The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi, Vol. V

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Published by University of Ottawa Press

Eldredge, Laurence M. and Anne L. Klinck.
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EXPLANATORY NOTES

The events described in this portion of the CM are mentioned in the versified table of contents, lines 213–16: Antichrist, the fifteen signs of doom, and the Judgement itself. For notes on lines 21347–846, missing from the southern version, see Appendix C.

21847ff. Honorius Augustodunensis, De imagine mundi II lxxv in PL CLXXII 156 mentions six ages up to but not including the Last Judgement. See also the note to 1. 12715 in Vol. III of this edition.

21848–86 These lines appear to be original with the CM poet.

21887–915 Taken from Quinze signes II. 3–29.

21916–66 These lines appear to be original with the CM poet.

21961–66 These contrasts between Christ's first and second coming may have been suggested by Grosseteste's comparison of the old and the new Adam, in his Château II. 1457–66:

Li premer home vint de terre
E par li avium la guere.
Li autre del ciel est venuz,
Ki la pes nus a renduz.
Li premer home fu charnal
Ki a tut le mund fist tant mal.
De parais fu enge ete
E li e treutu sun ligne,
Mes Jhesu Crist li nostre Pere
Nos heritez nus sent arecz.

21971–22424 An account of Antichrist, taken from the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso, pp. 105–28 in Verhelst's edition. This account differs from the standard text of Adso, ibid. pp. 20–30, in that it lacks the epilogue, it substitutes for Adso's dedication to Queen Gerberge a dedication to Charlemagne, and there are several additions, noted below, to the text itself. Unless otherwise indicated, citations are by line number to the Pseudo-Alcuin text.

21985 “lawe” = low, Latin humiles, l. 6.

21993 “maumetry” translates demonum culturam in mundum, II. 9–10.


21998–22004 The Latin is clearer in stating that all who behave like Antichrist are in fact Antichrists: Nunc quoque, nostro tempore, multos Antichristos nouimus. Quicumque enim laicus, siue canonici, siue etiam monachus, contra iustitiam uiuit et
ordinis sui regulam impugnat et quod bonum est inblasphemat. Antichristus est, minister satane est, II. 15–18.


22028–31 Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, II. 31–33.

22041 Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, xxxii, 15 in *PL* LXXVI 649B. Pseudo-Alcuin adds this passage to Adso at l. 38, with attribution to Gregory. The quotation extends from 22037–48.


22082 "son of los" translates filius perditionis, l. 58; cf. CFG's "tinsel" (= damnation, perdition: *OED*).

22093 This line seems to correspond with Pseudo-Alcuin's diabolus ... locum nouit aptum (unchanged from Adso), l. 64, but it offers a translation unwarranted by anything in the surviving MSS.

22095 This line corresponds with nothing in either Adso or the Pseudo-Alcuin.

22100 "Heed of maumetri" appears to translate caput regni Persarum, l. 66, as does "chief of pers" in 22097.

22103–6 Mt 11:21.

22107–10 Mt 11:23, mentioned by neither Adso nor Pseudo-Alcuin.

22111–12 These terms translate magos et ariolos, maleficos, et incantatores et diuinos, l. 70–71.

22115–16 Somewhat distorted translation of maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites induisi, l. 72–73.

22119 "teue" translates ad se convertere, l. 74–75.

22139 Ps. 71:8, quoted at l. 80.

22143 "Bondir" translates ignem de celo, l. 87.

22155 The *CM* poet exempts "goddi chosen ping" from Antichrist's influence where Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin include them: ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi, l. 92–93, citing Mt 24:24.


22175–76 "3itie," "awe," and "tokenes" translate, in rearranged order, terrore, munericibus et miraculis, l. 100–1.

22179 "herdes." Cf. CFT "hordes." This and 22180 translate II. 103–4, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.

22195–96 These lines translate l. 112, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.

22197–202 A distortion of II. 113–15: qui est supra tectum, non descendet in domum sum, ut tollat aliquid ab ea, sed seipsum dabat precipitem. The est and the sed ... precipitem are Pseudo-Alcuin's additions to Adso. The phrase is taken from Mt 13:15.

22212 "half bridd e ser" translates tribus annis et dimidio, l. 119.


22227 "wers." Cf. FGT: "vers."

22228 "grace." Cf. CFG: "grece."


22253 "Oure maistris" = doctores nostri, l. 141, Pseudo-Alcuin's alteration of Adso's quidam uero doctores.

22261 "cole." Cf. CFGT: "sole" = happiness, blessedness.

22271 Again a reference to II Thes 2:3.
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22273 "men." Cf. CFG: "man," which translates homo peccati, l. 149.

22277 "his owne sone" translates filius diaboli, l. 151.

22286 "sarazyn" translates pagani, l. 161.


22315-60 The sibylline passage is Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, ll. 176-98, taken from the version known as the Tiburtine Sibylle. Cf. Sackur, pp. 185-86.

22317 Reims, Bibl. Munic. MS. 1392, fols. 234-36, the base MS of Verhelst's edition, gives this name as clodoueus. Verhelst prints simply "C," l. 177, perhaps reflecting the textual uncertainty of the name. Sackur, p. 185, prints Constans, following his base MS and three others.

22320 Pseudo-Alcuin does not mention Greece, but the Sibylline text does; Sackur, p. 185.

22327 "met" translates modius, l. 181.

22335-42 The CM poet's addition? Or possibly based upon Pseudo-Methodius' account of the end of the world; cf. Sackur, p. 90.

22347 "sarazines" translates paganorum, l. 190.

22349 "maumetrye" translates paganos, l. 191.

22361-62 Cf. Apoc 11:3-8, where neither Enoch nor Elias is named, though Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin presume that illos refers to them. Biblical warrant for identifying one of the two witnesses as Elias is Malachi 4:5 and Mc 9:11-13. The tradition that the two are Enoch and Elias is well established by the middle of the second century.

22371 Apoc. 11:7, quoted at ll. 206-8.

22373 Pseudo-Alcuin, l. 209, specifies three days.

22381 "fendis brid" translates diaboli filius, l. 209.

22399-402 e.g., Bede, Epistola 15, in PL XCV 707B: divina virtute perimatur quod beatus papa Gregorius per Michaelem archangelum patrandum fore ...

22403-4 "Papilon" is a variant spelling of Babylon, but cf. l. 227: Antichristus occidetur in papillione et in solio suo, that is in his own tent and on his own throne.

22411-14 "Foutry dayes." So Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin, quadraginta dies, l. 234. Cf. also Eluc 1164A. But cf. Daniel 6:7 and 12: dies triginta, the period fixed by Darius during which his subjects were forbidden to worship any god or king other than himself.

22427-708 These lines are a close translation of the Anglo-Norman poem Quinze signes, written between 1180 and 1225, and edited by von Kraemer from 22 manuscripts. For a full discussion of the legend see Heist, Fifteen Signs. Heist and von Kraemer refer to earlier scholarship on the subject. The four other ME versions of the AN poem will be designated in these notes by the number given them in IMEV: 3367, 3368, 796, and 1823. The last two are really slightly different texts of the same version, though 796 lacks the invocation which opens 1823 and, because of a missing leaf in the MS, lacks days 5-10.

In the following discussion references will be made by author's name and sign number to other influential versions of the fifteen signs legend. These are found in Peter Damian, De novissimis et Antichristo iv, PL CLXV 840; Pseudo-Bede, De quindecim signis, PL XCV 555; Peter Comestor, Historia scholastica xlii, PL CXXCIII 1611; Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea, ed. Th. Graesse. I refer also to various
Celtic versions of the legend because they may represent the material in an earlier form, accessible to the CM poet but now vanished. They are printed in Heist: Saltair na Rann, an addition to the tenth century Irish poem, pp. 2–21; Evernew Tongue, a tenth-century Irish prose work, pp. 73–88; Airdena. Irish prose, pp. 73–88.

22427–38 A loose translation of Quinze signes 41–54.

22439–40 These names occur in Quinze signes 55–56. They are not to be taken as sources, but rather as referring to prophets who spoke generally about the Day of Judgement. See Jer 4:23, Is 13:10, 26:18–19, 34:4. The AN poem goes on to list Daniel, Ezechiel, Aaron, and Moses, while variant readings in other MSS mention also David, Amon, Maon, Naaman, Jonas, and Amos. Von Kraemer, p. 95, tries to link the list up with various Ordines prophetarum, but the CM poet follows the traditional attribution to Jerome in 22441.

22441–46 Peter Comestor: Hieronymus autem in annalibus Hebraeorum inventi signa ... sed utrum continui futuri sint dies illi, an interpolatim, non expressit. The attribution to Jerome is also found in descriptions of the 15 signs in Ps-Bede, Peter Damian, Leg. aur. p. 6, and in most of the works dependent on them. The Annales Hebraeorum have never been identified, nor can any work of Jerome's be construed as the source. See Heist p. 24 and passim.

22447–50 Quinze signes 61–63.

22451–58 Quinze signes 65–70 contain an invocation here, but it is not the same as CM's.

22459–74 Quinze signes 71–86. The bloody rain appears in Apoc. Thom., p. 272, and in sermons based on it, as well as in several Celtic works. See SnR II. 8029–36; Airdena 7; Vercelli XV, p. 256; Blickling VII, p. 91; Haucon Hom. in Förster, p. 131, and in a twelfth-century OFr work, Li ver del Ju'ise (von Kraemer, p. 16). Cf. Apoc 8:7. Many other versions of the legend have a bloody dew instead, possibly influenced by IV Esr 5:5. See Yrymes Deibrawt in Heist p. 71: Peter Damian 10; Ps-Bede 6; Peter Comestor 5; Leg. aur. 5. A Greek acrostic poem, translated by Augustine in DCD XVIII xxiii PL XL 579, mentions that all earth will sweat before the Day of Judgement, but not with blood. IMEV 3367 omits the bloody rain altogether.

22465–74 This crying of the unborn children is found only in the Quinze signes and its ME derivatives. It may have been suggested by IV Esr 6:21, although the resemblance is slight. The scene caught people's imagination, however, for it appears in several later works; see von Kraemer, pp. 17–18.

22467 Quinze signes reads “A clere vouiz” (l. 79), reflected in F’s “voice.” CGHTLB have “note.”


22481–82 CFG preserve the translation of Quinze signes 93–94: the stars run about on the ground. This detail is omitted also in the ME versions IMEV 1823, 796, and 3367.

22481–92 The subsequent fate of the stars is unique to the AN poem and its ME derivatives.

22488–89 CM omits entirely Quinze signes 100, which is corrupt in many MSS.

22492 E’s “And þar of wil we neuir blin” is clearly in error.
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22495–304 Quinze signes 123–32. The CM poet reverses the AN signs 3 and 4. Based on Apoc 6:12, but cf. Joel 2:31 (quoted in Acts 2:20). Cf. also Airdena 12, ET 126, and von Kraemer p. 19 for citation from Assumption Moses 10. However, this is not one of the signs in the other Latin versions.

22498 There is some confusion over Quinze signes 126, where most MSS repeat the idea that the moon was red as blood ("sanc") or mud ("fanc"). CM on the other hand somewhat resembles the variant in MS Q: "A Deu qe frunt dunc li mescrait."

22507–18 Quinze signes 107–20. This is another common sign from Joel 2:31, Mt 24:29, and Apoc 6:12. It also occurs in Apoc. Thom. 5, p. 272, and is found in its Celtic derivatives; see Airdena 12, ET 126. The other Latin versions, however, ignore it.

22510 "Haire" translates directly AN "haire" (111), which in turn translates Apoc 6:12, "saccus cilicinus," a hair shirt. The other English versions of Quinze signes have trouble with the word. IMEV 3367 says the sun becomes green and wan, then "blak as pe cole" (l. 66). IMEV 1823 reads "swarte as any pych" (l. 99), and IMEV 3368 omits the concept altogether.

22514 CG’s "stime" translates AN "goute" (l. 115).

22519–30 Quinze signes 135–46. This sign is also characteristic of the AN version of the legend and its ME derivatives. In the Latin and some Celtic versions, it is the sea creatures who bellow unintelligibly. See SnR 8059–60, 8109–12; Peter Damian and Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 3, probably based on IV Esr 5:7. The following verse of IV Esr adds, "et bestias agrestes transmigrabunt," and the restless and/or noisy animals are found in Airdena 14, ET 129, and Peter Damian 12. The closest analogue to the AN, however, is the Debate between the Body and the Soul in BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 346–49. Although it speaks of only seven signs before Judgement, these lines are clearly connected somehow with the AN version:

The fyft e day him cometh y-wis
Evenuch best that lyves ys,
   Toward hevene ys hed hult.
   Ant thuncheth wonder wed this byhelt
   Ant wolde clepe to oure Dryhte,
   Ah hy to speke ne habbet h muhte. (p. 348)

22525 E and the southern versions (HTLB) preserve a correct reading, "erpe," which CFG corrupt to "air." Quinze signes 141 has "Droit a ces granz fosses courtant."

22531–44 This sign is made up of three separate motifs: (1) the levelling of mountains and valleys (cf. Ps-Bede 10, Peter Comestor 9, SnR 8213–16, Airdena 11); (2) the earthquake at 22539 (cf. Peter Damian, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 8, Ps-Bede 9, Yrmes Detbrawt in Heist p. 71, SnR 8202); and (3) the collapse of buildings at 22540–44 (cf. Ps-Bede 7, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 6). Analogues are found in other signs. Quinze signes 149–60. Peter Damian 11 has mountains crumble to dust and the ruin of buildings. SnR 8213–16, ET 122, 128, speak simply of the mountains falling, but the Welsh Yrmes Detbrawt (Heist p. 71) and Airdena 11 mention that mountains and valleys will then be level. The only other version to include both the levelling of mountains and valleys and the collapse of buildings on the same day is the Debate of the Body and the Soul, day 4, from BL MS. Harley 2253, ed. Wright, pp. 347–48.

22534 E’s "De wallis, touris, pe felles to falle" is in error.

22538 Heist p. 92 would see the conversion of peace to war as a separate motif here, but the Irish parallels cited are inexact and unconvincing. See SnR 8065–71, 8168,
Airdena 8. Cf. however Apoc 6:4 where power is given to the rider of the red horse “ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se interficiant [sc. homines].”

Heist p. 179 says that the CM poet postpones the fall of the trees until sign 7, but in fact he follows the AN closely. “Wode” here translates AN “abre” (I. 159). Trees are overturned in Airdena 9.

22545–60 Quinze signes 161–76. This sign is only found in works deriving from the AN version of the legend. Heist pp. 93–94 wants to derive it from Irish versions of the Antichrist legend, but cf. von Kraemer p. 23, who cites a parallel in an OFr translation of the Antichrist legend. Innocent III uses the motif in his De miseria (ca. 1195) 8, p. 107, to characterize the vileness of mankind, and from there it gets into Prickes 672–87.

22561–78 Quinze signes 177–94. This sign is often divided into parts: (1) the sea rises (SnR 8047–48, 8105–8, Airdena 1, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1); (2) the sea sinks almost to nothing (SnR 8113–16, Airdena 2, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 2); (3) the sea returns to its usual place (SnR 8117–20, Airdena 3, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 3).

22568 The attribution to Moses, taken from Quinze signes 184, makes no sense.

22659–70 The Latin versions tend to echo Gen 7:20, saying that the water rose 15 cubits (Peter Damian 1, Airdena 1) or 40 cubits (Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1) over the tops of the mountains. Only SnR 8105–8 mentions reaching to heaven, although the passage is apparently a difficult one and may indicate only that the sound reaches to heaven:

The great-maned sea will rise
from the many-sided [?] earth;
it will raise its voice-performing uproar
to the clouds of heaven.

22571–74 The flight of the fish has analogues in SnR 8059–64, 8109–12, Airdena 1, 4. Cf. also Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 3.

22579–90 Quinze signes 195–206. Analogues for this are lacking in other versions of the signs, although Heist p. 92 cites the passage quoted above, SnR 8105–8, as a possible parallel. A more convincing analogue is from a sermon of Gregory, preserved in the works of Haymo of Halberstadt: “Tradunt enim nonnulli, quod circa finem saeculi mare, flumina et rivuli, juxta qualitatem et quantitatem suam, voces et mugitus emittent, interitu suum quibusdam vocibus deplorantes, et per hoc non parvum timorem hominibus audiendibus incutient” PL CXVII 19D, cited in von Kraemer p. 25.

22581 The AN has “tuit li fleuve parleront,” which the CM poet translates as “al bing.” Heist p. 179 points out that MS. Trinity College Cambridge B.11.24, one of the MSS of IMEV 1823, reads:

That all bynge schall speke pan,
And cry in erthe aftre pe steuyn off man.


22583 The citation of Augustine seems to refer to no work of his, except his translation of the Greek acrostic poem on the Signs before Doom in DCD XVIII xxviii in PL XLII 579, esp. I. 15. But the connection is in any case slight.

22591–626 Quinze signes 207–38. This sign demonstrates the reaction in heaven and hell to the coming Judgement. Analogues are few. Fear of the coming Judgement is found in ET 122, but it is difficult to say whose fear it is. Von Kraemer also cites

22597–98 The angels in Quinze signes tremble at 213–14 (crolera, se tremblera), but no cause is assigned as in 22598.

22605–8 Cf. Quinze signes 219–22:

Car il [sc. sainz Pierres] verra le ciel partir
Et si pourra la terre oir
Braire mont angouisseusemang
Et criera: "Rois Diex, je fem!"

Von Kraemer makes “la terre” the subject of “criera.” The CM poet takes “le ciel” as the subject, apparently interpreting l. 220 as an interpolated clause which he could safely omit.

22612 Quinze signes 226 also attributes this observation to Paul, but Paul says nothing to this effect.

22615 Von Kraemer l. 229 rejects a variant reading “qui nos feis,” found in ten MSS, in favour of “qui nos meis.” The CM poet, however, was clearly using a MS that read “feis.”

22620 Von Kraemer l. 234 prints “Qui l’angouisse d’enfer endure,” but eight MSS, including, obviously, the CM poet’s exemplar, replace “enfer” with “feu.”

22623 VTBLB omit two lines here:

Caitiues bat nu sorus mare
Pan cuer in hell we won war ar (quoted from C)

These lines make it clear that the devils want to go back to hell, not to heaven, for even the pains of hell are preferable to the troubled state of earth before the Judgement. The devils know that they have lost heaven through their own folly, so 22624 can only refer to their being unceremoniously rousted out of hell. The omission of the two lines in the southern version makes it seem that they want to get back to heaven, as Heist p. 92 wrongly assumes the AN version does as well.

22625–26 These lines are found in only three MSS of the AN.

22630–47 Quinze signes 240–59. A great wind is found also in Airdena 10, Debate of the Body and Soul 4 (in Wright, pp. 347–48). The air is agitated in Hatton homily 5 (Forster pp. 131–34) and is moved on day 7 in Apoc. Thom., p. 272.

22633–34 Apoc. Thom., sign 2, p. 272: the earth moves from its proper place but because of a great voice in the firmament, not a wind.

22635–58 Quinze signes 245–46 says that bodies of the newly dead are blown about by the wind. The CM poet probably thought that the reference was to the devils who were pleading to be returned to hell in the previous sign and are about to get their wish.

22639 The descent of the rainbow here puzzles commentators. Heist pp. 176–77 assumes that “arc-en-ciel” is a corruption of “archangel,” which does appear in one MS of a prose recension of the AN poem. The angels’ victory over the devils is of course a common motif in apocalypse literature. However, von Kraemer pp. 27–29 shows clearly that “arc-en-ciel” is the only possible reading in the line. He further demonstrates that the rainbow was associated with the Day of Judgement, sometimes through connection with archangels, sometimes alone. The scribe who copied lMEV 796 in BodL MS. Digby 86, however, omits the passage altogether.
The *CM* omits *Quinze signes* 255–56 here, describing the heat, the cold, the pains, the grinding of teeth, the weeping. However, these same lines are also omitted from six AN MSS.

The *CM* poet deviates here from *Quinze signes* which continues at 259–66:

> Li termes vient que vos avroiz
> Plantei de janz en vos destroiz,
> Lors commanceront tui a rire.
> He, Diez peres, tu qui es sire(s),
> De cele joie nos defient
> Quair tresruit c[i]l seront dolant
> Qui seront parconnier dou ris
> Don deables ert poteis.

The sense of 22648 is not very clear. In the AN the devils laugh at the thought of the people who will come into their power, and the poet prays to be saved from their clutches. These people pray, 22650–52, as the devils had done, to be allowed to hide under the earth, presumably from the Judgement. While the subject of the original 22649 could have been either the devils or the souls who would arrive in hell, the context and the content of the cry make it seem that the devils are speaking, and the southern redactor has altered his text to make it clear.

This is intended to be direct discourse, as the *Quinze signes* 276–78 makes clear:

> Chascuns dira: “Ge me mervoil’
> Que nos poons ici ester
> Quant toute riens veons finer.”

The southern redactor, by changing 22660, transforms the lines into a rhetorical question asked by the poet. Von Kraemer p. 29 points out an analogy with *Apoc. Thom.* 2, *Vercelli* homily 15, Friday), the locking of the firmament is unique to this version. But cf. the rolling up of heaven like a scroll in *Apoc.* 6:14 and the derivative image of the book folded and closed in *Vercelli* homily 15 Wednesday, *Hatton* homily 7.

These lines translate *Quinze signes* 283–84 have many variant readings. The ME lines do not correspond with any of those printed by von Kraemer.

Von Kraemer p. 29 and n. 4 cites several instances in Latin and French of this fear of angels and men before the coming of the judge.

*Quinze signes* 287–312. The *Apoc. Thom.* 6 mentions the splitting of rocks during the earthquake, and it is found in most other versions of the signs. Cf. *SnR* 8083–84, *Airdena* 9, Peter Damian 9, *Ps-Bede* 8, *Leg. aur.* 7. Peter Comestor 7 has the stones smashing together but does not mention their splitting.

The *CM* poet omits two lines of *Quinze signes* (289–90) which mention Japheth and Abraham. MSS C and X of the AN also omit these lines.

These lines translate *Quinze signes* 305–6 and then 303–4, the latter of which are found only in MSS EDQ of the AN. But von Kraemer p. 104 argues that they are probably authentic, corresponding to details found in Peter Damian and
Ps-Bede. Line 303 reads: “Des cox qu’eles s’antredont.” CM MS E has “thraw-ing,” C “thran[g]ing” or, as Morris’ gloss suggests, read “thrauing.”

CM omits Quinze signes 309-10. AN MSS NRQP also omit these lines.

The base MS of Quinze signes says: “Se desouz terre” (l. 312), but seven other MSS refer to a mountain. Von Kraemer p. 30 points out that in several other accounts of the Last Judgement fearful men hide themselves under mountains (see e.g. Apoc. Thom. 6, Vercelli homily 15 Friday, Hatton homily 6, Blickling homily vii 5). The detail derives ultimately from Apoc 6:16. Cf. Os 10:8, Lc 23:30.

Quinze signes 313-24. Many accounts of the Last Judgement refer in general terms to storms and agitations of the air. Cf. Apoc. Thom. 1 (thunder and lightning), 5 (thunder), Airdena 7, 9, 14, SnR 8130, 8151, 8205, Vercelli homily 15 Monday, Hatton homily 1, 5, Blickling homily vii 1, 4. The clouds do not hide under the sea elsewhere, but this is probably an extension of the AN poet’s penchant for having everything fall into the abyss.

Quinze signes 316. “De nois, de grelles et d’ores,” but MSS LUV have “De nois de glaces et de grelles.”

The CM poet omits Quinze signes 325-8, which describe the mingling of earth and sea and the uncovering of heaven. This is a neat recollection of the primal state of the world when there was only heaven and earth, and the various elements of matter had not yet been separated from one another. Cf. note to 22699-708 following. Among the AN MSS CR omit ll. 325-26, and AOX omit ll. 327-28.

Quinze signes 329-40. The final consummation of the world by fire is often found where Doomsday is discussed; see Peter Damian 6, Ps-Bede 5, 15, Peter Comestor 14, Leg. aur. 14, Apoc. Thom. 2, 6, Hatton homily 3. In this sign the AN poet (and the CM poet following him) continues the reversal of the creation process begun in sign 14 (see note to 22698 above). After the fire earth and sea are not simply reduced to ashes, but become nothing again.

CM omits Quinze signes 333-34, where the poet names the process he is describing: “consumations.”

The CM poet omits the remainder of Quinze signes, 341-434, describing God’s division of souls into saved and damned.

The blast of beme is mentioned in Eluc 9 1164A. Cf. the seven trumpet sounds of Apoc 8:2-9:13.

The description of the Last Judgement itself depends chiefly upon Honorius Augustodunensis’ Elucidarium, book III, as well as upon accounts in the New Testament. There are two accessible editions of Honorius: Yves Lefèvre, L’elucidarium et les lucidaires, pp. 361-477, which is based upon a survey of extant manuscripts in French libraries; and the edition found in PL CLXXII 1109-76, which is a reprint of J.A. Giles, ed., Lanfranci opera quae supersunt omnia, II, 200-98. Giles’ edition, from a single manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Reg. 5134 (possibly = Paris, BN lat. 3001), contains material not found in Lefèvre. I shall refer to book III of Lefèvre’s edition by Eluc section and page number, and to book III in PL by Eluc section and column number. The numbering of sections in the two editions does not correspond.

Accounts of Jesus and his disciples after the resurrection are in Mt 28, Mc 16, Lc 24, and Jhn 20-21. The CM poet here depends chiefly on Mc 16:14.


Cf. Eluc 51 p. 457: Ita Christus in ea forma qua ascendit cum omnibus ordiniis angelorum ad judicium veniens; angeli crucem ferentes praebunt ... The CM poet seems to have compressed this passage in Eluc. Cf. Eluc 54 p. 458:
D. Quali forma apparebit ibi Dominus? M. Electis in ea forma qua in monte apparuit; reprobis vero in ea forma qua in cruce pendit.

22737–44 This contrast of Christ's first and second coming may have been suggested by a comparison of the old and the new Adam in Grosseteste's *Château* 1457–66. Cf. the note to 21961–66, above.

22745–68 These lines, presenting the dread of those who are to be judged (22745–57), Christ in glory as judge, surrounded by saints (as sej pe boke) (22758–68), appear to be original with the CM poet.


22755–61 The imagery in altered form and without the cross as banner is in *Eluc* 51 p. 457: D. Qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium? M. Sicut imperator ingressurus civitatem. Corona et alia insignia praefectur, per quae adventus ejus cognoscitur; ... angeli crucem ejus ferentes praeibunt; mortuos et tumba et voce in occurrsum ejus excitant, omnia elementa turbabuntur, tempestate ignis et frigoris mixtum undique furente; ... The image of the cross as banner was familiar from Venantius Fortunatus' seventh century hymn. Vexilla regis prodeunt, / fulgit crucis mysterium, / quo carne carnis conditor / suspensus est patibulo, 1.6.1–4; *Venance Fortunat: Pòdnes*, ed. M. Reydellet, I, 57.


22818–20 *Eluc* 44 p. 456 mentions that the souls will be resurrected as they were at age 30: D. Qua aetate vel qua mensura? M. Qua erant, cum essent triginta annorum; vel futuri erant, si ante moriebantur. The CM poet's treatment of this motif is, however, more elaborate than Honorius'.


22887–930 This story is told briefly in *Eluc* 45 p. 456. The question posed in the CM is both more elaborate, in that it describes the circumstances of the eating and the lion's death and rotting, details not found in Honorius, and less detailed in that Honorius' wolf is first eaten by a bear, the bear in its turn by a lion. Honorius attributes the story to Gregory; see Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Ezechiel libri II*, II viii 8 in *PL* LXXVI 1032–33, who also eliminates the bear and perhaps served as the CM poet's direct source.

22931–52 *Eluc* 46 p. 456 supplies the hair and nails, though he does not specify hand or foot but simply unguis. The image of the potter reshaping his material and its application to Christ (so CM; Deus *Eluc*) is also found here.


23003 "Vp in pe sky." Cf. *Eluc* 52 p. 457: In valle ergo fit iudicium, id est in isto mundo, scilicet in aere ...

23039–206 The division of souls into four groups, two good and two bad, is adumbrated in *Eluc* 59–74 pp. 459–61. Cf. Richard of St. Victor, *In Apocalypsim libri vii* in *PL* CXCVI 857, who also divides the souls into four groups. The CM poet, however, provides far more detail. Cf. Mt 25:32–33, where there are only two groups.
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23080–96 Probably the CM poet took these lines directly from Mt 25:34–36. Cf. also Quinze signes II. 371–84, where the deeds of the blessed are in a different order: shelter, food, nakedness, visitation, illness, burial; thirst and prison are omitted. Cf. also the list in Grosseteste’s Château 1563–76, where only visitation is omitted.


23202 Apoc 21:8: in stagno ardenti igni. Perhaps the CM poet is thinking of ME stang, a pond or pool (cf. CM 8936), or perhaps of the past tense of ME stink (cf. MED s.v. stinken), or perhaps of ME stang, a sting or pain (cf. CM 20960).

23207–350 The nine pains of hell, their correspondence with the nine orders of angels, their suitability to the souls of the damned, the inverse posture of the damned, and the increased joy and pain respectively of the blessed to see the suffering of the damned and of the damned to see the joys of the blessed, are all taken from Eluc 4-5 1159–61.

23219–24 Eluc 4 1159D has Si igneus mons immitteretur, in glaciam vertetur. The CM poet appears to have had a variant text.

23231–32 The image of seeing fish swim in the water is from Eluc 4 1160A: qui ut pisces in aqua ita vivunt in flamma. “lowe” translates Honorius’ “flamma;” cf. MED loue n. (2).


23261–64 Original with CM poet?

23265–350 These explanations of sin and punishment are taken from Eluc 4 1160B and correspond with the nine pains just described. The wavering of the correspondence at the eighth and ninth sins is original with Honorius.

23339–42 Eluc 5 1161B: sicut nobis cum videmus pisces in gurgite ludere. The summer day seems to be the CM poet’s addition.

23351–68 Original with the CM poet?

23369–594 Eluc 17 & 19 1169–72. 18, the first elaboration of the fourteen gifts, is omitted by the CM poet.

23377–79 Wisdom = sapientiam, frenshepe = amicitiam, acorde = concordiam, pouste = potestatem, worshepe = honorem, sikernesse = securitatem, ioyeful ro = gaudium: all terms translated from Eluc.

23423–28 Strength. Eluc 19 1171B-C. Wib pi fyngur to overcaste an hille = et omnem molem terrae pede vertecre vellent.

23429–62 Pleasure. Eluc 19 1171D–72A. The southern redactor has omitted lines 23437–48, which make an awkward comparison in both Eluc and the northern version, namely that the pleasure of heaven is internally and externally as intense as the pain would be in this world of a red-hot iron bar passing through the head and body.

23463–70 Health. Eluc 19 1172C.

23471–74 Immortality. Eluc 19 1172C.
23481–512 Wisdom. Eluc 20 1172D–3B. The southern redactor omits lines 23489–90, which in the northern version simply lend emphasis to the two preceding lines. Eluc is the origin of the digression into the knowledge of the saved of one another’s sins.

23513–18 Friendship. Eluc 20 1173D.

23519–48 Concord. Eluc 20 1173D, including a longish discourse on the concord of wills in heaven.

23524 pe boke = Honorius’ Elucidarium.

23527–28 Omitted by the southern redactor, perhaps because it translates a question from the Discipulus, and normally the poet omits these.

23549–70 Power. Eluc 20 1174A.

23559–60 A question from the Discipulus, translated exceptionally by the CM poet:

Et si possunt, quare non alium coelum faciunt?

23564 tale = numero in Eluc 20 1174B: omnia in mensura numero et pondere perfecte absoluit. Cf. Sap 11:21, where the verb is disposuisti [sc. Deus].

23571–78 Joy. Eluc 20 1174B-D.

23579–94 Honour. Eluc 10 1174D. The CM poet seems to revert to Eluc 15 1168C for the image of the sun, moon, water, and stars that no longer run in their courses but are changed into stability: coelum, sol, luna, stellae, aquae, quae nunc festinant cursu irretardibili, quasi cupientes in meliorem statum immutari, tunc fixa stabiliter manebunt. Cf. 23677–82 below.


23603–14 A summary of the state of the blessed taken from Eluc 20 1175A-B.

23615–48 A comparison point by point of the blessed with the damned, based loosely on the fourteen gifts just discussed in greater detail, taken from Eluc 21 1175B–6A.

23649–52 Eluc 21 1176D ends here with a prayer, though not the same as the CM poet’s prayer. Where the poet includes all in his wish for Christ’s grace, Honorius’ Discipulus wishes well to his teacher alone.

23653–704 Eluc 15 1168C.

23657–58 Cf. also Honorius Speculum Ecclesiae Dominica xxiii in PL CLXXII 1077A.

23668–70 Perhaps elaborated from Eluc 15 1168C: frigus, aestus, grandines, turbines, fulgura, tonitrua, et aliae incommoditates.


23689 translates Eluc 15 1168D: Terra, quae in gremio suo Domini corpus confovit ...

23696 The comparison to paradise is based on Eluc 15 1168D, which says that the earth immarcessibilibit eit perpetuo decorata with flowers.

23705–897 Having finished his narration of the Last Judgement and, a fortiori, of the entire Bible, the CM poet now draws on his experience as a preacher to identify the moral of his extended exemplum. Evidently he had not anticipated doing this, for there is no mention of it in the opening lines of the poem, which go from Judgement Day to verses on Mary, II. 216–17.