pace Hm., that the original position was at 257/n28, the equivalent of 17a21; but in the translator's exemplar it obviously appeared earlier. I have followed G and the abridgement in placing the break at 112/14 (256/n29); but 112/27 (257/n4), as in CC, K, Hm., is another possibility.

The initial (17a1-20) and final (17^{v}a22-b12) sections of this chapter do not appear in the abridgement.

2. in al the Est: the Latin has 'by all books in the East', another ostensible reference to Eastern source(s).

10. of maydenes deuocioun of dignitee and of chastitee; compare MED s.v. devocioun n. 3, (c1380) Chaucer CT.SN G.283: the world hath wist what it is worth . . . Deuocioun of chastitee to love. However punctuation affects the interpretation of the phrase. If a break is placed after deuocioun, we have a phrase with three parallel members, which presents no real difficulties. If no break is inserted, it seems most natural to take of dignitee as an objective genitive depending on deuocioun. But in that case one should be careful not to assign to the word senses which are post ME (see OED s.v. devotion sb. II); rather deuocioun of would seem to have the sense 'earnestness in pursuit of, desire for' (MED s.v. devocioun n. 3). Another possibility is to take of dignitee as a phrase meaning 'excellent', 'honorable' -- MED s.v. dignite 1. (b). In the circumstances, it is better not to press for too specific an interpretation (in any case, deuocionis in the Latin is a secondary addition).

14. of deth of flessh: mortificacionis carnis. This appears to be the only recorded use of deth in the spiritual (as opposed to the medical) sense of mortification -- cf. MED s.v. deth n. 8.

15. whiche nature deneyeth: 'which refuses to acknowledge, i.e. goes against Nature'; this is clearly the sense, whether nature is taken as the subject of the verb (as in the Latin), or as its object -- see MED s.v. denien v. 3.(a).

f. 17b

12. as to her goostly fader: vt priori. The translator perhaps took the Latin to mean 'as to their prior', though a more apposite translation would be 'as (they had) to the previous (patriarch)'. An alternative possibility is that the translator's exemplar read vt patri, as at line 3 above.

24. name: cf. the variant reading man.

31. with assent of þe peple. This phrase is an addition of the translator (the corresponding Latin sentence appears on the previous page).

33. Our text places the chapter break not here, as do all Latin texts (where it was originally intended, judging by the Table of Contents), but at 17^{v}b13; the abridgement makes no break at all.

f. 17^{v}a

20. And the cause . . . preesthode in spiritualtee. The fuller text in the abridged tradition is something of a paraphrase; eyeskip would account for the shorter version in our MS (preesthode . . . preesthode).

25-29. And this prestre Iohn is so grete . . . nekkes to hym. This is a misinterpretation of the original; the author is still discussing the authority of the priest (compare BC 10).

f. 17^{v}b

2. The blessynge of: the sense is apparently 'a blessing on', and, judging by the retention of the original language, it would seem that benedicciones . . . has been taken to be a verbatim report of the opening formula of a letter.

There survive many copies of a letter which circulated in the Middle Ages under Prester John's name, and repeated attempts were made on the part of European rulers and prelates to establish communications with this elusive ruler. It would be interesting to know more of the source of the rather precise information in the present passage.

10. the ryght half of god. It appears that ryght half is an error for ryght hand -- compare dexteram (sc. manum) -- though we do not have the witness of the abridged tradition to confirm this; the slip may have arisen from association with phrases like on this half God, on Goddes half -- see MED s.v. half n. 5b. (a), 7b. (a).

Both K and D lack the word dei (of god), which is further evidence that the exemplar underlying the "unabridged" portions of the English was stemmatically distinct from that on which the abridged portions depend.

An "artist's impression" of the device on Prester John's seal appears in Bamberg Staatsbibliothek MS Msc. Theol. 121, fol. 318 (Fig. 9 over).

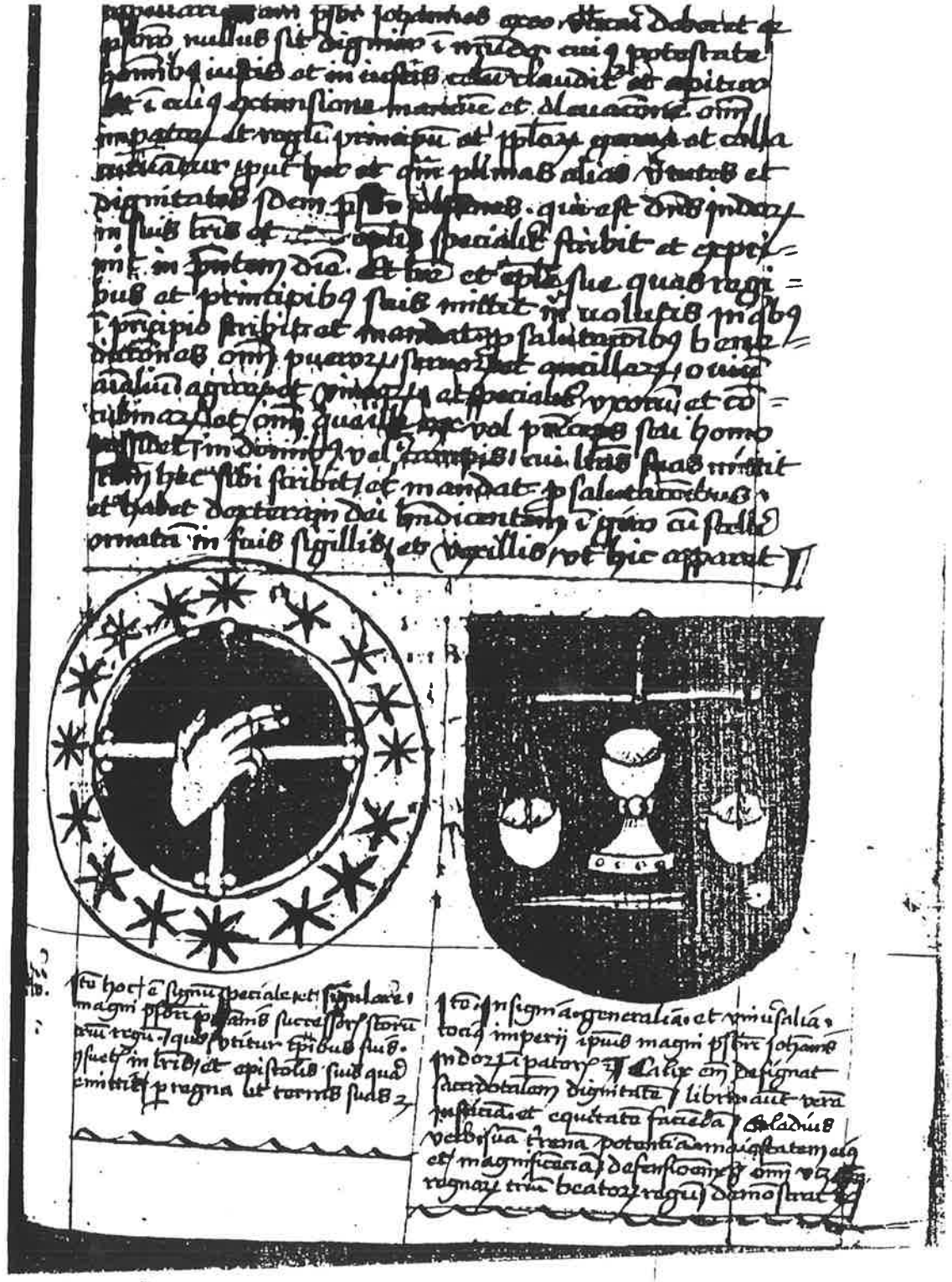

Fig. 9. Prester John's seal.

CHAPTER 34

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 17^{v}b 13 Ferthermore . . shulde be] Also he is KATD(E)(BN), anom. Y(R). 16 for . . for] in þe worschippe of KYA(R)TDEBN. 18 of god to fore alle othere best byloued and chose] moost special (specially KRBN) chose and loved of god allemy3ty KYARTDE(BN). 20 and . . (24)And] om. KATDEBN, anom. Y(R). 28 be] add chefe KYA(R)TDE, add chosyn B, add chosyn to N. 30 euere more] add anom. Y, add anom. R. 32 names] add anom. Y, anom. R; Ferthermore . . (18a13)MlCCClj] om. KATDEBN, anom. Y, anom. R.

The Princes of Vaus.

f. 17^{v}b

13ff. Only the first part of this chapter (17^{v}b13-32) is preserved in the basic abridged version; however from this point on, the Y-text has substantial independent additions. For the position of the chapter break see the note at 17b33.

15. shulde be cleped: deberet vocari; this continues the construction introduced at 17^{v}a19 (dependent on they ordeined), and interrupted by the intervening digression.

17-20. seint Iohn Euangelist . . . best byloued and chose. The evangelist was identified with "the disciple whom Jesus loved"; see John 14:23ff, 21:20ff.

22. batizede. There are no recorded parallels for this spelling. For Jesus's baptism, see Matt. 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22; John 1:29-34. For John the Baptist as "priest", MED s.v. prest n.3. 4.(c) cites only one late 14thC example to parallel the present citation.

23. ffor a grettere than he was noon bore of womman allone; see Luke 7:28. allone perhaps means that his unique significance rests on this fact -- compare MED s.v. al-on(e adv. & adj. 4.(a) 'exclusively', 'solely' (the translator of the unabridged portions is often unorthodox in his use of words).

28. gouernour. The alternative reading is chefe gouernour, parallel to chief lorde.

30-32. The English abridges the original here, as does the Latin witness D; contrast the additions of the Y-text in APPARATUS and the R-text at 117/27ff.

f. 18a

9-12. This passage largely reiterates information supplied in ch.4, but the final section adds a few details to our meagre knowledge of this mysterious princely family.

17. at Rome: in curia romana. Strictly speaking the translation is anachronistic: the seat of the papacy was not at Rome but at Avignon during the period 1309-77 (the translation almost certainly dates from after this period; the generally accepted dates of composition of the original work are 1364-75 -- see INTRODUCTION 1.5).

18. the 3ere of oure lorde M^{l}CCCl^{j}. It is known that John of Hildesheim was resident at Avignon between c1350-52, so the information in this passage presumably derives from personal experience, and suggests that he was already looking for material on the subject of the Three Kings at the time.

CHAPTER 35

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 18a 26 the] add feest of þe KYART, lac. D.
33 heuene] add anom. YR.
f. 18b 5 feste of] anom. YR; 25 deuoutely] om. KYATEB, anom. R, lac. N.
f. 18^{V}a 2 also] anom. YR; g..d] all KYARDE(B)(N).
5 ioye] add anom. YR. 11 the body . . leyd] anom. YR. 24 etcetera] om. YARTE.
31 stille] add anom. Y, lac. R. 33 Aftur . . (b22)heyly] om. KATDEBN, anom. Y(R).
f. 18^{V}b 28 goodnesses] goodnesse KYARTDE. 35 ffor . . powdre] om. KYARTDEBN.
f. 19a 7 wher fore . . rested Inne] om. KATDEBN, anom. YR. 21 correctioun] add ne temporel correctioun KYARTD; And so . . (25)god] anom. YR. 27 peple] add anom. YR.

f. 18a

23. the Citee of Sewille afore saide. The corresponding description occurs in ch.31 (see MAJOR LACUNA 108/5n, Hm. 255/n26-25).

30-33. The translator paraphrases the Latin (for similar "pious elaborations", compare 18b12-13, 18b27-29).

f. 18b

5. the feste of the circumcisioun: octauo Natiuitatis domini die. Since the 6thC this feast has been kept on the 1st January, the eighth day after Christmas; see Luke 2:21 (ODCC s.v. Circumcision, Feast of the).

21. the feste of the Epiphanie. Epiphany is celebrated on the 6th January; originally a commemoration of Christ's baptism, in the West from the 4thC it celebrated the manifestation of Christianity to the gentiles in the persons of the Magi (ODCC s.v. Epiphany).

f. 18^{v}a

2. with[g..d]. This is presumably to be read with good; however the abridged tradition reads with all.

5. The Latin adds that the third King was 109 years of age when he died. The information on the dates of the Kings' deaths and their ages is found in the MS Florarium Sanctorum; cf. Acta SS, Boll. I, 8, 323, 664 (Harris (1954) civ). According to this tradition the Kings differed in age by only a few years, whereas the more familiar tradition portrays them as representatives of three age groups, one being old, one middle aged, and one young.

21. as it is rad in holy writte. There is no suggestion in the original that the matter derives from Scripture.

27. to gidre: 'each other', as e.g. in OED s.v. together adv. 7.b., 1483 Vulgaria abs Terentio: Scolers shulde loue to gyder lyke as thei were bredyr.

31. stille: immobilis; in view of the Latin it is probable, notwithstanding the adjacent alwey, that stille has the sense it retains in ModE 'sit still', viz. 'motionless', 'without going away'.

32. as they of ynde sayn. This is presumably another reference to the books of the Princes of Vaus.

33ff. This passage (to 18^{V}b22) is omitted in the basic abridged versions, but is reintroduced in the Y-text.

f. 18^{V}b

5. at her prayeres: the Latin per eorum merita suggests the intended meaning is 'at their (the Kings') intercession', rather than 'in response to their (the petitioners') prayers'.

22. The abridgement inserts a chapter break at this point.

28-30. This is a free translation, as often in passages with theological overtones; compare 18a30n.

33. persecucioun of heresye. Although the definition in MED s.v. persecucioun n. (d). 'a period of tyrannous imposition of pagan beliefs' suits 23^{V}a34-b5, which MED cites, the present context would seem to demand at least the omission of 'period of'.

The syntax of 18^{V}b33-35 and this . . . longes a boute is awkward, and the content is repeated at 19a11-15. The problems arise in part from textual revision: in the abridgement, which considerably rearranges and paraphrases the remainder of the chapter, the clause 18^{V}b33-35 appears to have been intended as a general equivalent for all the matter up to 19a17, whereas our version inserts -- additionally -- the text at 18^{V}b35-19a17.

f. 19a

20. by spirituel correctioun. The alternative tradition adds ne temporel correctioun, which accords with the description of the organisation of the kingdoms given in the previous chapter.

23. worsipede. This is an unrecorded spelling (or misspelling?).

f. 19b

2. receyude: the translation 'welcomed' would suit the context; the Latin adds that the relics were received with hymns and reverence, just as the Kings were honoured during their lifetime when they returned home from Bethlehem.

CHAPTER 36

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 19b 5 And . . xxxiiij] om. KYARTDEBN. 8 god] add and diuers miraclys KYART(D)EBN. 27 the] her KYARTDEBN. 30 the] add holy KYARTDEBN. 36 fals] om. KYATD, þe EBN.

f. 19^{V}a 4 sepulcre] add anom. Y. 9 Crist] add anom. Y(R). 15 places] add anom. Y.

f. 19^{V}b 3 ne childe] childe ne beest KYARTDEBN. 13 and] yn KYARTDBN, lac. E. 21 bounde] wounde KYATDEBN, lac. R. 33 Ierusalem] add anom. Y, add anom. R. 35 of(1)] oute KYARTDEBN. 36 zacharie . . (20a2)also and] om. KYARTDEBN.

f. 20a 4 in prisoun] om. KYARTDEBN. 7 reliques] add aforseyde and þorwe grete preiour he had all þes Relikes KYATDEB. 16 But . . (20^{V}a6)xxxvij] om. KYARTDEBN.

Saint Helena.

f. 19b

5ff. ȝeres: compare the plural variant reading annos. The original Latin gives the date as 234 A.D., whereas our group of Latin texts has the even more fanciful 1234. There is some sign that the latter reading appeared in our MS originally, but was subsequently altered by erasure of the initial letter.

Constantine the Great (d. 337), after his victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312, extended toleration and favour to the Christian faith. It is not agreed when he personally decided to embrace Christianity; however, a tradition that he was baptised

at the Lateran and cleansed from physical leprosy by Pope Sylvester goes back to the 5thC.

In the original Latin the chapter break occurs at an earlier point (equivalent to 18^{V}a33); K places it slightly later (equivalent to 19a17); whereas our base fails to indicate a break at all (that is, it passes from ch.35 to ch.37). The F-editor was perhaps following the abridged version in inserting the break at 19b4.

11. in lyf and in maneres: vita et moribus, perhaps 'physically and morally': the leprosy is given a figurative interpretation in the Latin.

13ff. This passage alludes to a tradition that St. Helena was a Jew before her conversion -- see Harris (1954) cxvi.

22. the story of the fyndinge of þe holy cros. St. Ambrose (c340-97) was the first to connect the "invention" of the Cross with St. Helena; in this he was followed by many church fathers. An apocryphal treatise survives entitled De Invencione Crucis Dominicae (ODCC s.v. Invention of the Cross).

30ff. ffor alle the places . . . (19^{V}a12)this worshipeful quene comprehended in to one chirche. Clearly the area enclosed by the church was limited to the sites in the immediate vicinity of Calvary. The confusion arises through excessive condensation in the translation (which the Y-text rectifies -- see APPARATUS).

36. in formacion: ?'misrepresentation' (the equivalent suggestione in ML could bear the sense 'allegation', 'accusation'); such an interpretation is supported by our MS's addition of fals -- see MED informacioun n. 2.(a).

f. 19^{V}a

4. sepulcre. After this a sentence referring to the three Marys and the stone rolled from the tomb -- Matt. 27:56, 28:1-2; Mark 16; Luke 24:1-10 -- was either overlooked by the translator or lost in his exemplar (the matter is restored in the Y-text -- see APPARATUS).

7. seint Iohn Euangelist. At John 19:26-27 the person referred to is identified only as "the disciple . . . whom he loved"; the original has simply discipulo.

8-10. See John 20:15.

14. a ryal and a worshipeful chirche. The original Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built in c335 and destroyed by the Persians in 614 (ODCC s.v. Holy Sepulchre). As previously noted, it is not to be understood that all the places Christ visited were enclosed within one structure. The Constantine basilica covered the Holy Sepulchre, and left the rock of Calvary outside; but the Crusader

church with which the author (or rather, his sources) would have been familiar embraced under one roof the Sepulchre and Calvary, i.e. the 'holy places' specifically mentioned in 19^{V}a1-10.

After this sentence the translation omits a passage which contains other details of Helena's pious activities, as well as information about the Chapel of the Nubians (previously mentioned in ch.14); see Hm. 263/17ff.

20. a worshipeful and a ryal Chirche. The description of this church is paralleled in Ludolf 96-97.

31. vsen the same. The words the same are probably to be taken as an internal accusative, i.e. 'use the same usage'; or a noun such as manere, vse, custom could be understood (see OED s.v. use v. I. 1.).

f. 19^{V}b

30ff. The historical achievements of Charlemagne attracted legendary accretions (see Cobby 12-14, with references), and the exploits here ascribed to the king are largely fictitious. zacharie the patriark is perhaps a conflation of two figures, a patriarch Zachary of Jerusalem, captured by the Persians in 614 and released in 628, and St. Zacharias the pope, who had cordial relations with the Frankish kingdom, though at a period anterior to Charles's accession -- see ODCC s.v. Zacharias, St; Smith and

Wade s.v. Zacharias(4). Jerusalem was not to return to Christian control until 1099.

(Cobby, Anne Elizabeth. Introduction. The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne. Ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess. Garland Library of Medieval Literature A47. NY: Garland, 1988.

Smith, William, and Henry Wade. A dictionary of Christian biography. London: Murray, 1877).

35. deliuerede of of prisoun. This usage is unparalleled; for the first of the other MSS read out.

The subsequent matter (to the end of 20a2) is not included in the abridged versions, but supplies details from the Latin; its repetitions and contextual incongruities confirm its secondary nature.

f. 20a

6. by: 'via', 'by way of'; see MED s.v. bi prep. 1c. (b), e.g. c1225(?c1200) St.Juliana 69/246: Com a seli wommon bi Nichomedesse burh o rade towart rome.

16ff. The remainder of the chapter is omitted in the other witnesses. The description of women's clothes in the East is from an unknown source, though it has echoes at BC 11 (the latter work often shows an interest in the particularities of foreign apparel); on the other hand, the final comment might suggest that the author had viewed the relic at Aachen with his own eyes (but cf. 25^{V}a9n).

f. 20b

25. foot womman. No recording of this compound word appears in MED or OED, but its meaning is clearly parallel to MED fot-man n. 3. 'an attendant on foot'.

33. smoked: fumatas; compare OED s.v. smoke v. II. 5. 'to expose to the smoke of some aromatic substance'.

f. 20^{V}a

2-6. The original however implies rather that by the standards of the day the dress of the Blessed Virgin was quite short and humble.

CHAPTER 37

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 20^{V}a 7 Also . . (21^{V}a15)Cap^{m}.xxxviij] om. KATDEBN, anom. Y(R).

The church St. Helena built at Bethlehem.

f. 20^{V}a

7ff. After the digression on the history of the relics at Aachen the narrative returns to St. Helena. The description of the church at Bethlehem and its rituals is paralleled at Ludolf 93-95; however a number of the details preserved in our account, for example the matter relating to the double church, St. Helena's lovynges, and the gilt star, do not survive in the extant versions of Ludolf. The chapter is omitted (perhaps unintentionally) in the basic abridgement, but the Y-text has a brief note of the contents (see APPARATUS).

15. Ryaly arayed. The Latin specifies 'with gold, glass, marble, and mosaics'.

17. y bateled. The prefixed form is unrecorded -- cf. MED s.v. batild ppl.

35ff. St. Paula (347-404), a Roman lady of noble birth, and her daughter Julia Eustochium (370-c419) followed St. Jerome in 385 to Palestine in pursuit of a life of devotion; from 386 Paula settled in Bethlehem (see ODCC s.v. Paula, St.; Eustochium, St. Julia).

f. 20^{V}b

6. MlCCCxlj. This date does not appear in the corresponding passage in Ludolf, where the editor's note (referring to our author's account) gives reasons for doubting the accuracy of the figure, and suggests that the story is much older.

11. stonde stille: 'remain as they were'. This use of stille is perhaps an extension of the use discussed at 18^{V}a3ln, viz. 'motionless', 'without going away'. However, a more appropriate nuance here is 'without change' -- compare OED s.v. still adv. 3., e.g. 1535 Coverdale Isa.lx.ll: Thy gates shal stonde open still both day and night. The transition to the modern adverbial use is apparent.

21. Gloria in excelsis. For the origin and use of this hymn, see ODCC s.v. Gloria in Excelsis.

f. 21a

10-14. And for the grete lucre . . . cristene men: 'indeed out of concern for the financial returns the Sultan excludes all non-Christians (barring his own officials) from residence there'.

14ff. Apparently such observances are still to be witnessed: ODCC records that "[t]he scene on Sunday mornings, when the various rites, all with music, are proceeding simultaneously, is unique in Christendom" (s.v. Holy Sepulchre).

30. diuerse speches of lettre and of songe: ?'assorted recitations of scripture and (snatches of) singing'; cf. diuersa idiomata litere et cantus. The last two nouns seem to have been interpreted as genitive singular, but a more natural interpretation is to take all three as nominative plural, i.e. 'different languages, passages of literature, and songs'.

34. ne in redynge: cf. vel aliquo versu vel cathenatu. The mysterious cathenatu was perhaps taken to be a technical term relating to the recitation of the liturgy, a synonym of versu; the phrase is in fact a corruption of vel aliquo risu et cachinnatu 'by any (loud or derisive) laughter'.

f. 21b

2. the double chirche . . . Gloria in excelsis. This is the church previously described at 19^{V}a19ff.

11. After this sentence the translation omits a sentence describing the reading of the gospels.

12ff. The point of the sentence is a little more obvious in the original: all worshippers, whatever their native tongue, sing the anthem in Latin.

14. þis anteeme . . .: according to Harris (1954) civ, an antiphon beginning Haec est dies quam fecit dominus is quoted in Dreves Analecta vol. 49 no.432, though Harris doubts that this is the one meant by the author of HTR.

17. of verrey vse: ?'through long use'. A number of specific senses of the adjective would suit the context, e.g. 'reliable'; 'exact'; 'established'; 'sheer' -- OED s.v. very a. 4., 5., 7b., 9. But the use as a simple intensive -- OED sense 8. -- is equally plausible.

23. foule: 'abject', 'poor', 'miserable' is apparently the intended nuance (compare vilem) -- MED s.v. foul adj. 4. -- though the literal sense 'dirty', as well as the overtone 'ritually unclean' -- MED sense 1c. -- would not be inappropriate in the context.

25. ther is rad a table: in view of the original iuxta presepe in spelunca pendebatur tabula . . . 'by the manger in the cave there used to be hung a table . . .', the English translation seems somewhat inaccurate, unless ther is rad is interpreted in the sense 'there is (available to be) read', i.e. 'there stands written'.

f. 21^{V}a

14. ȝe shul here afterward. The details appear in ch.41 (the first part of which is lost in the Minor Lacuna in our MS).

CHAPTER 38

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 21^{V}a 21 bisshoppes] a Bysshop BN. 22 clerkes] add anom. Y, lac. R. 23 In . . (21^{V}b36)And] and in þis cite of Nazareth oure lady was gret of þe aungell KYATDEBN, anom. R.
f. 22a 11 iournees] Iourney KYARTDEBN. 19 And . . (22b29)day] om. KYARTDEBN.

Nazareth and Galilee.

f. 21^{V}a

16. Nazareth was the village which was home to Mary and Joseph and where Christ was brought up and lived till the beginning of his ministry. Its more important sanctuaries include the Church of the Annunciation, believed to be built over the house of Mary, the Church of the Nutrition (or St. Joseph's), and St. Mary's well (ODCC s.v. Nazareth). For the Annunciation see Luke 1:26-38; the apocryphal Protevangelium of James tells how the angel first greeted Mary at the well in front of her house (11:1). For the information in this chapter, compare Ludolf 124-26.

The abridgement has no chapter break at this point.

23ff. The description of the church is replaced in the abridgement by a brief note on the Annunciation.

f. 21^{V}b

10-16. This sentence is a combination of two in the original (the second is found at the bottom of the following page).

16-19. Again two sentences of the Latin have been combined. The original (on the preceding page) explains how the imprint was caused by the Angel standing and leaning against the column.

In addition a number of other details concerning the state of the chapel and its rituals are not represented in the English. Textual comparison shows that two of these losses -- the passages at Hm. 269/n9-n15, cf. 21^{V}b34, and 269/n21-19, cf. 21^{V}b36(16) -- are common to our group of Latin MSS; the loss of the passage at Hm. 269/n17 (21^{V}b36) is not paralleled elsewhere, but is easily explained as the result of eyeskip.

25. and she conceyuede god and man. The English is more explicit than the Latin, where the Angel announces that she would be the mother of God.

f. 22a

4. Thabor. Tabor is an isolated mountain in the midst of Galilee; while the gospels speak only of "an high mountain", Tabor is traditionally identified as the site of the Transfiguration, though Mt. Hermon and even the Mount of Olives have been suggested (ODCC s.v. Transfiguration; Young s.v. Tabor). For the Transfiguration, see Matt. 17:1-13; Mark 9:2-13; Luke 9:28-36 (the wording of the citation at 22b4-6 is closest to Matt.).

6. Petir Iohn and Iames. The translation adds the names.

10-22. The equivalent Latin is found two pages further on.

26ff. Mytre and cros: infula (lit. 'headband', 'fillet'; the infulae properly refer to the lappets hanging down the back of the mitre) et baculo pastorali; the mitre and crosier are commonly paired as symbols of episcopal office -- see MED s.v. mitre n.

It is common for abbots to enjoy the insignia and ceremonies proper to bishops -- ODCC s.vv. Mitre; Abbot.

29. the day of the hooly martires Sixti F[e]licissimi and Agapiti. This is August 6th. Pope Sixtus (Xistus) II together with his deacons Felicissimus and Agapitus suffered martyrdom in 258 under the second edict of the Emperor Valerian; Sixtus was

one of the most highly venerated of early martyrs (ODCC s.v. Sixtus II, St.; Christern (1963) 141).

36. þe office of the masse: sc. for the feast of the Transfiguration.

f. 22b

15. ornamentz. At this point the translation omits a rather obscure note concerning the use and significance of the name St. Sophia (Hm. 270/10-n21).

The ensuing matter concerning the Castel, along with previous details about Mt. Tabor, the monastery, and the festival of the Transfiguration, is paralleled in Ludolf; however according to the editor Ludolf's information about Blanche Garde is faulty in one respect, the fortress being located on Tell-es-Safieh, not far from Ascalon (126/n2). The "nobles of Blanchegarde" appear again, together with the equally mysterious (and intriguing) "Lord of Vaus", in Ludolf's catalogue of the erstwhile noble inhabitants of the city of Acre; unfortunately no further details are supplied there (51-52).

29. The original adds that both castle and monastery are now destroyed and deserted.

CHAPTER 39

SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS:

f. 22^{V}b 4 hid] add full BN. 13 of(2) . . kynges] om. BN. 34 that seyth that he hath] seiȝe þat haþ KA, seiȝe þat followed by caret mark but no insertion Y, lac. R, sithe that hath TDE, as they seyne þat hathe BN.
f. 23a 1 ne] þat KYATDE, lac. R, in þat B, nor þat N. 10 witty and also] so KYATDE, lac. R. 17 mannes] mennys ATDBN. 26 And . . (36)fulfillcd] om. KATDEBN, anom. Y, lac. R.

St. Helena obtains the relics of the Kings.

f. 22b

30ff. The source of the matter in this chapter is unknown. St. Helena's reputation for pious activity and the fame of Constantinople's relics would have provided the basis for the account of the first translation of the relics, which otherwise seems apocryphal (for the historicity of the first two translations see INTRODUCTION 3.1); however the tradition that the relics were formerly at Constantinople appears in BC 18. The motif of the exchange of St. Thomas's relics for those of the third King appears at BC 14; this links the present passage to the later account of the rise of the Tartars and the discomfiture of the Nestorians, suggesting that all these elements derive from the same source.

33. ordeyned chirches and goddes Mynistres. The verb has a slightly different sense in the two contexts ('built' as opposed to 'appointed') -- compare 22^{V}a10-12; 'established' would perhaps cover both.

f. 22^{V}a

6. with a certeyn peple: ?'with a sufficiently large retinue for the purpose at hand'; certeyn indicates 'a definite but unspecified amount', as in the phrase a certain moneie -- MED certain adj. 2.(b).

7. to the londes of ynde: ad terras et prouincias que circa indiam adhuc romano imperio permanserunt. This passage, together with the later quia tunc pro parte Romano imperio pertinebant, implies that the lands of Prester John (and so of the Three Kings) are thought of as lying beside, and partly within, the territorial boundaries of the Roman Empire.

9. Sinagoges: the word is used loosely of pagan temples -- OED s.v. synagogue 3.b.

18. destroyed: 'impaired', 'overthrown' -- compare MED s.v. destroien v. 6.(b), (c1384) WBible(1) Rom.3.31: Distrye we the lawe by the feith? Fer be it; but we stablischen the lawe.

f. 22^{V}b

15. the Nestorynes. This is the first appearance in our narrative of these people (who in the Latin are described as 'born of the kingdom of King Jaspar'). For fuller details on the Nestorians see 25^{V}a19ffn and subsequent notes. Historically St. Helena's dealings with the Nestorians is an anachronism, since Nestorian Christianity did not emerge as a distinct sect until the 5thC.

32ff. The corresponding Latin appears in ch.44 (f. 32a), where St. Thomas' relics are discussed in detail, and a note appears in our MS referring the reader to the present passage.

34. that seyth that he hath been . . .: cf. (non est homo cristianus . . .) visus qui dixisset se in ipsa insula fuisse et corporis beati Thome vidisse. The versions in the other English witnesses (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS) seem to reflect an original reading seiȝe (i.e. 'seen'), which may be a corruption of seiþe, or may correspond to visus. Possibly the translation originally read seiȝe þat seiþe.

f. 23a

10. wyse and witty: prudens; the second synonym does not appear in the abridged tradition, and may have arisen as a gloss.

17. cristen mannes hondes. The singular form mannes (not in all witnesses) is unexpected, and may perhaps be a spelling foible; if cristen mannes were pronounced as one word, so that the first syllable of mannes lacked primary stress, the resulting vowel would have been indistinct, and could have been represented equally well by <a> or <e>.

21-26. The original sense is a little more specific: the Nestorians have no great reverence for the saint as such, but (out of invidia) keep careful guard over his relics in view of the prophecy.

26ff. The rest of this chapter is omitted in the other versions (except in Y, which has an alternative rendering). In the original Latin and in our base the chapter break precedes rather than follows this passage, but the other MSS vary in this regard.

f. 23b 3 a] one KYARTDEBN. 4 richesses] richesse KYATDEBN, riches R. 10 with] add anom. Y, lac. R. 12 And . . (25)hede] om. KYARTDEBN. 26 also] om. KYARTDEBN; was] add that tyme K, add in þat tyme Y, add sometyme ARTDEBN. 34 to] om. KYATDEBN, anom. R. 36 honde] peple Y, oost R.

f. 23Va 10 the morwe after seynt laurence day] om. KYATDEBN, lac. R. 12 And . . (27)arayed] and ȝe schulle vnderstonde þat Constantynnopil is þe chefe cite of þe londe of grece and whan þes iij bodyes of þes iij kyngis were brouȝt in to þe Cite aforseyde (K)(Y)(A)(T)(D)(E)(B)(N), lac. R. 32 tyme] add anom. YR. 33 gloriouse] iij worscheppeful kyngis KA, worschippeful kyng Y, noble kinge D, kyng E. 35 what tyme that Iulian Apostata regnede] om. KYARTDEBN.

f. 23Vb 18 And] add so KYATDE, anom. R.

f. 24a 1 to] om. KARTDE. 27 of . . (30)they] And þan þis Erchebysship of Coleyne þorwe help of diuers lordys of þe londe of Melane YA(R)T(D)E, of dyuers lordys for þes Rebelles off Millan (add And þis Erchebyschoppe came to þe Emperoure with a grete pusaunce N) and so this Emperour and þe Erchebysschip of Coleyn went and werryd on þes Rebellys and BN. 28 and . . (30)they] om. K.

f. 24b 5 that] add in this turment and BN. 21 his] add gode BN. 26 loue] gode lordschippe Y, lordschippe R, add and goode lordschip BN.

f. 24Va 1 and] om. KYARTDEBN. grai] om. KYARTDEBN. 4 And] ffor KYATDEBN, neþerles R. 5 telle] speke to KYARTDEBN. 12 in to] vnto YATD, of E. 20 day] add anom. Y(R). 24 Ferthermore . . (25a14)knowe that] om. KYARTDBN.

f. 25a 16 and . . (19)alle] om. KYARTDBN. 25 her(2)] here KAT, here her YRBN.

f. 25b 2 that] amonges þem BN. 6 latini] om. KYARTDBN, anom. R; Armeni] om. KYATDBN, anom. R. 7 Suriani] Symani KYDBN, suirani A, anom. R, Sumany T; Georgiani . . Cepti] om. KBN, Maronici YATD. 8 Maromini] Nicholaite KN, add Nicholaite Y, Nichoo B. 9 Mandopoli] add etcetera KB, Madopoli Y, Mandorij Sacholaite with S added later? A, Mandorij Nicholaite TD, Also þer is A noþer þat is Callid Mandopoly N; And . . (23)this contree] om. KYARTDBN. 29 the . . golde] om. KYARBN, lac. TD. 31 ffor . . (25Va1)Nubiani] om. KYARBN, lac. TD.

f. 25^{V}a 4 in to . . (10)Akne] om. KYARBN, lac. TD. 18 in Bethleem] om. BN. 23 the . . encense] om. KYARBN, lac. TD. 27 And . . (31)hem self] om. KYARBN, lac. RTD. 33 amonge . . men] om. KYABN, lac. RTD. 36 ffor . . (b10)corrupt] om. KYABN, lac. RTD.

f. 25^{V}b 17 in Bethleem] om. KYARBN, lac. TD. 22 Ethiope . . Nestorius] om. KABN (cf. 29^{V}b25ff), anom. Y, lac. RTD. 27 And . . (26a5)reuerence But] om. KABN, anom. Y, lac. RTD.

f. 26a 5 whan . . masse to] and her preestis whan þei go to masse þei KA(BN), anom. YR, lac. TD. 11 And . . (23)her after] and for þe moost party þei be blak Ethiops and alle men of oþer sectys hate hem gretelich KABN, anom. Y, anom. R, lac. TD. 27 And . . (b17)shauen] om. KYATDBN, anom. R.

f. 26b 19 or ouer gilte] om. KYARTDBN. 20 thanne . . hym self] þe preest and þe dekene and þe southdekene þei mete togeder on þre partyes and so þei go to þe autere KYA(R)(TD)(B)(N). 25 that] om. KYARTD. 33 and . . heer] om. KYARTDBN. 36 þat that] om. KYADBN, þat RT.

f. 26^{V}a 9 at] aftir KYARTE. 19 grete] iij BN. 25 Syriani] Symani KYTD, Suirani A, Sunani R. Symyany BN. 29 Syrie] Smys KYA, lac. R, Syms TB, Symyany N; and . . Syrians] om. KYATDBN, lac. R. 31 heresyes] heresye KYATD(B)(N), lac. R. 34 seynt Iohannes] mydsomere BN.

f. 26^{V}b 8 the iij kynges] god allmy$_{3}$ti KYARTD, god B, om. N. 10 Also . . (27^{V}b28)$_{3}$iftes] om. KYARTDBN.

f. 27^{V}b 30 the . . (34)there] and þes dwell in diuers londys aboute KYATDBN, lac. R.

This chapter tells of the three translations of the relics, and of Christian sects found in the East.

f. 23b

4. richesses: 'opulence', 'splendid decoration'; but the singular, as in the abridged tradition, is more usual in this sense -- see MED s.v. riches(se n. 1.(b), 2.(b).

8ff. For the description of the church of St. Sophia and its relics, and the imperial statue, compare Ludolf 9.

16. veyl: 'sail(s)'; this is an antedating for this sense -- the first citation in OED s.v. veil sb[1] II. 10 ('sail') is dated c1430; indeed, given that velis is plural in the Latin, it may be an instance of an unrecorded nuance, 'sail (collectively)', 'sails'.

apparaylle is glossed as 'accouterments', 'rigging' in MED s.v. ap(p)areil n. 1., but this definition should perhaps be expanded to 'sails and rigging', as other in the present context implies that the word may also include the notion of sails.

26. also was. The Latin temporibus lodowyci Regis Ffrancie lends support to the abridged tradition's addition of a time phrase -- was (in) that tyme (KY) or was sometyme (the other MSS); also is presumably an addition of the F-editor, to balance (19)And in this chirche . . . (lines 12-25 being omitted in the abridged versions).

The preservation of the Coroune of thorne is first mentioned in the 5thC, and in the 6thC Cassiodorus refers to it as one of the glories of the earthly Jerusalem. The Jerusalem relic is said to have been later moved to Constantinople, and, after the capture of the city by the Crusaders in 1204, to have come into the possession of St. Louis, who acquired it from the Emperor Baldwin II in 1239 and built Sainte Chapelle in Paris to house it (however the notion that Louis came personally to Constantinople seems to be peculiar to the present work). According to other traditions, it was broken up into smaller relics (ODCC s.vv. Crown of Thorns; Louis IX, St.).

30. Constantinople . . . a grete partie ther of. In this context Constantinople is perhaps being used in a broader sense, as including the territories under the city's control; compare the corresponding constantinopolim et imperium grecorum.

33. for to. It is not clear whether the dependent words socoure and helpe are nouns or verbs. If they are nouns, then we have a new sense of for to, as there do not seem to be parallels for this use in MED s.v. forto adv. & particle 1 -- but cf. to (with following noun) in OED s.v. to prep. III. 8., 10, II. 11. etc. If on the other hand the dependent words are infinitives, then the construction is loose (?'in order to be helped'). The abridged tradition reads simply for (implying the following pair of words are nouns).

35. with a stronge honde. The phrase admits different interpretations, two of the more obvious being 'with a strong armed band' -- MED s.v. hond(e n. 4.(d). -- or the more general sense 'with armed might' -- ibid. 4.(a). If the first is chosen, it is an antedating for this sense of the noun (the first MED citation is dated a1460); if the second, then we have a variation on the normal form of the phrase, viz. with strong honde (as in our text at 4b24, 9b14). The scribe of Y who substituted peple (compare oost R) for honde seems to have interpreted the phrase in the first sense -- see MED s.v. peple n. 4.(a) -- whereas the readings of TBN (wiþ strong honde) and E (with stronge power and help) evidently reflect the second interpretation.

A further possibility exists. The MED entry cites the phrase in a stronge honde, with variations, in the biblical context of the delivery of the Israelites from bondage, e.g. a1382 WBible(1) (Bod959) Ex.32.11: þi puple, whome þou hast lad oute of þe londe of Egipte in grete streynþ & and in a strong honde [L in manu robusta]. In the present context the allusion seems not inappropriate (compare the Latin cum auxilio dei); so it is possible that the present usage originated in part as a conscious biblical allusion.

f. 23^{V}a

9-11. out of Constantinople . . . in to Parys. As the translation of the relics was clearly not effected in a single day, in to presumably means '(destined) for', as in MED s.v. in-to prep. 2.(b); alternatively, out of Constantinople could be understood adjectivally, '(the Crown of Thorns) which came from Constantinople'.

The words the morwe after seynt laurence day do not appear in the abridged texts.

12. ȝit: presumably in the sense 'still', 'even now' (adhuc), to be taken with in to this day, rather than 'nevertheless'.

After this sentence the basic abridged texts insert the sentence and ȝe shul[l]e vnderstonde þat Constantynnopil is þe chefe cite of þe londe of grece, corresponding to the Latin at 23b5; it is exceptional to find omission of "abridged" material in the unabridged version.

21. manassynge . . . to: ?'making a threatening gesture towards'. The intransitive use of the verb is common enough -- MED s.v. manacen v. 3.(a) -- but the same use with an indirect object is unparalleled (assuming to is the correct reading). Either an implicit object is to be supplied, or the preposition to is to be thought of as attached not to the verb but to the phrase with his right honde, in the sense 'with his right hand (sc. pointing) towards (the Sarracins)'. An alternative explanation of the

construction manassynge . . . to is that it is simply an overliteral imitation of the Latin usage (where the verb minans governs the dative).

23ff. Although this statue -- perhaps representing Constantine the Great -- was a well known sight of the city, there is no mention in any other source of the relics of the Three Kings lying by it (cf. Hm. xxi; Ludolf 5/n4).

32. The abridgement inserts a chapter break here.

33. gloriouse. This word is not a normal item of the translator's vocabulary; the other texts, though corrupt, give worscheppeful, which is. Revision against a Latin exemplar (compare gloriosi), presumably by the F-editor, would account for the substitution.

f. 23^{v}b

2. a persecucioun of deth. In fact the Emperor Julian (Iulian Apostata) used a wide variety of means to promote his policy of degrading Christianity and promoting paganism but stopped short of open persecution (ODCC s.v. Julian the Apostate).

5-14. The beginning of the Great Schism cannot be exactly dated; but in 451, against the objections of the Pope, patriarchial powers were formally conferred on the bishop of Constantinople, and a gradual estrangement ensued between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East. The final breach is usually assigned to 1054 (ODCC s.vv. Constantinople; The Great Schism). However the translation confuses the sequence of events by assigning the origins of the Schism to the reign of Julian; in the original the persecucio gladij and the persecucio hereticorum et scismaticorum are separate episodes. It is possible that the confusion originated from a lacuna in the translator's exemplar -- the loss of the passage between regnante and cessante is one of several possibilities.

8. Bisshoppes: romanos pontifices; compare line 10 the lawe of holy chirche, where the original ecclesia Romana specifically refers to the Roman church.

18. And. The abridged tradition adds so (the original implies that the destruction was a divine punishment; compare BC 18).

19. Turkes: 'Persians' perhaps (as in the Latin), given the historical context.

24. an Emperour of Rome þe which[e] was cleped Mauritius: Mauricius primus imperator Romanorum ex grecis 'M. the first Greek "Emperor of the Romans"'. The Emperor Mauritius or Maurice (582-603) is remembered for his energetic measures to restore Byzantine authority along the Danube against the invading Avars and in northern Italy in the face of the Lombard advance. However his association with St. Eustorgius (bishop of Milan 315-31) is a chronological impossibility.

28. amonge men there in that contree. This phrase is an addition of the translator, as is (33)in diuerse bokes in that contree; in the latter case, diuerse (?)'different' may reflect confusion at the author's introduction of a second and divergent tradition concerning the translation of the relics to Milan.

However, the translator's inference that the author's unnamed sources were local ones is not implausible; indeed it is hard to see where else these traditions could have arisen (certainly the author gives no indication of familiarity with Byzantine sources). Of all the Greek emperors it was perhaps Maurice and Emanuel whose names would have been most likely to survive in the local traditions of northern Italy, Maurice for his organisation of the exarchate of Ravenna as a Byzantine outpost in the face of Lombard conquests, and Emanuel for his later support of the Lombard cities in their struggle against the Emperor Frederick. (A more remote possibility is that the name Maurice occurred in the author's source of the account of the Schism, where he is remembered for his role in the quarrel between the Eastern Patriarch and the Pope Gregory the Great.)

For further discussion of the sources of the second translation, see Harris (1954) xvi-xvii.

36. Emanuel. The Emperor Manuel (1143-80), often referred to as Emanuel, would have been one of the Byzantine emperors best known to Europe, owing to his Westernised habits and his far reaching diplomatic manoeuvres (he was also the addressee of the Letter from Prester John; see 17^{V}b2n, Zarncke 909); however his appearance at this point in the narrative in connection with St. Eustorgius is a gross anachronism.

The documentary sources for the prior translations of the Kings are examined in Hm. xvii-xxi, who considers them no older than the last translation, i.e. they arose after the (historical) discovery of the bodies in Milan and their subsequent translation to Cologne by Rainald von Dassel, Chancellor and later Archbishop of Cologne; compare Harris (1959) 28.

f. 24a

1. to. The MSS vary between inclusion and omission of this word (thus between the meanings 'sent on an embassy to' and 'sent an embassy to'); the Latin favours omission. However the whole passage in the original shows much textual variation (see the apparatus to the Latin). The translation omits a number of details (e.g. Eustorgius was chosen as bishop by the Milanese, at

whose urging he petitioned the Emperor for the relics), and may be to some degree a reconstruction from the context.

2. Eustorgius. Eustorgius was bishop of Milan from 315-31 and thus a predecessor of St. Ambrose. However the latter, though he mentions Eustorgius, knows nothing of the translation of the Three Kings. The story connecting Eustorgius with the relics probably arose from the discovery of the bodies in his church, where he too lay buried (Hm. xx).

15. the which is cleped (th[e] ffreres prechoures): que nunc est (fratrum predicatorum); 'which belongs to' would be a more exact translation. The church of St. Eustorgio had belonged to the Dominicans since 1220, in other words subsequently to the translation of the relics to Cologne (Hm. xxi).

20. by processe of tyme: the original gives the date 1164 A.D.; in fact the destruction of Milan took place two years earlier. The German Emperor Frederick I ("Barbarossa"), one of the greatest of the medieval emperors, was occupied with Italian affairs during much of his reign, and led expeditions against the cities of Lombardy in 1154, 1158, and 1162. In the third campaign he succeeded in capturing and destroying Milan after a long siege. Frederick lived on to lead, at an advanced age, the third crusade on which he was drowned while crossing the river Saleph in Cilicia in 1190 (Chamber's Encyclopaedia s.v. Frederick I).

In June 1164 Rainald von Dassel obtained from the Emperor, as a reward for the services which he and the people of Cologne had rendered on the Emperor's campaign, the bodies of the Three Kings, together with other relics, which had been discovered in 1158 in the church of St. Eustorgius outside Milan and had subsequently been hidden within the town. On June 11 he set out on his journey with the relics, and taking his way via Burgundy to avoid his enemies, arrived in Cologne on July 23, the present anniversary of the translation. Rainald instituted a festival in honour of the Kings on the Epiphany, and his successor, Philipp von Heinsberg, founded the shrine in which the bodies are still deposited. It was to the translation of the relics, and thus ultimately to Rainald von Dassel (significantly perhaps, a former provost of Hildesheim, as well as a figure of some importance in the history of letters) that the beginnings of the growth of Cologne as a centre of pilgrimage can be attributed.

This much of the story is historical, but many of the details seem to have been supplied by our author. The motif that Rainald got the bodies clandestinely from a noble Milanese before asking the Emperour for them cannot be traced earlier than the 13thC (Hm. xvii-xix).

22. bygan to rebelle: cf. rebellauit. The first verb may simply be periphrastic, there being no warrant for the sense 'began to' in the Latin; alternatively, the translator perhaps misinterpreted primo, an adj. referring to '(Emperor Frederick) the First', as an adv. 'first (rebelled)'.

27-30. This part of the sentence has suffered corruption. The Latin says that the Emperor took the city with the help of the archbishop and other lords. It is likely that the version with the A-addition (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS) is the most original, and that, following the loss of part of the passage through eyeskip (helpe . . . þorwe help), a stage represented by K, the remainder of the passage was supplemented in various ways; compare the text of BN.

f. 24b

2. Asso: Azzo della Torre (Latin de Turri, corrupted in our base text to decurij). The family was one of the most powerful in Milan in the 13thC, but does not appear in the story of the Three Kings prior to our author's account; according to another tradition it was the sister of a nobleman of the town, Gualvagno Visconte, Count of Angleria, who betrayed the bodies to Rainald in order to save her brother (Hm. xix).

5. destructioun. Before this word BN add turment and. We often find that such doublets represent synonymous sense pairs; but in this case no sense of turment synonymous with 'destruction', 'devastation' is found in OED s.v. torment sb.

9. And . . . prisoun. This is an amplification by the translator.

19. geten hym grace of the Emperour and his loue and his lordeshipe: 'get him into the good graces of the Emperor and arrange a peaceful settlement with him and secure his protection and patronage'. For the combination of nouns see e.g. MED s.v. lordship(e n. 6, where examples include the word combined with love, grace, and mercy (and compare grace and loue at line 26). Some of our MSS read gode lordschippe, also cited in the MED entry and apparently synonymous with the unqualified noun.

f. 24^{V}a

31. lumbardie . . . al the londe: the sense of the final phrase is presumably 'all the country (of Italy)', though the Latin admits the alternative translation 'all the earth'. Lombardy, Tuscany, and Apulia are regions of Italy, the first two in the north, the third in the south; it is not clear why they should here be linked. The reference to certeyn bokes is obscure. The passage may preserve a memory of the period of the Lombardic and Gothic kingdoms which succeeded Roman rule in Italy after the fall of the Roman Empire, the Germanic invaders being mostly Arian Christians.

The name Apuley is not recorded in MED; at 29^{V}b8 it is spelt Apulie.

f. 24^{V}b

1. in to the grounde: 'completely', 'utterly' (funditus); the phrase in the present form is unrecorded, but compare (al) to ground in MED s.v. ground n. 1.(c), al at ground ibid. 8.(a).

3ff. The passage concerning the refutation of heresies is taken from the writings of the theologian Rabanus Maurus (776 or 784-856) -- PL 107 col.759-60. Textually the passage presents a number of difficulties even in the source; nevertheless it offers some clues regarding the evolution of the English translation -- see INTRODUCTION 6.4.3.

4ff. is shewed to oon and þe same Crist that been thise . . .: 'was revealed to Christ that these (gifts) represent . . .'; but the underlying Latin is corrupt, the original sense being 'in one and the same Christ was symbolised (divine majesty . . .)'.

6. kynger. No such form is attested; the word is undoubtedly a slip for kynges.

14ff. The general theme is that the symbolism of the gifts had efficacy in confuting heresy. The following summary of the argument is offered, although it is not always easy to reconstruct the sense because of the corrupt state of the text.

Incense represents sacrifice to the Deity: it thus affirms faith in Christ's divinity, denied by Arianism, which placed the Trinity on a descending triad of whom the Father alone was God -- compare Arianus qui soli patri sacrificium offerre contendebat (this passage had dropped out in the translator's exemplar, and in consequence the reference is misdirected in the English).

Myrrh, the symbol of Christ's mortality and passion, was the gift that refuted Manichaeism, a Gnostic tradition related to other dualistic heresies such as those of the Cathars and Albigensians. It is unclear what precisely their doctrines were, except that they appear to have denied the fact of Christ's crucifixion; of them St. Augustine, the most likely source of medieval knowledge of the sect, writes:

> eius [i.e. Manichaei] diem passionis celebrandum, Christum autem qui natus non esset, neque veram esse, qui vere passus esset sed simulatam carnem humanis oculis ostendisset [cf. 24^{V}b21: he by leued nat that Crist was . . . born flesshly . . .], non pertulisse sed finxisse mortem [cf. 24^{V}b16: byleuede not that Crist was verraily ded for oure heele].

The attempt to find significance in the third gift is somewhat forced, but relates to the idea of gold as the symbol of royalty.

Finally, the Nestorian heresy, the doctrine that there were two separate Persons in the incarnate Christ, the one divine and the other human (as opposed to the orthodox doctrine that the incarnate Christ was a single Person, at once God and man) is

also refuted by the offerings, though in exactly what sense is not clear from the corrupt state of the text; the implication seems to be that in offering all three gifts together the Magi affirmed that Christ was at once oon god and oon man. (ODCC and ERE s.vv. Nestorianism; Arianism; Manes (or Mani) and Manichaeism).

19. Manichee and Arian. Manichee (Manichaeus) or Mani was a 3rdC Gnostic teacher who preached widely in the East and was executed by the Persian king Bahram I in 276. Arius was a 3rdC Alexandrian priest whose teachings on the nature of Christ were condemned at the Councils of Antioch (324) and Nicaea (325); the Nicaean creed was drawn up to exclude his errors, but versions of his doctrines found widespread support. (ODCC and ERE s.vv. Manes (or Mani) and Manichaeism; Arius).

26. for blame of her vntrowthe they were punysshed: 'they were punished for the offence of unfaithfulness'; but the original Latin refers to their fate at the future Judgement.

35. say: 'say' or 'saw'; the form is ambiguous in the language of our scribe, and neither equivalent quite matches videat. offrede not but oonlyche: ?'did not make offerings except'; even if this interpretation is correct, the meaning of the passage is difficult to fathom, and the Latin versions vary too much to shed much light on the matter.

f. 25a

8ff. The source of this matter is unknown. Other passages describing the Epiphany rites show parallels with Ludolf; however, the material immediately following (25b1ff) has close links with BC.

12. it is knowe: 'it is acknowledged' (cognoscitur). But the Latin is corrupt; the original sense 'and are venerated' more smoothly links the preceding subordinate clauses to the main clause at line 14.

22. with her Corounes vpon her heuedes. The original adds 'as on the day of their coronation'; the crowns are worn in honour of the Three Kings.

f. 25b

2. that. This conjunction introduces a subordinate clause with no corresponding main clause; the emendation ther would avoid the anacoluthon at line 9 (And of alle . . .) and would correspond more closely with the Latin.

However as there is no evidence for this emendation in the tradition (the reading of BN amonges hem is no doubt secondary), it may be that the reading that is original, and the explanation for the lack of syntactic coherence lies in the history of the text.

In this passage major differences in arrangement appear in the abridged and unabridged traditions: whereas our MS follows the original arrangement, in the abridged versions the listing of the names of the sects is followed immediately by the words 3it euery party hath a certeyn deuocioun to þes iij kynges and to þe feest of þe Epiphanye (?cf. Hm. 289/26), and introduces the discussion of the celebration of Epiphany (Hm. 290/1ff, the first part of which is lost in the Minor Lacuna in our version); the discussion of the sects themselves, in very abbreviated form, is postponed to the final section (144/31ff). According to our theory of the evolution of the text, the passage 25b9-23 And of . . . this contree must be a later addition (a notion supported by the evidence of the Latin tradition: both the present passage and subsequent passages peculiar to the unabridged version reflect the readings of the Late Group of Latin witnesses rather than those of the subgroup KD which lie behind the "abridged" portions of the text, e.g. 25a12 it is knowe, where Late Group reads cognoscitur, but K reads reverenter venerantur; 25b11 men of ynde, where Late Group has Indi, KD latini). Moreover the introductory formula at 25b24-25 Ferthermore as touchynge thise Sectes of heretikes a fore seide (The firste secte is cleped . . .) is appropriate in the context of the abridgement (144/31ff), where the discussion of the sects

is widely separately from the listing of their names, but is less appropriate in our version, where one of the sects has already been discussed. All this suggest that 25b9-23 is a secondary addition intended to supply corresponding material in the original, but inserted without complete success in adapting the passage stylistically to the context.

5ff. Nubiani Soldini Nestorini latini Indi Armeni Greci Suriani Georgiani Iacobite Nicholaite Cepti ysmini Maromini Mandopoli. Our MS follows the Latin both in the order in which these sects are listed and (so far as the defective state of the text allows us to determine, the final part of the discussion being lost in the Minor Lacuna), the order in which they are discussed. However the "order of listing" and the "order of discussion" show some discrepancies: the latini, listed fourth, appear to be discussed first; the Armeni are discussed after the Suriani; after the Iacobite a sect called Maronite are discussed, though their name does not appear in the listing (this shows the F-editor's overreliance on the Latin -- this sect is included in the abridged listing); the Nicholaite are discussed after the Maromini; and after the Mandopoli a brief discussion of the Arriani follows. Thus the actual order in which the sects are discussed is: (Latini), Nubiani, Soldini, Nestorini, Indi, Greci, Siriani, Armeni, Georgiani, Iacobite, Maronici, Copti, Ysmini, Maromini, Nicholaite, Mandopoli, (Arriani).

The abridgement makes a number of changes. Only select sects are discussed, and the listing is correspondingly abbreviated. However the items in the listing are rearranged according to the order of discussion, which follows the original (thus Nicholaite follows Maromini in those texts with the A-additions, and Maronici is reintroduced into the listing, as this sect is included in the discussion). The archetypal listing of the abridgement appears to be: Nubiani Soldini Nestorini Indi Greci Syriani Maronici (the latter omitted in the B-text) Ysmini Maromini (the latter omitted in K and the B-text) Nicholaite Mandopoli (the last two transposed in the A-text).

There seems to be no system behind the original order, except that the Latini are said to have precedence over the other sects, the next three are allegedly the contemporary inhabitants of the three kingdoms of the Three Kings, while in BC the Jacobites, Copts, Maronites, Ysini, Maromini, and Nicholaitans are treated together as dispersed sects lacking a homeland of their own.

Apart from the Nestorini all the sects are treated very briefly in the abridgement; there is in consequence a major reduction in length of this section of the text compared with the unabridged version. The rationale behind the abridgement is not obvious. It is notable that the brief details which are retained of the practices of the various sects have specific reference to the Three Kings. But then it is not clear why other sects were omitted entirely -- the Latini, Armeni, Georgiani, Iacobite, Copti, and Arriani -- when there is some discussion in the original of their attachment to the Kings.

A similar listing introduces the discussion of the sects at BC 9. There too discrepancies occur between the order of listing and the order of discussion, and neither exactly corresponds to the versions in HTR. The Latini are not discussed in BC, though their name appears at the head of the listing; this supports the notion that the material in HTR does not derive directly from BC, but that both descend from an earlier text.

A further listing, with a substantially different ordering, appears at the beginning of ch.42 (our ch.[41], the beginning of which is lost in the Minor Lacuna).

11. thise men of ynde: Indi. However it would seem that the reading Indi is simply a scribal conjecture for an archetypal lacuna in the Latin. Hm.'s conjecture Latini (in place of Indi) is very plausible: it fits the context, and explains the inclusion of latini in the listing. This would presumably be a reference to the Latin Empire of Constantinople: the leaders of the Fourth Crusade partitioned the Byzantine Empire between them, the Pope appointing a Latin patriarch who enforced the Roman rite and obedience on the Byzantine church (thus aggravating the division between Catholic and Orthodox Christianity); some of the Latin colonies survived the restoration of the Greek Empire in 1261. In addition, the term would also have embraced the citizens of the erstwhile Crusader kingdoms of the Levant, as well as the Venetians who had commercial interests in the area.

Apart from these considerations there is a separate entry later on for the Indi (26a24ff). The note at that point discusses the identification of the Indi with the Thomas or Malabar Christians of southern India. If this is correct, then the present description of a sect using Latin as a liturgical language makes it unlikely that the two are the same. Christianity was probably introduced into India from Syria, with which India had considerable trade, and although India came into contact with the Latin church in the 13thC through European travellers and Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, it would seem that the language of the liturgy of these Indian Christians remained Syriac and not Latin, since this was a point of contention with the Portuguese missionaries who arrived later and attempted to impose the Latin rite (ERE s.v. India).

21. redynge: 'chanting', as the Latin cantant makes clear -- see MED s.v. reden v.(1) 2b.; chanting the gospel is still the practice in some Churches.

24ff. The details concerning the various sects corresponds closely with the comparable material in BC; but the motif of the three gifts as symbols of the purity of the three sects who belong to the kingdoms of the Three Kings seems to be a concept developed by our author from hints in his source. The implications of the modifications of the source material which this development entailed will be discussed later.

The identity of the sect of Nubiani is not entirely certain. In the fuller discussion in BC 9-13, the kingdoms of Nubia and Tharsis, with which Melchior and Balthazar are linked, are located in the 'southeast, near India' (i.e. southeast in respect to Jerusalem, traditionally located in the middle of the world); as BC's location of the other sects corresponds generally with what we know of their historical distribution, this location for Nubia and Tharsis can be given a measure of credit. Even so, it is not clear who exactly the Nubiani are to be identified with. Modern scholarship favours the population of northern Abyssinia, who were introduced to Christianity in the 4thC, probably by Syrian Monophysites (BC notes that the Nubians speak Chaldean and write Chaldean, but this is perhaps a confusion with Coptic); the influence of Byzantine culture remained strong until the rise of Islam caused rapid decline in the numbers of Christians, the last Christian king being deposed in 1315 (ERE s.v. Abyssinia; New Catholic Encyclopedia s.v. Nubia). The Nubians are also mentioned in Ludolf, an Abyssinian convent in Jerusalem (see ODCC s.v. Ethiopian or Abyssinian church) being perhaps the basis of the references both in Ludolf and HTR to a 'Chapel of the Nubians'.

The titles assigned to King Melchior in our work suggest a link between the kingdoms of Nubia and of Arabia. The link may simply be the result of conjecture on the author's part, Arabia being presented in his sources as the land where the purest gold is found; however it is interesting that modern sources state that there is no doubt that the Semitic population of northern Abyssinia originally came from Arabia.

(New Catholic Encyclopedia. Gen. ed. William J. McDonald. 15 vols. NY: McGraw, 1967.)

30. And thise been trewe cristene men. This is the general sense behind a somewhat corrupt passage of Latin.

34. cleped: presumably 'aforesaid', though there is no recording of this adjectival use of the participle in MED s.v. clepen v. 2.(b); but cf. OED clepe v. 4.

f. 25^{V}a

3. in the honoure of (var. for worshippe of): perhaps 'out of respect for', as in MED s.v. honour n. 1.(d), e.g. a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC 1.152: Bysechyng hym . . . that he Wolde, in honour of trouthe and gentilesse . . . eke menen wel to me; compare OED s.v. worship sb.

7. chirge: this possibly represents a plural form (compare ecclesias).

9. as fryses haue in Akne. This might seem an item of personal observation on the part of the author, but has in fact been taken over from his source (it appears in the corresponding passage in BC).

19ff. It has been suggested that these Soldini are to be identified with the Soldains (Soldins, Soldinis, Soldis) mentioned by Hayton of Armenia (Histoire des croisades, Docum. Armeniens, II, 124, qtd. in Harris (1955) cxix); but this identification is problematical (see MV 209).

The description of this sect parallels that in BC 13-14, though no reference appears in BC to the heretic Soldinus, nor to use of the "Chaldean" alphabet.

However it is remarkable that BC identifies these people (not the Nestorians, as in HTR) as the swarthy inhabitants of Jaspar's kingdom of Tharse. Unless the present passage derives from an alternative source, or a different version of the source, it would seem that our author has deliberately modified his material; the implications of this are discussed more fully below.

28. a partye of Custume . . . of Greekys. The word corresponding to Custume in the original is ritum, suggesting a translation 'traditional religious practice', 'ritual', though such a nuance is not noted in MED s.v. custum(e n. nor OED s.v. custom sb.

f. 25^{v}b

5. but that: here the context seems to require a different translation to the standard 'except that', 'unless' (MED s.v. but conj.; OED s.v. but conj.), although it is not easy to formulate an exact equivalent. The usage is perhaps to be regarded as a syntactic experiment, modelled on the L nisi (+ subj.).

19ff. The principle tenets of the Nestorian doctrine have been outlined previously (24^{v}b14ffn). It is still disputed how far bishop Nestorius (d. c451) departed from orthodoxy in his teachings; but after his deposition at the Council of Ephesus, those Eastern bishops who refused to accept the subsequent decisions on doctrinal matters evolved a separate Nestorian church centered outside the Roman Empire in Persia, from where it spread as far as Ceylon, Turkestan, and China. It was thus in the Nestorian form that Christianity was introduced to the more distant parts of the East. Nestorian Christians often came to hold positions of authority in governments which were themselves not Christian, and as such seem to have been ultimately responsible for the origin of the legend of a Christian ruler Prester John, specifically noted as being of Nestorian persuasion in the earliest references (not surprisingly this detail does not appear in HTR, where the Nestorians feature as the worst of heretics). Initially favoured by the Mongols, the Nestorian church suffered drastically under Tamerlane, their surviving remnants seeking shelter in the mountains of Kurdistan (ODCC s.v.

Nestorianism; ERE s.v. Syrian Christians 8. East Syrians or Nestorians. See further the note on Syriani).

22. kynge Ethiope: i.e. he was black. But in BC 13, the closest parallel for this material, it is the Soldini, not the Nestorians, who feature as the swarthy descendants of Jaspar king of Tharse who paint the images of the devils white and so on. However contemporary reports frequently presented an unfavourable account of the morals of at least certain Nestorian groups (e.g. Yule 1: 116/n4), and our author may have had information concerning some branch of the African church whose members were black and clung to heretical, i.e. pagan, beliefs, or, more plausibly, concerning the Malabarese church in southern India, where the population is dark skinned and the church had Nestorian connections. In any case the sources may well have disagreed as to which King ruled over which kingdom.

However a degree of literary licence is probably involved. One of the recurrent themes of HTR is a tripartite division, often expressed in hierarchical form (three Kings with three gifts, of three heights, three ages, and so on). It is therefore not surprising to find the inhabitants of the three kingdoms of the three Kings presented in similar manner, that is, in descending order of religious orthodoxy, with the perversity of the descendants of Jaspar standing in contrast to the uncorruptibility of the Nubians.

Moreover the motif of a dark skinned race who were bad Christians, though present in BC, is given special prominence in HTR: the Nestorians are described as hated and despised of alle othere cristene men and later as 'the worst heretics in the world', and they paint the devils white in the despyte of oþer men. Whatever the form of this material in his sources, the language seems to a significant degree to reflect the preoccupations of the author, in as much as it emphasises a connection between darkness of skin and religious perversity. If this proposition is correct, it sheds interesting light on the nature and development of European colour prejudice (for further discussion of this point, and the sources of HTR generally, see Kaplan, esp. 65-66).

23ff. The abridged texts condense the remainder of the passage, but append the story of Prester John and the Nestorians from ch.44.

At 26a15 the abridgement in place of yndes reads Ethiops, no doubt the original reading (compare ethiopes nigri); the phrase "black Ethiope" appears to have been commonplace -- MED s.v. Ethiope n.(2).

34. medlynges: 'admixtures', but apparently in a concrete sense ('things added'), a nuance not noted in MED s.v. medling(e ger.; but cf. OED meddling vbl. sb. 1. b.

36. ne counceilgynge. It is unclear what the reading of the MS is, and the control of the abridged tradition is wanting. The final letters of line 36 appear to be in another hand which elsewhere occasionally writes in the margin, and are inserted in quite a short gap at the end of the line; the gynge at the top of the next column has a horizontal line through it. It is unlikely that gynge is a separate word -- cf. MED ging(e n. 2.(a).; the letters may be the remains of a verbal substantive (though the ending -gynge as such is not attested in LALME under Items 56, 57). The Latin does not suggest any obvious solutions, but equally does not imply that a significant loss of content has occurred.

f. 26a

4. this thridde kynge: this should probably be emended to thise iij kynges, compare hos tres Reges (this passage does not appear in the abridged tradition).

14. The translation omits a sentence to the effect that forty kingdoms were infected with the Nestorian heresy (compare BC 14/n1), the reason presumably being that the equivalent appears at 29^{v}b28.

24ff. As previously mentioned, it is not clear whether these Indi are to be identified with the Thomas or Malabar Christians of southern India. That Christianity existed in India since the 4thC is not disputed (whatever the truth of the story of its introduction by St. Thomas); but these Christians were attached to the (Nestorian) Patriarch of Baghdad, and as elsewhere our author describes the Nestorians as the worst of heretics, it is unlikely that these 'Indians' would be referred to as goode cristene men if their heretical connections had been known.

However the author (or his source, compare BC 10-13) in fact supplies few concrete details about this sect; and since Ynde as a geographical region never seems to have a very specific reference in this work, it may be that the 'men of Inde' are in large measure a literary construct introduced to complement the reference to Prester John and the patriarch Thomas, and possess no more historical reality than these two figures.

f. 26b

2ff. This description possibly arises from confusion with the Hindu santal mark on the forehead. (In fact here and elsewhere reports of heretical practices may well have arisen from misinterpretation of Hindu rites. According to Hale 38, the confusion was still being made at the end of the 15thC, when Vasco da Gama's men persuaded themselves that a Hindu temple was a church and a statue of the goddess Devaki a madonna.)

(Hale, John. Age of Exploration. Great Ages of Man series. [NY]: Time-Life, 1966.)

11. the holy goost . . .: see Acts 2:1-4.

17-20. This reference to the crown over the altar does not appear in the corresponding passage in BC.

20-23. The text of the abridged tradition is rather different: þe preest and þe dekene and þe southdekene þei mete togeder on þre partyes and so þei go to þe autere. Comparison of the Latin MSS suggests that the two versions reflect variation in the original tradition: the version on þre partyes of the abridged tradition corresponds, as usual, to the text of KD, with its reading ex tribus partibus et vijs, whereas by diuerse weyes in our MS reflects the reading ex variis vijs of the Late Group. In other words the version in our MS is a revision of what to the F-editor must have seemed a less than satisfactory rendering of the original text.

26. in an hye weye the which was departed in to iij weyes: 'upon a highway at a point where it divided into three'. For the use of in 'on', 'by', compare MED s.v. heigh adj. 2b.(e), a1425 St.Antony 132/23: þai fond a blynede man & crokyde standand be syde þe cete in a haye-strete & begged.

31ff. The section on the Greek Orthodox church corresponds to BC 18-20, with some minor variations and additions.

32. and her prestes haue wyues. Practice varies among the Christian bodies concerning clerical marriage; the Orthodox church preserves the primitive practice, that ordinands must either be already married or elect to remain celibate, while the Roman Church, at least for all who follow the Latin rite, enforces celibacy (ODCC s.v. Matrimony).

33. they haue longe heer. Orthodox priests are more conspicuous for their long beards than for long hair; indeed, the corresponding passage in BC reads 'beards'. But earlier practice may have allowed differences.

34. And they byleue . . . holy goost. The translator has missed the point, which is a reference to a controversy over what is technically known as the Double Procession. The Latin says that the Greeks do not believe that the Holy Ghost comes from the Father and the Son, but only from the Father; this is contrary to the teachings of the Western Church, according to which the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. The inclusion of the 'Filioque' clause in the Creed was one of the obstacles to reunion between Eastern and Western churches (see further in ODCC s.vv. Double Procession of the Holy Ghost; Filioque).

(The F-editor failed to note the mistranslation, which shows the unevenness of his revision, since elsewhere -- e.g. at lines 20-23 -- he introduces quite minor adjustments into the text.)

36. Also the [i.e. they] seye þat that [om. that] ther is no purgatorie. It would seem that the Greek position on the question of Purgatory involved differences in doctrinal detail rather than outright denial. Western teaching on the subject was defined at the Councils of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439), with a view to reconciling the Greeks (ODCC s.v. Purgatory).

f. 26^{v}a

7. a sterre. The reference is to the asteriskos ('little star'), a metal object placed over the communion diskos (dissh) to prevent the velum (cloth) from coming in contact with the consecrated host (Meyers enzyklopädisches lexikon s.vv. Asteriskos; Diskos; Velum).

(Meyers enzyklopädisches lexikon. 9th ed. 25 vols. Mannheim: Bibilographisches Institut, 1979.)

9. at. The abridged reading aftir reflects the original post (offertorium).

11. an heigh: 'raised', 'up', rather than 'on high'; the phrase need not imply great height, as shown by MED s.v. heigh adj. 8b., (a1398) *Trev.Barth. 83b/b: þe pacient schal be brouȝt to reste & slepe wiþ his hede arerid on hiȝe [L capite alto]. It is not

clear whether the description implies that the dish and its contents is held above the head, or upon and in contact with it.

17. The phrase and done worshipe to þe sacrifice is an addition by the translator, as is And there . . . worshiped hym at line 22-23.

25. Syriani: 'Syrians'; but confusion arises from the fact that several different bodies of Christians -- Jacobite, Maronite, Nestorian, Malabarese, and others -- are habitually referred to as Syrians, as well as from the fact that the word Syria meant different things at different times (ERE s.v. Syrian Christians). The author supplies little concrete information that might serve to identify the sect more precisely; the discussion of the derivation of their name would imply that they were to be found living in the area around Jerusalem, whereas the reference to St. Barbara could indicate that they were an Egyptian sect, since her relics were preserved there. They may be identical with the Jacobites (see 27^{V}b12ffn).

In regard to the name, the author's observations are substantially correct, for even in Roman times Judea (the londe of the Iewes) was officially part of the province of Syria. However in our version the point is obscured by the use of the term ynde at 26^{V}a26,28, rather than 'Judea', which the context shows to be the original reading (in any case the term 'Inde' seems never to be applied to areas of the nearer East). The reading ynde is archetypal in the English, the confusion having originated in the Latin tradition, where the MSS regularly

interchange India and Iudea. Hm. emends the readings at 26^{V}a26,28 to yude i.e. 'Judea', but the interpretation of the initial pair of letters as <yu> rather than as <yn> seems implausible.

The matter is further confused in the English tradition by the misspelling of 'Syrians' and 'Syria'. The abridged tradition has variations of Symani and Smys respectively (see SIGNIFICANT VARIATIONS), reflecting the spellings in the Latin MS which the translator used; by contrast, the MSS of the Late Group preserve the correct forms, and the readings in the unabridged text may be either a correction based on this or an independent emendation from the context.

For the source of the information, see BC 23, and compare Ludolf 71.

30. lytel of heresyes: 'few heretical beliefs' -- for lytel 'few' see MED s.v. litel n.(3) 2.(a); however, the original non habent multum de heresi supports the singular reading of the abridged tradition.

After this sentence the translation omits a sentence explaining why the Syrians are called 'the Christians of the cincture' (cristiani de cinctura); the reference is to a distinctive waistband worn by this sect (BC 23/n4).

33. al hir nyght. St. Barbara's feastday is Dec. 4th.

34. seynt Iohannes nyght. St. John the Baptist's feastday is June 24th; BN reads mydsomere nyght, a synonym -- see MED s.v. mid-somer n. 1.(b). The Latin, however, has 'St. Martin's eve' (Nov. 11th).

f. 26^{V}b

4. for any cause: cause can be translated either as 'reason' or 'lawsuit' -- MED s.v. cause n. 4, 5, 7.

8. the iij kynges: this reading presumably arises by dittography from the previous line; the abridged tradition reads god allmyȝti (dominum).

10ff. Though the earliest nation to embrace Christianity officially, the Armenians repudiated the Council of Chalcedon (451), in consequence of which the Armenian church has since been reputed Monophysite (for this term see 27^{V}b12ffn). However, by the time the present work was composed, the Armenians of Lesser Armenia were united with Rome, and many Western practices had been adopted from the Crusaders. The Armenians throughout their history have suffered persecution and domination from various neighbouring peoples; compare the reference at 27b8 to the old name of Lower Georgia, Armenye the more (ODCC s.v. Armenia, Christianity in).

This passage is paralleled at BC 20-23; however, HTR and BC each preserve details not found in the other, providing further evidence that the two versions are independent. No entry for the Armenians, Georgians, or Jacobites appears in the abridged English versions.

11. stronge cristene men: the ambiguity of stronge is present in the base Latin; O's more precise in armis strenuissimi makes clear that the original reference is to military prowess.

19. sacre. This is probably a scribal error for the past tense, judging by the Latin, as well as the context, which refers to practices now abandoned; the slip may have been due to the analogical force of putte, which could be taken as present tense.

21. encrese and turne: the literal sense 'grow and turn' perhaps amounts to 'increasingly turn', assuming encrese is anything more than a token equivalent of the cognate accrescunt; alternatively, the sense of encrese might be 'to grow closer to' (accrescunt being analysed as if crescunt ad 'grow towards'), though this sense finds no support in MED s.vv. encresen v. or acresen v.

27. melodiousely in latyn: cf. melodia latinorum 'in the melody of the Latins'. This would appear to provide an antedating for the adverb, which is first recorded a1449/c1430 (MED s.v. melodiousli adv. and OED s.v. melodiously adv. respectively, for the same citation; the adjective is already found in Chaucer).

29. her habite: her may be reflexive, or refer back to the Latins, or forward to the Kings; the language in the original is not explicit. chothynge is undoubtedly a slip for clothynge (habitu vestimentorum). cappes vpon her heuedes recalls early pictorial representations of the Magi wearing peculiar caps.

36ff. The origins of Christianity in Georgia extend back to the 4thC; however, while the neighbouring Church of Armenia adopted Monophysitism, Georgia remained Chalcedonian (ODCC s.v. Georgia, Church in).

In the present work Upper Georgia is distinguished from Lower Georgia or Aboas (see 27b6n), formerly 'Armenia the More' (see 26^{v}b10ffn). The information concerning the Upper Georgians seems to refer to dispersed communities of Georgian monks -- compare BC 16-18, Ludolf passim; in particular, Ludolf 85 describes a convent on Mt. Sinai consisting of "more than four hundred Greek, Georgian, and Arab monks, both clerical and lay, who do not always abide in the monastery, but are scattered abroad here and there, working at the business affairs of the monastery". There still exists a small independent church of Orthodox communion called the Church of Sinai, which is ruled by the "Archbishop of Mount Sinai", the abbot of the monastery on that mountain (ODCC s.vv. Georgia, Church of; Sinai, Church of). Otherwise the few details on the customs of the Upper Georgians are largely repeated in the entry for the Lower Georgians.

f. 27a

16. Micee: 'Mecca'; BC 49 refers to 'Mecca, where Muhummad lies buried'.

26. seynt Antonye . . . seynt Macharie. St. Antony was an ascete who came out of the desert in c305 to organise his disciples into a loosely bound community of hermits. Under his influence St. Macarius founded a colony of monks in the desert of Scetis, which bcame one of the chief centres of Egyptian monasticism (ODCC s.vv. Antony, St., of Egypt; Macarius, St.

30. And they . . . than to her neighbores. It is not entirely clear what this sentence means; the obscurity is present in the Latin, for which other interpretations are possible, such as 'and they are (or, in order to keep them) on relatively friendly terms with their (other) Saracen neighbours'.

f. 27b

2ff. Although the author provides little factual information about this sect, the details concerning their environment accord generally with the geography of the modern region of Georgia.

3. beey cleped. This presumably represents a scribal misdivision of bee ycleped: there is no record of a form beey in LALME 4: 17 s.v. ARE.

6. Aboas: Abcas or Abeas in the original Latin (Hm. 282/n3), i.e. Abkhaziya, a region east of the Black Sea in modern Georgia.

8. somtyme it was cleped Armenye the more. Perhaps this is a memory of the period in the 6thC when Georgia came under Monophysite control (see 26^{V}b10ffn).

10. an hille: Mt. Ararat in Armenia; see BC 17/n2.

11. abood: 'remained' or ?'came to a halt'. Both senses are recorded -- MED s.v. abiden v. 3.(c); 6.(a) -- but citations for the second sense refer exclusively to people, not objects.

22. honissen: henissen in the original, compare BC Heymissen, where the editors suggest that the name derives from the Georgian province of Hamsen, and cite a parallel account in Hayton; the legend may derive ultimately from accounts of the land of perpetual darkness mentioned by Marco Polo (BC 17/n3).

32. neuere ne seye wryte: ?'never seen (to be) written'; but the passage may be corrupt, neuere seye (or seyd) ne wryte being possible emendations -- compare in aliquo libro non sit scriptum vel vnquam auditum.

35. as fer . . . with an arblast: ad tractum baliste; i.e. '(the distance of) a (cross)bowshot from that place'.

f. 27^{V}a

18. Eraclie: the emperor Heraclius (r.610/11-41), remembered for his energetic defence of the Byzantine empire against its foes, including the Persians and the newly emergent Muslim Arabs, and in particular, for his restoration of the Cross, removed by the Persians from Jerusalem in 614, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 629. Reference to the reign of Heraclius does not appear in the corresponding passage in BC 17.

34. made hem so streyte a weye: ?'made the way so impassable for them' (streyte a weye is not 'straightaway', which comes from ME stra3t, stre3t, pp. of strecche(n) v.); the phrase seems to reflect the reading artum dedit (compare artus adj. 'narrow', 'strait'; artum n. 'a narrow passage'), a corruption of circumdedit, itself a synonym of operuit (closede).

f. 27^{V}b

12ff. The Jacobites were Syrian Monophysites who rejected the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon (451) on the Person of Christ (Monophysitism being the doctrine that in the Person of the incarnate Christ there was but a single, and that a divine, nature, as against the orthodox teaching of a double nature, divine and human, after the Incarnation -- compare 27^{V}b18-19 and the corresponding Et hij non credunt sanctam trinitatem sed unitatem). They took their name from Jacob Baradaeus (c500-78), a Syrian monk who wandered from Egypt to the Euphrates preaching and founding Monophysite churches; the term Jacobite was actually a nickname given by their Orthodox opponents, but the Jacobites readily accepted it, claiming that their liturgy was given to them by the Apostle James. Their numbers began to decline only in the 13thC and 14thC with the Mongol invasions.

The passage on the Jacobites corresponds to BC 14-15.

29ff. The Maronites are a Christian community of Syrian origin, who trace their existence back to St. Maro, a friend of St. Chrysostom (d. 407). In the 6thC they were staunch supporters of the doctrine of Chalcedon, and were consequently persecuted by the Monophysite Syrians. Many erroneous notions of the sect were transmitted to later writers such as William of Tyre by the writings of Eutyches, Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria (933-40); this perhaps accounts for the charge of heresy (which in reality rests more on a controversy over

semantics than heresy) and for the somewhat disparaging tone of the notice in our work (contrast the more favorable terms in which the Syrians are described; in fact, the moderate terms of the notices on the Monophysite sects and the contrastingly strong language in which the Nestorians are condemned might suggest that the author, or rather his sources, was dependent on Monophysite informants).

After the defeat of their allies the Crusaders, the Maronites suffered persecution under the rule of the Mamelukes (from 1291), who practised a policy of devastation in order to impede the return of the Westerners. The cities of the Lebanese coast were sacked, and the Maronites were reduced to isolated communities in the mountains of Northern Lebanon, while some groups settled in Rhodes and Cyprus.

For the matter concerning this sect, compare BC 15.

36. A lacuna follows (of two leaves, according to the catalogue). The text resumes in the middle of ch.41.

A summary of the missing text is given in SUMMARY OF THE MINOR LACUNA (under APPENDICES), to which line references in the ensuing notes refer. The means of reconstructing the missing text and the conventions for the annotations are the same as those employed in SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR LACUNA.

154/27. The original however seems to mean that they celebrate mass alternately in honour of St. Thomas and the Three Kings, except at Christmas and Easter.

284/11. The spelling Cepti is found in the listing at 25b8; in the Latin the name is spelt Copti (the sect is not discussed in the abridged versions).

The Coptic, i.e. Egyptian, church is traditionally said to have been founded by St. Mark. Theological controversies in the 5thC on the nature of Christ were embittered by opposition between Alexandria and Constantinople, and after the Council of Chalcedon the Egyptian church became formally Monophysite and increasingly isolated from the rest of Christendom, Upper Egypt becoming a centre of monasticism. In the 7thC the Copts passed under Persian and Arab domination and suffered intermittent persecution (ODCC s.v. Coptic Church).

The Gospel of Nicodemus was an apocryphal gospel, the Latin version of which (Euangelium Nicodemi) dates from the 5thC, and the Coptic version from 361-63; the "Secrets of St. Peter" is perhaps the Apocalypsis Petri, or else the apocryphal "Acts of St. Peter" (late 2ndC), or the Pistis Sophia, or perhaps some other work (ODCC s.vv. Apocalyptic literature; Apocryphal New Testament. BC 15/n2,3 provides references).

Corresponding matter concerning the Copts is found at BC 15.

284/n11. Ismini (in the Latin also spelt Isini). This sect has not been convincingly identified; modern consensus favours the notion that the name was once used as a form of "Abyssinian", though variously applied (e.g. Kaplan 60, 65). The name cannot derive from that of the Jewish ascetic sect of the Essenes, who appear to have come to an end in the 2ndC, and never to have

passed out of the bounds of Palestine (ODCC s.v. Essenes). Harris (1955) 53a,cxxi cites the variant spelling Isweniti (?'men of Aswan'). Other possibilities are 'followers of Isis', or 'men of Issa' (in Illyria).

In this context it is perhaps worth recording that Symon Simeon, an Irish Minorite friar who visited Egypt in 1322, reported in his Itinerarium seeing for sale in Cairo and Alexandria "Danubian" captives who were similar in complexion and features to "Indians" except that their faces bore long scars produced by burning, an act which they described as a form of baptism: Praedicti autem Danubiani, quamvis ab Indianis non sunt figura et colore distincti, tamen ab eis distinguuntur per cicatrices longas quas habent in facie et cognoscuntur; comburunt enim sibi cum ferro ignito facies illas vilissimas terribiliter in longum, credentes se sic flamine [? flammis] baptizari ut dicitur, et a peccatorum sordibus igne purgari (92, cf. 18n3). For a report of the same practice among Eastern Christians, see Yule 1: 115/n2; von Harff (159) attributes the practice to the Thomas Christians who live on the island of Schoyra (Socotra). On Abyssinian christianity, see ODCC s.v. Ethiopian (or Abyssinian) church; ERE s.v. Abyssinia.

(Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam. Ed. Mario Esposito. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 4. Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1960.)

284/25. The loss of the Crusader states undoubtedly made the position of the Christians in some parts of the East more insecure (see BC 18, 22), and a state of cold war between Saracens and Christians was kept alive by the repeated menaces of new Crusades. However, in Egypt under the more tolerant rule of the Mameluke Sultan al Malik-al-Nasir (1285-1341), there were numerous examples of protection and privileges granted by him to the large Christian population of the country; the motive behind the incident described by our author can thus be attributed to popular jealousy of the favourable treatment accorded to the Christians (see further BC 15/n10).

The passage on the Is(m)ini reflects BC 15-16, as well as a passage in Ludolf 130 recounting the 'persecution and murder of Christians by the King and mob of Damascus' in 1341. The reference to the pogrom against the Jews provides a terminus post quem for BC: the plague reached Cologne in 1349 (BC 16/n1).

285/n16. Maromini (var. Maronini). These are an unidentified sect; the note on them in HTR corresponds to a sentence from BC combined with a reference in Ludolf (BC 16, 9/n6).

285/n19. The Nicolaites or Nicolaitans are a sect of somewhat shadowy existence. They are mentioned in Rev. 2:6 and 2:14ff; but references outside scripture lack definiteness, and it has been argued that they had no real existence as a sect at all, the name being merely a term of abuse which was applied to several later groups, including a 3rdC Gnostic sect of immoral habits who practised worship of the Mother Goddess (ODCC Nicolaites; ERE

Nicolaitans). The brief notice at BC 16 gives Antiochien as an alternate name of the sect. There may be some confusion between this sect and the Nestorians -- see 32a9-10n.

285/n28. Origen (c185-c254) was an Alexandrian critic and theologian of great influence, exemplary life, and prodigious literary output. The latter included commentaries on the OT and NT, homilies, and a doctrinal treatise De Principiis. His approach to the Scriptures recognised a triple sense (literal, moral, and allegorical), which might have appealed to our author. However, in his lifetime and later Origen's audacious theology won hostility as well as support, especially when his teachings were compromised by his so called disciples and misinterpreted in the light of later controversies; his later condemnation for heresy led to the loss of the greater part of his work in the original language.

The origin of the present notice is something of a mystery. There is a short passage containing comparable matter on the Nicholaites at BC 16. However the details concerning Origen are not found in BC or Ludolf. The notion that the unacceptable portions of Origen's writings were the result of interpolation by heretics is not original, this view being expressed by the 4thC writer Rufinus in his defence of the De Principiis. It is possible that our author drew on his information concerning Origen in order to reconstruct the beliefs of the Nicholaites; the notion of the salvation of demons, for example, was one of the doctrines attributed to Origen (ODCC and ERE s.v. Origen).

The Councils referred to are the Council of Constantinople (543), convoked at the command of the Emperor Justinian, where a long list of Origen's errors and their refutation was signed by the Pope and the Eastern patriarchs, and the Second Council of Constantinople (553), which reaffirmed the decision of the synods of 543 (ODCC s.v. Origenism).

156/8. Judged from the description of their habits (itinerant lifestyle, a peculiar language, tinkering -- to which BC adds deception and stealing), the Mandopoli (so spelt at 25b9; in the Latin also Mandopolos) seem to be the people known to us as Gypsies.

The Gypsies are a distinct race who migrated slowly from India, reaching Persia by the 11thC, but being positively identified in Europe first in the 14thC, and then in Eastern Europe. This would explain why our author does not refer to them by the now familiar name; however it leaves unexplained the origin of the name Mandopoli. This name may derive from the 'Mandaeans', a Persian gnostic sect; the Mandopoli need not necessarily have had any thing more than a passing geographic connection with the Mandaeans, but Gypsies as a group tended to be given the names of the latest people in whose lands they had been dwelling.

156/10. once a year, on a Sunday: this is a mistranslation; the original reads 'on Sundays'.

288/n32-n33. pipes: tibij; 'trumpets' (tubis) is the less likely variant reading; compare BC 24 'with pipes and drums'.

288/30-289/n2. The reference to perilous beasts is not found in BC.

156/14. The tenor of the original is somewhat different. Among the practices of these sects, it is their devotion to the Three Kings that is here singled out, as setting an example to the Catholics.

289/7. Arriani: 'Arians' presumably (see 24^{V}b3n).

CHAPTER 41

f. 28a 8 of that] þat þe KYAR, anom. TD, of þe BN.
9 and] om. KYAR, anom. TD, that BN.
16 bysshopes] add and preestys KABN, add Abbottys preestys Y, anom. R, lac. TD.
25 hem self] add anom. Y. 27 reden . . (29)say] anom. Y(R). 34 offreth . . power] and þan offryth euery man to hys power B, And þan euery man offeryth After his owne degre N.
f. 28b 2 god] om. KYARB, lac. TD. 3 alle] add in KYAR, lac. TD, in B, on N. 5 la] om. KYARN, lac. TD. 11 se] om. KYARBN, lac. TD.
18 of . . (24)hool] om. KYABN, lac. RTD.
28 And . . (32)conspiracie] om. KYABN, lac. RTD.
f. 28^{V}a 3 the] in þat KYA, lac. RTD, in the BN.
5 and(2) . . (29a25)purpos] om. KYARBN, lac. TD.
f. 29a 25 And . . (31)Cap^{m} xlij] om. KABN, anom. Y, anom. R, lac. TD.

This chapter describes the rites of Epiphany practised in the East.

f. 28a

6. and daunce: atque saltando; but the original Latin has the more prosaic et itaque [qs. ita] salutando 'and greet each other in the manner described'.

12. in this tyme . . . al oon day to hem. The author views the celebrations as a commemoration of the miracle (compare chs.12, 24, 25) whereby the Three Kings journeyed by the light of the Star from their respective kingdoms to Bethlehem in thirteen days

(in thise dayes), a journey which seemed to them to last no more than a single day -- al oon day probably means '(a period of) just one single day' (vna dies), rather than (or as well as) 'only daytime'.

13ff. The connection between Epiphany and the riverside rituals described in the ensuing part of this chapter is not immediately obvious. But originally the Feast of Epiphany was a celebration both of Christ's incarnation and baptism. With the coming into existence of Christmas in the 4thC, Epiphany in the West became associated with the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles in the person of the Magi.

The matter from here to the end of this chapter is found in briefer form in Ludolf (119-20, describing the River Jordan, and 116-17, the Dead Sea).

21. V Myle. Jerusalem is in fact at least 20 miles distant from the Jordan; but cf. the note at $28^{V}b3$.

28. this gospel: i.e. Matt. 2. in his owne tonge: the original says 'in Latin', and the Y-text alters accordingly (see APPARATUS).

34. as euery man is of power: secundum quod qu[i]uis est facultatis; power could refer to financial resources, though the scribe of N who substituted the word degre presumably interpreted it primarily as a reference to social status (see SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS).

f. 28b

3. a processioun. The first word is possibly the unstressed variant of the prep. on., as at 29a8 -- OED s.v. a prep.[1]; but the abridged tradition has the more obvious in a procession, and our reading may simply have arisen by loss of the preposition.

6. this gospel In illo tempore . . .: compare Matt. 3:13, Mark 1:9 (the Latin adds secundum Iohannem, but the citation does not correspond to the text in John). The point of significance is that the wording of the gospel has been modified to include local allusions -- this Iordan, this place, and also, in the original Latin, '(came) hither', '(to be baptised) here'.

11. to se seynt Iohn. The verb se gives the appearance of being an integral part of the text; but as there is no equivalent verb in the Latin, and as the word does not appear in the text of the abridged tradition, the two letters may be no more than an unintentional scribal repetition (like la latyn at 28b5 above).

35. Montost. This place has not been located, and examination of the sources of HTR suggests that the name is a "ghost" arising from corruption of the Latin adjective montoso, referring to 'a hilly wilderness' -- see Ludolf 114/n2.

f. 28^{V}a

3. And: the abridged tradition adds in.

6ff. The Perambulatio locorum sanctorum of Antoninus Martyr (c 570) describes a 'monastery of St. John' not far from the Jordan (Tobler and Molinier 98); compare Harris (1959) cxxi, with references.

(Tobler and Molinier. Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae. Ed. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier. Vol. 1. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1966.)

10. was, (12)seiden: in the original the corresponding verbs are in the present tense.

14. in his comoun flode and wey: ?'when it flows in its usual channel' (as opposed to the flooding described at 28^{V}a22ff).

19-21. See Josh. 3:17.

24. the mount of liban: Mt. Hermon in the range of the Anti-Lebanon may be meant.

26. passeth in heyghte vn to: ?'rises up (and advances) as far as'; for in heyghte 'upwards' see MED s.v. height(e n. 1b.(b).

32. þat one is more than that other: this corresponds to the reading of our group of Latin witnesses, but the original Latin offers instead a derivation of the name Jordan from "Jor" and "Dan", the supposed names of its two tributaries.

36. gadred to gidre. The English seems to reflect the variant congregatis of the Late Group, rather than concurrunt et of the K tradition. Similarly at 28^{V}b3 lasteth reflects the standard durat rather than K's distat, and (4)And . . . it falleth corresponds to the standard wording rather than the transposed text in K. As this passage is peculiar to the unabridged version, these readings provide further confirmation of the evolutionary theory presented in the present study.

f. 28^{V}b

3. xxiiij Myles of this contre. The actual distance between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea is over 60 miles; perhaps the 'miles of this country' were greater than our miles.

6ff. The lifelessness and blighted surroundings of the Dead Sea were associated with the divine punishment visited on the cities of its shores (see 28^{V}b21ff), so the entry of the blessed waters of the Jordan into the 'cursed Sea' posed something of a paradox. Two explanations are offered here: according to the first, the waters of the river are absorbed into the earth at the entrance to the Sea; according to the second, the cursedness of the Sea is counteracted by the blessedness of the Jordan waters.

Modern sources explain that the Dead Sea has no outlet, the intake from the Jordan being lost by evaporation (whence the Sea's high salt content and absence of life).

13. it were impossible . . . endes: ?'it would be impossible for the River to enter the Sea without it (he, referring to the Sea, not the River) overflowing its shores'. Clarification is afforded by the original Latin, as well as by Ludolf, where it is stated that the Sea would periodically overflow if it received all the water which the Jordan delivers, but as this is observed not to be the case, the water must be removed by other means, such as absorption by the earth (120).

21-28. See Gen. 14, 19 etc.; AV gives the names as Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboi(i)m, and Admah.

The words and sank are an addition of the translator. Used transitively, this verb can mean 'strike down', 'ruin', 'destroy', 'overthrow' -- MED s.v. sinken v. 2.(c) -- but here a more specific interpretation 'caused to be submerged', 'destroyed by submerging' -- sense 2.(a) -- is supported by unambiguous

parallels such as a1450 Mandev.(3) 61/29: The cetes of Sodom and Gomore . . were sonkyn [L submerse sunt] in that plase. The belief that after their destruction the cities were covered by the waters of the lake has no scriptural or other support.

27. xxiij: i.e. 'fourscore'. The actual dimensions of the Lake are 77 km. by 10-14 km.; compare 28^{v}b3n.

28. noon cristen man lyuynge: cf. nulla creatura viuens 'no living creature'.

29-30. here, here. There is no unambiguous object of reference for these pronouns. The feminine personal pronoun has been used to refer to various non-personal objects at stages in the language when there was no longer any question of the survival of grammatical gender (OED s.v. she pers. pron. 2); in the present instance the usage probably reflects the influence of grammatical gender in the original, where possible feminine objects of reference are the water of the Sea (aqua), or the surrounding country (patria).

30. And whan any . . . tempest. The obscurity of this sentence reflects the corrupt state of the base; the original Latin seems to refer to the passage of storm and wind over the Sea.

f. 29a

2. the^{Y}. The plural pronoun can hardly be correct, as there is no plural noun for it to refer to, and the verb eicit is singular; possibly the original reading was the singular pronoun he or she (compare 28^{V}b29n above), or else the article the, some noun having previously dropped out.

11-18. Descriptions of the "Dead Sea fruit" (or "Apples of Sodom") are found in classical literature (notably in Josephus and Tacitus; see Ludolf 116/n4), and appear to have become something of a commonplace in medieval literature; see the citations in MED s.v. appel n. 3.(b) and OED s.v. apple 2 & 3 (from which it appears that apple was the usual term applied to these fruit).

20. that been whiche been: this is evidently a form of dittography.

24. triacle: tyriaca 'treacle'; the English word (also found in the form 'theriac') originally referred to an antidote against snakebite, the snake itself being held to be a necessary ingredient. For the etymology of the word see Ludolf 117/n1 and OED s.v. treacle sb.; the name tyrus attributed in our text to the snake may be nothing more than a back formation from tyriaca. The corresponding passage in Ludolf contains a vivid description of these snakes with a bite so potent that "if they bit a man's

horse, they would kill the rider". Earlier Antoninus Martyr also referred to (unnamed) serpents in the Jordan area which were a source of 'theriac' (Tobler and Molinier 98); see also von Harff 223-24 (where they are named and drawn; further references appear at 223/n4).

25. At this point a passage of the original has been omitted (though it is reintroduced in the Y-text; see APPARATUS) describing the Epiphany rituals performed by Christian sects who live far from the Jordan. These are similar to the rituals already described at 28a13-b32, a fact which may account for the omission; indeed, the addition at Iordan at 29a27 suggests that the F-editor believed the author was still describing the Jordan rituals.

Our group of Latin MSS places the chapter break after the equivalent of 29a25 (sed vt ad propositum redeatur), and before the omission referred to above, whereas in the rest of the tradition the new chapter begins later, at the same point as in the English. Presumably the F-editor, having decided to omit part of the material, then felt that the material to be retained (viz. 29a25-31) belonged more properly with the previous chapter and attached it there as a final note, so that the new chapter began at 29a33, where it happens to be coincide with its original position.

30. apples orenges: poma aranʒa; it is not clear exactly how the English is to be taken. Possible equivalents include 'apples and oranges', or 'fruits which are called oranges', 'orange-fruit' (or 'orange-coloured fruit', but the earliest citation of the adjective is 1542 -- OED s.v. orange adj.). In the version in the Y-(and R-)texts the Latin form of the word is retained (with applis . . . þe wich be cleped Aranʒa). Yet the citations in OED s.v. orange n., MED s.v. orange n. suggest that the name, and indeed the fruit, were already familiar in England at this time, the first recordings of the noun orange being a1387 and 1393 in the respective dictionaries.

The source of the information cannot be traced; as noted at 25a8, the description of the Epiphany rituals goes back to a source similar to Ludolf, but fuller than the surviving versions of Ludolf.

CHAPTER 42

f. 29^{v}a 2 Also . . (29^{v}b20)xliij] om. KYARBN, lac. TD.

This chapter contains a description of various Christian, Jewish, and pagan practices, and discusses the problem of the curvature of the Earth.

f. 29a

32ff. The previous chapter dealt with the Epiphany-tide reading of the gospel concerning Jesus's baptism; now the author gives an account of how the various sects read the Nativity gospel (on the origins of the festival of Epiphany, see 28a13ffn).

The text of Matt. 2:1-2 runs: Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in Bethlehem Judee (vars. Jude, Juda) in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi ab Oriente venerunt Ierosolymam, Dicentes . . . ("Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, Saying . . ."). However, as in the Jordan rituals, the text is modified to reflect local perspectives. In Jerusalem the following version is read: "When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod HERE king, behold there came wise men from the east HITHER saying . . . "; in Bethlehem the following text is read: "When Jesus was born (HERE) in the days of Herod (THEN) HERE AND OF JUDAEA king, behold . . . "; the Nubiani,

Soldini, and Indi read the following version (lost in the English): "When Jesus was born . . . , behold, OUR KINGS came from the east FROM THEIR KINGDOMS IN OUR COUNTRIES to Jerusalem saying . . . "; and finally the other Christians through whose lands the Kings passed read the text as follows: "When Jesus was born . . ., behold there came from the east wise men, GLORIOUS KINGS, WITH GREAT POMP, AND PASSED THROUGH OUR MIDST".

This material does not appear in Ludolf or elsewhere, but it is similar to the matter in ch.41 and may have come from the same source. The remainder of the chapter has clear parallels in BC: the defilement of Christian icons (29b26-29^{v}a2) is mentioned at BC 24 (though there attributed to the actions of the Mandopoli), and BC 24 has a note on the Persians corresponding to the matter at 29^{v}a13-22 (but their dispute with the Nestorians, which may well come from the same source, is not mentioned). The final passage has clear parallels in Ludolf 9-12, but Ludolf is not concerned with the problem of the sphericity of the Earth as such.

The matter concerning the Jews does not appear in the extant versions of BC or Ludolf; according to our author the information derives from books written by Jewish converts to Christianity (296/n15 in libris Judeorum in Oriente ad fidem Christianam conuersorum).

The abridgement preserves only the first half of this chapter (the gospel versions, and the note on the Saracens).

f. 29b

16. for a special deuocioun that they haue to thise iij kynges: the phrase is ambiguous -- 'because of the feeling of reverence which they have for the Kings', or 'in the course of a special ceremony which they hold in honour of the Kings' (see MED s.v. devocioun n. 1, 2); moreover the words a special could be taken as one word (see MED s.v. especial adj.). But the original seems to refer to the prerogative claimed by these sects because of their special relation to the Kings.

28. and othere turkes: compare et alij tartari et thurci. Possible interpretations of the English are 'and other Muslims (or non-Christians) who are Turks'; or 'and others who are Turks'; or '(both Muslim) and non-Islamised Turks'. The terms "Tartars" and "Turks" were used loosely for the originally nomadic peoples of Asia; "Saracens" on the other hand seems generally to have been reserved for the nearer, more settled peoples.

The Muslim habit of defiling images in the manner described continues to be reported into modern times.

f. 29^{V}a

1. stonde stille: 'remain as they are'; compare 20^{V}b11n.

2. Here the translation omits a substantial amount of material concerning the Jews, perhaps through eyeskip (viz. from the beginning (295/27) Item Iudei perfidi habent . . . to the beginning of our passage, Et eciam sciendum est quod iudei habent . . .). The omission contains an interpretation of the Jewish candelstick as a Star commemorating the Three Kings, a discussion of the identity of the voice in the Star (as in ch.18), and an account of the Jewish belief in a future Messiah.

5. in greke: cf. in ebraico 'in Hebrew'; the reading greke may have developed, via the variant form grew, from an original (he)brew. For Calamut 'Talmud' see 3a27n.

7. lettres: 'narratives', 'sources', 'excerpts (of Scripture)', 'scholarship' are possible equivalents; but the passage is quite corrupt in the original.

14. with oute byleue and lawe. This statement appears in the author's source, but cannot be taken at face value. Persia was Islamised after the fall of the Sassinid dynasty in 635, though the native religion, Zoroastrianism, survived sporadically. Christian communities existed in Persia from the 3rdC, and declared themselves autonomous in 404; political hostility between Persia and the Roman empire prevented a confessional return to Rome (Christern (1963) 140).

17. of her frendes: a parentibus; MED s.v. frend n. 3. 'kinsman', 'foster parent' supplies an exact parallel, (a1387) Trev.Hidg. 4.7: Thanne he ȝalde up þe plegges of Spayne to here frendes [L parentibus; Hidg.(2): faders].

21. the sterre: the original has stella maris 'Star of the Sea' (?the Pole Star). The apparatus of Hm. notes "later prints magis", and Christern argues for the emendation stella magorum 'Star of the Magi'.

27. hem perse: this is presumably a mistake for hem of perse.

32. her diuisioun in her Regiouns: regionum eorum diuisione; either 'the geographical separation of their lands', or 'the dissension between the regions'. But the former is closer in sense to the original Latin -- (plaga et . . .) situacione -- and accords with the ensuing matter: the changing pattern of stars in different parts of the globe is one of the more evident proofs of the curvature of the earth.

33ff. Although the concept of the sphericity of the Earth survived from antiquity into the Middle Ages, and formed the subject of a popular textbook by John de Sacrobosco or Holywood (?1195-?1244), it is not clear what this concept meant to our author, whose description seem to have been assembled without reference to an overall model.

It is noteworthy that the whole passage is one sentence: the introduction begins ther is a questioun in that contree, the proposition runs from sitthe the worlde . . . to ($29^{V}b10$)with oute goode lodesmen, and the unresolved question begins at $29^{V}b10$ (how thanne . . .) and continues to the end of the passage. However some word(s) must have dropped out in the English, since the two verbs floweth ($29^{V}b13$) and ascendeth ($29^{V}b17$) clearly require an intervening conjunction. Moreover it is apparent from the Latin tradition that the translation was based on an exemplar so corrupt that the original sense of the passage was virtually beyond recovery.

The author begins by referring to the Earth as being rounde as an appel. Unfortunately the translation was compromised by the loss of the immediately ensuing et mare mediterraneum desuper stet cuius altitudo 'and the Mediteranean Sea stands above, whose height [??or depth] (surpasses in height all the mountains of other parts)'. The original Latin seems to imply that the Mediterranean was thought of as being in the centre of and at the highest point of the convexity of the Earth's surface, the Earth as a whole being bounded by the circumambient Ocean -- for if the earth is round like an apple and Mediterranean Sea is in the middle of it (as its name implies), then the Sea must sit on the convexity.

Matters are complicated by the introduction of the notion of an inflow and outflow of the waters of the Mediterranean. The latter is pictured as having an outlet at Constantinople in the "North", and an inlet in the "South" at the Straits of Gibraltar. The mysterious reference to the Sea going down between Calabria

and Apulia refers either to the swiftly flowing rivers of central Italy, or to the currents in the Straits of Messina (the second interpretation assumes that 'Apulia' is a slip for 'Sicily', a notion supported by the passage of Ludolf quoted below). In either case the point of the how thanne question relates to the problems associated with the return of the waters from the vttereste endes of the worlde, and the implication of the flow of water in the Mediterranean: if it enters at Gibraltar and drains out at Constantinople, passing through the Straits of Messina in between, how thanne and with what strengthe does it climb over the central elevation?

The origin of specific elements of the description can be traced to various authorities. The theory of the source of the waters of the Mediterranean from inlets either at Gibraltar or the Pontus perhaps ultimately derives from Solinus (18). But the most immediate parallel for the present material is Ludolf, where it is stated that:

> the Mediterranean Sea runs in and out, as you have heard, and ebbs and flows, and without doubt is never still, as may be plainly seen between Calabria and Sicily, between which the sea runs so hard that no sailor dares to sail through without a special pilot, and as may be clearly seen in many other places. (11)

As previously noted, the application of these observations to the wider question of the sphericity of the earth appears to be a contribution of the present work.

(Solinus. C. Iulii Solini Collectanea rerum mirabilium. Ed. Th. Mommsen. 2nd. ed. 1895. Berlin: Weidmann, 1958.)

36. and passeth and passeth. This is clearly an instance of dittography.

f. 29^{V}b

4. laste: cf. infimis 'lowest'; laste may be a variant spelling (or misreading) of lowest; or perhaps the exemplar read ultimis in place of infimis (cf. 29^{V}13 below, where infimis is translated as vttereste). aȝeins the west: versus occidentem; however the reading of the Late Group appears to be a scribal conjecture for a lacuna in the text, the original Latin reading versus septentrionem 'to the north'.

6. in goynge doun. This interpretation of the Latin is plausible, but the reading in occasum on which it is based is a corruption; the original Latin reads in occeanum 'into the Ocean'.

11. this see in the myddes of the erthe: ipsum mare medio terraneum; the Latin-based name for the Sea appears in ME texts first in the early 15thC -- MED s.v. Mediterrani(e adj. & n.

14. vn to the meridie. meridie here must mean 'south' -- such a sense is unrecorded in MED s.v. meridie n. and OED s.v. meridie sb. (cf. meridian n., adj.; meridional adj.), nevertheless, for all the textual difficulties in the context, the evidence of the

Latin and the support of the senses of the adjectival formations do not seem to allow an alternative interpretation. That granted, the preceding vn to might seem to be imply a sense of motion for the present phrase, but the context would suggest rather location: 'Spain and Morocco' are distant from Constantinople, and the inflow occurs 'in the south'.

15. Marrok: the word does not appear in MED; the first recording of Morocco sb. in OED is [1600], and of Maroquin adj. and sb., 1511.

16. the gre"occean"see. This is apparently a scribal correction; compare ex magno mari occeano.

CHAPTER 43

f. 29^{V}b 21 Also . . (23)they] om. KYABN (cf. 25^{V}b19-23), lac. RTD. 27 wo.ste] worst K(Y)A(R)BN, lac. TD. 28 f. of her . . circumcided] om. KABN, anom. Y, lac. RTD.
f. 30a 4 they] per KYARB, lac. TD. 14 peple] add anom. Y, add anom. R. 17 her . . (31a33)Tartarye] anom. Y, lac. R; .d] and KABN, lac. RTD. 18 And . . (31a33)Tartarye] om. KA(R)BN, lac. TD.

This chapter describes the empire of the Tartars.

f. 29^{V}b

21ff. The abridgement condenses and transposes the ensuing matter. The condensation involves the omission of 298/13-301/n6 (=30a18-31a33), thus linking into one continuous narrative the history of the Tartar expansion in the present chapter and the account of their dealings with Prester John in the next. This text was then transposed to follow the entry concerning the Nestorians in the section on sects and heretics in ch.40 (Hm. 146/18-25) -- this entry itself being an amalgam of material from ch.40 (25^{V}b19-26a15, or 25^{V}b19-26a23 in the case of the Y version) and matter at the beginning of the present chapter (29^{V}b21-33).

The main parallel for this material is BC 55-61 (though certain details are peculiar to the present work; see e.g. 30^{V}b4n, 31a26n). Ludolf 73-76, dealing with Baghdad and the fate

of the Caliph, cites as source "the chronicles and histories of the kings of Armenia" (cf. Ludolf 74/n1), but adds no fresh material. The matter concerning the Nestorians does not appear in BC, but presumably derives from the same source which supplied the author with other details concerning this sect.

27. w[o.]ste: i.e. worste; the restoration is confirmed by the abridged tradition.

28. f[.]: this is presumably to be read as for.

29. in to: for this sense see OED s.v. into prep. 15 'to the number of', 'as many as' (cf. MED s.v. in-to prep., which offers no exact parallel); however if the English is intended as an exact rendering of the Latin circa 'approximately', then we would seem to have a previously unrecorded nuance.

31-33. thise . . . be nought circumcided: but the Latin has vt iudei circumciduntur 'like the Jews they practise circumcision'.

f. 30a

3. on a tyme: the Latin specifies the year 1268, which agrees with the date given in BC (55) and Ludolf (74), but historically is perhaps an error for 1258 -- see the note at line 8 below.

4. they: the abridged tradition reads þer.

8. Tartarynes. The expansion of the Mongols or Tartars (properly Tatars) dates from the beginning of the 13thC, when Genghis Khan attacked the Chinese empire, seizing Peking in 1214. Having threatened the West in 1222-23 and again in 1241, the Mongols turned their attention to the Moslem caliphates, sacking the great trading and cultural centre of Baghdad in 1258 and putting the Caliph to death. By the death of Mangu Khan in 1259 their empire extended over much of Asia and parts of Eastern Europe. In the latter half of the 13thC it broke into four khanates. The Eastern portion was ruled over by the Great Khan, the Chagatai Khanate held sway over Central Asia, the Kipchak Khanate (or Golden Horde) controlled the northern regions, and finally the Ilkhans ruled Persia and parts of Asia Minor from their capital at Tabriz. But although they were thus divided, the Mongols were essentially one people. Communications between them passed across the length of Asia, and the Great Khan in Peking was acknowledged as their common overlord.

In spite of the threat that they presented to Europe it became possible in time for the West to see the Tartars as potential allies. Not only had the Tartars laid low Muslim power over all Asia, but the Europeans discovered that they were tolerant of other creeds, the apparent reason being that they had no very strongly held religious attachments of their own. In particular, travellers to the Tartar camp at Karakorum brought back news of noble ladies who professed Christianity. Gradually there took shape in Western minds the dream of converting the

Tartars to the Christian faith and then forming a grand Tartar-Christian alliance which would crush Islam and reconquer Palestine and Egypt, succeeding where the Crusades alone had failed (see 23a1-26, 32a9-10n).

The practical result of the Mongol conquests was that for the first time medieval Europe was given direct access to the Far East, an access denied to them since the 6thC-7thC Persian and Moslem expansion. Merchants began to travel to Asia for trade, and Franciscan friars as missionaries. Among the former the most famous perhaps is Marco Polo; of the latter, two of the earliest and best known are John of Pian de Carpine, Provincial of the Franciscan Order at Cologne, who in 1245-47 visited Mongolia on a diplomatic mission from Innocent IV and saw the election of Kuyuk as Great Khan, and William of Rubruck, who in 1251 took a letter from Louis IX of France to the Khan, returning in 1254.

But despite promising beginnings this Christian missionary activity declined during the 14thC following the conversion of the Ilkhans of Persia to Islam in 1316. Moreover Western traders were excluded from Chinese ports after the expulsion of the Tartar dynasty and the restoration of the native Mings in 1368-70, the latter resuming the indigenous anti-foreign policy of the Chinese. The conquests of Tamerlane completed the process of exclusion (Power 124-53). Nevertheless, our author, writing in the third quarter of the 14thC, continues to present an optimistic picture of the prospects of Christianity in the East -- wishful thinking being reinforced by reliance on out of date sources.

(Power, Eileen. "The opening of the land routes to Cathay". Newton 124-58.)

17. [.]d: i.e. and, as in the abridged tradition.

21. in the whiche . . . And they. This abrupt transition is evidently due to less than satisfactory editing at the transition from the abridged text to the unabridged at 30a21; compare Hm. 148/12. The preceding part of the sentence is used again at the beginning of ch.44 (31a34-b1; cf. the corresponding Latin).

23. Cambaleth: 'Peking'; see the note at line 8 above.

25. Balauch: 'Baghdad'. The more correct spelling Baldach appears at 30b6 below; the present spelling corresponds to the reading in the Latin TG subgroup, perhaps indicating that the exemplar underlying the "unabridged" passages of our MS belonged to that subgroup. For the derivation of the ME spelling see OED s.v. Baldacin.

32. And they kilde thilke Calipha: et ipsum Calipham rome occiderunt. BC and Ludolf tell how the Caliph was starved to death, confirming that the Latin originally read fame ('by hunger') in place of the reading rome ('at Rome') of our group.

Our author is unmoved by the destruction of Muslim Baghdad, an act which contributed more than anything to the decline of medieval Persian culture.

f. 30b

1. Thauris: i.e. Tabriz, the city in Northern Persia chosen as administrative capital by the Mongol Ilkhans (see 30a8n).

6-14. The site of ancient Babylon is 50 miles south of Baghdad.

13. wormes: the word originally referred to 'dragons', 'serpents', and so on, and later to any 'noxious animals' -- see OED s.v. worm sb.; the somewhat fuller text in the original might imply a reference to animals that frequent marshes (crocodiles?).

14-15. This identification is incorrect: Susa (Biblical Shushan; the spelling Susis is exceptional, but also found in BC) was a Persian royal city several hundred miles south of Tabriz.

16. Assuerus: Ahasuerus, probably to be identified with Xerxes I (r.485-65); his palace at Shushan (see previous note) is the setting of the book of Esther.

18. the drye tree that al the worlde speketh of. The Dry Tree and the prophecies connected with it are mentioned in many sources -- see Mandeville 1: 48-49 and n3; BC 60/n2.

(Mandeville. Mandeville's Travels. Ed. Malcolm Letts. 2 vols. Second series 101-2. London: Hakluyt Soc., 1953.)

f. 30^{v}a

8. Cartage: 'Cathay'; the Latin variant Carthagie (for Cathagie) probably arose from the influence of the classical name Carthage (in the same way as the Tatars were commonly referred to by the classical term Tartari).

The first citations in the dictionaries for the gret Chane or Cane of Cathay are from Mandeville, a translation roughly contemporary with our work -- OED s.vv. Cathay, cham sb.; MED s.v. Can n.

14. made hem suggettes. With the text as it stands, the object of the phrase is presumably the preceding þe folk . . .; however the syntax is harsh, and the Latin suggests that a conjunction such as and has dropped out before made (compare et subiecit).

18-19. Nabugodonosor: Nebuchadrezzar (c600 BC); see Dan. 1-4 and the notes in ch.5.

Darie: not Darius the Great (r.521-486), nor Darius II (r.423-08), but an earlier ruler referred to as "Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" who succeeded Belshazzar (Dan. 5-6, 9:1, 11:1).

Baltazar: Belshazzar son of Nabonidus, slain in the fall of Babylon in 539 BC; see Dan. 5, 7:1, 8:1.

Arphaxat: in the apocryphal book of Judith it is stated that one Arphaxad ruled over the Medes in Ecbatana (1:1).

Assuerus: Ahasuerus (i.e. Xerxes), presumably not Xerxes the Great but the father of the aforementioned Darius the Mede.

These identifications are based on the assumption that, as most of the names are mentioned in the book of Daniel, they refer to the individuals who feature there (this is not to say that our author clearly distinguished them from other OT figures of the same name). The names also appear in the corresponding passages in BC (viz. 57-58, 61).

30-31. freres Menours: Franciscans; see 16a16n. Augustines: Augustinian canons, who adopted the rule of St. Augustine. Prechours: Dominicans; see 24a15n. white freres: Carmelites friars, so called from their white cloak (ODCC s.vv. Augustinian Hermits or Friars; Carmelite Order). On Christian missionary activity in Persia in the late 13thC and 14thC, see Beazley 3: 187-215.

(Beazley, C.R. The dawn of modern geography. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1906.)

32. Marchantz of lombardie and of othere contrees. The rival cities of Venice and Genoa, and to a lesser extent Pisa, Florence, and Catalonia were prominent in the penetration of European trade into Persia at this time (see Beazley 469-89).

f. 30^{v}b

4ff. The account of the children taught to speak many languages is much briefer at BC 56, providing further support for the notion that there is a common source behind BC and our work.

John of Monte Corvino, the first papal legate to Peking, describes in a letter of 1305 how he bought 150 pagan boys, between seven and eleven years of age, baptised them, taught them Greek and Latin, and trained a number of them as a choir, so that the Great Khan himself delighted to hear them chanting. He also translated the NT and the Psalter into the language and character most generally used among the Tartars (Yule 3: 45-58).

drawe forth: cf. trahunt. The English is ambiguous. The compound verb may have a concrete sense (perhaps amounting to 'carry off') -- the Latin verb is rendered as bringen in to at 30^{v}a34 above, and commonly corresponds to the English verbs 'draw', 'drag'. On the other hand MED s.v. drawe(n v. 2b.(c) lists the sense 'bring up (children)', 'raise' for this compound verb, which also suits the context. The latter nuance is in fact not normally present in the Latin verb; but this verb is somewhat unexpected in the context -- indeed, the corresponding passage at BC 56 suggests that the correct reading is not trahunt but the variant emunt 'buy' -- and the translation may be a rationalisation based on the frequent correspondence of the Latin verb with the English verb 'draw'.

19. donate. This spelling is closer to the Latin Donatus than the variants recorded in OED and MED s.v. donet sb.

21. lawes: presumably 'systems of belief', 'religions', cf. legibus; but the original Latin reads linguis 'languages' (the "unabridged" portion of the translation once again reflects the Late Group reading).

22. ordre: this may be a slip for the plural form, as found in the Latin and elsewhere in the passage (e.g. at line 25 below).

34. MlCCClxxj. For this date the original reading in the Latin appears to be 1340; but even this earlier date would seem to be improbably late if the Emperour is to be identified with one of the Ilkhans of Persia, since these rulers had been converted to Islam by 1316 at least. On the other hand, the editors of BC accept the date and propose an alternative identification (60/n5); see the note at 31a32-33 below.

f. 31a

1-7. William of Rubruck tells how Mangu Khan received embassies from all over the world, and priests of all sorts of religions -- Catholics, Nestorians, Armenians, Manicheans, Buddhists, and Muslims -- all of whom vied to establish a claim over his soul, though to no effect. He told William through an interpreter:

> We Moal believe that there is only one God, by whom we live and by whom we die, and for whom we have an upright heart. . . . But as God gives us the different fingers of the hand, so he gives to men divers ways. (Power 129-30)

5. s.that: i.e. so that, equivalent to dummodo 'provided only'.

12. brought in: cf. induxerunt. MED s.v. bringen v. 2b.(b) gives 'seduce', 'deceive' for this compound; this is one sense of the Latin verb, but another is 'induce', 'persuade', which better suits the context. The latter equivalent is the sense given in the MED entry for bring on, so the reading in our text may be the result of an unconscious confusion of the two compounds, if not a simple copying error.

18. Having begun by rendering the Latin historic tenses attraxerunt, induxerunt, and (transferre) fecit by the English perfect tense, the translation imperceptibly shifts to a contemporary time frame, going over to the present tense at line 16 he doth done rede, and continuing in the series of present tense verbs from (20)thanketh to (23)vseth; the corresponding verbs in the original are all past tense. Historically the reference can hardly be to a contemporary ruler, although the date at 30^{V}b34 may have led to the assumption.

24. graces: 'grace'; the plural was usual in this sense till the 16thC -- OED s.v. grace sb. 20; cf. MED s.v. grace n. 6.(a).

25. mete: also. The punctuation of the MS is misleading: a pause should follow, not precede also.

26-31. This information does not appear in the sources.

32-33. The context here and in BC suggests that the present reference is not to the grete Cane (30^{V}a7), but to one of the Ilkhans of Persia. Even so, precisely which of these rulers we are to identify as this thridde Emperour is not clear. The most likely candidate would seem to be Arghun (r.1284-91). Arghun was actually the fourth ruler after Hulagu, the conqueror of Baghdad; his predecessor and uncle, Tekuder, was a Muslim. Arghun's rule was noted as peaceful and just; he favoured Christianity out of hostility to Islam, and sought an alliance with Philip the Fair of France in 1289. But only the earliest of the Ilkhans were sympathetic to Christianity; Arghun's successor Ghazan accepted Islam, and Abu Said was a Muslim from the start (Philips 60).

The problem with this identification is the discrepancy between the dates of this ruler and that given in our text (see 30^{V}b34n). An alternative interpretation is offered by the editors of BC, who accept the date 1340 in the source but identify the ruler as Hasan ibn Timurtach the Small, founder of the later dynasty of the Chobanids (60/n5).

(Philips, E.D. The Mongols. Ancient Peoples & Places 60. London: Thames, 1969.)

CHAPTER 44

f. 31^{V}b 4 and(2)] add whan KYARDN, than B. 10 names] name KATDN. 19 of] om. KYARTDBN. 20 And . . (32^{V}b36)amonge] om. KYARTDBN.

Included in this chapter are further details about Prester John; a prophecy concerning the Nestorians; information on the cult of St. Thomas in the East and the pilgrimages of the men of Inde; and praise of the Three Kings and their cult at Cologne.

f. 31a

34ff. The story of Prester John and the Tartar Emperor is briefly recounted at BC 57. There we learn that there is an agreement (verbunt) between the Emperor of the Tartars and Prester John that the son of the one marries the other's daughter; for when they first spread out, the Tartars took much territory from Prester John and slew his son in battle. Concerning this friendship the account in BC concludes with the tantalisingly brief remark that 'this came about because of the Three Kings, but it would be tedious to go into details' (Nu haint sy dese vruntschaf gemacht under sich, ind dat qwam zo van den heiligen dryn koningen, ind da were lanck ave zo sprechen).

It hardly seems likely that the role assigned to the Three Kings in our account is simply an elaboration of the hints contained in this sentence. More probably the author had access to a fuller version of BC, or to a source behind BC -- though what bearing this has on the problem of the books of the Princes of Vaus remains an open question. As BC makes no mention of the role played here or elsewhere by the Nestorians, this element in the story, if not from another source, may be the product of the author's imagination. Our author's emphasis on the divine punishment meted out to the heretic Nestorians seems rather tendentious in the light of historical facts. There is no reason to believe that initially the Mongols were entirely hostile to the Nestorians or their religion; this was the form in which they would have first encountered Christianity, and it seems that at least certain sections of Tartar society were sympathetic to it (compare 25^{V}b22n).

f. 31b

1ff. The freedom with which the translator has rendered the ensuing narrative is notable, and contrasts with the more literal style characteristic of the "unabridged" sections. Comparison can also be made with another version preserved uniquely in witnesses T and D (see Hm. 184), with its much less free, almost word for word rendering of this passage.

4. herre firste lawe: fidem pristinam 'their previous Faith', i.e. they promised to turn from heresy.

13-16. The sudden change from indirect to direct speech is either a parenthetical comment on the author's part, alluding to the prophesied fate of the Nestorians, or else a stylistic variation; the latter interpretation is supported by the sequence of moods in the Latin, and the comparable switch at $31^{V}a25-26$.

f. $31^{V}a$

10. commaundentz. No record of such a form is found in MED or OED. The abridged tradition reads commaundement. Our reading may have arisen as a miscopying of the plural form of the latter word, and/or through confusion with commaundance (see MED s.v. comma(u)nda(u)nce n. 'control').

12. in grete sorwe of herte: the Latin penitencia ductus suggests the equivalence 'repentance' for sorwe of herte -- see MED s.v. sorwe n. 2.(a), and compare sory in line 9 with MED s.v. sori adj. (there is no entry for these nuances in OED s.vv. sorrow sb. or sorry a.).

36. and so it is contynued ȝit in to this day. The appearance of this sentence in the English is anomalous. Though preserved in all English witnesses, the corresponding sentence is missing in the Latin of K and D, which would normally indicate that the omission was also present in the exemplar used by the translator. However the absence of the sentence in both K and D could be a coincidence, especially as there is the potential for eyeskip between deberet et and duraret Et; conversely, the addition of a final flourish in this very freely translated passage would not be too surprising, as the content of the sentence suggests itself naturally enough in the context.

f. 31^{V}b

8. his first sone . . . shulde bere the names (var. name) of thise iij kynges. Perhaps the sense is that every eldest son should bear the name of one of the Kings.

14. were dwellynge: cf. nunc . . . degunt, in the present tense.

18. yle of Egriswille. As noted at 11b27, no convincing explanation has ever been given for the name and identity of this island of the Nestorians -- not to mention the island alluded to as a nother yle at 31^{V}b34 (for a discussion of the question see MV 216). However, the link with the relics of St. Thomas lends support to the notion (see 25^{V}b22) that the author, or rather his

source, identified these remnants of the Nestorians primarily with the Southern Indian sect known to us as the Malabar Christians (Christians of St. Thomas). However it does not seem that this region or any part of what is now known as India was under Tartar control at this period.

23-26. And twyes . . . restored aȝeyn. According to one tradition St. Thomas's relics were at one stage removed to Edessa (Mandeville 123; see also von Harff 162/n3); compare 32b1-3.

30. by: per -- perhaps 'with the permission of'.

f. 32a

2. that. Either this conjunction or that (coude) in line 4 can be deleted.

9-10. The reference is to 23a1-26. There, in the original, the preceding passage ends with a cross reference (prout adhuc inferius audietur) to the account in the present chapter; in the English the passage was transferred from its original position here to follow directly on from the passage in ch.39 (although the F-editor failed to adjust the Table of Contents accordingly -- see 3b14-16). There is consequently some overlap of material. The conjunction Nam, equivalent to But at 32a6, is more

accurately translated ffor (it is a comoun prophecie . . .) at 23a1, as it introduces an explanation of why the Nestorians keep the body of St. Thomas so well concealed: a prophecy declares that the translation of the relics of St. Thomas to Cologne is to be the prelude to the heretics' further discomfiture (cum itaque sint destructi et adhuc plus debeant adnichilari et dehonestari); see 23a21-26n.

The prophecy of a marriage alliance between the Roman Emperor and the Emperor of the Tartars reflects political dreams entertained by Western rulers at that time (see 30a8n).

In the original the account of the prophecy is followed by another passage concerning the customs and reputation of the Nestorians (Hm. 303/n34-304/n1); the reason for the omission is either eyeskip error (see CC's text Iterum hij nestorini . . . Iterum festum sancti Thome), or else deliberate avoidance of what may have seemed repetitious material (the Nestorians are alleged to have inserted into the text of Origen's works tenets of their own doctrines; but our work in an earlier passage attributes this behaviour to the historically nebulous Nicholaitans -- a suspicious coincidence).

The remainder of this chapter is not paralleled in BC; for possible sources see the ensuing notes.

16. sometyme. This addition in the translation anticipates the reference at 32b1ff. In the Latin the sense is slightly different, viz. that at St. Thomas's resting place there is no evidence of the miracles that one has been led to expect from accounts current in the West.

The accounts the author is referring to can actually be identified with some accuracy. The story of the miracle of the Eucharist of St. Thomas derives ultimately from a text De adventu patriarchae Indorum ad Urbem sub Calixto papa secundo, an account of the description of his country and the church of St. Thomas by a Patriarch John of the Indians visiting the papal Curia in 1122. The following are extracts from that account:

> 25. Among them no heretic or infidel can dwell, as is narrated. Either he speedily comes to his senses or falls by sudden chance into mortal sickness. . . .
> 31. Within [sc. the church of St. Thomas] is a very precious silver shell, as the story of the Apostle itself has it, which hangs by silver chains. . . .
> 32. For there, as on the day it was placed there, is still preserved the holy body of the Apostle, unchanged and uncorrupted. . . .
> 38. Then [at the yearly festival] the Patriarch, with the suffragan bishops, gradually open the shell with the sacred body and . . . place it in a golden chair close to the altar. . . .
> 42. But, when the time comes for receiving the Eucharist, the Patriarch places the wafers, which have been consecrated on the altar, in a golden dish, and with great reverence carries them to the place where the Apostle is sitting, and on bended knees offers them to the Apostle.
> 43. He, . . . having received them, keeps them in his extended palm, offering them freely to each. 44. For the whole of the assembly of the faithful, men and women, with much reverence and dread, approaching one after another, take the wafers into their mouths from the Apostle's hand as proferred by him.
> 45. But if any infidel or heretic, or anyone infected with some stain of sin, approaches to communicate, forthwith, in the sight of all, at his drawing near, the Apostle withdraws his hand with the host and closes it, nor so long as the said person is present does he open it. 46. Such a sinner cannot evade him. Either then and there he repents and in penitence receives the communion from the Apostle, or before he leaves that place he dies. (qtd. in Mandeville 499-501)

However it is unlikely that our author used this text directly, since he introduces comments such as (23)now is there no such thynge knowe there which do not appear in the original account. The story occurs in other sources (see MV 151-56) and other forms (compare Mandeville 327), and the allusive references in our version would seem to imply that the author expected the story to be well known to his readers.

17. If the present form of the text is retained, then the clause which the conjunction þat introduces must be dependent on vnderstande at 32a11. But it is possible that the text has suffered corruption or loss, in which case plausible emendations would include the omission of as; the omission of þat (perhaps the best solution in the light of the original); the change of and to they; or the repetition (after tellen) of they seyn and tellen.

f. 32b

2. hooly cristene men: homines catholicos; a sense hooly 'catholic', 'orthodox' is not recorded in OED s.v holy a. or MED s.v. holi adj.(2).

5. seyen and knowen: perhaps 'observed and generally acknowledged (or verified)' -- compare veraciter videbantur.

9. were nought seen: non videbantur; but in the original Latin the verb is in the present tense (again the "unabridged" English reflects the text of the Late Group).

10ff. This account of the Star should be compared with 18^{V}a29-33 and 29^{V}a17-32; the similarities may point to a common lost source -- note particularly the parallels between (18a32)as they of ynde sayn and 32b6-7, as well as 32b23n.

11. vpon . . . (12)vpon: OED s.v. upon prep. gives 'Of local position outside of but in contact with or close to a surface'; however the context here suggests a sense closer to 'over', 'above' (compare ouer at 32b21).

23. Also men of ynde seyn and rede in her bokes. This is the first of a series of references to books of the men of Inde as one of our author's sources (presumably to be identified with the books of the Princes of Vaus). It is curious, however, is that this source is cited for information on the rituals associated with the cult of the Three Kings at Cologne, matters on which one would have thought the author himself was better placed to comment than these oriental informants.

24. rede: here as elsewhere the verb appears to mean 'find written' (compare in eorum libris legitur).

25. place: cf. loculum 'sarcophagus' -- the English presumably reflects a reading locum in place of loculum, or else the sense of the latter was taken to be equivalent to the former.

28. he. A number of examples of the masculine pronoun referring to natural objects, and in particular stars, are cited in MED s.v. he pron.[1] 1b.(a); this is perhaps a survival from OE where steorra was a masculine noun.

29. that: for this loose use of the connective see OED s.v. that relative pronoun 9, and compare 5a6n.

31. aforȝeins: 'over against', 'opposite', according to MED s.v. aforyens prep. (a), though here the Latin ante positarum would suggest the equivalence 'in front of'.

f. 32^{v}a

11. sendale: syndone 'sendal' (a kind of precious cloth -- it is not certain whether the English and Latin words are ultimately related).

21. shulden. The use of shulle at 32^{v}a9 might suggest that the latter is the correct reading here as well; cf. shulde at line 18.

25. ordeyned: ?'erected, set up (in front of . . .)'; one version of the Latin reads ad hoc facta 'constructed for this purpose', whereas the variant ad hec facta would imply that the star was 'attached to (the relics)'.

f. 32^{v}b

3-13. This passage concerning the sepulchre of the Three Kings is discussed in MV, where Sewille is identified with Marco Polo's Sawah (89; compare 81ff).

11. vertues. After this word eyeskip has evidently caused the loss of a sentence describing a golden star over the sepulchre (compare multas virtutes . . . multa mira et virtutes).

20. Balaam and Iosaphathe: cf. the original Latin, which reads 'Barlaam and Joasaph' (or 'Josaphat'). These two figures, the first a prince (compare of kynges blood) and the second a hermit, were the subjects of a very popular medieval legend glorifying Christian monasticism, but ultimately of Buddhist origin (the second name is believed to derive from Bodhisattva, a title of the Buddha); see further in ODCC s.v. Barlaam and Joasaph, Sts.; Josaphat, St. That our text confuses the first with Balaam, and the second perhaps with the OT king Jehoshaphat, is hardly surprising. I can find no other references to this supposed resting place of their relics.

27. the see: ie. the Mediterranean; compare (34)the grete see.

36. The text breaks off at this point. The two central bifolia of a quire of eight are presumed at the end of 3KCol and the beginning of the next. The text on the following folio begins in ch.5 of the Governayle of Helthe (GH). An estimate based on the amount of text lost from GH suggests that the latter filled about seven of the eight lost pages, so that the missing portion of 3KCol could not have occupied much more than a page. This implies that the final portions of HTR were not reproduced in full, since the work continues for considerably longer than this space would allow. The abbreviation of the final section appears to be intimated in the Table of Contents of our MS, where the final sentence of the original is not translated. If the Table of Contents is a reliable indication, the narrative would have terminated at a point roughly corresponding to 306/n12 in SUMMARY OF THE LOST ENDING, which accords with the calculation based on space available. It should be noted that it would not have been possible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the amount of lost text on the basis of the Latin alone; in fact such a calculation would have been quite misleading.

The above is a summary of the conclusions arrived at in INTRODUCTION 11.3. The contents of the final section of the work are outlined in SUMMARY OF THE LOST ENDING (under APPENDICES); it is to this summary that the ensuing line references refer. However the summary does not stop at the presumed point of

termination of the translation; as it is impossible to be certain what matter the F-editor chose to include in his abbreviated ending, it seemed best to summarise the whole of the final section of HTR, including the two endings, especially as some of this matter has relevance to other issues such as the R-text.

306/n14. The legend of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins was a favorite in the Middle Ages, especially after the 12thC discovery of a burial ground near the church of St. Ursula in Cologne believed to contain the martyrs' relics; see ODCC s.v. Ursula, St.

307/17. See Matt. 20:1-16 for the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.

309/32. Cologne from the cult of God: the English attempts to reproduce the original word play, which also forms the basis of the final verse of 310/n19 -- colonia 'colony' is etymologically connected with colere 'tend', 'worship'. However, the author's derivation cannot be accepted literally. The settlement originally called Ara Ubiorum was later made a Roman colony by the Emperor Claudius and renamed Colonia Agrippina (or Agrippinensis) after his wife Agrippina, who was born there. The assumption that a connection exists between this name and the worship of the Christian deity is therefore fanciful.

310/n19. The Latin sequence from which these verses derive is printed in Kehrein (without note of their incorporation in HTR). Most MSS of HTR, including those relevant to our English version, reproduce only seven three line stanzas, that is the three and a half sextets corresponding to stanzas 6, 7, and the first half of 8 in Kehrein; but some MSS include the full ten stanzas.

(Kehrein, Joseph. Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters. 1873. Hildesheim: Olms, 1969.)

311/n5. As explained elsewhere (esp. INTRODUCTION 6.4.4) the MSS of HTR preserve at least two distinct endings. The "standard" ending is the one commonly found, the "alternative" ending appearing only in our group, and there only in D (and evidently in Eng^R, the exemplar used by the R-editor, but, suprisingly, not in K), as well as in the closely related Late Group witnesses CC, G, and T, and C, a conflated text.

However, it is not clear to what extent the two versions are truly either endings or alternatives. The standard ending is repetitious, though this is not to say that it is not the author's work. On the other hand, it is evident that the alternative ending is not the work of our author but the addition of a later annotator, since it is at odds with the version of the legend in the main text at a number of points (see the note at 311/n2/46 below and MV 51). None of the witnesses preserves both endings. Moreover in our group V and Z, which are stemmatically earlier than the other members, have neither ending, suggesting that the absence of any ending represents an intermediate evolutionary stage following the loss of the standard ending but

preceding the addition of the alternative ending (cf. INTRODUCTION 6.4.4).

The only direct evidence in the English tradition comes from the R-text, which contains extracts from the alternative ending (see 311/n2/12 below).

311/n5/2. the Master: i.e. Peter Comestor (d.c1179), whose commentary, the Historia Scholastica, became the standard work on Biblical history for the Middle Ages (see ODCC s.v. Peter Comestor); the present passage is found on f.187 in the 1526 edition of J. Crespin (it is also reproduced in Jacobus a Voragine Legenda aurea 88, though there is no evidence that the author of HTR used the latter work; a similar list is found in Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (c1150) De concord. Evangelist. I.8).

magi: the term applied originally to a religious caste among the ancient Medes, but commonly came to refer to 'magicians', 'sorcerers', 'astrologers' (see 84/11n in ch.24); for St. Augustine's more elevated interpretation, compare Cicero Div. 1,23,46 (ei magos dixisse quod genus sapientum et doctorum habebatur in Persis), as well as Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum (Op.Imperf.; see below).

St. Remigius: Remigius of Auxerre (c841-c908), a philosopher whose works include a commentary on Matthew's gospel (see ODCC s.v. Remigius of Auxerre).

311/n2/12. A version of this story and the ensuing story of the Three Miracles appears in the R-text, at 37/6 and at 47/16 respectively; these passages are undoubtedly independent translations by the R-editor.

The reference to "Chrysostom" is to Op.Imperf., which was attributed to St. John Chrysostom (c347-407), and which carries a report of an ancient book of prophecy going under the name of Seth which inspired the twelve astronomers to institute their watch for the Star (PG 56 col. 637). However the annotator's version differs from Op.Imperf. at a number of points: Op.Imperf. for example makes no mention of a palace built on the mountain, but supplies many details which do not make an appearance here (some of which are included by the author of HTR, for example the name Mons Victorialis and the baptism of the starwatchers by St. Thomas). The present account may therefore represent the annotator's own version of the story, or be based on a variant source.

they happened to be descendants of Balaam: this is perhaps to be regarded as a parenthetical comment on the part of the annotator, based on his reading of Remigius; the connection is not made in Op.Imperf., his ostensible source.

311/n2/17. astronomers: other MSS read 'families' or (apparently in the case of the R-exemplar) 'servants'; however it is possible that all these are secondary intrusions in the text, the original reading being simply duodecim de melioribus 'twelve of the best (among them)'.

311/n2/24. at prayer: in oracione; this reading is to be preferred to the variant in oriente 'in the East', in view of Op.Imperf. orabant [var. offerebat] et laudabant in silentio Deum.

on the thirteenth day: however Op.Imperf. gives 'in two years'; it may be that the annotator is confusing details in Op.Imperf. with the version in HTR, where thirteen days are alloted to the outward journey of the Kings.

311/n2/33. I am unable to confirm the identity of the source(s) cited by the annotator for the story of the Three Miracles. The Germanus referred to is perhaps St. Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople (c634-c733), who wrote among other works a Historia Mystica ecclesiae catholicae. Theophilus is possibly either the 2ndC bishop and apologist, or the later Patriarch of Alexandria who fought against paganism and Origenism, though it is not clear from the lists of their surviving works whether either could be described as scriptor gestorum Christi. Harris (1955) mentions a late 14thC collection of hagiographical legends known as the Wenzelpassional in which the story of the Three Miracles appears (though with the variant that the second King had a cedar tree from which the dove spoke, rather than a garden of balm); in the Wenzelpassional the source of the story is stated to be Theophilus' "puech Grecorum" (viii).

The story of the Three Miracles is also preserved as a final addition to a MS of HTR, Bremen Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek Ms. b.2 Nr.1. In this version, however, the

authorship is ascribed to John of Damascus (Iohannes Damascenus). John of Damascus (c675-c739) was a Greek theologian who wrote numerous works; his homily on the Nativity may have contained the present story. The version in the Bremen MS contains a number of discrepancies: the lion and the lamb speak and say, 'We give thanks to God who is born this night and is King of all Kings and son of the Virgin Mary', whereupon Jaspar climbs the mountain, sees the Star, takes gold, incense, and myrrh, mounts his dromedary, and follows the Star; Balthasar's dove utters similar words, and he too takes the gifts and follows the Star, et uenit Madian ad illum et se inuicem uisiones referebant; Melchior's child when placed in his bath by the midwives utters the words, 'I give thanks to my God for I am born with him who is King of Kings' (but not the prophecy ascribed to him in our text), and Melchior with a great retinue follows the other Kings to Jerusalem.

a shoot: surculus. This is the most plausible variant among those preserved in the MSS (others include circulus 'circle' and cuculus 'hood'). The R-text has a sercle, thus providing the unique citation for this entry in MED (s.v. sercle n.). Nevertheless it is not certain that surculus was the reading in the R-editor's exemplar; it may equally well have read circulus, in which case sercle is no more than a spelling of 'circle' (an attested variant -- see MED s.v. cercle n.), and the entry in MED a ghost.

311/n2/46. This final note gives one of the more evident reasons for attributing the alternative ending not to the author but to a later annotator.

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