A BOOK OF SHOWINGS TO THE ANCHORESS JULIAN OF NORWICH

Part One

Introduction and The Short Text

Edited by

EDMUND COLLEDGE O.S.A.

and

JAMES WALSH S.J



PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
TORONTO 1978

STUDIES AND TEXTS

35

PART ONE



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This book has been published with the help of a grant
from the Humanities Research Council of Canada,
using funds provided by the Canada Council.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Juliana, anchoret, 1343-1443.
A book of showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich

(Studies and texts - Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies ;
35 ISSN 0082-5328)

Text in Middle English.
Bibliography: pt. 2, p.
Includes index.

ISBN 0-88844-035-9

1 Devotional literature. I. Colledge, Edmund, 1910- II. Walsh, James, 1920-
III. Title. IV. Series: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Studies and
texts - Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies ; 35.

BV4831.J8 1978 231'.74 C77-001104-7

Copyright 1978 by

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK CRESCENT EAST
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5S 2C4

PRINTED BY UNIVERSA PRESS, WETTEREN, BELGIUM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

PREFACE vii

SIGLA OF MANUSCRIPTS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS viii

INTRODUCTION

I Description of Manuscripts and of the Cressy Printed Text 1

—1 A: London, MS British Museum Additional 37790 1 —2 C: the Cressy printed text 6 —3 P: Paris, MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds anglais 40 6 —4 S1: London, MS British Museum Sloane 2499 8 —5 S2: London, MS British Museum Sloane 3705 8 —6 U: MS St. Joseph's College, Upholland 9 —7 W: London, Westminster Archdiocesan Archives MS 9

II Scribes and Owners of Manuscripts and of the Printed Text .. 10

—1 A 10 —2 C: Serenus Cressy 12 —3 Seventeenth-Century Copies of the Long Text 15

III Relations Between the Short and Long Texts 18

IV Relations Between the Long Text Witnesses 25

V Linguistic Characteristics of the Manuscripts 28

—1 The Language of A 28 —2 The Language of the Long-Text Copies 32

VI Julian: Biographical Data 33

VII Norwich in Julian's Age 39

VIII Julian's Intellectual Formation 43

IX Theological Content of the Revelations 59

—1 The Short and Long Texts Compared 59 —2 Criteria of Analysis 67 —3 Revelation I 71 —4 Revelation II 81 —5 Revelation III 83 —6 Revelation IV 85 —7 Revelation V 87 —8 Revelation VI 88 —9 Revelation VII 90 —10 Revelation

VIII 92 —11 Revelation IX 97 —12 Revelation X 99 —13 Revelation XI 100 —14 Revelation XII 101 —15 Revelation XIII 102 —16 Revelation XIV 113 —17 Revelation XV 162 —18 Revelation XVI 168 —19 Conclusion 196

A Book of Showings

The Short Text 199

PART TWO

A Book of Showings

The Long Text 279

Appendix: Rhetorical Figures Employed by Julian 735

Glossary 749

Bibliography 761

Index of Authors and Titles 775

Index of Scriptural Citations 779

Index of Manuscripts Cited 789

PREFACE

This edition has its origin in the critical texts of both the short and long versions of Julian's *Showings* presented for the Ph. D. degree of Leeds University by Sr. Anna Maria Reynolds, C. P., working under the direction of Professor R. M. Wilson. Later, when Sr. Anna Maria was preparing a modernized English translation of the short text for publication and James Walsh was similarly at work on the long text, she invited him to collaborate with her in preparing a critical edition of both texts. Then, when her new professional commitments forced Sr. Anna Maria to abandon the work, James Walsh invited Edmund Colledge to share in it ; and for the past eleven years it has engaged them from time to time. At an early stage it was realised that Sr. Anna Maria's texts could not be used ; but even so the editors are much in her debt for generous help and advice. They know that she would wish them to mention the guidance and counsel she received from Professor Wilson, who, more recently, has greatly assisted the present editors with his expert opinions, as has also Fr. Leonard Boyle, O. P.

In recent years the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto has given this work invaluable support, both moral and financial. Generous grants from the Canada Council and the American Philosophical Society made possible much necessary travelling and photography; and the work is being published with the help of a subvention from the Humanities Research Council of Canada.

The editors are indebted to all the libraries who have allowed them to consult their manuscripts and printed books, especially to those owners of copies of Julian's text who have permitted their use for this edition. They are conscious of the special obligation they are under, in Toronto, to Fr. Donald Finlay, C.S.B., librarian of the Pontifical Institute, to Fr. Walter Hayes, S. J., its director of publications, and to Mrs. Margaret McGrath, reference librarian of St. Michael's College. They must thank Denise Critchley, Theresa Gerson, Bernard Muir, Michael Sargent and Linda Spear for their skilled and devoted help in the preparation of the work for the press.

Finally, it remains for them to express their gratitude to their respective orders, to their religious superiors over the years who have permitted them to pursue their researches, and to the many Augustinian and Jesuit houses, in two continents, who have given them hospitality and kindness.

SIGLA OF MANUSCRIPTS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A	London British Museum Add. 37790
C	Cressy 1670 edition
P	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds anglais 40
S_1	London British Museum Sloane 2499
S_2	London British Museum Sloane 3705
SS	S_1 and S_2
U	Upholland Seminary Library
W	Westminster Diocesan Archives
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*
AFr	Anglo-French
AISP	*Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*
ASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
BL	British Library (Museum)
BM	British Museum (Library)
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
C. Brown, XIII	*English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*
C. Brown, XIV	*Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*
C. Brown, XV	*Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
DSp	*Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*
EETS (ES)	Early English Text Society (Extra Series)
EETS (OS)	Early English Text Society (Original Series)
FEW	*Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
LCI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
MÆ	*Medium AEvum*
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*
NED	*New English Dictionary*
OE	Old English
OFr	Old French
OHG	Old High German
PL	*Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*
RAM	*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
RTAM	*Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*
SCN	Summary Catalogue Number (Bodleian Library)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
UL	University Library
VCH	*Victoria County History*

INTRODUCTION

I Description of Manuscripts and of the Cressy Printed Text[1]

1 A: London, MS British Museum[2] Additional 37790[3]

Ff. 236 + 2 stubs + f. 238, 180 × 266 mm, vellum. Binding nineteenth-century. Written in a single hand, clear, bold and well-formed, of the mid-fifteenth century, which is also responsible for the rubrication. The scribe's larger lettering occupies c. 34 lines to the page, the smaller c. 38. The margins, but not the lines, are ruled. There are numerous indications that this is the product of a monastic scriptorium. There are few guide-letters for the coloured initials, which shows that the limner for whom blank spaces were left was expected to consult the master-copy or a scribe. He has in fact made several mistakes (his very first letter, f. 1[r], is 'T' instead of 'Þ'), including the first two initials in the Julian text. (Such accidents, common enough, explain the instruction in chapter 13, 'De rubricatore', of the fifteenth-century statutes of the Cologne Brethren of the Common Life: 'Scripturarij directionibus in illuminandis libris sibi per eum traditis obtemperabit'[4]). Throughout, there are numerous hands at work correcting errors. Two contemporary with that of the scribe are of interest for the Julian text. One (using plummet) has emended 'worlde' to 'worme' (cf. 219.5); on f. 158[v], in *The Mirror of Simple Souls,* the same hand corrects 'drawis' to 'drinkyth', showing that this emendator's dialect had not that mixture of Northern forms which is to be found throughout A, the last Bridget fragment only excepted; and Margaret Amassian points out that elsewhere, when the scribe wrongly used black ink, the other has noted 'rubrica'. She

[1] No other mention is made, here or elsewhere, of MS British Museum Stowe 42, an eighteenth-century copy of the Cressy printed text with no identifiable marks of ownership. For the brief quotation in a Colwich Abbey manuscript, see II, 'Scribes and Owners'.

[2] Now officially designated as the 'British Library'.

[3] Cf. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCCVI-MDCCCCX*, 153-156. This is often given the name of its last private owner and called 'the Amherst MS'.

[4] K. O. Meinsma: *Middeleeuwse bibliotheken,* 131.

tells us that in the Rolle texts he shows close and accurate concern for their purity. However, in the Julian text the chief corrections are in yet another contemporary hand, called in this edition 'the corrector', which is remarkably like that of the scribe, and probably formed by the same writing master.

Though the well-known copy of the English *Stimulus amoris* and *The Poor Caitiff* which is now MS Downside 26542 is written in a hand not identical with that of A, the two manuscripts resemble one another so much, in handwriting, rubrication, lay-out and contents, that it is hard to suppose that they are not the products of the same scriptorium. In addition to the *Stimulus* (ff. 1^{r}-90^{r}) and *The Poor Caitiff* (ff. 94^{r}-168^{v}), the Downside manuscript contains 'How a man shall knowe whiche is the speche of the flesshe in his hert ... seynt Bernard techith and seieth thus: If thou feele a thought or a stiryng in thyn hert of mete or of drynke ..', exp. '.. yt is spekyng of god and not of thyself. Jhesu mercy. Lady helpe' (ff. 90^{v}-92^{v}, f. 91 blank), which also follows the English *Stimulus* in MS Trinity College Cambridge B.14.19;[5] Latin excerpts from the *Horologium sapientiae* and from the revelations of Mechtild of Hackborn;[6] and 'Sermo beati Augustini notabilis ad par(o)chianos. Rogo vos fratres karissimi vt attencius cogitemus ... si vos libenter audiatis et nobis facitis gaudium et vos feliciter peruenietis ad regnum. Amen' (ff. 172^{r}-173^{v}).[7] Before the Dissolution the Downside manuscript was in the private possession of two Dominican nuns of Dartford, one of whom, Emma Winter, is also recorded in MS Society of Antiquaries of London 717, a collection of psalms and offices, as having commissioned its writing.[8] It is very probable that both this Downside manuscript and A are such commissioned pieces. The general character of A, as an anthology of less popular spiritual classics which comprises the unique copies of Julian's short text and of the English Ruysbroek *Treatise of Perfection* has previously been remarked.[9] That the Downside manuscript should contain Latin extracts from the *Horologium* and from Mechtild of Hackborn is evidence of the same kind of connoisseurship.

[5] We owe this identification to A. I. Doyle.

[6] We owe this identification to Roger Lovatt.

[7] PL 39 2237-2240, 'De christiano nomine cum operibus non christianis'. The ascription to Augustine is spurious (Dekkers, no. 368), and its true author is Caesarius of Arles; Germain Morin, ed. *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones* 1, no. XIII, 64 e.s.

[8] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 1, 815.

[9] J. Bazire and E. Colledge, *Chastising*, Introduction, 83-87.

Since it has long been known that A was at one time in the care of James Grenehalgh[10] (his monogram occurs on f. 33^{r}, and there are numerous emendations and marginalia — none of them in the Julian text — which may be his), one is tempted to suppose that the manuscript may have been written at Sheen; but this can be no more than a supposition. It would be strengthened, had the Dartford manuscript been owned in Sheen or Syon and not Dartford. The evidence suggests that Grenehalgh worked only for the benefit of Syon and of English Carthusian houses. There may however have been other Carthusian scribes copying volumes intended for sale outside their monasteries. G. I. Lieftinck has produced numerous references from the chronicles of the houses of the Windesheim Congregation to religious who copied or illuminated 'pro pretio'; usually such references appear in obituary notices, praising the scribes' pious zeal.[11] This practice existed also in England.[12]

Collation: gatherings of eight, the first four in each with signatures and arabic numbers, the gatherings signed a-h, j-t, v, x-z, &, *con*, a^{2}-d^{2} + 7 unsigned sheets.

Ff. 237 and 238 have been excised. The stub of f. 237 shows on the recto the first two letters of 13 lines of script; the rest of the folio evidently blank, as is f. 238 (recte 239)^{r}, except for a rough plummet sketch of a madonna and child, and a contemporary note, in a hand not found elsewhere, inc.: 'Augustinus de civitate dei 14. Dum huius vite infirmitatem si passiones nullas habeamus ...'

The chief contents of A are as follows:

f. 1^{r} inc.: T(h)is boke is off mendynge of lyfe or ellys off the rewle off lyfynge destinct into xij chapiters ...

f. 18^{r} exp.: Thus endis the xij chapetyrs off Richarde Hampole into englys *tr*anslate be frere Rycharde Misyn to informacio*nn* off crystyn saulis *anno domini* millesimo cccc^{mo} xxxiiij.

f. 18^{v} inc.: At the reu*e*rence off oure lorde J*h*es*u* Criste to the askynge of thy desyre sistyr Margarete couetynge asethe to make ...

f. 68^{v} exp.: Explicit liber *p*r*imus* Incendij Amoris Ri*cardi* Hampole he*r*emite *tr*anslat*us* a latino in anglicu*m* *per* fr*at*rem Ri*cardum* Misyn*n*

[10] E. Colledge: *'The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God'*, a Fifteenth-Century English Ruysbroek Translation'.

[11] 'Windesheim, Agnietenberg en Mariënborn' (*Dancwerk: opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. D. Th. Enklaar*, 188-207), passim.

[12] Cf. E. Colledge: 'The Capgrave "Autographs"', 11 and notes 37, 38.

heremitaꝝ et ordinis carmelitarum ac sacre theologie bachalari(um) anno domini millesimo cccc xxxv^to^.

f. 69^r^ inc.: Why perfitte contemplatife to vtwarde songe takes no hede ...

f. 95^r^ exp.: Explicit liber de Incendio Amoris Ricardi Hampole heremite translatus in anglicum instancijs domine Margarete Heslyngtonn recluse per fratrem Ricardum Misynn sacre theologie bachalarium tunc priorem Lyncoln ordinis carmelitarum anno domini m^o^ cccc^o^ xxxv^to^ in festo translacionis sancti Martini episcopi quod est iiij nonas julij per dictum Ricardum Misynn scriptum et correctum.[13]

f. 95^v^ inc.: This pistill made saynt Barnerde vnto his cosynn the whiche is calde a goldynn pystill for the grete abundannce of gostely fruyte that is contynede in it.

My frende yf ye will come perfitely ...

f. 96^v^ exp.: ... that he of my syns will haue mercye. Amenn.

Jhesu mercy. Lady helpe. JS.[14]

ff. 97^r^-115^r^: the short text of Julian's *Revelations*.

ff. 115^r^-130^r^: *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*, the English translation of John Ruysbroek's treatise.[15]

f. 130^v^ inc.: De triplici genere amoris spiritualis.

The fyrste degre of loue is called insuperabill ...

f. 132^r^ exp.: ... bot ȝif he ware disposede as I was in saule.[16]

Incipit tractatus de diligendo deo.

Amore langueo. Thyr two wordes are writtene ...

f. 132^v^ exp.: ... as is writtene now here aftyre.[17]

Thou that lyste to loue, heelde thy nere ...

f. 135^v^ exp.: ... And fra the neuer twynne botte ay be in thy louynge.

[13] R. Harvey edited these English translations of Rolle: *The Fire of Love, and the Mending of Life*. Both are being re-edited by Margaret Amassian, who is re-examining the attributions to Misyn.

[14] For a transcript, see E. Colledge: 'Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century English Versions of "The Golden Epistle of St. Bernard"'. He no longer thinks, as he did in 1952, that the scribe's 'J.S.' on f. 96^v^ refers to Joanna Sewell of Syon; the script of A antedates her residence there by some forty or fifty years.

[15] Edited J. Bazire and E. Colledge: *The Chastising*, 229-258.

[16] This is a compilation from chapters 8, 9 and 10 of Rolle's *Form of Living* (Hope Emily Allen: *English Writings*, 104-116; *Rolle*, 260). There are numerous omissions, very few additions or major variants, but a markedly inferior text of the *Cantus amoris* (*English Writings*, 107), written as prose. The dialect is of as distinctly Northern quality as is the text in *English Writings*, from MS Cambridge University Library Dd. v. 54.

[17] Part of chapter 7 and the first sentence of chapter 8 of the *Form*; *English Writings*, 103.

Amen.[18] The fyrste degree of lufe is insuperabill, the seconnde insesperabill, the thyrde syngulere.[19]

Formula compendiosa vite spiritualis.

In the felaschippe of sayntis whilke as þe morne sterne schone ...

f. 136^{v} exp.: ... Thise he sayde are the principles of gostely hele. Deo gracias.[20]

ff. 137^{r}-225^{r}: *The Mirror of Simple Souls.*[21]

f. 225^{v} inc.: O glorious trinite in whom is alle godnes ... exp.: ... *and* magnifie euerlastingly with outen ende. Amen. Jhesu merci. Amen.

f. 226^{r} inc.: Sequitur hic quedam introductiua ad contemplacionem ... Qui diuinitatem domini nostri Jhesu Christi contemplari desiderat ...

f. 233^{v} exp.: ... qui est trinus *et* vnus deus benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.[22]

f. 234^{r} inc.: Via ad contemplacionem. Capiat qui potest capere ... Therefore euere new discipull ascende to the perfeccionn of this scyence ...

f. 236^{r} exp.: ... þou hase woundyd my herte in on of thyne eyne. Deo gracias. Amen.[23]

Labure hastely for the tyme is schorte ...

f. 236^{v} exp.: ... than a synnere can haue of hymselfe *et cetera.*[24] God almyghty apered to seynte Bryde sayinge to hyr ...

... *and* in prayers *and* oþer goode dedys, for all/.[25]

[18] *Ego dormio* (*English Writings*, 61-72), with many omissions and unique variants. Hope Allen knew of no other such compilation from *Ego dormio* and the *Form*, and commented: 'It is unlikely that this arrangement, occurring, as far as I know, only in this manuscript, should have been due to Rolle' (*Rolle*, 248).

[19] This sentence repeats the beginning of chapter 8 of the *Form*; *English Writings*, 104. Hope Allen also knew of no other such Rolle compilation as this on ff. 130^{v}-135^{v}, and considered it an editor's work; ibid., 248.

[20] This is from chapter 4 of the English translation of Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*; cf. the Horstman text (from MS Douce 114), *Anglia* 10, 353-355.

[21] Edited by M. Doiron: '"The Mirror of Simple Souls". A Middle English Translation' (basing her text on MS St. John's College Cambridge 71, collated with A and with MS Bodley 505; the St. John's and Bodley manuscripts both belonged to the London Charterhouse).

[22] A compilation which 'includes the greater part of ch. xxxi-xxxvii of the spurious *Liber soliloquiorum animae ad Deum* ... (PL 40 888-898), extracts from St. Bernard, etc.' (BM Catalogue, 156).

[23] Edited and described by Peter Jolliffe: 'Two Middle English Tracts on the Contemplative Life' (MS 37, 1975, 85-121).

[24] A separate piece, though it may well be by the same editor-translator as the preceding one.

[25] Imperfect through the excision of f. 237, this translates part of Bridget of Sweden's *Revelationes* II 16, inc.: Ideo humilia te in omnibus ... (ed. Durante, Munich 1680, 127). The thirteen lines of script of which the first two letters of each line survive on the stub

2 C: the Cressy printed text[26]

Title page: + / XVI / REVELATIONS / OF / Divine Love, / Shewed to a Devout Servant / of our Lord, called / MOTHER JULIANA, / AN / Anchorete of NORWICH: / Who lived in the Dayes of *KING* / *EDWARD* the Third. / Published by *R.F.S. Cressy.* / *Accedite ad Deum et Illuminamini.* Psal. 33 v. 5 / Printed in the Year, *MDCLXX.* / *Permissu Superiorum.*

Pp. 1-215. Collation: title page, A^{2-3} + 1, B^{1-4} + 4 - I^{1-4} + 4, K^{1-4} + 4, O^{1-4} + 4, P^{1-3}, end page, 4 unsigned pages.

Throughout, archaic words are marked with an asterisk or other sign, repeated in the margin with a gloss. Running titles, e.g. (verso) *Revelations of Love*, (recto) *The First Revelation.* Occasionally the recto titles are misnumbered; e.g. pp. 31, 46-47, 49-51.

David Rogers of the Bodleian Library sent this communication: 'Though I cannot name you a printer, I am absolutely certain that Cressy's edition of Julian of Norwich was printed in England, where Cressy seems to have lived between his being sent on the mission in the Southern Province in 1660 and his death at West Grinstead (not East Grinstead, surely, as DNB has it) in 1674. The reason I am so certain is the presence, on the second and third leaves, of a band of small type ornaments known as "printers' flowers". These include a small two-handled vase and two sorts of fleur-de-lys which can all be matched in English books of the same date, but are quite unlike French or Flemish ornaments of the same period. For example, I find what may be the same three small ornaments used in a pamphlet entitled *Toleration disapprov'd and Condemn'd* by William Assheton, printed at Oxford by William Hall in 1670, and again in John Gadbury's *A brief relation of the Life and death of Mr. Vincent Wing*, printed in London in the same year'.

3 P: Paris, MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds anglais 40.[27]

Ff. iii + 1-23, $23^{(bis)}$-174 + i (ruled, blank) — iv, 80 × 117 mm,

---

of f. 237 would be just sufficient to end chapter 16. There are in the English numerous phrases, whether of the translator or from a variant text, not found in Durante's Latin. This is not one of the passages in the manuscript edited by W. P. Cumming. Unlike the other contents of A, this Bridget fragment is non-Northern in dialect, and gives the impression of coming from a quite separate source.

[26] For the purpose of this description the perfect copy at Trinity College, Cambridge (in its original binding with tooled and gilt spine) has been used.

[27] Cf. Gaston Raynaud: *Catalogue des manuscrits anglais de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 15-16.

paper. Ruled 22 lines to the page. Binding nineteenth-century.

The only contents are the long text of the *Revelations*. It is written in a single hand, a sedulous but unskilled and unconvincing imitation, each letter individually formed, of a hand of c. 1500. It is certainly of the seventeenth century, probably c. 1650. There are running titles in red; e.g.(f. 7^{r}) 'The fourthe Chapter *and* the first revelacion'. Red paraphs, chapter initials in blue (with no guide letters). The scribe has written numerous words and phrases in red; these are usually, but not invariably, divine locutions.

Signatures of gatherings: (f. 16^{r}): B; (f. 31^{r}-i.e. 32^{r} with 23$^{(bis)}$): C; (f. 47^{r}): D; (f. 59^{r}):E; (f. 75^{r}): F; (f. 91^{r}):G; (f. 105^{r}): H; (f. 119^{r}):J; (f. 135^{r}): K; (f. 151^{r}): L; (f. 167^{r}): M. Catchwords to almost every page.

The only indication of ownership, in a later hand, f. 1^{r}, is: icy commence le premier chapitre. Léopold Delisle, reprinting the 1706 sale-catalogue for the Bigot library's dispersal, suggested that its item 388, 'Julianae Anatoritae Revelationes, Anglice', is identical with P.[28] Since he informs us that with very few exceptions the Bigot manuscripts were acquired by the Bibliothèque du Roi, and are still preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale,[29] since we know of no other Julian manuscript there, and since the sale-catalogue reproduces the misspelling of P, f. 174^{r}, *anatorite* (cf. 734.28), this is probable if not certain. The collection was begun in the first half of the seventeenth century at Rouen by Jean Bigot, and increased by his son Émeric until he died in 1689, when it was inherited by a cousin, after whose death it was sold.[30] If one of the Bigots did acquire P, it is interesting to speculate whether he recognized it for what it is, a product of his own age, or whether, like the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in the nineteenth century, he took it for some one hundred and fifty years older. There can be no question of P's being a 'forgery' — for that it is much too clumsy and inept — but its antique appearance may have recommended it to an undiscerning bibliophile.

Perforce the readings of P have wherever possible been retained, since, lacking any earlier exemplar of the long text, apart from the fragments in W (less possibly those in U), we have no certain criteria for emendation. But many of P's spellings and 'forms' seem to be no more

[28] *Bibliotheca Bigotiana*, 92.
[29] Ibid., iii.
[30] Ibid., iv-xix.

than an amateurish, Chatterton-like attempt to give the manuscript an appearance of antiquity by capricious departures from the norms of even the seventeenth century.

4 S1: London, MS British Museum Sloane 2499[31]

Ff. 57, 229×369 mm, paper, of poor quality. Recent binding. A sprawling and unattractive but regular hand of c. 1650, which closely resembles that of Mother Clementina Cary, ob. 1671, foundress of the English Benedictine nunnery at Paris, and daughter of Elizabeth, Lady Falkland, to whom, the year before Clementina's death, Cressy was to dedicate his edition. Her copies of the *Constitutions* and of Blosius are now preserved at Colwich Abbey.[32] They both seem more practised and contrived than the Sloane manuscript, but, none the less, the resemblance is close enough to warrant the suggestion that, if the scribes are not identical, their hands were formed in the same school. C. 40 lines to the page. The first eight folios, particularly, can be read only with difficulty, since the ink of either surface obscures the reverse. On f. 1^{r}, '6 5' at the head of the page and '1B' in the right-hand margin may be press-marks earlier than those of the Sloane collection. Several hands have supplied marginal and interlinear corrections and glosses, and one which frequently appears has on f. 19^{v} underlined 'lak' and 'lakid' (cf. 409.13) and written in the margin: 'not liked of, from ye dutch word lacken to dispraise, to blame, being the opposit to ye D word prysen to praise'.

The only contents are the long text of the Revelations, as also in S2.

5 S2: London, MS British Museum Sloane 3705

Ff. i+i, 153×194 mm, paper. Nineteenth-century binding with Sloane arms. C. 23 lines to the page; the margins but not the lines ruled. A regular, flowing, legible hand of the eighteenth century. In an unnumbered folio of the same fine paper, between ff. 87 and 90, are mounted two smaller paper slips, 57×84 mm, numbered 88 and 89. On what are now the versos are drawn (both in black) the ten of diamonds and the ace of spades; on the rectos are what seem to be household recipes, many words in code, in a different, contemporary hand. On

[31] The descriptions of S1 and S2 in Samuel Ayscough's 1782 catalogue do not merit reporting.

[32] Placid Spearritt drew our attention to this resemblance. For Clementina Cary, see Gillow, 1 417.

f. i[r], '111 B' may be an early press-mark. Some contemporary marginal corrections and comments.

6 U: MS St. Joseph's College, Upholland (Lancashire, England)[33]

Ff. 127, 100×155 mm, paper, unruled. The cover is a portion of a vellum leaf with verses of the Psalms with musical notation from a late mediaeval choir office book. Another such leaf is used to bind MS Colwich Abbey 18, which was copied by the English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai c. 1650; and it is beyond any doubt that this Upholland manuscript was written there about the same time. Hywel Owen wrote: 'The manuscript is in four seventeenth-century hands. One of the hands is undoubtedly that of Dame Barbara Constable, the daughter of Sir Philip Constable of Evringham, Yorkshire. Born in 1617, she was professed in 1640 at the abbey of Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai ... and died there in 1684. Since her hand occurs in the first seven and the last three folios (as well as intermittently between) this gives us a dating of 1640-1684 for the manuscript, and indicates that it was copied at Cambrai'.[34]

It is unnecessary here to repeat Hywell Owen's careful identifications of the contents of this manuscript. It is an anthology of Augustine Baker's Englishings, primarily for the benefit of the Cambrai nuns, of a wide selection from mediaeval and post-Reformation spiritual classics, and its chief importance is that it indicates the probability that we must thank Baker, as will be shown below, for the preservation of a complete long text of Julian and for its study in the seventeenth century, culminating in the 1670 printed text edited by his successor among the English Benedictines, Serenus Cressy. Whether Baker acquired his copy, now lost, of the Julian text, as he did that of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, from his fellow-countryman, also living in exile, Benet Canfield,[35] we do not know.

7 W: London, Westminster Archdiocesan Archives MS[36]

Ff. 112, 106×156 mm, vellum. A highly legible, somewhat characterless hand of c. 1500. Nineteenth-century binding. Annotated

[33] Cf. Hywel Wynn Owen: 'Another Augustine Baker Manuscript.'

[34] Ibid., 270.

[35] Placid Spearritt is at work on Augustine Baker, Kent Emery on Benet Canfield, and both scholars promise us studies of the contribution of Baker and Canfield to the revival among seventeenth-century English Catholics of study of the mediaeval mystics.

[36] Cf. James Walsh and Edmund Colledge: *Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and of God* and Betty Foucard: 'A Cathedral Manuscript'; and see also N. R. Ker: *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 1, 418-419.

throughout in hands of the seventeenth century; and some of these notes suggest that, c. 1700, the manuscript was in Catholic hands and was then carefully studied.

Gatherings of eight, indicated by catchwords on ff. 8^{v}, 16^{v}, etc. An older set of folio-numbers mostly lost by cropping; if there were any signatures to the gatherings, these also have been totally lost.

F. 1^{r} inc.: He that wonyth in þe helpe of the hyeste ...
f. 25^{r} exp.: ... I shall loue hym and I shall shewe me vnto hym.[37]
inc.: It is good to shryue to *our* lord god ...
f. 35^{v} exp.: ... wysely and godly in all thyngis.[38]
inc.: Hit nedyth to a soule *þat* wold haue knowyng of goostly thynge*s* ...
f. 72^{r} exp.: ... oþer sothfastenes of þe blessed trinite p*er*teynyng to þis mater þe whiche is ope*n*.[39] (The rest of the page blank.)
f. 72^{v} inc.: Oure gracious *and* goode lorde god shewed me in party ...
f. 112^{v} exp.: ... in this blessed beholdyng as often as we may *and* as long.[40]

Reference to the critical apparatus of the long text will show how this last item, a series of short extracts from Julian, is composed.

II Scribes and Owners of Manuscripts and of the Printed Text

1 A

It has already been stated that all that we know certainly about the ownership of A is that it bears the monogram of James Grenehalgh, and that this does not necessarily mean that A was in the Sheen monastic library or privately owned there. There is some slight evidence that Grenehalgh may at one time have been resident in the London monastery; after his removal from Sheen he was first at Coventry and thereafter at Hull, and there are surviving printed and manuscript books which he destined for Syon (though A lacks their distinguishing mark, a 'J.S.' or 'J.G.S.' monogram in his hand to draw some passage to the attention of his Syon confidante, Joanna Sewell).[41] But many of

[37] Cf. B. Wallner: *An Exposition*, 2-50.

[38] Cf. Wallner, 51-92. Wallner's edition appeared before the existence and contents of W were announced. He edited the two texts from five manuscripts, all probably earlier than W. These commentaries on *Qui habitat* and *Bonum est* have been attributed to Walter Hilton, but there is no manuscript tradition to support this.

[39] A compilation from Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*

[40] The compilation from Julian's *Revelations*.

[41] James Walsh and Edmund Colledge have had at press for a number of years with

the contents suggest that this anthology was edited by the Carthusians; the English *Mirror of Simple Souls* and what there is of an English Ruysbroek canon can be shown to owe their existence to them.

The presence in A but in no other known manuscript of Julian's short text suggests that after the long text was composed and put into circulation the earlier version was either suppressed or forgotten. As do other texts in A, this indicates an editor with an eye for rarities in the literature of contemplation.

The first post-Reformation indication of ownership is the inscription, f. 1^{r}, 'Vincit Winge his Booke'. The only Vincent Wings mentioned in DNB are the astronomer (1619-1668), his father, of North Luffenham, Rutland, and his son.

In the mid-eighteenth century, A was in the possession of Francis Peck, rector of Godeby by Melton in Leicestershire and author of *Academia tertia anglicana*. The preface to this work shows Peck to have been an indefatigable collector of mediaeval documents, so that he can compare himself with Eumnestes in *The Faerie Queene*:

> Whose chamber all was hang'd about with Rolls,
> Some made in Books, some in long Parchment Scrolls,
> That were all worm-eaten and full of Cankerholes.

Francis Blomefield, in the second volume of his *Norfolk*, describing St. Julian's Church in Norwich, wrote:

> In the East Part of this Church-yard stood an *Anchorage*, in which an *Ankeress* or *Recluse* dwelt 'till the Dissolution, when the House was demolished, tho' the Foundations may still be seen: In 1393, Lady *Julian* the *Ankeress* here, was a strict *Recluse*, and had 2 Servants to attend her in her old Age, A^{o} 1443. This Woman in those Days, was esteemed one of the greatest Holynesse. The Rev. Mr. *Francis Peck*, Author of the Antiquities of *Stanford*, had an old Vellum Mss. 36 4to Pages of which, contain'd an Account of the Visions &c. of this Woman, which begins thus, 'Here es a Vision schewed be the Goodenes of God, to a devoute Woman, and hir name is Julian, that is *Recluse* atte Norwyche, and yitt ys on Life, Anno Domini M. CCCC. XLII. In the whilke Vision er fulle many comfortabyll Wordes & greatly styrrande to alle they that desyres to be Crystes Looverse'.[42]

---

the *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* their edition of MS Pembroke College Cambridge 221, Richard Methley's Latin translations of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls* which contain much editorial work by Grenehalgh; Edmund Colledge and Michael Sargent are preparing an account of MS Douai Bibliothèque Municipale 396, also considerably edited by Grenehalgh; Michael Sargent is at work on a comprehensive study of the printed and manuscript books owned and edited by Grenehalgh.

[42] *Norfolk* 2 546.

Blomefield's '36 4to Pages' corresponds with the numeration of the Julian text in A, ff. 97^{r}-115^{r}; and the close agreement of his transcript of the opening lines with those in A, preserving spellings such as 'styrrande', 'looverse' and the form 'to alle they', cannot be fortuitous. It will be observed that whoever made the transcript has correctly interpreted the ambiguous first coloured initial as giving 'Here'. It is true that the date is wrong by forty years, but that is merely because the transcriber substituted 'l' for 'i', a very common source of error.

Blomefield published his second *Norfolk* volume in 1745, two years after Peck's death. We learn from Thomas Secombe[43] that Peck's widow retired to Harlaxton in Lincolnshire, where she died about 1758, in which year Peck's books were sold by auction.[44] From an older binding is still preserved the bookplate of William Constable. How A came into his possession is unknown. Joseph Gillow indicates that it was his father, Cuthbert Constable, 'the Catholic Mæcenas of his age', who formed the Burton Constable collection of books and manuscripts.[45] Cuthbert died in 1748, and was succeeded by William, who died without issue. That this Julian manuscript should have come to be owned by the Constable family, some of whose daughters had been distinguished members of the Cambrai and Paris English Benedictine communities,[46] so active in the preservation and dissemination of the long text, is a remarkable accident; but it seems to be no more than that.

2 C: Serenus Cressy[47]

Hugh Paulinus Cressy (who later took the religious name 'Serenus') was born in 1603 or 1605, probably at Wakefield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where he was baptized, the son of Hugh Cressy, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and of Margery, daughter of Thomas d'Oylie. He was

[43] 'Peck, Francis (1692-1743)' (DNB).

[44] John Nichols: *Literary Anecdotes*, 3 655.

[45] *Biographical Dictionary*, 1 548-549.

[46] Dame Barbara Constable was professed at Cambrai in 1640; Dame Mary Joseph Constable was professed at Paris after 1695 and died there in 1767. When the Paris community was released from imprisonment in April, 1795, and returned to England, one of their number was Dame Frances Sheldom, a connexion of William Constable. We owe this information to Dame Eanswith Edwards of Stanbrook Abbey and Dame Edith Street of Colwich Abbey.

[47] The whole of this information concerning Cressy has been generously furnished by Placid Spearritt. See also his valuable article, 'The Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality among the Exiled English Black Monks'.

educated at Wakefield Grammar School and at Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1623, M.A. in 1627. He was elected at Merton College as a probationer in 1625 and as a fellow in 1627. At an unknown date he received Anglican orders, and was thereafter, on the recommendation of Archbishop Laud, made chaplain to Thomas, Lord Wentworth, later earl of Strafford. Some years before Strafford's fall, he had become chaplain to Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, whom he accompanied to Ireland. There he was appointed successively prebendary of St. Patrick's and Christ Church, Dublin, and dean of Leighlin; but in 1639 he returned to England, where he became in 1642 a canon of Windsor. It would seem that he enjoyed the benefits of few or none of these preferments because of the Civil War.

Falkland had a house at Burford near Oxford, where Cressy often stayed, and where he became acquainted with Cuthbert Fursden, O.S.B., a disciple of Augustine Baker, whom Falkland's mother Elizabeth, who had been reconciled to the Catholic Church, maintained as a chaplain. All her four daughters, including Dame Clementia Cary, became nuns at Cambrai. After Falkland's death at the battle of Newbury and the rapid decline of Royalist fortunes, Cressy's High Church principles forced him to leave the country. About 1645 he went abroad on the grand tour as tutor to Charles Berkely, later Lord Falmouth. In the next year he was publicly converted to Catholicism in Rome. Thereafter he studied at the Sorbonne. In 1647 he published in Paris his *Exomologesis,* a justification of his reconciliation. At first he wanted to join the French Carthusians and to separate himself altogether from English speakers; however, it was to the exiled English Carthusians at Nieuport, 'Sheen Anglorum', that he first went. He was discouraged from pursuing their vocation because of his marked literary abilities. Instead, in 1648 he joined the English Benedictines at Douai, where he was professed in 1649, ordained in 1651, and in that year or the next sent as chaplain to the newly-founded house of English Benedictine nuns in Paris. In 1652 he went as subprior to St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard; from 1653 to 1660 he was again at Douai, where he wrote ascetical, historical and polemical works. In 1660 he joined the mission in England, and was established at Somerset House as a chaplain to Charles II's queen, Catherine of Braganza. In 1669 he received honorary appointment as titular prior of Rochester; and he spent his last years in the house of Richard Caryll at West Grinstead, where he died on 10 August, 1674.

Although Cressy's sojourn with the nuns in Paris was so brief, it is virtually certain that it was there that he began work on his Julian

edition, as we shall see when what is known of the provenance and ownership of P, S1, S2 and U is summarized.

The prefatory epistle 'To the Reader' in the Cressy 1670 edition states that it has been produced at the expense of 'a more Venerable Abbot of our Nation'; and there is a marginal note to this, 'The V(ery) R(everend) F(ather) Jo(hn) Guscoyn L(ord) Abbot of Lambspring'. This was John Placid Gascoigne (1599-1681), a younger son of John Gascoigne, a Yorkshire Catholic created a Nova-Scotian baronet in 1635, and of Anne, daughter of John Ingleby. John Placid's third sister, Catherine, became abbess of Cambrai, and his sixth sister, Justina, was prioress of Paris when she died in 1690. His eldest brother, Thomas, and his wife, Anne, daughter of John Symeon, had among their children Catherine, who became prioress of Paris, and Frances, a nun at Cambrai.

MS Ampleforth 165, Peter Allanson's *Biography of the English Benedictines,* has some unenthusiastic things to say about Abbot Placid. He ruled over Lambspring for more than thirty years, and was best remembered for his implacable opposition to all the efforts of the English Congregation to make his office, like all their others, tenable for four years only. Allanson writes that he 'was much given to Literature himself, but was no ways solicitous in promoting learning among his subjects, and is handed down as being regardless of learning in those whom he admitted to their Profession', and he castigates the abbot's 'inactivity and apathy'.

This being so, it is probably not unjust to suspect that it was his family ties at Cambrai and Paris which won the abbot's help for the Cressy printed edition.

For two centuries after its appearance, Cressy's printed text was the only source of information for scholars, Blomefield and his report of A excepted. Cressy's work was known to some European theologians. The Protestant Pierre Poiret, who had detailed knowledge of Augustine Baker, Benet Canfield and Gertrude More, has, in his 'Catalogus Auctorum Mysticorum', an entry *'Julianae*, Matris Anachoretae, Revelationes de amore Dei. *Anglice.* Theodidactae, profundae, estaticae'.[48] Gerhard Tersteegen, whose spiritual reading as a young man had been guided by Poiret's works,[49] assures us that Poiret knew of Julian through Cressy,[50] who is the source also of Tersteegen's well-

[48] *Bibliotheca mysticorum*, 336.
[49] 'Tersteegen, Gerhard,' (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 37, 577).
[50] *Auserlesene Lebensbeschreibungen* 3, 252 note a.

informed and perceptive account of her.[51] He shows how highly he esteemed her in his artless verses:

> Von scharfer Reinigung und hohem Gott-Beschauen
> A Cruce weisslich redt;
> Mechtild und Julian vom kindlichen Vertrauen,
> Theresa vom Gebet;[52]

and the success of his translated extracts may be judged by this one quotation:

> Es sagte unser guter Herr zu mir, fragende: Bist du wohl damit zufrieden, dass ich für dich gelitten habe? Ich sagte: Ja, guter Herr, ich sage dir Dank davor; ja, guter Herr, gesegnet müssest du seyn. Darnach sagte Jesus, unser guter Herr: Wann du zufrieden bist, dann bin ich auch zufrieden: es ist mir eine Freude, eine Glückseligkeit, und ein unendliches Wohlgefallen, dass ich mein Leiden für dich ausgestanden habe. Und wenn ich mehr hätte leiden mögen, ich würde mehr gelitten haben.[53]

Cressy's text was reprinted in 1843 by G. H. Parker, and again in 1902 with a preface by George Tyrrell; but original work on Julian began only in 1877, when H. Collins published his modernization of S1. This was followed in 1901 by Grace Warrack's version of S1, published with an excellent introduction which has well stood the test of time, and has been used (not, invariably, with due acknowledgment) by many later writers. When she first wrote, A, of the existence of which she knew from Blomefield, was thought to be lost; but in 1911, two years after it had been acquired by the British Museum, Dundas Harford's modernized version of the short text appeared. Many other such versions have since been published; as the celebrations in Norwich in 1973 to commemorate the six hundredth anniversary of her revelations demonstrated, Julian's popularity does not diminish.

3 Seventeenth-Century Copies of the Long Text

C, P, S1 and U are, all four, roughly contemporary; even U could have been written after C's appearance in 1670, since Barbara Constable, one of its scribes, lived for another fourteen years. Hywel Owen has shown conclusively that it was written at Cambrai; how it journeyed from there to Upholland we do not know. We cannot assign S1

[51] Ibid. 3, 251-274.
[52] Ibid. 3, 6.
[53] Ibid. 3, 257; cf. 382.3-383.8.

to any one house, but the variety of hands correcting and commenting on it suggest that it was written in a religious community and thereafter much used; and the note, already described in I 4, on f. 19^{v}, correctly glossing the noun and verb 'lack', suggesting (as does NED) that the word in Middle English may have been borrowed from Middle Dutch, and adducing as antonyms Dutch 'laaken' and 'prijsen', must have been written by someone concerned to make the language of a mediaeval English spiritual writer comprehensible, and competent enough in Dutch to make this most accurate observation. Very clearly, this points to the circle of Augustine Baker and his successors, living and working in the border-towns between France and the Low Countries with their mixed French and Dutch-speaking populations. The inscription on f. 1^{r} of P suggests that it came to the Bibliothèque Nationale from private French ownership; it may be that it was before in the conventual library of either Cambrai or Paris. The close affinities of the texts of S1 and S2 suggest that S2 originated in the same house as S1.

In several places we have indications that P was copied from a manuscript in which words thought archaic had been glossed, and that the P scribe could not distinguish between archaism and modernization. 432.5-6, P reads: *for I was nott tho taught in thys tyme,* 'for I was not then taught at this time'. C, SS omit 'tho', nor is the word found in A (252.15-16); but we may conjecture that the ancestor of the long-text manuscripts read 'for I was nott tho taught', and that 'in thys tyme' was later supplied as a gloss to 'tho'. That the corresponding short text agrees with C, SS suggests that the gloss was supplied from it. P seems to have copied the whole blindly, and it was probably a later hand which cancelled 'tho'. So too with 464.42, 43, *interly inwardly* (cf. note); and in this case there has been no subsequent cancellation.

We have some evidence to show that the nuns' libraries in Cambrai and Paris did possess such copies of Julian. What is now MS Colwich Abbey 18, copied at Cambrai about 1650, bound in a piece of the same office book as supplied the cover for U, reads, p. 155: 'Thou hast saide, O Lorde, to a deere childe of thine, Lette me alone, my deare worthy childe, intende (or attende) to mè, I am inough to thee, reioice in thy Sauiour and Saluation (this was spoken to Iulian the Ankress of[54] norw(ich), as appeareth by the booke of her reuelations)'. This is found in 'Gascoigne B', a work composed by Dame Margaret Gascoigne, born 1608, professed at Cambrai 1629, died 1637;[55] and it establishes that there was a text of the *Revelations* at Cambrai some time before 1637,

[54] Ms: or.

[55] Cf. Gillow, 'Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai', 43.

earlier (in the present editors' opinion) than the writing of P, and certainly earlier than S1. If it was under Baker's guidance that Margaret Gascoigne was introduced to the text (that is, before he left Cambrai for Douai in 1633), it is very probable that he himself made a modernized, easily readable version, as he had done with the *Cloud* and the writings of William Flete and Walter Hilton.[56] In the quotation (from chapter 36 — cf. 439.47), the informative comment in parentheses much resembles Baker's editorial style. As Hywel Owen has observed, 'If a Baker modernization of the *Revelations* is found in the treatise of a Cambrai nun before 1637, then it follows that the version in U, itself a Cambrai manuscript, is more than likely to be from the same Baker modernization, since the possibility of there being two such versions, independent of each other, is very remote'.[57]

But a glance at the present edition of P will show that it is no such modernization. It is the work of a not especially gifted antiquarian, more concerned, we may suspect, with appearance and form than meaning. This at once absolves Augustine Baker of having any hand in its preparation or circulation. MS Mazarine 4058, quoted below, specifies that the Julian manuscript in its catalogue is not by him.

It will be seen from the long text's critical apparatus that in a number of places (notably 302.36, 303.43, 311.13, 333.81, 334.91, 335.95, 364.48, 411.27, 411.31, 474.65, 477.23, 509.44, 520.82, 521.98, 561.9, 570.9, 572.20, 576.7, 589.4, 615.13, 619.6) P's readings have been emended by correctors. One of them, it seems, collated P after the appearance of C with the printed text, others with a text of the type of S1 and S2.

There is independent evidence[58] that in Paris Julian's writings were available to the sisters. MS Mazarine 4058 (unfoliated) is entitled 'A Catalogue of the Manuscript bookes belonging to the Liberary of the English Benedictine Nunnes of our B. Lady of Good Hope in paris'. Among 'The Maniscripts which belongs not to the venerable Father Augustine Bakers Workes' is listed 'The Reuelations of Sainte Julian'. Placid Spearritt points out that in deciding whether this could be P, S1 or S2, 'one criterion would be the presence of the usual ownership formula on the fly-leaf: This Booke belongs to ye English Benedictine Nunnes ...; but none of the three manuscripts has such a mark. MS Mazarine 4057, a catalogue of the nuns' library dated 1702, has, under

[56] Cf. Hywel Owen, 'Another Augustine Baker Manuscript', 275-279.
[57] Ibid., 280.
[58] First brought to our notice by Placid Spearritt.

press-mark 12. M. 27, 'Mo: Juliana XVI Revelations publish'd by F. S. Cressy 1670'.

Doubtless other records would show that most Benedictine libraries, overseas and then, after the French Revolution, in England, possessed copies of Cressy. It was Benedictine devotion to Julian which preserved knowledge of her work (a few antiquarians such as Peck and Blomefield apart), and it was they who awarded her the 'beatificatio aequipollens', calling her 'Saint' and 'Blessed'. There may well be an unconscious reminiscence of her *Revelations* recorded in an anecdote concerning the deathbed of William Bernard Ullathorne, first archbishop of Birmingham, sixty-six years after he had first entered Downside, where he had been professed and ordained. A witness reported: 'When the prayers of the dying were being recited, at the words "From the snares of the devil deliver him, O Lord", he interjected "The devil's an ass"';[59] Julian's story (cf. 228.41 e.s., 346.24 e.s.) of how knowledge of the devil's impotence made her laugh aloud, so that all who thought that they were assisting at her last moments laughed with her, is surely too singular and too close to this for mere coincidence. Furthermore, we have direct evidence that Ullathorne had studied some of the mediaeval English mystics. The Benedictine Robert Ephram Guy tells us in his preface to his modernization of *The Scale of Perfection* that Ullathorne, when shown a specimen of it, expressed his approval both of Guy's choice of text: '... the Ladder of Perfection ... is perhaps the clearest, best balanced, and best adapted for wide circulation of any of them ('our old ascetic works')', and of his style, which the archbishop found more faithful to the original than Cressy's.[60] And the Oscott copy of the Worde 1519 *Scale* (a considerable rarity, not found in Pollard and Redgrave or the BM Catalogue) was given to the college library by Ullathorne.[61]

III Relations Between the Short and Long Texts

The biographical information in the first lines of the short text seems to have been supplied by another hand and to witness to the editing to which the short text, no less than the long, was subjected. Julian herself gives us the following chronology: the revelations were received on May 13, 1373 (285.3), when she was thirty and a half years old (207.1, 289.2),

[59] Cuthbert Butler; *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne*, 2 295.
[60] *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection*, xlvii.
[61] Ibid., xxxix; Dorothy Jones, *Minor Works*, xxvi-xxvii.

after which she meditated upon them for fifteen years or more (732.14), before producing her second version. We may suppose, though we cannot prove, that the short text was recorded soon after the event. There seems no reason for her to attach special importance to the year 1413, or for us to assume that it was only later, more than forty years afterwards, that the long text was first recorded. Rather, the preface in A suggests a scribe with local knowledge producing copies as they were required; and that he was free still to copy the short text also suggests that he was not working under Julian's own direction.

We have no guarantee that in A there is a descendant of Julian's own first account of her visions, recorded without any comparison with the second, longer version.[62] There is one place where the evidence seems irrefrangible that before A was copied there had been collation of the two versions. Where A reads

> ... þat sche behelde hyre god, that ys hir makere, mervelande with grete reuerence that he wolde be borne of hir that was a sympille creature of his makynge. For this was hir mervelynge, that he that was hir makere walde be borne of hir that was a sympille creature of his makynge. And this wysdome of trowthe ...

the text has been emended (cf. 214.30), since the second sentence is obviously the result of dittography, the careless repetition of what had already been written. But the same mistake is found in C, P and W (though not in SS; cf. 297.34). Whether this result of scribal error was introduced into the long text from the short or vice versa we cannot say; but manifestly there has been 'lateral contamination', and the evidence of W shows that it took place in the fifteenth century. That the defective reading is not found in SS is probably because of the S1 scribe's intelligent perception.

Within the manuscripts of the long text, S1 (and this will apply also to S2, which seems to be a discreetly modernized transcript of S1) is independent of P and also of C. This can be demonstrated from cruces where the editors have had recourse to S1 to restore to P the sense of the original. In the present text, *yerning* (302.36), *geyn (makyng)* (330.55), *foreseing* (337.9) all make notable improvement upon P; and in *clongyn* (357.10) we have the only witness (not excluding A) which has not reduced what Julian must have written to nonsense. It has already been suggested that Cressy for his version, close though it usually is to P, may

[62] The suggestion that there may be 'long text' readings in A, never to our knowledge previously made, was first advanced to us by Frances Beer.

have consulted a now lost modernization by Baker ; but S1 preserves many archaisms which such a modernization might replace ; e.g. *vnderfongyn* (287.23), *tempests* (287.28), *vnyd* (300.20), *sweeme* (319.31). S1 and P may well derive, though not immediately, from the same pre-Dissolution manuscript of the long text, but neither derives from the other.

Beyond this, the editors find it as impossible as Hywel Owen did [63] to pronounce on the inter-relations between the witnesses of the long text, except that with the obvious exception of W they all, somehow, seem to derive from Cambrai or Paris.

In the short text we can perceive the rudiments of the structure which Julian would evolve more completely for the long. She has clearly in mind what was the sequence of the revelations, and their distinctions. But, except for two passing references to 'this fyrste schewynge' (217.4) and 'the fyrst syght' (218.18), there is no indication that the sequence was numbered, as is that of the chapters in the long text. But in twenty-five places in A the scribe indicates a new section by beginning a new line and leaving space for a coloured initial, which the limner, not always correctly, supplies. When we observe that in twelve instances these incipits correspond with those of new revelations or chapters in the long text (i = 2, ii = 3, viii = III 11, x = VIII 16, xii = 22, xiii = X 24, xiv = 29, xv = 31, xix = XIV 41, xxii = 68, xxiii = 69, xxv = 74), we are left with little doubt that the A scribe is preserving an arrangement originally devised by Julian; and accordingly the editors have supplied these short-text 'chapters' with small Roman numeration. There can be no doubt that in the long text the division into sixteen 'showings' is Julian's work, whilst she was so carefully scrutinizing and revising what she had first written. So long as she adheres to the sequence and the subject-matter of the short text, she does not employ cross-references; it is significant how many of such cross-references (e.g. 331.64, 419.30, 427.9, 466.54, 566.11, 572.19, 580.52, 632.4, 692.32-33) occur in passages which have no correspondence with the first version. We may judge that it is not merely the greater length of the second version which accounts for the system which she employs in it. Such a passage as:

> Plentuously, fully and swetely was this shewde; and it is spoken of in the furst, wher it seyde we be all in hym beclosyd, and he is beclosyd in vs. And that is spoken of in the xvi shewyng, where he seyth he syttyth in oure soule ... (580.51),

[63] 'Another Augustine Baker Manuscript', 276-278.

testifies to the meditative processes which had endowed Julian with her perception of the unity of the revelations and the relevance of each to the others, so that finally she can write of the last that it is 'conclusyon and confirmation to all the xv' (632.4). To demonstrate this, she needed to number them, so that she could make such references as:

> and that shewde he in the ixth, where he sayth: It is a joy, a blysse, an endlesse lykyng to me that evyr I sufferd passion for the. And this is the blysse of Cristes werkes, and thus he menyth ther he seyth in the same shewyng: We be his blysse ... (419.30)

and, where necessary, anticipate — 'in the xvi shewyng, as I shall sey' (572.19 and note).

One aspect of the relations between the two texts must be considered, four major discrepancies between the two differently-presented narratives.

The first of these dislocations occurs in chapter 4 of the long text or in the corresponding portion of the short:

> *and than I sayde: Benedicite dominus ... and agaynes alle gostelye enmyes* (210.16-211.27)

corresponds with

> *In this same tyme that I saw this sight ... that is made betweene my god and me* (299.2-300.22).
>
> *In this god brought oure ladye ... botte the blyssede manhede of Criste* (213.24-214.36)

corresponds with

> *In this he brought our ladie ... but the blessed manhood of Christ, as to my sight* (297.28-298.40).
>
> *This lytille thynge that es made ... me thought it myght hafe fallene for litille* (214.36-39)

corresponds with

> *This little thing that is made, me thought it might haue fallen to nought for littlenes* (300.23).

It will be seen that in the short text the 'bodily sight' of the hazel nut comes first, and is followed by the 'ghostly and bodily sight' of Mary; Julian says that she saw that Mary is greater than the rest of creation, Christ's humanity alone excepted, she implies that creation is symbolized by the hazel-nut she had been shown, and she repeats that it was so small that it could have perished. In the long text, however, the vision of Mary comes first; there is no allusion there to the hazel-nut,

the vision of which comes second, so that the remark that it was so small that it could have perished appears only once.

So far as sense and doctrine are concerned, either text is acceptable. Stylistically, the longer text seems superior. It will be seen that in the account of the vision of Mary in both texts occurs the repetition through dittography already remarked. If some scribe-editor, engaged in the preparation of a revision (whether of the long text or the short), committed this error, and if his work thereafter was regarded as so authoritative that the other text must be made to conform to it, that would account for the mistake's appearance in either text.

The second dislocation affects the text of chapters 8 and 9 of the long text and of the corresponding portion of the short.

Alle this blyssede techynge of oure lorde god ... than I can or maye telle it zowe (224.1-7).

corresponds with

All this ... then I can or may tell it (323.29-34).

And in alle this I was mekylle styrrede ... and nathynge in specyalle (224.8-11)

corresponds with

In alle this I was much steryde ... was shewde in generalle (319.22-24).

Of alle that I sawe ... and syekernes in saule (224.12-14)

corresponds with

and of all the syght that I saw ... and syckernes in soule (313.31-34).

Than sayde I to the folke ... to hafe dyed (224.14-225.20)

corresponds with

Than sayde I to them ... to haue dyed (319.25-30).

And aftyr this ... me nedyd na lyght botte hym (225.21-29)

corresponds with

And after this ... thou nedyth none but him (324.3-325.14).

All that has happened here is that in one text or the other several brief reflections on the nature or the teachings of the revelations have been differently but quite harmlessly redistributed, doing no violence to the narrative.

The third dislocation, of a single passage only, affecting chapter 20 of the long text and its equivalent in the short, is as follows:

And thus sawe I my lorde Jhesu ... fullyest noghthede and witterlyest dyspyside (237.6-238.15)

corresponds with

And thus saw I oure lorde Jhesu ... foulest condempnyd and vtterly dyspysed (374.2-375.9).

Botte the loue ... and evere schalle be with owtynn any ende (238.15-19)

corresponds with

The loue ... and shall be without ende (386.46-387.49).

And sodaynlye ... And I was fulle merye (239.1-5)

corresponds with

sodenly ... And I was fulle mery (379.6-11).

Since the long text's additions in chapter 20 are as closely concerned with the Passion and its fruits as is the corresponding short text, the reflection on the topic in 238.15-19, 386.46-387.49 is as relevant in one place as in the other.

The fourth dislocation affects three widely separate places in the long text, chapters 40, 47 and 64.

he is so vnmyghttye ... for he sees nought (262.64-66)

corresponds with

He is vnmyghty ... for he seeth not (496.17-20).

and thann wenes he ... that þou erte commen (262.68-75)

corresponds with

then we wene ... thou arte come (454.5-455.13).

Before this tyme ... it schalle be nouȝt (263.1-264.25)

corresponds with

Afore this tyme ... shall be nought (619.5-622.30).

Again, this reflection is as congruent in its long-text context as in the other, and we are in no position to judge whether Julian herself may not have been responsible for its later transposition. But, whoever carried it out, plainly this and the three other cases considered (they are by no means the only instances of such transpositions, but their length and their content allow them best to be evaluated) are not the result of carelessness or mishap. Two manuscripts of *The Chastising of God's Children* have a curious dislocation which can be clearly seen to result from one leaf in a now lost ancestor having been excised from its gathering and replaced out of order. The consequence is two long dislocations of the text; but they are of equal length, and there are

junctures of word-groups which give no sense.[64] Neither circumstance obtains in these cases; whoever made these changes did so with deliberation.

What has so far been considered seems to result from later scribes' manipulations of their copy-texts; but there is clear internal evidence that Julian herself rewrote her second version at least once, and that the process of revision followed illumination which she received about the meaning and congruence of showings which she for long had not understood, and mention of which she had therefore suppressed in the short text and also in her first draft of the long. She tells us that what we now have as the long text was not begun before 1388 (732.14). Comparison of the two texts shows, as the annotations indicate at the relevant places, how much was added to the short text, usually in the form of theological reflections; but there are certain additions which amplify her original account of what had been shown to her. The most notable of these additions is chapter 51, the allegory of the lord and the servant; and this cannot have been composed before March, 1393:

> For twenty yere after the tyme of the shewyng saue thre monthys I had techyng inwardly as I shall sey: It longyth to the to take hede to alle þe propertes and the condescions that were shewed in the example, though þe thyngke that it be mysty and indefferent to thy syght. I assentyd wylfully with grett desyer, seeing inwardly with avysement all the poyntes and the propertes that were shewed in the same tyme, as ferforth as my wytt and my vnderstandyng wylle serve, begynnyng my beholdyng at the lorde and at þe servannt (520.86).

This indicates plainly why the allegory does not appear in the short text: when that was written, she did not understand the *example,* which was *mysty,* and therefore thought that it could be treated as *indefferent,* that it could be omitted and forgotten. But this was not what happened. She has just before written of the 'three properties' of her showings: the first, that from their very reception she had had from them 'the beginning of teaching', the second, that she continued to receive further enlightenment, the third that *alle the hole revelation fro the begynnyng to the ende ... oure lorde god of his goodnes bryngyth oftymes frely to the syght of my vnderstondyng* (520.78). Later it will be observed how closely this accords with other definitions, regarded as authoritative, of what are the marks of authentic private divine revelation; and one sign will be that such revelations are integral.

[64] *Chastising,* 18-19.

We may deduce that the years 1388-1393 were spent in the composition of the long text's 'first edition', which now had to be revised and converted into the second, to present the revelations in their entirety, from a further piece of evidence. Chapter 1 of the long text is a summary, revelation by revelation, of the contents. In the annotations to this chapter the editors have shown the criteria, theological and stylistic, which have led them to the opinion that this is Julian's own work. But when in that chapter she describes Revelation XIV, all that we read is:

> The xiiii is that our lord god is grownd of our beseking. Heer in was seen two fayer properties. That one is rightfull preaier; that other is verie trust, which he will both be one lyke large. And thus our praier liketh him, and he of his goodnes fullfillyth it (284.43).

This is the only summary in chapter 1 in which each revelation's notable visions and locutions are not alluded to; this deals only with the matter of the meditative chapters 41-43, and with none of the rest of Revelation XIV as we now have it. The editors conclude from this that when chapter 1 was composed, Julian had before her the 'first edition', and that it contained neither the lord-and-servant allegory nor the long following exposition of her understanding of the doctrine of 'God our Mother'. Later it will be shown how logically in her thinking the allegory led to the exposition in this, which is surely Julian's final account of her revelations, the long text's second edition.

It remains to be said that A, no less than the copies of the long text, offers us abundant evidence of the care which Julian herself and her scribe-editors spent on the presentation of her work. It is true that of all the major Middle English spiritual treatises the *Revelations* seems to have been least circulated, least popular; but, against that, it has been preserved for us in manuscript versions of an exceptional accuracy and purity.

IV Relations Between the Long Text Witnesses

By the time all the witnesses had been collated, the editors had come to see that in choosing their copy-text, they needed to concern themselves with only two manuscripts, P and S1. Although P evidently was not written with the intention that it should be so used (plainly, it was designed as a companion in a library for mediaeval devotional manuals), none the less C was taken directly from it; and U probably was taken from C. Just as plainly, S2 derives directly from S1, though

the S2 scribe seems to have collated with C as the work progressed. Thus we have only two independent witnesses.

P and S1 exhibit separate characteristics, and cannot be descended from any immediate common ancestor. This can best be shown by the confusion about where Revelation XV, chapter 64 should begin. It seems that both manuscripts derive from one in which the title showing this had accidentally been omitted, so that later scribes, remarking the failure, had to make their own decisions. One such, the ancestor of P or P itself, ended his chapter 63 at 618.47: *that alle manner thyng shall be welle*. Another, S1's ancestor or S1, ended at 619.4: *shulde be brougt agayne in to hym by grace*. The editors, it will be seen (619.1 e.s.) consider that both choices are wrong. Other instances of such textual crises differently solved will be found at 362.21, 371.22, 379.1-2, 449.4, 461.19, 547.14.

Frequently it has been possible to emend, where P is evidently mistaken in a reading, in the light of S1's superior transmission. Examples of this are at 302.36, 331.66, 335.95, 357.10, 474.68 (=669.40), 497.29, 544.315, 549.40 (=640.10, 709.17), 552.77, 556.22, 575.54, 659.1. Only rarely, in such conflicts, is P demonstrably superior — e.g. 348.22, 440.49, 622.32. At 473.58, 689.7, both manuscripts are patently wrong.

But in very many cases P and S1 offer differing readings equally acceptable; and in almost every such instance P has not been emended. There was never any serious question but that P must be chosen as the basic text. It is the work of a not very intelligent copyist, anxious to transcribe faithfully what was before him. (For convention's sake, and in the lack of positive evidence, we call the P and SS scribes 'he', though it is highly probable that they, as certainly were the four scribes of U, were nuns at Cambrai or Paris). S1 was written on quite different principles; it is an eclectic mixture of preserved archaic forms and modernizations, most of them well-informed and perceptive (although a few archaisms defeated the scribe — e.g. 289.7, 319.31), and it — and, consequently, S2 — are marred throughout by the persistent omission of words and phrases which the scribe — or his copy — had deemed superfluous to the sense, but which destroys Julian's rhetorical figures, which are integral to her thought.

Accordingly, this critical edition has been based on P; and in presenting it, the editors have perforce been guided by a conservative policy. One of the chief difficulties offered by P is its orthography, which is eccentric and erratic. Partly, this seems to have been because of a desire to make the finished product appear as 'mediaeval' as possible, but,

even more, because of uncertainty as to how English of any epoch should be written. (If our guess as to the scribe's identity were correct, we might speculate whether she had not when young been sent abroad with little or no schooling, and, thereafter, had received insufficient formal instruction in writing). Had it been decided to emend P's work, it would have been virtually impossible to establish canons for such emendations; and the result would have been a text with scarcely an unemended line. Instead, it was judged better to transmit P, wherever possible, as it is, and, when its state is likely to present readers with serious difficulties, to give them the help, in the apparatus, of the C and SS spellings, or, in the last resort, of editorial comment in the annotations.

Here C is above all useful, for without question we have in Cressy's text a highly literate and intelligent man's presentation of what P had written (or, occasionally, what he thought P had written — 312.25, 313.34, 339.34, 354.9, 355.12, 674.27 are all nonsense-readings of his). The frequency with which he copies P's errors is alone guarantee that it was P and no other which served as his copy-text; e.g. 495.2, 585.30, 633.17, 640.10 (=640.11), 653.35, 678.3, 680.19, 684.8, 693.39, 698.17. Often this involves him in P's disagreements with SS; of this, *awne/geyn* (330.55) is the clearest example. Sometimes C has achieved a reading superior to P's by independent criticism; e.g. 356.28, 542.302, 558.37, 720.29.

The fidelity of the text of S2 to that of S1 leaves no doubt that the younger manuscript was copied from the older; and this is clearly shown at 684.1 in S1, where the scribe had omitted the chapter heading and number, which S2's scribe has supplied in the elegant capital Roman numerals which appear throughout S2. Many of S1's archaisms have been modernized; and it would seem that, linguistically, the S2 scribe was something of a purist (e.g. 310.2, 315.56).

W, the only pre-Dissolution witness of the long text, offers little help towards criticism; textually and linguistically it is colourless, but none the less it is clear that it derives from an ancestor which it shares with SS but not with P; e.g. 305.22, 307.45, 384.24-385.25.

Even more colourless is U, which may well have been made not from a manuscript but from C (e.g. 411.35, 414.6-7, 415.12). Chronologically, this is not impossible; the chief scribe of U, Barbara Constable, it has been seen, lived for fourteen years after the publication of C.

In editing both the short and long texts, wherever possible emendation has been avoided. even though this does make greater demands

upon the perspicacity of readers. The great temptation, in looking at past ages' transmission of texts, is to deny to the scribes, so much closer than we to what they were copying, the dignity and credibility to which they are entitled. Once we begin establishing an 'ideal text', we unconsciously arrogate to ourselves the conviction that we know better than they what they were writing about. Julian shared with such contemporaries as the author of *Piers Plowman* a reverence for the word of Scripture, and it is only in reference to that word that either writer can be evaluated. Their 'ideal text' was the sacred text; and both writers were seeking to interpret that text, so as to make it reflect the situation of their own age, and also to affirm the entire message of Christian hope which they had learned from the Gospel. There is no one scribe of the Julian manuscripts who did not know this, who did not approach the task with his or her own reverence for the text, and the editors have sought, in evaluating their work, to show them a like reverence.

Two other matters concerning the interrelations between the texts are worth comment. There is some evidence that S1 (or an ancestor) had been in places accomodated to the readings of a manuscript of the short text; e.g. 649.14 and note. And, in examining the SS variants, it is remarkable how often NED states that individual words, found in SS but not in P, survived into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only in the Northern and Scottish dialects (cf. 358.14, 441.66, notes). Placid Spearritt, when we enquired of him, informed us that in the second half of the seventeenth century at Cambrai there was one Scottish woman, Melchiora Campbell, daughter of an earl of Argyll, and no less than eight Northumbrians, with names such as Shafto, Fenwick and Errington, all those of well-known local recusant families.

Although U had singularly little to offer in the preparation of the text, the certainty with which its hands have been identified makes it of quite exceptional value as evidence of the probability that we must thank Augustine Baker, and the spiritual school which he founded,[65] for the survival of the long text in any complete form.

V Linguistic Characteristics of the Manuscripts

1 The Language of A

The dialect of the short text as it is preserved in A shows us that this copy must be several removes at least from what Julian wrote, if she spoke and composed in the North-East Midland dialect of Norwich, as

[65] See Spearritt's article, 'The Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality'.

we must suppose in the lack of contrary evidence. The dialect is a mixed one, with sounds, inflexions and vocabulary both Northern (which, for general purposes, means 'north of the river Humber') and non-Northern. This dialect mixture is in itself insufficient to support the theory that Julian was a Yorkshirewoman; those who have sought to support it with linguistic evidence seem in the first place to have been attracted to it by a belief that her devotion to St. John of Beverley could so be explained; but, as will be shown elsewhere, she could have learned of his legend in many parts of England.

What follows is a selection only of the dialect characteristics of the short text:[66]

1. Developments of OE ā:

   abade, awe, awne, bathe (3×) *bothe* (1×), *clothes, fra, gaste, gaste(lye)* (25×), *gostelye* (2×), *hale* (1×), *hole* (2×), *halye* (20×), *holye* (1×), *hamly* (5×), *homely* (1×), *hate, knawe, lathe* (1×), *lothe* (1×), *loo, mare* (46×), *more* (4×), *maste* (10×), *moste* (5×), *othere* (< OE *āwþer*), *sare, sawlle, s(w)a* (3×), *so* (4×), *takyns, tha, tho, twa* (5×), *two* (5×), *wa* (5×), *woo* (2×), *wate* (4×), *woote* (1×), *wha, whamm.*

2. OE ā + nasal:

   ane (27×), *one* (4×), *anly* (4×), *onlye* (1×), *anez, aned, anyng, banes, na* (4×), *nane* (9×), *none* (3×), *nothere, nathynge* (9×), *nothynge* (2×), *nouzt, ta.*

3. OE -ald-:

   alde, behalde, behaldynge, calde, halde.

4. OE ō:

   goodenes, othere.

5. 'To be':

   Present indicative 1: *am*;
   2: *erte* (4×), *arte, ert, er*;
   3: *is* (166×), *es* (87×), *ys* (28×);
   Pl: *ere* (18×), *er* (17×), *are* (2×), *ar* (2×);
   Present subjunctive (singular and Pl): *be*;
   Preterite indicative 1 and 3: *was*;
   Pl: *ware* (10×), *were* (2×);
   Preterite subjunctive 1 and 3: *ware* (18×), *were* (2×);
   Pl: *ware* (4×), *were*;

[66] The criteria considered are those employed by Joyce Bazire: 'The Dialect of the Manuscripts of *The Chastising of God's Children*'.

Infinitive: *be*;
Past Participle: *bene*.

6. 'To have':

Present indicative 1: *hafe* (6×), *haffe* (2×);
2: *hase*;
3: *has* (21×), *hase* (11×), *hath* (2×), *hafes*;
Pl: *hafe*;
Present subjunctive 2, 3 and Pl: *hafe*;
Preterite indicative 1: *hadde*
3: *hadde* (6×), *had* (2×);
Preterite subjunctive Pl: *had*.
Infinitive: *hafe* (14×), *haue*.

7. OE *witan*:

Present indicative 1: *wate*;
2: *woote*;
Present subjunctive Pl: *witte*;
Preterite indicative 1: *wiste*;
Infinitive: *witte*;
Singular imperative: *witte*.

8. Inflexional endings of other verbs:

Present indicative 1: *-e* (24×), *-es* (3×);
2: *-es*;
3: *-es* (129×), *-ys* (11×), *-is* (3×), *-the*;
Pl: *-es* (21×), *-e* (17×), *-s* (2×), zero (4×), *-ys*;
Present subjunctive 1, 2, 3 and Pl: *-e* or zero;
Present participle: *-ande* (53×), *-ynge* (1×).

9. OE *cyrice*:

kyrke.

10. OE *dēaþ*:

dede, dedlye.

11. 'She':

scho (7×), *sche* (2×).

12. OE *tō*, ON *til*:

(of time) *til* (2×), *to* (3×);
(of place, intention, etc.) *til* (1×), *to* (14×);
(with infinitive) *tylle* (1×), otherwise *to*.

13. OE *hwilc*:

whilke.

14. 'Would':

walde (21×), *wolde* (12×).

This shows that the vowels examined are predominantly Northern, but with a strong non-Northern element, and that there are no instances of the most markedly Northern developments, such as *ai, ei* < OE *ā; ui, oi* < OE *ō*. The verbal inflexions are not so consistently Northern; particularly, there is a smaller proportion of *-es* to *-e* present indicative plural forms than we might expect in a text originally recorded to the north of the Midland areas. But the whole evidence hardly justifies more than the conclusion that we may wholly exclude the Southern, Western and Kentish areas of ME; the solitary present indicative 3 form in *-the* evidently is sporadic. As we have it, the language of A may be the result of a more careful translation from North-East Midland into Northern, or of a less careful translation in the opposite direction.

We may profitably compare this examination with the results of applying some of the same criteria to that other unique text contained in A, *The Treatise of Perfection*:

1. *fro, goo* (9×), *gase* (1×), *goste, gostelye, holy* (< OE *hālig*; 8×), *haly* (2×), *holye* (< OE *hāllice*), *knowe* (13×), *knawe* (1×), *knawliche* (1×), *knawyn* (3×), *loo, moste, no, owe* (2×), *owne* (1×), *awe* (2×), *awne* (2×), *awȝt* (1×), *owthere, saule, so, poo, who, whome.*

2. *none* (1×), *one* (29×), *oned* (22×), *onlye* (15×), *ane* (3×), *anely* (1×), *stone.*

3. *fourefawlde, manyfolde, holde* (8×), *halde* (6×), *behowdynge* (1×).

5. Present indicative 1: *am*;
3: *is* (213×), *es* (11×), *ys* (6×);
Pl: *are* (48×), *be* (20×), *bene* (3×), *ar* (1×), *arre* (1×);
Present subjunctive singular and Pl: *be*;
Preterite indicative 3: *was*;
Preterite subjunctive singular: *ware*;
Past participle: *bene*;
Infinitive: *be.*

8. Present indicative Pl: *-e* (31×), *-es* (13×), *-ys* (5×), *-eth* (1×), zero (5×);
Present participle: *-ande* (1×), otherwise *-ynge.*

9. *chirche.*

11. *sche.*

Here also we have a Northern and non-Northern mixture, but of very different proportions. OE *ā* is more often represented by ME *ō*, in 'to be' the OE *bēo-* stem is not represented in the infinitive only, *scho, kyrke* and *til* are not found, in the present indicative plural there are many more *-e* and zero than *-es, -ys* forms, and there is one sporadic *-ande* present participle to compare with the one *-ynge* form in Julian. It is more probable even than with the Julian text that here we have a not very careful translation into Northern; but the one certain conclusion we may draw from the linguistic disparities of the two texts is that their translation was not executed by the same man, not by the scribe of A or of any ancestor of A. But the linguistic evidence will not tell us where A was copied, or even owned. By the directions of the general chapter at the Grande Chartreuse, James Grenehalgh was in the early 1500s literally sent to Coventry and forbidden to return to Sheen; and he spent his last years at Hull.[67] He could as well have inscribed his monogram in A at either of the two other houses as at Sheen. It has been shown (cf. I 1 A) that the corrector who wrote in plummet has, elsewhere in the manuscript, emended 'drawis' to 'drinkyth', showing that his dialect was non-Northern; but we cannot tell whether he was living and working in his native region.

2 The Language of the Long-Text Copies

The difficulties in the assessment of this have in part been indicated. The extracts in U and W are too brief and neutral to repay analysis. Of the others, P and S1 have many clear marks of derivation from an ancestor or ancestors earlier than the Dissolution — to select only one example, the preservation in S1 of *-and* present participle forms converted in P to *-ing* — but P's clumsy vagaries and the smooth regularity of S1's spelling-modernizations alike would make it unprofitable to subject either text to linguistic examination. But though such schematic treatment would be unrewarding, the editors have treated, in the annotations and the glossary, with the various problems, etymological, dialectal, lexical and grammatical, raised by individual readings in the long-text witnesses. As examples only of their discussions, they would now draw attention to the following words: abone (621.16), agreffe (380.17), a newyd (529.183), aneynst (418.22), assey (603.25), astynten (668.31: S1), befallen (368.29: S1), beflowyth (343.19: S1), behalseth (661.26: S2), beholdinges (492.17), be holdyng (349.32), boystours

[67] This information derives from the collections made from Carthusian records by Palémon Bastin and Anselm Stoelen, now preserved at Parkminster.

(362.22), brosyng (515.23), clongyn (357.10), cloose (438.29), colleth (661.26), contynuant (498.38), contrarioust (499.41: S1), daming (372.23: S1), druste (412.5), duryngly (483.3), ell (511.20: SS), flamand (527.156: SS), forthing (490.9: S1), fynde (596.28), gaveth (356.28), hayth (656.22), hyng (324.4), irkenes (354.9), lakid (409.13: S1), lefte (340.52), lowed (409.13: C), mightifully (355.14: C), myrre (623.33), noble (517.43), noblyest (314.48), noblyth (310.6: SS), one (328.39), onsparably (362.28: S1), passyng (377.31: S1), pertie (313.39: S1), pesid (424.31: S1), petovous (360.2: S1), portie (313.39: S2), rasyng (361.12), ronkyllid (363.36: S1), savyd (488.29), scoryd (635.7), slyppe (558.43: SS), soule (306.35), strenghyng (441.69), sweeme (319.31: S1), sweppys (541.289: SS), swylge (622.32), token (629.24: S1), vnderstand (295.15), vndertak (463.36), vnlothfull (516.36), vnpeas (508.41), werkyng (581.56), willy (458.44: S1), wote (321.4: S1), wordle (326.27), wrake (326.23), youngith (289.7: SS).

VI Julian: Biographical Data

The texts of the *Revelations* furnish us with the following biographical information. Julian was thirty and a half years old at the time of her sickness (207.1), which culminated in the visions which she received on 13 May, 1373 (285.3), so that she must have been born about New Year, 1343. She devoted more than fifteen years to prayerful enquiry into the visions' total meaning (732.14), but her prayers were not fully answered until twenty years all but three months had passed, that is, until February, 1393 (520.86). The author of the preface to the short text states that in the year 1413 she is still alive (201.3), and living in Norwich as an anchoress.

This information can be supplemented from other sources. Roger Reed, rector of St. Michael's, Coslany in Norwich, on 20 March, 1393/4, bequeathed two shillings to 'Julian' anakorite'. In the will of Thomas Emund, a chantry priest of Aylesham in Norfolk, proved in 1404, there is a bequest of one shilling to 'Juliane anchorite apud St. Juliane in Norwice'.[68] John Plumpton, citizen of Norwich, made his will on 24 November, 1415, and it was proved four days later; in it he bequeathes forty pence to 'le ankeres in ecclesia sancti Juliani de Conesford in Nor-

[68] Norwich Consistory Court, Reg. Harsyk, f. 194^{v}; Lambeth Palace, register of Thomas Arundel I, f. 540^{d}. The reference in Reed's will was found by Norman Tanner, that in Emund's by Aelred Watkin and communicated by him to Sr. Anna Maria Reynolds, then, later and independently, by Tanner, who kindly pointed this also out to the editors.

wice', and twelve pence each to her serving-maid and to Alice, her former maid.[69] This shows at least that Plumpton knew that at this time the anchorhold was occupied by a woman; and his knowledge of the identity of her former servant may indicate a closer personal acquaintance with Julian, who must be the anchoress concerned, as the countess of Suffolk's bequest will show. If Aelred Watkin's guess is right, and the chalice listed in the inventory of St. Giles, Norwich, 'ex dono Alicie hermyte', was given by the same woman,[70] that she had the means for such a gift suggests that she had served Julian out of devotion, not necessity; and 'Alice the Hermit' could be a friendly nickname given in her days of service, or it could show that after she left Julian she herself embraced some form of solitary living.

The fourth such will is that of Isabel Ufford, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who had married first John Lestrange of Blackmere, and then William Ufford, second earl of Suffolk, by whom she had no children. Shortly after he died in 1382 she entered the house of Augustinian canonesses at Campsey Ash in Suffolk, where she remained until her death in 1416, when she was buried in the conventual church beside her second husband.[71] She may have been professed there, but if so she must have been permitted to retain at least some of her goods and income, as had been done in 1347, when Margaret, countess of Ulster, took the habit at Campsey.[72] At the time of Isabel's death her sister-in-law Maud was a nun there, to whom, as to the prioress and to every other sister, she made bequests. There are legacies to various other religious houses, and, 'pur le graunt busogne qe je me soute avez des preiers come de mese chaunter', to every house of the four mendicant orders in Suffolk and Norfolk; but the only recluse mentioned is 'Item jeo devyse a Julian recluz a Norwich 20s'.[73]

In the case of John Plumpton's bequest and that of Lady Suffolk, we must allow for the possibility, recently indicated by R. M. Wilson,[74] that between 1413 and 1415 (or 1416) Julian had died and had been succeeded in the cell by another recluse who had also taken the name of the church's patron saint. But if we can rely on the authenticity of the short text's prologue, Emund's bequest must be to Julian; and it

[69] E. F. Jacob: *The Register of Henry Chichele,* 3 413.
[70] *Inventory of Church Goods,* 1 18, 2 161.
[71] T. F. Tout, art.: 'Ufford, William de, second earl of Suffolk of his house' (DNB).
[72] Eileen Power: *Medieval English Nunneries,* 39.
[73] E. F. Jacob: *The Register of Henry Chichele,* 2 94-97.
[74] Reviewing Robert K. Stone: *Middle English Prose Style: Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich,* in MÆ 42, 1973, 183-184.

therefore confirms the tradition, which hitherto had relied solely on Blomefield's statement, made three hundred years and more after the event, that it was in the anchorhold at St. Julian's that she lived. Hope Allen in her unpublished papers shows unwonted scepticism concerning such biographical data; and she justly observed how much confusion there has been of the author of the *Revelations* with her namesake, Juliana Lampit, who seems to have been enclosed in nearby Carrow nunnery for the greater part of the fifteenth century, and who is often mentioned in wills. But Miss Allen's doubts should have been silenced by her own major discovery, *The Book of Margery Kempe*.

More significant than these sporadic records of bequests, which undoubtedly show reliance on the intercessory prayers of enclosed women, and, possibly, veneration for Julian herself as an intercessor, but which tell us nothing of personal contacts between her and her benefactors, is the account which Margery Kempe has left of her 'holy dalyawns' with the anchoress. In what she presents as a series of connected episodes, she tells us that she was divinely directed to go to Norwich and seek the counsel of 'þe vykary of Seynt Stefenys' about the private vow of chastity which she wished to take whilst she was still bearing children and had recently given birth to one,[75] that she was then commanded to seek out the Norwich Carmelite friar William Southfield,[76] and that thereafter she was led to ask the advice of Julian with regard to the special grace which God had accorded her, 'for þe ankres was expert in swech thyngys and good cownsel cowd ȝeuyn'.[77] Dundas Harford had demonstrated that Richard Caister became vicar of St. Stephen's on 20 May, 1402;[78] and Sandford Meech showed, conclusively, it would seem, that the private agreement between Margery and her husband to live chastely was made on 23 June, 1413,[79] so that, if these consultations of Caister, Southfield and Julian all took place, as Margery seems to suggest, during the same visit to Norwich, this must have been earlier than 1415, when a later stay in the city can be established.[80]

Julian's advice to Margery, as it is reported, is a model of prudence and expertise; and it accords well, sometimes with remarkable exact-

[75] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 38.
[76] Ibid., 41.
[77] Ibid., 42.
[78] Ibid., 276.
[79] Ibid., 269.
[80] Ibid., xlix, 308.

ness, with what we know of her thought and doctrine from the *Revelations*. She told Margery 'to be obedient to the will of our Lord God, and to carry out with all her powers whatever he might put into her soul, if it were not contrary to his glory and the profit of her fellow Christians, for if it were it could not be the prompting of a good spirit ... The Holy Spirit never inspires anything contrary to love, for if he did he would be in opposition to his own self, for he is all love'.[81] In the *Revelations* she tells us that when she expected to die, she willingly accepted this if her life could no longer be to the glory of God (290.14); and she insists that the revelations were given to her not for her own merits but so that they might be 'for the profytte of many oder' (220.17-18).

As in the *Revelations*, her counselling to Margery frequently alludes to Scripture. The Spirit 'inspires a soul to perfect chastity, for chaste livers are called the temple of the Holy Spirit',[82] which is quoting directly I Corinthians 6.19. The Spirit makes a soul steadfast in true faith, but 'a man who is double in soul is always unstable and unsteadfast in all his ways',[83] again a direct quotation, of James 1.8. Anyone must believe firmly that the Spirit dwells in his soul who has received such 'tokens'. Hope Allen, editing Margery's *Book*, pointed out how often mediaeval writers on 'discretion', 'discernment of spirits', call such manifestations of special grace *signa*; and Julian uses the same terminology when she writes that she was divinely assured that though her visions were transient, the increase of faith they brought would persist, outlasting any such *signa*, 'for he lefte with me neyther sygne ne tokyn where by I myght know it' (652.19-20).

More than this, 'when God visits a creature with tears of contrition, devotion or compassion, the creature must and should believe that the Holy Spirit is in his soul'. It can hardly be fortuitous that Margery's reporting here of Julian's words, '... þe grace þat God put in hir sowle of compunccyon, contricyon, swetnesse and deuocyn, compassyon wyth holy meditacyon ...'[84] repeats so closely the language of the first chapter of *The Chastising of God's Children* (where the author interpolates into his translation of Suso's *Horologium sapientiae* the following phrases from Bonaventure's *Evangelii sancti Lucae expositio in cap. x*): 'Þanne comen so many mery meditacions, wiþ plente of teeris: teeris of contricion, teeris

[81] Ibid., 42.
[82] Ibid., 42, 278.
[83] Ibid., 43, 279.
[84] Ibid., 43, 279.

of compunccion, teeris of compassion, teris of loue and deuocion ...',[85] when the present writers have in several places (e.g. 321.2, 343.10, 346.6, 353.30) indicated the probability that Julian, before she came to write her second version, had become familiar with the *Chastising*.

Equally close is the parallel between Julian's reported counsel, that the devil has no power over a man's soul, for Holy Writ says that the soul of a just man is the throne of God, and the sentence in the English prose *Qui habitat* (sometimes, though with small probability, ascribed to Walter Hilton): 'For þe wyse mon seiþ þat þe soule of a righwys mon is heuene and þe sege of vr lord'.[86] Though Hope Allen suggested that there is no Scriptural authority for Julian's citation, it is probably a conflation of Proverbs 25.5: 'Take away wickedness from the face of the king, and his throne shall be established with justice', Ezechiel 37.27-28; 'And my tabernacle shall be with them, and I will be their God ... when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them forever', II Corinthians 6.16: 'For you are the temple of the living God', and Apocalypse 21.3: 'Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them'. Again, in several places (e.g. 411.31-32, 425.43-44) it has been suggested that Julian may have known the English prose *Qui habitat* and *Bonum est,* and Margery's reporting seems to confirm this. The *Revelations* offer further evidence that when Julian uses Scripture she relies largely on her memory. In chapter 15 of the long text, on one of the occasions when she quotes the actual words of the New Testament, she is not at all concerned with chapter and verse. The citation from St. Paul, 'Nothynge shalle departe me fro the charyte of Crist,' is a conflation of Romans 8.35 and 39; and when she says with St. Peter, 'Lorde, saue me' (Matthew 14.30), she adds 'I perysscb', the cry of the apostles in the storm (Matthew 8.25). In one place, Margery too suggests that Julian had in mind this same narrative, where she recounts that she said: 'He þat is euyr dowtyng is lyke to þe flood of þe see, þe whech is mevyd and born abowte wyth þe wynd, and þat man is not lyche to receyuen þe ȝyftys of God'.[87] The analogy is common and ancient. In *The Book of Privy Counselling*[88] and *An Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings*[89] the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* compares the soul and its trials with a boat on a stormy sea; and far more illuminating than Owst's somewhat banal account of the

[85] *Chastising*, 100, 265.
[86] Wallner, 37.
[87] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 42.
[88] Hodgson, *Cloud*, 167-168.
[89] Hodgson, *Deonise*, 64.

simile's English history is the series of patristic authorities, cited by Cornelius a Lapide, who make the stormy sea of Matthew 8.23 e.s. signify temptation, doubt and fears, Christ asleep in the boat the soul which relies solely on God.

In her interview with Margery, Julian gives other interesting evidence of her knowledge of such spiritual classics. 'St. Paul says that the Spirit asks for us with indescribable lamentations and weepings' — this is Romans 8.26 — 'and if we respond to this our tears cannot be numbered ... No evil spirit can give these tokens, for Jerome says that tears torment the devil more than the pains of hell'. Here Hope Allen argued with great ingenuity that we have a conflation (probably Julian's own) of two sources cited in the English *Speculum Christiani: 'Jerome:* Prayers please God but tears constrain him ... *Bernard*: Tears of a sinner torment the devil more than every kind of torture'.[90]

Julian's closing words are of encouragement and optimism. '"I pray that God may grant you perseverance. Put all your trust in God and do not fear what the world may say, for the more sorrow and shame and reproof that you receive in the world" (plainly, Julian here is recalling such Gospel texts as Luke 6.22-23, and John 15.18) "the more is your merit in the sight of God. You need patience, for in that you will preserve your soul" (which is Luke 21.19)'.

Only a perversely captious critic would deny authenticity to this account. It is filled, like all her *Book*, with Margery's morbid self-engrossment; it is evident that the many days of their 'holy dalliance' were occupied in talk about Margery and her favours, not about Julian. But this itself shows precisely what the *Revelations* tell us, that Julian regarded herself as no more than a humble, anonymous, unworthy recipient of unmerited favours. The story reveals all Margery's knowing judgment of others; she had recourse to Julian as an acknowledged expert (and here we have the testimony of Thomas Emund's will that as early as 1404 her fame was spreading); and she can hardly have been disappointed. She shows us Julian as skilled in Scripture, in spiritual theology and in the literature of 'discernment'. Faced with Margery's babblings, Julian reiterates some of her cardinal teachings, the impotence of the devil, the indwelling in man of his loving Lord; and she returns the classic answer of *probatio*: 'By your fruits they will know you'. She tells Margery what the other, indeed, seems to have learned well: 'Do you want to know what is our Lord's meaning? Love is his meaning'.

[90] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 43, 279.

VII Norwich in Julian's Age

In Julian's day, Norwich was second only to London in population and wealth, and, of the provincial centres, only Lincoln possibly had more parish churches.[91] There were three colleges of secular priests, St. Mary in the Fields, only one hundred yards from St. Peter Mancroft, owners of the hospital's advowson, whose parishioners were to rebuild it so splendidly in the mid-fifteenth century, St. Giles' Hospital and the Carnary College. At the end of the fifteenth century, St. Mary's had a community of fourteen priests, St. Gile's a master, five fellows and three stipendiary priests, Carnary College a master and probably three other priests. The cathedral was a Benedictine priory; there, as in such other great monastery-cathedrals as Canterbury and Durham, conventual life was supported by exceptional prestige and opulence, and the Norwich library was one of the finest in late mediaeval England, considerably enriched by Adam Easton's bequest of his own collection, brought there from Rome in six great barrels in 1407.[92] Adam had died as a Roman curial cardinal, but when Julian was a girl he was one of two young Norwich monks whose preaching campaigns were being promoted by the priory,[93] the other, also dividing his time between Norwich and his studies in Oxford, being Thomas Brinton, later to become one of Rochester's celebrated Benedictine preacher-bishops.[94] All four orders of friars had been attracted to the city by its wealth and the opportunities it offered for pastoral work. It is worth remarking that the handsome house of the Austin Friars stood in Conisford across the lane from St. Julian's anchorhold. There, too, must have been a fine library, to house which in the fifteenth century a rich devotee, widow of a Norwich mayor, provided a new building.[95] In this house the Augustinian theologian Roger Twiford, 'said to have flourished c. 1390', lived and worked.[96] The rules promulgated by the prior general of the Augustinians on 3 February, 1456, for the administration of the London Austin Friars library, also recently rebuilt, which may be taken as normative, provide that books, 'especially those of a speculative

[91] Much of the information in this section is derived from Norman Tanner's valuable study, *Popular Religion in Norwich ... 1370-1532*.

[92] Ibid., 75.

[93] W. A. Pantin: *English Black Monks*, 3 28-29.

[94] Sr. Mary Aquinas Devlin: *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton*.

[95] F. Roth: *English Austin Friars*, 1 374-375.

[96] B. Hackett: 'Spiritual Life', 452-455.

kind', are not to be taken from the library unless they are duplicates. This suggests that Julian might have been able to borrow from her neighbours a spare copy of, say, Chaucer's *Boethius,* or of *Piers Plowman.* George Kane in his edition of that work furnished evidence of monastic owners of its manuscripts, to which A. I. Doyle was able to add;[97] and Chaucer too was read in monasteries. One of the two known copies of *Disce Mori* is MS Jesus College, Oxford 39, written for Dorothy Slyghe, a Birgettine nun of Syon; on p. 623, where the text is dealing with 'impediments in the love of God and contemplation' and compares guilty lovers to 'a þeef to a þeef and dronken of þis sweet poison', a contemporary hand has annotated:

> of which poison, if ye lust more to rede,
> seeþ þe storie of Troilus, Creseide and Diomede.[98]

The intellectual life of the local Franciscans benefited greatly from the establishment in their convent by Benedict XII of one of the Order's seven English *studia generalia*, to which promising students could be sent from many parts of Europe. Nicholas of Assisi's notes of lectures and disputations which he heard there c. 1337 still survive, and in 1406 and 1407 the Franciscans John of Westphalia, John of Austria and Theodoric of Saxony were ordained in the city.[99] C. 1370, Peter of Candia was at the Norwich *studium* before he went on to Oxford. He ended his days as the short-lived Alexander V, known for his learning and piety;[100] and some of his devotional poems are known.[101] Though their modern editor has no high opinion of them, 'Fratres peramabiles, ob amorem Christi / Comedamus pariter sine vultu tristi' is a charming example of the 'sancta hilaritas' which marks the verses which, in Peter's age, Franciscan poets in England were composing in Latin, French and English. Among the Norwich Carmelites there was William Southfield, to whom Margery Kempe went for direction — she calls him 'a good man and a holy leuer';[102] and John Bale (who had himself been a Carmelite friar in the city) wrote 'Homo simplex erat, sed incredibile devotione preditus'[103] — Walter Diss, called 'one of the most famous Cambridge doctors of his age', a royal confessor and a great preacher

[97] Reviewing Kane in *English Studies* 43 (1962), 55-58.
[98] This information was kindly supplied by Michael Sargent.
[99] Tanner, 57, 74.
[100] Ibid., 74.
[101] W. Lampen: 'Prosae seu Poemata Petri de Candia'.
[102] *The Book of Margery Kempe,* 41.
[103] Ibid., 374.

against heresy, who died in 1404 and was buried among his Norwich brethren,[104] Thomas Bradley alias Scrope, whose eccentric pieties and evangelism as early as the 1420s had provoked his provincial, Thomas Netter of Walden, (Bradley thereafter lived at the Norwich friary as an anchorite, later becoming bishop of Dromore and a papal legate),[105] and John Thorpe, 'sacre theologie doctor', 'maistre en divinitie',[106] whom John Bale called 'doctor ingeniosus' and credited with Scriptural and other writings.[107] Though the city's Dominicans seem to have lacked the numbers, and, it may be, the distinction of the other three friaries, there were among them men such as John Somerton,[108] author of a series of sermons *per annum*.

It is easy to perceive how men of such attainments must have contributed to the spiritual and intellectual life of the place, and the links which they could provide with thought and letters in the capital and the universities, in England and abroad. Tanner's analysis of Norwich wills shows us the bequest of such books as Augustine's *Confessions*, Bernard's 'Meditations', 'Sermones Bonaventure de sanctis', Boethius, an 'English St. Bridget' (a lay bequest), *Dieta salutis*,[109] 'Le Doctrine of the Herte',[110] 'evangelia' (both these lay bequests), *Formula noviciorum*,[111] Gregory's Dialogues, Hugh of St. Victor's *De claustro anime*, 'Liber vocatum Hylton' (a lay bequest), Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortune*,[112] and 'Liber vocatus a vangeler'.[113] Julian, we can be certain, lived in a society in which spiritual books were prized and read.

But because there were others concerned with the life of the spirit in such propinquity, we must not assume that she knew them, consulted with them, received books from them. It is very evident that she was a learned woman, but we do not know how or from whom she acquired her learning. Of her historicity, it has been shown, there can be no doubt; but none the less, she remains an enigmatic figure. Her parentage, birth, education, the circumstances under which she was enclosed,

[104] Bale, *Anglorum Heliades* (MS BM Harley 3838), f. 86^{v}; Emden, *Cambridge*, 188.

[105] MS BM Harley 211 (a valuable Norwich Carmelite collection of pastoral and devotional material), f. 191^{v}; Eubel, 2 146; J. Tait: 'Scrope, Thomas' (DNB).

[106] E. F. Jacob: *The Register of Henry Chichele*, 2 143, 149, two Norwich wills of 1 May and 2 June, 1477, kindly pointed out by Keith Egan.

[107] Emden, *Cambridge*, 586.

[108] Blomefield: *Norfolk*, 2 728.

[109] Among surviving manuscripts are Lambeth Palace 457 and 483.

[110] Cf. Sr. Mary Patrick Candon, ed.: *The Doctrine of the Hert*.

[111] P. Jolliffe: *Check-List*, items D.5, E.14, H.2, I.4, O.4, O.6, O.10.

[112] Ibid., J.9.

[113] Tanner, 329-330.

her associates and directors thereafter, the date of her death — none of this is known to us. She resembles Hilton and the author of the *Cloud*; and we may be content that this is so. Were we furnished with the plethora of biographical information which exists for Rolle, that might have served, in her case as it has in his, as an obstacle between us and all that she set store by, the showings in which God revealed to her secrets of his being.

That Julian wore her learning so lightly, that she is so insistent (especially in her first edition) on her untutored simplicity, suggests, certainly, that she knew that it would be impolitic to set herself up as a bluestocking, but also that she herself had little use for bluestockings. One of the present editors some years ago provoked irate criticism when he adverted to Margery Kempe's story,[114] of her meeting with Richard Caister, the saintly parish priest of St. Stephen's, Norwich, who said, according to Margery, 'God bless my soul — what could a woman find to say about our Lord's love that would take an hour or two?' The observation, 'those who indulge in the kind of speculation which forms so much of the scholarship of Hope Allen and her school, assuming that because A and B both lived in C one of them must have "influenced" the other, would do well to ponder Richard's evident indifference to the *Frauenbewegung* of which Julian and Margery are held to be such outstanding English members',[115] was not well received.[116] But Caister's will, made on 27 March, 1420,[117] confirms the impression we may form from Margery's story. He appoints three Norwich priests as his executors. Ten pounds are left for two antiphoners for his own church, and the rest of his goods are for the poor, those of his own parish to be preferred. Drily he remarks that canon law defines that 'the goods of the Church are the goods of the poor'. There are no bequests to solitaries, Julian or anyone else, or to their servants, nothing for the religious orders, no careful provisions for prayers for his own soul, no treasured devotional manuals or pious books to be passed on. Caister, we may surmise, would have been the same holy man had he lived on a mountain top instead of in the Norwich of his days. Nor can we be sure that every man and woman dedicated to the solitary life would edify

[114] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 38 e.s.

[115] E. Colledge: 'Margery Kempe' (in *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality*, ed. J. Walsh, 221).

[116] By E. I. Watkin, reviewing *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality* (*Downside Review* 84, 1966, 99-102).

[117] Norfolk and Norwich Records Office REG/ 4 Liber 8, f. 135^{r}. We are indebted to Frank Sayer for identifying Caister's will and having it copied for us.

others as we have seen that Julian did. According to Tanner's evidence, there was after her time a marked increase in their numbers in Norwich. 'At any given time between the 1420s and the 1470s there were probably at least eight hermits and anchorites'.[118] This may have been through her example; but we must not deduce too much. Some such persons seemed only to batten on the vapidities of 'enthusiasm'. Elsewhere the editors have already described how St. John of Bridlington — who died six years after Julian's revelations — once visited an anchoress near Richmond in Yorkshire, hoping for spiritual consolation from her, but cut the conversation short and left, saying that he had come to talk with her of the grace and goodness of God, when she began to tell him of her 'vision' of an eagle bearing in his beak a scroll written with 'Jhesus est amor meus' (a device beloved of many such enthusiasts), and that John himself was her eagle. Such women evidently did little more than trade in pious flattery. We may be sure that they would receive from Richard Caister, and, indeed, from Julian too, as short shrift as John of Bridlington gave his illuminata.[119]

VIII Julian's Intellectual Formation

In considering this matter, we must begin with her knowledge of Scripture. Elsewhere[120] the editors have already described the enquiries they instituted and the expert advice they received, through which they were led to the inescapable conclusion that before she began to compose the short text, Julian already knew all the Vulgate; especially, she can be seen to be deeply familiar with all four gospels, the Pauline and Johannine epistles and Hebrews, the Psalms, the sapiential books and Deutero-Isaias. We can only make conjectures about how she acquired her Latin and her learning, for she is as reticent about this as over every other part of her external life; but of such conjectures, the most probable (at which she seems herself in several places to hint) is that when young — that is, in her teens — she entered a religious house, and that she was still there after February, 1393, when she was in her fiftieth year. Only after the completion of the long text, we believe, did she occupy the anchorhold at St. Julian's church and embrace the solitary, enclosed life[121] to which, Roger Reed's will shows, she was vowed in the following year. If Julian had been a nun before her enclosure, she was

[118] Tanner, 117.
[119] E. Colledge and J. Walsh: *Following the Saints*, 3 769.
[120] 'Editing Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*'.
[121] For a fuller statement of our reasons for this conjecture, see the same article.

not the only one in the locality living so. In the administration of the goods of Katherine Samson, 18 July, 1417, she is described as 'monialis ordinis sancti Bernardi recluse apud ecclesiam omnium sanctorum in parochia de Sowth lenne', that is Lynn All Saints in the Norwich archdeaconry;[122] and MS Bodley 73, f. 51^{v}, in a list of Carmelites buried at Norwich, has: *Domina* Emma carmelita reclusa et soror in religione obiit *anno domini* 1422 2^{a} decembris,[123] although this probably means, like John Bale's reports in *Anglorum Heliades*[124] of Thomas Netter's proselytizing activities, no more than that such women as Emma, before or after enclosure as anchoresses, took the Order's habit and vows.[125]

An objection which has often been made to the possibility that Julian was a nun at the time of her sickness is that she describes how she was ministered to, when she was thought to be dying, by a secular priest. But it was by no means the rule that nuns and anchoresses were invariably served as chaplains by religious priests; for many isolated nunneries and anchorholds, such a rule would have been impractical. Aelred counsels his enclosed sister to choose as confessor either a religious or a secular, provided he be of suitable age and disposition.[126] The Benedictine women's abbeys at Shaftesbury, Wherwell, Wilton and Winchester supported each four prebendary canons; and Eileen Power considered that 'these prebends were doubtless originally intended for the maintenance of resident chaplains'.[127] The Prioress in the Canterbury Tales was accompanied by three priests;[128] and when the Host addresses one of them as 'Sir John',[129] he indicates that this was no religious.

Where Julian had been a nun we have no means of knowing. It has often been suggested that this was at Carrow, the house of Benedictine nuns just outside the Norwich walls which was the patron of the St. Julian's living. This may be so, but it is uncertain. What is however beyond any doubt is that when young Julian had received an exceptionally good grounding in Latin, in Scripture and in the liberal arts, and that thereafter she was able and permitted to read widely in Latin and vernacular spiritual classics. Reference to the annotations to the

[122] A. Watkin: *Inventory of Church Goods*, 2 208.
[123] This information was kindly communicated by Keith Egan.
[124] MS BM Harley 3838, f. 37.
[125] J. Smet, art.: 'Carmelites — (Sisters) (NCE 3 121).
[126] *De institutione inclusarum* 6 (A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, ed.: *Aelredi Rievallensis opera omnia*, 1 642).
[127] *Medieval English Nunneries*, 144.
[128] F. N. Robinson, ed.: *Complete Works of Chaucer*, 21.
[129] Ibid., 237.

short and long texts will show the evidence on which this opinion is based. She shows knowledge of such great masters as Augustine and Gregory; and she seems to have become deeply influenced, as she composed the 'second edition' of the long text, by William of St. Thierry, not only through his *Golden Epistle*, but also by other of his works, in her day known only in learned circles. Furthermore, her writing, in the long text especially, constantly displays remarkable congruity of both thought and language with contemporary English writings: notably *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God, The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Scale of Perfection* and their ancillary treatises, and Chaucer's *Boethius*. When we add to this the evidence, exhibited in detail in the annotations, that she was a highly accomplished rhetorician who could employ with ease the terms and concepts of the philosophers, only one deduction is possible: she must, early in life, have attracted the benevolent attention of some scholar or scholars who perceived her spiritual and intellectual gifts, and passed on to her the learning of the schools.

She is at some pains, in the short text particularly, to present us with a misleading picture of herself as a simple and unlearned woman, the humble recipient of unmerited graces. Partly this was dictated by true Christian humility, partly by an exceptionally sound theology of grace, partly by a wholly comprehensible wish not unnecessarily to antagonize her critics by any parade of erudition. But she does not conceal from readers who will pay her the attention she deserves that the *sancta simplicitas* which was indeed hers in no way is incompatible with the intellectual profundity and subtlety which informs all that she writes. Her book is a great monument to the Western monastic traditions of *lectio divina* of which she was heiress; and the learning she had inherited began and continued in the loving, prayerful study and memorization of sacred Scripture.

In many places, the annotations show, she is making her own translations direct from the Vulgate; and sometimes she furnishes a reference. Thus, it has already been demonstrated,[130] when in the short text she writes: *Swilke paynes I sawe that alle es to litelle þat ȝ can telle or saye, for itt maye nouȝte be tolde, botte ylke saule aftere the sayinge of saynte Pawle schulde feele in hym þat in Criste Jhesu* (234.23), she is providing an exact reproduction of the Latin syntax of Philippians 2.5: Hoc enim sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Iesu. But even when no such reference is provided, some of her uses of Scripture are instantly recognizable.

[130] E. Colledge and J. Walsh: 'Editing Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*'.

When she writes: *And as to thys* (her inability to accept that 'all manner of thing shall be well') *I had no other answere in shewyng of oure lorde but thys: That pat is vnpossible to the is nott vnpossible to me* (425.48), she expects her readers to discern that what she is reporting is no locution spoken to her individually, but her recollection of the applicability to her problem of Luke 18.26-27. In chapter 51 of the long text, writing: *alle is the manhode of Cryst, for he is the heed, and we be his membris, to whych membris the day and þe tyme is vnknowyn whan every passyng wo and sorow shall haue an eende, and the everlastyng joy and blysse shall be fulfyllyd, whych day and tyme for to see, all the company of hevyn longyth* (537.256), she is constructing a mosaic of New Testament allusions which begins with a direct borrowing from I Corinthians 12.12. A little further on, reflecting on 'kind made' and 'substantial kind unmade', when she observes: *whan god shulde make mannes body, he toke the slyme of the erth, whych is a mater medelyd and gaderyd of alle bodely thynges, and therof he made mannes body* (558.42), she is combining the Genesis account of the creation of Adam with the lore of the mediaeval physiologists.

Some of her many conflations of several different Scriptural texts seem to be carefully contrived. In chapter 15, *And in the tyme of joy I myght haue seyde with seynt Paule: Nothyng shalle departe me fro the charyte of Crist; and in the payne I myght haue seyd with seynt Peter: Lorde, saue me, I perysscb* (355.18, a *compar* taken over with little rewriting from the short text; cf. 231.33) appears knowingly to combine Matthew's account of Peter's rescue from drowning with the story in all the synoptic gospels of the disciples' appeal to the sleeping Jesus. But, naturally, Julian depended for her knowledge of the Bible on texts which were often faulty. In chapter 50 we have the *exclamatio*: *Goode lorde, I see the that thou arte very truth, and I know truly þat we syn grevously all day and be moch blame wurthy* (510.7), a plain allusion to the conflation of Proverbs 24.16, 'Septies enim cadet iustus', with Psalm 118.164: 'Septies in die laudem dixi tibi,' an error common in mediaeval Bible-manuscripts.

Once we have come to rely on the authority with which she uses Scripture, we can elucidate passages where her teaching can have been clear only to those who shared her knowledge. She writes, in chapter 12, of the Precious Blood: *For it is most plentuous, as it is most precious, and that by the vertu of the blessyd godhead* (343.17). The annotation calls this 'another example of the way in which Julian brings together popular devotion and her own Scriptural and theological learning', as she alludes to I John 5.6-8. In chapter 51 we read: *and within hym an hey ward long and brode, all full of endlesse hevynlynes* (523.125), but the meaning here has escaped those who did not perceive the allusion to

such places in Scripture as 'susceptor meus et refugium meum' (Psalm 58.17), 'elevator meus et refugium meum' (II Kings 22.3). And in one of her many references to the 'Harrowing of Hell', when she writes: *and whan he was ther, than he reysyd vppe the grett root oute of the depe depnesse, whych ryghtfully was knyt to hym in hey hevyn* (542.300), there is a deft and complex evocation of the numerous texts in both Testaments which celebrate the Redeemer as the 'flos de radice Jesse'. If the author of the carol, 'O of Jesse thow holy rote', cited in the annotation, ever read or heard this passage from Julian's book, he would at once have understood its import, because he also had inherited the same monastic traditions. Without some knowledge of them, her book will remain closed.

It has already been suggested that one obstacle to acceptance of Julian as a proficient scholar has been a too willing credence in her own account of herself as 'a woman that could no letter'. If those who have sought to represent her in this light had been more familiar with the conventions of rhetoric, and, especially, with the rhetoricians' employment of *captatio benevolentiae*,[131] they might not have been so easily deceived. But when critics have attempted to use such a sentence as *I conseyvede treulye and myghttyllye that itt was hym selfe that schewyd it me with owtyn any meenn ; and than I sayde: Benedicite dominus* (210.15) as a demonstration that its writer knew no Latin grammar, they have betrayed their own lack of it. In truth we are still sadly ill-informed, largely for want of evidence, about the higher education of women in later mediaeval England:[132] but for the fourteenth century the *Revelations* are proof that it was possible for one woman to master the learning of past ages, and to acquire their skills, to present her thought in modes traditionally acceptable and comprehensible.

Reference to the Appendix will show that this is so. There the editors have described each of the rhetorical figures which Julian employs, giving first its definition, from *Ad Herennium* or from some other ancient or modern authority, and then supplying examples, from the *Revelations* and, usually, from the Vulgate and from Chaucer's *Boethius*. Had Julian known no other books than these, they would have sufficed; and if the suggestion that an enclosed nun or anchoress might have read Chaucer be regarded as frivolous, the evidence, already mentioned, that the nuns

[131] See E. Colledge and J. Walsh: 'Julienne de Norwich.'

[132] N. Orme, in *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, has been unable to add more than a little to Eileen Power's treatment of this topic. It tells us much of the material he has found that he subdivides his first chapter as: 'The clergy', 'Kings and princes', 'Nobility and gentry', 'Administrators and lawyers', 'Merchants, craftsmen, artisans', 'Villeins', 'Women'.

of Syon Abbey were familiar with *Troilus and Criseyde* should be considered.

It is by no means suggested that as a rhetorician Julian was either pioneer or innovator. If she read with perception such treatises as the *Ancrene Riwle*,[133] as she seems to have done, or *A Talking of the Love of God*,[134] as she may have done,[135] if she listened with attention, as she must have done, to 'men of Holy Church' embellishing their sermons with *colores* (long before the friars first arrived, Eadmer had written in admiration of Anselm's preaching skills: 'And when we say that he admonished, or instructed, or taught these things, he did it not as others are wont to teach, but far differently; he set forth each point with familiar examples in daily life, supporting them with the evidence of solid reason, and leaving them in the minds of his hearers, stripped of all ambiguity'[136]), if, presently, she read Chaucer's translation[137] with understanding for its techniques, she would know that what she was attempting in her presentation of the showings would take its due place in an already honourable tradition.

The experts tell us that Chaucer was at work on his translation of Boethius c. 1380, that is, at the time when Julian may be presumed to have been considering the problems which she must solve in the composition of her long text (if, that is, the short text itself were already published, which we do not know). Chaucer's problems were not dissimilar. Either writer was called upon to render into contemporary English matter which might seem intractable: in Chaucer's case, Boethius' haunting and evocative rhythms and metres, in Julian's, the *processe* of her visions and locutions, and her own given insights, often of a profundity which, she tells us, seemed as if it would defeat her powers of language. They were both rescued from their dilemma by rhetoric, Chaucer more easily than Julian, since he was turning into English another man's *colores*, whereas she was adapting to her own ends literary devices few of which anyone before Chaucer had attempted to employ in her native language. We can see at once how deeply the problem had engaged her when we observe how often she anglicizes the rhetoricians' technical vocabulary, as the author of the *Riwle* before her had begun

[133] For a discussion of rhetoric in the *Riwle*, see G. Shepherd: *Ancrene Wisse*, lxv-lxxiii.

[134] See Lois K. Smedick: 'Cursus in Middle English'.

[135] Cf. 469.16, 470.34, notes.

[136] R. W. Southern: *The Life of St. Anselm*, 56. Shepherd's admirable introduction to the *Wisse* drew our attention to this.

[137] There is a somewhat perfunctory consideration of Chaucer's use in Boethius of rhetoric by Margaret Schlauch: 'The Art of Chaucer's Prose' (in D. S. Brewer, ed.: *Chaucer and Chaucerians*, 14-163).

to do.[138] She shows that she knows the logical purpose of *concessio* when she writes: ... *me behovede nedes grawnte* (226.7 and note). She understands precisely the function of *exemplum*, which she calls *example* (313.35, 513.3 and notes). She variously designates *oppositio contrariorum* as *contrarytes* (372.25), *contraryousnes* (501.12), *contrarys* (550.55, 659.4), *contrarious* (687.23). A *propositio* she names *profyr* (370.6, and cf. 385.35); and *ratiocinatio* is called a *resonn* (263.17, and cf. 325.12, 365.58, 461.19). The theological-rhetorical 'appropriation' gives her the past participle *propred* (593.40) and the abstract noun *propyrte* (493.34).

It is evident from the short text that Julian's study of rhetoric and her familiarity with its *colores*, as she had observed them in the Vulgate and elsewhere, had begun long before she wrote down her first account of her visions. There she employs two figures (211.24, 259.17 and notes) which she reproduces unaltered in the long text; and she uses *adnominatio* (259.17), *chiasmus* (238.15, 276.20), *complexio* (213.16, 249.2), *conduplicatio* (211.24), *continuatio* (247.18), *conversio* (204.43, 220.25, 235.39, 244.56, 248.28, 271.26, 272.42, 274.19), *exclamatio* (271.26), *gradatio* (238.15), *membrum* (268.4), *oppositio* (214.29, 222.50, 224.11, 231.33, 238.15, 239.14, 254.10, 256.43, 263.12, 268.4, 272.45), *ratiocinatio* (212.10), *repetitio*, initial (206.52, 211.24, 220.25, 221.32, 221.38, 239.14, 240.24, 248.28, 249.5, 252.3, 263.11, 263.12, 265.51) and medial (204.43, 216.49, 220.25, 221.32), *similiter cadens* (257.14), *tautologia* (268.14), and *traductio* (217.8, 244.56, 251.31, 254.10, 259.17). She is skilled in the construction of *compares*, as can be seen throughout.

If it is thought that the editors are attributing to Julian skills which she did not possess, because of their own subjective interpretations of her texts (Lois Smedick recently defended herself with ability against such a contention), heed should be paid to the opening of chapter xv in the first version, where she writes:

> And thus oure goode lorde answerde to alle the questyons and doutes that I myght make, sayande fulle comfortabelye on this wyse: I wille make alle thynge wele, I schalle make alle thynge wele, I maye make alle thynge wele and I can make alle thynge wele; and þowe schalle se þat thy selfe, that alle thynge schalle be wele. There he says he maye, I vndyrstande for the fadere; and þere he says he can, I vndyrstande for the sonne; and þer he says: I wille, I vnderstande for the hali gaste; and þere he says: I schalle, I vndirstande for the vnyte of the blyssede trinyte, thre persones in a trewthe; and there he says: Thowe schalle se thy selfe, I vndyrstande the anynge of alle mankynde that schalle be sayfe in to the blysfulle trinyte (249.1; and cf. 417.2 e.s. and notes).

[138] See Shepherd's introduction.

In the long text this is preserved unaltered, except that there the auxiliary verbs are ordered in the first sentence as she probably wrote them. No more striking instance could be found of the conscious deliberation with which she uses such figures to give clarity to her theology as she expounds the revelations.

But when in this regard we contrast the composition of the short text and that of the long, we see that in the interval she had fully mastered not only a wider range of *colores* — *articulus, commoratio, commutatio, conclusio, conflatio, contentio, correctio, definitio, descriptio, disjunctio, dissolutio, distributio, inclusio, interpretatio, notatio, personificatio, sermocinatio, similitudo, transitio* — but the very essence of the rhetoricians' art, the ability to think and to feel in accordance with the classical models. She had become a complete mistress of *expolitio* and of the *argumentatio perfectissima*.

This is best shown in the long text's chapter 38. In the short text she had written:

> Also god schewed me that syn is na schame, bot wirschippe to mann (255.17),

and all that she had offered there as demonstration of this paradox were her reflections on the 'great penitents', David and the others. Now, in the long text, she sees the need better to establish the truth of the statement, and she has acquired the theological and philosophical equipment to do this. She uses her remark as a *propositio*:

> And god schewed that synne shalle be no shame, but wurshype to man,

and proceeds with consummate ability to construct the rest of the *argumentatio*. The *ratio* follows:

> for ryght as to every synne is answeryng a payne by truth / ryght so for every synne to the same soule is gevyn a blysse by loue,

using *repetitio*, initial (*for ryght ... ryght so*) and medial (*to every synne ... for every synne*), and *oppositio* (*a payne by truth ... a blysse by loue*). The *rationis confirmatio* is:

> Ryght as dyuerse synnes be ponysschyd with dyuers paynes /
> after that it be greuous /
> ryght so shalle they be rewardyd with dyvers joyes in hevyn /
> for theyr victories /
> after as the synne haue ben paynfulle and sorowfulle to the soule in erth,

continuing the *repetitio* (*Ryght as ... ryght so*) and elaborating the *oppositio* (*dyuers synnes ... dyuers paynes ... dyvers joyes in hevyn ... in erth*). Next is the *exornatio*:

> For the soule that shalle come to hevyn /
> is so precyous to god and the place so wurshypfulle /
> that the goodnes of god sufferyth nevyr /
> that soule to synne fynally þat shalle come ther;

and the *complexio* concludes:

> But what synners they are that so shalbe rewarded /
> is made knowen in holy church in erth and also in heaven /
> by over passyng worshypes (445.2-446.12),

in which the allusion to the *ecclesia militans* and *ecclesia triumphans* shows the force of the *oppositio* which recurs throughout the figure, and perfects the *argumentatio* by its demonstration that the Church on earth venerates David and other repentant sinners of the Old Testament, and has raised to its altars such men and women as Mary Magdalene, Peter, Paul, Thomas, John of Beverley. The Church does not conceal their former sinfulness; *Alle is turned them to worshyppe*. The greatness of their sins is the measure of their contrition and of their glory.

In both versions Julian is careful to insist that this illumination was a part of the showing: *for in this sight mynn vnderstandynge was lyftyd vp in to hevenn* (255.18, repeated verbatim 446.12); but in the long text the mention of John of Beverley (suppressed, we must assume, in the short text, for when she writes *god callyd hym seynt Johnn of Beverley, pleynly as we do, and þat with a fulle glade and swet chere*, 447.24, she must mean that a part of the revelation was the rehearsing of the penitents' names) leads her to a typical homespun *exemplum* with which to extend and clinch the *argumentatio*, that what she is teaching, 'that sin shall be no shame but honour to a repentant sinner', is proved in John's case by the miracles which God constantly performs at his shrine. In Julian's age all England was awed by his cult, which would reach its height when Henry V attributed the victory at Agincourt to his intercessions; but her purpose in alluding to it is theological.

This account of Julian as rhetorician in no way exhausts the catalogue of her literary abilities. Her use of alliteration (e.g. 541.289, 615.20) and of rhyme (e.g. 437.21-22) has often been remarked on;[139] and one should also observe the ease with which in places (e.g. 387.49 and note, 729.11 and note) she raises the emotional level of her writing by employing markedly metrical structures. Nowhere do we find that she subordinates sense to sound; and her willingness to jettison one of

[139] The most recent examination of such matters is that by R. K. Stone. Cf. note 74, supra.

the most striking figures in her short text (271.26-36) as no longer fully corresponding with her insights has already been remarked. In this respect as in so many others, she shows that she had wholly freed herself of the influence of Richard Rolle and his school. But, born six years before he died, spending her childhood in the aftermath of the Black Death, in a land ringing with prophecies of woe and doom, in the intellectual and moral ferment so vividly and painfully described for us in *Piers Plowman,* she would be remarkable if not eccentric if her book did not show some traces of all this; and they are to be found.

They are shown by her opening words: *I desyrede thre graces be the gyfte of god. The fyrst was to have mynde of Cryste es passionn. The seconnde was bodelye syeknes, and the thryd was to haue of goddys gyfte thre wonndys* (201.6). In the annotations to this and comparable passages, the editors have shown how close Julian is to the temper of such devotional writings as the *Stimulus amoris,* Suso's *Horologium*, the *Fifteen Oes* (and many other anonymous, frequently still unpublished prayers and meditations in Latin, English and French), and to the immensely popular recension, *The Privity of the Passion*, of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* spuriously attributed to Bonaventure.[140] Elsewhere[141] they have pointed out how close Julian is, describing these early aspirations to take an active part in the Passion of her Lord, to some of Bonaventure's genuine writings, and to that whole body of meditative prose and verse, Latin and vernacular, spread all over Western Christendom, which we may call 'Franciscan'. (So to describe it is not to ignore the impetus given to discursive meditation on the life and death of Christ by writings earlier than Francis himself, such as the genuine and spurious works circulating under Anselm's name, or the contributions to such literature made by writers such as Richard Rolle and Henry Suso, who were not friars minor.)

A recent critic has also remarked[142] how deeply susceptible Julian is to the influence of pious art-objects; and the editors have described[143] the evidence which shows how richly furnished were the Norwich churches with such objects. Douglas Gray and Rosemary Woolf[144] have made important contributions to our understanding of how 'Franciscan' such visual art was, as also was the popular literature it inspired,

[140] Cf. e.g. 201.6, 201.12-202.13, 202.23, 205.51 and notes.
[141] In 'Editing Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*'.
[142] Douglas Gray: *Themes and Images.*
[143] In 'Editing Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*'.
[144] *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968).

even though some of its outstanding surviving examples, such as the (to us) gruesomely illustrated Carthusian MS BM Add. 37049, were not produced by or for Francis's followers. It is in this tradition that Julian is writing:

> Me thought I wolde haue bene that tyme with Mary Mawdeleyne and with othere that were Crystes loverse, that I myght have sene bodylye the passionn of oure lorde that he sufferede for me, that I myght have sufferede with hym as othere dyd that lovyd hym, not withstandynge that I leevyd sadlye alle the peynes of Cryste as halye kyrke schewys and techys, and also the payntyngys of crycyfexes that er made be the grace of god aftere the techynge of haly kyrke to the lyknes of Crystes passyonn, als farfurthe as man ys witte maye reche (201.11).

In the annotations to this passage it is observed that the reason for the suppression in the long text (cf. 286.12) of its conclusion, the observation on the utility of devotional art, may be that the Lollard controversy about this, active when Julian was first writing, had by the 1390s abated. We can see that her position in this matter is that of moderation. In contrast to Margery Kempe's hysterical outpourings in a Norwich church at the sight of a *pietà*[145] — the image, and Margery's reaction to it, evidently resembled closely those described in *De arte lacrimandi*[146] — Julian makes the important reservation, *als farfurthe as man ys witte maye reche*; and the editors have observed that here she makes the *Ancrene Riwle's* distinction, as elucidated by G. V. Smithers, between object and imitation or representation. This is an important witness to her own self-knowledge. She has asked for the grace of suffering, and for a vision of the Passion, so that she might in some form share in it, but not to increase her faith that Christ did suffer. Her faith is founded on the Church's teachings, and her imaginative awareness has been formed by such art objects, inadequate though she knows them to be.

One object which evidently had deeply and lastingly impressed her in her early years was the Vernicle, which, according to the legend as it had developed by her time,[147] was the kerchief with which the compassionate 'Veronica' had wiped the face of the suffering Saviour on the Via Dolorosa, which had miraculously received the impression of his

[145] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 145.

[146] Ed. R. E. Garrett. Cf. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 258-259.

[147] For discussions and bibliographies, cf. K. Pearson: *Die Fronica*; E. von Dobschütz: *Christusbilder*; J. R. Hulbert: 'Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome'; E. Breitenbach: 'Israhel van Meckenem's *Man of Sorrows*'.

pitiful countenance, and which was now preserved in St. Peter's at Rome, where the faithful venerating it could gain indulgence, three thousand years to the natives of the city, nine thousand to cisalpine and twelve thousand to transalpine pilgrims. The Augustinian John Waldeby had enlivened his sermons with accounts of this relic after he returned from Rome in 1354.[148] Hulbert calls *The Stacyons of Rome* no more than a versified *liber indulgentiarum*; and from the early printed text of such a *liber* which he quotes, and which carefully specifies the days in the year when the relic is displayed and the indulgence may be gained,[149] it is very evident that Waldeby's confrère of the next century, John Capgrave, however much he may have been praised for the accuracy of his observations and transcriptions when he too visited the city, is in his *Solace of Pilgrims* merely translating or copying from another such *liber*.[150] Hulbert describes such literature as 'Part of an organized propaganda to attract pilgrims to Rome', and argues very persuasively that the Church and the city suffered throughout the fourteenth century, when the popes' absence in Avignon attracted fewer of the faithful to Rome. However disparate the origins (seemingly for the most part Byzantine) of the legend and of the various traits of the *vera ikon* may be, it seems to have been in Rome that they coalesced;[151] and by Julian's time, in England as throughout the West, the image and its accompanying texts were appearing in pious manuals. In MS Fitzwilliam 55, f. 122^{v}, there is a very fine miniature of the Vernicle followed by:

Salue sancta facies	nostri redemptoris
in qua nitet species	diuini splendoris
inpressa panniculo	(n)iuei cando-(f. 123^{r})ris
dataque Veronice	signum ob amoris ...[152]

and the same hymn is incorporated in the 'Office of the Vernicle'.[153] In MS BM Royal 17 A xxvii (a composite, the devotional section c. 1400), there is, f. 72^{v}, a drawing of two angels displaying the extended Vernicle, with:

[148] Margaret J. Morrin: 'John Waldeby, O.S.A. (ca. 1315-1372)', 21.
[149] 'Some Medieval Advertisements', 403-405.
[150] C. A. Mills, ed.: *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, 63.
[151] *Die Fronica*, 9.
[152] Cf. Chevalier, *Repertorium*, no. 18189. A similar miniature and text are in MS Harley 211, f. 141^{r}.
[153] Cf. C. Wordsworth: *Horae Eboracenses*, 174-175.

O vernacule I honoure hi*m and* the
þat þe made þorow his preuite. / (f. 73[r])
Þo cloth he set to his face
þe prent laft þere þorow his grace.
His moth his nose his ine to,
his berd his here did al so.
Schulde me for al þat in my liue
I haue singud with wittis fiue;
namlich with mout of sclaunduring,
fals othus *and* bakbiting,
and made loste with toung al so.
Of sunnus þat I haue do,
lord of heuen for ȝeue it me
þorow syht of þe figur þat I here se.[154]

Whether Julian had learned from such manuals of the legend and its representation, or from such sources as the 'Legend of Pope Gregory'[155] or the 'Arma Christi',[156] it is clear that she knew the essentials and ignored what was irrelevant.

Her account of her visions of the face of the suffering Saviour begins where she tells, in chapter ii of the short text, how the priest brought with him a crucifix and urged her to look on it. However reluctantly, she did as he said, and set her eyes on the face of the image. Everything except the crucifix grew dark and ugly, 'as if it had been much occupied with fiends' (208.23-209.37, with which the long text agrees). It is suggested that this last detail is a reminiscence of mediaeval crucifixion iconography, or of apocryphal accounts of the devil assailing the crucified Christ. In chapter iii she describes how blood suddenly began to flow from under the crown of thorns; she does not say here that this does not refer to the crucifix brought by the priest, and in her later account of her conversation with the religious who visited her (266.9, and cf. 633.17), she specifies that it was *the crosse that stode atte my bedde feete*. We may recall the frequency in Julian's age of legends of crucifixes which spoke, moved, bled.[157] In chapter v she

[154] Cf. Brown and Robbins: *Index,* no. 2577, which lists fifteen manuscripts. Robbins and Cutler, *Supplement,* add two more.

[155] See Breitenbach, 25 and note 13, for the statement that this legend was propagated in the late fourteenth century, along with the identification of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme as the scene of the miracle, by the Carthusians, trying to raise funds for their new Charterhouse there.

[156] See R. Berliner: 'Arma Christi', with its lavish notes and bibliography.

[157] See E. Colledge, 'The Legend of St. Thomas Aquinas' (in A. Maurer, ed.: *St. Thomas Aquinas*), 24-25.

states that for so long as the 'ghostly sights' she has just described lasted, the bleeding persisted. She repeats this in chapter 7 of the long text; but the repetition is followed by a considerable addition (311.14-313.31), containing a minute description of the size, the changing colour and the persistence of the drops of blood, and the vividness and horror of the sight. Towards the end of the short text's chapter vii she implies that the sight had ceased and now has returned. She again states specifically that this was *the face of the crucifixe that hange before me,* but that this conveyed some of the afflictions, physical and mental, of the Passion to her (225.21-29, and cf. 324.3, again a more detailed account). Chapter x begins with yet another vision of Christ's face (not, this time, associated with the crucifix in her room), and of its discoloration as he died (233.1-10). This corresponds with the long text's chapter 16; but the rest of that chapter is concerned with details of the Passion not recounted in the short text.

It is only in the long text that these visions are associated with the Vernicle, in chapter 10, parts of which correspond with chapter vii of the short text, as already noted. As there, she describes how she wished that the Holy Face were not so darkly shown, and was answered *If god will shew thee more, he shal be thy light; thou nedyth none but him* (325.12). This leads her to reflect on our blindness as we seek God; and this is followed by the passage, already described, deriving from Ecclesiasticus and Psalm 138, concerning the 'drowned soul'. Then she writes that all this second revelation was 'so low and so little and so simple' that she doubted, until, later, she received divine assurance, whether it could be from God. Then, with what reads like abrupt transition, she continues: *It was a fygur and a lyknes of our fowle blacke dede, which that our feyre bryght blessed lord bare for our synne* (327.36). 'It' here can only refer to the revelation's beginning, the vision of the Holy Face; and Julian shows that this is so by continuing:

> It made me to thynke of the holie vernacle of Rome, which he portrude with his one blessed face, when he was in his hard passion, wilfully goyng to his death, and often chaungyng of coloure, of the brownhead and the blackhead, rewlyhead and leenhead. Of this ymage many marveyled how that myght be stanndyng that he portrude it with his blessed face, which is the feyerest of heauyn, flower of earth and the frute of the maydens wombe. Then how myght this ymage be so dyscolouryde and so farre from feyerhead? I desyre to say, as I haue vnderstonde, by the grace of god (328.38).

We see from this that she had received the Vernicle legend in its most modern form: that she believes that Christ's image was miraculously

transferred to the kerchief as he went towards Calvary, that it is now preserved in Rome, and that it is there the object of great veneration. She suggests that her visions may be compared with it, in that she has been filled with the same reverent compassion. To all else, to the Vernicle's wonder-working properties and the indulgences, she seems quite indifferent.

She seems to suggest that the Vernicle itself exhibits what she saw in her vision, *often chaungyng of coloure*, and that one reason why those who see it displayed in Rome are astonished is because they expect a *vera ikon* to show Christ as the nonpareil of human beauty, as tradition, supported by Scripture, asserts him to be, whereas the Vernicle depicts him *so dyscolouryde and so farre from feyerhead*. It is this implication which has encouraged the editors to emend an evidently corrupt passage, later in the chapter, to read:

> And ther it seyeth of the vernacle of Rome, it meuyth by dyverse chan-ngyng of coloure and chere, somtyme more comfortable and lyuely, and some tyme more rewfull and deadly, as it may be seen (331.65);

and they have pointed out in their annotation how exactly this corresponds with what the art historians tell us of the two conflicting iconographic traditions, 'the first creating a Saviour with noble features, the second a Jesus more dead than alive, crowned with thorns, hair dishevilled and blood-spattered face'.

Julian's devotion to the Sacred Heart, and how the literature and iconography of the devotion seem to have influenced her, is less problematical, chiefly because both iconography and literature are much more clearly documented. Despite the popular opinion that the devotion was initiated by Margaret Mary Alacoque, it is found in England as early as Bede, it was well known to Bernard and to the author of the *Ancrene Riwle*, and was flourishing in Julian's time, as many surviving prayers and pictures testify.[158] In chapter xiii of the short text she had written:

> Fulle merelye and gladlye oure lorde lokyd in to his syde and behelde and sayde this worde: Loo how I lovyd the, as ȝyf he hadde sayde: My childe, ȝif thow kan nought loke in my godhede, see heere how I lette opyn my syde and my herte be clovene in twa and lette oute blude and watere, alle þat was thare yn; and this lykes me and so wille I that it do the (242.1).

[158] See E. Colledge, *The Mediaeval Mystics of England*, 11-13, and the authorities there cited, notably Ignazio Bonetti: *Le stimate della Passione*.

In chapter 24 of the long text this becomes:

> Wyth a good chere oure good lorde lokyd in to hys syde and behelde with joy, and with hys swete lokyng he led forth the vnderstandyng of hys creature by the same wound in to hys syd with in; and ther he shewyd a feyer and delectable place, and large jnow for alle mankynde that shalle be savyd and rest in pees and in loue. And ther with he brought to mynde hys dere worthy blode and hys precious water whych he lett poure out for loue. And with the swete beholdyng he shewyd hys blessyd hart clovyn on two, and with hys enjoyeng he shewyd to my vnderstandyng in part the blyssydfulle godhede as farforth as he wolde that tyme, strengthyng the pour soule for to vnderstande as it may be sayde, that is to mene the endlesse loue that was without begynnyng and is and shal be evyr (394.3).

The notable addition here is the allusion to the wounded Sacred Heart as 'a fair and delectable place, and large enough for all mankind'; and the editors have pointed out how this echoes such devotions as the *Anima Christi* and the *Fifteen Oes*. Rosemary Woolf has described and illustrated for us the extremes, sometimes horrific, sometimes mawkish, to which the cult could be taken by writers and limners of inferior taste; that this is a judgment not merely of our own age is shown by Julian's perfect restraint.

Those who read the more violent and intemperate products of the Richard Rolle school only with considerable reservations (and Walter Hilton and the *Cloud*-author are to be numbered among such critics) will find Julian as a devotional writer much more to their taste. She was not prepared to trust her own emotions, until *probatio* counselled her that they would lead her where God wished, to where God was to be found. She understood, as must anyone who seeks for spiritual progress, the need for knowledge: self-knowledge, and knowledge of the traditions established by those who before us have sought for knowledge of God. Her whole book, if it is read aright, shows how she had laboured for such knowledge, and how modestly and unaffectedly she used it when it was given. Very many historians of literature and spirituality have lauded her for the famous conclusion:

> What, woldest thou wytt thy lordes menyng in this thyng? Wytt it wele, loue was his menyng. Who shewyth it the? Loue. What shewid he the? Love. Wherfore shewyth he it the? For loue. Holde the therin, thou shalt wytt more in the same. But thou schalt nevyr witt therin other withoutyn ende (732.15).

When, however, we observe the subtlety with which the *colores* of the rhetoricians are here fused with the techniques of the philosophers and

the schoolmen's teachings,[159] we must revere her even more. She ends as she has persisted: this is 'her Lord's meaning', and she knows it because she 'was answered in ghostly understanding'. We may learn to esteem her gifts, but she asks us only to esteem what, she truly believed, was given to her from on high.

IX Theological Content of the *Revelations*

1 The Short and Long Texts Compared

In III it has been shown that there had been 'lateral contamination' between the two versions before in the mid-fifteenth century A was copied. None the less, the distinctions of content in either remain plain.

In their annotations to chapter 1, the editors have given their reasons for thinking that this *capitulatura* was composed by Julian herself (unlike the introductory paragraph of the short text), but before the compilation of the long text's revision, the 'second edition'. That and chapters 2 and 3 serve as prologue, and they correspond with the short text, omitting, however, its reflections on the utility and inadequacies of devotional art-objects, and the allusion to what she had heard 'a man ... of Holy Church' tell of the legend of St. Cecilia.

Revelation I, chapters 4-9 in the long text, dealt with three 'sights': the first is the crown of thorns and the streaming blood, which Julian calls a 'bodily sight'. In chapter 4, she writes that the vision of the blood flowing from under the crown inspired her to rejoice in the Trinity, *for wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand*; this reflection (294.9-296.16) is not in the short text. There, the first paragraph of chapter iv, describing the *gastelye sight of his hamly lovynge* (212.2-7), the understanding of the all-embracing love of God, is reworked and transferred to the long text's chapter 5 (299.2-8); and in the two texts the accounts of the contemplation of the hazel nut and of Mary are transposed. They are otherwise substantially unchanged, although it is suggested (300.18 note) that *But what behyld I ther in?* is of the P scribe's own making as a variant to *Botte whate is that to me?* (213.17), with which SS and W agree. But the conclusion of chapter 5, *And also our good lord* ... (301.34-303.46), with the prayer, *God of thy goodnes geue me thy selfe* ..., and the meditation on how his goodness fulfils all creation, is not found in the short text; chapter 6, showing how our prayer is better directed to that goodness than to intermediaries, and how goodness totally encompasses us, is original to the long text, as is the opening of chapter 7, which ob-

[159] See the analysis of this passage, 732.15-17 note.

serves the relevance of this contemplation of divine goodness to the vision of Mary's spiritual greatness. Chapter 7 continues with an account of the bleeding caused by the crown of thorns. This begins (311.12) as does chapter v in the short text (217.1); but what is there merely two clauses has been in the long text expanded to occupy the rest of the chapter: the vivid description of the drops of blood, leading to the meditation upon God's 'marvellous homeliness'. Chapter 8 resumes the short text's account of the 'six things' which reflection on the first showing had revealed to Julian. In the annotations to chapter v, it is pointed out how these topics have been reordered in the long text according to their modes: 'bodily sights', 'ghostly in bodily likeness', and 'ghostly sights'. The rest of chapter 8, her remark to those at her bedside that this was Doomsday for her, her explanation of the remark, and her application of her entire narrative to the spiritual situation of every Christian, follows, with some reworking, the short text. Chapter 9 begins with the observation found in the short text, chapter v, 'For the showing I am not good unless I love God the better' (220.11, 321.2), but whereas in the short text this is followed by a reiteration that these revelations are for the profit of all, in the long text this is turned into an address *to you that be symple*. In either text there follows the statement that Julian does not claim for herself more love from God *than the lest soule that is in grace*, and her appeal to the unity of charity. Then, in the short text, there follows a passage, *And thus wille I love ... Jhesu that ys techare of alle* (221.33-222.52), her expostulation that she is an ignorant woman who is not teaching but merely repeating what has been revealed to her of divine love, not found in the long text. The significance of this omission has been remarked on (222.40 note). But both texts then continue with her affirmation of faith in the teachings of Holy Church (222.52-223.56, 323.20-28), after which chapter vii begins, Revelation I ends with her description of the 'three parts' in which the revelations were received, and of the inadequacy of her accounts of the 'ghostly sights'. The matter which then follows in the short text, her application of the revelations to all Christians (224.8-11), and her saying that this day was to be her judgment day (224.14-225.20), has, it has been seen, been moved forward in the long text to chapter 8.

Chapter vii of the short text ends and Revelation II, chapter 10, begins with the 'bodily sight' of the crucifix, relating its dolorous aspect. Julian could see this only with difficulty and asked for more light, and she was answered: 'If God wishes to show you more, he will be your light' (225.28, 325.12). Then, in the long text only, there follows a

lengthy passage (325.14-335.96), the rest of Revelation II, containing her meditation on 'our common working in this life', seeing and seeking God, having him and wanting him, her account of the 'drowned soul' finding safety in God's keeping, the description of her perplexity over the seemingly commonplace nature of such showings, and the assurance she later received that they were divinely revealed. With this assurance she then interprets the vision of the crucified Christ with which Revelation II began as 'a figure and likeness of our foul black death ...', which, she says, made her think of the Vernicle at Rome, which astonishes those who venerate it by the lack of physical beauty in the Man of Sorrows. This leads her to another meditation on man as the image of the Trinity, and the Son of Man taking on him that image as man had befouled it. She refers to a coming passage in which she will write more of Christ's likeness, and she seems to assert that the Vernicle itself changes colour and appearance as did the Lord in her vision. Such fluctuations typify for her the 'seeing and seeking, having and wanting', all of which is according to God's will. We must wholly resign ourselves to that will; all of us must seek, joyfully, patiently, trustfully.

Revelation III, chapter 10, begins with her account of how she saw God *in a poynte*, how she saw him as omnipotent but failed to discern the nature of sin. This corresponds with the opening of chapter viii in the short text; but what is there concerning divine providence and prescience (226.5-7) has been expanded (337.8-16), in a passage which may owe something to Chaucer's *Boethius*, attributing to human ignorance or blindness any denial of providence. Similarly, the next sentence in the short text, *Whare fore me behovede nedes grawnte that alle thynge that es done es wele done, and I was sekyr that god dose na synne* (226.7), has been augmented: *Thus I vnderstonde in this shewyng of loue, for well I wott in the syght of our lord god is no happe ne aventure; wherfore me behovyd nedes to grannt that alle thynges that is done is welle done, for our lord god doth all. For in this tyme the workyng of creatures was nott shewde, but of our lord god in the creatures; for he is in the myd poynt of all thynges, and all he doth. And I was sewer that he doth no synne; and here I saw verely that synne is no dede, for in alle thys, synne was nott shewde* (337.16). Nothing in the short text has been deleted, but the reference to divine omnipotence has been added, she points out that the revelation is not concerned with human acts but with divine action upon humanity (which is why she could write in the short text that *synne is nouȝt*, here carefully rephrased as *synne is no dede*), and so leads with greater cogency to the demonstration that *he doth no synne*. Then in the long text comes the etymologizing remark on the 'two fair properties' of *ryghtfulnes*, after which both texts promise an ac-

count of a further revelation in which sin will be described. The rest of Revelation III, her fuller reflections on divine prescience and beneficence, and the affirmation of this by *repetitio, See, I am god ...* (340.51 e.s.) are not found in the short text.

It next describes her vision of the Flagellation (227.14). This is recounted in even more painful detail at the beginning of Revelation IV, chapter 12 (342.3-343.12). Both texts pass immediately to the meditation on the plentiful waters created for our service, and on the Precious Blood (227.20-24, 343.13-19), where the long text's rewriting bears witness to Julian's now heightened literary skills. The further meditation on the Precious Blood which is the rest of Revelation IV is not found in the short text.

Revelation V, chapter 13, corresponds with the rest of chapter viii in the short text, apart from the closing sentence there; but there are important additions. Both texts have the locution, *Here with ys the feende ouer commynn* (227.28, 346.7), and the assurance that the devil is powerless and that he sorrows on that account. But in the long text Julian continues: *But in god may be no wrath ... and do against goddes wyll* (347.18-348.23). In both texts we have the same account of Julian's laughter as she sees God despising the impotent fiend, but the long text omits her wish that all Christians might see and laugh as she did, and, after the statement that she did not see Christ laugh, it adds that her laughter was solely for the sight, and qualifies what she had written of *scornyng*, lest it seem to contradict what she had written of there being no anger in God, with *And ther I sawe ... which is durable* (349.31-35). The account of 'game, scorn and earnest' follows in either text, but, again, in the long text *scornyd* is given a further explanation.

Chapter viii of the short text concludes with the locution: *I thanke the of thy seruyce and of thy trauayle, and namly in þi ȝough* (229.53), which is the opening in the long text of Revelation VI, chapter 14 (351.3); but what there follows, *And in thys my vnderstondyng ... fulfyllyth alle hevyn of ioy and blysse,* is a new addition. Thereafter the beginning of chapter ix and what follows in the long text agree, though the 'exsample', *A kyng ... is mech increasyd* (352.24-26), and *For I saw ... all her lyfe* (353.32-36) are also additions.

Revelation VII, chapter 15, quite unlike any of the first six, telling only of the alternation of spiritual joy and depression, and seeming to describe her state of soul at this point in the sequence of revelations, corresponds with 230.18-233.10 in the short text. The variants between the two are minimal.

Revelation VIII, consisting, as it has been edited, of chapters 16-20,

has much more matter than any before; it opens, as does chapter x, with a showing of the Holy Face and all the sufferings of the Passion which that conveys. But soon Julian begins to rewrite. A long passage, *and the swete body ... so longe sufferde he* (357.11-358.24) is introduced, as also the sentence *And ther I say ... contynually dyeng* (359.26). Thereafter chapter 17 takes up the course of the short text again with the meditation on 'I thirst'; but the entire passage *for I vnderstode that for tendyrnes* (360.9) ... *and that other slow with clyngyng and dryeng* (364.45) is new. There is omitted from the short text the allusion to Philippians 2.5, and the narrative of how her mother made to close Julian's eyes, thinking her dead. The rest of the chapter follows the short text. Chapter 18 begins with the same announcement as in the short text (235.43) of the vision of Mary, this time as the Mother of Sorrows; but it adds the remarks about the 'kind love most fulsomely shown in his sweet mother' (366.6), and the sentence *For ever the hygher ... that he lovyd* (366.8). The sentence *Here saw I ... sufferyd with hym* (367.14) is from the short text (235.49); but the rest of chapter 18 is original. The narrative concerning 'Denis of France' probably derives from reading undertaken after the short text's completion. In chapter 19, the account of how she was commanded (she does not say by whom) 'Look up to heaven to his Father', and of how she was taught *to chese Jhesu only to my hevyn in wele and in woe* (370.2-371.20) follows the short text (236.57-237.6); but the rest of the chapter is new. The beginning of chapter 20, *And thus saw I ... and vtterly dyspysed* (374.2-375.9) is from the short text (237.6-238.15); but the rest of this chapter and the beginning of Revelation IX, chapter 21 (as it is edited) are original.

With *sodenly I beholdyng* (379.6), correspondence with the short text (239.1) resumes; but the meditation, beginning *I vnderstode that we be now in our lordes menyng* ... (379.11), and the rest of chapter 21 are not found in the short text. The opening of chapter 22, from *Then seide oure good lorde askyng* (382.2) to *in his properte and in hys wurkyng* (383.13), corresponds with the short text, chapter xii (239.6-17), and, after one interpolated sentence, *That is to sey, I saw in Crist that the father is,* the correspondence continues (239.17-240.25; 383.14-384.23). The next sentence in the long text, *And this was a syngular marveyle ...* (384.22) is new; what follows corresponds again (240.26; 384.24-385.28), but the rest of that paragraph (385.28-31) is new. The first sentence of the next paragraph follows without omission the short text (240.31-33; 385.32-33). Again, new matter is introduced (385.34-386.46). Then *The loue that made hym ... shall be without ende* (386.46-387.49) introduces what came earlier in chapter xi (238.15-19). The conclusion of the chapter, begin-

ning *If I myght suffer more* (387.50), corresponds with 240.34-40. The beginning of chapter 23, *And in these thre wordes ... the holy gost lykyth* (389.2-6) continues the short text without break (240.40-241.45); but 389.6-391.24 are a new reflection. Then the short text is taken up again without omission, but what there begins as a statement, *Jhesu wille ...*, becomes in the long text an apostrophe, *A, Jhesu ...* (241.45; 391.25). The rest of the chapter, apart from a few lines indicated in the annotations, is new.

Revelation X, chapter 24, takes the opening sentence of chapter xiii, *Fulle merelye ... that it do the* (242.1-6), and uses most of the chapter as a frame for a new meditation on the vision of the Sacred Heart. The central idea of the short version, *3if thow kan nought loke in my godhede, see heere how I lette opyn my syde,* is suppressed, since Julian now has a different reflection; instead the pierced and wounded heart becomes *a feyer and delectable place, and large jnow for alle mankynde that shalle be savyd* (394.6). There is allusion to the earlier meditation on the Precious Blood, and this leads to Julian's statement that the vision of the Sacred Heart and of the Saviour's joy in it gave her 'understanding in part of his divinity', as much as then Christ wished to give. The locution, *Lo how I loue the* (in the short text, 242.2, we read *lovyd*), inspires new passages to replace *3if thow kan nought loke ...: my darlyng ... enioye with me* (395.16-19), and *behold and see ... and blysse with me* (396.21-28).

Revelation XI, chapter 25, uses the same technique of commenting on a locution by attributing speech in the first person (that it is such a comment and not a locution always carefully specified). It continues the short text narrative (242.7-10) without break, reporting the locution *Willt thou see her?* (398.5); and then Julian gives her own exegesis of this, *as yf he had seyd ...* (398.6-399.22). Then comes narrative from the short text (242.11-18; 400.24-31), Julian's answer to the locution, and her statement that although she had expected to see Mary in bodily likeness (A's reading, 242.12, is probably superior to P's *lykyng*, 400.26, or the SS variant), in fact she saw her in apotheosis. Then comes, in the long text, the *exsample*, 400.32-34, not found in the short, after which the rest of the chapter follows the short text (242.18-243.24; 400.35-401.41) without omission.

Revelation XII, chapter 26, very brief, reports the 'I it am' locution when Christ showed himself 'more glorified' (243.25-36), closely following the elaborate rhetorical structure, but drawing from it a markedly different conclusion (cf. 243.28, 402.4 and notes).

Revelation XIII comprises chapters 27-40. Chapter 27, 404.3-405.13, follows exactly the short text, 243.37-244.43, with its statement that

Julian in her folly had previously thought that if God had prevented sin, *alle schulde hafe bene wele,* which is preparing the ground for one of the most celebrated locutions. Then the long text telescopes a passage from the short, *But Jhesu that in this vysyon enformyd me of alle that me nedyd answeryd by thys worde and seyde: Synne is behouely* (405.11-13; cf. 244.46-52), and introduces for the first time the locution itself: *but alle shalle be wele, and alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thynge shalle be wele*, not found at this place in the short text. What follows: *In þis nakyd worde: Synne ... whych be nott very good* (405.14-406.21), there is further omission of short-text matter (cf. 244.53-245.60). The rest of the chapter follows the short text, 406.22-407.38, 245.61-246.75 (as it has been edited), though the final paragraph, *And in theyse same wordes ...* (407.39-42) is original. Chapter 28's opening, *Thus I saw ... alle my evyn cristen* (408.2-5), is from the short text (246.77-80), but, except for *And than saw I ... Crist in hym* (246.80-83), the rest of this chapter is new. The whole of chapter 29 (412.2-413.17) corresponds with the short text, 247.1-16. Chapter 30, 414.2-416.26, reproduces the short text, 247.17-248.41. Chapter 31 begins (417.2-418.20) by following the short text, chapter xv, 249.1-250.18; but the rest of the chapter, *For we know in oure feyth ...* (418.21 e.s.) is original, except for the concluding phrases (421.50-53; 250.19-22). The next sentence in the short text, *And in thies ... ere for to comme* (250.22-25), is reproduced in the middle of the long chapter 31 (423.20-22), but with that exception the chapter is new. Chapter 32 omits what follows immediately in the short text, *for ryght ... nought wele* (250.25-27), but repeats the following sentence, *It is goddys wille ... alle that he schalle do* (250.27-28), towards the end of chapter 33, which otherwise is original. So is the first paragraph of chapter 34 (430.2-431.14); but the rest follows the opening of chapter xvi (252.1-12), omitting the conclusion of chapter xv (250.29-251.35). The first paragraph of chapter 35, the anecdote of Julian's overanxiety for *a serteyn creature* (432.2-433.14), repeats the short text (252.13-253.23), though the long text has been edited to conceal that the 'creature' was a woman (cf. 432.4 note). The rest of chapter 35 is new, as is the whole of chapter 36. Chapter 37 takes up again the short text without omission, supplying, however, its own minor interpolations. The first clause of chapter 38 follows the short text (255.17-18) without a break; but the treatment of the theme of the famous penitents whose examples show that 'sin is no shame, but worship' (254.9-256.25; 445.2-448.36) has been drastically re-edited for the long text, and the 'example' of John of Beverley is new. The opening of chapter 39 (449.2-450.13) reproduces the short text (256.25-256.36) without omissions and with only minimal rewording; but the med-

itation on humility which follows (450.13-452.29) is an addition. This leads to the passage *For by theyse medycins ... to worschyppe and to joy* (452.30-453.40), which follows the short text without omission (256.36-45) and with little re-editing; the conclusion of chapter 39 (453.40-48) is not in the short text. The first three paragraphs of chapter 40 (454.2-456.24), though they reproduce odd phrases from the short text (454.6, 455.12 notes) are new; the rest, 457.33-459.54, is an expansion of what immediately follows the last borrowing from there (256.45-47).

Revelation XIV, pp. 460-618, comprises chapters 41-63, and constitutes one third of the entire long text. The opening of chapter 41 (460.3-4, 5-462.20) continues without omission to follow the short text (258.1-2, 259.13-260.29); but the rest of the chapter in the long text, with its analysis of the locution, and its exhortations to have trust in praying, is new. Chapter 42, a continuation of this theme, is wholly new. Chapter 43, also concerned with prayer, has some borrowing from the short text (258.4-261.53 = 475.2-476.17; 261.59-262.64 = 478.28-479.33), but much new matter has been added. Chapters 44, 45 and 46 are original, as is chapter 47, apart from one phrase (262.64-67; 496.16, 17, 496.19-20); and the whole of the rest of this revelation is not found in the short text. Elsewhere in this Introduction the basic unity of the entire revelation, which is its concern to comprehend and expound divine compassion, is suggested; and the editors have there attempted to demonstrate that this wealth of fresh material includes the showing of the lord and the servant, received along with the others but suppressed in the short text, because Julian could not reconcile her convictions about God's love with her age's preoccupation with his anger and what she had been shown — and not shown — about sin, and that this leads to her teachings on 'God our Mother', and on the unity of all mankind which will be saved, as her final resolution of the theological and emotional problems which had prevented her from writing the short text in accordance with what, she was told, was God's will for it.

Revelation XV is constituted of chapters 64 and 65. In accordance with her new insights, Julian omits the passage in the short text dealing with the quenching of God's wrath (262.69-78), and begins chapter 64 with a new sentence: *Thus I vnderstode that all his blessyd chyldren whych be come out of hym by kynd shulde be brougt agayne in to hym by grace* (619.3-4). Then the second, third and fourth paragraphs follow (619.5-622.30), with little re-editing, chapter xx of the short text (263.1-264.25). Next there is the account of the *swylge stynkyng myrre* (622.31-625.60), and its application to the theme of 'merciful compassion', at the end of which

Julian introduces, re-arranged from the short text, *What shuld it than a greuyd* ... (625.59-626.67; cf. 265.57-58, 264.27-33). Chapter 65 is original to the long text.

Revelation XVI comprises the remaining chapters, 66-86. The beginning of chapter 66, 632.3-9, serves as preface to the whole revelation, and it is new. The rest of the paragraph, *and soone I feelt ... gostly and bodely* (632.10-15) paraphrases and expands the opening of chapter xxi (266.1-6). Then there follows, 632.16-634.35, the account of her conversation with the 'religious person' (cf. 266.7-267.25). Chapter 67 describes the nocturnal phantasm which assailed her sleeping, with much more vivid detail than in the short text (cf. 267.26-40). Chapter 68 follows the short text, chapter xxii, 268.1-269.27, but with an addition (641.17-643.36). Between chapters 68 and 69 the long text omits 269.28-42. Chapters 69 and part of 70 follow the short text's account of the second diabolic visitation (270.1-25), but with considerable re-editing; the two devils, for example, are reduced to one. But at the end of this account, chapter 70 continues (651.17-653.40) with a general reflection on the revelations' authenticity, and on Julian's pusillanimity in this regard, whereas the short text's rhetorical apostrophe to sin (271.26-36) is omitted, for reasons elsewhere suggested, as is the reflection on *wrecchednesse* (271.37-272.56). Chapters 71 and 72 are original. Chapter 73 begins (666.2-11) by following the short text (272.57-274.8). There follows a long new passage (667.16-669.38); and the chapter ends with two separated excerpts (669.39-673.19, 674.27-675.33), which together form the last quotation from the short text (275.25-277.23). The rest of the chapter, and of Revelation XVI, is original.

2 Criteria of Analysis

The problem facing the psychologist and the theologian concerning the relations between Julian's vision, her sickness and alleged cure have been canvassed too often for them to need detailed rehearsal here. Molinari has carefully catalogued the various possibilities, from the only evidence available; her text, her apparent good health for at least forty years afterwards, and Margery Kempe's testimony that she was active as a spiritual counsellor at the age of sixty or thereabouts, and, most significantly, had a reputation for discerning truth from falsehood in the matter of visions and revelations. Molinari's criticisms of past judgments are well reasoned.[160] In the preceding section of this In-

[160] *Julian of Norwich*, 22-31.

troduction, and, frequently, in their annotations, the editors have remarked the scrupulous care with which Julian, in revising her short text, scrutinizes all that she had written about her state of mind and body at the time of the showings, and her passionate regard for objective truth about herself. The long text is more than sufficient testimony to the many hours of prayer and exacting study demanded by the editorial task she had undertaken.

Two points have perhaps escaped the notice of previous critics. The more important is the clinical precision with which she describes the progress of her sickness, and especially her symptoms when *in extremis*:

> And when I was xxxth yere old and a halfe, god sent me a bodily sicknes in the which I lay iij daies and iij nyghtes; and on the iiij nyght I toke all my rightes of holie church, and went not to haue leuen tyll day (289.2).

It must first be noticed that *all my rightes of holie church* refers principally to the sacrament of the sick, or extreme unction, as it is officially entitled in the list of seven sacraments 'held and taught by the holy Roman Church' composed at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.[161] By the middle of the twelfth century, the custom was to postpone the anointing until the sick person was near death, and it appears to have been Peter Lombard who first called it the sacrament of 'extreme unction'.[162] After him, the great scholastics taught that the purpose of the sacrament was to prepare the soul for death and for immediate entrance into heaven. Duns Scotus, for example, insisted that the anointing be administered only to those who are so close to death as to be incapable of further sin.[163] The view of Thomas Aquinas became general: extreme unction frees the soul from the debt of temporal punishment, so that when it departs from the body, nothing can prevent its entrance into glory.[164] It is thus clear that in the common estimation of those who were with Julian, and of whatever medical competence was available, she was 'in danger of death by sickness'. It was on the third night, after she had received the sacraments, when she *weenied often tymes to haue passed, and so wenyd thei that were with me* (289.6); and she writes:

> I vnderstode by my reason and by the feelyng of my paynes that I should die ... Thus I indured till day, and by then was my bodie dead from the miedes downward, as to my feeling. Then was I holpen to be set vpright ... vndersett with helpe ... My curate was sent for to be at my ending, and

[161] Denzinger-Schönmetzer, no. 860.
[162] *Sententiarum libri quatuor* IV dist. ii 1; PL 192 841.
[163] *Quaestiones in IV librum sententiarum* IV dist. xxiii (Paris, V ii 9).
[164] *Contra gentiles* IV cap. lxxii (Rome, 1934, 537-538).

> before he cam I had set vp my eyen and might not speake ... After this the over part of my bodie began to die so farforth that vnneth I had anie feeling. My most payne was shortnes of breth and faielyng of life. Then went I verily to haue passed (pp. 290.14-292.35).

Specialists in diseases of the heart whom the editors have consulted accept the description of the extreme difficulty of speech, the loss of vision, the painful effort of breathing as that of an exceptionally observant and articulate lay-person reporting the symptoms of severe cardiac failure.

Secondly, Julian treats her cure as miraculous, in the strict theological sense, by applying the criteria demanded, then as now, in causes of canonization:[165] it was so sudden as to be outside the natural processes of recovery; it was not a medicinal cure; and it was complete:

> And in this sodenly all my paine was taken from me, and I was as hole, and namely in þe over parte of my bodie, as ever I was befor. I merveiled of this sodeyn change, for my thought that it was a previe working of god, and not of kynd (292.35, and cf. 292.35 note).

The agnostics (and there have been several during this last century of continually awakening popular interest in fourteenth-century English spirituality) amongst Julian's critics, since they cannot accept the possibility of miracle, have naturally tended to overlook her careful and (to the unprejudiced) objective descriptions of her experiences of suffering. Finally, if one finds oneself out of sympathy with her theological world, attempts to explain her visions as hallucinations, showing an abnormal mental state,[166] or even 'acute neurosis induced perhaps by an over-enthusiastic life of penance and solitude'[167] are ultimately inevitable. In any discussion of the nature and meaning of her revelations, there are no criteria except those of Catholic theology as it reflects over the centuries on the Christian faith as contained in Scripture and authentic ecclesial tradition. This theology affirms that God can reveal himself (in the strict sense of verbal revelation) to an individual person; and he can give to the recipient a sufficient certitude of the divine origin of this personal experience by internal or external criteria. Such revelations are called 'private', not because they are in-

[165] The best historical survey of the evolution of the processes is probably still that of Prospero Lambertini, Benedict XIV; and they can be observed at work in Julian's day in Isak Collijn's sumptuous edition of the documents dealing with Bridget of Sweden's first canonization. See E. Colledge: *'Epistola solitarii ad reges'*.

[166] R. H. Thouless: *The Lady Julian*, 25.

[167] C. Pepler: *The English Religious Heritage*, 312.

tended simply for the spiritual benefit of an individual, but because they are addressed through the beneficiary to the whole Church or to an important part of the Church.[168] Furthermore, the immediate beneficiary, at the very least, can have the right and even the duty of adhering to the content of such revelations by an act of faith, even though such revelations do not belong to the deposit of faith, the public revelation, which was completed with the death of the last of the twelve apostles.[169] But it does not follow that the authentic private revelation is merely an affirmation of what is already known (or can be known) by faith and theology, a kind of heavenly repetition of public revelation. Its essential character is imperative; it is a specific command, a manifestation of the divine will inspired in a member of the Church which is to affect the conduct of the Church, or of some of its other members, in a concrete situation.[170] That Julian is constantly aware of this theology of revelation is evident throughout her showings, and in both texts. What gives her courage to publish her short text, despite the opposition which she is convinced that the publication will arouse, is her assurance that *this that I saye, I hafe it of the schewynge of hym that es souerayne techare* (222.42); and she goes on:

> Botte for I am a womann, schulde I therfore leve that I schulde nouȝt telle ȝowe the goodenes of god, syne that I sawe in that same tyme that is his wille, that it be knawenn? (222.46).

That she is acutely conscious of her right and duty to believe without wavering that God has revealed himself and his love to her is shown in the distress she is still capable of communicating to us when she writes, more than twenty years afterwards, of her recklessness in doubting this even for a moment:

> I waxsyd full grettly ashamyd, and wolde a bene shryvyn. But I cowlde telle it to no prest, for I thought, how shulde a preste belieue me when I by seaying I ravid I shewed my selfe nott to belyue oure lorde god? Nott withstanding I beleft him truly for the tyme þat I saw hym; and so was than my wylle and my menyng ever for to do without end. But as a fole I lett it passe oute of my mynde. A, loo how wrechyd I was! This was a grett synne and a grett vnkyndnesse (633.23).

It is hardly necessary to cite examples showing how totally she takes it for granted that the showings and the Christian faith must coincide. She is a simple child of God because she is a simple child of her mother, Holy Church (cf. 494.49):

[168] K. Rahner: 'Les révélations privées', 506.
[169] Ibid., 512-513.
[170] Ibid., 513.

> Here may we see that we be all bounde to god for kynd, and we be bounde to god for grace. Her may we see that vs nedyth nott gretly to seke ferre out to know sondry kyndys, but to holy church into oure moders brest, that is to sey in to oure owne soule, wher oure lord dwellyth. And ther shulde we fynde alle, now in feyth and in vnderstandyng, and after verely in hym selfe clerely in blysse (612.22).

Julian knows well enough the part of the Church for which her revelations are intended. First, it is her fellow-Christians in England, for whom she writes so carefully in their mother tongue, translating and opening for them the Scriptures in the light of her showings and her experience, and sharing with them all that she has learned of contemplative life and prayer from the great monastic teachers of the West. She makes further specifications: *alle men and womenn that myghttelye and mekelye and wyrschipfullye takes the prechynge and the techynge of haly kyrke* (252.1); *what man or woman wylfully chosyth god in this lyfe for loue* (627.2); *swylke menn and womenn that for goddess love hates synne and dysposes thamm to do goddes wille* (274.6). The author of the prologue in A puts it succinctly: ... *in the whilke visyonn er fulle many comfortabylle wordes and gretly styrrande to alle thaye that desires to be Crystes looverse* (201.3), as does the colophon to S2:

> Here end the sublime and wonderful revelations of þe unutterable loue of God in Jesus Christ, vouchsafed to a dear lover of his, and in her to all his dear friends and lovers whose hearts like hers do flame in þe loue of our dearest Jesu (734.29 note).

3 Revelation I

In the summary of the sixteen showings which the editors believe to have been composed, by Julian herself, before she made the final redaction of the long text (cf. the annotations to chapter 1), at the beginning of the first chapter, it is stated that here *all the shewynges that foloweth be grovndide and ioyned* (281.7). For purposes of illustration, one might say that Revelation I stands to the other fifteen in their final version as the Prologue stands to the rest of St. John's Gospel. The analogy is not so far-fetched as it may seem: the first showing concerns 'himself, God and man', God the everlasting lover, who comes down to us, to the lowest part of our need, born to her who was a simple creature of his making, dwelling in us, filling full all his creatures. Julian, like so many contemplatives of the Western Church before and after her, would know the Prologue by heart, as the final prayer of the daily Mass, associated with the blessing, and read indeed as a blessing in exorcisms and over

newly baptized children and the sick.[171] Like the apostle, she is vividly aware that the Word was spoken to her — she saw his glory. But the purpose of her revelation could never be other than the purpose of the Gospel, spoken, shown, written that we 'may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and, believing, have life in his name' (John 20.31). *It is goddes wylle that ȝe take it with as grete ioy and lykyng, as Jhesu hath shewde it to yow* (320.39). From the first she is anxious to efface herself as much as possible. She is aware that the one who *is more then all that god made beneth her in wordines ... but the blessed manhood of Christ* (298.38) saw herself *so lytylle and so lowe, so symple and so poer in regard of hyr god* (311.8). But now, as Julian writes her long text, conscious of her gifts and developed talents, she begins by recalling that when she received the revelation, she had comparatively little learning (285.2), and that she was naive enough to ask for graces which, later, seemed to overwhelm her. *Yff I had wyst what payne it had be, I had be loth to haue prayde it* (371.21).

The editors have remarked on the 'Franciscan' influences in Julian's early piety, and particularly that of popular devotions to Christ's Passion, as evidenced, for instance, by her obvious acquaintance with such well-known works as the *Stimulus amoris* and the pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes*. Though we have no means of knowing how long before her thirtieth birthday she had asked for the three gifts, including the three 'wounds', she obviously considers the interval between her petitions and her sickness to have been significant enough for her to write: *This sicknes I desyred in my jowth, that I might haue it when I ware xxx*th *yeare olde* (288.38, and note), a youth during which, it is believed, she was already serving God in the religious state (cf. 351.3 e.s.) But she is of sufficient spiritual maturity to distinguish her first two desires from the third:

> These twey desyers of the passion and of the sicknes that I desyred of him was with a condicion; for me thought this was not the commune vse of prayer (287.34).

More than this, however, as will be seen in the analysis of Revelation XIII, the 'three wounds', of true contrition, kind compassion and wilful longing to God, are a concise description of the grace of compunction, integral to contemplative life and prayer in the Benedictine tradition, according to the teaching of Gregory the Great, the 'doctor of desire'.[172]

[171] R. E. Brown: *The Gospel according to John*, I 18.
[172] J. Leclercq: *The Love of Learning*, 39.

The first two gifts she sees as means to the third: the sickness is for passive purification (*And this ment I for I would be purgied by the mercie of god*: 287.29), the sight is for illumination (*wher in I might haue more knowledge of the bodily paynes of our sauiour ... the more true mynd in the passion of Christ*; 286.12-20), and the purgation and illumination, the fruits of her own sufferings and of her suffering with Christ, were to lead to union and to the fulfilment of her longing (*For I desyred to haue ben soone with my god and maker*; 287.32). It is perhaps unlikely that she saw so clearly, when she first conceived her 'mighty desire', which, she states, 'dwelt continually' in her consciousness, that she was longing and praying for a life totally given over to contemplation according to the classic triad. It is in the long text that she tells us that the desire was conceived not only by grace but also by the teaching of Holy Church (288.40), in this case of the great masters of monastic living and contemplative prayer. What one is certain of is the mature quality of her life and prayer at the time of her sickness; her mind and heart were ready to receive the revelations. For Julian, the first showing properly begins, not (as the SS editors have unfortunately indicated) with the third but with the second chapter of the long text; she believes her sickness to be the direct answer to her previous prayer for purification. 'God sent me' is not merely pious jargon, as the *ratiocinatio* indicates:

> For my thought all that tyme that I had leued heer so litle and so shorte in regard of that endlesse blesse, I thought: Good lorde, may my leuyng no longer be to thy worshippe? And I vnderstode by my reason and by the feelyng of my paynes that I should die (290.12).

In this chapter also, she makes it clear that her miraculous cure (which has already been discussed) was, unknown to her, God's immediate preparation for her to receive the showing. In fact, the word 'suddenly' introduces a series of three graces, of which the cure is the first (292.35) and the bodily showing (294.3) the third. The second is what she clearly considers to be a divine impulse to pray for the second wound:

> Then cam sodenly to my mynd that I should desyer the second wound of our lordes gifte and of his grace, that my bodie might be fulfilled with mynd and feeling of his blessed passion, as I had before praied, for I would that his paynes were my paynes, with compassion and afterward langyng to god (292.43).

This is really a prayer for and a description of the first gift (cf. 285.5 e.s.), but without a bodily sight, as well as the second wound; and it explains clearly what she understands by 'compassion'. This prayer is answered, first by the bodily sight, and then by all that she sees and understands in the entire first showing and beyond it, in particular, in the

great showing of the Lord's compassion, Revelation XIII (cf., for example, 443.13-15).

It is noteworthy that her first description of the first bodily sight in chapter 4 (there is close correspondence with the short text) is very austere, by contrast with, in particular, Revelations II and VIII. The reason for this becomes clear in the long text, where she writes that the Trinity suddenly filled her heart with utmost joy (294.9). There is no reference, throughout this revelation, to the dolours of the Passion. The stress is on the consolation; and she tells us what was her first reaction to the sight of Christ, glorified and exalted, yet on his cross:

> Thus I toke it for that tyme that our lord Jhesu of his curteys loue would shewe me comfort before the tyme of my temptation; for me thought it might well be that I should by the sufferance of god and with his keping be tempted of fiendes before I should die (296.20).

The Trinitarian showing, which is apparently a 'touch' as well as a sight, has no place in the short text. This may be because initially she attributed her joy to a response of faith, and only perceived later that it was an earnest of the joy of heaven. *Wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand* (295.15). This is for her a truth of faith; she does not see it as belonging to the showing of the suffering Jesus until in the parable of the lord and the servant she understands how it is that the dolorous Passion and the joy of the Resurrection co-exist. The same is probably true of the clear *oppositio contrariorum* which she introduces into the long text with the phrase *so reuerent and so dreadfull* (296.18, and note to line 16).

After the bodily sight of the bleeding head, and the wonder she experiences in her contemplation of it, in the short text she next records 'the ghostly sight of his homely loving' (212.2 e.s.); whereas in the long text there follow, first, the vision of Mary, seen 'ghostly in bodily likeness' (297.28 e.s.), which in the short text is placed after the showing of 'all that is made' (213.25 e.s.). It would appear that in neither text is Julian intending to record the various elements of the whole of Revelation I in chronological order. The 'bodily sight', she tells us in the long text, *contynued tylle many thynges were sene and vnderstondyd* (311.19); and this occurs after she has referred a second time to the showing of Mary (310.2 e.s.), a passage which has no correspondent in the short text. Here in Revelation I, though she will conclude (in both texts) by telling us that

> All this was shewde by thre partes, that is to sey by bodyly syght and by worde formyde in my vnderstondyng, and by goostely syght (323.29; cf. 224.1).

and although she also offers us six headings under which she arranges its total content, none of this refers to chronological succession. It seems probable, however, that she has deliberately arranged the showing of Mary to follow that of Christ, man and God, not merely for the theological reason *that she is more then all that god made beneth her in wordines and in fullhead; for aboue her is nothing that is made but the blessed manhood of Christ, as to my sight* (298.38), and therefore takes precedence of all else which is made, but also because of the movement in the showing from 'ghostly in bodily likeness' to vision of a higher sort. As Molinari has pointed out in his classification of the sights, this term occurs elsewhere only in chapter 51, where it is used in conjunction with another term, 'more ghostly without bodily likeness',[173] also to describe the dynamic progress from a lower to a higher kind of 'ghostly sight'. It could well be that in chapter 51 Julian, seeing clearly for the first time the distinction, was then able to find language to express it. But the vision of Mary seems to have been clarified fully for her before that of the lord and the servant, in chapter 44, where she can tell us as she saw (cf. p. 483), so that she has no need to make the sort of distinctions for the sake of clarity which she draws in chapter 51.

It has been noted that at the end of Revelation I Julian writes of three modes of manifestation, one of which is 'words formed in my understanding'. In both texts, Julian may be observed using *ratiocinatio* in various ways to communicate her assimilation and understanding of what she saw. This she never considers as a kind of negative exercise, arguing or reasoning with herself. The three answers in chapter 5 concerning the little thing, the size of a hazel nut, *It is all that is made* (300.12), *It lasteth and ever shall, for god loueth it; and so hath all thing being by the loue of god* (300.15), *Verely, the maker, the keper, the louer* (300.19), are formed in her understanding. That the locutions, too, are of different kinds has frequently been noticed.[174] Here Julian's own reflection on what she is shown produces the questions; but she is convinced that she cannot of herself find the answers.

Molinari argues with reason that here we have an intermediate type of locution, corresponding with the type of sight called 'ghostly in bodily likenesse',[175] different from the dialogue between the Lord and Julian, at the beginning of chapter 22, for example, which Molinari sees as analogous to the bodily sight, which he understands as an

[173] Molinari, 42.
[174] Ibid., 67-69.
[175] Ibid., 69.

imaginative, not a bodily vision.[176] However, Julian affirms again in chapter 73:

> Alle this blessyd techyng of oure lorde god was shewde by thre partys, that is to sey by bodely syght, and by worde formyd in myne vnderstondyng, and by gostely syghte (666.2);

and she adds:

> ... for þe words, I haue seyde them ryght as oure lorde shewde them me (666.5).

Thus we must conclude that in whatever form they were cast by Julian, she did not wish to differentiate one locution from another by applying to them the terms 'bodily' and 'ghostly'. She seems also to imply, not only here but in several other places, as will presently be considered, that often enough she sees the words themselves in the same way that she sees a ghostly sight, though not a bodily one. A clear example occurs in Revelation XI, chapter 25:

> Wylte thou see her? I answeryd and seyde: 3e good lorde, grannt mercy, ye good lorde, yf it be thy wylle. Often tymes I preyde this, and I went to haue seen her in bodely lykyng; but I saw her nott so. And Jhesu in that worde shewyd me a goostly syght of her (400.24).

Just as with the bodily sights, she tells us as she sees, *as truly as I can* (666.5); and yet she can also say that these sights in the first showing are *tokyns of the blessydfulle passion*. So the words formed in her understanding, in so far as they are of human speech, are tokens of what God wills to communicate to her. Teresa of Avila, in so many respects a woman of calibre like Julian's, has much to write on these interior words: they are very distinctly formed,[177] much more clearly understood than if heard by the ear,[178] of themselves convincing that they come from God,[179] carrying authority,[180] producing sudden change in the soul,[181] persisting in the memory.[182] All these are indeed Julian's convictions about the words formed in her understanding.

At this point in the short text, after the showing of Mary (pp. 213-14), Julian, writing of contemplative purification, observes:

[176] Ibid., 68.
[177] *Autobiography*, xxv 2.
[178] Ibid., xxv 6.
[179] *Interior Castle*, 'Sixth Mansion', III 12.
[180] *Autobiography*, xxv 12.
[181] Ibid., xxv 5.
[182] *Interior Castle*, 'Sixth Mansion..., III 11.

> Of this nedes ilke man and woman to hafe knawynge that desyres to lyeve contemplatyfelye, that hym lyke to nouȝt alle thynge that es made for to hafe the love of god that es vn made (215.41).

The editors have suggested in their annotation to this that Julian in the long text edited out the pericope because she did not wish to restrict what she had to say to *ex professo* contemplatives. In addition, the passage is part of a comparison which might appear to be universally condemnatory off all 'actives'; Julian had no wish to criticize or to offer merely negative advice. On the other hand, in the text as she has rearranged it, her purpose remains unchanged: she is writing of a basic disposition for union with God which is offered to all Christians. In fact, the whole of Revelation I in the long text can be said to serve as an introduction to contemplative prayer and the way of thinking conducive to it. She tells us first, in chapter 4, of the God who communicates himself to us, by associating the great names of the Trinity (295.11 e.s.) with his 'homeliness' and 'courtesy'. Next she shows Mary as the model of that reverent beholding in wisdom and truth (297.31), which is contemplation. Chapter 5 begins with an image of 'homely loving' compounded from Scripture: the Psalmist, speaking of the universe clad in the majesty of the transcendent God, united to the detail from Luke of the swaddling clothes of the manger at Bethlehem; and the showing of the little thing like a hazel nut has its purpose, to explain that the God who seeks us, and he alone, has and is what can fulfil us. The chapter ends with her own petitionary prayer for this unitive life, the expression of this natural yearning of the soul which is itself a response to the inspiration of the Spirit of God. If and when the devout Christian has learned this lesson, that:

> he is the endlesshead and he made vs only to him selfe and restored vs by his precious passion, and ever kepeth vs in his blessed loue; and all this is of his goodnes (303.44),

he will wish to examine his customary habits of prayer, to see how adequate his response is to the manifold expressions of this goodness. To help him here, Julian describes her own devotional life; and we can see how closely she must have followed the patterns prescribed and recommended in the *Ancrene Riwle*.[183] She writes: *We praie to god for his*

[183] In what follows here, and in the annotations to the text, quotations are wherever possible taken from the still unpublished *Riwle* text in the Vernon MS, since it, though retaining a spelling system by its time archaic, in many places has a modernized vocabulary closer than that of any earlier *Riwle* version to the speech of Julian's contemporaries.

holie flesh; the *Riwle* has: In þe masse hwon þe prest halt vp godes bodi, siggeþ þis vers ...: Ecce salus mundi, verbum patris, hostia vera, viua caro, deitas integra, verus homo.[184] Compare also: *for his precious bloud*: þencheþ on godes flesch and on his derworþe blod þat is aboue þe heiȝe weued;[185] *his holie passion*: Tuam crucem adoramus domine, tuam gloriosam recolimus passionem;[186] *his dere worthy death*: Ladi seinte Marie, for þat ilke muchele blisse þat þou haddest þo þou seȝe þi dere derworþe sone aftir his deorc deþ arysen;[187] *and worshipful woundes*: Jhesu for myne sunnes was honged on rode, for þat ilke fiue wounden þat þou on hire bleddest;[188] *for all the blessed kyndnes*: And at þis word Nascendo formam sumpseris cusseþ þe erþe;[189] *of speciall sainctes*: Halewen þat ȝe louen best, in heore worschupe siggeþ oþer les oþer mo;[190] *and the endlesse life that we haue*: Tu esto nostrum gaudium qui es futurus premium. Sit nostra in te gloria per cunta semper secula;[191] *for his sweete mothers loue*: Ladi seinte Marie, for þat ilke muchele blisse þat þou haddest in with þe in þat ilke tyme þat Jhesu god, godes sone, after þe angels gretinge nom flesch *and* blod in þe;[192] *for his holie crosse*: Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.[193] Such devotions were integral to the life of prayer as she knew it (cf. 304.4 note); and she goes on to state explicitly that, so long as we understand and know that God is the goodness of all, *it pleaseth him that we seke him and worshippe him by meanes* (305.27).

The rest of chapter 6 is one of her finest descriptive passages, which will be given theological definition when she expounds the doctrine of the Trinity as *natura creatrix*. Here she presents us with the images of mother, father and nurse as symbolizing divine goodness; it is the fulness of what God has to give and longs to give which *the soule sekyth and ever schalle, tylle we knowe oure god verely, that hath vs all in hym selfe*

[184] F. 373[a]; cf. Day, 13.
[185] F. 340 (recte 372)[b]; Day, 7.
[186] F. 340 (373)[c]; Day, 7.
[187] F. 373[b]; Day, 17.
[188] F. 340 (372)[b]; Day, 11.
[189] F. 340 (373)[c]; Day, 8.
[190] F. 340 (372)[d]; Day, 12.
[191] F. 340 (373)[c]; Day, 7.
[192] F. 373[b]; Day, 16.
[193] F. 340 (373)[c]; Day, 7. It will be observed that whereas such *Riwle* manuscripts as Nero and Corpus present these Latin tags so much abbreviated that they can only have served as a guide to some book of devotions where the prayers will be found written out in full, these in Vernon can be read as they stand; this makes more interesting the suggestion offered to us by Nita S. Baugh, that Vernon was written for a woman.

beclosyde (306.32) All true prayer, she concludes here, is consummately unitive; it is the expression of a mutual giving which God has made possible for us, and has demonstrated to us in the incarnate Jesus.

> For oure kyndely wille is to haue god, and the good wylle of god is to haue vs, and we may never sesse of wyllyng ne of louyng tylle we haue hym in fulhede of ioy (308.57).

In chapter 7 she returns again to the showing of Mary, because in her Julian has seen that this unitive prayer of petition is the asking and receiving, in the one movement, of divine wisdom, truth and love. It is Mary of the Visitation as well as of the Annunciation whose love and reverent fear will express themselves in an abundant charity towards Christ's brethren (309.64). But this contemplation of Mary, as Julian will show with greater precision in Revelation XI, is not an end in itself, but a sight *wher by I am leernyd to know my self, and reuerently drede my god* (399.21). So Julian naturally adverts again to the sight of the head bleeding, which now in the long text she sees as expressing for her the paradox of Crucifixion and Resurrection, life and death, joy and suffering (312.29 e.s.). But, as throughout this revelation, it is consolation which dominates; and she moves to a final manifestation of the 'homely loving'. This particular showing, which she calls an 'example', adding that it was shown bodily, she did not record in the short text. It is an allegory of the condescension displayed by a king or a noble to a poor servant, which will give the servant greater joy than rich gifts offered in a distant manner (313.35-314.45), which is followed by her gloss, 314.46-316.67. This gloss, significantly, concludes with her observation about the application of the rule of faith, hope and love to the contemplative life. A *shewyng* (316.60) is an operation of divine love; the insights it gives into mysteries is a grace freely given. But when the time of the revelation is past and what was seen has disappeared, its fruits are preserved by the grace of the Holy Spirit to the end of life. We need not doubt that she is here writing, in 1395 or later, of how there have been preserved for her the showings and their fruits which she had been given twenty years or more ago. The example is deceptively simple. As has been observed (313.35 note), it is common in contemporary literature. But for Julian it *was shewde so hygh that thys mannes hart myght be rauyssched and almost foryet hym selfe for ioy of thys grette homelynesse* (314.43). It is clear that she is now seeing it in the light of the great parable of the lord and the servant.

The importance which Julian attaches, in the long text, to this first revelation has already been remarked. The point is made again when

we notice how carefully she has reorganized and rewritten, in chapters 9 and 10, what she had set down in chapters v, vi and vii of her first version. To begin with, she adds immediately to her own brief analysis of the contents of the showing that a movement of the heart in love towards all her brethren accompanied the entire revelation, and is integral to her evaluation of it. It is therefore logical that she should go on to provide an example of this movement of the heart; and her remark to those at her bedside, *It is this daye domys day with me* (319.25), is precisely that: *This I sayde for I wolde they schulde loue god the better, for to make them to haue mynde that this lyfe is short, as they myȝt se in exsample* (319.28). She therefore inserts these two passages, with which she originally closed the revelation in the short text (224.8), here into chapter 8. She also recalls an experience which she seems to have forgotten when she was writing the short text: the wonder and perplexity which she felt at this point. She was convinced that she was going to die, and yet the purpose of the whole revelation was not, as she had previously thought, to comfort her in the moment of death (296.20 e.s.), if, as now appeared, it *was schewde for them that shuld lyue* (319.32). The pericope neatly introduces the next section (which had been the beginning of chapter v in the short text), and gives added weight to the apologia, *leue the beholdyng of a wrech* ... (320.36) (as though she were saying, 'What more useless vehicle of God's love and goodness could there be than one who was at the point of death?'), and illustrates the claim that it is as though Jesus had showed it directly to all whom he loves (320.40 e.s.). The same theme dominates chapter 9. What is remarkable here is that although she still uses much of what she wrote in her short text (chapter vi, 219.1-223.56), the whole tone and temper have changed. Previously she conveyed a certain apprehension in her humility, as though her readers might not believe her when she proclaimed her unworthiness:

> I praye ȝowe alle for goddys sake, and cownsayles ȝowe for ȝowre awne profyt, that ȝe leve the behaldynge of the wrechid worme, synfulle creature, that it was schewyd vnto (219.3),

and also a fear that if she protests too much her revelations might not be received at all. Now, however, she is serene, balanced and at peace with herself; and even the most captious must believe her as she allies herself with *yow that be symple, for ease and comfort; for we be alle one in loue* (321.4). She no longer needs to protest, as she seems to do in the first version (220.11), that *For the schewynge I am not goode but ȝif y love god the better*; she can state it quite straightforwardly, and round it off with a deceptive

rhetorical simplicity and with quiet conviction: *and in as much as ȝe loue god the better, it is more to ȝow than to me* (321.2 and notes). With deft touches, such as the insertion of *I hope* (322.10; cf. 220.21), *for god* (322.14; cf. 221.32), and the omissions of *he is safe* and the clause which follows (322.16; cf. 221.33), she is able to avoid possible theological inaccuracies and misinterpretations, as that she is claiming absolutely to be in a state of grace and confirmed in that state. Finally, she sees that any apologia about the publication of private revelations demands, not only for prudence's sake, but for theological assessment, a clear and lucid profession of faith. This she supplies in the long text, where, in a sense, she goes beyond it. She tells us that the faith *stode contynually in my syghte* (323.24) throughout the showing, which informs us that in spite of the sickness, she was in full possession of her faculties. But it also tells us that she came to her revelations with a constant mental background to all that she saw or heard furnished by her previous deep meditation and contemplation on the truths of her faith.

4 Revelation II

Chapter 10 of the long text, Julian's account of Revelation II, well illustrates her reflective and meditative processes at work on the subject matter of the showings. It begins with her account of what she saw in the face of the crucified Christ (324.3-325.14). There is substantial verbal agreement with the short text (225.21-29), but the detail added — that she saw, first, half of the face covered with dried blood, and then the other half — seems to be a recollected imaginative observation, owed, at least partially, to the reflection on seeking and seeing (325.14-326.10), which in its turn seems to be prompted by her desire for more light with which to see clearly what is happening to the crucifix.

Her inability to do so distresses her; but she is calmed, not by any emotional consolation, but by a *ratiocinatio* in the form of a hypothesis: *If god will shew thee more, he shal be thy light* (325.12). From this point on, the rest of chapter 10 is not found in the short text.

Her mind seems to be engaged by a succession of images and ideas, derived from her reading and meditation, presented afresh to her as lights from God. She imagines herself on the sea-bed, and knows herself as safe there as anywhere else in the universe, in the presence of God. Again, this is presented to her reason: *I vnderstode thus* (326.23). It brings consolation: *Mor solace and comforte then all this wordle may or can tell* (326.26); but it appeals to her faith, the dogmatic fact that it is in God that we live and move. She reverts to her longing to see, her trouble

that she could see so little, and she resolves it by faith: *For he will that we beleue that we see hym contynually, thow that vs thynke that it be but litle* (326.27).

The recollection of the 'bodily sight' of the Crucifixion presents itself to her mind again and again, and she contrasts her first perturbation, *mornyng, dredfull and longyng* (327.33), that it was so unremarkable, and her consequent fear that it was perhaps not sent by God, with the increase of sight which he gave her as the vision was represented to her mind, as she came to perceive its true significance. When she writes: *And then dyuerse tymes our lord gafe me more syght* (327.35), plainly she is describing not the first reception of the vision but the insights which she has received since it happened, and, perhaps, since she wrote the short text. The vision was given to make her see how Christ who is God suffered death, which came into the world by man (I Corinthians 15.21). Characteristically, she makes her point by a visual contrast: ... *our fowle blacke dede, which that our feyre bryght blessed lord bare for our synne* (328.37); and she continues without interruption: *It made me to thynke of the holie vernacle of Rome*. She knows of the Vernicle's reputation (328.42 e.s.), but that is of no interest to her; she wants to penetrate the representation of Christ's suffering humanity, to perceive its spiritual significance (329.44 e.s.).

To do this she has recourse to fundamentals of the Christian faith: that the Trinity made man in their image and likeness (Genesis 1.27), and that only man's Creator could restore fallen man. Using the same image again (330.59 e.s.), she contrasts the foul blackness of our mortality with Christ's radiant beauty. Not only does Julian herself affirm the ancient belief that Christ upon earth was as he now is in heaven, the perfection of human loveliness, but also she thinks that everyone else should believe this (330.61 e.s.). But it is important to observe that her motive for wishing that this were generally accepted is not sentimental *Brautmystik,* but because of the theological insights it has given her, as it could to others, into the mystery of the Redemption. She refers her readers to what she will write on this topic in chapter 18 (a clear indication of how carefully the long text was drafted).

Then follows a third and final exposition of the theme of 'seeking and seeing', itself an important introduction to her extended teaching on prayer in chapters 41-43. The vision of the Crucifixion has illumined her understanding. The soul can do no more than *seke, suffer and trust* (332.70); and the more that she does this, the more is she pleasing to God. Ordinary grace is needed for this to be begun; for it to be perfected in *the clernesse of fyndyng* (332.71) is of the special grace of the Holy

Spirit, which is his free gift. Seeking pleases God, finding pleases the soul; and therefore *was I lernyd to my vnderstandyng that sekyng is as good as beholdyng* (332.74). When the work is completed, God will have contributed his grace and his guidance, the soul its disposition from the humility given to it (333.78). But whether the soul seeks or sees, the greatest honour it can pay to God is to surrender itself to him (333.81). Seeking is *comyn,* and every soul is given the grace for this (334.84). Grace must form in us three dispositions: zeal and joy (334.87), perseverance and resignation (334.90), and perfect trust.

The authority with which her thinking develops, the clarity and precision of her language, and the ease and subtlety with which this complex of inspirations and the associations which they suggest to Julian is resolved, make this chapter a truly remarkable and wholly professional performance.

5 Revelation III

At the end of Revelation II, in the long text, Julian wrote:

> For his workyng is prevy, and he wille be perceyved, and his aperyng shalle be swethe. sodeyn (335.94).

Now, at the beginning of Revelation III, she writes: *And after this I saw god in a poynte* (336.3). It is important for her transition here from II to III that she stress the sudden nature of this sight of God, and for two reasons: this is a ghostly sight, following one which was bodily and repulsive, the image of the face of Christ after he had been crowned with thorns and mocked by the soldiery — *dyspyte, spyttyng, solewyng and buffetyng, and manie languryng paynes, mo than I can tell* (324.5). It was only after she had received enlightenment 'diverse times' (327.35) that this bodily sight became *a lernyng to my vnderstandyng* (332.68) on seeking and finding God, so that eventually she learns that the finding will be as sudden as it is blissful (335.93). Thus this ghostly sight with which chapter 12 begins is precisely the finding of God; and she sees him 'in a point', *in puncto, in ictu oculi*, as the Latin Vulgate text of I Corinthians 15.52 writes of the resurrection of the body (cf. 226.1 note). Secondly, in the short text this ghostly sight is made the immediate answer to her prayer for more light, for she is told, in the long-text version of the *ratiocinatio*: *he shal be thy light; thou nedyth none but him* (325.13).

In this intellectual vision ('I saw ... in my understanding'), Julian unobtrusively shows her acquaintance with scholastic metaphysics. 'God', writes Thomas Aquinas, quoting the *Glossa ordinaria,* 'is in all things by his presence, his power and his substance', and he briefly ex-

plains this: 'He is in all things by his power, because all things are within his power, and by his presence, because all things are open to his sight, and by his substance he is present in all things as the cause of their being'.[194] Julian's purpose is not, however, philosophical argument about the divine attributes, but to express her contemplative awareness of the reality of his presence. The same 'unknowing of love' which drives the fearful to pray to God as if he were a pagan deity (cf. 304.4) is also responsible for the ascendancy, in the secular literature of Julian's day, of the ancient Roman cult of the Goddess of Fortune and the personification of 'Saeva Necessitas'; nothing could be more detrimental to contemplative life and prayer, which demands keen awareness that the rational creature is at the centre of the divine concern of a God who is ever at work in his creation:

> This vision was shewyd to my vnderstandyng, for our lord wylle haue the sowle turned truly in to the beholdyng of hym, and generally of all his workes (339.31).

In the previous chapter, in the example of the 'drowned soul' (326.21 e.s.), Julian touches upon a cause of unease in contemplatives, the feeling of insecurity which the awareness of evil, and especially of personal sin, can bring. It is true that the Christian must learn to live with this insecurity; but he can only do this with the help of prayer proceeding from faith informed by a sound theology; and to this purpose, to impart this theology, Julian bends her considerable skills and erudition, whether this be her knowledge of the sapiential books, her sympathetic understanding of Chaucer's insights into *De consolatione philosophiae*, or her grasp of the teaching of John and Paul on the mysteries of faith, the Trinity and the Incarnation. All this finds striking expression in the final summary of this revelation, which shows the triune God speaking of his active presence in creatures and in events, reasoning with Julian in ἐξεταστικός of the classical rhetoricians, and evoking from her the loving response which she knows is his heart's desire:

> ... Thus myghtly, wysely and louyngly was the sowle examynyd in this vision. Than saw I verely that my behovyth nedys to assent with great reverence and joy in god (341.56).

[194] *Summa theologiae* I.8.3 *in corp.*

6 Revelation IV

The fourth, fifth and sixth revelations seem to form a group in themselves; the first of them, chapter 12, recounts a bodily sight, the next, chapter 13, is a locution, 'words formed in my understanding', the last, chapter 14, another locution, 'I thank thee for thy service ...', and Julian's meditations upon heavenly rewards. The bodily sight of chapter 12 constitutes the third way in which *oure curteyse lorde shewyd his passyon to me* (389.8); it is the only one in which she is shown any other mystery of the Passion beside the crucified Christ in his last moments. (Though she writes of the crown of thorns in Revelation I, and, in Revelation II, of the results of the soldiers' ill-usage, she does not mention the actual crowning.) There is possibly here an unusual discrepancy between the short and long texts. The long text reads:

> And after this I saw beholdyng the body plentuous bledyng in semyng of the scoregyng (342.3);

but the short text has:

> And aftyr this I sawe be haldande the bodye plenetvouslye bledande, hate and freschlye and lyfelye ... And this was schewyd me in the semes of scowrgynge (227.14).

The short text clearly refers to the furrows made by the scourges; she is not seeing in the vision the scourging itself. However, *in semyng of the scoregyng* would appear to mean that she was granted an imaginative and not a bodily vision of the actual flagellation at the pillar. As is noted at 342.3, *semyng* could be interpreted as 'furrowing', but this is rather less likely. More probably, we have in *semyng* editorial tampering in a long-text common ancestor with Julian's *semes*, preserved in the short text.

It may be thought that here she departs from her customary moderation in describing the physical details of the Passion, when she continues:

> The feyer skynne was broken full depe in to the tendyr flessch, with sharpe smytynges all a bout the sweete body. The hote blode ranne out so plentuously that ther was neyther seen skynne ne wounde, but as it were all blode (342.4).

We need, however, to recall the early application in the West[195] to Christ in his Passion of Psalm 128, and the established variant, 'supra cervicem

[195] E.g. Hilary of Poitiers on the Psalms, ed. A. Zingerle, 637-647.

meam arabant arantes' (introduced into many manuscripts of Roman and Gallican psalters, but originating in Jerome's *Juxta Hebraeos* translation[196] of its verse 3: 'supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores', applied to the scourging in particular. None the less, this description of Christ bleeding from the scourging reflects more contemporary enthusiasm for meditating in detail, often gruesome, on the physical sufferings of Christ than do her other descriptions of the 'pains of the Passion'. In addition, the extended reflection in the long text on the Precious Blood, itself at first sight a departure from her customary sober approach, might suggest some acquaintance with the visions and teachings of Catherine of Siena. Chronology (even though some of Catherine's dates have been hotly controverted) suggests however that this could not have been the case. The Bollandists dated Raymond of Capua's *Legend* as 1390,[197] and in 1931 I. Taurisano wrote of it as 'pubblicato nel 1398'.[198] In any case, it would be as misguided and misleading to seek to represent Catherine as an innovator or popularizer of devotion to the Precious Blood as have been the attempts to associate Margaret Mary Alacoque with Sacred Heart devotions more closely than is warranted by the facts. If proof of this be needed, it is found in the *Fifteen Oes* (inevitably, falsely attributed, usually to Bridget of Sweden), circulating throughout the Western Church in the fourteenth century, recorded both in Latin and English (cf. 201.6 note) in Julian's day:

> O Jhesu veritatis speculum, vnitatis signum, caritatis vinculum, memento innumerabilium tuorum vulnerum quibis a summo capitis usque ad ymum pedis vulneratus fuisti et ab impijs Iudeis laceratus fuisti et sacratissimo sanguine tuo rubricatus fuisti, quam magnitudinem doloris in virginea carne tua pertulisti pro nobis. Pie Jhesu, quid ultra debuisti facere quod non fecisti? Scribe queso pie Jhesu omnia vulnera tua in corde meo precioso sanguine tuo, ut in illis legam tuum dolorem et amorem, ut in graciarum accione usque in finem vite mee iugiter perseuerem. Amen.[199]

Furthermore, a careful examination of this passage in Julian (343.13-345.31) in the light of Pauline soteriology, as expressed in Romans chapters 5 and 6 and reflected in Hebrews chapters 8 to 10, leaves us in

[196] PL 28 1293.
[197] *ASS* April III, 861.
[198] *Enciclopedia Italiana* 9, art., 'Caterina da Siena, santa'.
[199] MS Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 55, f. 119.

little doubt as to the primary source of Julian's reflection (cf. 344.24 note). As to the language in which the reflection is couched, there are many analogues in contemporary versions of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and the *Stimulus amoris* (cf. the annotations to 342.4-7, 344.21-22).

What is most remarkable about this bodily sight, and surely an argument in favour of its authenticity, is the clarity with which Julian distinguishes between a bodily and an imaginative vision; and this is no hindsight, but an account of the vision itself:

> ... and this ranne so plenteouslye to my syght that me thought, 3yf itt hadde bene so in kynde, for þat tyme itt schulde hafe made the bedde alle on blode and hafe passede onn abowte (227.16, and cf. 342.9).

It follows from this observation that her other sights of the bleeding and dying Christ were likewise imaginative.[200] We are reminded of the description of 'a spiritual vision or imaginative' in the *Chastising*,[201] and of the doubts expressed by the *Cloud*-author that Martin and Stephen 'saw such things with their bodily eyes'.[202]

7 Revelation V

In her contemplation of the suffering Christ, bleeding so freely from the scourging, Julian had remarked upon the redeeming power of his sacrifice, signified by the shedding of the blood:

> For it is most plentuous, as it is most precious, and that by the vertu of the blessyd godhead. And it is our owne kynde, and blessydfully ovyr flowyth vs by the vertu of his precious loue (343.17).

Another visionary, the seer of Patmos, had beheld the blood of the Lamb which washes clean and ascends to heaven (cf. 344.24 e.s.). And here, in Revelation V, as she is still pondering what she sees, the words which she hears: *Here with is the feende ovyr come* (346.7), echo another text from the Apocalypse: 'and that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent who is called the devil and Satan, who seduces the whole world ... and they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb' (Apocalypse 12.9-11). In the showing which follows, *for he shewed that the passion of hym is the ovyrcomyng of the feende* (347.9), Julian laughs, as the valiant woman who 'will laugh at the latter day' (Proverbs 31.25),

[200] For another view, see E. I. Watkin: *Poets and Mystics*, 78.
[201] Bazire and Colledge, 169, 170-171.
[202] Hodgson, 106-107.

because *he schalle be scornyde at domys day generally of all that schal be savyd* (350.44). She sees with God that *all sowles of saluacion eskape hym worshyppfully by the vertue of his precious passion* (347.13). With Scripture as her foundation, she synthesizes briefly the teaching of the Western fathers on the impotence of the devil, though the striking phrase, *hys myght is alle lokked in gods hande* (347.18), is surely her own. He can do no harm at all, unless man permits him, because Christ the true David has triumphed through the Cross over the hellish Goliath.[203] She also holds with Aquinas that the devil's attacks proceed from his malice and envy,[204] and that all this will redound to the glory of the elect by the divine will:[205] *for all that god sufferyth hym to do turnyth vs to joy and hym to shame and payne* (347.15).

A notable addition to the short text is her penetrating theological reflection on how God regards the reprobate, which anticipates the answer, conveyed through the parable of the lord and the servant (cf. 511.16 e.s.), to her conundrum, how does God see us in our sin? So she first states that even though there can be no wrath in God, *with myght and ryght he withstondyth the reprovyd, the which of malyce and of shrewdnes besye them to contrary and do against goddes wyll* (348.21). This is the first part of her explanation of what she means by the word 'scorn' when she attributes it to God. She then develops the thought by elucidating what *withstondyth* signifies in the context. The passage (349. e.s), which is evidently corrupt, might be rendered into modern English as follows: 'Where I saw him scorn his malice, this was by the fixing of my understanding on our Lord; that is to say, it was an inward showing of his constancy — there was no change of expression. For as I see it, this immutability of God is a worshipful attribute'. She seems to be conveying the opinion that God 'looks right through' the reproved, who no longer exist for him, but are, in the Old Testament phrase, 'blotted out of the book of the living' (Psalm 68.29).

8 Revelation VI

Implicit in the locution in Revelation V, 'Herewith is the fiend overcome', is the classical teaching of monasticism, which in the West has its origin in Athanasius's *Vita Sancti Antonii*,[206] that the Christian life is a

[203] Caesarius of Arles (the attribution to Augustine is now regarded as spurious; Dekkers, no. 368), *Sermo CXXI*, ed. Morin, 1 504-509.

[204] *Summa theologiae* I.114.1 *in corp.*

[205] Ibid. ad 3.

[206] See F. Vandenbrouke, 'Démon en occident'.

spiritual combat against the world, the flesh and, particularly, the devil, because to oppose the devil is to share Christ's own battles in the service of his Father. Consequently, the Scriptural theme of Revelation VI is the Pauline hymn, 'If we endure with him, we shall also reign with him' (II Timothy 2.10-13), when the devil *shall see that all the woo and tribulacion that he hath done them shalle be turned in to encrese of ther ioy without ende* (350.46); and it is largely concerned with a special insight into God's 'homely loving', his gratitude for man's service, and particularly that of dedicated contemplatives. The revelation begins with a locution common to both texts, which, as we learn from Julian's editing, is a lifting up of her understanding (351.4). All God's servants are to be the recipients of his everlasting thanks for their patient endurance, but especially those who have made to him the gift of their youth. This ghostly sight is first conveyed by an example, which, it seems, was suppressed in the short text because it so resembles the parable of the lord and the servant, which at that time she did not intend to record. It may itself be a 'ghostly sight in bodily likeness'; at all events, it greatly resembles in form those several instances (e.g. 323.20 e.s.) of Julian's highly individual method of *lectio divina,* where her recollection of Scripture and her power of imagination rapidly work together, as she contemplates a showing, to construct an illustrative and imaginative 'sight'.

The three aspects of heavenly bliss which are described are common to both texts (230.2-8, 352.13-20; 230.8-11, 352.21-23; 230.11-17, 353.27-32). What she sees as she continues to look at the whole is the applicability of another Pauline text, Romans 8.15-22, where the apostle expresses his confidence that though we are groaning and in travail now, the sufferings of this time are not to be compared with the glory to be revealed in us; and this is because we are co-heirs with Christ. But in the long text particularly, Julian is pre-occupied with the Lord's courtesy. She gives the example of a lord rewarding his servant to show the first degree of bliss; and for the second she offers another curial example:

> A kyng, yf he thanke hys subiettes, it is a grett wurschyppe to them; and yf he make it knowen to all the realme, then ther wurschypp is mech incresyd (352.24).

But it is the addition in the long text to the account of the third degree which is most significant. Though the length of service of those who, as she, we believe, had done, have freely dedicated themselves to the contemplative life in their youth will receive a wonderful reward, it remains true that a single day spent in the divine will receives the same

gift, the same measure of bliss. This precisely is the teaching of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, so feelingly and tellingly expounded by Julian's contemporary, the *Pearl* poet. For though God thanks her with the gift of himself, and shares his knowledge and gratitude with all the blessed, the gift still is unmerited, a *curtesy* (353.35). The very term recalls Pecham's 'dilexit, inquam, curialiter' (see 392.37 note); and the vision of this courteous love increases her desire to serve him all her life.

9 Revelation VII

Though the subject-matter of this revelation — the alternation of spiritual consolation and desolation, the various reasons for the withdrawal of special grace, and how the contemplative is to conduct himself in times of dereliction — is commonplace in late patristic and mediaeval reflection on contemplative life and prayer, it has its importance in the evolution of Julian's practical experience and later theological reflection. First, it reveals what is her response when she is enabled to contemplate the joys of heaven, and that she understands this response to correspond to the fact in faith of her loving union with *the endlesse lykyng that is god* (356.34). It also associates the heaviness of spiritual desolation with the pains of Christ's Passion, so serving as an introduction to Revelation VIII, with its emphasis on the contemplative prayer of darkness, which assimilates the soul to Christ in his suffering mystical body, his 'ghostly thirst'. Then, too, it begins to prepare the way for her exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation and its effects on the life and prayer of the Christian (chapter 55 e.s.), where she concludes that *we may nevyr come to the full knowyng of god tylle we knowe furst clerely oure owne soule* (573.32).

It has already been observed that the variation in this chapter between the short and long texts is minimal. There are seven certain variants, none of them consisting of more than a few words. Yet each change is theologically significant. First of all, Julian had in the short text described this vision of God's union with the soul as *myghtlye festnede with owtyn any drede* (230.20). Now she adds the adjective *paynefulle* (354.5), precisely because she has come to perceive that there is a fear which belongs to the unitive life, in heaven as on earth, and that is 'reverent dread':

> Loue and drede are bredryn, and they are rotyd in vs by the goodnesse of oure maker, and they shall nevyr be taken from vs without end (673.20).

As she will explain, in the same chapter 74, all other fears, even those which are profitable, are painful. The two words which she most commonly employs to describe her experience of God's dealing with the soul are 'mind' and 'feeling'. In the short text, she had written of the 'sovereign ghostly liking': *This felynge was so gladde to me and so goodly* (230.20). But in editing this, she seems to have thought it too subjective, and not clearly distinguishing from natural feelings of well-being; and so she writes: *This felyng was so glad and so goostely* (354.5). As her life of prayer developed after the revelations, she received the grace of a progressively deeper contemplative penetration into the mysteries of the Trinity, to such an extent that, in chapter 51, she can paraphrase the text 'Philip, he who sees me sees the Father' (John 14.9) as follows:

> But man is blyndyd in this life, and therefore we may nott se oure fader god as he is. And what tyme that he of hys goodnesse wyll shew hym to man, he shewyth hym homely as man, not with stondyng that I saw verely we ought to know and beleue that the fader is nott man (525.140).

So here, where she is attempting to convey her experience of the union of love which is human as well as divine, she substitutes the more personal 'our blessed Lord', which is no pious cliché, but 'said for reverence', for the less personal 'God'.

Margery Kempe's testimony about Julian's expertise in spiritual guidance is constantly confirmed by the long text; and there is evidence of it here. Julian had written, of the state of spiritual desolation:

> ... it es nedefulle to ylke mann to feele on this wyse ... And sum tyme for the profytte of his saule a man es lefte to hymselfe; and to whethere synne es nought the cause (231.37).

Now she has come to see that universal statements about the divine action in bestowing or withdrawing contemplative graces are imprudent; 'the Spirit breathes where he will' (John 3.8). So she qualifies:

> ... it is spedfulle to some soules to feele on thys wyse ... all thogh hys synne is nott evyr the cause (355.21).

The additions, *to some soules, evyr,* are important; and she also gives her reason for the last statement. In the short text it has been:

> For in this tyme I synnede nought wherefore I schulde be lefte to my selfe (231.43);

but in the long text we read:

> For in this tyme I synned nott were for I shulde be left to my selfe, for it was so sodeyne (356.26),

where *for it was so sodeyne* is not only the observation of common sense — she had not had the time even for a sinful thought — but also the application of an important canon of spiritual discernment. One way of distinguishing the peace of the Lord and his gladness from natural joie de vivre, or human depression from spiritual desolation, is to look for possible natural causes or occasions of a state of mind before attributing it to the divine action.

In her reflections at the end of this revelation on the wonderful alternation of *wo and wele, blysse and payne,* she is solicitous to find the balance, which is hope, between despair and presumption. So she adds, to her earlier observation that pain will be brought to nothing, the qualifying phrase which has so much meaning for her: *to them that shall be savyd* (356.32 and note).

10 Revelation VIII

The eighth revelation is longer and considerably more complex than those which precede it, apart from the first; and for that Julian provided a recapitulation of the contents (317.4 e.s.). Here she is equally aware that her readers may require help, particularly with the expanded version in the long text. So she concludes the final chapter of this revelation with another such summary:

> It is gods wylle, as to my vnderstandyng, that we haue iij maner of beholdyng of his blessyd passion. The furst is the harde payne that he sufferyd (this is the first *maner*), with a contriccion (the second *maner*) and compassion (the third); and that shewde oure lorde in this tyme, and gaue me myght and grace to see it (377.33).

The 'beholding of the hard pain' — *a parte of hys passyon nere his dyeng* (357.3) — the beginning of this showing, is a bodily sight, no detail of which does Julian spare us. There appear to be two reasons for this intense concentration upon the physical sufferings of the Passion. First, she wishes to show how completely her first prayer, to have recollection of the Passion, was answered:

> Me thought I woulde haue ben that tyme with Magdaleyne and with other that were Christus louers, that I might haue seen bodilie the passion that our lord suffered for me, that I might haue suffered with him, as other did that loved him. And therfore I desyred a bodely sight, wher in I might haue more knowledge of the bodily paynes of our sauiour, and of the compassion of our lady and of all his true louers that were lyuyng that tyme and saw his paynes; for I would haue be one of them and haue suffered with them (285.8).

The second reason is contained in the sentence which, according to the scribe of P, closes chapter 20:

> And I lokyd after the departyng with alle my myghtes, and wende to haue seen the body alle deed (379.3).

This, and the allusion to her 'doomsday' in chapter 8, seem to suggest that she thought that the moment of her own death might coincide with her sight of Christ's. She had already complained of her failing eyesight (291.28 e.s.), and the concentration which this demanded from her enabled her to retain (and, apparently, when she came to write the long text, to recall) a wealth of detail, much of which will cause discomfort to a modern reader, which she would otherwise have missed or forgotten. She sees the effects of Christ's suffering, in chapter 16, especially in his head (357.4 e.s.); and the rest of the bodily sight (357.11 e.s.) is concerned with what she calls Christ's greatest bodily pain, the 'deep drying'. She interrupts this only to promise us, later, her reflections on his other, spiritual thirst (360.6; cf. 418.14 e.s.).

The equivalent 'ghostly sight' which follows this description of Christ's pain is that she begins herself to feel his sufferings, *as I had before desyerde* (364.52). The long text here may seem to lose some of the clarity and force which the short text has when it cites from the Christological hymn in chapter 2 of Philippians (cf. 234.25 and note). Perhaps she or a later scribe removed this rare direct Scriptural quotation, with its source adduced, because of the contemporary controversies which culminated in the 1408 Oxford condemnation and prohibition of such translation without episcopal licence.[207] But she may have decided that Paul's words were not so apposite as she had once thought. He is inviting the Philippians to imitate Christ's humility and obedience, not to experience directly his bodily sufferings. Doubtless she also found it inappropriate to exhort others to share this experience, as she had done in the short text: *ylke saule ... schulde feele in hym þat in Criste Jhesu* (234.25), especially since she discovers that she herself can hardly tolerate her participation in his pains.

It is at this point that she becomes aware that her prayer for contrition (cf. 286.20) is being answered in an unforeseen way. She finds herself repenting her one-time aspiration to suffer the same pains as Christ and those who stood by his cross (364.50 e.s.). But she is enabled, through *ratiocinatio*, to understand that this pain of Christ which

[207] M. Deanesly: *The Lollard Bible*, 294-297.

she is now sharing is the purification which she had asked for (cf. 286.21 e.s.); it is truly redemptive, because it proceeds from her love for him (364.56 e.s.).

The third 'manner of beholding', 'with compassion', now begins. First she is shown the quality of Mary's compassion for Christ: *she was so onyd in loue that the grettnes of her loue was cause of the grettnes of her peyne* (366.3); and then how those others who were close to him shared in this compassion. She sees this suffering extended to all creatures capable of experiencing pain, because of the *grett onyng betwene Crist and vs* (367.14). All of them suffered at the time of the Crucifixion, each in his own fashion, including the pagans, Pilate and Denis 'of France'; and she concludes chapter 18 with the reflection:

> Thus was oure lord Jhesu payned for us; and we stonde alle in this maner of payne with hym, and shalle do tylle that we come to his blysse (369.36).

These sights and the accompanying meditation enable her deliberately to choose the crucified and suffering Saviour as the only fulfilment she desires:

> for I had levyr a bene in that payne tylle domys day than haue come to hevyn other wyse than by hym (371.12).

This deliberate choice enables her to put into psychological and theological perspective her previous feelings of reluctance to share his sufferings. The temptation to reject them was no more than *grugyng and dawnger of the flessch without assent of the soule* (372.23). In her experience of such *oppositio* between 'repenting and wilful choice', she appears to have in mind Christ's own struggle in the garden: 'Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass' (Matthew 26.38 e.s.), and that of Paul: 'Who will deliver me from the body of this death?' (Romans 7.24). Here, too, she makes for the first time the distinction between the two parts of the soul, a teaching of Augustinian psychology which she finds helpful in the elucidation of the parable of the lord and the servant and of its attendant problems (372.24 e.s.). Further, she is shown that the inward and outward parts are destined, in and through Christ, to be united in eternal blessedness (372.33 e.s.).

With Christ's sufferings still the focus for her continued reflections on contrition and compassion, Julian considers anew, in the last chapter of this revelation (374.2 e.s.), Christ's own compassion. She expounds the common theological opinion of her day, that the *vnyng of the godhed gaue strenght to the manhed ... to suffer more than alle man myght* (cf. 374.2 note); and she explains, in a significant addition to the short text, that the purpose of contemplating the Passion is *to thynke and to know ... what*

he sufferyd, and ... for whom that he sufferyd (375.10). An important point here, she believes, is to consider the mutual compassion between Christ and Mary (376.21), because this illumines the ineffable quality of his compassion for all who will be saved. Her contemplation is not merely recollection of an historical event. She has observed earlier, with theological precision, *I wyste welle he suffyryde but onys* (364.50); here she adds that although *now he is vppe resyn and no more passibylle, yett he sufferyth with vs as I shalle sey after* (376.24), promising the treatment of the divine compassion which will follow in Revelation XIII. In these last lines of Revelation VIII, she intimates that this contemplation of passion and compassion demands the presence and action of the Holy Spirit — *And I beholdyng alle this by hys grace* (377.26) — and that what is true for her is true for all:

> For the soule that beholdyth thus whan it is touchyd by grace, he shalle verely see that tho paynes of Cristes passion passe all paynes; that is to sey, whych paynes shal be turned in to everlastyng joy by the vertu of Cristes passion (377.28).

This analysis necessitates a departure from the division of all the manuscripts into revelations, a departure which is warranted by their lack of agreement (cf. the critical apparatus to 360.2, 378.36, 379.6 and 382.1). First, P and C indicate that Revelation IX begins with chapter 17 (360.1), though they add to the confusion by repeating the rubric at the beginning of chapter 22 (382.1). But at 360.1 SS do not announce a new revelation, merely a new chapter (which S1 erroneously calls 'xviij'). The next confusion concerns the division of chapters 20 and 21. SS begin chapter 21 at 377.33, but P and C at 379.6. The editors consider that both families are wrong, that Julian intended chapter 20 to end with her recapitulatory remarks on the three manners of beholding (377.33-36), and chapter 21 to begin with her discussion of a new topic, when she adverts to the bodily sight, and writes that although she had expected to see Christ dead, the revelation did not follow this course, because *sodenly I beholdyng in the same crosse he channgyd in blessydfulle chere* (379.6). The introductory remark cannot be separated from the account of the suddenness of this change in Christ's appearance and Julian's mood without doing violence to the sense; and, accordingly, chapter 21 has been made to begin at 379.3. And this has also been made the beginning of Revelation IX, rather than 360.2 (P, C) or 382.2 (P, C, SS). There can be no doubt that Julian intended to convey that with the sudden change, a new revelation began.

Firstly, when she is describing the five manners in which our Lord

showed her his Passion (the first three of which are related in Revelations I, II and IV respectively), she writes:

> the iiijth is the depe drying — theyse iiij as it is before seyde for the paynes of the passion — and the fyfte is thys that was shewyth for the joy and the blysse of the passion (390.11).

We should note here not only that she does not begin to describe the joy and bliss of the Passion until the 'changing of cheer' in chapter 21, but also that she continues to describe the 'deep drying' throughout chapter 17 (360-364).

Secondly, in her theological discussion of substance and sensuality in chapter 55, she remarks that these two 'parts' are in the incarnate Christ, and that the lower part, the sensuality, suffered for the salvation of mankind. Then she adds:

> And theyse two pertyes were seene and felte in the viij shewyng, in whych my body was fulfyllyd of felyng and mynd of Cristes passion and his dyeng. And ferthermore with this was a suttell felyng and a prevy inwarde syghte of þe hye partys, and that was shewed in the same tyme, wher I myȝte nott for the mene profer loke vp in to hevyn (569.52).

This passage must refer in its totality to Revelation VIII, since she refers both 'parts' to that showing. It follows then that for Julian the eighth revelation continued to at least the end of chapter 19, where the two parts are first discussed (372.33 e.s.).

Thirdly, we have argued that this revelation is summarized in the *iij maner of beholdyng of his blessyd passion* towards the end of P's chapter 20 (377.33-378.36), and that the summary forms the natural end of the eighth revelation. In the short text, the beginning of chapter xii, which corresponds with the opening of Revelation IX, is very clear:

> And sodaynlye, me behaldande in the same crosse, he channchede in to blysfulle chere (239.1);

and the addition prefixed to this in the long text:

> And I lokyd after the departyng with alle my myghtes, and wende to haue seen the body alle deed; butt I saw him nott so. And right in the same tyme that me thought by semyng that the lyfe myght no lenger last ... (379.3)

emphasizes the suddenness of the change; at one moment she is expecting his last breath, in the next Christ shows himself full of life and gladness, and she stresses this again by her repetition of the word 'suddenly'.

The scribe of S1 appears to have had in his copy a chapter-division approaching that which the editors propose. But the difficulty with that is that S1's division interrupts the smooth transition from the first four manners, shown for the pains of the Passion, to 'the fifth ... that was shown for the joy and the bliss of the Passion' (390.13). What signals the beginning of the new revelation is neither the summary of what has gone before (SS 377.31) nor the locution at the opening of chapter 22 in P (382.3), but the new bodily sight, introduced by the key word *sodeynly*. These discrepancies are best explained by the hypothesis that all the witnesses derive from a common ancestor in which the 'Revelation IX' rubric had been omitted, so that later scribes had to use their own judgment about where it should be inserted; and the editors have proposed that this ninth revelation as Julian wrote it in all probability began thus:

> And I lokyd after the departyng with alle my myghtes, and wende to haue seen the body alle deed; butt I saw him nott so. And right in the same tyme that me thought by semyng that the lyfe myght no lenger last, and the shewyng of the ende behovyd nydes to be nye, sodenly I beholdyng in the same crosse he channgyd in blessydfulle chere ... (379.3)

11 Revelation IX

As has already been noticed, Revelation IX (chapters 21-23) is briefly described by Julian herself as 'shown for the joy and the bliss of the Passion' (390.13). The sudden change from suffering to joy in chapter 21 reveals to her not only our solidarity with Christ in his own human condition during his Passion, but the immediate connexion between the joy and glory of the risen Christ and the glorified Church in heaven. In Revelation VIII, her thought was centring on the first part of the Christological hymn of Philippians 2: 'Let that mind be in you ... He humbled himself, becoming obedient to death, death on a cross'. Here she has the second part of the hymn in recollection: 'For this reason God has exalted him', with its corollary in the other hymn in Paul's second letter to Timothy (2.12): 'If we endure with him, then we shall also reign with him'.

In chapter 22, following on the bodily sight, the locution: *Arte thou well apayd that I sufferyd for thee?* (382.2), is Julian's way of expressing and communicating what appears to be a singular infused grace affecting alike her will and her intellect. *In thys felyng my vnderstandyng was leftyd vppe in to hevyn* (382.7). This seems to describe a 'rapture' in the traditional sense, judged both by its language and by what she has previously described. She had been in the severest bodily and mental

anguish (cf. 360-364), and suddenly she is taken out of herself.[208] This appears to have been one of the occasions when the bodily sight persisted, unlike her account of the first revelation, when she writes: *And the bodyly syght styntyd, and the gastely syght dwellyd in myne vnderstandynge* (218.19), because it was in Christ's manhood that she saw the Father (383.12, an addition to the short text), and the bliss of heaven (or of the three persons of the Trinity), graces which belong to the *manyfolde joyes that folowen of the passion of Crist* (393.47).

In the long text, as a result of protracted meditation 'with great diligence' on the locution: *If I myght suffer more, I wolde suffer more* (387.50), with Hebrews 10.10 constantly in mind (cf. 385.34 note), she is able to communicate the fact in faith that God's love for the world, the proof of which is the sacrificial death of his Son, is as sure and active and manifest now as it was at the time of Christ's passion and death. Every day a glorified Redeemer *is redy to the same, yf it myght be* (385.35). Modern exegetes can write, on the text of the Apocalypse: 'I died, and behold I am alive for evermore', in the same vein:

> All the mysteries of Jesus's earthly history, from the cradle to the grave, have been mysteriously endowed in his glorified humanity with a totally new and enduring actuality;[209]

but they say less than Julian does, as she begins, her understanding of word, of sight and of her own experience unfolded, to develop the insight she receives into the mystery of the Trinity and the divine relationship, in her own person, with all who are to be saved in Christ. She is at one with John, in chapter 15 of his gospel, and with Hebrews chapter 10, in seeing the revelation and operation of the Trinity as focused particularly on the Passion, death and Resurrection of the incarnate Christ. In this suffering all mankind is involved; it is the preparation for the fulness of salvation. It is *a noble precious and wurschypfulle dede done in a tyme by the workyng of loue* (386.47), and yet this love is the eternal providential love of the triune God, of his power, wisdom and goodness. *The cause why that he sufferyth is for he wylle of hys goodnes make vs the eyers with hym in hys blysse* (381.23). Because the sight of Christ in his now glorified manhood is constantly before her inward eye, and his words in her recollection, she is able to write firmly and lucidly, using the ideas and the vocabulary with which Scripture provided her in abundance.

[208] For a discussion of such phenomena, see C. Butler: *Western Mysticism*, especially 71-78.

[209] D. Stanley: 'Contemplation of the Gospels', 430.

So the sudden change recalls not only the Transfiguration (cf. 379.6 note), but also Paul's prophecy of the resurrection of the body (cf. 380.14, 15 notes), and of our transformation, even in this life, through contemplation (cf. 380.18, 20 notes). With John, as well as with Paul, she can link Passion and Resurrection, earth and heaven in the glory and exaltation of Christ in which we are called to share: *Betwene that one and that other shalle alle be one tyme; and than shall alle be brought in to joy* (380.15).

She begins here, too, to develop her teaching on the Holy Spirit, and, as does John himself, she identifies the Spirit with that love which comforts and strengthens (390.15 e.s.). Finally, at the end of the revelation, she offers us a short example which summarizes all the teaching contained:

> And in this he brought to my mynd the propyrte of a gladde geauer. Evyr a glade geauer takyth but lytylle hede at the thyng that he geavyth, but alle hys desyr and alle hys intent is to plese hym and solace hym to whome he geavyth it. And yf the receyver take the gyft gladly and thankefully, than the curtesse gevyr settyth at nought alle hys cost and alle hys traveyle, for joy and deleyght that he hath for he hath plesyd and solacyd hym that he lovyth (392.37),

a method in which, in the long text, she proves herself so adept. She has stressed the work of the Father and his joy in giving mankind as a gift; he is the glad giver, and the Son, who receives the gift along with that of his own manhood, is he who pays little heed to the value of the gift ('he did not consider equality with God a prize to be coveted' — Philippians 2.6). He receives from the Father, but becomes a courteous giver to the Father, and the Holy Spirit is in the gift, for he is the joy and delight of Father for Son, of Father and Son in us and for us.

12 Revelation X

As the footnotes to the text indicate, the 'bodily sight' of Revelation X (394.3 e.s., and cf. 242.1 e.s.) has much in common with contemporary representations of the Sacred Heart. Julian's susceptibility to such iconography has been remarked on in Section VII. But we may here ask why in the long text she insists that this be introduced as a separate revelation, and what is the reason for the very significant change in the account there from that in the short text.

First, there is a marked difference in tone between Revelation X and much of the devotional writing of her own age. (As an example, see the French prayer, recorded in England, quoted in 394.3 note). Julian was

shown not the Man of Sorrows but a joyful, glorified Christ (an aspect of the Sacred Heart devotion which almost disappeared in the post-Tridentine Church, largely through the impetus of the revelations to Margaret Mary Alacoque). Secondly, in the long text Julian has decided to introduce the image of the heart as 'a fair and delectable place', which will find an echo in the parabolic vision of the lord and the servant: *Now is the spouse, goddys son, in pees with his lovyd wyfe* (545.326); *Now sittyth nott þe lorde on erthe in wyldernesse, but he syttyth on hys ryche and noblest seet, whych he made in hevyn* (543.312). Thirdly, in the short text she had glossed the locution, *Loo how I lovyd the*, as follows:

> ... as 3yf he hadde sayde: My childe, 3if thow kan nought loke in my godhede, see heere how I lette opyn my syde and my herte be clovene in twa (242.2).

Since then there had been shown *to my vnderstandyng in part* — that she writes 'in part' is surely significant — *the blyssydfulle godhede as farforth as he wolde that tyme* (395.11). In other words, since she has received new understanding, of which chapter 51 is the foremost example, she has been enabled, in some of the more complex showings, to identify assuredly revelation which is intermediate between 'bodily sight' and 'ghostly sight', that is, 'ghostly in bodily likeness' (514.6). The love of which the pierced heart of Jesus, now glorified but still displaying the marks of his Passion (cf. John 20.19-20, 27), is the sign which she now understands as meaning *the endlesse loue that was without begynnyng and is and shal be evyr* (395.13); and yet in this love of the Godhead he remains her brother and her Saviour, who has died and risen for her, and she his darling and his child.

This insight into the mystery of the Incarnation, particularly as a corrective of the deficiencies of contemporary devotion, too often betraying its writers and its devotees as morbid, neurotic, hysterical, is of sufficient importance to Julian to merit isolation as a separate and integral revelation.

13 Revelation XI

In the closing sight of the 'hard pains' of Christ's sufferings, Julian was shown the compassion of Mary, which the S1 scribe, writing in the seventeenth century, calls her 'spiritual martyrdom': *she was so onyd in loue that the grettnes of her loue was cause of the grettnes of her peyne* (366.3). It is thus logical that the sight of the exalted and glorified yet crucified Christ — 'the joy and bliss of the Passion' — should end with a showing

of Mary sharing her Son's joy. So in Revelation XI, chapter 25, the bodily sight seems to be extended to include the mother who is standing by the cross (John 19.25). But Julian has already insisted in the short text that this was an intellectual vision:

> Ofte tymes I prayed it, and wened to haffe sene here in bodely lykenes; botte I sawe hir nought soo. And Jhesu in þat worde schewed me a gastelye syght of hire (242.11).

Here in the long text she tells why she 'saw her not so': it is far more expedient to see

> the vertuse of her blyssydfulle soule, her truth, her wysdom, her cheryte, wher by I am leernyd to know my self, and reuerently drede my god (399.20).

Julian has no use for sentimentality in her devotion. As she will tell us further on, what Mary exemplifies par excellence is that

> a mans soule is a creature in god whych hath the same propertes made ... endlesse souereyne truth, endelesse souereyne wysdom, endelesse souereyne loue (484.13, 11),

so that it can do what it was made for, perceive God, contemplate him and love him.

In this same revelation, in chapter 25, we have another instance of Julian introducing an 'example' which does not appear in the short version, and, apparently, for the same reason as before, its connection with the parable of the lord and the servant. Indeed, this 'example' seems to be no more than a reference back to the matter of chapter 14. There she wrote:

> ... thys exsample was shewd. A kyng, yf he thanke hys subiettes, it is a grett wurschyppe to them; and yf he make it knowen to all the realme, then ther wurschypp is mech incresyd (352.23).

Julian does not now state specifically that this was a part of the revelation introduced by the locution 'Wilt thou see her?', or that the example was shown, as she had written in chapter 14, 'in this time' (352.23); and it seems that she is here doing no more than indicating the relevance of an earlier insight also to this revelation.

14 Revelation XII

When Julian had recapitulated, for purposes of reconstruction, her first great showing (in the long text, chapters 4-9, 294-323), there are

three points which she made with all possible emphasis; that the goodness of God is all (318.15, 322.12), that he is true rest, and that there is no rest except in union with him (301.25), and that this showing, like all the revelations, is given to her for the benefit of all who persevere in the knowledge and love of God (319.23, 319.33, 321.2).

These are the themes to which she returns in Revelation XII, which concludes the first part of her book. The first eleven revelations manifest a progressively deeper insight into the Pauline prayer, '... ut Christum lucrifaciam et inveniar in illo ... ad cognoscendum illum et virtutem resurrectionis eius et societatem passionum illius, configuratus morti eius; si quo modo occuram ad resurrectionem quae est ex mortuis' (Philippians 3.8-11). So Revelation XII was given as a bodily sight in ghostly likeness, when *oure lord shewyd hym more gloryfyed as to my syght than I saw hym before* (402.3). The point is of significance for her. In the short text, she had taken the showing in conjunction with that of Mary (243.25 e.s.), because of the very important observation she makes concerning contemplative graces; now she omits this observation (probably because her revelations are not to be restricted to *ex professo* contemplatives), and she stresses the new application of the sight of the glorified Christ as Lord and God who is portrayed to her in the intellectual vision, 'I it am'. And it is as Lord and God that he shows himself as he did in the first revelation, *full of joye, homely and curteys and blessydfulle and very lyfe* (402.5; cf. 314.46). But now it is in and through the bodily sight in ghostly likeness of the exalted crucified Christ that she sees afresh and comprehends more deeply that 'where Jesus appears, the blessed Trinity is understood' (295.15). ... *I it am that is alle. I it am that holy church prechyth the and techeyth thee. I it am that shewde me before to the* (402.10). But she has still more to see and to learn about the relations of the Trinity and the *operationes ad extra*. She does not yet know what is comprehended in the word of the triune God, 'I it am' (cf. 403.11, 15 notes). So she ends the revelation, as she had done in the short text, by recalling that her only purpose for writing at all is so that everyone who will be saved, *evyry man, aftyr the grace that god gevyth hym in vnder standyng and lovyng* (403.16), may receive the locution according to Christ's meaning in it.

15 Revelation XIII

During her exposition of the parable of the lord and the servant in chapter 51, Julian informs us that she was granted three ways of knowing the secrets of all that was shown to her, which became so

united in her understanding that she was unable to distinguish them:

> The furst is the begynnyng of techyng that I vnderstode ther in in the same tyme. The secunde is the inwarde lernyng that I haue vnderstonde there in sythen. The thyrd is alle the hole revelation fro the begynnyng to the ende whych oure lorde god of his goodnes bryngyth oftymes frely to the syght of my vnderstondyng (519.76).

It is here, in the long Revelation XIII, which occupies chapters 27 to 40 in the long text, that she begins in earnest to give us the fruit of this knowledge, as a comparison with the corresponding sections of the short text (243.37-257.23) soon reveals.

The opening sentence, identical in either text: *And aftyr thys oure lorde brought to my mynde the longyng that I had to hym before* (404.3, and cf. 243.37), is so muted that one is hardly aware that this announces a separate revelation, until, after her indiscreet reflection (identical with one of the *Piers Plowman* poet's) that if sin had never been all would have been well (cf. 404.6 and note), she tells us that this is indeed a vision; and it is followed immediately, according to the normal pattern of the revelations, by a locution, which here she emphasizes by calling it, in the long text, *þis nakyd worde: Synne* (405.14).

Thus the vision consists of two sights: her longing for God (cf. 288.40), and the *oygly syȝte* (406.26) of all that is not good. This second sight includes her experience of Christ's sufferings, as she has already beheld and pondered them, and the sufferings of his followers, which she associates with the kenosis of the incarnate Word (405.15 e.s.). It is not that she sees sin itself (she makes the precise theological observation that *it had no maner of substannce* — 406.27 and notes); she sees all the pain that sin occasioned Christ, and still occasions all who will be saved. In the long text this is stressed by a repetition of the original locution (405.13) in another form: *It is tru that synne is cause of alle thys payne, but alle shalle be wele* (407.33).

So far, her experience of this double showing resembles that of Revelation VII (354.2 e.s.), with its alternation of consolation and desolation; but here she is anxious to indicate how the desolation which accompanies the sight and experience of pain occasioned by sin *redely passyd ovyr in to comfort* (406.24); and the chapter ends, in the long text, with her first reference to what will become the focal point of this revelation, the *hygh mervelous prevyte hyd in god, whych pryvyte he shalle opynly make and shalle be knowen to vs in hevyn* (407.39).

Chapter 28 shows her reflecting on the comfort which our Lord has just afforded her, the experience of his compassionate love for all men, that is, for his own body, the Church. His joy is born of compassion for

the tribulations of his servants, the chastisement which is to bring them to the bliss of everlasting union with God. Here again, it will be in the parable of the lord and the servant that we shall find, in the long text, the clarification of her deep understanding of the divine compassion in the mystery of the incarnate Christ, *the rewth and the pytty of the fader* over *the fallyng of Adam* (524.134), *the joy and the blysse* for *the fallyng of his deerwurthy son* (524.135), the Father's permitting *his owne son wylfully in the manhed to suffer all mans payne* (541.287). And here she begins to explain how the longing for God with which the vision begins is shown in Christ's compassion, which we are called to share (410.21 e.s.).

At the beginning of chapter 29, she seems to be telling us that the alternation of consolation and desolation afforded by the experience, now of divine compassion, now of the pain and harm of sin, has been with her whenever she reflects on the 'ugly sight'; and it would appear from the complete agreement at this point of both texts that she is satisfied with the answer her question invited — it is one of the Lord's 'homely courtesies' that he reasons, in the strict philosophical sense, with her (cf. 247.3 note) — an answer which is a summary of the contemporary theology of atonement, theology which Shakespeare in his turn would paraphrase:

> Why, all the souls that were were forfeit once,
> And he that might the vantage best have took
> Found out the remedy.[210]

In chapter 30, Julian's sight of the divine compassion becomes the sight of Jesus himself, crucified and glorified, in his mystical union with the Church; and, as she noted at the outset of the long text, *wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand, as to my sight* (295.15). When she recorded her first version, she was already sufficiently advanced in theology to state clearly that the whole of divine revelation, both the canonical Scriptures and the Church's magisterial tradition, concerns the unity and trinity of God, and the *operationes ad extra* of this same Trinity, revealed and performed in Jesus Christ the incarnate Word (248.26-41); so that any authentic private revelation will do no more than cast a brighter light on this, the constant and exclusive object of divinely-inspired Christian contemplation, *oure saviour and oure saluacyon* (414.2). There is nothing else here on earth that the heart of man can profitably conceive of *oure lordes prevy conncelle*, which is the teaching of Paul (cf. 415.13 and note). Nor does Julian see any reason for altering a

[210] *Measure for Measure*, Act II Scene 2.

word of this in the final text of her revelations. Here is indeed the whole content of her world; whatever is outside its scope cannot be the proper object of contemplation, and will thus militate against the building up of the body of Christ. Her sight at the beginning of this revelation (404.3) was of her own longing for God. Now, in chapter 31, through the reformulation of the locution 'All shall be well' in an explicitly Trinitarian context, common to both versions (cf. 249.1 e.s.), she perceives that this longing is a participation in Christ's own longing; and she now gives us the reflection which she had promised on his 'ghostly thirst' (cf. 418.14 note). She begins with a sight of its fulfilment, everlasting rest and peace, which resembles in doctrine and language the celebrated hymn of Peter Abelard:[211]

> O quanta qualia sunt illa sabbata ...
> quae fessis requies, quae merces fortibus
> cum erit omnia deus in omnibus.

It may well be that this meditation on the love-longing (419.26-421.49) was omitted from the short text because it depends on her then still undeveloped understanding of the Trinitarian locution in Revelation XII, 'I it am ...' (cf. 403.15 and note), and of the relationship between Christ and all mankind who will be saved, as this emerges later in the parable of the lord and the servant.

In the examination (in the long text, in chapter 32) of the two forms of the locution of this revelation: *Alle maner a thyng shalle be wele ... Thou shalt se thy selfe that alle maner of thyng shalle be wele* (422.2; and cf. 244.52, 249.5), what Julian sees and understands belongs to the showing of the compassion which will cease in the fulness of unitive love in heaven (cf. 421.50). The last great work of the Trinity on Judgment Day is not now the proper object of contemplation; that is the compassion which is shown in the hiding of that work for our present peace and joy. It is at this point, when her mind is again occupied by the contraries inducing that disquiet and perturbation of mind which are the hall-marks of spiritual desolation, that she wishes to show that 'reasoning' on God's word (422.9 e.s.) is a form of meditative prayer, which can lead the soul back into God's comfort. The desolation, however, continues to oppress her, here and in the succeeding chapter 33. The 'great deed' may not be the proper object of contemplation until it is done in the fulfilment of the Lord's compassion, when *thou shalt se thy selfe that alle*

[211] Cf. Chevalier, *Repertorium*, no. 13560.

manner thyng shall be wele (423.17), but the doctrines of the faith are:

> And one poynt of oure feyth is that many creatures shall be dampnyd, as angelis that felle ouȝt of hevyn for pride, whych be now fendys, and meny in erth that dyeth out of the feyth of holy chyrch (425.40).

Here is a contrary which reasoning cannot resolve (426.49 e.s.). Thus she is emboldened to ask for a sight of hell and purgatory (427.2 e.s.). But this is a prayer which is not answered, and she must, following the advice which she gives herself and us in the showing on prayer, await a better time, a greater grace or a better gift (469.27). She recalls that in all of her visions of Christ's Passion she saw none of the reproved, except only the devil himself; and this accords exactly with the Church's teaching, which, in affirming eternal damnation, has never defined that anyone is in hell, except only the devil.[212] She takes this occasion to offer another, far more reasonable theological opinion than that current among the scholastics which Hilton repeats (cf. 427.2 note):

> In whych syȝt I vnderstond þat alle the creatures þat be of the devylles condiscion in thys lyfe and ther in endyng, ther is no more mencyon made of them before god and alle his holyn then of the devylle, notwythstondyng that they be of mankynde, wheder they haue be cristend or nought (427.10).

In chapter 34 Julian further clarifies the distinction which she has already made (414.2 e.s.) between matters which belong to our salvation and matters which do not. She accepts that there are *de facto* secrets which it is profitable for us to know in this life, but which our ignorance and sinfulness prevent us from seeing. Such privities are revealed, both in her showings and in the Church's teachings, and to know these is to be consoled by God's compassionate love. But curiosity about matters belonging to the great mysteries, such as predestination and reprobation, can only bring disquiet and a troubled conscience. This is her introduction to the general solution of the apparent contradiction: that since God is Holy Church, its teachings cannot be opposed to authentic revelation (430.5 e.s.).

At this point in the short text (252.13 e.s.) Julian had written that the consideration of this revelation of God's immense goodness and compassion prompted her to ask the question, on behalf of a friend, which is at the root of so much Christian fear and preoccupation: shall I persevere to the end in the grace and love of God? The stock spiritual an-

[212] E.g. Lateran IV (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 801).

swer to this in contemplative writings is that this is a false question, in that it draws a person away from God's own view of his creatures, and is thus an obstacle to contemplative prayer (cf. 432.5 and 252.15, notes). In the short text Julian seems to have accepted this, for she writes: *and in þis desyre I lettyd my selfe* (252.15). In the long text, however, she qualifies this: *and in this syngular desyer it semyd that I lettyd my selfe* (432.5), because she has learnt that the contemplative is being drawn to see and feel the divine compassion in a way which cannot possibly exclude the particular case (440.49 e.s.), though it remains true that any overriding anxiety is itself a hidden lack of trust in God's love, and is thus a cause of desolation. So in this chapter 35, she is led again to reflect on what she has already seen in Revelation III: the whole Trinity working in all things to bring the divine love to fulfilment in every creature (433.15 e.s.), and that this is possible because of the nature of the divine attribute of rightfulness, which not only is not contradicted by his mercy and compassion, but is complementary to it, in bringing good out of evil (435.34 e.s.). It is also subordinated to it, since, when all are made perfect in love, and the ghostly thirst has an end, the working of divine compassion will cease.

Chapter 36 begins with a locution in reported speech, a grammatical device not often used by Julian (cf. 436.4, 438.35, notes) which was a cause of confusion to the scribes. The locution represents a more penetrating insight into the Lord's compassion. It is a sight of the promise of God's fulfilment, consequent on his gift to his creature of the longing for himself, which follows naturally on the contemplation in the previous chapter of righteousness and mercy; and the end is the rest and peace of the eternal Sabbath. Julian explains clearly, again in the context of the 'great deed', that man can do nothing in the order of his salvation which is pleasing to God without prevenient and concomitant grace. This was the teaching of the Council of Orange (A.D. 529) against the heresy later to be called 'semi-Pelagianism'; the seventh canon there defined states: Si quis per naturae vigorem bonum aliquid, quod ad salutem pertinet vitae aeternae cogitare ut expedit aut eligere, sive salutari, id est evangelicae praedicationi consentire posse confirmat absque illuminatione et inspiratione spiritus sancti ... haeretico fallitur spiritu; and it goes on to quote II Corinthians 3.5: Not that we are sufficient to think anything by ourselves, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God.[213] Here is the meaning of Julian's phrase, startling to ears less theologically attuned, *and man shall do ryght nought but synne*

[213] Denzinger-Schönmetzer no. 377.

(438.38). The firm confidence of her theology here is in marked contrast to the view that the saints in heaven will rejoice in the sufferings of the damned (extended by Hilton, as we have seen, to those who in this life are raised to the higher stages of contemplative prayer); and it is rooted in her own contemplative experience of purification, active and passive, illumination and union. All this she specifies as she describes the Lord's compassionate dealings with one who longs for him:

> ... here hast thou mattyr of mekenesse, here hast thou mattyr of loue, here hast thou matter of knowyng thy selfe, here hast thou mattyr of enjoyyng in me. And for my love enjoy in me (439.41),

where *mekenesse* and *nowten* (the SS variant, probably superior, to *knowyng*) describe active purification, *loue* and *enjoyyng* passive purification;

> And as long as we be in this lyfe, what tyme that we by oure foly turne vs to the beholdyng of the reprovyd, tendyrly oure lorde towchyth vs and blysydfully callyth vs (439.44),

describing the impulse of grace, drawing the soul towards union;

> seyeng in oure soule: Lett me aloone, my derwurdy chylde, intende to me. I am inogh to þe, and enjoy in thy sauiour and in thy saluation (439.46),

describing the soul's illumination. This whole passage is reminiscent of one of the most beautiful images of the divine compassion in sacred Scripture, Isaias 66.12-13, which will again be present in her mind when she writes in chapter 60 of the 'forthspreading' of God's motherhood (594.2 e.s.). Her immediate comment on this locution: *The soule that is perced therwith by grace shalle se it and fele it* (440.49), illumines this entire revelation. She is writing of compunction of heart, which, according to Jean Leclercq, is primary in Gregory the Great's conception of Christian life and prayer:

> Compunction becomes pain of the spirit, a suffering resulting simultaneously from two causes: the existence of sin and our own tendency towards sin — *compunctio paenitentiae, timoris, formidinis* — and the existence of our desire for God and even our very possession of God. St. Gregory, more than others, accentuated this last aspect: an obscure possession, awareness of which does not last and consequently gives rise to regret at seeing it disappear and to a desire to find it again. The 'compunction of the heart', 'of the soul' — *compunctio cordis, animi* — always tends to become a 'compunction of love', 'of delectation' and 'of contemplation' — *compunctio amoris, dilectionis, contemplationis*. Compunction is

> an act of God in us, an act by which God awakens us, a shock, a blow, a 'sting', a sort of burn. God goads us as if with a spear; he 'presses' us with insistence (*cum-pungere*), as if to pierce us ... How is this action of God accomplished in us? By what means, through what intermediaries, and on what occasions? By all kinds of trials: tribulation, the *flagella Dei,* the thousandfold sufferings of life, sin itself ... The ultimate role of compunction is to bring to the soul a longing for heaven.[214]

Here and elsewhere in Revelation XIII, as she recounts it in the long text, Julian is expanding Gregory's doctrine of compunction from her own experience of sights, sickness, and, it would seem, the infused graces which followed the showings. Much of the account (433.15-441.73) is an addition to the short text, inserted, it would appear, not so much because it depends for its clarity on the parable, but because it is integral to all that she has seen, heard and felt since she first recorded her showings. This seems particularly true of the special understanding she has received concerning miracles (440.59-441.73), itself a corroboration of what she has formulated concerning the great deed which will not be known until it is done (cf. 440.57 and note). Just as the angel instanced the miracle of the opening of Elizabeth's womb as corroboration of the miracle of the Incarnation — 'No word will be impossible with God' (Luke 1.37) — so here for Julian *That pat is vnpossible to the is nott vnpossible to me* (426.49). The gospel miracles are preeminently signs of God's compassion (healing, feeding, stilling the storm, raising the dead), of the consolation which follows trouble, anguish, desolation (440.60).

As Julian explains in chapter 37, the greatest sign of the Lord's compassion is that he loves us whilst we are in sin. This is a truth which she finds hard to grasp; and she expects this to be hard also for her fellow-Christians. Thus she is anxious to communicate it to them, even though, in this final draft of the long text, she knows that it will not become clear — as it did not become clear to her — except in the light of the parable (cf. 442.5 and note). Once again, she points out that Revelation XIII consisted in two 'sights', the first of the mystery of the divine compassion, the second of the mystery of sin. At this juncture she had received special grace to attend more closely to the second sight; and the fear and desolation which came upon her were assuaged by the final locution of the original showing: *I kepe the fulle sekerly* (254.3).

Then there follows her first reference to the godly will. She has already defined sin as 'all that is not good'; and now she reflects on how it is possible for God to love that which is evil. She knows, from what

[214] *The Love of Learning,* 37-39.

she has learned of the 'ghostly thirst', that God loves to heal and to save, the well-spring of the divine compassion revealed in Christ crucified and glorified. She begins to write of the godly will as it is found in all those who are to form one soul with the heavenly host, and of their love for each other in Christ. It is this love which is the godly will, and it is incorruptible. The theologian whose thought and language appear closest to hers (and we must recall that this passage is common to short and to long texts) is William of St. Thierry, in his *Golden Epistle*; and, significantly, this is in the final section of his treatise on the interior life of the monastic solitary, the third or spiritual state of the religious man, when 'the memory has been transformed into wisdom' and 'the thinker's understanding becomes the lover's contemplation'.[215] So William writes:

> For love (*amor*) is a great will towards God, another love (*dilectio*) is a clinging to him or uniting to him, and a third love (*charitas*) is delight in him. Yet the unity of the spirit with God in a man who lifts up his heart towards God is the perfection of his will, when he not only wills God's will, he is not only drawn to God, but in that drawing he is so made perfect that he can will nothing but what God wills. For to will what God wills, this is to be like God; not to be able to will except what God wills, this is to be what God is, for whom willing and being are one and the same. So it is well said that 'we shall see plainly what he is, when we shall be like him' (I John 3.2); that is, we shall be what he himself is.[216]

This is the *godly wyll in the hygher party* (443.18) which 'constantly the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of life, himself pours in by the way of love',[217] *whych wylle is so good that it may nevyr wylle evylle, but evyr good. And therfore we be that he lovyth, and endlesly we do that he lykyth* (443.19). 'And likeness to God is perfection in man', William continues, 'but not to wish to be perfect is to fail'.[218] So Julian concludes the chapter in the long text: *but for feylyng of loue in oure party, therfore is alle oure traveyle* (444.25).

In the first sentence of chapter 38, which corresponds to the short text (255.17-18), Julian has made one small but significant change. Where, before, she had written: *god schewed me that syn is na schame, bot wirschippe to mann,* she now writes: *synne shalle be no shame, but wurshyppe to man* (445.2). This is indicative of her desire for theological precision; sin, at the time of its commision, and until it is forgiven, is the occasion

[215] PL 184 347.
[216] Ibid. 348.
[217] Ibid. 347.
[218] Ibid. 348.

of shame, just as the glorious wounds of the risen Christ were, at the time of the Crucifixion, signs not of honour but of the world's sin and shame. She writes similarly of her own sinfulness (cf. 633.23 and note). Here, in the long text, she sees the need to establish the truth of this simple but paradoxical statement; and now she has the theological and rhetorical equipment to do it. She constructs an *argumentatio perfectissima*, of which the opening statement becomes the *propositio*; and the other steps of the argument follow.

> ... for ryght as to every synne is answeryng a payne by truth, ryght so for every synne to the same soule is gevyn a blysse by loue (445.3).

is the *ratio,*

> Ryght as dyuerse synnes be ponysschyd with dyuers paynes after that it be greuous, ryght so shalle they be rewardyd with dyvers joyes in hevyn for theyr victories, after as the synne haue ben paynfulle and sorowfulle to the soule in erth (445.4)

is the *rationis confirmatio*,

> For the soule that shalle come to hevyn is so precyous to god and the place so wurshypfulle that the goodnes of god sufferyth nevyr that soule to synne fynally þat shalle come ther (445.8)

is the *exornatio*, and

> But what synners they are that so shalbe rewarded is made knowen in holy church in erth and also in heaven by over passyng worshypes (445.10)

is the *complexio*. This remarkable dexterity is heightened by resuming, with the next sentence, the short text: *for in this sight mynn vnderstandynge was lyfted vp in to hevenn* (255.18), in such a way — *and then god brought merely to my mynde* ... (446.13) — that the Lord himself provides her with the rhetorical *exempla,* Magdalene and the others, which render her reasoning 'clear, vivid, plausible'.[219] And, finally, the last section of the chapter, where the Lord brings John of Beverley to her mind, becomes a preacher's homely example, to drive home the point that the miracles worked through the intercession of penitent-saints are pre-eminently tokens of the working of the divine compassion, which in and through Christ continues to bring joy and honour out of sin and shame.

The sight of Christ bleeding from the scourging had been for Julian a most deeply moving experience in the early showings, and itself a sign of Christ's kinship with us, and the instrument of the divine com-

[219] F. Nims.

passion. Here in chapter 39, she sees sin as the scourge of those who will be saved; for it is in our sins that we have the most need of the divine compassion which we experience in our contemplation of the suffering Christ. The Pauline doctrine of reconciliation is clearly in her thought: ... He has reconciled us to himself by Christ ... for God was indeed in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing to them their sins ... He made sin for us him who knew no sin, that we might be made in him the justice of God (II Corinthians 5.18-21). Here too, in another addition to the short text (451.14-452.29) we have a precise summary of the Western teaching on compunction of heart, which has already been described, in its presentation as the Lord's visitation with the three wounds with which she had prayed to be pierced:

> And also whom oure lord wylle he vysyteth of his specialle grace with so grett contricion, and also with compassion and tru longyng to god that they be sodeynly delyverde of synne and of payne, and taken vp to blysse and made evyn with seyntes. By contryscion we be made clene, by compassion we be made redy, and by tru longyng to god we be made wurthy. Theyse be thre menys, as I vnderstode, wher by that alle soules com to hevyn, that is to sey that haue ben synners in erth and shalle be savyd (451.21).

In a final addition (453.40-48), she once more anticipates the parable of the lord and the servant, alluding to the lord's compassion for the servant who is shown not only for Christ, but also for Adam and every soul who will be saved.

In chapter 40, the last of this revelation, Julian establishes a close link between the central locution of the divine compassion, 'I keep thee full surely', and Revelation XIV, on prayer, which will follow next in the long text. In the short text she had concluded her account of the showing 'for prayer' with a reflection on the sinful soul's unhappy state until God turns to look on her with compassionate love (262.67-76). This she has now carefully edited and expanded, so that it introduces and puts into the clear context of our need for prayer the *caveat* against the particular form of 'liberty of the spirit' (cf. 456.28 note) which she here makes her special concern:

> But now because of alle thys gostly comfort that is before seyde, if any man or woman be steryd by foly to sey or to thynke: if this be tru, than were it good for to synne to haue the more mede, or elles to charge the lesse to synne, beware of this steryng. For truly, if it come, it is vntrue and of the enemy (456.26; cf. 257.1).

Again, in the long text she edits by constructing another *argumentatio,* this time rebutting the *propositio* which she now explicitly stigmatizes as

'untrue'. On the contrary, sin is to be hated, because God's love teaches us so (457.31-32, the *ratio*). Her own contemplative experience confirms this: the more we see his courteous love, the more we reject sin and are ashamed of it (457.33-35, the *rationis confirmatio*). The argument is then embellished with a conditional syllogism and an appeal to her showing (457.35-458.39, the *exornatio*); and the conclusion is the *complexio*:

> ... for a kynd soule hatyth no payne but synne; for alle is good but syn, and nought is yvell but synne (458.40).

And the revelation itself ends with a gentle exhortation: the showing of God's compassion is intended to teach us to love ourselves and our brethren as he does. This is his endless comforting of us.

16 Revelation XIV

'This is eternal life: that they may know thee, the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent' (John 17.3). Julian's revelations are basically concerned aith two moments in the existence of the incarnate Word, his coming from God and his going to God (cf. John 13.3); for these two moments, of incarnation and of death and resurrection, express scripturally the purpose of the manifestation of the mystery of God and Christ, his plan of salvation for all who will receive him. To receive Christ is to enter into an intimate relationship with God, the relationship of children to a Father: 'as many as received him, to them he gave the power to become sons of God' (John 1.12), which power, here on earth, is the knowing and loving of him who is unseen. It is only in heaven that we shall see God face to face, writes Julian, echoing Paul:

> And ther shall we se god face to face, homely and fulsomly. The creature that is made shall see and endlesly beholde god whych is the maker; for thus may no man se god and leue aftyr, that is to sey in this dedely lyffe (481.53)

Julian has already made it clear, when she wrote of prayer in the context of Revelation I, that this knowing and loving will be the constant preoccupation of all those who, like herself, are committed to the contemplative life:

> ... for oure kyndely wille is to haue god, and the good wylle of god is to haue vs, and we may never sesse of wyllyng ne of louyng tylle we haue hym in fulhede of ioy. And than we may no more wylle, for he wylle that we be occupyed in knowyng and louyng tylle the tyme comyth that we shal be fulfyllede in hevyn (308.57).

This she understood to be the purpose of her revelations, *this lesson of loue* (309.62); and it is in Revelation XIV, with its deceptively simple opening, *Affter thys oure lorde shewed for prayer* (460.3), more than twenty years after receiving her visions, that she is enabled to explain, with an immense wealth of theological and spiritual detail, that prayer is a living and growing relationship with the triune God in Christ Jesus, such an assimilation to him as will reproduce his own 'coming from God and going to God', to the extent that she ends her account of this long and complex showing with the words:

> Thus I vnderstode that all his blessyd chyldren whych be come out of hym by kynd shulde be brougt agayne in to hym by grace (619.3).

Most commentators on the long text of the *Revelations* have taken it for granted that this fourteenth showing on prayer occupies only three chapters, 41-43, and that Julian then returns to her obsessive problem about sin, damnation and the wrath of God, which is eventually solved (to her satisfaction, if perhaps not to ours) through years of pondering over the parable of the lord and the servant; and this is a view which seems to be corroborated by the account of the same showing in chapter xix of the short text. The opinion of the present editors is, however, that if the prayer relationship depends on the union of man's heart and mind with his God, then, whenever God is wrathful with sinful man, discord and alienation take the place of harmony and the divine presence, and so the life of prayer ceases. Further, throughout her revelations Julian never saw God at odds with his creature, man. It seems important, therefore, before analysing this fourteenth revelation chapter by chapter, to offer a brief summary of the showing's unity. First of all, Julian defines the contemplative prayer of petition ('seeking'), and explains its conditions and what it involves. It is, in fact, the creature's response to the creative, redemptive, unifying action of God; and as soon as the creature begins to know in faith that his seeking God is already answered, petition becomes thanksgiving, and he begins to understand that the term of the divine action in him is the beatific vision. Thus prayer is the knowledge of salvation, the mutual expression of the covenant by which man and God are partners, for the sake of man's ultimate fulfilment. Who, then, is this God who so unites himself with man in contemplation (chapter 44)? He is the God whom Mary contemplated in the moment of the Incarnation. Julian then proceeds to consider the limitations of the human power of knowing and loving in the contemplative process, the fluctuation in man's apprehension and judgment of himself and of God, as opposed to the divine immutability (chapter 45). Though God is always at one with

man, man is very often at odds with himself; the contradiction will persist, so that there will be times when this unitive prayer will appear meaningless, until man truly sees himself and his God (chapter 46).

So it is essential that prayer be marked not only by wonder and reverence, but also by humility and the readiness to endure our own frailty and foolishness, an unlikeness to God in the human condition which demands submission to the workings of mercy and grace (chapter 47). From this it follows that contemplative prayer is very frequently and predominantly passive, demanding patient expectation, even when the soul experiences the Spirit's compassionate purification and loving illumination (chapter 48). Thus prayer involves our being moved from an awareness of sinfulness and alienation, through the divine illumination, to a measure of the sight and experience of the peace of God with man, which is permanent (chapter 49). So the problem arises that the truth of God seems to be incompatible with the Church's judgment on sinful man as blameworthy. If there were such incompatibility, contemplative prayer might be illusory. How can the soul's relationship in prayer with God which was described in chapter 41 exist together with sinfulness and consequent judgment (chapter 50)? What in the end the parable of the lord and the servant explains is precisely how the relationship between God and man persists through human inadequacy and frailty. It involves Julian in a careful doctrinal exposition of the mysteries of Incarnation, redemption and the interrelationships of the persons of the Trinity, as well as of the incorporation into Christ of every man who will be saved (chapter 51). What follows is that the contemplative relationship is Trinitarian: the Christian becomes, in Christ, the term of the divine creative activity across time into eternity (chapter 52). How this is so, how, that is, creation and redemption come together in Christ, the head of human nature, is then explained (chapter 53), as are its effects in all incorporated into Christ (chapter 54). The precise nature of this incorporation, in terms of Christ's relationship with his Father and the Spirit of them both, is then elucidated (chapter 55); and after this Julian is able to show how this knowledge in faith of God in Christ enables the creature to grow in understanding of its own nature, that is, in the context of union with the Trinity and the mutual indwelling, and the gifts which flow from that indwelling (chapters 56-57). This contemplative knowledge of Trinity and Incarnation, of the divine economy of creation is further developed (chapter 58); and contemplative prayer and Trinitarian theology compenetrate one another as Julian discourses on the Trinitarian 'perichoresis' and the *operationes ad extra* (chapter 59).

From the consideration of the divine *natura creatrix* in the Trinitarian context which she has established, Julian is able to illumine for us, better perhaps than her more illustrious forebears such as Augustine and Anselm, the traditional doctrine of the creating and redeeming activity of the second person of the Trinity, using the image of 'God our Mother' (chapters 59-62). She concludes the revelation by emphasising what, for her, is the sublimest expression of man's relationship with God in contemplative prayer: the acceptance of feebleness and failing of insight and understanding which comes from loving trust in God and which finds its truest human analogy in the authentic relationship of the child with its parents (chapter 63).

Though Julian had written, in her short-text account of this revelation: *thus makes prayere accorde betwix god and mannes saule* (261.53), it is there by no means obvious that prayer, for her, is consistently the petition for union. She seems rather to be writing of her own case, drawing the analogy between what was shown to her and infused contemplation (cf. 261.55 note); and under the one heading, 'prayer', she includes vocal prayer (258.9-10), and petitions for the spiritual well-being of her neighbours (258.10-259.13). In her final version, however, she begins from an entirely different viewpoint. She is now bringing to the matter of this revelation the principle laid down for her in the parable: *It longyth to the to take hede to alle pe propertes and the condescions that were shewed in the example* (520.87). Writing of the two conditions for prayer, she is more concerned about God's intention (460.3 e.s.) than with her own experience. So she can now sum up the first condition by using the epithet *ryghtfulle,* since she has already explained its meaning in chapter 36 (433.19-435.36); thus, the prayer which she is now describing is, in its term, the contemplation of God's righteousness and the participation in this 'blessed harmony' of all the souls that will be saved (cf. 435.33). She is, however, content to retain, verbatim, what she had written in the short text about the other condition, sure trust, because, to her lasting shame, she experienced a lack of this in the course of the revelations themselves (cf. chapter 66). Prayer is always the communication of God's wisdom and truth, his rightfulness; but man must enter into the relationship by accepting the gift of faith, hope and charity.

What then follows, in both texts, is the nucleus of the showing, the locution: *I am grounde of thy besekyng* (461.11; and cf. 259.20). But in the long text, the reflection upon the *ratiocinatio* which concludes the revelation itself develops in an entirely different way; no longer does Julian interpret the locution as *a sobere vndertakynge* (260.29) directed at

her lack of trust. Instead, she tells us that the petition is for 'mercy and grace', and she argues from the question, *how schoulde it than be that thou shuldyst nott haue thy besekyng?* (461.13), that God's goodness is the cause of our prayer, in the sense in which she is now able to define the contemplative prayer of petition:

> Besechyng is a trew and gracious lestyng wylle of the soule, onyd and fastenyd in to the wylle of oure lorde by the swet prevy werkyng of the holy gost (463.30).

The Trinitarian character of this definition should be observed. It is the Father who by his righteousness fastens the will of the soul to the will of the incarnate Son, and this creative act *ab aeterno* is continued in time by the *werkyng*, the *missio ad extra* of the Holy Spirit. The glorified Christ is thus the immediate term of the soul's longing; and Julian rounds out the definition with a homely description of his office as mediator:

> he takyth it full thankefully, and hyghly enjoyeng he sendeth it vppe above (463.33).

If the soul can only see that this prayer is the immediate effect of God's eternal and creative relationship with his creature, and that he himself seeks for our response — *he lokyth ther after, and he wyll haue it* (463.39) — any particular level of emotional experience will cease to be of any great importance in the inner life of the devout Christian, and his hope will be increased.

Julian associates herself firmly with the Western tradition, as she associates prayer without ceasing with good will. 'In ipsa ergo fide et spe et caritate', writes Augustine, 'continuato desiderio semper oramus'.[220] Equally, when Julian writes that thanksgiving belongs to this *prayeng contynually* (465.49), one must understand that she is referring not simply to private prayer, with its large dependence on what were called from early times 'ejaculations' ('... crebras ... orationes, sed eas tamen brevissimas et raptim, quodam modo iaculatas'),[221] but to the *laus perennis* of a contemplative community like the one to whom the *Ancrene Riwle* is addressed: the eucharistic liturgy and the divine office and the various devotions linked to this *opus Dei*.[222] What, perhaps, is special in Julian is the degree to which she sees petition and thanksgiving integrated in the one contemplative process. The contemplative effort is itself a response to the Spirit's working in

[220] *Epistola 130*, ed. Goldbacher, CSEL 3, 2 60.
[221] Ibid., 62.
[222] Cf. supra, IX 3.

us, moving us now to thanksgiving, now to a cry for mercy and grace (cf. 467.60 e.s.); and all is seen as dependent on the *lectio divina,* the power of the Lord's word, alive, penetrating and quickening (cf. Hebrews 4.12).

In chapter 42, Julian begins to explore the nature of this relationship, the true expression of which is contemplative prayer. To do so, she has recourse to the current philosophical doctrine on causality (as she will do again at the end of her book, as she ponders the reason of the revelations as a whole — cf. 732.15 note). Thus God is the efficient cause of the relationship, and of every true expression of it, *by hys goodnesse* (468.5); God is the highest good, and all desired perfections flow from him as from the first cause.[223] The form and the quality of our response is next stated: 'Man inheres in God', Thomas writes, 'in whom alone true happiness consists'.[224] Thirdly, the actuality of the relation ship is located in God as the final and exemplary cause, *to be onyd and lyke to oure lorde in althyng* (468.12). As Thomas expresses it, 'in homine invenitur aliqua Dei similitudo, quae deducitur a Deo, sicut ab exemplari';[225] 'secundum quod homo Deum actu cognoscit et amat perfecte, et sic attenditur imago secundum similitudinem gloriae'.[226] Finally, Julian again stresses that it is the triune God to whom man is united and assimilated:

> ... and he wylle helpe vs, and he shalle make it so, as he seyth hym selfe, blessyd mot he be (468.13),

where *helpe* is for the Holy Spirit, *make* is for the Father and *seyth* is for the Son made man.

Julian continues by considering in more detail the quality and shape of our response; because of faith and grace it can in some mysterious fashion be 'large' (469.16), matching to some degree the liberality and generosity of the divine lover, and though our sight of his gift of himself is often severely limited, he is the sure object of the prayer of hope. Her own trust is so 'large' that here she begins to catch a glimpse of the Lord who is visiting her with mercy and grace, communicating his very being to her.

> He wylle that we haue true knowyng in hym selfe that he is beyng; and in thys knowyng he wylle that oure vnderstandyng be groundyd with alle oure myghtes and alle oure intent and alle oure menyng (469.28).

[223] *Summa theologiae* I.6.2 *in corp.*
[224] Ibid. I.82.2 *in corp.*
[225] Ibid. I.93.4 *in corp.*
[226] Ibid. I.93.4 *in corp.*

She holds with St. Thomas that God's self-knowledge is his being,[227] and that in contemplation we are drawn to share in this knowing. So to respond evokes from us the concentration of all our mental and spiritual powers, given to us in *our noble and excelent makyng* (470.34), restored and enriched in us by his redemption, and supported and enlivened by all the rest of his creation. All the divine activity, or all of it which is revealed to us in Christ, has as its term this unitive relationship which is called prayer:

> Beholde and se that I haue done alle thys before thy prayer, and now thou arte and prayest me (471.37).

More than this, all that he is doing now belongs to the same relationship; and prayer, on our part, is the simple realization and acknowledgment that God is for us and that we are for God. But Julian still retains the monastic understanding inherited by Thomas Aquinas and all those who followed him that every human happiness is a participation in divine beatitude, and thus of its nature is both contemplative and eschatalogical. Thomas had written: '... quidquid est desiderabile ... totum eminentius in divina beatitudine praeexistit. De contemplativa enim felicitate habet continuam et certissimam contemplationem'.[228] So Julian offers us another definition of prayer:

> ... prayer is a ryȝtwys vnderstandyng of that fulhed of joy that is for to come, with tru longyng and very trust. Saworyng or seyng oure blysse that we be ordeyned to, kyndely makyth vs to longe; trew vnderstondyng and loue with swete menyng in oure savoure graciously makyth vs to trust (473.55).

This is a reminder that she is also no stranger to the doctrine of the spiritual senses, particularly the sense of taste, as developed by the Cistercian spiritual writers.[229] Julian's final description of prayer has much in common with William of St. Thierry's exegesis of John 17.3: 'Haec est, inquit, vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te' ... Beata scientia, in qua continetur vita aeterna. Vita ista ex illo gustu est, quia gustare, hoc est intelligere.[230]

Already in the first revelation, Julian had been at pains to stress that contemplative prayer means on our part to seek, suffer and trust under the prompting of the Holy Spirit (cf. 332.68). Here, in chapter 43, she amplifies this teaching. To pray is to acknowledge to God that we need

[227] Cf. *Summa theologiae* I.14.4.
[228] Ibid. I.26.4 *in corp.*
[229] Cf. J. Walsh: 'Guillaume de Saint-Thierry et les sens spirituels'.
[230] *De natura amoris*, X 31; PL 184 399.

him in order to attain to union with him in knowledge and love; but to pray is also witnessing to God that, through his grace, we desire to have him as he desires to have us. In the ninth revelation (382 e.s.) she had seen not only the longing of Jesus to suffer for the whole of mankind and for each individual, but also the joy of the Trinity in the salvific achievement of Jesus (391.22-25). For Julian, as for Bernard, God is a God who moves his creatures because he desires them: 'Deus movet sicut desiderans';[231] and the movement brings peace and consolation — ... *comfortyth the conscience and ablyth man to grace* (475.5). Thus the prayer of petition is an expression of mutuality in the relationship; we become partners first in desire and then in fact. We share God's activity, and all this is prayer:

> And thus he techyth vs to pray and myghtyly to trust that we shalle haue it; for he beholdyth vs in loue, and wylle make vs perteyner of his good wylle and dede (475.6).

Implicit in this understanding of God as *Deus desiderans* is Julian's previous insight of herself at prayer: 'I saw him and I sought him; I had him and I wanted him' (325.14). What frustrates his desire and our own is the *vnablynes of oure selfe to Jhesu* (478.29). So prayer in times of desolation is equally prayer for union and a response to grace, which itself implies the divine presence: *our lord god folowyth vs, helpyng our desyre* (479.34). All of this, as has been noticed (cf. 477.19 note), belongs to the contemplative exegesis of the Canticle of Canticles, which was Bernard's speciality,[232] and for him 'You would not seek me, had you not already found me' is a principle of unitive prayer.

The sight and the feeling of God which is the term of this prayer (479.33-38) and also its purpose (477.21-26) is of the Trinity, working the salvation, of all men, indeed, but in particular of the one who receives the grace of contemplation, the *hygh myghty desyer to be alle onyd in to hym* (480.42), itself an assurance of that fulness of sight and possession which is the Beatific Vision. Here Julian again has recourse to the doctrine of the spiritual senses, as taught especially by William of St. Thierry in his *Expositio altera in Cantica*.[233]

[231] On the theme of 'Deus desiderans' in Bernard and other Cistercian spiritual writers, cf. Dumontier: *S. Bernard et la Bible*, 40-43.

[232] Ibid. 43 note 2.

[233] For such passages as 'videndo claritatem tuam, sentiendo charitatem tuam, illuminetur in te conscientia mea; ... tractando quae proprie tua sunt, dulcius te sapiunt, suavius redolent, sapiat mihi gustus tuus, spiret odor', cf. J. Walsh, 'Guillaume de Saint-Thierry et les sens spirituels', 34-35.

Now that Julian has shown, with all her spiritual learning and literary skills, the contemplative process as the consummate point of union attained in the immediacy, totality and mutuality of the relationship which is the divine presence, the variations to which it is subject here *in via,* and its final transcendence in the Beatific Vision, she can demonstrate how this happens in practice in the prayer of the Gospel prototype, *our lady sent Mary* (483.6). So chapter 44 begins with a proleptic allusion to man as the servant in the parable, the son who *werkyth evyr more his* (the Father's) *wylle and his wurschyppe duryngly without styntyng* (483.2), and how this 'working' (the force and content of the word will not be lost on any reader of the *Cloud*) is achieved. The task Julian sets herself is to describe the object of Mary's contemplation; and she sees this contemplation as an intellectual and affective 'sight' of the mutual presence and relationship of the divine persons in the soul of Mary, which she has seen 'in part' in the first revelation (cf. 297.28-298.40, 310.2-311.11). The truth which is the Father sees God who is the Son; and the wisdom which is the Son beholds God who is the Father; and the Spirit who is love is endlessly proceeding from this mutual contemplation. And yet, mysteriously, 'all is of God's making' (484.11), because the Son who is wisdom is at the same time a human being who beholds, is given the power to contemplate, as well as seeing divinely; his *soule is a creature in god* (484.13), possessing by participation these same properties of truth, wisdom and love. So Julian now beholds, in the contemplative prayer of Mary (of which the evangelist Luke writes repeatedly when he deals with Christ's infancy), the analogue of the divine processions and relationships, in which the creature truly knows himself as made and existing now for ever (*evyr more it doyth that it was made for*, 484.14), out of the divine creative love, but also for the love with which God loves him endlessly.

(It is worth remarking that Ludolph of Saxony, in his *Vita Christi,* offers the speculation that the angel came to Mary when she was 'tota abstracta in devotissima oratione, vel in continua contemplatione ... Rationabile enim videbitur quod quando sibi voluit uniri Verbum aeternum, tunc ipsi spiritualiter sibi fuerit unita in contemplationis actu'.)[234]

At the beginning of this fourteenth revelation which 'our Lord showed for prayer', Julian wrote of righteousness as prayer's true condition, by which she meant the participation in the divine peace and

[234] Ed. Rigollot, I.v.7.

harmony of all who will be saved, as they behold God:

> And the beholdyng of thys blessyd acord is full swete to the soule that seeth it by grace. Alle þe soules that shalle be savyd in hevyn withouȝt ende be made ryghtfulle in the syȝt of god and by hys awne goodnesse, in whych ryghtfullnes we be endlessly kepte and marvelously aboue all creatures (434.32).

In the chapters (41-43) which followed, Julian had explained that prayer is the expression of the graced creature's cooperation in God's righteousness, seen at its most perfect in Mary's contemplation of the incarnate Word in the moment of his conception (chapter 44). All of this flows from the truth that man, in his creation and his immortal existence, is assimilated to God in his substance (cf. 475.2-3). It is, however, equally true that *homo viator* 'is often unlike in condition by sin' (475.3). Now, in chapter 45, she begins to reflect on the apparent incompatibility of these two truths and their consequences in man's life of prayer. God's knowledge and judgment of us is 'upon our kindly substance'; that is, in our relationship to him as Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit:

> A hye vnderstandyng it is inwardly to se and to know that god, whych is oure maker, dwellyth in oure soule, and a hygher vnderstandyng it is and more, inwardly to se and to know oure soule that is made dwellyth in god in substance, of whych substance by god we be that we be (562.12).

But there is another knowledge and judgment which is only partial, one which does not see this unchangeable substance, except in so far as it is reflected in man's visible actions, which involve his changeable sensuality. It is the work of God, of his mercy and grace, with our cooperation (and this mutual activity is what she has called prayer) to transform the sensuality, so that man becomes like to God in condition as well as in substance. (It is this that Walter Hilton calls 'reforming in feeling'.) However, throughout the whole revelations, all that Julian has seen is God knowing and approving us in our substantial relationship with him (which she will come to see, through the parable, as our relationship in Christ, one perception and one knowledge, the divine wisdom and the incarnate Word). However, the teaching Church which proclaims Christ's perfection (as she will ultimately be shown: *I it am that holy chyrch prechyth the and techyth the. That is to sey: All the helth and the lyfe of sacramentys, alle þe vertu and þe grace of my worde, alle the goodnesse that is ordeynyd in holy chyrch to the, I it am* (597.34)), is also the learning Church, the body of Christ not yet completed (cf. 418.20), which must acknowledge its own sinfulness; that is, in that condition it is incapable of being incorporated into God's righteousness. It would seem that at

precisely this point Julian was shown the parable of the lord and the servant, which, when finally understood, would show her how God reconciles the apparently irreconcilable, and, what is more to the point, manifests that sinful man is called to contemplative prayer *by the swet prevy werkyng of the holy gost* (463.31). As yet, however, she cannot at all see its relevance; she can only reiterate that God's word and the Church's teaching alike must contain all that is relevant to salvation, the key to all Christian experience:

> ... the more knowyng and vnderstondyng by the gracious ledyng of the holy gost that we haue of these ij domes, the more we shalle see and know oure felynges (488.36).

When Julian writes, at the beginning of chapter 46, that

> whan we know and see verely and clerely what oure selfe is, than shalle we verely and clerly see and know oure lorde god in fulhed of joye (490.3),

she is not simply dealing with the eschatalogical character of all contemplative prayer, or giving voice to her own desire 'to be dissolved and to be with Christ' (Philippians 1.23); she is reflecting as a monastic theologian on the nature of man. He can only know and love himself truly in the fulness of his knowledge and love of the incarnate, glorified Christ. So William of St. Thierry teaches that the ultimate object of Christian contemplation is not simply God, nor is it the self. It is something else, a *tertium* or *medium quid,* which he calls the *beata conscientia*: ... cum in amplexu et osculo patris et filii medium quodammodo se invenit beata conscientia; cum modo ineffabili incogitabili fieri meretur homo dei non deus, sed tamen quod est deus, homo ex gratia, quod deus est ex natura.[235] However, Julian is here at pains to insist

[235] *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei,* ed. Davy, 146. The text here does not differ materially from that of Mabillon in PL 184 348; but the need for another critical edition is stressed by J.-M. Déchanet's articles in *Scriptorium* 6, 8 and 11. It is especially interesting, in view of the present editors' belief that Julian knew some of William's writings, to observe Déchanet's 'Anglo-Saxon' group among the manuscripts belonging to his 'Cistercian family', Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum 103 (13th century, unknown origin, possession of William Warham, ob. 1532), London BM Royal 6 B xi (13th century, Germany, but owned by some dependency of Tewksbury Abbey), Bodleian Hatton 103 (SCN 4051; England, a composite of 13th and early 14th-century pieces belonging to the Hereford Franciscans), Bodleian Auct. D. 55 (SCN 27875; 13th century, England, unknown provenance). Shewring writes that this section of the *Letter* 'could fairly be described as a *précis* of the *Speculum fidei*', and adduces PL 180 394; and it is part of Déchanet's thesis that all of Part III and other material derives from William's 'Treatise', later Carthusianized by him to form the *Letter* requested by Mont-Dieu.

(and this is another insight which flows from her reflection on the parable) that through Christ and his Spirit there is interaction between substance and sensuality, which leads to the intensification of this contemplative knowledge of self:

> We may haue knowyng of oure selfe in this lyfe by contynuant helpe and vertu of oure hygh kynd, in which knowyng we may encrese and wax by fortheryng and spedyng of mercy and grace (490.7).

And if the woe and pain which sin brings constitute an obstacle in this life to the communication of wisdom and truth by the grace of contemplation, still this is communicated in the doctrines of Holy Church by the gift of faith. In this second kind of beholding of truth (which the showings constantly confirm as authentic), Julian seems to assert that there is room for error, at least so far as the conclusions to be drawn from such truth are concerned:

> And thus in alle this beholdyng me thought it behovyd nedys to se and to know that we be synners and do many evylles that we ou3te to leue, and leue many good dedys vndone that we ou3te to do, wherfore we deserve payne, blame and wrath (492.26).

where *me thought* advances this as no more than her own opinion, which she then proceeds to refute, notwithstanding, for example, the contrary view which the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* cites from Anselm (cf. 492.28 note). Her *propositio* is that the Lord never was nor never will be angry (493.30). Her *ratio* is that such a view is incompatible with all the divine attributes (493.31-32). As *confirmatio*, she lists the essential properties of the Trinity (493.32-35); and for *exornatio* she embellishes the argument with the statement that the term of the Trinitarian *operatio ad extra*, the divine goodness, leaves no room for either wrath or forgiveness (493.35-39). All the showings are the final proof, *complexio* of this. Julian therefore concludes that in her prayerful relationships with the Lord she needs to wait for him to express himself more clearly or (which is the same thing) to prepare her to receive his communication. Meanwhile, she exercises herself in both beholdings, the wonder of contemplation and the childlike submission to the truths of faith as proclaimed by the Church.

One of Julian's mature reflections on the mysterious parable of the lord and the servant deals with how easy it is for human frailty to be exposed in the contemplative situation. Consolation very quickly turns into desolation, if the soul allows itself to be overtaken by restlessness and agitation, when it cannot penetrate the divine mysteries, either because God himself hides them 'for love' (494.46), or because he has

not yet made us worthy to see them (494.47). So at the beginning of chapter 47 she reminds us that wonder and reverence, which themselves lead to abiding consolation, and the patient endurance of this lack of knowing, itself involving the confident expectation that *we shalle in short tyme se clerely in hym selfe all that we desyer* (495.4), are elements integral to contemplative prayer, the way in which we should respond to grace. It is the failure to meet these obligations which she seems here to be indicating as the sin to which contemplatives are prone: yielding to the temptation to sorrow and woe because they cannot see clearly (496.19). The pattern of her thought in the short text had been that, in the time of such temptation and falling, man is moved by God's love to contrition and confession, so that he comes again to *fynde a reste in saule and softnesse in conscience; and than hym thynke þat god hase for gyffynn his synnes, and it es soth* (262.71). Now, however, she sees that, whether or no she was right in believing that *the forgevenesse of his wrath shulde be one of the pryncypall poyntes of his mercy* (495.11), it is certainly a very limited view of mercy and forgiveness. Thus she begins to tell us, as a preparation for her full account of the parable, against the background of twenty years of contemplative reflection on this 'showing for prayer' (cf. 460.3), how she *saw and vnderstode of the workyng of mercy* (496.13).

She begins with an examination of her own feelings and reactions in times of desolation, the course of which she perceives to be a failing of her sight of God. She couches her description of this desolation in terms of that *dissimilitudo* which is contrary to the Trinitarian appropriations, power, wisdom and goodness (cf. 496.16, 18 and notes). The powerlessness and unknowing, she observes, are in the self; but the will is 'overlaid'. So we see that she is writing not merely of her own experience of such desolation, but of all that she has seen and understood concerning the will of the servant (the *oone man* — 522.104) in his falling. Here, as there, it is the 'godly will' with which she deals:

> This man was hurte in his myghte and made fulle febyll, and he was stonyd in his vnderstandyng, for he was turnyd fro the beholdyng of his lorde, but his wylle was kepte in gods syght. For his wylle I saw oure lorde commende and aproue, but hym selfe was lettyd and blyndyd of the knowyng of this wyll (522.104).

In the desolation she also perceives the hidden working of this godly will, in *the grett desyer that the soule hath to se god* (497.25). She is thus able to identify, as spiritual writers so distinguished as Bernard and Richard of St. Victor before her had done, the various affections whence her interior reactions originate, and the quality of the discretion to which she has attained through her own experience, not merely of the alternation

of consolation and desolation, of which all the great masters of Western spirituality write — a classical instance is the famous conclusion of Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae*[236] — but of the co-existence of desolation and consolation, a theme much more rare.

This interior knowledge of *the contraryous that is in oure selfe* (499.41), the confrontation, that is, between rejoicing, desire and true hope, and mourning and dread (cf. 497.26-498.34) brings her to reflect, in the next chapter, 48, on the predominantly passive nature of contemplative prayer. There is no such *contraryous* in the good Lord whom she has seen as the initiator and also as the term of all human spiritual endeavour. We can no longer foist off our own inner contradictions on the God *whych is endlesse lyfe dwellyng in oure soule* (500.2). So she is able to describe human wrath, which the *Cloud*-author, following Bernard, denounces as 'þe foulist and þe worst filþe of alle',[237] as the substance of man's unlikeness to the Trinity:

> ... for wrath is not elles but a frowerdnes and a contraryousnes to pees and to loue. And eyther it comyth of feylyng of myght or of feylyng of wysdom or of feylyng of goodnesse, whych feylyng is nott in god, but it is in oure party (500.7).

Far from calling down divine anger, it merely invites that mercy which is

> a swete gracious werkyng in loue, medlyd with plentuous pytte, for mercy werkyth vs kepyng, and mercy werkyth turnyng to vs all thyng to good (501.17).

Julian has no wish, however, to minimize the pain of this contemplative experience. It involves her in the daily dying of which Paul writes in II Corinthians (cf. 501.20 note). Her adept use of the rhetorical *colores* to emphasize this point rivals that of the Latin Vulgate. None the less, with Julian as with Paul, an optimistic note predominates. Here she begins to treat of the Trinitarian processions, and of their interaction in the working out of man's total salvation. As the *Cloud*-author writes at the end of his treatise, perhaps echoing an aphorism of Anselm's, 'not what þou arte, ne what þou hast ben, beholdeþ god wiþ his mercyful iȝe, bot þat þou woldest be'.[238] Her reflection on this constant Trinitarian concern and care for the work of the divine hands leads her here (502.26 e.s.) to anticipate her teaching on motherhood as a divine

[236] PL 176 970 inc.: Hoc ultimum interrogationis meae ...
[237] *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits;* Hodgson, *Deonise*, 85.
[238] Hodgson, *Cloud*, 132, and note, 204.

attribute, and to introduce for the first time her own coined word for the highly technical *περιχώρησις, circumsessio: spredyng abrode* (cf. 502.28 note), as referring to the inter-relationship of Son and Spirit indwelling in man:

> Mercy is a pyttefull properte, whych longyth to moderhode in tender loue; and grace is a wurshypfull properte, whych longyth to ryall lordschyppe in the same loue. Mercy werkyth kypyng, sufferyng, quyckyng and helyng, and alle is of tendyrnesse of loue; and grace werkyth with mercy, reysyng, rewarding, endlesly ovyr passyng that oure lovyng and our traveyle deseruyth, spredyng abrode and shewyng the hye plentuousnesse, largesse of goddes ryall lordschyppe in his mervelouse curtesy (502.28-503.35; and cf. notes).

She will have much more to write, in the light of her coming exposition of the parable, on the Trinitarian mystery; but few theologians of her time, and, it may be, since her time, have written with such clarity and concision, such simplicity and courtesy of this high mystery. No less a theologian than Karl Rahner has recently insisted that the great theological trap, which by no means all the scholastics or their precursors were able to avoid in writing on the Trinity, is to attempt to speculate on the unity and distinction of the persons *in abstracto*, prescinding, that is, from the data of revelation of the divine economy, the triune God, concerned eternally with and for man's salvation, manifested in the existence of the incarnate Christ. What Rahner has written[239] emphasizes for Julian's readers that she was not so trapped, as she writes of the

> properte of blessyd loue that we shalle know in god, whych we myght nevyr haue knowen withoute wo goyng before (503.46).

In chapter 49 she continues to share her reflections on the illumination which she has received concerning divine mercy, grace and love, following her experience of purification; but here the prayer is not purely passive — she is *with grett diligence beholdyng* (505.3). The first part of the chapter consists of two syllogistic *argumentationes*, (505.2-507.22), in which the major premiss (either the *propositio* or the *ratio*) is what she saw or what she was shown; and the conclusions drawn are identical: there is no wrath in God, but only endless goodness and friendship. The immediate object of this consideration appears to be that the illumination is inevitably leading to contemplative union; for she con-

[239] *The Trinity*, 19.

firms her statement that wrath in God is an impossibility by a reference to *the soule that of his speciall grace seeth so ferforth of the hye marvelous goodnesse of god, that we be endlesly onyd to hym in loue* (505.7); and the soul in question, manifestly, is herself. As is indicated in the annotations to this chapter, Julian is not merely reflecting on the Pauline and Johannine teaching on the loving union of God with every soul in grace; the divine goodness is present to her in the person of the risen and glorified Christ:

> I saw full truly that where oure lorde aperyth, pees is takyn and wrath hath no stede (506.13).

In the risen and glorified Christ are the Father and the Spirit, are endless might and endless goodness as well as endless wisdom. She develops here the traditional teaching that the God who is in some way consciously present to us in consolation, when we are aware of the Spirit producing in us his fruits (cf. 507.21 note), is equally present in the darkness of the contemplative's desolation, and that this is the experience of our sinful nature, a presence which is manifest as soon as we perceive our need for his forgiveness:

> that same endlesse goodnesse contynually tretyth in vs a pees agaynst oure wrath and our contraryouse fallyng, and makyth vs to see oure nede with a true drede, myghtely to seke vnto god to haue forgyvenesse with a gracious desyer of oure saluacyon (507.25).

Here she is reiterating, but with a much firmer and more assured comprehension of the Trinitarian mystery, all that she saw in the first revelation of God's goodness and his homely loving (cf. chapter 5, pp. 299.309). She is writing, too, of her own apparently frequent experience over twenty years of what she evaluates as faltering contemplative perseverance: tribulation, disquiet, woe, blindness and *pronyte*. She concludes by describing, now in the context of the Western tradition's anagogical interpretation of 'Jerusalem' as the symbol of everlasting peace, how the heavenly fulfilment will mean that we shall be as pleased with ourselves and our fellow-Christians as we shall be with God and with all his works.

Julian has already indicated, in the long series of contemplative insights and reflections upon them which are introduced in Revelation XIII by the locution *Synne is behouely* (405.13), that compunction of heart is a virtue which is essential to contemplative life and prayer. The constant tradition, in the East as in the West,[240] is that shame and sorrow

[240] Irenée Hausherr: *Penthos*.

for sin are linked with a proper fear of the divine retribution. Julian here writes, out of her considerable knowledge of the Western tradition, the precise truth that it is the common teaching of the Church and also the feeling of every true contemplative who treasures the tradition, *that the blame of oure synnes contynually hangyth vppon vs, fro þe furst man in to the tyme that we come vppe in to hevyn* (511.11). Yet it is equally true, not merely from what God has seen fit to show her but from her prayerful understanding of Scriptural texts such as that quoted in the annotation to 510.4, that God guards, watches over and protects his own, no matter what man's judgment may be. (The *Cloud*-author makes a like observation, when he writes of sinners who have become contemplatives.)[241] Yet the clarity with which she sees both 'dooms' only intensifies her anxiety; as she states her dilemma with the logic of the trained scholastic's *ratiocinatio, How may this be?* (511.10), she is not dismissing it, but merely sharpening its horns. It is, however, not simply a problem in logic, but a real cause of suffering to many a good and simple contemplative; and she is no longer, as in the short text, expounding with lyrical intensity a philosophical conundrum — *A wriched synne, whate ert þou ...?* (271.26 e.s.). What she does here, after she has reflected on the nature of her longing for relief from her fear and perplexity (which, again, her training leads her to set out as another *ratiocinatio*, in a dialogue with the Lord), is to formulate a simple petition, prefaced by an ejaculation:

> A, lorde Jhesu, kyng of blysse, how shall I be esyde, who shall tell me and tech me that me nedyth to wytt, if I may not at this tyme se it in the? (512.36)

When, of course, she protests that what she is asking for is a 'low — common — thing' (512.30), we may justly suspect her of art, of the rhetoricians' *captatio benevolentiae,* especially when we perceive how deeply complex is the Lord's simple-seeming *exemplum.* Were it not that for twenty years she persevered in prayer, and preserved her confident, child-like expectation that in the end divine help would be given to her, she might well have been hoist with her own petard. What emerges as wholly admirable is that she was able, despite her constant anxiety and lack of knowing, to make a coherent whole of the short text and yet in it to suppress any reference to her prayer for relief and to the showing, still at that time dark, mysterious, troubling, which had been given in answer to the prayer.

[241] Hodgson, *Cloud,* 64-65.

Though the editors have insisted that Revelation XIV in the long text, from chapter 41 to chapter 63, is a unified showing 'for prayer', they have sought to make it equally clear that the long text here differs radically from the short in every way except one: in both texts, Julian is at pains to reproduce faithfully the visions and locutions of her showings, and the order in which she received them, apart only from the suppression in the short text of all that has to do with the *wonderfull example of a lorde that hath a servannt* (513.3). The annotations to the two texts remark how dramatically her theological, literary, rhetorical and scholastic skills and the breadth of her reading developed during the period which passed (how long this was we have no means of knowing) between the publication of the short text and her final redaction of the long version. She also leaves it to her readers to discover for themselves the nature of these skills and how she may have acquired them; our almost complete lack of biographical information, and the benefits which such ignorance may bring to scholarship, have already been remarked. We know so little about Julian the woman in the first place because she herself plainly considered that curiosity about her personal history would be irrelevant to the purposes of her book. What she does undertake to describe, in chapter 51, succeeding with remarkable clarity, is her contemplative method, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, with regard to the content of all the showings, and with particular application to the parable of the lord and the servant, since in this *mysty example the pryvytes of the reuelacyon be yet moch hyd* (519.71). She tells us that, even before she received, early in 1393, special additional insights into the parable, she had found that in her private prayer (which, naturally, had as its centre the content of her showings) she was able to distinguish three kinds of contemplative understanding, or rather three modes ('properties' is her word) of the one inner knowledge:

> The furst is the begynnyng of techyng that I vnderstode ther in in the same tyme. The secunde is the inwarde lernyng that I haue vnderstonde there in sythen. The thyrd is alle the hole revelation fro the begynnyng to the ende whych oure lorde god of his goodnes bryngyth oftymes frely to the syght of my vnderstondyng. And theyse thre be so onyd, as to my vnderstondyng, that I can nott nor may deperte them. And by theyse thre as one I haue techyng wherby I ow to beleue and truste in oure lorde god, that of the same goodnesse that he shewed it and for the same end, ryght so of the same goodnes and for the same end he shall declare it to vs when it is his wyll (519.76).

What she is writing here, and what follows until she recounts the locution which introduces Revelation XV (chapter 64, 620.13 e.s.), concern her prayer, how and with what gifts she applies herself to the traditional contemplative processes, reading, meditating, praying and contemplating:

> ... lectio ... meditatio, oratio, contemplatio. Haec est scala claustralium qua de terra in coelum sublevantur, gradibus quidem distincta paucis, immensae tamen et incredibilis magnitudinis, cujus extrema pars terrae innixa est, superior vero nubes penetrat et coelorum secreta rimatur.[242]

She enumerates what she has been given: 'the beginning of teaching' — the revelations themselves in their due order, the content of which is predominantly the word of God (as the annotations consistently show), spoken directly to her in the context of her own formation and sacred learning; this, for Julian, is 'lectio'. Then there is the 'inward learning' — her divinely-assisted reflection upon the 'lectio' over a period of twenty years, her *spiritualis intelligentia*. Finally, there is her gift of total recall of what she has seen or heard. Although Julian is quick to refer this ability entirely to immediate divine action, she takes no pains, as we might do, to distinguish between natural and supernatural gifts; the useful terms 'acquired' and 'infused' for describing two kinds of contemplative gifts and the modes of relationship between God and man in prayer are of a much later coinage (see the annotation to 519.76). As Jean Leclercq has pointed out, discussing the Biblical imagination:

> Another important factor explained by rumination and reminiscence is the power of imagination of the medieval man. Exuberant as this faculty is, it possesses on their part, however, a vigour and a preciseness which we find it difficult to understand. We are used to seeing, almost without looking at them unless with a distracted eye, printed or moving pictures. We are fond of abstract ideas. Our imagination having become lazy seldom allows us any longer to do anything but dream. But in the men of the Middle Ages it was vigorous and active. It permitted them to picture, to 'make present', to see beings with all the details provided by the texts: the colours and dimensions of things, the clothing, bearing and actions of the people, the complex environment in which they move. They liked to describe them and, so to speak, recreate them, giving very sharp relief to images and feelings. The words of the sacred text never failed to produce a strong impression on the mind. The Biblical words did not become trite; people never got used to them.[243]

[242] Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 84.
[243] *The Love of Learning*, 93.

Thus it is that when

> ... twenty yere after the tyme of the shewyng saue thre monthys I had techyng inwardly as I shall sey: It longyth to the to take hede to alle þe propertes and the condescions that were shewed in the example, though þe thyngke that it be mysty and indefferent to thy syght (520.86),

Julian was wholly capable of carrying out to the letter this direction, by making herself imaginatively present to the parabolic picture, in all its wealth of detail, drawn for her so many years before: the manner of the lord's sitting, the place where he sat, the colour and fashion of his garments, his facial expression; how the servant stood, where and how he went, how he was dressed and how he held himself. But this was an exercise not only of the imagination, but also of spiritual discernment. Just as the original showing of the parable was not merely an imaginative sight —

> Whych syght was shewed double in þe lorde, and the syght was shewed double in the servannt. That one perty was shewed gostly in bodely lycknesse. That other perty was shewed more gostly withoute bodely lycknes (514.4)

so here she understands that she is to 'behold' (that is, 'contemplate' — cf. 491.16 note) the lord's *nobley and his goodnes within* (521.95) and the servant's *inwarde goodnes and his vnlothfulnesse* (521.98). Again, the distinction of historical exegesis is implied between *historica interpretatio* and *spiritualis intelligentia*. The parable itself as Julian now recounts it, postulating these distinctions as her principles of contemplative investigation, leave us in no doubt that between 1373 and 1393 she had become thoroughly acquainted with, adept in the practice of 'mediaeval exegesis' in the technical sense in which this term has been used by every commentator since Henri de Lubac published his monumental work.[244] The evidence that for Julian the content of the revelations constituted *lectio divina* has already been observed; this is especially true of the parable-revelation, and it is stressed by the subsequent reflections. In the annotations to these passages, some one hundred and fifty Scriptural allusions have been identified, and, no doubt, if the editors knew their Vulgate as well as Julian did, they would have found even more. There may be those who will think that some of these identifications, and, indeed, the whole treatment which Julian has been given in this book as Scripture scholar, Latinist, rhetorician and theologian, reflect chiefly the editors' subjective responses to her work. Against this, they

[244] *Exégèse médiévale; les quatre sens de l'Ecriture.*

would appeal to the opinion of scholars of the eminence of de Lubac and Leclercq, the second of whom has written:

> This way of uniting reading, meditation and prayer, this 'meditative prayer', as William of St. Thierry calls it, had great influence on religious psychology. It occupies and engages the whole person in whom the Scriptures take root, later on to bear fruit. It is this deep impregnation with the words of Scripture that explains the extremely important phenomenon of reminiscence whereby the verbal echoes so excite the meaning that a mere allusion will spontaneously evoke whole quotations and, in turn, a Scriptural phrase will suggest quite naturally allusions elsewhere in the sacred books. Each word is like a hook, so to speak; it catches hold of one or several others which become linked together and make up the fabric of the exposé.[245]

The editors consider that the method which Julian employed and the structure which she achieved, throughout her work but especially in this Revelation XIV, are very precisely described by Leclercq; and that he could so delineate the characteristics of a writer with whom he is probably unacquainted, certainly not in her original language, can only point to the pervading influence in her of the great Western spiritual writers whose modes of thought and of writing he has devoted his scholarly life to examining.

As was indicated some years ago,[246] the servant in the parable is none other than the 'Suffering Servant of God', as he (and his Lord) are depicted in the 'servant-songs' of Isaias. Furthermore, Julian's first reflection upon this servant identifies him with Adam, with Adam's friendship with God and with his fall, though she hastens to add that the servant is not wholly identifiable with the historical Adam (cf. 519.67-70), that is, with the narrative of Genesis 1.27-28, 3.8, 17-23. All this accords well with a fundamental principle of mediaeval exegesis, that the Old Testament has to be 'opened', examined, so that the incarnate Word can be found. Thus the parable is offered in the form of a preacher's *exemplum*. The mediaeval preacher is pre-eminently an *expositor veteris testamenti*, so that he may truly be a *dispensator novi testamenti*.[247]

> Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
> Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.[248]

[245] *The Love of Learning*, 91.

[246] J. Walsh: *The Revelations of Divine Love*, 31-32; and cf. 513.3 note.

[247] *Exégèse médiévale* 2 673, citing Augustine, *Contra Faustinum*.

[248] Augustine of Dacia, O.P.; cf. Walther: *Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 13899; and see H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale* 1 23.

This distich, opening with the aplomb and the metre of a Martial epigram, even though the rest of it is doggerel, achieved epigrammatic status, and is an accepted mnemonic for the objects of a tradition ancient in the time of Cassian.[249] Julian's parable shows that in her times and environment the tradition still prevailed; this is particularly evident in the importance for her of Gregory the Great's teaching.[250] We may take it that for her the *res gestae* which build the foundation of the parable are contained in the first chapters of Genesis, but are also adumbrated in the Isaian prophecies. She is well aware, as she constructs chapter 51, that she is embarking on the use of Scriptural allegory, in which the *superficies verborum* is there to lead us to the *intima sententiarum*.[251] It cannot be accidental that in writing of the first showing of the parable, Julian should use the adverb *full mystely* (513.2; and cf. note), or that the later remark concerning the parable, *For twenty yere after the tyme of the shewyng saue thre monthys I had techyng inwardly* (520.86), should apply to it the epithets 'misty' and 'indifferent':

> It longyth to the to take hede to alle þe propertes and the condescions that were shewed in the example, though þe thyngke that it be mysty and indefferent to thy syght (520.87).

It would seem from the contexts, especially of the second, the locution enjoining prayerful and studious acceptance of the entire revelation, where the showing's obscurity is stressed by the adjective *indefferent* (see 521.89 note), that Julian intends us to understand by these epithets what the exegetes called *allegorica, allegorice*. Gregory the Great writes of allegory as the *historia mystica* of the sacred text;[252] and the established synonyms for the word and the idea are *mysticus ordo, mystica interpretatio*.[253] One cannot, of course, use in these contexts the English word 'mystical' in the vague and wholly irresponsible fashion in which it has in modern times been employed; in this century, probably no one did more to popularize and to debase the term than Hope Allen. When one writes of mediaeval allegory as the 'mystical sense of Scripture', one is referring to the Pauline *Mysterium Christi*, the *sacramentum absconditum* (Ephesians 3.1-9), hidden in God from the beginning and now to be revealed in the apostolic preaching. So Julian writes, after the allegory's first showing:

[249] *Exégèse médiévale* 1 190-192.
[250] See supra, IX 15, Revelation XIII; and cf. *Exégèse médiévale* 1 187-190.
[251] Ibid. 2 483 note 1.
[252] Ibid. 2 493 e.s.
[253] H. de Lubac: '"Typologie" et "allégorisme"', 187.

> ... the full vnderstandyng of this mervelouse example was not gevyn me in that tyme. In whych mysty example the pryvytes of the reuelacyon be yet moch hyd (519.70).

The reality hidden in God is revealed to individual men at the moment when it is realized in Christ,[254] but only in so far as it is addressed to each individual man: 'Sunt enim quibus nondum natus est Christus'.[255] Elsewhere, Bernard had written: 'Semel locutus est deus, sed continua et perpetua locutio est'.[256] This mystery of Christ is inseparable also from the mystery of the Church. Augustine had written: 'Totum omnium scripturarum mysterium Christum et ecclesiam (confitetur)'.[257] Thus, as soon as Julian has understood that the lord of the parable is God, she also understands that the servant

> was shewed for Adam, that is to sey oone man was shewed that tyme and his fallyng to make there by to be vnderstonde how god beholdyth alle manne and his fallyng. For in the syghte of god alle man is oone man, and oone man is alle man (522.101),

'all mankind', as she will write later, 'that will be saved by the sweet Incarnation and the Passion of Christ' (537.254). Finally, allegory has a doctrinal quality. Since its central object is the divinity of the incarnate Word — and it is precisely thus that the parable in the end unfolds for Julian — it presupposes faith. This knowledge, *cognitio*, which is *mystica, occulta,* of the whole Christ can be revealed only to the internal eyes of the soul, the eyes of faith illumined by the Gospel.[258] Julian, through the constant contemplation of her revelations, is convinced that there is no discord between them and the common faith of the Church, and that

> I haue techyng wherby I ow to beleue and truste in oure lorde god, that of the same goodnesse that he shewed it and for the same end, ryght so of the same goodnes and for the same end he shall declare it to vs when it is his wyll (520.82).

As Gregory had written, allegory not only presupposes faith but builds it up.[259]

Julian, in her first reflections on what she was shown 'for prayer',

[254] *Exégèse médiévale* 2 397.
[255] Ibid. 2 566, citing Bernard, *Sermones de diversis* 44.
[256] Ibid. 2 567; *Sermones de diversis* 5.
[257] Ibid. 2 500; *Enarratio in Psalmum* 79.
[258] Ibid. 2 522-525.
[259] Ibid. 2 530, quoting *Homiliarum in Evangelia II,* Sermon 40, and many similar aphorisms.

began by considering how she (and we) should conduct ourselves in all that concerns our relationship with God, in the life which is prayer (cf. chapter 41, 460.3 e.s.). Here we have the parable's moral or tropological sense (*Moralis quid agas*); the Word is always addressed to us, and to how we live in its light.[260] In fact, every grace for which Julian ever asked, including the bodily sickness, was so that she might live more to God's glory (cf. 287.30). Through the tropological sense, the mystery of Christ, prefigured by the allegory, is made real and actual in the Christian soul;[261] and this is an interiorization which takes place in the present moment, 'moraliter, intrinsecus, quotidie, hodie'.[262] So Julian from the start recounts the actions of the lord and the servant in the present tense: *a lorde that hath a servannt ... the lorde syttyth ... the servannt stondyth ... goyth ... stertyth ... rynnyth ... fallyth*. Gregory had written that the tropological sense is that which tends to the infusion of divine love: (Mira atque ineffabilis sacri eloquii virtus agnoscitur cum supremo amore animus penetratur).[263] So, after the enumeration of the servant's *vij grett paynes* (515.22; the number seven, de Lubac observes, exercises a special fascination for the mediaeval exegete),[264] Julian remarks upon the servant's virtues, his meekness and endurance (516.32), his good will and great desire (517.44), and upon the various aspects of the lord's love for him (516.38). She is, of course, writing in the tradition of the monastic or contemplative development of the tropological sense, as she extracts the various virtues of the lord and the servant from their general appearance and demeanour. Of the lord, for example, she writes:

> The blewhed of the clothyng betokenyth his stedfastnesse, the brownhed of his feyer face with the semely blackhede of the eyen was most accordyng to shew his holy sobyrnesse, the largnesse of his clothyng, whych was feyer flammyng about, betokenyth þat he hath beclosyd in hym all hevyns and all endlesse joy and blysse (526.153).

At the same time, as has been noticed more than once in the comparison of the short and long texts, she avoids the tendency among monastic exegetes to dismiss all other forms of spiritual living but their own which de Lubac observes especially in the Cistercians and the Vic-

[260] Ibid. 2 551-552.
[261] Ibid. 2 557, quoting Origen: 'Vere impletur in nobis'.
[262] Ibid. 2 562-563, citing Adam the Scot and Gregory the Great.
[263] Ibid. 2 569, citing *In Ezechielem*.
[264] Ibid. 1 131.

torines.[265] In editing the long text she deliberately suppresses every indication in the short that she may be addressing herself only to those who are cloistered. What she is able to draw from the parable, in its allusion, for example, to Isaias 53.4-7 and to the comment of Paul to the whole Corinthian community, is that

> thus hath oure good lorde Jhesu taken vppon hym all oure blame; and therfore oure fader may nor wyll no more blame assigne to vs than to hys owne derwurthy son Jhesu Cryst (535.232, and cf. notes).

Though she understands well and appreciates that mystical tropology which is the renewed experience of the interiorized savour and joy of the allegory, she is never guilty of emphasizing a personal interior life to the detriment of the social and eschatological elements of Christian spirituality. In the last analysis, as the S2 scribe insists, these *revelations of þe unutterable loue of God in Jesus Christ* were *vouchsafed ... to all his dear friends and lovers* (734.29 app.), and not simply to cloistered contemplatives.

Quo tendas anagogia: Julian is very much at home with the anagogical sense of Scripture, which for so many of the Fathers expresses the whole of the Christian mystery, and, as such, absorbs the allegorical and tropological senses, and makes the synthesis of the *sensus spiritualis seu plenior*.[266] So much of her contemplation throughout the revelations (and signally in the first, which sets the tone and temper of the rest) is anagogical; it could with justice be described as the meeting place of her developing understanding of Scripture and of the infused contemplative graces bestowed on her. The word itself, *ἀναγωγή* — 'subvectio', 'elevatio', is one which she very often renders. She writes of *a ledyng of my vnderstandyng in to the lorde* (516.41), *my vnderstandyng was led in to the lorde* (527.158), *now was my vnderstandyng ledde ageyne in to the furst* (517.45), *oure good lorde ledde forth my vnderstandyng in syght and in shewyng* (518.62), all in this chapter; and much earlier, she writes of a *bodely exsample* very reminiscent of the lord-and-servant parable that it *was shewde so hygh that thys mannes hart myght be rauyssched and almost foryet hym selfe for ioy* (314.43).

Yet perhaps the most anagogical of all Julian's experiences was

[265] Ibid. 2 577-578, quoting, among others, Walter Daniel, writing of Aelred of Rievaulx 'qui me genuit per evangelium dei ad vitam S. Benedicti'; he is alluding to Aelred's own comparison of Benedict with Paul, applying to Benedict I Corinthians 4.15.

[266] Ibid. 2 631-633.

Revelation IX, when, like Paul (II Corinthians 12.2), her understanding was lifted up to where she saw three heavens (383.8). It is to this experience, and its link with her sight of the suffering Christ (382.3 e.s.) that she reverts as she contemplates the parable, an anagogy which is both doctrinal and contemplative,[267] one which echoes Gregory's classical statement, 'Et ipsa civitas, scilicet sancta ecclesia, quae regnatura in caelo, adhuc laborat in terra':[268]

> For all mankynde that shall be savyd by the swete incarnacion and the passion of Crist, alle is the manhode of Cryst. For he is the heed, and we be his membris, to whych membris the day and þe tyme is vnknowyn whan every passyng wo and sorow shall haue an eende, and the everlastyng joy and blysse shall be fulfyllyd, whych day and tyme for to see, all the company of hevyn longyth or desyreth. And all that be vnder hevyn, whych shall come theder, ther way is by longyng and desyeryng; whych desyeryng and longyng was shewed in the seruant stondyng before the lorde, or ellys thus in the son stondyng afore the fadyr in Adam kyrtyll. For the longyng and desyer of all mankynd that shall be safe aperyd in Jhesu (537.254).

Here we have an expression of the whole Christian mystery in which the anagogical sense embraces the allegorical and the tropological.[269] A similar *ascensio mentis* through the three spiritual senses is equally evident in her progressive consideration of the place where the lord sits and of the ravine where the servant lay after his fall. The ravine was *alang, harde and grevous* (516.30 and note). The lord was seated *symply on the erth, bareyn and deserte, aloone in wyldernesse* (523.120 and note). Later this landscape becomes the scene of the servant's toil as a gardener, *deluyng and dykyng and swetyng and turnyng the erth vp and down* (530.195 e.s. and notes), the place where is the treasure *whych the lorde lovyd* (529.185 e. s. and notes); and finally it becomes the city of God, the city of rest and peace which is at once man's soul, redeemed and perfected, and the New Jerusalem, the bride of Christ:

> Now is the spouse, goddys son, in pees with his lovyd wyfe, whych is the feyer maydyn of endlesse joy. Now syttyth the son, very god and very man, in his cytte in rest and in pees, whych his fader hath dyȝte to hym of endlesse purpose, and the fader in the son, and the holy gost in the fader and in þe son (545.326 e.s. and notes).

[267] Ibid. 2 624-625.
[268] Ibid. 2 627.
[269] Ibid. 2 631-633.

'Allegoria', Bede had written, 'est cum verbis sive rebus mysticis praesentia Christi et ecclesiae sacramenta signantur'.[270] Throughout her final investigation of the parable at the Lord's behest — *It longyth to the to take hede to alle þe propertes and the condescions that were shewed in the example* (520.87), she is seeking and finding, in its *res* and *verba*, the presence of the incarnate Word in his suffering past, 'in the days of his flesh' (Hebrews 5.7), in his glorified present, and in his mystical body, the Church: *he is the heed, and we be his membris* (537.256). What Julian has achieved in this chapter, through the contemplation of the parable against the background of the whole sequence of the revelations, is a unified spiritual exegesis in which the three senses, allegory, tropology and anagogy, are constantly and easily identifiable, but, none the less, inextricable. It is Paul who is the father of such exegesis, and it appears to be from her study of the Pauline letters in the Vulgate (there are at least thirty such allusions in chapter 51 alone) that she has chiefly acquired her exegetical skill, based on her understanding of revelation (whether this be Scripture and tradition or her own contemplative graces) and of the nature of Christ's Church. Her life of prayer is from first to last 'In aedificationem corporis Christi,donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei et cognitionis filii dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi' (Ephesians 4.12-13).

The opening paragraph of chapter 52,

> And thus I saw that god enjoyeth that he is our fader, and god enjoyeth that he is our moder, and god enjoyeth that he is our very spouse, and our soule his lovyd wyfe. And Crist enjoyeth þat he is our broder, and Jhesu enioyeth that he is our savyour (546.2),

appears to be the *culmen contemplationis* of the parable, her beholding and sharing in the joy of the Trinity in their own divine activity, which terminates in the incarnate Word, the glorified and risen Christ in his relationship with the Church in glory. This is a vision similar to that granted to John on Patmos of the heavenly liturgy: 'I saw a great multitude clothed in white garments standing before the throne and in the presence of the Lamb ... and they cried out with a loud voice ... 'Blessing and glory and praise and thanksgiving and honour and power to our God, for ever and ever'" (Apocalypse 7.9-12). But in addition, Julian's sight has comprehended the various aspects of God's relationship in Christ with mankind, the origins of her 'five joys': Father/Son, mother/child, husband/wife, brother/sister, Redeemer/redeemed.

[270] Ibid. 2 500, citing *De tabernaculo et vasis ejus* I 6.

The chapter proper begins with a renewed reflection on this last relationship of Christ with us as our Saviour. The working out of this salvation involves us (as it did him) in *a mervelous medelur both of wele and of woo* (546.9). Julian establishes this proposition by an *argumentatio perfectissima,* based on her understanding of the relations between the first Adam, as natural parent of the human race, and the second Adam, Christ, the race's spiritual parent, and of the participation of all the children in the life of both parents. In the *exornatio* of the argumentation (547.13-549.33), she makes it clear that we still have, as the chief object of our attention, unitive prayer: the mercy and grace which work in us, when God *of his goodnesse openyth the ey of oure vnderstanding* (547.18), demand from us *holy assent þat we assent to god when we fele hym, truly wyllyng to be with hym with all oure herte, with all oure soule and with all oure myghte* (548.24), a Trinitarian allusion which is also a tropological exegesis of the great commandment: 'You must love the Lord your God with your whole heart and your whole soul and with all your might' (Luke 10.27).

In what follows, Julian elaborates what she has stated to be the second condition for unitive prayer at the very beginning of this revelation, *seker trust* (460.5). The foundation of this trust is the doctrine of Christ's two natures and his consequently two-fold relationship with us, his presence to us in his divinity and iv his glorified humanity. The divine power manifested in the raising up of Adam (the 'Harrowing of Hell'), which, characteristically, she sees as manifestations of the Lord's ruth and pity (549.44), operates equally in all those who fell with Adam. They are even now being raised *by the vertu of the passyon and þe deth of his deerwurthy son* (549.45). Our falling with Adam, as she stressed earlier in the revelation, is real enough, dreadful, shameful, sorrowful (502.23 e.s.); but there she adds, from her contemplation of the Suffering Servant who was bruised for our sins (Isaias 53.5), what is the cause of our deepest sorrow: *for oure synne is cause of Cristes paynes* (550.51). It is the sorrow of the contemplative, which leads to that 'sweet touching of grace' which may readily be experienced in the sacrament of penance, when we *wylfully amend vs vpon techyng of holy chyrch* (551.62). Like Bede and many another before her, Julian is ever conscious, in her consideration of sinfulness, of the evils of Pelagianism, which so easily drive a man to despair by robbing him of his hope; we must

> mekely know oure febylnes, wyttyng that we may nott stonde a twynglyng of an ey but with kepyng of grace, and reverently cleue to god, in hym oonly trustyng (551.66).

The showing of the parable has also enabled her to reconcile the apparently contradictory 'dooms' which earlier she had seen as threatening a conflict between her revelations and the teaching of the Church (487.13 e.s.). The solution lies *in þe doubyll chere in whych the lorde behelde þe fallyng of hys lovyd servant* (552.72). What the Church teaches is that we should accuse ourselves, both sacramentally and in prayer, to a Lord who is loving and merciful. This she now sees *in þe doubyll chere ... shewde outward*, whereas before this she has been aware only of *that other of inwarde endlesse loue and ryght* (552.75). What is more, this second, outward 'doom', which *is þe meke accusyng that oure good lorde askyth of vs* (552.80), is itself a grace:

> hym selfe wurkyth there it is, and this is the lower party of mannys lyfe (553.81),

and *it comyth downe to vs of the kynde loue of the selfe by grace* (553.87), the grace which belongs to the one unitive love which is the working of the Trinity.

In chapter 37, at the beginning of Revelation XIII, dealing with the divine compassion, Julian, in associating her awareness of her own sinfulness and the pain and sorrow which accompanied it with that of her fellow-Christians, 'all that shall be saved', was already writing, in the last version of her long text, in the light of the parable. Dealing there with what she here calls the *godly wylle that nevyr assentyd to synne ne nevyr shall* (555.12), she had taken it for granted that her readers would be acquainted with the principles of Augustinian psychology,[271] at least in the simplified form in which they are found, for instance, in the *Cloud*-author's disquisition on the powers of the soul[272] or in Hilton's *Scale* II[273] — a psychology which is the point of departure for all her teaching on the Trinity in its *operationes ad extra*. Now, here in chapter 53, she can repeat with assurance, and verbatim, what she has already written about the godly will, and she can add that this is the partial answer to her question — how can God love us in our sin? What she has seen in the parable, what she is now contemplating, is the good will which is God's first gift in the creation of the human soul of his servant, Christ, who is every man who will be saved in Christ, a creation which is participation in the divine being. Furthermore, she now sees (and for this understanding she is certainly in the debt of the monastic theologians,

[271] See *De Trinitate*, XII.
[272] Ed. Hodgson, 115 e.s.
[273] Underhill, 272-273.

and particularly of William of St. Thierry) that this teaching is no novelty in her showings, but belongs, of the Lord's will, to the faith and belief of the Church:

> There fore oure lorde wylle we know it in the feyth and the beleue, and namly and truly that we haue all this blessyd wyll hoole and safe in oure lorde Jhesu Crist, for that ech kynde that hevyn shall be fulfyllyd with behovyd nedys of goddys ryghtfulnes so to be knytt and onyd in hym that there in were kepte a substannce whych myght nevyr nor shulde be partyd from hym, and that thorow his awne good wyll in his endlesse forseing purpose (555.16).

(Her contemplation here is in the fullest sense anagogical; she is seeing Christ not only in his fall into the maiden's womb and into the pains of his Passion (cf. 534.222, 541.294 e.s.), but in his union with the blessed in glory, now and to the end of time.)

It would seem that the lines which follow (556.23 e.s.) are in parenthesis. They may explain why the parable is still only a partial answer to her desire (555.9). She does not tell us why, but simply states: *yett the redempcion and the agayne byeng of mannekynde is nedfull* (556.24). Be that as it may, the passage which precedes this, *There fore oure lorde wylle we know it ...*, just cited, is clearly the proposition of an *argumentatio perfectissima,* of which the *ratio* now follows: *For I saw that god began nevyr to loue mankynde* (557.26). The *exornatio* of the argument (the *rationis confirmatio* runs from 557.27, *for ryghte the same that mankynd ...*, to 557.30, *... knowen and lovyd fro without begynnyng in his ryghtfull entent*) must be counted as one of the finest examples of Julian's polished prose, one which demonstrates vividly the powers and the uses of the rhetorician's art. It is an equally fine example of theological writing at its best, explaining with a wealth of Trinitarian detail, firmly based on Scripture and tradition, all of it purposefully designed to draw out the *complexio* (itself an echo of the prologue to John's gospel): *And thus is mannys soule made of god, and in the same poynte knyte to god* (558.39). It also shows us Julian at prayer; in the depths of her soul she is aware of the Father speaking his purpose (*entent*), and of the Son responding (*assent*) in the Spirit (*full acorde*) who, as she had already written, *is the evyn loue whych is in them both* (533.218), concerning the *operatio ad extra* which is at once creation, Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection, recapitulating all mankind who, in Christ, are to come from and return, like himself, to the Father in the same Spirit. God loves us, she sees in his eternal utterance, and as soon as we exist we participate in the response to his love. This love-made is the made-love, and it is thus attributed to the Spirit, with the power of the Father and the wisdom of the Son permeating it.

As Julian penetrates further into the mystery of the incarnate Christ, still pondering the parable, speculating about the origins, divine and human, of the servant — *I marveylyd from wens the seruant came* (532.210) — she is, as very often, close to Paul and his Trinitarian teaching in the eighth chapter of Romans. Though it suits Julian here to translate into her own English the language of the schools, when she describes God as 'substantial kind unmade', and insists with Bede (cf. 559.45 note) that when we speak of *creatio ex nihilo*, we mean the 'inspiring' of the soul, her point is ultimately Pauline: there is nothing between man's soul and God, because 'nothing can separate us, neither now nor in the time to come, from the love of God which is ours in Christ Jesus' (Romans 8.38-39):

> In whych endlesse loue we be ledde and kepte of god, and nevyr shalle be lost; for he wyll that we know that oure soule is a lyfe, whych lyfe of hys goodnesse and his grace shall last in hevyn withou3t ende, hym lovyng, hym thangkyng, hym praysyng (559.51).

As Julian continues her reflection on the parable, in chapter 54, she seems to be especially aware of Johannine teaching: 'The Word was with God from the beginning ... the Word was made flesh ... to every one who received him, he gave the power to be the children of God ... the only begotten Son who is in the mind and heart of the Father, he has made him plain ... of his fulness we have all received' (John 1.1-18). Again she is concerned, by means of the tropological and anagogical exegesis of Scripture which the Church's tradition has taught her, to insist on the unity between the Church's faith and belief and what she continues to see in her contemplation of her revelations. Like the apostle, she is telling of what she has seen, and his purpose is also hers: 'What we have seen and heard we are telling you, that you also may have this union (*societatem*) ... with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ ... and we write this so that you may rejoice, and that your joy may be full' (I John 1.3-4). So she describes the mutual indwelling, not, as do so many of her contemporaries (see 562.17 note), with respect to transforming union, but by oblique reference to John chapter 17, where Christ is praying, with full confidence that the Father hears him, for all believers, 'that they may be one, as thou, Father, in me and I in thee, that they may be one in us'. The sight that accompanies this belief is indeed *full of prevytes* (539.271); and so, with a theologian's care, she insists that though

> I sawe no dyfference betwen God and oure substance, but as it were all god ... yett my vnderstandyng toke that oure substance is in god, that is to sey that god is god and oure substance is a creature in god (562.17).

But the truth of Scripture and tradition remains; Christ's place is the Father and he is the Father's place (John 17.23-24), and we are the Son's place, and his place is ours (cf. 563.23 note).

Aware, however, that those for whom she is writing may have too limited a view of the faith of Holy Church in this Trinitarian doctrine, she also stresses the tropological sense of all these Johannine texts; love leads ('If any man love me ...'), and the gift of indwelling is equally the gift of unitive love. But it is faith that gives understanding of this:

> for it is nouȝt eles but a ryght vnderstandyng with trew beleue and suer truste of oure beyng, þat we be in god and in vs, whych we se nott (564.30).

This is a power received when Christ becomes incarnate, when our sensual nature is linked with our substance, that substance in God which becomes ours and becomes human when Christ becomes human by the power of the Spirit in the womb of the virgin (cf. Luke 1.35). Early in Revelation XIV, in chapter 43, she had written of the prayer of faith which is itself a participation in God's rightfulness:

> thus he techyth vs to pray and myghtyly to trust that we shalle haue it; for he beholdyth vs in loue, and wylle make vs perteyner of his good wylle and dede (475.6).

This brings an awareness of ourselves as God's children which does not come from normal human sight or understanding. So she sees faith as the form of all man's knowing and loving, by means of which we believe, hope and love what we do not see. This powerful presence has for its sign baptism, which effects its initiation, that baptism by which we become God's children and followers and members of the Mystical Body.

So far, Julian has related the mutual indwelling which she has come to see contemplatively in the relationship between the lord and the servant with the Trinitarian teaching of John and Paul, as interpreted allegorically and tropologically by traditional exegesis. Now, in chapter 55, she turns again to Christ as she saw him in the ninth revelation (cf. 566.11 note), as leading us where we are to go (*quo tendas — anagogia*). As is observed (565.4 note), there is allusion to a text of Paul's which she must have known well, in Ephesians 5.25-32, where the Vulgate makes him write of the 'sacramentum in Christo et in ecclesia'. Julian writes of *Crist, vs alle havyng in hym that shall be savyd by hym* (565.3). Gregory the Great had written: 'Christus et ecclesia una persona est',[274]

[274] *Moralia* XIV xlix 1; PL 75 1068.

the *persona* which Augustine had called 'duo in carne una';[275] and Julian writes: *Crist in his body myztely beryth vs vp in to hevyn* (565.2).

Hope is the virtue of anagogical contemplation, just as it is the prerequisite for Julian's unitive prayer. It is the virtue which flows from our incorporation into Christ, and it becomes operative in the first moment of our separate existence:

> And what tyme oure soule is enspyred in oure body, in whych we be made sensuall, as soone mercy and grace begynne to werke, havyng of vs cure and kepyng with pytte and loue, in whych werkyng the holy gost formyth in oure feyth hope that we shall come agayne vp abovyn to our substannce (566.16).

It is, however, an existence in Christ, as is seen in the sign of its inception, *as soone mercy and grace begynne to werke,* that baptism in which the formal cause is the Holy Spirit, *in whych werkyng the holy gost formyth in oure feyth hope*. She also sees Christ in relation to his Mystical Body as life ('I am ... the life', John 14.6), and suggests that the *poynt* of the divine presence is also the *poynt* of union between soul and body (where 'point' seems to indicate time — see 226.1 note — and place — see 338.20 note — together):

> for in the same poynt that oure soule is made sensuall, in the same poynt is the cytte of god, ordeyned to hym fro without begynnyng (567.25).

Again she reverts to the ecclesial implications in her contemplation of the lord and the servant, as she refers to the divine gift to man of growth and alludes to Christ's own human growth:

> all the gyftes that god may geue to the creature he hath gevyn to his son Jhesu for vs, whych gyftes he wonnyng in vs hath beclosyd in hym in to the tyme that we be waxyn and growyn, oure soule with oure body and oure body with oure soule (567.31).

It is here, as she reflects, with William of St. Thierry, on 'imago et similitudo' (cf. 568.40 note), that she offers us a definition of her contemplative understanding of this aspect of the parable, to which she had been led by God:

> Thys syght was fulle swete and mervelous to beholde, pesyble and restfull, suer and delectabyll (568.42).

It is perhaps in this reflection on the union of soul and body in Christ incarnate and in his brethren that she begins to see more clearly what

[275] *Enarrationes,* Psalm 140.3; CCSL 40 2027.

before she had simply stated as a fact, mankind's need of the redemptive activity of the whole Trinity in Christ. But she sees it first in the revelation of the person of Christ in his Incarnation, and only then as she regards the person suffering: *The lower perty, whych is sensualyte, sufferyd for the saluacion of mankynd* (569.51). This is not abstract theologizing; Julian has come to understand it through her own experience of desolation during the showings of the Passion.

In the parable, the final object of this showing which had seemed to her *mysty and indefferent* (521.89) is Christ and the Father in the unity of the Spirit working out man's salvation. Faith and knowledge, given her 'for prayer', led her to persevere in prayer here *in via,* and so she was given self-awareness. As chapter 56 begins: *For oure soule is so depe groundyd in god and so endlesly tresoryd* ..., she is thinking of Colossians 3.3 (see 570.3 and note). It is only when we are risen with Christ that we shall see ourselves in him. So she returns to her teaching on contemplation, to that desire for God which leads us to seek the hidden treasure which is the life of union with him. She accepts that we can only know the nature of body, soul and spirit and how they are kept together (570.3) in so far as we are shown *from wens the seruant came* (532.210). So she examines again the whole course of the parable: the servant's fall, his preparation of the treasure, the sitting and the standing (571.12 e.s.) In the sixteenth revelation she will write more of the process of assimilation to Christ, which is our becoming *holy in this holynesse* (560.64). Meanwhile, like Paul, we must share Christ's Passion (cf. 573.34 e.s., Philippians 3.10), if we are to enter the depths of his charity (cf. 576.8, Ephesians 3.18-19).

I had in perty touchyng, she writes (573.38). Here she reinforces what she has just been expounding about growth in the unitive life by this reference to her own contemplative experience. This divine activity, the dynamic relationships of the persons of the Trinity can be 'felt' in us when God wishes to 'touch' us, that is, to make us aware of such activity in a way which transcends our normal intellectual and affective processes, because of our existential participation in the divine life. We are in some way integral to God's substance by virtue of our creation *ex nihilo*. At the same time (Julian reiterates this teaching in a variety of images and concepts) this activity can be known and is known only because it is revealed in the mystery of the incarnate Word. She finds the English with which to convey the Trinitarian teaching of the Latin theologians. Mercy and grace (Son and Spirit), eternally flowing from substantial kindness (Father, and also the triune God) complete their *missio ad extra* (the Son is sent by the Father, the Spirit by both Father

and Son) by returning man in Christ to his source:

> Of this substancyall kyndnesse mercy and grace spryngyth and spredyth in to vs, werkyng all thynges in fulfyllyng of oure joy (574.39).

She shows art and skill and she indicates her multiple triadic terminology by the singular pronoun 'it':

> It be thre propertes in one goodnes, and where that one werkyth alle werkyn in the thynges whych be now longyng to vs (574.44).

Her knowledge of the Trinitarian operations and attributes is theological, but it is also contemplative, a beginning, growing knowledge in love of the three persons:

> God wylle we vnderstande, desyeryng with all oure hart and alle oure strengh to haue knowyng of them evyr more and more in to the tyme that we be fulfyllyd; for fully to know them and clerely to se them is not elles but endles joy and blysse that we shall haue in hevyn, whych god wyll we begynne here in knowyng of his loue (574.47).

The 'touch', however, is not merely in our reason or the higher part of our nature, though it has there its ground. It is in our sensuality, which Christ, second person of the Trinity, has taken. The Incarnation, the sending of the second person into human existence, and his glorification through Passion and death, is not only the term of the Trinitarian operations; it constitutes a second creation for mankind. The Spirit, proceeding from Father and Son, was 'sent' into Christ's human, sensual soul to join it to his human substance, spirit. All this Julian sees as the manner and the order of human endowment, that is, of all those who are destined for final fulfilment, by the working of the Trinity, through *kynde, mercy and grace*.

In Revelation XVI Julian will show that the Trinity *made mannes soule as feyer, as good, as precious as he myght make it a creature* (644.41). Here, in chapter 57, she states why this is so: because our (that is, Christ's) human substance is a participation in God's substance, the Father's will is fulfilled in the will of his creature, Christ and all that will be saved in him (the destiny of those who are not to be saved, if there be any such, was never shown to her). This salvation, she insists, is the restoration and the fulfilment of the sensual soul of man, which, by virtue of its substance, participates in the endowment of his substantial spirit, but through the operation of mercy and grace (Son and Spirit) out of Christ's spiritual fulness, *by mesure* (576.6; cf. John 1.16).

Julian is repeating here something of what she has written in the previous two chapters, because, it would seem, there is a mutuality

achieved between God and man in the eternal activity of the Trinity, a mutuality which itself is eternal, because the Son accepted to become man *ab aeterno* (cf. 557.30):

> for oure kynde, whych is the hyer party, is knytte to god in þe makyng, and god is knytt to oure kynde, whych is the lower party in oure flessch takyng (577.17).

Thus in Christ all the Trinitarian operations, of which the Father is the *principium originans*, are comprehended. The incarnate Word is the term of the divine activity; there is no other. So faith is described as our participation in and reception of the Word made flesh, who *for loue ... made mankynd, and for the same loue hym selfe wolde become man* (578.25), in his relationship, that is, with the triune God. Hence Julian can write that faith is grounded in us and we in it; the relationship, by gift, is instantaneously mutual. On our side, it is a knowledge which has its impact on the lower part of our life which Christ has assumed. In him, every mode of his human relationship with his Father is available to us — the reflection of God's life by human kind as he prepares it to receive the Son (the commandments of the Old Covenant, which Christ came to fulfil and not to destroy), the power which Christ as man receives from the Father and shares with his Church (the sacraments), that power in which we receive the Spirit. Again Julian is contemplating the servant's origins, *from wens he came,* so that her mind is logically led to that maiden who is the human origin by the power of the Spirit of Christ's sensual life; and she makes the point that this mode of his relationship, also, is available to us. She catches exactly the mystical tropology in monastic exegesis of the twelfth century, especially in the Mariological commentaries on the Canticle of Canticles. The union of the Word with all human nature was achieved in Mary's womb, so that she is to be found at the heart of the mystery of the Church, Mary in whom every Christian soul realises its perfection.[276] But Julian also takes the occasion here (following, apparently, Augustine — see 580.50 note) to observe that it is Christ who is Mary's spiritual mother, not Mary Christ's. The teaching on the spiritual motherhood of the divine and human Christ which she is about to develop at length has come through her renewed contemplation, after the showing of the parable, of the mutual relations between God and man in Christ, and of what she was shown in the first and the last of her revelations.

[276] *Exégèse médiévale,* 2 561 and notes.

In chapter 58 Julian presents us with a synthesis of all that she has learned in her contemplative reflection, not only on the parable but also on the first, ninth and eleventh revelations, as illumined by her understanding of the lord and the servant, about the mysteries of Trinity and Incarnation. She now sees mankind as a whole in its relationship to Christ; and this is the same view which all mediaeval exegetes who are in the authentic tradition of Origen and Gregory have of the union between Christ and his Church, seen at once as *militans et triumphans*. It is thus that in our making (*he made vs alle at onys* — 582.6 — in Christ) we are destined now and everlastingly to share in his own will, the *bona voluntas*, the divine goodness.

> this is the werkyng whych is wrought contynually in ech soule that shalle be savyd, whych is the godly wylle before seyde (582.10).

Again she rehearses the various characteristics of this relationship with God, one and three; but here she differs in emphasis from the Cistercian and Victorine spiritual writers and from such contemporaries as Hilton, the *Cloud*-author and the English translator of Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*. The Church, as she consistently understands it, all who will be saved, is for her the virginal wife of God the Trinity, in the Trinity's union with the incarnate Christ. We may, if we wish, follow other writers of the fourteenth century (cf. 582.14, 583.15, 16 notes) in applying this teaching to the relationship of Christ with the individual soul in the transforming union, the 'spiritual marriage'; but Julian, though her language closely resembles theirs (*I loue the and thou louyst me, and oure loue shall nevyr parte in two* — 583.17), never makes this application. The nearest she ever comes to it is in her account of the procession of penitent-saints in Paradise (chapter 38), in whom the godly will was never extinguished and whom God mercifully preserved in their falling.

Here, in writing of the creative activity of the Trinity, the *natura creatrix*, she carefully lays down the principles which she will follow when she comes to deal with the motherhood of God and the incarnate Christ (cf. 584.25 note, 586.44 note). To explain the matter as clearly as she herself had seen it in her contemplation, she constructs another *argumentatio*, the proposition of which is the showing she had received of Christ in his 'pre-existence': *he stondyth before the fader evyn ryghte* (544.315) ... *his stertyng was þe godhed* (539.278) ... *seyng in his menyng: Lo, my dere fader, I stonde before the* (536.248) ... *stondyng redy before the father in purpos tyll what tyme he wolde sende hym* (535.235), who *is now become oure moder sensuall* (585.39). Her *ratio* is that *we be doubell of gods makyng, that is to sey substannciall and sensuall* (585.39). After referring in the *confirmatio*

to what she has seen of the divine *natura creatrix*, 'in our substancial making' and his working of mercy in accepting for his own our sensuality (585.40 e.s.), she embellishes her argument by rehearsing the way in which this mercy works through Passion, death and Resurrection, thus keeping our 'parts undeparted', and uniting us to our substance, the triune God. She goes on to summarize what she has seen in contemplative prayer concerning the operation of the Holy Spirit, the working of that grace which belongs to the royal lordship (cf. 502.26 e.s.), elucidating what she had there called 'rewarding' (503.32), by defining it here as *a gyfte of trust* (587.53 and note). And she ends the chapter with a characteristic anagogical contemplation: the purpose of the divine Trinitarian operation in the Incarnation of Christ is that all who are to be saved should be

> wurschypfully brought vp in to hevyn, and blyssydfully onyd to oure substannce, encresyd in rychesse and nobly by all the vertu of Crist and by the grace and werkyng of the holy gost (588.66).

As Cassiodorus had written of the Church's ultimate reality: 'collectio fidelium sanctorum omnium anima et cor unum, sponsa Christi, Jerusalem futuri saeculi'.[277]

Julian devotes the last chapters, 59 to 63, of Revelation XIV to setting out, in as clear and orderly a fashion as possible, the fruits of all that she has seen and heard concerning the second person of the Trinity, the 'mid person' who never appears to her understanding except in his relationship to Father and to Spirit:

> ... the trinitie is our endlesse ioy and our bleisse, by our lord Jesu Christ, and in our lord Jesu Christ. And this was shewed in the first syght and in all, for wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand, as to my sight (295.13).

Twenty years of constant study and contemplative reflection on the parable of the lord and the servant, in which, she tells us, the mysteries and obscurities of all her showings were hidden (519.71), have enabled her to do this. There is now a serenity in her contemplative vision of Jesus. She sees in him every man who will be saved, enriched by his wisdom and knowledge, built up in him who is the firm hope of heavenly glory, for all the fullness of the divine substance is incorporated in his glorified humanity — 'in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter' (Colossians 2.9). Her mind and heart

[277] Ibid. 2 515 and note 5.

seem to be impregnated with the wealth of Paul's Christological insights. As he does, she sees Christ as God's principle and instrument of goodness, opposing all the evil and wickedness in the sinful world of man, '... delens quod adversus nos erat ... quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio ... expolians principatus et potestates, traduxit confidenter, palam triumphans illos in semetipso' (Colossians 2.14-15).

This is the starting point in chapter 59 for her magisterial teaching on the motherhood of God, teaching which stands as an unique theological achievement in the Church's spiritual traditions. The working of mercy and grace is the simple countering of evil by goodness; and this belongs to the feminine principle of the *natura creatrix*, the divine creative activity *where the ground of moderhed begynnyth* (589.10). Without this carefully developed Christology, her teaching on the Trinity, though it would still be remarkable from the pen of a woman of the fourteenth century, could be accounted nothing more than a skilful restatement of traditional monastic theology. She may have suppressed any mention in the short text of this doctrine of God's motherhood, not merely because its implications only became fully clear to her after the publication of that version, but also because she feared the reception which such a theological development might have from readers unaware that here, too, she has tradition on her side. John Gerson, writing only a few years after she completed the long version, with, it would seem, Catherine of Siena in mind, remarks that 'the female sex is forbidden on apostolic authority (he is alluding to I Timothy 2.12) to teach in public, that is either by word or by writing ... All women's teaching, particularly formal teaching by word and by writing, is to be held suspect unless it has been diligently examined, and much more fully than men's. The reason is clear: common law — and not any kind of common law, but that which comes from on high — forbids them. And why? Because they are easily seduced, and determined seducers; and because it is not proved that they are witnesses to (*cognitrices*) divine grace'.[278] This is the voice of authority sounding in a world made by men for men; it is well known how Christine de Pisan inveighed against such a world, and against that particular voice.

André Cabassut has remarked[279] that to find in certain mystical writings the title 'Mother' given to Christ would occasion no surprise in the thirteenth century or in the seventeenth, to the contemporaries of

[278] *De examinatione doctrinarum* Pars I Consideratio 2a, 3a; *Omnia opera*, ed. Ellies-Dupin, 1 14-16.

[279] 'Une dévotion médiévale', 236.

Francis of Assisi or of Benet Canfield; and, as the annotations to these chapters abundantly prove (see the notes to 597.32, 599.54, 606.48, 616.24), the devotion, if not the theological implications, was well established among Julian's immediate precursors such as the author of the *Ancrene Riwle*, Mechtild of Hackborn and the editor-translator of *The Chastising of God's Children*. Of particular importance here is the evidence that the devotion had found expression in popular preaching in England over a century and a half earlier, just as the lyric cited at 597.32 note shows that the devotion had won a place in popular piety. The homily entitled by Richard Morris *An Bispel*,[280] found in MS British Museum Cotton Vespasian A.22, contains the following:

> (God) is indeed a father; he gives us his earth to till, he gives us corn to sow ... But can we, in any way, call him a mother, we ask? Indeed we can. What does the mother do with her child? First she cheers[281] and rejoices over it as it sees the light, and then she supports it on her arm, or covers its head to send it to sleep and give it rest ... Moreover, he spoke a wonderful word to the soul by the prophet Isaias: 'Can a mother forget her babe and not have pity on the son of her womb?' (Isaias 49.15). If she does forget, yet shall I not forget you, says the Lord.[282]

The reference to Isaias is of particular interest. It occurred spontaneously (with the other Isaian texts, 49.1 and 66.12-13) in this context to Cabassut,[283] who did not know of the existence of *An Bispel*, just as the text Matthew 23.37 occurred to Anselm as he wrote, with affective devotion, first of Paul and then of Jesus as our mother:

> Sed et tu Iesu, bone domine, nonne et tu mater? An non est mater qui tamquam gallina congregat sub alas pullos suos? Vere, domine, et tu mater. Nam et quod alii parturierunt et pepererunt, a te acceperunt. Tu prius illos et quod pepererunt parturiendo mortuus es et moriendo peperisti ... Ambo ergo matres. Nam etsi patres, tamen et matres. Vos enim effecistis, tu per te, tu per illum, ut nati ad mortem renasceremur ad vitam. Patres igitur estis per effectum, matres per affectum ... Tu quoque anima, mortua per te ipsam, curre sub alas Iesu matris tuae et conquerere

[280] *Old English Homilies* 1, 233-235.

[281] For 'cheers' the manuscript reads *cheteð*, a hap. leg. which, MED suggests, should be emended to 'chereþ'. This is very probable; the author seems to be recalling John 16.20-21: Tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium. Mulier cum parit tristitiam habet quia venit hora ejus; cum autem peperit puerum, jam non meminit propter gaudium, quia natus est homo in mundum.

[282] We owe our knowledge of this passage to Sr. Mary Arthur Knowlton: *The Influence of Richard Rolle and of Julian of Norwich*, 78 n.4.

[283] 'Une dévotion médiévale', 236-237.

> sub pennis eius dolores tuos ... Christe mater, qui congregas sub alas pullos tuos, mortuus hic pullus tuus subicit se sub alas tuas.[284]

Cabassut remarks that this prayer seems to be the beginning of the devotion: 'Anselme parait être en effet l'initiateur de la dévotion à Jésus notre mère'.[285] This may well be true, so far as the devotion itself is concerned; but we must look elsewhere for possible sources of the Trinitarian theology which for Julian is the cause and the foundation of the devotion. In her *Revelations*, contemplation and theology are interdependent, whereas the Trinity can hardly be in Anselm's mind as he writes of Jesus and Paul as *ambo matres*.

Richard Rolle, perhaps, points us in the right direction, in his exposition on the first few verses of the Canticle of Canticles:

> Unde et, allegorice loquendo, ad quemlibet sanctum potest dici illud quod mulier dixit in evangelio ad Christum: Beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera que suxisti (Luke 11.27). Quemadmodum namque antequam in mundum nascimur corporaliter in matris utero portamur, et priusquam ambulare vel currere vel aliquem cibum forte sumere possumus necessarie est ut lac ab uberibus matris capiamus; ita, spiritualiter, ante baptismum vel ante penitenciam, in utero Christi, id est in paciencia sua, ne vel abortivi suffocemur vel diversis sceleribus dampnati simus, gestamur. Cum vero per baptismum vel per penitenciam a carcere infidelitatis vel iniquitatis parturiente nos deo, extracti fuerimus, opus habemus ut lac quo nutriamur sugendo ad ubera pendamus. Unde apostolus: Quasimodo geniti lac concupiscite (I Peter 2.2).[286]

Rolle's commentary is in the tradition of that authentic mediaeval exegesis which in the previous century had begun to degenerate through an exaggerated attention to the tropological sense of Scripture as the privileged field of the ex professo contemplative. In the annotations to 596.22, 606.48, 608.64 will be found citations from the English translation, contemporary with Julian, of the *Liber specialis gratiae* of Mechtild of Hackborn which well illustrate this degeneration. However, another witness to the devotion to the motherhood of Christ, which we must consider as well-established by the end of the thirteenth century, Margaret d'Oyngt, shows a more balanced approach (see the annotations to 616.24 and 616.31).

It seems certain that the source of Anselm's devotion is Augustine's exegesis of Psalm 101.7, 'similis factus sum pelicano in deserto', since

[284] Ed. Schmitt, 'Oratio ad Sanctum Paulum', 3 40-41.
[285] 'Une dévotion médiévale', 238.
[286] Ed. Murray, 29-30.

there, having written that 'Christ exercises fatherly authority and maternal love', he adds 'just as Paul is also father and mother ... through his gospel-preaching' (cf. 599.57 note). Augustine here would expect his readers to refer the 'auctoritas paterna' to Christ precisely as revealing the Father, just as, in the *Confessiones*, where he writes, as Julian does, of the divine creative activity, which he sees operating in his own human parents (see 599.57 note), we know that he is addressing the triune God. Bede in his turn, as he expounds the text of Proverbs 31.1, reminds us of another strand of the tradition which Julian was to inherit, when he writes that the mother of Lamuel's vision is none other than divine grace or the spirit of Wisdom (cf. 598.45 note). This becomes, as we should expect, a mediaeval commonplace in traditional exegesis, especially among contemplative writers with their partiality for the sapiential books, where Wisdom is explicitly called the creative principle which is feminine. For example, in Ecclesiasticus she says of herself: 'I am the mother of fair love, of fear and knowledge and holy hope. In me is all the grace of the way and the truth ... all hope of life' (24.24). Yet even though these are titles which Christ applies to himself in the fourth gospel (cf. e.g. John 14.6), the tradition shows a persistent reluctance to make the connexion which is Julian's audacious starting-point: *And the depe wysdome of þe trynyte is our moder* (563.21). Cabassut observes how infrequently this title is given to Christ in Christian antiquity, and that when the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* were translated into Latin in the fifth century, the word 'mother', used of Christ in the context of Matthew 12.49-50, was suppressed.[287] It is worth noticing that the only other such example cited by Cabassut is that of John Chrysostom, citing the same text from Matthew. It could be argued that in neither case is any Trinitarian reference, direct or indirect, intended; and the Matthean text will not bear any such interpretation. Mediaeval Dionysians like Joannes Sarracenus and Thomas Gallus are prepared to transliterate Denis's invocation of Trinitarian Wisdom, *ὑπερθέε*, as *superdea*; although John Scotus Erigena had insisted on *superdeus*.[288] The *Cloud*-author translates as *sovereyn goddesse*,[289] which in the context is faintly ludicrous. Augustine, writing of Christ's descent into hell and his liberation there of Adam, cites Wisdom 10.1-2, which states that 'she (Sapientia) preserved Adam, brought him out of his sin and gave him lordship over all things' (cf. 554.4 note). But one suspects, in

[287] 'Une dévotion médiévale', 237-238.
[288] Chevallier, *Dionysiaca* 1 565, 709.
[289] Hodgson, *Deonise* 2.

Augustine, the same reluctance to assign to the eternal Son a feminine, creative role. We also know how early the theologians of the Western Church established the title 'Domina Mater Ecclesia' (cf. 607.57 note) and how totally the spiritual exegesis of this depends on the identification of Christ with the Church (for example, in Augustine; see 607.63 note). But it is strange to find (so far as de Lubac has been able to marshal the facts) that although the Church is Christ's 'flesh',[290] and the figure of Christ as husband and the Church (or the individual soul) as his beloved wife is wholly acceptable to every exegete from Origen onward,[291] as also is the concept of the 'daily birth of the Word',[292] there appears to be no attribution to the Son of motherhood before that of William of St. Thierry (cf. 582.12 note), and in him one detects a somewhat cautious use of language as he expands the notion of the *natura creatrix*. Indeed, one may perhaps state that the proliferation of Marian commentaries on the Canticle of Canticles from the twelfth century onwards,[293] reviving and pressing the earlier doctrine of Mary as the new Eve, may have prevented a more general and explicit development of the Trinitarian theology of motherhood, of which Julian remains the single forthright exponent in the Western mediaeval tradition.

For Julian, the most exalted of her revelations had been the twelfth, where our Lord had shown himself more glorified than she had seen him before (402-403). Accompanying this rarified intellectual vision of the heavenly Christ had been the locution 'I it am', which she often heard repeated. She implies there that her inability to comprehend the number of the words, which were 'in the highest', had to do with unity and Trinity (cf. 403.11, 15, notes). Now, through her understanding of the Trinitarian relationships in the light of the parable, she is able to offer a truly evangelical interpretation of the great revelation of the name of God, 'I am who am' (Exodus 3.14). If the qualities of human fatherhood are the vestiges in creation appropriated to the first person, as Paul had taught (see Ephesians 3.14-15), then equally the qualities of motherhood should be appropriated to the second person, whilst the fecundity of this knowledge and love in the *natura divina creatrix* is rightly appropriated to the third person.[294]

One of the profoundest New Testament statements on the eternal

[290] *Exégèse médiévale* 2 502.
[291] Ibid. 2 559 e.s.
[292] Ibid. 2 565.
[293] Ibid. 2 561 e.s.
[294] Cf. P. Pourrat: 'Attributs divins'.

relationship between Father and Son is that reported by Matthew: 'No one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and those to whom the Son wishes to reveal the Father' (Matthew 11.27), that is, the children to whom, Christ has just said, those things will be revealed which the Father has hidden from the wise and prudent (ibid. 11.25). And Christ, who as Julian intimates here is within the Trinity *hyest, noblyest and wurschypfullest* (590.19), goes on in the gospel to say of himself to the children 'Come to me ... learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart' (Matthew 11.29), just as Julian notes that this human soul of the incarnate Word is also *lowest, mekest and myldest* (590.20).

In her final version of the first revelation, Julian repeats several times that God is all that is good (cf. 299.3, 301.29, 303.42, 304.10, 306.28, 318.15, 322.12). So here she writes of the unity of God: *I it am, the hye souereyn goodnesse of all manner thyng* (590.16). This is 'the substantial ground' in which we participate by the eternal decree of the Trinity: the divine nature, his being, which is communicated to us in the second person who is first our mother, equal to the Father, and then in the Incarnation *oure very moder in grace by takyng of oure kynde made* (592.38); and finally he is our Saviour through his *moderhed in werkyng*, in which, in the Godhead, he is equal to the Spirit, who confirms the working of the motherhood (591.29). Here she reminds us that this entire revelation is still 'for prayer'. Our response to the knowledge of our existence and growth in the Trinity is

> to loue oure god in whome we haue oure beyng, hym reverently thankyng and praysyng of oure makyng, myghtly prayeng to oure moder of mercy and pytte, and to oure lorde þe holy gost of helpe and grace (592.30).

Here also, as has been observed (592.38, 40, notes) she mentions the godly (or, more probably, 'goodly') will for the last time:

> Alle the feyer werkyng and all the swete kyndly officis of dereworthy motherhed is in propred to þe seconde person, for in hym we haue this goodly wylle, hole and safe without ende, both in kynde and in grace, of his owne propyr goodnesse (592.38).

Her first reference to it was in similar terms, in Revelation I, again in the context of contemplative prayer:

> And therfore we may with hys grace and his helpe stande in gostly beholdyng, with euer lastyng marveylyng in this hygh ouerpassyng vnmesurable love that oure lorde hath to vs of his goodnes; and therfore we

> may aske of oure louer with reuerence all that we wille, for oure kyndely wille is to haue god, and the good wylle of god is to haue vs (308.53).

As one of the present editors indicated several years ago,[295] Dom Roger Hudleston was right in linking Julian's teaching with that of William of St. Thierry, but was wrong in dismissing it as unorthodox. Hudleston's opinion continues to be repeated.[296] Her own visions and 'beholdings' coincide with the teaching of William in his *Aenigma fidei*: it is inconceivable that in the predestined, those that will be saved, the good will of God in Christ should be absent or extinguished; for that would be a sign that they are among the reproved (and Julian saw none of these except the devil himself — cf. 427.8 e.s.). It now appears likely, in view of her closeness to William's teaching, and of such considered statements as

> God is more nerer to vs than oure owne soule, for he is grounde in whome oure soule standyth, and he is mene that kepyth þe substannce and the sensualyte to geder, so that it shall nevyr departe (571.11)

that she was as well aware as was the *Cloud*-author in his teaching on the sovereign point of the spirit[297] that, affectively as well as morally, the *scintilla synderesis* will never be extinguished in the minds and hearts of the predestined. And for Julian, as for monastic theologians in general, the very movement towards repentance is the sign of his continuing and permanent presence, *of his owne propyr goodnesse* (593.41). The text employed by both William of St. Thierry and Hugh of St. Victor, discussing this matter, is I John 3.9: 'Whosoever is born of God does not sin'.[298] To 'be born of' refers properly to the mother:

> ... it may not verely be seyde of none ne to none but of hym and to hym that is very mother of lyfe and of alle. To the properte of moderhede longyth kynd, loue, wysdom and knowyng, and it is god (598.46).

To conclude this chapter 59, Julian classifies the Trinitarian modes of the divine motherhood as she has become aware of it in her contemplative prayer (cf. 593.43 note); and in this same context she again uses the word which she had previously coined to translate the technical term for the relationship within the Trinity, *circumsessio*, 'forth spredyng', this time in the Pauline reference to the Christian's interior knowledge of the expanding dimensions of the divine love in Christ

[295] J. Walsh: *The Revelations of Divine Love*, 37-40.

[296] See, e.g., C. Wolters: *Julian of Norwich*, Introduction, 37: 'This is wishful thinking and not the teaching of the Church'.

[297] E.g. Hodgson, *Cloud*, 18.

[298] See J. Walsh: *The Revelations of Divine Love*, 39-40 and notes.

(Ephesians 3.18-19) in his own spirit. This is the working of the motherhood of God in creation, redemption and glorification, which is the content of these last four chapters of Revelation XIV.

Its first movement (cf. 594.7) is the moment of the Incarnation, as it was shown to her in the sight which she received in Revelation I of Mary in the mystery of the Annunciation (cf. 594.7 note). Julian's implication is that Mary's own contemplation of her God in her own acceptance (cf. Luke 1.38) of *the servyce and the officie of moderhode* (595.14) is a reflection of Christ's own service in the mystery of the Incarnation as this was shown to her in the parable of the lord and the servant. (It is perhaps worth noting here that Vatican Council II's Constitution on Divine Revelation explains tradition as that which has been handed on by the apostles 'sub assistentia Spiritus Sancti in Ecclesia', and affirms that the perception of tradition grows through the contemplation and investigation of believers who, like Mary — and Luke 2.19, 51 are cited — treasure these things in their heart).[299] He served thus when *he arayed hym and dyght hym ... in oure poure flessch* (595.12); and Julian goes on to show that the mothering which Christ received from Mary is derived from his own:

> The moders servyce is nerest, rediest and suerest; nerest for it is most of kynd, redyest for it is most of loue, and sekerest for it is most of trewth. This office ne myght nor coulde nevyr none done to þe full but he allone (595.14).

Here Julian has in mind both the Lucan description of Christ's Nativity (Luke 2. 6-7) and the image Christ uses in John 16.20-21 of the sufferings of a woman in labour and her joy in the birth of her son, so as to explain the impact of his death and Resurrection on his apostles and the Church: *Thus he susteyneth vs with in hym in loue and traveyle* (595.20).

> The moder may geue her chylde sucke hyr mylke, but oure precyous moder Jhesu, he may fede vs with hym selfe, and doth full curtesly and full tendyrly with the blessyd sacrament, that is precyous fode of very lyfe (596.29).

This image, as has been noted, is common enough among the mediaeval commentators, but elsewhere the emphasis is almost always on its pictorial and derivative qualities. Ludolph of Saxony is here typical, when he writes: '... ad ipsum pium patrem pauperum, tanquam parvulus ad matris gremium curre ... sicque recumbens super pectus Jesu suge ubera eius et in pace in idipsum dormies et requiesces'. But for Julian

[299] *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. W. M. Abbott, 116.

the statement is a reasoned theological deduction from the nature of the triune God as it has been revealed to her, and the term of God's operation in the incarnate Word (cf. 596.29 note). So it is that in the end she elucidates the 'I it am' locution by making the total identification between Holy Mother Church and Christ, God and man.

> I it am that holy chyrch prechyth the and techyth the. That is to sey: All the helth and the lyfe of sacramentyes, alle þe vertu and þe grace of my worde, alle the goodnesse that is ordeynyd in holy chyrch to the, I it am (597.34).

Thus, for one who accepts the word 'sweet' as indicative of the anagogical sense of Scripture, the ascent of the spirit into God, and the word 'kind' as indicative of the divine condescension into God's creation, it follows that only the Christian notion of motherhood can embrace together the mysteries of Trinity and Incarnation, and let them grow in the life of faith, hope and charity (cf. 599.57 note).

He is our moder in kynde, Julian writes at the end of chapter 60, *by the werkyng of grace in the lower perty* (599.58); and it is in this way that she is found to be at one with so many of her contemporaries who share her devotion to Christ the mother (without necessarily being capable of the care with which she develops her theology). A characteristic example is the analogy of the mother playfully hiding from her child, a theme, dear to very many mediaeval spiritual writers, with its Scriptural origin in Isaias 66.13: Quomodo si cui mater blandiatur, ita ego consolabor vos. We find the theme in the *Ancrene Riwle*, and, as we have seen, in Anselm's *Oratio X*. It appears in a version of the 'Vespasian Homily', in Mechtild of Hackborn, in the *Stimulus amoris*, in William Flete, in Bridget of Sweden and in Catherine of Siena. Julian could have derived her imagery and her language from any one of these sources; but of all these writers, she is the only one who bases her devotional expression on a firm theological and contemplative understanding:

> He kyndelyth oure vnderstondyng, he prepareth oure weyes, he esyth oure consciens, he confortyth oure soule, he lyghteth oure harte and gevyth vs in party knowyng and louyng in his blessydfull godhede, with gracyous mynde in his swete manhode and his blessed passyon, with curtesse mervelyng in his hye ovyr passyng goodnesse, and makyth us to loue all that he louyth for his loue, and to be well apayde with hym and with alle his werkes. And whan we falle, hastely he reysyth vs by his louely beclepyng and his gracious touchyng (601.4).

It is only thus that Christ our mother *may suffer þe chylde to fall some tyme* (604.35) but he *may nevyr suffer vs þat be his chyldren to perysscb* (605.39), for that would contradict the very nature of the Godhead.

Here, too, Julian reinforces the teaching of this revelation on contemplative life and prayer. Hers is a spirituality of consolation: periods of dryness or desolation are not meant to be prolonged. The prayer of petition for union is readily heard, if we are prepared to *use the condicion of a chylde* (605.45). Our mourning and weeping (plainly, she was thinking of the *Salve Regina*) will be quickly answered by a mother's *ruth and pytte* (607.54). Again, her devotion is rooted in her understanding of Christ in his self-identification with his Church:

> ... he wylle þat we take vs myghtly to the feyth of holy chyrch, and fynd there oure deerworthy mother in solas and trew vnderstandyng with all þe blessyd comonn (607.57; and see 607.57, 59, notes).

There is great difference, in devotional tone and temper, between Julian, who can see how in the motherhood of Jesus the unity of the whole Church is necessarily preserved, so that she can draw the conclusion

> And therfore a suer thyng it is, a good and a gracious to wylle mekly and myghtly be fastenyd and onyd to oure moder holy church, that is Crist Jhesu (607.61),

and the language, say, of Aelred of Rievaulx, when he writes 'That a man may not succumb to carnal concupiscence, let him turn his whole affection to the attraction of the Lord's flesh'.[300] (Aelred is, of course, writing here for beginners. There is much in common between his allegorical vision of Christ in 'Adam's tunic' — we must remember how greatly daring he was to use what Talbot has called the 'fatal word',[301] in an age still scandalized by Peter Abelard's unacceptable solutions to the problems of the Hypostatic Union, whereas in Julian's time the controversy had become ancient history, so that she could safely write about the servant's *kyrtell* which is Adam's flesh — as he draws out the contemplative meaning of 'the Word was made flesh', and Julian's account of the parable of the lord and his servant.) Even as she writes of Jesus as 'nurse' and 'mother', notions which had joined the 'main stream of popular piety' more than a century before,[302] she is not reflecting, as that piety did, merely imaginative meditation about the Son's human nature; her thoughts on the topic show us that it had been granted to her to penetrate the mystery of the triune God in prolonged contemplation.

[300] A. Squire: *Aelred of Rievaulx*, 47, quoting the *Speculum caritatis*.
[301] C. H. Talbot: *Sermones inediti*, 22.
[302] A. Squire: *Aelred of Rievaulx*, 47.

In chapter 62, as she draws to the end of her final redaction of Revelation XIV, Julian returns, in a highly figured summary, to the three chief lessons of the parable. First, the servant was shown for Adam in his falling, *to make there by to be vnderstonde how god beholdyth alle manne and his fallyng* (522.102); secondly, the servant was shown for God's Son, with his power, wisdom and goodness (cf. 534.230, 537.254-256); and thirdly it was shown that Jesus is our keeper in our time of falling (547.11 e.s.). This summary reflection leads into another of wider scope. Behind the parable of the lord and the servant is the revelation of the being and working of God, one and three, the concept of all creation as emanation from and return to the divine being, *processus — reditus*, firmly based on Scripture, and the *reditus* is perceived as salvation through grace:

> And alle kyndes that he hath made to flowe out of hym to werke his wylle, it shulde be restoryd and brought agayne in to hym by saluacion of man throw the werkyng of grace (611.15).

Here she sees, it would seem, through the eyes of William of St. Thierry (himself indebted to Gregory of Nyssa) in his *De natura corporis et animae*. All created things find their integration in the creature man, whose royalty is a participation in the sovereign being of God: 'Omnipotentis enim naturae imaginem fieri, quid est alius quam continuo regalem conditam fuisse naturam?'[303] This man is, of course, Christ who is also God; to him we (that is, the Church in the anagogical sense) are all fastened by nature and grace: *we be all bounde to god for kynd, and we be bounde to god for grace* (612.22). This is the quality and extent of his motherhood; all is known in him, and he in us. It is one of Julian's extraordinary gifts that she is able to take up the phrase γνῶθι σεαυτόν, with all its mediaeval philosophical and theological implications, and express it in devotional language.

Julian had written early in the showing:

> Prayer onyth the soule to god, for though the soule be evyr lyke to god in kynde and in substannce restoryd by grace, it is ofte vnlike in condescion by synne of mannes perty (475.2).

Now in the last chapter, 63, she returns to the point of union and disunion, with a variation on the words she has used in chapter 59 to describe goodness (with mercy and grace) and wickedness as ad-

[303] PL 180 717, and see J.-M. Déchanet: *Aux sources de la spiritualité de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry*, 28.

versaries. Here the antagonists are *kynd* (which is *all good and feyer in it selfe* — 614.3) and *synne*. *Kynd* here stands for *alle kyndes that he hath made to flowe out of hym to werke his wylle* (611.15), and grace again is the restorative, now seen also as destructive of all that prevents the *reditus*, the return to God. She seems to be making the point that sin is not merely transgression of a divine commandment; its malice consists in its being against human nature:

> For it (sin) is contraryous to our feyer kynde; for as verely as synne is vnclene, as trewly synne is vnkynde (615.15).

But it is the loving soul that will see this malice; and it will tend to be overcome by its burden. Again Julian moves with dexterity from what appears to be abstract theological speculation into 'Franciscan' devotional language as she counsels us to have recourse in such a dilemma

> to oure derewurthy mother, and he shall all besprynkyl vs in his precious blode, and make oure soule full softe and fulle mylde (615.20).

Alternation between meditative reflection and devotion is the pattern of this chapter, in a last recapitulation of the motherhood in its Trinitarian relations and its Christological operation which is followed by a pictorial image of this theological statement: the chief virtue of a child is true trust, which is the golden mean between despair and presumption:

> ... kyndly the chylde dyspeyreth nott of the moders loue, kyndely the chylde presumyth nott of it selfe (617.38).

The chapter ends with the anagogical contemplation of this child with its parents in eternity:

> And than shalle þe blysse of oure moderheed in Crist be new to begynne in the joyes of oure fader god, whych new begynnyng shall last, without end new begynnyng (618.47).

17 Revelation XV

At the end of her account of this fifteenth showing in her short text, Julian had written *And here was ane ende of alle þat oure lorde schewed me that daye* (265.59). In this long text she is more exact in her recollection, telling us of the length of time which the showings occupied and when they began and ended:

> Of whych xv shewynges þe furst beganne erly in þe mornynge, aboute the oure of iiij, and it lastyd shewyng by processe, fulle feyer and soberly, eche folowyng other, tylle it was none of þe day or paste (631.37).

The statement is not without its psychological significance. Though she knew that she was the object of a direct supernatural intervention (as has been noticed, she offers us objective evidence for her statement that her sickness had brought her to the point of death, and tells us that she suddenly felt *as hole ... as ever I was befor* — 292.36; cf. 291.34, 292.35 notes, and Introduction, *supra*, IX 2, 'Criteria of Analysis'), it cannot be doubted that twelve hours of intense concentration, coupled with the alternation of spiritual consolation and desolation, culminating in the mental perplexity which accompanied the showing of the parable, must have greatly taxed her mentally and physically. All this appears to be part of *pe woo that is here* (619.6) to which she alludes at the beginning of this revelation. It is noteworthy, too, that when she reports the locution which is the substance of the long text,

> Sodeynly thou shalte be taken from all thy payne, from alle thy sycknesse, from alle thy dyseses and fro alle thy woo ... (620.14),

there is the phrase *from alle thy sycknesse* which is not found in the corresponding short text (cf. 263.10).

Her situation at this moment was very much that of Gregory the Great, as he describes it at the beginning of his *Dialogues*,[304] where he admits that he awaits his death with longing, as a blessed release which would deliver him from the pains of this exile and admit him to the joys for which he was created. This is the 'wound of desire' which characterizes the whole of Gregory's spiritual theology, the same wound for which Julian had in the past prayed with such fervour. The locution, which is an answer to her present prayer in which she experiences once again the mingling of joy and woe, is heavy with Scriptural allusions. The most significant among them is perhaps the implied reference to the vision of heaven in the Apocalypse, God's dwelling among men, when there will be no more weeping nor mourning. This is also the text which she seems to have had in mind as the account of the revelation begins and she writes of the 'new beginning without end'. The preponderant influence of Gregory through the tradition is evident in her reflection on this locution, although the form in which she couches it, the *ratiocinatio*, has become typically her own, as she draws out the quality of the patience which must be a part of the affective and effective desire for God. It is Gregory who teaches that 'if desire for God is ardent, it is also patient. It grows under the trial of time. One must learn to wait for God in order to love him more, and to take ad-

[304] Umberto Moricca: *Gregorii Magni dialogi libri IV*, 14-15.

vantage of the passage of time to become ever more open to his infinite plenitude'.[305] Leclercq has observed of Gregory: 'Everyone in fact had read him and lived by him'.[306] It is highly probable that this is true of Julian. But one would not wish to adduce this passage as evidence of that, or say more than that the lines which follow the locution,

> And also god wylle that whyle the soule is in the body, it seeme to it selfe þat it is evyr at þe poynte to be takyn (622.27),

are in themselves evidence that Julian had read the *Cloud*-author's *Epistle of Prayer*, which offers precisely the same counsel.[307]

Thus far in this revelation (619.5-622.30) there has been almost verbatim agreement with the short text (263.1-264.25). Now, however, Julian adds a short parabolic picture, which, though it is an *exemplum* in the strict sense, is introduced by the rubric *And in thys tyme I sawe* (622.31). In other words, this belongs to the objective content of the revelations, so that, once again, the question arises, why was it suppressed in the short text? Several reasons suggest themselves. Firstly, this vision of a body *whych ... shewde heuy and feerfulle and with oute shape and forme, as it were a swylge stynkyng myrre* forces Julian out of her normal delicacy and restraint, as she describes the miseries of the flesh (see 622.31 note). Secondly, her feeling about this is much the same as when in Revelation II she described the dreadful face of the dying Christ. There she had written:

> This secounde shewyng was so lowe and so little and so symple that my spirytes were in great traveyle in the beholdyng, mornyng, dredfull and longyng; for I was some tyme in a feer wheder it was a shewyng or none (327.32, and see note).

Considering this similar showing 'in bodily likeness', she may have wondered whether it was merely the product of an imagination affected by pain, sickness and desolation. Thirdly, as with her great *exemplum*, the parable of the lord and the servant, she may have been unsure, at the time when she wrote down the short text, of the techniques of Scriptural interpretation which she had needed another twenty years to master. So now she explains the details of this *exemplum*, and how it helps, by its sharpness of contraries, to lead to that contemplation of the evangelical promise of 'the glory that is to come', which reveals

[305] *Moralia* XXVI 34, PL 76 386, quoted by J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 32.
[306] *The Love of Learning*, 32.
[307] Hodgson, *Deonise*, 48.

once more the Lord's merciful compassion, in his preservation of us and his promises to us (cf. 624.40-42). De Lubac has written of the rupture which Dionysian influence tended to introduce into the tradition, a dissociation between the *invisibilia* and the *futura*, between the life of unitive prayer and meditation of the Scriptures. Julian, who here shows her familiarity with Dionysian terminology —

> It is goddys wylle that we sett þe poynt of oure thought in this blesfulle beholdyng (624.49) —

at the same time rejects the Dionysian anagogy which wishes to leave behind the order of visions, preferring that of 'pure contemplation'. For her, the grace of contemplation is related firmly to her vision. So she continues:

> ... as oftyme as we may and as long tyme kepe vs ther in with his grace, for this is a blesfulle contemplacion to the soule that is ladde of god, and fulle moch to his wurschyppe for the tyme þat it lastyth (625.50).

The similarity between the bodily sight in this revelation and the face of the dying Christ which reminded her of the Vernicle in Rome in Revelation II (cf. 327.36) has already been remarked. Nor does the resemblance cease there. She had also written in the long text of the

> two workynges that may be seen in this vision. That one is sekyng; the other is beholdyng (334.83),

and of this seeking she had added:

> It is gods wil that we haue iij thynges in our sekyng of his ȝefte. The furst is that we seke wyllfully and besyly withouȝte slowth, as it may be with his grace, gladly and merely without vnresonable hevynesse and veyne sorow; the seconde þat we abyde hym stedfastely for his loue, withouȝte gronyng and stryvyng agaynst hym, in to our lyvys ende, for it shall last but a whyle. The iij is that we truste in hym myghtely, of fulle and tru feyth, for it is his wille þat we know that he shall aper sodenly and blyssydefully to all his lovers (334.87).

When rightly understood, during the time that God wishes us to wait for his coming in hope, this is as good as contemplating. This teaching is now confirmed, in the long-text version of Revelation XV, by the locution and the vision of the example which accompanies it. The trust in his promise is the spiritual energy of contemplative reflection on the evangelical word: 'I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me, though he be dead, will live' (John 11.25), particularly in those times when, as the great spiritual masters of the West consistently teach

(cf. 625.53 note), contemplative vision fades and the human frame feels the weight of its weakness:

> ... whan we falle agayne to oure selfe by hevynes and gostely blynesse and felynge of paynes gostely and bodely by oure fragylyte (625.53).

Her reflection continues in chapter 65 with a conclusion which is implicit in her aphorism 'Seeking is as good as beholding':

> For he wylle we kepe this trustly, þat we be as seker in hope of the blysse of hevyn whyle we are here as we shalle be in suerte when we ar there (627.4).

Her use of the words *here* and *there* is a clear indication of how much at home she feels herself in the contemplative tradition of the twelfth century.[308] Chatillon cites as a key text for the understanding of this vocabulary a passage from Caesarius of Arles, probably in Julian's time attributed to Augustine:[309] 'Salvator noster ... ascendit in caelum; non ergo turbemur in terra; ibi sit mens, et hic erit quies. Ascendamus cum Christo interim in corde. Cum dies eius promissus advenerit, sequemur et corpore'. All the other texts used by Chatillon to demonstrate the meaning of 'here' and 'there' and 'meanwhile', Augustine, Alcuin (via Thomas Aquinas), Bernard and William of St. Thierry, stress the various points made by Julian: joy in the Holy Spirit as one is mindful of the blessings to come, and the tolerance of present tribulation (Bernard); the persevering prayer of petition (Alcuin); the steadfast belief in the divine promise through the illumination of the Word (William); and, finally, the reference by Augustine to the Mystical Body': 'Membra mea estote, si ascendere vultis in caelum ... In hoc ergo ipsi interim roboremur, in hoc votis omnibus aestuemus'.[310] It is this last point which Julian develops in her own way, by referring back to her final statement on God's motherhood, on the contemplative disposition of a child of God, that total trust of which the elements are love, joy, reverence and humility.

> And euer the more likyng and joye þat we take in this sekernesse, with reverence and meeknes, the better lyketh him. For as it was shewed, this reverence þat I meane is a holy curtious drede of our lorde to which meekenes is knyt; and that is that a creatur see þe lord meruelous great and her selfe mervelous litle (628.7).

[308] F. Chatillon: 'Hic, ibi, interim'.
[309] Ibid. 194, note 1.
[310] Sermo 263, *De ascensione Domini*, PL 38 1210.

Then, once again, she sees Mary as the type of the perfect contemplative and the image of the Church at prayer (cf. 628.7 note). Here Julian returns to the spiritual tropology initiated by Gregory: 'Omnipotens Deus, qui nec in magnis tenditur nec in minimis angustatur, sic de tota simul Ecclesia loquitur, ac si de una anima loquatur; Et saepe quod ab eo de una anima dicitur, nil obstat si de tota simul Ecclesia intellegatur'.[311] Thus she writes:

> It is gods wyll that I see my selfe as much bound to hym in loue as if he had done for me all þat he hath done; and thus shuld everie sowle thynke in regard of his louer. That is to say, the charyte of god makyth in vs such a vnitie that when it is truly seen, no man can parte them selfe from other. And thus ought ech sowle to thynke þat god hath done for hym all that he hath done (628.16).

All the revelations, like the whole of Scripture, *shewith he to make vs to loue him, and likyn him* (629.22). Again, it is Gregory who writes: 'mira atque ineffabilis sacri eloquii virtus agnoscitur, cum superno amore legentis animus penetratur'.[312]

Now Julian, as she comes to the end of Revelation XV in the long text, is looking both ahead and backwards to her experiential fear of the evil one, and she is desirous, for her readers' sake as well as for her own, to place the matter in perspective. There is only one true fear, as she will tell us later, and that is the 'lovely dread' which dwells in brotherhood with the divine love poured out in our hearts (cf. 673.20 e.s.) At this point, it may be, she wishes to prepare her readers to share her own fearful experience. So she uses all her rhetorical skill to make the point that all diabolic fears have a hallucinatory and transitory quality about them, no matter how much they may move us and confuse us. They are a part of our normal experience of inadequacy and suffering, which *as soone as we may, passe we lightly over* (630.29).

So Julian concludes the first part of her showings; the first fifteen revelations divide themselves, both chronologically and psychologically, from the last vision. And here she reminds us that the assurance which God's gift of hope confers is very much hers, as she reflects at this point upon the contemplative graces of more than twenty years (cf. 631.35-37).

[311] *In Hiezechihelem* II, 2, ed. M. Adriaen, 235.
[312] Ibid. I 7, ed. Adriaen, 88.

18 Revelation XVI

Julian had written that the first fifteen revelations lasted until after three o'clock in the afternoon, *tylle it was none of þe day or paste* (631.39 and note). Now, at the beginning of chapter 66, she tells us that *the goode lorde shewde the xvj revelation on the nyght folowyng* (632.3). She is careful to explain what happened in the interval. As soon as the long showings came to an end, although she felt certain that she was not now going to die, she was afflicted with a deep spiritual desolation, and also with the return of the physical pain which had accompanied her sickness, and with its concomitant mental anguish:

> And sodeynly all my body was fulfyllyd with sycknes lyke as it was before, and I was as baryn and as drye as I had nevyr had comfort but lytylle, and as a wrech mornyd hevyly for feelyng of my bodely paynes, and for fautyng of comforte gostly and bodely (632.11).

Whilst she was in this state, she was visited by a religious. Whether he was a priest or not she does not say; but the conjecture that he was would be fair, because, it seems, she thought of making her confession to him when she saw his reactions to her brief allusion to the imaginative vision of the bleeding crucifix, which vision, as she had just told him, she was at that moment inclined to consider a hallucination:

> And when I saw that he toke it so sadly and with so grete reverence, I waxsyd full grettly ashamyd, and wolde a bene shryvyn (633.22).

At all events, he must have been in her confidence for her to have mentioned the matter to him at all. His immediate tendency to take seriously her remark that it had seemed to her that the crucifix was covered in blood is also an indication that he knew her well and was prepared to give credence to what she might say: he *waxsed all sad, and merveylyd ... and I thought: this man takyth sadly the lest worde that I myght sey, that sawe no more therof* (633.19). Nor was he inclined to believe her when she said that she had lost her wits — *he lugh lowde and enterlye* (266.8). This disbelief overcame her only momentarily; almost as soon as she had spoken, she repented it, and she calls it *a grett synne and a grett vnkyndnesse,* even whilst she accepts the cause, *for foly of felyng of a lytylle bodely payne* (634.31). After this visit, the experience of contrition which followed it and her continuing prayer of trust in God's mercy, she fell asleep as night came on, which, at that time of the year, would be between nine and ten o'clock. In chapter 67 she relates how, during that night, she had the nightmare about the devil being on the point of choking her. This visitation is followed by *grete reste and peas*; and whilst

she was lying there, *without sycknesse of body or drede of conscience* (638.25), the sixteenth revelation began, as she describes in chapter 68. As the revelation develops, it moves through all Julian's various classification of her sights, and it is succeeded by 'a showing of words'. At the end, when she 'saw no more', she experienced a further assault of diabolic temptation, which she endured for what was left of the night:

> And thus he occupyed me alle that nyght and on þe morow tylle it was about pryme day (651.11 and note).

Julian had pondered well her own experiences, and the insights they had given her into the problems of demonology. She used her own knowledge of diabolic temptation and illusion, and her theological reflections on their impact upon the Christian life, particularly upon the life of contemplation, not only as a link between the first fifteen revelations and the last great showing on the mystery of divine indwelling. Margery Kempe reports Julian as saying:

> God and þe deuyl ben euyrmor contraryows, and þei xal neuyr dwellyn to gedyr in on place, and þe devyl hath no powyr in a mannys sowle.[313]

This is an obvious allusion to the sixteenth revelation, and to her subsequent contemplative insights. Here, in her narrative of the revelation, she employs those insights to bring together all the words which God had formed in her understanding (cf. 666.3). The locutions had been reported in a variety of forms and rhetorical figures, but the most direct and manifest seem to be on the two occasions when the Lord 'formed' words in her soul (cf. 227.27-28, 346.6-7) or 'showed words' (cf. 269.23-24, 645.53-55), 'without voice and without opening of lips'. Thus she writes, at the end of the sixteenth revelation:

> And ryght as in the furst worde þat oure good lorde shewde, menyng his blessyd passyon: Here with is the fende ovyr come, ryght so he seyde in the last worde with full tru feytfullnes, menyng vs alle: Thou shalt not be ovyr come (646.60; and cf. 269.29).

Julian was aware, just as was Margery Kempe in her own illiterate and enthusiastic fashion, that the evil spirit can occasion imaginary fantasies which might be mistaken for imaginative visions; but she had also grasped, whilst she was recording in her short text these two primary locutions to form an *inclusio*, the teaching, specifically Johannine, on the victory achieved by the sacrifice of the Passion in the struggle against

[313] *Book of Margery Kempe*, 43.

the principalities and powers of evil. 'Now', says Christ as he goes to the Passion, 'the prince of the world will be cast out' (John 12.31). 'Now the prince of this world comes ...' (ibid. 14.30). 'In this world you will have distress, but have confidence; I have overcome the world' (ibid. 16.33). This is Julian's precise point as she reflects on her final locution:

> He seyde nott: Thou shalt not be trobelyd, thou shalt not be traveyled, thou shalle not be dyssesyd; but he seyde: Thou shalt not be ovyrcom (647.68).

As Heinrich Schlier has noted,[314] the terms 'victory' and 'overcome' are peculiar to the Johannine writings, and are employed in three ways. First, the overcoming of the world of which Jesus speaks at the Last Supper is a victory over death, darkness and distress (*θλῖψις*, *pressura*, which Julian properly renders as 'trybulacyons', 647.67), of which the fiend, the enemy, is the prince. Julian knows from John's Gospel, as well as from her revelations, that Jesus by his Passion has overcome this 'world' (346.7). Despite her lack of personal experience of so much that is evil, she is well aware through the writings of Paul and John that this struggle is of cosmic proportions. In the light of the parable of the lord and the servant she can write of this conflict, which she sees as the primaeval opposition, older even than Adam's sin:

> For wyckydnesse hath ben sufferyd to ryse contrary to þat goodnesse; and the goodnesse of mercy and grace contraryed agaynst that wyckydnesse and turnyd all to goodnesse and wurshyppe to all that shall be savyd (589.5).

She knows that from now until the end of time, God's chosen will have to endure the consequences of the struggle:

> Holy chyrch shalle be shakyd in sorow and anguyssch and trybulacion in this worlde as men shakyth a cloth in the wynde (408.6);

and she also knows that it will be only at the *parousia* that the victory will be final and all-embracing, when

> we shalle alle sey with one voyce: Lorde, blessyd mott thou be, for it is thus, it is wele (729.14).

Secondly, John teaches that those who have true faith in Jesus as Son of God participate in the power of his Passion, and overcome the world: 'This is the victory which overcomes the world, our faith' (I John

[314] *Principalities and Powers*, 63 note 58.

5.4). For Julian, those who will be saved possess this faith; they are born of God, who is their Father and mother:

> Oure feyth is a lyght, kyndly comyng of oure endlesse day that is oure fader, god, in whych lyght oure moder, Cryst, and oure good lorde the holy gost ledyth vs in this passyng lyfe (723.14).

This is why Julian anguishes so greatly over her momentary lapse of faith, and treats it with such seriousness. It is on the 'children of unbelief' that the 'prince of the power of the air' is at work (cf. Ephesians 2.2).

Finally, the verb 'to overcome' has a special application to those who overcome the devil by the supreme witness of their lives (cf. Apocalypse 5.5, 7.14, 12.11). So Julian, who had asked for the grace of suffering with the dying Christ and of a sickness which might seem as if mortal, desired to share this combat — 'all the dreads and temptations of fiends' (287.27).

In Revelation V, Julian had written that she was shown the devil's total impotence (cf. 346.8-347.10). Her language there, in chapter 13, resembles that of Paul in his letter to the Colossians: '... despoiling the principalities and powers, he has confidently exposed them in open showing, triumphing over them in himself' (that is, on the Cross — Colossians 2.15). And when she writes of the devil's malice and wrath and sore travail (347.10-18), she has in mind John's imagery: '... the devil has come down to you, having great wrath, knowing that he has but a short time' (Apocalypse 12.12). Schlier, as he reflects on New Testament teaching about the 'principalities and powers', writes of the sacrifices of Christians for the sake of truth, justice and peace, that struggle against the forces of evil which John calls 'the patience of the saints', who 'keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus' in the conflict with the great beast (Apocalypse 14.9-12). He goes on: 'The enemy is powerless against this sacrifice ... He is passed over in this sacrifice as though he no longer existed, and indeed, for the man who accepts sacrifice, he is no more'.[315] That appears to be exactly the point which Julian makes, as she reflects on this topic in chapter 33: *I vnderstond þat alle the creatures þat be of the devylles condiscion ... ther is no more mencyon made of them before god and alle his holyn then of the devylle* (428.11). Such souls may just as well not exist.

Thus, Julian's belief in the devil is firmly rooted in Scripture; and

[315] Ibid., 62.

when she insists that temptations against faith (cf. 637.20-638.23) and hope (cf. 687.30-688.41) come from him, she is merely echoing Paul and John in their cosmic visions of the struggle between death and life, light and darkness, good and evil. As Lefèvre has pointed out, Hebrews 2.9-14 provides us with a summary of New Testament teaching on Christ's victory over the devil: 'The power of evil is powerlessness. All the devil can do is only trickery and mirage ... death and sin are annihilated by the Cross and the Resurrection. It was by the grace of God that Jesus submitted himself to death; by his death he brought the devil to nothing'.[316] This is Julian's theological position, too, in all that she has to say of 'the fiend'. It was Christians of her calibre that Paul had in mind when he wrote: 'I would have you be wise in good and simple in evil; and may the God of peace speedily crush Satan under your feet' (Romans 16.19-20).

As she describes her nightmare (635.2-638.26) and the temptations which she endured after the sixteenth revelation (648.2-651.13), Julian can still betray the agitation which she then suffered; but, apart from this, all that she writes on the theology of the devil and temptation is a model of restraint, and is of impeccable orthodoxy. She shows none of the self-consciousness, so common in her time, of those who, considering themselves chosen souls, expect frequently to be harrassed by the fiend. There is nothing in Julian's experience which remotely resembles, for example, the pretensions of Mechtild of Hackborn, when she writes:

> The feende trauaylede fulle ofte this holye maydene ande goddes seruaunte with temptaciouns als he is wonte to greve ande noye alle thoo that be deuowte to God. Ande þan itt felle on a daye that God hadde gyffen here plenteuoslye his grace, ande that same daye when oure lorde hadde doone a grete benefete to here sowle, þan comme preuelye the feende to tempte here. Ande he putte in here herte suche a drede of hevynesse, and putte in here mynde to thenke that the gyfte whilke sche hadd come nought of god.[317]

On the contrary, Julian is concerned to minimize the role of demonic activity in the life of the contemplative. It is remarkable that although the revelations show her so concerned with the enigma of sin and damnation, no mention is made of the sin of the angels. She can personify

[316] 'Angel or Monster?' in *Satan*, ed. B. de Jésus-Marie, 66.
[317] Halligan, 345.

wrath (505.9) without mentioning, as does the *Cloud*-author,[318] the evil spirit; and in her account of Adam's fall, in the parable (521.100), and of the Harrowing of Hell (534.224), there is no mention of Satan or of devils, whereas in every other contemporary treatment of these themes they are the protagonists. Though in times of sickness or depression fear of the fiend seems to have been prominent in her consciousness (e.g. 291.31, 370.4, 687.29 e.s.), that fear is elsewhere merely catalogued with all the other 'doubtful dreads' (629.23 e.s.); and she can write with serenity that fear of ghostly enemies is profitable, along with dread of pain and bodily death, as a point of entry into contrition:

> for man that is harde of slepe of synne, he is nott able for þe tyme to receyue þe softe comforte of the holy goste, tylle he hayth vndertaken this drede of payne of bodely deth and of gostly enemys. And this drede steryth vs to seke comfort and mercy of god; and thus this drede helpyth vs as an entre, and abyllyth vs to haue contrycion by þe blessydfulle touchyng of þe holy gost (671.7).

And in the long text she is content to suppress the short text's gloss on II Corinthians 11, when she had proferred her advice on dealing with 'doubtful dread', presumably because she herself had never seen the devil so disguised (cf. 276.16 e.s. and notes).

In their annotation to chapter 67, the editors have canvassed the opinion that, writing some twenty years after the event, Julian may in the long text have embellished out of her imagination the 'ugly showing made while she slept'. The short text merely has:

> And in my slepe atte the begynnynge me thought the fende sette hym in my throte and walde hafe strangelede me, botte he myght nought. Than I woke out of my slepe (267.26).

It is possible, for example, that the detail, 'his hair was as red as rust', originates in the remark in the *Ancrene Riwle* about 'the devil called Rufinus who is Belial's brother';[319] in the contemporary *Seinte Marherete* the demon in the likeness of a black man calls his dead brother 'Rufines', but refuses to tell his own name.[320] Given, however, Julian's scrupulous care to record as exactly as she can all that she saw and no more, and what seems to be her gift of total recall, we may think it more probable that as she ponders again with compunction her lack of

[318] *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*; Hodgson, *Deonise*, 83.
[319] Salu, 108.
[320] Ed. Mack, 30.

faith, the dream, the consequence of her unbelief, returns to her in all its vividness. What she is describing is, according to Heinrich Spitta, in his work *Die Schlaf- und Traumzustände der menschlichen Seele,* the classic demon of nightmare:

> The apparition of a *kobold* or a monster, squatting on the chest of the sleeper, moving nearer and nearer to his throat and threatening to strangle him ... It is so clear and so evident that it causes great anguish ... The sleeper tries in vain to defend himself against this horrible apparition; he tries to cry out, but his voice is strangled in his throat, his limbs seem paralyzed, sweat pours from him, his hands are like ice. Suddenly he comes to with a cry, to fall back again on his bed, exhausted, but with the relieved feeling that he has just escaped from imminent danger of death.[321]

Whatever naivety we may see in the faith of Julian and her contemporaries in devils (we may recall, for example, the *Cloud*-author's credence in the stories of the 'disciples of necromancy'),[322] for the Catholic 'the existence of angels cannot be disputed in view of the conciliar declarations';[323] for instance, it was defined at Lateran IV that 'diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali. Homo vero diaboli suggestione peccavit'.[324] For the rest, Julian shows herself to be singularly free from what François Vandenbroucke has called the 'fièvre satanique' from which he sees the Western Church suffering from c. 1300 for the next four centuries.[325] He singles out a description by Suso, in the *Horologium sapientiae,* of hell and the activities there of the demons, and comments: 'One perceives here a very lively imagination, and one may ask how much of this is true vision, how much pure literary fiction'.[326]

The additions in the long text — she there calls the dream a 'showing', and writes that *in all this tyme I trustyd to be savyd and kepte by þe mercy of god. And oure curtesse lorde gaue me grace to wake*(636.12)— indicate that Julian ascribes a preternatural quality to the nightmare. It is in the order of an imaginative vision. So is the smoke, accompanied by the great heat and the foul stench, perceptible to her alone, just as the

[321] Quoted by Yolande Jacobi in 'Dream Demons', *Satan,* 268. When she wrote, Dr. Jacobi was assistant to C. G. Jung.

[322] Hodgson, *Cloud,* 103.

[323] K. Rahner, 'Angel', in *Sacramentum mundi* I, 32.

[324] Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 800.

[325] 'Démon en Occident', DSp 3 225 e.s.

[326] Ibid., 226.

'bodily talking' (648.4) is in the order of a locution. In describing all this, Julian has confidence that her readers will believe that her senses were physically assailed by these phenomena, which were part of the diabolical temptation:

> The stynch was so vyle and so paynfulle, and bodely heet also dredfull and traveylous (648.3).

The vividness of her description of the 'bodily talking' —

> ... semyng to me as they scornyd byddyng of bedys whych are seyde boystosly with moch faylyng devout intendyng and wyse diligence, the whych we owe to god in oure prayer (648.8) —

makes the same demands on our credence. Here again, Julian is not simply relying on the canonized fables known to monastic tradition (abundant examples of which are cited in the annotations to these chapters); she can appeal to reputable theological opinion, such as that of Thomas Aquinas, who cites Augustine as answering with a vigorous affirmative his question: 'Utrum daemones possint homines seducere per aliqua miracula?'[327] Aquinas observes: '... daemon potest mutare phantasiam hominis, et etiam sensus corporeos, ut aliquid videatur aliter quam sit'; and he goes on to refer to *De civitate Dei*, and to Augustine's opinion there that the devil '... phantasticum hominis, quod etiam in cogitando, sive somniando per rerum innumerabilium genera variatur, velut corporatum in alicuius animalis effigie sensibus apparet alienis ... quia daemon, qui in phantasia unius hominis format aliquam speciem, ipse etiam potest similem speciem alterius sensibus offerre'.[328]

When, however, all this is said, we must recall that in the more informed of the popular devotions of her time, it was held that such demonic illusions, whether of the night-time or of the noon-day devil, were temptations primarily against faith, and called for the sort of prayers which are found, for example, in MS Ushaw 10:

> Ex omnipotencia patris:
> O swytte blyssyd lade, as thow arte moste myght nexte god in hewyn and in herthe, I beseke þe so, be present and defende me fro my gostely enmys in the howre of my dethe.
> Aue Maria.
> Ex sapiencia filij:
> O glorius lady, as thow arte moste wytty nexte god in hewyn and in her-

[327] *Summa theologiae* I.114.4.
[328] Ibid., ad 2.

> the, I beseke þe so, be present and kype me in þe ryghte fathe of holy kyrke in þe owre of my dethe.
> Aue Maria.

And in MS Cambridge University Library Ff.6.8, on an originally blank leaf there is an addition in a hand of the fifteenth century:

> O thou blessyd virgyne Mary, Cristes moder dere and glor(i)ose mediatrice betwyx god and man, ... atte that tyme that my syght shal be agrevyd with the blak howuyng of deth, that I shal not mowe meve my tonge to clepe after helpe, and my harte quake for drede of enemyes of helle, and al my body ful of angwysshe of peyne of deth ... vouchesafe þan to have pety on me, with praying to thi son that my acousours have noo powere ouer me ...

So it was that Julian's experience of diabolic temptations had its desired effect: she was able to place all her revelations upon the ground of her faith:

> But wytt it now, that is to seye, now thou seest it. This was seyde nott onely for the same tyme, but also to sett there vpon the grounde of my feyth, where he seyeth anone folowyng: But take it, and lerne it, and kepe thee ther in, and comfort the ther with, and trust therto, and thou shalt nott be ovyr com (653.36).

Revelation XVI, Julian tells us, *was conclusyon and confirmation to all the xv* (632.4); and it is also the climax of what may be called her mystical experience. She indicates clearly that it *was shewde ... by gostely syghte* (666.2) when she writes: *And then oure good lorde opynnyd my gostely eye and shewde me my soule* ... (639.2). At first glance the revelation appears to be simply a bodily sight, an imaginative vision of Jesus dressed as a king and seated on a throne, closely resembling (as Molinari has noted[329]) Teresa of Avila's celebrated meditation on the mystery of the divine indwelling:

> And now let us imagine that we have within us a palace of priceless worth, built entirely of gold and precious stones — a palace, in short, fit for so great a Lord. Imagine that it is partly your doing that this palace should be what it is — and this is really true, for there is no building so beautiful as a soul that is pure and full of virtues, and, the greater these virtues are, the more brilliantly do the stones shine. Imagine that within the palace dwells this great king, who has vouchsafed to become your father, and who is seated upon a throne of supreme price, namely, your heart.[330]

[329] *Julian of Norwich*, 162.
[330] Ibid., citing the E. Allison Peers translation.

Julian, however, is trying to find words and images to express what for her is ineffable: *And for the gostely syghte, I haue seyde some dele, but I may nevyr fulle telle it* (666.6). So she uses the phrase 'as it were', and writes of Jesus as *clothyd solemply in wurschyppes* (640.8). She also substitutes in the long text *I vnderstode þat it is a wurschypfulle cytte* for the short text's *me thought it was a wirschipfulle cite* (268.4), presumably in order to make it plain that she is seeking to describe the special insight into the mystery which was granted to her.

In chapter 52 of the long text she has already neatly summarized, as she began to draw out her Trinitarian reflections concerning the allegory of the lord and the servant, what her revelations and the faith of the Church (Scripture and tradition) teach her about the divine presence, that relationship which must find its human expression in unitive prayer:

> ... he wyll we trust that he is lastyngly with vs, and that in thre manner. He is with vs in hevyn, very man in his owne person, vs vpdrawyng; and that was shewd in þe gostely thyrst. And he is with vs in erth, vs ledyng; and that was shewde in þe thyrde, wher I saw god in a poynt. And he is with vs in oure soule, endlesly wonnyng, rewlyng and gemyng vs; and that was shewde in the xvi, as I shalle sey (549.34).

It is with this third mode of presence that this final revelation concerns itself. It is indeed a 'conclusion and confirmation', in that it depends for its understanding upon her careful and informed elaboration of the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. It has recently been observed that the richest context for theological reflection on the mystery of the indwelling is the doctrine of the Trinity, particularly with regard to 'missions' and 'processions':

> The Trinitarian context ... illumines better the mystery of man in his immediate relation with the Trinitarian mystery, and it makes more evident the unity of our theological knowledge, as it refers spiritual theology to the revelation of the deepest mystery of God.[331]

This is why the sixteenth revelation, in the long text, changes character dramatically, to show Julian contemplating the delight of the Trinity as the Word is made flesh, its *homelyest home and ... endlesse dwellyng* (641.16). This is surely an echo of Wisdom's words: I was with him forming all things, and was delighted every day ... and my delights were to be with the children of men' (Proverbs 8.30-31). *In this,* Julian writes, *he shewde the lykyng that he hath of the makyng of mannes soule; for as wele as the*

[331] Roberto Moretti: 'Inhabitation', DSp 7 1745.

fader myght make a creature, and as wele as þe son myght make a creature, so wele wolde þe holy gost that mannys soule were made, and so it was done (641.17). Plainly, just as the prologue to John's gospel is full of allusion to the Genesis creation-narrative, so here Julian, treating ostensibly of the creation on the sixth day of human kind, is developing and relating three themes: man's creation, God's delight in his creation, and the Trinity's delight in the Incarnation, as she alludes to Genesis, to the sapiential books and to the Johannine prologue. *And so it was done ... et factum est ita ... et verbum caro factum est.* This echo presents Julian with an *inclusio* which is deeply theological. As Moretti has written: 'The Biblical vision of the relations between God and man finds, in the Trinitarian indwelling, its most perfect expression'.[332] The same author remarks that in the New Testament, the mystery of divine indwelling is presented under two distinct though closely-connected aspects: one is static, the other dynamic. In the static aspect, the mystery is considered as union, in the fulfilment of knowledge and love. But it is also viewed dynamically; there is concern for the process of sanctification, of assimilation, where the action of the Holy Spirit receives close attention. In the short text, Julian seems to have restricted herself to the first consideration, again presumably because the activity of the Trinity, and especially the appropriation to the Holy Spirit of the 'working of grace', only became clear to her through her later understanding of the parable. Now, as well as expressing her delight in all that is static in the revelation —

> And this was a singulere ioye and a blis to me that I sawe hym sitte, for the behaldynge of this sittynge schewed to me sikernes of his endelesse dwellynge (268.19) —

she is able to use an *exemplum* which was provided at the time of the showing, but was suppressed in the short text. It belongs to the group which seem to derive from the great *exemplum* of the lord and the servant (cf. e.g. 313.35 e.s., and note), but it serves her here to recall the activity of the Holy Spirit (the 'lordship') in detaching us from the things of earth and bringing us up above. *And he wylle that oure hartes be myghtly reysed aboue þe depnesse of þe erth and alle veyne sorowes, and enjoye in hym* (644.43).

The context also of the mirror-image:

> And the saule that thus behaldys, it makys it lyke to hym that is behaldene, and anes in reste and in pees (268.17),

[332] Ibid. 1744.

is significantly different in the long text. There, Julian adds *by hys grace* (645.50). The vision has become anagogical contemplation in the technical sense. Though the text which appears to be foremost in Julian's mind is Pauline (cf. 644.49 note), she is contemplating, under the impulse of the grace she receives as she recalls the showing, the *otium quietis* which is the bliss of heaven,[333] and in this experiencing a foretaste of God's own endless joy: 'We shall be like to him, because we shall see him as he is' (I John 3.2). The grace is also one of enlightenment:

> he 3awe me knowyng truly þat it was he þat shewde me alle before (645.51);

whereas in the short text she had simply written *I knewe sothfastly* (268.21).

Thus the locution which follows becomes a confirmation of all that faith and grace have taught her in the twenty years which she devoted to the love of learning, and to the desire for that God who has revealed himself in Christ to all will be saved, saved from all harm and for all bliss, through Christ:

> ... ryght so he seyde in the last worde with full tru feytfullnes, menyng vs alle: Thou shalt not be ovyr come (646.62).

The short text at this point shows her still in the sort of trouble and distress which, the locution had indicated, might be her lot:

> He sayde nought: Þou salle not be tempestyd, thowe schalle not be trauayled, þou schalle not be desesed; bot he sayde: Þou schalle nou3t be ouercommen (269.37).

There, she apostrophized sin because, like the *Cloud*-author, she was experiencing the sorrow of the contemplative,[334] the heavy burden of herself, but also because the revelations are at an end, and she has not yet seen *this truth in the, whych arte my god, my maker in whom I desyer to se alle truth* (512.27). So she had ended the apostrophe with an ejaculatory prayer against the evil one: *God schelde vs alle fra the. Amen pour charyte* (271.35). Now her life of prayer and study enables her to see matters quite differently. She is well content that the sight should have passed; faith has sought and brought understanding of the living truth: *whych blessyd shewyng the feyth kepyth with his owne good wylle and his grace* (652.18). So, in the long text, she recalls that with the final locution which

[333] J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 84.
[334] Hodgson, *Cloud*, 157.

followed her lapse of faith and her first temptations, *he shewde hyt all ageene within my soule, with more fullehed with the blessyd lyght of his precyous loue* (653.31). God in his mystery has become the light of her life; and this is faith, as she will write when she brings her book to a close:

> Oure feyth is a lyght, kyndly comyng of oure endlesse day that is oure fader, god, in whych lyght oure moder, Cryst, and oure good lorde the holy gost ledyth vs in this passyng lyfe (723.14).

In chapter 71 of the long text, Julian continues her protracted reflection on the final locution, and on what the saying teaches about the relationship between the showings and the faith. By faith, here she means both the power of understanding God's word, the *spiritualis intelligentia,* and all that the word expresses, the mysteries of the faith. The power is weakened and the content of faith is obscured, not only because we see now only 'through a glass in a dark manner ... in part' (I Corinthians 13.12, a text which is clearly in her mind), but also by the hostile presence of evil in ourselves and in our world, *oure gostely enemys within and withoute* 654.7). She goes on to add:

> And there fore oure precyous louer helpyth vs with goostely lyghte and tru techyng on dyuerse manner within and withoute, where by þat we may know hym (654.7).

The ghostly enemies at least include wicked spirits (she seems indifferent about the use of singular or plural when she refers to the devil) but she has nothing to say of the activities of good spirits; as she will tell us later, *I beleue and vnderstonde the mynystracion of holy angelys, as clarkes telle, but it was not shewde me* (710.22). *I it am, the trynyte* (590.16). *I it am that holy chyrch prechyth the and techyth the* (597.34). So it is that for the contemplative, faith and vision reflect one another, until faith receives the reward it deserves (cf. 656.16).

This working of faith and grace she now connects with God's three ways of looking at his creature, always 'wiþ his mercyful iȝe'.[335] So she can chart the progress of her revelations: of the incarnate Word suffering and dying (Revelations I, II, V and VIII); of the lord, the Father, looking on the servant, the Son, in his falling, in which servant are all who will be saved — *pitte and ruth and compassion, and this shewyth he to all his louers with sekernesse of kepyng that hath nede to his mercy* (657.28); and, finally, the joyful face of Christ glorified, which she first saw in the ninth revelation (cf. 382.3 e.s.), but which *was oftenest shewyd and longeste*

[335] Ibid., 132, where the author is quoting Gregory; ibid., 204.

contynuyd (657.31). The first two in this life are *comyn cherys* (657.36); the third is known only through infused contemplative grace, *by gracyous toucchyng of swete lyghtenyng of goostly lyfe* (658.38). This is what the *Cloud*-author calls the higher part of contemplative life,[336] and what Hilton means by 'reforming in feeling'.

In chapter 72, having concluded her reflections on the final locution, Julian appears to be reviewing what she had written at this point in the short text, the apostrophe to sin. She now feels able to confront the problem:

> ... in what manner that I saw synne deedly in the creatures whych shulde nott dye for synne, but lyue in the joye of god with oute ende (659.2).

She is of course in the first place writing of the penitent-saints whom she had seen in the great revelation of the divine compassion (chapter 38), of all the predestined to salvation, and also of those who are his lovers and trust in his promises. With regard to these last, she speaks in the language of William of St. Thierry and the author of the *Cloud* (cf. 660.15 note), and she has in mind the text 'The souls of the just are in the hands of the Lord, and the torments of death will not touch them ... they seemed to die ... but they are at peace' (Wisdom 3.1-4); and this is the same *oppositio contrariorum* which she herself is using throughout this chapter, as she again joins together the two elements of compunction, sorrow and hatred for sin, and an increasing desire for God:

> ... evyr the more clerly that the soule seeyth the blyssefull chere by grace of lovyng, the mor it longyth to se it in fulhed, that is to sey in his owne lycknes ... for in þat precious syght ther may no woo abyde nor wele feyle (661.23).

She seems to be praying even as she writes; the sorrow which flows from the contemplation of her own sinfulness, as that which prevents her from seeing God's face, becomes the spiritual weeping which is the gift of tears:

> ... yett shuld we nevyr leue mornyng ne of gostely wepyng, þat is to sey of paynfull longyng, tyll whan we se verely the feyer blessedfull chere of oure maker (664.45).

And she refers again to Revelation XII, when she saw him in his glory, and was first taught that our soul will never be at peace or rest until it

[336] Ibid. 31.

comes into him who is the fulness of joy and true life (cf. 402.3 e.s.). So at last she feels that the question she posed in chapter 50 has been placed in its entire context and thoroughly elucidated, not only in the showings and all that she has been taught, but also through her continuing prayer of faith.

One task remains for her to perform. She must try in a practical way to set out more fully all that she has learned through her visions for the sake of those *pat for goddes loue hate synne and dyspose them to do goddes wylle* (667.15). In the short text at this point, she had first given a general description of wretchedness, observing that, if someone deliberately choose what is not good, he is loving sin — if, indeed, there be any such — and his pain is greater than all pains. She seems in fact to be addressing those who love God and hate sin, but yet sometimes fall into the sin they hate *by frelty or vnkynnynge* (272.52). In the long text she firmly abides by what God had shown her of sins in particular; *vnpacyens or slouth ... dispeyer or doughtfulle drede* (666.9) are both part of the frailty and ignorance referred to in the short text. As she had written in chapter 27, God had given her a general sight of sin, 'all that is not good' (cf. 405.15 e.s) She repeats this here in chapter 73, and adds: *but in specyall he shewde noone but theyse ij* (666.12) — that is, impatience and despair. Hence it is of these alone that she wishes to write. Impatience or 'grudging' is for her serious, because she sees it as a refusal to imitate Christ's own meekness and patience in his Passion, a rejection of his invitation, 'Come to me, all you who labour ...' (Matthew 11.28-29). The *doughtfulle drede* she makes oblique allusion to, in the Trinitarian context which she has pondered so long and so lovingly. 'Doubtful dread' is to refuse to share the life of the Trinity in faith, to refuse the Spirit who is the love of the Father for the Son, of the Son for the Father: *that he is alle loue and will do alle, there we fayle* (668.30; in the short text, this observation is not made to apply universally, but only to 'many men and women' — 274.19. Now her experience has shown her that she is one with all her brethren in their sin). 'Doubtful dread' is for her synonymous with the guilt she feels because

> we holde nott oure promise nor kepe oure clennes that oure lorde settyth vs in, but fall oftymes in to so moche wrechydnes that shame it is to say it (668.35).

Guilt for past sins and infidelities can often masquerade under the colour of humility, a fault to which religious are traditionally prone. There is only one true humility, and that is God's own, revealed in the incarnate Word, who comes to us out of love, to share with us his

Father's strength and his own wisdom:

> For loue makyth myght and wysdom fulle meke to vs; for ryght as by þe curtesy of god he forgetyth oure synne after the tyme that we repent vs, so wylle he that we forgett oure synne as agaynst oure vnskylfulle hevynesse and oure doughtfulle dredes (670.44).

So Julian offers us her own exegesis of Paul's *oppositiones* in I Corinthians 1.25: 'For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men'.

Chapter 74, which treats of love and fear, shows us two different aspects of Julian's ability as theologian. First she deliberately uses Scriptural and patristic allusions (cf. the annotations to pp. 671-672) to draw the necessary distinctions between the schoolmen's *timor initialis, timor serviliter servilis* and *timor filialis* or *castus*. But then, basing her contemplative thought on I John 4.18, and, perhaps, on Augustine's exegesis (cf. 673.17 note), she uses all her rhetorical and lyrical skills to describe how reverent dread can come to mean that experiential knowledge of the triune God granted to his chosen as a foretaste of the vision of the blessed, that special awareness of the fulfilment, now in time, of the promise of divine indwelling: 'We shall come to him and make our home with him' (John 14.21, 23). She is also, however, describing the process of contemplative purification which demands a progressive self-discernment. In the short text she had written in general terms of the gift of discretion which enables us to unmask the devil, when he disguises himself as an angel of light (cf. 277.26 e.s.). Here in the long text she has recourse to the child-mother image, but with all the weight of her teaching on God's motherhood to give it substance, as she appeals to God's everlasting goodness, and uses the Scriptural verb 'cleave' (675.38). It is Paul who sums up the whole tradition of God's loving commerce with his people as he writes: Qui adhaeret domino unus spiritus est (I Corinthians 6.17). And Julian's chapter ends with a refutation, beautifully composed and expressed, of Peter Abelard's condemned proposition, 'Quod etiam castus timor excludatur a futura vita':[337]

> For the kynde propyrte of drede whych we haue in this lyfe by the gracious werkyng of the holy gost, the same shall be in hevyn afore god, gentylle, curteyse, fulle swete; and thus we shalle in loue be homely and nere to god, and we in drede be gentylle and curtesse to god, and both in one manner, lyke evyn (676.43).

[337] Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 735.

Chapter 75 is perhaps Julian's most polished and precise theological reflection on the Trinitarian economy. It is based on Revelation IX, the intellectual vision which follows the locution *Arte thou well apayd that I sufferyd for thee?*, when she tells us that *my vnderstandyng was leftyd vppe in to hevyn* (382.2, 7 e.s.), and on Revelation XIII, the long text's development of the theme of Christ's 'ghostly thirst' (417.2 e.s.) This is monastic theology at its finest, and it has much in common with the principle which, Dumontier writes, 'furnishes the supreme explanation of the spirituality of St. Bernard, *Deus movet desiderans*'. 'The God who is desired and loved becomes a God of desire and love'.[338] Bernard uses the same Trinitarian and image-theology; and he too is writing of those who will be saved: 'Bernard affirms that the Father expects us and desires us ... there is the same desire in the Son, avid for us, rejoicing in us, eager for the day when he will enjoy the reward of his labours'.[339] This is precisely Julian's anagogy (cf. 679.11-680.15). Bernard adds: 'Expectat nos et spiritus sanctus: caritas et benignitas in qua praedestinati sumus ab aeterno; nec dubium quin praedestinationem suam velit impleri'.[340] This is in a sermon for Christmas Eve; and Julian, too, is recalling what she has been shown of the mother of the Christ-child in the time of his conception (483.5 e.s.), the quality of her reverent dread in a contemplation which anticipates the awesome joy of the Beatific Vision:

> it longyth to þe worthy maieste of god thus to be beholde of his creatures dredfully tremelyng and quakyng, for moch more of joy endlesly merveylyng of the greatnesse of god, þe maker, and of the lest parte of alle þat is made. For þe beholdyng of this makyth creature mervelous meke and mylde (681.31).

In chapter 76 Julian proceeds to argue that this reverent dread is the antithesis, the *oppositio* of sin. She recalls that God has shown her only those souls who dread him — our Lady and the procession of penitent-saints, those who truly have received the teaching of the Holy Spirit; for it is the Lord's promise that he will teach us all truth (John 16.13). Such souls hate sin more than any pain (the *ratio*), for they contemplate *þe kyndnesse of oure lorde Jhesu* (the *rationis confirmatio*). It is thus God's will that we pray to him for this teaching, in the consummate unitive prayer of petition for the Spirit of God (cf. Luke 11.13); and this is the *exornatio* of her argument (684.8-685.11).

[338] *Saint Bernard et la Bible*, 39.
[339] Ibid., 40.
[340] Ibid., 40 and note 4.

What follows, on how we are to behave when confronted with other men's sins (685.13 e.s.), seems to reflect Julian's experience as a spiritual director. Again, she constructs an *argumentatio perfectissima* (cf. 685.13 note). She implies in her *exornatio* that the counsellor is expected to share the fatherhood (and motherhood) of God. He must look upon *the feyerhede of god,* and behold his neighbour's sin

> with contrycion with him, with compassion on hym, and with holy desyer to god for hym (686.17).

These are the very gifts for which she had asked, before the revelations began, the three wounds of true contrition, kind compassion and earnest longing for God. Now she sees them as the components of reverent dread; and we see another measure of her spiritual stature. She knows how the graces she had asked for and had been given can be used, not merely for her own profit, but for the pastoral comforting and strengthening of other souls.

In the final section of this chapter, she rehearses how the contemplative penitent should exercise his faith, hope and charity when he is assailed by doubtful dread. Again, this is written in her capacity as a spiritual counsellor; she is speaking of and to

> þe creatures þat haue gevyn them selfe to serve oure lorde with inwarde beholdyng of his blessydfulle goodnesse (688.36).

At the end of chapter 76, Julian has insisted that doubtful dread is a diabolic temptation; and this leads her to reflect again on what she has seen of *the enmyte of the fende* (689.2) in chapter 77. As she writes of the devil's envy, she shares the cosmic view of the Book of Wisdom: the devil represents all wicked spirits and all wickedness, all that is corrupt in human nature. 'They did not know the secrets of God, nor did they hope for the wages of justice, nor did they esteem the honour of holy souls. For God created man incorruptible, and he made him to the image of his own likeness; but by the envy of the devil death came into the world' (Wisdom 2.22-24). Julian then proceeds to a contemplative review of the relationship of the Trinity, the *natura creatrix,* with fallen man (690.14-15). Just as in the previous chapter she imagined the tempter speaking (687.32 e.s.), so here she has the penitent resisting the temptation, not with the neurotic self-castigation which we find, for example, in the contemporary English version of the *Stimulus amoris,*[341] but with a gentle, peaceful contemplation in faith of Father, Son and Spirit:

[341] Kirchberger, *Goad,* 56-57.

> I knowe wele I haue deservyde payne; but oure lorde is almyghty, and may ponyssch me myghtly, and he is all wysdom, and can ponyssch me wysely, and he is alle goodnesse, and lovyth me tendyrly. And in this beholdyng it is spedfulle to vs to abyde (690.16; and cf. ibid. note).

Again she stresses that sorrow for sin, which is the beginning of reverent dread, is not only a compound of the gifts of the fear of the Lord and of hope, as the *Cloud*-author notes in his *Epistle of Prayer*,[342] but is based on the humility which she perceived so clearly in the soul of Mary at prayer. These are the virtues which constitute interior penance, the signs of the change of heart which will be the sinner's response to God's desire for him. Julian saw no other:

> For that pennance that man takyth vppon hym selfe, it was nott shewde me; that is to sey, it was not shewde me specyfyed. But this was shewde specially and hyghly and with fulle louely chere, that we shulde mekely and pacyently bere and suffer þat pennawnce þat god hym selfe gevyth vs, with mynde of hys blessyd passion (692.26).

Some commentators have seen, in Julian's statement, *This place is pryson, this lyfe is pennannce*(693.41),a veiled allusion to her state as an anchoress, especially as the sentiment closely resembles what the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* writes to his anchoresses. The present editors have offered arguments for another opinion.[343] In any case, Julian is here writing in the much wider context of the infinite depths of the Lord's compassion, as he turns his face to the world of men which is in process of being purified and enlightened by the Spirit, 'freed', as Paul writes, 'from the servitude of corruption to the freedom of the glory of God's sons' (Romans 8.21), the bliss of heaven. Julian reminds us here that the first revelations of Christ's sufferings made her 'choose him mightily for her heaven' (cf. 694.47 and note); and she has come to know by experience that though he is *souereyn homelyhed* (695.54), he is also mighty and dreadful, for all creation has its being in him.

For vs behovyth verely to see þat of oure selfe we are ryght nought but synne and wrechydnesse (698.18). As Julian continues, in these concluding chapters, to set down the practical spiritual counsel which is the authentic fruit of her intellectual visions of the Trinity and the incarnate Word, it has become her special concern to expose the heresy of Pelagianism and its watered-down version, semi-Pelagianism, which has always contaminated the atmosphere of consecrated life in the Church. The dif-

[342] Reynolds, xxxiii.
[343] 'Editing Julian of Norwich', 417-420.

ference between those who are *hyghest and nerest with god* and *the leste and the lowest of tho that shalle be savyd* (699.27), among whom she is happy to count herself in hope, is simply a matter of degree. All sinfulness is unlikeness to God; and in the clarity of contemplative vision, the distinctions of the moral theologians between sin and imperfection, between mortal and venial sin cease to have relevance. 'I am needy and poor' (Psalm 69.6). Julian echoes the Psalmist's sentiment, and applies it to all God's children, even those who appear to be specially favoured with contemplative graces:

> And herof was I lerned, though þat we be hyely lyftyd in to contemplacyon by the specialle gyfte of oure lorde, yett vs behovyth nedys therwith to haue knowyng and syght of oure synne and of oure febylnes; for without this knowyng we may not haue trew meknesse, and withoutyn this we may nott be safe (700.34).

Another such contemplative was St. Bernard, as he pondered, with Julian, the *oppositio contrariorum* he found within himself 'by the sweet gracious light of God himself':

> Through his good gift, then, I can sometimes think about my soul. And it seems to me that I find there two contraries. If I examine it truly, as it is in itself and with all that comes from itself, I can see nothing more than this. Is it necessary to make a catalogue of its miseries, except to say that it is weighed down with sins, shrouded in darkness ...?[344]

But for him, as for Julian, 'there is another opinion of us hidden in the heart of God':

> It is thus that you console, in your fatherly love, him whom you have brought to nothing by your truth, that he might grow to greatness in your heart who was so straitly confined in his own.[345]

Bernard is speaking of his God, who is the head of his body, the Church. Julian, too, who begins chapter 78 with yet another rendering of the Trinitarian formula, *ex Patre, per Filium, in Sancto Spiritu* (cf. 696.6-697.14 and note), knows that it is only of his gift that we see the whole truth of our need of him in our nothingness:

> Than are we moch bounde to god, that he wylle hym selfe for loue shewe it vs, in tyme of mercy and of grace (701.41).

'For whatever things were written were written for our teaching, that through patience and the comfort of the Scriptures we might have

[344] *In dedicatione ecclesiae V; Sermones*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, 2 390.
[345] Ibid., 391.

hope' (Romans 15.4). As Julian in chapter 79 looks back over the long and complex revelation on the divine compassion (cf. 404.2 e.s.), she finds that it simply reinforces her knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, which she summarizes in one sentence which alludes to Paul:

> Alle this homely shewynge of oure curteyse lorde, it is a louely lesson and a swete gracious techyng of hym selfe, in comforthyng of oure soule (704.22).

She had at first agonized, when *he shewde me þat I shulde synne* (702.2), over the prospect of her personal infidelity, rather as did the apostles ('Is it I, Lord?') when the Lord said 'One of you is about to betray me' (Matthew 26.21). But now she has lived with and through her faithlessness, to find that God outreaches her with *the endleshed and the vnchanngeabylte of his loue, and also his grete goodnesse and his gracious inwardely kepyng* (703.16). This is a hope and a comfort which she shares with all God's people, his Church for which hope is the persevering response to his quality of mercy (cf. 702.5-703.8). To this hope belongs the patience which we need to have with ourselves in times of darkness, *whan we be fallen by freelte or blyndnes* (705.31); and Julian shows how patient endurance, commended and cultivated in the spirituality of the Old Testament as well as the New,[346] is related to the Lord's own patient longing for us, as was shown in the allegory of the lord and the servant. She had written that to her the servant's most astonishing pain *was that he leye aloone* (516.28). But even so she saw the lord *abydyng the servant whom he sent oute* (531.202), which she now knows to be the 'office and the working' here on earth (706.41) of the Spirit of both the Father and the Son.

In chapter 80, as she continues to instruct us on how God sees us and keeps us in our sinful human condition, Julian turns her attention to what she has learned about ministry, the ministry of Christ in his Church, that ministry which for us (and this applies with especial force to the contemplative) is primarily the worship of the Father by Christ in us, and their gaining for us, with the Spirit, our salvation. All the powers and gifts which we have received are designed to achieve this purpose, which is the reason for our existence; and they reflect the Trinitarian mystery:

> By thre thynges man stondyth in this lyfe, by whych iij god is wurschyppyd and we be sped, kepte and savyd (707.2).

[346] C. Spicq: 'Hupomone — Patientia'.

Through our higher powers of knowing and loving, through the teaching which Christ imparts in his word to the Church, through the sacramental presence of his Spirit, we are drawn into collaboration with God himself; 'we are God's fellow-workers' (I Corinthians 3.9). But, as always for Julian, it is God revealed in Christ who is the object of this contemplation, without which there is no ministry for his followers:

> Crist aloone dyd alle the grett werkes that longyth to oure saluation, and none but he; and ryghte so he aloone doth now in the last end, that is to sey he dwellyth here in vs, and rewlyth vs, and gemyth vs in this lyvyng, and brynggyth vs to his blesse (708.14),

where that ministry will have its fulfilment. It is a service as personal as the washing of the apostles' feet (John 13.4-8):

> so farforth that yf ther were none such soule in erth but one, he shulle be with that alle aloone, tylle he had brought it vppe to his blesse (709.19).

As Paul writes, in the same context of Christ's indwelling, 'he loved me and delivered himself for me' (Galatians 2.20).

> I beleue and vnderstonde the mynystracion of holy angelys, as clarkes telle, but it was not shewde me (710.22).

As the annotations to this passage indicate, Julian is showing a more than passing acquaintance with the body of Dionysian speculation which, by the mid-fourteenth century, was firmly entrenched in monastic theology. By far the most prolific commentator on the pseudo-Dionysian corpus, Thomas Gallus (or 'Vercellensis', as he came to be known to the later mediaeval exegetes), whose habit it was to gloss the Canticle of Canticles with the teaching of Denis's *Mystical Theology*, solved to his own satisfaction the problem to which Julian alludes when she writes:

> hym selfe is nerest and mekest, hyghest and lowest, and doyth all, and not onely alle that vs nedyth, but also he doyth alle that is wurschippefulle to oure joy in hevyn (710.23).

Christ is the one mediator, and with his Father and his Spirit 'cometh down to us to the lowest part of our need' (306.38). So Gallus writes of the hierarchies of the human mind (Julian's 'kindly reason') which Christ unifies and sanctifies, and thus he dispenses with any essential mediation through the angelic hierarchies.[347] If we had to classify the

[347] J. Walsh: 'Thomas Gallus et l'effort contemplatif', 20 e.s.

totality of Julian's teaching, we should have to speak of a 'mystique de la lumière' rather than 'de la ténèbre'.[348] However, we must at the same time observe the assurance with which Julian handles the key theological concept of *processus* — *reditus* (cf. e.g. 577.14 e.s.), which Aquinas made common currency in the thirteenth century, and her mastery of the influential Dionysian teaching in the *Divine Names* on the doctrine of appropriation (see notes to 722.2, 5, 723.8), though it must again be emphasized that she does not here reveal her sources, either directly or indirectly.

When she writes:

> there I sey he abydyth vs, monyng and mornyng, it menyth alle þe trew felyng þat we haue in oure selfe, in contricion and in compassion, and alle monyng and mornyng for we are nott onyd with oure lorde (710.26),

she is certainly treating of the mystery of Christ glorified and yet suffering with his members, as Paul encountered him on the Damascus road (Acts 9.5); and she has already expressed this with theological competence and precision in Revelation XIII:

> For as aneynst that Crist is oure hede, he is glorifyed and vnpassible; and as anenst his body, in whych alle his membris be knytt, he is nott 3ett fulle glorifyed ne all vnpassible (419.34).

Here, however, she is offering instruction for contemplative prayer, in which the soul must be prepared to move and to be moved from darkness into light, and to be exposed to the visitations of consolation and desolation, in which he is enabled to experience, in consciousness of his own sinfulness, that compassion for himself which is integral to the gift of loving sorrow, and is destined to become a sharing in the mystery of Christ's suffering compassion.

Julian concludes chapter 80 by recalling that the two particular sins which plague Christ's lovers, despair or doubtful dread, and all that is contained in the last capital sin, *accidie,* bruise the relationship between him and his Church, whether this concerns one soul or all souls. But she ends by stating firmly that on God's part, the covenant remains unshaken; he is everlastingly faithful:

> ... lastyngly he is with vs and tendyrly he excusyth vs, and evyr kepyth vs from blame in his syght (712.42).

And the compar, as is noted (712.38 note) emphasizes the Trinitarian nature of the presence. Now, in chapter 81, she reinforces this teaching

[348] J. Le Maître, J. Daniélou, R. Roques: 'Contemplation', DSp 2 1830-1911.

by cataloguing the various modes of this presence, with its transcendence as well as its immanence, as they were shown to her in the revelations. It has also been noted how strong is the Johannine influence in this summary (cf. 713.2 note) and the emphasis which she gives to the mode of presence which is his government and guidance of man's spirit from within:

> He shewde hym dyuerse tymes reignyng, as it is a fore sayde, but pryncypally in mannes soule; he hath take there his restyng place and his wurschypfulle cytte (714.9).

Yet it is not merely the vocabulary of mediaeval courtesy which Julian is here employing. She is alluding to the Trinitarian glory which Irenaeus long ago had called 'Man fully alive',[349] and of which Christ speaks at the end of his high priestly prayer after the Eucharistic supper: '... that they may see my glory which thou hast given me, because thou hast loved me before the creation of the world... And I have made known thy name to them and shall make it known, that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them' (John 17.24, 26). Rupert of Deutz had pointed out that the phrase 'the love with which thou hast loved me' clearly referred, for the mediaeval exegete, to 'the Holy Spirit, who is that love with which the Son loves the Father and the Father the Son. Plainly and undoubtedly, the love of the Father and the Son is the Holy Spirit, so that when Christ says "that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them", it is as if he were to say "that the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, may come to them and may teach them all truth, and when he shall have entered their hearts, I too shall dwell there through faith and through that Spirit of love"'.[350]

Again, Julian's counsel is practical; the presence is dynamic, and demands mutuality; and the right contemplative response to it is to rejoice that the Spirit is at work in us in our penance:

> For he beholdyth vs so tendyrly that he seth alle oure lyvyng here to be penannce; for kynde longyng in vs to hym is a lastyng penannce in vs, whych penannce he werkyth in vs, and mercyfully he helpyth vs to bere it (715.17).

The process is that which Paul calls being 'transformed from glory into glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord' (II Corinthians 3.18), *tylle what tyme that we be fulfylled, whan we shulde haue hym to oure mede* (716.24).

[349] *Adversus haereses*, ed. Harvey, IV 7.
[350] *Commentariorum in Johannem* XX, ed. Haacke, 710.

The attitudes and dispositions which Julian expects from her readers, as they contemplate with her the indwelling as it has been revealed for them to her in the parable of the lord and the servant, is finely expressed here in one of the several forms of argumentation which she uses with increasing assurance to communicate our Lord's teaching in the showings. He had said to her, at the beginning of Revelation XIII,

> Synne is behouely, but alle shalle be wele, and alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thynge shalle be wele (405.13).

Now she authoritatively refers this inevitability to the contemplative's passive purification, as she makes the Lord say:

> but for as moch as thou lyvyst nott with out synne, therfore thou arte hevy and sorowfulle, and if thou myghtest lyue without synne, thou woldest suffer for my loue alle the woo that myght come to the, and it is soyth. But be not to moch a grevyd with synne þat fallyth to þe agaynste thy wylle (717.4).

She is showing, too, the nature of the movement of this unitive prayer, how the purgative quality of this mourning for our sinfulness, when informed by the virtue of discretion, leads to illumination and then to union, and that these three stages of the interior life, though distinguishable, tend to fuse:

> He lovyth vs endlessly, and we synne customeably, and he shewyth it vs fulle myldely (718.11).

In reflecting that she was never shown anyone who *in erth ... is contynually kepte fro fallyng* (720.27), she is opposing with her sound theology the Quietism which in her day was so rife (cf. 720.27 note). Pierre Adnès has recently written: 'Even with the saints, half-deliberated faults, spontaneous movements coming from instincts not yet sufficiently controlled, and various weaknesses often attest the persistence of an enfeebled will, the consequences of which have not yet been completely eliminated. This is why they never cease to fear, whilst still firmly hoping for their salvation'.[351]

This is exactly Julian's position:

> For in the beholdyng of god we falle nott, and in þe beholdyng of oure selfe we stonde nott (720.29).

She then constructs a series of oppositions, in order to illustrate how the progressive knowledge of the self in its sensuality, *the lower beholdyng*

[351] 'Impeccabilité', DSp 7 1620.

(721.36), which continues to find its prototype in Jesus's life in the flesh, is constantly purified and enlightened by what God shows us in contemplation of our life in him, which is *the hygher beholdyng* (721.35). Thus the process of unitive prayer is always constant, in that it moves from the tropological to the anagogical:

> But oure good lorde wylle evyr that we holde vs moch more in þe beholdyng of the hygher, and nought leue the knowyng of the lower in to the tyme that we be brought vppe aboue (721.38).

Julian had promised to write in these closing chapters of the long text as clearly and fully as she could of the most 'glorified' (cf. 402.3) of her visions. Now she finds herself able, in these last four chapters (83-86) to offer us a summary of the *thre propertees of god, in whych the strength and þe effecte of alle þe revelacion stondyth* (722.2). She writes too, by implication at least, of the spiritual senses with which she has been endowed in order to receive these showings. At the very beginning she had written of her desire for greater *mynde* and *felynge* for Christ's Passion (201.6, 9), and, contemplating the first revelations, she had come to realize that she was being enabled to respond to Paul's exhortation to all Christians:

> ... botte ylke saule aftere the sayinge of saynte Pawle schulde feele in hym þat in Criste Jhesu (234.25 and note).

Her *syght and ... feelyng* (723.11) were her continued response to the Trinitarian communication, the 'touching' of the intellectual visions which she had received. These 'touchings' she now calls *lyfe, loue and lyght* (722.5). They are the attributes appropriated to all the persons of the Trinity; she had regularly heard the preface of the Trinity sung in the Sunday Masses of ordinary time: 'et in personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in maiestate adoretur aequalitas'. Her reason, the 'higher part' of her soul, *wolde be oonyd and clevyng to* these attributes *in oone goodnesse ... with alle þe myghtes* (723.8). For this 'higher part', which the author of the *Cloud*, using the Dionysian terminology which Bonaventure among others had adopted, called *þe souereyn poynte of þi spirit*,[352] is the apex both of the affections and of the intelligence, so that Julian

> behelde with reuerent drede, and hyghly mervelyng in the syght and in feelyng of the swete accorde that oure reson is in god, vnderstandyng that it is þe hyghest gyfte that we haue receyvyd, and it is growndyd in kynd (723.10).

[352] *Privy Counselling;* Hodgson, *Cloud*, 169.

Her definition here of faith, which she had previously described as the dynamic gift given by the Trinity as *natura creatrix* (cf. 578.20 e.s.) in virtue of the incarnate Word's taking of our sensuality, is one which spiritual theologians tend to describe as 'the spirit of faith': '... a living synthesis of light and of movement ... the impregnation of the human soul by faith in the soul's most spiritual faculties ... progress in the faith, in the sense that man is more completely submissive to God's invitations ... a perfecting of faith'.[353] Again, Julian's contemplation is strictly anagogical:

> And at þe end of woe, sodeynly oure eye shalle be opynyd, and in clernes of syght oure lyght shalle be fulle, whych lyght is god, oure maker, fadyr, and holy gost in Crist Jhesu oure savyour (724.21).

Thys lyght is charite (chapter 84, 726.2): that is, the luminous faith which is contemplative response and awareness is the virtue and gift of love. Julian's seeming lack of precision here might have been unacceptable to the dogmatic theologians of her own and later centuries, but it expresses the thought of the great Fathers, of the East as well as the West. So Gregory of Nazianzus writes: 'He who is loved will be loved. He who is loved is God's guest. And where God is, there, of necessity, is the light. And the first effect of the light is knowledge of the light. So love introduces knowledge'.[354] In the matter of the relationship between contemplation and charity, we expect Augustine and Gregory to be Julian's masters. 'The soul is close to God when it is pure; and as it remains united to love, so it is flooded by him somehow with an intelligible light, and, so illumined, it perceives, not with its bodily vision, but through him who is its principle, those reasons the sight of which make it most blessed'.[355] And it is Gregory's aphorism, 'Amor ipse notitia est',[356] which is the inspiration of all that William of St. Thierry taught on contemplative wisdom and charity; for example, in his *Speculum fidei*: 'There is an inward sense of the soul, for perceiving what is reasonable or divine or spiritual, which is the soul's understanding; for it is love which is a greater and more worthy sense, a purer understanding'.[357] Julian here, as she distinguishes between the light of contemplation *in via* and the vision of the blessed (cf. 726.4-5), emphasizes the contemplative effort; *it is such a lyghte in whych we may lyue*

[353] André de Bovis, 'Esprit de foi', DSp 5 611-612.
[354] *De virtute*, PG 37 731.
[355] Augustine, *Liber de diversis quaestionibus*, PL 40 31.
[356] Homily 27 *in Evangelia*, PL 76 1027.
[357] Ed. Déchanet, 154.

medfully, with traveyle deservyng þe wurschypfull thangke of god (726.4), which ensures that God's desire for us will become a thanksgiving.

Chapter 85 seems to indicate that what Julian has written about God's properties and the relationship between faith and charity is itself the fruit of immediate contemplation on all the revelations, which are now through grace stored in her memory. Augustine, dealing with that contemplation towards which all understanding of Scripture moves, had written: Fidei fructus intellectus, ut perveniamus ad vitam aeternam, sed ille qui nobis modo evangelium dispensavit ... appareat.[358] This is, according to de Lubac, 'real' or practical anagogy; and he refers to Rupert of Deutz's prayer that we may be taken up to the heavenly Jerusalem, where the Word himself will be our light.[359] This is Julian's own sentiment:

> And therfore whan the dome is gevyn, and we be alle brought vppe aboue, than shalle we clerely see in god the prevytees whych now be hyd to vs (729.11).

And she concludes with the vision of Paradise reflected in the *Sanctus* of the Roman Mass (cf. 729.14 note), which itself might be called an anagogical gloss on Isaias's vision of the heavenly temple and of the Lord on his throne (Isaias 6.1-3).

Augustine Baker, to whom, along with his followers among the exiled English Benedictines we owe the preservation of Julian's long text, quotes the *Golden Epistle* of William of St. Thierry (in Baker's day still attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux) in praise of the contemplative life: Aliorum est deo servire; vestrum adhaerere. Aliorum est Deo credere, scire, amare, revereri; vestrum est sapere, intelligere, cognoscere, frui.[360] Julian, in her humble realization that she is still aspiring to that fullness of the life of prayer which must be *begonne by goddys gyfte and his grace* (chapter 86, 731.2) in this present moment, but which reaches out into God's eternal present, uses all William's verbs to describe it:

> For charyte, pray we alle to gedyr with goddes wurkyng, thankyng, trustyng, enjoyeng, for thus wylle oure good lord be prayde, by þe vnderstandyng þat I toke in alle his owne menyng (731.3).

It is only as we fulfil God's will in trusting him that he is the ground of the unitive prayer of petition — and here Julian is referring again to the

[358] *Enarrationes in Iohannem*, 22 2; cf. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale* 2 634.
[359] Ibid., 635 and note.
[360] *Holy Wisdom*, 15.

beginning of the great revelation on prayer (cf. 460.3-5) — that *he wylle geve vs grace to loue hym and cleve to hym* (732.9), and this whether we be *ex professo* contemplatives or not.

This lesson of love can be heard in its simplest form in the call to 'pray without ceasing'; and certainly all creatures, lettered or unlettered, are gifted by God for its performance, in one mode or another. But as this lesson was learned by Julian, it contains and demands far more, as the editors have sought to demonstrate in the annotations to her text. Jean Leclercq has written with great perception about the conflict that can arise, in monastic theology and living, between learning and the *beata conscientia,* the devotion to heavenly things, and how this conflict can be resolved. Readers of Julian's book must decide how closely Leclercq's description fits her:

> To combine a patiently acquired culture with a simplicity won through the power of fervent love, to keep simplicity of soul in the midst of the diverse attractions of the intellectual life and, in order to accomplish this, to place oneself and remain firmly on the plane of the conscience, to raise knowledge to its level and never let it fall below: this is what the cultivated monk succeeds in doing. He is a scholar, he is versed in letters, but he is not merely a man of science nor a man of letters nor an intellectual; he is a spiritual man.[361]

19 Conclusion

In this first critical presentation of the texts of the *Revelations,* the editors have attempted to show all the evidence which has persuaded them that those critics who have regarded Julian as a spiritual teacher of the first order have been right. Both versions demonstrate that she was a woman of deep learning, by no means outmatched by that, say, of the *Cloud* or of the *Scale*; and the sobriety of her piety and her intensely cultivated literary gifts saved her from the extravagances of the school of Richard Rolle. She was never, until the twentieth century, a popular author; and much of the admiration she has been paid in our own times has been evoked by qualities attributed to her which in truth were not hers. So far from being the simple, untutored devotee miraculously endowed by the Spirit, she had laboured long and hard to equip herself to speak to the Church with the Church's authentic voice. Some of her teachings as she enunciates them may at first startle; but no one of them in any way conflicts with her assurance that all which she

[361] *The Love of Learning,* 317.

was shown, and all that prayer had taught her of its meaning, is in total accord with every other truth which God has revealed to men. 'God our mother' is infinitely more than a whimsical and exotic devotion. Julian came to perceive it as she penetrated the mysteries of Trinity and of the incarnate Word; and she may have been helped to expound it by some of those who before her had been led along the same paths.

The internal evidence produced by objective study of the manuscripts shows that both texts are wholly free from invention or falsification. The essential difference between the short text (together with the other, as she first drafted it) and the long text (as it finally came to be written in the 'second edition') is that first she suppressed the sights and locutions which were then to her incomprehensible, but, in the end, she was made to see that this should not be, and was given the insights which enabled her to record the totality of her showings, and to demonstrate with a theologian's authority their authenticity.

Perhaps the most striking proof of that authenticity is that, although we know that for many years after her book was finished and published she was consulted as a spiritual director, we do not know that she ever wrote another word. The case of the writer who has scored one first great success and then finds, when he attempts to repeat it, that he can only repeat himself, because inspiration has run dry, is not peculiar to the literary world; some of the Church's most prolific teachers would enjoy greater reputations, had they remained content with their earlier works and thereafter kept silence. Julian, evidently, was indifferent to her fame. It is true that in the short text she shows apprehension of the hostility which her writings may arouse, but her fears are not for her own standing in men's eyes, but that what she knows to be divine truths be impugned as a silly woman's vapourings. Once she had revealed those truths as the Spirit had best helped her to do, that was, it seems, for her the end of the matter. The rest she left to God and his other servants.

How much is owed in this respect to Augustine Baker and his school has been shown. He had tried to teach his disciples to pray as Julian had prayed; and it was they who saw her greatness as a woman of prayer, and who venerated her as a saint. So doing, they rescued what might have disappeared altogether, and preserved in their copies the long text, with its unique record not only of what she was shown in May, 1373, but of the graces and the wisdom given to her in the twenty years which followed.

It has been remarked that it is probably well that we know virtually nothing of her external life. We may guess that she was careful to en-

sure that there remained no 'materials for her biography', just as in her book she asks us to forget that she wrote it and to remember that God inspired it. Any attempts whilst she was alive to pay her a saint's honours she would have found abhorrent — she knew too much about the 'discretion of spirits' — and evidently she was permitted to die and to rest in the obscurity she had sought.

The editors have considered themselves justified in presenting their own conjectures about matters which have importance for a proper evaluation of the *Revelations*, for they are convinced, and they hope that the evidence on which their convictions rest will convince others, that Julian was a great scholar. But about how she learned her Latin, with whom she studied Scripture and rhetoric, in which library she came upon William of St. Thierry, we can do no more than surmise. Nor would complete information tell us anything which we do not in effect already know. Whether it was Carrow or somewhere else which gave Julian her training is inessential. She had been schooled in 'the Abbey of the Holy Ghost'.

A BOOK OF SHOWINGS

The short text
edited from
MS BM Additional 37790

This page intentionally left blank

97r Here es a visiomn schewed be the goodenes of god to a deuoute womamn, and hir name es Julyan, that is recluse atte Norwyche and 3itt ys omn lyfe, anno domini millesimo CCCC xiij°; in the whilke visyomn er fulle many comfortabylle wordes and gretly styrrande to alle thaye that 5 desires to be Crystes looverse.

(i) I desyrede thre graces be the gyfte of god. The fyrst was to have mynde of Cryste es passiomn. The secomnde was bodelye syeknes, and the thryd was to haue of goddys gyfte thre wonndys. For the fyrste come to my mynde with devocion; me thought I hadde grete felynge in 10 the passyomn of Cryste, botte 3itte I desyrede to haue mare be the grace of god. Me thought I wolde haue bene that tyme with Mary Mawdeleyne and with othere that were Crystes loverse, that I myght have

---

1 *Here*: the scribe wrote 'ere', leaving blank a large space for a coloured initial. The limner drew a 'T', below which a coloured 'H' has been added without cancellation of the erroneous letter. Cf. Introduction, p. 1.

6 *I*: the limner's letter is 'S', with, in the rest of the space left by the scribe, a coloured 'I', without cancellation of the 'S'.

3-4 *er fulle many comfortabylle wordes*: cf. II Corinthians 1.3-5: ... the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our tribulations, that we also may be able to comfort them who are in all distress ... for as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so also by Christ does our comfort abound.

6 *I desyrede thre graces ... as othere dyd that lovyd hym* (202.14): this corresponds with the long text, 285.5-286.12.

thre graces: with Julian's account of her aspirations we may compare the *Fifteen Oes*, often in her day spuriously attributed to Bridget of Sweden, but anonymous and of the mid-fourteenth century, as is suggested by many Latin manuscripts and by the English version found in MS BM Royal 17.C.xvii. The first prayer, *O domine Jesu Christe, eterna dulcedo te amantium* (Lorde Jhesu euer lastyng swetnes of þam þat þe luf) has: ... lorde I be seke þe for þe mynd of this dyshese þat þu sofurd be for þu was done on þe rode as gyf me be for my dyyng verray contrycyon, clere schryfte and (f. 95c) worthy satysfaccyon and all my syns full remyssyon. The earliest English verse translation of pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes de passione Christi* (see Introduction, p. 52) has: Behold þe peines of þi sauiour / And crucifie þin herte wiþ gret dolour (MS Bodley 415, f. 83d). This is the translator's addition; cf. Stallings, 111. Later, it says of Mary: Truli in herte she is crucified / Ful fein for sorowe she wlde ha died (ibid., f. 84b); cf. 202.23 note.

to have mynde of Cryste es passionn: cf. 285.5 and note.

10 *mare be the grace of god*: cf. 285.8 note.

11 *with Mary Mawdeleyne and with othere*: cf. John 19.25: Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen ...

12 *that I myght have sene bodylye the passionn*: cf. Lamentations 1.12-18: O all you who pass by the way, attend and see if there be any sorrow like my sorrow ... Hear, I pray you, all you people, and see my sorrow; and also the opening of the English pseudo-Bonaventure, *The Privity of the Passion*: Who so desyres to fynd comforthe and

sene bodylye the passio*n*n of oure lorde that he sufferede for me, that I myght have sufferede with hym as othe*r*e dyd that lovyd hym, not with-
15 standynge that I leevyd sadlye alle the peynes of Cryste as halye kyrke schewys *and* techys, *and* also the payntyngys of crucyfexes that er made be the grace of god aftere the techynge of haly kyrke to the lyknes of Crystes passyo*n*n, als farfurthe as man ys witte maye reche. Nou3t *with*-stondynge alle this trewe be leve I desyrede a bodylye syght, whare yn y
20 myght have more knawynge of bodelye paynes of oure lorde oure savyoure, and of the co*m*passyo*n*n of oure ladye and of alle his trewe loverse that were be levande his paynes that tyme and sythene; for I wolde have beene one of thame and suffrede w*ith* thame. Othere

---

gostely gladnes in þe passione and in þe croysse of owre lorde Jhesu, hym nedis with a besy thoghte for to duell in it and all oþer besynes forgette and sett at noghte; and sothely I trowe fully þat who so wolde besy hyme with all his herte and all his mynde and vmbethynke hym of this gloryus passione and all the circumstance thare off, it sulde bryng hym and chaunge hyme in to a new state of lyfynge (Horstman, 1 198; Stallings, 95; Ragusa and Green, 317).

14 *not withstandynge*: cf. 285.11. The rest of this sentence is not in the long text. The reason for its omission there may well be that the Lollard opinion that the use of art-objects for devotional or meditative purposes is reprehensible, current when Julian first wrote, had, twenty years later, been decisively rejected. Cf. J. Russell-Smith, 'Walter Hilton and a Tract in Defence of the Veneration of Images'. Such an omission, had it occurred in the short text, could have been caused through homoeotopy (*not withstandynge ... Nou3t withstondynge*), but not in the long text, where the words do not occur.

16 *payntyngys of crucyfexes*: probably this is meant literally: 'pictures of the Crucifixion' or 'painted crucifixes'; but see G. V. Smithers's learned article, 'Two Typological Terms in the *Ancrene Riwle*', showing that there *peinture, peintunge* mean 'imitation in a portrait', and that the author is reflecting ideas, possibly conveyed to him from Hugh of St. Victor, as old as Plato on the 'idea or form' of an object, on the object itself and on the object's imitation or representation. The *Riwle* and Julian make exactly the same point: men's imaginings of heaven and hell (*Riwle*), an artist's representation of the Crucifixion (Julian), are mere 'paintings', 'shadows' (*Riwle*), limited by human abilities — *als farfurthe as man ys witte maye reche.*

19 *I desyrede a bodylye syght ... whene I were in threttye 3eere eelde* (204.46): this corresponds with the long text, 286.12-288.39.

whare yn y myght have more knawynge of bodelye paynes of oure lorde: cf. Psalm 68.21: I looked for one who would grieve together with me.

22 *be levande his paynes*: cf. 286.14: *lyuyng that tyme and saw his paynes*, clearly the superior reading; but see 286.14 note.

23 *for I wolde have beene one of thame and suffrede with thame*: this 'Franciscan' aspiration, characteristic of the religious enthusiasm of Julian's age, is often found in contemporary literature. In the pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes de passione domini* we read:

syght of gode ne schewynge desyrede I nevere none tylle atte the sawlle were departyd frome the bodye, for I trayste sothfastlye that I schulde be safe; and this was my menynge, for I wolde aftyr be cawse of that schewynge have the more trewe mynde in the passionn ofCryste.For the secoⁿnde, come to my mynde with contricionn, frelye with owtyn any sekynge, a wylfulle desyre to hafe of goddys gyfte a bodelye syekenes, and I wolde þat this bodylye syekenes myght have beene so harde as to
97v the dede, / so that I myght in the sekenes take alle my ryghtynges of halye kyrke, wenande my selfe that I schulde dye, and that alle creatures that sawe me myght wene the same, for I wolde hafe no comforth of no fleschlye nothere erthelye lyfe. In this sekenes I desyrede to hafe alle manere of paynes, bodelye *and* gastelye, that I schulde have ȝyf I schulde dye, alle the dredes *and* tempestes of feyndys, *and* alle manere of

---

(Maria) cum filio pendebat in cruce, et pocius elegit mori cum ipso quam amplius vivere (Stallings, 113; Ragusa and Green, 335), which the English prose version modifies: For oure lady hange one þe rode with hire dere childe in soule... (Horstman, 1 206). In the versified English adaptation of pseudo-Bernard, *Liber de passione Christi*, Bernard is made to say to Mary: Allas, whine had þat bale be mine? / I wald hauc standen whare þou stode (Horstman, 2 275). The Franciscan John Grimston (cf. 285.11 note) recorded an eight-line poem which contains: I wolde be clad in Cristis skyn, / Þat ran so longe on blode (C. Brown, XIV 88).

Othere syght of gode ne schewynge desyrede I nevere none: cf. 286.16. Julian does not need to say that in the event she was given much more than she had prayed for.

28 *with contricionn*: cf. 286.20. The long text, *for I would be purgied by the mercie of god* (131.10) makes plainer than this that such contrition was for her own past sins.

frelye with owtyn any sekynge: cf. 286.20. This notion was no product of her own fancy, but came by inspiration.

29 *of goddys gyfte a bodelye syekenes*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle* on sickness as a divine gift (Day, 80-81). The author then links his readers' own sufferings with Christ's: Ouer alle oþere þouȝtes, in alle oure passions, þenkeþ euere inwardliche vppon godes pynen (Vernon MS, f. 380c; cf. Day 83). In this and subsequent quotations of the *Riwle* (as distinct from the *Wisse*), wherever possible the still unpublished version in Vernon has been quoted, with a reference to a published text, usually Mabel Day's, for those who may wish to read the quotation in its context. See Introduction, p. 77 n. 183.

31 *ryghtynges*: 'rites'. Cf. 287.23 note. NED does not record, or any verb 'to rite' from which a gerund could be made; but the parallel passage in the long text shows that even if this be Julian's (or a scribe's) nonce-word, it means 'rites, ceremonies'.

36 *alle the dredes and tempestes of feyndys*: cf. 287.27. Julian shared the belief common to her times that the departing soul is especially exposed to attack from the devil and his agents. Cf. Introduction. For this sense of 'tempest', cf. *A Book to a Mother*: for right as pilers beren vp an hous and maken hit strong to withstonde tempestes, so þese seuene vertues beren up mannes soule fro erþely loue and maken hire strong aȝen tempestes of þe seuene dedly synnes (McCarthy, 7). Its editor dates *A Book* c. 1380, before orthodox sympathizers with Wycliffe perceived that the Lollards were preaching heresy. If *A Book* came Julian's way, its anti-religious sentiments and its misogyny would be unlikely to commend it to her.

(opere) paynes, safe of the owȝte passynge of the sawlle, for I hoped that it myȝt be to me a spede whenn I schulde dye, for I desyrede sone to be *with* my god.

This two desyres of the passyonn and of the seekenes I desyrede thame with a condicion, for me thought that it passede the comene course of prayers; and therfore I sayde: Lorde, thowe woote whate I wolde. ȝyf it be thy wille that I have itt, grawnte itt me, and ȝyf it be nouȝt thy wille, goode lorde, be nought dysplesede, for I wille nought botte as thowe wille. This sekenes desyrede I yn my (ȝ)ought, þat y myght have it whene I were in threttye ȝeere eelde. For the thirde, I harde a man telle of halye kyrke of the storye of saynte Cecylle, in the

---

37 *opere*: ms: þayre; cf. 287.28 *safe* interlineated with caret by the corrector *hoped*: 'd' interlineated with caret by the corrector.

45 *ȝought*: ms: thought; cf. 288.39.

46 *in*: interl. by corrector.

---

37 *for I hoped that it myȝt be to me a spede*: by 'spede' Julian probably means that when the actual day of her death came she would be strengthened by experience against diabolical assaults; cf. 287.31 and note.

38 *for I desyrede sone to be with my god*: cf. 287.32, where the long text reads *to haue ben*. But either text makes the same point: she is not asking for an early death, but that when death comes she may go at once to God. Cf. Psalm 41.3: When shall I come and appear before the face of God? This was recited in the rite for the blessing of the font on Easter Eve; *Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 189.

42 *prayers*: cf. 288.36: *prayer*. That is probably the better reading; 'neither were ordinary petitions'.

and therfore I sayde: cf. 288.36 note.

43 *ȝyf it be thy wille that I have itt grawnte itt me / and ȝyf it be nouȝt thy wille goode lorde be nought dysplesede / for I wille nought botte as thowe wille*: a *compar* with medial *repetitio* and *conversio*.

43 *and ȝyf it be nouȝt thy wille*: cf. 288.37 note.

45 *yn my ȝought*: cf. 288.38, and 285.4 note. Though 'juventus', 'youth' could be used then (as now) to indicate differing ages, it is more probable that Julian is looking back to times when she had formed this desire to suffer when she was thirty years old, rather than that she means 'When I was thirty years old I desired to have this sickness, whilst I was still in my youth'.

46 *in threttye ȝeere eelde*: she probably specifies this to show that what she had prayed for was answered in detail, and also to associate this event with the life of Christ. Pseudo-Bonaventure had written: When he had spent twenty-nine years living in the difficult and lonely manner that I have described, the Lord said to his mother: 'It is time for me to go to glorify and manifest my Father ...' (Ragusa and Green, 102; cf. Peltier 12 533).

46 *I harde a man telle of halye kyrke*: for this unique acknowledgement, reminiscent of Margery Kempe, of a precise source of information, the long text substitutes *by the*

whilke schewynge I vndyrstode that sche hadde thre wonndys with a swerde in the nekke, with the whilke sche pynede to the dede. By the
50 styrrynge of this I conseyvede a myghty desyre, prayande oure lorde god that he wolde grawnte me thre wonndys in my lyfe tyme, that es to saye

---

grace of god and teaching of holie church (288.40), and then suppresses the allusion to St. Cecilia's legend.

48 *sche hadde thre wonndys with a swerde in the nekke*: Julian's informant may have been drawing on James of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*: Quam spiculator tribus ictibus in collo percussit (ed. Lyons, 1493, f. ccix[d]). In *A Book to a Mother* (cf. 203.36 note) we have: ... so Katerine, Cecilie, Lucie and monye maidens more freel in kinde and lasse strong in bodi schullen arise at þe dai of dome and condempne such bodiliche stronge men þat dispisen chastite and Cristes techinge (McCarthy, 94).

50 *I conseyvede a myghty desyre ... with owtyn any meenn* (210.16): this corresponds with the long text, 288.40-294.7.

51 *that he wolde grawnte me thre wonndys*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: And ȝif þow be þus turned in to hym thorouȝ helpe of grace, I may nouȝt trowe but þat þow shalt be wounded with his woundes and ouer helte wyth peynes of his passioun (H. J. Kane, 15; Kirchberger, 55). The notion of God 'wounding' the loving soul is a commonplace among exegetes of Canticles 4.9, 5.7. Bernard of Clairvaux combines it ingeniously with an allusion to Ezechiel 11.19, 36.26: ... movit et emollivit et vulneravit cor meum, quoniam durum lapideumque erat et male sanum (Sermon 74.6, ed. Leclercq, Talbot and Rochais, 2 243). But it is under the influence of early Franciscan spiritual writers, and especially of pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes*, that the idea grows that these wounds will be St. Paul's 'stigmata' (cf. Galatians 6.17), that the soul can take active, dolorous part in the Passion through meditation; and this account of Julian's early aspirations without doubt shows such Franciscan influence. Cf. also Zacharias 13.6: What are these wounds in the midst of thy hands? The notion of the 'three noughts' may well have been suggested by a passage in the *Scale*, II chapter 21: ... meknes *and* luf, þat is, I am noȝt, I haue noȝt, I coueite noȝt bot on (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 85[r]; Underhill, 305). This found its way into mediaeval English anthologies describing the contemplative life; see P. S. Jolliffe, 'Three Middle English Tracts ...' (In quoting the heavily-edited fourteenth-century English version of the *Stimulus amoris, The Prickynge of Love,* the editors regard its attribution to Walter Hilton as probable but not proven. The many additions to and manipulations of the Latin text indicated by Clare Kirchberger in her edition are by someone deeply involved in spirituality, whose opinions, so far as they can be determined by his treatment of another man's work, seem to coincide with what we find in the *Scale* and other treatises certainly written by Hilton. H. J. Kane is less convinced. Rightly, he observes that of the three surviving manuscripts containing the attribution, two derive from a common source and so serve only as a single witness, and that the third is an anthology of short extracts, a work of the type which tended to encourage 'a tendency among medieval copyists to connect admirable anonymous works with prestigious names' (xxxii). Having regard to Kane's other, less forceful arguments against Hilton's authorship, the editors would add that Julian's failure, if she knew the *Prickynge*, to name Hilton as the author is equally inconclusive. The *Revelations* show her deep knowledge of several contemporary spiritual classics, but no interest whatever in the names or personalities of their authors.)

the wonnd(e) of contricyoun, the wonnde of compassyoun *and* the wonnde of wylfulle langgynge to god. Ryght as I askede the othere two with a condyscion, so I askyd the thyrde with owtynn any condyscion. This two desyres before sayde passed fro my mynde, and the thyrde dwellyd contynuelye.

---

52 *wonnde*: ms: wonndys. *and*: interl. by corrector with caret.
54 *so*: interl. by corrector with caret.

---

52 *the wonnde of contricyoun / the wonnde of compassyoun / and the wonnde of wylfulle langgynge to god*: a *compar* with *repetitio*.
54 *with owtynn any condyscion*: cf. 288.44, which adds that Julian asked for this *mightly*. The third petition, unlike the other two, she is certain is pleasing to God's will and thus needs no such condition.
56 *dwellyd contynuelye*: cf. 288.46 note.

ii) Ande when I was thryttye wyntere alde and a halfe, god sente me a bodelye syeknes in the whilke I laye thre dayes and thre nyghttes; and on the ferthe nyght I toke alle my ryghttynges of haly kyrke, and wenyd nought tylle haue lyffede tylle daye. And aftyr this y langourede furthe
5 two dayes *and* two nyghttes, *and* on the thyrde nyght I wenede ofte tymes to hafe passede, and so wenyd thaye that were abowte me. Botte in this I was ryght sarye, *and* lothe thouȝt for to dye, botte for nothynge
98r that was / in erthe that me lykede to lyeve fore, nor for nothynge that I was aferde fore, for I tristyd in god. Botte it was fore I walde hafe
10 lyevede to have lovede god better and lange tyme, that (I) myght be the grace of that lyevynge have the more knowynge and lovynge of god in the blysse of hevene. For me thought alle the tyme that I hadd lyeve(d) here so lytille and so schorte in the regarde of endeles blysse. I thouȝt

---

10 *I*: om. ms.
12 *hadd*: subst. corrector for 'wolde', exp. *lyeved*: ms: lyeve.

---

2 *thre dayes and thre nyghttes*: cf. 289.3. Julian has the mediaeval fondness for triads; but she may here wish to suggest analogy between her own experience, which at the time she believed to be imminent death, and the 'triduum sacrum' between Christ's death and the Resurrection. Ludolph of Saxony, whose *Vita Jesu Christi* was written c. 1350 (and thereafter circulated throughout the West by the Carthusians) ends Book II chapter li with a prayer which has: ... meque de hoc mundo transire non permittas antequam per triduum poenitentiae ... peccata mea omnia deleas (Rigollot, 3 321).

3 *ryghttynges*: cf. 289.4: *rightes*, and 203.31 note.

6 *Botte in this I was ryght sarye ...*: on the rhetoric of this passage and the corresponding figure in the long text, cf. 289.7 note.

7 *for nothynge*: cf. 289.8: *for no payne*.

for nothynge that was in erthe that me lykede to lyeve for: in *A Book to a Mother* (cf. 203.36 note) the disposition of Christ and of his persecutors are contrasted: Wronges hem þouȝte þei schulde not suffre; what is more wrong þan to dampne an innocent as Crist was? Bodili sorwes and peynes þei hateden; Crist was scourged ant turmented. Þei dredden þe deþ; Crist wolde be slawe (McCarthy, 109-110).

10 *lange*: cf. 290.10: *longer*.

12 *that I hadd lyeved*: cf. 290.12; but the scribe's *that I wolde lyeve* is defensible: 'for all the time that I should (ever) live'; cf. 208.22: *whilys my lyfe walde laste*. R. M. Wilson observes that *lyeve* could also be the substantive: 'all the time that I had life'.

13 *so litylle and so schorte*: there may here be a reminiscence of Job 14.1 e.s. on the brevity of human existence. Rolle opens his *Job*: *Parce mihi domine, nihil enim sunt dies mei*. Exprimitur autem in his verbis humanae conditionis instabilitas, quae non habet in hac miserabili valle manentem mansionem ... (H. E. Allen, *Rolle*, 143). The theme is much elaborated in *The Bird with Four Feathers*, a rhymed 'tretys of *Parce michi domine*' (Brown, XIV 208-215).

thus: Goode lorde, maye my lyevynge be no langere to thy worschippe? And I was annswerde in my resone and be the felynges of my paynes that I schulde dye; and I asentyd fully with alle the wille of mye herte to be atte god ys wille.

Thus I endurede tille daye, and by than was my bodye dede fra the myddys downwarde, as to my felynge. Than was I styrrede to be sette vppe ryghttes, lenande with clothes to my heede, for to have the mare fredome of my herte to be atte goddes wille, and thynkynge on hym whilys my lyfe walde laste; and thay that were with me sente for the personn, my curette, to be atte myne endynge. He come, and a childe with hym, and brought a crosse; *and* be thanne I hadde sette myne eyenn and myght nouȝt speke. The persone sette the crosse before my face, and sayde: Dowȝtter, I have brought the the ymage of thy sauioure; loke there oponn *and* comforthe the þere with in reverence of hym that dyede for the *and* me. Me thouȝt þan that y was welle, for myne eyenn ware sette vpwarde in to hevene, whethyr I trustede for to come, botte nevere the lesse I assendyd to sette myne eyen in the face of the crucyfixe ȝif y myght, for to endure the langer in to the tyme of mynn endyng, for me thought I myȝt langyr endure to loke evyn forthe than vppe ryght. Aftyr this my syght by ganne to fayle, and it was alle dyrke abowte me in the chaumbyr, and myrke as it hadde bene nyght, save in the ymage of the crosse there helde a commonn lyght, and I

15 *I (was)*: interl. by corrector with caret.
17 *be*: interl. by corrector with caret.

14 *maye my lyevynge be no langere to thy worschippe?* Julian may have had in mind Philippians 1.21-22: For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain, and if to live in the flesh, this is to me the fruit of labour, and what I shall choose I know not. Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, I xlvii, with a prayer for freedom from sin and demonic temptation: ... meque ab eis liberatum usque in finem misericorditer custodi illaesum, ut ad tuam gloriam et proximorum utilitatem valeam verbis narrare ... (Rigollot, 2 21).

23 *my curette*: he is also called this in the long text, 290.20, but not, as here, *the persone*. The use of either term implies that he was a secular priest, unlike her other visitor later in the day whom she calls *a religiouse personn* (266.7; cf. 632.16). That the 'persone' is accompanied by a little boy as crossbearer (208.23), and that her mother (234.29) and others were at her bedside, suggests but not necessarily proves that at this time Julian was not living in enclosure as anchoress.

and a childe with hym: cf. 291.21, where this detail is omitted.

27 *in reverence of hym that dyede for the and me*: cf. 291.23, where these words are omitted.

31 *for to endure the langer in to the tyme of mynn endyng*: these words are not in the long text (cf. 291.26); and the similarity of the next clause suggests that they may be the result of dittography.

33 *was*: cf. 291.28 and note.

wyste nevere howe. Alle that was besyde the crosse was huglye to me, as ȝyf it hadde bene mykylle occupyede with fendys.

Aftyr this the overe partye of my bodye beganne to dye, as to my felynge. Myne handdys felle downe on aythere syde, and also for vn-
98v powere my heede satylde downe / onn syde. The maste payne that I
41 felyd was schortnes of wynde and faylynge of lyfe. Than wende I sothelye to hafe bene atte the poynte of dede. And in this sodeynlye alle my payne was awaye fro me, and I was alle hole, and namely in the overe partye of my bodye, as evere I was before or aftyr. I merveylede
45 of this channge, for me thought it was a pryue wyrkynge of god, *and* nought of kynde; and ȝitte be the felynge of this ese I trystede nevere the mare that I schulde lyeve, ne the felynge of this ese was ne fulle ese to me, for me thouȝt I hadde leuere have bene delyverede of this worlde, for my herte was wilfulle there to.

---

45 *pryue*: interl. corrector over 'journe', exp.

---

37 *as ȝyf it hadde bene mykylle occupyede with fendys*: this suggests mediaeval Crucifixion-iconography. The Index of Christian Art writes: 'Often, in Italian and other representations, a devil or devils appear near the cross of the bad thief for the purpose of removing his soul, while angels perform a similar function at the cross of the good thief. In addition, mourning angels hover about the crucified Christ, and sometimes, as in the Pisan fresco (Camposanto, 14th century), some of them almost surround the devils'. Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi* II lxiii 20, 'Diabolus supra crucem stetisse fertur', writes of those exegetes who make the gigantic fish attacking Tobias a type of the devil assailing the crucified Christ (Rigollot, 4 107).

39 *Myne handdys*: this graphic sentence is omitted in the long text; cf. 291.34.

45 *journe* (exp.): cf. 292.38. Perhaps A derives from a text with a reading < OE dyrne, 'secret'.

48 *me thouȝt* ...: cf. 292.40, and Philippians 1.23: ... having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better.

(iii) And sodeynlye comme vnto my mynde that I schulde desyre the
seconnde wonnde of oure lordes gyfte and of his grace, that he walde
fulfylle my bodye with mynde of felynge of his blessede passyonn as I
hadde before prayede, for I wolde that his paynes ware my paynes, with
5 compassyonn *and* aftyrwarde langynge to god. Thus thouȝt me that I
myght with his grace have his wonndys that y hadde before desyrede;
but in this I desyrede neuere ne bodely syght ne no manere schewynge of
god, botte compassyonn as me thought that a kynde sawlle myght have
with oure lorde Jhesu, that for love wolde be come man dedlye. With
10 hym y desyrede to suffere, lyevande in dedlye bodye as god wolde gyffe
me grace. And in this sodaynlye I sawe the rede blode trekylle downe
fro vndyr the garlande, alle hate, freschlye, plentefully *and* lyvelye, ryght
as me thought that it was in that tyme that the garlonde of thornys was
thyrstede on his blessede heede. Ryght so, both god and man, the same
15 sufferde for me. I conseyvede treulye *and* myghttyllye that itt was hym
selfe that schewyd it me with owtyn any meenn; and than I sayde:

---

3 *mynde of felynge*: the long text's *mynd and feeling* (292.45) is probably superior.

8 *compassyonn as me thought*: cf. 293.49, and Ephesians 5.1-2: Be therefore followers of Christ, as most dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also has loved us and has delivered himself ...

9 *for love*: cf. 732.15-733.17 and note.

12 *garlande*: cf. 210.13, 294.5, 362.22. NED, s.v. Garland, *sb.*, 1 b, 'Christ's crown of thorns', cites two examples, one from *Piers Plowman* B XVIII, and calls this usage 'obs. rare'; but MED, gerlond 1(c), has five examples, not including this. Two others may be added, Brown XIV 223, and Person, *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*, 10. Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace*, I xxxiii, describes how in one vision Christ 'hadde also in his hede a gerlande of dyuerse ande fulle fayre floures', which symbolized the pains inflicted on his head; and in another vision, IV xxxiii, '... owre lorde apperede to here ande helde in his blessede handdys a manere of a serkylle or a garlande of drye tree', signifying man's heart, dried up in sin, which Christ will adorn with the roses of grace (Halligan, 172, 540). There may be a satirical implication in this usage, contrasting Christ's wretchedness with worldlings' vanity. In one of its many reprehensions of contemporary luxury, *A Book to a Mother* (cf. 203.36 note) has: Ne none nyce dameselis wiþ garlondis of gold ne perlis ne filettis ne bonettis (McCarthy, 48-49). In the Vulgate, 'corona' means both 'crown' and 'garland': illi quidem ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant (I Corinthians 9.25). In a Marian lament, our Lady is made to say: Hys chaplet ys thornys sore prykkyng (Wright: *Chester Plays*, 2 207).

16 *meenn*: 'intermediary'. Cf. NED Mean n^2 II-9^a, where the first example is c. 1374 (Chaucer), the second, 9^c, *Piers Plowman* A (i.e. c. 1370). MED mene, n. 3(a), 1389 *Guild Return*: he þat is chose mene. Many other instances will be noted of Julian's very modern and literary vocabulary.

and than I sayde ... alle gostelye enmyes (211.27): this corresponds with the long text, 296.16-297.27.

Benedicite dominus. This I sayde reuerentlye in my menynge, with a myghtty voyce, and fulle gretlye I was astonnyd for wondere *and* merveyle that y had that he wolde be so homblye with a synfulle creature
99r lyevande in this wrecchyd flesch. / Thus I tokede it for that tyme that
21 oure lorde Jhesu of his curtayse love walde schewe me comforthe before the tyme of my temptacyonn; for me thought it myght be welle that I schulde be the suffyrannce of god and with his kepynge be temptyd of fendys or I dyede. With this syght of his blyssede passyonn, with the
25 godhede that I saye in myn vndyrstandynge, I sawe that this was strengh ynowȝe to me, ȝe, vnto alle creatures lyevande that schulde be saffe agaynes alle the feendys of helle *and* agaynes alle gostelye enmyes.

---

20 *flesch*: ms: fle- (which fills the line to its end) schly.

---

17 *Benedicite dominus*: cf. 296.16. For 'Benedicite' as a salutation or a blessing, cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: ... and goþ forþ mid godes dred to prest. Aller furst confiteor, and þer after Benedicite, þat he ouȝte siggen (Vernon MS, f. 380^{c}). For 'Benedicite' as a prayer before eating, with the response 'Dominus', cf. J. Baudot, 'Bénédiction de la table ou des aliments'. However, the 'Canticle of the Three Children' (Daniel 3.52 e.s.) was in such frequent liturgical use, with its differing Latin beginnings, 'Benedicite omnia opera domino', 'Benedicite dominum', 'Benedictus es domine' (cf. F. Cabrol, 'Benedicite et Benedictus es Domine'), that it is hardly possible to decide what Julian actually said, and whether it was in blessing, thanking or praising. It is however clear that this passage provides no evidence for or against her being 'a woman that could no letter'.

This I sayde ...: cf. 296.16 note.

19 *homblye*: cf. 296.19: *homely*. Whether this is a spelling reflecting pronunciation with 'momentary delabialisation', or a confusion of 'homely' with 'humbly', can only be conjectured. R.M. Wilson suggests that *homblye* may represent the same ml > mbl development as in NE 'bramble'; and this is supported by one spelling, 'homblynesse', recorded by MED.

23 *be the suffyrannce of god*: cf. 296.22. In the *Ancrene Riwle*, the 'fifth comfort against temptation' is: þat he ne may no þing don vs bote be godes leue (Vernon MS, f. 382^{d}; cf. Day, 102). In MS Sidney Sussex 80, f. 101^{v}, there is a prayer to the Virgin: O refugium animarum, tibi supplico quatinus in tuo seruicio semper perseuerare valeam in presenti, vt in exitu anime mee euadere possim terrorem maligni Sathane ...

24 *With this syght* ...: this is a well-constructed *compar* which Julian has left unchanged in the long text (296.23-297.27): *With this syght of his blyssede passyonn / with the godhede that I saye in myn vndyrstandynge / I sawe that this was strengh ynowȝe to me / ȝe vnto alle creatures lyevande that schulde be saffe / agaynes alle the feendys of helle / and agaynes alle gostelye enmyes*. There is *repetitio (With ... with)*, *conduplicatio (to me / ȝe vnto alle)*, and a second *repetitio (agaynes ... agaynes)*.

25 *saye ... sawe*: 'saye' may mean 'I say' (< OE secge) or 'I saw' (< OE seah). Modern English 'saw' is from the plural stem, OE sāwon. But the only other example in A, compared with 'sawe' (15×) is *I saye the bodylye syght* (217.2).

that this was strengh ynowȝe to me: cf. 296.24 note.

(iv) And this same tyme that I sawe this bodyly syght, oure lorde schewyd me a gastelye sight of his hamly lovynge. I sawe that he es to vs alle thynge þat is goode and comfortabylle to oure helpe. He es oure clethynge, for loove wappes vs and wyndes vs, halses vs and alle be teches vs, hynges a boute vs for tendyr loove, that he maye nevere leve vs. And so in this syght y sawe sothelye that he ys alle thynge that ys goode, as to myne vndyrstandynge.

And in this he schewyd me a lytille thynge, the qwantyte of a haselle nutte, lyggande in the palme of my hande, *and* to my vndyrstandynge that, it was as rownde as any balle. I lokede þer oponn and thought: Whate maye this be? And I was annswerde generaly thus: It is alle that

---

2 *hamly*: scr.: Anly, which he has alt.
5 *vs (hynges)*: ms: vs vs.

---

1 *And this same tyme ... betwyxe my god and me* (213.21): this corresponds with the long text (299.2-300.22).

this bodyly syght: cf. 299.2: *this sight of the head bleidyng*, which is a reworking (by Julian or another), probably to avoid any possible confusion with the preceding vision, 'ghostly in bodily lykenes' (297.29 and note) of Mary. In the contrast she makes here between the 'bodyly syght' and the 'gastelye sight of his hamly lovynge', Julian's perceptions of the modes of the revelations is, like her language, careful and exact.

3 *goode and comfortabylle*: that God is our comforter is found in the Old Testament as well as the New: cf. e.g. Isaias 49.13, Zacharias 1.13, John 16.27, II Corinthians 1.3 e.s.

He es oure clethynge, for loove wappes vs: cf. I John 4.8, 10: For God is love ... because he has first loved us. Cf. 299.4, but the reading there, *He is oure clothing, that for loue,* seems inferior, lacking the Johannine ring.

5 *that he maye nevere leve vs*: Julian here seems to have in mind John 14.16-18: ... that he may abide with you forever, the Spirit of truth ... because he shall abide with you and shall be in you. I will not leave you orphans ...

6 *he ys alle thynge that ys goode*: this may recall Christ's reply: Why do you ask me concerning good? One is good, God (Matthew 19. 17).

7 *as to myne vndyrstandynge*: that is, this is a 'gastelye sight'. Cf. 212.1 note.

9 *lyggande in the palme of my hande*: cf. the Latin *Fifteen Oes,* (201.6 note): O Jhesu mundi fabricator quem nulla diuisio uero intermino metitur, qui terram palmo concludis ... (MS BM Royal 17 A xxvii, f. 91v); O Jhesu makere of alle þe warlde whos myght no thyng may mesure, þat closes þe herth in þi hand ... (MS BM Royal 17 C xvii, f. 95c).

10 *it was as rownde as any balle*: cf. 299.10 note.

I lokede þer oponn and thought / Whate maye this be / And I was annswerde generaly thus / It is alle that ys made: a *compar* with *ratiocinatio.*

11 *It is alle that ys made*: this and what follows is so close to the thought and language of Wisdom 11.23-26 that it is hardly likely that this was not the source: For the whole earth before thee is as the least grain of the balance, and as a drop of the morning dew that falls down upon the earth. But thou hast mercy upon all, because thou canst do all things, and overlookest the sins of men for the sake of repentance. For thou lovest all

ys made. I merveylede howe þat it myght laste, for me thought it myght falle sodaynlye to nought for litille. And I was an*n*swerde in myne vndyrstandynge: It lastes and eu*er* schalle, for god loves it; and so hath
15 alle thynge the beynge thorowe the love of god.

In this lytille thynge I sawe thre partyes. The fyrste is that god made it, the seconn*d*e ys that he loves it, the thyrde ys that god kepes it. Botte whate is that to me? Sothelye, the make*r*e, the lovere, the kepere. For to I am substancyallye ened to hym, I may nevere have love, reste ne
99v varray blysse; that is to saye that / I be so festenede to hym that thare
21 be ryght nought that is made betwyxe my god *and* me. And wha schalle do this dede? Sothlye hym selfe be his me*r*cye *and* his grace, for he has made me there to and blysfullye restoryd.

In this god brought oure ladye to myne vndyrstandynge. I sawe hir
25 gastelye in bodilye lyekenes, a sympill*e* maydene *and* a meeke, ȝonge of age, in the stature that scho was when scho conceyvede. Also god schewyd me in p*a*rte the wisdom *and* the trowthe of hir saule, whare yn I vndyrstode reue*r*ente beholdynge, þ*at* sche behelde hyr*e* god, that ys

---

17 *(made) it*: interl. corrector w. caret.
28 *hyre*: ms: oure, exp., 'hyre' interl. corrector.

---

things that are, and hatest none of the things which thou hast made, for thou didst not appoint or make any thing hating it. And how could any thing endure if thou wouldst not, or be preserved if not called by thee?

16 *partyes*: cf. 300.17: *propreties*, and note. This A reading, though defensible, may be the result of a careless scribe's misinterpretation of 'p(ro)p(er)tyes'. Cf. 583.19: *I saw and vnderstode these thre propertes*. The *Cloud*-author writes, in *Privy Counselling*: ... whiche ben þe propirtees þat fallyn to þis perfeccion (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 153).

The fyrste is that god made it / the seconnde ys that he loves it / the thyrde ys that god kepes it: a *compar* with *complexio*.

17 *Botte whate is that to me*? Cf. 300.18 and note.

19 *love*: not in the long text. Cf. 300.20.

21 *And wha ... blysfullye restoryd*: not in the long text. Cf. 300.22.

24 *In this god brought ... the blyssede manhede of Criste* (214.36): this corresponds with the long text, 297.28-298.40. Cf. 297.28 note.

25 *gastelye in bodilye lyekenes*: cf. 297.29. As with the vision of Christ crowned with thorns, this is corporeal, but even whilst writing the short text, Julian knows that it is also 'gastelye', given not only for its own sake but to convey spiritual truths.

26 *in the stature that scho was when scho conceyvede*: in Julian's age it was generally received that this happened when Mary was a mere girl. Cf. MS Trinity College Dublin 423 (England, c. 1450), f. 105^{v}: Sancta Maria fuit in etate quindeci*m* annoru*m* qu*ando* pepe*r*it Chri*st*u*m*, postea mansit cu*m* eo xxx annis in h*oc* seculo ... In the Christ Church, Dublin *Liber Niger* it is stated that she conceived at the age of twelve (E. Colledge: *The Latin Poems of Richard Ledrede*, 132 note).

28 *reuerente beholdynge*: in *Privy Counselling*, the *Cloud*-author writes: For þis same werk, ȝif it be verrely conceyuid, is þat reuerent affeccion and þe frute departid fro þe tre þat

hir makere, mervelande with grete reuerence that he wolde be borne of
30 hir that was a sympille creature of his makynge. And this wysdome of trowthe *and* knawande the gretnes of hir makere and the lytelle heede of hir selfe that ys made, made hir for to saye mekely to the angelle Gabrielle: Loo me here, goddys hande maydene. In this sight I sawe sothfastlye that scho ys mare than alle þat god made benethe hir in wor-
35 thynes *and* in fulheede. For abovene hir ys nothynge that is made botte the blyssede manhede of Criste. This lytille thynge that es made that es benethe oure ladye saynt Marye — god schewyd it vnto me als litille as it hadde beene a hasylle notte — me thought it myght hafe fallene for litille.

---

30 *his makynge ... And this*: ms: his makynge. For this was hir mervelynge, that he that was hir makere walde be borne of hir that was a sympille creature of his makynge. And this ...

31 *and (knawande)*: interl. corrector w. caret.

32 *made hir for to*: scr.: made h (which reaches the ruled margin); the rest add. corrector.

I speke of in þi lityl pistle of preier (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 154; and cf. *Deonise*, 56, where, in the *Epistle of Prayer*, he quotes I Corinthians 6.17).

beholdynge ... behelde: the noun is complementary to *wisdom*, *trowthe*, and we must understand 'contemplation, contemplated'. Mary Baldwin ('Some Difficult Words in the *Ancrene Riwle*'), demonstrates how often the *Riwle* uses 'bihalden' in this sense, and not with any connotation of physical vision. One of her illustrations is: Þus lo þe articles ... of oure bileaue onont godes monhead, hwa se inwardliche bihalt ham (Tolkien, 135). Julian's vocabulary is a practical illustration of Richard of St. Victor's definition: Contemplatio est libera mentis perspicacia in sapientiae spectacula ... (*Beniamin Major* 1 4, PL 196 67).

29 *that he wolde be borne of hir that was a sympille creature of his makynge*: this is an 'oppositio contrariorum', of the Creator with the creature. So Richard Ledrede (ob. 1360) in one of his Nativity poems had written: Fit magnus paruulus seruus et dominus / Contentus continens breuis interminus / Antiquus nascitur distansque comminus / Excelsus humilis et simplex geminus (ibid., 120 and notes). However, G. Rigg (*The Poems of Walter of Wimborne*, 11-12) shows that Ledrede's asclepiadic verses are adaptations of some of Wimborne's *Marie carmina*.

30 *his makynge ...*: the dittography which follows in the manuscript must derive from an ancestor which had been collated with a long text copy, or vice versa. Cf. 297.34 and notes, Introduction, p. 19.

36 *This lytille thynge that es made that es benethe oure ladye*: cf. 300.23, where the reference to Mary does not appear. In her reflection on the locution 'All shall be well' (422.2), Julian speaks of *alle creaturys whych are beneth Crist* (424.25). Mary is also the prototype of *mans soule ... a creature in god whych hath the same properties* (the divine attributes of truth and wisdom) *made* (484.13). It is doubtless this development in her theology which leads her to remove the phrase in the long text as less than accurate. See Introduction, IX 3.

In this blyssede revelacion god schewyd me thre noughtes of whilke nou3ttes this is the fyrste that was schewyd me. Of this nedes ilke man *and* woman to hafe knawynge that desyres to lyeve *contem*platyfelye, that hym lyke to nou3t alle thynge that es made for to hafe the love of god that es vn made. For this es the cause why thaye þ*at* er occupyede wylfullye in erthelye besynes *and* eu*er*mare sekes warldlye wele er nought here of his in herte and in sawlle; for thaye love and seekes here ryste in this thynge that is so lytille, where no reste ys yn, *and* knawes nou3t god that es alle myghtty, alle wyse and alle goode, for he is

---

40 *In this blyssede revelacion* ...: this sentence is not in the long text; cf. 301.24. The first 'nought' is this vision of all that is created (212.11); *fallen to nought* (300.23) is probably a better reading than *fallen*, but in either text it is plain that it is creation *ex nihilo* which Julian has in mind. The second 'nought' is probably sin (226.9), and the third the impotent devil (227.31), whom Christ 'noughts', asking us to do the same (228.40).

noughtes: 'nothings'. The numeral adjective shows that this is a plural noun, not the adverbial genitive. The usage is rare but not without parallel. MED nought cites c. 1400 *Book of Vices and Virtues* 82.5: But wiþ-out witt and good auisement, þes þre þinges beþ nou3tes.

41 *Of this nedes ... to resayue gostlye reste* (216.53): this corresponds with the long text, 301.24-33.

42 *that desyres to lyeve contemplatyfelye*: cf. 301.24, where this clause is not found. This could indicate that the ancestor of C, SS, P and W had been edited with secular as well as religious readers in mind.

43 *that hym lyke to nou3t*: 'that he find pleasure in despising', which shows that P's *nought* (301.25) is infinitive, not adverb, as is also indicated by S1: *to nowtyn*, and S2: *to noughten*.

for to hafe the love: cf. 301.25: *for to loue and haue*, which is probably superior. An ancestor of S1 evidently considered (though needlessly) that 'to love and have' was objectionable.

44 *thaye þat er occupyede ... wardlye wele*: not in the long text; cf. 301.26 and 215.42 note. The thought here on the rest which is to be found in God alone and not in worldly occupation is directly from Matthew 11.28-29: Come to me, all you that labour and are burdened, and I will refresh you ... and you shall find rest for your souls. The *Scale*, I chapter 3, has: Contemplatif lyfe ... longe3 specialy to he*m* þe whilk forsaken for þe loue of god all wordly ryches worschipes and outward bisynes and holly 3yuen hem bodie and soule ... to þe seruice of god by gostly occupacion*n* (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 279; Underhill, 5).

45 *er nought here of his*: possibly corrupt. Probably 'be not all in ease' is superior (cf. 301.26), and *of his* should read 'at ease'. But Julian may be alluding to some such Scripture passage as: Has not God chosen the poor in this world ... heirs of the kingdom which he has promised to those who love him? (James 2.5); and see also Galatians 3.29, 4.7, Romans 8.17, Titus 3.7. Cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: And after as euery man sekys and laborys to ouercomme hymselfe ... he felys hym inwardly towched, and swetly to taste the frute of the sonne, thorowe the which taste the holy goste beres hym witnesse to be eyre of god (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 254).

verraye reste. God wille be knawenn, *and* hym lykes þat / we reste vs in hym; for alle that ar benethe hym suffyces nouȝt to vs. And this is the cause why that na saule ys restede to it be noghthed of alle that es made. Whenn he is noughthid for love, to hafe hym that is alle that is goode, than es he abylle to resayue gostlye reste.

---

49 *God wille be knawenn and hym lykes / þat we reste vs in hym for alle / that ar benethe hym suffyces nouȝt to vs*: a *compar* of three *cola*, with medial *repetitio* (*hym ... hym ... hym*). This echoes Augustine's 'Fecisti nos ad te ...' (*Confessions* I 1, probably one of the most frequently-quoted non-Scriptural sayings in the Christian world); and we may observe a very similar figure, a three-membered *compar* with *repetitio*, in Augustine's Latin: quia fecisti nos *ad te* / et inquietum est cor nostrum / donec requiescat *in te* (Knöll, 1).

51, 52 *noghthed, noughthid*: 'annihilated'. Cf. NED Nought, *v.*, where the first example is from the *Scale*, II 20, and MED, which adds 'nouȝtnyng (Parkminster: nowghtyng)' from the *Cloud* (Hodgson, 149). Though the examples from secular literature in NED, MED show that the term quickly gained currency in the sense of 'despise, dispraise', it would seem that it was first used, as here, by spiritual writers to render 'adnihilare'.

52 *that is goode*: not in the long text; cf. 301.32. This reading looks like some scribe-editor's superfluous addition; Julian is contrasting 'all that is made', which must be noughted if we are to have him 'who is all'.

(v) And in that tyme that oure lorde schewyd this that I haue nowe saydene in gastelye syght, I saye the bodylye syght lastande of the plentyuouse bledynge of the hede, and als longe as y sawe that syght y sayde oftynn tymes: Benedicite dominus. In this fyrste schewynge of oure lorde I sawe sex thynges in myne vndyrstandynge. The furste is þe takyns of his blysfulle passionn and the plentevous schedynge of his precyous blode. The seconnde is the maydene, that sche ys his dere worthy modere. The thyrde is the blysfulle godhede þat euer was *and* es *and* euer schalle be alle myghty, alle wysdome *and* alle love. The ferthe is alle thynge that he has made; it is mykille *and* fayre and large *and* goode. Botte the cause why it schewed so lytille to my syght was for I sawe itte in the presence of hym that es makere. For to a sawle that sees the makere of alle thynge, alle that es made semy(s) fulle litylle. The fyfte es that he has made alle thynge that ys made for love, *and* thorowe the same love it is kepydde, and euer schalle be with owtynn ende, as it

---

2 *in (gastelye)*: interl. corrector w. caret. *saye*: not canc., but interl. corrector: saw.

5 *þe*: interl. corrector w. caret.

11 *schewed*: add. marg. corrector w. caret.

13 *semys*: ms: semyd; cf. 318.12.

---

1 *And in that tyme ... of the hede* (217.3): this corresponds with the long text, 311.12-14.

2 *saydene*: 'said'. For the form, cf. NED, Say, *v.*[1], A.7., which quotes 1422, *Secreta Secret.*: ... is largely Saydyn.

4 *In this ... or the same langer tyme* (218.22): this corresponds with the long text, 317.1-319.21.

5 *sex thynges*: in neither text does the recapitulation which follows observe the chronological order of the previous narrative. Julian seems to have regrouped the revelations according to their modes: (1) 'bodily sights' — the 'tokens', the crown of thorns and the bleeding; (2) 'ghostly in bodili likeness' — Mary; (3) 'ghostly sights' — the Trinity, the 'homely loving', all creation in comparison with its creator, all created for love, God is all that is good.

6 *the plentevous schedynge of his precyous blode*: this theme of the plenty of the blood shed at the Passion occurs in the *Fifteen Oes* (cf. 201.6 note): O Jhesu verray *and* frutefull vine, af mynd on þe ouerflowyng *and* þe plenteuus cheddyng of þine blode þat þou sched plentewsly als grapes þat ere prast wen in þe crose þu trade þe prassure allone (cf. Isaias 63.3) and brog-/ht furth vntill vs water *and* blode ... (MS BM Royal 17 C xvii, f. 93[c-d]).

8 *þat euer was and es and euer schalle be / alle myghty alle wysdome and alle love*: *membrum*, with *traductio* in the second *colon*.

11 *Botte the cause ...*: cf. 317.10 note.

is before sayde. The sexte es that god is alle thynge that ys goode, *and* the goodenes *þat* alle thynge has is he.

And alle thynge oure lorde schewyd me in the fyrst syght, and gafe me space *and* tyme to behalde it. And the bodyly syght styntyd, *and* the
20 gastely syght dwellyd in myne vndyrstandynge, *and* I abade with reu*e*rente drede, ioyande in that I sawe *and* desyra*n*nde as y durste for to see mare, ȝif it ware his wille, or the same langer tyme.

---

17 *þat*: ms: of; '*þat*' interl. corrector.
18 *thynge (oure)*: interl. corrector: þis.

---

16 *god is alle thynge that ys goode* ...: in general, Julian is here reflecting the common doctrine of the Western Church: God's goodness and his being are one and the same, and so it is with all that exists. 'Because God is good we exist, and in so far as we exist we are good'. This is the burden of chapter 4 of the *Divine Names* of pseudo-Denis. Cf. also *De Trinitate* VIII 3, Mountain and Glorie, 1 272: 'See good itself if you can; thus you will see God, not as a good distinct from another good, but as the good of every good'.

(vi) Alle that I sawe of my selfe, I meene in the p*er*sone of all*e* myne evy*n*n
cristene, for I am lernede in the gastelye schewynge of oure lorde that
he meenys so. And therfore I praye ȝowe alle for goddys sake, *and*
cownsayles ȝowe for ȝowre awne profyt, that ȝe leve the behaldynge of
100v the wrechid wor(m)e, / synfulle creature, that it was schewyd vnto, *and*
6 that ȝe myghtlye, wyselye, lovandlye *and* mekelye be halde god, that of
his curtays love and of his endles goodnes walde schewe gen*er*alye this
visyo*n*n in comforthe of vs alle. *And* ȝe that hyerys and sees this visio*n*n
and this techynge that is of Jh*es*u Cryste to edificac*i*on of ȝoure saule, it
10 is goddys wille *and* my desyre that ȝe take it with als grete ioye and

---

1 *alle (myne)*: interl. corrector w. caret; marg.: all (in same hand as 'worme', 219.5; cf. Introduction, p. 1).

5 *worme*: with 'wrechid' scribe filled last line, and added below 'worlde'. Cf. 211.20. Contemp. hand (not the corrector's) add. marg.: worme. *it*: add. corrector.

10 *desyre*: ms: desyrere.

---

1 *Alle that I sawe ... as he dyd to me* (220.11): this corresponds with the long text, 319.33-320.40.

sawe: cf. 319.33: *say*, and note. The conflict seems to have been caused by the different ME dialectal developments of OE seah, 'I saw', affected by sāwe, sāwon, 'thou didst see, we saw'.

3 *And therfore I praye ȝowe alle ...*: what follows is very close to the *Chastising*, where the author deals specifically with rapture and visions, and then continues: ... þenke þat al þese ȝiftes whiche we receyue bien ȝoven to us not for oure meritis but for her grace and for her profite ... and to þenke in oure owne synnes and vnworþinesse (Bazire and Colledge, 184).

4 *cownsayles* (one of the many Northern dialect features of A): this use of the word may indicate that Julian has no fears that she may be criticized for giving spiritual direction; by the time that she was ready to publish the short text, perhaps in the mid 1380s (see Introduction), it may already have been known that she *was expert in swech thyngys and good cownsel cowd ȝeuyn* (*Book of Margery Kempe*, 42).

5 *wrechid worme*: cf. 320.36: *wrech*. In the English *Stimulus amoris*, the translator interpolates the same words: A lorde hit is a gret mercy þat þou suffrest me a wrecchid woorm for to walken vp on þe erþe (H. J. Kane, 157; Kirchberger, 170). In an English prose commentary on the Benedictine Rule, where it cites Psalm 21.7, there is: And saie als te prophete saide: Ego sum etc. Ic es wrmis and na man, and ut castyng o men. First was ic hezed and siþin lazed þur scrifte and ouir cumin (Kock, 14; cf. Hanslik, 49).

6 *lovandlye*: not in the long text; cf. 320.37.

be halde god: see 320.37 note.

8 *And ȝe that hyerys ... of ȝoure saule*: not in the long text: cf. 320.39. Nor is, line 10, *and my desyre*.

lykynge as Jhesu hadde schewyd it to 3owe as he dyd to me. For the schewynge I am not goode but 3if y love god the better, and so may and so schulde ylke man do that sees it *and* heres it with goode wille and trewe menynge. And so ys my desyre that it schulde be to euery ilke manne the same profytte that I desyrede to my selfe *and* þerto was styrryd of god in the fyrste tyme when I sawe itte; for yt (ys) comonn *and* generale as we ar alle ane, and I am sekere I sawe it for the profytte of many oder. For sothly it was nought schewyd vnto me for that god loves me bettere thane the leste sawlle that is in grace. For I am sekere thare ys fulle many that nevere hadde schewynge ne syght botte of the commonn techynge of haly kyrke that loves god better þan I. For 3yf I loke syngulerlye to my selfe I am ryght nought; botte in generalle I am in anehede of charyte with alle myne evynn cristene. For in this anehede of charyte standes the lyfe of alle mankynde that schalle be safe. For god is alle that ys goode, and god has made alle that ys made, *and* god loves alle that he has made, and 3yf anye man or womann

---

16 *ys*: om. ms.
23 *cristene*: ms: cristende.

---

18 *for that*: 'because'; cf. 321.6: *that*. Either reading can be defended. The short text makes Julian say that the revelations were not given to her because God loves her more than any other soul in a state of grace, in P she says that the revelations did not show her that God loves her more ...; but note that C and S2 agree with A.

19 *For I am sekere* ...: cf. the *Chastising*: Alle hooli men and wymmen, which I clepe goddis chosen children, þou3 þei wirche no myraclis, ne haue no spirit of profecie ne reuelacions ne visions, 3it her names bien writen in þe booke of lijf ... (Bazire and Colledge, 183-184). Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, II xli, with a prayer: Domine Jesu Christe, mitis et humilis corde, funda cor meum in vera humilitate, et exclude a me omnem motum praesumptionis et superbiae, ut nunquam visiones desiderem aut revelationes nec per aliquas tentationes seducar spirituales, quae me ducere quoquomodo possent in errores (Rigollot, 3 266).

23 *in anehede of charyte*: what follows is clearly inspired by Ephesians, chapter 4: ... supporting one another in charity ... Cf. the *Cloud*: ... þof al þei sie soche þinges wiþ þeire bodely i3en, it was schewyd bot in myracle and in certefiing of þing þat was goostly ... by miracle and in licnes for alle us þat ben abel to be sauid, þat ben onyd to þe body of Criste goostly (Hodgson, 106-107).

25 *For god is alle that ys goode / and god has made alle that ys made / and god loves alle that he has made*: a *compar* with initial *repetitio* (*For god ... and god ... and god*), medial *repetitio* (*alle ... alle ... alle*) and *conversio* (*ys goode ... ys made ... has made*).

26 *and 3yf anye ... nou3t in pees* (221.29): this passage, not reproduced in the long text, is inspired by I John 3.14-17, 23-24: We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren. He who does not love abides in death. Whoever hates his brother is a murderer ... How does the charity of God abide in him? ... And this is (God's) commandment, that we ... love one another, as he has commanded us. And he who keeps his commandments abides in him. Reflection may have suggested to Julian that in this passage she had seemed to be reprehending her readers.

departe his love fra any of his evynn crysten, he loves ryght nought, for he loves nouȝt alle. And so that tyme he ys nouȝt safe, for he es nouȝt in pees; and he that generaly looves his evynn crystynn, he loves alle that
30 es. For in mankynde that schalle be saffe is comprehende alle, that ys alle that ys made and the makere of alle; for in manne ys god, *and* so in man ys alle. And he þat thus generalye loves alle his evyn crystene, he loves alle, and he that loves thus, he is safe. And thus wille I love, *and* thus I love, and thus I am safe. For y mene in the personn of myne evyn
35 crystene, and the more I love of this lovynge whiles I am here, the mare
101r I am lyke to the blysse that I / schalle have in hevene with owten ende, that is god that of his endeles love wolde be come owre brothere *and* suffer for vs. And I am sekere þat he that behaldes it thus, he schalle be trewly tauȝt *and* myghttelye comforthtede, if hym nede comforthe.

---

36 ms: that I (f. 101r) that I.
39 *if*: by corrector over erasure.

---

29 *and he that generaly ... he loves alle* (221.33): this corresponds with the long text, 322.13-17.

30 *For in mankynde that schalle be saffe is comprehende alle / that ys alle that ys made and the makere of alle / for in manne ys god and so in man ys alle*: a *compar* with *repetitio* and *conversio*.

comprehende ...: cf. *Privy Counselling*: He is þi being and in him þou arte þat at þou arte ... and in þat he is one in alle and alle in him þat alle þinges han her beinges in him and he is being of alle (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 136), and the *Cloud*: ... he is al comprehensible at þe fulle, insomochel þat o louyng soule only in it self, by vertewe of loue, schuld comprehende in it hym þat is sufficient at þe fulle, and mochel more, wiþ oute comparison, to fille alle þe soules and aungelles þat euer may be (ibid., 19).

32 *And he þat thus generalye loves ...*: this teaching on 'general love', not reproduced in the long text, is very close to chapters 24 and 25 of the *Cloud* (Hodgson, 58-61). Note especially: For alle men þink hym iliche sib unto him and no man fremmid (ibid., 59).

And he þat thus generalye loves alle his evyn crystene / he loves alle and he that loves thus he is safe: a *compar* of two longer *cola*, with initial *repetitio* and medial: *And he ... loves ... loves ... and he ... loves.*

33 *and he that loves thus ... and suffer for vs*: cf. 322.17. Julian is far from the only contemplative to have received assurances of her soul's salvation; but, again, she seems to have judged this passage likely to arouse hostile response and therefore to have suppressed it. If taken out of its context and quoted without her qualification *For y mene in the personn of myne evyn crystene,* it could have been misinterpreted.

35 *the mare I am lyke to the blysse that I schalle have in hevene*: cf. I Corinthians 13.10: But when that which is perfect has come, that which is in part shall be done away.

37 *god that of his endeles love wolde be come owre brothere*: cf. Hebrews 2.17: It behoved him in all things to be made like to his brethren ...

38 *And I am sekere ... nede comforthe*: this sentence corresponds with the long text, 322.17-19, though it has there been modified to *And I hope ...*

he schalle be trewly tauȝt: cf. John 6.45: Every one who has heard of the Father and has learned comes to me.

Botte god for bede that ȝe schulde saye or take it so that I am a techere, for I meene nouȝt soo, no I mente nevere so; for I am a womann, leued, febille *and* freylle. Botte I wate wele, this that I saye, I hafe it of the schewynge of hym tha(t) es souerayne techare. Botte sothelye charyte styrres me to telle ȝowe it, for I wolde god ware knawenn, *and* mynn evynn crystene spede, as I wolde be my selfe to the mare hatynge of synne *and* lovynge of god. Botte for I am a womann, schulde I therfore leve that I schulde nouȝt telle ȝowe the goodenes of god, syne that I sawe in that same tyme that is his wille, that it be knawenn? And that schalle ȝe welle see in the same matere that folowes aftyr, if itte be welle and trewlye takynn. Thane schalle ȝe sone forgette me that am a wrecche, and dose so that I lette ȝowe nought, *and* behalde Jhesu that ys techare of alle. I speke of thame that schalle be safe, for in this tyme

---

43 *that*: ms: thas.
49 *if*: interl. corrector w. caret.

---

40 *Botte god for bede ...*: from here to *techare of alle* (222.52) is not found in the long text; cf. 322.19, 323.20. Again, this defence of herself, so like to Margery Kempe's, as a woman who does not teach, may have been deleted as likely to antagonize male readers; but, on the other hand, the notably more tranquil tone of the long text at this point could suggest that in later years Julian had gained assurance. Plainly, Julian here has in mind the prohibition in I Corinthians 14.34, as had the author of the *Riwle*: Sum is so wel ileret oþer so wys iwordet þat heo ... bicomeþ mayster þat scholde beon ancre, and lereþ hi*m* þat is icome*n* hire for to leren (Vernon MS, f. 374^{c}; Day, 28).

41 *leued, febille and freylle*: this is no more than modest self-disparagement, and we are not obliged to understand *leued* as meaning 'illiterate', any more than when Douglas writes in his *AEnis* 'I say nocht this of Chaucer for offence / Bot till excuse my lawit insuffitience' (NED Lewd 2).

43 *of hym that es souerayne techare*: cf. Matthew 23.8: For one is your master.

charyte styrres me: cf. II Corinthians 5.14: For the charity of Christ presses us.

44 *I wolde god ware knawenn*: cf. Isaias 66.14: And the hand of the Lord shall be known to his servants.

and mynn evynn crystene spede: cf. I Corinthians 12.7: ... the manifestation of the Spirit is given ... for profit.

45 *hatynge of synne and lovynge of god*: cf. Psalm 96.10: You that love the Lord, hate evil.

50 *Thane schalle ȝe sone forgette me that am a wrecche / and dose so that I lette ȝowe nought / and behalde Jhesu that ys techare of alle*: a three-membered *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

51 *dose*: this is the Northern plural imperative: 'and do this (forget me), so that I am no hindrance to you'.

behalde Jhesu that ys techare of alle: cf. John 13.13: You call me master and lord, and you say well, for so I am; and Hebrews 12.2: ... Jesus, the author and finisher of faith.

52 *I speke of thame ... haly kyrke techis* (223.54): this corresponds with the long text, 323.20-23.

god schewyd me non othere; bot in alle thynge I lyeve as haly kyrke techis, for in alle thynge, this blyssede schewynge of oure lorde, I be helde it as ane in god syght, and I vndyrstode neu*er* nathynge þ*er* yn that stonez me ne lettes me of the trewe techynge of halye kyrke.

(vii) Alle this blyssede techynge of oure lorde god was schewyd to me in thre partyes, that is be bodylye syght, and be worde formede in myne vndyrstandynge, *and* be gastelye syght. Botte the gastelye syght I maye nought ne can nought schewe it vnto ȝowe oponlye *and* als fullye as I wolde; botte I truste in oure lorde god alle myghtty that he schalle of his goodnes and for ȝoure love make ȝowe to take it mare gastelye and mare swetly than I can or maye telle it ȝowe, and so motte it be, for we are alle one in loove. And in alle this I was mekylle styrrede in charyte to myne evynn cristene, that thaye myght alle see and knawe þe same
101v that I sawe, for I walde that it ware comforthe to thame / alle as it es to
11 me; for this syght was schewyd in generalle, *and* nathynge in specyalle. Of alle that I sawe, this was the maste comforthe to me, that oure lorde es so hamlye *and* so curtayse, and this maste fillyd me with lykynge *and* syekernes in saule. Than sayde I to the folke that were with me: Itt es to daye domes daye with me. And this I sayde for I wenede to hafe dyed; for that daye that man or womann dyes ys he demyd as he schalle be

---

6 *ȝowe*: ms: iȝowe.
12 *I*: interl. corrector w. caret.
13 *fillyd*: ms: fil-lyd; 'il' corrector over erasure.

---

1 *Alle this blyssede techynge ... maye telle it ȝowe* (224.7): this corresponds with the long text, 323.29-34.

7 *and so motte it be, for we are alle one in loove*: not in the long text; cf. 323.34.

8 *And in alle this ... nathynge in specyalle* (224.11): this corresponds with the long text, 319.21-25.

10 *for I walde that it ware comforthe to thame alle*: though Julian is very sure of her own place in contemplative life and its traditions, she is free of the guarded esotericism to be seen in some of even the most orthodox of her peers. For example, the *Cloud*-author writes that no-one must see his works except those who have forsaken the active life (Hodgson, 1-2).

11 *for this syght was schewyd in generalle / and nathynge in specyalle*: *oppositio contrariorum*.

12 *Of alle ... syekernes in saule*: this sentence corresponds with 313.31-34 in the long text.

14 *Than sayde I ... to hafe dyed* (225.20): this corresponds with 319.25-31 in the long text.

15 *domes daye with me*: the only example in NED of the meaning 'particular judgment' is 1579, Lyly: 'Dost thou not know that everyone's death day is his doomesday?' MED does not record the meaning. Hugh of St. Victor seems to have been the first theologian to distinguish clearly between the general and particular judgments, in *De sacramentis*, where he writes first 'de morientibus, seu de fine hominis', and then 'de fine saeculi'; but the terminology 'particular' and 'general' became current only with the scholastics. Cf. J. Rivière, 'Jugement'.

with owtynn eende. This I sayde for y walde thaye lovyd god mare *and* sette the lesse pryse be the vanite of the worlde, for to make thame to hafe mynde that this lyfe es schorte, as thaye myght se in ensampille be me; for in alle þis tyme I wenede to hafe dyed.

And aftyr this I sawe with bodely syght the face of the crucifixe that hange before me, in whilke I behelde contynuely a party of his passyonn: despite, spittynge in sowlynge of his bodye *and* buffetynge in his blysfulle face, *and* manye langoures and paynes, ma than I can telle, and ofte chaungynge of coloure, and alle his blyssede face a tyme closede in dry blode. This I sawe bodylye *and* hevelye *and* derkelye; and I desyred mare bodelye lyght to hafe sene more clerelye. And I was annswerde in my resone that ȝyf god walde schewe me mare he schulde, botte me nedyd na lyght botte hym.

---

20 *þis*: 'is' interl. corrector.

---

17 *and sette the lesse pryse be the vanite of the worlde*: not in the long text; cf. 319.29.

21 *And aftyr this ... na lyght botte hym* (29): cf. 324.3-325.14.

23 *spittynge*: cf. 324.5 and note.

sowlynge: cf. 324.5 and note.

24 *langoures and paynes*: cf. 324.5: *languryng paynes*. Either reading is defensible. Cf. Isaias 53.4: 'Surely he has borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows', which I Peter 2.24 relates to the Passion.

25 *ofte chaungynge of coloure*: cf. 233.2-8, 357.3-9, 11 and note. These descriptions markedly resemble some lines from the 'imago pietatis' poem, *Brother, Abide*: 'My visage changed to pale and blew as byse,/ My fleshe beganne to styff and waxid drye, / My hart lokyd lyke a plommet of ise ...' (Brown, XV 174). Though the poet, like Julian, may have known pseudo-Bonaventure (R. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 197 and note 1), the *Meditations* are not here the source. Probably both writers are describing contemporary art-objects, 'the payntyngys of crucyfexes that er made be the grace of god' (202.16), such as the horrific illustrations from MS B.M. Add. 37049 reproduced by R. Woolf; and Julian's intention plainly is to heighten the spiritual significance of the contrast between this 'image of pite' and her visions of the risen and glorified Lord.

26 *dry blode*: pseudo-Bonaventure has a similar detail: 'his clopes þat were drye and bakene to his blessid body all abowte hyme in his blyssede blode' (Horstman 1 205; Stallings, 111, Ragusa and Green, 333).

hevelye: cf. 325.11: swemly.

27 *I was annswerde in my resone*: here she seems to be trying to convey a reflective process which is certainly, in her own consideration, assisted by grace, but which differs greatly from the 'part' of the revelation which is 'by words formed in my understanding'. It also differs from where she says that there 'was brought to my mind this word' (360.2), and 'I had a proffer in my reason' (370.6), both of which are also 'gracious' activities, but 'meditative' (discursive) rather than contemplative, acquired rather than infused graces.

28 *ȝyf god walde schewe me mare he schulde / botte me nedyd na lyght botte hym*: a *compar.*

29 *me nedyd na lyght botte hym*: cf. 325.13 and note, and Psalm 22.1: 'The Lord rules me, and I shall want nothing'.

(viii) And aftyr this I sawe god in a poynte, that es in myne vn-
dyrstandynge, by whilke syght I sawe that he es in alle thynge. I behelde
with vysemente, wittande and knawande in that syght that he dose alle
that es done. I merveylede in this syght with a softe drede, and thought:
5 Whate es synne? For I sawe trulye that god dothe alle thynge, be itt
nevere so litille, nor nathynge es done be happe ne be eventure, botte
the endeles forluke of the wysdome of god. Whare fore me behovede
nedes grawnte that alle thynge that es done es wele done, and I was
sekyr that god dose na synne. Þer fore it semed to me *þat* synne is nouȝt,
10 for in alle thys, synne was nouȝt schewyd me. And y walde no lengyr
mervelle of this, botte behalde oure lorde, whate he wolde schewe me.
And in anothyr tyme god schewyd me whate syne es, nakydlye be the
selfe, as y schalle telle aftyr warde.

---

9 *Þer fore ... thys, synne*: add., foot of page w. mark of om., corrector.
13 *warde*: ms: worde; 'a' interl. al. m.

---

1 *And aftyr this ... of the wysdome of god* (226.7): cf. 336.3-337.9.

in a poynte: 'in an instant'. Cf. NED Point n^1 III 7, where the first example is 1382, Wycliffe: 'At a poynt in a litil I forsoc þe' (Isaias 54.7: 'Ad punctum in modico dereliqui te'). There is an earlier example in Rolle: and led þair dayes in lust and delyces, and in a poynt þai fel intil hell (Margaret Amassian, ed.: *The Commandment*, where she observes that Rolle is translating Job 21.13: And in a moment they go down to hell). He quotes Job 20.5 in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note): In hiis quippe tormentis experimento cognoscent quia *laus impiorum brevis est, et gaudium ypocrite ad instar puncti* (Murray, 19). The *Speculum christiani*, which Holmstedt dated, on internal and manuscript evidence, as of the second half of the fourteenth century, and which elsewhere quotes Rolle's *Incendium*, writes: thei ledde here dayes in lustes, lykynges and vanites, and thei descendyd to helle in a poynte (204).

5 *For I sawe trulye ...*: for this *ratiocinatio*, preserved in the long text, cf. 336.7 note.

7 *forluke*: cf. MED for(e-lok, n. (2), '... divine prescience, divine providence', and for(e-loken, v. The earliest example of the noun is 1357, the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. MED calls the verb 'modelled on L provideo', and both entries indicate that the terms were rare and generally confined to theological writings.

Whare fore me behovede nedes grawnte: this is the logical concession of the proof, the answer to the question in the *ratiocinatio*. For the legal term *concessio*, see *Ad Herennium* I.xiv.24 (Marx-Trillitzsch, 20). Julian shows the same awareness of the philosophical reasoning as she might have found in Chaucer's *Boethius*: Syn þat he ne may not done yuel þat may done alle þinges ... deceiuest þou me, þat hast so wouen me wiþ þi resouns (Morris, 105). Cf. 338.21 note.

Whare fore me behovede ... whate he wolde schewe me (226.11): this corresponds with the long text, 338.17-24.

8 *alle thynge that es done es wele done*: cf. 338.18 note.

9 *is nouȝt*: cf. 338.22: *is no dede*.

12 *And in anothyr tyme ... as y schalle telle*: cf. 338.28-339.29.

And aftyr this I sawe be haldande the bodye plentevouslye bledande,
hate *and* freschlye and lyfelye, ry3t as I sawe before in the heede. And
102r this was schewyd / me in the semes of scowrgynge, and this ranne so plenteuouslye to my syght that me thought, 3yf itt hadde bene so in kynde, for þat tyme itt schulde hafe made the bedde alle on blode *and* hafe passede o*n*n abowte.

God has made waterse plentuouse in erthe to oure servyce and to owre bodylye eese, for tendyr love that he has to vs. Botte 3it lykes hym bettyr that we take fullye his blessede blode to wasche vs with of synne; for thare ys no lykoure that es made that hym lykes so welle to gyffe vs. For it is so plenteuouse and of oure kynde.

And aftyr this, or god schewyd me any wo(r)des, he suffyrde me to be halde langere, and alle that I hadde seene, *and* alle that was there yn. And than was with owty*n*n voyce *and* with owte openynge of lyppes formede in my sawlle this worde: Here w*ith* ys the feende ou*er* co*m*my*n*n. This worde sayde oure lorde me(n)ande his passyo*n*n, as he schewyd me before. In this oure lorde brought vnto my mynde *and* schewyd me a perte of the fendys malyce, *and* fully his vnmyght, and for that he schewyd me that the passyo*n*n of hym is ou*er*comynge of the fende. God

---

16 ms: schewyd (f. 102^{r}) schewyd.
25 *or*: ms: houre. *wordes*: ms: wo*n*ndes; cf. 346.3.
29 *menande*: ms: mevande; cf. 346.8.

---

14 *And aftyr this ... the semes of scowrgynge*: cf. 342.3-4.
16 *semes*: cf. 342.3: *in semyng*, and note.
and this ranne so plenteuouslye ... and of oure kynde (227.24): cf. 342.9-343.18.
20 *God has made waterse*: see 343.13 note.
25 *And aftyr this ... lokene in goddys hande* (228.40): this corresponds with the long text, 346.3-347.18.
or god schewyd me any wordes: see 346.3 note.
26 *langere*: cf. 346.4: *a conveniable tyme*.
27 *with owtynn voyce ...*: see 346.6 note.
28 *Here with ys the feende ouer commynn*: the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* calls the Passion: herte scheld a3eyn þe fent (he is alluding to Lamentations 3.65); and he continues: hef hit an hei3 abouen þin herte heued ... hold hit vp to3eyn þe fend ... þe si3t þer of one bringeþ him to fleon (Vernon MS, f. 385^{d}; Day, 132).
29 *as he schewyd me before*: this is probably a general reference to the previous revelations of the suffering Christ, though it may allude to what she has just written, 227.21-22.
31 *the fendys malyce*: see 347.9 note.
and fully his vnmyght: see 347.9 note.
32 *the passyonn of hym ...*: see 347.10 note.

schewyd me that he hase nowe the same malyce that he had before the incarnacion, and als sare he traveyles, *and* als contynuelye he sees that
35 alle chosene saules eschapes hym worschipfullye. And that es alle his sorowe; for alle that god suffers hym to do turnes vs to ioye *and* hym to payne *and* to schame, and he has als mekylle sorowe when god gyffes hym leve to wyrke as when he werkys nought. And that es for he maye nevere do als ille as he wolde, for his myght es alle lokene in goddys
40 hande. Also I sawe oure lorde scorne his malyce and nought hym, and he wille that we do the same. For this syght, I lugh3 myghttelye, and that made thamm to laugh3 that were abowte me; and thare laughynge was lykynge to me. I thought y wolde myne evyn cristene hadde sene as I sawe. Than schulde thaye alle hafe laughynn with me. Botte I sawe
45 nou3t Cryste laugh3; neuer the lesse hym lykes that we laugh3 in comfortynge of vs, *and* er ioyande in god for the feende ys ouer comynn. *And* aftyr this I felle into a saddehe(d)e, *and* sayde: I see. I see thre thynges: game, scorne and arneste. I see game, that the feende ys ouer-
102v comenn, and I see scorne, / that god scornes hym and he schalle be
50 scornede, and I see arneste that he es ouercomenn be the passionn of oure lorde Jhesu Cryste *and* be his dede, that was done ful erneste *and* with sadde travayle.

---

36 *to (do)*: interl. corrector w. caret. *vs*: corrector, over erasure.
47 *saddehede*: ms: sadde hete. *I see (thre)*: interl. corrector w. caret.

---

35 *alle chosen saules*: cf. 347.13: *all sowles of saluacion.*

And that es alle his sorowe: St. Thomas taught that there is in the devil the sin of envy: ... est in angelo peccante malum invidiae secundum quod de bono hominis doluit (*Summa theologiae* I.63.2 ad corpus).

40 *Also I sawe ... ys ouer comynn*: cf. 348.24-349.31.

44 *Botte I sawe nou3t Cryste laugh3*: Julian here is hinting at what in the long text she is able to say with clarity (347.18): that there can be no 'laughing scorn' in God, even as there can be no wrath; what she means when she there writes *I sawe hym scorne his malis* (349.31) she explains as the quality of his unchanging *sothfastnesse*.

45 *neuer the lesse hym lykes that we laugh3*: in the long text this is changed to: *but wele I wott that syght that he shewed me made me to laugh* (348.29-349.30).

47 *And aftyr this ... with saddle travayle*: cf. 349.36-350.41.

saddehede: cf. 349.36: sadnes; SS: sadhede. Plainly A's reading is a corruption of the ancestor as represented by SS. NED, Sad, *adj.* and *adv.*, II 10b, records 'sadde' (c. 1420), 'of a fire: violent'; but the A reading in its context is nonsensical. NED does not record 'Sadhead'.

48 *I see game that the feende ys ouercomenn / and I see scorne that god scornes hym and he schalle be scornede / and I see arneste that he es ouercomenn be the passionn of oure lord Jhesu Cryste*: a three-membered *compar* with *repetitio* (*I see ... I see ... I see ... I see ... ouercomenn ... ouercomenn ... scorne ... scornes ... scornede*).

Aftyr this oure lorde sayde: I thanke the of thy servyce *and* of thy trauayle, *and* na*m*ly in þi 3ough.

---

53 *Aftyr this oure lorde ... in þi 3ough*: cf. 351.3-4 and note. Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, II xiv (in which he has commented on the parable of the workmen in the vineyard) with a prayer: Domine Jesu Christe, summe paterfamilias, tu me primo mane in vineam tuam conduxisti, dum me a juventute mea ad fidem et tuum servitium misericorditer vocasti (Rigollot, 3 98).

(ix) God schewyd me thre degrees of blysse that ylke saule schalle hafe in hevene that wilfullye hase servyd god in any degree heere in erthe. The fyrste is the wyrschipfulle thankkynge of owre lorde god that he schalle resayfe when he es delyuerede fro payne. This thanke is so hyȝe and so wyrschipfulle that hym thynke it fylles hym, þowȝ þare ware no mare blys. For me thought that alle the payne *and* travayle that myght be suffyrde of alle lyffande men myght nought hafe deservede the thanke that a man schalle hafe that wylfullye has servydde god. For the seconnde, that alle the blyssede creatures þat er in hevene schalle see that worschipfulle thankynge of oure lorde god. And he makys his servyce to alle that er in heuenn knawenn. And for the thyrde, that als new ande als lykande as it es resayvede that tyme, ryght so schalle itt laste with owten ende, I sawe that goodelye and swetlye was this sayde *and* schewyd to me, that þe age of euery ylk man schalle be knawen in heuenn and rewardyd for his wilfulle seruyce and for his tyme, and namely the age of thame þat wilfullye and frelye offers thare ȝought vnto god es passande rewardede *and* wondyrlye thankkyd.

And aftyr this oure lorde schewyd me a souerayne gastelye lykynge in my sawlle. In this lykynge I was fulfillyd of euerlastande sekernesse, myghtlye festnede with owtyn any drede. This felynge was so gladde to me and so goodly that I was in peeȝ, in ese and in ryste, so that þere was nothynge in erthe that schulde hafe grevyd me.

This lastyd botte a while, and I was turnede *and* lefte to my selfe in hevynes and werynesse of my selfe and yrkesumnesse of my lyfe that vn-

---

7 *hafe (deservede)*: add. marg. corrector.
14 *man*: interl. corrector w. caret.
21 *I was*: interl. corrector w. caret.

---

1 *God schewyd me ... or in heuenn knawenn* (230.11): cf. 352.13-23.
thre degrees: so the long text, 352.13. But 'degrees' is not here used in its commoner sense of 'ascending scale', but to mean 'three separate categories'; and *in any degree* (line 2; cf. 352.14) means 'in any capacity'.
11 *And for the thyrde ... wondyrlye thankkyd* (230.17): this corresponds with the long text, 353.27-32.
17 *passande*: 'surpassingly'. Cf. NED Passingly, *adv.*, MED passaunt, adv. One of MED's earliest examples is Rolle, *Form of Living*. Cf. MS Trinity College Dublin 70 (15th century): Þese be þe eiȝte tokenesse of mekenesse ... and for þis lownesse *and* mekenesse he was passingli comendid of Crist.
18 *And aftyr this ... dryed to my sight* (233.10): cf. 354.3-357.11.
21 *goodly*: cf. 354.6: *goostely*. 'goodly' is the last word of the line, where the scribe seems often prone to error: cf. 211.20, 219.5, 224.13, 230.7.

nethes I cowthe hafe pacyence to lyeve. Thare was none ese ne na comforthe to my felynge botte hope, faythe and charyte, and this y hadde in trowthe botte fulle lytille in felynge. And an one aftyr god gafe me agayne the comforth and / the reste in saule, likynge and syekyrnesse so blysfulle *and* so myghtty þat no drede, no sorowe, no payne bodylye no gastelye that myght be sufferde schulde have dissesede me. And than the payne schewyd agayne to my felynge, and than the ioye and the lykynge, *and* than the tane *and* nowe the tothere, dyverse tymes, I suppose abowte twentye sythes. And in the tyme of ioye I myght hafe sayde with Paule: Nathynge schalle departe me fro the charyte of Cryste; and in payne y myght hafe sayde with saynte Petyr: Lorde, save me, I perysche.

103r

Þis visionn was schewyd me to lere me atte my vndyrstandynge þat it es nedefulle to ylke mann to feele on this wyse, sum tyme to be in comforthe *and* sum tyme to fayle *and* be lefte to hym selfe. God wille that we knowe that he kepes vs euere lyke syekyr, in wele and in woo, *and* als mykille loves vs in woo as in weele. *And* sum tyme for the profytte of his saule a man es lefte to hymselfe; *and* to whethere synne es nought the cause. For in this tyme I synnede nought wherefore I schulde be lefte to

---

31 *and the (lykynge)*: ms. and than the.

---

26 *botte hope, faythe and charyte*: again Julian adverts to I Corinthians 13.

and this y hadde in trowthe botte fulle lytille in felynge: 'I had faith in them, but I experienced little of them'.

33 *And in the tyme of ioye / I myght hafe sayde with Paule / Nathynge schalle departe me fro the charyte of Cryste / and in payne / y myght hafe sayde with saynte Petyr / Lorde save me I perysche*: a six-membered *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

34 *Nathynge schalle departe me ...* : this is Julian's summary of Romans 8.35-39: Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? ... Neither life nor death ...

35 *Lorde, save me, I perysche*: again, this conflates Matthew 14. 30: Lord, save me, with Matthew 8.25: Lord, save us, we perish.

40 *and als mykille loves us in woo as in weele*: not in the long text; cf. 355.24. But cf. the apparatus to 354.1: S1: is of often tymes felyng of wele and wo. This shows that S1, or an ancestor, had been collated with a copy of the short text.

42 *and to whethere synne es nought the cause*: this is modified in the long text: *all thogh hys synne is nott evyr the cause* (355.25).

to whethere: this may mean 'in either case' or 'none the less'. NED does not notice under To or Whether; but in its discussion of 'whether'-forms, it cites OHG *diu hwiduru, tho-hwidaro*, and cross-refers to Though-whether, 'Notwithstanding'. But the antecedent of *whethere* is probably 'consolation and dereliction', *in woo as in weele*, and 'in either case' is more suited to Julian's logical and categorizing temper.

my selfe, ne also I deseruede nouȝt to hafe this blysfulle felynge; botte frelye god gyffeȝ wele when hym lykes, and suffers (vs) in wa sum tyme, and bothe es of love. For it is godys wille that we halde vs in comforthe with alle oure myght, for blys es lastande with owtynn ende, and paynn es passande *and* schalle be brought to nought. There fore it es nought goddys wille that we folowe the felynges of payne in sorowynge and in mournynge for thaim, botte sodaynlye passe ouer *and* halde vs in endelesse lykynge, that es god alle myghtty oure lovere *and* kepare.

45 *vs*: om. ms.
50 *thaim*: '*im*' by corrector over erasure.

45 *suffers vs*: cf. 356.290: *sufferyth vs*.
46 *of love*: cf. 356.29: *one loue*.
48 *There fore it es nought goddys wille* ...: cf. *Bonum est*: ... he is neuer angri ne wroþ, ne stured þoru frouwardnes of wil aȝeynes god ne mon; and also for he feleþ no desyr in him self vnneþes to eny þing þat is, but holdeþ him payed with al as hit is, ful louyndliche vnbidyng þe wil of vr lord, lest crauynde of god in special and most hauynde of him in general, þat bereþ his bodilych lyf as a cros on his bak, miȝtiliche with paceince, euer redi for to dyen whon his tyme comeþ, þat haþ lost sauour of þis world and liueþ in continuel longyng to heuenlich blis (Wallner, 59-60).
51 *alle myghtty oure lovere and kepare*: not in the long text; cf. 356.35.

(x) Aftyr this Cryste schewyd me a partye of his passyone nere his dyinge. I sawe that swete faace as yt ware drye and bludyelesse with pale dyinge, sithenn mare dede, pale, langourrande, and than turnede more dede to the blewe, *and* sithene mare blewe, as the flesche turnede mare deepe dede. For alle the paynes that Cryste sufferde in his bodye schewyd to me in the blyssede faace als farfurthe as I sawe it, and namelye in the lyppes. Thare I sawe this foure colourse, thay that I sawe be forehand, freschlye *and* ruddy, lyflye *and* lykande to my syght. 103v This / was a hevy channge to see, this deepe dyinge, and also the nese c(lu)nge and dryed to my sight. This lange pynynge semede to me as he hadde bene a seuenn nyght dede, alle waye sufferannde payne, *and* me thought the dryinge of Crystes flesche was the maste payne of his passionn and the laste. And in this dryhede was brouȝt to my mynde this worde that Cryste sayde: I thryste. For I sawe in Criste a doubille thyrste, ane bodylye, ane othere gastelye. This worde was schewyd to me for the bodylye thirste, and for the gastelye thyrste was schewyd to me als I schalle saye eftyr warde; and I vndyrstode of bodelye thyrste

---

3 *dede*: second 'de' corrector over erasure.
8 *ruddy*: 'dy' corrector over erasure.
10 *clunge*: ms: channgede.
15 *schewyd to me*: 'schewyd' last word of line (cf. 230.21 note); 'to' add. marg., not by usual corrector.

---

2 *bludyelesse*: not recorded in NED, and this is the only example in MED. It is probably a scribe's error for 'bludlesse'. Cf. 357.4: *blodeles*, with which C, SS agree.
10 *clunge*: A's *channgede* is certainly erroneous, as are P's *cloeggeran* and C's *cloggering*. The only sense given is by S1's *clonge*, S2's *clange* (357.10 app.), 'shrivelled'. Cf. NED Cling *v.* 12, and 364.43, 46 note. Cf. also 359.28: *clongyn*.
This lange pynynge ... sufferannde payne: cf. 358.24-359.26.
11 *and me thought ... and weyght of the bodye* (234.21); cf. 359.29-360.9.
13 *And in this dryhede ... maye nouȝt be tolde* (234.25): this corresponds with the long text, 364.46-49.
dryhede: cf. NED Dryhede: a. 1300, *E. E. Psalter* 66.6: Whilk þat tornes þe se / In mikel drihed for to be (Qui convertit mare in aridam).
14 *I thryste*: John 19.28. The English verse *Meditationes de passione Christi* has: A a how strong was þan his pine / Thogh hit be expowned in a sermoun / That he þristede soules saluacioun / ȝit truli þe manhede þristede on rode / For he was ful drie for faute of blode (MS Bodley 415, f. 84d). Cf. Stallings, 115, and see also 153, where she adduces Bonaventure's *Vitis mystica*, stressing the greater importance of Christ's 'ghostly thirst'; but for pseudo-Bonaventure, as for Julian, the thirst is 'double'.
17 *als I schalle saye eftyr warde*: cf. 349.13 e.s.

that the bodye hadde of faylynge of moystere, for the blessede flesche *and* banes ware lefte allane with owtynn blode *and* moystere. The blyssyd bodye dryede alle ane lange tyme, with wryngynge of the nayles and paysynge of the hede and weyght of the bodye, with blawynge of wynde fra withoutynn that dryed mare and pyned hym with calde, mare thann mynn herte can thynke, *and* alle othere paynes. Swilke paynes I sawe that alle es to litelle þat y can telle or saye, for itt maye nouȝt be tolde, botte ylke saule aftere the sayinge of saynte Pawle schulde feele in hym þat in Criste Jhesu. This schewynge of Criste paynes fillyd me fulle of paynes, for I wate weele he suffrede nouȝt botte aneȝ, botte as he walde schewe yt me and fylle me with mynde as I hadde desyrede before. My modere that stode emangys othere and behelde me lyftyd vppe hir hande before m(y) face to lokke mynn eyenn, for sche wenyd I had bene dede or els I hadde dyede; and this encresyd mekille my sorowe, for nouȝt withstandynge alle my paynes, I wolde nouȝt hafe beenn lettyd for loove that I hadde in hym. And to whethere, in alle this tyme of Crystes presence, I felyd no payne, botte for Cristes paynes; þan thouȝt me I knewe ful lytylle whate payne it was that I askyd, for me

---

21 *hede*: 'ede' by corrector over erasure.
30 *my*: ms: me.
35 *ful lytylle*: ms: fully tylle.

---

18 *faylynge of moystere*: cf. the *Fifteen Oes* (201.6 note): ... þu was hungen on heght and þi tendyre flesche wanysched, þe moyster of þi bowels dryed *and* þe marrowe of þi bones oute dwyned (MS BM Royal 17 C xvii, f. 96d).

21 *and paysynge of the hede*: not in the long text; cf. 360.9.

with blawynge of wynde ... maye nozt be tolde: cf. 364.46-49. The English verse *Meditationes de passione Christi* has: On a cold morning at prime of daie / The prestes *and* princes gunne hem araie (MS Bodley 415, f. 83a). The Latin reads: Mane autem tempestive ... (Stallings, 105). Julian's account combines both traditions.

25 *botte ylke saule ... Criste Jhesu*: not in the long text; cf. 364.49-50.

saynte Pawle: Philippians 2.5: For let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus (Hoc enim sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu). Julian's syntax exactly reproduces that of the Vulgate. She is probably thinking of the connexion she so often makes between 'mind' and 'feeling'. Cf. I Corinthians 2.16: We have the mind of Christ (Habemus sensum Christi).

26 *This schewynge ... desyrede before*: cf. 364.50-52.

29 *My modere ... And to whethere*: not in the long text; cf. 364.52.

30 *for sche wenyd ...*: 'for she thought that I was already dead, or else had just died'. It is noteworthy that this is the only allusion in the revelations to any relative.

33 *And to whethere*: cf. 231.41: 'and with regard to either'. Julian is suffering 'in Christ Jesus', as St. Paul enjoins (cf. 234.25 and note). The cause of her suffering is neither her own sickness nor the sorrow she feels when she can no longer see Christ, but only the pains of his Passion.

in alle this tyme ... to hafe dyede bodylye (235.42): cf. 364.52-365.63.

thought that my paynes passede any bodylye dede. I thou3t: Es any payne in helle lyke this payne? And I was annswerde in my reso*n*ne that dyspayre ys mare, for that es gastelye payne. Bot bodilye payne es nane mare than this; howe myght my payne be more than to see hym that es
104r alle my lyfe, alle my blys *and* alle mye / ioye suffyr? H(ere) felyd I soth-
41 fastlye that y lovede Criste so mekille abou*e*n my selfe that me thought it hadde beene a grete eese to me to hafe dyede bodylye.

Here yn I sawe in partye the co*m*passyo*n*n of oure ladye saynte Marye; for Criste *and* scho ware so anede in loove that þe gretnesse of
45 hir loove was the cause of the mykille hede of hir payne. For so mykille as scho lovyd hym mare than alle othe*r*e, her payne passed alle othere. And so alle his disciples *and* alle his trewe lovers suffyrde paynes mare than thare awne bodelye dying. For I am sekyr be my*n*n awne felynge that the leste of thame luffed hym mare than thaye dyd tha*m*m selfe.
50 Here I sawe a grete anynge be twyx Criste and vs; for when he was in payne we ware in payne, and alle creatures that myght suffyr payne soffyrde w*ith* hym. And thaye that knewe hym nou3t, this was thare payne,

---

39 *payne be more*: 'payne' is the last word of the line (cf. 230.21 note); 'be more' add. marg. corrector.

40 *suffyr? Here:* ms: suffyrde hir.

49 *hym*: interl. corrector w. caret.

50 *a*: interl. corrector w. caret.

---

36 *Es any payne in helle lyke this payne?* This seems to be a blend of Lamentations 1.12: Attend and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow, and Psalm 17.6: The sorrows of hell encompassed me. In the *Chauncoun de noustre dame,* Mary says to Christ on the Cross: Bot hit be þe pine of helle, / Of more pine ne wot I non (C. Brown, XIII 88).

37 *that dyspayre ys mare, for that es gastelye payne*: cf. 365.58: *Helle is a nother peyne, for ther is dyspyer.*

38 *Bot bodilye payne ... my ioye suffyr?* (235.40). This corresponds, but with considerable differences, with 365.58-61. Here she is distinguishing between the pain of loss and the pain of sense, whereas in the long text she seems to realize that a further distinction is necessary: there are pains which lead to salvation.

39 *hym that es alle my lyfe, alle my blys and alle mye ioye*: *conversio.*

40 *suffyr? Here*: cf. 365.61.

43 *Here yn I sawe ... the mykille hede of hir payne*: cf. 366.2-4.

45 *For so mykille ... alle othere*: not in the long text; cf. 366.4.

46 *And so alle his disciples ... thaye dyd thamm selfe*: cf. 366.10-367.12.

50 *Here I sawe ... soffyrde with hym*: cf. 367.14-16.

52 *And thaye that knewe hym nou3t, this was thare payne*: this has been transferred to 367.23.

that alle creatures, sonne *and* the mone, with drewe thare seruyce, and so ware thaye alle lefte in sorowe for the tyme. And thus thaye that lovyd hym sufferde payne for luffe, *and* thay that luffyd hym nought sufferde payne for faylynge of comforthe of alle creatures.

In this tyme I walde hafe lokyd besyde the crosse, botte I durste nouȝt, for I wyste wele whilys I lukyd vpponn the crosse I was sekyr and safe. Therfore I walde nought assente to putte my sawle in perille, for besyde the crosse was na syekernesse, botte vglynesse of feendes.

Than hadde I a profyr in my resone, as ȝyf it hadde beene frendlye. I(t) sayde to me: Luke vppe to hevenn to his fadere. Than sawe I wele with the faythe that y felyd that thare ware nathynge be twyx the crosse *and* heuenn that myght hafe desesyd me, and othere me behovyd loke vppe or els annswere. I answerde *and* sayde: Naye, I may nought, for thowe erte myne heuen. This I sayde for I walde nouȝt; for I hadde levyr hafe bene in that payne to domysdaye than hafe commenn to hevene othere wyse than be hym. For I wyste wele he that bought me so sare schulde vnbynde me when he walde.

---

56 *of alle*: corrector over erasure.
60 *syekernesse*: 'r' interl. corrector w. caret.
62 *It*: ms: I.

---

53 *sonne and the mone ... of alle creatures*: this corresponds, but with many differences, with 367.17-24.

57 *In this tyme ... and in wa* (237.6): cf. 370.2-371.20.

60 *besyde the crosse was na syekernesse*: this is a commonplace in liturgical hymnology for Passiontide and feasts of the Holy Cross; it is also summed up in the adaptation of Galatians 6.14 (But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ ...) for the introit for Maundy Thursday and Holy Cross feasts: Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce domini nostri Jesu Christi, in quo est salus, vita et resurrectio nostra, per quem salvati et liberati sumus.

vglynesse of feendes: cf. 209.37: *mykylle occupyede with fendys*, and note.

65 *for thowe erte myne heuen*: the antecedent of 'thowe' appears to be Christ and his Cross, just as for Paul (I Corinthians 1.23) 'Crux Christi' and 'Jesus crucifixus' are synonymous.

69 *schulde vnbynde me*: Julian here seems to have in mind the cure, in Luke chapter 13, of the woman who 'was bowed together, nor could she look up at all. When Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said to her: Woman, you are delivered from your infirmity'. This was a Sabbath healing, and Jesus replied to his critics: ... ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound, see, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day? It is, however, the Lord himself who has bound Julian, in response to her request for sickness.

(xi) Thus chese I Jhesu for my heuenn, whamm I saw onlye in payne at
104v that tyme. Me lykede non othere hevene / than Jhesu, whilke schalle be my blysse when I am thare; and this has eure beene a comforthe to me, that I chesyd Jhesu to my hevene in alle tyme of passyonn and of
5 sorowe. And that has beene a lernynge to me that I schulde euermare do so, and chese anly hym to my heuen in wele and in wa. And thus sawe I my lorde Jhesu langoure lange tyme, for the anynge of the godhede, for love gafe strenght to the manhede to suffyr mare than alle men myght. I mene nought anly mare payne anly than alle men myght
10 suffyr, bot a(lso) that he suffyrde mare payne than alle men that euer was fra the fyrste begynnynge to the laste daye. No tonge maye telle ne herte fully thynke the paynes that oure savyoure sufferde for vs, haffande rewarde to the worthynes of the hyest worschipfulle kynge and to the schamefulle dyspyttous and paynefulle dede. For he that was hieste

---

1 *saw*: by corrector over longer erasure.
10 *bot also*: ms: bot (last word of line; cf. 230.21 note) anly.

---

1 *chese*: cf. 371.15: *was I lernyd to chese.*

whamm I saw onlye in payne: she is grateful that she made the choice before she saw Christ glorified (cf. Revelation XII, 402.2 es.s). But in the long text she is careful to add that the choice was only *by his grace* (371.18).

6 *And thus sawe I ... and witterlyest dyspyside*: cf. 374.2-375.9.

10 *bot also*: cf. 374.5.

11 *No tonge maye telle ne herte fully thynke*: this seems to be a clear reminiscence of the *Jubilus*: Nil canitur suauius, / Auditur nil iocundius, / Nil cogitatur dulcius / Quam Iesus dei filius (Wilmart, 'Le "Jubilus" sur le nom de Jésus', 146-147). Of the many English versions current in Julian's time, the closest is that in the Vernon MS: Jhesu, no song mai be swettore / Ne þouȝt in herte blisfollere / Nouȝt may be feeled lihtsomere / Þen þou, so swete a louyere (f. 298c; Horstman 2 12). An Anglo-French version reads: Ren nest chanté tant bonement / Ne oï tant ioïusement / Ne pur pensé plus dulcement / Que le fiz deu omnipotent (Wilmart, 252). There is a similar reminiscence in Prologue I of Mechtild of Hackborn's *Book of Special Grace*: ... howe many gyftes he hath putte in a mannes sawle whiche loues hym trewlye no tonge maye telle (Halligan, 66). The *Speculum christiani* writes: ... the wondyrful blis of the hye kyngedome of heuen and ... the dredful and horrible payne of the depe pitte of helle, the which be more than tonge may telle or eyre may here or ee may see or hert may thynke (Holmstedt, 114-116), and *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* concludes: ... more ioye and blisse þan eiȝe may see or tonge telle or hert thenke (MS Stonyhurst XXIII, f. 60b; Horstman 1 362). Both *Speculum* and *Charter* are alluding also to I Corinthians 2.9: But as it is written: 'That eye has not seen nor ear heard ...', which is quoting Isaias 64.4: They have not heard ... the eye has not seen ... what things thou hast prepared for them.

15 *and* worthyest was fullyest noghthede *and* witterlyest dyspyside. Botte the loue that made hym to suffere alle this, it passes als fare alle his payns as heuen es abouenn erthe. For the paynes was a dede done in a tyme be the wyrkynge of love, botte luffe was withowtynn begynnynge *and* es and evere schalle be with owtynn any ende.

---

15 *was fullyest noghthede and witterlyest dyspyside*: 'was most completely brought low, most utterly despised'; cf. 375.9: *was foulest condempnyd and vtterly dyspysed*, where the SS variants to 'foulest', 'condempnyd' and 'vtterly', agreeing with A, suggest that they and the short text share the better readings.

Botte the loue ... with owtynn any ende: cf. 386.46-387.49.

Botte the loue that made hym to suffere alle this / it passes als fare alle his payns as heuen es abouenn erthe / For the paynes was a dede done in a tyme be the wyrkynge of love / botte luffe was withowtynn begynnynge / and es and evere schalle be with owtynn any ende: a *compar* of five *cola*. In the first two we have *oppositio*: *loue / suffere ... heuen / erthe*, to treat of the Hypostatic Union. Then the next three express the Trinitarian *operatio ad extra*. In *loue ... love* there is *gradatio*, and, in *paynes done in a tyme ... loue / luffe ... withowtyn begynnynge*, a form of *chiasmus*.

(xii) And sodaynlye, me behaldande in the same crosse, he channchede in to blysfulle chere. The chawngynge of his chere channgyd mynne, and I was alle gladde *and* mery as yt was possybille. Than brought oure lorde merelye to my mynde: Whate es any poynte of thy payne or of þy grefe? And I was fulle merye.

Than sayde oure lorde, askande: Arte thou wele payde that I suffyrde for the? ȝa, goode lorde, quod I; gramercy, goode lorde, blissyd mut thowe be. ȝyf thowe be payede, quod oure lorde, I am payede. It is a ioye and a blysse and ane endlesse lykynge to me that euer y suffyrde passyonn for the, for ȝyf I myght suffyr mare, I walde suffyr. In this felynge myne vndyrstandynge was lyftyd vppe in to heuenn, and thare I sawe thre hevens; of the whilke syght I was gretlye merveylede, and / 105r thought: I sawe thre hevenns, and alle of the blessyd manhede of Cryste. And nane is mare, nane is lesse, nane is hiare, nane is lawere, botte evene like in blysse.

For the fyrste heuenn schewed Criste me his fadere, bot in na bodelye lyknesse, botte in his properte and in his lykynge. The wyrkynge of the fadere it is this: that he gyffes mede tille his sonne Jhesu Criste. This gyfte and this mede is so blysfulle to Jhesu that (his) fadere myght haffe gyffene na mede that myght hafe likede hym bettere. For the firste heuenn, that is blissynge of the fadere, schewed to me as a heuenn, and

---

19 *his*: om. ms.

---

1 *And sodaynlye ... was fulle merye*: cf. 379.7-11.

2 *The chawngynge of his chere channgyd mynne*: cf. Ecclesiastes 8.1: The wisdom of a man shines in his countenance, and the most might will change his face.

6 *Than sayde oure lorde ... we er his crowne* (240.25): cf. 382.2-384.22.

10 *for ȝyf I myght suffyr mare, I walde suffyr*: Sr. Mary Arthur Knowlton comments (122) on the similarity of this to Christ's reproach in C. Brown's *Woefully Arrayed*: What myght I suffer more / þen I haue sufferde, man, for þe? (XV 157); and she suggests a common source in the Good Friday *Improperia*: Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci? (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 171); the allusion is to Isaias 5.4: What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard that I have not done? Cf. William Herebert's translation: What more shulde ich hauen ydon / Þat þou ne hauest nouth underuon? (C. Brown, XIV, 18).

13 *sawe*: cf. 383.9: *see*; but S2 reads: *saw*.

14 *And nane is mare / nane is lesse / nane is hiare / nane is lawere*: a four-membered *compar* with *repetitio* and *oppositio contrariorum*.

17 *lykynge*: cf. 383.13: *wurkyng*, and note.

The wyrkynge ... I walde suffyr mare (240.28): this corresponds with the long text, 383.14-385.26.

19 *his fadere*: cf. 383.16.

21 *blissynge*: cf. 384.18: *plesyng*.

itt was fulle blysfulle. For he is fulle blyssede with alle the dedes that he has done abowȝte oure saluacion, wherefore we ere nought anely his thurgh byingge botte also be the curtayse gyfte of his fadere. We er his blysse, we er his mede, we er his wyrschippe, we er his crowne.

This that I saye is soo grete blysse to Jhesu that he settys atte nought his travayle and his harde passionn and cruelle and schamefulle dede. And in this wordes: ȝyf I myght suffyr mare, I walde suffyr mare, I sawe sothly that ȝif he myght dye als ofte als fore euer ilke man anes that schalle be safe, as he dyd anes for alle, love schulde neuer late hym hafe reste to he hadde done it. And whenn he hadde done it, he walde sette it atte nought for luff, for alle thyn(k)e hym botte litylle in regarde of his love. And that schewed he me wele, sobarly sayande this worde: ȝyffe I myght suffere mare. He sayde nought: ȝif it ware nedfulle to suffyr mare, botte: ȝif I myght suffyr mare; for thowȝ it be nought nedefulle, and he myght suffyr mare, mare he walde. This dede and this werke abowte oure saluacion was als wele as he myght ordayne it. It was done als wyrschipfullye as Cryste myght do it; and in this I sawe a fulle blysse in Cryste, botte this blysse schulde nought hafe bene done fulle ȝyf it myght any bettere hafe bene done þann it was done. And in this thre wordes: It is a ioye, a blysse and ane endeles likynge to me, ware schewed to me thre hevens, as thus. For the ioye I vndyrstode the plesannce of the fadere, for the blysse the wirschippe of the sonne, and for the endeles lykynge the haly gaste. The fadere is plesed, the sonne ys

---

30 *dyd*: alt. al. m. (not corrector's) w. caret and interl.: *dyed*.
32 *thynke*: ms: thynge.

---

22 *blyssede*: cf. 384.19: *plesyde*.
that he has done: cf. 384.19: *that Jhesu hath done*.
24 *We er his blysse / we er his mede / we er his wyrschippe / we er his crowne*: a *compar* with *repetitio*.
26 *This that I saye ... he hadde done it*: cf. 384.24-385.28.
28 *And in this wordes*: cf. 239.10.
ȝyf I myght ... the haly gaste lykes (241.45): this corresponds with the long text, 387.49-389.6.
31 *And whenn he hadde done ... of his love*: cf. 385.32-33.
32 *thynke*: cf. 230.5.
33 *And that schewed he ... haly gaste lykes* (241.45): cf. 387.49-389.6.
wele, sobarly: cf. 387.50: *fulle swetely*, and 269.25 and note.
40 *And in this thre wordes*: the 'thre wordes' evidently are *It is a ioye, (It is) a blysse,* and *(It is) ane endeles likynge to me.* Julian often uses 'word' to mean 'saying'; cf. 242.18, 249.12 and note, 250.29.
42 *For the ioye I vndyrstode ...*: for this figure, perfectly preserved in the long text, cf. 389.3 note.
44 *The fadere is plesed ...*: for this figure in the long text, cf. 389.5 note.

45 worschippyd, the haly gaste lykes. Jhesu wille that we take heede to this blysse that is in the blyssedfulle trinite of oure saluacionn, and that we
105v lyke als mekylle / with his grace whyles we er here. And this was schewyd me in þis worde: Erte þow wele payed? Be the tothere worde that Cryste sayde: ȝyf þou be payed, I am payd, he schewed me the vn-
50 dyrstandynge, as ȝyf he had sayde: It is ioye and lykynge enough to me, and I aske nought els for my travayle botte that I myght paye the. Plentyuoslye and fully was this schewyd to me.

Thynke also wyselye of the gretnesse of this worde: That euer I suffred passionn for the; for in that worde was a hye knawynge of luffe
55 and of lykynge that he hadde in oure saluacion.

---

45 *Jhesu wille ... with his grace*: cf. 391.25-27, inc.: *A, Jhesu, wylle we ...*
47 *whyles we er here*: not in the long text; cf. 391.27.
And this was shewyd ... that I myght paye the: cf. 392.32-36.
48 *in þis worde*: cf. 239.6.
the tothere worde: cf. 239.8.
51 *Plentyuoslye and fully ... in oure saluacion*: cf. 393.43-46.
53 *of this worde: That euer*: cf. 393.45: *of thys worde, evyr.* The reference to the short text is to 239.9.

xiii) Fulle merelye and gladlye oure lorde lokyd in to his syde and behelde and sayde this worde: Loo how I lovyd the, as ȝyf he hadde sayde: My childe, ȝif thow kan nought loke in my godhede, see heere how I lette opyn my syde and my herte be clovene in twa and lette oute blude and watere, alle þat was thare yn; and this lykes me and so wille I that it do the.

This schewed oure lorde me, to make vs gladde and mery. And with the same chere and myrthe he loked downe on the ryght syde and brought to my mynde whare oure ladye stode in the tyme of his passionn, and sayde: Wille thowe see hir? And I annswerde and sayde: ȝa, goode lorde, gramercy, gyf it be thy wille. Ofte tymes I prayed it, and wened to haffe sene here in bodely lykenes; botte I sawe her nought soo. And Jhesu in þat worde schewed me a gastelye syght of hire. Ryght as I hadde before sene hire litille and sympille, ryght so he schewed here than, hye and nobille and gloriouse and plesannte to hym abouen alle creatures. And so he wille that it be knawynn that alle tha that lykes in hym schulde lyke in hire, and in the lykynge that he hase in hire and scho in hym. And in that worde that Jhesu sayde: Wille þu see hire? me thought I hadde the maste lykynge that he myght hafe gyffenn me with the gastelye schewynge that he gafe me of hire. For oure lorde schewed me nothynge in specyalle botte oure lady saynte Marye, and here he schewyd me in thre tymes. The fyrste was as sche consayved, the

---

2 *he*: ms: he (end of line; cf. 230.21 note) he hadde.

---

1 *Fulle merelye and gladlye ... and behelde*: cf. 394.3.

oure lorde lokyd in to his syde: this is one of many indications (cf. 394.3 note) that Julian has in mind the iconography of the Sacred Heart, as she makes plain when she continues: *see heere how I lette opyn my syde and my herte be clovene in twa*. The wound in the side reveals the pierced heart. So in one stanza of the *Song of Love-Longing*, copied, c. 1400, into MS BM Add. 37787, we read: Jhesu of loue I se toknyng: / Þyn armus sprad to loue clippyng, / Þyn hed bowet to swete kussyng, / Þi side al open to loue schewyng (Nita S. Baugh: *A Worcestershire Miscellany*, 134).

2 *and sayde this worde ... My childe*: cf. 395.15.

4 *be clovene in twa*: cf. 395.10.

7 *This schewed oure lorde ... Wille thowe see hir?*: cf. 397.30-398.5.

10 *And I annswerde ... scho in hym* (242.18): cf. 400.24-31.

13 *Ryght as I hadde before sene hire litille and sympille*: cf. 213.24 e.s., 213.26 note.

18 *And in that worde ... was I lerede*: cf. 400.35-402.4.

19 *the maste lykynge*: cf. 401.36: *the most lykyn worde*.

22 *The fyrste was as sche consayved / the seconnde ... / and the thryd ...*: the enumeration of the three *cola* produces an effect of *similiter cadens*.

seconnde was as scho were in hire sorowes vndere the crosse, and the
106r thryd as scho is nowe in lykynge, wirschippe / and ioye.
And eftyr this oure lorde schewyd hym to me mare gloryfyed as to my syght than I sawe hym before, and in this was I lerede that ilke saule contemplatyfe to whilke es gyffenn to luke and seke god schalle se hire and passe vnto god by contemplacionn. And eftyr this techynge, hamelye, curtayse and blysfulle, and verray lyfe, ofte tymes oure lorde Jhesu sayde to me: I it am that is hiaste. I it am that þou luffes. I it am that thowe lykes. I it am that þowe serves. I it am þat þou langes. I it am that þowe desyres. I it am that thowe menes. I it am þat is alle. I it am that haly kyrke preches the and teches the. I it am that schewed me are to the. Thies wordes I declare nought botte for ilke man, eftyr the grace that god gyffes hym in vndyrstandynge and lovynge, resayfe tham in oure lordes menynge.

And eftyr oure lorde brought vnto my mynde the langynge that I hadde to hym before; and I sawe that nathynge letted me bot synn, and so I be helde generallye in vs alle, and me thought 3yf synn hadde

---

23 *vndere the crosse*: the Vulgate's preposition is 'juxta' (John 19.25); but an English poem in a fourteenth-century manuscript has this rubric: Crisostomus et ymaginatur de planctu virginis quod beata virgo stat sub cruce dicens filio suo sic: O fili, agnosce matrem *et cetera* (Brown, XIV 228, 285). Julian may have known the *Chauncoun de noustre dame*, Stond wel, moder, ounder rode, / Bihold þi child wiþ glade mode (C. Brown, XIII 87).

26 *that ilke saule contemplatyfe*: cf. 402.4: *that oure soule*: and cf. 215.42 note.

27 *schalle se hire and passe vnto god by contemplacionn*: the 'learning' in the long text is quite different; cf. 402.4-5. But we find the same notion that one's last days may be graced by a vision of Mary in a prayer, *Obsecro te domina Maria*, common in French books of hours and doubtless also known in England: ... et in nouissimis diebus ostende michi faciem tuam et denuncia michi diem et horam obitus mei ... et uitam eternam michi tribuas ... (MS Trinity College Dublin 102, f. 28). In MS 51 of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a book of hours which James dated 1440-1450, in the 'Oratio ... de septem verbis Christi in cruce pendentis', here, as commonly — but spuriously — attributed to Bede, there is a rubric stating that 'if it be said every day, the devotee "per triginta dies ante obitum suum uidebit gloriosam uirginem Mariam in auxilium sibi preparatam"' (James, *Fitzwilliam* 128).

29 *hamelye, curtayse ... are to the*: cf. 402.6-403.11.

ofte tymes ... are to the (243.34): this corresponds with the long text, 402.6-403.11.

30 *I it am*: cf. 402.7, where the long text repeats twice. Here the *repetitio* is ten-fold.

34 *Thies wordes ... resone and dyscrecionn* (244.45): this corresponds with the long text, 403.16-405.11.

Thies wordes I declare nought botte for ilke man: she is reporting these locutions, not because she considers them any mark of special favour to her, but as they are applicable and acceptable to every loving soul, a qualification she is several times careful to make. Cf. 220.18 and note, 321.2 and note.

37 *And eftyr ... that me neded* (244.47): cf. 404.3-405.12.

nought bene, we schulde alle hafe bene clene and lyke to oure lorde as he made vs. And thus in my folye before this tyme ofte I wondrede why, be the grete forseande wysdome of god, syn was not lettede; for than thought me that alle schulde hafe bene wele.

This styrrynge was mekylle to forsayke; and mournynge and sorowe I made therfore with outyn resone and dyscrecio*n*n of fulle grete pryde. Neu*er* the lesse Jhesu in this visio*n*n enfourmede me of alle that me neded. I saye nought that me nedes na mare techynge, for oure lorde with the schewynge of this hase lefte me to haly kyrke, and I am hungery and thyrstye and nedy and synfulle and freele, *and* wilfully submyttes me to the techynge of haly kyrke with alle myne euencryste*n*n in to the ende of my lyfe.

He annswerde be this worde and sayde: Synne is behouelye. In this worde: Synne, oure lorde brought to my mynde gen*er*allye alle that is nought goode: the schamefulle dyspyte and the vt*ter* noghtynge that he bare for vs in this lyfe and in his dyinge, and alle the paynes and passyons of alle his creatures, gastelye and bodelye. For we are alle in p*ar*ty noghted, and we schulde be noghted, folowande oure mais*ter*

---

45 *of fulle grete pryde*: not in the long text; cf. 405.11.

46 *Neuer the lesse Jhesu ... that me neded* (244.47): this corresponds with the long text, 405.11-12.

47 *I saye nought ... ende of my lyfe*: not in the long text; cf. 405.12.

48 *... hase lefte me to haly kyrke ... the techynge of haly kyrke*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: ȝe schul bi leeue habben *þat* al *þat* holy chirche deeþ, redeþ oþer syngeþ *and* alle hire sacremens strengþeþ ou gostliche (Vernon MS, f. 384^{c}; Day, 120). Julian may have in mind John 14.18: I will not leave you orphans.

I am hungery and thyrstye and nedy and synfulle and freele: this is *continuatio*. Cf. Psalm 69.6: I am needy and poor; O God, help me.

52 *He annswerde ... not me for synne* (246.77): cf. 405.12-407.38.

Synne is behouelye: 'sin is necessary'. Cf. 405.13, *behouely* C(=U), *behoveful*, S1 (=S2), *behovabil*, and MED bihoveli, adj. (c.). As when she goes on, *than euer was the synne of Adam harmfulle* (247.13), Julian seems to be alluding to the 'necessarium Ade peccatum' of the *Praeconium paschale*; cf. 412.12 note. Piers Plowman B.V. quotes from the *Praeconium* and draws the same optimistic conclusion as Julian: 'Now god' quod he, 'that of thi goodnesse . gonne the worlde make, / And of nauȝte madest auȝte . and man moste liche to thi selue, / And sithen suffredest for to synne . a sikernesse to vs alle, / And al for the best, I bileue . what euere the boke telleth, / *O felix culpa! o necessarium peccatum Ade!* (Skeat, 1 176).

In this worde ... his blyssyd wille (245.71): this corresponds with the long text, 405.14-407.33.

54 *vtter noghtynge*: cf. 405.16: *vttermost trybulation*: but SS agree with A.

56 *For we are alle in party noghted / and we schulde be noghted / folowande oure maister Jhesu to we be fulle purgede / that is to say to we be fully nȝghted / of oure awne dedely flesche / and of alle oure inwarde affeccionns whilke ere nought goode*: a *compar* of six *cola*, two short followed by a longer, repeated, with *conversio* (*noghted ... noghted ... noghted*) and *traductio* (*nought*).

57 *noghted*: cf. 406.19: *trobelyd*: again, SS agree with A.

106v Jhesu to we be fulle purgede, that is to say to we be fully / noghted of oure awne dedely flesche, and of alle oure inwarde affeccio*nn*(s) whilke
60 er*e* nought goode.

And the behaldynge of this with alle the paynes that eu*er* ware or eu*er* schalle be, (and with alle thys I vnderstode the passion of Criste for the most payne and ovyr passyng,) and this was schewed me in a toch, and redely passed ouer*e* into comforth. For oure goode lorde god walde
65 noght that the saule ware afferdede of this vglye syght. Botte I sawe noght synne, fore I lefe it has na manere of substa*nn*ce, na p*ar*tye of beynge, na it myght nought be knawe*nn* bot be the paynes that it is cause of. And this payne, it is su*m*thynge, as to my syght, for a tyme, for it purges vs and makes vs to knawe oureselfe and aske m*er*cye; for the
70 passio*nn* of oure lorde is comforth to vs agaynes alle this, and so is his blyssyd wille to alle that schalle be saffe. He comfortes redely and swetlye be his wordes, and says: Botte alle schalle be wele, and alle man*er* of thynge schalle be wele.

---

59 *affeccionns*: ms: affecciomn.
62 *and with alle ... passyng*: om. ms; cf. 406.23.

---

58 *that is to say to we be fully noghted*: not in P, but preserved (or supplied) in SS; cf. 406.20.

noghted of oure awne dedely flesche: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 24: þis noȝt I mene þus, þat a soule may ... not be drifen ageyn þe wille ne drawen downe bi maistrie for to þinken or liken or louen *with* clefyng of affeccio*un* to ony sy*nn*e or veynly ony erþly þinge (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 91^{r}; Underhill, 323).

63 *in a toch*: cf. 406.24. The sense here seems to be 'brief mention, hint'. MED suggests that this is also the meaning in Gawain 1301: Bi sum towch of summe tryfle at sum talez ende; and in Capgrave's *Chronicle*: that whanne I loke upon hem and have a schort touch of the writing; and observes that this sense of the verb first appears in the late fourteenth century: 1387 *Trevisa*: as it is itouched in þe byginninge of þe firste in þe þridde prefas.

71 *He comfortes redely ... and says*: this corresponds with the long text, 407.32-33.

72 *Botte alle ... not me for synne* (246.77): this corresponds with the long text, 407.33-38.

Botte alle schalle be wele, and alle maner of thynge schalle be wele: this is probably the most famous of all Julian's locutions, owing its celebrity in modern times partly to T. S. Eliot's use of it in 'Little Gidding' (*Four Quartets*). In the long text, it becomes one of the *Leitmotive*; cf. 405.13, 417.4, 422.2, 618.46, and its final resolution: *And then shalle none of vs be steryd to sey in ony thyng: Lorde, yf it had ben thus, it had ben wele. But we shalle alle sey with one voyce: Lorde, blessyd mott thou be, for it is thus, it is wele* (729.13). There is remarkable similarity to certain manuscripts of the *Scale*, I chapter 33: *with* mekenes of hert treistand also sykerly in þe mercie of oure lord þat he schal make it gode, more þen þou knowe3 or fele3; and if þou do þus, all schal be wel ... bot þo3 þou fall an o*þe*r tyme in þe same, 3ee an hunderth tymes, a thousand tymes, 3it do as I haue seid,

Thyes wordes ware schewed wele tenderlye, schewande na ma(ne)re
75 of blame to me na to nane that schalle be safe. Than were it a grete vnkyndenesse of me to blame or wondyr of god for my synnes, sy*nn* he blames not me for synne. Thus I sawe howe Cryste has co*m*passyo*nn* of vs for the cause of synne; and ryght as I was be fore with the passyo*nn* of Cryste fulfilled with payne and compassion, lyke in þis I was in party
80 fyllyd w*ith* compassio*nn* of alle my*nn* eue*nncri*stene; and than sawe I that ylke kynde co*m*passyo*nn*e that man hase of his evenc*ri*stene w*ith* charyte, þat it is C*ri*ste in hym.

---

74 *manere*: ms: mare.

79 *lyke in þis ... compassionn (of)*: added at foot of page with marks of correction, corrector.

---

and all schal be wel (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 304). Evelyn Underhill, who did not use Add. 6686, reports, 75 note 2, that Harley 2387 and Lambeth 472 also 'insert' the first 'all schal be wel'; but we must await a critical edition of *Scale* I to know whether this is a matter of interpolation or omission. If indeed some scribe-editor did interpolate the first occurrence of the phrase, it can only have been to make the passage resemble Julian even more. Michael Sargent points out to the editors that the locution seems also to be the inspiration for the burden of a fifteenth-century carol (punning on the name 'Noel'): Now is well and all is well, / And right well, so have I bliss; / And sithen all things are so well, / I rede we do no more amiss (Rickert, 173).

74 *manere*: cf. 407.35.

77 *Thus I sawe ... alle mynn euenncristene*: cf. 408.2-5.

79 *lyke in þis ... compassion*: cf. 408.4.

80 *and than sawe I ... Criste in hym*: cf. 410.21-22.

(xiv) Bot in this (I) schalle studye, behaldande gen*e*rallye, drerelye *and* mournande, sayande thus to oure lorde in my menynge with fulle grete drede: A, goode lorde, howe myght alle be wele for the grete harme that is comonn by synne to thy creatures? And I desired as I durste to hafe su*m* mare open declarynge whare w*i*th I myght be hesyd in this. And to this oure blyssede lorde a*n*nswerde fulle mekelye and with fulle lovelye chere, and schewed me that Ada*m*mes synne wa*s* the maste harme that eu*er* was done or ever schalle to the warldes ende. And also he schewed me that this is opy*n*nly knawyn, in alle haly kyrke in erthe.

Forthermare he lered me that I schulde be halde the gloriouse asethe, for this aseth makynge is mare plesande to the blissede godhede and mare wyrschipfulle to ma*n*nes saluacio*n*n with owtene comp*a*rysonn 107r than eu*er* was the synne of Adam harmfulle. Þanne / menes oure blyssede lorde thus in this techynge, that we schulde take hede to this: For se*n*n I hafe made wele the maste harme, it is my will*e* that þowe knawe þ*er*by that I schalle make wele alle that is the lesse.

He gaffe me vndyrstandynge of twa p*a*rtyes. The ta p*a*rty is oure savio*u*re and oure saluacio*n*n. This blyssed p*a*rty is opy*n*n and clere and fayre and lyght and plentio*u*se, for alle mankynde that is of goode wille or þat schalle be es comp*r*ehendyd in this p*a*rtye. Here to er*e* we byddy*n*n of god and drawe*n*n and consayled and lered inwardlye be the haly gaste *and* outwarde by haly kyrke by the same grace. In this wille

---

1 *I*: ms: ȝe.
9 *knawyn*: ms: knawynge.
14 *blyssede lorde*: ms: lorde blyssede.

---

1 *Bot in this ... as he schalle thanne haffe* (250.18): cf. 412.2-418.20.
I schalle studye: cf. 412.2: *I stode*. That the short text employs the future tense and the long text the past seems to indicate that the fifteen years' meditation which Julian records separate the two texts.

3 *A, goode lorde ...*: cf. 412.3, where in the long text Julian has retained the *exclamatio*, used to introduce a *ratiocinatio*.

7 *Adammes synne was the maste harme that euer was done*: cf. Romans 5.12: As by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death ...

18 *This blyssed party is opynn and clere and fayre and lyght and plentiouse*: this is *continuatio*. Julian is thinking of the initial revelation of the Nativity: An angel of the Lord stood by them, and the brightness of God shone round about them ... (Luke 2.9), and the gloss on this in Hebrews 1.1-3: God ... in these days has spoken by his Son, who is the brightness of his glory and the full expression of his being.

oure lorde that we be occupyed, enioyande in hym, for he enioyes in vs. And þe mare plentyuouslye that we take of this *with* reue*r*ence and mekenesse, the mare we deserve thanke of hym, and the mare spede to oure selfe, and thus maye we saye, enioyande: Oure p*ar*te is oure lorde.

The tother p*ar*te is spared fra vs and hidde, that is to saye alle that is besyde oure saluacio*n*n. For this is oure lordys p*r*ive consayles, *and* it langes to þe ryall*e* lordeschyp of god for to haue his p*r*ive consayles in pees, and it langes to his s*e*ruan*n*tys for obedyence and reue*r*ence nought to wille witte his councell*e*.

Oure lorde has pite and co*m*passyo*n*n of vs for that su*m* creatures makes tha*m*m so besy þ*er* yn; and I am sekyr 3yf we wyste howe mekille we schulde plese hym and ese oure selfe for to lefe it, we walde. The sayntes in heue*n*n wille nathynge witte bot that oure lorde wille schewe thame, and also there charyte and þ*er* desyre is rewlyd eftyr the wille of oure lorde; and þ*us* awe we to wille to be lyke to hym. And than schalle we nathynge wille ne desyre botte the wille of oure lorde, as he does, for we er alle ane in goddys menynge.

And here was I lered that we schalle anely enioye in oure blessid sauio*ur*e Jhesu *and* t*r*ist in hy*m* for alle thynge.

---

28 *and it langes ... consayles (in)*: added at foot of page with marks of correction, corrector.

37 *to wille to be*: ms: to wille ne to be.

---

26 *Oure parte is oure lorde*: cf. Psalms 15.5: The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and my cup, 118.57, 141.6 and *Piers Plowman* C VI 61 (Skeat, 1 120), where the context suggests that the poet, quoting *Dominus pars hereditatis mee*, is alluding to his own reception of minor orders.

28 *For this is oure lordys prive consayles / and it langes to þe ryalle lordeschyp of god / for to haue his prive consayles in pees / and it langes to his seruanntys for obedyence and reuerence / nought to wille witte his councelle*: a *compar* of three shorter *cola* enclosing two longer, with *conversio* (*consayles ... consayles ... councelle*) and *repetitio* (*and it langes ... and it langes*).

37 *wille ne ... hym* (ms): this seems to suggest an infinitive 'wilne' < OE wilnian and a non-Northern dative pronoun 'hem' in an ancestor.

38 *as he does*: cf. 416.23: *lyke as they do*. This reading in the short text is supported by several places in Scripture: John 8.29: I do always the things that please him; John 4.34: My meat is to do the will of him who sent me; Matthew 6.9: Thus therefore shall you pray ... Thy will be done; Matthew 26.39: Not as I will but as thou wilt.

(xv) And thus oure goode lorde answerde to alle the questyons and doutes that I myght make, sayande fulle comfortabelye on this wyse: I wille make alle thynge wele, I schalle make alle thynge wele, I maye make alle thynge wele and I can make alle thynge wele; and þowe schalle se þ*at* thy selfe, that alle thynge schalle be wele. There he says he maye, I vndyrstande for the fadere; and þ*er*e he says he can, I vndyrstande for the
107v so*n*ne; and þ*er* he says: / I wille, I vnderstande for the hali gaste; and þ*er*e he says: I schalle, I vndirstande for the vnyte of the blyssede t*r*inyte, thre p*er*sones in a trewthe; *and* there he says: Thowe schalle se thy selfe, I vndyrstande the anynge of alle mankynde that schalle be sayfe in to the blysfulle trinyte.

And in this fyve wordes god wille be closed in ryste and in pees. And thus has the gastely thyrst of Cryste ane ende. For this is the gastely

---

4 *þat*: interl. w. caret, corrector.

---

2 *I wille make alle thynge wele, I schalle make alle thynge wele, I maye make alle thynge wele and I can make alle thynge wele*: cf. Introduction, VIII; this is a subtle example of *complexio*, which Sr. Frances Nims defines as 'repetition of both initial and final words in successive clauses'. In pointing out Julian's employment of such rhetorical devices (cf. e.g. the notes to 260.29, 263.17, 269.37, 271.26) the editors have been much helped by Sr. Frances's valuable information.

4 *and þowe schalle se þat thy selfe / that alle thynge schalle be wele*: a two-membered *compar*, the second echoing the *complexio* of the preceding figure.

5 *There he says he maye / I vndyrstande for the fadere / and þere he says he can / I vndyrstande for the sonne / and þer he says I wille / I vnderstande for the hali gaste / and þere he says I schalle / I vndirstande for the vnyte of the blyssede trinyte / thre persones in a trewthe / and there he says Thowe schalle se thy selfe / I vndyrstande the anynge of alle mankynde that schalle be sayfe / in to the blysfulle trinyte*: a twelve-membered *compar*, combining, reworking and augmenting the two previous figures, with a new *repetitio* (*There he says ..., I vndyrstande ...*).

12 *fyve wordes*: 'I wille', 'I schalle', 'I maye', 'I can', 'þowe schalle se'. Cf. 240.40 note. *wille be closed*: cf. 418.13: *wyll that we be enclosyd*; but SS agree with the short text. Julian was too good a theologian to suppose that the divine rest and peace can in any way be disturbed; what she means is that God wishes to be surrounded by the rest and peace of his earthly creatures, who should cease to torment themselves, as, she tells us, the notion of sin had tormented her until now.

13 *For this is the gastely thyrste*: this is the explanation she promised when she quoted John 19.28 and wrote: *For I sawe in Criste a doubille thyrste, ane bodylye, ane othere gastelye ...* (233.14). We find the same exegesis in the English *Fifteen Oes* (cf. 212.9 note): O Jhesu þe welle of vnwastand pyte, þ*at* of inwarde affeccyon of luf sayd in þe cros: I thyrst, þ*at* (is) to say þe hele of mankynde... (MS BM Royal 17 C xvii, f. 96ᵃ).

thyrste, the luff langynge, and that lastes and eu*er* schalle to wee see that syght atte domesdaye; for we that schalle be safe, and schalle be Crystes ioye and his blysse, er*e* ȝit here, and schalle be vnto the daye. Therefore this is the thyrste, the falynge of his blysse, *þat* he has vs nought in hym als haelye as he schalle thanne haffe.

Alle this was schewed me in the schewynge of co*m*passio*nn*, for þat schalle sese atte domesdaye. Thus he hath rewthe and compassio*nn* of vs, and he has langynge to hafe vs, botte his wysdome and his love suffers nought the ende to co*mm*e to the beste tym*m*. And in thies same fyve wordes before sayde: I make alle thynge wele, I vndyrstande a myghtty co*m*forthe of alle the werkys of oure lorde that er*e* for to com*m*e; for ryght as the blissyd t*r*inyte made alle thynge of nought, ryght soo the same blyssed t*r*inyte schalle make wele alle that es nought wele. It is goddys wille that we hafe grete rewarde to alle the dedys that he has done, for he wille that we knawe there by alle that he schalle do; and þat schewyd he me in this worde that he sayde: And þ*ou* schalle see thy selfe that alle manere of thynge schalle be wele. This I vndyrstande

---

14 *the luff langynge*: this cliché for 'the pangs of (unrequited) love' must have been known to every amateur of secular poetry and song in the fourteenth century. Cf. *Alysoun*: 'Ich libbe in loue longinge / For semlokest of alle þynge' (G. L. Brook: *The Harley Lyrics*, 33), and *Now Springs the Spray*: 'Þe clot him clingge! Wai es him i louue longinge / Sal libben ai!' (K. Sisam: *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, 163). It is found in a spiritual context in 'Swete Jhesu now wol I synge / To þe a song of loue longinge' (Vernon MS, f. 298^{b}; Horstman, 2 9).

15 *atte domesdaye*: cf. 418.16, and 224.15 note.

16 *and schalle be vnto the daye*: cf. 418.17: *and some be to come, and so shalle some be in to that day*; that gives notably better sense, and we may suppose that the text here has suffered through homoeotopy. But this may be a reminiscence of Canticles 2.17 and II Peter 1.19: ... until the day dawn and the day star arise in your hearts.

17 *the falynge of his blysse*: cf. 418.19-20, which seems inferior, and may represent the editing of someone who could not understand 'falynge': 'this is Christ's thirst and the incompleteness of his joy, that he does not now possess us in himself as wholly as he then will'.

19 *Alle this was schewed ... to the beste tymm* (250.22): this corresponds with the long text, 421.50-53.

22 *And in thies same fyve wordes ... for to comme* (250.25): this corresponds with the long text, 423.20-22.

thies same fyve wordes ... I may make alle thynge wele: cf. 240.40 note. Here Julian seems to be using 'word' in its primary sense; and evidently she calls these 'five words' because she regards *alle thynge* as a single compound noun, a view commonly reflected in mediaeval scribal practice.

25 *for ryght ... nought wele* (250.27): this corresponds with the long text, 424.35-37.

27 *It is goddys wille ... he schalle do* (250.28): this corresponds with the long text, 429.28-30.

29 *in this worde*: cf. 249.4.

in twa manerse: ane, I am wele payed that I wate it noght, anothere, I am gladde and mery for I schalle witte itt. It is goddys wille that we witte that alle schalle be wele in generalle, botte it is nought goddys wille that we schulde witte it nowe botte as it langes to vs for the tyme, *and* þ*at* is the techynge of haly kyrke.

---

31 *ane I am wele payed that I wate it noght / anothere I am gladde and mery for I schalle witte itt*: Julian expounds the *twa manerse* in a two-membered *compar*, with *traductio* (*wate ... witte*).

33 *botte it is nought goddys wille that we schulde witte it nowe*: cf. Matthew 24.36: But of that day and hour no one knows, no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone.

(xvi) God schewyd me fulle grete plesannce that he has in alle men and womenn that myghttelye and mekelye and wyrschipfullye takes the prechynge and the techynge of haly kyrke, for he is haly kyrke. For he is
108r the grownde, he is the substannce, / he is the techynge, he is the techare, he is the ende, he is the myddes wharefore ilke trewe sawlle trauaylles; and he is knawenn and schalle be knawenn to ylke saule to whame the haly gaste declares it. And I am sekyr that alle tho that sekes thus schalle spede, for thay seke god.

Alle this that I hafe nowe sayde, and mare that I schalle saye eftyr, es comforthynge agayne synne; for fyrst when I sawe þat god does alle that es done, I sawe nought synne, and than sawe I that alle is wele. But when god schewyd me synne, than sayde he: Alle schalle be wele.

And when god alle myghttye hadde schewed me plentyuouslye *and* fully of his goodnesse, I desyred of a certayne personn that I lovyd howe it schulde be with hire; and in þis desyre I lettyd my selfe, for I was noght taught in this tyme. And than was I answerde in my resonn, als it ware be a frendfulle man: Take it generally, and be halde the curtayssy of thy lorde god as he schewes it to the, for it is mare worschippe to god to be halde hym in alle than in any specyalle thynge. I assentyd, and þer with I lered that it is mare wyrschippe to god to knawe alle thynge in

---

1 *God schewyd me ... Alle schalle be wele*: cf. 431.15-433.13.

2 *and mekelye and wyrschipfullye*: cf. 431.16: *and wysely*.

3 *he is the grownde / he is the substannce / he is the techynge / he is the techare / he is the ende / he is the myddes / wharefore ilke trewe sawlle trauaylles*: a *membrum* of seven *cola* with *repetitio*.

5 *myddes*: cf. 431.18: *mede*.

12 *Alle schalle be wele*: cf. 245.73

14 *personn*: cf. 432.3: *creature*.

15 *I lettyd my selfe*: she sees her anxiety for the soul she loved as a disabling imperfection. Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, I liv, with a prayer which asks: Da michi affectionem carnalis propinquitatis et amorem corporalis delectationis omnino relinquere, teque super omnia diligere ..., where 'carnalis propinquitas' means 'close ties of blood'. In chapter liv, commenting on Matthew 10 and Luke 12 and 14, Ludolph, dealing with 'He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me', writes of 'inordinatus propinquorum amor' as the 'primum impedimentum perfectionis et sequelae Christi' (Rigollot, 2 62).

16 *als it ware be a frendfulle man*: cf. 432.7: *mene*. Either reading is defensible, that of P the more probable. This is an entirely different 'mode', in which it is not God himself who speaks. The locution comes as it were from a well-disposed intermediary (or 'human being').

20 *lered*: cf. 432.10: *lernyd*. NED Lere *v.* 3 and 4 shows that the sense 'learn' is well established in Middle and early New English.

gen*e*ralle than to lyke in any thynge in specialle. And 3yf I schulde do wysely eftyr this techynge I schulde nought be glad for nathynge in specyalle, na desesed for na man*e*re of thynge, for alle schalle be wele.

God brought to my mynde that I schulde synne; and for lykynge that I hadde in behaldynge of hy*m*, I entendid nought redely to that schewynge. And oure lorde fulle curtayslye abayde to I walde entende, and than oure lorde brought to mynde with my synnes the synne of alle myne even cristen, alle in gen*e*ralle and nathynge in specialle.

---

24 *God brought ... wirschippe to mann* (255.17): cf. 442.2-445.3.
26 *fulle curtayslye*: cf. 442.4: *fulle marcifully*, and note to 442.3.
abayde: NED, Abide, *v.*, quotes 1375, Barbour *Bruce*: abaid.
to I walde: cf. 442.4: *and gaue me grace for.*
27 *and than oure lorde ... in specialle*: this has been reworked in the long text: cf. 442.4-7.
with my synnes the synne of alle myne even cristen: cf. 442.6 and note.

xvii) Iff alle oure lorde schewyd me that I schulde synne, be me allaynn I vnderstode alle. In this I consayved a softe drede; and to this oure lorde answerde me thus: I kepe the fulle sekerly. This worde was sayde to me with mare love *and* sekernes of gastely kepynge than I cann or maye
108v telle. For as it was be / fore schewed to me that I schulde synne, ryght
6 so was the comforth schewed to me: sekernesse of kepynge for alle myne evencristen. What may make me mare to luff myne evencristen than to see in god that he loues alle that schalle be safe, as it ware alle a saulle? And in ilke saule that schalle be sayfe is a goodely wille that
10 neuer assentyd to synne, na neuer schalle. For as þer is a bestely wille in the nethere party that maye wille na goode, so is thare a goodely wille in

---

7 *What may ... evencristen (than)*: add. head of page w. marks of omission, corrector.

---

1 *Iff alle*: cf. 442.8: *Though*, and NED, If, *conj.*, 8 a, 'All if, if all'.

I (vnderstode): cf. 442.8: *is*.

2 *a softe drede*: Julian can so qualify 'dread' because presently she will distinguish between fear which is good and that which is not. In chapter xx she writes that the soul should *luff and lyke hymm* (God) *and nought drede bot hymm* (265.45), and in chapter xxv she categorizes *foure maner of dredes*, of which the best is *reuerente drede ... of luffe* (276.1-17; cf. 442.9, 630.25, 671.2-673.19).

3 *I kepe the fulle sekerly*: cf. 443.13: *suernesse of kepyng*, and note.

9 *in ilke saule that schalle be sayfe is a goodely wille ...*: cf. 443.16, and Introduction, 117-118. William of St. Thierry's Latin is: Magna enim voluntas ad deum amor est; dilectio, adhaesio sive conjunctio; charitas, fruitio. Unitas vero spiritus cum deo homini sursum cor habenti, proficientis in deum voluntatis est perfectio, cum jam non solummodo vult quod deus vult, sed sic est non tantum affectus sed in affectu perfectus ut non possit velle nisi quod deus vult. Velle autem quod deus vult, hoc est jam similem deo esse; non posse velle nisi quod deus vult, hoc est jam esse quod deus est, cui velle et esse id ipsum est. Unde bene dicitur quod tunc plene videbimus eum sicuti est, cum similes ei erimus (I John 3.2); hoc est, erimus quod ipse est (PL 184 348).

10 *For as þer is a bestely wille*: cf. MED's quotation, s.v. best(e)li, adj., of a Lollard version of I Corinthians 15.44: If there is a beestly body, there is and a spiritual body ..., and the *Scale*, II chapter 13: þe sensualite ... comonn to man *and* to best ... þe whilk sensualite, whan it is vnskilfully *and* vnordinatly rewled, is made þe (f. 75v) ymage of syn (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 272).

For as þer is a bestely wille / in the nethere party / that maye wille na goode / so is thare a goodely wille / in the ouer partye / that maye wille nane eville: a six-membered *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum (a bestely wille / a goodely wille, the nethere party / the ouer partye, na goode / nane eville)* and *traductio (a ... wille / maye wille)*.

11 *so is there a goodely wille*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 35: God wirkiþ in vs al boþe goode wil *and* goode werk as seynt Poul seiþ: ... it is god þat wirkiþ in vs good wille *and* fulfillyng of gode wil (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 114v; Underhill, 390). Cf. Philippians 2.13.

the ouer partye that maye wille nane eville, botte euer goode, na mare than the persones of þe blissed trinyte. And this schewyd oure lorde me in the holehed of luffe, that we stande in his sight, ȝa, that he luffeȝ vs nowe als wele whiles we ere here as he schalle do when we ere thare before his blissed face.

Also god schewed me that syn is na schame, bot wirschippe to mann, for in this sight mynn vnderstandynge was lyfted vp in to hevenn; and thann comm verrayly to my mynde David, Peter *and* Paule, Thomas of Inde and the Maudelaynn, howe thaye er knawenn in the kyrke of erth with thare synnes to thayre wirschippe. And it is to thamm no schame that thay hafe synned — na mare it is in the blysse of heven — for thare the takenynge of synne is tourned into wirschippe. Right so oure lorde god schewed me thamm in ensampille of alle othere that schalle cum

---

12 *that maye wille nane eville, botte euer goode*: cf. *Contemplations of the Love and Dread of God*: ... mannes wyll is ordeyned fyrst and dysposed with the grace of god that he shall wyll good (Horstman, 2 92).

na mare than the persones of þe blissed trinyte: cf. 443.20: *And therfore we be that he lovyth, and endlesly we do that he lykyth.*

17 *is*: cf. 445.2: *shalle be.*

18 *for in this sight ... lorde god schewed*: cf. 446.12-447.18.

19 *comm verrayly*: cf. 446.13: *god brought merely.* Either reading can be defended. Julian is convinced of her visions' objective reality; and the 'great penitents' can be the cause of joy for other sinners, also seeking God's forgiveness.

David, Peter and Paule ...: cf. 446.15 e.s., where the long text adds St. John of Beverley. The support of an argument with *exempla* from classical literature was a rhetorical device well known to spiritual and secular authors. *The Chastising of God's Children,* on the efficacy of self-distrust, has: We han ensamplis herof in the olde lawe, how Dauid þat was so hooli fel, hou Salamon þat was so wijs fel ... (Bazire and Colledge, 212). In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* the discomfited hero consoles himself with the thought that greater men than he had been tricked by women: For so watz Adam in erde with one bygyled, / And Salamon with fele sere, and Samson eftsonez — / Dalyda dalt hym hys wyrde — and Dauyth þerafter / Watz blended with Barsabe ... (Tolkien and Gordon, 66; for further literature, cf. Burrow, *A Reading of 'Sir Gawain'*, 146-149 and notes). Margery Kempe makes the same point as Julian: Haue mend ... what Mary Mawdelyn was, Mary Eypcyan, Seynt Powyl, and many oþer seyntys þat arn now in hevyn, for of vnworthy I make worthy and of synful I make rytful (Meech and Allen, 49).

20 *the kyrke of erth*: cf. 446.11: *holy church in erth*, 446.17: *the chyrch on erth.* For such terms to convey the notion of the 'ecclesia militans', MED quotes Wycliffe: al holi chirche in erþe, and Trevisa: Holy chirche here in erþe.

22 *for thare ... into wirschippe*: cf. 447.21. Julian has already observed that sin can be known only by the pain which it causes (245.67-68), and that she *sawe a grete anynge be twyx Criste and vs; for when he was in payne we ware in payne, and alle creatures that myght suffyr payne soffyrde with hym* (235.50). Here she develops her thought further, by using the word *takenynge*, and concludes by calling sins *wonndes* (256.38), which *er sene before god nowht as wonndes bot as wyrschippes*, honourable scars which are the stigmata of every penitent sinner who enjoys the beatific vision.

thedyr. Synn is the scharpyste scourge that any chosenn saule maye be bette with, whilke scourge it alle for bettes mann *and* womann, and alle for brekes thamm, *and* noghteȝ hym selfe in thare awne syght sa fare forth that hym thynke that he is noght worthy bot as it ware to synke in to helle; botte when contricionn takes hym be the towchynge of the haly gaste, than turnes he bitternesse into hope of goddys mercye. And than begynnes his wonndys to hile and the sawlle to qwykkynn, turnyd in to the lyfe of haly kyrke. The haly gaste leddes hymm to confessyonn, wilfully to schewe his synnes nakedly *and* trewly with grete sorowe and grete schame that he hase swa defowled the fayre ymage of god. Than he takes pennannce for ylke a synne eniewnyd be his domesmann that is growndyd in haly kyrke be the techynge of the haly gaste. Be this medycynn behoues euer ilke synfulle sawlle be heled, *and* namlye of synnes that ere dedely in the selfe. / Thouȝ he be heled, his wonndes er sene before god nowht as wonndes bot as wyrschippes. And so onn contrarye wyse, as it es punysched here with sorowe and with penannce, it schalle be rewarded in heuen be the curtayse loue of oure lorde god alle myghttye, that wille that nane that commes thare lese his travayle.

That mede that we salle resayfe thare salle nought be litelle, bot it schalle be hy, gloriouse and wirschipfulle. And so schalle alle schame turne in to wyrschyppe *and* in to mare ioye. And I am sekere be mynn awne félynge, the mare that ilke kynde saule sees þis in the kynde *and* curtayse love of god, the lathere es hym for to synne.

---

25 *Synn is the scharpyste ... and alle for brekes thamm*: cf. 449.2-4.

27 *and noghteȝ hym selfe in thare awne syght*: cf. 449.4: *and purgyth hym in hys owne syght*; the SS readings evidently derive from 'noghteȝ'.

hym selfe in thare awne syght: the numbers of the pronouns are confused. If the archetype were composed in the East Midland dialect, it probably had 'hemselfe' and 'here'; cf. E. Colledge and C. Smetana: 'Capgrave's *Life of St. Norbert*', 428-429. As do many other defects of this text, this seems to result from bungled translation into Northern dialect.

sa fare forth ... of the haly gaste (256.36): cf. 449.4-450.13.

29 *botte*: cf. 449.6: *tylle*.

30 *he*: cf. 449.7: *the*. In the long text we must understand *turnes* as intransitive, whereas here it is transitive, and the antecedent of *he* is *the haly gaste*.

35 *eniewnyd*: MED, enjoinen, -ien, v., records forms 'eniunȝe', 'iniunyd'.

36 *Be this medycynn ... lese his travayle*: cf. 452.30-35.

37 *and namlye of synnes that ere dedely in the selfe*: not in the long text; cf. 452.31.

40 *it es*: cf. 452.32: *we be*.

43 *That mede ... and in to mare ioye* (256.45): this corresponds with the long text, 452.38-453.40.

That mede that we salle resayfe thare salle nought be litelle / bot it schalle be hy gloriouse and wirschipfulle: a *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

45 *mare*: not in the long text; cf. 453.40.

And I am sekere ... to synne (256.47): this corresponds with the long text, 457.33-35.

xviii) Bot ȝyf thowe be styrred to saye or to thynke: Senn this is sothe, þan ware it goode for to synne for to hafe the mare mede, be ware of this styrrynge and dispice it, for it is of the enmy. For whate saule that wilfully takys this styrrynge, he may neuer be safe to he be amendyd as of dedely synne. For ȝyf it ware layde before me, alle the payne that is in helle and in purgatorye and in erth, dede and othere and synne, I had leuer chese alle that payne than synne. For synne is so vyle and so mykille for to hate that it maye be likened to na payne whilke payne es nought synn. For alle thynge is goode botte synne, and nathynge is wikkyd botte synne. Synne es nowthere deed no lykynge, botte when a saule cheses wilfully synne, that is payne, as fore his god, atte the ende he hase ryght nought. That payne thynke me the herdeste helle, for he has nought his god. In alle paynes a saule may hafe god botte in synne.

And als myghtty and als witty as god is for to safe mann, als willy he is. For Criste hym selfe is grownde of alle the lawe of crysten menn, and he has tawht vs to do goode agaynes eville. Here may we see that he es hym selfe this charite, and does to vs as he teches vs to do; for he wille that we be lyke to hym in anehede of endeles luffe to oure selfe and to oure even cristenn. Na mare than his love es broken to vs for oure synne, na mare wille he that oure love be brokenn to oure selfe ne to oure even cristenn; botte nakedlye hate synne and endelesslye love the saule as god loves it. For this worde that god sayde es ane endelesse comforth, that kepes vs fulle sekerlye.

---

1 *þan*: add. marg. corrector.

---

1 *Senn this is sothe ... of the enmy* (257.3): this corresponds with the long text, 456.27-30.

5 *For ȝyf it ware layde ... es nought synn* (257.9): this corresponds with the long text, 457.35-458.39.

6 *and synne*: cf. 458.37: *than synne (we)*. The reading here, which avoids the repetition of 'than synne', is superior.

9 *For alle thynge ... botte synne* (257.10): this corresponds with the long text, 458.40-41.

10 *Synne es nowthere deed no lykynge, botte when a saule cheses wilfully synne, that is payne, as fore his god, atte the ende he hase ryght nought*: this passage is not in the long text (cf. 458.41 e.s.), where Julian appears to have omitted it as a reflection of her own, not founded on the showings; for when she tells us that she desired some sight of hell or purgatory 'for learning', she adds: *I ne culde se of thys ryght nouȝt* (427.8).

14 *And als myghtty ... as god loves it* (257.22): this corresponds with the long text, 458.44-459.53.

And als myghtty and als witty / as god is for to safe mann / als willy he is: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*als ... als ... als*) and *similiter cadens*: (*witty ... willy*).

22 *For this worde ... sekerlye* (257.23): this correspond· with the long text, 459.53-54.

For this worde: cf. 254.3.

23 *that kepes*: the reading is defensible, but cf. 459.54: *I kepe the fulle truly*, which suggests a possible emendation: that he kepes. Cf. 254.3-5.

that kepes vs fulle sekerlye: cf. 443.13: *suernesse of kepyng*, and note.

(xix) Aftyr this oure lorde schewed me for prayers. I sawe ij condicions in
109v thamm that prayes, aftyr that I hafe felyd in my selfe. Ane / es thaye
wille nought praye for nathynge that may be botte that thynge that es
goddes wille and his wirschippe; anothere is that thay sette thamm
5 myghttelye *and* contynuely to be seke that thynge that es his wille and
his wirschippe. And þat es as I hafe vndyrstandide be the techynge of
haly kyrke; for in this oure lorde lered me the same, to hafe of goddes
gyfte faith, hope and charyte, and kepe vs there in to oure lyves ende.
And in this we say Pater noster, Aue and Crede with devocionn as god
10 wille gyffe it. And thus we praye fore alle oure evenn cristenn, and for
alle manere of menn that god es wille es, for we walde that alle maner

---

1 *for*: ms: foure.

---

1 *Aftyr this oure lorde* ...: from here to ... *is þe saule aned to god* (262.78) corresponds with the long-text version of the fourteenth revelation (460-474); the many differences between them are one of the most striking examples of Julian's growth as a spiritual theologian and as a contemplative. Cf. Introduction, p. 113 e.s.

foure (ms): the context does not support this, and cf. 460.3: *for prayer*, 'about prayer'.

2 *aftyr that I hafe felyd in my selfe*: in the long text she substitutes *in our lordes menyng* (460.4), not simply, it would seem, to draw attention away from herself, but because she now knows that she must first reflect on what she saw and heard, before she turns to her own experience.

thaye wille nought praye for nathynge that may be botte that thynge that es goddes wille: cf. Romans 12.2: ... that you may prove what is the good and the acceptable and the perfect will of God. Julian here seems to be referring all prayer to the first three petitions of the Pater Noster (Matthew 6.9-10).

4 *anothere is that they sette thamm myghttelye and contynuely to be seke that thynge that es his wille and his wirschippe*: cf. 332.68: *And this vision was a lernyng to my vnderstandyng that the contynually sekyng of the soule plesyth god moch.*

5 *to be seke that thynge that es his wille and his wirschippe*: cf. Ecclesiasticus 2.19: They that fear the Lord will seek after the things that are well pleasing to him.

9 *And in this we say Pater noster, Aue and Crede*: Julian is probably alluding to the people's devotions during Mass. In *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* they are directed to recite the Our Father, Hail Mary and Creed at the beginning of Mass (Simmons, 10), during the offertory (24), at the elevation (26) and at the end of Mass (58).

10 *And thus we praye fore alle oure evenn cristenn, and for alle manere of menn that god es wille es*: this is the tenor of the silent petitions to be said during the canon of the Mass: Oure sib men and oure wele willandes, / Oure frendes, tenandes and seruandes / ... Riche men and pore, grete and smalle, / I pray þe, lord, for hom alle (Simmons, 34). In the *Mirror of St. Edmund* we read: ... we suld gedyre all men with vs in oure prayers, for all ere oure brethire, crystende and vncristende (Horstman 1, 231).

11 *that god es wille es*: sc. 'for whom salvation is God's will', a frequent qualification of Julian's; cf. e.g. 222.51, 240.29.

of menn and womenn ware in the same vertu and grace that we awe to desyre to oure selfe. Botte ȝitt in alle this oft tymes oure triste is nowht fulle, for we ere nouȝt sekare that god almyghtty hyeres vs, as vs thynke for oure vnworthynesse and fore we fele ryght nought; fore we ere als barayne and als drye oftymes eftyr oure prayers as we ware before. And thus in oure felynge oure foly es cause of oure waykenesse, for thus hafe I felede in my selfe. And alle this brought oure lorde sodaynlye to my mynde, and myghttely and lyfely *and* comfortande me agaynes this maner of waykenesse in prayers, and sayde: I am grownde of thy besekynge. First it is my wille that þou hafe it, *and* syne I make the to will it, *and* syne I make the to be seke it. *And* ȝif þou beseke, howe schulde it than be that þou schulde nought hafe thy besekynge? And thus in the fyrste resonn with the thre that folowe eftere, oure lorde schewed a myghty comforth.

And the fyrst þare he says : And þowe beseke, thare he schewes fulle grete plesannce and endelesse mede that he wille gyffe vs for oure besekynge. And in the fourte resonn thare he sais : Howe schulde it

---

21 *syne (I make the to will)*: 'y' by corrector over one erased letter.
28 *fourte*: 'fort' and 'u' interl. w. caret, by corrector, over 'sext', erased.

---

13 *Botte ȝitt in alle this oft tymes ... to my mynde* (259.19): this corresponds with the long text, 460.5-461.10.

oure triste is nowht fulle: the *Mirror of St. Edmund* has: Certayne trayst es contende in þis worde *noster*, for if he be ours, þan may we sekerly trayst in hym þat he es haldene till vs (Horstman 1, 233).

17 *And thus in oure felynge / oure foly es cause / of oure waykenesse / for thus hafe I felede / in my selfe*: a *compar* of five *cola*, with *traductio* (*felynge ... felede*) and *adnominatio* (*felynge ... foly*). The long text preserves the figure intact: 460.8.

20 *and sayde: I am grownde ... thy besekynge* (260.29): this corresponds with the long text, 461.10-14.

and sayde: the long text has: *and shewed theyse wordes and seyde* (461.10). Cf. 258.1 note.

21 *First it is my wille that þou hafe it / and syne I make the to will it / and syne I make the to be seke it*: a *compar* with initial *repetitio* (*and syne ...*), medial *repetitio* (*I make the ...*), and *traductio* (*my wille / to will*).

22 *And ȝif þou beseke*: this is repeated exactly, 259.26: *And the fyrst þare he says: And þowe beseke*; but cf. 461.13 and 17, where SS have *besekyst ... besekyst*, but P and C have *sekyst ... beseke*. There can be little doubt of the short text's superiority, or that Julian means 'Provided that you beseech' (subjunctive), not 'and you do beseech' (indicative).

25 *a myghty comforth*: the long text adds: *as it may be sene in the same wordes* (461.15).

28 *fourte*: this has been allowed to stand; but for reasons why Julian probably wrote 'second' (or 'other'), see 461.14, 19 and notes.

thann be þat þou schulde noght hafe thy besekynge? þare he schewes a
30 sobere vndertakynge, for we tryste nouȝt als myghtelye als we schulde
do. Thus wille oure lorde that we bath praye *and* triste, for the cause of
the resones befor sayde is to make vs myghty agaynes waiknesse in oure
prayers. For it is goddis wille that we pray, and þer to he styrres vs in
thies wordes befor sayde, for he wille þat we be sekere to hafe oure
35 prayere, for prayer pleses god. Prayer pleses mann with hym selfe, and
11or makes hym sobure *and* meke that before hand / was in strife *and*
travayle. Praiere anes the saule to god, for þowȝ the saule be euer lyke
god in kynde and in substannce, it is oft vnlike in condicionn thurgh
synn of mannes party. Than makes prayer þe saule like vnto god, when
40 the sawlle wille as god wille, and than es it lyke to god in condicion as it
es in kynde. And thus he teches vs to pray and myghttely tryste that we
schalle hafe that we praye fore, for alle thynge that es done schulde be
done þowȝ we neuer prayed it. Botte the luff of god es so mykille that he

---

29 *þare he schewes ... we schulde do*: not in the long text. This again she omits as a reflection of her own, and not what she saw. Cf. 511.9: *nor I se nott the shewyng to vs no manner of blame.*

a sobere vndertakynge: 'a serious rebuke'. Cf. NED Undertaking, *vbl. sb.* † 2, b, the first example c. 1430; the second, c. 1440, glossed 'deprehencio', from the King's Lynn *Promptorium Parvulorum*. This is the figure known as *interrogatio* (erotema).

31 *Thus wille oure lorde ... strife and travayle* (260.37): There is correspondence between this passage and the long text, 469.15-18. There is, however, no equivalent for the short text's observation: *Prayer pleses mann with hym selfe.*

34 *he wille þat we be sekere to hafe oure prayere*: cf. Matthew 21.22: And whatever things you shall ask in prayer, believing, you shall receive.

35 *for prayer pleses god*: cf. I Timothy 2.1-3: ... supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings ... for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our saviour.

37 *Praiere anes the saule ... betwix god and mannes saule* (261.54): this corresponds with the long text, 475.2-476.17.

39 *Than makes prayer þe saule like vnto god*: cf. 475.4: *Than is prayer a wytnesse*, and 475.3 note.

40 *and than es it lyke to god in condicion as it es in kynde*: cf. 475.5: *and comfortyth the conscience and ablyth man to grace.*

42 *for alle thynge*: 'even though something'. Cf. NED All, *a.*, *sb.*, and *adv.* 9.c, For, *prep.* and *conj.* 23.

alle thynge that es done schulde be done powȝ we neuer prayed it: not in the long text (476.7), where it would have been otiose, in the light of her reflection on what God showed — that it is pleasing to him for us ask him what he wishes to do for us.

43 *the luff of god es so mykille*: this observation is Julian's constant and persistent inspiration. In the long text she replaces it with *he beholdyth vs in loue,* seemingly because, for her, God's beholding us signifies his great and active love. Cf. Genesis 1.31: And God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good.

haldes vs parcyners of his goode deede; and þerfore he styrres vs to praye that hym lykes to do, for whate prayere or goode wille that we hafe of his gyfte, he wille rewarde vs *and* gife vs endelese mede. And this was schewed me in this worde: And þou beseke it.

In this worde god schewed me so grete plesannce *and* so grete lykynge, as ȝif he ware mekille behaldene to vs for ilke goode dede that we do, alle ȝif it es he that does it. And for that we beseke besily to do that thynge that hym lykes, as ȝif he sayde: Whate myght þowe plese me mare than to bisike bisily, wisely *and* wilfullye to do that thynge that I wille do? And thus makes prayere accorde betwix god *and* mannes saule, for whate tyme that mannes saule es hamelye with god, hym nedes nought to praye, botte be halde reuerentlye whate he s(ee)s. For in alle this tyme that this was schewed me, I was noght stirred to praye, botte to hafe alle waye this welle in my mynde for comforth, that when we see god we hafe that we desyre, *and* than nedes vs nought to praye. Botte when we se nought god, than nedes vs to pray for faylynge *and* for

---

55 *sees*: ms: says.

---

44 *he styrres vs to praye that hym lykes to do*: cf. 476.8, and John 16.26-27: ... You shall ask in my name, and I do not say to you that I will ask the Father for you. For the Father himself loves you ...

46 *he wille rewarde vs and gife vs endelese mede*: cf. 476.10, and Matthew 19.27-29: ... What therefore shall we have? Everyone who has left house or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands for my sake shall receive a hundredfold and shall possess everlasting life.

47 *in this worde: And ...*: cf. 259.22.

50 *alle ȝif it es*: cf. 476.13: *and yet it is.*

besily: cf. 476.14: myghtly; and so 261.52, 476.16.

52 *I wille do?* Cf. 476.16: *I wyll haue doen?*

53 *And thus makes prayere accorde betwix god and mannes saule, for whate tyme that mannes saule es hamelye with god ...*: cf. what is called in MS BN Fonds anglais 41 (the hand of which is probably ante 1400), as in other manuscripts: ... þese eiȝte chapitris necessarie for men *and* wommen þat ȝeuen hem to perfeccioun, which was founden in maistir Lowys de Fontibus book, and maistir Watir Hiltonn, chanoun of Thurkartonn, translatide it in to english tunge for þe comown profyȝt (f. 155r) ... Ther is þre maner transfoormynge of þe soule ... (f. 152r) ... Anoþir is forto be transfoormyd with god, *and* þat is whanne his soule is oonyd wiþ Crist, *and* riȝt hoomly with him. Cf. Jones, 103.

54 *for whate tyme ... nought to praye*: not in the long text; cf. 476.17 e.s., where Julian develops the same thought at greater length.

55 *sees*: the manuscript reading is plainly corrupt, and must be emended, either to *saye*, 'he saw' (cf. 217.2 and note), or, more probably, *sees*. Julian is writing of that moment of infused contemplative prayer when the soul rests in the beholding of him for sight of whom the unitive prayer of petition is made; cf. 477.18-479.36.

57 *welle*: probably not adverb but noun, 'this good'. Cf. 263.5.

59 *Botte when we se ... euer ylyke in love*: cf. 478.28-479.33.

habelynge of oure selfe to Jhesu. For whenn a saule es tempted, trubled *and* lefte to it selfe be vnreste, than es it tyme to pray and to make hym selfe symple and boxsomm to god. Bot he be boxomm, na maner of prayer makes god souple to hym, for he is euer ylyke in love. Botte in the tyme that man is in synne he is so vnmyghttye, so vnwyse *and* so vnluffande that he can nought love god ne hym selfe.

The maste myschefe that he hase es blyndnesse, for he sees nought alle this. Than the hale luffe of god alle myghty that euer is ane gyffes hym sight / to hym selfe; and thann wenes he that god ware wrathe with hym for his synne. And than is he stirred to contricionn, and be confessyonn and othere goode dedys to slake the wrathe of god, vnto the tyme he fynde a reste in saule *and* softnesse in conscience; and than hym thynke þat god hase for gyffynn his synnes, and it es soth. And than is god in þe sight of (the) saule turnede in to the behaldynge of the saule, as ȝif it had bene in payne or in presonn, sayande thus: I am gladde that þou erte commen to reste, for I hafe euer loved the *and* nowe loves the, and þou me. And thus with prayers, as I hafe before sayde, *and* with othere goode werkys þat ere custummab(ylle) be the techynge of haly kyrke, is þe saule aned to god.

---

73 *the*: om. ms.
77 *custummabylle*: ms: custummabelye.

---

60 *habelynge*: cf. 478.29: *vnablynes*. Either reading can be defended, and this can mean: 'We need to pray, because we are deficient, and for strengthening of ourselves'. But it cannot mean, as MED suggests, citing this passage, 'making oneself fit or worthy'; Julian was no semi-Pelagian. SS, we should observe, agree with A.

For whenn a saule es tempted ...: see the *Scale*, I chapter 89: Crie to hym by grete desires and sihȝynges þat he wil helpe þe bere þis heuy birþen of þis ymage ... It may so be þat þou schalt fele peyn and soroe ... for þou schalt vnderstond þat þere may no soule lyue withouten grete peyn, bot if he haue rest and delite ... in his creatour (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 358; Underhill, 213-214).

62 *symple*: cf. 478.31 note. The reading here is defensible and has been retained; but 'supple and buxom' is more suggestive. NED, Supple, *a*.4, 'Yielding readily to persuasion or influence; compliant', has as its first example: c. 1340 Hampole *Prose Treat.* ... Forto breke downe the vnbuxomnes of the body ... that itt myght be souple and redy, and not moch contrarious to the spirite in gostely wyrkynge.

Bot he be boxomm: not in the long text; cf. 479.32.

64 *he is so vnmyghttye ... es blyndnesse*: cf. 496.17-19.

68 *and thann wenes he ... and it es soth*: cf. 454.5-10.

69 *and be confessyonn and othere goode dedys*: not in the long text; cf. 454.7.

71 *hym thynke*: cf. 454.9: *hope we*.

72 *And than is god ... and þou me*: cf. 454.10-455.15.

75 *to reste*: cf. 455.13 and note.

for I hafe ... and þou me: cf. 455.14 and note.

76 *And thus with prayers ... aned to god*: not in the long text; cf. 455.15.

(xx) Before this tyme I hadde ofte grete langynge *and* desyred of goddys gyfte to be delyu*e*red of this warlde and of this lyfe, for I schulde be with my god in blysse whare I hope sikerlye thurgh his m*e*rcye to be with owten*n* ende. For ofte tymes I behelde the waa that is here and the weele *and* the blyssede beynge thare; *and* ȝyf thare hadde bene na pay*n*n in erthe bot the absence of oure lorde god, me thouȝt sum tyme it ware mare than I myght bere. And this made me to mourne *and* beselye lange.

Than god sayde to me, for pacience *and* for sufferan*n*ce, thus: Sudanly thowe schalle be takene fra alle thy payne, fra alle thy dissese *and* fra alle thy waa. *And* þow schalle com*m*en*n* vp abouen*n*, and thowe schalle hafe me to thy mede, and þowe schalle be fulfyllede of ioye and blysse, *and* þowe schalle neu*e*r hafe na man*e*r of payne, na man*e*r of sekenes, na man*e*r of myslykynge, na wantynge of wille, botte eu*e*r ioye *and* blysse with outen*n* ende. Whate schulde it than greve the to suffyr a while, sen*n* it is my wille and my wirschippe?

Also in this reso*n*n: Sudanly þou schalle be take*n*n, I sawe how god rewardys man*n* of the pacience that he has in abydynge of goddes wille in his tyme, and þ*at* man*n* lengthes his pacyence owe*r*e the tyme of his lyffynge for vnknawynge of his tyme of passynge. This is a grete pr*o*fytte,

---

1 *Before this tyme ... it schalle be nouȝt*: cf. 619.5-620.11.

ofte: not in the long text; cf. 619.5.

and desyred of goddys gyfte to be delyuered of this warlde: Rolle, in his *Exposicio super secundum versiculum Cantici Canticorum* (Hope Allen called this work *Comment on the Canticles, Rolle*, 63 et passim, Sr. Elizabeth Murray entitles her edition *Richard Rolle's Comment on the Canticles*, but they should have avoided this misnomer and have followed this colophon from the Dublin manuscript) writes: ... quia tunc cum gaudio morimur quando delicias eterni amoris canentes solam in deo delectacionem contemplamur (Murray, 4).

2 *for I schulde be ... with owtenn ende*: not in the long text; cf. 619.6.

11 *And þow schalle commenn vp abouenn / and thowe schalle hafe me to thy mede*: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*And þowe ...*).

12 *and þowe schalle be fulfyllede of ioye and blysse / and þowe schalle neuer hafe na maner of payne*: a *compar* with *repetitio* and *oppositio contrariorum*.

13 *na maner of sekenes / na maner of myslykynge / na wantynge of wille*: a *compar* with *repetitio*.

17 *resonn*: cf. 621.22: *worde*, and note. Julian probably here has in mind the rhetoricians' *ratiocinatio*, 'reasoning by question and answer'. *Whate schulde it than greve the ...? ... Sudanly þou schalle be taken* ... NED, Reason, *sb.*[1], MED, resoun, do not record this specific use; the nearest is NED's 19, 'the act of reasoning or argumentation'. The probability is that, as with *contraryte* (cf. 372.24 note) and *profyr* (370.6 note), Julian was obliged to invent her own rhetorical terminology. See Introduction, 48-49.

for ȝif a mann knewe his tyme, he schulde noght hafe pacience owere þat tyme. Also god wille that whiles the saule es in the bodye, that it seme to it selfe that it es euer atte the poynte to be takenn. For alle þis /
111r lyfe (and) this langoure that we hafe here is bot a poynte, and whenn we
25 ere takene sodaynly oute of payne in to blysse, it schalle be nouȝt.

And þerfore sayde oure lorde: Whate schulde it than greve the to suffere a while, senn it is my wille *and* my wyrschippe? It is goddys wille that we take his behestys and his confortynges als largelye and as myghtelye as we maye take thame; and also he wille *þat* we take oure
30 abydynge and oure desese als lyghtelye as we maye take thamm, and sette thamm atte nought. For the lyghtlyere we take thamm, the lesse price we sette be thamm for luff, the lesse payne salle we hafe in the felynge of tham, and the mare thanke we schalle hafe for thamm.

In this blyssed revelacionn I was trewly taught that whate mann or
35 wommann wilfully cheses god in his lyfe, he may be sekere that he is chosene. Kepe this treulye, for sothly it is god ys wille that we be als sekere in tryste of the blys in heuenn whiles we ere here as we schulde be in sekernesse whenn we ere thare.

And euer the mare likynge and the ioye that we take in this sekernesse
40 with reuerence and mekenes, the bettere likes hym. For I am sekyr, ȝif

---

23 *seme*: ms: semenn.
24 *and*: ms: in.

---

23 *seme*: cf. 622.27.

For alle þis lyfe and this langoure that we hafe here is bot a poynte: of the many places in Scripture dealing with the brevity of human existence, Julian most probably has in mind here I Peter 1.5-6: ... the last time, in which you will greatly rejoice, if now for a little time you must be made sorrowfull (... modicum nunc si oportet contristari ...) For *poynte*, 'instant', cf. 226.1 note.

24 *and (this)*: cf. 622.28.

25 *it schalle be nouȝt*: the antecedent of *it* appears to be *blysse*; but cf. 622.30: *than payn shall be nought*.

26 *And þerfore sayde oure lorde*: not in the long text; cf. 625.59.

27 *It is goddys wille ... the bettere likes hym* (264.40): cf. 626.61-628.8.

29 *þat we take oure abydynge ...* : the *Ancrene Riwle* offers similar advice: ... eueneþ al ȝor wo, seeknesse and oþer what, wrong of word and of werk and al þat mon may þolen, to þat þat he þolede, and ȝe schul lihtlice iseon how luytel hit recheþ (Vernon MS, f. 380^c; Day, 83).

35 *his*: cf. 627.3: *this*.

that he is chosene: cf. 627.3: *þat he is louyd without end, with endlesse loue that werkyth in him þat grace*. Cf. 221.33 note. It will be observed that S1's introductory paragraph (627.1 app.) says the same as the short text: *is sekir to be savid*.

37 *schulde*: probably error for 'schulle'; cf. 627.6: *shalle*.

40 *For I am sekyr ... bodelye seknes* (266.1): not in the long text; cf. 628.8.

thare hadde nane be*nn* bot I that schulde be safe, god wolde hafe done alle that he hase done for me. And so schulde ilke saule thynke in knawynge of his lover*e*, forgettande ȝif he myght alle creatures, *and* thynkkande that god hase done for hym alle that he hase done. And
45 thys thynke me schulde styrre a saule for to luff *and* lyke hy*mm*, *and* nought drede bot hy*mm*; for it is his wille that we witte that alle the myght of oure enmye is loke*nn* in oure frendes hande. And þ*er*fore a saule that wate sekerlye this schalle nought drede botte hym that he loves, and alle other*e* dredes sette tha*mm* emange passyons and bodelye
50 sekenesse *and* ymagynacions.

And þ*er*fore ȝif a ma*nn* be in so mekylle payne, in so mekylle waa *and* in so mekylle deseses that hym thynke that he can thynke ryght nought bot that þat he is in or that he feles, als sone as he maye, passe lyghtlye ower*e* and sette it atte nouȝt. And why? For god wille be knawe*nn*; for
111v ȝyff we knewe hym *and* luffed hym we schulde hafe / pacience and be in
56 grete reste, *and* it schulde be lykynge to vs, alle that he does. And this schewed oure lorde me in thies wordes þ*at* he sayde: Whate schulde it than greve the to suffyr a while, se*nn* it is my wille and my wirschippe? And here was ane ende of alle þ*at* oure lorde schewed me that daye.

---

51 *in so mekylle payne / in so mekylle waa / and in so mekylle deseses*: a *compar* with *repetitio*.
57 *in thies wordes*: cf. 263.15.

(xxi) And efter this sone I felle to my selfe *and* to my bodelye seknes, vnderstandande that I schulde life, *and* as a wrech heuyed and mourned for the bodely paynes that I feled, and thouȝt grete irksumnes that I schulde langere lyffe. And I was als barane and drye as ȝif I hadde neuer had comforth before bot litille, for fallynge to my paynes *and* faylynge of gastelye felynge.

Thann comm a religiouse personn to me and asked me howe I farde, and I sayde that I ha(dd)e raued þat daye. And he lugh lowde *and* enterlye. And I sayde: The crosse that stode atte my bedde feete, it bled faste; and with this worde the personn that I spake to wex alle sadde *and* meruelande. And onn ane I was sare aschamed for my reklessenes, *and* I thouȝt thus: this man takys it sadlye, the leste worde that I myght saye, that says na mare þerto. And when I sawe that he toke it so sadely *and* *with* so grete reuerence, I wex ryght gretly aschamed, and walde haffe bene schryfenn. Bot I couth telle it na preste, for I thoght, howe schulde a preste leue me? I leued nought oure lorde god. This I leued sothfastlye for the tyme that I sawe hym, and so was than my wille *and* my menynge euer for to do with owtenn ende. Bot as a fule I lette it passe fro my mynde.

---

2 *heuyed*: ms: that heuyed.
8 *hadde*: ms: hafe.

---

1 *vnderstandande that I schulde life*: cf. 632.10: *soone I feelt that I should life longer.*
2 *and as a wrech ... the bodely paynes* (266.3): this corresponds with the long text, 632.13-14.
heuyed and mourned: cf. 632.14: mornyd hevyly; but SS agree with A.
4 *And I was als barane ... bot litille*: cf. 632.12-13.
7 *Thann comm a religiouse personn...in my throte* (267-27): this corresponds with the long text, 632.16-635.3.
8 *hadde*: cf. 632.16-633.17: *and I seyde I had ravyd today* (though this has its own mixture of direct and oblique speech).
9 *enterlye*: plainly superior to P: *inwardly* (633.17). Cf. MED enterli adv. 1: c. 1440 *PLAlex*: Þay saw Alexander wepe so enterely, and the incipit of a prayer in MS Glasgow Hunterian V. 6. 22, f. ii^{r}: Lord Jhesu Crist, I thanke þe enterely þat þou for me beganne to suffre ... For precisely the same force of the adjective, cf. a Marian complaint: Y wylle love yowrys with hert entere (Wright: *Chester Plays*, 2 209). The SS 'inderly' readings derive from some manuscript agreeing with A.
The crosse that stode atte my bedde feete: this may be identical with *the crucifixe that hange before me* (225.21, and cf. 324.3), of the face of which Julian says that she had 'bodely syght'; but the suspended crucifix may be part of her imaginative vision, a 'bodily lykenes' as was that of Mary; cf. 297.29.
13 *says*: probably superior to 633.22: *sawe*.

Loo I, wrich! This was a grete synne *and* a grete vnkyndnes, that I for folye of felynge of a litille bodely payne so vnwyselye lefte for the tyme the comforth of alle this blissede schewynge of oure lorde god. Here maye ȝe see whate I am of my selfe; botte here in walde nought oure curtayse lorde leue me. And I laye stille tille nyght, *tr*istande in his *mer*cye, and than I beganne to slepe.

And in my slepe atte the begynnynge me thought the fende sette hym in my throte and walde hafe st*r*angelede me, botte he myght nought. Than I woke oute of my slepe, *and* vnnethes hadde I my lyfe. The *per*sones that ware with me behelde me and wette my temples, and my herte beg*a*nn to comforth. And o*n*n ane a lytell*e* smoke come in atte the
112r dore with a grete hete / and a fowle stynke. I sayde: Benedicite d*o*minus! Is alle o*n*n fyre that is here? And I wened it hadde bene a bodely fyre that schulde hafe brenned vs to dede. I asked tha*m*m that ware with me ȝyf thaye felyd any stynke. Thay sayde naye, thay felyd nane. I sayde: Blissede be god! for than wiste I wele it was the fende was co*m*me*n*n to tempest me. And onane I tuke þa that oure lorde hadde schewed me on the same daye with alle the fayth of hali kyrke, for I holde it as bathe ane, *and* fled þ*er*to as to my comforth. And alsone alle vanysched awaye, *and* I was brought to gret reste and pees, *with* outene seknes of bodye or drede of conscyence.

---

26 *And in my slepe*: cf. 635.2 and note.

27 *and walde ... myght nought*: cf. 636.10-11.

28 *Than I woke*: cf. 636.13-637.14: *And oure curtesse lorde gaue me grace to wake. and vnnethes ... haymelyeste hame* (268.14): cf. 637.14-641.16.

31 *a fowle stynke*: cf. 637.17.

36 *to tempest*: 'assail'. Cf. NED Tempest, *v.*, MED tempest; their earliest example is c. 1374 Chaucer *Boethius* II iv 38. Cf. 637.21: *tempte*; but SS agree with A.

þa: 'those things', to which *for I holde it as bathe ane* seems to refer; but cf. 638.22: *I toke me to that.*

38 *and fled perto as to my comfort*: Julian may have had in mind some such Scriptural passage as Psalm 54.8-9: Lo, I have gone far off, fleeing away, and I abode in the wilderness. I waited for him who has saved me ...

alsone: 'at once'. 'From phrase al sone; partly confused with a(l)s sone, esp. as conj.; mostly Northern' (MED, where all examples are of the fifteenth century).

(xxii) Bot than lefte I stylle wakande, and than owre lorde openedde my gastely eyenn *and* schewyd me my saule in myddys of my herte. I sawe my saule swa large as it ware a kyngdome; and be the condicions that I sawe þerin me thought it was a wirschipfulle cite. In myddys of this cite sittes oure lorde Jhesu, verraye god *and* verray mann, a fayre personn and of large stature, wyrschipfulle, hiest lorde. And I sawe hym cledde solemplye in wyrschippes. He sittes in the saule euenn ryght in pees *and* reste, and he rewles *and* ȝemes heuenn *and* erth and alle that is. The manhede *with* the godhede sittis in reste, and the godhede rewles *and* ȝemes *with* owtynn any instrumente or besynes. And my saule (is) blisfullye occupyed with the godhede, that is sufferaynn myght, sufferayne wisdomme, sufferayne goodnesse.

The place that Jhesu takes in oure saule he schalle neuer remove it with owtynn ende, for in vs is his haymelyeste hame, *and* maste lykynge to hym to dwelle in. This was a delectabille syght *and* a restefulle, for it is so in trowth with owtenn ende; and the behaldynge of this whiles we ere here es fulle plesannde to god and fulle grete spede to vs. And the saule that thus behaldys, it makys it lyke to hym that is behaldene, and anes in reste *and* in pees. And this was a singulere ioye *and* a blis to me that I sawe hym sitte, for the behaldynge of this sittynge schewed to me sikernes of his endelesse dwellynge; and I knewe sothfastly that it was he
112v that schewed me / alle before. And whenn I hadde behaldenn this with

---

10 *is* om. ms.

---

1 *Bot than lefte I stylle wakande*: not in the long text; cf. 639.2.
lefte: for this intransitive use, 'to remain', cf. NED Leave *v.* 1, +III 12.

4 *In myddys of this cite / sittes oure lorde Jhesu / verraye god and verray mann / a fayre personn and of large stature / wyrschipfulle hiest lorde*: a five-membered *compar* giving *membrum* with *oppositio contrariorum* in the middle *colon*.

6 *cledde solemplye in wyrschippes*: this seems to echo Psalm 92.1: The Lord has reigned, he is clothed with beauty.

10 *is blisfullye*: cf. 640.12: *þe soule is*. An alternative emendation would be 'was'.

14 *for in vs is his haymelyeste hame: tautologia*, 'a repetition of the same statement' (NED).
maste lykynge to hym to dwelle in: not in the long text; cf. 641.17. Cf. Proverbs 8.31: My delights were to be with the children of men.

15 *This was a delectabille syght ... dispayre, as me thouȝt* (270.8): cf. 644.46-648.8.

16 *so in trowth*: not in the long text; cf. 644.46.

20 *for the behaldynge*: cf. 645.51 and note.

21 *I knewe sothfastly*: cf. 645.52 and note.

fulle avisement, thann schewed oure lorde me wordys fulle mekely, with owtynn voyce *and* with owtenn openynge of lyppes, as he hadde done before, and sayde fulle soberlye: Witte it welle, it was na rauynge that thowe sawe to day, botte take it and leue it and kepe þe ther to, and þou schalle nought be ouercomenn.

This laste wordes ware sayde to me for lernynge of fulle trewe sikernes that it is our lorde Jhesu that schewed me alle; for ryght as in the fyrste worde that oure lorde schewed me, menande his blissyd passionn: Here with is the fende ouercomenn, ryght so he sayde in the laste worde *with* fulle trewe sikernesse: Thow schalle nought be ouercommen. And this lernynge and this trewe comforthe, it es generalle to alle myne euencristenn, as I haffe before sayde, *and* so is goddys wille.

And this worde: Thowe schalle nought be ouercommenn, was sayde fulle scharpely and fulle myghtely, for sekernes and comforth agayne alle tribulacions that maye comm. He sayde nought: Þou salle not be tempestyd, thowe schalle not be trauayled, þou schalle not be desesed; bot he sayde: Þou schalle nouȝt be ouercommen. God wille that we take hede of his worde, and that we be euer myghtty in sekernesse, in wele and in waa, for he luffes vs and likes vs, and so wille he that we luff hym and lyke hym and myghtely triste in hym, and alle schalle be wele.

And sone eftyr alle was close, *and* I sawe na mare.

---

26 þe: interl. corrector w. caret.
37 Þou salle not (be tempestyd): add. marg. corrector w. caret.

---

23 oure lorde me wordys: cf. 645.53-54: *oure good lorde wordes*; there has evidently been some corruption, but where and of what nature is hard to say.
25 soberlye: cf. 646.55: *swetely*. Cf. also 240.33, 387.50 and notes.
29 that it is: cf. 646.59: *þat is*, evidently the inferior reading.
the fyrste worde: cf. 227.28.
37 He sayde nought / Þou salle not be tempestyd / thowe schalle not be trauayled / þou schalle not be desesed / bot he sayde / Þou schalle nouȝt be ouercommen: a six-membered *compar* with *repetitio* (*þou salle not ...*).
38 tempestyd: cf. 647.68: *trobelyd*.
39 Þou schalle nouȝt be ouercommen: cf. the *Chastising*: whanne he seiþ þat ȝe entre nat into temptacion, ȝe schal vndirstonde þat ȝe be nat ouercomen wiþ temptacion (Bazire and Colledge, 96, and notes, 259, for analogues from Tertullian onwards).
40 his: cf. 647.70: *this*.
sekernesse: cf. 647.71: *feytfull trust*; SS: *sekir*.
42 myghtely triste in hym: cf. 649.11.

xiii) After this the fende comm agayne with his heete and with his stynke, *and* made me fulle besye. The stynke was so vile and so paynfulle, and the bodely heete also dredfulle *and* trauaylous; *and* also I harde a bodely iangelynge *and* a speche, as it hadde bene of two bodyes, and bathe to my thynkynge iangled at anes, as ȝif thay had haldene a parliamente with grete besynes, and alle was softe mutterynge. And I vnderstode nouȝt whate thay sayde, botte alle this was to stirre me to dispayre, as me thouȝt; and I triste besely in god *and* comforthede my sawlle with bodely speche, as I schulde hafe done to anothere personn thann my selfe that hadde so bene travaylede. Me thought this besynes myght
113r nought be / lykned to na bodely besenes. My bodely eyȝenn I sette on the same crosse that I hadde sene comforth in before that tyme, my tunge I occupyed with speche of Cristes passionn *and* rehersynge of the faith of hali kyrke, and my herte I festende on god with alle the triste and alle the myght that was in me. And I thouȝt to my selfe, menande: thowe hase nowe grete besynes; walde þou nowe fra this tyme euer mare be so besy to kepe the fro synne, this ware a soferayne *and* a goode occupacionn. For I trowe sothlye, ware I saffe fra synne I ware fulle saife fra alle the fendes of helle *and* enmyse of my saule.

And thus thay occupied me alle the nyght and onn the mornn tille it was aboute pryme dayes; and thann onn ane thay ware alle gane and passed, and þere lefte nathynge bot stynke; and that lasted stille a while. And I scorned thame, and thus was I delyuered of thamm be the vertu of Cristes passionn. For tharewith is the fende ouercommenn, as Criste sayde before to me.

---

4 *iangelynge and a speche*: cf. 648.4: *talkyng*. SS agree with *iangelynge*.

5 *iangled*: cf. 648.5: *talkyd*. Again, SS agree with A. In a satiric macaronic poem, *On Chattering in Church*, the poet says to the women so reprehended: For his loue þat ȝou der boȝth, / Hold ȝou stil and iangel noȝth, / Sed prece deponentes (C. Brown, XV 277).

6 *mutterynge*: cf. 648.7: *whystryn*; SS: *muttering*.

8 *and I triste ... sayde before to me* (270.25): cf. 649.11-651.16.

11 *My bodely eyȝenn ... before to me* (270.25): this corresponds with the long text, 650.2-651.16.

14 *I festende*: cf. 650.4: *to fasten*, which seems inferior.

18 *I trowe sothlye*: cf. 651.9: *I thought faythfully*.

20 *thay*: cf. 651.11: *he*.

21 *aboute pryme dayes*: 'soon after sunrise'. Cf. NED Prime *n.*[1] IV 11; but this is not the sense of the only instance there. Yet cf. MED prime, n.: c. 1450 *Mirour Saluacioun*: In the houre of pryme dayes thyne hoege luf shewed thow me.

23 *thame ... thamm*: cf. 651.14: *hym* (bis).

A wriched synne, whate ert þou? Thowe er nought. For I sawe that god is alle thynge; I sawe nought the. And when I sawe that god hase made alle thynge, I sawe the nought. And when I sawe that god is in alle thynge, I sawe the nought. And whenn I sawe that god does alle thynge þat is done, lesse and mare, I sawe the nought. And when I sawe oure lorde Jhesu sitt in oure saule so wyrschipfully, *and* luff and lyke and rewle and ȝeme alle that he has made, I sawe nouȝt the. And thus I am sekyr þat þou erte nouȝt, and alle þa that luffeȝ the and lykes the and folowes the and wilfully endes in the, I am sekyr thay schalle be brought to nought with the and endleslye confownded. God schelde vs alle fra the. Amen *pour* charyte.

And whate wrecchednesse is I wille saye, as I am lernede be the schewynge of god. Wrecchydnesse es alle thynge that is nought goode, þe gastelye blyndehede that we falle in to in the fyrste synne, and alle that folowes of that wrecchydnesse, passions *and* paynes gastelye or bodely, and alle that es in erth or in othere place whilke es nouȝt goode.

---

26 *A wriched synne ... wee er in pees* (272.56): not in the long text; cf. 651.16, and Introduction, p. 51-52. In the long text Julian writes: *I culde haue no pacience for grett feer and perplexite* (511.22), and this magnificent apostrophe to sin ably expresses the fear and perplexity she then felt. Reflection, however, leads her to conclude that the problem is humble and common (cf. 512.29-31), so that even before she announces the solution in the parable of the lord and the servant, the apostrophe no longer expresses her illumined thought and feelings, and in the interests of truth she suppresses what is, stylistically, one of her finest passages, with its adroit combination of *conversio*, ('Thowe er *nought*', 'I sawe *nought* the', 'I sawe the *nought*' ...), with *exclamatio* ('A wriched synne ...') and *repetitio* ('And when I sawe ...', 'And whenn I sawe ...').

37 *And whate wrecchednesse is ... wee er in pees* (272.56): this passage appears to have been replaced in the long text by the disquisition on the contraries, 659.2-665.58. As this stands, it is a philosophical and theological reflection of quality, reasoned and written with care and skill. But again, as with the apostrophe to sin (cf. 271.26 note), Julian has not hesitated to sacrifice it, in the light of what she has learned through the parable.

39 *þe gastelye blyndehede*: cf. 662.35.

blyndehede: NED quotes Rolle's Psalter, 96.2: for thaire blynhede he semys myrk.

in the fyrste synne: Julian's description of the miseries of sin has much in common with what Hilton writes at the beginning of the *Scale*, Book II: þat is, oure lord god schope man in soule to his owne ymage *and* liknes. Þis is þe ymage þat I haue spokyn of. Þis ymage made to þe image of god in þe first schapynge was wnderly faire *and* briȝt, ful of brennande loue *and* gostly lyȝt, bot þorw synne (f. 63^{v}) of þe first man Adam it was diffigured and forschapyn in to a noþer liknes, as I haue before said, for it fel fro þat goostly liȝt *and* þat heuenly fode in to pynful mirknes *and* lust of þis wrecchid liif, exiled and flemed oute fro þe heritage of heuen þat it schuld haue had if it had stonden stille, in to þe wrecchednesse of þis erþe and afterward in to þe prisoun of helle, þer to haue ben wiþ outen ende, fro þe whilk prisoun to þat heuenly heritage it miȝt neuer haue come agayn, bot if it had ben reformed to þe first schap *and* þe first liknes (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 226).

113v And than may be asked of this: whate er we? / And I answere to this: ȝif alle ware deparȶed fra vs that is nouȝt goode, we schulde be goode. Whenn wrechidnesse is deparȶed fra vs, god and the saule is alle ane, and god and man alle ane. Whate is alle in erthe that twynnes vs? I answere and saye, in þat that it serues vs it is goode, and in that that it schalle perisch it (is) wricchednes, and in that that a mann settys his herte þer oponn othere wyse than thus, it is synne. And for þat tyme that mann or womann loves synne, ȝif any be swilke, he is in payne that passes alle paynes; and whenn he loves nouȝt synne, botte hates it and luffeȝ god, alle is wele. And he that trewlye doeȝ thus, þowȝ he synn sum tyme by frelty or vnkunnynge in his wille, he falles nought, for he wille myghtely ryse agayne *and* behalde god, whamm he loves in alle his wille. God has made thamm to be loved of hym or hire that has bene a synnere, bot euer he loves and euer he langes to hafe oure luffe; and whenn we myghttely and wisely luffe Jhesu, wee er in pees.

Alle the blissede techynge of oure lorde god was schewed to me be thre partyes, as I hafe sayde before, that es to saye be the bodely sight, and be worde formed in mynn vndyrstandynge, *and* by gastelye syght. For the bodely sight, I haffe sayde as I sawe, als trewlye as I cann. And for the wordes fourmed, I hafe sayde thamm ryght as oure lorde

---

47 *is (wricchednes)*: om. ms.

---

42 *And than may be asked of this whate er we? / And I answere to this ȝif alle ware departed fra vs / that is nouȝt goode we schulde be goode*: a *compar* with *ratiocinatio* and *conversio* (*goode ... goode*).

45 *Whate is alle in erthe that twynnes vs? / I answere and saye / in þat that it serues vs it is goode / and in that that it schalle perisch it is wricchednes / and in that that a mann settys his herte þer oponn / othere wyse than thus it is synne*: again, a *compar* with *ratiocinatio* and *oppositio contrariorum*.

twynnes: 'separates'. NED's first example of the verb is from the Titus MS of the *Ancrene Riwle*, a synonym of Nero's 'to dealed', and it is noteworthy how many early examples in NED, MED are from spiritual writings. Cf. MED, ab 1440, Thornton MS: and suffire me neuer mare to twyne fra the (which translates a petition of the *Anima Christi*).

51 *And he that trewlye doeȝ thus / powȝ he synn sum tyme by frelty / or vnkunnynge in his wille / he falles nought for he wille myghtely ryse agayne / and behalde god whamm he loves in alle his wille*: a *compar*, with *oppositio*, *traductio* and *inclusio*.

And he that trewlye doeȝ thus: the *Cloud*-author teaches much the same, in different terms, when he writes that the sudden thought of anything bodily or worldly — as opposed to anything good, pure and spiritual — will hinder those 'þat han in a trewe wile forsaken þe worеld' unless it is immediately suppressed (Hodgson, 35-36).

57 *Alle the blissede techynge ... be alle evenn* (274.17): cf. 666.2-668.26.

schewed me thame. And for the gastely sight, I hafe sayde som dele, bot I maye neu*er* fully telle it; and þ*er*fore of this gastely sight I am stirred to say more, as god wille gyfe me grace.

---

62 *schewed*: so the long text, 666.6. NED, Show, 23., quotes *The Mirror of Our Lady*: And my mouthe shall shew thy praysynge (et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam); but it is more probable that Julian means, as usually, 'revealed'. The words were *formed in mynn vnderstandyng* (cf. 666.3-4). She has already used this formula: 224.2-3, 323.30; and she has also employed the verb: *or god schewyd me any wordes* (227.25; cf. 346.3). There she carefully specifies: *with owtynn voyce and with owte openynge of lyppes* (227.27; cf. 346.6). We may properly call these 'locutions', because that is the form which the revelations suggested to Julian's reason and in which she reports them; but she nowhere claims that they in any way resembled, for example, Joan of Arc's 'voices', and had she been asked, as Joan was to be, in what language she had been 'spoken' to, she could have shown the futility of the question.

xxiv) God schewed me twa maners of sekenes that we hafe, of whilke he wille that we be amended. The tone es inpacyence, for we bere our trauaylle and oure payne heuely. The tothere is dispayre of doutefulle drede, as I schalle saye efterwarde. And thiese twa er it that moste
5 travayles vs and tempestes vs, as by that oure lorde schewed me, and
114r maste lefe to hym that thiese be amendede. I speke of swylke / menn and womenn that for goddes love hates synne and dysposes thamm to do goddes wille. Thann ere thiese twa priue synnes and maste besye aboute vs. Therefore it is goddys wille that thay be knawenn, and thann
10 schalle we refuse thamm as we do othere synnes.

And thus fulle mekelye oure lorde schewed me the pacience that he hadde in his harde passyonn, and also the ioye and the lykynge that he hafes of that passionn for love. And this he schewed me in ensampille that we schulde gladlye *and* esely bere oure paynes, for that es grete
15 plesynge to hym *and* endelesse profitte to vs. And cause why we ere travayled with thamm is for vnknawenge of luffe. Þow3 the persones in the blissede trinyte be alle evenn in properte, luffe was moste schewed to me, that it is moste nere to vs alle. And of this knawynge er we moste blynde, for many menn and womenn leues that god is alle myghty *and*

---

13 *this*: 'i' corrector, over one erased letter.
16 *vnknawenge*: 'g' corrector, over one erased letter.
18 *of*: interl. corrector w. caret.

---

1 *God schewed me ... as I schalle saye afterwarde* (l. 4): this corresponds with the long text, 666.9-11.

of whilke he wille that we be amended: not in the long text; cf. 666.9.

3 *of*: cf. 666.11: *or*. Either reading is defensible.

5 *and maste lefe to hym*: cf. 667.14-15: *of whych he wylle*.

8 *Thann ere thiese twa priue synnes and maste besye aboute vs*: cf. 667.16: *Than by oure gostly blyndhed and bodely hevynesse we are most enclynyng to theyse*.

16 *vnknawenge*: this compound, to acquire celebrity through its use in the title of the *Cloud*, is first recorded by NED and MED in *The Prick of Conscience* and Rolle's *Psalter*.

17 *in properte*: cf. 668.26: *in the selfe*.

luffe was moste schewed to me: cf. 668.26: *the soule toke most vnderstandyng in loue*.

18 *that it is moste nere ... synnes before done* (275.25): not in the long text; cf. 668.27.

19 *many menn and womenn ...*: cf. 668.29: *some of vs*. In the long text, characteristically, Julian includes herself; and so throughout the revised text on 'doubtfull dread'.

that god is alle myghty and may do alle / and that he is alle wisdome and can do alle / botte that he is alle love and wille do alle: a three-membered *compar* with *repetitio* (*that ... and that ... botte that*) and *conversio* (*may do alle ... can do alle ... wille do alle*).

may do alle, and that he is alle wisdome and can do alle, botte that he is alle love *and* wille do alle, þar thay stynte. And this vnknawynge it is that most lettis goddes luffers, for whenn thay be gynn to hate synne and to amende thamm by the ordynannce of holye kyrke, 3it þere dwelles a drede that styrres thamm to behaldynge of thamm selfe and of þer synnes before done. And this drede þay take for a mekenesse, bot this is a fowlle blyndehede and a waykenesse; and we cann it nou3t dispyse, for 3if we knewe it, we schulde sodaynly dispice it as we do ane othere synne þat we knawe, for it commes of the enmy, *and* it is agayne the trewthe. For of alle the propertees of the blissed trinite, it is goddes wille that we hafe moste sekernesse in lykynge and luffe.

For luffe makes myght *and* wisdome fulle meke to vs; for ryght as be the curtasye of god he for gettys oure synne for tyme we repente vs, right so wille he that we fore gette oure synne and alle oure hevynesse and alle oure dowtefulle dredes. /

---

27 *it, we*: ms: it (þat — exp.) we.

---

25 *And this drede ... mekillehede of luffe* (276.17); cf. 669.39-673.19.
þay: cf. 669.39: *we*.
26 *waykenesse*: cf. 669.40 and note.
28 *of the enmy*: cf. 669.41: *thorugh lack of true jugment*; and cf. the SS readings.
30 *sekernesse in lykynge and luffe*: cf. 669.43: *feythfulnes and lykyng in loue*. SS support 'sekernesse'; but P's 'and lykyng in' seems superior to A.
32 *for tyme*: cf. 670.45: *after the tyme*. This seems the better reading; but cf. 272.48: *And for þat tyme ...*

(xxv)
114v Fore I saw foure manȝer of dredes. One is drede of a fray, that commes to a mann sodanly be frelty. This drede is good, for it helpes to purge a mann, as does bodely seknes or swylke odere payne that is nought synne; for alle swylke paynes helpes mann ȝif thay be paciently takenn. The secunde is drede of payne, whar by a mann is styrred *and* wakned fro slepe of synn; for man þat is harde in slepe of synn, he is nouȝt able for þe tyme to resayfe the soft comforth of the hali gaste, to he hafe getynn this drede of payne *and* of the fyre of purgatory. And this drede styrres hymm to seke comforth and mercy of god; and thus this drede helpys hym as ane anntre, and ables hym to hafe contricionn be the blysfulle techynge of the hali gaste. The thyrde is a doutfulle drede; for þowȝ it be litille in the selfe, *and* it ware knawenn, it is a spice of dispayre. For I am sekyr that alle doutefulle dredes god hates, and he wille þat we hafe thamm deparȝted with trewe knawynge of lyfe. The fourthe is reuerente drede, for þare is na drede that pleses hymm in vs bot reuerente drede, and that is fulle swete and softe for mekillehede of luffe. And ȝit is this reuerente drede and luffe nought bathe ane, bot thay er twa in properte and in wyrkynge, *and* nowthere of thamm may be hadde with owtynn othere.

Therfore I am sekyre, he þat luffeȝ, he dredes, þowȝ he fele bot litille. Alle dredes othere thann reuerente dredes that er proferde to vs, þowȝ thay comm vndere the coloure of halynes, thay ere not so trewe; and

---

1 *saw*: cf. 671.2: *vnderstonde*.

8 *the fyre of purgatory*: cf. 672.9-10: *gostly enemys*.

10 *anntre*: cf. 672.11: *entre*.

11 *techyng*: cf. 672.12: *touchyng*.

for powȝ it be ... knawynge of lyfe: cf. 673.13-17, which differs considerably.

13 *alle doutefulle dredes god hates*: Julian has many Gospel texts to support her assertion; for example, Peter's fear and doubt at Christ's prophecy of his passion receives the response: Get behind me, Satan; you are a scandal to me (Matthew 16.21-23).

14 *lyfe*: cf. 673.15: *loue*.

16 *fulle swete and*: not in the long text; cf. 673.19.

mekillehede: cf. 673.19: *swetnesse*.

17 *And ȝit is this ... may thaye be knawenn* (277.22): cf. 674.27-675.33.

20 *Therfore I am sekyre / he þat luffeȝ / he dredes / powȝ he fele bot litille*: a *compar* with *chiasmus*.

21 *powȝ thay comm vndere the coloure of halynes*: evidently Julian, of whom Margery Kempe was to say that she was a skilled spiritual counsellor, was acquainted already with the problems of scrupulosity.

hereby may thaye be knawe*nn* and discerned, whilke is whilke. For this reue*r*ente drede, the mar*e* it is hadde, the mare it softes and comfortes
25 *and* pleses and restes; and the false drede, it travayles and tempestes *and* trubles. Than is this the remedye, to knawe tha*mm* bath *and* refuse (th)e fals, righte as we walde do a wikkyd spiritte that schewed hym in likne*s* of a goode angell*e*. For ryght as ane ille spyrit, þow3 he co*mm* vndere the coloure and the liknes of a goode angelle his daliannce *and* his
30 wirkynge, þow3 he schewe neue*r* so fayre, fyrst he travayles *and* tempes *and* trubles the pe*r*sonn that he spekes with, and lettes hym and lefe3 /
115r hym alle in vnreste; and the mare that he co*mm*one3 with hym, the mar*e*

---

26 *the (fals)*: ms: 3e.

---

23 *and discerned, whilke is whilke*: cf. 675.33: *on sonder.*

discerned: cf. III Kings 3.9 (Solomon's prayer for wisdom): Give therefore to thy servant an understanding heart, to judge thy people and discern between evil and good. MED's earliest example of this precise sense is c. 1450 (1410), Walton, *Boethius.*

For this reuerente drede ...: the rest of the short text is not found in the long.

For this reuerente drede ...: the language here is similar to that of the *Cloud*: ... lerne þee to loue listely wiþ a softe and a demure contenaunce, as wel in body as in soule, and abide curesly and meekly þe wil of oure lorde (Hodgson, 87).

26 *refuse the fals ... in liknes of a goode angelle*: cf. II Corinthians 11.13-14: For such false apostles are deceitful workmen, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ; and no wonder, for Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light. Cf. *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*: ... it is ful needful and speedful to knowe his queintyse and not for to vnknowe his doelful deseites. For somtyme he wol, þat wickid cursid wi3t, chaunge his licnes into an aungel of li3t, þat he may vnder colour of vertewe do more dere (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 85).

ye (ms): though '3' is occasionally found as a 'th'-symbol, it does not appear to be this scribe's practice.

28 *For ryght as ane ille spyrit ...*: Julian offers the same advice as the author of the *Ancrene Riwle*, but without his embellishments. Cf. the *Scale*, I, chapter 10: For as a gode aungel come3 with ly3t, so can þe deuel ... Whose hade feled boþe, he schuld kun tell whilk were gode *and* whilk were yuell, bot he þat neuer feled neiþir, or elles bot þat one, may ly3tly be deceyued (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 284; Underhill, 20).

30 *tempes*: there seems no need to emend to either 'temptes' or 'tempestes'. MED quotes the Göttingen *Cursor Mundi*, l. 170: 'temped' (past participle).

32 *the mare he travayles hym ...*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 27: þi mirknes of traueilend desire *and* þi blynde trust in god ... schal turne in to clere knowynge *and* in to sikirnes of luf. And þi lord god schal gife rest to þe (Isaias 57.11) ... þi pyneful dredis *and* doutes *and* wicked spirites ... alle þese schal weiken *and* lesen mikel of her my3t, for þu schalt be hid in rest fro hem (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 78r; Underhill, 344-345).

he travayles hym and the farther*e* is he fra pees. Þer*f*ore it is goddes will*e* and oure spede that we knawe tha*mm* thus ysundur*e*; for god will*e* eu*er* that we be sekere in luffe, *and* peessabill*e and* ristefull*e* as he is to vs, and ryght so of the same condicio*nn* as he is to vs, so will*e* he that we be to our*e* selfe and to our*e* even christe*nn*. Amen.

Explicit Juliane de Norwych

A BOOK OF SHOWINGS TO THE ANCHORESS JULIAN OF NORWICH

Part Two

Introduction and The Short Text

Edited by

EDMUND COLLEDGE O.S.A.

and

JAMES WALSH S.J.



PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
TORONTO 1978

STUDIES AND TEXTS

35

PART TWO



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Humanities Research Council of Canada, using funds provided by the Canada Council.

Copyright 1978 by

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK CRESCENT EAST
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5S 2C4

PRINTED BY UNIVERSA PRESS, WETTEREN, BELGIUM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

Preface vii

Sigla of Manuscripts and Other Abbreviations viii

Introduction 1

A Book of Showings

The Short Text 199

PART TWO

Sigla of Manuscripts and Other Abbreviations vi

A Book of Showings

The Long Text 279

Appendix: Rhetorical Figures Employed by Julian 735

Glossary 749

Bibliography 761

Index of Authors and Titles 775

Index of Scriptural Citations 779

Index of Manuscripts Cited 789

SIGLA OF MANUSCRIPTS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A	London British Museum Add. 37790
C	Cressy 1670 edition
P	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds anglais 40
S1	London British Museum Sloane 2499
S2	London British Museum Sloane 3705
SS	S1 and S2
U	Upholland Seminary Library
W	Westminster Diocesan Archives
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*
AFr	Anglo-French
AISP	*Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*
ASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
BL	British Library (Museum)
BM	British Museum (Library)
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
C. Brown, XIII	*English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*
C. Brown, XIV	*Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*
C. Brown, XV	*Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
DSp	*Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*
EETS (ES)	Early English Text Society (Extra Series)
EETS (OS)	Early English Text Society (Original Series)
FEW	*Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
LCI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
MÆ	*Medium AEvum*
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*
NED	*New English Dictionary*
OE	Old English
OFr	Old French
OHG	Old High German
PL	*Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*
RAM	*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
RTAM	*Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*
SCN	Summary Catalogue Number (Bodleian Library)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
UL	University Library
VCH	*Victoria County History*

A BOOK OF SHOWINGS

The long text
edited from
MS BN Fonds anglais 40, collated
with MSS BM Sloane 2499 and 3705,
Westminster Archdiocesan Archives
and Upholland Seminary Library, and
with the 1670 Serenus Cressy printed edition

1r Here begynneth the first chapter.

This is a reuelacion of loue that Jhesu Christ our endles blisse made in xvi shewynges, of which the first is of his precious crownyng of thornes; and ther in was conteined *and* specified the blessed trinitie *with* the incarnacion and the vnithing betweene god and mans sowle, *with* manie fayer schewynges and techynges of endelesse wisdom and loue, in which all the shewynges that foloweth be grovndide and ioyned.

The secunde is of þe discoloring of his fayer face in tokenyng of his deerworthie passion.

---

1 Above, in a later hand: icy commence le premier chapitre. 2 S1 inc.: Revelations to one who could not read a letter, Anno Domini 1373. A particular of the chapters. The first Chapter off the noumber of the revelations particularly. This is ... S2 inc.: A particular of the chapters. Of the number of the revelations particularly. This is ... 3 *shewynges*: add. S1: or revelations particular. *of (his)*: S2: with. 4 *ther in*: SS: therewith. *conteined*: SS: comprehended. *blessed*: om. SS. 5 *vnithing*: C: uniting; S1: unite; and so S2. 7 *ioyned*: SS: onyd.

---

1 The balanced *cola* immediately indicate the superiority of P over SS: *Here begynneth the first chapter / This is a reuelacion of loue / that Jhesu Christ our endles blisse / made in xvi shewynges / of which the first is of his precious crownyng of thornes / and ther in was conteined and specified the blessed trinitie / with the incarnacion and the vnithing betweene god and mans sowle / with many fayer schewynges and techynges of endelesse wisdom and loue / in which all the shewynges that foloweth be grovndide and ioyned.* The theological structure of each showing and of the entire revelation is delineated: Jesus Christ shown in his sufferings, but also glorified and revealing the triune God in their *operationes ad extra*; the creation of man, and the unity of God and man in Christ; the sights and the locutions manifesting power, wisdom and love. The Trinitarian formula of William of St. Thierry, 'ex patre, per Christum, in sancto spiritu', seems to be known to Julian; See Odo Brooke: 'The Trinitarian Theology of William of St. Thierry'.

2 *who could not read a letter* (S1): this refers to 285.2: *a symple creature vnlettyrde*; but this is not a legitimate deduction. See Introduction, 47.

4 *specified*: NED does not record Specify earlier than c. 1300 (*Cursor Mundi*), and Gower, 1390, is the first writer quoted as using the term in a context not theological.

7 *ioyned / onyd* (SS): this is the first crux in the long text. If one were to accept the SS reading, the antecedent of *in which* would certainly appear to be *wisdom and loue*, which would make excellent sense; but P's *ioyned* suggests that the antecedent is the entire clause, beginning *and ther in* (that is, Revelation I) ...; and this is the editors' opinion. Cf. Introduction, IX 3.

8 *þe discoloring of his feyer face*: Julian and her age, writing of this aspect of the Passion, must have had in mind Isaias 53.2: There is no beauty in him or comeliness, and we have seen him and there is no sightliness. In *The Privity of the Passion*, Pseudo-Bonaventure is translated: Than was fullfillede þe profecy of Ysaye the prophete sayand thus: We be helde hym all owt caste and vileste of all mene, and þer was in hym noþer fairenes nor bewte ... (Horstman, 1 203; Stallings, 107; Ragusa and Green, 329).

The third is that our lord god almightie, all wisdom and all loue, right also verily as he hath made all thinges that is, right also verilie he doeth and worketh all thinges that is done.

The iiijth is skorgyng of his tender bodie with plenteuous sheding of
f. 1v his precious / bloud.

The vth is that the feende is overcome by the precious passion of Christ.

The vith is the worshippfull thangking of our lord god, in which he rewardyth all his blessed seruauntes in heauen.

The vijth is often tymes feeling of wele and of wooe. Feeling of wele is gracious touching and lightnyng *with* true sekernes of endlesse ioy; the feeling of woo is of temptation by heauenes and werines of our fleshely liuyng, *with* ghostely vnderstanding *þat* we be kept also verily in loue, in woo as in wele, by the goodnes of god.

The viij is the last paynes of Christ, and his cruel dying.

---

24 *dying*: interl. scr. 'r' to give: drying.

---

11 *right also*: S1: also; S2: so. *also*: SS: as. *is (right)*: C: are. 12 *is (done)*: C: are. 14 *precious*: om. SS. 18 *all*: om. SS. 19 *tymes*: om. SS. 21 *of (temptation)*: om. SS. *werines*: S1: irkehede; S2: irksomeness. 23 *ghostely*: S2: spiritual. 24 *dying*: S2: death.

---

10 *The third is that our lord god almightie all wisdom and all loue / right also verily as he hath made all thinges that is / right also verilie he doeth and worketh all thinges that is done*: a *compar* of three *cola*, with initial *repetitio (right also verily ...)*, medial *repetitio (almightie, all wisdom, all loue, all thinges)*, *conversio (that is, that is done)* and *traductio (doeth ... done)*.

With the triad *wisdom, loue* and *omnipotence*, cf. the *Ancrene Riwle* (in the section recommending private devotions, Latin, English, and French, for the anchoresses); see 533.217 note.

13 *The iiijth is skorgyng of his tender bodie / with plenteuous sheding of his precious bloud / the vth is that the feende is overcome / by the precious passion of Christ / The vith is the worschippfull thangking of our lord god / in which he rewardyth all his blessed seruauntes in heauen*: the summary of each revelation is a *compar* of two *cola*.

14 *his precious bloud*: I Peter 1 19: But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted. In a meditative prayer on the Passion in MS Downside 26533, of English workmanship and ownership, c. 1400, we read: ... de ma alme pecheresce sire eyez pite ke de uostre preciouse sanc la auez achate (f. 277^{v}).

19 *The vijth is often tymes feeling of wele and of wooe / Feeling of wele is gracious touching and lightnyng / with true sekernes of endlesse ioy / the feeling of woo is of temptation / by heauenes and werines of our fleshely liuyng / with ghostely vnderstanding þat we be kept / also verily in loue in woo as in wele / by the goodnes of god*: a *membrum* with *commutatio* (*of wele and of wooe / in woo as in wele*), *oppositio contrariorum* (*wele ... gracious touching ... endlesse ioy / wooe ... temptation ... heauenes and werines*) and *conclusio* ('a brief summary' — *by the goodnes of god*).

24 *dying / drying*: the scribe's afterthought is inspired by chapter 16 (cf. 357.4 e.s.), but is inappropriate in a summary of chapter 8.

The ix[th] is of þe lykyng which is in the blessed trinitie of þe hard passion of Christ after his ruwfull dying, in which ioy and lykyng he will
. 2r þat we be in solace and / myrth *with* hym tylle that we come to the glorie in heauen.

The x is our lord Jhesu shewyth by loue his blessed hart evyn clouen on two.

The xi is an high ghostly shewing of his deer worthy mother.

The xij is that our lord god is all souereyn being.

The xiij[th] is that our lord god will that we haue great regarde to all the deedes which he hath done in the great noblete of all thyng makyng, and of the excellence of manes making, þe which is aboue all his

---

26 *after*: S1: and; and so S2. *ruwfull*: C: rufull and sorrowfull; and so S1. *dying*: S2: death. *lykyng*: S2: complacency. 27 *in solace*: S1: solaced; S2: comforted. *myrth*: S1: myrthid; S2: rejoyce. 28 *glorie*: S1: fullhede; S2: fullness. 29 *shewyth*: interlineated with different pen. 30 *on*: C, S2: in. *two*: add. SS: enjoyand. 32 *is (that)*: S2: shows. *god*: om. SS. *all souereyn*: SS: most worthy. 33 *is (that)*: S2: shews. *our*: S2: þe.

---

25 *The ix[th] is of þe lykyng / which is in the blessed trinitie of þe hard passion of Christ after his ruwfull dying / in which ioy and lykyng / he will þat we be in solace and myrth with hym tylle that we come to the glorie in heauen*: a Trinitarian *compar* of alternating short and long *cola*, with *oppositio* (*hard passion ... ruwfull dying / ioy and lykyng*, which represents the Hypostatic Union, *solace and myrth*), and *conversio* (*lykyng ... lykyng*), which with *dying* also gives *similiter cadens*.

26 *after / and* (SS): if some scribe interpreted *after* as causative, 'because of', he may have substituted *and* because he could not accept the idea of the Trinity rejoicing in the actual pains of the Passion, if temporal, because in the Trinity there is no time. But the joy of the Trinity is *per Christum*, who *joyeth ... that he shalle no more suffer* (393.48).

33 *The xiij[th] is that our lord god ... as it longyth to vs in this life*: if Julian is not the author of this pericope, some editor has produced a sedulous imitation of her favourite *colores*: balanced *cola* of varying lengths, *oppositio* (*and of þe precious amendes / that he hath made for mans synne / turnyng all our blame / in to endlesse worshippe*), *repetitio*, initial (*for by ... by, and ... And, not ... not*) and medial (*the same myght wisdom and goodnes ... the same myght wisdom and goodnes*), *similiter cadens* and *conversio* (*makyng ... making*).

Revelation XIII (404.3-459.54) is exceptionally difficult to summarize. *The xiij[th] ... which he hath done* is a citation from chapter 33, 429.28-29, although in fact, together with *in the great noblete of all thyng makyng*, this corresponds with the SS title for chapter 27 (404.1). But *the excellence of manes making, þe which is aboue all his workes*, occurs not in Revelation XIII but in XVI, chapter 68, 643.38 e.s. For *þe precious amendes that he hath made for mans synne*, cf. 412.11-12. *Than meaneth he thus: behold and see* is a formula used several times (e.g. 396.20-21, 471.36-37), but not in this revelation, and to convey *oppositio*, not, as is here suggested, with Trinitarian implications. The repeated formula, *the same myght, wisdom and goodnes*, occurs once at 433.15 and again once at 434.28-29. *And in this ... holie church* is from 426.51, and *not willing ... in this life* summarizes 429-431. If, as seems more probable, Julian herself is the author of these summary descriptions (cf. 284.51 note), this one, among others, seems to have been written before she had completed the second edition of the long text.

workes; and of þe precious amendes that he hath made for mans synne, turnyng all our blame in to endlesse worshippe. Than meaneth he thus: behold and see, for by the same myght, wisdom and goodnes that I haue
f. 2v done all this, by the same myght, wisdom / and goodnes I shall make
40 well all that is not well, and thou shalt see it. And in this he will that we kepe vs in the fayth and truth of holie church, not willing to wite his privyties not but as it longyth to vs in this life.

The xiiii is that our lord god is grownd of our beseking. Heer in was seen two fayer properties. That one is rightfull preaier; that other is
45 veric trust, which he will both be one lyke large. And thus our praier liketh him, and he of his goodnes fullfillyth it.

The xv is that we shuld sodeynly be takyn from all our payne and from all our woo, and of his goodnes we shall come vppe aboue, wher we shall haue our lord Jesu to our meed, and for to be fulfilled *with* ioy
50 and blisse in heauen.

f. 3r The xvi is that the blessed trinitie our maker in Christ / Jesu our sauiour endlesly dwelleth in our sowle, worschippfully rewlyng and comannding all thinge*s*, vs mightly and wisely sauyng and kepyng for loue; and we shall not be overcome of our enemy.

---

42 *privyties*: 'y' alt. fr. 'e', perh. scr.

---

36 *amendes*: S1: asseth; and so S2. 37 *Than meaneth he thus*: S1: where also our lord seith; and so S2. 38 *myght*: S1: mightie; and so S2. *that I haue ... and goodnes*: om. SS. 41 *wite*: S2: know. 42 *privyties*: S2: secrets. *not (but)*: SS: now. 43 *is (that)*: S2: shews. *our*: S2: the. *god*: om. SS. *beseking*: C marg.: desire. 44 *fayer*: om. SS. 45 *be*: S2: haue to be. 46 *fullfillyth*: add. S2: *and* answers. 47 *payne*: S2: paines. 48 *from all our woo, and*: om. S2. *we (shall)*: om. S2. 49 *to (our)*: S2: for. *meed*: C marg.: reward. *with*: SS: of. 51 *is*: S2: shews. 52 *rewlyng*: C: rewarding. 53 *kepyng*: add. S2: us. 54 *and we shall*: S2: so that we shall.

---

43 *The xiiii ... fullfillyth it*: again, this is constructed of balanced *cola*, with *repetitio* (*That ... that, And ... and*) and *traductio* (*That one ... be one, lyke ... liketh*). *The xiiii ... beseking* summarizes chapter 41, *Heer in ... verie trust* repeats the central statement of chapter 42. It is significant that there is no mention of the chapters leading to and following the parable, chapters 44-63, another indication that these descriptions are from an earlier redaction.

47 *The xv ... and blisse in heauen*, another pericope of balanced *cola*, with *oppositio* (*all our payne and from all our woo / with ioy and blisse*), resuming, in the third person, the locution which is the substance of this revelation. Cf. 620-621.

51 *The xvi is that the blessed trinitie our maker / in Christ Jesu sauiour endlesly dwelleth in our sowle / worschippfully rewlyng and comannding all thinges / vs mightly and wisely sauyng and kepyng for loue / and we shall not be overcome of our enemy*: a *compar* of five *cola*, with *similiter cadens* (rewl*yng* ... comannd*ing* ... sau*yng* ... kep*yng*), and *tautologia* (*rewlyng and comannding ... sauyng and kepyng*). The use of figures seems to indicate that this chapter is the work of Julian herself, and not that of a scribe, as the introductory paragraph of the short text seems to be.

The Secunde Chapter

This reuelation was made to a symple creature vnlettyrde leving in deadly flesh, the yer of our lord a thousannde and three hundered and lxxiij, the xiij daie of May, which creature desyred before thre gyftes by the grace of god. The first was mynd of the passion. The secund was bodilie sicknes. The thurde was to haue of godes gyfte thre woundys. For the first, me thought I had sumdeele feelyng in the passion of
f. 3v Christ, but yet I desyred to haue more by þe / grace of god. Me thought I woulde haue ben that tyme *with* Magdaleyne and *with* other that were Christus louers, that I might haue seen bodilie the passion that our lord suffered for me, that I might haue suffered with him, as other did that

---

1 Add. S1: Of the tyme of these revelations, and how shee asked iij petitions; and so S2. 2 *This reuelation was made*: SS: these revelations were shewed. *vnlettyrde leving in deadly flesh*: S1: that cowde no letter; and so S2. 4 *by the grace*: om. SS. 5 *mynd*: C marg.: feeling. *the (passion)*: SS: his. 6 *sicknes*: add. S1: in youth at xxx yeeres of age; and so S2. 7 *For*: S1: As in; S2: As to. *sumdeele*: S1: sume; and so S2. 8 *to haue*: om. SS. 10 *that I might ... that loved him*: om. SS. 11 *other*: C: others.

---

2 *in deadly flesh*: II Corinthians 4.11: ... that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh.

4 *the xiij daie of May*: Grace Warrack observed (xviii, note 1) that in 1373 this was a Friday. Meunier (6 and note 1) misread SS as 'viij' and translated 'le huit'.

which creature desyred ... as other did that loved him (286.12): this corresponds with the short text, 201.6-202.14.

before: cf. 201.6. This makes clear, as the short text does not, that Julian is describing not her dispositions during her sickness, immediately before the revelations, but aspirations she had entertained over a longer period.

thre gyftes by the grace of god: cf. 201.6 note.

5 *was mynd of the passion*: Philippians 2.5: For let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus. Cf. 234.25 note.

8 *but yet I desyred to haue more*: cf. Philippians 3.10: That I may know him and the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death.

9 *with Magdaleyne ...*: cf. 201.11-12 note.

11 *suffered for me*: cf. 201.11-202.14. Usually Julian in making her longer version is careful to change such personal pronouns from singular to plural to emphasize the applicability of the showings to every man's spiritual condition. Here, however, she is not only describing her state of mind before her sickness (cf. 285.4 note); she is also recalling Galatians 2.20: I live in the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and delivered himself for me.

that I might haue suffered with him: the thought is as old as St. Paul: Galatians 2.19: With Christ I am nailed to the cross. The earliest affective Franciscan writers make extravagant use of it, and, following them, many English religious lyrics. A characteristic example is *I Would Be Clad in Christ's Skin*, which John Grimston, O.F.M., copied into his preacher's commonplace book in the year before Julian received her revelations (C. Brown, XIV xvi-xix, 88).

loved him. And therfore I desyred a bodely sight, wher in I might haue more knowledge of the bodily paynes of our sauiour, and of the compassion of our lady and of all his true louers that were lyuyng that tyme
15 and saw his paynes; for I would haue be one of them and haue suffered *with* them. Other sight nor shewing of god desyred I never none til whan the sowle were deperted from the bodie, for I beleued to be saued by the marcie of god. This was my meaning, for I would after be
f. 4r cause of that shewyng haue the more true / mynd in the passion of
20 Christ. For the secunde, came to my mind *with* contricion, frely *with*out anie sekyng, a wilfull desyre to haue of gods gyfte a bodily sicknes. I

---

14 *that were lyuyng*: S1: that seene; S2: who at. 15 *and (saw)*: om. SS. *saw*: om. S1. *haue (be)*: om. SS. *haue (suffered)*: om. SS. 16 *them (Other)*: SS: him; cf. A (202.14): hym. 17 *whan*: om. SS. *were*: SS: was. *for I beleued to be saued*: S1: the cause of this petition was that; and so S2. 18 *by the marcie ... be cause of*: om. SS. 19 *that*: S1: the; and so S2. *haue*: S1: I should have; and so S2. *true*: om. S2. 20 *For*: om. SS. *without*: S1: desyreing; and so S2. 21 *anie sekyng ... I would that*: om. SS. 22 *wilfull*: C marg.: earnest.

---

12 *I desyred a bodely sight ... I ware xxx*th *yeare olde* (288.39): this corresponds with the short text, 202.19-204.46.

wher in I might haue more knowledge: cf. 202.19 note.

14 *and of all his true louers*: though what follows here is superior to the short text (cf. 202.22 and note), A, P and SS are all variously corrupt. We may conjecture that what Julian wrote in the short text and copied in the long was: *and of alle his trewe loverse that were lyuyng that tyme and saw his paynes, and sythene were beleuyng his paynes*. There are two separate ideas, one of which is here lost: Julian wants to be one in devotion with those who were eye-witnesses of the Passion, and with those who since then have had faith in the Passion. That some long-text ancestor has 'sythene' is attested by S1's corrupt *seene*. The different corruptions appear to have been caused by at least two different errors through homoeotopy.

15 *for I would haue be one of them*: again, a notion drawn from Scripture (cf. John 19.25), much elaborated in Franciscan spirituality. Cf. the immensely popular pseudonymous *Dialogus B. Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini* (PL 159 271-290; and cf. 367.15 note). St. Edmund of Canterbury, writing c. 1240 (in French), quotes what he claims to be a popular English quatrain, *Sunset on Calvary* (which C. Brown believed that he had himself composed), outstanding for its pungent concision: Nou goth sonne vnder wod — / me reweth, Marie, þi faire rode. / Nou goþ sonne vnder tre — / me reweþ, Marie, þi sone and þe (XIII 1, 165-166; also printed — with at least two errors — in Forshaw, 93). Cf. 202.23 note.

17 *for I beleued to be saued by the marcie of god*: the SS variants are plainly corrupt, and P is closest to the short text (203.25): *for I trayste sothfastlye that I schulde be safe*. The addition, *by the marcie of god*, accords well with what Julian will later write, in the long text, about the working of mercy; and it completes a *compar* not found in the short text: *Other sight nor shewing of god desyred I never none / til whan the sowle were deperted from the bodie / for I beleued to be saued by the marcie of god*.

20 *without anie sekyng*: cf. 203.28: *with owtyn any sekynge*. SS's *desyreing* is nonsensical.

would that that sicknes were so hard as to the death, that I might in that sicknes haue vndertaken all my rightes of the holie church, my selfe weenyng that I should haue died, and that all creatures might suppose
25 þe same that saw me; for I would haue no maner of comforte of fleshly ne erthely life in that sicknes. I desyred to haue all maner of paynes, bodily and ghostly, that I should haue if I should haue died, all the dredys and temptations of fiendes, and all maner of other paynes, saue the out passing of the sowle. And this ment I for I would be purgied by
. 4v the mercie of god, and after liue more to the worshippe / of god by
31 cause of that sicknes. For I hoped that it might haue ben to my reward when I shuld haue died. For I desyred to haue ben soone *with* my god and maker.

These twey desyers of the passion and of the sicknes that I desyred of

---

31 *my reward*: so C; ms: my a reward.

---

22 *were*: om. SS. *the (death)*: om. SS. *in that sicknes*: S2: therein. 23 *haue vndertaken*: S1: vnderfongyn; S2: receive. *my (rightes)*: C: the. *the (holie)*: om. C, SS. 24 *haue died*: SS: dye. 25 *of (comforte)*: om. SS. *of fleshly ne*: om. SS. 26 *that*: S1: this; and so S2. *of (paynes)*: om. SS. 27 *haue died, all*: S1: dye with all; S2: dye *and* with all. 28 *temptations*: SS: tempests; cf. A (203.36): tempestes. *fiendis*: S1: the fends; S2: þe devils. *and all maner of other paynes*: om. SS. *saue*: C: saving; S1: except; and so S2. 29 *out passing*: S2: depertting. *purgied*: C, SS: purged. 31 *For I hoped ... haue ben*: S1: and that for the more speede in my deth; and so S2. *to my reward ... haue died*: om. SS. 32 *to haue ben*: SS: to be. 33 *and maker*: om. SS. 34 *These*: S2, marg., scr.: How we should make petit(i)on to our Lord God. *of (the)*: om. S1. *of the*: om. S2. *that*: om. SS. *of him was*: om. SS.

---

23 *rightes*: 'rites'. Cf. 203.31 note. Godefroy records Ritement, 'selon les rites', 1391. MED rite, n., records c. 1400 spellings 'ri3tis' (*Lanfranc Cirurgerie*), 'ri3t' (*Book of Virtues and V.*).

27 *all the dredys and temptations of fiendes*: cf. 203.36 note.

29 *And this ment I ... of that sicknes* (287.31): not in the short text; cf. 203.38 note. *And this ment I for I would be purgied by the mercie of god / and after liue more to the worshippe of god by cause of that sicknes / For I hoped that it might haue ben to my reward when I shuld haue died / For I desyred to haue ben soone with my god and maker*: the addition in the long text of *And this ment I ... that sicknes* (cf. 204.37) constructs a *compar* of four *cola*. *for I would be purgied*: cf. 203.28 and note.

31 *to my reward*: cf. 204.38: *to me a spede*; and note that SS omit. Evidently P (or an ancestor) found *spede* archaic; but there need be no change of meaning implied. Julian is not saying that sufferings in life might increase her reward in heaven, but that they might at her death gain her God's 'regard, consideration' (cf. NED Reward, *sb.*[1] I + 1).

34 *These twey desyers of the passion and of the sicknes / that I desyred of him was with a condicion / for me thought this was not the commune vse of prayer*: a *compar* of three *cola*, with a figure, *desyers ... desyred*, which is both *traductio* and *tautologia*, which second comes straight from the Vulgate, Luke 22.15: With desire I have desired (*desiderio desideravi*) to eat this pasch with you before I suffer. The adaptation from the short text (cf. 204.40) not only, by this Scriptural allusion, sets the account of her sufferings in the context of the Passion, but shows that in the true prayer of petition we seek not so much the gifts

him was *with* a condicion; for me thought this was not the *com*mune vse of prayer; therfor I sayd: Lord, thou knowest what I would, if that it be thy wille that I might haue it, and if it be not thy will, good lord, be not displesed, for I will not but as thou wilt. This sicknes I desyred in my jowth, that I might haue it when I ware xxxth yeare olde.

For the third, by the grace of god and teeching of holie church I conceiued a mightie desyre to receive thre woundes in my life, that is to f. 5r say, the wound of verie contricion, the wound of kynd / compassion and the wound of willfull longing to god. Right as I asked the other twayne *with* a condicion, so asked I this third mightly *with* out anie condicion. These twayne desyres before sayd passid from my mynd, and the third dwellid contynually.

---

35 *for me ... therfor I*: om. SS. 36 *sayd*: S1: sey thus; S2: saying. *if (that)*: C: and if. *that*: om. SS. 37 *might*: om. SS. 38 *not (but)*: SS: nought. *This ... yeare olde*: om. SS. 39 *jowth*: C: Youth. 43 *Right ... other twayne*: om. SS. 44 *a condicion ... mightly*: S1: and all this last petition I asked; and so S2. *mightly*: C: mightilie (et passim). 46 *dwellid*: add. SS: with me.

---

36 *prayer*: cf. 207.2 note.

therfor I sayd Lord / thou knowest what I would / if that it be thy wille / that I might haue it: a *compar* of four *cola*. In re-editing the short text (cf. 204.42), where the *colores* are vivid enough, Julian has avoided *grawnte it me*. Clearly, in *thou knowest what I would* she has in mind Christ's prayer in Gethsemane, where he too makes no direct petition, but says 'If it be possible, let this chalice pass from me' (Matthew 26.39).

37 *and if it be not thy will / good lord be not displesed / for I will not but as thou wilt*: these three *cola* continue the Passion allusion: non sicut ego volo sed quod tu (Mark 14.36). By altering from the short text the length and relationship of her *cola*, Julian again directs attention away from herself to God; and the two figures are joined by the *exclamatio* (382.3 note — *Lord ... good lord*). For the first time, here or in the short text, Julian is employing *ratiocinatio* by hypothesis; cf. 643.38-45 note.

38 *in my jowth*: this was possibly early in her religious life, when she would be exposed to the sort of legend she recounts in the short text (204.45 and note). Cf. 351.3-4 and Introduction, 59.

39 *xxxth yeare olde*: cf. 204.46 note.

40 *by the grace of god and teeching of holie church*: this addition to the short text forms a *compar*, and it also enables Julian to stress that these petitions fully accord with traditional and orthodox teaching.

I conceiued a mightie desyre ... without anie meane (294.7): this corresponds with the short text, 205.50-210.16.

41 *thre woundes*: cf. 205.51 note.

42 *the wound of verie contricion ...*: cf. 206.52 note. It will be seen how the addition here of *verie* and *kynd* creates a perfect *compar*.

43 *Right as I asked the other twayne with a condicion / so asked I this third mightly with out anie condicion*: comparison with the short text shows that the addition here of *mightly* perfects the *compar*, which has *conversio* (*condicion ... condicion*) and *commutatio* (*I asked ... asked I*).

46 *dwellid contynually*: cf. 420.42: *of the vertu of this longyng in Crist we haue to long azene to hym, without whych no soule comyth to hevyn.*

The Third Chapter

And when I was xxxth yere old and a halfe, god sent me a bodily sicknes in the which I ley iij daies and iij nyghtes; and on the iiij nyght I toke all my rightes of holie church, and went not to haue leuen tyll day. And after this I lay two daies and two nightes; and on the third night I weenied often tymes to haue passed, and so wenyd thei that were *with* me. And yet in this I felt a great louthso*m*nes to die, but for nothing f. 5v that was in earth that me lyketh to leue for, / ne for no payne that I was afrayd of, for I trusted in god of his mercie. But it was for I would haue

---

1 add. S2: Of þe sickness she obtained of god by petition. 2 *And*: S2: Accordingly. *xxxth*: C: thirtie; S1: thirty; S2: 30. 3 *the (which)*: om. C, SS. *on*: om. S2. 4 *rightes*: C, marg.: sacraments; C: rights; SS: rites. *went*: C, marg., S2: thought. *to (haue)*: om. S1. 5 *lay*: S1: langorid forth; and so S2; cf. A: langoured furthe. *two (nightes)*: om. S2. 7 *And yet:* SS; and in youngith yet. *felt*: SS: thought. *a (great)*: om. SS. *louthsomnes*: C: loathness; S1: sweeme, marg., scr.: regret; S2: sweem. 8 *that (was)*: S1: this; S2: þat, alt. fr. þis. *lyketh*: S1: lekid; and so S2. *no*: S2: any. 9 *it was for I would:* om. S2; *for I would*: om. S1. *haue leued to haue loueved*: S1: to have lyved that I might have loved; S2: I desired to live that I might loue god.

---

3 *iij daies and iij nyghtes*: cf. 207. 2 note.

7 *And yet in this I felt a great louthsommes to die / but for nothing that was in earth that me lyketh to leue for / ne for no payne that I was afrayd of / for I trusted in god of his mercie / But it was for I would haue leued / to haue loueved god better and longer tyme / that I might by the grace of that leuyng / haue the more knowing and louyng / of god in the blisse of heauen*: comparison with the short text (207.6-12) shows that there too this passage was composed as a figure, but that here it has been enhanced by Julian's unobtrusive editing. The two short *cola, Botte in this I was ryght sarye / and lothe thoust for to dye* (207.6-7) have been made into one long *colon*, balancing with the next.| There are *oppositiones* (*louthsomnes / lykede, to die / to leue, I was afrayd / I trusted*), *inclusio* (*for* nothing ... to leue *for*), *adnominatio* (*haue leued ... haue loueved*), *similiter cadens* (*better ... longer*, leu*yng* ... know*ing* ... lou*yng*), most of which *colores* are in the short text's figure.

Theologically, her thought is inspired by Philippians 1.21-22; cf. 208.14 note. She may well have known the story of St. Martin of Tours on his death-bed: conuersusque ad dominum hac tantum flentibus uoce respondit: Domine, si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem (*Sulpicii Seueri epistula III*, ed. Halm, 148). She is also subscribing to the traditional doctrine of merit, drawn from such texts as 'In my father's house there are many mansions' (John 14.2) and 'Star differs from star in glory' (I Corinthians 15.41). In the *Glossa ordinaria*, at I Corinthians 15.41, John 14.2 is quoted: *Stella enim a stella differt ... In domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt*, etsi idem denarius, id est vita aeterna omnibus. Una est enim beatitudo quam justi percipiunt, sed dispar retributionis qualitas (PL 114 548).

youngith (SS): cf. OE *geong, geogup*; but most probably a nonsense-word.

but for nothing that was in earth: cf. 207.7 note.

leued to haue loueved god better and longer tyme, that I might by the grace of that leuyng haue the more knowing and louyng of god in the blisse of heauen. For my thought all that tyme that I had leued heer so litle and so shorte in regard of that endlesse blesse, I thought: Good lorde, may my leuyng no longer be to thy worshippe? And I vnderstode (by) my reason and by the feelyng of my paynes that I should die; and I ascentyd fully *with* all the will of myn hart to be at gods will.

Thus I indured till day, and by then was my bodie dead from the miedes downward, as to my feeling. Then was I holpen to be set vpright, vndersett *with* helpe, for to haue the more / fredom of my hart to be at gods will, and thinkyng on god while my life laste. My curate

f. 6r

---

15 *by*: ms: in.

---

10 *and*: C: and a. *that*: S2: that so. *by the grace of that leuyng*: om. SS, but cf. A (207.10-11): be the grace of that lyevynge. 11 *knowing*: S2: knowledge. *louyng*: S2: loue. *the (blisse)*: om. SS. 12 *my thought*: C: methought; SS me thought (et passim). *that (tyme)*: S1: the; and so S2. 13 *I thought*: add. S1: nothing. Wherefore I thought; and so S2. 14 *leuyng no longer be*: C: living be no longer. *worshippe*: S2: glory. 15 *in (ms)*: SS: by. *the (feelyng)*: S1: my. 17 *indured*: S1: durid; S2: continued. 18 *miedes*: C: middes; SS: middis. *holpen*: SS: stered; and cf. A (208.19): styrrede. 19 *vndersett*: SS: vnderlenand. 20 *laste*: C: lasted; S1: would lest; and so S2.

---

10 *by the grace of that leuyng*: the omission of this in SS destroys the figure.

12 *For my thought all that tyme that I had leued heer / so litle and so shorte in regard of that endlesse blesse / I thought Good lorde may my leuyng no longer be to thy worshippe / And I vnderstode by my reason and by the feelyng of my paynes / that I should die and I ascentyd fully / with all the will of myn hart to be at gods will*: a *compar* of six *cola*, with *traductio* (*my thought ... I thought*), and *tautologia* (*so litle and so shorte*); the entire figure constitutes a *ratiocinatio*.

that I had leued: cf. 207.12 note.

so litle and so shorte: cf. 207.13 note.

14 *may my leuyng no longer be to thy worshippe?* Cf. 208.14 note.

15 *by my reason*: it is plain that the SS reading is superior, especially when we observe that this revises the short text's *And I was annswerde in my resone*. Here, as elsewhere, Julian is using *reason* to mean *ratiocinatio*, 'reasoning by question and answer'; the question she has asked, *may my leuyng no longer be to thy worshippe?* and the answer which her physical condition suggests, that it is now God's will for her to die, constitute a *reason*, though in the event her deductions from it prove to be wrong.

18 *Then was I holpen*: cf. the short text, 208.19: *Than was I styrrede to be sette vppe ryghtes*, which might mean 'then I was changed in position to be set upright' (Cf. NED Stir, *v.* I 1), or 'then I was impelled (to ask) to be set upright' (NED Stir *v.* I 1 † e). Julian may have made the change in the long text to avoid this ambiguity.

19 *vndersett*: this and the *vnderlenand* of SS seem to derive from some corruption of A's *lenande* (208.20), but it must be of some antiquity for the SS readings to have preserved the '-and' present participle suffix.

20 *My curate*: cf. 208.23 note.

was sent for to be at my ending, and before he ca*m* I had set vp my eyen and might not speake. He set the crosse before my face, and sayd: I haue brought the image of thy sauiour; looke ther vpon and co*m*fort thee ther with. My thought I was well, for my eyen was sett vpright into
25 heauen, where I trusted to come by the mercie of god; but nevertheles I ascentyd to sett my eyen in the face of the crucyfixe, if I might, and so I dide, for my thought I might longar dure to looke even forth then right vp. After this my sight began to feyle. It waxid as darke aboute me in the chamber as if it had ben nyght, saue in the image of the crosse,
f. 6v wher in held a comon light; and I wiste not / how. All that was beseid
31 the crosse was oglye and ferfull to me as it had ben much occupied *with* fiendes.

After this the over part of my bodie began to die so farforth that vneth I had anie feeling. My most payne was shortnes of breth and

---

21 *ending*: S2: departure. *before*: S1: by than; and so S2; cf. A (208.24): be thanne. *I had set ... and might*: S2: mine eyes were set *and* I could. 23 *the (image)*: S1: thee the; and so S2. *of thy sauiour*: S2: of thy maker *and savior*. *thy*: C: our. 24 *was*: C, SS: were. *vpright*: add. SS: ward. 27 *even forth*: S2: strait forwards. 28 *It waxid as darke*: S1: and it was all derke; and so S2; cf. A (208.33): and it was alle dyrke. 29 *if*: om. S1. 30 *held*: SS: I beheld; but cf. A (208.35): there helde. 31 *.and ferfull*: om. SS. *as*: SS: as if. 32 *with*: SS: with the. 33 *over*: S1: other; C, marg.: vpper. *vneth*: S2: scarsely; S1, marg.: scarcely; C, marg.: scarce. 34 *My most payne was*: om. SS; but cf. A (209.40): the maste payne ... was. *shortnes*: S1: with shortness; and so S2. *breth*: SS: onde; S1, marg.: winde. *and faielyng of life*: om. SS; but cf. A (209.41): and faylynge of lyfe.

---

22 *He set the crosse ...*: cf. 208.23, 27, 31 and notes for the details in the short-text narrative omitted here; but the result of these omissions, and of the additions *by the mercie of god, and so I dide*, has been to produce a series of balanced *compares*, the first of three *cola*: *He set the crosse before my face and sayd / I haue brought the image of thy sauiour / looke ther vpon and comfort thee ther with.*

24 This is followed by five shorter *cola*: *My thought I was well / for my eyen was sett / vpright into heauen / where I trusted to come / by the mercie of god.*

25 This is followed by four lengthening *cola*: *but nevertheles I ascentyd to sett / my eyen in the face of the crucyfixe / if I might and so I dide for my thought / I might longar dure to looke even forthe then right vp.*

28 *waxid*: cf. 208.33: *was*, and Matthew 27.45: Now from the sixth hour there was darkness (tenebrae factae sunt) over the whole earth. The Latin may support P's reading against that of A and SS.

31 *much occupied with fiendes*: cf. 209.37 note.

34 *My most payne was shortnes of breth and faielyng of life*: there is a clinical exactness in Julian's recollection. See Introduction, IX 2. At the end of the third night of her sickness, she had lost all sensation from the waist downwards (290.17). Her sight began to fail (291.28), she lost all feeling in the upper part of her body (291.33), and now she experiences difficulty in breathing, and a conviction that her life is ebbing.

faielyng of life. Then went I verily to haue passed. And in this sodenly all my paine was taken from me, and I was as hole, and namely in þe over parte of my bodie, as ever I was befor. I merveiled of this sodeyn change, for my thought that it was a previe working of god, and not of kynd; and yet by feeling of this ease I trusted never the more to haue liued, ne the feeling of this ease was no full ease to me, for me thought I had leuer haue ben deliured of this world, for my hart was wilfully set ther to.

f. 7r Then cam sodenly to my mynd / that I should desyer the second wound of our lordes gifte and of his grace, that my bodie might be fulfilled *with* mynd and feeling of his blessed passion, as I had before praied, for I would that his paynes were my paynes, *with* compassion and afterward langyng to god. Th(u)s thought me that I might *with* his grace haue the woundes that I had before desyred; but in this I desyred

---

35 I: ms: it. 47 *Thus*: ms: This, 'i' erased or obliterated.

---

35 *went I*: so C; S1: I went; S2: I thought. *passed*: S2: dyed. *And in ... paine was*: S2: And as I thought thus immediately all my pains were. *this*: C: this case. 36 *hole*: S2: well; C, marg.: thought (in error for gloss on *went*, 35). *over*: S1: other. 37 *of (this)*: SS: at. 38 *for my*: S2: and. *previe*: S2: secret. *not*: om. S2. 39 *kynd*: S2, C, marg.: nature; S2, marg., al. m.: kind. *by*: SS: by the. *haue liued*: S1: levyn; and so S2. 40 *ne*: S2: neither. *no*: S2: any. 41 *leuer*: C, S2, S1, marg.: rather. *haue ben*: S1: a be; S2: be. *for my ... ther to*: om. SS; but cf. A (209.49): for my harte was wilfulle there to. 44 *gifte*: S1: gracious gift; and so S2. *and of his grace*: om. SS. 45 *as I had before praied*: om. SS; but cf. A (210.3-4): as I hadde before prayede. 47 *Thus*: so C, A. *Thus thought ... before desyred*: om. SS; but cf. A (210.5): Thus thouȝt ... his wonndys ... desyrede.

---

35 *sodenly all my paine was taken from me, and I was as hole ...*: it is striking that in describing this miraculous cure (see Introduction, IX 2), Julian insists on two features: not only was it sudden, as contemporary practice in canonization causes required (Tertio modo excedit aliquid facultatem naturae quantum ad modum et ordinem faciendi; sicut cum aliquis subito per divinam virtutem a febre curatur absque curatione et consueto processu naturae — *Summa theologiae* I.105.8 *in corpore*), but, as later, advancing medical knowledge has come to demand, it was complete.

38 *previe*: cf. 209.45 note.

never no bodily sight ne no maner schewing of god, but compassion as
50 me thought that a kynd sowle might haue *with* our lord Jesu, that for loue would become a deadly man. With him I desyred to suffer, liuyng in my deadly bodie, as god would giue me grace.

---

49 *no (bodily)*: S2: any. *no maner*: om. SS. *but*: add. S2: onely. 50 *me thought that*: om. SS. *kynd*: C, marg.: loving. *that (for)*: S2: who. 51 *become*: S2: be. *deadly*: C, marg., S2: mortal. *With him*: SS: and therefore. *liuyng ... grace*: SS: with him; but cf. A (210.10): lyevande in dedlye bodye ... grace. 52 *deadly*: C, marg.: mor-(tal).

---

49 *compassion as me thought*: cf. 210.8 note.
50 *that for loue would become a deadly man*: cf. 732.15-733.17 and note.
for loue: cf. 210.9 note, 732.15-733.17 and note.

The First Reuelacion

The iiij Chapter

And in this sodenly I saw the reed bloud rynnyng downe from vnder
f. 7v the garlande, hote and freyshely, / plentuously and liuely, right as it
5 was in the tyme that the garland of thornes was pressed on his blessed head. Right so, both god and man, the same that sufferd for me, I conceived truly and mightly that it was him selfe that shewed it me *with*out anie meane.

And in the same shewing sodeinly the trinitie fulfilled my hart most

---

4 ms: plen- / plentuously.

---

1 S1: Here begynnith the first revelation of the pretious crownyng of Criste *et cetera* (S2: as menciond) in the first capt. And how god fullfilleth the herte with most joy, and of his greate meekenesse *and* how the syght of the passion of Criste is sufficient strength ageyn all temptations of the fends (S2: divell), and of the gret excellency *and* mekenesse of the blissid virgin Mary. 3 *And*: om. S1. *And in this*: S2: where upon. *rynnyng*: S1: trekelyn; S2: trickling; cf. A (210.11): trekylle. 4 *garlande*: S2: crown of thornes. *plentuously*: S1: and ryth plenteously; and so S2. *and liuely, right*: om. SS; but cf. A (210.12) : and lyvelye, ryght. *it was*: S1: it were; om. S2. 5 *in*: S2: at. *tyme*: add. S1: of his passion; and so S2. *that*: S2: when. *garland*: S2: crown. 6 *for*: SS: thus for. 7 *that (shewed)*: om. SS. 9 *my*: S1: the; and so S2.

---

1 *and of his greate meekenesse* (S1): this is perhaps implicit in 296.18: *that he that is so reuerent and so dreadfull will be so homely with a synnfull creature* ...; but the notion of condescension does not necessarily imply humility. Undoubtedly the author of the SS chapter-headings had in mind 'Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart' (Matthew 11.29).

5 *the garland of thornes* ...: cf. pseudo-Bonaventure: Be holde hym nowe with compassione and terdirnes of herte, hou his heued was thurghe prikkede with scharpe thornes thurghe his blesside brayne, and ofte tyme þey smote hyme with þe septure one þe heued fore scorne and dispite; and beholde his blyssede face all rynnande with rede blode (Horstman 1 204; Stallings, 107-108; Ragusa and Green, 329-330). Pseudo-Bonaventure seems to be following the *Historia scholastica*, which writes of the thorns: ... juncos fuisse marinos, quorum acies non minus spina pungit, quia dura est et penetrativa. Unde et poeta: Et acuta cuspide junci (PL 198 1628; Peter Comestor's poet is Ovid). On *garland*, see 210.12 note.

9 *And in the same ... as to my sight* (296.16). This is the first notable addition in the long text (cf. 210.16), and it accords with Julian's account (732.14 e.s.) of the fifteen years of meditation through which she gained new insights. The short text's narrative is in no way augmented; but she has now come to understand that this Vernicle-like vision was given to her not only, as she had prayed, to imprint her mind with Christ's

of ioy, and so I vnderstode it shall be in heauen *with*out end to all that shall come ther. For the trinitie is god, god is the trinitie. The trinitie is our maker, the trinitie is our keper, the trinitie is our everlasting louer, the trinitie is our endlesse ioy and our bleisse, by our lord Jesu Christ, and in our lord Jesu Christ. And this was shewed in the first syght and in all, for wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand, as to my

---

12 *the trinitie is our (keper)*: SS: and. 13 *the trinitie is our (endlesse)*: S1: and; om. S2. *endlesse*: SS: everlasting. *our (bleisse)*: om. SS. *bleisse*: C: Blisse; SS: blysse. 14 *and in ... Christ*: om. SS. *syght*: om. SS. 15 *wher*: C: when.

---

sufferings, but to make her understand that all three persons of the Trinity co-operated through the Son's death in our redemption, as they did in our creation and do in our preservation, which is the cause of our eternal joy. This is perfectly the mind of the Church, which on Good Friday sings: Crucem tuam adoramus domine, et sanctam resurrectionem tuam laudamus et glorificamus; ecce enim propter lignum venit gaudium in universo mundo. The Trinitarian doctrine in this passage might be called a summary of Augustine, *De trinitate* I viii 17-18.

sodeinly the trinitie fulfilled my hart most of ioy: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Þe v degre is whanne a man bigynneþ for to taaste soþfastly þe eernes of eendelees ioie, *and* is reised up to þe biholdyng of heuenli þingis, *and* þanne feeliþ *and* perseyueþ he a glymerynge of heuenly blis. *And* þanne seeþ he ... how þat alle illumynaciouns *and* alle gracis of charyte *and* of goodnes descenden out of þe blessid trynyte vnspeccable in to Ihesu Crist (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 148r; Jones, 97).

It will be Julian's constant practice in the long text to use the figure *compar* to express her insights into the mystery of the Trinity, as here: *And in the same shewing / sodeinly the trinitie fulfilled my hart most of ioy / and so I vnderstode / it shall be in heauen without end* (two short and two long balancing *cola*); *to all that shall come ther / For the trinitie is god / god is the trinitie / The trinite is our maker / the trinitie is our keper* (five equal *cola*, with *chiasmus* in the second and third, and *repetitio* in the second, fourth and fifth); *the trinitie is our everlasting louer / the trinitie is our endlesse ioy and our bleisse* (two longer *cola* continuing the *repetitio*, with *dissolutio*); *by our lord Jesu Christ / and in our lord Jesu Christ* (two short concluding *cola* with *conversio*).

10 *to all that shall come ther*: on this first occasion when she mentions spiritual consolation, she refers it both to the happiness of heaven, and to 'all that shall be saved'.

13 *by our lord Jesu Christ, and in our lord Jesu Christ*: Julian is recalling Romans 11.36: For of him and by him and in him are all things — with which she would also be familiar from the doxology concluding the canon of the Roman Mass. Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* recounts a vision of the doxology being sung at a heavenly liturgy: Ex quo omnia; thay sange that for while thay were in erth thay knewe hym of whome come alle goodes ande goddenesse, be whome alle thynges be made in hevene ande in erthe, ande in whome alle goodes ande goodnesses be hydde (Halligan, 148).

15 *for wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 32: and soþly I wote not what were more lefe to swilk a soule þat haþ felt a litel of it (sc. the knowledge and love of Jesus) þan vtterly alle oþer þinges left *and* set at noȝt only þerto for to hafe clerer siȝt *and* clenner luf of Jhesu in whome is alle þe blissid trinite (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 108v; Underhill, 373-374).

vnderstand: cf. 329.46, *vnderstonde*. In either case, this is the past participle. Cf. NED,

f. 8r sight. And I sayd: Benedicite *dominus*. This I sayd for / reuerence in my menyng, *with* a mightie voyce, and full greatly was I a stonned for wonder and marvayle that I had that he that is so reuerent and so dreadfull will be so homely *with* a synnfull creature liueing in this wretched flesh.
20 Thus I toke it for that tyme that our lord Jhesu of his curteys loue would shewe me comfort before the tyme of my temptation; for me thought it might well be that I should by the sufferance of god and *with* his keping be tempted of fiendes before I should die. With this sight of his blessed passion, *with* the godhead that I saw in my vnderstanding, I
25 knew well that it was strenght inough to me, ye, and to all creaturs

---

16 *dominus*: SS: domine. 18 *so (dreadfull)*: om. SS. 19 *homely*: C, marg., S1, marg., scr.: familiar. *this*: om. SS. 20 *Thus*: SS: this. *it*: om. SS. *that our lord ... the tyme*: om. SS. 22 *it might ... I should*: om. SS. *and with*: om. SS. 23 *his keping*: SS: I should. *of fiendes*: S2: by the devils. *should die*: S1: dyed; and so S2. 24 *his (blessed)*: SS: the. S2, marg., scr.: A remedy against temptacion.

Understand, *v.*: 'In the 15th and 16th cents. three forms of the past pple. were current, viz. (a) the original *understanden ... -stonden* ... (b) the reduced form of this, *understande (stonde), stand* ... (c) the new form *understanded (stonded)*, very common from about 1530 to 1585 ... The modern form *understood* came into use in the latter part of the 16th cent, and was usual by 1600'.

16 *And I sayd ... all ghostely enemies* (297.27): this corresponds with the short text, 210.16-211.27.

Benedicite dominus: cf. 211.17 and note.

This I sayd ...: cf. the short text, 211.17-20. By the addition here of *that is so reuerent and so dreadfull*, Julian has produced balanced *cola*: *This I sayd for reuerence in my menyng with a mightie voyce / and full greatly was I a stonned for wonder and marvayle that I had / that he that is so reuerent and so dreadful will be so homely / with a synnfull creature liueing in this wretched flesh*. This serves to emphasize the *oppositio, so reuerent and so dreadfull / so homely*, merely hinted at in the earlier version; and there is *traductio* (*reuerence ... reuerent*), and *tautologia* (*wonder and marvayle*).

19 *homely*: cf. 211.19 note.

22 *by the sufferance of god*: cf. 211.23 note.

23 *With this sight* ...: cf. 211.24 note.

24 *his blessed passion ... was strenght inough to me*: clearly, Julian here has in mind 'Passio Christi conforta me' from the *Anima Christi*. For evidence of the complete prayer's circulation in her time, including MS BM Harley 1260, written in England c. 1370, cf. H. Thurston, 'Anima Christi'. Some of its petitions were known to the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* and to much earlier writers; cf. E. Colledge: *The Mediaeval Mystics of England*, 11-12, and 'Early English Religious Literature II' (in J. Walsh: *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality*), 36-37.

that I saw: cf. 211.25 note.

liuyng that sould be saued, against all the fiendes of hell, and against all ghostely enemies.

f. 8v In this he brought our ladie sainct Mari to my vnderstanding. / I saw her ghostly in bodily lykencs, a simple mayden and a meeke, yong of
30 age, a little waxen aboue a chylde, in the stature as she was when she conceivede. Also god shewed me in part the wisdom and the truth of her sowle, wher in I vnderstode the reuerent beholding, that she beheld her god, that is her maker, marvayling *with* great reuerence that he would be borne of her that was a symple creature of his makyng. And
35 this wisdome and truth, knowing the greatnes of her maker and the littlehead of her selfe that is made, made her to say full meekely to Gabriell: Loo me here, gods handmayden. In this syght I did vnderstand

---

31 With 'Oure gracious *and* goode lorde god shewed me', the first extract in W begins. 34 *makyng. And*: ms: makyng. For this was her marvayling, that he that was her maker would be borne of her that was made. And ... 37 Before this sentence, in W follows: This wysedom *and* treuth ... all creaturys; cf. p. 310.4-311.11.

---

26 *that sould ... saued*: om. SS. 27 *ghostely*: S2: spiritual. *enemies*: S1: temptation; and so S2; but cf. A (14 f. 99r): enmyes. 28 *ladie sainct Mari*: S1: blessid lady; and so S2. 29 *a (meeke)*: om. S2. 30 *age*: add. S1: *and*; and so S2. *waxen*: C, marg.: grown. *as*: S1: that; om. S2. 31 *me*: om. SS. *the (truth)*: om. S2. 32 *her*: W: þe. *sowle*: add. W: of oure blessed lady saynt Mary. *reuerent*: C: reverence. *that (she)*: S2: wherewith. 33 *that is her*: S1: and; and so S2. 34 (ms) *makyng. And this ...*: so C. 35 *littlehead*: S2: littleness; and so W. 36 *that is*: S2: who was. *made (her)*: W: caused. *made her*: S2: by him caused her. *to (say)*: om. SS. 37 *here*: om. SS. *did vnderstand*: S1: vnde(r)stoode; and so S2, W.

---

28 Here some matter from the short text is re-arranged. The vision of Mary, 297.28-298.40, corresponds with 213.24-214.36, and the 'ghostly sight of his homely loving', 299.2-299.8, corresponds with 212.1-212.7. See Introduction, IX 1 and 3.

29 *ghostly in bodily lykenes*: cf. the *Cloud*, where the author, writing of the visions of Christ given to St. Stephen and to St. Martin, observes: þof al þei sie soche þinges wiþ þeire bodely iȝen, it was schewyd bot in myracle and in certefiing of þing þat was goostly (Hodgson, 106).

30 *a little waxen aboue a chylde*: not in the short text; cf. 213.26. In the 'Gospel of the Birth of Mary', spuriously attributed to Jerome, which 'passed almost bodily into the *Golden Legend* of James of Voragine' (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 79), Mary's betrothal took place when she was fourteen. See 213.26 note.

34 The reading in P, which C follows, is a plain case of dittography, as is the parallel passage in A (cf. 214.30 and note). This shows that there has been contamination between A and P or their ancestors.

37 *Loo me here, gods handmayden*: cf. Luke 1.38.

verily that she is more then all that god made beneth her in wordines
9r and in fullhead; for aboue / her is nothing that is made but the blessed
40 manhood of Christ, as to my sight.

---

38 *verily*: S1, W: sothly; S2: truly. *wordines*: C: worthines; SS: worthyness; W: worthynes. 39 *in (fullhead)*: om. SS, C. *fullhead*: C, marg.: excellency; SS: grace. *is (nothing)*: W; þer is. 40 *manhood*: om. SS; S2 add. marg. al. m. *sight*: add. W: and this our good lord shewed to myne vnderstondyng in lernyng of vs. Also I saw ...

---

38 *in wordines and in fullhead*: this seems to be Julian's gloss upon 'gratia plena' (Luke 1.28). In *A Song of the Nativity*, copied by John Grimston (cf. 285.11 note) we read: *Ecce ancilla domini*, / þat was hire ansuere, / 'Wolde god i were worþi / His blisful sone to bere' (C. Brown, XIV 76). The substitution in SS, *grace*, recognizes the allusion, but suppresses Julian's insistence upon 'plena'. Though this vision is of the Visitation and the Annunciation, Mary is in it the only human figure. This may reflect a consciousness, very natural in a nun or solitary, of Mary's loneliness. Jerome taught that she gave birth unassisted: Nulla ibi obstetrix, nulla muliercularum sedulitas intercessit (PL 23 20); and in an anonymous English poem recorded in the fifteenth century, *De arte lacrimandi*, she is alone and helpless, so that Gabriel and a band of angels come to help her (Garrett, 273).

The vth Chapter

In this same tyme that I saw this sight of the head bleidyng, our good lord shewed a gostly sight of his homely louyng. I saw that he is to vs all thing that is good and comfortable to our helpe. He is oure clothing, that for loue wrappeth vs and wyndeth vs, halseth vs and all becloseth vs, hangeth about vs for tender loue, þat he may never leeue vs. And so in this sight I saw that he is all thing that is good, as to my vnderstanding.

And in this he shewed a little thing, the quantitie of an haselnott, lying in þe palme of my hand, as me semide, and it was as rounde as a

---

1 S1: How god is to us every thing that is gode, tenderly wrappand us. And all thing that is (S2: things þat are) made in regard to almighty god it is (S2: are) nothing, *and* here (S2: þat) man hath no rest till he nowteth himselfe *and* all thing (S2: thi*n*gs) for the love of god. 2 *In this same ... homely louyng*: om. W. *this (same)*: S2: the. *that I saw ... bleidyng*: om. SS. *good*: om. SS. 3 *a*: SS: to me a. *homely*: C, marg.: friendly. *he (is to)*: W: our good lord. *all*: SS: every. 4 *to oure helpe*: SS: for us. 5 *that*: W: þe which. *and wyndeth vs*: om. SS. *halseth*: S2: hedseth; C, marg.: embraceth. *all becloseth*: W: *and* ablyth vs and. 6 *hangeth about vs*: om. SS. *And so ... I saw*: om. SS. 7 *that he is*: S1: being to vs; and so S2. *all*: S2: every. 9 *And*: SS: also. *shewed*: add. W: me. *the quantitie*: S2: of the bignes. 10 *lying*: om. SS. *as me semide*: om. SS; W: as it had semed. *a*: W: any.

---

1 *in regard to almighty god it is nothing* (S1): again, this is a legitimate deduction from Julian's account of the *ratiocinatio* concerning the 'little thing', but she does not state this conclusion.

2 *In this same tyme ... betweene my god and me* (300.22): this corresponds with the short text, 212.1-213.22.

In this same tyme: this first paragraph of chapter 5 is composed in pairs of *cola* giving *compares*.

5 *that for loue wrappeth vs and wyndeth vs*: cf. a periapt, to God the Son, in MS BM Harley 2445: Dominus Jhesus Christus apud me sit ... circa me sit, ut (me) conseruet, ante me sit, ut me deducat, post me sit, (ut) me iustificet, supra me sit, vt me benedicat (f. 106).

6 *þat he may never leeue vs*: cf. 212.5 note.

7 *he is all thing that is good*: cf. 212.6 note.

10 *lying in þe palme of my hand*: cf. 212.9 note.

it was as rounde as a balle: it would seem natural to Julian that the created universe should be represented to her as spherical. Charles Singer records the development of Hildegard of Bingen's theory of the structure of the universe, 'so ... as to bring it more into line with accepted views which treated the universe as a series of concentric spheres'; and he provides a diagram and mediaeval illustrations of her views (*From Magic to Science*, 211-212, figs. 100, 101, 103).

balle. I looked theran *with* the eye of my vnderstanding, and thought:
. 9v What may this be? And it was answered generaelly thus: / It is all that is made. I marvayled how it might laste, for me thought it might sodenly haue fallen to nawght for littlenes. And I was answered in my
15 vnderstanding: It lasteth and ever shall, for god loueth it; and so hath all thing being by the loue of god.

In this little thing I saw iij propreties. The first is þat god made it, the secund that god loueth it, the thirde that god kepyth it. But what behyld I ther in? Verely, the maker, the keper, the louer. For till I am
20 substantially vnyted to him I may never haue full reste ne verie blisse; þat is to say that I be so fastned to him that ther be right nought that is made betweene my god and me.

This little thing that is made, me thought it might haue fallen to

---

19 *I ther in*: add, marg. scr.

---

11 *the (eye)*: om. S1. *eye*: S2: eyes. *and (thought)*: W: and I. 13 *might (laste)*: S2: could. 14 *littlenes*: S1: littil; and so S2. 16 *being*: S1: the being; S2: a being; W: his begynnyng; cf. A (213.15): beynge. 18 *that (god loueth)*: SS: is that; and so W. *it (the thirde)*: add. W: *and*. *that (god kepyth)*: C: is that; and so W. 19 *behyld I ther in*: SS: is to me; W: is þis to me; cf. A (213.18): is that to me. *Verely*: S1, W: sothly; and so S2; cf. A (213.18): sothelye. *the (louer)*: S1: *and* the; and so S2, W. *louer*: add. S1: I canot tell; and so S2. *For*: om. S2. 20 *vnyted*: S1: vnyd; S2: onyd; and so W. *verie*: S2: true. 21 *be (right)*: S1: is. *right nought*: W: no thing. 23 *This little ... littlenes*: om. SS.

---

11 *I looked theran*: cf. 212.10 note.

with the eye of my vnderstanding: this addition to the short text enables Julian to differentiate between what she has been shown (*our good lord shewed a ghostly sight* — 299.2), and the understanding later given in answer to her questions. Cf. Introduction, IX 2, 'Criteria of Analysis'.

12 *It is all that is made*: cf. 212.11 note.

17 *propreties*: cf. NED Property, *sb.* 5 ('An attribute or quality'), 6 ('The characteristic quality of a person or thing'). Either sense is there illustrated from Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, A. D. 1303, the earliest example for any sense.

The first is ...: for the figure here, cf. 213.16 note.

18 *But what behyld I ther in?* Cf. 213.17, which indicates that SS and W have retained A's reading. It is not that Julian saw her creator — she saw a small spherical object — but that the object's spiritual significance for her is the Trinitarian work of creation, love and preservation (cf. 294.9 note). The P scribe's lapse of the pen suggests that the variant was created in this manuscript.

This is a second *ratiocinatio* which, following the first, is also a form of *conduplicatio*.

19 *Verely, the maker, the keper, the louer*: since Julian has just written *The first is that god made it ...*, we may suppose that she wrote *the maker, the louer, the keper*; but the manuscripts do not support an emendation.

nought for littlenes. Of this nedeth vs to haue knowledge, that vs lyketh
10r nought all thing that is made, for to loue / and haue god that is vn-
26 made. For this is the cause why we be not all in ease of hart and of sowle, for we seeke heer rest in this thing that is so little, wher no reste is in, and we know not our god, that is almightie, all wise and all good, for he is verie reste. God will be knowen, and him lyketh that we rest vs
30 in him; for all that is beneth him suffyseth not to vs. And this is the cause why that no sowle is in reste till it is noughted of all thinges that is made. When she is wilfully noughted for loue, to haue him that is all, then is she able to receive ghostly reste.

And also our good lord shewed *þat* it is full great plesannce to him

---

33 *she*: ms: he, w. 's' add.

---

24 *knowledge, that vs lyketh*: S1: knoweing of the littlehead of creatures; S2: to know the littlenes of creatures: W: knowynge þat it is lyke. 25 *nought (all)*: S1: to nowtyn; and so W; S2: *and* to noughten. *thing*: om. S2. *loue*: add. C: god. *haue*: S1, marg., al. m.: know. 26 S2, marg., scr.: N B the cause of our trouble. *why*: C: which; W: why *þat*. *be*: S2: are. *all in*: S2: at full. *of (sowle)*: om. C, SS, W. 27 *heer*: om. S2. *this thing*: S1: these things; S2: those things. *wher*: S1: wherin; and so S2. 28 *is (in)*: S2: are. *we (know)*: om. SS, W. *and (all)*: om. SS. 29 *verie*: S1: the very. *him lyketh*: W: it likith hym. *vs*: om. SS. 30 *suffyseth not to*: S2: cannot satisfied. *to*: om. SS, C. 31 *why*: om. S2. *in reste*: S1: restid; and so W; S2: att rest. *is (noughted)*: W: be. *noughted*: C, marg.: emptied. *thinges*: om. W. 32 *is (made)*: C, S2: are. *When*: W: and when. *she*: SS, W: he. 34 *And*: om. SS, W. *good lord*: S1: lord god; and so S2; om. W. 'good'. *plesannce*: C, S2: pleasure.

---

24 *Of this nedeth ... to receive ghostly reste* (301.33): this corresponds with the short text, 215.41-216.53; but see Introduction, IX 3, and 215.42 note, for discrepancies.

that vs lyketh nought all thing that is made / for to loue and haue god that is vnmade: cf. 215.44-45, where there is the same figure, *compar*, with double *contentio*: *made / vnmade, nought /loue and haue*.

that vs lyketh nought all thing that is made: cf. the version of the spurious *Golden Epistle of St. Bernard* (in the Amherst MS): The fryste is that ye sett no more by transitory and erthely thynges than yf þay were not (E. Colledge, 'The Golden Epistle of St. Bernard', 123).

25 *nought*: 'to despise'; cf. S1, S2 and 215.43 note.

29 *God will be knowen ... to receive ghostly reste*: cf. I Corinthians 6.17: But he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit. This is quoted and translated by the *Cloud*-author in *An Epistle of Prayer*: Whoso draweþ nere to god ... he is o sperit with god (Hodgson, *Deonise* 56). Julian makes the same deductions as the *Epistle*: 'to haue him that is all', the soul must be 'naughted for loue'.

32 *noughted*: see 216.51, 52 note.

34 *And also our good lord shewed*: with this, a second, longer addition begins, which continues to *and passyth alle creatours* (311.10). As with the first (cf. 294.9 note) it adds nothing to the narrative of the short text, but provides meditative material derived from it. One important statement will be the superiority of unitive over intercessory prayer, 'making means' (304.2 e.s.), but God's immediate commerce with the soul has already been in Julian's mind. Cf. 210.15, 294.6.

that a sely sowle come to him naked, pleaynly and homly. For this is the kynde (yernyng) of the sowle by the touchyng of the holie ghost, as by
10v the vnderstandyng that I haue in this schewying: / God of thy goodnes geue me thy selfe, for thou art inough to me, and I maie aske nothing that is lesse that maie be full worshippe to thee. And if I aske anie thing
40 that is lesse, ever me wanteth; but only in thee I haue all.

And these wordes of the goodnes of god be full louesum to the sowle,

---

36 *yernyng*: ms: dwellyng.

---

35 *naked*: S1: nakidly; and so S2, W. *pleaynly*: C: plainlie; S1: pleynly; W: pleynely; S2: and plainly. 36 *yernyng*: so SS; (ms) *dwellyng*: so C. 37 *that*: S2: þe. *of*: W: for. 38 *geue*: W: yeue vnto. 39 *full*: W: fullie. *worshippe*: om. S2. 40 *ever me wanteth*: S2: I am ever in want. 41 *of the goodnes of god*: W: god of thy goodnes it; om. SS. *be*: S1: arn; and so S2, W.

---

36 *yernyng*: the W reading, supported by SS, has here been preferred to C, P, because 'dwelling' introduces an aspect of immanence which fits neither with what goes before nor with the prayer that follows, which seems in fact to be 'this ... yearning', the expression of the longings of Julian's soul. Later, she will introduce, with the greatest care, her teachings on indwelling; but they have no place here, nor would they be so abruptly begun. 'Dwellyng' could only mean God; but she is far too Johannine to have written in that case 'this' and not 'he'.

37 *God of thy goodnes ... I haue all*: she is here recalling Psalm 72.25-26: For what have I in heaven, and besides thee what do I desire upon earth? For thee my flesh and my heart have fainted away. Thou art the God of my heart and the God that is my portion forever; and also John 6.35 and 69: He who comes to me shall not hunger ... Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the word of life. So John Whiterigg, the monk of Durham who retired to the priory's solitary cell on Farne Island, where he seems to have received visions, and who died there in 1371 (H. Farmer, *The Monk of Farne*, 3-6, 18), wrote in his 'Meditation to Christ Crucified': Aliud nolo triticum nisi temetipsum: da michi ergo teipsum et cetera tolle tibi. Quid enim michi est in celo, et quid plus quam te optaui super terram? Certe quicquid est preter te non michi sufficit preter te, nec est munus apud te quod tantum desidero sicut te. Si ergo uelis replere in bonis desiderium meum, nichil aliud michi des nisi temetipsum (Farmer: 'Meditations', 162; cf. *The Monk of Farne*, 37). Julian's treatment of this theme contrasts significantly with that of Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace*: Lorde, I desyre noothynge. Of my wille I seke noght þereof, ande y wille noo othere thynge botte þat þis daye þou be preysede ande worscheppede of þyselfe, ande in þyselfe, ande be thyselfe, as hyelye ande as perfietlye as euere þou mayste bee commendede, preysede and worscheppede of alle creatures in hevene ande in erth (Halligan, 334). In the prayer, we have a good example of Julian's *ratiocinatio*, reasoning by hypothesis.

and full neer touching the will of our lord, for his goodnes fulfillith all his creaturs and all his blessed workes (and) ouer passith without end. For he is the endlesshead and he made vs only to him selfe and restored
45 vs by his precious passion, and ever kepeth vs in his blessed loue; and all this is of his goodnes.

---

42 *fulfillith*: over erasure: ... ndeth. 43 *workes ouer passith*: canc. *and (ouer)*: om. ms.

---

42 *touching*: SS: touchen. *will*: S2: well; marg., al. m.: agreeing to his will. *lord*: SS: god. *fulfillith*: S1: comprehendith; and so S2, W. 43 *and (ouer)*: from S1; and so S2, W; om. C. 44 *endlesshead*: C: endlesse head. *he (made)*: SS, W: he hath. 45 *precious*: S1: blissid; and so S2. *ever*: om. SS.

---

42 *comprehendith* (SS): if this, with which P seems originally to have agreed, represents what Julian wrote, rather than *fulfillith*, she may have had in mind the prologue to John: And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it, where the author, like Julian in this chapter, is relating the Genesis account of creation to salvation history.

44 *For he is the endlesshead and he made vs only to him selfe and restored vs ... and ever kepeth vs*: this is very like what the *Cloud* author writes in *The Book of Privy Counselling*: Bot where schal soche a soule be founden so frely fastnyd and ... so fully mekid in nouȝtnyng of it self and so louely led and fed in þe loue of oure lorde, wiþ ful knowing and felyng of his almiȝtyheed, his vnwetyn wisdom and his glorious goodnes; hou he is one in alle and alle in hym ... so þat for þis nobil nouȝtnyng of it self in verrey meeknes ... it deserueþ to haue god ... sokouryng it and kepyng it? (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 149).

This is a *compar* of five *cola*: *For he is the endlesshead / and he made vs only to him selfe / and restored vs by his precious passion / and ever kepeth vs in his blessed loue / and all this is of his goodnes*, a close-knit Trinitarian statement, with 'God' as the subject of each *colon*, governing a verb expressing appropriation: *made* (Father), *restored* (Son), *kepeth* (Spirit), and with the first and last *cola* expressing the unity. Cf. the Athanasian Creed: Pater eternus, filius eternus, spiritus sanctus eternus. There is also initial *repetitio* (*and ... and ... and ... and*) and medial *repetitio* (*vs ... vs ... vs*).

endlesshead: not in NED; MED's only two instances are from Rolle's *Psalter*.

he made vs only to him selfe: cf. 216.49 note.

The vith Chappter

This shewing was geuen to my vnderstanding to lerne our soule wisely to cleue to the goodnes of god; and in that same tyme the
11r custome of our praier was brought to my mind, how / that we vse for
5 vnknowing of loue to make menie meanes. Then saw I verily that it is more worshipp to god and more verie delite that we feaithfully praie to him selfe of his goodnes, and cleue ther to by his grace, *with* true vnderstanding and stedfast beleue, then if we made all the meanes that hart maie thinke. For if we make all these meanes, it is to litle and not
10 ful worshippe to god; but in his goodnes is all the hole, and ther fayleth right nought.

For thus as I shall say cam to my mynd in the same tyme. We praie to god for his holie flesh and for his precious bloud, his holie passion, his dere worthy death and worshipfull woundes, for all the blessed kynd-

---

1 S1: How we shold pray of the gret tender love that our lord hath to mannes soule (S2: to þe souls of men), willing vs to be occupyed (S2: employed) in knowing *and* loveing of him. 2 *geuen*: SS: made. *to (my)*: W: as to. *to my vnderstanding*: om. SS. *lerne*: S2: teach. *soule*: S2: souls; and so W. 3 *same*: om. SS. 4 *praier*: S1: prayeing. *my*: om. SS. *that*: om. SS. 5 *vnknowing*: S1: lack of understanding *and* knowing; and so S2, w. 'want' for 'lack'. *verily*: S1, W: sothly; and so S2. *it*: om. S1, W. 8 *beleue*: S2: by loue. 9 *maie*: SS: can. *thinke*: S2: wish. *if*: W: þough. *these*: W: þis. 10 *is (all)*: S2: it is. 11 *right nought*: W: no thyng. 12 S2, marg., scr.: The goodnes of god the best medium of intercession or highest *and* best argument we can use in prayer. *thus*: W: þis. *praie*: W: prayde. 13 *his (dere)*: W. *and* his. 14 *and (worshipfull)*: W: his. *worshipfull*: om. SS. *for (all)*: S1: *and*; and so S2, W.

---

4 *that we vse* ...: 'it is our habit, because we are ignorant of love, to employ many intermediaries'. She seems to be inveighing gently against the wrong use of intercessory prayer, easily tinged with superstition (as is witnessed by the ludicrous claims for 'indulgenced' devotions so common in her age). The author of the *Cloud* makes the same point in the same terms, writing of the prayer of contemplatives: Bot þeire specyal preiers risen euermore sodenly vnto god, wiþ outyn any meenes or any premeditacion in special comyng before or going þer wiþ (Hodgson, 74).

12-19 Each one of the *meanes* catalogued here can be identified in the *Ancrene Riwle*'s counsels on devotions. Cf. Introduction, 77-78.

13 *for his holie flesh and for his precious bloud* ...: the *repetitio* of *for* is maintained throughout this passage.

14 *and worshipfull woundes*: Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: Aftere this sche thankkede god for his holye woundys, ande than sche prayde hym to fastyne as many woundys of luffe to here sawle as he soffrede in his bodye (Halligan, 156).

15 nes, and the endlesse life that we haue of all this, it is of the goodnes of
11v god. And we praie him for his sweete mothers loue / that bare him,
and all the helpe that we haue of her, it is of his goodnes. And we praie
for his holie crosse that he died on, and all the helpe and all the vertu
that we haue of that crosse, it is of his goodnes. And on the same wyse,
20 all the helpe that we haue of speciall sainctes and of all the blessed com-
panie of heauen, the dere worthie loue and the holie endles frinshipe
that we haue of them, it is of his goodnes. For the meanes that the
goodnes of god hath ordeineth to helpe vs be full faire and many. Of
which the chiefe and principall meane is the blessed kynde that he toke
25 of the maiden, *with* all the meanes that went before and come after,
which be langyng to our redemption and to our endles saluation.
12r Wher for it pleaseth him that we seke him and / worshippe him by

---

15 *and (the)*: om. SS, W. *it is of the*: S1: in his; S2: is his. *the (goodnes)*: W: hys. *of god*: om. SS, W. 16 *sweete*: om. W. 17 *that (we)*: om. SS. *of (her)*: W: in. *it (is)*: om. SS. 18 *for*: SS: by. *his (holie)*: S2: the. *all (the vertu)*: om. SS, W. *the (vertu)*: om. W. 19 *that (we haue of that)*: C: of that. *that (crosse)*: S1: the; and so S2, W. 20 *that*: om. S2. *of (speciall)*: C: to. *of (all)*: om. SS, W. 21 *of (heauen)*: W: in. *the holie*: om. SS. *frinshipe*: C: Friendship; SS: freindshippe; W: frendeshyp. 22 *is (of)*: W: is all. *the meanes that*: om. SS. *the goodnes of god*: S1: god of his godnes; and so S2; W: god of his goodnes for god of his grete goodnes. 23 *ordeineth*: C: ordeined; SS, W: ordeyned. *to*: C: for to; S1, W: meenys to; and so S2. *be full ... many*: W: in most lovyng *and* blessed maner. 24 *chiefe*: S2: chiefest. *kynde*: C, marg.: humanity. 25 *maiden*: S1: mayd; S2: virgin; W: mayden Mary. *went*: S1: gone; and so S2, W. 26 *be langyng*: S2: belong. *to our (endles)*: om. S2, W. *our (endles)*: om. S1. 27 *him (by)*: om. S1, W.

---

15 *it is of the goodnes of god ... it is of his goodnes ... it is of his goodnes ... it is of his goodnes*: *commoratio*, 'lingering upon a strong point and frequently returning to it'.

16 *for his sweete mothers loue that bare him ... for his holie crosse that he died on*: these *meanes* are also suggested by the two closely-connected visions already described.

24 *the chiefe and principall meane*: note the *tautologia*; and cf. NED Mean, *sb.*, II 9 c, 'a mediator between God (or Christ) and man'. Their first example is *Piers Plowman* A VIII 179: Forþi I counseil alle cristene to crize god mercy / And marie his modir to be mene betwene (G. Kane, 365). Modern opinion is that the A version of *Piers Plowman* was composed some three years before Julian received her revelation. 'We shall be safe in saying that the A-text, as we have it, must have been in process of composition by 1370, even if it was not finished by then' (J. A. W. Bennett, 'The Date of the A-Text of *Piers Plowman*', 572).

27 *it pleaseth him ... by meanes*: cf. 304.4 and note. This shows that there Julian is not writing against devotions or intercessory prayer as such.

meanes, vnderstanding and knowing that he is the goodnes of all. For to the goodnes of god is the highest praier, and it cometh downe to vs to
30 the lowest party of our need. It quickened our sowle and maketh it leue, and make it to waxe in grace and in vertu. It is nerest in kynde and redyest in grace, for it is the same grace that the soule sekyth and ever schalle, tylle we knowe oure god verely, that hath vs all in hym selfe beclosyde.
35 A man goyth vppe ryght, and the soule of his body is sparyde as a purse fulle feyer. And whan it is tyme of his nescessery, it is openyde and sparyde ayen fulle honestly. And that it is he that doyth this, it is schewed ther wher he seyth he comyth downe to vs to the lowest parte

---

28 *the (goodnes)*: om. W. *to*: om. SS. 29 *to vs*: om. SS. 30 *party*: S2: degree. *quickened*: C : quickneth; and so SS, W. *maketh it leue*: S1: bringith it on life; and so S2 (w. 'on to'), W. 31 *make*: S2: maketh; and so W. *to (waxe)*: S1: for to. *waxe*: S2: growe. *in (vertu)*: om. C, SS. 33 *oure god*: om. SS; S2, marg., scr. supplies. 34 *selfe*: om. W. 35 *A man ... of oure nede* (307.39): om. SS. *sparyde*: C, marg.: enclosed. 36 *nescessery*: C: necessity. 37 *sparyde*: C: sparred; W: sperd. *fulle*: W: well. *honestly*: C, marg.: seemly. *it (is he)*: om. W. *it is schewed ther wher*: W: he shewyth þat.

---

28 *to the goodnes of god*: we should observe that here she is writing specifically of the prayer of petition, though that is, as she will make clear in chapter 41, consummately unitive. She is not dealing at all with the contemplative method of the author of the *Cloud*, where he says that one cannot 'com of þis worching by þe vse of ... ymaginacions and meditacions, ȝe, þof þei be of ... þe passion of Criste, þe ioies of oure lady, or of alle þe seintes' (*The Book of Privy Counselling*, Hodgson, *Cloud* 157-158).

29 *it cometh downe*: in one of her finer passages, Mechtild of Hackborn wrote in her *Book of Special Grace*: þe son of god that was soo fulle of delyces in the faders blysse come downe ande lawede hymselfe with the eendelesse magestye to owre nede ande myserye whiche we suffrede in the bondys of Adam (Halligan, 462).

30 *It quickened ...*: 'it created our soul, it keeps it alive, it makes it grow in grace'. Later she makes the same distinctions: *For alle oure lyfe is in thre: in the furst we haue oure beyng, and in the seconde we haue oure encresyng, and in the thyrde we haue oure fulfyllyng* (585.30-32). Our creation was a single act, our living and our growth continue.

31 *nerest in kynde and redyest in grace*: cf. *God is more nerer to vs than oure owne soule ... and oure soule is kyndely rotyd in god in endlesse loue* (571.11-12, 14-15) and *The moders servyce is nerest, rediest and suerest; nerest for it is most of kynd* (595.14-15).

35 *soule* < OE sufol, '(cooked, digested) food'. NED, MED show that this word was rare, doubtless in Julian's time obsolescent, perhaps because of conflict with its homophone, < OE sāwol, 'soul' (as most translators of the text have erroneously rendered it). But cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: ne þerf þet meiden sechen nouder bread ne suuel fur þene et his halle (Day, 85; this section on the personal circumstances of the original anchoresses is omitted from the Vernon MS).

38 *wher he seyth ...*: this is not challenged by C, SS or W; but we need not understand any implication that *it comyth downe ...* is any locution not reported in the short text. Julian may be recalling II Corinthians 1.4: ... who comforts us in all our tribulation.

12v of oure nede. For he hath no dispite of that he made, / ne he hath no
40 disdeyne to serue vs at the sympylest office that to oure body longyth in
kynde, for loue of the soule that he made to his awne lycknesse. For as
þe body is cladd in the cloth, and the flessch in the skynne, and the
bonys in þe flessch, and the harte in the bowke, so ar we, soule and
body, cladde and enclosydde in the goodnes of god. Yee, and more
45 homely, for all they vanyssche and wast awey; the goodnesse of god is
ever hole and more nere to vs, *with*ou3te any comparison. For truly
oure lovyr desyereth that the soule cleue to hym with all the myghtes,

---

39 *that he*: S1: that he hath; S2: what he hath; W: þat þat he hath. *ne*: W: neþer. *he hath no disdeyne*: S2: disdains. 41 *he (made)*: SS, W: he hath. 42 *the cloth*: S2: its cloaths. *in the skynne ... flessch*: om. W. 43 *bowke*: C: bulke; S1: bouke; marg., al. m.: bulke. *ar*: W: be. 44 *enclosydde*: W: closed. 45 *homely*: C, marg.: truely. S2, marg., scr.: How god loveth þe soul. *they*: S1: these; and so S2, W. *vanyssche and wast*: S1: may wasten *and* weren; and so S2, W. *the*: S2: but the; and so W. 46 *more (nere)*: om. W. *any*: om. S2. *comparison*: S1: likenes; and so W. 47 *the (soule)*: SS: our. *soule*: S2: souls. *cleue*: W: clyme. *myghtes*: SS: might.

---

39 *For he hath no dispite of that he made*: this translates Wisdom 11.25: ... nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti.

40 *at the sympylest office*: cf. Matthew 20.28: Even as the Son of Man has come not to be ministered to but to minister.

41 *For as þe body is cladd in the cloth / and the flessch in the skynne / and the bonys in þe flessch / and the harte in the bowke / so ar we soule and body / cladde and enclosydde in the goodnes of god*: *membrum*, with a form of *gradatio*.

44 *cladde and enclosydde in the goodnes of god*: by comparing the act of putting on clothing with the state of being enclosed, Julian echoes two Pauline images: Put on the Lord Jesus Christ (Romans 13.14), Put on the new man (Ephesians 4.24), Putting on the new (Colossians 3.10), We are one body in Christ (Romans 12.5), So also in Christ shall all be made alive (I Corinthians 15.22).

Yee, and more homely: 'more simply', 'more familiarly', because the body and its food and clothing are created and perishable, but the immortal soul must cling to the uncreated goodness of God. The figure is *conduplicatio*.

all they vanyssche and wast awey: the 'clothing' image suggests Psalm 101.27: They shall perish, but thou remainest; and all of them shall grow old like a garment, and Matthew 6.30: And if the grass of the field, which is today and tomorrow is cast into the oven, God so clothes ... The reading of S1, *may wasten and weren*, which S2 and W share, makes the reminiscence of Psalm 101 even stronger; but it is impossible to determine whether they, or P and C, represent what Julian wrote.

46 *comparison*: That C and S2 disagree with P, and that S1's *likenes* is shared by W, suggests that the common ancestor of SS and W had a substitution by some early scribe-editor who preferred the simpler native word to Julian's technical rhetorical term, which, however, S2 restores through collation with C.

47 *that the soule cleue to hym*: cf. Deuteronomy 11.22: ... to love the Lord your God and walk in all his ways, cleaving to him.

and that we be ever more cleuyng to hys goodnes. For of alle thyng that hart may thynke, it plesyth most god and soneste spedyth. For oure soule is so presciously louyd / of hym that is hyghest that it ouer passeth the knowyng of alle creatures. That is to say, ther is no creature that is made that may witt how much and how swetely and how tenderly that oure maker lovyth vs. And therfore we may *with* hys grace and his helpe stande in gostly beholdyng, *with* euer lastyng marveylyng in this hygh ouerpassyng vnmesurable love that oure lorde hath to vs of his goodnes; and therfore we may aske of oure louer *with* reuerence all that we wille, for oure kyndely wille is to haue god, and the good wylle of god is to haue vs, and we may never sesse of wyllyng ne of louyng

---

48 *more*: om. W. *cleuyng*: W: clymyng. *thyng*: S2: things. 49 *may*: C, S2: can. 50 *presciously*: SS: specially. *louyd*: S2: beloved. *ouer passeth*: S2: surpasseth. 51 *knowyng*: W: knowlege. *alle*: W: all oþer. 52 *witt*: S2: know. 53 *that (oure)*: om. SS, W. W, marg., al. m.: Amor dei in nobis. *And therfore*: W: wherfor. 54 *his helpe stande*: W: *with* his hooly stondynge. *marveylyng*: S2: admiration. 55 *hygh*: W: here. *ouerpassyng*: S2: surpassing *and*. *vnmesurable*: S1: onestimable; and so S2. *oure lorde*: S1: almitie god; and so S2. 57 *kyndely*: C, marg.: naturall. 58 *sesse*: S1, W: blyn; S1, marg., al. m.: cease leave of. *of (wyllyng)*: W: in. *ne*: S2: nor. *louyng*: S1: longyng; and so S2.

---

56 *and therfore we may aske of oure louer ... all that we wille*: this returns to the meditation's starting-point, that the soul does not need to 'make means' with God.

and therfore we may aske of oure louer / with reuerence all that we wille / for oure kyndely wille is to haue god / and the good wylle of god is to haue vs / and we may never sesse of wyllyng ne of louyng / tylle we haue hym in fulhede of ioy: a *compar* with *traductio* (*we wille ... oure wille ... of wyllyng*), *chiasmus* (*oure kyndely wille ... to haue god / the good wylle of god ... to haue vs*), *repetitio* (*wille ... wille ... wylle*), and *similiter cadens* (*wyllyng ... louyng*).

57 *for oure kyndely wille ... to haue vs*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 36: for þer is no gifte of god þat is boþ þe gifer *and* þe gifte but þis gift of luf (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 114^{v}; Underhill, 392).

58 *sesse / blyn* (S1, W): that S2 should agree with P, C and not with S1, W suggests the same explanation as for the *comparison / likenes* variant (307.46 note). It is impossible to decide what Julian wrote; but, in general, her vocabulary is up-to-date and, where necessary, learned. NED's earliest example of Cease, *v.*, is *a* 1300, *Cursor Mundi*, and the entries for Blin, blinn, *v.*, show use (though not common) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

tylle we haue hym in fulhede of ioy. And than we may no more wylle,
60 for he wylle that we be occupyed in knowyng and louyng tylle the tyme
13v comyth that we shal be / fulfyllede in hevyn.

And here fore was this lesson of loue schewyd *with* alle that folowyth, as ye schall see, for the strenght and the grounde of alle was schewed in the furst syght. For of alle thyng the beholdyng and the lovyng of the
65 maker makyth the soule to seme lest in his awne syght, and most fyllyth hit *with* reuerent drede and trew meknesse, and *with* plente of charyte to his euyn crysten.

---

67 The first extract in W ends here.

---

59 *fulhede*: S2: fullnes; and so W. *wylle*: W: desyre. 60 *occupyed*: S2: employed. *louyng*: add. W: of hym. 61 *comyth*: W: com; om. SS. 62 *And here fore ... furst syght*: om. W. *here fore*: C: therefore; and so SS. 63 *the (grounde)*: om. S2. 64 *thyng*: C, S2: things. *the (lovyng)*: om. S2. 65 *makyth*: W: causith. *to (seme)*: om. S2. *his*: S2: its. 66 *and (with)*: om. SS. 67 *euyn crysten*: S1, marg., al. m.: *chr*istian neighbour.

---

59 *tylle we haue hym in fulhede of ioy*: the next sentence makes it plain that Julian here means a plenitude of joy in this life in which the soul 'has God'; cf. 215.43 and note, 301.25. This plenitude will be a foretaste of the Beatific Vision, in which knowledge and love will make an end of desiring. It is clear that she has in mind Paul's doctrine, I Corinthians 13, of the immutability and immortality of love, to which she will revert; cf. 315.58 and note.

fulhede / fullnes (S2, W): here the grouping is P C S1 / S2 W, as in the case of *littlehead / littleness* (297.35). Throughout, Julian shows marked preference for abstract nouns in '-head'; and the modernization in S2 and W could easily be independent.

And than we may no more wylle / for he wylle that we be occupyed in knowyng and louyng / tylle the tyme comyth that we shal be fulfyllede in hevyn: another *compar*, continuing the *repetitio* of the previous figure, and adapting its *similiter cadens* (know*yng* ... lou*yng*).

62 *And here fore was this lesson of loue schewyd ...*: Julian places her revelations in the context of the 'Great Commandment' (Deuteronomy 6.5, and cf. Matthew 22.37-40), 'upon which depend the whole law and the prophets'.

65 *makyth the soule to seme lest*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 37: for he holdiþ hi*m* self *and* alle oþe*r* men as it were euen ilike noȝt of he*m* self anenptes god (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 117r; Underhill, 399).

66 *trew meknesse*: the *Cloud* teaches that the cause of true humility is 'þe oueraboundaunt loue and þe worþines of god in him self, in beholding of þe whiche alle kynde quakiþ, alle clerkes ben foles, and alle seintes and aungelles ben blynde' (Hodgson, 40).

The Seuenth Chapitour

And to lerne vs thys, as to my vnderstandyng, our good lorde shewyd our lady sent Mary in the same tyme, that is to meane the hyghe wysdom and truth that she had in beholdyng of her maker. This wysdom and truth made her to beholde hyr god so gret, so hygh, so myghty and so good. This gretnesse and this nobylnesse / of her 14r

4 Cf. 297.37; the text from here to 311.11 corresponds with W, f. 73r, earlier interpolated and here collated.

1 S1: How our lady beholdyng the gretenes of hir maker thowte hir selfe leste (S2: less); *and* of the great droppys of blode renning fro under the garland (S2: crown of thornes); and how the most joy to man is that god most (S2: who is most) hie *and* mightie is holyest *and* curtesiest (S2: is also the most homely and most courteous). 2 *lerne*: S2: teach. *good lorde*: S1: lord god; and so S2. 3 *sent*: om. C. 4 *that (she)*: om. SS. *in (beholdyng)*: add. S2: the. *This wysdom ... hyr god*: om. SS. 6 *This (gretnesse)*: W: þe. *nobylnesse*: C: noblety; and so W; C., marg: nobleness; SS: noblyth. *of her*: W: and. *her*: SS: the.

1 *is holyest and curtesiest*: at 314.48, S1 has correctly copied *hamlyest and curtysest*; there, S2 has substituted *most familiar and most courteous*, here *the most homely and most courteous*. The S2 scribe is in general careful and intelligent enough to have been able to recognize and to correct S1's error, especially if (as has already been suggested — 307.46 note), S2 was collating S1 with C.

2 *And to lerne vs thys ... alle creatours* (311.11): not in the short text; cf. 217.1. But, again, what follows here is no innovation, but a recapitulation of the vision of the BVM already recounted, with deeper insights. It has just been said that knowledge of the love of God will convince the soul of its own unworthiness; and this is best exemplified in Mary, most exalted of all creatures after her Son (214.33-36, 297.37-298.40); who yet *sawe hyr selfe so lytylle and so lowe ...*

3 *that is to meane the hyghe wysdom and truth*: Julian is here carefully specifying that, unlike the eleventh revelation, this is no 'bodily sight', even though there is marked accord between the insights presented here and those later described. In fact, this showing becomes a contemplation of Mary at prayer (cf. 213.26-214.30 and notes); but it is also a 'ghostly sight' (311.13), which she finally understands, through the teaching of the parable, to be Mary's contemplation of the Trinity (cf. 483.3 e.s. and note).

4 *This wysdom and truth made her to beholde hyr god / so gret so hygh so myghty and so good / This gretnesse and this nobylnesse of her beholdyng of god / fulfylled her of reverend drede and with this / she sawe hyr selfe so lytylle and so lowe / so symple and so poer in regard of hyr god / that thys reuerent drede fulfyllyd her of meknes / And thus by thys grounde she was fulfyllyd / of grace and of alle maner of vertuous*: a *membrum*, with *repetitio* (*so gret ... so symple*), *conversio* (*god ... god ... god*), and a complex use of *gradatio* and *oppositio contrariorum*.

5 *beholde ... beholdyng*: *traductio*, emphasizing that this is a 'ghostly sight' of Mary's contemplation.

6 *noblyth* (SS): NED's closest form to this is Noblety, *Obs.* (the first entry 1340-1370, the last 1500-1520); from which this looks like a nonce-form, better represented in C, W.

beholdyng of god fulfyllyd her of reverend drede; and *with* this she sawe hyr selfe so lytylle and so lowe, so symple and so poer in regard of hyr god that thys reuerent drede fulfyllyd her of meknes. And thus by thys
10 grounde sche was fulfyllyd of grace and of alle maner of vertuous, and passyth alle creatours.

And in alle *þat* tyme that he schewd thys that I haue now seyde in gostely syght, I saw the bodely syght lastyng of the (plentuous) bledyng of the hede. The grett droppes of blode felle downe fro vnder the
15 garlonde lyke pelottes, semyng as it had comyn*n* ou3te of the veynes. And in the comyng ou3te they were bro(wn)e rede, for the blode was full thycke; and in the spredyng abrode they were bryght rede. And whan it ca*m*me at the browes, ther they vanysschyd; and not wythston-
14v ding / the bledyng contynued tylle many thynges were sene and vn-

---

13 *plentuous*: ms: pituous, with 'i' alt. to 'le', perh. al. m. 16 *browne*: ms: brorme.

---

7 *drede*: C: deed. 8 *symple*: S2: little. *poer*: C: poor; SS, W; pore. *in (regard)*: S2: in the. *regard*: S1, W: reward. 9 *god*: S1: lord god; and so S2. *of (meknes)*: S2: with. *thus*: W: þis. 10 *of (grace)*: S2: with. 11 *passyth*: S1: overpassyth; and so W; S2: surpasseth. 12 *þat*: C, S1: the; S2: þis. 13 *pituous* (ms): C: plentuous; and so SS. Cf. 217.3. 14 *the (hede)*: S2: his. 15 *garlonde*: S2: thornes. *semyng*: S1: semand; marg. al. m.: seeming. *it*: S2: if it. 16 *they*: SS: it. 17 *they*: SS: it. *were*: S2: was. 18 *at*: SS: to. *ther they*: S1: than it; and so S2. *and (not)*: om. SS. 19 *vnderstondyd*: S1: understondyn; S2: understood.

---

7 *she sawe hyr selfe so lytylle and so lowe*: Julian reverts to the revelation of Mary, because she is the perfect model of *reuerent drede and trew meknesse*.

11 *passyth alle creatours*: the language of this passage is naturally reminiscent of the *Magnificat*: ... all generations shall call me blessed ... he who is mighty has done great things for me ... he has exalted the humble.

12 *And in alle þat tyme ... of the hede* (311.14): this corresponds with the short text, 217.1-3.

13 *plentuous*: the reading of C, supported by SS, has been preferred to that of P.

14 *The grett droppes of blode ...*: the third major addition in the long text begins here, and continues to *come to the last ende* (316.67). This, however, unlike the first and second additions, begins with details of the *bodely syght* of Christ crowned with thorns which are not reported in the short text. We may owe them to the care with which she scrutinized her memory on the frequent occasions when God brought to her recollection the whole revelation from beginning to end. Cf. 520.78: *the hole revelation fro the begynnyng to the ende whych oure lorde god of his goodnes bryngyth oftymes frely to the syght of my vnderstondyng*.

19 *tylle many thynges were sene*: Julian is conveying that all the 'ghostly sights' granted her in the first showing made their initial impression against the background of the vision of the bleeding and thorn-crowned head of the crucified Christ. Cf. 318.17-19.

vnderstondyd (P, C) / *understondyn* (S1) *understood* (S2): cf. NED, Stand, *v.*: 'In English the regular form of the pa. ple., *standen* (with the variants *stande*, etc.) continued until the 16th c., when its place was taken by *stood* from the pa.t. A few examples of a weak form *standed* occurs in writings of the 16th c.; in compounds (*understanded, withstanded*) this formation was less rare, and survived into the 17th c.' The evidence here accords well with this statement.

derstondyd. Nevertheles the feyerhede and the lyuelyhede continued in the same bewty and lyuelynes.

The plentuoushede is lyke to the droppes of water that falle of the evesyng of an howse after a grete shower of reyne, that falle so thycke that no man may nomber them *with* no bodely wyt. And for the roundnesse they were lyke to the scale of heryng in the spredyng of the forhede.

Thes thre thynges cam to my mynde in the tyme: pelettes for the roundhede in the comyng ouȝte of the blode, the scale of herying for the roundhede in the spredyng, the droppes of the evesyng of a howse

---

20 *Nevertheles*: om. SS. *feyerhede*: C: fair head; S2: fairnes. *lyuelyhede*: C: lively head; S2: liuelynes. *continued ... lyuelynes*: SS: is like nothing but the same. 22 *plentuoushede*: C: plentuous head; S2: plenteousnes. *is*: om. SS. 23 *evesyng*: S1: evys; and so S2. *of an howse*: om. SS. 24 *no (bodely)*: C: any; om. SS. *roundnesse*: S1: round hede. 25 *they*: SS: it. *were*: S2: was. *to*: om. S2. *scale of heryng*: C: seal of her ring: S2: scales of herrings. *of (the)*: S1: on. 27 *thynges*: om. SS. *mynde*: S2: ènderstanding; om. S1. *in the*: S2: at þis. *the (roundhede)*: om. SS. 28 *roundhede (in the comyng)*: S2: roundnes. *ouȝte*: om. S2. *herying*: C: herring; S1: heryng; S2: herrings. *for*: SS: in. 29 *roundhede (in the spredyng)*: S1: spreadeing; and so S2. *in (the spredyng)*: S2: on. *spredyng*: S1: forehede for roundhede; and so S2. *the evesyng*: S1: evese; and so S2. *of a howse*: om. SS.

---

20 *Nevertheles*: she finds such paradoxes spiritually fruitful. She goes on (313.30-31) to call this vision *quyck and lyuely and hidows and dredfulle and swete and louely* (observe the rhetoric of this; the paradoxes are rooted in 'the folly of the Cross' — I Corinthians 1.18 e.s. — and the mystery of the Incarnation, which she will consistently expound by using *oppositio contrariorum* as a figure). This is a further answer to her first prayer (cf. 202.14-15 and note), because these contraries give her further insight: *God that is so reverent and dredfulle is so homely and so curteyse*. As before (cf. 307.45), her very use of *homely* is paradoxical.

lyuelyhede: NED does not record, and MED's first instance is 1440, the *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

is like nothing but the same (SS): S1 here seems to have tried to make sense of a corruption, and S2 to have copied exactly, failing to recognize that in C's *nevertheless, the fair head, and the lively head continued in the same beauty and liveliness* 'fair head' and 'lively head' are misdivided compounds.

22 *The plentuoushede is lyke to the droppes of water / that falle of the evesyng of an howse / after a grete shower of reyne / that falle so thycke that no man may nomber them with no bodely wyt*: a *compar* of two long and two short *cola*, with *repetitio* (*that falle ... that falle*).

25 *seal of her ring* (C): another error caused through misdivision. Cf. 312.20 note.

27 *Thes thre thynges*: if we were to follow SS in omitting *of a howse*, this would give a *compar* of three equal *cola*: *pelettes for the roundhede in the comyng ouȝte of the blode / the scale of herying for the roundhede in the spredyng / the droppes of the evesyng for the plentuoushede vnnumerable*.

30 for the plentuoushede vnnumerable. Thys shewyng was quyck and
15r lyuely and hidows and dredfulle and swete and louely ; / and of all the syght that I saw this was most comfort to me, that oure good lorde, that is so reverent and dredfulle, is so homely and so curteyse, and this most fulfyllyd me *with* lykyng and syckernes in soule.

35 And to the vnderstondyng of thys he shewde thys open example. It is the most wurschypp that a solempne kyng or a gret lorde may do to a pore seruante, yf he wylle be homely *with* hym; and namely yf he shew it hym selfe of a fulle true menyng and *with* a glad chere boyth in prevyte and opynly, than thyngkyth thys pore creature thus: Loo, what

---

30 *plentuoushede*: C: plentuous head; S2: plenteousnes. *vnnumerable*: S1: inumerable; and so S2. 31 *and (swete)*: om. S1. *and swete and louely*: om. S2. 32 *that I saw*: om. SS. *this*: SS: it. *good lorde*: SS: god *and* lord. 33 *so (curteyse)*: om. SS. 34 *lykyng*: S1 alt. al. m. fr. 'likeness'. *syckernes*: C: sicknes. *in*: C, SS: of; C, marg.: in. 35 *And*: S2: for. 36 *most*: S2: greatest. *wurschypp*: S2: honor. *solempne*: S2: mighty. *a (gret)*: om. S2. 38 *boyth*: C, SS: both. *in*: om. SS. 39 *prevyte*: S1: prive; and so S2. *opynly*: S1: (ptie-canc.) pertie; S2: portie. *Loo*: S1: a; S2: o.

---

30 *Thys shewyng was quyck and lyuely and hidows and dredfulle and swete and louely / and of all the syght that I saw / this was most comfort to me that oure good lorde / that is so reverent and dredfulle is so homely and so curteyse / and thys most fulfyllyd me with lykyng and syckernes in soule*: cf. 312.20 note. It is significant that to convey these paradoxes, she uses her favourite figure, *oppositio*.

35 *thys open example*: cf. 513.3 note. Here too Julian means 'a preacher's *exemplum*', but this is *open*, easy to interpret, in contrast to the parable of the lord and the servant, which it obviously anticipates, and which is *in shewyng full mystely* (513.2 and note). *Exempla* of lordly affability and generosity abound; one by Jacques de Vitry tells of a count of Campagna, impoverished by his openhandedness and angered by one of his rich serfs who tells knights who have come begging that the lord is himself no better than a beggar, who gives the knights his richest possession, the serf and his wealth (Greven, 17).

36 *solempne / mighty* (S2): cf. NED, Solemn, *a.* 4. a., 'Grand, imposing ...', b., 'Of great dignity or importance', both obsolete, the last instances (a) 1589, (b) 1596.

37 *homely with hym*: she may have in mind the greatest *exemplum* of such condescension, Christ's washing of his apostles' feet: 'You call me 'lord' and 'master', and you say well, for so I am. If I, being your lord and master, have washed your feet ... I have given you an example ... the servant is not greater than his lord (John 13.13-16).

39 *opynly / pertie* (S1) / *portie* (S2): one may speculate whether the SS readings derive from a corrupted or misunderstood 'aperte'. Cf. NED, Apert, *a.* and *adv.*, where the second example is 1395, Purvey: Glotonie, lecherie, and othere synnis prevy or apert.

than thyngkyth thys pore creature thus / Loo what myght thys noble lorde do / more wurschyppe and ioy to me / than to shew to me that am so lytylle thys marvelous homelynesse / Verely it is more ioy and lykyng to me / than if he gaue me grett geftes / and wer hym selfe strange in maner: an excellent instance of *ratiocinatio*, with *repetitio* (*than ... than ... than*), *oppositiones* (*pore creature / noble lorde, homelynesse / strange in maner*), and *exclamatio* (*Loo*).

myght thys noble lorde do more wurschyppe and ioy to me than to shew to me that am so lytylle thys marvelous homelynesse? Verely it is more ioy and lykyng to me than if he gaue me grett ge(f)tes, and wer hym selfe / strange in maner. This bodely exsample was shewde so hygh that thys mannes hart myght be rauysscheḍ and almost foryet hym selfe for ioy of thys grette homelynesse.

Thus it faryth by oure lord Jhesu and by vs, for verely it is the most ioy that may be, as to my syght, that he that is hyghest and myghtyest, noblyest and wurthyest, is lowest and mekest, hamlyest and curtysest. And truly and verely this marvelous ioy shalle he shew vs all when we shall see hym. And thys wille oure good lorde that we beleue and trust, ioy and lyke, comfort vs and make solace as we may *with* his grace and

---

42 *gefles*: ms: gestes.

---

40 *wurschyppe*: S2: honor. 41 *to (me)*: om. SS. *lytylle*: SS: simple. *homelynesse*: S1: homlyhede; S2: familiarity. *Verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. 42 *if*: om. S1. 43 *maner*: S2: his behavior. 44 *thys*: om. SS. *foryet*: S1: forgettyng. 45 *homelynesse*: S1: homlyhede; S2: familiarity. 46 *verely*: S1: sothly. *most*: S2: greatest. 47 *that (is)*: S2: who. 48 *is (lowest)*: S2: is also. *hamlyest*: S2: most familiar. *curtysest*: S2: most courteous. 49 *verely*: S1: sothly; S2: certainly. *he shew*: S1: be shewne; and so S2. 50 *shall (see)*: om. SS. *wille oure good lorde*: S2: is the will of our *lord*; marg., scr.: The will of god. *good*: om. S1. *beleue*: S1: willen; and so S2. *trust*: S1: trowen. 51 *ioy*: S2: rejoice. *lyke*: S2: be pleased. *vs*: om. S2. *make solace*: S1: solacyn us; S2: solace our selves.

---

44 *that thys mannes hart myght be rauysscheḍ*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 32: þis siȝt þouȝ it be bot schortly *and* litel is so wurþi *and* so miȝty þat it drawiþ *and* rauischiþ al þe affeccionn of þe soule fro beholdynge *and* þe mynde of al erþly þinge þerto (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 107v; Underhill, 371).

and almost foryet hym selfe for ioy: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 35: for þan is lufe maister *and* wirkiþ in þe soule *and* makiþ it for to forgetyn it self *and* for to seen *and* beholden only how luf doþ (ibid., f. 113v; Underhill, 389).

47 *he that is hyghest and myghtyest / noblyest and wurthyest / is lowest and mekest / hamlyest and curtysest*: *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

48 *noblyest*: if this be not merely eccentric spelling, it indicates 'nobly' use here not as noun (cf. 521.95, 588.67, 612.20), 'nobility', but as adjective: 'most full of nobility', a usage not recorded by NED. FEW records OFr *noblir*, 'to ennoble'.

49 *And truly and verely this marvelous ioy / shalle he shew vs all when we shall see hym / And thys wille oure good lorde that we beleue and trust / ioy and lyke comfort vs and make solace / as we may with his grace and with his helpe / in to the tyme that we see it verely*: *inclusio (truly and verely ... verely)* and *interpretatio (truly and verely, beleue and trust, ioy and lyke, comfort vs and make solace, with his grace and with his helpe)*.

when we shall see hym: this translates I John 3.2: Videbimus eum sicuti est.

with his helpe, in to the tyme that we see it verely. For þe most fulhede of ioy that we shalle haue, as to my syght, ys thys marvelous curtesy and homelynesse of oure fader, that is oure maker, in oure lorde Jhesu
. 16r Crist, that is oure broder and oure / sauior. But this marvelous
56 homelynesse may no man know in this lyfe, but yf he haue it by specialle schewyng of oure lorde, or of gret plenty of grace inwardly yeven of the holy gost. But feyth and beleue *with* charyte deserue the mede, and so it is had by grace. For in feyght *with* hope and cheryte

---

52 *in to*: S2: untill. *fulhede*: S2: fulnes. 53 *thys*: S1: the; and so S2. 54 *homelynesse*: S1: homlyhede; S2: familiarity. 55 *this*: S2: þe. 56 *homelynesse*: S1: homlyhede. *may*: S2: can. *know*: S1: weten. *lyfe*: S1: tyme of life; and so S2. *but yf*: S2: exept. *by*: SS: of. 58 *of (the)*: S2: by. 59 *feyght*: C: Faith; SS: faith.

---

52 *For þe most fulhede of ioy that we shalle haue / as to my syght / ys thys marvelous curtesy and homelynesse / of oure fader / that is oure maker / in oure lorde Jhesu Crist / that is oure broder / and oure sauior*: a *compar* of varying long and short *cola*, which expresses the mysteries of Trinity and hypostatic union. As so often, Julian employs the figure of *distributio* for the purpose of appropriation: Father, creator, *curtesy and homelynes*; Son, brother, created; and there is implicit *oppositio: broder / sauior.*

55 *But this marvelous homelynesse may no man know in this lyfe / but yf he haue it by specialle schewyng of oure lorde / or of gret plenty of grace inwardly yeven of the holy gost*: another Trinitarian *compar* with *distributio*: *marvelous homelynesse* (*repetitio* from the previous *compar*) — Father; *specialle schewyng* (Julian has written at the beginning that she asked for this as *by þe grace of god* 285.8) — Son; *grace inwardly yeven* — Spirit.

56 *but yf he haue it by specialle schewyng of oure lorde*: cf. 215.43 and note, 309.59 and note. Julian's thought on the Beatific Vision leads her to I Corinthians chapter 13.

57 *specialle schewyng of oure lorde ... gret plenty of grace ... of the holy gost*: there is no intention of making these appropriations mutually exclusive. The *specialle schewyng* is the 'bodily sight' which becomes 'ghostly in bodely likeness', and, finally, 'ghostly' *tout court*. But infused contemplative graces (for instance, the rapture occasioned by the showing of the 'example', 314.43-45, not necessarily itself a 'special showing') need have no connection with visions. Cf. Introduction, IX 2, 'Criteria of Analysis'.

58 *But feyth and beleue with charyte / deserue the mede and so it is had by grace / For in feyght with hope and cheryte / oure lyfe is groundyd*: again, a *compar* to relate through *distributio* the mystery of uncreated Trinity to the created trinity which is man. The *mede* is the Son (cf. 621.16: *thou shalte come vp abone, and thou schalt haue me to thy mede*), who is *had by grace* through the Spirit, in whose gifts *oure lyfe is groundyd* in Father and Son and Spirit (cf. 563.23: *we be closyd in the fader, and we be closyd in the son, and we are closyd in the holy gost*). In *feyth and beleue with charyte ... feyght with hope and cheryte* there is *complexio.*

feyth and beleue with charyte: this too is wholly Pauline, and probably also a reminiscence of I Corinthians chapter 13.

oure lyfe is groundyd. The shewyng is made to whom that god wylle, pleynely techyth the same openyd and declaryd, *with* many prevy poyntes be longyng to our feyth and beleue which be wurshipfull to be knowen. And whan the shewyng which is yeven for a tyme is passyde and hydde, than fayth kepyth it by grace of the holy goste in to our lyuys ende. And thus by the shewyng it is none other than the feyth, ne lesse ne more, as it may be seene by oure lordes menyng in the same matter, by than it come to the last ende. /

---

60 *is (made)*: om. SS. 61 *pleynely*: C: plainly; SS: pleynly. 62 *be (longyng)*: om. S1. *and beleue*: om. SS. *be (knowen)*: om. SS. 63 *for*: SS: in. 64 *fayth*: S1: the feith; and so S2. *it*: om. SS. *in to*: C, S2: unto. 65 *none*: SS: not. *the (feyth)*: om. C. *ne ... ne*: C: no ... no. 66 *lesse*: S2: lest. 67 *come*: S2: comes. *last*: om. SS.

---

60 *The shewyng is made to whom that god wylle / pleynely techyth the same openyd and declaryd / with many prevy poyntes be longyng to our feyth and beleue / which be wurshipfull to be knowen*: a four-membered *compar*, with *oppositio contrariorum* (*openyd and declaryd / prevy poyntes*), *similiter cadens* (openyd and declaryd) and *interpretatio* (*feyth and beleue*), repeated from the previous *compar*.

63 *And whan the shewyng which is yeven for a tyme / is passyde and hydde / than fayth kepyth it by grace of the holy goste / in to our lyuys ende*: a *compar* of alternating long and short *cola*, with *oppositio* (*yeven for a tyme / in to our lyuys ende*). The content is Trinitarian: in Julian's own case, the showing was given by the Son, and has been preserved by the grace of the Spirit.

64 *than fayth kepyth it*: that such *prevy poyntes*, not recorded in the short text, can be recalled after the fifteen ensuing years of meditation (cf. Introduction, pp. 24-25), and can yield insights harmonious with yet explanatory of what was first written, shows that Julian is here writing, with all her wonted humility, out of her own experience.

65 *And thus by the shewyng it is none other than the feyth*: this is Julian's constant position, from which she cannot and will not move. Cf. 426.52, 428.16-17.

67 *by than*: 'until'. Cf. NED By, *prep.*, III 21.b., which quotes as its first example the Trinity *Cursor Mundi*: Bi þenne bigan þe liȝt of day.

by than it come to the last ende: presumably this anticipates the book's conclusion, 733.21: *or god made vs he lovyd vs ... In whych loue we haue oure begynnyng, and alle this shalle we see in god with outyn ende.*

The viij Chapter

16v And as longe as I saw thys syght of the plentuousnesse of bledyng of the heed, I myght never stynte of these wordes: Benedicite dominus. In which shewyng I vnderstodd vj thynges. The furst is the tokyns of the blessydfulle passion and the plentuous shedyng of his precious blode. The seconde is the mayden that is his deer wurthy mother. The thurde is the blessydefulle godhede that ever was and is and schalle be alle myghty, alle wysdom and all loue. The iiij is all thynge that he hath made, for wele I wot that hevyn and erth and alle that is made is great, large and feyer and good. But the cause why it shewyth so lytylle to my

---

1 S1: A recapitulation of what is (S2: hath been) seid *and* how it was shewid to hir generally for all. 2 *plentuousnesse of*: S1: plentious; and so S2; cf. A (217.3): plentyouse bledynge. 3 *dominus*: C: dominis; SS: domine. 5 *blessydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. 6 *mayden*: S2: virgin. *that is*: om. S2. *his (deer)*: om. S1. 7 *is (the)*: om. S2. *blessydefulle*: S2: blisfull. *and (is)*: om. SS. *is and*: om. C. *schalle*: S1: ever shal. 8 *and (all)*: om. SS. *thynge*: S2: things. 9 *wot*: S1: wete; S2: know. *great*: S1: mekil. *and*: and so S2. 10 *and (feyer)*: om. C, SS. *shewyth*: S1: is shewid; S2: was shewn.

---

2 Correspondence with the short text resumes: cf. 217.2.

3 *In which shewyng I vnderstodd vj thynges*: what follows is a complex of figures, held together by the *repetitio* of the enumeration, *The furst ... The seconde* ... Each figure can be examined individually.

4 *The furst is the tokyns / of the blessydfulle passion / and the plentuous shedyng / of his precious blode*: a *compar* of four short *cola*, unaltered from the short text, 217.5-7.

6 *The seconde is the mayden / that is his deer wurthy mother*: two *cola*, with *oppositio* (*mayden / mother*; compare *The Maiden Makeles* (330.61 note): moder and mayden was neuer non but che (C. Brown, XV 119). Cf. 217.7-8.

The thurde is the blessydefulle godhede / that ever was and is and schalle be / alle myghty alle wysdom and all loue: three *cola*, unaltered from the short text; cf. 217.8-9. The *traductio* in the second *colon* (cf. 217.8 note) alludes to the liturgical formula, *sicut erat in principio* ..., and in the third *colon* there is *repetitio*.

8 *The iiij is all thynge that he hath made / for wele I wot that hevyn and erth and alle that is made / is great large and feyer and good / But the cause why it shewyth so lytylle to my syght / was for I saw it in the presence of hym that is the maker / For a soul that seth the maker of all thyng / all that is made semyth fulle lytylle*: seven long *cola*, with *conversio* (*made ... made*), medial *repetitio* (*all ... alle ... all ... all, lytylle ... lytylle, maker ... maker*), *oppositio* (*great large / lytylle*), *adnominatio* (*made ... maker*), and *tautologia* (*great large*). This last figure is preserved if we prefer the reading given by SS: *mekil and large and feyer and good*; and the *interpretatio* is improved.

10 *But the cause* ...: Gregory the Great in *Dialogorum II* tells how Benedict, praying one night at his window, 'saw a wonderful light shining in the darkness; and the whole world was brought before his gaze, gathered as it were under this one ray of light'. When the interlocutor asks how this was possible, Gregory replies: Quia animae videnti creatorem angusta est omnis creatura ... 'It was not that the heavens and earth were

syght was for I saw it in the presence of hym that is the maker. For a soul that seth the maker of all thyng, all that is made semyth fulle /
17r lytylle. The vth is that he that it made, alle thyng that is made for loue, and by the same loue it is kepte, and schall be *with*ou3te ende, as it is
15 before sayde. The vjth is that god is alle thyng that is good, as to my syght, and the goodnesse that alle thyng hath, it is he.

And alle thys our lorde shewde in the furst syght, and yave me space and tyme to beholde it. And the bodely syght styntyd, and the goostely sy3te dwellth in my vnderstondyng. And I aboode *with* reuerent dreed,

---

13 *it*: om. scr., interl. al. m. 14 *is (before)*: om. scr., add. marg. al. m.

---

11 *for (I)*: S2: because. *that (is)*: S2: who. *maker*: add. S1: of all thing; and so S2, W. 'things'. 12 *the (maker of)*: S2: a. *thyng*: om. SS. 13 *that (he)*: om. S1. *that he*: om. S2. *it made*: om. C, S1; S2: as god; cf. A (217.14): that he has made. *thyng*: SS: things. *that is made*: om. SS. 14 *and (by)*: om. S1; S2: so. *it is (kepte)*: S2: they are. *as it ... sayde*: om. SS. 15 *thyng (that)*: om. S2. 16 *thyng hath*: S2: things haue. 17 *thys*: SS: these. *shewde*: add. SS: me. *and yave ... tyme*: S1: with time *and* space; S2: with time and place. 19 *dwellth*: S1: dwellid; and so S2.

---

contracted but that the soul of the beholder was dilated, because, being rapt in God, he could see without difficulty all that was beneath God' (PL 66 198-200). For an OE translation, 'Hu he geseah eallne middaneard under anum leoman', cf. Hecht, 169-174. For an Anglo-French verse translation of the *Dialogue*, cf. M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 208.

13 *The vth is that he that it made / alle thyng that is made for loue / and by the same loue it is kepte / and schall be withouzte ende / as it is before sayde*: five *cola*, with *repetitiones* (*made ... made, loue ... loue*) and with reference to the Trinitarian *operatio ad extra*: creation, redemption, resurrection. The repetition of *made* echoes John 1.2: omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est, and Wisdom 11.25: Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti, nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti aut fecisti.

15 *The vjth is that god / is alle thyng that is good / as to my syght / and the goodnesse that alle thyng hath / it is he*: five *cola*, with medial *repetitio* (*alle thyng ... alle thyng*) and *adnominatio* (*good ... goodnesse*).

17 *And alle thys ...*: Julian, with no trace of self-consciousness, reveals her own personal contemplative experience. The thought and terminology are strongly reminiscent of the eucharistic discourse in John, chapters 14-17: *our lorde shewde*: Lord, show us the Father (14.8); *the bodely syght styntyd, and the goostely sy3te dwellth*: the Father who abides in me ... will love him, and we shall come to him and shall make our abode with him (14.10, 23); *ioyeng in that I saw*: I shall see you again, and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no man shall take from you (16.22); *In alle this I was much steryde in cheryte to myne evyn christen*: This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you (15.12); *for alle this syght was shewde in generalle*: And now I come to thee, and these things I speak in the world, that they may have my joy (17.13).

19 *dwellth*: cf. 218.20, *dwellyd*, with which SS agree. But the present tense is defensible as an extension of what Julian has just written in the long text; cf. 316.64 and note.

ioyeng in that I saw, and desyeryng as I durste to see more, if it were hys wylle, or lengar tyme the same syght.

In alle this I was much steryde in cheryte to myne evyn christen, that they myght alle see and know the same that I sawe, for I wolde that it
17v were comfort to them, for alle this syght was shewde / in generalle.
Than sayde I to them þat were *with* me: It is this daye domys day *with* me. And this I seyde for I went to haue dyed; for that day þat man or woman dyeth, is he demyde particulerly as he schal be *with*ouȝte ende, as to my vnderstandyng. This I sayde for I wolde they schulde loue god the better, for to make them to haue mynde that this lyfe is short, as
they myȝt se in exsample. For in alle thys tyme I wenyd to haue dyed, and that was marveyle to me and wonder in perty, for my thought this avysion was schewde for them that shuld lyue.

Alle that I say of me I mene in person of alle my evyn cristen, for I am

---

20 *ioyeng*: S2: rejoyceing. *that*: S2: what. *desyeryng*: SS: I desired. 21 *or*: S1: or ell; S2: or else. *syght*: om. SS. 22 *much*: S1: mekil. *steryde*: S2: stirred up. 23 *alle*: om. SS. *wolde*: S2: wished. *that (it)*: om. SS. 24 *were*: S2: might be a. *them*: S1: they. *for*: S2: also for. *in*: om. SS. 25 *(were) with*: S1: aboute; and so S2. *this (daye)*: SS: to. 26 *And*: om. S2. *went*: so S2, w. 'm' over 'w', scr. *to haue*: SS: a. *or woman*: om. SS. 27 *demyde*: S2: doomed. *particulerly*: om. SS. 28 *schulde loue*: S1: lovid; and so S2. 30 *wenyd*: SS: went; in S2, 'm' over 'w', scr. *to (haue)*: om. SS. 31 *marveyle ... wonder*: S2: wonderfull *and* strange to me. *wonder*: S1: sweeme; marg., al. m.: strange. 33 *Alle*: S1: *and*; and so S2. *that (I)*: S2: what. *say*: S2: said. *me*: S2: my selfe. *mene*: S1: sey; S2: said it. *in (person)*: S1: in the; and so S2. *evyn*: S2: fellow.

---

22 *In alle this ...*: this sentence, applying to Julian herself what she has already written of visionaries in general (cf. 309.66-77), corresponds with 224.8-11 in the short text.

25 *Than sayde I ...*: what follows, to *to haue dyed* (319.30) corresponds with 224.14-225.20 in the short text, but Julian has sacrificed the *compar* there (cf. 224.10 note).

domys day: cf. 224.15 and note.

31 *and that was marveyle ...*: the rest of this sentence is not in the short text. From 319.25 Julian has edited the short text by balancing the *cola* and omitting the implied judgment that her fellow-Christians set store by the vanities of the world, and by removing the personal pronoun at 225.20. This is in accord with her principle now of writing only that she saw, and her counsel at 320.34 e.s. In the addition, however, she reveals that she was in full possession of her mental faculties: 'If I am going to die, why am I shown this vision, if it is meant for others?'.

sweeme (S1): this substitution suggests, as do C's persistent mistranslations (325.11, 412.2, 657.27) that 'sweam' and its compounds, archaic in the seventeenth century, were correctly copied by S1 but not understood.

33 *Alle that I say ... hath shewde it to yow* (320.40): this corresponds with the short text, 219.1-220.11.

say: cf. 219.1: *sawe*, and note. It is a cardinal principle of Julian's teaching that her revelations are above all a *gratia gratis data*. Cf. I Corinthians 12.7: and to eferich

lernyd in the gostely shewyng of our lord god that he meneth so. And
35 therfore I pray yow alle for gods sake, and counceyle yow for yowre
18r awne pro(f)yght, þat / ye leue the beholdyng of a wrech that it was
schewde to, and myghtely, wysely and mekely behold in god, that of hys
curteyse loue and endlesse goodnesse wolld shew it generally in comfort
of vs alle. For it is goddes wylle that ȝe take it *with* a grete ioy and
40 lykyng, as Jhesu hath shewde it to yow.

---

36 *profyght*: ms: prosyght.

---

34 *lernyd*: S2: taught. 36 *profyght*: C: profit; SS: profitt. *leue*: S1, marg., scr.: leave of. *the*: S2: of. *of*: om. S2. *that* : S2: to whom. 37 *to*: om. S2. *in*: om. SS. *that (of)*: S2: who. 38 *in (comfort)*: S2: for the. 39 *a*: om. S1; S2: as. 40 *as*: S2: as if. *Jhesu*: C: Jesu Christ. *hath*: SS: had. *to yow*: S1: on to you all; and so S2.

---

man þer is ygraunted a schewynge of þe spiryt to profyte (Paues, 66). Further, from the outset she understands that she sees only as a member of Christ's body, and that she is not singled out for special favours. Cf. e.g. infra 399.14-16 and 403.16-18, and the colophon of S1: *And thou to whome this booke shall come, thanke heyley and hertily our savior Crist Jhesu that he made these shewings and revelations for the and to the ...* (734.29 note). P's reading, 320.40, could be causative, 'because Jesus has shown it to you', against SS: 'as if ...' This all suggests that although both *say* and *sawe* are defensible, *sawe* is probably the better reading.

37 *behold in god*: om. 'in' SS (and A). We may surmise that in the long text Julian originally wrote 'into', 'turn your attention to, seek', with the necessary dispositions of effort, discretion and humility. The addition of 'to' would also here improve the *compar*; but 'in' is defensible, and has not been emended.

40 *hath shewde*: cf. 220.11: *hadde schewyd*, with which SS agree. *hath* is highly probable, and has been retained. It is not merely that Julian's desire is an interpretation of God's will, but that God's will and deeds are clear to her: he has shown it to her, but only as representing all her fellow-Christians. Cf. 319.33 note.

The ix[th] Chapter

For the shewyng I am nott good, but if I loue god the better; and in as much as ȝe loue god the better, it is more to ȝow than to me. I say nott thys to them that be wyse, for they wytt it wele. But I sey it to yow
5 that be symple, for ease and comfort; for we be alle one in loue, for verely it was nott shewde to me that god lovyth me better than the lest
18v soule that is in grace. For I am suer ther be meny / that never hath

---

1 S1: Of the mekenes of this woman kepeing hir alway in the feith of holy church, and how he that lovyth his evyn (S2: fellow) cristen for god lovith all thing (S2: things). 4 *wytt*: C, marg.: know; S1: wote; S2: know. *wele*: add. S2: enough. 5 *for (ease)*: add. S2: your. *loue*: SS: comfort. 6 *verely*: S1: sothly. *to*: om. SS. *that*: C: for that; S2: because that. *lovyth*: S1: lovid; and so S2. 7 *suer*: S1: sekir; S2: certain. *ther*: SS: that there. *that (never)*: S2: who. *hath shewyng*: S2: had vision.

---

2 *For the shewyng I am nott good ...*: this is very like the *Chastising*: We shulne litel þanne sette bi reuelacions or visions, as to haue hem in any deynte as for hemsilf or for oure comfort heere, but as moche as þei stire us and encresen us into þe loue of god wiþ mekenesse and charite (Bazire and Colledge, 185).

For the shewyng I am nott good / but if I loue god the better / and in as much as ȝe loue god the better / it is more to ȝow than to me: a *compar*, with *traductio* (*good ... better ... better*).

3 *it is more ... for ease and comfort*: cf. 220.12-17. This is a brief but highly significant departure from the short text. In both texts Julian at this point shows herself acutely aware that her writing may provoke hostile criticism, particularly from learned men; and she has deemed it wise here to insert a modest, prudent 'captatio benevolentiae'. But it is wholly consonant with what she goes on to say, *For I am suer ...* which was already in the short text (220.19 e.s.).

The *compar* continues: *I say nott thys to them that be wyse / for they wytt it wele / But I sey it to yow that be symple / for ease and comfort / for we be alle one in loue / for verely it was nott shewde to me / that god lovyth me better / than the lest soule that is in grace*. Here we have a favourite device, varying long and short *cola*; the better figure is continued, and there is *oppositio*: *wyse / symple*.

4 *wote* (S1): this is not necessarily an unhistoric substitution by S1 for P's *wytt*. Cf. NED, Wot, *v.*: 'The substitution occurs first in the 2nd pers. sing. (*wāt, wōt* for *wāst, wōst*) and the plur. (for *witen*) of the present tense, and appears in Northern texts from the end of the thirteenth century'.

5 *for we be alle one in loue*: cf. 220.17. The addition here, *in loue*, emphasizes the Johannine origin of the thought: That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me and I in thee ... that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them (John 17.21-26; and cf. I John 4.12-16).

6 *it was nott shewde to me that god lovyth me better ...*: in *The Golden Epistle of St. Bernard* (cf. 301.24 note) we read: ... juge all oþer persons gude and better than youre selfe, for so schall ye best plese god (E. Colledge, 'The Golden Epistle of St. Bernard', 123).

that: cf. 220.18 and note.

7 *For I am suer ther be meny / that never hath shewyng ne syȝt / but of the comyn techyng of holy chyrch / that loue god better than I*: here there is a sort of *chiasmus*: *I ... meny / comyn techyng ... I*. It is noteworthy that this figure is also in the short text, 220.19.

shewyng ne syȝt but of the comyn techyng of holy chyrch that loue god better than I. For yf I looke syngulery to my selfe I am ryȝt nought; but
10 in generall I am, I hope, in onehede of cheryte *with* alle my evyn cristen. For in thys oned stondyth the lyfe of alle mankynd that shalle be savyd. For god is alle that is goode, as to my syght; and god hath made alle that is made, and god lovyth alle þ*at* he hath made. And he that generally lovyth all his evyn cristen for god, he lovyth alle that is. For in
15 mankynd that shall be savyd is comprehendyd alle, that is to sey alle that is made and the maker of alle ; for in man is god, and in god is alle. And he that lovyth thus, he lovyth alle. And I hope by the grace of god
19r he that behold it thus shalle / be truly taught, and myghtly comfortyd, yf hym nedyth comfort.

---

8 *ne*: S1: nor; S2: or. *that (loue)*: S2: who. 9 *syngulery*: C: singularly; and so SS. 10 *I (hope)*: S2: in. *onehede*: S2: one head. *evyn cristen*: S2: fellow *christ*ians. 11 *oned*: C: one head; and so S1; S2: unity (onenes) (scribe's parentheses). *stondyth*: S1: stond; S2: stands. 12 *as*: S1: vn. 13 *evyn cristen*: S2: fellow *christ*ians. 16 *and in god is alle*: S1: *and* god is in al; and so S2. 17 *And he ... lovyth alle*: om. SS. 18 *behold*: C: beholdeth; and so SS. 19 *hym*: SS: he.

---

11 *For in thys oned ...*: with what follows, compare the English *Stimulus amoris* (cf. 219.5 and note) — the italicized words are the translator's additions: And þe more þat þei (sc. creatures) are oned in god, þe more are þei oned to gidere bitwene hem seelf ... No þing bryngeþ a man so sone to onhede and to kominynge *with god* as for to seeke and *biholde* riȝte nouȝte in all þynges but god hym self, his worshepe *and his louynges*, for whom al þing was made. Ther fore he þat gaderith all þynges in to oon and kestiþ hem in all in god and forȝethiþ þe ouerlokynge of hem alle, and only biholdeth in hem god þe maker of alle ... *sopeli he were contemplatife* (H. J. Kane, 103-104; Kirchberger, 125).

13 *god lovyth alle þat he hath made*: presently Julian will expound what are the implications of this for the loving soul; in *Eight Chapters* (see 261.53 note) we read: Þe knowyng makiþ a (f. 151r) man to loue ... alle creaturis (MS BN Fonds anglais 41; Jones, 101).

And he that generally ... he lovyth alle (322.17): this corresponds with the short text, 221.29-33.

16 *for in man is god*: cf. 221.31, and 309.59 and note. This is neither pantheism nor 'false deification', but another allusion to the plenitude of joy in unitive prayer in which the soul possesses God.

for in man is god / and in god is alle: a *compar* with *gradatio*.

17 *And he that lovyth thus*: see 221.33 note. For the matter in the short text here suppressed, see 221.33 note. On the reorganization of this chapter and the next of the long text, see Introduction, IX 3.

And he that lovyth thus / he lovyth alle: cf. 221.33 note. Julian has reduced the *colon* of the short text's *compar*, and linked it to the preceding figure by *conversio*.

And I hope ...: this sentence corresponds with 221.38-39 in the short text.

18 *behold*: this has not been emended in favour of C's *beholdeth*, with which SS agree, because it may be derived from an earlier 'beholde', subjunctive, 'may contemplate'.

20 I speke of them that shalle be savyd, for in this tyme god shewde me
no nother. But in all thing I beleue as holy chyrch prechyth and
techyth. For the feyth of holy chyrch, which I had before hand vn-
derstondyng, and as I hope by the grace of god wylle fully kepe it in vse
and in custome, stode contynually in my syghte, wyllyng and meanyng
25 never to receyve ony thyng that myght be contrary ther to. And *with*
this intent and *with* this meanyng I beheld the shewyng *with* all my
dyligence, for in all thys blessed shewyng I behelde it as in gods
menyng.

All this was shewde by thre partes, that is to sey by bodyly syght, and
19v by worde formyde in my vnderstondyng, and by goostely syght. / But
31 the goostely syght I can nott ne may shew it as openly ne as fully as I
would. But I trust in our lord god almightie that he shall of his godnes
and for iour loue make yow to take it more ghostely and more sweetly
then I can or may tell it.

---

30 *worde*: C: words. 31 *ne (may)*: S2: nor. *shew*: SS: not shew. *it*: om. S2. *ne as fully*: om. S2.

---

20 *savyd*: S1: save. *in (this)*: S2: at. 21 *thing*: S2: things. *beleue*: S1: leve; marg., scr.: beleeve. *prechyth*: S1: levith preachith; S2: beleeveth preacheth. 22 *which*: S1: the which. *hand*: om. S2. *vnderstondyng*: S1: understonden; S2: understood. 23 *wylle fully*: SS: wilfully. *kepe*: S1: kept. *it*: om. SS. 24 *in (custome)*: om. C, SS. 25 *to (And)*: SS: unto. 26 *and with this meanyng*: om. SS. 27 *in (gods)*: SS: one in. 29 *partes*: om. SS. *that is to sey*: S2: i e. 33 *iour*: C, S2: your; S1: yowr.

---

20 *I speke of them ... prechyth and techyth*: this corresponds with the short text, 222.52-223.54.

21 *prechyth*: the SS variants may indicate that Julian wrote 'I beleue as holy chyrch leuyth, prechyth and techyth'. This would give *conduplicatio* and *similiter desinens*.

22 *vnderstondyng*: if this be retained, it seems to mean 'the faith ... which I had before I had understanding'; if we were to emend in the light of SS, it would means 'which I had already understood'. Cf. 311.19 note. The P reading seems more probable; throughout, Julian shows herself aware of the intellect's inadequacies when confronted by the mysteries of the faith.

25 *never to receyve ony thyng that myght be contrary ther to*: Victor Deyglio points out that the translator of the pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes* into English verse adds a similar disclaimer of his own: Take hede, for y wyl no þyng seye / But þat ys preued by crystes feye, / By holy wryt or seyntes sermons, / Or by dyuers holy opynyons (Cowper, 1).

29 *All this was shewde ... may tell it* (323.34): this corresponds with the short text, 224.1-7.

partes: cf. 224.2: *partyes*. The term must be understood as 'different modes'.

30 *by worde formyde in my vnderstondyng*: Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: And sodaynlye god inspyrede here ande schewede here the inwarde felynge ande clere vnderstondynge of thees wordes (Halligan, 77).

The Secunde Reuelacion

The Tenth Chapter

And after this I saw *with* bodely sight in the face of the crucifixe that hyng before me, in þe which I beheld contynually a parte of his passion: dyspyte, spyttyng, solewyng and buffetyng, and manie langurying paynes, mo than I can tell, and offten chaungyng of colour. And one tyme I saw how halfe the face, begynnyng at the ere, over ȝede *with* drye bloud, tyll

---

1 Add. S1: is of his discolouryng *et cetera*, of our redemption *and* the discolouring of the vernacle, *and* how it plesith god we aske him besily abiding him ('him' om. S2) stedfastly *and* trusting hym mightily. 4 *hyng*: C, S2: hung; S1: henge. 5 *solewyng*: C: sulloing; SS: *and* sollowing; cf. A (225.23): in sowlynge. 7 *ȝede*: S1: rede; C, marg.: covered.

---

1 *is of his discolouryng et cetera* (S1): cf. 281.8: ... *is of þe discoloring of his fayer face in tokenyng of his deerworthie passion*. When a chapter begins a new revelation, which is summarized in chapter 1, SS often cross-refer in this way.

3 *And after this ... none but him* (325.14): cf. 225.21-29.

4 *hyng* (P) / *henge* (S1) / *hung* (C, S2): cf. A (225.22): *hange*. Cf. NED Hang, *v.*, A. Inflexional Forms, where 2α = S1, 2β = P, 2η (*north. dial.*) = A, 2ι = C, S2. The first example of the modern 'hung' is 1577.

5 *dyspyte, spyttyng, solewyng and buffetyng*: cf. Matthew 26.67: Then they spat in his face. Pseudo-Bonaventure and Peter Comestor both make much of this part of Christ's humiliations. The *Historia scholastica* lists five different mockings ('illusiones'), and writes, of the spitting: et hoc etiam proprium erat Judaeorum spuere in faciem eius quem abjiciebant (PL 198 1624). For the 'spitting Jew' as a Passion symbol in mediaeval English and Scottish art, cf. D. McRoberts: 'The Fetternear Banner', 71 and note 2. The *Promptorium parvulorum* gives 'improperium' among its rendering of *Despite* (Mayhew, 125). Matthew is anticipated by Isaias 50.6, where the Suffering Servant says: I have given my body to the strikers, and my cheeks to them that plucked them; I have not turned my face from them that rebuked me and spit upon me. In a meditative prayer on the Passion in MS Downside 26533 (cf. 282.14 note) we read: Douce sire Jhesu Crist ke suffrites ... vostre douce uisage ferir e escracher ... vous requer ke vostre bel face moy deynetz mustrer ke beute vos aungeles desirunt (f. 277^{v}).

solewyng: this and the readings of C, SS make nonsense, and seem to derive from some scribe's failure to recognize the verb 'to soil' <OFr suill(i)er, soill(i)er, evidently the derivation of A's *sowlynge* (225.23).

7-10 Although Sr. Anna Maria has written that in the short text, '... one is inclined to believe ... is preserved a description of Julian's experiences as written soon after their occurrence ... while every detail was still fresh in Julian's mind' (*A Shewing*, xii-xiii), comparison of this with 225.25-26 shows that this is more detailed and vivid. It is however difficult to follow. One is disposed to ask whether she may be describing a failure of her eyesight; the colours of a crucifix (painted, no doubt) run into one another, and she complains to herself about the gathering darkness.

it closyd in to the myd face, and after that the other halfe beclosyd on
20r the same wyse; and the(re) whiles it vanyssched in this party, evyn / as it
10 cam.

This saw I bodely, swemly and darkely, and I desyred mor bodely light to haue seen more clerly. And I was answeryde in my reason: If god will shew thee more, he shal be thy light; thou nedyth none but him. For I saw him and sought him, for we be now so blynde and so vn-
15 wyse that we can never seke god till what tyme þat he of his goodnes shewyth hym to vs. And whan we see owght of hym graciously, then are

---

9 *there*: ms: the. 14 With 'Ferthermore we be nowe' (cf. 325.14) the second extract in W begins, and ends with 'as to my syght' (cf. 326.20).

---

8 *closyd*: S2: be closed. *in*: om. SS. *on*: C: in. 9 *the (whiles)* (ms): S1: there; S2: other. *it vanyscched*: om. S1. 11 *swemly*: C: sweinly; marg.: obscurely; SS: swemely. 12 *light*: SS: sight; cf. A (225.27): lyght. 13 *thou*: S1: thee. *nedyth*: C: need; S2: needest. 14 *and (sought)*: om. S1. *sought*: S1: sowte; marg., scr.: (darke-canc.) sawght. *for (we)*: W: ferthermore. 15 *can*: om. SS. *what tyme þat*: om. SS. 16 *hym (to)*: S2: himselfe; and so W. *whan*: om. SS.

---

9 *and there whiles*: cf. NED, Therewhile, '... meanwhile', Therewhiles. None of the senses in 'while', 'whiles', supports P's reading, *and the whiles*, the closest being While, 2. d., *obs.*, 'in the while: meantime'. It has seemed preferable to adopt S1's reading.

12 *And I was answeryde in my reason*: cf. 263.17 note. Again, it seems to be not the 'reasoning faculty' Julian refers to, but the answer she receives from God, *ratiocinatio*, 'reasoning by question and answer'.

If god will shew thee more / he shal be thy light / thou nedyth none but him: a *compar.* It is noteworthy how Julian has here rewritten the short text: *ȝyf god walde schewe me mare he schulde, botte me nedyd na lyght botte him* (225.28), so as to construct a figure and to make apparent the *reason*, 'ratiocinatio'.

13 *he shal be thy light*: cf. Psalm 26.1: The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? One may ask how conscious Julian is that such passages reveal that as she experienced the approach of death she was rehearsing the words of the Psalmist, as Christ had done; cf. Matthew 27.46, Mark 15.34. In many manuscript primers of Julian's time (e.g. MSS Ushaw 10, written at Bruges, 1408/9, but soon thereafter in English ownership, and Downside 26530, also Netherlands but in England in the fifteenth century), Psalms 21, 'Deus meus, respice in me', to 30, 'In te domine speravi', are copied as 'decem psalmi qui dicendi sunt ad honorem passionis domini nostri Jesu Christi'. The practice was continued in printed primers; cf. Hoskins, 115 e.s., Butterworth, 22 e.s.

thou nedyth: this clumsy blend of 'thou nedyst' and 'thee nedyth' can hardly be Julian's or of her age.

14 *For I saw him and sought him*: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 54: and þen when þou fyndeȝ ryȝt noȝt bot soroe *and* peyn and blynd(n)es, if þou wilt fynde Jhesu, þe peyn of þis noȝt þe behoueȝ suffre *and* abide a while *in* þis merknes ... (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 325; Underhill, 129).

we steryd by the same grace to seke *with* great desyer to see hym more blessedfully. And thus I saw him and sought him, and I had hym and wantyd hym; and this is and should be our comyn workyng in this life,
20 as to my syght.

One tyme my vnderstandyng was lett down in to the sea grou*n*de, and
20v ther saw I hilles and dales grene, / semyng as it were mosse begrowyng *with* wrake and gravell. Then I vnderstode thus: that if a man or woman wer there vnther the brode water, and he myght haue syght of
25 god, so as god is *with* a man contynually, he shoulde be safe in sowle and body, and take no harme. And ovyr passyng, he should haue mor solace and comfo(r)te then all this wordle may or can tell. For he will

---

24 *wer*: ms: wher. 27 *comforte*: ms: comfo-/te.

---

17 *seke*: add. W: hym. 18 *blessedfully*: SS: blisfully; and so W. *and (I)*: om. S2. *and (wantyd)*: add. SS: I. 19 *life*: om. S1; in S2, add. scr. 21 *lett*: SS: led. 22 *hilles*: S1: hill. *mosse*: C: most. *begrowyng*: S1: begrowne; and so S2. 23 *wrake*: SS: wrekke. *and (gravell)*: add. SS: with. 24 *there*: om. SS. *vnther*: C, SS: under. *and (he)*: SS: if. 26 *ovyr passyng*: C, marg.: exceedingly. 27 *may or*: om. SS. *will*: S2: wills.

---

18 *And thus I saw him and sought him / and I had hym and wantyd hym*: a *compar* with *oppositiones*.

I saw him and sought him ...: this comparison of the fleeting moments of unitive prayer which are not at the soul's command with the game of hide-and-seek was given classical expression by Hugh of St. Victor in *De arrha animae*: Vere ille est dilectus tuus qui visitet te, sed venit invisibilis, venit occultus, venit incomprehensibilis. Venit ut tangat te, non ut videtur a te ... (PL 176 970). This may well be the source of the analogy (used however with quite different application) of the mother playfully hiding from the child in the *Ancrene Riwle*. On the dissemination of the passage, cf. the *Chastising*, 259-263. In the *Ladder of Four Rungs* (a fourteenth-century translation of Guigo II's *Scala claustralium*) we have: Therfor nowe our spouse commythe and nowe he wendith; nowe he bryngyth comforte and nowe he wythdrawith it and levyth vs in oure febylnes to knowe what we be (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 113; cf. Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 102). Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.10 note) writes: Quid ultra ergo quererem, cum te omne bonum haberem? Igitur habeo te et non quero preter te (Murray, 73).

21 *my vnderstandyng was lett downe in to the sea grounde*: cf. Ecclesiasticus 24.7-8: I dwelt in the highest places, and my throne is in a pillar of a cloud. I alone have compassed the circuit of heaven, and have penetrated into the bottom of the deep.

23 *wrake*: 'seaweed'. Cf. NED Wrack n^2 3; but their first example is 1513, Douglas, *AEneid*, whereas the *Promptorium parvulorum* has: Wreke of þe se: *Alga*. MED's examples. wrak n^2, give only the meaning 'wreck'.

if a man or woman wer there vnther the brode water: cf. Psalm 138.9-10: If ... I dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there also shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

27 *wordle*: this metathesized spelling is common in ME. Cf. the 'werdly' quoted from MS BM Harley 6579 in 464.40 note.

that we beleue that we see hym contynually, thow that vs thynke that it be but litle; and in the beleue he maketh vs evyr more to gett grace, for
30 he will be seen, and he will be sought, and he will be abyden, and he will be trustyd.

This secounde shewyng was so lowe and so little and so symple that my spirytes were in great traveyle in the beholdyng, mornyng, dredfull
21r and longyng; / for I was some tyme in a feer wheder it was a shewyng
35 or none. And then dyuerse tymes our lord gafe me more syght, wher by that I vnderstonde truly that it was a shewyng. It was a fygur and a

---

31 *trustyd*: ms: strustyd. 35 *tymes*: 's' al. m.

---

28 *beleue* S1: levyn. *that vs*: S2: we. *thynke*: S1: thinkeith. *that (it)*: om. S2. 29 *the*: S1: this; and so S2. 30 *and (he will be abyden)*: om. SS. *abyden*: C, S2: abiden; S1: abedyn. 31 *trustyd*: so C, SS. 33 *spirytes*: S1: sprete; marg., scr.: spirit. *mornyng*: S2: mournfull. 34 *a feer*: S1: doute; and so S2. *wheder*: S1: whither; S2: wether. 35 *or none*: om. SS. *lord*: S1: gode lord; and so S2. 36 *that (I)*: om. SS. *vnderstonde*: C, S2: understood; and so S1. *and (a)*: S2: or. *a (lyknes)*: om. SS.

---

29 *for he will be seen / and he will be sought / and he will be abyden / and he will be trustyd*: *membrum*, with *repetitio (for he will be ...)* and *similiter desinens*.

32 *This secounde shewyng*: that is, Revelation II. Julian seems to be aware of the danger of hallucination in the pain and depression of her sickness. Cf. 324.7-10 note. In comparison with the richness of Revelation I, with its ghostly sights of the Trinity, our Lady, etc., there is nothing for her comfort here — only the humiliation of the suffering manhood of Christ. Cf. 325.12 note.

shewyng ... beholdyng: *inclusio* (cf. 491.16 note).

so lowe and so little and so symple: *tautologia*.

These adjectives, qualifying what she sees, correspond to her psychological state as she sees, *mornyng, dredfull and longyng*; she is beginning to experience the answer to her prayer for the three wounds, *verie contricion, kynd compassion* and *willfull longing to god* (288.42-43).

36 *a fygur and a lyknes of our fowle blacke dede*: cf. II Corinthians 5.21: He has made him who knew no sin into sin for us. On this verse, the *Glossa ordinaria* remarks: Peccatum dicitur similitudo carnis peccati (PL 114 559). Certainly, Julian's language renders admirably Paul's 'likeness of the image of a corruptible man' (Romans 1.23). In this passage Paul is writing of a world without Christ, full of every imaginable perversity; and Julian may well have had it in mind. Hilton, in *Scale* I, chapter 84, has a vivid description. After quoting Osee 12.8, 'I have found an idol for myself', he goes on: I haue founden a fals ymage þat men callen a mahmet in myself, wel foule deffigured and forschapen with wrecchednes of all þise synnes (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 354; Underhill, 203).

It was a fygur and a lyknes / of our fowle blacke dede / which that our feyre bryght blessed lord / bare for our synne: a *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum* in the second and third *cola*.

lyknes of our fowle blacke dede, which that our feyre bryght blessed lord bare for our synne. It made me to thynke of the holie vernacle of Rome, which he portrude *with* his one blessed face, when he was in his
40 hard passion, wilfully goyng to his death, and often chaungyng of coloure, of the brownhead and the blackhead, rewlyhead and leenhead. Of this ymage many marveyled how that myght be stanndyng that he portrude it *with* his blessed face, which is the feyerest of heauyn, flower

---

37 *fowle*: so C, SS; and cf. 330.60. *blacke*: om. SS. *dede*: C: deeds. *which*: SS: hame. *that*: om. C. 38 *synne*: S2: sins. *vernacle*: C, marg.: Veronica. 39 *portrude*: C: protraid; S1: portrayed; S2: portraied. *one*: C, S2: own; S1: owne. 41 *brownhead*: S2: brownnes. *and (the)*: om. SS. *blackhead*: S2: blacknes. *rewlyhead*: so C; SS: reulihede. *leenhead*: S2: leannes. 42 *marveyled*: S1: mervel; and so S2. *that (myght)*: SS: it. *stanndyng*: S2: seeing. *that (he)*: om. SS. 43 *portrude*: C: protraid; SS: portraied. *feyerest*: S1: fairehede; S2: beauty.

---

37 *our fowle blacke dede*: the English *Stimulus* writes, of sin: þou shalt mourne and wepe þat þou sees (Christ's) faire ymage so blaked (H. J. Kane, 115; Kirchberger, 135 and note 1).

38 *the holie vernacle of Rome, which he portrude with his one blessed face*: cf. Introduction, pp. 53-57. In MS Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 55 (mid-fourteenth century, England) there is this Commemoration of the Vernicle: Deus qui nobis signatus lumine vultus tui memoriale tuum ad instancie Veronice ymaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere voluisti ... (f. 123^{v}).

39 *his one blessed face*: the rarity of the spelling 'one' for 'own' in NED and MED suggests that its occurrence here is merely because of P's eccentric orthography.

40 *wilfully*: cf. Luke 22.15: With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you; and Isaias 53.7: He was offered because it was his own will. For mediaeval writers on the Passion, the lineaments of Christ and of the Suffering Servant are indistinguishable.

41 *brownhead ... blackhead ... rewlyhead ... leenhead*: these four compounds illustrate Julian's preference for forming abstract nouns with '-head', not '-ness'. None of them is recorded in NED, and only *blackhead* in MED (a 1425 *Medulla - Tetritudo*: blackhede). The stem of *rewlyhead* recurs in the English verse *Meditationes de Passione Christi* to describe the dolours of the Passion and man's compassion for them; e.g.: Behold and þenke wiþ ruli mone / What peines he suffred (MS Bodley 415, f. 82^{a}).

42 *how that myght be stanndyng*: 'how that could be the case'. Cf. NED Stand *v.* 38.b. where Wycliffe is quoted: And þus it stondiþ in þe chirche of þes newe servauntis ...

43 *portrude*: probably this scribe's spelling error. Most of the fourteenth-century examples in NED have 'purtrai-'. The sense seems to be NED's 2, 'to paint or adorn with a picture or figure', and the object *it*, the Vernicle.

feyerest of heauyn: cf. pseudo-Bonaventure's description of the scourging in the *Privity*: He stode naked be fore theme, a faire 3onge mane schamefull in schapp, and speciouse in bewte passande all erthely mene — (Psalm 44.3) (Horstman 1 203; Stallings, 106; Ragusa and Green 328).

flower of earth: the *Privity* continues: Floure of all flesche and of all man kynde es nowe full of blo betynges and blody brystynnge3 (ibid.). The meditative prayer already quoted from MS Downside 26533 (cf. 282.14 note) reads: Douce sire Jhesu Crist

of earth and the frute of the maydens wombe. Then how mygh(t) this
21v ymage be so dyscolouryde / and so farre from feyerhead ? I desyre to
46 s(ay), as I haue vnderstonde, by the grace of god.

We knowe in our feayth and in our beleue, by the teachyng and the prechyng of holy church, that the blessyd fulle trinitie made mankynd to his ymage and to his lykenes. In the same maner wyse we know that
50 when man fell so depe and so wretchedly by synne, ther was no nother helpe to restore man but thorow hym þ*at* made man. And he that made

---

44 *myght*: ms: mygh. 45 *desyre*: ms: desyred. 46 *say*: ms: see.

---

44 *of (earth)*: S2: of the. *myght*: so C, SS. 45 *dyscolouryde*: S1: discolouring. *feyerhead*: SS: faire. C punctuates: from fairhead, I desire to see. *desyred* (ms): C, SS: desire. 46 *see* (ms): S2: say; add. SS: like. *vnderstonde*: C, SS: understodd; add. S2: it. 47 *in our (beleue)*: S2: we; om. S1. *the (prechyng)*: om. C, SS. 48 *blessyd fulle*: S1: blissed; and so S2. 49 *to (his lykenes)*: om. C. 51 *but thorow hym ... restore man*: S2 om., marg., scr.: but thorow ... for loue (leaving the last eight words of the omission unsupplied). *he (that)*: om. SS.

---

ke suffrites vos bels meyns lyer ... vostre douce uisage ferir e escracher, par vos seynte peines douce Jhesu vous requer ke vostre bel face moy deynetz mustrer, ke beute vos aungeles desirunt regarder, kar ren est en ceste munde taunt ke voil desirer (f. 277v).

44 *the frute of the maydens wombe*: cf. Luke 1.42: Blessed is the fruit of your womb. *A Dispute between Mary and the Cross* makes great play with the conceit that Mary's 'fruit' has been nailed to the tree of the Cross (Morris: *Legends of the Holy Rood*, 130 e.s.).

45 *so dyscolouryde and so farre from feyerhead*: cf. 329.50 note, and the passage quoted there from *Scale* II 1.

46 *vnderstonde*: this is the past participle. Cf. 295.15 note.

47 e.s. Though there are obvious similarities between this lucid summary of image-theology and the *Scale*, II chapters 1 and 2, Julian's emphasis on the triune God's love for man and on Christ's becoming like us as the instrument of that love makes her exposition very different from that of Hilton, who is preoccupied with the prevailing scholastic soteriology: 'buying-back', 'amends', 'righteousness'.

49 *In the same ...*: what follows is reminiscent of the prayer for the blessing of the water at the Offertory: Deus qui humane substantie dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti, da nobis per huius aquae et uini mysterium eius diuinitatis esse consortes qui humanitatis nostre fieri dignatus est particeps, Jesus ... (*Missale Romanum* 1474, I 200).

50 *when man fell so depe ...*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 1 (521.100, 522.104 notes).

51 *bot thorow hym þat made man*: the *Scale* continues: bot þ*at* reformyng mi3t not be mad bi none erþely man ... it nedid be don bi hy*m* ... whilk of his eendles goodnes first schope hy*m* (ibid., f. 63v; Underhill, 226).

And he that made man for loue / by the same loue he woulde restore man: a *compar* with *traductio* (*man ... loue ... loue ... man*), which is also *commutatio*.

man for loue, by the same loue he woulde restore man to the same blysse and ovyr passyng. And ryght as we were made lyke to the trynyte in oure furst makyng, our maker would þat we should be lyke to Jhesu
55 Cryst oure sauiour in hevyn w*ith*ou3t ende by the vertu of oure (geyn)
22r makyng. Then betwene thes / two he would for loue and for worshipe of man make hym selfe as lyke to man in this deadly lyfe in our fowlhede and in our wretchednes as man myght be w*ith*out gylt; wherof it menyth, as is before sayd, it was the ymage and the lyknes of owr
60 fowle blacke dede where in our feyer bryght blessyd lorde hyd his godhede. But verely I dare say, and we ought to beleue, that so feyer a

---

55 *geyn*: ms: awne.

---

53 *ryght*: S1: like; om. S2. 54 *to (Jhesu)*: om. SS. 55 (ms) *awne*: S1: geyn; and so S2. S2, marg., scr.: See þe tender loue of Jesus. 56 *for (worshipe)*: om. SS. 58 *fowlhede*: S2: foulnes. *in (our wretchednes)*: om. SS. 59 *is*: S1: it was; S2: was. 60 *blacke*: om. S2. *dede*: C: deeds; S2: dead; add. SS: hame. *lorde*: add. SS: god is. *his godhede*: om. SS. 61 *verely*: S1: ful sekirly; S2: full certainly. *beleue*: S1: trowen; marg., al. m.: we ought to believe.

---

53 *and ovyr passyng*: this is Anselm's teaching in *Cur Deus homo* III: ... quia quanto nos mirabilius et praeter opinionem de tantis et tam debitis malis in quibus eramus ad tanta et tam indebita bona quae perdideramus restituit, tanto maiorem dilectionem erga nos et pietatem monstravit (Schmitt, 2 50-51).

54 *lyke to Jhesu Cryst oure sauiour*: cf. I John 3.2: We know that when he shall appear we shall be like to him, because we shall see him as he is.

55 *geyn*: the SS readings are superior; Julian is contrasting our 'first making' with our 'again making'. NED does not record 'Again-making', and MED's examples will presumably appear under 'yen-'.

57 *make hym selfe as lyke to man ... without gylt*: cf. Hebrews 4.15: For we have not a high priest who cannot have compassion on our infirmities, but one tempted in all things as we are, without sin.

61 *But verely I dare say / and we ought to beleue / that so feyer a man / was never none but he*: a *compar.* The last *colon* echoes *The Maiden Makeles*: moder and mayden was neuer non but che (C. Brown, XV 119 — but the lyric is older, probably by centuries, than the fifteenth century).

and we ought to beleue: Julian here is repeating an opinion common in her age. L. P. Siger and L. A. Leite ('Jesus Christ, Iconography of') observe that from earliest times there was conflict between two traditions concerning Christ's physical appearance, one inspired by Psalm 44.3: You are beautiful above the sons of men ..., the other by Isaias 53.2: There is no beauty in him nor comeliness ... Thomas Aquinas dealt with the conflict in his commentary on Psalm 44, where he wrote: ... illam pulchritudinem corporalem habuit summe, quae pertinebat ad statum et reverentiam et gratiositatem in aspectu, ita quod quoddam divinum radiabat in vultu ejus, quod omnes eum reverebantur, ut Augustinus dicit (*in Psalmos Davidis expositio*, ed. Fretté and Maré, 18 504). Augustine's commentary on Psalm 44 also reconciles the two traditions, in a celebrated *expolitio* which begins: Pulcher deus, verbum apud deum; pulcher in utero uirginis ... (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, 1 496).

man was never none but he, tylle what tyme that his feyer coloure was changyd *with* traveyle and sorow, passion and dyeng. Of this it spekyth in the (viij) reuelation in the xvj chapter, wher it spekyth more of the
65 same lyknesse. And ther it seyeth of the vernacle of Rome, it me(u)yth by dyverse channgyng of colour and (chere), somtyme more comfortable
22v and lyuely, and some tyme more / rewfull and deadly, as it may be

---

64 *viij*: ms: seconnde. *xvj*: ms: xviij. 65 *meuyth*: ms: menyth. 66 *chere*: ms: ether. 67 *be seen*: ms: be se*e*n here after.

---

62 *what tyme*: om. S2. *that (his)*: om. SS. 63 *and (sorow)*: om. S2. *sorow*: add. SS: *and*. *and (dyeng)*: om. SS. *it (spekyth in)*: om. S2. *spekyth (in)*: SS: is spoken. 64 *viij*: fr. S1; S2: 8th; P: secounde; and so C. *in the xvj chapter*: om. SS. *xvj*: C: xviij. *spekyth (more)*: S1: tretith; and so S2. 65 *of (Rome)*: S2: at. *menyth* (ms): S1: mevyth; and so S2. 66 *ether*: (ms) om. C; S1: chere; and so S2. *comfortable*: SS: comfortably. 67 *rewfull*: S1: reuly; and so S2. *it*: om. S2. *here after* (ms): S1: in the viij rev*elation*; S2: in that revel*ation*.

---

64 xvj: cf. 357.1-2.

65 *And ther it seyeth of the vernacle*: there is no mention of the Vernicle in the eighth revelation, so that Julian must be referring here to what she has just written, 328.38-329.44.

meuyth: this emendation, which follows SS, seems essential. In the *ratiocinatio* (327-329) the analogy between the *fygur and a lyknes of our fowle blacke dede* which is also *our feyre bryght blessed lord* and the Vernicle only has point if it is mentioned that (just as there is the union in the person of Christ of those divine and human natures which Julian is shown differently at different points in the revelation) in the image of the crucifix there is also *contrarietas*, symbolized by changing of colour. She has just adverted to this analogy: *so feyer a man was never none ... tylle what tyme that his feyer coloure was changyd*. She then refers her readers to what she will write in Revelation VIII, chapter 16 (all the manuscripts here are wrong, and have been emended), in the passage which runs: *I saw the swete face ... than turned more deede into blew, and after in browne blew*, precisely what is here indicated by *meuyth by dyverse channgyng of colour*.

66 *chere*: if the P reading, *ether*, which C omits, were to be retained, it would give the sense that either aspect of Christ, the Man of Sorrows depicted in the Vernicle and the nonpareil of human beauty which she has just mentioned, was *somtyme more comfortable* ..., which would be nonsense. Accordingly, the SS reading has been adopted.

somtyme more comfortable and lyuely, and some tyme more rewfull and deadly: it is surely remarkable that in this description of the Vernicle Julian so exactly agrees with what H. Leclercq writes in his examination of the two differing iconographic traditions: A ces deux versions (de la légende) nous devons d'avoir deux portraits du Christ. La première légende a créé un Sauveur aux traits nobles ... la seconde un Jésus quasi mort, couronné d'épines, les cheveux en désordre, des gouttes de sang sur le visage ('Véronique', 2964).

67 *as it may be seen here after* (ms): the SS readings show that P is here suspect, and rightly so; but they are no improvement. The original reading obviously was 'as (it) may be seen'. Julian is writing not of her sight of her own crucifix, with its changing of

seen. And this vision was a lernyng to my vnderstandyng that the contynually sekyng of the soule plesyth god moch. For it may do no more
70 than seke, suffer and trust. And this is wrought in everie soule that hath it by the holy gost. And the clernesse of fyndyng, it is of his speciall grace when it is his will. The sekyng with feyth, hope and charitie plesyth oure lord, and the fyndyng plesyth the sowle, and fulfyllyth it with joy. And thus was I lernyd to my vnderstandyng that sekyng is as

---

68 With 'For þer contynuyng sekyng', the third extract in W begins.

---

68 *lernyng*: S2: teaching. *that*: W: for. *contynually*: SS: continual; W: contynuyng. 69 *plesyth god moch*: S1: plesith god ful mekyl; and so W; S2: doth very much please god. *may*: S2: can. *no*: om. W. 70 *seke, suffer and trust*: W: sekyng, sufferyng *and* trustyng. *suffer*: S2: suffer (or endure). *is (wrought)*: om. S1. *in (everie)*: W: on. *everie*: SS: the; W: eche a. 71 *it (is)*: om. S2, W. *his (speciall)*: C: the; W: a. 72 *grace*: add. W: of god. 73 *lord*: add. W: god. 74 *with*: W: of. *joy*: W: ioyes. *lernyd*: S2: taught. S2, marg., scr.: this is great. *that*: W: þat þe.

---

colour, but of the Vernicle at Rome, which also changes colour, as may be seen by pilgrims. This some scribe failed to understand, and gratuitously provided, either the vague 'hereafter' or the more precise but incorrect reference to Revelation VIII; and, whichever was the first emendation, that has undergone further alteration.

68 *And this vision was a lernyng*: there is much similarity between what follows, on 'seeking and beholding', and chapter 44 of the *Cloud* on 'sorrow and desire'. The cause of the soul's sorrow is that it cannot lose consciousness of itself and so be perfectly united to God. This is perfect sorrow, and it comes by 'a ful specyal grace ful frely 3ouen of god' (Hodgson, 83). The desire 'to lakke þe wetyng and þe felyng of his beyng' (85) and the sorrow must be experienced by every soul, and that with perseverance, 'er þe tyme be þat þei mowe parfitely be onid vnto god' (ibid.) Cf. 258.4 and note.

And this vision was a lernyng to my vnderstandyng / that the contynually sekyng of the soule plesyth god moch: a *compar* of two long *cola*, with *similiter cadens* (lernyng ... vnderstandyng ... sekyng), which would be strengthened if one were to adopt W's *contynuyng*. But no other manuscript supports this; and W is a markedly less reliable witness than the rest.

69 *For it may do no more / than seke suffer and trust*: a *compar*.

71 *and the clernesse ... it is his will*: cf. *Beniamyn*: Þan byginniþ þer a maner of cleerte of þe li3t of god ... and ... þe i3e of þi soule ... is openid to beholde god and godly þinges ... Bot þis si3t is bot be tymes, whiles god wil vouche saaf to 3eue it (Hodgson, *Deonise* 43-44).

72 *The sekyng with feyth hope and charitie plesyth oure lord / and the fyndyng plesyth the sowle and fulfyllyth it with joy*: a *compar* with *traductio* and *similiter cadens*.

74 *And thus was I lernyd to my vnderstandyng / that sekyng is as good as beholdyng / for the tyme that he wille suffer / the sowle to be in traveyle*: a *compar* with *similiter cadens*.

sekyng is as good as beholdyng: this has the ring of a proverb, though it is not recorded as such. Julian has in mind Matthew 7.7-8: Seek and you shall find ... He who seeks finds; and she applies it to the contemplative effort, as had other spiritual writers. Cf. the ME translation of Guigo II's *Scala*: Lesson sekyth, meditacion fyndith (Hodgson, *Deonise* 101; Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 84).

good as beholdyng for the tyme that he wille suffer the sowle to be in traveyle. It is gods will that we seke into the beholdyng of hym, for by that shall he shew vs hym self of his speciall grace when he will. / 23r And how a sowle shall haue her in his beholding he shall teach hym selfe, and that is most worshippe to hym, and most profyght to the sowle, and most receyved of mekenesse and vertuse, with the grace and ledyng of þe holy gost. For a sowle that only resynyth hym (to) god with

---

81 *resynyth*: alt. al. m. fr. 'fast.yneth'. *to*: om. ms.

---

76 *into*: SS: him to. 77 *shall*: S2: will. *will*: S2: pleasith. 78 *her*: SS: him; and so W. 79 *most (profyght)*: om. SS. *the sowle*: SS: thy selfe. 80 *and (most)*: add. W: it. *receyved*: S1: receivith; and so S2, W. 81 *resynyth*: so C: S1: festenith; and so S2, W. *god*: C, W: to god; SS: on to god.

---

76 *It is gods will that we seke / into the beholdyng of hym / for by that shall he shew vs hym self / of his speciall grace when he will*: a *compar* with *inclusio* and *traductio*.

78 *haue her*: 'behave herself'. Cf. NED, Have, *v.* B. I. 12, MED haven, 5 a (c). NED's first example is c. 1386 (Chaucer), MED's c. 1390 (Hilton).

he shall teach hym selfe: the contemplative context here is, as often, eucharistic. Julian has in mind the promise in John 6.45: It is written in the prophets: And they shall all be taught of God. Everyone who has heard of the Father and has learned comes to me. The reference is to Isaias 54.14, written of the Redeemer, the Suffering Servant: All your children shall be taught of the Lord, and great will be the peace of your children. The passage is therefore also Trinitarian; hence the *compar* which follows. Augustine glosses John 6.45: Filius dicebat, sed Pater docebat ... illum docet et Pater qui audit Verbum eius si illum docet Pater qui audit Verbum eius; quaere quid sit Christus et inuenies Verbum eius (Willems, 263).

79 *and that is most worshippe to hym / and most profyght to the sowle / and most receyved of mekenesse and vertuse*: a *compar*, with *traductio* (*most ... most ... most*).

81 *resynyth hym to god*: this reading (probably the later hand's accomodation of P to the C printed text) of what P first wrote: *fast(e)yneth hym to god*, with which SS and W agree, makes equally good sense: 'a soul which does no more than resign itself to God', or 'no more than cleave to God'.

resynyth: at first sight, *festenith* (S1), with which P agreed before another hand altered it, seems the better contemplative word, for it recalls the *locus classicus* of Paul: Qui adhaeret domino unus spiritus est (I Corinthians 6.17). But equally classical is the text from I Peter 5.6-7: Be humbled under the mighty hand of God, that he may lift you up in the time of his visitation, casting all your care on him, for he has care of you; and Julian may well have had this in mind. One of the sources for Peter is Psalm 36.4: Delight in the Lord, and he will give you the requests of your heart. Commit your way to the Lord, and trust in him, and he will do it. This is very much Julian's sentiment.

very truste eyther in sekyng or beholdyng, it is the most worshippe that he may do, as to my syght. Theyse be two workynges that may be seen in this vision. That one is sekyng; the other is beholdyng. The sekyng is
85 comyn, that ech sowle may haue with his grace and owyth to haue, dyscrecion and techyng of holy church.

It is gods wil that we haue iij thynges in our sekyng of his ȝefte. The furst is that we seke wyllfully and besyly *with*ouȝte slowth, as it may be
23v / *with* his grace, gladly and merely *with*out vnresonable hevynesse and
90 veyne sorow; the seconde *þat* we abyde hym stedfastely for his loue, *with*ouȝte gronyng and stryvyng agaynst hym, in to our lyvys ende, for it

---

91 *gronyng* alt. fr. 'grogyng', perh. al. m.

---

82 *in*: S1: be; and so S2. *or*: add. C, SS, W: in. *it*: W: that. 83 *do*: add. SS: to him. *Theyse be two ... of holy church*: om. W. 84 *That*: S2: the. 85 *ech*: SS: every. 86 *dyscrecion*: S1: that discretion; and so S2. 87 S2, marg., scr.: Our seeking of god must haue 3 properties. *of his ȝefte*: om. SS. *ȝefte*: C: Gift; W: yefte. 88 *that*: om. W. *wyllfully*: C, marg.: seriously. 89 *with*: S1: throw; and so S2. *merely*: S2: heavily. *vnresonable*: S1: onskilful; and so S2, W. 90 *þat*: S1: is that; and so S2. 91 *gronyng/ grogyng*: C: grudging; and so SS, W. *in to*: SS: in. *our*: om. C.

---

84 *The sekyng is comyn ...*: if punctuated as above, this sentence can mean: 'The seeking is common, which every soul may have and should have with his grace, (and discretion ...)'. But it could be punctuated to give: 'The seeking is common which every soul may have with his grace, and it should have discretion ...' Or it may be that a preposition has been lost, and that it should end: '... and should have, by discretion ...'

86 *dyscrecion*: in *Beniamyn*, this virtue, whereby 'after many fallynges and faylynges and schame folowyng, a man lerneþ by þe þroef þat þer is noþing betyr þan to be rewlyd after counsel' (Hodgson, *Deonise* 40-41), is ultimately described as 'þe grace of god lyȝtenyng oure reson', through which we come 'to þe parfite knowyng of oure self and of god' (ibid., 42). Julian knows that the teaching of Holy Church will profit her nothing without the virtue of discretion, which traditionally and basically is the ability to distinguish good from evil. Cf. 512.33 note.

87 *iij thynges in our sekyng*: Julian's teaching here on contemplative prayer and effort is very reminiscent of the following gloss in *Bonum est*, which she may possibly have known: A meke soule þat loueþ god schal gon aboue þe watur ful sikerliche and synke not. He holdeþ him payed with alle þe werkes of vr lord and askeþ no resons whi he doþ so. He secheþ not elles but a clene herte and a fre from loue of þe world, and þen is al good inouȝ, what so euur falle. He is ful siker of him þat he loueþ, þat hit mai not be but wel. He dredeþ him not pynefulliche but tristeþ in him sikerliche, and in a meke vnknowynge of him and of his priue werkes with loue abydeþ þe folfullyng of his wil. And for he secheþ not elles but þis, þerfore vre lord scheweþ him sum tyme þe knowyng of him self and of his werkes also whom he vouchеþ saaf (Wallner, 64-65).

91 *gronyng*: this can be defended and has been retained, but *grogyng* (scribe, C, SS, W) is probably superior. Cf. the *Chastising*: whanne þei bien forsake a litel, þat is to seie whan her likynge and comfort is wiþdrawe for a tyme, anon þei bien grucchynge, and fallen þanne into suche heuynesse (Bazire and Colledge, 104).

shall last but a whyle. The iij is that we truste in hym myghtely, of fulle and tru feyth, for it is his wille þat we know that he shall aper sodenly and blyssydefully to all his lovers. For his workyng is prevy, and he wille be perceyved, and his aperyng shalle be swet(h)e sodeyn. And he wylle be trustyd, for he is fulle homely, curteyse, blessyd mott he be.

95 *swethe*: ms: swete.

92 *is*: om. S1. *of*: S2: with. 93 *and tru*: S1: sekird; S2: assured; W: sure. *þat*: om. SS. *know*: W: shall know. *that (he)*: om. SS. *shall*: W: will. 94 *blyssydefully*: SS: blisfully. *he*: W: it. 95 *swethe*: S1, W: swith; S2: a very; C: sweet. 96 *trustyd*: S1: trowid; S2: believed; and so W. *homely*: C, marg.: familiar. *homely, curteyse*: S1: hend *and* homeley; and so S2; W: hende, homly and curteys.

93 *sodenly*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: ... many weren so merueylously touchid in sodeynte of grace þat sodenly ... (Hodgson, 151), and the *Epistle of Prayer*: And ȝit is þe perfeccioun of þis werk sodeyn withouten any menes (Hodgson, *Deonise* 58).

96 *fulle homely, curteyse ...*: cf. *Beniamyn*: Bot in þis state a mans soule feliþ god so swete, so mercyful, so good, so curteis, so trewe and so kynde, so feiþful and so louely and so homly þat þer leuiþ noþing in hym ... (Hodgson, *Deonise* 21).

The Third Reuelation

The xi Chapter

And after this I saw god in a poynte, that is to say in my vnderstandyng, by which syght I saw that he is in althyng. I beheld *with*
bis)r avysement, seeyng and / knowyng in that syght that he doth alle that is
6 done. I merveyled in that syght *with* a softe drede, and thought: What is synne? For I saw truly that god doth alle thyng, be it nevyr so lytyle.

---

1 S1: How god doth althing (S2: all things) except synne, never chongyng his purpose with out end, for he hath made althing (S2: all things) in fulhede (S2: fulness) of goodnes. 3 *And*: om. S2. 4 *althyng*: S1: al things; and so S2. 5 *that syght ... in that*: om. SS. 6 *I merveyled ... alle thyng*: om. W. 7 *thyng*: S2: things.

---

1 *How god doth althing* ... (S1): this chapter-heading does not correspond with the summary of Revelation III, 282.10-12.

3 *And after this I saw god in a poynte / that is to say in my vnderstandyng / by which syght I saw that he is in althyng*: a *compar*, with the three different senses of *in* giving *traductio*, and with *adnominatio* (*syght ... saw*). This is important teaching on the divine immanence, which is given this rhetorical editing.

in a poynt: it has been suggested that Julian meant that she saw God as the centre of a circle, the universe, that the image is geometrical and the idea philosophical. This may be so; but it seems more probable that she meant 'in an instant of time'. Cf. 226.1 note. Julian has anticipated this sense: *it is his wille þat we know þat he shall aper sodenly and blyssydfully to all his lovers ... his aperyng shalle be swethe sodeyn* (335.93, 96).

4 *I saw that he is in althyng*: cf. I Corinthians 15.28: ... that God may be in all.

I beheld with avysement / seeyng and knowyng in that syght / that he doth alle that is done: a *compar* which continues the previous *adnominatio* (*seeyng ... syght*), adds another (*doth ... done*), and has *similiter cadens* (seeyng ... knowyng).

5 *he doth alle that is done*: cf. Wisdom 7.27: Remaining in herself the same, she renews all things. *The Book of Privy Counselling*, commenting on John 15.5: Without me you can do nothing, observes: In alle oure doynges, leueful and vnleueful, actyue or contemplatyue, wiþoutyn hym we mowe do noþing (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 163).

6 *I merveyled in that syght / with a softe drede / and thought What is synne*: a *compar* with medial *repetitio* from the previous figure (*syght*) and *interrogatio*.

7 *For I saw truly / that god doth alle thyng / be it nevyr so lytyle / And I saw veryly / that nothyn is done / by happe ne by aventure / but alle by the foreseing wysdom of god*: this is the *ratiocinatio*, with *repetitio* (*I saw ... I saw*) and *traductio* (*nevyr ... nothyn ... ne*).

For I saw truly: this rebukes human 'blyndhede and vnforsyght', which denies divine prevision by attributing events to 'happ or aventure'. Cf. Wisdom 7.21: And all such things as are hidden and not foreseen I have learned, for wisdom, who is the worker of all things, taught me; and *Boethius* IV 6: Here of is don þis noble miracle of þe ordre destinal, whan god þat alle knoweþ doþ swiche þing, of whiche þing vnknowyng folk ben astoned ... Þan what so euer þou mayst seen þat is don in þis world vnhoped or vnwened, certys it is þe ryȝte ordre of þinges, but as to þi wickede oppinioun it is a confusioun (Morris, 139).

And I saw veryly that nothyn is done by happe ne by aventure, but alle by the for(eseing) wysdom of god. Yf it be happ or aventure in the syght of man, our blyndhede and vnforsyght is the cause. For tho thynges that be in the for(eseing) wysdom of god bene fro *with*ou3t begynnyng, which ryghtfully and worshippfully contynually he ledyth to the best ende as it comyth aboughte, fallyng to vs sodeynly our (selfe) vnwetyng; and thus by our blyndnes and our vnforsy3te we say these thynges be by happes and aventure.

Thus I vnderstonde in this shewyng of loue, for wel I wott in the

---

9 *foreseing*: ms: forsayde. 11 *foreseing*: ms: forsayd. 13 *our selfe*: ms: our.

---

8 *veryly*: SS: truly; om. W. *alle*: S1: al thing; S2: all things. 9 *forsayde* (ms): S1: foreseing; and so S2, W. *wysdom of god*: W: of goddys wysedom. *Yf*: W: And yf. 10 *blyndhede*: W: blyndenes. *and*: S1, W: *and* our. *vnforsyght*: W: vnbeforesyght. *For tho thynges ... this shewyng* (337.16): om. W. *tho*: C: those; S1: the; and so S2. *that*: S2: *which*. 11 *forsayd* (ms): S1: foreseing; and so S2. *bene*: om. SS. 12 *worshippfully*: add. SS: *and*. 13 *it comyth*: S1: they comen; and so S2. *fallyng*: S1: fallyn; and so S2. *our* (ms): add. S1: selfe; and so S2. 14 *blyndnes*: S1: blindhede. *our (vnforsy3te)*: om. SS. *thynges*: om. SS. *by*: om. SS. 15 *aventure*: S2: chances. 16 *Thus ... shewyng*: S1: but to our lord god thei be not so; and so S2. *of loue ... ne aventure*; om. SS.

---

9 *foreseing*: cf. 226.7 and note. This is the first time in this revelation that divine wisdom has been mentioned, and, here and 337.11, P's *forsayd(e)* is clearly scribal error.

10 *vnforsyght*: 'lack of foresight'. The compound is not recorded in NED, but it is implicit in 'unforeseen'. Cf. MED unforsen, *adj.*: Chaucer *Boethius* V i 85: of whiche causes the cours unforseyn and unwar semeth to han makid hap.

For tho thynges that be in the foreseing wysdom of god / bene fro withou3t begynnyng / which ryghtfully and worshippfully contynually / he ledyth to the best ende as it comyth aboughte / fallyng to vs sodeynly our selfe vnwetyng / and thus by our blyndnes and our vnforsy3te / we say these thynges be by happes and aventure: a *compar* of balanced *cola*, with *similiter cadens* (foreseing ... begynnyng ... fallyng ... vnwetyng; ryght*fully* ... worshipp*fully*).

11 *foreseing*: cf. 337.9 and note.

12 *contynually he ledyth*: cf. Ecclesiastes 3.11-15: He has made all things good in their time ... so that man cannot find out the work which God has made, from the beginning to the end ... I have learned that all the works which God has made continue for ever; we cannot add anything or take away anything ... That which has been made continues, the things that shall be already have been; and God restores that which is past.

13 *our selfe vnwetyng*: 'without our knowledge'. P's reading, *our vnwetyng*, makes no sense; one may however speculate whether Julian used, as an absolute construction, 'us unwetyng' (cf. NED, Us, *pron.*, I.1.d., with its first example 1549, Coverdale: Vntill he ascended vp (all vs beholdyng hym) to heauen. The SS reading, accordingly, has been adopted; cf. NED, Ourself, *pron.*, I: 'Emphatic. 1. Standing alone as subject', the first instance *a* 1400-1450 *Alexander*.

16 *Thus I vnderstonde* ...: cf. Ecclesiasticus 39.39-40: All the works of the Lord are good ... It is not be said: this is worse than that, for all shall be well approved in their time.

bis)v syght of / our lord god is no happe ne aventure; wherfore me behovyd nedes to grannt that alle thynges that is done is welle done, for our lord god doth all. For in this tyme the workyng of creatures was nott
20 shewde, but of our lord god in the creatures; for he is in the myd poynt of all thynges, and all he doth. And I was sewer that he doth no synne; and here I saw verely that synne is no dede, for in alle thys, synne was nott shewde. And I would no longer marveyle in this, but behelde our lorde, what he would shew. And thus as it myghte be for the tyme, the
25 ryghtfulnes of gods workyng was shewyd to the sowle. Ryghtfulnes hath to feyer properteys: it is ryght and it is fulle. And so be all the workes of our lorde, and therto nedyth neyther workyng of mercy ne grace, for
24r they be alle ryghtfulle, wher in / feylyth ry3t nou3t. And in a other tyme

---

17 *wherfore*: W: and therfor. *behovyd*: S1: behovith; and so S2. S2, marg., scr.: All things are wel and good besides sin. 18 *nedes*: W: nedisly. *alle thynges*: S2: whatsoever. *thynges*: S1: thing; and so W. *is (done)*: C: are. *is (welle)*: C: are; S1, W: it is. 19 *in*: S2: at. *creatures*: W: creature. 20 *the (creatures)*: om. W. *creatures (for)*: SS, W: creature. 21 *thynges*: S1: thyng. *was*: C: am. *sewer*: S1: sekir; S2: certain. *that (he)*: om. SS. S2, marg., scr.: Sin hath no actual or real being. 22 *verely*: S1, W: sothly. *for in alle ... plesyd in alle his workes* (340.50): om. W. 24 *shew*: add. S2: me. 25 *ryghtfulnes (of)*: S1: rightfulhede. *workyng*: C: work. *to*: C: for. *Ryghtfulnes (hath)*: S1: rightfulhede. 27 *lorde*: add. SS: god; canc. in S1. *workyng*: S1: the werkyng; and so S2. *ne*: SS: nor. 28 *they be*: S1: it ben. *ry3t*: om. SS.

---

17 *wherfore me behovyd ... what he would shew* (338.24): this corresponds with the short text, 226.7-11.

me behovyd nedes: cf. 226.7 note.

18 *alle thynges that is done is welle done*: cf. *Bonum est*: ... god wol so han it in alle þinges þat is don, for god is ri3twysnes, soþfastnes and godnes, and þerfore mai he no þing don but rihtwysliche, wysliche and goodliche (Wallner, 68).

for our lord god ... and all he doth: not in the short text; cf. 226.8.

for our lord god doth all: cf. Ecclesiastes 11.3: As you do not know the ways of the spirit ... so you do not know the works of God, who is the maker of all.

20 *he is in the myd poynt of all thynges*: here, unlike 336.3, *poynt* is used in geometrical sense.

21 *and all he doth*: cf. Wisdom 7.16: For in his hands are both we and our words, and all wisdom and the knowledge and skill of works.

And I was sewer that he doth no synne ...: cf. *Boethius* III 12: But he, quod she, þat is al my3ty, þere nis no þing þat he ne may do. Þat is soþe, quod I. May god done yuel? quod she. Nay, for soþe, quod I. Þan is yuel no þing, quod she (Morris, 105).

26 *it is ryght and it is fulle*: cf. Deuteronomy 32.4: The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments. God is faithful, ... just and right. In reflecting on the formation of 'ryghtfulnes' and on its essential meaning, Julian probably knew that the root originally meant 'law'; but the term, as with the Biblical uses of 'justitia', 'justus', had acquired many gradations of meaning.

28 *And in a other tyme*: sc. the thirteenth revelation. Cf. 405.14 e.s.

And in a other tyme ... as I shall say after: this corresponds with the short text, 226.12-13.

he shewde for beholdyng of synne nakedly, as I shall say after, when he
30 vsyth workyng of mercy and of grace.

This vision was shewyd to my vnderstandyng, for our lord wylle haue the sowle turned truly in to the beholdyng of hym, and generally of all his workes. For they be fulle good, and alle his domys be esy and swete, and to grett ees bryngyng the sowle that is turned fro the beholdyng of
35 the blynd demyng of man in to the feyer swette demyng of our lorde god. For man beholdyth some dedys wele done and some dedys evylle, and our lorde beholdyth them not so, for as alle that hath beyng in kynde is of gods makyng, so is alle thyng that is done in properte of
24v gods doyng. For it is esy to vnderstand that the / beste dede is wele
40 done; and so wele as the best dede that is done and the hyghest, so wele is the least dede done, and all in the properte and in the order that our

---

29 *for*: add. SS: the. *after*: om. SS. *when*: SS: where. 30 *of (grace)*: om. SS. 31 *This*: S1: and this; and so S2. *shewyd*: add. S2: me. 32 *in·to*: C: unto. 33 *domys*: SS: doings; C, marg.: judgment. 34 *ees*: C: eyes. *bryngyng*: S2: bringeth. 35 *in to*: S1: on to; and so S2. 36 *man*: SS: a man. *beholdyth*: C: holdeth. 37 *and (our)*: S2: but. 40 *best*: om. S2. *dede (that)*: om. S2. 41 *the (properte)*: om. SS.

---

29 *say after, when ... and joy in god* (341.58): not in the short text; cf. 226.13.

31 *our lord wylle haue the sowle turned truly in to the beholdyng of hym, and generally of all his workes*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Of þis knowyng þe soule resseyueþ a wondirful sauour *and* a greet vndirstondyng þat what so is of þat souereyn beynge it is good, *and* al þat he dooþ is best doon (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 150v; Jones, 101).

33 *and alle his domys be esy and swete / and to grett ees bryngyng the sowle / that is turned fro the beholdyng / of the blynd demyng of man / in to the feyer swette demyng of our lorde god*: a *compar* with *traductio*, medial *repetitio*, *similiter cadens* and *oppositio*.

alle his domys be esy and swete: cf. Matthew 11.30: My yoke is sweet and my burden light.

34 *and to grett ees bryngyng the sowle*: cf. Matthew 11.28-29: Come to me, all you who labour and are burdened, and I will refresh you ... and you shall find rest for your souls.

36 *For man beholdyth some dedys wele done and some dedys evylle*: cf. *Boethius* IV 6: But in þis manere þe domes of men discorden, þat þilke men þat somme folk demen worþi of mede, oþer folk demen hem worþi of tourment (Morris, 138). In either case, men's discordant judgments are contrasted with the immutable judgment of God.

37 *for as alle that hath beyng in kynde is of gods makyng / so is alle thyng that is done in properte of gods doyng*: a *compar* with *complexio* (*alle ... alle, gods ... gods*) and *similiter cadens*.

39 *For it is esy to vnderstand*: with what follows, cf. *Boethius* IV 6: For oonly it auȝte suffice to han loked þat god hym self makere of alle natures ordeyniþ and dressiþ alle þinges to good, while þat he hastiþ to wiþhalden þe þinges þat he haþ maked in to his semblaunce, þat is to seyn for to wiþholden þinges in to good (Morris, 142).

that the beste dede is wele done / and so wele as the best dede that is done: *chiasmus*.

lord hath it ordeynyd tofor *with*ou3te begynnyng, for ther is no doer but he.

I saw fulle truly that he channgyd nevyr hys purpose in no manner of
45 thyng, ne nevyr shalle *with*out end. For ther was nothyng vnknowyn to hym in hys ryghtfulle ordenannce fro *with*out begynnyng, and therfore all thynges wer sett in ordyr, or any thyng was made, as it should stand *with*out ende. And no manner thyng shalle feyle of that poynt, for he hath made alle thyng in fulheed of goodnes.

50 And therfore the blessed trynyte is evyr fulle plesyd in alle his workes;
25r and all this shewyd he full blessedly, meanyng / thus: See, I am god. See, I am in all thyngs. See, I do all thyng. See, I nevyr lefte my handes

---

44 In W, 'I sawe full surely ... shulde *with*oute ende' (cf. 340.47-48) follows 'Also amonge o*þ*er shewynge*s* ... eny thyng be amys' (cf. 340.51-341.56), but is here collated.

---

42 *tofor*: S1: to fro*m*; S2: fro. 44 *truly*: S1: sekirly; S2: certainly; W: surely. *channgyd*: S1: chongyth; and so S2, W. *of*: om. S1, W. 45 *ne*: SS: nor. 47 *thynges*: C, S1: thing. *or*: S2: before. *stand*: om. W. 48 *thyng*: C, S2: of thing. 49 *hath*: om. SS. *thyng*: S2: things. *fulheed*: S2: fulnes. 51 *and all ... blessedly*: W: Also amonge o*þ*er shewynge*s* our good lord (cf. 338.22, app.). *meanyng*: S1, marg., scr.: speaking. 52 *thyngs*: S1: thing. *I do all thyng. See*: om. S2. *thyng*: C: things. *lefte*: so W; C, S1: left; S2: lift. *handes*: W: hande.

---

42 *tofor*: this gives sense, 'as our Lord had ordained it already, without beginning', but the SS reading merits consideration, 'as our Lord had ordained it to, from without beginning'. Cf. 337.11: *fro with*ou*3*t *begynnyng*.

45 *For ther was nothyng vnknowyn* ...: cf. I Corinthians 2.7: ... We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world.

51 *See, I am god* ...: cf. Wisdom 12.16: For thy power is the beginning of justice, and because thou art Lord of all, thou makest thyself gracious to all.

52 *See, I am* ...: this is the first of Julian's many considerations of the operations of the Trinity *ad extra*. The beginning is an echo of the name of God in Exodus 3.14, 'I am who am; and attributions follow: *I lede* (might), *I ordeyne* (wisdom), *I made* (love), stressing both Trinity and unity. The soul in her examination is called upon to respond, *to assent*, with the same powers, *with great reverence and joy*. Although Julian is not here using *compares* with any strictness, there is *ratiocinatio*; the single Greek term for this is ἐξετασμός, 'scrutiny, examination', what Cicero calls 'sibi ipsi responsio' (*De oratore* III. liv. 207, ed. Wilkins); and Julian uses the English equivalent: ... *was the sowle examynyd*. Thus, *my behovyth nedys to assent* is her *conclusio*.

See: the *repetitio* is maintained in this passage.

I nevyr lefte my handes: this may mean 'I never lift' (i.c. 'remove'; < ON lypta), or 'never removed' (<OE læfan; cf. NED Leave, *v.* 11). The present tense of *am, do, lede* makes 'lift' more probable.

of my workes, ne never shalle without ende. See, I lede all thyng to the end þat I ordeyne it to, f(ro) *with*out begynnyng, by the same myght, wysdom and loue that I made it with; how shoulde any thyng be a mysse? Thus myghtly, wysely and louyngly was the sowle examynyd in this vision. Than saw I verely that my behovyth nedys to assent *with* great reverence and joy in god.

---

54 */fro*: ms: for. 56 with 'shulde *with*oute ende', the third extract in W ends.

---

53 *of*: S2: from. *workes*: S2: work. *lede*: W: led. *thyng*: S2: things. 54 þat: om. SS. *ordeyne*: SS: ordeyned. *for* (ms): SS, W: fro. 55 *with*: om. S1. *how*: add. S2: then; and so W. 57 *verely*: S1: sothly. *behovyth*: S1: behovyd; and so S2; 58 *and joy*: SS: enjoyand.

---

54 *for* (P): cf. 340.42 note. Here, *for* is inadmissible, and the SS, W reading has been accepted.

58 *joy*: this may be verb, paired with *assent*, or noun, paired with *reverence*. Note the variant in SS.

The iiij Reuelation

The xij Chapter

And after this I saw beholdyng the body plentuous bledyng in semyng of the scoregyng, as thus. The feyer skynne was broken full depe in to
25v the tendyr flessch, *with* sharpe smytynges all a bout the sweete / body.
6 The hote blode ranne out so plentuously that ther was neyther seen skynne ne wounde, but as it were all blode. And when it cam wher it shuld haue falle downe, ther it vanysschyd. Not *with* standyng the bledyng contynued a whyle, tyll it myght be seen *with* avysement. And

---

1 S1: How it liketh god rather *and* better to wash us in his blode fro*m* synne than in water, for his blode is most pretious (S2: pretious, alt. al. m. and marg.: plentivous). 3 *plentuous*: C: plentuously; and so SS. 6 *seen*: S2: to be seen. 7 *ne*: S2: nor. 8 *ther*: S1: than; and so S2.

---

1 *How it liketh god ...* (S1): this chapter-heading does not correspond with the summary of Revelation IV, 282.13-14.

3 *And after this ... plentuous bledyng*: this corresponds with the short text, 227.14.

in semyng: cf. NED Seeming, *vbl. sb.* 2, 'the form in which a person or thing seems or appears' ... c. 1400 *Secreta Secret.*, '... he steigh to þe emperien heuene in þe semynge of fir'. Cf. 227.16, *the semes*, and NED Seam *sb.* 1 4, 'A line, groove, furrow' ... c. 1400, R. Brunne ... 4b 'on the face or body: a long, incised wound' ... c. 1400 *Laud Troy Book*. Either reading makes excellent sense. If the first be preferred, we must understand that this vision represented the Flagellation but was not of the event itself.

4 *The feyer skynne ... seen with avysement*: not in the short text; cf. 227.16.

The feyer skynne was broken ... tendyr flessch: cf. the *Privity*: As some doctours says, one euery knott was a scharpe hok of iryne, þat with euery stroke þey rofe his tendyr flesche (Horstman 1 203, which seems to be an addition, not found in Stallings or Ragusa and Green).

5 *sharpe smytynges all a bout the sweete body*: cf. the *Privity*: one euery syde stremys downe þe kynges blode of heuene fro euery parte of his blyssed body (ibid.; Stallings, 106; Ragusa and Green, 328).

6 *was neyther seen skynne ne wounde, but as it were all blode*: cf. the *Privity*: He es betyne and betyne agayne, blester appone blester and wonde appone wonde ... (ibid.). Pseudo-Bonaventure or Julian may be the inspiration for a lyric, *Our Lady's Imprecation*, recorded in three fifteenth-century manuscripts: ... With sharpe scourgis þei hym bete / And rent his flessh fro þe bon, / Till his blode stode at his fete, / With in his body lefte þei non (C. Brown, XV 20).

The hote blode ... our owne kynde (343.18): this corresponds with the short text, 227.16-19.

10 this was so plentuous to my syght that me thought if it had ben so in kynde and in substance, for that tyme it shulde haue made the bedde all on bloude, and haue passyde over all about.

Than cam to my mynde that god hath made waters plentuous in erth to our servys, and to our bodely eese, for tendyr loue that he hath to vs.
. 26r But yet lykyth hym better that we take full holsomly hys blessyd / blode
16 to wassch vs of synne; for ther is no lycour that is made that lykyth hym so wele to yeue vs. For it is most plentuous, as it is most precious, and that by the vertu of the blessyd godhead. And it is our owne kynde, and blessydfully ovyr flowyth vs by the vertu of his precious loue.

---

10 *if*: S2: that if. 12 *passyde over all about*: S2: overflowed on every side. 13 *Than*:S1: and than; and so S2. *hath (made)*: S2: had. *waters*: S2: water. *in*: S2: on. 15 *yet*: add. S2: it. *holsomly*: SS: homely; cf. A (227.22): fullye. *blessyd*: S2: pretious. 16 *of*: C, S2: from. *lykyth hym*: S1: he lekyth: and so S2. 18 *the (blessyd)*: SS: his. *owne*: om. SS; cf. A (227.24): of oure kynde. 19 *blessydfully*: S1: al blisfully; and so S2. *ovyr flowyth*: S1: beflowyth; and so S2.

---

10 *me thought if it had ben so*: Julian is stressing that at the moment of the revelation, she was aware that it was not so, that this was what the *Chastising* (using the example of Peter's vision of the edible beasts) calls 'a spiritual vision or imagynatif', adding 'al þo þinges þat he say ... weren no bodili þinges, but ymages of bodili þingis' (Bazire and Colledge, 169, 171).

13 *Than cam to my mynde*: there may be the same distinction between this and *was brought to my mind* (304.3), *he brought to mynd* (375.14), as has been observed (225.27 and note) in the short text, Julian's attempt to differentiate between the revelations themselves and her meditations upon them.

god hath made waters ...: cf. Psalm 64.10: Thou hast visited the earth, and hast plentifully watered it; thou hast many ways enriched it; the river of God is filled with water; thou hast prepared their food, for so is its preparation.

15 *holsomly*: 'medicinally, healingly'. MED quotes the *Promptorium parvulorum*: Holsumnysse, *salubritas*; and cf. an addition of the English translator of the *Stimulus*: þat blod is medicyne for alle synnes (H. J. Kane, 11; Kirchberger, 52). But the synonym in the short text *fullye* suggests that Julian (or a later scribe-editor) may here have written 'holely' (<OE *hāllīce*), 'wholely', which became differently corrupted in PC and SS.

17 *as it is most precious ... blessyd godhead*: not in the short text; cf. 227.24.

and that by the vertu of the blessyd godhead: it is probable that here Julian has in mind the traditional Trinitarian text in I John 5.6-8: This is he who came by water and blood, Jesus Christ; not by water only but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit who testifies that Christ is the truth. And there are three who give testimony in heaven ... and these three are one. And there are three which give testimony on earth ... and these three are one. This is yet another example of the way in which Julian brings together popular devotion and her own Scriptural and theological learning.

18 *and blessydfully ... the number that faylyth*: not in the short text: cf. 227.24.

19 *beflouyth* (S1): cf. NED, Beflow, *v.*, *Obs.*, the first example *a* 1000, the last 1387, MED biflouen, v., the last example a 1400.

20 The dere worthy bloude of our lorde Jhesu Crist, also verely as it is most precious, as verely it is most plentuous. Beholde and see the vertu of this precious plenty of hys dere worthy blode. It descendyd downe in to helle and brak her bondes, and delyuerd them all that were there which belongh to the courte of hevyn. The precious plenty of his dere
26v worthy blode ovyrflowyth all erth, and is redy to wash / all creatures of
26 synne which be of good wyll, haue ben and shall be. The precious plenty of his dereworthy blode ascendyth vp into hevyn in the blessed body of our lorde Jesu Crist, and ther is in hym, bledyng, preyeng for vs

---

20 *also*: SS: as. 21 *as (verely)*: S2: so. *the vertu of*: om. SS. 22 *this*: SS: the. *It*: om. SS. 23 *and (brak)*: om. S2. *brak*: S1: braste; and so S2. *them*: om. SS. 24 *which*: S2: who. *belongh*: C: belongeth; S1; longyd; S2: belonged. 25 *all (erth)*: add. S2: the. *of (synne)*: S2: from. 26 *and*: C: or. 27 *ascendyth*: S1: ascended; and so S2. *in (the)* SS: to. 28 *bledyng*: add. S1: *and*; and so S2.

---

20 *also verely as it is most precious / as verely it is most plentuous*: a *compar*, with medial *repetitio* (*it is ... it is*) and *similiter cadens* (*precious* ... plentu*ous*).

21 *Beholde and see ...*: cf. the English *Stimulus*: Lo now þe 3ate of paradise is openyd, and þorou vertu of his blod is putt awey þe brennande pliaunt swerd (H. J. Kane, 11; Kirchberger, 52).

22 *It descendyd downe in to helle*: cf. the English *Stimulus*: Lo his woundes ouercomen þe fendes power, and baarst þe 3ates of helle (H. J. Kane, 16-17; Kirchberger, 57). The same poem in which affinities with pseudo-Bonaventure and Julian have been remarked (342.6 note) may here be drawing on her or the *Stimulus*: Then to hell he toke þe way, / With wondis wyde and al blody. / ... And harrowid helle euery noke, / With in hit lefte he sowlis non ... / And toke his pray þat he had bo3t, / And put hem in to endlesse welle (C. Brown, XV 21-22).

23 *and brak her bondes*: 'helle' (<OE *halja) is a strong feminine in all the Germanic languages; and NED, Hell, *sb.*, 3.a., quotes 1382, the Lollard version of Isaias 5.14: Therfore helle spredde abrod his soule, and openede his (16th c. version: her) mouth. Cf. 203.36 note, the quotation from *A Book to a Mother*, contemporary with Julian, where 'hell' is also treated as feminine.

24 *The precious plenty ...*: the theology of this passage is immediately Pauline. In Romans 5, the love of God is poured out in our hearts (5), Christ died for the ungodly (6), God gives us his love (8), because he gives us Christ to die for us, who justifies us by his blood (9). We were reconciled to God by his Son's death (10), we shall be saved by his (heavenly) life (10), and we have glory in God. The gift of God by the grace of the man Jesus Christ has abounded to many (15) who receive abundance of grace through the man Jesus Christ (17).

25 *ovyrflowyth all erth*: cf. the English *Stimulus*: ... for man he helde hit ow3te as watir, al his blode for to make hym wy3te (H. J. Kane, 39; Kirchberger, 75).

28 *preyeng for vs to the father*: cf. the English *Stimulus*: For wite þou wel þat Cristes blood is 3itt als hote and as fresh as hit was wenne he died on good friday, and shal be so in holy chirche vn to the dai of doom, bettir criande aftir mercy of þe fadir of heuene for vs synfull wrecchis þanne þe blode of Abeel (H. J. Kane, 35; Kirchberger, 72). The reference is to Genesis 4.10.

to the father, and is and shal be as long as vs nedyth. And ovyr more it
30 flowyth in all heauen, enjoying the saluacion of all mankynd that be ther and shall be, fulfylling the nu*m*ber that faylyth.

---

29 *vs (nedyth)*: SS: it. 30 *heauen*: S2: heavens.

---

29 *And ovyr more it flowyth in all heauen*: a few lines later, the *Stimulus* continues: þourȝe woche blood al so grace is graunted, heuene is openid, ioye and blis shal be ȝeuen to vs with outen ende (H. J. Kane, 36; Kirchberger, 72).

31 *fulfyllyng the number that faylyth*: cf. Apocalypse 6.11: And white robes were given, to every one of them one. And it was said to them that they should rest for a little time till their fellow servants and their brethren who are to be slain even as they should be filled up.

The v Reuelation

The xiij Chapter

And after, or that god schewed any wordes, he sufferde me to beholde hym a conveniable tyme, and all that I had seen, and all the vn-
5 derstandyng that was ther in, as the sympylnes of the sowle myght take
27r it. / Then he *with*out voys and openyng of lyppes formyd in my sowle these wordes: Here *with* is the feende ovyr come. This worde sayde our lorde menyng his blessyd passyon, as he shewed before. In this our lord

---

1 Add. S1: is that the temptation of the fend is overcome (S2: sheweth how the divel is overcome) be the passion of Criste to the encres (marg. al. m.: encrease) of joy of us *and* (S2: to our encrease of joy *and*) to (om. S2) his payne everlestingly. 3 *or that*: S2: before. *that*: om. S1. 4 *hym*: SS: in him. *conveniable*: SS: conable; in S2, 'cider' interl. al.m. *the vnderstandyng*: S1: intellecte; and so S2. 5 *sympylnes*: S1: simplicite: and so S2. 6 *formyd*: S1: formys; and so S2. 7 *feende*: S2: divel. *This worde*: SS: these words. 8 *as*: S2: *which*. *shewed*: S2: had shewed. S2, marg.; scr.: The divel is overcomm by þe passion of Christ.

---

3 *And after ... alle lokked in gods hande* (347.18): this corresponds with the short text, 227.25-228.40.

or that god shewed any wordes: the 'parts' of this revelation are to follow the established order, a 'bodily sight' followed by 'worde formyd in my vnderstandyng'; cf. 323.29-30, 666.2-4.

4 *conable* (SS): both NED, Conable, *a.*, and MED, covenable, adj., record the word (NED, six examples, the first Rolle; MED, nine, perhaps ten examples), and NED calls it 'a phonetic reduction of Covenable'. None the less, one may question the word's existence, and ascribe all the instances to scribal error. Certainly, the annotator of S2 knew nothing of it.

and all the vnderstandyng that was ther in / as the sympylnes of the sowle myght take it: here in the long text Julian wishes to indicate that she has been given time to reflect as best she can on what she has been shown; and she therefore edits with a *compar.*

intellecte (S1): often Julian does use the noun *vnderstandyng* in this sense; but here it means rather 'Signification, meaning, sense' (NED, Understanding, *vbl. sb.* 3).

5 *as the sympylnes of the sowle myght take it*: not in the short text; cf. 227.26.

6 *without voys and openyng of lyppes*: cf. the *Chastising*: Also whanne he spekiþ to us bi hymsilf, þanne is þe hert enformed and tauȝt of his worde, wiþoute any worde or sillable (Bazire and Colledge, 172), and *Deonise Hid Diuinite*: And after alle soche assencioun, it schal al be withouten voice, and al it schal be knittid to a þing þat is vnspekable (Hodgson, 8).

7 *Here with is the feende ovyr come*: cf. 227.28 note.

shewed a parte of the feendes malyce, and fully hys vnmyght, for he
10 shewed that the passion of hym is the ovyrcomyng of the feende. God
shewed that the feend hath nowe the same malyce that he had before
the incarnacion, and also sore he traveyleth, and as contynually he seeth
that all sowles of saluacion eskape hym worshyppfully by the vertue of
his precious passion. And that is his sorow; and full evyl is he ashamyd,
15 for all that god sufferyth hym to do turnyth vs to joy and hym to shame
27v and payne. And he / hath as mech sorow when god gevyth hym leue to
werke as when he workyth nott. And that is for he may nevyr do as ylle
as he wolde, for hys myght is alle lokked in gods hande. But in god may

---

9 *a parte ... for he shewed*: om. SS. 10 *the (passion)*: S2: his. *of hym*: om. S2. *the (ovyrcomyng)*: om. S2. *feende ... feend*: S2: divel ... divel. 12 *also*: SS: as. 13 *sowles*: SS: sent; S2, marg., scr.: alle sort; cf. A (228.35): alle chosene saules. *worshyppfully*: S1: worshippfully, 'fully' canc. and 'ly' suppl. scr.; S2: worshiply. 14 *his (precious)*: S1: Cristes; and so S2. *ashamyd*: SS: attenyd. 16 *payne*: SS: wo. *mech*: so S1; C, S2: much. 17 *werke*: S1: wekyn, w. 'r' add. al. m.; S2: act. *workyth*: S2: acts. *for (he)*: S2: because. *ylle*: S2: evil. 18 *lokked in*: S2: taken into.

---

9 *the feendes malyce*: cf. Wisdom 2.24: But by the envy of the devil death came into the world.

and fully hys vnmyght: cf. 227.31, and the *Scale*, II chapter 45: It is a ful feire contemplacioun of þe fende in a clene soule when grace bryngiþ þe fende to þe siȝt of þe soule as a clumsed caytif bounden with þe miȝt of Jhesu (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 138r; Underhill, 475).

for he shewed that the passion of hym is the ovyrcomyng of the feende: cf. the *Chastising*: Also he þat had noon armour while he lay in synne, now he is armed wiþ goddis armour bi Cristis passioun; and þis armour is a grete strengþe aȝens þe deuel (Bazire and Colledge, 154).

13 *by the vertu of his precious passion*: not in the short text; cf. 228.35.

14 *And that is his sorow; and full evyl is he ashamyd*: cf. 228.35-37, and the *Scale*, II chapter 45: Schamed *and* schent is þe fende gretly in him self when he is þus faren with of a clene soule. He wolde fayn fleen awey, *and* he may not (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 138v; Underhill, 458).

and full evyl is he ashamyd: not in the short text; cf. 228.36.

attenyd (SS): this may be a form of MED, atteinen, v., (c), 'to overcome or overpower'; but it is more likely to be a nonce-word.

18 *hys myght is alle lokked in gods hande*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: As seint Poul witnesseþ: Fidelis est deus *qui* non sinit nos temptari vltra quam possumus. God, he seiþ, is trewe; nul he neuer þolen þat þe deuel tempte us ouer þat he sihþ wel þat we mowe soffren (Vernon MS, f. 382d; Day, 102).

But in god ... against goddes wyll: not in the short text; cf. 228.40.

But in god may be no wrath: in what follows, Julian seems to have in mind the great teaching concerning the Last Judgment in Matthew 25.31-46, where the Son of Man comes in majesty, and the criterion for judgment is man's love for God shown to his neighbours.

be no wrath, as to my syght, for our good lorde endelessly havyng
20 regard to his awne worshyppe, and to the profyghte of all them that shal be savyd, *with* myght and ryght he *with*stondyth the reprovyd, the which of malyce and of shrewdnes besye them to contrary and do against goddes wyll.

Also I saw oure lorde scornyng hys malys and nowghtyng hys vn-
25 myght, and he wille that we do so. For this syght, I laght myghtely, and that made them to lagh that were abowte me; and ther lawchyng was a
28r lykyng to me. I thought / that I wolde that alle my evyn crysten had seen as I saw. Then shoulde all they a lawchyd *with* me. But I saw not Cryst laghyng; but wele I wott that syght that he shewed me made me to

---

19 *havyng*: SS: hath. 20 *them*: om. SS. 21 *savyd*: add. S1: *and*. *reprovyd*: S2: reprobate. *the which*: S2: who. 22 *of (shrewdnes)*: om. SS. *them*: add. S2: selues. *contrary*: S1: contriven; and so S2. *and do*: S1: *and* to done; om. S2. 24 *scornyng*: SS: scorne. *nowghtyng*: S1: nowten; and so S2. 25 *so*: S2: so too. *For*: S2: at. *laght*: C: laught; S1: lavhyd; S2: laughed. 26 *to (lagh)*: om. S2. *lawchyng*: C, S2: laughing; S1: lavhyng. 27 *evyn*: S2: fellow. 28 *seen*: S1: ben; S2: been, alt. al. m.: seene. *Then*: S1: *and* then; and so S2. *shoulde*: S2: would. *a lawchyd*: S1: lavhyn; S2: laugh. 29 *but wele ... to laugh*: om. SS.

---

21 *he withstondyth the reprovyd*: cf. Matthew 25.41: Depart from me, you cursed; and James 4.6 and I Peter 5.5: God resists the proud (both alluding to Proverbs 3.4: He shall scorn the scorners, and to the meek he will give grace).

24 *Also I saw ... is overcome* (349.31): this corresponds with the short text, 228.40-46.

scornyng hys malyce: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Where so he doþ, scorneþ hi*m*, lauhwe þe olde ape loude to bisemare (Vernon MS, f. 383c; Day, 110). Manifestly, the *Riwle* and Julian both have in mind the Hebrew notion of the contemptuous laughter of enemies: All they that saw me have laughed me to scorn; they have spoken with the lips and wagged the head (Psalm 21.8); and Julian continues: *I laght myghtely ... Piers Plowman* B. XVI makes Christ say to Judas and the Jews: Falsenesse I fynde . in thi faire speche, / And gyle in thi gladde chere. and galle is in thi lawghynge (Skeat, 1 488).

28 *I saw not Cryst laghyng*: this is in accordance with the gospels; and cf. Aelred of Rievaulx: ... quomodo loquatur, id est humiliter, modeste, non alta voce, nec dura nec blanda nec mixta risu ... (*De institutione inclusarum*, Talbot, 641). Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, II xxviii: Domine Jesu Christe, qui verbo et exemplo magis docuisti nos flere quam ridere ... (Rigollot, 3 187). Monastic disapproval of laughter is an ancient tradition. Humilitas uero his indiciis conprobatur: ... decimo si non sit facilis ac promptus in risu (Cassian, *Institutiones*, ed. Guy, 180). This is taken over in the *Benedictine Rule* (de Vogüé and Neufville, 486); and in the Northern prose version of the *Rule* we read: Of þe tende maner o mekenes spekis sain Benet til his cuuent and bidis þat ye sal noght be ouir lazand; and þinkes what þe prophete sais: Stultus in risu etc. (Ecclesiasticus 21.23). Þe fool turnes hys þoght intil lazter, and helpis noht. Lauerd, we pray þe þis resun he halden with vs, and send vs þi wit. Amen (Kock, 14). The added prayer makes Julian's point: laughter is no part of Christ's 'wit', is not a Christ-like characteristic.

29 *but wele I wott*: ... cf. 228.44 and note.

laugh, for I vnderstode that we may laugh in comfortyng of oure selfe and joyeng in god for the feend is overcome. And ther I sawe hym scorne his malis, it was be holdyng to my vnderstandyng in to oure lorde, that is to say an inward shewyng of sothfastnesse *with*out channgyng of chere. For as to my syght it is a wurschyppfull *pro*pyrte that is in god, which is durable.

And after this I felle in to a sadnes, and sayde: I see thre thynges, 28v game, scorne and ernest. I see game, that the feend is ovyrcome, / and I

---

30 *vnderstode*: S2: understand. *selfe*: S2: selues. 31 *for*: S2: for that. *feend*: S1: devil; and so S2. 32 *be holdyng to*: so C; S1: be holdyng of; S2: by leading of. 33 *sothfastnesse*: S1, marg., al. m.: veracity, constancy. 36 *And*: om. S2. *sadnes*: SS: sadhede. 37 *game ... game*: S1: same ... same. *feend*: S2: divel. *and (I)*: om. SS.

---

31 *And ther I sawe ... which is durable*: these two sentences, not in the short text (cf. 228.46) are very close to what Hilton writes in the *Scale*, II chapter 41: Þe more stabelnes þat þer is in grace vnhurt *and* vnbroken, þe luflier (f. 128v) is þe soule *and* more like vnto him in whom is no manere chaungabilite, as þe postel seiþ (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 430). Hilton has in mind Hebrews 1.11-12, which is quoting Psalm 101.27: They shall perish, but thou shalt continue; and they shall all grow old as a garment.

32 *it was be holdyng*: this can mean: 'this was through the fixing of my understanding on our Lord', or 'this was a sight, to my understanding, of our Lord'. Cressy evidently favoured the second interpretation, which makes *beholdyng* a synonym of *shewyng*; S2's substitution is improbable.

33 *sothfastnesse*: in the *Scale*, II chapter 43, the attributes of the Son are listed as: ... endles miȝt, wisdom *and* goodnes, riȝtwisnes, soþfastnes, holynes and mercy ... his soþfastnes (is seen) in trewe rewardynge of gode werkes; *and* al þis is expressed in holy writ (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 135r; Underhill, 449).

36 *And after this ... with sad traveyle*: cf. 228.47-52.

I see ... game: cf. 228.47. The figure there is preserved here unimpaired.

37 *game ... scorne ... ernest ... done in fulle grette ernest, and with sad traveyle*: Julian seems to have in mind a whole complex of Scriptural allusions to the Passion. Isaias 53.10-11 says of the Suffering Servant: The Lord was pleased to bruise him in infirmity. If he shall lay down his life for sin, he shall see a long-lived seed, and the will of the Lord shall be prosperous in his hand. Because his soul has laboured, he shall see and be filled. In Hebrews 12.2 we read: Looking on Jesus, the author and finisher of faith, who having joy set before him ('game'), endured the cross ('ernest ... and with sad traveyle'), despising the shame ('scorne'), and now sits at the right hand of the throne of God (to which the Passion narrative, Matthew 26.64 etc., refers). John 16.21 e.s. contrasts the pains of child-birth with the delivered mother's joy; and from John Chrysostom onwards, exegetes applied this to the Passion and the Resurrection. With *sad traveyle* Julian writes with double meaning (cf. NED Travail *sb.*[1] 4, 'the labour and pain of child-birth', first recorded 1297); a thirteenth-century English version of the *Stabat Mater* says to Mary, traditionally free of pain at the Nativity: Þenne þu loch ah

se scorne, that god scorneth hym, and he shalle be scornyd, and I se ernest, þ*at* he is overcome by the blessydfulle passion and deth of oure
40 lorde Jhesu Crist, that was done in fulle grette ernest and w*ith* sad traveyle. And ther I seyde he is scornyd, I ment that god scornyth hym, that is to sey, for he seeth hym now as he shall do w*ith*ought ende. For in this god shewde that the feende is dampnyd. And this ment I ther I seide he schulde be scornyd; for I saw he schalle be scornyde at domys
45 day generally of all that schal be savyd, to whos saluacion he hath had grett envye. For then he shall see that all the woo and tribulacion that he hath done them shalle be turned in to encrese of ther ioy w*ith*out
29r ende. And all the payne / and the sorow that he wolde haue brought them to shalle for evyr goo w*ith* hym to helle.

---

39 þ*at*: S2: in þ*at*. *blessydfulle*: S1: blissfull; and so S2. 40 *that*: S2: w*hich*. *grette*: om. SS. *with*: om. S2. 41 *ther*: om. SS. *he*: C: that he. *ment*: S1: mene; and so S2. 42 *for (he)*: S2: because. 43 *feende*: S2: divel. *ther*: SS: when. 44 *schulde*: SS: shall. *for I ... scornyde*: om. SS. 45 *saluacion*: S1: consolation; and so S2. *had*: om. SS. 46 *that (he)*: om. S2. 47 *done*: add. SS: to. *in*: om. SS. 48 *the sorow*: S1: tribulation; and so S2. 49 *for evyr*: S1: endlesly; and so S2.

---

nou þu wep, / Þi wa was waken þat tenne slep, / Childing-pine haues te nou picht (C. Brown, XIII 9). Her use of *ernest* may be another *double entendre*: Christ with dedication (NED Earnest *sb.*[1] 2) underwent the Passion and Resurrection as a pledge (NED Earnest *sb.*[2]) of our redemption. This is Paul's thought in I Corinthians 15.22-23: As in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive ... the first fruits, Christ.

41 *And ther I seyde ... with hym to helle*: not in the short text: cf. 228.52.

49 *shalle for evyr goo with hym to helle*: John Sheppey, monk and bishop of Rochester (ob. 1360) has an English poem on the Harrowing of Hell which says: Þe world is bliþe and ek glad, / Þe uendus of helle beþ sorwuel and mad, / Whanne þe kyng godus sone / Þe strengþe of þe deþ hadde ouercome (C. Brown, XIV 53). In the *Ancrene Riwle* we read: Whon ȝe neiȝ ow feeleþ hi*m* for whon ȝe habbe*n* hardi bileeue, nul ȝe bote lauȝwhen hi*m* loude to bisemare ... þ*at* comeþ his pyne to echen, *and* breide*n* ow croune (Vernon MS, f. 384[c]; Day, 121).

The vj Reuelaci(on)

The xiiij Chapter

After this our lorde seyde: I thangke the of thy servys and of thy travelle of thy yowyth. And in thys my vnderstondyng was lyftyd vppe in to hevyn, wher I saw our lorde god as a lorde in his owne howse, whych lorde hayth callyd alle hys derewurthy frendes to a solempne fest. Than I saw the lorde takyng no place in hys awne howse; but I saw hym ryally reigne in hys howse, and all fulfyllyth it *with* joy and myrth, hym selfe endlesly to glad and solace hys derewurthy frendes fulle

---

1 *Reuelacion*: ms: Reuelaci-.

---

1 Add. S1: is of the worshippfull thanke with which (S2: wherewith) he rewardith his serva(n)ts; *and* it hath iij joyes. 3 *After*: C: And after. *our*: add. SS: good. *thy servys ... travelle*: S1: thy travel *and* namely; and so S2. 5 *god*: om. SS. 6 *whych*: S2: who. *lorde*: om. SS. *callyd*: S1: clepid. *frendes*: S1: servants *and* freinds; and so S2. 7 *takyng*: SS: take. 8 *all*: om. SS. *fulfyllyth*: S1: fulfillid; S2: fulfillet. 9 *hym selfe*: om. C. *and (solace)*: add. S1: to.

---

1 *is of the worshippful thanke* (S1): cf. 282.17-18.

3 *I thangke the of thy servys and of thy travelle of thy yowyth*: this corresponds with the short text, 229.53-54, and recalls several Scriptural passages, the closest of which is Jeremias 2.2: I have remembered you, pitying your youth and the love of your espousals.

4 *And in thys ... of ioy and blysse* (352.12): not in the short text; cf. 229.54.

5 *wher I saw our lorde god as a lorde*: this is an *exemplum* (see 513.3 note) related to the great parable of Revelation XIV, the significance of which escapes her until she has understood the full impact of that parable. Hence its absence from the short text. See Introduction, p. 62).

6 *whych lorde hayth callyd alle hys derewurthy frendes to a solempne fest*: Julian is probably remembering the parable of the king who held a marriage feast for his son, Matthew chapter 22; and cf. Apocalypse 19.9: Blessed are they that are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb.

7 *takyng no place in hys awne howse*: the idea of God calling men to a banquet leads her to Luke 12.37: Blessed are those servants whom the lord when he comes shall find waiting. Amen I say to you that he will gird himself and make them sit down to meat and passing will minister to them.

8 *all fulfyllyth it with joy and myrth*: the train of thought is plain: Julian now thinks of Luke chapter 15, the parable of the Prodigal Son, in which the feast with its music and dancing, Jerome, Ambrose, Bede and many others tell us, symbolizes the joy of God and his angels over the conversion of sinners.

homely and fulle curtesly, *with* mervelous melody in endelesse loue in
29v hys / awne feyer blessydfulle chere, which glorious chere of the godhede fulfyllyth alle hevyn of ioy and blysse.

God shewde thre degrees of blysse that ech soule shalle haue in hevyn that wyllyngfully hayth servyd god in any degree in erth. The furst is the wurshyppe (and) thangke of our lorde god that he shall receyve when he is delyverde of payne. This thangke is so hygh and so wurshyppfulle that hym thyngkyth that it fyllyth hym, though ther were no more. For my thought alle the payne and traveyle þat myght be suffrede of all lyvyng men myght nott haue deseruyde the wurschypfull thank that one man shalle haue that wylfully hath servyd god.

For the secunde: that alle the blessyd creatures that be in hevyn /
30r shalle se the wurschypfulle thangkyng. And he makyth hys servys knowyn to alle that be in hevyn; and in thys tyme thys exsample was shewd. A kyng, yf he thanke hys subiettes, it is a grett wurschyppe to them; and yf he make it knowen to all the realme, then ther wurschypp is mech incresyd.

---

15 *and* om. ms.

---

10 *fulle (curtesly)*: om. S2. *in (endelesse)*: SS: of. 11 *blessydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. 12 *alle*: om. S1; S2: the. *hevyn*: S1: hevyns; and so S2. *of*: S2: with. 13 *ech*: SS: every. S2, marg., scr.: The 3 degrees of bliss every soul shall haue in heaven. 14 *wyllyngfully*: SS: wilfully. *in (erth)*: S2: on. 15 *wurshyppe and*: so C; S1: worshipful; and so S2. *thangke*: C: thanks. *that he shall receyve*: om. C. 16 *of*: S2: from. *thangke*: C: thanks. 17 *that (it)*: om. SS. *though*: S1: there. 18 *thought*: add. SS: that. 19 *haue deseruyde*: SS: deserve. 21 *secunde*: add. S2: is. *the (blessyd)*: om. S2. 22 *the (wurschypfulle)*: SS: that. 23 *thys (exsample)*: S2: of. 24 *subiettes*: S1: servants. *to (them)*: S2: for. 25 *make*: S1: makyth; and so S2. *ther wurschypp is*: S1: is his worshippe; and so S2. 26 *mech*: S1: mekil.

---

13 *God shewde ... in hevyn* (352.23): this corresponds with the short text, 230.1-11.

14 *wyllyngfully*: NED, MED do not record. Cf. NED Willesful, Wilsfulli, which may well be what Julian wrote.

The furst: these descriptions of the 'degrees of bliss' are dense with Scriptural allusions. For this first one, cf. Matthew 5.3, 5.6, 25.21-23, 25.34; John 12.26; Romans 8.18; Apocalypse 21.4.

21 *For the secunde*: cf. Psalm 90.15; Luke 15.10; John 17.22.

23 *and in thys tyme ... is mech incresyd*: not in the short text; cf. 230.11.

thys exsample: she may have omitted this from the short text because she did not then see its importance or understand its implications, that we shall be thanked for the pain of our sins. Cf. 445.2 e.s.

And for the thurde: that as new and as lykyng as it is vndertaken that tyme, ryght so schalle it laste *with*out ende. And I saw *þat* homely and swetly was thys shewd, that the age of every man shal be knowen in
30 hevyn, and be rewardyd for hys wyllfulle servys and for hys tyme, and namly þe age of them that wylfully and frely offer ther yowth to god,
30v passynly is rewarded and wonderfully thangkyd. / For I saw that when or what tyme *þat* a man or woman be truly turned to god, for one day servys and for hys endelesse wylle he shall haue alle these thre degrees
35 of blesse. And the more that the lovyng soule seeth this curtesy of god, the levyr she ys to serve hym all her lyfe.

---

27 *And for*: om. SS. *that (as)*: SS: is that. *vndertaken*: S1: underfongyn; marg., al. m.: received; S2: received. *that (tyme)*: S2: that that. 28 *homely*: C; marg.: friendly. 30 *and (be)*: S1: *and* shal; and so S2. 32 *wonderfully*: SS: wonderly is. 33 *þat*: om. SS. *day*: C, S2: dayes. 36 *levyr*: C, marg.: more willingly. *she*: SS: he. *all*: S1: al (the dayes of his - canc.) life. *her*: S2: his.

---

27 *And for the thurde*: cf. I Peter 1.4. This corresponds, as far as *wonderfully thangkyd* (353.32), with the short text, 230.11-17.

28 *homely and swetly was thys shewd*: the short text has *goodely and swetlye was this sayde and schewyd to me* (230.13). This is an example of Julian's editorial meticulousness; the locution as such did not include the notion of eternal thanks, which was only later given to her in contemplation, so that now, looking back, she perceives that *sayde* has become inappropriate. And, so long as the *exsample* of the affable and condescending lord was suppressed, *goodely* would serve; now, *homely* is the *mot juste*.

30 *for hys wyllfulle servys*: cf. the *Chastising*: Þis wilful sacrifice is whanne a man bi free liberte of þe spirite liftiþ vp his herte bi feruour of loue fro þinges þat bien grauntid ... to þe medis of blisse whiche bien ordeyned for hem þat trauailen for hem (Bazire and Colledge, 216).

32 *For I saw ... all her lyfe*: not in the short text; cf. 230.17.

33 *truly turned to god, for one day servys ...*: Julian is here referring to 'second conversion'. She may well have still in mind the parable of the Prodigal Son, but also Matthew chapter 20, that of the workmen in the vineyard, where the inscrutability of God's *endelesse wylle* is shown by the owner giving equal wages for unequal labour, 'For þe grace of god is gret inoghe' (*Pearl*, ed. Gordon, 22-24).

36 *to serve hym all her lyfe*: cf. Luke 1.74-75: we may serve him ... all our days. The canticle of Zacharias was known to every religious from its daily recitation at Lauds, which probably accounts for the interpolation, cancelled, in S1.

The vij Revelation and the xv Chapter

An after thys he shewde a sovereyne gostely lykynge in my soule. In thys lykyng I was fulfyllyde of the evyrlastyng suernesse, myghtely fast-
5 nyd w*ithou3t* any paynefulle drede. This felyng was so glad and so goostely that I was all in peese, in eese and in reste, that ther was nothyng in erth that shulde haue grevyd me.

This lastyd but a whyle, and I was turned and left to my selfe in
31r hevynes and werynes of my life and irkenes of my selfe, / that vnneth I
10 could haue pacience to lyue. Ther was no comfort ne none eese to my

---

1 Add. S1: is of often tymes felyng (S2: is concerning the frequent feeling) of wele *and* wo *et cetera*, and how it is expedient *þat* ('þat' om. S2) man sumtymes be left withoute comfort, synne it not causeing. 3 *In thys lykyng*: om. SS. 4 *of*: S2: with. *the*: om. C. *suernesse*: C: sureness; SS: sekirnes. *fastnyd*: S1: susteinid; and so S2; cf. A (230.20): festnede. 6 *in eese*: om. SS. 7 *in (erth)*: S2: on. *shulde*: S2: could. *haue*: om. S2. 9 *irkenes*: S2: irksomnes. *vnneth*: C: unueth; marg.; scarce; S1: onethis; marg., al. m.; scarcely; S2: scarsely. 10 *ne*: S2: nor. *eese to*: C: to ease. *my felyng*: SS: me.

---

1 *is of often tymes felyng of wele and wo et cetera* (S1): cf. 282.19-23, and 324.1 note.

3 *An after thys ... and dryed to my syght* (357.11): this corresponds with the short text, 230.18-233.10.

a sovereyne gostely lykynge in my soule: at the end of this chapter Julian glosses this as *the endlesse lykyng that is god* (356.35).

3-7: these two sentences are, again, dense with Scriptural allusions: Therefore my heart has been glad (Psalm 15.9); And in peace in this I will sleep and I will rest (id. 4.9); The Lord is my light and my salvation. Whom shall I fear? (id. 26.1); ... and the fire touched them not at all, nor troubled them, nor did them any harm (Daniel 3.50). We may also compare what the *Cloud* author writes in *Privy Counselling*: In þis tyme it is þat þou boþe seest þi god and þi loue, and nakidly felist hym also bi goostly onyng to his loue in þe souereyn poynte of þi spirit (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 169). In *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Þe þridde degre is a staat of wondirful swetnes *and* softnes *and* of gladnes, of reste *and* of cleernes (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 147^{v}; Jones, 96).

5 *paynefulle*: not in the short text; cf. 230.20.

8 *left to my selfe in hevynes and werynes of my life and irkenes of my selfe*: cf. *Scale*, II chapter 28: ... goostly tribulaciouns ... schal be boþ wiþin, of drede *and* doutes *and* perplexitees *þat* it schal nerhand fallen in dispeire, *and* it schal seme as it were forsaken of god *and* left al in þe handes of þe fende, outaken a litel pryuey trust *þat* it schal haue *in* þe godenes of god (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 99^{r}; Underhill, 348). With this account of 'hevynes and werynes', cf. Psalm 68.21, Matthew 26.38, Mark 14.33, Romans 7.24.

9 *irkenes*: 'weariness'. NED, MED do not record.

felyng, but feyth, hope and cheryte; and these I had in truth but fulle lytylle in felyng. And anon after thys oure blessyd lorde ȝaue me aȝeane the comfort and the rest in soule, lykyng and suernesse so blyssydfully and so myghtely that no drede, ne sorow, ne no peyne bodely ne gostely
15 that myght be sufferde shulde haue dyssesyde me. And than the payne sheweth ayeen*n* to my felyng, and than the joy and the lykyng, and now that oon*n* and now that other, dyuerse tymes, I suppose about twenty tymes. And in the tyme of joy I myght haue seyde *with* seynt Paule: Nothyng shalle departe me fro the charyte of Crist; and in the payne I
31v myght haue seyd *with* seynt Peter: / Lorde, sauc me, I peryssch.
21 This vision was shewde to lerne me att my vnderstandyng that it is spedfulle to some soules to feele on thys wyse, some tyme to be in comfort, and some tyme for to fayle and to be lefte to them selfe. God wylle that we know that he kepyth vs evyr in lyke suer, in wo and in wele; and
25 for profyȝte of mans soule a man is somtyme left to hym selfe, all thogh

---

11 *fulle*: om. SS. 12 *anon*: C: none. *lorde*: om. S1, add. al. m. 13 *the (comfort)*: C: of the. *lykyng*: S1: in likyng; and so S2. *suernesse*: SS: sekirnes. *blyssydfully*: SS: blisful. 14 *myghtely*: C: mightifully; S1: mycti; S2: mirthy. *ne (sorow)*: SS: no. *no (peyne)*: om. SS. *ne gostely*: om. SS. 16 *sheweth*: S1: shewid; and so S2. *ayeenn*: C, S2: again; S1: ageyn. *and (now)*: om. S2. 17 *that (oonn)*: S2: the. *now that*: S2: then again the. 18 *the (tyme)*: S2: that. *tyme*: S1: same time. 20 *seynt (Peter)*: om. S2. 21 *to lerne*: om. SS. *att*: SS: after. 22 *to (some)*: S2: for. 23 *for*: om. C, SS. *them selfe*: S2: þemselues. 24 *that (we)*: om. SS. *evyr in lyke suer*: SS: even alike sekir. 25 *somtyme*: C, S2: sometimes. *all*: om. S2.

12-15 Julian may have in mind Proverbs 12.21: Whatever shall befall the just man, it shall not make him sad, or II Corinthians 1.3-4: ... the God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our tribulation.

14 *mightifully* (C): NED records Mightiful, *a.* (three examples, the first a. 1300, *Cursor Mundi*, the last 1548), but not the adverb.

18 *And in the tyme of joy* ...: the Scriptural allusions here are to Romans 8.35, Matthew 14.30, 8.25. Cf. 231.33 note. Either this version of the *compar* has been improved with rewriting, or that in the short text has suffered scribal damage.

21 *lerne*: 'teach'. Cf. NED, Learn, *v.* II: 'now vulgar', an opinion which the SS scribes, or an ancestor, shared.

att: cf. NED At, *prep.* I.10: '... the channel *through* or *by* which ...'.

it is spedfulle to some soules ...: cf. John 16.7: It is expedient to you that I go.

25 *all thogh hys synne* ...: cf. 231.41 and note. The *Cloud*, also dealing with desolation, makes the same point: And euermore whan þe felyng of grace is wiþdrawen, pride is þe cause; not euer pride þat is, bot pride þat schuld be ne were þat þis feling of grace were wiþdrawen ... Sometyme oure lorde wil delaye it bi a cauteel ... (Hodgson, 131-2). This is only one illustration of what had become a commonplace. Another source for Julian may have been Guigo's *Ladder*: ... anone the spowse that by the with gelows lovys was desyred glydith awey, and withdrawith that swettnes that he in contemplacion to his lover sent (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 112; cf. Colledge and Walsh, 11).

hys synne is nott evyr the cause. For in this tyme I synned nott were for I shulde be left to my selfe, for it was so sodeyne. Also I deservyd nott to haue this blyssydfulle felyng, but frely our lorde g(i)veth it when he wylle, and sufferyth vs in wo some tyme, and both is one loue. For it is
30 goddes wylle that we holde vs in comfort *with* alle oure myght; for
32r blysse is lastyng *with*ou3t ende, and payne is passyng, and shall / be brought to nowght to them that shall be savyd. Therfore it is not goddes wylle that we folow the felyng of paynes in sorow and mow(r)nyng for them, but soday(n)ly passe ovyr and holde vs in the endlesse lykyng
35 that is god.

---

28 *giveth*: ms: gaveth. 33 *mowrnyng*: ms: mownyng. 34 *sodaynly*: ms: sodayly.

---

26 *hys*: om. SS. *is*: S2: be. *evyr*: S2: alwayes. *were for*: C: wherefore; and so SS. 27 *deservyd*: S2: desired. 28 *blyssydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. *lorde*: add. S2: god. *gaveth* (ms): C: giveth; and so SS. 29 *some tyme*: S2: sometimes. 30 *that*: om. SS. 32 *savyd*: add. S2: and. 33 *mowrnyng*: so C, SS. 34 *passe*: SS: passing. *the (endlesse)*: om. SS. 35 *that is god*: om. SS.

---

26 *For in this tyme I synned nott*: in editing for the long text, she is here exercising discretion. In *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*, we read: And þerfore as grete a peril as it is, a soule þat is fallen in sinne not for to charge his consience þerwiþ ne for to amende hym þerof, as grete a peril it is ... a man for to charge his concience wiþ iche þo3t and stering of sinne þat wil come in him. For by soche nice charging of concience mi3t he li3tly renne into errour of concience, and so be ledde into dispeire alle his liiftyme (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 90).

27 *for it was so sodeyne*: not in the short text; cf. 232.44.

28 *frely our lorde giveth it when he wylle* ...: cf. John 3.8: The Spirit breathes where he will ... you do not know whence he comes and where he goes.

giveth: P's *gaveth* does not merit consideration.

29 *one loue*: cf. 232.46.

30 *that we holde vs in comfort with alle oure myght*: cf. Luke 21.19: In your patience you shall possess your souls.

32 *to them that shall be savyd*: not in the short text; cf. 232.48. Julian again is careful to specify, here in the long text, that she is writing of the predestined, among whom she, or anyone else who is anxious to serve God, is entitled in hope to number himself or herself. The author of the *Chastising*, glossing I Corinthians 3.9, writes: ... predestinacion of god is fulfilled bi preiers of seintis and bi a mans desertis ... þanne mowen we truste sikirli þat he haþ ordeyned us to be of þe nombre of his chosyn children (Bazire and Colledge, 158).

The viij Reuelation and the xvj Chapter

After thys Crist shewde a parte of hys passyon nere his dyeng. I saw the swete face as it were drye and blodeles *with* pale dyeng and deede
5 pale, langhuryng and than turned more deede in to blew, and after in browne blew, as the flessch turned more depe dede. For his passion shewde to me most propyrly in his blessyd face, and namely in hys lyppes. Ther in saw I these iiij colours: tho *þat* were be fore fressch and rody, lyuely and lykyng to my syght. This was a peinfulle chaungyng, to
32v se this depe / dying, and also hys nose clo(n)gyn to geder and dryed to
11 my syght; and the swete body waxid browne and blacke, alle chaungyd

---

10 *clongyn*: ms: cloeggeran.

---

1 Add. S1: is (S2: is concerning) of the last petivous peynes of Christe deyeng *and* discoloryng of his face *and* dreyeng of his flesh. 4 *the*: SS: his. *as*: S2: and. *were*: SS: was. *deede pale*: S1: sithen more pale dede; and so S2; cf. 233.3: *sithenn mare dede pale*. 5 *langhuryng*: C: languring; SS: langoring. *and after in browne blew*: om. C. 8 *tho*: C: those; S2: thō (S2's usual spelling for 'though'). *þat*: S2: they. *and (rody)*: om. SS. 9 *rody*: SS: redy (alt. in S2 to 'rody'). *lyuely*: om. SS. *and (lykyng)*: om. S1. *peinfulle*: C: pittifull; S1: swemful; marg., al. m.: strange, gastly; S2: swemful. *chaungyng*: S1: chonge; S2: change. 10 *hys*: SS: the. *nose*: C: most. *cloeggeran* (ms): C: cloggering (foll. by asterisk, usual sign for gloss, but none suppl.); S1: clonge; S2: clange. *to geder*: om. SS. 11 *waxid*: SS: was. *chaungyd and turned*: S1: turned; and so S2.

---

1 *is of the last petivous peynes* ... (S1): cf. 282.24.

3 *shewde*: Julian reiterates, line 7; and in this short chapter she uses 'saw' three times, 'syght' four. It is as though she is aware that she is recording disagreeable detail, and wishes to emphasize that these are no mere imaginings of her own.

7 *propyrly*: cf. NED, Proper, *a.*, I.2., 'Belonging or relating to the person or thing in question distinctively ...'.

10 *clongyn*: cf. 233.10: *clunge*, and note, 359.28.

11 *and the swete body ... so longe sufferde he* (358.24): not in the short text; cf. 233.10. *browne and blacke, alle chaungyd*: cf. 225.24 and note, 233.3: ... *dede, pale, langourrande, and than turned more ded to the blewe, and sithene mare blewe*; and 328.40: ... *often chaungyng of coloure, of the brownhead and the blackhead*. This detail, the visible process of discoloration, seems to have impressed the imaginations of Julian and her contemporaries. In *Christ's Three Songs to Man*, the Saviour is made to say: Mi bodi is as red as ro, / þornes prikken myn hed fol sore, / Mi visage waxit wan and blo, / I haue so bled I may no more (C. Brown, XIV 92); and in the verse *Meditacio de passione Christi* found in manuscripts of Rolle's *Ego dormio* we read: Naked es his

and turned ouȝte of þe feyer fressch and lyuely coloure of hy*m* selfe in to drye dyeng. For that same tyme that oure blessyd sauyour dyed vp-pon the rode, it was a dry sharp wynd, wonder colde as to my syght; and what tyme that þe precyous blode was bled out of the swete body that myght passe ther fro, yet ther was a moyster in the swete flessch of Crist as it was shewde. Blodlessehed and payne dryed *with* in, and blowyng of the wynde and colde comyng from *with* out, mett to geder in the swete body of Christ; and thesse iiij dryed the flessch of Crist by prosses of tyme. And thowe this peyne was bitter and sharp, yet it was
33r fulle longe lastyng, as to my syght./ And the payne dryede vppe alle the lyuely spyrites of Cristes flessh. Thus I saw the swete flessch dry in my syght, parte after perte dryeng *with* mervelous payne. And as long as any spryte had lyffe in Cristes flessch, so longe sufferde he. This long peyne semyde to me as if he had be sennyght deede, dyeng at þe poynt

---

12 *þe*: om. SS. *fressch and*: om. SS. *in*: S1: on. 13 *same*: SS: eche. *blessyd*: S1: lord *and* blissid; and so S2. 14 *rode*: S2: cross. *sharp*: SS: harre. *wynd*: add. SS: and. *wonder*: S1: wond. 15 *that (þe)*: om. SS. 16 *was (a)*: S1: dwellid; and so S2. *moyster*: C, S2: moisture; S1: moyshure. 17 *Blodlessehed*: C: bloodshed; S2: bloodlesnes. 18 *the (wynde)*: om. SS. 19 *iiij*: add. S1: tweyn withouten *and* tweyn within; and so S2. 20 *prosses*: C, SS: process. *was (bitter)*: om. SS; C: were. *yet*: om. SS. 21 *the payne*: S1: peynfully; and so S2. 22 *lyuely*: om. S2. *dry*: S2: dye. *my syght*: S1: semyng be; and so S2. 23 *payne*: S1: peynys; and so S2. 24 *spryte*: C, S2: Spirit; S1: spirit. *he (This)*: add. S1: peyne; and so S2. 25 *peyne*: S1: pynyng; and so S2. *sennyght (deede)*: C: a sennet; and so S2.

---

whit breste, and rede es his blody syde, / Wan was his fayre hew ... (Allen, *English Writings*, 68). Hope Allen (*Rolle*, 290) and others have observed that such treatments derive from *Candet nudatum pectus* (— rubet cruentum latus, / tensa arent viscera ...) found in the *Oratio ad deum patrem* (PL 158 861) spuriously attributed to Anselm. It is as though Julian, when she came to edit the long text, was forced to tell as fully as possible how her prayer, *that I might haue seen bodilie the passion that our lord suffered for me, that I might haue suffered with him* (285.10) was answered.

14 *it was a dry sharp wynd*: this is inspired by John 18.18, and is often mentioned in mediaeval literature of the Passion. The *Privity*, describing the Flagellation, has: Beholde hym here besyly thus betyne and all tremlyne for colde, for, as þe gospell sais, þe wedire was cold (Horstman, 1 203; Stallings, 107; Ragusa and Green, 329).

harre (SS): cf. NED, Hoar, *a.* and *sb.*, C: 'From the use in *hoar frost* ... comes prob. that of "Cold, nipping"'. The examples are Scottish, the first c. 1450, Henryson. Probably the P reading, *sharp*, is what Julian wrote.

17 *Blodlessehed and payne dryed with in / and blowyng of the wynde and colde comyng from with out / mett to geder in the swete body of Christ*: a *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum* (*with in ... with out*).

24 *This long peyne ... the gret peyne* (359.26): this corresponds with the short text, 233.11-12.

25 *dyeng at þe poynt of out passyng*: not in the short text; cf. 233.11.

of out passyng, alwey sufferyng the gret peyne. And ther I say it semyd as he had bene sennyght deed, it specyfyeth that the swet body was so dyscolouryd, so drye, so clongyn, so dedly and so pytuous as he had bene sennyght deed, contynually dyeng. And me thought the dryeng of
30 Cristes flessch was the most peyne and the last of his passion.

---

26 *alwey*: S1: awey; and so S2. *gret*: SS: last. *ther*: S1: than. *say*: C: saw; SS: said. *semyd*: add. SS: to me. 27 *as*: add. SS: if. *sennyght*: C: a sennet; SS: seven night. *specyfyeth*: S1: menyth; and so S2. 28 *and (so)*: om. S2. *pytuous*: C: piteous; S1: petevous; S2: petivous. 29 *(bene) sennyght*: C: sevenight; SS: seven night. *dryeng*: S1: deyeng; and so S2.

---

26 *And ther I say ... contynually dyeng*: not in the short text; cf. 233.11. Julian's eye for detail, and her power to describe it, is conveyed here in the long text by balanced *cola*: *And ther I say it semyd as he had bene sennyght deed / it specyfyeth that the swet body was so dyscolouryd / so drye so clongyn so dedly and so pytuous / as he had bene sennyght deed contynually dyeng.*

29 *And me thought ... and weyght of the body* (360.9): this corresponds with the short text, 233.11-234.21.

The xvij Chapter /

33v And in this dryeng was brought to my mynde this worde that Crist seyd: I thurst. For I sawe in Crist a dowbylle thurst, oon bodely and a nother gostly. This worde was shewyd for the bodyly thurste and for the gostely thurst was shewyd as I shalle sey after; and I vnderstode by the bodyly thurste that the body had feylyng of moyster, for the blessyde flessch and bonys was lefte alle aloone without blode and moyster. The blessyd body dryed alle a loon long tyme, *with* wryngyng of the nayles and weyght of the body; for I vnderstode that for ten-

---

1 ms: The ix Reuelation and the xvij Chapter.

---

1 *xvij*: S1: xviij. 2 Add. S1: of the grevous bodyly threst of Criste causyd iiij wysys (S2: ways), *and* of his petovous coronyng *and* of the most payne to a kinde lover. *this (dryeng)*: S2: þe. *dryeng*: S1: deyng; and so S2. *was*: S2: were. *this worde that*: SS: the worde of. 3 *seyd*: om. SS. *and (a)*: om. SS. 4 *gostly*: add. S1: the which I shal speke of in the xxxi capt., for; and so S2. *and for ... shewyd*: S1: the which I vnderstode was causid of; and so S2. 5 *as I shalle ... body had*: om. SS. 6 *feylyng*: C: feeling. *for the blessyde ... moyster*: om. S2. 8 *alle (a)*: om. SS. *a loon*: add. S2: a.

---

1 (ms) *The ix Reuelation*: cf. Introduction, 95.

petovous (S1): the nearest spelling to this recorded by NED is c. 1375, Scottish, 'petowiss'. S2 has *pitivous*, also designated Scottish in NED.

4 *for the bodyly thurste*: cf. the *Privity*: ... hym thrystede bodily: and þat was no wondyr, for thurghe scheddynge of hys precyouse blode so habundandly ... he was all inwardly drye and thristy (Horstman, 1 207). Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: Whate man also 3eldeth hym thankynges for þat grete þryste wharewith he threstede mannes helth ande saluacioun in the crosse, that thankkynge schalle be acceptable to hym as 3if he hadde slokende his þryste whan he hange on the crosse (Halligan, 356).

the which I shal speke of in the xxxi capt. (S1): cf. 418.14 e.s.

5 *as I shalle sey after*: cf. 418.14 e.s.

6 *feylyng*: C's *feeling* is nonsensical.

moyster: NED records this as a fifteenth and sixteenth-century spelling.

7 *was*: so C, S1 (om. S2). Cf. NED, Be, III. 6.2. 'Was' governed by a plural subject is still common in Northern dialects.

without blode and moyster: cf. Psalm 21.15: I am poured out like water, and all my bones are scattered.

9 *for I vnderstode ... clyngyng and dryeng* (364.46): not in the short text; cf. 234.21.

dyrnes of the swete handes and the swete feet by the grete hardnes and grevous of the naylys, the woundys waxid wyde, and the body satylde for weyght, by long tyme hangyng and persyng and rasyng of þe heed and byndyng of the crowne alle / bakyn *with* drye blode, *with* the swet here clyngyng the drye flessch to the thornys, and the thornys to the flessch dryeng. And in the begynnyng, whyle the flessch was fressch and

341r

---

12 *rasyng*: ms: ransyng.

---

10 *and (the)*: add. SS: of. *grete hardnes*: S1: gretnes hardhede; S2: greatnes hardnes. 11 *grevous*: C: grievousness; and so S2; S1: grevoushed. *satylde*: C: steled; S1: saggid; and so S2. 12 *ransyng* (ms): C: raising; S1: wrangyng; and so S2. 14 *clyngyng*: add. SS: and. 15 *dryeng*: S1: deyand; and so S2.

---

10 *grete hardnes and grevous*: this gives acceptable sense, 'the great and cruel hardness', and has not been emended, but S2's reading, carefully punctuated by the scribe, *the greatnes, hardnes, and grieveousnes*, says more: the nails were big, as well as hard and cruel; and it has *similiter desinens*. But this could easily be S2's own work.

12 *rasyng*: 'scraping, shaving'. The emendation is suggested by 362.18, *rasyd*, it is supported by C's 'raising', and see NED, Rase *v.*[1] 1, and the *Promptorium parvulorum*: Racynge or scrapynge of bokis or oder lyke: *abrasio* (Mayhew, 365). The definition alludes to the scraping smooth of parchment, the next process after it has been stretched; see 363.39 note. The English verse *Meditationes de passione Christi* describe how Mary held her dead son's head: She beheld hit how it was ibroke / Prikked *and* brissed wiþ mani a stroke / Shaue also boþe berd and hed / Wiþ þornes irent of blod al red (MS Bodley 415, f. 86[a]). Cf. Stallings, 121, where the Latin states that this was revealed by Christ 'cuidam devote sue', and that it was in fulfilment of Isaias 50.6. Stallings adduces only Bonaventure's *Vitis mystica*, where he too says this (156); but the 'devota' is probably Mechtild of Hackborn. In her *Book of Special Grace* we read: ... sche begane to thenke wheyþere oure lorde Jhesu hadde any reward in blis off the fadere in hevene for the terynge of his berde in his passyoun (Book II, chapter 10; Halligan, 340).

13 *and byndyng of the crowne alle bakyn with drye blode*: for a representation of a closely-woven crown, covering Christ's entire head, which four Jews are using their whole weight and crossed staves to press down, see E. Luccesi Palli and R. Hausherr, 'Dornenkrönung' (LCI 1 coll. 513-516), pl. 2. In a *Dispute between Mary and the Cross*, one bystander on Calvary says: Þorwout his helm, þe harde hat, / Þe þornes into his flesch gan crepe (Furnivall: *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, 620). MED helm (b) gives two earlier examples of the noun used to describe the crown of thorns.

with the swet here clyngyng the drye flessch ...: if this punctuation be correct, *clyngyng* must be transitive, 'making the dry flesh adhere', but NED Cling, *v.*, 7, 8 has as its first instance 1583 Stanyhurst *AEneis*, and MED records no transitive example. Alternatively, the passage could be punctuated: ... alle bakyn with drye blode with the swete here clyngyng, the drye flessch to the thornys and the thornys to the flessch dryeng. This would give *commutatio*.

14 *and the thornys* ...: this and other details in what follows to the end of this paragraph are repeated in the elucidation of the parable of the lord and the servant, chapter 51; cf. 541.288-293.

bledyng, the contynualle syttyng of the thornes made the woundes wyde. And ferthermore I saw that the swet skynne and the te(n)dyr flessch *with* the here and *with* the blode was alle rasyd and losyde aboue *with* the thornes and brokyn in many pecis, and were hangyng as they
20 wolde hastely haue fallen downe whyle it had kynde moyster. How it was doone I saw nott, but I vnderstode that it was *with* the sharpe thornes and the boystours grevous syttyng on of the garlonde, not sparyng and *with*out pytte, that alle tho brake the swet skynne *with* the flessch, and þe here losyd it from the boone. Wher thorow it was broken on
34v pecys as a / cloth, and saggyng downwarde, semyng as it wolde hastely
26 haue fallen for heuynes and for lowsenes. And that was grete sorow and drede to me, for me though(t) that I wolde nott for my life haue seen it fall.

---

17 *tendyr*: ms: terdyr. 27 *thought*: ms: though.

---

16 *contynualle*: S1: continuant. *syttyng*: C: setting. *woundes*: S2: wound. 17 *the (tendyr)*: om. S2. *terdyr* (ms): C, SS: tender. 18 *with (the blode)*: om. SS. *aboue*: C: about. 19 *with the thornes ... þe here losyd it*: om. SS. 21 *doone*: C: down. 22 *boystours*: C, SS: boystrous. 23 *alle tho*: C: altho. 24 *boone*: add. S1: with the thornys; and so S2. *Wher thorow*: S2: by *which*. *was broken on pecys*: S1: were daggyd on many pecys; S2. was jagged on many pieces. *on (pecys)*: C: in. 25 *and saggyng*: SS: that were saggand. *downwarde*: om. SS. *semyng*: om. C, SS. *hastely*: S2: suddenly. 26 *fallen*: add. S1: of; and so S2. *for (lowsenes)*: S1: lose while it had kynde moysture (supplying part of the previous omission — cf. 362.20); and so S2, w. 'naturall' for 'kynde'. 27 *that (I)*: om. SS. 28 *fall*: SS now supply more of the previous omission: S1: How it was don I saw not, but understode it was with the sharpe thornys *and* the boystrous *and* grevous setting on of the garland onsparengly ('engly' canc. 'ably' corr. scr.; S2: unsparably) *and* without pety.

---

22 *boystours*: the C and SS variants suggest that this is a bungled P spelling of 'boistrous' (cf. NED Boisterous, MED boistreous, boistres), but how 'boistrous' developed in late ME from 'boistous' (cf. NED Boistous, MED boistous) is so problematical — NED's suggestion is 'some obscure analogy' — that it has been judged better to leave P's evidence, for what it is worth, unaltered.

23 *alle tho*: 'all those', that is, the many injuries caused by the thorns. C's *altho* is another example of misdivision; cf. 312.20 note.

24 *broken*: this has been retained, but S1's *daggyd*, followed by *as a cloth*, is plausible. Cf. NED, Dag, *v.*[1], 'To cut the edge of a garment into long, pointed jags; to slash, vandyke', and one quotation in MED daggen, v (1): She repreueþ my dagged clopes / And longe pyked crakowed shon (a 1450). NED's last example for this sense is 1523, Skelton; and S2's substitution, *jagged*, shows that by then, the late seventeenth century, it was archaic.

28 *onsparengly / onsparably* (S1) / *unsparably* (S2): the scribe of S1 has recognized that 'unsparably' is a nonce-word.

This contynued a whyle, and after it began to chaunge; and I behelde
30 and marveylyd how it myght be. And than I saw it was, for it beganne
to dry and stynt a parte of the weyght that was rownd about the
garland, and so it was enuyroned all about, as it were garland vpon
garland. The garlonde of thornes was deyde *with* the blode; and that
other garlond and the hede, all was one colowre, as cloteryd blode
35 when it was dryed. The skynne and the flesshe that semyd of the face
and of the body was smalle rympylde *with* a tawny coloure, lyke a drye
bord when it is agyd, and the face more browne than the body.
35r I saw / iiij maner of dryeng. The furst was blodlesse, the secunde
payne folowyng after, the thurde is that he was hangyng vppe in the
40 eyer as men hang a cloth for to drye, the fowyrth that the bodely kynde

---

29 *after*: S1: sone; and so S2. 30 *saw*: add. S2: how. 31 *that was*: S1: *and* sette; and so S2. 32 *so*: SS: thus. *was (enuyroned)*: om. SS. 33 *of (thornes)*: add. SS: the. *deyde*: S2: dryed. *blode*: C: garland of blood. 34 *all was one*: S2: were all of a. *cloteryd*: S1: clodery d; and so S2. 35 *was dryed*: S1: is drey; and so S2. *and (the)*: SS: of. 36 *rympylde*: S1: ronkyllid; S2: wrinkeled. *tawny*: S1: tannyd. 37 *agyd*: SS: akynned. 38 *dryeng*: S1: dryengs; and so S2. *blodlesse*: S2: þe want of blood. *secunde*: add. SS: was. 39 *is that he was*: om. SS. 40 *for*: om. S1; S2: up. *kynde*: S2: nature.

---

36 *rympylde*: this gives excellent sense; cf. NED, Rimple, *v.* and *n.* But so does S1's *ronkyllid*; in *Gawain*, the shining beauty of the younger lady is contrasted with the appearance of her hideous and bedizened companion: Riche red on þat on rayled ayquere, / Rugh ronkled chekez þat oþer on rolled (Tolkien and Gordon, 27).

37 *akynned* (SS): in S1 the word is underlined, the usual mark of a reading questioned by the corrector; but there is no marginal correction. It is impossible to suggest sense.

39 *he was hangyng vppe in the eyer as men hang a cloth for to drye*: Victor Deyglio observes the striking similarity of this to the English *Privity*: And whene he was thus sprede obrode one þe crosse more straite þan any parchemyne skyne es sprede one þe harowe ..., which is repeated in the Cambridge UL MS Add. 3042 version of Rolle's *Meditationes* (Horstman 1 206, 100). This is evidently an addition of the translator, not found in Stallings (113) or Ragusa and Green (334). In a *Dispute between Mary and the Cross*, Mary says: Mi loue ilolled vp in þe eyr (Morris: *Legends of the Holy Rood*, 134). *Christ's Testament* is probably following the *Privity* in making Christ describe himself: And strayte istreynet on þe rode, / Streynet to druye on rode tre / As parchemyn oweþ for to be (Furnivall, ed.: *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* 2, 643). The same simile, probably also derived from the *Privity*, is found in *The Poor Caitiff* (Brady, 128).

40 *the bodely kynde askyd lycoure*: cf. Psalm 68.22: ... and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

askyd lycoure, and ther was no maner of comfort mynystryd to hym. A, hard and grevous was that payne; but much more harder and grevous it was when þe moystur fayled, and all began to dryc, thus clyngyng. Theyse were ij paynes that shewde in the blyssed hed. The furst wrought to the dryeng whyle it was moyst, and that other slow *with* clyngyng and dryeng, *with* blowyng of wynde fro *with*out, that dryed hym more and payned *with* colde than my hart can thingke, and all other peynes, for which paynes I saw that alle is to lytylle that I can sey, for it / may nott be tolde.

The shewyng of Cristes paynes fylled me fulle of peynes, for I wyste welle he suffyryde but onys, but as he wolde shewe it me and fylle me *with* mynde, as I had before desyerde. And in alle thys tyme of Cristes *pr*esens, I felte no peyne, but for Cristes paynes; than thought me I knew fulle lytylle what payne it was that I askyd, and as a wrech I repentyd me, thyngkyng if I had wyste what it had be, loth me had been to haue preyde it. For me thought my paynes passyd ony bodely deth. I

---

41 *askyd*: S1: asky; S2: requires. *hym*: add. S1: in al his wo. *and* disese; and so S2. 42 *that*: SS: his. *harder*: C, SS: hard. 44 *ij*: SS: the. *shewde*: S2: appeared. *blyssed*: S1: blissful; and so S2. 45 *dryeng*: S1: deyng; and so S2. 46 *and (dryeng)*: om. SS. *of*: SS: of the. 47 *all (other)*: om. SS. 49 *may nott*: S2: cannot. *tolde*: S2: exprest. 50 *The (shewyng)*: add. S1: which; and so S2. *paynes*: S1: payne; and so S2. 51 *welle*: add. C: that. 53 *presens*: S1: paynys; and so S2. 54 *fulle*: SS: but. *I (repentyd)*: om. SS. 56 *ony*: om. SS.

---

41 *ther was no maner of comfort mynystryd to hym*: Julian may be contrasting the Passion with the sojourn in the desert, at the end of which angels came to minister to the hungry and thirsty Christ (Matthew 4.11).

43, 46 *clyngyng*: 'shrivelling'. Cf. NED Cling, *v.*[1] 2, 'the ... shrivelling up of animal or vegetable tissues', where the first example is c. 1000, Aelfric, and the last 1414. This gives added force to line 39 above, where Christ suspended on the Cross is compared with a cloth hung up in the wind to dry (and, it may be, to shrink in the process, as the *Privity* states; cf. 363.39 note.

46 *that dryed hym more ... may nott be tolde* (364.49): this corresponds with the short text, 233.13-234.25.

47 *than my hart can thingke*: cf. 237.11 and note.

50 *The shewyng ... before desyerde* (364.52): this corresponds with the short text, 234.26-29.

51 *he suffryde but onys*: cf. Hebrews 9.11-12: But Christ ... by his own blood entered once into the holy of holies, having obtained eternal redemption.

53 *I knew fulle lytylle what payne it was that I askyd*: cf. Matthew 20.22: You know not what you ask. Can you drink the chalice that I shall drink? And cf. the English *Mirror of St. Edmund*: For if all þe sekenes of þis werlde and all þe sorowe ware in þe body of a mane anely, and þat man myghte consayfe alls mekill noye and angwysce and sorowe in his body als all þe mene of þis werlde moghte thynke, ȝitt it ware full littill or els noghte to regarde of þe sorowe þat he sufferde for vs ane houre of þe daye (Horstman, 1 236).

54 *and as a wrech ... to haue preyde it*: not in the short text; cf. 234.35.

thought: Is ony payne in helle lyk thys? And I was answeryd in my reson: Helle is a nother peyne, for ther is dyspyer. But of alle peyne þat leed to saluacion, thys is the most, to se the louer to suffer. How myght
36r ony peyne be more then to / see hym that is alle my lyfe, alle my blysse
61 and alle my joy suffer? Here felt I stedfastly that I louyd Crist so much aboue my selfe that ther was no peyne that myght be sufferyd lyke to that sorow that I had to see hym in payne.

---

57 *in helle*: om. SS. 58 *dyspyer*: C: Despair; S1: despey; S2: despaire. S2, marg., scr.: The greatest pain of a true lover. *peyne*: C: pains; and so SS. 59 *most*: S2: greatest pain. *the louer*: S1: thy love; and so S2. *to (suffer)*: om. SS. *more*: add. SS: to me. *is (alle)*: om. S1; in S2, in parentheses. 61 *felt*: C: lest. *stedfastly*: S1: sothfastly; S2: assuredly.

---

57 *Is ony payne in helle lyk thys?* Cf. the *Mirror of St. Edmund*: Þenne may sum mon seyen þat þe serwe þat he suffrede for vs on þe crois was grettore þen þe peyne of helle is, in so luytel tyme: for wȝi? No creature miȝte so muche suffren as Jhesu, for þer hedde non so gret vertu in him; but sum creature may suffren þe peines of helle: þen is þe peyne of helle lasse for þe tyme þen þe peyne of Jesu. I sey not þis certeynliche, but for sum mennes concience (Horstman, 1 256).

in my reson: Julian may mean 'in my reasoning faculty'; but it does not seem as if this is what she is describing. She has asked a question, and she receives this answer 'to my question'. Cf. 263.17 and note, suggesting that *resonn* there is the rhetoricians' *ratiocinatio*, 'reasoning by question and answer'.

58 *Helle is a nother peyne ...*: cf. 235.38 and note.

60 *alle my lyfe / alle my blysse / and alle my joy*: *repetitio*.

62 *that ther was no peyne that myght be sufferyd lyke to that sorow*: cf. 235.42: *it hadde beene a grete eese to me to hafe dyede bodylye*. Here in the long text Julian seems to have in mind Lamentations 1.12: See if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow.

The xviij C(h)apter

Here I saw in parte the compassion of our blessed lady sainct Mary; for Crist and she was so onyd in loue that the grettnes of her loue was cause of the grettnes of her peyne. For in this I saw a substance of kynde loue contynued by grace that his creatures haue to hym, which kynde loue was most fulsomly shewde in his swete mother, and ovyrpassyng, for so much as she louyd hym more then alle other, her peyne passyd alle other. For ever the hygher, the myghtyer, the swetter that the loue is, the more sorow / it is to the lover to se that body in payne that he lovyd. And so alle hys dyscyples and alle his tru lovers sufferyd

36v

---

1 *Chapter*: ms: Capter.

---

1 S1: Of the spiritual martyrdom of our lady *and* other lovers of Criste, and how althings suffryd hym goode *and* ylle; and so S2. 2 *in*: SS: a. *parte*: add. SS: of. *blessed*: om. SS. 3 *was (so)*: SS: were. *onyd*: C, marg., S2: united. *her (loue)*: S2: his. *loue (was)*: S1: lovyng; and so S2. 4 *grettnes*: S1: mekylhede. 5 *his*: om. SS. 6 *fulsomly*: C, marg.: plenteous. *ovyrpassyng*: S2: surpassing. 7 *peyne*: S1: panys; S2: paines. 8 *other*: S2: others. *myghtyer*: add. S2: *and*. 9 *is (the)*: S1: be. 10 *he*: SS: is. *so*: om. SS.

---

1 *spiritual martyrdom* (S1): this has the ring of the seventeenth century. Julian would most probably have written 'ghostly passion'.

2 *Here I saw ... of her peyne* (366.4): this corresponds with the short text, 235.43-45.

the compassion of our blessed lady: cf. the *Privity*: ... his sorowfull modir, whas sorow and compassione was gretly þe cause of encressyng of hir dere sones passione, and þe sones passione ekede þe modire serowe (Horstman, 1 206; Stallings, 113; Ragusa and Green, 335).

4 *For in this I saw ... that he lovyd*: not in the short text; cf. 235.45.

For in this I saw a substance of kynde loue / contynued by grace that his creatures haue to hym / which kynde loue was most fulsomly shewde / in his swete mother and ovyrpassyng / for so much as she louyd hym / more then alle other her peyne passyd alle other / For ever the hygher the myghtyer the swetter that the loue is / the more sorow it is to the lover to se that body in payne that he lovyd: a *compar* of seven *cola*, with *repetitio* (*kynde loue ... kynde loue*) and *articulus* (*the hygher the myghtyer the swetter*) with *similiter cadens* (*louyd ... passyd*). The content of the *compar* is Trinitarian: she is writing of the relationship of creatures to Christ in virtue of the participation in the substance of the Father in Christ, which is continued by grace through the Holy Spirit.

10 *And so alle ... sufferyd with hym* (367.16): this corresponds with the short text, 235.46-52.

alle hys dyscyples and alle his true lovers sufferyd: cf. the *Privity*: ... þey had gret compassione of our lord Jhesu ... (Horstman, 1 206; Stallings, 114; Ragusa and Green, 335).

more payn than ther awne bodely dyeng, for I am suer by my awne felyng that the lest of them lovyd hym so farre abovyn them selfe that it passyth alle that I can sey.

Here saw I a grett onyng betwene Crist and vs, to my vnderstondyng;
15 for when he was in payne we ware in payne, and alle creatures that myght suffer payne sufferyd *with* hym. That is to say, alle creatures that god hath made to oure servys, þe fyrmamente and erth, feylyd for sorow in ther kynd in the tyme of Cristes dyeng, for it longyth kyndly to ther properte to know hym for ther lorde, in whom alle ther vertuse
37r stondyth. And whan he feylyd, / then behovyd nedys to them for kynd-
21 nes to feyle *with* hym, in as moch as they myght, for sorow of hys paynes. And thus tho that were hys fryndes suffered payne for loue, and generally alle; that is to sey, they that knew hym nott sufferde for feylynge of all maner comfort, saue the myghty pryve kepyng of god. I

---

11 *suer*: SS: sekir. 12 *them selfe*: so S1; C: himself; S2: themselues. 14 *onyng*: C, marg.: union; S2: union or onenes. *to my vnderstondyng*: om. S2. 17 *to (oure)*: S2: for. *and (erth)*: S1: the. 18 *in (ther)*: S2: at. *kyndly*: C, marg.: natural. 19 *lorde*: SS: god. *vertuse*: C: vertue; and so SS. 20 *And*: om. SS. *feylyd*: C: feeled. *behovyd*: add. SS: it. 21 *feyle*: C: feel. *in*: om. SS. 22 *tho*: C: they; and so SS. 24 *maner*: add. C, SS: of. *pryve*: S2: secret.

---

11 *for I am suer by my awne felyng / that the lest of them lovyd hym / so farre abovyn them selfe / that it passyth alle that I can sey*: a *compar* to achieve *conclusio*.

12 *the lest of them lovyd hym so farre abovyn them selfe*: cf. Luke 7.47: ... because she (Mary Magdalen) has loved much.

that it passyth alle that I can sey: not in the short text; cf. 235.49.

14 From here to the end of the chapter corresponds with the short text, 235.49-236.56; but from the *propositio* and *ratio* there, Julian has now constructed an *argumentatio perfectissima*: *propositio (Here saw I ... vnderstondyng), ratio (for when he was in payne ... sufferyd with hym), confirmatio rationis (That is to say ... for sorow of hys paynes), exornatio (And thus tho ... were in sorow that tyme)*, and *complexio (Thus was oure lord ... this maner of payne with hym)*. The detail and the quality of the long *exornatio* depend on the information derived from the *Historia scholastica* (see 368.27 note), which makes it probable that she read Peter Comestor after she had completed the short text.

14 *a grett onyng betwene Crist and vs*: cf. Colossians 1.16-19: For in him were all things created ... and he is before all, and by him all things consist ... because in him it has well pleased (the Father) that all fullness should dwell, and through him to reconcile all things to himself, making peace through the blood of his cross.

15 *alle creatures*: in the *Dialogue of St. Anselm and of our Lady* (the attribution is spurious; cf. Bernard Muir), Mary says: Se, Anselme, how the elementes shewd tokens of compassionn for the deth of my sonn, excepte only the Iewys þat were indurate (MS Bodleian Laud misc. 38, f. 14v).

24 *saue the myghty pryve kepyng ... as I shalle sey after* (369.38): not in the short text; cf. 236.56.

mene of ij maner of people that knew hym nott, as it may be vnderstond by ij persons.

That oone was Pylate; that other person was seynt Dyonisi of France, whych was that tyme a paynym. For whan he saw wonders and merveyles, sorowse and dredys that befelle in that tyme, he seyde: Eyther the worlde is now at an ende, or elles he that is maker of kyndes suf-

---

25 *ij (maner)*: S2: þe. *people*: S1: folke; and so S2. *that knew hym nott*: om. SS. 27 *That (oone)*: S2: þe. *that (other)*: S2: *and* the. *person*: om. SS. 28 *whych*: S2: who. *paynym*: S2: heathen. *wonders*: S1: wonderows; and so S2. *merveyles*: S1: mervelous; and so S2. 29 *befelle*: S1: befallen. *in*: C, S2: at. 30 *kyndes*: C, marg.: nature; and so S1, marg., al. m.; S2: kind.

---

27 *Pylate*: cf. Matthew, chapter 27; John, chapters 18-19.

seynt Dyonisi of France: in common with most of her Western contemporaries, Julian believed that the author of the *Mystica theologia*, whom scholars now call 'pseudo-Denis' (since his assumption of the identity of Paul's convert — Acts 17.34 — is no more than a literary fiction) was identical with the martyr-patron of France. But it is to pseudo-Denis's *Letter to Polycarp* that she goes on to allude, where he 'describes the prodigies of the noonday darkness and the earthquake that accompanied Christ's death' (F. X. Murphy; and cf. E. Colledge: 'The Hours of the Planets'). Even though Peter Comestor maintained that there had been on the first Good Friday no such disturbance of the planetary system as pseudo-Denis asserted, it is from Peter Comestor's narrative that Julian derived her information: 'It is said that in Athens at that time there was a flourishing *studium*, and when the philosophers enquired into the cause of the darkness and were unable to discover it, Denis the Areopagite said that the god of nature was suffering. And they made an altar and wrote on it: "To the unknown God"' (*Historia scholastica* chapter 75, PL 198 1631). R. J. Loenertz states that the second 'Passion of St. Denis' (*Post beatam et gloriosam*, BHL 2178, composed and circulating in the first quarter of the ninth century) is the earliest source which identifies Paul's convert with the Denis who evangelized Paris and was martyred there under Domitian. The possibility that Julian may have had vernacular sources on which to draw is illustrated by the Blairs College MS 22, one of the so-called 'Talbot Hours' (at present Dep. 221 MS B in the National Library of Scotland), commissioned and executed in France in the early fifteenth century for an English purchaser and containing some English and much French material. Ff. 63^{v}-64^{r}, below a miniature of the Man of Sorrows, there is: Ung philosophe estoit et disoit en ce jour en ceste maniere: / Le monde define en ce iour ou le dieu de nature a souffert mort, le quel philosophe ne congnoissoit pas nostre sire Jhesu Crist. Puis il fu conuerti par la predicacion saint Pol, et dit on que ce fut saint Denis en France. The same matter is found in the closely-related MSS Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Add. 176 and 177 (olim Yates Thompson 83 and 84): cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Series ...*, 221, 234 (these descriptions are by M. R. James).

28 *wonderows and mervelous* (S1): these adjectives are made to qualify *sorowse and dredys*, which is not unacceptable.

29 *befallen* (S1): for fourteenth and fifteenth-century instances of *fall-* as preterite, see NED, Fall, *v.*

37v feryth. Wherfore he dyd wryte on an awter: Thys / is an awter of the vnknowyn god. God of hys goodnes, that makyth planettes and the elementes to worke in ther kynde to the blessyd man and to þe cursyde, in that tyme it was *with*draw fro both. Wher for it was *þat* they that
35 knew hym nott were in sorow that tyme.

Thus was oure lord Jhesu payned for vs; and we stonde alle in this maner of payne *with* hym, and shalle do tylle that we come to his blysse, as I shalle sey after.

---

32 *vnknowyn*: ms: vnknowyng, w. 'g' er.

---

31 *an (awter of)*: S1: the; and so S2. 32 *makyth*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 33 *in*: SS: of. *ther*: om. SS. *to (þe)*: om. SS. 34 *that (tyme)*: S2: at *þat*. *they*: S2: even they. 36 *Jhesu*: S2: Jesus *Christ*. *payned*: S1: nawted; and so S2. 37 *of payne*: S1: nawtid; and so S2. *that*: om. SS. 38 *after*: C: hereafter.

---

31 *Thys is an awter of the vnknowyn god*: Acts 17.23.

34 *it was withdraw*: sc. the beneficent operation of the planetary system.

35 *were in sorow that tyme*: by an exercise of the 'pathetic fallacy', the poet of a *planctus Mariae* extends this sorrow to the darkened sun: The stonys brest that wer ful fast; / Dede men rose anon forth ryȝth. / The vayele withyn the temple brast; / The son for wo wythdrew hys lyght (D. C. Baker: 'Therefor to wepe, cum Lerne off me', 293).

36 *Thus was oure lord Jhesu payned for vs*: Julian would have known the 'Oratio super populum', said after communion at the Mass on Wednesday in Holy Week: Respice quesumus domine super hanc familiam tuam, pro qua dominus noster Iesus Christus non dubitauit manibus tradi nocentium, et crucis subire tormentum (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 156).

38 *as I shalle sey after*: cf. 380.21-381.23.

The xviiij Chapter

In this tyme I wolde haue lokyde fro the crosse, and I durst nott, for I wyst wele whyle þ*at* I behelde the crosse I was suer and safe. Ther fore I wolde nott assent to put my soule in perelle, for besyde the crosse was
5 no surenesse fro drede of fendes.
38r Than had I a / profyr in my reason, as it had ben frendely seyde to me: Loke vppe to hevyn to hys father. And than sawe I wele w*ith* the feyth that I felt þ*at* ther was nothyng betwene the crosse and hevyn that myght haue dyssesyde me. Here me behovyd to loke vppe or elles to an-

---

1 S1: Of the comfortable beholdyng of the crucifyx *and* how the desyre of the flesh without consent of þe soule is no sy*n*ne, *and* þe flesh must be in peyne suffring til bothe be onyd to (S2: vnited in) Criste. 2 *tyme*: om. SS. *fro*: S1: up of; and so S2. 3 *þat*: om. SS. *the (crosse I)*: SS: in the. *suer*: seker; and so S2. 5 *surenesse*; S1: sekernes; and so S2. *fro*: C, SS: for. *drede*: S1: vggyng; and so S2. 9 *Here*: SS: either. *me (behovyd)*: S2: it. *to (loke)*: S2: me to.

---

2 *In this tyme ... in wele and in woe* (371.20): this corresponds with the short text, 236.57-237.6.

3 *suer and safe / seker and safe* (S1): either reading preserves the alliterating *interpretatio*, and, line 5, both *surenesse* and *sekernes* (S1) give *traductio*. Traditionally, the cross and its sign, with the holy name of Jesus, is the principal defence against spiritual enemies. Cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: And last þenne: *Christus* vincit, *Christus* regnat, *Christus* imperat ... Crux fugat omne malu*m*, crux est repa*r*acio rerum. Per crucis hoc signum fugiat procul omne malignu*m*, et per ide*m* signum saluetur quodq*ue* benignum (Vernon MS, f. 373^{d}; Day, 20).

4 *for besyde the crosse was no surenesse fro drede of fendes*: Victor Deyglio observes that the translator of the English verse pseudo-Bonaventure (cf. 323.25 note), recommending meditation on the Passion, writes: Whan þou þenkest þys in þy þo3t / Thyr may no fende noye þe with no3t (Cowper, 2). The Scriptural allusion is to Galatians 6.14: Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce; but the more immediate reference is liturgical: cf. the introit antiphon for the Invention and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross: Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce domini nostri Jesu Christi, in quo est salus ... (Hesbert, 3 358). Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* claims that Christ said to her: Take goode heede to thes wordys: In quo est salus, that es to saye: In whome es heyle. In the crosse es verrey heyle, ande withoutene the crosse es no heyle fowndene (Halligan, 155).

6 *profyr*: NED, Proffer, *sb.*, MED, profre, n., record no examples using the noun in its rhetorical sense, *propositio*; but that is plainly the meaning with which Pecock uses it, writing between 1453 and 1456 (Hitchcock, xvi), in the *Folower*: ... y haue and schal eche of þilke conclusions sette forþ bi wey of profre and of forþ purposyng to þe si3t of ech reder (ibid., 6). Cf. 263.17 and note, *resonn*.

9 *Here me behovyd to loke vppe or elles to answere / I answeryd inwardly with alle the myght of my soule / and sayd Nay I may nott for thou art my hevyn*: a *compar* of three equal *cola*, with *gradatio* (*to answere / I answeryd*) and *sermocinatio*. For his illustration of *sermocinatio*, Geoffrey of Vinsauf quotes John 18.22-23: Haec autem cum dixisset, unus adsistens ministrorum dedit alapam Iesu dicens: Sic respondes pontifici? Respondit ei Iesus: Si male locutus sum testimonium perhibe de malo; si autem bene, quid me caedis? (Nims, 66).

swere. I answeryd inwardly with alle the myght of my soule, and sayd: Nay, I may nott, for thou art my hevyn. Thys I seyde for I wolde nott; for I had levyr a bene in that payne tylle domys day than haue come to hevyn other wyse than by hym. For I wyst wele that he that bounde me so sore, he shuld vnbynd me whan he wolde.

Thus was I lernyd to chese Jhesu for my hevyn, whom I saw only in payne at that tyme. Me lykyd no nother hevyn than Jhesu, whych / 38v shalle be my blysse when I come ther. And this hath evyr be a comfort to me, that I chose Jhesu to be my hevyn by his grace in alle this tyme of passion and sorow. And that hath ben a lernyng to me, that I shulde evyr more do so, to chese Jhesu only to my hevyn in wele and in woe.

And though I as a wrech hath repentyd me, as I seyde before, yff I had wyst what payne it had be, I had be loth to haue prayde it, heer I

---

11 *for (I)*: C: for that. 12 *levyr*: C, marg.: rather. *a bene*: C: Have been; S1: a ben; S2: I had liever been. *haue (come)*: SS: to. 14 *whan*: add. S1: þat; and so S2. 15 *lernyd*: S1: lerid; S2: taught. 16 *than*: S2: but. 18 *to be*: S2: for. *be*: om. S1. *by*: S2: through. 19 *that (hath)*: S2: þis. *lernyng*: S2: teaching. 20 S2, marg., scr.: NB Jesus the onely heaven of þe soul. *to (chese)*: S2: even. *in (woe)*: om. SS. 21 *hath*: so C; SS: had. *as (I)*: om. S1. 22 *I (had be)*: SS: me. *it (heer)*: om. SS.

---

10 *inwardly with alle the myght of my soule*: not in the short text; cf. 236.65.

11 *Nay, I may nott*: though Julian has her own interpretation of her reluctance to obey the injunction to raise her eyes to heaven, it is in part to be explained by the tradition that a downcast glance is the mark of modesty, recollection and contrition for past sins. The English prose commentary on the Benedictine Rule has: In what labur sam ye be ... þat ye haue yure heuidis enclind to þerþe, and þeneke on yure synnys for to mende þaim, and tat ye be als rad als ye saz þe iugiment of god, and þinke what þe puplicane saide ...: Domine, non sum dignus etc. Lauerd, I ne is noght digne at lifte mine ezin til heuin for mine sinnes (Kock, 15; cf. Hanslik, 51). The reference is to Luke 18.13.

12 *than haue come to hevyn other wyse than by hym*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: Ego sum ostium. Per me si quis introierit saluabitur ... Qui vero non intrat per ostium sed assendit aliunde (John 10.9) ... Alle þees entren bi þe dore and þei scholen be saaf (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 159).

13 *he that bounde me so sore*: cf. Apocalypse 3.7: ... the holy one and the true one, he who has the key of David, he who opens and no man shuts, shuts and no man opens. Julian may also be recalling Matthew 16.19.

16 *no nother hevyn than Jhesu, whych shalle be my blysse when I come ther*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 33: What is heuen to a resonable soule? Soþly not elles bot Jhesu god (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 108v; Underhill, 375).

18 *by his grace*: cf. 237.1 note.

21 *And though I ... this was shewde* (373.39): not in the short text; cf. 237.6.

hath repentyd: this is merely a P 'th' for 'd' spelling, which C has blindly copied, as SS show.

as I seyde before: cf. 364.54-56.

saw wercly that it was grugyng and dawnger of the flessch *with*out assent of the soule, in whych god assignyth no blame. Repentyng and wylfulle choyse be two contrarytes, whych I felt both at that tyme; and tho be two partes, that oon outward, that other inwarde. The outwarde party is our dedely flessh, whych is now in payne and now / in woo, and shalle be in this lyfe, where of I felte moch in thys tyme; and that party was that I repentyd. The inward party is a hygh and a blessydfulle lyfe, whych is alle in peece and in loue, and this is more pryvely felte; and this party is in whych myghtly, wysely and wyllfully, I chose Jhesu to my hevyn.

39r

And in this I saw truly that the inward party is master and souereyne

---

23 *dawnger* canc.; marg., scr.: frealte.

---

23 *werely*: SS: soothly. *dawnger/frealte*: C: *frailty*; S1: daming; S2: deming; mar., scr.: daning. 25 *contrarytes*: C, S2: contraries; and so S1. *both*: add. SS: in me. 26 *tho*: C: those; S2: they. *that ... that*: S2: the ... the. 27 *flessh*: S1: fleshede. *now in (woo)*: om. SS. 28 *in (thys)*: C: at. *that (party)*: S2: this. 29 *was*: add. S2: it. *I (repentyd)*: om. SS. *and a*: om. SS. *blessydfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2. 30 *in (loue)*: om. C. *is (more)*: SS: was. 31 *is (in)*: S2: was it. *to (my)*: S2: to be. 33 *truly*: SS: sothly.

---

23 *grugyng and dawnger of the flessch*: cf. the *Cloud*: Sensualite is a mi3te of oure soule ... þis same mi3t it is þat gruchiþ when þe body lackyþ þe needful þinges vnto it ... It grochiþ in presence of mislikyng creatures, and it is lustely plesid in þeire absence (Hodgson, 118).

frealte (P, marg) / *frailty* (C) / *daming* (S1) / *deming / daning* (S2): although P first copied correctly from his master text, *dawnger*, 'tyranny', this sense of the word was evidently unknown to the other scribes and to Cressy, familiar only with the meaning 'Liability to harm or injury' (NED, Danger, *sb.* 4.) C substitutes a different sense, SS supply nonsense.

24 *Repentyng and wylfulle choyse be two contrarytes*: whenever Julian uses *contraryte*, or *contrary* (as noun or adjective), she states or implies an *oppositio contrariorum*. NED, Contrary, *a.*, *sb.*, *adv.*, Contrariety, *n.*, MED, contrarie, n., adj., contrariete, n., quote no example with specifically rhetorical application, although NED's first instance of Contrarious, *adj.* (which in fact is not Rolle but Hilton, *On Mixed Life*): Bodely wyrkyngis ... contrariouse to the spirite in gostly wyrkyng ... is such an *oppositio*. Cf. 263.17 and note, *resonn*.

25 *and tho be two partes*: this is Julian's first allusion to the important psychological dkstinction she makes between substance and sensuality, which she will elaborate, p. 566.23 e.s.

26 *outward ... inwarde ... now in payne and now in woo ... a hygh and a blessydfulle lyfe*: cf. 503.36 note. These are the *oppositiones*.

31 *and this party is in whych ... I chose Jhesu to my hevyn*: cf. 569.52-56 and note, where Julian refers back to this passage.

to the outward, nought chargyng nor takyng hede of the wylles of þat,
35 but alle the intent and the wylle is sett endlesly to be onyd to our lorde Jhesu. That the outward party sholde drawe the inward to assent was not shewde to me; but that the inwarde party drawyth the outward party by grace, and both shalle be onyd in blysse without ende by the vertu of Christ, this was shewde. /

---

34 *nought*: S1: *and* not; and so S2. *of (the)*: C, SS: to. *wylles*: S1: will; and so S2. 35 *the (intent)*: S2: its. *the (wylle)*: om. SS. *endlesly*: C: endles. *to (our)*: SS: into. 37 *to (me)*: om. S2. *party ... party*: om. SS. 38 *and (both)*: S2: and so. *onyd*: C: owned.

---

36 *was not shewde to me*: Hilton, however, has much to say about the sensuality drawing down the reason in those 'unreformed in faith'. Cf. *Scale* II chapter 14 (Underhill, 275-279).

39v

The xx Chapter

And thus saw I oure lorde Jhesu languryng long tyme, for the vnyng of the godhed gaue strenght to the manhed for loue to suffer more than alle man myght. I meene nott oonly more payne than alle man myght suffer, but also that he sufferd more payne than all man of saluacion that evyr was from the furst begynnyng in to the last day myght telle or fully thynke, havyng regard to the worthynes of the hyghest worshypful kyng and the shamfulle and dyspyteous peynfull deth. For he that is

---

1 S1: Of the onspekabyl passion of Criste, and of iij things of the passion alway to be remembrid; and so S2. 2 *languryng*: S2: languishing a. *vnyng*: S1: onyng; S2: union. 4 *man (myght. I)*: C, S2: men. *myght (I)*: add. S1: suffryn; and so S2. *oonly*: S1: allonly. *man (myght suffer)*: C, SS: men. 5 *man (of)*: SS: men. 6 *evyr was*: S2: even were. *furst*: om. S2. *in*: om. S2. *telle*: S2: expres. 7 *fully*: S1: ful. *thynke*: S2: conceive. 8 *shamfulle*: S1: shamly. *and (dyspyteous)*: om. SS.

---

2 *And thus saw I ... and vtterly dyspysed* (375.9): this corresponds with the short text, 237.6-238.15.

for the vnyng of the godhed gaue strenght to the manhed: this is a common theological opinion. Cf. Rolle's first *Meditation on the Passion*, printed by Horstman from MS Cambridge UL LI.1.8: ... neuere martyrdom ne bodyly peyne lyk þin. Þi manhed was so tendur boþe bodyly and gostely; and þe peyne neuerþelesse ouer alle peynes. Þe dignyte so excellent, þe faderys sone of heuene ... (1 89). This passage is not given by Hope Allen in her printing of the same manuscript (*English Writings*, 19-27), nor does she give her reasons for suppressing it (Rolle, 278-287).

5 *more payne than all man of saluacion that evyr was*: cf. 365.57 and note. Such writers plainly have in mind the traditional exegesis of Lamentations 1.12 (see 235.36 note), treating it as prophetic of the Passion. Carleton Brown gives this little poem the title *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam*: 3e þat pasen be þe wey3e / Abidet a litel stounde. / Beholdet al mi felawes / 3ef ani me like is founde. / To þe tre with nailes þre / Wol fast i hange bounde / With a spere al þoru mi side / To min herte is mad a wounde (XIV 90).

of saluacion: not in the short text; cf. 237.10.

6 *myght telle or fully thynke*: this is a reduction of the short text's *No tonge maye telle ...*; cf. 237.11 and note.

7 *the worthynes of the hyghest worshypful kyng / and the shamfulle and dyspyteous peynfull deth*: a *compar* with *oppositio*.

8 *shamly* (S1): cf. NED, Shamely, *a.* and *adv.*, where the first instance is a. 1100, Aldhelm, the last 1558.

For he that is hyghest and worthyest / was foulest condempnyd and vtterly dyspysed / for the hyest poynt that may be seen in his passion / is to thynke and to know / that he is god that sufferyd / seeyng after these other two poyntes whych be lower: a *compar* which continues the *oppositio* of the previous figure, and elaborates that of the short text. But cf. 238.15 note; the readings in the short text give *interpretatio* and *similiter desinens*, as this does not; and one may suspect here later scribal contamination.

hyghest and worthyest was foulest co(n)dempnyd and vtterly dyspysed;
10 for the hyest poynt that may be seen in his passion is to thynke and to know that he is god that sufferyd, seeyng after these other two poyntes whych be lower. That one is what he sufferyd; and that other for / f. 40r whom that he sufferyd.

And in thys he brought to mynd in parte the hygh(t) and the nobylyte
15 of the glorious godhede, and ther *with* the precioushede and the ten-

---

9 *condempnyd*: ms: comdempnyd. 14 *hyght*: ms: hygh.

---

9 *foulest*: S1: fullyest; and so S2. *condempnyd*: S1: nowtyd; and so S2. *vtterly*: S2: utterliest. 10 *the hyest ... seen in*: om. C. *his*: SS: the. *to (know)*: om. SS. 11 *that (he)*: S1: what; S2: who. *god*: om. SS. *seeyng after ... whom that he sufferyd*: om. S1. *these*: S2: this. 12 *and that*: S2: the. 13 *that (he)*: om. S2. 14 *to*: SS: in. *in*: SS: a. *hyght*: so C, SS. *the (nobylyte)*: om. SS. *nobylyte*: S2: nobleness. 15 *precioushede*: S2: pretiousness. *the (tendyrnesse)*: om. S2.

---

9 *was foulest condempnyd and vtterly dyspysed*: cf. 238.15 and note.

10 *for the hyest poynt ... nydes be nye* (379.6): not in the short text; cf. 238.15.

be seen ... to thynke ... to know: it is probable that 'see' means here 'apprehend' and not 'contemplate', and that Julian refers to the successive stages of the contemplative effort. Cf. Guigo II: Lesson sekyth, meditacion fyndith, orison askith, contemplacion felith (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 101; Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 84).

12 *That one is what he sufferyd; and that other for whom that he sufferyd*: cf. the English *Horologium*: If þou aske wher off he haþ suffrede, soþelye of his passynge loue and charyte; and if þou aske wherfore, soþe hit is þat for to make þe feyre and semelye ... (Horstman 338).

15 *with the precioushede and the tendyrnesse of the blessydfulle body*: Julian doubtless is here recalling Psalm 44.3 e.s.: You are beautiful above the sons of men ..., a psalm which because of its nuptial imagery is associated in mediaeval spiritual tradition with the Canticle of Canticles, and illustrates the mutual love between the suffering and glorified Christ and the soul. In the *Dialogue of St. Anselm and of our Lady* (cf. 367.15 note), Mary describes how on the Mount of Olives her Son used in his prayer some of the words of Psalm 68; but the author, in the last quoted verse, 'Propter *inimicos meos* eripe me', substitutes 'innocenciam meam'. The dialogue then continues: Anselmus: Why prayed he? Maria: For thre causis. First was for he was tendyrly brouȝt vp as the sonn of a virgynn, and he was born of the stock of kynges, and þat men of grete byrth, when þei be hurt, it is more paynful to them than it is to a pore man (MS Bodleian Laud misc. 38, f. 1^{v}).

dyrnesse of the blessydfulle body whych be to gether onyd, and also þe lothfullnesse that in our kynde is to suffer peyne. For as moch as he was most tendyr and clene, ryght so he was most strong and myghty to suffer. And for every mannys synne that shal be savyd he sufferyd; and every mannes sorow, desolacion and angwysshe he sawe and sorowd, for kyndnes and loue. For in as mech as our lady sorowde for his paynes, as mech sufferde he sorow for her sorowse. And more over, in as mech as the swete manhed of hym was wurthyer in kynde, for as long as he was passyble he sufferde for vs and sorowde for vs. And now he is

---

16 *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. *onyd*: C: owned; S2: inited. 17 *lothfullnesse*: S1: lothhede; S2: loathnes. *kynde*: S2: nature. 20 *sorow*: add. S1: *and*; and so S2. *and angwysshe*: om. SS. 21 *in*: om. S2. *mech*: S1: mekyl. *as mech*: S1: as mekyl. 22 *sorowse*: S1: sorow; and so S2. *over*: om. SS. 23 *as mech*: S1: as mekyl. 24 *passyble*: S2: possible.

---

16 *þe lothfullnesse that in oure kynde is to suffer peyne*: cf. the *Privity*: For (þ)of all it be sothe þat he be bothe gode and man ... there was in hym þe will of þe flesche and þat wolde on no manere suffyre dede; ther was also in hym þe will of sensualite, and þat gruchede and was afferde to suffre dede; ther was also in hym þe will of þe resoune and þat was obedyent and consentande to dye (Horstman, 1 199; Stallings, 102; Ragusa and Green, 324). Both writers are contrasting Christ's human reluctance to suffer pain with the hidden powers of his godhead, as when he says: Do you think that I cannot ask my Father, and he will at once give me more than twelve legions of angels? (Matthew 26.53).

17 *For as moch as he was most tendyr and clene*: cf. Hebrews 5.7-8: Who in the days of his flesh with a strong cry and tears, offering up prayers and supplications to him who was able to save him from death, was heard for his reverence. And whereas indeed he was the son of God, he learned obedience by the things which he suffered.

18 *he was most strong and myghty to suffer*: cf. the *Privity*: Owre lorde Jhesu þat es bothe verray gode and mane, fro þe oure of his takinge at þe euene to hye vndrone of þe morne when he was done on þe rode, was in contenuell batell and hugge sorowe and bittire reprevynges (Horstman, 1 198; Stallings, 102; Ragusa and Green, 318).

19 *for every mannys synne that shal be savyd he sufferyd*: cf. Romans 5.9: Christ died for us. Much more therefore, being now justified by his blood, shall we be saved from wrath through him. Cf. also the words of consecration in the Roman Canon: ... calix sanguinis mei ... qui pro uobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum (*Missale Romanum 1474* 1, 207).

21 *For in as mech as our lady sorowde ...*: Julian's argument is that since no one suffered more with Christ than did his mother (cf. 366.7), his compassion for her would immensely increase his own sufferings; and to point this she skilfully employs *traductio* (*sorowde ... sorow ... sorowse*).

22 *as mech sufferde he sorow for her sorowse*: cf. 366.2 note.

24 *And now he is vppe resyn / and no more passibylle / yett he sufferyth with vs / as I shalle sey after*: a *compar*, with *oppositio* to express the mystery of the Hypostatic Union.

passyble: 'capable of suffering'. NED's, MED's earliest example is from Rolle's *Psalter*.

possible (S1): this is no more than a slip of the pen. One line below, 'passible' is correctly copied.

40v vppe resyn and no more passibylle; yett he sufferyth *with* vs as I / shalle
26 sey after. And I beholdyng alle this by hys grace saw that þe loue in hym was so strong whych he hath to oure soule that wyllyngfully he chose it *with* grett desyer, and myldely he sufferyd it *with* grett joy. For the soule that beholdyth thus whan it is touchyd by grace, he shalle
30 verely see that tho paynes of Cristes passion passe all paynes; that is to sey, whych paynes shal be turned in to everlastyng joy by the vertu of Cristes passion.

It is gods wylle, as to my vnderstandyng, that we haue iij maner of

---

25 *vppe resyn*: S2: risen again. *sufferyth*: C: suffered; and so S1. *as*: SS: and. *shalle sey after. And I*: om. SS. 26 *in (hym)*: S2: of. 27 *wyllyngfully*: SS: wilfully. 28 *(sufferyd) it*: om. S2. *grett joy*: S1: wel payeng; and so S2. 29 *beholdyth*: add. SS: it. 30 *tho*: SS: the. *passe*: S2: surpass. 31 *whych paynes*: S2: such as. *joy*: S1: passyng joyes; and so S2. 33 S1: Of iij beholdyngs in the passion of criste, and how we be now deyng in (S2: on) the crosse with criste, but his chere puttyt away al peyne. xxj Capt. Tis goddys wille ...

---

25 *sufferyth*: despite the C, S1 emendation, this is not one of P's 'th' for 'd' spellings. Julian had continued the present tense of *is*, as S2 has intelligently perceived.

as I shalle sey after: cf. chapter 31, especially 419.34-420.36, where Julian demonstrates that Christ suffers in us who are the members of his body.

26 *And I beholdyng ... with grett joy*: the *oppositiones* continue, but now the context is Trinitarian; *by his grace* refers to the operation of the Holy Spirit (He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind; John 14.26); *þe loue in hym was so strong* refers to the Father (God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son; ibid. 3.16); *wyllyngfully he chose it* is said of the Son (Behold, I come to do thy will; Hebrews 10.7). The device is repeated in the final colon: *myldely* (for the Father) *he sufferyd it* (for the Son) *with grett joy* (for the Spirit).

beholdyng ... saw ... beholdyth ... shalle verely see: another allusion to the contemplative effort. Cf. 375.10 note.

27 *wyllyngfully he chose it with grett desyer*: cf. Luke 22.15: with desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you; and Hebrews 12.2: Jesus, the author and finisher of faith, who having joy set before him endured the cross ...

he chose it ... he sufferyd it ... with grett desyer ... with grett joy: this is a variety of *complexio*.

31 *whych paynes shal be turned in to everlastyng joy*: cf. John 16.20-22: Your sorrow shall be turned into joy ... and your joy no man shall take from you. This is also the thought of the author of Hebrews, when he exhorts his congregation to contemplate the suffering Christ in order to bear persecution: Now all chastisement seems indeed at the present time to bring with it not joy, but sorrow; but afterwards it will yield, to those who are enduring it, the most peaceable fruit of justice (12.11).

passyng joyes (S1): *passyng* here is used in the sense of 'surpassing', not 'transient'. Cf. NED, Passing, *ppl. a.*, 3., where the last instance is 1632. See 403.14-15, *passyth alle that hart can thynk*, and U's substitution *exceedingly surpasseth*.

33 *iij maner of beholdyng*: at first sight it appears that the end of chapter 20 has suffered truncation, that Julian intended to state all three ways of beholding the Passion, and that the last two have been lost. However, it is only later that she is shown the second way (cf. 386.45 and note), and, later still, the third (cf. 389.6 and note).

beholdyng of his blessyd passion. The furst is the harde payne that he
35 sufferyd *with* a contriccion and compassion; and that shewde oure lorde
in this tyme, and gauc me myght and grace to see it.

---

34 *beholdyng of*: S1: beholdyngs in; and so S2. *the harde*: C: the beholding the hard.

(The ix Reuelation and the xxi Chapter)

And I lokyd after the departyng *with* alle my myghtes, and wende to haue seen the body alle deed; butt I saw him nott so. And right in the
41r same tyme that me thought by semyng / that the lyfe myght no lenger
6 last, and the shewyng of the ende behovyd nydes to be nye, sodenly I beholdyng in the same crosse he channgyd in blessydfulle chere. The channgyng of hys blessyd chere channgyd myne, and I was as glad and mery as it was possible. Then brought oure lorde meryly to my mynd:
10 Wher is now any poynt of thy payne or of thy anguysse? And I was fulle mery; I vnderstode that we be now in our lordes menyng in his crosse

---

6 ms: The xxi Chapter. Sodenly ... 10 *anguysse*: ms: aguysse, w. 'n' interl.

---

1 *The ix Reuelation and the xxi Chapter*: cf. Introduction, p. 95. 3 *wende*: C, marg.: thought; S1: wet; S2: would. *to (haue)*: om. SS. 5 *that (the)*: om. SS. 6 *nye*: om. SS. 7 *in (blessydfulle)*: SS: his. *blessydfulle*: S1: blissfull; and so S2. 8 *blessyd*: SS: blisful. 10 *thy (payne)*: SS: the. *anguysse*: S1: agreefe; S2: griefs; cf. 239.4: grefe. *fulle*: S2: fully.

---

3 *to haue seen the body alle deed*: This corresponds with her assessment of her own condition: she felt that she was at the point of death. Cf. 209.41 e.s.

5 *by semyng*: cf. NED, Seeming, *vbl. sb.*, b., '*By seeming* ..., to all appearance', where the first example is c. 1369, Chaucer. Julian is intimating her awareness that these are in fact not Christ's dying moments which she is witnessing.

6 *The xxi Chapter* (ms): cf. Introduction, pp. 95-97.

sodenly I beholdyng ... fulle mery (379.10): this corresponds with the short text, 239.1-5.

I beholdyng: on the syntax, see 337.13 and note.

7 *he channgyd in blessydfulle chere* (and cf. line 380.14): cf. the accounts of the Transfiguration: And whilst he prayed the shape of his countenance was altered ... Luke 9.29; cf. Matthew 17.2). In *A Ladder of Four Rungs* we read: ... to se the glorious face of god ... not lothly, grysly and dedly, as oure dedly synnes hym made, but goodly, graciously and lovely, and crownyd alle with ioy and clothid alle with blisse, as his fadyr hym clothid at his rysyng (Hodgson, *Deonise* 108; this is an addition of the English translator's).

The channgyng of hys blessyd chere channgyd myne: cf. II Corinthians 3.18: But we all, beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image; and Psalm 4.7: The light of thy countenance, o Lord, is signed upon us: thou hast given gladness in my heart.

11 *I vnderstode ... in his kyngdom* (381.28): not in the short text.

we be now in our lordes menyng in his crosse with hym: cf. Galatians 2.19: With Christ I am nailed to the cross; and Colossians 1.24: (I) fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ in my flesh, for his body which is the Church.

with hym in our paynes and in our passion dyeng, and we willfully abydyng in the same crosse *with* his helpe and his grace in to the last poynt. Sodeynly he shalle channge hys chere to vs, and we shal be *with*
15 hym in hevyn. Betwene that one and that other shalle alle be one tyme; and than shall alle be brought in to joy. And so ment he in thys
41v shewyng: Wher is now any / poynt of thy payne or of thy agreffe? And we shalle be fulle of blysse. And here saw I verely that if he shewde now to vs his blyssedfulle chere, there is no payne in erth ne in no
20 nother place þat shuld trobylle vs, but alle thyng shulde be to vs joy and blysse. But for he shewyth vs chere of passion as he bare in this lyfe hys

---

12 *in (our passion)*: om. SS. 14 *poynt*: S2: pain. 15 *that ... that*: S2: the ... the. *alle*: om. SS. *one (tyme)*: SS: no. 16 *in (to)*: om. SS. 17 *agreffe*: C, S2: grief. 18 *of blysse*: S1: blessid; and so S2. *verely*: SS: sothfastly. 19 *now to*: om. S2. *to*: om. SS. *blyssedfulle*: S1: blissful; and so S2. *no (nother)*: om. SS. 20 *nother*: C, SS: other. *trobylle vs*: S1: us agrevyn; and so S2. *thyng*: C, SS: things. 21 *for*: S2: because. *vs*: SS: to vs. *chere*: C: the same chear; S1: tyme; and so S2. *hys*: S1: *and* his; S2: and on his.

---

14 *Sodeynly he shalle channge hys chere to vs*: cf. I Corinthians 15.52-53: In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye ... we shall be changed, for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: while sche hadde this drede ande contrycion ... sodaynelye sche sawe owre lorde Jhesu on hight on his trone syttynge, ande with that delectabylle syght sche felle into noȝt (Halligan, 75).

Sodeynly he shalle channge hys chere to vs / and we shal be with hym in hevyn / Betwene that one and that other shalle alle be one tyme / and than shall alle be brought in to joy: *compar*, with *traductio* (*he shalle ... we shal ... shalle alle ... shall alle*).

15 *Betwene that one and that other shalle alle be one tyme*: it is hard to know what sense to attribute to this, or to the SS variant, *no tyme*, or which reading to prefer. In P, *tyme* seems to have the meaning 'A period in the existence or history of the world, an age, an era' (NED, Time, *sb.*, 3.), and the general sense may be that, this side of eternity, we shall not find the world changing. But in SS, Julian appears to be made to say that we shall be in eternity in no time at all, in an instant, which would recall I Corinthians 15.52.

17 *agreffe*: cf. 379.10 (S1). NED does not record as noun, but cf. MED agref, n., 'A statement of grievances', with only one example, a. 1475, *Godstow Reg.* Von Wartburg, s.v. gravis, records 'agri', 'nostalgie', 'en agré', 'à contre-cœur'.

18 *here saw I verely that if he shewde now to vs his blyssedfulle chere ...*: cf. John 16.19-20: A little while, and you shall not see me, and again a little while, and you shall see me ... You shall lament and weep ... but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

20 *alle thyng shulde be to vs joy and blysse*: cf. Apocalypse 21.4: God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and death shall be no more. No mourning nor crying nor sorrow shall be any more, for the former things are passed away.

21 *But for he shewyth vs chere of passion / as he bare in this lyfe hys crosse / therfore we be in dysees and traveyle / with hym as our kynd askyth*: *compar.*

crosse, therfore we be in dysees and traveyle *with* hym as our kynd askyth. And the cause why that he sufferyth is for he wylle of hys goodnes make vs the eyers *with* hym in hys blysse. And for this lytylle payne
25 that we suffer heer we shalle haue an hygh endlesse knowyng in god, whych we myght nevyr haue *with*out that. And the harder oure paynes haue ben *with* hym in hys crosse, the more shalle our worsch(y)ppe be *with* hym in his kyngdom.

---

27 *worschyppe*: ms: worshchppe.

---

22 *kynd*: S1: frelete; and so S2. 23 *that*: om. SS. *is*: S2 is (this - interl. scr.) 24 *eyers*: S1: heyer; S2: higher. 25 *hygh*: add. S2: and.

---

22 *traveyle*: this may be noun or verb: 'therefore we are in distress and labour with him'.

kynd / frelete (S1): one questions the SS reading, which seems to be an editorial substitution. Certainly, our frailty contributes to our suffering, but we suffer because we are human.

23 *And the cause why that he sufferyth*: cf. the *Privity*: ... hafe sorowe and pete of Cristes passione, for þe appostell sais: If we be felawes of Cristes passione, haueuyng pete and compassione of his pyne and disese þat he sufferde here for vs, than one þe same manere sall we be felawes of gostely comforthe and endles ioye (a conflation of II Corinthians 1.5 and 7; Horstman, 1 218; Peltier, 12 621; Ragusa and Green, 370).

sufferyth: this, as C and SS have perceived, is the present tense, not a P 'th' for 'd' spelling. Cf. 377.25 note.

24 *the eyers with hym in hys blysse*: cf. Romans 8.17: ... joint heirs with Christ, yet so, if we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him.

eyers / heyer (S1), *higher* (S2): this SS variant is ingenious but wrong.

this lytylle payne: cf. I Peter 5.10: But the God of all grace, who has called us to his eternal glory in Christ Jesus, after you have suffered a little will himself perfect you and confirm you and establish you.

25 *we shalle haue an hygh endlesse knowyng in god*: cf. II Timothy 2.10-12: I endure all things for the sake of the elect ... for if we be dead with him, we shall live also with him. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him.

26 *And the harder oure paynes haue ben / with hym in hys crosse / the more shalle our worschyppe be / with hym in his kyngdom*: a *compar*, with *repetitio* (*with hym ... with hym*) and *oppositio contrariorum*.

the harder oure paynes haue ben: cf. Matthew 25.21: His lord said to him: Well done, good and faithful servant. Because you have been faithful in a few things, I will set you over many. Enter into the joy of your lord. In the English *Horologium* we read: Þere is so grete passynge worthynesse of euerlastynge blisse in regarde of temporel passyouns þat who so wolde wisely byholde and take hede, hee schulde raþer chese wilfully to be turmentid many 3eeres in an hoot brennynge ouene of fire þanne to be preued of þe leste mede þat is reserued to hym in the blisse þat is to come. And why so? For þe trauaile and disese hath an ende, but þe mede and the blisse is withouten ende (Horstman, 351).

The xxij Chapter /

42r Then seide oure good lorde askyng: Arte thou well apayd that I sufferyd for thee? I seyde: ȝe, good lorde, gramercy; ye, good lorde, blessyd moet þow be. Then seyde Jhesu our good lord: If thou arte apayde, I am apayde. It is a joy, a blysse, an endlesse lykyng to me that evyr I sufferd passion for the; and yf I myght suffer more, I wolde suffer more. In thys felyng my vnderstandyng was leftyd vppe in to hevyn, and

---

1 ms: The ix Reuelation and the xxij Chapter. 2 With 'Also in the nyneth shewyng our lord god seyd to her thus: Art þou ...', the fourth extract in W begins. 6 *myght suffer ... wolde suffer*: ms: myght haue sufferyd ... wolde a sufferyd.

---

1 *The ix Reuelation* (ms): so C, SS. *Chapter*: add S1: is o(f) the lekyng *et cetera*, of iij hevyns, *and* the infinite love of Criste, desiring every day to suffre for us if he myght, althow it is (S2: be) not nedeful. 2 *lorde*: add. S1: Jesus Christe; and so S2. *apayd*: C, marg.: content. 3 *I (seyde)*: W: And she. 4 *moet*: C, W: mote; SS: mot. *þow* S2: you. *good (lord)*: S1: kinde; and so S2. *lord*: add. W: god. *arte*: W: be. 5 *an*: S2: and; W: *and* an. 6 *suffer ... suffer*: so SS, W, A (cf. 239.10). 7 *In thys felyng ... and it was fulle blyssydfulle* (384.18-19): om. W. *leftyd*: C: lifted; S1: lifte; S2: lift.

---

1 The scribe is in error in beginning Revelation IX here; cf. 379.1, and Introduction, 95.

is of the lekyng et cetera ...: (S1): cf. 283.25-28, and 324.1 note.

althow it is (be) not nedeful (SS): this adaptation of what Julian writes: *He seyde nott: yf it were nedfulle ...* (387.51), to some extent distorts it. She knows that the sacrifice on Calvary was 'one, perfect and sufficient'; she writes: *the swete manhode of Crist myght suffer but oonse* (385.34), and she specifies that this was a single historical event (387.48, and cf. 380.15 note). But if this *hyghest profer* (386.40) is to make the full effect of its paradox, the question of its necessity must not be raised by Julian, any more than it was in the locution.

2 *Then seide ... in his properte* (383.13): this corresponds with the short text, 239.6-17.

3 *ȝe good lorde / gramercy / ye good lorde / blessyd moet þow be*: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*ȝe good lorde ... ye good lorde*) and *exclamatio* (*gramercy! ... blessyd moet þow be!*). Though the rhetoricians defined this figure as a means of conveying sorrow (Marbodus, *De ornamentis verborum*, PL 171 1689), it can also be used for other emotions: Respondit Thomas et dixit ei: Dominus meus et deus meus! (John 20.28).

6 *and yf I myght suffer more / I wolde suffer more*: *complexio*.

myght haue sufferyd ... wolde a sufferyd (P): this reading, which C follows, destroys the sense by making the *profer* refer to the Crucifixion.

suffer ... suffer: P's change of tense, which does violence to Julian's argument, that Christ is still willing to suffer if that were possible, cannot be hers, and has not been retained.

ther I saw thre hevyns; of whych syght I was gretly merveyled, and thought: I see iij hevyns, and alle of the blyssedfulle manhed of Criste.
10 And noone is more, noone is lesse, noone is hygher, noone is lower, but evyn lyke in blysse.

For the furst hevyn, Crist shewyd me his father, in no bodely lycknesse but in his properte and in hys wurkyng. That is to sey, I saw in Crist that the father is. The werkyng of the father is this: that he
42v geavyth mede to / hys sonne Jhesu Crist. This gyft and this mede is so
16 blyssydfulle to Jhesu that his father myght haue geavyn hym no mede

---

9 *thought*: S1: thow; and so S2. *see*: S2: saw. *of (the)*: SS: in. *blyssedfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. 10 *And*: om. SS. 11 *lyke*: S2: all alike. *in*: C: of. 12 *hevyn*: S2: shewing. 15 *mede (to)*: C, marg.: reward. *mede (is)*: S1, marg., al. m.: reward. 16 *blyssydfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2.

---

8 *I was gretly merveyled*: cf. NED Marvel, *v.* 4, 'To ... be astonished at'. Their first example is 1382, Judith 10.7: Thei ... merueiled (mirati sunt).

9 *see*: cf. 239.12 and note.

I see iij hevyns, and alle of the blyssedfulle manhed of Criste: cf. Acts 7.55: Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God; and the *Cloud*: ... ȝif we mouȝt se hym as seynte Steuen did, ouþer stondyng or sittyng or liggyng. For how so his body is in heuen ... wote no man, and it nediþ not to be wetyn; ne no more, bot þat his body is anhiȝed wiþ þe soule wiþouten departing. Þe body and þe soule, þe whiche is þe manheed, is onid wiþ þe godheed wiþoutyn departyng also (Hodgson, 108).

10 *And noone is more / noone is lesse / noone is hygher / noone is lower / but evyn lyke in blysse*: a *compar*, with *repetitio* (*and noone ...*), *oppositio contrariorum* (*more / lesse, hygher / lower*), and, between the first four *cola* and the last, *contentio*.

13 *in his properte*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 34: þe makynge of a soule is apropred to þe fader, as for þe souereyn miȝt *and* power þat he shewiþ in makynge of it (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 112r; Underhill, 383). Cf. John 5.17: My father works until now, and I work.

wurkyng: cf. 239.17: *lykynge*. Though 'wurkyng' is not challenged by any other manuscript of the long text, it may well be a corruption of 'lykynge'; 'his properte and his lykynge' could correspond to *the werkynge of the father* — the creative power, actual creation — and *he geavyth mede* to the loving power, actual loving.

14 *The werkyng ... as often he wolde* (385.27): this corresponds with the short text, 239.17-240.28.

that he geavyth mede to hys sonne: cf. John 5.19-20: The Son cannot do anything of himself, but what he sees the Father doing ... for the Father loves the Son, and shows him all things which he himself does; and John 14.9-10: He who sees me sees the Father also ... Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me? and 526.153 note.

that myght haue lykeyd to hym better. For the furst hevyn, that is the plesyng of þe father, shewyd to me as an hevyn, and it was fulle blyssydfulle. For he is wele plesyde *with* alle the dedes that Jhesu hath done about our saluacion; where for we be nott only hys by his byeng, but also by the curteyse gyfte of hys father. We be his blysse, we be his mede, we be hys wurshype, we be his crowne. And this was a syngular marveyle and a full delectable beholdyng, that we be hys crowne.

Thys that I sey is so grete blysse to Jhesu that he settyth at naught hys

---

17 *haue lykeyd*: ms: haue ben lykeyd. 25 W has the following compilation: 'And in these same wordys ... to þe same yf it myght be' (385.25-386.36); 'Also it is goddys wyll ... oure soule be occupied' (390.15-18); 'for we be his blysse ... his cruell and shamefull deth' (384.21-385.25); 'the fader is full pleasyd ... as it is seyd before' (384.19-22); 'and þat yefte ... lykyd hym better' (383.15-384.17); 'for in vs he lykyth ...' (384.17). These fragments have been collated with the corresponding text in P.

---

17 *lykeyd*: C, S2: liked; S1: lykyd. *For*: om. SS. 18 *an*: C: in. *blyssydfulle*: C: blissedfully; S1: blisfull; and so S2. With 'the fader is', W resumes. 19 *wele*: S1: ful; and so S2, W. *alle*: om. W. 20 *byeng*: C, marg.: redeeming. 22 *we (be hys wurshype)*: W: *and*. *we (be his crowne)*: W: and we. 23 *a (full)*: om. W. 24 *Jhesu*: W: oure lorde Jesu. *naught*: add. S1: al; and so S2, W.

---

17 *haue lykeyd*: P's reading, *haue ben lykeyd*, is certainly erroneous, and SS have been preferred. The earlier, intransitive sense of the verb, 'to be pleasing', is called by NED 'Now only *arch.* and *dial.*' (it is still current in Yorkshire).

the plesyng of þe father, shewyd to me as an hevyn: Julian seems here to have in mind Matthew 11.25-27: Father, Lord of heaven and erth ... so has it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered to me by my father.

19 *For he is wele plesyde*: cf. Luke 3.22: Thou art my beloved Son. In thee I am well pleased. Cf. the English *Horologium*: þowȝ it so be þat alle my life in erþe was to þe ioye and lovynge of þe hiȝ fader of heuene, neuerþeles hee was þe more excellently in manere glorifyed and clarefyed in me what tyme þat I knowlechynge hym in þe crosse and aȝenbyinge mankynde suffred þe sorowful dethe be obedyence (Horstman, 379-380).

21 *We be his blysse*: cf. Luke 15.7: There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner who does penance. Cf. 240.24 note. The figure there is perfectly preserved here.

we be his mede: cf. Psalm 127.3: Behold the inheritance of the Lord is children; the reward the fruit of the womb.

22 *we be hys wurshype*: cf. John 17.10: And all that is mine is thine, and thine is mine, and I am glorified in them.

we be his crowne: cf. Philippians 4.1: My dearly beloved brethren and my most desired, my joy and my crown.

24 *he settyth at naught hys traveyle and his passion*: cf. Luke 24.26: Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and so to enter into his glory?

traveyle and his passion, and his cruelle and shamfulle deth. And in
43r these wordes: If I myght suffer more I / wolde suffer more, I saw truly
þat as often as he myght dye, as often he wolde, and loue shulde nevyr
lett hym haue rest tille he hath done it. And I behelde *with* grete
dyligence for to wet how often he wolde dye yf he myght. And truly the
nomber passyd my vnderstandyng and my wittes so ferre that my reson
myght nott nor cold nott comprehende it ne take it.

And whan he had thus ofte dyed or shuld die, yet he wolde sett it at
nought for loue; for alle thynkyth hym but lytylle in regard of his loue.
For though the swete manhode of Crist myght suffer but oonse, the
goodnes of hym may nevyr seese of *p*rofer. Every day he is redy to the

---

25 *his (passion)*: add. S1: herd; and so W; S2: hard. *and (shamfulle)*: om. S2. 26 *these*: add. W: same. *If*: S1: if that; and so S2. *suffer more ... suffer more*: om. W. *truly*: S1, W: sothly; S2: verily. 27 *as (often he)*: C: often as. 28 *hath*: C, SS, W: had. 29 *wet*: C: wit; S1: wetyn; W: wete; S2: know. *truly*: S1: sot(h)ly; and so W; S2: verily. 31 *cold*: C, S2: could; S1, W: coude. *nott (comprehende)*: om. S1. *ne take it*: om. SS. 32 *die*: om. SS, W. 33 *for alle ... of his loue*: om. W. *regard*: S1: reward. 34 *oonse*: C: once; S1: onys (alt. fr. 'once'); S2: once; W: ones. 35 *of (hym)*: SS: in. *of (profer)*: S2: to. *he is redy*: om. W.

---

26 *If I myght suffer more I wolde suffer more / I saw truly þat as often as he myght dye as often he wolde / and loue shulde nevyr lett hym haue rest tille he hath done it*: a *compar* of three long cola, with *complexio* in the first, and medial *repetitio* in the second.

27 *as often as he wolde*: cf. William of St. Thierry, *Meditativae orationes*: Nonne centies et millies mori velim pro te, domine Jesu? Si hoc non sufficit tibi, nec mihi sufficit (PL 180 212).

29 *And truly the nomber passyd my vnderstandyng*: Julian here seems to intimate that if she could discover the number of times, she could comprehend the extent of the love, but reason cannot grasp an infinite number. In the short text (240.28-31) she says that she had tried to comprehend the number by making it equal to the number of those who will be saved; but now she says that there is no such limit to his love.

32 This is an *argumentatio perfectissima*. *Propositio*: *And whan he had thus ofte dyed or shuld die / yet he wolde sett it at nought for loue* (a *compar* with *repetitio*). *Ratio*: *for alle thynkyth hym but lytylle in regard of his loue* (*conduplicatio*: *at nought ... lytyll*, and *conversio*: *for loue ... his loue*). *Confirmationis ratio*: *For though the swete manhode of Crist myght suffer but oonse / the goodnes of hym may nevyr seese of profer* (a *compar*, with *oppositio*: *but oonse ... nevyr seese*). *Exornatio*: *For yf he seyde / he wolde for my loue / make new hevyns and new erthys / it ware but lytylle in regarde / for this myght he do ech day / yf that he wolde / without any traveyle* (a *compar* of seven short *cola*). *Complexio*: *But for to dye ... as to my syght*.

yet he wolde sett it at nought for loue: cf. Canticles 8.6-7: Love is strong as death ... if a man should give all the substance of his house for love, he shall despise it as nothing.

34 *For though the swete manhode of Crist myght suffer but oonse*: cf. Hebrews 10.10: We are sanctified by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ once.

35 *nevyr seese of profer*: cf. 370.6 note. Again, Julian uses the word in specifically rhetorical sense.

same, yf it myght be. For yf he seyde he wolde for my loue make new
43v hevyns and new erthys, it ware but lytylle in regarde, for this / myght
he do ech day, yf that he wolde, without any traveyle. But for to dye for
my loue so often that the nomber passyth creatures reason, thys is the
40 hyghest profer that our lorde god myght make to mannes soule, as to
my syght.

Than menyth he thus: How shulde it than be that I shulde nott for thy loue do all that I myght? Whych deed grevyth me nought, sethyn that I wolde for thy loue dye so oftyn, havyng no regard to my harde
45 paynes. And heer saw I for the seconde beholding in his blessyde passion. The loue that made hym to suffer it passith as far alle his paynes as hevyn is aboue erth; for the payne was a noble precious and

---

36 *For yf he seyde ... blysse of the passion* (390.14): om. W. *loue*: S2: sake. 37 *erthys*: S1: erth; and so S2. *regarde*: S1: reward. 38 *he do*: SS: be done. *ech*: SS: every. *that (he)*: om. C, SS. 39 *creatures*: SS: creature. *thys*: S2: it. 40 *profer*: om. S2. *myght*: S2: could. 42 *that (I)*: om. SS. 44 *regard*: SS: reward. *to (my)*: S2: for. 45 *his (blessyde)*: S1: this; and so S2. 46 *it*: om. SS. 47 *the*: om. S2. *payne*: S1: peynes. *precious and*: om. SS.

---

36 *make new hevyns and new erthys*: cf. Isaias 65.17: For behold I create new heavens and a new earth.

38 *But for to dye for my loue so often ...*: Julian uses the conclusion of the previous *argumentatio* to introduce a *ratiocinatio*. Her purpose is to communicate the prodigality of divine love in the salvation of man. Theologically, her thought seems to follow that of Paul in Romans 5.5 e.s., where the reasoning also proceeds by question and answer, from the *propositio*, the pouring out of God's love, to the demonstration of the showing of that love in Christ's death for us, which is much more abundant than we could imagine or hope for. Cf. Romans 5.20-21: And where sin abounded, grace abounded more, so that, as sin reigned on to death, so also grace might reign by justice on to everlasting life, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

39 *thys is the hyghest profer*: cf. 370.6 note. This is the *propositio*, the statement of the argument, with the *ratio* here placed before it for the sake of emphasis.

42 *How shulde it than be ...*: this is *ratiocinatio*, a rhetorical question, followed by the *exornatio*: *Whych deed grevyth me nought ...*

45 *And heer saw I ...*: this reasoning process is a clarification of her thoughts. She has written that we should have three ways of beholding Christ's passion (377.33 note), but that all that she was shown at the time was the first.

46 *The loue that made hym ... without ende* (387.49): this corresponds with the short text, 238.15-19.

The loue that made hym to suffer / it passith as far alle his paynes / as hevyn is aboue erth: a *compar*, with *oppositio contrariorum* (*loue / paynes, hevyn / erth*).

47 *for the payne was a noble precious and wurschyppfulle dede / done in a tyme by the workyng of loue*: a second *compar*, referring the *contrarietas* of the first to the divine working of love.

noble precious and worschyppfulle: not in the short text; cf. 238.17.

wurschypfulle dede done in a tyme by the workyng of loue. And loue was w*ith*out begynnyng, is and shall be w*ith*out ende. For whych loue
44r he seyde / fulle swetely thys worde: If I myght suffer more, I wolde suf-
51 fer more. He seyde nott: yf it were nedfulle to suffer more, but if I

---

48 *a*: om. S2. *And*: S2: but. 49 *is*: S2: *and* is. *ende*: S1: endyng; and so S2. 50 *thys worde*: SS: these words. 51 *more (but)*: om. S2. *but if I myght suffer more*: om. SS.

---

48 *by the workyng of loue*: cf. I Timothy 1.14-15: Now the grace of our Lord has abounded exceedingly, with faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus.

And loue was without begynnyng / is and shall be without ende: a *compar*, with *oppositio contrariorum* (*without begynnyng / without ende*), and with *was ... is ... shall be* giving a sort of *traductio*. Plainly, Julian has in mind the conclusion to the doxology: Sicut erat in principio ... and understands its true syntax: et (est) nunc et (erit) semper.

For what follows, cf. 240.33-37. In the re-editing, it has been composed in the following rhythms:

For whých loue he seýde
fulle swétely thys wórde
If I mýght suffer móre
I wólde suffer móre
Hé seyde nótt
ýf it were nédfulle
tó suffer móre
but if I mýght suffer móre
for though it wére nott nédfulle
and he mýght suffer móre he wólde.

The general effect is that of alternating anapaests and dactyls. *If I myght suffer more / I wolde suffer more* gives *complexio*; *yf it were nedfulle / to suffer more / but if I myght suffer more / for though it were nott nedfulle* is *conversio*.

50 *fulle swetely*: cf. 240.33 and note.

thys worde: cf. 382.6.

If I myght ... the holy gost lykyth (389.6): this corresponds with the short text, 240.28-241.45.

51 *He seyde nott: yf it were nedfulle ...*: cf. Romans 5.15: But not as the offence is also the gift. For if by the offence of one many died, much more the grace of God, and the gift, by the grace of one man, Jesus Christ, has abounded to many.

myght suffer more; for though it were nott nedfulle, and he myght suffer more he wolde. This dede and thys werke abowt oure saluation was ordeyned as wele as god myght ordeyne it. It was don as wurshypfully as Crist myght do it; and heer in I saw a fulle blysse in Crist, for his blysse shuld nott haue ben fulle yf it myght ony better haue ben done than it was done.

---

52 *and*: SS: if. 54 *It was don ... do it*: om. SS. 55 *in (1)*: om. SS. 57 *than it was done*: om. SS.

---

52 *and he myght suffer more he wolde*: cf. 240.36: *and he myght suffyr mare, mare he walde*, which is probably what Julian also wrote in the long text. This has not been emended, however, since the syntax is good, and the other manuscripts agree.

53 *This dede and thys werke ...*: the tone here is that of the *Praeconium Paschale*: O mira circa nos tue pietatis dignatio, O inestimabilis dilectio caritatis ... (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 176).

The xxiij Chapter

And in these thre wordes: It is a joy, a blysse and endlesse lykyng to me, were shewyd thre hevyns, as thus. For the joy, I vnderstode the plesannce of the father, and for the blysse the wurshyppe of the sonne,
44v and for the endlesse / lykyng the holy gost. The father is plesyd, the
6 sonne is wurschyppyd, the holy gost lykyth. And heer saw I for the thyrde beholdyng in hys blessydfulle passion, that is to sey the joy and the blysse that makyth hym to lyke it. For oure curteyse lorde shewyd his passyon to me in fyue manner*es*; of whych the furst is þe bledyng of
10 the hede, the seconde dyscolowryng of his blessyd face, the thyrde is the

---

8 *shewyd*: 'd' alt. fr. 'th', perhaps not by the scribe. Cf. 390.13.

---

1 Add. S1: How Criste wil we joyen with hym gretly in our redemption, *and* to desire grace of hym that we may so doe; and so S2. 2 *and (endlesse)*: S1: an. 3 *vnderstode*: add. S2: of. 4 *plesannce*: S2: pleasure. 5 *lykyng*: add. C: of. 6 *wurschyppyd*: add. C: and. 7 *blessydfulle*: SS: blisful. 10 *the (hede)*: S2: his. *seconde*: add. S1: is; add. S2: the. *blessyd*: om. SS.

---

1 *and to desire grace of hym that we may so doe* (S1): this may be implicit in *thus wylle he meryly with hys grace that oure soule be occupyed* (390.17), but it is nowhere stated in this chapter.

2 *these thre wordes*: cf. 382.5, and 240.41 note.

3 *For the joy I vnderstode / the plesannce of the father / and for the blysse / the wurshyppe of the sonne / and for the endlesse lykyng / the holy gost*: a six-membered 'Trinitarian' *compar*, with *repetitio*.

5 *The father is plesyd / the sonne is wurschyppyd / the holy gost lykyth*: a *compar* of three *cola*, with *traductio* (*is ... is*).

6 *And heer ... as it is befor seyd* (391.24): not in the short text; cf. 241.45).

for the thyrde beholdyng: cf. 377.33: *It is gods wylle ... that we haue iij maner of beholdyng of his blessyd passion. The furst ...*, and 386.45: *And heer saw I for the seconde beholding ...* Julian now understands the third way of contemplating the Passion (and expresses it in a *compar* of two long *cola*). The first way was imaginative — the sufferings of the man Christ; the second was the contemplation of the divine love in Christ the incarnate Word; the third is the contemplation of the eternal happiness in the Trinity. This is the classical *ascensio mentis in deum* of the Western tradition.

9 *in fyue manneres*: Julian distinguishes between what she was shown for contemplating the Passion, and the shewing of the Passion itself. Cf. Introduction.

the furst ...; that is, in the first revelation, 294.3 e.s.; *the seconde*: in the second revelation, 324.3 e.s.; *the thyrde*: in the fourth revelation, 342.3 e.s.; *the iiij*th: in the eighth revelation, 357.3 e.s.

plentous bledyng of the body in semyng of scorgyng, the iiijth is the depe drying — theyse iiij as it is before seyde for the paynes of the passion — and the fyfte is thys that was shewyth for the joy and the blysse of the passion.

15 For it is goddes wylle that we haue true lykyng *with* hym in oure saluacion, and ther in he wylle that we be myghtly comfortyd and
45r strengthyd, and thus wylle / he meryly *with* hys grace that oure soule be occupyed. For we be his blysse, for in vs he lykyth *with*out end; and so schall we in him *with* hys grace. Alle that he doyth for vs and hath done

---

11 *the (body)*: S2: his. *semyng*: SS: semys. *of (scorgyng)*: SS: of the. 12 *drying*: S1: deyng; S2: dying. *as it is*: SS: are. 13 *thys*: om. C, SS. *shewyth*: C, S2: shewed; and so S1. 15 With 'also it is goddis wyll', W resumes. *that (we)*: om. S1. 17 *thus*: S2: therin. 18 S2, marg., scr.: NB we are Jesus his bliss. 19 *in (him)*: W: within. *with (hys)*: S2: by. *grace*: add. SS: and.

---

11 *in semyng of scorgyng*: cf. 342.3: *in semyng of the scoregyng*, and note. The use here seems to support the first sense suggested there, 'appearance'; but *semys* (SS) suggests that S1, or an ancestor, understood the second possible sense, 'furrowing'.

12 *as it is before seyde*: cf. 377.33 e.s.

15 *that we haue true lykyng with hym in oure saluacion*: cf. I Peter 4.13: But if you partake of the sufferings of Christ, rejoice that when his glory shall be revealed, you may also be glad with exceeding joy.

For it is goddes wylle / that we haue true lykyng with hym in oure saluacion / and ther in he wylle / that we be myghtly comfortyd and strengthyd / and thus wylle he / meryly with hys grace that oure soule be occupyed: six alternating short and long *cola*, with *traductio* (*wylle ... wylle ... wylle*) and *repetitio* (*that we haue ... that we be ... that oure soule be*). This is a good example of Julian's skill in using *compar* to expound the Trinitarian relationships in Christian man. The *operationes ad extra* begin in the will of God, one and three (*lykyng* — the Spirit; *hym* — the Father; *saluacion* — the Son; *myghtly* — the Father; *comfortyd* — the Son; *strengthyd* — the Spirit; *meryly* — the Father; *hys grace* — the Spirit; *occupyed* — the Son — cf. 641.15: *The place that Jhesu takyth in oure soule he shall nevyr remoue*).

16 *that we be myghtly comfortyd and strengthyd*: cf. II Esdras 8.10: For the joy of the Lord is our strength.

18 *For we be his blysse for in vs he lykyth without end / and so schall we in him with hys grace*: this *compar* is used to express the mutual indwelling; and God's dwelling in us is here appropriated to the Holy Spirit. Julian probably has in mind Ephesians 3.20: ... to him who is able to do all things more abundantly than we desire or understand, according to the power that works in us; *blysse*, as she has written, is the worship of the Son; Son and Spirit work in us by mercy and grace.

and so schall we in him with hys grace: cf. Isaias 61.10: I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, and my soul shall be joyful in my God.

19 *Alle that he doyth for vs and hath done and evyr shalle*: the traditional Trinitarian formula.

and evyr shalle was nevyr cost ne charge to hym ne myght be, but only that he dyed in our manhede, begynnyng at the swete incarnation, and lastyng to the blessyd vprysyng on Ester morow. So long duryd the cost and the charge abowt our redempcion in deed, of whych dede he evyr joyeth endlesly, as it is befor seyd.

A, Jhesu, wylle we take hede to thys blysse that is in the blessydfulle trinytie of our saluacion, and that we desyre to haue as much gostly lykyng *with* his grace, as it is before seyde. That is to say, that the lykyng of our saluacion be lyke to the joy that Crist hath of oure saluation, as
45v it may be whylle we / be here.

Alle the trinyte wrought in the passion of Crist, mynystryn habonn-

---

20 *shalle*: add. W: doo. 21 *dyed*: S1: dede; S2: did. 22 *lastyng*: S2: laste.]. *vprysyng*: S1: upriste; S2: resurection. *morow*: S2: morning; W: day in þe mornyng. *duryd*: S2: lasted. 23 *the (charge)*: om. C. *in deed, of whych*: C: in deed: In which. *evyr*: om. SS, W. 24 *joyeth*: S1: enjoyeth; and so W. 25 *A*: om. SS. *wylle*: add. S2, W: þat. *thys*: SS: the. *blessydfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2; om. W. 27 *with*: S2: of. *it*: om. S2, W. *is to say*: om. S2. 30 *the (trinyte)*: add. W: blessed. *mynystryn*: C: ministering; S1: minystryng; S2: ministring; W: mynystryng.

---

20 *but only that he dyed in our manhede*: cf. Hebrews 10.5 e.s.: Wherefore when he comes into the world he says: Sacrifice and oblation thou didst not wish, but a body thou hast made fit for me ... this man, offering one sacrifice for sins, sits for ever at the right hand of God.

but only: 'except'. Cf. NED, But, *prep.*, *conj.*, *adv.*, C. *conj.* 4.d. The first example clearly illustrates the usage: Ha nawiht ne þarf of oder þing þenchen bute ane of hire leofmon (*Hali Meidhad*, 5).

21 *dyed / dede* (S1) / *did* (S2): the SS readings are plausible: 'he acted'; but they are not necessarily right. Cf. the quotation above from Hebrews.

22 *upriste* (S1): cf. NED, Uprist, *sb.*, *obs.* The first instance relating to the Resurrection is c. 1250, the last c. 1450.

24 *as it is befor seyd*: cf. 390.15.

25 *A, Jhesu ... with his grace* (391.27): this corresponds with the short text, 241.45-47: cf. 241.45 and note. SS, like the short text, have no *exclamatio*. If Julian rewrote this as we have it in P, it is a strong wish, and seems to express grief at her own failure so to take heed.

27 *as it is before seyde*: cf. 390.15-18.

That is to say ... the blessed trynyte enjoyeth: not in the short text; cf. 241.47.

that the lykyng of our saluacion / be lyke to the joy / that Crist hath of oure saluation: a *compar* with *conversio* (*saluacion ... saluation*) and *adnominatio* (*lykyng ... lyke*). This is a strikingly succinct statement about image-theology; and Julian does not forget that the assimilation is a process.

30 *Alle the trinyte ...*: Julian seems to have in mind the great soteriological chapter 10 of Hebrews, where the author, after describing the relationship between Father and Son, '... a body thou hast made fit for me ... behold, I come to do thy will ...', turns to the Spirit: And the Holy Spirit also testifies this to us ... And their sins and iniquities I will remember no more (10.15-17).

dance of vertuse and plente of grace to vs by hym; but only the maydyns sonne sufferyd, werof alle the blessed trynyte enjoyeth. And thys was shewyd in thys worde: Arte thou welle apayde? By that other worde Crist seyd: Yf thou arte welle apayd, I am welle apayde, as yf he had sayde, it is joy and lykyng enough to me, and I aske not elles of the of my travayle but that I myght apaye the.

And in this he brough(t) to my mynd the propyrte of a gladde geauer. Evyr a glade geauer takyth but lytylle hede at the thyng that he geavyth, but alle hys desyr and alle hys intent is to plese hym and solace hym to whome he geavyth it. And yf the receyver take the gyft gladly and thankefully, than the curtesse gevyr settyth at nought alle hys cost and alle hys traveyle, for joy and deleyght that he hath for he hath plesyd

---

33 *schewyd*: 'd' alt. fr. 'th', perhaps not by the scribe. Cf. 389.9-390.14. 37 *brought*: ms: brough.

---

31 *vertuse*: C: vertue. 32 *maydyns*: S2: virgins. *blessed*: W: gloriouse. *trynyte*: add. SS: endlesly; and so W. 33 *thys worde*: SS: these words. *apayde*: add. SS: and. 34 *worde (Crist)*: add. S1: that; and so W; S2: *which*. *welle (apayd)*: om. SS, W. 35 *had*: om. S1. 36 *of (my)*: SS, W: for. *myght*: add. SS: wel. 37 *in*: W: it. *my*: om. SS. W marg., al. m.: a gladde gever. 38 *Evyr*: om. SS, W. *at*: SS: of. 39 *(and) alle*: om. W. *hym (and)*: om. S2. 40 *gladly*: S1: heyly; and so S2. 42 *that (he)*: om. C. *for he hath*: om. S2. *plesyd*: W: so plesed.

---

32 *And thys was shewyd ... that I myght apaye the* (392.36): this corresponds with the short text, 241.47-51.

33 *in thys worde*: cf. 382.2.

that other worde: cf. 382.4.

37 *And in this ... hym that he lovyth*: not in the short text; cf. 241.52.

a gladde geauer: Rosemary Woolf (*The English Religious Lyric*, 215 and note 4) observes the harmony between Julian's teaching and the sermon in which Pecham speaks of Christ as 'a courteous friend expecting no return — "dilexit, inquam curialiter, nullam remunerationem expectando"'. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 35.11: In every gift show a cheerful countenance, and II Corinthians 9.7: For God loves a cheerful giver.

46r and solacyd / hym that he lovyth. Plentuously and fully was thys shewyd.

45 Thynk as wysely of the gretnesse of thys worde, evyr. For in that was shewyth an hygh knowyng of loue that he hath in our saluation, *with* manyfolde joyes that folowen of the passion of Crist. One is that he joyeth that he hath done it in dede, and he shalle no more suffer. That other is that he hath ther *with* bought vs from endlesse paynes of helle.

50 A nother is that he brought vs vp in to hevyn and made vs for to be hys crowne and hys endlesse blysse.

---

44 *shewyd*: 'd' alt. fr. 'th', perhaps not by the scribe.

---

43 *he (lovyth)*: om. S2. *lovyth*: C: loved. 44 *shewyth* (ms): C: shewed; and so SS. 48 *joyeth*: S2: rejoyceth. *That other*: SS: another. 49 *is (that)*: om. SS. *hath ther with ... is that he*: om. SS. 51 *hys (endlesse)*: om. SS. *blysse*: add. S1: Another is that he hath therwith bawte us from endless paynys of helle; and so S2, w. *'and* another ...'

---

43 *Plentuously and fully ... in our saluation* (393.46): this corresponds with the short text, 241.51-55.

45 *thys worde*: cf. 382.6.

46 *shewyth*: not in the short text; cf. 241.54.

with manyfolde joyes ... hys endlesse blysse (393.51): not in the short text; cf. 241.55.

48 *that he hath done it in dede, and he shalle no more suffer*: *thys worde, evyr* appears for Julian to refer to the eternal mind of the Trinity about our salvation, achieved in time by Christ's passion and death, which is now manifest in his eucharistic presence, and in the eternal bliss of the Trinity.

The Teent Reuelation and the xxiiij Chapter

Wyth a good chere oure good lorde lokyd in to hys syde and behelde *with* joy, and *with* hys swete lokyng he led forth the vnderstandyng of hys creature by the same wound in to hys syd *with* in; and ther he shewyd a feyer and delectable place, and large jnow for alle mankynde

---

3 With 'Also with glad chere' the fifth extract in W begins. 6 *shewyd*: 'd' alt. fr. 'th', perhaps not by the scribe.

---

1 *Teent*: C: Tenth; S1: X; S2: 10th. Add. S1: is that our lord Jesus shewith in love his blissid herte cloven in tw (S2: two) enjoyand. 3 *Wyth*: S1: than with; and so S2; W: Also with. *a (good)*: om. S2, W. *good (chere)*: SS, W: glad. *good (lorde)*: om. SS, W. *lokyd*: S2: looken. 4 *with (joy)*: om. SS, W. *joy*: SS: enjoyand; and so W. 5 *ther*: S1: than; and so S2. 6 *and (delectable)*: om. SS, W.

---

1 *is that our lord Jesus* ... (S1): cf. 283.29-30.

3 *Wyth a good chere ... and behelde*: this corresponds with the short text, 242.1. What follows, that not only did Christ look into his wounded side but that Julian was able to see *hys blessyd hart clovyn on two*, reflects contemporary iconography of and devotions to the Sacred Heart (cf. 242.1 note). In MS Downside 26533 (cf. 282.14 note), we read: Douce sire ke suffristes pur nostre amitez de la launce percer vostre seynte coste e la place de vostre quer ben nus est mustre ... (f. 278v). The prayer continues: ... vous auet vostre coste ouert pur nus vostre amur mustrer ... (f. 280r). John Whiterig, the monk of Farne (cf. 302.37 note), who shows himself attracted by the *Ancrene Riwle's* mother-and-child analogy and by the imagery if not the theology of the concept of 'God our Mother' ('Meditations', 182, and cf. *The Monk of Farne*, 64) writes: Tota die expando in cruce manus meas ad te homo ut te amplexer, capud meum inclino ut amplexatum deosculer, latus meum aperio ut osculatum introducam ad cor meum, et simus duo in carne una (ibid.).

4 *with joy, and with ... he shewyd hys blessyd hart*: not in the short text; cf. 242.2.

6 *a feyer and delectable place, and large jnow for alle mankynde*: cf. 242.1 note; the notion of the wounded Sacred Heart as mankind's hiding-place reflects one of the petitions of the *Anima Christi*: In vulneribus tuis late me. In the English *Fifteen Oes* (cf. 201.6 note) we read: I pray þe for þe deppnes of þi wondes þat went throw þe flesche ... hyde me lorde in þe holes of þi wondes fro þe face of þine ire (MS BM Royal 17.C., f. 96b). John Whiterig writes: Hoc est quod dicitur: Columba mea in foraminibus petre (Canticles 2.14) ecclesia in uulneribus Christi (where he is probably alluding to Bernard's *Sermo LXI super Cantica*, *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq et al., 2 149); de latere enim Christi ecclesia Christi, sponsa Xhristi ... ('Meditations', 191; cf. *The Monk of Farne*, 75). *The Poor Caitiff* has: ... vttirli he haþ his side opened, and his herte clouun for oure sake, so þat withoute letting we moun crepe into Cristis herte and reste þere þoruȝ stidfast bileeue and herti loue (Brady, 131).

a feyer and delectable place / and large jnow for alle mankynde / that shalle be savyd / and rest in pees and in loue: *membrum*.

that shalle be savyd and rest in pees and in loue. And ther *with* he /
46v brought to mynde hys dere worthy blode and hys precious water whych
he lett poure out for loue. And *with* the swete beholdyng he shewyd hys
10 blessyd hart clovyn on two, and *with* hys enjoyeng he shewyd to my vn-
derstandyng in part the blyssydfulle godhede as farforth as he wolde
that tyme, strengthyng the pour soule for to vnderstande as it may be
sayde, that is to mene the endlesse loue that was *with*out begynnyng and
is and shal be evyr.

15 And *with* this oure good lorde seyde well blessydfully: Lo how I loue
the; as yf he had seyde, my darlyng, behold and see thy lorde, thy god,

---

7 *and (rest)*: SS, W: to. *in (loue)*: om. W. 8 *hys (precious)*: om. SS. 9 *out*: S1: al oute; and so S2, W. *the (swete)*: W: þat. 10 *blessyd*: S1: blisful; and so S2. *hart*: add. S2: even; and so W. *on*: C, S2: in; W: at. *hys (enjoyeng)*: S1: this swete; and so S2, W. *to*: SS: on to; W: in. 11 *blyssydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2, W. *as farforth ... that tyme*: om. SS. 12 *that*: C, W: at that. *strengthyng*: C: strengthen; S1: steryng; S2: steryn. *the (pour)*: S1: than the; and so S2. *pour*: S2: pure. 13 *mene*: S1, marg., al. m.: conceive. 14 *is and*: S2: it. 15 *good lorde*: W: lord god. *well*: S1, W: ful; and so S2. *blessydfully*: S1: blisfully; and so S2; W: blessedly. *I*: SS: þat I. *loue*: S1: lovid; and so S2, W.

---

9 *hys blessyd hart clovyn on two*: this corresponds with the short text, 242.4.

10 *and with hys enjoyeng ... and shal be evyr* (395.14): not in the short text; cf. 242.4.

12 *as it may be sayde*: 'as well as it can be put into words'. This is a ghostly sight, which she can never explain fully. Cf. 666.6 note.

13 *the endlesse loue that was without begynnyng and is and shal be evyr*: the showing becomes a sight of the Trinity, so that she naturally falls into the language of the *Gloria Patri*.

15 *Lo how I loue the ... my darlyng* (395.16): this corresponds with the short text, 242.2-3.

Lo how I loue the ...: cf. English pseudo-Bonaventure, specifically describing the appearance to the apostles in John chapter 20: He stode homly among þeme, schewyng þe wondes of his handes and fete and side ... Beholde how all þese thynges were of gostely ioye and gladnes ... Owre lord Jhesu toke gladely servese of hire handes ... A, how blyssefull was þene þat house, in the whylke satt bothe god and man, with his modire qwhene of heuene, and all his oþer dere derlynges (Horstman, 1 217-218; Peltier, 12 620-621; Ragusa and Green, 368-369). John Whiterig writes: O domine Sabaoth, amabilis Jhesu ... hillariter enim et wltu placido proclamando sic respondisti: Dilige et saluus eris ('Meditations', 193; cf. *The Monk of Farne*, 78). where he seems to be recording a 'bodily sight' of Christ crucified.

loue the: this present tense in P, C is opposed by SS, W; and cf. 396.20-21, where P also reads: *Lo how I lovyd the*. But it is feasible that Julian here did write 'loue'; the wound in Christ's side is evidence of his love during the Passion, but she is reflecting on his loving presence even as she writes.

16 *as yf he had seyde my darlyng / behold and see thy lorde / thy god that is thy maker / and thy endlesse joy / see thyn owne brother thy sauyoure / my chylde behold and see / what lykyng and blysse / I haue in thy saluacion / and for my loue enioye with me*: *membrum*, with *exclamatio* (*my*

that is thy maker and thy endlesse joy; see thyn owne brother, thy sauyoure; my chylde, behold and see what lykyng and blysse I haue in thy saluacion, and for my loue enioye *with* me.

47r 21 And also to more vnderstandyng, thys blessyd worde was sayde: / Lo how I loue thee, as yf he had sayde, behold and see that I louyd thee so much, or that I dyed for thee, that I wolde dye for the. And now I haue dyed for the, and sufferd wyllyngfully that I may. And now is all my bitter payne and alle my harde traveyle turnyd to evyrlastyng joy and 25 blysse to me and to the. How schulde it now be that thou shuldest any thyng pray me that lykyd me, but yf I shulde fulle gladly grannte it the? For my lykyng is thyne holynesse and thy endlesse joy and blysse *with* me.

---

17 *thy (endlesse)*: om. S2. *thyn owne ... and see*: om. SS. 19 *enioye*: C, marg.: rejoyce; add. SS: now. 20 *And*: om. W. *to (more)*: SS: for. 21 *as yf he had sayde*: om. SS. 22 *much*: S1: mekyl. *or that*: S2: before. *that*: om. S1, W. 23 *sufferd*: add. W: peyne. *wyllyngfully*: S1: wilfuly; and so S2. 24 *alle my (harde)*: om. S2. *harde*: om. W. *evyrlastyng*: SS, W: endles. 25 *to (me)*: W: bothe to. 26 *lykyd*: S1: lekyth; and so S2, W. *yf*: S2: that; and so W. 27 *thy (endlesse)*: C: the.

---

darlyng! ... my chylde!), initial and medial *repetitio* (*behold and see ...*), and *tautologia* (*behold and see ... lykyng and blysse*). The rhetoric of this passage is in marked contrast with the cursory treatment in the short text: *Loo how I lovyd the, as ȝyf he hadde sayde: My childe, ȝif thow kan nought loke ...* (242.2).

behold and see ... Lo how I lovyd the (396.20): not in the short text; cf. 242.6.

20 *Lo how I loue thee*: the rest of this paragraph amounts to a restatement of chapters 3 and 4 of I John: By this has the love of God towards us appeared, because he has sent his only-begotten Son (4.9); in this is love ... because he has first loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins (4.10); his love is perfected in us (4.12); whatever we shall ask we shall receive of him (3.22); See what manner of love the Father has bestowed on us, that we should be ... the sons of God (3.1); we know that when he appears, we shall be like him (3.2).

21 *I louyd thee so much*: cf. the *Scale*, II, chapter 34, where Hilton is glossing I John 4.10: he loued vs more when he boȝt vs *with* his precious blode þurȝ wilful takynge of ded in his manhed (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 111v; Underhill, 382).

22 *or that I dyed for thee / that I wolde dye for the*: a *compar*, with *repetitio* (*that ... that*) and *conversio* (*for thee ... for the*).

27 *my lykyng is thyne holynesse*: cf. I Corinthians 1.30: Christ Jesus, who of God is made our wisdom and justice and sanctification and redemption; and I Thessalonians 4.3: ... this is the will of God, your sanctification.

This is the vnderstandyng symply as I can sey of this blessyd worde:
30 Lo how I lovyd the. This shewyd oure good lorde to make vs glade and mery.

---

29 *as I can sey*: om. S2. 30 *how*: add. S2: haue. *This*: W: all this. *good lorde*: W: lorde god. *to (make)*: SS: for to. 31 With 'gladde and mery' the fifth extract in W ends.

---

30 *This shewyd oure good lorde ... Willt thou see her?* (398.5): this corresponds with the short text, 242.7-10.

This shewyd oure good lorde to make vs glade and mery: cf. Psalm 93.9: Thy comforts have given joy to my soul.

The xj Revelation
the xxv Chapter

And *with* thys chere of myrth and joy our good lord lokyd downe on
47v þe / ryght syde, and brought to my mynde where our lady stode in the
5 tyme of hys passion, and seyd: Willt thou see her? And in this swete word, as yf he had seyd, I wott welle that thou wilt se my blessyd mother, for after my selfe she is the hyghest joy that I myght shewe the, and most lykyng and worschyppe to me, and most she is desyred to be seen of alle my blessyd creatures. And for þe marvelous hygh and
10 syngular loue þ*at* he hath to thys swete mayden, his blessyd mother our

---

1 Add. S1: is an hey gostly shewing of his moder; and so S2. 3 *thys*: add. SS: same. 5 *thou*: S1: the. 6 *that (thou)*: om. SS. *wilt*: S1: wold; and so S2. 7 *that (I)*: om. S2. *myght*: S2: can. 9 *alle*: om. SS. *and (syngular)*: om. SS.

---

1 *is an hey gostly shewing* ... (S1): cf. 283.31.

3 *our good lord lokyd downe on þe ryght syde*: though not invariably, more often, it would seem, the BVM (and the other faithful women) are represented in paintings as standing at Christ's right, John at the left; see, e.g., the reproductions in E. Lucchesi Palli and G. Jászai, 'Kreuzigung Christi' (LCI 2 coll. 606-642). Cornelius a Lapide, who usually records such details, mentions no earlier writer who treats of this matter; but Ludolph of Saxony had written: Et nota quod beata virgo non stetit sub cruce ad aquilonem, ut quidem fabulantur et sicut in picturis ponitur, sed contra faciem filii sui stabat ad occidentem aliquantulum (Rigollot 4 111). Since elsewhere he says that Christ on the Cross faced north, this means that in his view Mary stood to his left.

4 *where our lady stode*: cf. John 19.25.

5 *And in this swete word ... Wylte thou see her?* (400.24): not in the short text; cf. 242.10.

6 *my blessyd mother*: NED, MED make no special mention of this usage (in North America, 'the blessed Mother' is still far commoner than 'our Lady'), but MED quotes 1340, *Ayenb.*: God an his blissede mother! Julian would have in mind Elizabeth's greeting: Blessed are you among women (Luke 1.42).

8 *and most lykyng and worschyppe to me, and most she is desyred to be seen of alle my blessyd creatures*: the words of the people to Judith came in the Middle Ages to be applied to Mary: You are the glory of Jerusalem, you are the joy of Israel, you are the honour of our people ... the hand of the Lord has strengthened you, and therefore you will be blessed for ever (Judith 15.10).

9 *And for þe marvelous hygh and syngular loue þat he hath / to thys swete mayden, his blessyd mother our layde sainct Mary, / he shewyth her blysse and ioy as by the menyng of thys swete word, / as yf he seyde, wylte thou se how that I loue her, / that thou myght joy with me in þe loue that I haue in her and she in me*: a *compar* with *contrarietas*: *mayden / mother / lady*. The Church has always seen, and made it plain at the great councils of Ephesus and Constantinople, that the proof of Christ's human nature is equally the proof that Mary is the mother of God.

layde sainct Mary, he shewyth her blysse and ioy as by the menyng of thys swete word, as yf he seyde, wylte thou se how that I loue her, that thou myght joy *with* me in þe loue that I haue in her and she in me?

And also to more vnderstandyng thys swete word oure good lorde spekyth in loue to all mankynd that shall be savyd, as it were alle to one person, / as yf he sayde, wylt thou se in her how thou art louyd? For thy loue I haue made her so hygh, so noble, so wurthy; and thys lykyth me. And so wille I that it do the. For after hym selfe shc is the most blessydfulle syght. But here of am I nott lernyd to long to see her bodely presens whyle I am here, but the vertuse of her blyssydfulle soule, her truth, her wysdom, her cheryte, wher by I am leern(yd) to know my self, and reuerently drede my god.

And whan oure good lorde had shewyd thys, and seyde thys worde:

---

21 *leernyd*: ms: leern.

---

11 *sheuyth*: S1: shewid; and so S2. *blysse and ioy*: S1: heyly enjoyng; and so S2. 12 *thys ... word*: SS: these ... words. *seyde*: SS: had said. *that (1)*: om. SS. 13 *myght*: S2: mayest. 14 *good lorde*: S1: lord god; and so S2. 15 *in loue*: om. SS. 17 *haue*: .om. SS. *noble*: add. SS: *and*. 18 *do*: S1: doith; and so S2. 19 *blessydfulle*: S1: blisful. *of*: S2: by. *lernyd*: S1: lerid; S2: taught. 20 *blyssydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. 21 *leernyd*: so C; S1: may leryn; and so S2.

---

14 *And also to more vnderstandyng thys swete word oure good lorde spekyth in loue to all mankynd that shall be savyd, as it were alle to one person, as yf he sayde, wylt thou se in her how thou art louyd?* Julian is recalling that the love of the bridegroom for the bride, in, for instance, Canticles 6.8, is, in the understanding of the Church, spoken of the Church herself — *all mankynd that shall be savyd* — and equally of Mary.

16 *For thy loue I haue made her so hygh, so noble, so wurthy*: cf. Luke 1.35: The Holy Ghost shall come upon you, and the power of the most high shall overshadow you. And therefore also the holy one which will be born of you will be called the Son of God.

18 *most blessydfulle syght*: Richard of St. Victor writes of Mary: Ipsa igitur singulariter species Christi prae omnibus speciosa, Christoque simillima, non solum speciem Christi ipsa habens, sed etiam in aliis hanc restituens (*Explicatio in Cantica Canticorum* 39, PL 196 516-517).

19 *But here of am I nott lernyd to long to see her bodely presens*: this is a plain warning against aspiring to 'bodily sights'. So in the *Chastising*, translating Ruysbroek's *Spiritual Espousals*, the author adds phrases of his own: Also sum of þese men (enthusiasts) bi a grete singularite desiren of god sum special 3ifte aboue other, *eiþer of worchynge myraclis, or visions, eiþer reuelacions or sum oþer specialte*; wherfor ofte tymes þei bien disceyued of þe deuel ... (Bazire and Colledge, 135, and cf. 55).

20 *but the vertuse of her blyssydfulle soule*: this observation is fully expanded in chapter 44, 483-85.

Wylte thou see her? I answeryd and seyde: ȝe good lorde, grannt mercy,
ye good lorde, yf it be thy wylle. Often tymes I preyde this, and I went
to haue seen her in bodely lykyng; but I saw her nott so. And Jhesu in
that worde shewyd me a goostly syght of her. Ryght as I had seen her
48v before, lytylle and / symple, ryght so he shewyd her than, hygh and
noble and glorious and plesyng to hym aboue all creatures. And so he
wylle that it be knowen that all tho that lycke in hym shuld lyke in her,
(*and* in the lykyng that he hath in hir *and* she in him).

And to mor vnderstandyng he shewyd thys exsample, as yf a man loue a creature syngulary a boue alle creatures, he wylle make alle other creatures to loue and to lycke that creature that he lovyth so much. And in thys worde that Jesu seyde: Wylte thou see her? me thought it

---

32 *shewyd*: 'd' has been altered.

---

25 *went*: C: went (marg.: thought); SS: wend. 26 *lykyng*: S1: presens; and so S2. 27 C punctuates: a ghostly sight of her right, as ... 28 *ryght*: om. SS. 29 *so*: om. SS. 30 *tho*: C, SS: those. *shuld*: add. C: also. 31 *and in ... in him*: fr. S1; and so S2; not in A (242.17); C, P om. 33 *other*: om. SS. 34 *creatures*: S1: creature. *much*: S1: mekyl.

---

24 *I answeryd ... she in him* (400.31): this corresponds with the short text, 242.10-18. *ȝe good lorde / grannt mercy / ye good lorde / yf it be thy wylle*: cf. 382.3 note. Julian is using the same figure, a *compar* with *repetitio* and *exclamatio*.

27 *Ryght as I had seen her before / lytylle and symple / ryght so he shewyd her than / hygh and noble and glorious*: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*ryght ... ryght*), *oppositio contrariorum* (*before / than*) and *tautologia* (*lytylle and symple, hygh and noble and glorious*).

31 *and in the lykyng ...*: this phrase has been supplied from SS because it seems to have the genuine Julian ring, theologically (the joy of the mutual love of Jesus and Mary is to be shared by all who are his members) and rhetorically (*lykyng* giving *adnominatio* with *lycke ... lyke*), and because it may have been suppressed in P, or an ancestor, through collation with the short text, being regarded as an interpolation, whereas it could as well be a more mature addition to the re-edited text.

32 *he shewyd thys exsample*: here, *exsample* does not mean *exemplum* in any rhetorical sense (cf. 513.3 note), but seems to refer to the beginning of this chapter: that Christ reminded Julian of how Mary stood beneath the cross, asked her *Willt thou se her?* (398.3-5), and then, instead of showing the 'mater dolorosa', made her reflect that his love for Mary is one instance of his surpassing love for *all mankynd that shall be savyd* (399.15). Cf. MED, ensaumple n., 1. (a), 'An instance typical of a class', which quotes *Piers Plowman* B (Ld.) X 468: I se ensamples myself. þat seruauntes þat seruen lordes ...

35 *And in thys worde ... that oure soule* (402.4): this corresponds with the short text, 242.18-243.26.

And in thys worde: Julian stresses that what is essential in the *exsample* is the locution and the reflections which it prompts.

was the most lykyn worde that he myght geve me of her *with* the gostely shewyng that he gaue me of her. For oure lorde shewyd me nothyng in specialle but oure lady sent Mary, and her he shewyd thre tymes. The furst was as she conceyvyd, the secunde as she was in her sorowes vnder
49r the crosse, and the thurde was as she is now / in lykynge, worschyppe
41 and joy.

---

38 *shewyd*: 'd' has been altered.

---

36 *lykyn*: C: liking; S1: likyng; S2: likeing. *myght*: add. S1: have; and so S2. 38 *he*: om. C. 39 *conceyvyd*: S1: grevid. *as (she was)*: SS: was as. 40 *and (the)*: om. SS. *was*: SS: is. *worschyppe*: om. S2.

---

38 *The furst was as she conceyvyd ...*: cf. chapter 4, 297.28-298.40, and chapter 18, 366.2-8. For the figure, cf. 242.22 note.

39 *vnder the crosse*: cf. 243.23 note.

40 *in lykynge, worschyppe and joy*: this seems the more probable punctuation, the triad *as she conceyvyd, vnder the crosse, as she is now* suggesting 'delectation, honour and joy'; but one could punctuate *lykynge worschyppe*, 'delectable honour'.

The xij Reuelation and þe xxvj Chapter

And after thys oure lord sh(ew)yd hym more gloryfyed as to my syght than I saw hym before, wher in I was lerned that oure soule shalle nevyr haue reste tylle it come into hym, knowyng that he is full of joye, homely and curteys and blessydfulle and very lyfe. Often tymes oure lorde Jhesu seyde: I it am, I it am. I it am that is hyghest. I it am that thou lovyst. I it am that thou lykyst. I it am that thou servyst. I it am that thou longest. I it am that thou desyryst. I it am that thou menyste. I it am that is alle. I it am that holy church prechyth the and techeyth

---

3 Here the first extract in U begins. *shewyd*: ms: shweyd; 'd' has been altered.

---

1 Add. S1: is that the lord our god is al sovereyn beyng; and so S2. 3 *oure*: S2: þe. *hym*: S2: himself; and so U. 4 *saw*: U: had seene. *lerned*: S2: taught; add. U: to know. 5 *come*: S1: comith; and so S2. *into*: S1: to. *full*: S1: fulhede; S2: fulnes. 6 *curteys*: S1: curtesly; and so S2. *and (blessydfulle)*: om. SS. *blessydfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2; U: most blessed. *very*: U: true. *tymes*: om. S2. 9 *longest*: add. U: after. 10 *that holy church ... techeyth thee, I it am*: om. U. *the (and)*: om. SS.

---

1 *the lord our god is al sovereyn beyng* (S1): this is a neat enough digest of the locution, but the terminology is that of pseudo-Denis (e.g. '... noþing is souereyn-substancyaly abouen þees forseide beyng þinges', Hodgson, *Deonise*, 3), not of Julian, even though she does elsewhere use 'sovereign': 230.18, 354.3, 454.2.

3 *more gloryfyed*: this is perhaps the most rarified of all her visions. She makes no attempt at description.

4 *wher in I was lerned ...*: the long text here is significantly different from the short; cf. 243.26-27 and note. This is a different and more universal lesson, and one also very reminiscent of the opening paragraphs of Augustine's *Confessions*.

5 *come into hym*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 27: ... for he þat coueitiþ bot Jhesu haþ an hundred folde, for he haþ more reste, more pees in hert, more verray luf *and* delite in soule (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 97^{v}; Underhill, 342).

knowyng that he is full of joye ...: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note) writes: Tu es michi delectacio me ducens, et tu es michi gloria me suscipiens. Sine te prorsus nec quero nec scio in quo gauderem. Tu es, inquam, suavitas me reficiens, amor me perficiens, et gloria me coronans (Murray, 73).

6 *homely and curteys*: this is an *oppositio contrariorum*, already supplied in the 'open example' of chapter 7: *It is the most wurschypp ... homely with hym* (313.35-37). The sense is destroyed by SS's adverb.

Often tymes ... before to the (403.11): this corresponds with the short text, 243.30-34.

7 *I it am, I it am. I it am*: cf. 243.30 note. This three-fold opening gives a twelve-fold *repetitio*.

thee. I it am that shewde me before to the. The nomber of the words passyth my wyttes and my vnderstandyng and alle my myghtes, for they
49v were in þe hyghest, as to my syght, for ther in / is comprehendyd I can nott telle what; but the joy that I saw in the shewyng of them passyth
15 alle that hart can thynk or soule may desyre. And therfore theyse wordes be nott declaryd here; but evyry man, aftyr the grace that god gevyth hym in vnder standyng and lovyng, receyve them in our lordes menyng.

---

11 *me*: S2: my selfe; and so U. *before*: SS: here; U: to thee before. *the (words)*: C: thy. 12 *wyttes*: S1: witte; and so S2. *my (vnderstandyng)*: om. C, U; S1: al my; and so S2. *they were*: S1: it arn; S2: they are. 13 *I can nott*: S2: *with* I cannot; U: I am not able to. 14 *what*: om. SS; add. U: so that it cannot be expressed. *of (them)*: om. S2. *passyth*: U: exceedingly surpasseth. 15 *can thynk*: S1: may willen; and so S2. *or*: S1: *and*. *theyse*: SS: the. *wordes*: add. U: (the meaning of them). 16 *man, aftyr*: U: one according to. *that*: om. U. 17 *gevyth*: U: hath giuen. *lovyng*: C: longing. *receyve*: U: let them receaue.

---

11 *The nomber of the words passyth my wyttes*: that is, Julian at this present time of writing still cannot understand why God, the Trinity, should have said *I it am*, singular, and not 'We it are', plural. Cf. NED Number, *sb.* 16. *Gram.*, and its first example, which merits quotation in full: And that is to bileue lelly. bothe lered and lewed, / On the grete god that gynnyng had neuere, / And on the sothfaste sone . that saued mankynde / Fro the dedly deth . and the deueles power, / Thorwgh the helpe of the holy goste . the whiche goste is of bothe; / Three propre persones . ac nouȝt in plurel noumbre, / For al is but on god . and eche is god hym selue; / Deus pater, deus filius, deus spiritus sanctus (*Piers Plowman* B.X.232; the salient words, *ac nouȝt in plurel noumbre*, are not in the C parallel, and the entire passus is an addition to A; Skeat, 1 304-305). The B text then continues, as does C: Austyn the olde . here of he made bokes ...; the poet and Julian alike knew that *De Trinitate* is the primary source for those contemplating the Trinitarian mystery.

15 *And therfore theyse wordes ... reson and dyscrecion* (405.11): this corresponds with the short text, 243.34-244.45.

And therfore theyse wordes be nott declaryd here: in the short text (243.34 and note) she had written: *Thies wordes I declare nought botte for ilke man*, only as they are applicable and acceptable to every soul. Julian has allowed this passage in the long text to stand without cross-reference; but in fact the 'declaration' of *I it am* is to be found in chapter 59 (590.13-14 e.s.), where Julian, at last after fifteen years' pondering given insight to explain her allegory-vision of the lord and the servant, uses the fulness of her rhetorical powers and her theological expertise, gained, it will be seen, chiefly from Augustine and William of St. Thierry. There she makes the additional point — *and that shewde he in all* (590.12-13) — that the *natura creatrix* of the Father and the Son is manifested in all the shewings, *with the loue and the goodnes of the holy gost* (582.13). These disparities between chapters 26 and 59 point very clearly to the process of redrafting the first state of the long text which followed Julian's ultimate illuminations.

The xiij Reuelation
the xxvij Chapter

And after thys oure lorde brought to my mynde the longyng that I had to hym before; and I saw nothyng lettyd my but synne, and so I behelde generally in vs alle, and me thought yf synne had nott be, we shulde alle haue be clene and lyke to oure lorde as he made vs. And thus in my foly before thys tyme often I wondryd why, by the grete forsey(ng) wysdom of god, the begynnyng of synne was nott lettyd. For then thoucht me that alle / shulde haue be wele.

Thys steryng was moch to be forsaken; and nevyrthelesse morny(n)g

---

7 *forseyng*: ms: forseyde. 10 *mornyng*: ms: mornyg.

---

1 Add. S1: is that our lord god wil that we have grete regard to all his deds that he hat(h) don in the gret noblyte (S2: nobleness) of al things makyng, *and* of *et cetera*. How (S2: and how) synne is not knowin but by the peyn. 3 *And*: om. SS. *oure*: S1: the; and so S2. *that*: U: desire. 4 *saw*: add. SS, U: that. *lettyd*: add. U: or hindred. *my*: C, SS: me; U: vs. *and so ... vs alle*: om. U. 5 *be (we)*: S1: a ben. 6 *clene*: add. U: and pure. *made*: add. U: and created. 7 *forseyde* (ms): S1: for seyng; S2: allforeseeing; cf. A (244.42): forseande. 8 *lettyd*: U: hindred or preuented. 9 *thoucht*: C, S2, U: thought; S1: thowte. *that*: om. SS. *haue*: om. S2. 10 *was moch to be*: U: thought in my mind I should haue. *and*: add. U: not haue yealded vnto it yet. *mornyng ... therfore*: U: it caused me to mourne and sorrow.

---

1 *is that our lord god ... and of et cetera* (S1): cf. 283.33-284.42, and 324.1 note.

2 *xxvij*: S1: xxviij.

3 *the longyng that I had to hym before*: cf. 288.39-45.

4 *and I saw nothyng lettyd my but synne*: cf. *Piers Plowman* B. XVI 270-271: 'Allas!' I seyde, 'that synne . so longe shal lette / The myȝte of goddes mercy . that myȝt vs alle amende' (ed. Skeat, 1 496).

6 *And thus in my foly before thys tyme often I wondryd why ...*: cf. *Piers Plowman* B.X 111: Whi shulde we that now ben . for the werkes of Adam / Roten and torende? . Resoun wolde it neuere (ed. Skeat, 1 292), and the comparable passage, A. XI 66: Why wolde oure sauiour suffre such a worm in his blisse / þat he gilide þe womman and þe wy aftir, / Þoruȝ whiche a werk and wille þei wenten to helle, / And alle here seed for here synne þe same wo suffride? (ed. G. Kane, 403).

7 *forseyng*: cf. 337.9 and note.

8 *the begynnyng of synne*: Julian adds this in the long text, doubtless because through the parable of the lord and the servant she had come to understand more fully Paul's teaching in Romans, chapter 5.

and sorow I made therfore *with*ouȝte reson and dyscrecion. But Jhesu that in this vysyon enformyd me of alle that me nedyd answeryd by thys worde and seyde: Synne is behouely, but alle shalle be wele, and alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thynge shalle be wele. In þis nakyd worde: Synne, oure lorde brouȝte to my mynde generally alle that is nott good, and the shamfull despyte and the vttermost trybulation that he bare for vs in thys lyfe, and hys dyeng and alle hys paynes, and passion of alle hys creatures gostly and bodely. For we be alle in part

15 *is nott good*: here the first extract in U ends.

11 *reson and*: om. U. 12 *that (in)*: S2, U: who. *me (of)*: om. S2. *alle (that)*: add. U: thinges. *me nedyd*: U: were needfull. *nedyd*: S2: needeth. 13 *behouely*: C, marg.: behoveful; and so U; S1: behovabil; and so S2. *and alle ... shalle be wele (In)*: om. U. 14 *thynge*: S2: things. 16 *despyte*: S2: despiting. *vttermost*: SS: utter. *trybulation*: S1: nowtyng; and so S2. 17 *hys (paynes)*: SS: the. 18 *passion*: SS: passions; add. C: bodily and ghostly and the pains.

11 *withouȝte reson and dyscrecion*: in the short text, Julian had added to this: *of fulle grete pryde* (244.45). She is not now willing to accuse herself in this way; it belongs to discretion, as the *Cloud*-author writes, for the soul 'to charge his concience wiþ iche þoȝt and stering of sinne þat wil come in him' (*A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*, Hodgson, Deonise, 90).

But Jhesu ... that me nedyd (405.12): this corresponds with the short text, 244.46-47.

12 *answeryd by thys worde ... behouely* (405.13): this corresponds with the short text, 244.52.

13 *Synne is behouely*: cf. Matthew 18.7: It must needs be that scandals come.

but alle shalle be wele, and alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thynge shalle be wele: not in the short text at 244.52; transferred here from 245.72.

14 *In þis nakyd worde ... his blessyd wylle* (407.31): this corresponds with the short text, 244.52-245.71.

nakyd: not in the short text; cf. 244.52-53.

16 *the shamfull despyte and the vttermost trybulation that he bare for vs*: cf. Isaias 33.4-5, writing of the Suffering Servant: Surely he has borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows ... he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins, the chastisement of our peace was upon him. Cf. also the English *Stimulus amoris*: Vp on his flesh he took alle oure synnes and vp on the crosse he bare þe peyne of al oure wickednesse (H. J. Kane, 62; Kirchberger, 90).

vttermost trybulation: cf. 244.54 and note. The SS readings show that this modernization is peculiar to P or its ancestor.

18 *For we be alle in part trobelyd ... folowyng our master Jhesu, tylle we be fulle purgyd of oure dedely flessch*: cf. Job 30.15: and my prosperity has passed away like a cloud; and II Corinthians 4.10-11: Always bearing about in our body the mortifications of Jesus ... that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh. The *nowtid* of SS is closer to Job's 'I am brought to nothing' (redactus sum in nihil), and may represent what Julian wrote. Cf. 244.56 note.

trobelyd, and we schal be trobelyd, folowyng our master Jhesu, tylle we
20 be fulle purgyd of oure dedely flessch, and of alle oure inwarde af-
50v fections whych / be nott very good.

And (with) the beholdyng of thys, *with* alle the paynes that evyr were or evyr shalle be, I vnderstode the passion of Criste for the most payn and ovyr passyng. And (with) alle, thys was shewde in a touch, redely
25 passyd ovyr in to comfort. For oure good lorde wolde nott that the soule were aferde of this oygly syȝte. But I saw nott synne, for I beleue it had no maner of substannce, ne no part of beyng, ne it myght not be knowen but by the payne that is caused therof. And thys payne is somthyng, as to my syȝte, for a tyme, for it purgyth and makyth vs to know

---

22 e.s.: ms: And the beholdyng of thys *with* alle the paynes that evyr were or evyr shalle be, and *with* alle thys I vnderstode the passion of Criste for the most payne and ovyr passyng, and alle thys was shewde ...

---

19 *trobelyd ... trobelyd*: S1: nowtid ... nowtid; and so S2. 20 *purgyd*: add. S1: þat is to sey till we be fully nowtid; and so S2. 22 *thys*: SS: these. *the (paynes)*: om. SS. 23 *the (most)*: om. S2. 26 *oygly*: C, S2: ugly; S1: uggly. 27 *had*: SS: hath; cf. 245.66: has. *ne no*: S2: nor any. *ne it myght not*: S2: neither can it. 28 *is caused therof*: SS: it is cause of. *thys (payne)*: SS: thus; S2, marg. al. m.: of this *is (somthyng)*: SS: it is. 29 *purgyth*: add. S2: us.

---

19 *trobelyd*: cf. 244.57 and note.

20 *purgyd*: cf. 245.58 and note.

inwarde affections whych be nott very good: cf. Romans 6.12: Let not sin therefore reign in your body, so as to obey the lusts thereof.

21 *very*: not in the short text; cf. 245.60.

22 *And with the beholdyng ...*: as recorded in the manuscripts, this passage lacks a main verb and makes little sense. The corruption seems to have arisen from a dittography, 'with alle'; and sense is restored by what little emendation has been undertaken.

24 (ms) *toch, and redely*: the syntax in this sentence, in which *with alle the paynes ... in a touch* is all in apposition to *beholdyng*, which governs *redely passed ovyr*, has escaped the control of some scribe.

26 *I saw nott synne, for I beleue it had no maner of substannce*: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 53: Þis is noȝt þe ymage of Jhesu ... What is it þen? seiȝ you. Sothly it is noȝt ... Þis noȝt is no thyng elles bot a lackyng of louc *and* of lyȝt, as synne is noȝt bot a wantyng of gode (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, pp. 324-325; Underhill, 127).

for I beleue it had no maner of substannce: cf. Chaucer's *Boethius*, III 12 (338.21 note). Doubtless there should here be emendation, either to 'for I beleued it had' or 'for I beleue it has'.

29 *it purgyth and makyth vs to know oure selfe*: cf. the *Chastising*: Þe fourþ cause may be for chastisyng, and to purge hym for his synnes (Bazire and Colledge, 150) ... peyne folwiþ þe trespas, and sharpe scourgis and chastisyng openeþ þe iȝen of þe trespassouris (id., 147).

oure selfe and aske mercy; for the passion of oure lorde is comfort to vs
ȝenst alle thys, and so is his blessyd wylle. And for the tender loue that
51r oure good lorde / hath to alle that shalle be sauyd, he comfortyth
redely and swetly, menyng thus: It is tru that synne is cause of alle thys
payne, but alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thyng shalle be wele.
Theyse wordes were shewde fulle tendyrly, shewyng no maner of
blame to me ne to none that shalle be safe. Than were it grett vnkynd-
nesse of me to blame or wonder on god of my synne, sythen he blamyth
nott me for synne.

And in theyse same w(o)rdes I saw an hygh mervelous prevyte hyd in
god, whych pryuyte he shalle opynly make and shalle be knowen to vs in
hevyn. In whych knowyng we shalle verely se the cause why he sufferde
synne to come, in whych syght we shalle endlessely haue joye.

---

39 *wordes*: ms: wrdes.

---

30 *selfe*: S2: selues. 33 *menyng*: S2: saying. *tru*: SS: sothe; in S2, add. 'n', app. later. *is (cause)*: add. S2: the. 34 *be wele (and)*: add. S1: *and* al shall be wele; and so S2, but not A (245.72). *of (thyng)*: om. S1. *thyng*: S2: things. 35 *shewde*: S1: seyd; and so S2. 36 *grett*: S1: a gret; and so S2. 37 *of me*: om. SS. *of (my)*: SS: for. *sythen*: S1: seith; C, S2: since. 39 *same*: om. S2. 40 *pryuyte*: S2: secret. *and shalle be*: om. SS. 42 *haue joye*: S1: joyen in our lord god; S2: rejoyce in our god.

---

30 *is comfort to us ȝenst alle thys*: cf. II Corinthians 1.5: For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so also by Christ does our comfort abound.

31 *And for the tender loue that oure good lorde hath*: not in the short text; cf. 245.71.

32 *he comfortyth redely ... menyng thus*: this corresponds with the short text, 245.71.

he comfortyth: cf. Isaias 40.1-2: Be comforted, be comforted, my people, says your God.

33 *It is tru that synne is cause of alle thys payne*: not in the short text; cf. 245.72.

34 *but alle ... not me for synne* (407.38): this corresponds with the short text, 245.72-246.77.

35 *Theyse wordes*: cf. 405.13.

shewyng no maner of blame to me: cf. John 8.10-11: Then Jesus ... said to her: Woman, where are those who accused you? Has no man condemned you? She said: No man, lord. And Jesus said: Neither will I condemn you.

37 *seith* (S1) / *since* (S2, C): that S2 has not copied S1's error may be one of the indications that, in copying, S2 was collating S1 with C.

39 *And in theyse same wordes ...*: this paragraph is not in the short text; cf. 246.77.

an hygh mervelous prevyte hyd in god: cf. Ecclesiasticus 11.4: For the works of the highest only are wonderful, and his works are glorious and secret and hidden.

The xxviij Chapter /

51v Thus I saw how Crist hath compassyon on vs for the cause of synne; and ryght as I was before in the passion of Crist fulfyllyd *with* payne and compassion, lyke in thys I was in party fulfylled *with* compassion of alle my evyn cristen, for fulle wele he lovyth pepylle that shalle be savyd, that is to seye goddes servanntes. Holy chyrch shalle be shakyd in sorow and anguyssch and trybulacion in this worlde as men shakyth a cloth in the wynde; and as to thys oure lorde answeryd, shewyng on this maner: A, a grett thyng shalle I make herof in hevyn of endlesse wurshyppe and of evyrlastyng joye. ¶ Ȝe, so farforth I saw oure lord enjoyeth of the

---

2 Here the second extract in U begins.

---

1 S1: How the children of salvation shal be shakyn in sorowis, but Criste enjoyth wyth compassion, *and* a remedye agayn tribulation; and so S2. *xxviij*: C: xxxiij; S1: xxvijth. 2 *hath*: S2: had. 3 *and ryght as ... my evyn cristen*: om. U. 4 *lyke*: S2: so. 5 *evyn cristen*: S2: fellow *christ*ians. *fulle*: SS: þat. *he (lovyth)*: SS: wel; U: our lord. *lovyth*: S1: belovid; and so S2. 6 *shalle*: add. S2: all. *sorow*: S2: sorrows. 7 *as (men)*: U: as a. 8 *shewyng*: om. SS. *on*: S2, U: in. *A*: om. SS. 10 *of (evyrlastyng)*: om. SS. *joye*: SS: joyes. *saw*: add. C, SS, U: that. *enjoyeth*: S1: joyth; and so S2; U: reioyceth.

---

1 *xxviij*: C: xxxiij, through substitution of 'x' for 'v'; but the running title to p. 64 has 'Chap. 33', whereas on p. 65 it is 'Chap. 28'.

2 *Thus I saw ... my evyn cristen* (408.5): this corresponds with the short text, 246.77-80.

4 *fulfylled with compassion of alle my evyn cristen*: cf. I Peter 3.8: having compassion of one another, being lovers of the brotherhood.

5 *for fulle wele ...*: the rest of this paragraph is not in the short text; cf. 246.80. *for fulle wele he lovyth pepylle that shalle be savyd*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: And ryȝt so wenne a man is besi in al þat he may to conforme him to þat pite þat Crist shewid in his passioun, sothely he plesith mykel Criste. Soche a soule Criste loueth tendirli, for hit is like hym, she feleþ als he dothe (H. J. Kane, 50; Kirchberger, 82).

6 *Holy chyrch shalle be shakyd ... as men shakyth a cloth in the wynde*: Julian has her earlier simile in mind, where she compares Christ crucified with a cloth hung in the wind to dry (363.39-40). Margery Kempe uses equally homely language when she tells how it was revealed to her, 'You will be eaten and gnawed by the people of the world as any rat gnaws on a stockfish' (*Book of Margery Kempe*, 17). The English *Horologium* uses similar language, alluding to Matthew 28.20: Neuerþeles I haue byheiȝt in þe gospelle þat I schalle dwelle with trewe cristen men into þe worldes ende, and þat I schalle neuer suffire þe schyppe of Petir, þat is holy chirche, perysche, þowgh hit be ofte sybes schaken and turbled in dyuerse maners (Horstman, 383).

10-17 This could serve as a summary of the *Chastising*, 146-148, on the spiritual benefits of afflictions, and especially how 'sharpe scourgis and chastisyng openeþ þe iȝen

tribulacions of hys sarvanntes *with* pyte and compassion; and to ech
52r person that he lovyth to his blysse for to bryng, he leyth / on him som
thyng that is no lacke in his syght, wher by they be lowhyd and dyspysed
in thys worlde, scornyd and mokyd and cast out. And thys he doth for
15 to lett the harme *þat* they shulde take of the pompe and of the pryde
and the veyne glorye of thys wrechyd lyffe, and make ther wey redy to
come to hevyn in blysse *with*out ende evyrlastyng. For he seyth: I shal
alle to breke yow from yowre veyne affeccions and yowre vyscious

---

11 *tribulacions*: C, U: tribulation. *pyte*: SS: reuth. *and (to)*: om. SS; U: that. 12 *to his blysse ... bryng*: U: and intendeth to bring to his blisse. *leyth*: S1: levyth; and so S2. *on him*: S1: vpon them; and so S2. *som thyng*: add. U: that is to say some affliction or tribulation. 13 *lacke*: C, marg., U: impediment; add. U: to þe soule. *his syght*: U: þe sight of god. *lowhyd*: C: lowed; marg.: humbled; S1: lakid; marg., al. m.: not liked of, from þe Dutch word lacken to dispraise, to blame, being the opposite to þe Dutch word prijsen, to praise; S2: lakkid; U: humbled. 14 *and (mokyd)*: om. S2, U. *mokyd*: S1: apyd; S2: japyd. *cast out*: S1: outcasten; and so S2; U: contemned by others. *for (to)*: om. U. 15 *lett*: C, marg., U: hinder; add. U: and prevent. *þat*: W: which. *they shulde*: U: they are apt to fall into and would. *take of*: U: incurre by. *and of*: om. U. *and of the pryde*; om. SS. 16 *the (veyne)*: om. S2; C: of the. *and (make)*: add. U: for to. *redy*: U: the more readdy and better prepare them to come. 17 *in blysse*: S1: and heynen them in his bliss; and so S2; U: and enioy his blisse. *evyrlastyng*: S1: lestyng; and so S2. 18 *from*: SS: for.

---

of þe trespassouris, whos iȝen amonge vices were made blynde wiþ sikernesse' (Bazire and Colledge, 147). Evidently Julian has in mind at least the Scripture quoted at this point by the *Chastising*: Deuteronomy 32.39, Job 5.17, Hebrews 12.6: and cf. also John 15.18-21.

13 *lowhyd / lowed* (C) / *lakid* (S1) / *lakkid* (S2): this indicates a crux differently solved by the ancestors of P and of SS. Cressy may have been right in resolving it as an eccentric P spelling, supplying *lowed* and glossing it as 'humbled', which U has followed. Cf. NED, Low, *v.*[1] 1., 'To abase, humble, lower', with its first instance 1382, Wycliffite Philippians 2.7: He lowyde him silf (semetipsum exinanivit), and with fourteenth and fifteenth-century forms such as *loowȝ*, *lowgh*. But *lowhyd* may mean 'laughed'. Cf. NED, Laugh, *v.* 5. trans., 'To laugh or mock at, deride', with its first example c. 950, Lindisfarne Gospels, Matthew 9.24: Gehlogun hine (deridebant eum). The SS solution, *lakid*, is also reasonable: cf. NED, Lack, *v.*[1] 5. trans., 'to find fault with, abuse, blame' (the entry's suggested etymology, 'Cf. MDu *laken*, to be wanting, to blame', shows the remarkable accuracy of the marginal comment in S1).

17 *I shal alle to breke yow / from yowre veyne affeccions / and yowre vyscious pryde / and aftyr that I shalle gader yow / and make yow meke and mylde*: a *membrum* of five *cola*, with *oppositio contrariorum (to breke yow / gader yow, veyne affecctions, vyscious pryde / meke and mylde)*.

pryde, and aftyr that I shall*e* gader yow and make yow meke and mylde,
20 clene and holy by onyng to me.

And than saw I that ech kynde compassion that man hath on hys evyn cristen w*ith* charyte, it is Crist in hym, that ych maner noughtyng that he
52v shewde in hys passion, it was shewde aȝene in thys compassion, / wher in were two maner of vnderstondynges in oure lordes menyng. That
25 one was the blysse that we be brought to, wher in he wille that we enioye. That other is for comfort in oure payne, for he wille that we

---

22 '-ughtyng ... thys compassion', scr., on slip pasted over.

---

19 *gader*: S1: togeder gader; and so S2. 20 *onyng*: C, marg: uniting; U: vniting *you*. 22 *hym, that ... in hys passion*: U: in him whose loue to man made him to esteeme litle of all þe paines he suffered in his passion. *ych maner*: SS: same. *he*: C, SS: was. 23 *it*: U: *which* loue. 24 *maner of vnderstondynges*: U: thinges to be vnderstood. *That*: S1: the; and so S2, U. 25 *brought*: S1: bowte; and so S2. *to*: U: vnto. *he wille*: U: his will is. *that we enioye*: SS: be enjoyen. 26 *enioye*: C, marg.: rejoyce; and so U. *for*: add. U: our. *payne*: add. U: and tribulation.

---

19 *I shalle gader yow*: cf. Matthew 23.37: How often would I have gathered together your children; Matthew 11.28-29: Come to me ... and I will refresh you ... Learn of me, because I am meek and humble of heart; Ephesians 5.25-26: Christ also loved the Church ... that he might sanctify it.

21 *And than saw I ... Crist in hym* (410.22): cf. 246.77, 79, 80 and notes. The long text here has rearranged and rewritten the short text so as to give a new sequence, in which Christ's compassion for sinners, which the charity between Christians shares, is put first.

22 *that ych maner noughtyng ...*: the rest of this paragraph is not in the short text; cf. 246.83.

24 *That one was the blysse ...*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: ... and þat is wenne a sowle is molten and resolued þourȝe brennande mynde of Cristeȝ passioun; þenne forȝetith þe soule fulli hit self and all ertheli þyng also, and vnspekabley is rauysshed in to þe loue of Jhesu Crist (H. J. Kane, 34; Kirchberger, 70).

25 *brought / bowte* (S1): either reading is defensible: 'the joy to which we are brought', 'the joy for which we are purchased' (by Christ's sufferings and death).

26 *That other is for comfort in our payne ...*: so in the English *Horologium* we read: And so if þou se þi belovede with þe eye of loue, þou shalt mowe se him fulle of charite and loue, þe whiche not onely schewede is love bye wordes, as manye loveres of þis worlde done, but also he prouede him selfe trewe lovynge in dedes. Wherfor hit foloweþ opunlye þat þe abieccione and vnsemelynesse of þe vttere manne þat he toke of þe bitternesse of passione is raþer chewynge and profe of loue (Horstman, 338).

That other is for comfort in oure payne / for he wille that we wytt / that it alle shalle be turned vs / to wurschyp and to profyȝte / by the vertu of hys passyon / and þat we wytte that we sufferyd ryght nought aloone / but with hym and see hym oure grownde: a *compar* with *oppositio* (*comfort / payne, profyȝte / passyon, aloone / with hym*).

wytt that it alle shalle be turned vs to wurschyp and to profyȝte by the vertu of hys passyon, and þat we wytte that we sufferyd ryght nought aloone, but *with* hym, and see hym oure grownde. And that we see his
30 paynes and hys trybulacion passe so ferre alle that we may suffer, that it may nott be full thought. And the well beholdyng of thys wylle doth saue vs from grugyng and despeyer in the felyng of our paynes; and yf we see verely that oure synne deserve it, ȝett hys loue excusyth vs. And
53r of hys gret curtesy he doth away alle / oure blame, and beholdeth vs
35 *with* ruth and pytte, as chyldren innocens and vnlothfulle.

---

27 *be turned*: 'be', 'ed' canc. 31 *doth*: canc. 35 Here the second extract in U ends.

---

27 *wytt*: C, marg., S2, U: know. *it*: om. C, U. *be turned*: C: turn; and so U. *vs*: om. SS, U. *to (wurschyp)*: add. U: his. *to (profyȝte)*: om. S2; add. U: our. 28 *hys*: add. U: holy. *wytte*: U: know. *sufferyd*: SS: suffer. *ryght*: om. SS. *nought*: U: nothing. 29 *see (his)*: U: þat we see. 30 *trybulacion*: SS: nowthing. *passe*: S2: passeth; U: to exceed and surpasse. *may (suffer)*: U: can. 31 *may nott*: S2, U: cannot. *full*: S2, U: fully. *thought*: S2: conceived; U: thought or imagined. *well*: om. SS. *beholdyng*: add. U: and considering. *doth*: om. C, SS, U. 32 *saue*: U: keepe. *grugyng*: U: ouermuch trouble. *yf*: om. U. 33 *verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *synne*: U: sinnes. *deserve*: C: deserveth; and so SS. 34 *and beholdeth ... and pytte*: om. S2. *beholdeth*: S1: he holdyth. 35 *ruth and pytte*: U: ruth and (compassion — canc.) merueilous pitty. *innocens*: S1: inocents; and so S2. *vnlothfulle*: C, marg.: unspotted; and so U.

---

28 *that we sufferyd ryght nought aloone, but with hym*: cf. the *Chastising*: Oure lord Jhesu Crist stondiþ wiþ his goostli children (Bazire and Colledge, 122).

29 *his paynes and hys trybulacion passe so ferre alle that we may suffer*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*, in an addition to the Latin: Ymagyne we þenne þat als mykel peyne as alle men myȝt suffre, ȝif þei hadden ben alle o man and o man hadde þe myȝth of alle men, þus myche pyne and ȝit moche moore suffred Jhesu in his persone alone (H. J. Kane, 29; Kirchberger, 67).

31 *doth saue vs from grugyng and despeyer*: cf. the English prose *Bonum est*: He is not angri aȝeynes god, demynde in him hardnes, ne he dispeireþ not of himself for drede of his wikkednes, for hit is al forȝiuen. But he abydeþ in þis merke niȝt ... (Wallner, 56).

33 *And of hys gret curtesy he doth away alle oure blame*: cf. another addition to the English *Stimulus amoris*: Þis is a curteysie of oure lord, that he so hyȝe and so good wole deyne for to haue me to his sone and hym to my fadir (H. J. Kane, 177; Kirchberger, 187).

35 *as chyldren innocens*: compare the *oratio super populum* for the Wednesday after Quadragesima: Deus innocentiae restitutor et amator, dirige ad te tuorum corda servorum, ut spiritus tui fervore concepto, et in fide inveniantur stabiles et in opere efficaces (Bruylants no. 235, 2 72).

vnlothfulle: cf. 516.36 note. Here, plainly, the meaning must be some antonym of 'loathful', 'hateful', some synonym of 'innocent'. Cf. NED, Unloathfulness, which quotes *Dives et Pauper*: Swete Iesu Cryste, what is thy gylt / That thou thus for me arte spylt, / Floure of vnlothfulnes? *innocens and vnlothfulle* is *interpretatio*, and C's marginal gloss is perceptive.

The xxix Chapter

But in this I stode beholdyng generally, swemly and mornyngly seyyng thus to oure lorde in my menyng *with* fulle gret drede: A, good lorde, how myght alle be wele for the gret harme that is come by synne to thy creatures? And here I desyeryd as I druste to haue some more opyn declaryng wher *with* that I myght be esyd in thys. And to thys oure blessyd lorde answeryd fulle mekely and *with* fulle louely chere, and shewd that Adams synne was the most harme that evyr was done or evyr shalle in to the worldes end. And also he shewde that thys is opynly knowyn in alle holy church in erth.

53v Ferthermore he lernyd that I shulde beholde / the glorious asseeth, for thys asseeth makyng is more plesyng to the blessyd godhed and more

---

1 *xxix* alt. fr. 'xxviij'.

---

1 S1: Adam (S2: Adams) synne was gretest, but the satisfaction (add. S2: (made)) for it is more plesyng to god then ever was the synne harmfull. 2 *swemly*: C: sweinly; marg.: darkly. *mornyngly*: S1: mournyng; and so S2. 3 *menyng*: S1, marg., al. m.: thought. 4 *myght*: S2: can. *harme*: S1: hurte; and so S2. *come*: C: to come. 5 *thy*: SS: the. *druste*: C, SS: durst. 6 *that*: om. SS. 7 *blessyd*: S1: blisfull; and so S2. 9 *shalle*: add. C: be. *in to*: SS: to. 11 *lernyd*: SS: leryd. *asseeth*: C, marg.: satisfaction; S1, marg., al. m.: satisfaction. 12 *the blessyd godhed*: SS: god.

---

1 *satisfaction* (S1): Julian's term is *asseeth*, which C, 412.11, had so glossed.

2 *But in this ... as we shalle be than* (418.20): this corresponds with the short text, 247.1-250.18.

I stode: cf. 247.1: *I schalle studye*. It is impossible to say whether this is scribal error or eccentric orthography.

sweinly - darkly (C): cf. 319.31 note.

5 *druste*: MED, durren, v., gives 'drust(e), drost, draste' as forms of the preterite.

8 *Adams synne was the most harme ...*: cf. Wisdom 2.23-24: God created man incorruptible ... but by envy of the devil death came into the world; Romans 5.13: Death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them also who have not sinned; James 1.15: Sin, when it is completed, begets death. Cf. also 404.4 note, citing *Piers Plowman* B.XVI 270-271.

12 *more plesyng to the blessyd godhed and more wurschypfulle ... than evyr was the synne of Adam harmfulle*: cf. the *Praeconium Paschale*, the rite for the blessing of the Paschal candle on Easter Eve: O certe necessarium Ade peccatum et nostrum quod Christi morte deletum est. O felix culpa que talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem (J. Wickham Legge, ed.: *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, 2 col. 581). The conceit is re-echoed in the second stanza of *Adam lay ibowndyn*: Ne hadde þe appil take ben, taken ben, / Ne hadde neuer our lady a ben heuene qwen; / Blyssid be þe tyme þat appil take was, / Þerfore we mown syngyn 'deo gracias!' (C. Brown, XV 120).

wurschypfulle for mannys saluacion *with* oute comparyson than evyr was the synne of Adam harmfulle. Then menyth oure blessyd lorde
15 thus, and in thys techyng that we shulde take hede to thys: For sythen that I haue made welle the most harm, than it is my wylle that thou know ther by that I shalle make wele alle that is lesse.

---

15 *and*: om. SS. 16 *that (1)*: om. SS. *welle*: add. C: by. *thou*: S2: ye.

---

15 *For sythen that I haue made welle / the most harm / than it is my wylle / that thou know ther by / that I shalle make wele / alle that is lesse*: a *membrum*, with *adnominatio* (*welle ... wylle*) and *conversio* (*welle ... wele*).

For sythen that I haue made welle the most harm ...: cf. the English *Horologium*: Why maye not þe vertue of þe auctor and maker of kynde strecche hym to gretter merueiles manyfolde in his worchynge? Also, if hit seme possibil þat þe maker of the worlde seyde and alle thinges were made of noȝte, why schulde hee not turne one thinge in to an oþere þorow his priuey power? And þerfore, riȝhte as alle thinge þat hee wolde he made, riȝhte so þere is no thinge to hym inpossibil þat he wole haue done (Horstman, 366-367).

16 *by the most harm* (C): this refers to the allusion which has just preceded to the *felix culpa*; but there is no support from A (247.15) or SS for C's emendation.

The xxxth Chapter

He gaue vnderstondyng of ij partyes. That one party is oure saviour and oure saluacyon. Thys blessyd parte is opyn, clere, feyer and lyght and plentuouse, for alle mankynde that is of good wylle and that shalle be is comprehendyd in this part. Here to we be bounde of god and
54r drawyn and connceylyd and lernyd inwardly by the / holy gost, and outward by holy chyrch in the same grace. In this wylle oure lorde that we be occupyed and joyeng in hym, for he enjoyth in vs. And the more plentuously that we take of thys *with* reuerence and mekenesse, the more thanke we deserue of hym, and the more spede to oure selfe. And thus may we see and enjoye oure parte is oure lorde.

---

7 *In this wylle*: here the third extract in U begins.

---

1 S1: How we shuld joye *and* trusten in our savior Jesus, not presumyng to know his privy counsell; and so S2. 2 *gaue*: add. SS: me. *That*: S2: þe. *party*: om. SS. 3 *opyn, clere*: add. SS: *and ... and*. 4 *that (shalle)*: om. SS. 6 *lernyd*: S1: lerid; S2: taught. *outward*: SS: outwardly. 7 *wylle oure lorde that we be*: U: our lords will is to haue vs. *and (joyeng)*: om. SS. 8 *joyeng*: U: exercise to joy. *enjoyth*: C: joyeth; and so U. 9 *that (we)*: om. S2. *thys*: add. U: (ioying in our salluation). *mekenesse*: U: humility. 10 *thanke*: U: thankes. *spede*: C, marg.: profit; U: speedy and expedient it is. *selfe*: S2, U: selues. 11 *see*: S1: sey. *and enjoye*: S1: enjoyeng; and so S2. *enjoye*: C, marg.: rejoyce in that; add. U: or reioyce in that.

---

3 *Thys blessyd parte*: cf. 247.18 note.

opyn, clere, feyer and lyght and plentuouse: cf. John 1.14, 16: And we saw his glory ... full of grace and truth ... and of his fullness we have all received, and grace for grace.

5 *Here to we be bounde of god and drawyn*: cf. John 6.44: No man can come to me, except the Father who has sent me draw him.

6 *connceylyd and lernyd inwardly by the holy gost*: cf. John 14.26: But the paraclete, the Holy Ghost ... he will teach you all things and bring all things to your mind; John 16.13: The Spirit of truth ... will teach you all truth.

8 *and joyeng in hym, for he enjoyth in vs*: cf. John 16.22: I will see you again and your heart shall rejoice; Hebrews 12.2: Looking on Jesus ... who, having joy set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and now sits at the right hand of the throne of God.

11 *see and enjoye*: cf. 248.26: *saye, enioyande*, with which S1 and, partly, S2 agree.

That other is hyd and sparryd fro vs, that is to sey alle that is besyde oure saluacion; for that is oure lordes prevy conncelle, and it longyth to the ryalle lordschyppe of god to haue hys pryvy connceyles in pees, and
15 it longyth to his saruanntes for obedyence and reverence nott wylle to know hys connceyles.

Oure lorde hath pitte and compassion on vs for þat some creatures
54v make them so besy therin; and I am suer yf we / wyst how gretly that we shuld plese hym and ese oure selfe to leue it, we wolde. The seyntes
20 in hevyn, they wylle nothyng wytt but that oure lorde wylle shew them,

---

12 *That*: S2: but þe; U: the. *other*: add. U: part. *sparryd*: C, marg.: shut up; U: shutt vp or concealed. 13 *that (is oure)*: SS: it. *longyth ... longyth*: S2, U: belongeth ... belongeth. 14 *connceyles*: S1: councell; and so S2. 15 *saruanntes*: S1: servant. *reverence*: add. U: to him. *wylle*: C, S2: to will; S1: to wel; U: to haue a will or desire. *to know*: SS: wetyn. 18 *make them so besy therin*: U: do busy themselues so much therein (seeking and desiring to know and vnderstand þe secrets of all*mighty* god). *suer*: S1: sekir; S2: certain. *wyst*: C, marg., S2, U: knew. *that (we)*: om. C, SS, U. 19 *selfe*: S2, U: selues. *leue*: U: forbear. *wolde*: add. U: do it. *seyntes*: add. S1: þat be; and so S2. 20 *they*: om. S2. *wylle nothyng wytt*: U: haue a will to know nothing. *that*: C, S2: what; U: þat which.

---

12 *hyd and sparryd fro vs ... for that is oure lordes prevy conncelle*: cf. Romans 11.33: O the depths of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments and how unsearchable his ways! Cf. also *Piers Plowman* A.XI 74 e.s.: *Non plus sapere quam oportet* (Romans 12.3) / Wilneþ neuere to wyte why that god wolde / Suffre Sathan his sed to bigile, / Ac beleue lelly on þe lore of holy chirche ... (G. Kane, 404).

13 *for that is oure lordes prevy conncelle*: cf. 248.28 note. The figure has been exactly preserved from the short text.

14 *prevy conncelle ... ryalle lordschyppe ... saruanntes*: God's inscrutable judgments are compared with the *consilium privatum* on which a mediaeval king relied for good government. NED, Privy council, 2., 'The private counsellors of the sovereign', gives as its first instance 1375, Barbour, *Bruce*.

17 *Oure lorde hath pitte and compassion on vs*: Julian may be recalling the incident when the disciples ask Christ for a sign concerning the end of the world: Tell us when these things shall be ... Of that day and hour no man knows, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, but only the Father (Mark 13.4, 32).

19 *The seyntes in hevyn ...*: cf. the anonymous *Tractatus de dominica oracione*: Þinne awene will be done in erthe als it es donne in heuene ... in heuene es goddes wylle donne perfitely ... for angells, archangells ... and all þe sawles þat er in heuene before gode er bowande till hyme, and perfitely wirkes his will and duse his commandementez (Horstman, 1 263); and Rolle says precisely this in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note): Non enim quis sanctus est quia multas litteras didicit, set quia voluntatem suam divine voluntati in omnibus conformavit (Murray, 29). Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* makes Christ say: ... alle the lovynge or worscheppynge of seyntes and ioy ande blessedhede be ordeynede atte my wille (Halligan, 369).

and also ther charyte and ther desyer is rulyd after the wylle of oure lorde; and thus oght we, that oure wylle be lyke to them. Than shalle we nothyng wylle ne desyer but the wylle of oure lorde, lyke as they do, for we be alle one in goddes menyng.

25 And here was I lernyd þat we shulde onely enjoye in oure blessyd sauioure Jhesu, and trust in hym for alle thyng.

---

26 Here the third extract in U ends.

---

21 *ther (desyer)*: om. U. *after*: U: according to. 22 *oght*: S1: owen. *that oure wylle be*: S1: to willen; and so S2; U: to haue our will. 25 *lernyd*: S2, U: taught. *we (shulde)*: U: I. *shulde onely enjoye*: S1: shal trosten *and* enjoyen only; and so S2. *blessyd*: S1: blisful; and so S2. 26 *and trust in hym*: om. SS. *alle thyng*: S2: everlasting. *thyng*: U: thinges.

---

22 *and thus oght we*: sc. 'to do'. SS's resolution, '*and* thus owen we to willen like to hem' (S1), is ingenious, but not necessarily preferable.

Than shalle we nothyng wylle ne desyer but the wylle of oure lorde: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 24: If þu wilt witen þen what þis desire is, soþly it is Jhesu ... He is al *and* he doþ al ... Þou dost noȝt, bot soffrest hi*m* wirke in þi soule *and* assentes to hi*m* *with* grete gladnes of herte ... Þou art not elles bot a resonable instrument wher in þ*at* he wirkiþ (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 89^{r}; Underhill, 318).

25 *onely enjoy*: cf. Psalm 20.6: In thy strength, o Lord, the king shall rejoice, and in thy salvation he shall rejoice exceedingly. Thou hast given him his heart's desire.

26 *for everlasting* (S2): NED, Everlasting, *a.* and *sb.*, B., has as its first example c. 1340 *Cursor Mundi*: ... to be þair bonde for ever lastande; and its last is 1828.

The xxxi Chapter

And thus oure good lorde answeryd to alle the questyons and dowȝtys that I myght make, sayeng full comfortabely; I may make alle thyng wele, and I can make alle thyng welle, and I shalle make alle
55r thyng / wele, and I wylle make alle thyng welle; and thou shalt se thy
6 selfe þat alle maner of thyng shall be welle. There he seyth: I may, I vnderstonde for the father; and there he seyth: I can, I vnderstond for the sonne; and there he seyth: I wylle, I vnderstonde for the holy gost; and there he seyth: I shalle, I vnderstonde for the vnyte of the blessyd
10 trinite, thre persons and oon truth; and there he seyth: Thou shalt se thy selfe, I vnderstond the (onyng) of alle man kynde that shalle be sauyd in to the blyssedfulle trynite.

---

11 *onyng*: ms: comyng.

---

1 S1: Off the longyng *and* the spiritual threst of Criste which lestyth *and* shall lesten til domys day; and be the reason of his body he is not yet full gloryfyed ne al unpassible; and so S2. 2 *questyons*: S1: question. 4 *thyng* (5×): S2: things. *and (I can)*: om. S2. *and (I shalle)*: om. S2. 5 *I (wylle)*: om. S2. *wylle*: SS: shall. 6 *There*: SS: that. 7 *there (he seyth: I can)*: om. S1; S2: where. 8 *there (he seyth: I wylle)*: SS: where. 9 *there (he seyth, I shalle)*: S1: wher; and so S2. *for*: om. C. 10 *there (he seyth: Thou)*: SS: where. 11 *onyng*: so SS; C: coming; cf. 249.10. 12 *to*: om. S2. *blyssedfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2.

---

3 *I may make alle thyng wele ...*: for this figure in the short text, cf. 249.2 note. Cf. John 16.33: In the world you will have distress, but have confidence.

alle thyng wele: cf. the English *Horologium*: And what tyme with a restful contemplacyone I take bisily hede how souereynly fayre and welle þou, dyuync wisdame, ordeynest alle thinges þat ben made, booþ good and ille, riȝtwise and vnriȝtwise, so þat in alle makynge þou leuyst nothinge inordynate, and with grete reuerence disposest vs: I begynne thanne greetly to be gladded in sowle, and with a ioyful voyse I am constreyned to breke out into þese wordes: Alle þe werkes of god ben riȝte goode (Horstman, 378).

6 *There he seyth ...*: for this figure, cf. 249.5 note: but it will be observed that a heightened effect of *repetitio* has been gained here by the substitution of *I may ... I can ... I wylle ... I shalle* for the short text's *he maye ... he can ... I wille ... I schalle* (249.5-8).

10 *thre persons and oon truth*: Julian is recalling the insistent Trinitarian ending of John's first letter, with its threefold repetition of 'true': Et scimus quoniam filius dei venit et dedit nobis sensum, ut cognoscamus verum deum et simus in vero filio eius. His est verus deus et vita eterna (I John 5.20).

11 *onyng*: the SS reading has been preferred to P's 'comyng'. Cf. 249.10: *the anynge of alle mankynde*. For Julian to have written of humanity 'coming', 'turning' into the Trinity is not compatible with what she will say in chapter 58 about our being made in the substance of the Creator. 'Thou shalt se thyself' indicates that humanity will perceive itself to be one, like 'the vnyte of the blessed trinite', and that the prayer of John 17.21 will be fulfilled.

And in theyse v wordes god wyll that we be enclosyd in rest and in pees. And thus shalle the goostly thyrst of Crist haue an end. For thys is
15 the goostly thyrst of Cryst, the loue longyng þ*at* lastyth and evyr shall tyll we se that syght at domys day; for we that shalle be safe, and shalle
55v be / Crystes joy and hys blysse, ben yet here, and some be to come, and so shalle some be in to that day. Therfore this is his thurste and loue longyng of vs, all to geder here in hym to oure endlesse blysse, as to my
20 syght. For we be nott now fully as hole in hym as we shalle be than.

For we know in oure feyth, and also it was shewde in alle, that Crist Jhesu is both god and man; and aneynst the godhed he is hym selfe hyghest blysse, and was fro *with*out begynnyng, and shalle be *with*out

---

13 *that we*: om. SS; cf. 249.12. *in (pees)*: om. C. 15 *loue*: S2: liet. 16 *at*: SS: on. *that (shalle)*: om. S2. 17 *blysse*: add. SS: some. 18 *and (loue)*: SS: a. 19 *of*: S1: to have. *here*: S1: hole; and so S2; cf. 250.18: als haelye. *hym*: S2: himselfe. *oure*: SS: his. *endlesse*: om. SS. 20 *fully*: SS: as fully. 22 *is (both)*: C: was. *aneynst*: C, marg.: according to; S1: amempt; marg., al. m.: as concerning or *with* respect unto; S2: amenst; marg., al. m.: anenst. *selfe*: add. S2: þe. 23 *be*: add. S1: fro*m*; and so S2.

---

14 *And thus shalle the goostly thyrst of Crist haue an end*: this begins the meditation which Julian has already promised; cf. 360.5. The traditional exegesis of John 19.28, 'Sitio', is that spiritually this signifies Christ's thirst for man's salvation. *The Privity of the Passion* allows for both spiritual and literal senses: For þof it were so þat hym thrystede for þe hele of manes soule, neuer þe les in sothefastnes hym thrystede bodily (Horstman, 1 207; Stallings, 115; Ragusa and Green, 336). For contemporary English verse treatments of the theme of 'ghostly thirst', cf. C. Brown, *Behold Jesus on the Cross*, XV 141: Wiþ an O and an I / His þryste was to seyȝe / For loue of manys soule / Hym longede for to deyȝe; and ibid. 143. *Piers Plowman* B. XVIII makes Julian's point that this spiritual thirst will last until Judgment Day: I fauȝte so, me threstes ȝet . for mannes soule sake; / May no drynke me moiste . ne my thruste slake / Tyl the vendage falle. in the vale of Iosephath (Skeat, 1 544). Ludolph of Saxony in his *Vita*, II lxiii, quotes pseudo-Augustine: Quid sitis, domine Jesu? Vinum de vite aut aquam de flumine? Sitis tua salus mea; cibus tuus redemptio mea (Rigollot, 4 123). The English *Fifteen Oes* (cf. 201.6 note) has: O Jhesu, þe welle of vnwastand pyte, þ*at* of inwarde affeccyon of lufe seyd in þe cros: I thryst, þat (is) to say þe hele of man kynde ... (MS BM Royal 17.C.xvii, f. 96[a]).

16 *we that ... ben yet here, and some be to come*: cf. I Thessalonians 4.15-16: The dead who are in Christ shall rise first; then we who are alive, who are left, shall be taken up ...

17 *and some be to come*: not in the short text; cf. 250.16.

19 *of vs, all to geder here in hym*: cf. 410.19 and note. 'Therefore this is his thirst and his love-longing for us, to gather us all here into him, to our endless joy'.

21 *For we know ... in fulhede of joye* (423.19): not in the short text; cf. 250.22.

22 *aneynst*: SS both misspell, S2 has the correct form supplied, probably from C, and S1's gloss is accurate, as C's is not. NED, Anent, *prep.* and *adv.*, records forms 'anundez, anendez, anemptes, -emtis', etc., but the difficulty for seventeenth-century scribes must have been to recognize in them the still not obsolete 'anent'.

end, whych very endlesse blesse may nevyr be hyghed nor lowyde in the
25 selfe. And thys was plentuously sene in every shewyng, and namely in
the xij, wher he seyth: I it am that is hyghest. And as aneynst Cristes
manhode, it is knowyn in our feyth and also shewde that he *with* the
56r vertu of the godhede / for loue to bryng vs to hys blysse sufferyd paynes
and passion and dyed. And theyse be the workes of Cristes manhed,
30 wher in he enjoyeth; and that shewde he in the ixth, where he sayth: It is
a joy, a blysse, an endlesse lykyng to me that evyr I sufferd passion for
the. And this is the blysse of Cristes werkes, and thus he menyth ther he
seyth in the same shewyng: We be his blysse, we be hys meed, we be hys
worship, we be his crow(n)e. For as aneynst that Crist is oure hede, he

---

34 *crowne*: ms: cro-we.

---

24 *very*: om. SS. *hyghed*: C, marg.: encreased; SS: heyned. *lowyde*: C, marg.: diminished; SS: lownyd. *the*: C: it. 25 *And*: SS: for. *thys*: S2: it. 26 *it (am)*: om. SS. 27 *with*: C: through. *the (vertu)*: om. S2. 28 *the (godhede)*: om. S1. 29 *passion*: S1: passions. 30 *ixth: add. SS: revelation.* 31 *an*: C: and. 32 *ther*: SS: where. 33 *same*: S1: selfe; and so S2. *meed*: C, marg.: reward.

---

24 *may nevyr be hyghed nor lowyde*: cf. Psalm 101.28: But thou art always the selfsame, and thy years shall not fail.

25 *in the xij, wher he seyth*: cf. 402.7.

28 *to bryng vs to hys blysse sufferyd paynes and passion and dyed*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: Þei entren by þe dore þat in beholdyng of þe passion of Criste sorowen here wyckydnes ... wiþ ... pite and compassion of þat worþi lorde, þat so vili suffrid and noþing deseruid, and siþen lifte up here hertes to þe loue and þe goodnes of his godheed, in þe whiche he vouchesþ saaf to meke hym so lowe in oure deedly manheed (Hodgson, *Cloud* 159). Cf. also the *Scale*, II chapter 2: For þe person of Jhesu is boþe god *and* kyng of heuen, euen in þe blis to þe fad*er*, *and* as a man he is (f. 65^{r}) porter at þe ȝate, redy to receyue ilk a saule ... (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 231).

30 *in the ixth, where he sayth*: cf. 382.5.

32 *ther he seyth in the same shewyng*: cf. 384.21, where, however, the words are not reported as a locution.

33 *We be his blysse / we be hys meed / we be hys worship / we be his crowne*: a *continuatio* with *repetitio*.

34 *For as aneynst that Christ is our hede ...*: we may well suppose that Julian had come to see (or had been made to see) that what she had written in the short text of 'Christ's thirst and the incompleteness of his joy' (cf. 250.17 and note) could be interpreted by unwary or captious readers as anthropomorphism. She therefore shows here how well her teaching accords with the doctrine of the Mystical Body.

is glorifyed and vnpassible; and as anenst his body, in whych alle his membris be knytt, he is nott ȝett fulle glorifyed ne all vnpassible. For the same thurst and longyng that he had vppe on the rode tre, whych
56v desyre, longyng and thyrste, as to my syght, was in hym from / w*ith*ouȝt beg(y)nnyng, the same hath he ȝett and shalle in to the tyme that the last soule that shalle be savyd is come vppe to hys blysse.

For as truly as ther is a propyrte in god of ruth and pyte, as verely ther is a properte in god of thurst and longyng; and of the vertu of this longyng in Crist we haue to long aȝene to hym, w*ith*out whych no soule comyth to hevyn. And this p*ro*perte of longyng and thyrst comyth of the endlesse goodnes of god, ryght as the propyrte of pytte comyth of his endlesse goodnesse. And thowȝ he haue longyng and pytte, they ben sondry p*ro*pyrtees, as to my syght; and in thys standyth the poynte of

---

39 *begynnyng*: ms: beghnnyng.

---

35 *as (anenst)*: om. SS. *his (membris)*: om. S2. 37 *longyng*: SS: desire. *rode*: C, marg.: cross. *rode tre*: SS: cross. 39 *begynnyng*: add. S2: *and*. 41 *truly*: SS: verily. 44 *of (longyng)*: add. S2: the. 46 *thowȝ*: S2: this. *he haue*: om. SS. *they*: om. SS. 47 *sondry*: S1: two sundry; and so S2. *of*: add. SS: the.

---

35 *and as anenst his body, in whych alle his membris be knytt, he is nott ȝett fulle glorifyed ne all vnpassible*: cf. Hebrews 2.10-11: For it became him for whom are all things and by whom are all things, who had brought many children into glory, to perfect the author of their salvation by his Passion. For both he who sanctifies and they who are sanctified are all of one.

39 *the same hath he ȝett and shalle*: cf. 418.14 note, and the *Scale*, II chapter 4: For þawȝ it be so þat þe passioun of oure lord be cause of þis ful reformyng of manes soule, neuerþeles it was (not) his wille for to grant þis ful reformyng als tite after his passioun to alle chosen saules þat were lifand in tyme of his passioun, bot he delayed it vn to þe last day (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 66v; Underhill, 239).

41 *For as truly / as ther is a propyrte in god / of ruth and pyte / as verely / ther is a properte in god / of thurst and longyng*: *complexio*.

as ther is a propyrte in god of ruth and pyte: cf. the collects: Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere ... (Lietzmann, 113) and: Deus cuius misericordie non est numerus ... (A. Jefferies Collins, 141).

42 *and of the vertu of this longyng in Crist we haue to long aȝene to hym*: 'from the power of this longing in Christ we are obliged to long for him in return'. Cf. Psalm 41.3: My soul has thirsted after the strong living God. When shall I come and appear before the face of God? and the *Scale* II, chapter 24 (416.22 note).

47 *the poynte of gostly thyrst*: cf. NED, Point *sb.*[1], 26., 'a distinctive trait or feature; a characteristic', with its first instance c. 1470, Henryson. That longing and pity, separate properties, are united in this spiritual thirst is the thirst's distinctive trait.

gostly thyrst, whych is lastyng in hym as long as we be in need, vs drawyng vppe to his blysse.

57r 51 And alle this was seen in shewyng / of compassion, for that shalle ceacyn at domyes day. Thus he hath ruthe and compassion on vs, and he hath longyng to haue vs, but hys wysdom and hys loue suffer nott the ende to come tyll the best tyme.

---

50 *in*: add. SS: the. 51 *at*: SS: on. 53 *ende*: C: same; marg.: end.

---

48 *vs drawyng vppe to his blysse*: cf. John 12.32: If I be lifted up from earth I will draw all things to myself. Augustine glosses: ... omnia ... traham post me; ut sit caput eorum et illi membra eius (Willems, 450).

50 *And alle this was seen ... tyll the best tyme* (421.53): this corresponds with the short text, 250.19-22.

52 *but hys wysdom and hys loue suffer nott the ende to come tyll the best tyme*: cf. Hebrews 11.40: God providing some better thing for us, that they should not be perfected without us. This is quoted in the *Scale*, II chapter 4: And þerfor oure lord purueid mikel better for vs in þat þat he delaied þe ful reformyng of mannes saule vn to þe last ende, as saint Poul seis: Deo pro nobis melius prouidente ... (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 66v; Underhill, 240).

The xxxij[th] Chapter

Oone tyme oure good lorde seyde: Alle maner a thyng shalle be wele; and another tyme he seyde: Thou shalt se thy selfe that alle maner of thyng shalle be wele. And in theyse two the soule toke sundry maner of vnderstondyng. Oon was this: that he wylle we wytte that nott oonly he takyth heed to nobylle thynges and to grett, but also to lytylle and to small, to lowe and to symple, and to oone and to other. And so menyth
57v he in that he seyth: Alle maner thyng shall be welle. For / he wylle that we wytt that the lest thyng shall nott be forgeten. Another vnderstandyng is this: that ther be many dedys evyll done in oure syght and so gret harmes take that it semyth to vs that it were vnpossible that evyr

---

2 Here the fourth extract in U begins.

---

1 S1: How althyng (S2: all things) shal be wele and scripture fulfillid *and* we (S2: that we) must stedfastly holdyn us in the feith of holy chirch as is Crists wille. 2 *maner a*: om. SS. *thyng*: S2: things. 3 *of*: om. S1. 4 *thyng*: S2, U: things. *in*: om. U. *two*: add. U: sayings. *toke*: add. U: and vndirstood in. *maner*: U: manners. *maner of*: om. SS. *of vnderstondyng*: om. U. 5 *he wylle we wytte*: U: our lord will that wee know. *wytte*: S2: know. 6 *heed to*: U: care of and hath regard to. 7 *and (to oone)*: om. SS, U. *to (oone)*: U: to þe. *to (other)*: U: to þe. 8 *thyng*: S1: thyngs; C, U: of thing; S2: of things. *that (we)*: om. SS. 9 *wytt*: S2, U: know. *that (the)*: om. SS. *vnderstandyng*: om. U. 10 *is*: S2: in. *many*: om. SS. 11 *take*: U: comes and are taken thereby. *vnpossible*: C: impossible; and so SS, U.

---

1 *and scripture fulfillid* (S1): this may be implicit in *that we beleue that goddys worde shalle be sawyd in alle thyng* (425.40), but it is not evident that by *goddys worde* Julian means, exclusively, the Bible. Rather, she is concerned with the locutions, *Alle maner a thyng shalle be wele, Thou shalt se thy selfe* (422.2), and her effort to reconcile these words of God with what she sees of human history.

2 *Oone tyme ... and another tyme*: cf. 405.13: *but alle shalle be wele*, and 417.5: *and thou shalt se thy selfe þat alle maner of thyng shall be welle*. P's *Alle maner a thyng* may be Julian's own conflation of these two places, and SS's omission of 'maner a' a perceptive scribe's editorial work.

6 *but also to lytylle and to small, to lowe and to symple*: cf. Matthew 10.29 e.s.: Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing ...?

10 *ther be many dedys evyll done in oure syght*: cf. Matthew 21.15: It is not lawful for me to do what I will? Is your eye evil, because I am good?

it shuld com to a good end. And vp on thys we loke, sorow and morne therfore so that we can nott rest vs in the blyssedfulle beholding of god as we shuld do. And the cause is this: that the vse of oure reson is now so blynde,so lowe and so symple that we can nott know the hygh marvelous wysdom, the myght and the goodnes of the blyssedfull trynyte. And thus menyth he where he seyth: Thou shalt se thy selfe that alle manner thyng shall be wele; as yf he seyde, take now feythfully and trustely, and at the last end thou shallt / se verely in fulhede of joye. 58r

And thus in the same v wordes before seyde: I may make all thyng wele, I vnderstonde a myghty comfort of alle workes of oure lorde god that are for to come.

There is a deed the whych the blessydfulle trynyte shalle do in the last day, as to my syght, and what the deed shall be and how it shall be

---

12 *com*: above 'm' a minute 'e', al. m. 22 Here the fourth extract in U ends.

---

12 *it*: U: they. *a*: om. SS. *thys*: U: these. *sorow*: S1: sorowyng; and so S2; U: sorrowfull. *morne*: S1: mornyng; and so S2. 13 *we*: U: it. *blyssedfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2. *beholding*: U: holding. 14 *reson*: add. U: and vnderstanding. 15 *so (lowe)*: U: *and*. *and so symple*: om. U. *know*: add. U: nor vnderstand. *the (hygh)*: S1: yt. 16 *the myght*: om. U. *blyssedfull*: S1: blisful; and so S2; U: most blessed. 17 *thus*: C: this. 18 *thyng*: C, U: of thing; S2: of things. *seyde*: U: had sayd. *now:* S1: now hede; and so S2; U: or beleeue. 19 *trustely*: C, U: trustfully. *at the last end*: U: heareafter. *se*: U: be; add. SS, U: it. *verely*: add. U: and truely. 20 *same*: om. S2. *thyng*: S2: things; and so U. 21 *wele*: add. SS: *et cetera*. *vnderstonde*: S2: understood; and so U. *comfort*: add. U: (*þat* we ought to take). *alle*: add. SS, U: þe. 22 *for*: om. U. 23 *blessydfulle*: S1: blisful: om. S2. 24 *what*: S1: whan; and so S2.

---

12 *we loke, sorow and morne*: in the *Ancrene Riwle*, the author speaks of the griefs of the imprisoned, enslaved and exploited, and tells the sisters: setteþ in *our* þouȝt and sikeþ to vr lord (Vernon MS, f. 373a; Day 13).

14 *the vse of oure reson is now / so blynde so lowe and so symple / that we can nott know / the hygh marvelous wysdom / the myght and the goodnes / of the blyssedfull trynyte*: a *compar*, with *oppositio contrariorum* (*blynde ... lowe ... symple / wysdom ... myght ... goodnes*).

19 *and at the last end thou shallt se verely in fulhede of joye*: cf. I John 3.2: When he shall appear we shall be like to him, because we shall see him as he is; and cf. I Corinthians 13.12.

20 *And thus ... for to come*: this corresponds with the short text, 250.22-23, 25.
the same v wordes: cf. 417.3.

23 *There is a deed ... vnto my lyvys ende* (429.27): not in the short text; cf. 250.27.

done, it is vnknowen of alle creaturys whych are beneth Crist, and shall be tylle whan it shalle be done. The goodnesse and the loue of our lorde god wylle that we wytte that it shall be; and the myght and the wysdom of hym by the same loue wylle heyle it and hyde it fro vs, what it shalle be and how it shalle be done. And the cause why he wylle we wytte it thus is for he wylle we be the more esyd in oure soule and
58v peesable in loue, levyng the beholdyng of alle / tempestes that myght lett vs of true enjoyeng in hym.

This is the grett deed ordeyned of oure lorde god fro wi*th*ou3t begynnyng, tresured and hyd in hys blessyd brest, only knowyn to hym selfe, by whych deed he shalle make all thyng wele. For ryght as the blessyd trinite made alle thyng of nought, ryght so the same blessyd trynyte shalle make wele alle that is nott welle. And in this syght I marveyled gretly, and be held oure feyth, menyng thus: oure feyth is groundyd in

---

25 *whych*: S1: that: and so S2. 26 *whan*: om. S2. *shalle be*: S1: is; S2: be. *The goodnesse ... shalle be done*: om. SS. 27 *wytte*: C, marg.: know. 28 *heyle*: C: hill; marg.: conceal. 29 *why*: om. SS. 30 *wytte*: SS: know. *it thus*: om. SS. *for*: S2: because. *wylle we be*: S2: would haue us. 31 *peesable*: S1: pesid; S2: appeased; add. scr.: and quieted. 32 *lett*: C, marg.: hinder. *true*: S1: trewth; and so S2. 33 *the*: S2: þat. 35 *thyng*: S1: thyngs; and so S2. 38 *menyng*: S1: merveland; and so S2.

---

25 *it is vnknowen of alle creaturys whych are beneth Crist*: cf. the *Cloud*: Reson is a my3t þorou þe whiche we departe þe iuel fro þe good ... bot now it is so blendid wiþ þe original synne þat it may not kon worche þis werk (Hodgson, 116).

26 *The goodnesse and the loue of our lorde god / wylle that we wytte that it shall be / and the myght and the wysdom of hym / by the same love / wylle heyle it and hyde it fro vs / what it shalle be and how it shalle be done*: *complexio* with *interpretatio* (*goodnesse / loue, myght / wysdom, heyle / hyde, shalle be / shalle be done*).

27 *the myght and the wysdom of hym ... wylle heyle it and hyde it fro vs*: cf. Chaucer's *Boethius*, III 9: ... folk suffren hem self to ben so blynde þat hem ne recchiþ nat to knowe where þilke goodes ben yhidd (Morris, 82), and III 10: Þilke same blisfulnesse ... is souereyne power, souereyne reuerence, souereyne clernesse or noblesse and souereyne delit (ibid., 92).

31 *pesid* (S1): cf. NED, Peace, *v.* (< OFr paiser), 3. 'To reduce to peace ...' The first instance is c. 1330, the last 1541.

34 *tresured and hyd in hys blessyd brest*: cf. Colossians 2.2-3: ... the knowledge of the mystery of God the Father and of Christ Jesus, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

35 *by whych deed he shalle make all thyng wele / For ryght as the blessyd trinite made alle thyng of nought / ryght so the same blessyd trynyte shalle make wele / alle that is nott welle*: *membrum* with *repetitio* (*ryght as the blessyd trinite ... ryght so the same blessyd trynyte*) and *conversio* (*wele ... wele ... welle*). Comparison with the same figure in its rudimentary form in the short text, 250.25-27, will show how Julian has gained in rhetorical skills.

For ryght ... nott wele (424.37): this corresponds with the short text, 250.25-27.

38 *oure feyth is groundyd in goddes worde*: cf. Romans 10.17: Faith then comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ.

goddes worde, and it longyth to oure feyth that we beleue that goddys
40 worde shalle be sauyd in alle thyng. And one poynt of oure feyth is that
many creatures shall be dampnyd, as angelis that felle ouȝt of hevyn for
59r pride, whych be now fendys, and meny in erth that / dyeth out of the
feyth of holy chyrch, that is to sey tho that be hethyn, and also many
that hath receyvyd cristondom and lyvyth vncristen lyfe and so dyeth
45 ouȝte of cheryte. All theyse shalle be dampnyd to helle *with*ouȝt (e)nde,
as holy chyrch techyth me to beleue.

And stondyng alle thys, me thought it was vnpossible that alle maner of thyng shuld be wele, as oure lorde shewde in thys tyme. And as to

---

45 *ende*: ms: ande.

---

39 *longyth*: S2: belongeth. *beleue*: S1: levyn. 40 *thyng*: SS: things. 41 *as*: add. S2: þe. 42 *fendys*: S2: devils. *meny*: S1: man; S2: men. *in*: S2: on. 43 *tho*: S1: thei; and so S2. *hethyn*: add. SS: men. *many*: S1: man; S2: those. 44 *and (lyvyth)*: S2: but. *vncristen*: S1: an cristen; S2: an un-*christian*. 47 *stondyng*: so S2, w. 'under' interl. scr. 48 *of*: om. S1. *thyng*: S2: things. *in*: S2: at.

---

39 *we beleue that goddys worde shalle be sauyd in alle thyng*: cf. Matthew 24.35: Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass.

41 *as angelis that felle ouȝt of hevyn*: cf. Matthew 25.41: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels.

for pride: cf. Isaias 14.12-14: How are you fallen from heaven, o Lucifer ... who said in your heart: I will ascend into heaven ... I will be like the Most High.

42 *whych be now fendys*: though Julian calls this *one poynt of oure feyth*, what she writes here of the fall of the angels is a common opinion, never defined. See ODCC, art. 'Devil'. In *Piers Plowman* A.I 109 we read: Lucifer wiþ legionis ... / ... was þe louelokest of siȝt aftir oure lord, / Til he brak buxumnesse þoruȝ bost of hymseluen. / Þanne fil he wiþ his felawis and fendis bicome; / Out of heuene into helle hobelide þei faste (G. Kane, 196).

43 *many that hath receyvyd cristondom and lyvyth vncristen lyfe*: cf. the English prose *Qui habitat*: ... riȝt so schalt þou sen þe streit rihtwysnesse of him in punissching of reproued soules and in ȝeldyng peine for here synnes at þe day of dome ... For he þat wolde euere liuen in synne and in lustes of þis lyue, and neuur haue opur ioye, ȝif he mihte haue þat, hit is rihtful þat he be aftur þis liue in endeles peyne and neuur fele ioye (Wallner, 28-29).

47 *And stondyng alle thys*: 'And all this being the case'. Cf. 328.42 note. S2's afterthought, *understanding*, is unhappy; the circumstances are what make it impossible for Julian to understand the locution.

48 *as oure lorde shewde*: cf. 422.2.

thys I had no other answere in shewyng of oure lorde but thys: That *þat*
50 is vnpossible to the is nott vnpossible to me. I shalle saue my worde in alle thyng, and I shalle make althyng wele. And in thys I was taught by the grace of god that I shuld stedfast(l)y holde me in the feyth as I had before vnderstond, and ther *with þat* I shulde stonde and sadly beleue /
59v that alle maner thyng shall be welle, as oure lorde shewde in that same
55 tyme. For thys is þe grete dede that oure lorde god shalle do, in whych dede he shalle saue his worde in alle thyng. And he shalle make wele all that is nott welle. But what þe dede shal be, and how it shall be done, there is no creature beneth Crist that wot it, ne shalle wytt it tyll it is done, as to the vnderstandyng that I toke of oure lordys menyng in thys
60 tyme.

---

52 *stedfastly*: ms: stedfasty. 57 *welle*: the final 'e' al. m.

---

49 *lorde*: add. SS: god. *That*: S2: what. *þat*: om. SS. 51 *thyng ... thyng*: SS: things ... things. *And in thys*: SS: thus. 53 *stonde and*: om. SS. *sadly*: C, marg.: firmly. *beleue*: S1: levyn. 54 *maner*: om. SS. *thyng*: S2: things. *in*: S2: at. *that*: C, SS: the. 55 *god*: om. SS. 56 *thyng*: S2: things. 57 *But what þe dede shal be*: om. SS. 58 *wot*: S2: knows. *ne*: S2: or. *wytt*: S2: know. *is (done)*: S2: be. 59 *in*: S2: at.

---

49 *That þat is vnpossible to the is nott vnpossible to me*: cf. Luke 18.26-27: And they that heard it said: Who then can be saved? He said to them: The things that are impossible with man are possible with God; and Luke 1.37: No word shall be impossible with God. Julian has here constructed a *compar*, with *oppositio contrariorum*, and *adnominatio* (*to the ... to me*).

50 *I shalle saue my worde in alle thyng / and I shalle make althyng wele*: another *compar*, with *repetitio* (*I shalle ... I shalle*).

52 *as I had before vnderstond ... I shulde stonde*: *adnominatio*, lost in SS.

55 *For thys is þe grete dede / that oure lorde god shalle do / in whych dede he shalle saue / his worde in alle thyng*: another *compar*, with *conversio* (*shalle do ... shalle saue*).

The xxxiij Chapiter

And ȝitt in this I desyeryd as I durste that I myght haue had som syȝt of hel and of purgatory; but it was nott my menyng to take pre(f)e of ony thyng that longyth to oure feyth, for I beleued sothfastly that hel and purgatory is for þe same ende *þat* holy chyrch techyth for. But my menyng was *þat* I myght haue seen for lernyng / in alle thyng that longyth to my feyth, wher by I myȝt lyue the more to goddes wurschyppe and to my profyȝte. And for ought *þat* I culde desyer, I ne culde se of thys ryght nouȝt but as it is before seyde in þe fyfte shewyng, wher that I saw þe devylle is reprovyd of god and endlessly dampned. In

---

3 *prefe*: ms: prese. 5 *ende*: first 'e' alt. al. m. fr. 'a'; cf. 425.45. 6 *alle*: 'e' al. m.

---

1 S1: Al dampnyd soule (S2: souls) be dispisid in þe syte of god as þe devil, *and* these revelations withdraw not þe feith of holy church but comfortith *and* the (S2: confirmes it *and* þat þe) more we besy to know gods privites (S2: secrets), the less we knowen (S2: know of þem). 2 *had*: om. C. *som*: S1: ful; S2: a full. 3 *of (purgatory)*: om. SS. *to take prefe*: C: to take proof; S1: to maken privy; S2: of making privy. 4 *longyth*: S2: belongeth. *oure*: SS: the. *beleued*: S1: levyd. *sothfastly*: C, marg.: assuredly; S2: stedfastly. 5 *for (But)*: om. SS. 6 *lernyng*: S1: leryng; S2: instruction. *thyng*: S2: things. 7 *longyth*: S2: belongeth. 8 *ought þat I culde*: SS: my. *ne*: om. SS. 9 *se*: om. SS. *fyfte*: C: first. 10 *þe (devylle)*: S1: þat þat þe; S2: that þe. *endlessly*: C: endless by.

---

2 *som syȝt of hel and of purgatory*: cf. *Scale* II, chapter 45: ... for to seen with þe gastly eiȝe þe peynes of reprofed *and* þe ioye *and* þe blis of chosen soules, it is ful confortable (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 138r; Underhill, 457).

3 *to take prefe*: NED, MED do not record 'to take proof', and cf. NED Proof *n.* 2, c. 1325: 'And i say and make a pref'. MED preven n, cites many examples of 'to make proof', 'i.e. 'to make trial of', which is manifestly the sense here. P, C and SS seem to be differently corrupt, and SS's 'make-' is probably superior to 'take'.

5 *for þe same ende þat holy chyrch techyth for*: cf. *Scale* I, chapter 21: þe behouez forto haue ... a sikere trouth in alle articles of þe feith ... Sett þi feith generaly in þe feith of holy kyrk ... Þe feith of holy kyrk is þi feith, þoȝ þou neiþir se it ne fele it (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 294; Underhill, 47).

6 *þat I myght haue seen for lernyng*: cf. Romans 15.4: For whatsoever things were written were written for our learning.

9 *as it is before seyde in þe fyfte shewyng*: cf. 348.22 e.s.

whych syȝt I vnderstond þ*at* alle the creatures þ*at* be of the devylles condiscion in thys lyfe and ther in endyng, ther is no more mencyon made of them before god and alle his holyn then of the devylle, notwythstondyng that they be of mankynde, wheder they haue be cristend
15 or nought; for though the reuelation was shewde of goodnes, in whych was made lytylle mencion of evylle, ȝett I was nott drawen ther by from ony poynt of the feyth þ*at* holy chyrch techyth me to beleue. For I had syght of þe passion of Crist in dyuerse shewyng; in the furst, in the
60v secunde, in þe / iiijth, in þe viijth as it is before seyde, wher in I had in
20 part felyng of þe sorow of oure lady and of hys tru frendys that saw hys paynes. But I saw nott so properly specyfyed the Jewes that dyd hym to deth; but nott w*ith*stondyng I knew in my feyth that they ware a cursyd and dampnyd w*ith*out ende, savyng tho þ*at* were convertyd by grace.

---

11 *the (creatures)*: om. SS. 12 *endyng*: S1: enden; S2: end. 13 *holyn*: C: holy ones; SS: holy. 15 *shewde*: SS: made. 17 *poynt*: S2: part. *beleue*: S1: levyn. 18 *shewyng*: S1: shewyngs; and so S2. 19 *iiijth*: S1: v *and*; S2: 3^{d} *and*. *it*: om. S2. *wher in*: S1: wheras; and so S2. 20 *part*: add. SS: a. *saw*: S1: sen. *hys paynes*: S1: hym in payne; and so S2. 21 *dyd*: S2: put. 22 *but (nott)*: om. SS. 23 *tho*: C, SS: those. *were convertyd*: S1: converten.

---

12 *ther is no more mencyon made of them*: cf. Apocalypse 20.15: And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the pool of fire; and Psalm 68.29: Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and with the just let them not be written.

18 *in the furst*: cf. 294.1.

in the secunde: cf. 324.1.

19 *in þe iiijth*: cf. 342.1.

in þe viijth: cf. 357.1.

wher in I had in part felyng of þe sorow of oure lady: cf. 366.2-367.11.

22 *they ware a cursyd and dampnyd without ende, savyng tho þat were convertyd by grace*: it is significant that Julian here concedes the possibility of the salvation of Jews. To her contemporary, the author of *Piers Plowman*, a great problem was 'the reconciliation of man's fallen state and the orthodox belief about hell and damnation with his hopes that all men may yet be saved' (E. Colledge and W. O. Evans, 'Piers Plowman' (in *Pre-Reformation Spirituality*, ed. J. Walsh), 126). At times his standpoint is Julian's: And al the Iuwen ioye. vnioignen and vnlouken; / And but thei reuerencen his rode . and his resurexioun, / And bileue on a new lawe . be lost lyf and soule (B. XVIII; Skeat 1 536). But in the same passus the poet makes Christ say of the Last Judgment: And thanne shal I come as a kynge . crouned with angeles, / And han out of helle . alle mennes soules ... / For we beth bretheren of blode . but nou3te in baptesme alle (Skeat 1 544). These ambiguities seem to reflect the poet's own perplexities.

a cursyd and dampnyd without ende: cf. Matthew 25.41: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire.

And I was strenghed and lernyd generally to kepe me in the feyth in
25 evyry poynt, and in all as I had before vnderstonde, hopyng þ*at* I was
ther in w*ith* mercy and the grace of god, desyryng and preyeng in my
menyng þ*at* I myght contenue ther in vnto my lyvys end*e*.

It is goddes wylle that we haue grete regarde to alle the dedys that he
hath done, for he wille ther by we know, trust and beleue alle that he
30 shalle do. But evyrmore vs nedyth leue the beholdyng, what the dede
61r shalle be, and desyer we to be lyke to our bretherne, / whych be the
seyntes in hevyn, that wille ryght nought but goddes wylle. Than shalle
we only enjoye in god and be welle apayde both w*ith* hydyng and
shewyng. For I saw verely in our lordes menyng, the more we besy vs to
35 know hys prevytes in that or any other thyng, the ferthermore shalle we
be from the knowyng.

---

24 *strenghed*: C: strengthed; and so S1; S2: strengtned. *lernyd*: S1: lered; S2: taught. 26 *with*: add. S1: þe; and so S2. *the*: om. S2. 28 *It*: SS: and it. *the*: S1: þe (canc.) his (subst. scr.); S2: his. 29 *for he wille ... shalle do*: om. SS. *we*: C: that we. 30 *vs*: SS: it us. 31 *to (our)*: om. SS. *bretherne*: C, S2: Brethren; S1: brethren. *the*: om. SS. 32 *that*: S2: who. 33 *and (shewyng)*: SS: *and* with. 34 *saw*: om. S2. *verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *vs*: S2: our selues. 35 *prevytes*: S2: secrets. *that*: S1: this; and so S2. *ferthermore*: S1: ferther; and so S2. 36 *knowyng*: add. SS: thereof.

---

24 *to kepe me in the feyth in evyry poynt*: cf. Apocalypse 14.12: Here is the patience of the saints, who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.

25 *þat I was ther in with mercy and the grace of god*: cf. II Timothy 1.14: Keep the good thing committed to your trust by the Holy Spirit, who dwells in us.

28 *It is goddes wylle ... he shalle do* (429.30): this corresponds with the short text, 250.27-28.

that we haue grete regarde to alle the dedys that he hath done: cf. Psalm 110.3-4: His work is praise and magnificence ... He has made a remembrance of his wonderful works.

30 *But evyrmore ... the prechyng and techyng of holy chyrch* (431.14): not in the short text; cf. 250.28-29.

32 *that wille ryght nought but goddes wylle*: cf. Matthew 6.10: Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; *Piers Plowman* C.VI: *Fiat voluntas tua* . fynt ous alle thynges (Skeat 1 121); and the *Mirror of St. Edmund*: ... and þat swa in erthe als in heuene, þat es to say, als Michaelle ... and all þase þat are ordeynede to þe endles lyfe in ioy (Horstman 1 233). Julian is using *traductio* (*wille*, verb ... *wylle*, noun).

35 *the ferthermore*: cf. NED, Furthermore, *adv.*, 2., 'To a greater extent, more', the first instance a. 1300, the last c. 1450.

The xxxiiij Chapter

Oure lord shewyd two maner of prevytes. One is thys grett prevyte *with* all the prevy poyntes therto belongyng, and theyse prevytes he wylle we know thus hyd in to the tyme that he wylle clerly shew them to
5 vs. That other are the prevytes whych hym selfe shewyd openly in thys reuelation, for tho are prevytes whych he wylle make open and knowyn to vs, for he wylle þ*at* we wytt that it is hys wylle we knowe them. They
61v are prevytes to vs, but nott only for that he wylle they / be prevytes to vs, but they are prevytes to vs for oure blyndhed and oure vnknowyng.
10 And therfore hath he grett reuth, and therfore he wylle make them opyn to vs hym selfe, wher by we may knowe hym and loue hym and

---

1 S1: God shewyth the privityes (S2: secrets þ*at* are) necessarye to his lovers, *and* how they plese god mekill (S2: much) þ*at* receive diligently the prechyng of holy church. 2 *lord*: add. SS: god. *prevytes*: C, marg., S2: secrets. *prevyte*: S2: secret. 3 *therto belongyng*: S1: þ*at* longen therto; and so S2. *prevytes*: S2: secrets. *thus*: om. SS. *in to*: S2: unto. 5 *That*: S2: the. *the prevytes*: S2: those secrets. *whych hym selfe ... prevytes*: om. SS. 6 *tho*: C: those. *whych (he)*: SS: þ*at*. 7 þ*at (we)*: om. SS. *we (knowe)*: C: that we. *They*: SS: it. 8 *but*: om. SS. *for (that)*: om. SS. *they ... they*: SS: it ... it. 9 *blyndhed*: S2: blindnesse. *oure vnknowyng*: S2: ignorance. 10 *therfore (hath)*: S1: therof; and so S2. 11 *opyn*: S1: more (knowen - canc.), opyn (subst. scr.); S2: more open. *wher by*: S2: þ*at* so. *and cleue to hym*: om. S2.

---

2 *Oure lord shewyd two maner of prevytes*: cf. the English *Bonum est*: Þi priue domes, lord, are forto dreden with loue and reuerence ... A meke soule þat loueþ god schal gon aboue þe watur ful sikerliche ... and askeþ no resons whi he doþ so ... and þen is al good inouȝ (Wallner, 64-65).

3 *prevytes*: observe the seven-fold *repetitio* in what follows.

6 *for tho are prevytes whych he wylle make open*: cf. the *Ancrene Wisse*: ... for i bade (sc. the Old and New Testaments) me ifint þæt godd his dearne runes and heouenliche priuitez schawde his leoueste freond nawt i monne floc, ah dude þer ha weren ane (Tolkien, 80); and the *Cloud*: Þan wil he sumtyme parauenture seend oute a beme of goostly liȝt ... and schewe þee sum of his priuete (Hodgson, 62).

9 *they are prevytes to vs for oure blyndhed*: cf. Isaias 51.1, Luke 4.18: The spirit of the Lord is upon me ... to preach deliverance to the captives and sight to the blind; and Luke 1.78: ... the dawn from on high has visited us to enlighten them who sit in darkness.

11 *wher by we may knowe hym and loue hym and cleue to hym*: cf. Psalm 72.28: But it is good for me to cling to my God, to put my hope in the Lord God; and John 6.45: It is written in the prophets, 'And they shall all be taught of God' (Isaias 54.13). Everyone who has heard of the Father and has learned comes to me.

cleue to hym. For alle that is spedfulle to vs to wytt and for to knowe, fulle curtesly oure good lorde wylle shew vs what it is *with* alle the prechyng and techyng of holy chyrch.

God shewde fulle grett plesannce that he hath in alle men and women that myghtly and wysely take the prechyng and the techyng of holy chyrch, for he it is, holy chyrch. He is the grounde, he is the substannce, he is the techyng, he is the techer, he is the ende and he is the mede wherfore every kynde soule travelyth; and thys is knowen and shall be knowe*n* to ech soule to whych the holy gost declaryth it. And I hope truly alle tho that seke thus they shalle spede, / for they seke god.

Alle thys that I haue now seyde, and more as I shalle sey aftyr, is comfortyng ageynst synne; for in the thyrde shewyng, whan I saw that god doyth all that is done, I saw nott synn, and than saw I that alle is welle. But whan god shewyde me for synne, than sayde he: Alle schalle be wele.

---

12 *spedfulle*: C, marg.: profitable. *to (vs)*: S2: for. *wytt and for to*: om. S2. *for*: om. S1. 13 *oure good lorde wylle*: S1: wil our lord will; S2: will the lord. *vs*: S2: unto us. *what it is*: S1: *and* that is this; and so S2. 15 *plesannce*: S2: pleasure; marg., scr.: Loue preachi*n*g of ho*l*y chu*r*ch. 16 *wysely*: S1: mekely *and* wilfully; and so S2. *the (techyng)*: om. C, SS. 17 *he (it)*: om. SS. *is (holy)*: SS: is his. 18 *ende*: S1: lend (alt. scr. fr. 'leng'); S2: leryd; marg., al. m.: lend. *and (he)*: om. SS. 20 *ech*: SS: every. *I*: om. SS. 21 *truly*: S1: sothly that; and so S2. *tho*: C, SS: those. *thus*: S1: this; and so S2. *they (shalle)*: SS: he. 22 *as*: SS: þat. *aftyr*: C: hereafter. 24 *nott*: SS: no.

---

13 *with alle the prechyng and techyng of holy chyrch*: cf. Matthew 28.20: Teaching them to observe all things, whatever I have commanded you.

15 *God shewde ... for alle shalle be wele* (433.13): this corresponds with the short text, 252.1-12.

17 *for he it is, holy chyrch. He is the grounde ... he is the ende*: cf. Apocalypse 1.8, 21.6, 22.13: I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end; and *Piers Plowman* A, I: 'Holy chirche I am', quaþ heo . 'Þou auȝtest me to knowe; / I undirfang þe ferst . and þi feiþ þe tauȝte' (G. Kane, 192-193).

He is the grounde ...: this figure has been preserved unimpaired from the short text. Cf. 252.3 note and 252.5 note. P's *mede* is a more probable reading than A's *myddes*.

18 *he is the mede wherfore every kynde soule travelyth*: cf. Philippians 3.14: I press ... to the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus.

19 *and shall be knowen to ech soule to whych the holy gost declaryth it*: cf. John 16.13: But when he, the Spirit of truth, will come he will teach you all truth.

20 *I hope truly alle tho that seke thus they shalle spede*: cf. Matthew 7.8: For everyone who asks receives, and he who seeks finds ...

21 *for they seke god*: cf. Psalm 68.33: Seek God, and your soul shall live; and Psalm 69.5: Let all who seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee.

23 *in the thyrde shewyng, whan I saw that god doyth all that is done*: cf. 336.7.

The xxxv Chapter

And whan god almyghty had shewyd so plentuosly and so fully of hys goodnesse, I desyred to wytt of a serteyn creature *þat* I louyd yf it shulde contynue in good levyng, whych I hopyd by the grace of god was begonne; and in this syngular desyer it semyd that I lettyd my selfe, for I was nott taught in thys tyme. And then was I answeryd in my reson, as it were by a frendfulle mene: Take it generally, and beholde the curtesy 62v of thy lorde god as he shewyd to the, for it is more / worshype to god to beholde hym in alle than in any specyalle thyng. I assentyd, and ther *with* I lernyd *þat* it is more wurschyppe to god to know althyng in

6 ms: nott (tho - canc.) taught in thys tyme.

1 S1: How god doith al that is good *and* suffrith worshipfully al (S2: all evil) by his mercy, the which shall secyn whan synne is no longer suffrid. 3 *wytt*: S2: know. *of*: om. S1. *yf*: S2: whether. 6 *tho* (ms): om. C, SS. 8 *thy*: S2: the. *shewyd*: S1: shewith; and so S2. 10 *lernyd*: SS: leryd. 10 *althyng*: S1: althings; and so S2.

1 *by his mercy, the which shall secyn* (S1): this does less than justice to Julian's theology. What she writes is: *than shalle the werkyng of mercy cees* (435.40).

3 *yf it shulde contynue*: cf. 252.14-15: *howe it schulde be with hire*, showing that the object of Julian's concern was a woman.

5 *I lettyd my selfe*: cf. 252.15. In both versions, Julian goes on at once to explain what was this temporary interruption of her communion with God. She already has his assurance that 'all shall be well', and in this regard she should forget the world, including those for whose spiritual welfare she is concerned. The problem of intercessory prayer was a trouble for many contemplatives. Mechtild of Hackborn reports, especially in Book IV of her *Book of Special Grace*, many such appeals for guidance for others, and the detailed instructions she was commanded to convey to the presumably grateful members of her community; but Hadewijch of Antwerp in several places warns against such over-anxiety for other souls as an obstacle to contemplation. In her Letter 17 she couches this in verse: Towards every man's need show grace and pity / Yet take no one under your special protection (E. Colledge, *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature*, 74). Needless to say, Margery Kempe had great faith in the intercessory powers of her tears, especially, and claimed that it was revealed to her: (The devil) is wroth wyth þe, for þu turmentyst hym mor wyth þi wepyng þan doth al þe fyer in helle; þu wynnyst many sowlys fro hym wyth þi wepyng (ed. Meech and Allen, 51).

6 *as it were by a frendfulle mene*: cf. 370.2.

generalle than to lyke in ony thyng in specialle. And if I shuld do wysely after thys techyng I shuld nott by glad for any thyng in specialle, ne gretly dyssesyd for any manner thyng, for alle shalle be wele; for the fulhed of joy is to beholde god in alle.

15 For by the same blyssyd myght, wysdom and loue *þat* he made alle thyng, to þe same end oure good lorde ledyth it contynually, and ther to hym selfe shalle bryng it, and when it is tyme we shalle see it. And the ground of thys was shewyd in the furst, and more openly in þe thyrde, wher it seyth: I saw god in a poynt. Alle *þat* oure lorde doyth is ryght-
20 full(e), and alle that he sufferyth is wurschypfulle; and in theyse two is
63r comprehendyd good and evylle. / For alle that is good oure lorde

---

19 *ryghtfulle*: ms: ryghtfully.

---

12 *shuld (nott)*: C: hold. *nott*: add. S1: only; and so S2. *by*: C, SS: be. *any thyng*: S1: nothyng; and so S2. 13 *any (manner)*: SS: no. *manner*: add. SS: of. 14 *fulhed*: S2: fulnes. 16 *thyng (to)*: S2: things. *good lorde*: S2: *lord* god. 19 *ryghtfully* (ms): S1: rythful; and so S2. 20 *alle (that he)*: om. SS.

---

12 *I shuld nott by glad for any thyng in specialle*: this resembles the *Cloud*'s counsel on the 'list' (which, *pace* Professor Hodgson, means 'cunning, craft') which the contemplative must use rather than emotional force: For euer þe more listly, þe more meekly and goostly; and euer þe more rudely, þe more bodely and beestly, and þerfore bewar (Hodgson, 87). This is also the teaching of the *Scale*: cf. II, chapter 17: No man is made sodenly soue*r*ayn in gr*a*ce, bot þurw longe exercise *and* sleiȝ wirkyng a soule may come þ*er*to (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 79^{v}; Underhill, 289), and II, chapter 35: ... For a soule þ*at* haþ þe gift of lufe þurȝ gr*a*cious biholdyng of Jh*es*u ... is not bisy for to streyne h*im* self ou*er* his miȝt as it were bi bodily strengþe for to han it bi bodily feruo*urs* ... (ibid. f. 113^{v}; Underhill, 388).

13 *for the fulhed of joy ...*: from here to the end of chapter 36 is not in the short text; cf. 253.23.

14 *is to beholde god in alle*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: No þing bryngeþ a man so sone to onhede and to kominynge with god as for to seeke and biholde riȝte nouȝte in alle þynges but god hym self (H. J. Kane, 103; Kirchberger, 125).

15 *For by the same blyssyd myght ...*: cf. 341.54.

16 *to þe same end oure good lorde ledyth it contynually*: cf. *Boethius*, III 11: yif ther be any thinge to which þat alle thinges tenden and hyen, that thing moste ben the souereyn good of alle goodes (Morris, 100).

19 *wher it seyth*: cf. 336.3.

Alle þat oure lorde doyth is ryghtfulle / and alle that he sufferyth is wurschypfulle / and in theyse two in comprehendyd / good and evylle: a *membrum* with *contentio* (*ryghtfulle / sufferyth ... good / evylle*).

21 *alle that is good oure lorde doyth / and þat is evyll oure lord sufferyth*: a *compar* continuing the *contentio* (*good / doyth ... evyll ... sufferyth*) of the preceding figure.

doyth, and þ*at* is evyll oure lord sufferyth. I say nott that evylle is wurschypfulle, but I sey the sufferannce of oure lorde god is wurschypfulle, wher by hys goodnes shalle be know w*ith*ou3t ende, and hys mervelous mekenesse and myldhed by thys werkyng of mercy and grace.

Ryghtfulhed is that thyng þ*at* is so good þ*at* may nott be better than it is, for god hym selfe is very ryghtfulhed, and all hys werkes be done ryghtfully, as they be ordeyned fro w*ith*ou3t begynnyng by hys hygh myght, hys hygh wysdom, hys hygh goodnesse. And ryght as he hath ordeyne(d) it to the best, ryght so he werkyth contynually, and ledyth it to the same ende. And he is evyr fulle plesyd w*ith* hym selfe and w*ith* alle hys workes. And the beholdyng of thys blessyd acord is full swete to the

---

29 *ordeyned*: ms: ordeyne.

---

22 *evylle*: S1: ille. *þat*: S2: w*h*at. *that (evylle)*: add. S1: ony; and so S2. 24 *and (hys)*: SS: in. 25 *myldhed*: S1: myldeness, alt. scr. to 'myldehed'; S2: mildness. *thys*: S1: the; and so S2. 26 *Ryghtfulhed*: C: right fullhead; marg.: plenitude; S2: rightfulnes. *may nott*: C: it may not; S2: it can*n*ot. 27 *ryghtfulhed*: S2: rightfullnes. 28 *by*: om. SS. 29 *hath*: om. SS. 30 *it*: om. SS. *to*: SS on to. 32 *blessyd*: S1: blisful; and so S2.

---

22 *þat is evyll oure lord sufferyth*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: He is wiþ us in synne only bi suffraunce and not by consent (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 163).

24 *wher by hys goodnes shalle be know withou3t ende*: cf. the English *Qui habitat*: þou schalt seen þe merciful godnes of god schewed to þe and to alle chosen soules in holy chirche (Wallner, 28).

hys mervelous mekenesse and myldhed by thys werkyng of mercy and grace: cf. Daniel 3.42-43: ... deal with us according to thy meekness and according to the multitude of thy mercies, and deliver us according to thy wonderful works.

26 *Ryghtfulhed is that thyng þat is so good þat may nott be better than it is, for god hym selfe is very ryghtfulhed*: this has an echo of Anselm's 'aliquid quo maius nihil cogitari potest' (*Proslogion*, ed. Schmitt, 1 101).

Ryghtfulhed: of MED's examples, the first is dated c. 1375. Cressy, it will be seen, misdivided the compound, and thought that there was an allusion to Paul's πλήρωμα (e.g. Colossians 2.9: all the fulnes of the godhead), whereas in this Trinitarian-soteriological exposition Julian shows her familiarity with Paul's δικαιοσύνη, and seems in *god hym selfe is very ryghtfulhed* to be recalling Romans 1.17: For the justice of God is revealed (sc. in the Gospel).

28 *hys hygh myght / hys hygh wysdom / hys hygh goodnesse*: *repetitio*.

32 *And the beholdyng of thys blessyd acord is full swete*: cf. *Scale*, II chapter 45: It is feire lokynge w*ith* þe inner eiȝe on Jhesu in bodily creatures for to seen his miȝt, his wisdom *and* his goodnes in ordeynaun*c*e of here kynde, bot it is mikil fairer lokyn*g* on Jhesu in gostly creatures (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 137^{v}; Underhill, 456).

soule that seeth it by grace. Alle þe soules that shalle be savyd in hevyn
63v / *with*ou3t ende be made ryghtfulle in the sy3t of god and by hys awne
35 goodnesse, in whych ryghtfullnes we be endlessly kepte and marvelously aboue all creatures.

And marcy is a werkyng *þat* comyth of the goodnes of god, and it shalle last wurkynge as long as synne is sufferyd to pursew ryghtfulle soules. And whan synne hath no lenger leue to pursew, than shalle the
40 werkyng of mercy cees. And than shalle alle be brought into ryghtfulnes and ther in stonde *with*ou3te ende. By hys syfferannce we falle, and in hys blessyd loue *with* his myght and hys wysdom we are kept, and by mercy and grace we be reysyd to manyfolde more joy. And thus in ryghtfulnes and in mercy he wyll be know and lovyd, now and *with*ou3t
45 ende. And the soule *þat* wysely beholdeth in grace is wele payde *with* both and endlessely enjoyeth.

---

33 *it*: om. SS. 35 *ryghtfullnes*: S1: rythfulhede. 37 S2, marg.: Mercy *what* it is. 38 *last*: add. SS: in. *as long*: S1: al along: and so S2. 39 *soules*: S2: soul. 40 *into*: SS: to. *ryghtfulnes*: S1: rythfulhede. 41 *By*: SS: and by. 42 *blessyd*: S1: blisful; and so S2. 43 *joy*: SS: joyes. 44 *ryghtfulnes*: S1: rythfulhede; S2: righteousness. *in (mercy)*: om. S2. *and (with*ou3t*)*: om. SS. 45 *beholdeth*: add. SS: it. *is*: S1: it is. *payde*: C, marg.: well contented; S1: plesyd; and so S2.

---

35 *in whych ryghtfullnes we be endlessly kepte ...*: cf. Romans 5. 1-2: Being justified therefore by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access through faith ... and glory in the hope of the sons of God.

The xxxvj Chapter /

64r Owre lorde god shewde that a deed shalle be done and hym selfe shalle do it, and it shall be wurschypfulle and mervelous and plenteuous, and by (me) it shall be done, and hym selfe shalle do it. And this is the hyghest joy that the soule vnderstode, that god hym selfe shall do it, and I shalle do ryght nought but synne; and my synne shall nott lett his goodnes workyng. And I saw that the beholdyng of this is a hevynly

---

4 *me*: ms: hym.

---

1 S1: Of another excellent dede that our lord shal don which be grace may be lowen (S2: known) a party (S2: in part) here, *and* how we shuld enjoyen in the same, *and* how god yet doith myracles. 3 *and it shall ... god hym selfe shall do it*: om. SS. 4 *me* (ms): so C. 6 *ryght*: om. SS. *nought*: S1: nothyng; and so S2. *lett*: C, marg.: hinder. 7 *hevynly*: S1: heyly.

---

2 *Owre lorde god shewde*: cf. 426.55.

Owre lorde god shewde / that a deed shalle be done / and hym selfe shalle do it / and it shall be wurschypfulle and mervelous and plenteuous / and by me it shall be done / and hym selfe shalle do it: a *membrum* of five shorter *cola* enclosing one longer, with *conversio* (*shalle be done ... shall be done*).

a deed shalle be done: cf. Psalm 117.23-24: This is the Lord's doing, and it is wonderful in our eyes. This is the day which the Lord has made; let us be glad and rejoice in it; and II Corinthians 9.8: God is able to make all grace abound in you.

4 *me / hym* (ms): the confusion here is plainly the work of a scribe editor, who did not follow Julian's sense, which is made plain at 438.34: ... *this worde, that it shalle be done by me, that is, the generalle man* ... This first sentence of chapter 36 is to be understood as: 'Our lord God showed that a deed will be done, and he himself will do it ... and it will be done with respect to me'. Plainly, *by me*, here and at 438.34-35, has not the commoner sense, 'by means of me', but that recorded by NED, By IV 26, 'with respect to, as concerns', and illustrated from *Sir Ferumbras* (c. 1380): Doþ now syre by thys man / As it is þy wille.

5 *that god hym selfe shall do it*: cf. Romans 9.16: It is not of him that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who shows mercy.

6 *and I shalle do ryght nought but synne*: cf. Luke 17.10: When you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants; and the *Cloud*: ... mene synne a lump, þou wost neuer what, none oþer þing but þi self (Hodgson, 73).

7 *his goodnes workyng*: cf. Exodus 15.11: Who is like to thee among the strong, o Lord? Who is like to thee, glorious in holiness, terrible and praiseworthy, doing wonders?

joy in a dredfulle soule whych evyr more kyndly by grace desyeryth goddes wylie. This dede shalle be begon here, and it shalle be wurschypfulle to god and plentuously profetable to alle hys lovers in erth; and evyr as we come to hevyn we shalle se it in marvelous joy, and it shalle last thus in werkyng to the last day. And the worshyppe and þe blysse of *þat* shalle last in hevyn before god and alle hys holy seyntes *with*out ende. /

64v Thus was this dede seen and vn(der)stonde in oure lordes meynyng, and þe cause why he shewyde it is to make vs to enjoy in hym and in alle his werkys.

When I saw the shewyng contynued, I vnderstode it was shewyde for a grett thyng that was than for to come, whych thyng god shewde that hym selfe shuld do it; whych dede hath the propertes before sayde. And thys shewde he full blessydfully, menyng *þat* I shuld take it wysely, feytfully and trustely. But what the dede shuld be, it was kepte pryvy to me. And in thys I saw that he wylle nott we drede to know tho thynges *þat* he shewth. He shewyth them for he wylle we know them, by whych knowyng he wylle we loue hym and lyke in hym and endlesly enjoy in hym. And for the grett loue that he hath to vs he shewyth vs alle that is wurshypfulle and profitable for the tyme. And tho thynges that he

---

15 *vnderstonde*: ms: vn-stonde.

---

8 *dredfulle*: C, marg.: fearful. 10 *alle*: om. SS. 12 *to*: SS: on to. 13 *seyntes*: om. SS. 16 *enjoy in*: S2: rejoice with. 18 *the*: SS: his. *it*: S1: *þat*; and so S2. *shewyde*: om. S2. 19 *than*: om. SS. 20 *the*: SS: these. 21 *he*: om. SS. *blessydfully*: SS: blisfully. *wysely*: C: wistly. 22 *trustely*: C: trustfully. *the*: S1: this. *it*: om. S2. 23 *that*: om. C. *tho*: C, SS: the. 24 *for*: S2: because. 25 *in hym (and)*: om. SS. 27 *tho*: C: those; SS: the.

---

8 *whych evyr more kyndly by grace desyeryth goddes wylle*: cf. the *Cloud*: ... not elles but a good and an acordyng wil vnto god, and a maner of weelpayednes and a gladnes þat þou felest in þi wille of alle þat he doþ (Hodgson, 92).

11 *as we come to hevyn we shalle se it*: cf. Philippians 1.6: He who has begun a good work in you will perfect it against the day of Christ Jesus.

20 *the propertes before sayde*: i.e. *wurschypfulle and mervelous and plenteuous* (436.3).

22 *But what the dede shuld be / it was kepte pryvy to me*: a rhyming *compar.*

23 *he wylle nott we drede to know tho thynges þat he shewth*: cf. Luke 2.10: Fear not, for I bring you good tidings of great joy that shall be for all the people.

27 *for the tyme*: cf. John 16.12: I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now.

65r wylle / now haue prevy, ȝett of hys grett goodnesse he shewyth them cloose. In whych shewyng he wylle we beleue and vnderstande that we
30 shuld se it verely in hys endlesse blysse. Than ouȝte we to enjoy in hym for alle that he shewyth and for all that he hydyth; and yf we wylfully and mekely do thus, we shalle fynde ther in grett ees, and endlesse thankyng we shalle haue of hym therfore.

And thys is the vnderstondyng of this worde, that it shalle be done by
35 me, that is, the generalle man, that is to sey alle that shalle be safe; it shalle be wurschypful, mervelous and plentuous, and by me it shalle be done; and god hym selfe shalle do it; and thys shalle be hyghest joy that may be beholdyn of þe dede, *þat* god hym selfe shalle do it, and man shall do ryght nought but synne.

40 Than menyth oure good lorde thus, as yf he seyde, beholde and se;

---

28 *shewyth*: C: shewed. 29 *cloose*: C, marg.: secretly. *beleue*: S1: leven. 30 *shuld*: S1: shal; and so S2. *ouȝte*: S1: owe. 31 *for (all)*: om. C, SS. *wylfully*: S2: will fully; C, marg.: willingly. 32 *thus*: C: this. 33 *thankyng*: SS: thanks. *of hym*: om. S2. 34 *thys*: SS: thus. 35 *is (the)*: add. C: to say. *that is to sey*: S2: i.e. 36 *wurschypful*: add. SS: *and*. *and by me ... done*: om. SS. 38 *be*: add. SS: the. *beholdyn*: S1: to beholden; and so S2. *of*: om. SS. *it*: om. SS. 40 *good lorde*: C, S1: lord god; S2: *lord*.

---

29 *cloose*: this may be adverbial, as C's gloss claims, or, more probably, adjectival. Julian is familiar, as was the author of the *Ancrene Riwle*, with the difference in chancery practice between 'lettres isealed' and 'lettres iopened' (Dobson, Cleopatra, 284; and cf. Geoffrey Shepherd, *Ancrene Wisse*, 55); and she uses what had become the commoner terms, 'privy' and 'close'. Under Close, Letter, Patent, NED and MED offer little explanation or documentation; but cf. NED Close C 3, *s.vv.* 'close-rolls', 'close-writs'. The *Riwle*'s metaphor, 'lettres isealed', is used for the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Law and the anagogical sense of their message, precisely what Julian here is saying of the mysteries of the Christian faith.

30 *Than ouȝte we to enjoy in hym ... for all that he hydyth*: cf. Ecclesiasticus 3.23: For it is not necessary for you to see with your eyes those things that are hidden.

31 *wylfully*: S2's reading, 'and if we will fully and meekly do this', is not unacceptable.

36 *and by me it shalle be done*: not in SS, which may well be superior. The reading looks like the interpolation of some scribe who, with *it shall be wurschypfulle and mervelous and plenteuous, and by me it shall be done* (436.3) before him, thought that this phrase was part of the locution, omitted in error here, and therefore inserted it.

37 *and god hym selfe shalle do it / and thys shalle be hyghest joy / that may be beholdyn of þe dede / þat god hym selfe shalle do it / and man shall do ryght nought but synne*: a *membrum*, the first *colon* repeating that from a previous figure (cf. 436.2 note), and repeated again as the fourth *colon*.

65v here hast thou mattyr of mekenesse, / here hast thou mattyr of loue, here hast thou matter of knowyng thy selfe, here hast thou mattyr of enjoyyng in me. And for my love enjoy in me, for of alle thyng therwith myȝt thou most plese me. And as long as we be in this lyfe, what tyme
45 that we by oure foly turne vs to the beholdyng of the reprovyd, tendyrly oure lorde towchyth vs and blysydfully callyth vs, seyeng in oure soule: Lett me aloone, my derwurdy chylde, intende to me. I am inogh to þe,

---

42 *of knowyng*: S1: to nowten; and so S2. *of enjoyyng*: SS: to enjoyen. 43 *thyng*: S1: thyngs; and so S2. 45 *reprovyd*: S2: reprobate. 46 *lorde*: add. SS: god. *towchyth*: S2: toucht. *blysydfully*: SS: blisfully. *callyth*: SS: clepyth. 47 *me aloone*: S1: be al thi love; S2: me (add. marg. scr.) be all thy loue. *derwurdy*: C, S2: dear worthy; S1: dere worthy. *to (þe)*: S2: for.

---

41 *here hast thou mattyr of mekenesse*: cf. Ecclesiasticus 13.9: Humble yourself to God and wait for his hands.

here hast thou mattyr of mekenesse / here hast thou mattyr of loue / here hast thou matter of knowyng thy selfe / here hast thou mattyr of enjoyyng in me: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*here hast thou mattyr* ...) and *oppositio contrariorum* (*mekenesse ... knowyng thy selfe / loue ... enjoyyng in me*).

here hast thou mattyr of loue, here hast thou matter of knowyng thy selfe: cf. *Piers Plowman* B. XVIII: So it shal fare bi this folke; . her foly and her synne / Shall lere hem what langour is . and lisse with outen ende (Skeat, 1 534).

42 *of knowyng / to nowten* (S1): although *knowyng* is plausible, S1's *nowten* is preferable, since Julian is here writing of active and passive purification (see Introduction, IX 15), and probably herself wrote 'nowtyng'. The SS reading also gives *distributio*: *mekenesse / nowten*; *loue / enjoyen*.

47 *Lett me aloone*: sc. 'do not seek to hinder me'. Cf. NED Alone *a.* and *adv.*, 4, Leave *v.*[1] IV 13, Let *v.*[1] IV 18: 1413 Lydgate, *Pilgrimage of the Soul*: Lete me alone therfore, to do that my ryght is; for nothing skilfully may lette me therof. Cf. Exodus 32.9-10: ... The Lord said to Moses ... Let me alone, that my wrath may be kindled against them. The same thought is differently expressed in *Piers Plowman* B. VI: ... late god take the veniaunce; / Theigh thei done yuel . late thow god yworthe / *Michi vindictam, et ego retribuam* (Skeat, 1 214). The S1 and S2 emendations are superfluous and mistaken.

Lett me aloone, my derwurdy chylde: this is the passage which is copied into MS Colwich Abbey 18, p. 155: Thou hast saide o lorde to a deere childe of thine: Lette me alone, my deare worthy childe, intende (or attende) to me, I am inough to thee, reioice in thy Sauiour and Saluation. This was spoken to Iulian the Ankress o(f) Norwhich, as appeareth by the booke of her reuelations ...; cf. Hywel Owen, 'Another Augustine Baker Manuscript', 279. The reading here, *Lette me alone*, suggests the superiority of P to SS's 'me be all thy love', which seems to derive from a misdivided and misread 'allone'.

Lett me aloone / my derwurdy chylde / intende to me / I am inogh to þe / and enjoy in thy sauiour / and in thy saluation: a *compar* with *exclamatio* and *traductio* (*sauiour ... saluation*).

I am inogh to þe, and enjoy ...: cf. the *Chastising* (counselling remedies against diabolic temptations concerning predestination): ... heere I wol haue hym as moche as I may ... aftir my powere I wil sette my ioie and al my delite in my lord god ... Þerfore I wol hym biclippe wiþ al myn inward wittis, and faste I wol holde hym (Bazire and Colledge, 159).

and enjoy in thy sauiour and in thy saluation. And that this is oure lordys werkyng in vs I am suer. The soule that is perced therwith by
50 grace shalle se it and fele it. And though it be so that thys dede be truly take for the generall man, ȝett it excludyth nott the specyalle ; for what oure good lorde wylle do by his poure creatures, it is now vnknowyn to me.

But this dede and that other before seyde, it is nott both one, but two
66r sondry. But thys dede shalle / be knowen soner, and that shalle be as
56 we come to hevyn; and to whom oure lorde geveth it, it may be knowen here in party. But the grett dede afore seyde shalle neyther be knowen in hevyn nor in erth tylle that it be done.

And fa(r)thermore he gaue speciall vnderstandyng and techyng of
60 workyng and shewyng of myracles, as thus: It is knowyn that I haue don myracles here before, many and full hygh and mervelous, wurschypfulle and grett, and so as I haue done I do now contynually, and shall in comyng of tyme. It is knowyn that before myracles come sorows and angwyssch and trobyll, and that is that we shuld know oure owne

---

59 *farthermore*: ms: fathermore.

---

49 *perced therwith*: S1: aperceyvid therin (alt. fr. 'theron', scr.); and so S2. *and fele it*: om. S2. 54 *it is*: S1: they arn; and so S2. 55 *knowen*: S1: don; and so S2. *that*: S2: the other. *as*: S2: when. 56 *we*: om. S1. 58 *in (erth)*: om. SS. *that*: om. SS. *be*: SS: is. 59 *farthermore*: SS: moreover. 60 *and shewyng*: om. SS. *thus*: C: this. 61 *full*: SS: fele. 63 *shall*: add. S1: don. *comyng of tyme*: S2: time to come. *sorows*: S1: sorow; and so S2. 64 *trobyll*: S1: tribulation; and so S2. *that is that*: S2: þis is to the end.

---

49 *perced*: though the reading looks improbable, the SS emendations are not happy; 'aperceyvid', if adopted, would make *se* tautological. Julian's thought may be 'the soul which is pierced (by such locutions as *Lett me aloone ... I am inogh to þe*) will see and experience gratuitously that this is how God works in us. She may be remembering Acts 2.37: Now when they had heard these things they had compunction in their hearts (His autem auditis, compuncti sunt corde).

57 *the grett dede afore seyde*: cf. 426.55-60: *For thys is þe grete dede ...*

62 *and so as I haue done I do now contynually, and shall*: ... cf. the *Cloud*: ... þis is þe eendles merueilous miracle of loue, þe whiche schal neuer take eende ; for euer schal he do it, and neuer schal he seese for to do it (Hodgson, 19).

64 *oure owne febylnesse and mysschef that we be fallen in by synne*: cf. Romans 7.23: ... another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind and captivating me in the law of sin.

febylnesse and mysschef that we be fallen in by synne, to meke vs and make vs to cry to god for helpe and grace. And grett myracles come after, and þat of the hygh myght and wysdom and goodnesse of god, shewyng hys vertu / and the joyes of hevyn, so as it may be in thys passyng lyfe, and that for the strenghyng of our feyth, and encrese oure hope in charyte. Wherfore it plesyth hym to be knowyn and worschyppyd in myracles. Then menyth he thus: he wylle that we be nott borne ovyr lowe for sorows and tempestys that falle to vs, for it hayth evyr so been before myracles comyng.

---

65 *and (mysschef)*: add. SS: our. *mysschef*: S1: myschevis; and so S2. *in*: S2: into. 66 *cry to god*: S1: dreden god *and* ryen; S2: dread god *and* cry. *And grett*: om. SS. *after*: add. SS: þat. 69 *the strenghyng*: C: the strengthening; S1: to strength; S2: to strengthen. *of*: om. SS. *and*: S1: and to. *oure*: C: of our. 72 *for*: om. S1; S2: by. *sorows*: SS: sorrow. 73 *myracles*: S1: myracle; and so S2.

---

66 *to cry to god for helpe and grace*: cf. Romans 7.24-25: Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God ...

And grett: the omission of this in SS suggests that some scribe mistook *grett* for a superfluous synonym of *cry*. Cf. NED, Greet, *v.*[2], 'Now only *Sc.* and *north. dial.* ... To weep ...'.

myracles ... shewyng hys vertu and the joyes of hevyn: so the *Cloud*-author, using as his example Acts 7, writes: For þis skyle it was þat oure lorde schewid him bodely in heuen to seinte Steuen ... (Hodgson, 109).

69 *strenghyng*: probably a scribe's error for 'strengthing'. Cf. NED Strength, *v.*; the first example is c. 1160. Cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: and strengþeþ and deeþ mensken (Vernon MS, f. 378[b]; Day, 62).

encrese: infinitive, dependent on *may* (441.68): 'as may be in this transitory life ... and as it may increase our hope'.

72 *borne ovyr lowe*: plainly, the meaning is 'oppressed, depressed'. NED does not mention specifically; but cf. MED beren *v.* (1) 12. Refl., 'behave humbly', which quotes Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*: He myghte wel, if that he bar hym lowe, lyue in Atthenes.

The xxxvij Chaptter

God brought to mynde that I shuld synne; and for lykyng þ*at* I had in beholdyng of hym, I entendyd nott redely to that shewyng. And oure lorde fulle marcifully abode, and gaue me grace for to entende; and this shewyng I toke syngulary to my selfe. But by alle the gracious com-
67r fort that folowyth, as ye shalle see, I was lernyd to take it to alle / myn evyn cristen, alle in generalle and nothyng in specialle.

Though oure lorde shewyd me that I shuld synne, by me aloone is vnderstonde alle. And in thys I conceyvyd a softe drede; and to this oure lorde answeryd: I kepe the fulle suerly. Thys worde was seyde w*ith* more loue and suernes of gostly kepyng than I can or may telle. For as

---

1 S1: God kepyth his chosen ful sekirly althowe thei syn*n*e, for in these is a godly will þ*at* never assayed to synne; and so S2. 2 *to*: add. SS: my. 3 *entendyd*: C: entented; marg.: attended. 4 *for*: om. SS. 5 *comfort*: C: comforts. 6 *lernyd*: SS: leryd. 8 *oure*: S2: my. *that*: om. SS. 10 *suerly*: SS: sekirly. 11 *suernes of*: S1: sekirness *and*: and so S2.

---

1 *assayed* (S1): a scribe's error for *assentyth* (443.16).

2 *God brought to mynde ... but wurshype to man* (445.3): this corresponds with the short text, 253.24-255.17.

God brought to mynde that I shuld synne: cf. Proverbs 20.9: Who can say: My heart is clean, I am pure from sin? and I John 1.8: If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves.

3 *And oure lorde fulle marcifully abode*: cf. Isaias 30.18: Therefore the Lord waits that he may have mercy on you.

5 *syngulary*: this is either an eccentric P spelling for '-are', or, more probably, an error for '-arly'.

6 *as ye shalle see*: this is one of many instances of the care with which the long text was drafted, written and revised. In fact, we shall not see what Julian promises until we come to 699.31 e.s.: *Whan he shewde me þat I shuld synne ...*

I was lernyd to take it to alle myn evyn cristen: this states more explicitly than the short text (cf. 253.27 and note) that Julian was made aware not only of her fellow-Christians' sins but also that they could find the same comfort as she. Cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: of þyn euencristen ... vche man þat þou sees ... holde hym as þi self (H. J. Kane, 112; Kirchberger, 133).

7 *alle in generalle and nothyng in specialle*: cf. 438.35..

9 *And in thys I conceyvyd a softe drede*: cf. 336.6.

10 *I kepe the fulle suerly*: cf. Psalm 120.7: The Lord keeps you from all evil; may the Lord keep your soul; and cf. note 11, infra.

11 *sekirnes and* (SS): the reading is inferior. The locution is an assurance of spiritual protection.

it was afore shewde to me that I shuld synne, ryght so was the comfort shewyde: suernesse of kepyng for alle myn evyn cristen. What may make me more to loue myn evyn cristen than to see in god that he louyth alle that shalle be savyd, as it were alle one soule? For in every soule that shalle be savyd is a godly wylle that nevyr assentyth to synne, 67v nor nevyr shalle. Ryght as there is a bestely wylle in the lower / party that may wylle no good, ryght so there is a godly wyll in the hygher party, whych wylle is so good that it may nevyr wylle evylle, but evyr good. And therfore we be that he lovyth, and endlesly we do that he lykyth. And thys shewyde oure good lorde in þe hoolhed of loue that

---

15 *in (every)*: ms: in in.

---

12 *afore*: om. SS. *to me*: om. SS. 13 *suernesse of*: SS: sekirnes *and. cristen (What)*: add. C: (who shall be saved). 14 *than*: S2: þat. *he*: om. S1. 15 *louyth*: S1: belovyth. *it*: S2: if they. 16 *nevyr*: add. C: finally. 18 *hygher*: S2: highest. 19 *evylle*: S1: yll. 20 *that (he lykyth)*: add. S1: that; and so S2. *he (lykyth)*: S1: hym; and so S2. 21 *good*: om. SS. *hoolhed*: C, marg.: fulness.

---

13 *suernesse of kepyng*: cf. Wisdom 15.1-2: But thou, our God, art gracious and true, patient, and ordering all things in mercy. For if we sin, we are thine ...

who shall be saved (C): this restriction is several times made by Julian, though not here.

15 *belovyth* (S1): cf. NED, Belove, *v.*, MED biloven, v., which show that by 1300 this was archaic, except for the past participle.

as it were alle one soule: cf. *Piers Plowman* B.XI: For alle are we Crystes creatures . and of his coffres riche. / And bretheren as of o blode . as wel beggares as erles (Skeat, 1 342).

For in every soule that shalle be savyd is a godly wylle that nevyr assentyth to synne: cf. 254.10 and note, and I John 3.9-10: Whoever is born of God does not commit sin ... and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

16 *finally* (C): this is theological caution, but it does not accord with what Julian writes here. Cf. 445.10 and note.

17 *Ryght as there is a bestely wylle / in the lower party / that may wylle no good / ryght so there is a godly wyll / in the hygher party / whych wylle is so good / that it may nevyr wylle evylle / but evyr good*: the six *cola* of the figure in the short text (254.10 note) have become eight; the *oppositio* and *traductio* are preserved; and *conversio* (*good ... good ... good*) has been introduced, another striking example of Julian's increased rhetorical skills.

19 *that it may nevyr wylle evylle, but evyr good*: cf. 255.12 note.

20 *And therefore we be that he lovyth /and endlesly we do that he lykyth*: a *compar* with *similiter cadens* (*And ... we be, and ... we do, he lovyth, he lykyth*).

we stande in, in hys syght — yeea, that he lovyth vs now as welle, whyle that we be here, as he shalle do when we be there before hys blessyd face; but for feylyng of loue in oure party, therfore is alle oure traveyle.

---

22 *in (hys)*: om. C. 23 *that (we)*: om. SS. 24 *in*: SS: on.

---

22 *that we stande in, in hys syght — yeea, that he lovyth*: *conduplicatio* (Geoffrey of Vinsauf's example is: Betrayer of human nature — betrayer, I say ...; Nims, 58).

he lovyth vs now as welle: cf. Romans 8.38-39: For I am certain that neither death nor life ... shall be able to separate us from the love of God.

23 *as he shalle do when we be there before hys blessyd face*: cf. I Corinthians 13.8, 12: Charity never falls away ... we see now darkly ... but then face to face.

The xxxviij Chapter

And god shewed that synne shalle be no shame, but wurshype to man, for ryght as to every synne is answeryng a payne by truth, ryght so for every synne to the same soule is gevyn a blysse by loue. Ryght as
68r dyuerse synnes be ponysschyd *with* dyuers paynes / after that it be
6 greuous, ryght so shalle they be rewardyd *with* dyvers joyes in hevyn for theyr victories, after as the synne haue ben paynfulle and sorowfulle to the soule in erth. For the soule that shalle come to hevyn is so precyous to god and the place so wurshypfulle that the goodnes of god sufferyth
10 nevyr that soule to synne fynally þat shalle come ther. But what synners

---

1 S1: Synne (S2: the sins) of the chosen shall be turnyd to joye *and* worship, exemple (S2: by exemple) of David, Peter *and* John of Beverley. 2 *And*: SS: also. 4 *by*: S2: of. 5 *that it*: S2: they. 6 *for theyr victories*: om. SS. 7 *as*: om. SS. *the synne*: S1: thei; and so S2. 8 *so*: om. SS. 10 *fynally*: om. SS. *what synners*: S1: which synne; and so S2.

---

2 *And god shewed that synne / shalle be no shame / but wurshype to man / for ryght as to every synne / is answeryng a payne by truth / ryght so for every synne / to the same soule / is gevyn a blysse by loue*: a *membrum* of eight *cola*, with *conversio* (*synne ... every synne ... every synne*), *repetitio* (*for ryght ... ryght so*), *oppositio* (*shame / wurshype, payne / blysse*), and *distributio* (*by truth ... by loue*). Geoffrey of Vinsauf's illustration of this figure is: To proclaim sacred laws is the pope's prerogative; to observe the form of law prescribed is the part of lesser men (Nims, 62). The rudiments of the *membrum* are in the short text, 255.17-18 and note.

that synne shalle be no shame: cf. Psalm 31.1-2 (quoted in Romans 4.7-8 to support justification by faith): Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord has not imputed sin.

3 *for ryght ... over passyng worshypes* (446.12): not in the short text; cf. 255.17-18.

6 *for theyr victories, after as the synne*: the SS omission and substitution destroy the sense.

9 *the place so wurshypfulle*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: ... þe restful place of hyȝe Jerusalem ... heyȝeste, bryȝtteste, widdest and strengeste ... (H. J. Kane, 208; Kirchberger, 212).

10 *to synne fynally*: cf. the Roman canon of the Mass: ... diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab eterna damnatione nos eripi (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 207), and *Lorde Jhesu Cryste, good almyghty* from the Thornton MS: And ay whene I hafe fallyne in the fendis bawndone, / Þou has sauede me fra fynall dampnacyone (Horstman, 1 363).

10 *But what synners they are / that so shalbe rewarded / is made knowen in holy church / in erth and also in heaven / by over passyng worshypes*: a *compar* of five *cola*, with, in the fourth, *contentio*.

what synners: that Julian writes later (452.31): *Though that he be helyd, hys woundys be sene before god, nott as woundes but as wurshyppes*, suggests that the S1 reading, *which synne*, may be superior.

they are that so shalbe rewarded is made knowen in holy church in erth and also in heaven by over passyng worshypes. For in thys syght my vnderstandyng was lyftyd vp in to hevyn; and then god brought merely to my mynde David and other in the olde lawe *with* hym *with* ouȝt nomber;
15 and in the new lawe he brought to my mynde furst Magdaleyne, Peter and Paule, Thomas (of Inde), sent John of Beverly, and other also *with*
68v ouȝt nomber ; how they be / knowen in the chyrch on erth *with* ther synnes, and it is to them no chame, but alle is turned them to wor-

---

16 *of Inde*: ms: and Jude.

---

11 *they are that so*: om. SS. *is*: SS: *and* it is. *in holy ... heaven*: S1: without end *and* blisfully restoris; and so S2. 12 *worshypes*: S2: worship. 13 *merely*: so C, SS; but cf. A (255.19): thann comm verrayly to my mynde. 14 *other*: S2: others. *with hym*: om. SS. 15 *furst*: add. SS: Mary. *Thomas of Inde*: P, C: Thomas and Jude; S1: *and* those of Inde; S2: *and* Thomas of Inde; cf. 255.19-20. *other*: C, S2: others. 17 *on*: S1: in. 18 *chame*: C, SS: shame. *alle*: S2: also.

---

11 *in holy church in erth and also in heaven*: cf. Luke 15.7: There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner who does penance.

12 *For in thys syght ... is turnyd to worshype* (447.21): this corresponds with the short text, 255.18-23.

13 *merely*: 'joyfully', which suits the context well; cf. Julian's conclusion to the chapter: *and alle was thys to make vs glad and mery* (448.35). But in the corresponding short text, *verrayly* (255.19) is equally apposite; there is no reference to joy, and she is insisting that the procession of penitents is more than a meditative reflection, is part of an objective intellectual vision.

14 *David and other*: in this long-text version the penitents have been re-arranged in chronological order, except that Peter and Paul are still left together.

16 *and Jude* (ms): this is obviously a corruption from 'of Inde'. The Scriptural allusions to the notorious faults of David (II Kings 11, 12 e.s.; III Kings 11.4), Mary Magdalen (Luke 7.36-50, if one accepts, as the Middle Ages almost invariably did, this identification), Peter (Matthew 26.69-75 and parallels in the other three Gospels), Paul (Acts 8 and 9, I Corinthians 15.9) and Thomas (John 20.19-29) are plain, but there is no such reference to Jude. Thomas was commonly called 'of India'; cf. *The Poor Caitiff*: Seynt Thomas of Ynde seide I bileeue þat he wente doun to helle (Brady, 9); the tradition that he evangelized the land and was there martyred is recorded in the third Christian century by Clement of Alexandria. S1's reading has introduced a different error by mistaking an abbreviated 'Thos.'

18 *and it is to them no chame / but alle is turned them to worshyppe*: a *compar* with *oppositio* (*chame / worshyppe*). Comparison with the corresponding short text, 255.21-23, shows how this figure gains in concision and clarity.

shyppe. And therfore oure curtesse lorde shewyth for them here in party, lyke as it is ther in fulheed ; for there the tokyn of synne is turnyd to worshyppe.

And seynt Johnn of Beverley, oure lorde shewed hym full hyly in comfort of vs for homelynesse, and brouȝt to my mynde how he is a kynd neyghbur and of oure knowyng; and god callyd hym seynt Johnn of Beverley, pleynly as we do, and þat *with* a fulle glade and swet chere, shewyng that he is a full hygh seynt in hys syȝt and a blessydfulle. And *with* thys he made mencyon that in hys yowth and in hys tendyr age (he) was a dereworthy saruannt to god, full gretly god louyng and dredyng.

---

27 *he*: om. ms.

---

20 *party*: S1: pite, alt. scr. fr. 'pete'. *in fulheed*: C: fulfilled. 21 *to*: S1: in (canc.) to. 23 *of (vs)*: S2: to. *homelynesse*: S1: homlyhed; and so S2; add. C: (and countrey sake). *a kynd*: SS: an hende. 25 *pleynly*: om. S2. *and (swet)*: om. SS. 26 *seynt*: add. S1: in hevyn; and so S2. *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 27 *and (in)*: om. S2. *he*: so C, SS. 28 *full*: om. SS. *gretly*: SS: mekyl.

---

19 *here in party / lyke as it is ther in fulheed*: *oppositio*, which in their different ways S1 and C destroy.

22 *And seynt Johnn ...*: this paragraph is not in the short text; cf. 256.25. Evidently Julian expects the story of how John succumbed to temptation and yet was fully restored to divine favour to be well known to her readers; but little trace of it seems to have survived. (The most complete bibliography is that in BHL, 'Johannes Beverlacensis'; see also George Oliver: *The History and Antiquities of Beverley*, 434). All the legends which we know are based on Bede's narrative, with various accretions, such as those assembled by Alcuin, *De sanctis Eboracensis ecclesiae*, and Fulcard in his *Vita Sancti Johannis*, chiefly describing miracles in the famous sanctuary at Beverley, to which Julian alludes. But MS Trinity College Dublin 509 (England, late fifteenth century) contains, pp. 272-286, a 'dictionary of saints' ascribed to 'Robertus Baleus'. Evidently this is Robert Bale, a London lawyer and chronicler, fl. 1461, whom John Bale mentions as the author of, i.a., *Alphabetum sanctorum Angliae* (C. F. Keary, art.: 'Bale, Robert' (DNB)). In the manuscript we read, p. 280: Iohannes epi*s*co*p*us post multa clara opera solitarie vixit Rome, Maij mig*r*auit ad do*m*inu*m*, apud Beue*r*lacu*m* sepultus est. This is evidence, additional to Julian's, of a now lost legend; it is the only statement so far found that John lived abroad as a solitary. It is a commonplace that many Irish and Anglo-Saxons were sent to the Continent to live in solitude as penance for their sins (see E. Colledge: 'Early English Religious Literature', in *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality*, ed. J. Walsh, 32-33). It may be that Julian and Robert Bale are testifying that in their days John was numbered among them.

23 *and countrey sake* (C): the Yorkshireman Cressy (cf. Introduction, I 2 C) is evidently recalling in exile his native regions.

hende (SS): 'close' or 'kind'; cf. NED, Hend, hende, *a.* and *adv.*, 1. and 4. Either sense would be appropriate, and the SS reading is as probable as that of P.

27 *in hys yowth and in hys tendyr age*: cf. 353.30-35.

69r And nevyrthelesse god sufferyd hym to falle, hym mercifully / kepyng
30 that he perysschyd nott ne lost no tyme; and afterward god reysed hym to manyfolde more grace, and by the contrycion and the mekenesse that he had in hys lyuyng, god hath gevyn hym in hevyn manyfolde joyes, over passyng that he shuld haue had yf he had nott synnyd or fallen. And that this is tru god sheweth in erth *with* plentuous meraclys doyng
35 abou3t his body contynually; and alle was thys to make vs glad and mery in loue.

---

31 *the (mekenesse)*: om. S1. *that (he)*: S2: *what*. 33 *synnyd or*: om. SS. 34 *tru*: SS: soth. *meraclys*: C, SS: miracles.

---

30 *that he perysschyd nott ne lost no tyme*: cf. 611.10: *For his precious loue he sufferyth vs nevyr to lese tyme*, and note.

The xxxix Chapter

Synne is the sharpest scorge *þat* ony chosyn soule may be smyttyn *with*, whych scorge alle to betyth man or woman, and alle to brekyth hym, and purgyth hym in hys owne syght, so ferforth that othyr whyle he thynkyth hym selfe he is nott wurthy but as it were to synke in to
69v helle, / tylle whan contriscion takyth hym by touchyng of the holy gost, and turnyth the bytternesse in to hope of goddes mercy. And than begynn his woundys to heele and the soule to quycken, turned in to the

---

1 S1: Of the sharpness of synne *and* the godenes of contrition *and* how our kynd lord will not we dispair for often fallyng; and so S2. 2 *sharpest*: S2: sorest. 3 *to betyth*: SS: forbetyth. *or*: S1: *and*; and so S2. *alle to brekyth hym, and*: om. SS. 4 *purgyth*: S1: noyith; and so S2; cf. A (256.27): noghteȝ. 5 *he (is)*: C: that he. *it were*: om. SS. *to (helle)*: om. SS. 6 *takyth*: S2: falleth. 7 *to (hope)*: om. S1. *hope*: SS: hopes. 8 *begynn*: S1: he begynnyth: and so S2.

---

2 *Synne is the sharpest scorge ... the techyng of the holy gost* (450.13): this corresponds with the short text, 256.25-36.

3 *to betyth / forbetyth* (SS): NED, To-beat, *v.*, has as its first example c. 893, Alfred, as its last 1494, Fabyan; under Forbeat, *v.*, its first example is *Piers Plowman* C.XXIII 198. MED, forbeten, has for its first instance a. 1325 *S. Leg. Pass.* Either reading would be acceptable.

4 *and purgyth hym in hys owne syght*: cf. Judith 8.27: But esteeming these very punishments to be less than our sins deserve ...

purgyth / noyith (S1) / *noghteȝ* (A): cf. 256.27 and note. Evidently another crux, caused by a misreading of 'noght-' in a parent manuscript, and differently (and erroneously) solved in P and SS.

othyr whyle: not in the short text; cf. 256.28.

5 *he thynkyth hym selfe he is nott wurthy* ...: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: ȝit nis not þe deme, þat is skile, payet, þauȝ he be ibounden *and* holde him from synne, bot ȝif he bugge þe sunne þet he wrouȝte, and clepeþ forþ pyne *and* serwe, and bit þat serwe þressche in *with* þe herte with sore forþinkynge (Vernon MS, f. 386b; Day, 138). Cf. also Matthew 8.8 (and the prayer in the Mass before Communion): Lord, I am not worthy ... but only say the word ...

nott wurthy but as it were to synke in to helle: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: ... for me þynketh þat my soule shulde be dede, or ellis hit shulde be sodeynly sonken in a peyne vnsufferable, ȝe me þynkþ ryȝt in to be pyne of helle (H. J. Kane, 59; Kirchberger, 88).

7 *and turnyth the bytternesse in to hope of goddes mercy*: cf. Psalm 31.10: Many are the scourges of the sinner, but mercy shall encompass him who hopes in the Lord; and the *Ancrene Riwle*: Schrift schal be wrieful, bitter mid serwe ... and hopeful (Vernon MS, f. 386b; Day, 136).

lyfe of holy chyrch. The holy gost ledyth hym to confession, wylfully to
10 shew hys synnes nakydly and truly *with* grett sorow and *with* grett shame that he hath so defowlyd the feyer ymage of god. Than vndertakyth he penannce for every synne enjoyned by his domys man that is groundyd in holy chyrch by the techyng of the holy gost, and this is one mekenesse

---

9 *wylfully*: S2: willingly. 10 *nakydly*: S2: naked. *with*: om. SS. *grett (shame)*: om. S2. 11 *so*: om. SS. *vndertakyth*: SS: underfongyth; S1, marg., al. m.: undergoeth. 12 *domys man*: C, marg.: confessarius. 13 *one*: S2: a. *mekenesse*: C, marg.: humiliation.

---

9 *The holy gost ledyth hym to confession* ...: in MS Douce 262, written in a variety of hands, two those of members of the London Charterhouse, and annotated throughout by the Carthusian James Grenehalgh, a short anonymous piece begins: When a solle begynyth to fele grace werke in hym he wexyt then sory for his syne ... he gettyth hym ... to confessyon, ther purgyng hym self clene from alle rist of syn by contricyon ... Anone he felyth hym esyd ... and delyuerd from knawyng of concyens, whych ys þe gretyst payn in erȝth (f. 132v). Jolliffe knows the piece only in this manuscript; *Checklist*, M.14, O.48.

wylfully to shew hys synnes nakydly and truly with grett sorow and with grett shame: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Schrift schal be ... naket ... soþ ... Þeos and moni resons beoþ whi mon may beo bitterliche sori for his sunnen ... Schrift ouȝte ben schomeful (Vernon MS. ff. 386b-387c; Day, 136-149).

10 *with grett sorow*: Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* uses the same image as Julian: when a mane occupies his mynde with erthelye thoghtes or ydelle þoghttes, he defaacede fowle his faace of his sowlle, þat es to saye the ymage of þe trinyte þat es in hym (Halligan, 456).

11 *that he hath so defowlyd the feyer ymage of god*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: he is him self bi tornd and bi comen of godes child þe deueles barn of helle, gryslich to seone (Vernon MS, f. 386c; Day, 140). For the image, cf. 606.49-50 and note.

12 *penannce ... enjoyned by his domys man*: Julian here may be writing of general conditions in the world rather than of her own situation. The author of the *Ancrene Riwle* writes, concerning anchoresses' confessions: Þe preost ne þarf for no gult but hit be þe grettore leggen oþer penance of ow þen þe lyf þat ȝe ledeþ after þeos rule (Vernon MS, f. 388b; Day, 156-157).

for every synne: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Schrift schal ben jhool (Vernon MS, f. 386d; Day, 141).

domys man: the usual terms for a confessor employed in ME are 'schrift fader', 'confessour', and MED, s.v. domes-man, has no example suggesting such a specialized meaning. Rather it would seem that Julian here is conveying 'the man empowered (by virtue of his priestly office) to sit in judgment on you'. This and what follows: *that is groundyd in holy chyrch by the techyng of þe holy gost*, may also imply such a caveat as is found in the *Ancrene Riwle*: To sum gostliche man þat ȝe beoþ trusti vppon, as ȝe mowe ben on luyte, god is þat ȝe aske red (Vernon MS, f. 374d; Day, 29).

13 *and this is one mekenesse* ...: the rest of this paragraph is not in the short text; cf. 256.36.

this is one mekenesse that gretly plesyth god: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Schrift ouȝte ben meokeful as þe puplicanes was (Vernon MS, f. 387b; Day, 148); the allusion is to Luke

that gretly plesyth god, and also meekely takyth bodely sycknesse of
15 goddes sendyng, also sorow and shame outwardly *with* reprefe and despyte of the worlde *with* alle maner of grevance and temptations that we be cast in, gostly and bodely.

7or Fulle preciously oure good / lorde kepyth vs whan it semyth to vs that we be neer forsaken and cast away for oure synne and for we se þat
20 we haue deservyd it. And because of the meekenes that we gett here by we be reysyd fulle hygh in goddes syght by his grace. And also whom oure lord wylle he vysyteth of his specialle grace *with* so grett contricion, and also *with* compassion and tru longyng to god that they be sodeynly delyverde of synne and of payne, and take*n* vp to blysse and
25 made evyn *with* seyntes. By contryscion we be made clene, by com-

---

14 *gretly*: SS: mekyl. *meekely takyth*: om. SS. 15 *sendyng*: add. S2: *and*. *outwardly with reprefe*: S1: from withoute *and* reprove; and so S2. 16 *the*: S1: this; and so S2. *of (grevance)*: om. S1. *grevance*: S2: grievances. 17 *we*: S1: wil; and so S2. 18 *good*: om. SS. 19 *for we se (þat)*: SS: because. 20 *the (meekenes)*: om. SS. *here by*: C: thereby. 21 *fulle*: S1: wel. *And also ... specialle grace*: om. SS. 23 *and (also)*: om. SS. *that*: SS: than. 25 *with (seyntes)*: S1: hey; and so S2.

18.10-14: *...? this man went down into his house justified rather than the other. In the short piece, 'When a solle begynyth to fele grace' (cf. 450.9 note) we read: ... then lernyȝth he meknys, dred and loue ... Thus contynewyng, god seyng the good wylle and desyer of the solle drawyth hym more nere to hym self by a swet steryng of loue and compassyon (MS Douce 262, f. 133r).*

15 *sorow and shame outwardly*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Bi þat þat folk of Israel wende out þorw þe rede see þat was red and bitter is bi toknet þat we mowe þorw rodi shome, þat is soþ schrift, and þorw bitter penaunce passen to heuene (Vernon MS, f. 387c; Day, 149).

16 *with alle maner of grevance and temptations that we be cast in*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: For þi seiþ seint Jame ... Alle blisse holdeþ hit in misliche of þeose fondynges þat vttre beoþ ihoten, and seint Poul seiþ ... Alle þulke fondynges þat we beoþ now ibete *with* þinkeþ wouh not wone, ac heo wendeþ afturward to weole and to eche blisse (Vernon MS, f. 380d; Day, 84-85; the allusions are to James 1.2, Hebrews 12.11).

18 *Fulle preciously oure good lorde kepyth vs*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle* on an anchoress's temptations: ... (God) is aboute vches weis þat heo him loue inwardliche ... þenne is al þat wo iworþen to wynne ... On ende after long swynk he ȝiueþ hem swote reste, heer i sigge in þis world, er heo comen to heuene (Vernon MS, f. 383r).

23 *they be sodeynly delyverde ... and taken up to blysse*: cf. 380.14: *Sodeynly he shalle channge hys chere to vs, and we shal be with hym in hevyn*, and note. Cf. also the *Scale*, I chapter 38: When þe thynkeȝ þat þou art for saken, þen schal I of my grete mercie gedere þe aȝeyn to me ... and sothly þou schalt sodenly spryng vp as þe day sterne in gladnes of hert (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 309; Underhill, 88).

25 *By contryscion we be made clene / by compassion we be made redy / and by tru longyng to god we be made wurthy*: a *compar* with initial and medial *repetitio* (*By ... we be made*).

contryscion ... compassion ... tru longyng: these are the 'three wounds' which Julian had long ago asked for; cf. 288.41-43.

passion we be made redy, and by tru longyng to god we be made wurthy. Theyse be thre menys, as I vnderstode, wher by that alle soules com to hevyn, that is to sey that haue ben synners in erth and shalle be savyd.

70v 31 For by theyse medycins behovyth that every synnfulle / soule be helyd. Though that he be helyd, hys woundys be sene before god, nott as woundes but as wurshyppes. And so on the contrary wyse, as we be ponysschyd here *with* sorow and *with* penannce, we shall be rewardyd in hevyn by the curtesse loue of oure god almyghty, that wylle that none 35 that come ther leese hys traveyle in any degre. For he beholdyth synne as sorow and paynes to his louers, in whom he assignyth no blame for loue.

The mede that we undertake shall nott be lytylle, but it shalle be hygh, glorious and wurshyppfulle. And so shalle alle shame turne to

---

27 *Theyse*: S1: this. *vnderstode*: S2: understand, 'an' w. marks of alt. *that (alle)*: om. S2. 30 *medycins*: add. S2: it. *synnfulle*: om. SS. 31 *that (he)*: om. SS. 33 *penannce*: S2: penances. 34 *god*: S1: lord god; and so S2. *that wylle*: S2: who wils. 35 *hys*: S2: their. *any*: S1: no. *beholdyth*: S1: holdyth; and so S2. 36 *paynes*: S1: peyne; and so S2. 38 *undertake*: S1: shall underfongyn; S2: shall recieve. 39 *alle* : om. SS. *turne*: S1: be turnyd; and so S2.

---

26 *tru longyng*: there is great similarity between Julian's teaching here and that of the *Cloud*-author in his *Epistle of Prayer*: ... what for þe general siȝt þat þou hast of þe mercy and þe goodnes of god and þis special experience þat þou felist of his mercy and his goodnes ... it may not be bot þat þou schalt fele a grete stering of loue vnto him ... þis ... onliche bi itself pleseþ to almiȝty god and deseruiþ to haue mede of him (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 50-51).

30 *For by theyse medycins ... leese hys traveyle* (452.35): this corresponds with the short text, 256.36-42.

by theyse medycins behovyth that every synfulle soule be helyd: cf. *Privy Counselling*: Take good gracyous god as he is, plat and pleyn as a plastre, and legge it to þi seek self as þou arte ... þe touching of whome is eendeles helpe by witnes of þe womman in þe gospel ... 'If I touche bot þe hemme of his cloþing, I schal be saaf' (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 138-139; the citation conflates Matthew 9.20 and 21).

32 *as we be ponysschyd here ... we shall be rewardyd*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Al is penaunce and strong penaunce þat ȝe euer driȝep ... Bliþe mowe ȝe ben þer of, for as seint Poul seiþ ... As ȝe scotteþ *with* him of his pyne on eorþe, so ȝe schul scotten *with* him of his blisse in heuene (Vernon MS, f. 388^b, quoting Romans 8.17); and Luke 6.22-23: Blessed shall you be when men shall hate you ... your reward is great in heaven; and cf. II Timothy 2.12, 716.24 note.

35 *in any degre ... blame for loue*: not in the short text; cf. 256.42.

38 *The mede ... and to joy* (453.40): this corresponds with the short text, 256.43-45. *The mede ...*: cf. 256.43 note.

39 *And so schalle alle shame turne to worschyppe and to joy*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: he þat is on rode *and* haueþ blisse þer of, he turneþ schome to menske and wo in to winne, and of serueþ forþi huyre on huyre (Vernon MS, f. 388^c; Day, 160).

40 worschyppe and to joy. For oure curtesse lorde wylle nott that hys
seruantys despeyer for ofte fallyng ne for grevous fallyng; for oure
fallyng lettyth nott hym to loue vs. Pees and loue is evyr in vs, beyng
71r and workyng, but we be nott evyr in pees / and in loue; but he wylle we
take hede thus that he is ground of alle oure hoole lyfe in loue, and fer-
45 thermore that he is oure evyrlastyng keper, and myghtely defendyth vs
azenst alle oure enmys that be full felle and full fers vpon vs, and so
much oure nede is, the more for we geue them occasion by oure
fallyng.

---

47 *them*: alt. fr. 'hym'.

---

40 *to (joy)*: SS: more. 41 *fallyng*: C: failing: om. SS. 42 *is*: S1: arn; S2: be. 43 *evyr (in pees)*: S1: alway; S2: alwayes. *we (take)*: SS: that we. 46 *alle*: om. SS. *full (felle)*: om. S2. *full (fers)*: om. SS. 47 *them*: S1: hym; and so C, S2.

---

40 *For oure curtesse lorde ... only for loue* (457.32): not in the short text; cf. 256.45. *oure curtesse lorde wylle not that hys seruantys despeyer*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Vnhope ... is grimmest of alle, for hit to cheweþ and to fret godes mylde milce and his muchele merci and his vnimete grace (Vernon MS, f. 381b; Day, 90).

41 *oure fallyng lettyth nott hym to loue vs*: cf. the *Chastising*: Þe pite of god is so grete þat ... if a man haue be neuer so yuel ... oure lord gladli takeþ hym and louyngli biclippiþ hym (Bazire and Colledge, 152).

42 *Pees and loue is evyr in vs / beyng and workyng / but we be not evyr in pees and in loue*: a *compar* with *oppositio* (*in vs / in pees and in loue*) and *commutatio*.

Pees and loue is evyr in vs: cf. *Piers Plowman* B. XVIII: Than after werre and wo . whan loue and pees be maistres, / Was neuere werre in this worlde . ne wykkednesse so kene, / That ne loue and hym luste . to laughynge ne brouȝte, / And pees thorw pacience . alle perilles stopped (Skeat, 1 548).

44 *he is ground of alle oure hoole lyfe in loue*: cf. I Corinthians 3.11: Other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus, and Ephesians 3.17 e.s: Rooted and founded in charity ...

45 *myghtely defendyth vs azenst alle oure enmys*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: whon ȝe help clepeþ, ne beo ȝe not a fert, ne drede ȝe (f. 384c) heom nouȝt, þauȝ heo ben stronge *and* monye. Þe fiht is min, nouȝt ouren (Vernon MS, translating II Paralipomenon 20.15).

The xl Chapter

And this is a sovereyne frenschypp of oure curtesse lorde, that he kepyth vs so tenderly whyle we be in oure synne; and ferthermore he touchyth vs fulle prevely, and shewyth vs oure synne by the swet lyght of mercy and grace. But when we se oure selfe so fowle, then we wene that god were wroth *with* vs for oure synne. Than be we steryd of the holy gost by contriscion in to prayer, and desyer amendyng of oure selfe
71v *with* alle oure myght to slake / the wrath of god, vnto the tyme we fynde a rest in soule and softnes in consciens. And than hope we þat god hath forgevyn vs oure synne; and it is true. And than shewyth oure

---

1 S1: Us nedyth (S2: it behoveth us) to longyn in love with Jesus *and* schewyng (S2: Jesus eschewing) synne for love. The vylenes of synne passith al peynes, *and* god lovith wel tenderly us (S2: us very tenderly) while be (S2: we are) in synne, *and* so us nedyth to doe our (S2: to our) neybor. 2 *And*: om. SS. 3 *oure (synne)*: om. SS. 5 *selfe*: S2: selves. 6 *were*: S2: is. *synne*: add. SS: *and*. 7 *prayer*: SS: prayers. *desyer*: add. SS: to. *selfe*: SS: life. 8 *myght*: S1: mytes. *slake*: C: slack. 10 *synne*: S1: synnes; and so S2. *true*: SS: soth.

---

2 *he kepyth vs so tenderly whyle we be in oure synne*: cf. Romans 5.8-9: But God commends his charity to us, because when we were still sinners ... Christ died for us; and the *Scale*, I chapter 39 (citing Ecclesiasticus 4.18-21): In temptacion oure lord forsakeȝ noȝt a man, bot he gos with hym, ... drawеȝ a man to hym (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 310; Underhill, 89).

4 *shewyth vs oure synne by the swet lyght of mercy and grace*: cf. the English *Qui habitat*: ... whon I was sunken in þe muyre of synne, (Wallner, 4; cf. 696.2-5 note).

5 *then we wene ... by contriscion* (454.7): this corresponds with the short text, 262.68-69. On the editing here, see Introduction, IX 15.

then we wene that god were wroth with vs for oure synne: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 38 (citing Isaias 54.6-7): I suffred þe forto be taried a litel, and in a poynt of my wrath I smote þe ... (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 309; Underhill, 88, where, however, 'teased' as a translation of 'taried', 'dereliqui', is inadequate and incorrect).

6 *of the holy gost*: not in the short text; cf. 262.69.

7 *amendyng of oure selfe with alle oure myght*: not in the short text; cf. 262.69.

8 *to slake the wrath of god*: cf. Psalm 84.5-9: Convert us, o God ... turn off thine anger from us ... Thou wilt turn, o God, and bring us to life ... for he will speak peace to his people; and the English *Stimulus amoris*: ... ȝif I flee, I wole not flee but fro goddes wrathe to goddes merci (H. J. Kane, 57; Kirchberger, 86).

9 *a rest in soule and softnes in consciens*: cf. Matthew 11.29: Take up my yoke ... and learn of me ... and you shall find rest to your souls.

10 *And than shewyth oure curtesse lorde hym selfe ...*: cf. 379.6-9.

curtesse lorde hym selfe to the soule merely and of fulle glad chere, *with* frendfully wellcomyng, as if it had ben in payne and in preson, seyeng thus: My dere darlyng, I am glad thou arte come to me in alle thy woe. I haue evyr ben *with* the, and now seest thou me louyng, and we be onyd in blysse.

Thus are synnes forgevyn by grace and mercy, and oure soule worschypfully receyvyd in joy, lyke as it shalle be whan it comyth in to hevyn, as ofte tymes as it comyth by the gracious werkyng of the holy goste and the vertu of Cristes passion.

Here vnderstode I verely that alle maner of thyng is made redy to vs

---

20 With 'Also I vnderstond', the sixth extract in W begins.

---

11 *to*: S2: unto. *soule*: add. S1: wol; add. S2: wel. *of fulle*: SS: with. 12 *frendfully*: S1: frendful; and so S2. *it*: SS: he. *seyeng*: add. S2: sweetly. 13 *dere*: om. SS. 17 *in (to)*: om. SS. 18 *tymes*: om. S2. 20 *Here*: W: also. *vnderstode*: S1: vnderstond; and so S2, W. *verely*: SS, W: sothly. *of*: om. SS, W.

---

11 *merely and of fulle glad chere, with frendfully wellcomyng*: not in the short text; cf. 262.73.

13 *My dere darlyng / I am glad thou arte come / to me in alle thy woe*: a *compar* with *exclamatio*.

My dere darlyng: not in the short text; cf. 262.74.

I am glad thou arte come to me in alle thy woe: cf. Matthew 11.28: Come to me, all you that labour and are burdened.

to me in alle thy woe: cf. 262.75: *to reste*.

14 *I haue evyr ben with the / and now seest thou me louyng / and we be onyd in blysse*: a *membrum* (*I ... the / thou ... me / we*) with *chiasmus*. Comparison of these two figures with their counterparts in the short text, 262.74-76, shows how much more clarity this rhetorical treatment gives to the thought.

I haue ... in blysse: cf. 262.75: *for I haue euer loued the and nowe loues the, and þou me*.

16 *Thus are synnes ... in to hym by grace* (619.4): not in the short text; cf. 262.78.

17 *lyke as it shalle be whan it comyth in to hevyn*: cf. the English *Qui habitat*: Whon þou art turned from loue of þe world to þe loue of god ... þou felest þi concience muche iclansed and wel pesed þorw grace ... þen schalt þou beholden with þin eiȝe ... soþly god (Wallner, 26).

18 *by the gracious werkyng of the holy goste and the vertu of Cristes passion*: cf. 500.2-4; and cf. also the *Scale*, I chapter 44: Crie mercie *and* ask only sauacionn by þe vertue of þis preciouse passionn mekely and treistily, and withouten doute þou schalt haue it (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 315; Underhill, 103).

20 *alle maner of thyng is made redy to vs by the grett goodnes of god*: cf. I Corinthians 2.9-10. 12, quoting Isaias 64.4: '... eye has not seen ... what things God has prepared for them that love him', but to us God has revealed them, by his Spirit ... that we may know the things that are given us from God.

72r by the grett / goodnes of god, so ferforth that what tyme we be oure selfe in pees and in charyte we be verely safe. But for we mey nott haue thys in fulhed whyle we be here, therefore it befallyth vs evyr to lyue in swete prayeng and in louely longyng *with* oure lorde Jhesu. For he longyth evyr for to bryng vs to the fulhed of joy, as it is before seyde, wher he shewyth the gostly thryste. But now because of alle thys gostly comfort that is before seyde, if any man or woman be steryd by foly to sey or to thynke: if this be tru, than were it good for to synne to haue the more mede, or elles to charge the lesse to synne, beware of this steryng. For truly, if it come, it is vntrue and of the enemy.

24 *lorde Jhesu*: here the sixth extract in W ends.

22 *selfe*: S2: selues. *in (charyte)*: om. SS. *for*: S2: because; add. W: þat we. 23 *fulhed*: W: fulnes. *befallyth*: S2: becometh. *evyr*: SS: evermore; and so W. 24 *prayeng*: SS, W: prayer. 25 *for (to)*: om. SS. 26 *thryste*: C: Thirst; S1: threst; S2: thirst. 28 *to (thynke)*: om. S2. *tru*: SS: soth. *for*: om. SS. 29 *elles*: SS: ell. 30 *truly*: SS: sothly.

21 *what tyme we be oure selfe in pees and in charyte*: cf. *Discretion of Spirits*: ... whoso lackiþ pees and restfulnes of herte, him lackiþ þe liuely presence of þe louely siȝt of þe heiȝe pees of heuen, good gracious god, him owne dere self (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 84-85).

22 *for we mey nott haue thys in fulhed whyle we be here ... it befallyth vs evyr to lyue*: cf. Ephesians 3.19: ... to know also the charity of Christ, which surpasses all knowledge, that you may be filled to all the fullness of God ...

23 *befallyth*: 'is fitting'. See NED, Befall, *v.* 2., which quotes *Piers Plowman* C. II 48: 'Reddite Cesari' seide god . 'þat to Cesar byfalleþ'. S2's substitution is accurate.

evyr to lyue in swete prayeng: cf. Luke 18.1: we ought always to pray and not to faint.

24-26: cf. 418.18-20.

27 *if any man or woman be steryd by foly to sey or to thynke ...*: cf. Romans 6.1-2: What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid!

28 *than were it good for to synne to haue the more mede*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: And ȝit also be war of hem þat seyen hem silf han gete þe spirit of fredom, *and* þat þei han so myche grace of loue þat þei may lyue as hem lust. Þei þinken hem so fre *and* so siker þat þei schulen not synne (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 146v; Jones, 94). This is one of the few instances in which Julian shows any awareness of contemporary heresies; but Hilton is obviously writing (as elsewhere) about 'Liberty of the Spirit'. The *Chastising*, chapter 11 (Bazire and Colledge, 138-142), 'Hou sum oþer men wenen þat þei haue fredom of spirit ...', translates at length John Ruysbroek in his *Spiritual Espousals* on this subject.

29 *beware of this steryng. For truly, if it come, it is vntrue and of the enemy*: cf. the *Chastising*, writing of 'ypocrites in kynde, whiche wol bien clepid goddis pacientis' (142): Sum of hem seien ... þat for her lyueng þei disserue more mede þan any othir men, in as myche as thei abide the wirchyng of god, for whateuer þei do, god worchiþ, and nat þei but god in hem and bi hem. All þese er foule dissayued of the deuell (Bazire and Colledge, 144). The author is here translating Ruysbroek's *Spiritual Espousals*.

For the same tru loue that touchyth vs alle by hys blessyd comfort, the same blessyd loue techyth vs that we shalle hate syn only for loue.
72v And I am suer by / my awne felyng, the more that ech kynde soule seeth this in the curtesse loue of our lorde god, the lother is hym to
35 synne, and the more he is asschamyd. For if it were leyde before vs, alle the payne þat is in hell and in purgatory and in erth, deed and other,

---

31 *For*: SS: of. *touchyth*: S2: teacheth. *by hys blessyd comfort*: S1: this; and so S2. 32 *shalle*: S2: should. 33 *suer*: SS: sekir. *ech*: SS: every. 34 *lother*: S2: more loath. *hym*: S2: he. 36 *payne þat is*: S1: peynes; and so S2. *in (hell)*: S2: of. *and (in purgatory)*: om. S2. *in (erth)*: S2: on. *deed and other, than*: C: to suffer it rather than; S1: deth and other and; and so S2; cf. A (257.6): dede and othere and.

---

32 *the same blessyd loue techyth vs that we shalle hate syn only for loue*: cf. Psalm 96.10: You that love the Lord, hate evil; and cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*, in an addition of the translator's: þou shalt nouȝte hate þyn owne kynde ... for þat made good (sc. 'god'), but þou shalte hate þi synne (H. J. Kane, 95-96; Kirchberger, 119).

we shalle hate syn only for loue: cf. the English *Qui habitat*: Lord, I hope in þe; not in my self, nott in my werk, ne in my word ne in my wit ne in my feling ... for þei are nouȝt in hem self, ȝif þei ben wel and trewely examyned, but synne and blyndnes ... But, lord, I schal hopen onliche in þi merci, and hongen be þi godnes, and resten in þi loue (Wallner, 29).

33 *And I am suer ... is hym to synne* (457.34): this corresponds with the short text, 256.45-47.

the more that ech kynde soule seeth this ... the lother is hym to synne, and the more he is asschamyd: cf. Jeremias 22.22: Then you will be confounded and ashamed of all your wickedness; and cf. the *Cloud*-author's *Beniamyn*: And forþi þat men ofttymes fallen greuously in þoo same synnes þat þei moste hate, þerfore after hateredyn of synne springiþ ordeynde schame in a mans soule (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 36).

34 *the lother*: cf. 605.44 note.

35 *For if it were leyde ... is not synne* (458.39): this corresponds with the short text, 257.5-9.

alle the payne þat is in hell ...: cf. *Privy Counselling*: ... þi whiche nakyd felyng of þi blynde beyng wol euyrmore prees abouen þee, bitwix þee and þi god ...; þan wol þee þenk it a wel heuy and a ful peynful birþen of þiself ... for alle þe woo þat may be wiþoutyn þat is not a poynte to þat (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 157).

36 *deed*: sc. 'dede', 'death'. MED dēd, n., calls it a 'blend of OE dēaþ n. and dēad adj.' It first records the spelling 'deed' 1434, Misyn, *Mending of Life*; but Margaret Amassian may presently question this attribution and antedate the text (cf. Introduction, p. 4 and note 3).

than synne we shulde rather chese alle that payne than synne. For syn is so vyle and so mekylle for to hate that it may be lyconnyd to no payne whych payne is not synne. And to me was shewed none harder helle
40 than synne, for a kynd soule hatyth no payne but synne; for alle is good but syn, and nought is yvell but synne. And whan we geue oure intent to loue and meknesse by the werkyng of mercy and grace, we be made alle feyer and clene.

And as myghty and as wyse as god is to saue man, as wyllyng he is.
73r For Crist hym selfe is ground of alle the lawes / of cristen men, and he

---

37 *that payne*: S2: these paines. 38 *and (so)*: om. S2. *mekylle for to hate*: S2: very hatefull. *for*: om. S2. *that it may ... no payne*: S2: that no pain can be compared with it. *lyconnyd*: C: likned; S1: liken; S2: compared. 40 *payne*: om. S2. *for alle ... yvell but synne*: om. SS. 41 *whan*: om. SS; S2: w*hen*, interl. al. m. 44 *as (wyllyng)*: S2: so. *wyllyng*: S1: willy. 45 *cristen men, and*: S2: *christ*ians *and* now.

---

37 *syn is so vyle and so mekylle for to hate*: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 54: þou schalt vgge *and* loþe þis ilk noȝt ryȝt as þe deuel of hell, and þou schalt despise it *and* al to brest it (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 325; Underhill, 129-130).

39 *And to me was shewed none harder helle than synne / for a kynd soule hatyth no payne but synne / for alle is good but syn / and nought is yvell but synne*: a *compar* with *conversio* (*synne ... synne ... syn ... synne*) and *oppositio* (*alle is good / nought is yvell*). The third and fourth *cola* are in the short text, 257.7-8; and in augmenting the figure as she does here, Julian applies the reflection in the short text to the whole of her revelation.

40 *for a kynd soule hatyth no payne but synne*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: ȝif þow be ay quykke and redy in þouȝt of þi herte for to hate and destriȝe al maner of synne in þe and in al þyne euen cristen, þenne art þou sum wat conformed to Cristis passioun (H. J. Kane, 28; Kirchberger, 66).

for alle ... but synne: this corresponds with the short text, 257.9-10.

42 *mercy and grace*: cf. 500-504.

43 *alle feyer and clene*: cf. Canticles 4.7: You are all fair, o my love, and there is not a spot in you.

44 *And as myghty ... as god louyth it* (459.52): this corresponds with the short text, 257.14-22.

And as myghty ...: cf. 257.14 note. As rewritten in P, the *similiter cadens* of the short text is lost, but it is partly preserved in S1.

as myghty and as wyse as god is to saue man: cf. Romans 4.21: Whatever God has promised he is able also to perform.

as wyllyng he is: cf. I Timothy 2.4: ... God our saviour, who will have all men to be saved.

willy (S1): cf. 257.14 and Glossary.

45 *Crist hym selfe is ground of alle the lawes of cristen men*: cf. I Corinthians 3.11, and 453-44 note.

taught vs to do good aȝenst evylle. Here we may se that he is hym selfe thys charite, and doyth to vs as he techyth vs to do; for he wylle that we be lyke hym in hoolhed of endlesse loue to oure selfe and to oure evyn cristene. No more than hys loue is brokyn to vs for oure synne, no more wylle he *þat* oure loue be broken to oure selfe nor to our evyn cristen; but nakydly hate synne, and endlesly loue the soule as god louyth it. Than shulde we hate synne lyke as god hateth it, and loue the soule as god loueth it. For these wordes that god seyd is an endlesse comfort: I kepe the fulle truly.

---

46 *aȝenst*: S2: for. *evylle*: S1: ille. 47 *that*: om. SS. 48 *hoolhed*: S2: holynes. *selfe*: S2: selves. *to (oure evyn)*: om. S2. 49 *evyn cristene*: S2: neighbour. 50 *nor*: S1: and; and so S2. *evyn cristen*: S2: neighbour. 51 *hate*: S1: hatenly; add. S2: his. 52 *shulde*: S1: shal; and so S2. *lyke*: om. S2. 53 *these wordes*: S1: this word; and so S2. *that god*: S2: which the lord. *god (seyd)*: om. S1. 54 *fulle truly*: SS: sekirly.

---

46 *... to do good aȝenst evylle. Here we may se that he is hym selfe thys charite, and doyth to vs as he techyth vs to do*: the 'lawes' to which Julian refers are the Sermon on the Mount: But I say to you not to resist evil ... Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you ... (Matthew 5.39, 44). Cf. I John 4.16, 12: God is charity, and he who abides in charity abides in God and God in him ... If we love one another, God abides in us.

49 *No more than hys loue is brokyn to vs for oure synne, no more wylle he þat oure loue be broken to oure selfe nor to our evyn cristen*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* ... he stereth vs þer to, for he is redy for to (for)ȝeuen hit vs, ȝif we wole do þe selue to oure dettouris þat trespacen aȝeyns vs. A, þis is a profitabel dette of oure euen cristen ... (H. J. Kane, 185; Kirchberger, 193).

50 *neighbour* (S2): this substitution may have been made with the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10.29-37) in mind.

52 *Than shulde we ... loue the soule as god loueth it*: not in the short text; cf. 257.22. Cf. also the English *Stimulus amoris*: For ȝyf I shal seiȝe as my herte felith ... I wolde to goddis worship ones diȝe for eche a synnand man is soule ȝif I myȝte (H. J. Kane, 117; Kirchberger, 136). Cf. also *Beniamyn*: For a man schuld hate synne in his kynde; and as anemste oure euyn cristen, us auȝt to hate synne in hem and to loue hem (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 34).

Than shulde we hate synne lyke as god hateth it / and loue the soule as god loueth it: a *compar* with *oppositio, complexio* and *traductio* (*hate ... hateth it / loue / louyth it*). Characteristically, Julian summarizes a whole new insight into her showings in two elegantly constructed *cola*.

53 *For these wordes ... truly* (459.54): this corresponds with the short text, 257.22-23. *these wordes*: cf. 442.10.

54 *I kepe the fulle truly*: cf. 443.13: *suernesse of kepyng*, and note. *truly* is a P, C modernization, and SS's *sekirly* seems to be authentic.

The xiiij Reuelation

The xli Chapter

Affter thys oure lorde shewed for prayer, in whych shewyng I saw
73v two condicions in our lordes menyng. One is ryghtfulle prayer; / a
5 nother is seker trust. But ȝett oftyme oure trust is not fulle, for we be nott suer that god heryth vs, as we thyngke for oure vnwurthynesse and for we fele rygh(t) nought; for we be as bareyne and as drye ofte tymes after oure prayers as we were before. And thus in oure felyng oure foly is cause of oure wekenesse, for thus haue I felt by my selfe. And all this

---

3 With 'Also oure lorde shewed', the seventh extract in W begins. 7 *ryght*: ms: rygh.

---

1 S1: is as afornseyd *et cetera*. It is impossible we shuld pray for mercy *and* want it *and* how god will we alway pray, thow we be drey *and* barryn, for that prayer is to him acceptabil *and* plesande; and so S2. 3 *Affter thys*: W: Also. *prayer*: SS: prayers. *saw*: S1: se; and so S2. 4 *ryghtfulle prayer*: S1: rytfulnes: S2: right fulnes. *a nother*: W: and the oþer. 5 *seker*: C, marg., W: sure. *oftyme*: C: oftentimes; and so SS. 6 *suer*: SS: sekir. *we thyngke*: S1: us thynkith; and so S2. 7 *for (we fele)*: W: for þat. *ryght nought*: W: no thyng. *as (drye)*: om. SS. 8 *prayers*: W: prayer. *thus in*: S1: this in; S2: þis is. 9 *by*: SS, W: in.

---

1 *is as afornseyd et cetera* (S1): cf. 284.43-46 and 326.21 note.

barryn (S1): cf. 465.45 note.

3 *Affter thys ... condicions* (460.4): this corresponds with the short text, 258.1.

4 *One is ryghtfulle prayer; a nother is seker trust*: not in the short text; cf. 258.2.

ryghtfulle prayer: Julian has already touched on this topic; cf. 304.5-9, 305.27-306.29, 308.56-57.

ryghtfulle prayer: the SS substitution, *rytfulnes, right fulnes*, is certainly erroneous. In her opening words Julian announces that prayer is to be the subject treated in this chapter.

5 *seker trust*: cf. Job 13.15: Although he should kill me, I will trust him.

But ȝett oftyme ... to my mynde (461.10): this corresponds with the short text, 259.13-19.

oure trust is not fulle, for we be nott suer that god heryth vs: cf. James 1.6: But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering; and Psalm 21.3 (see 649.14 note).

8 *And thus ...*: 'And so the cause of our weakness is the folly which we experience'. Cf. Luke 24.25: O foolish and slow of heart to believe! For the rhetorical figure, cf. 259.17 note.

9 *for thus haue I felt by my selfe*: elsewhere she describes her experiences of desolation: 632.12-13, 634.28-29, 634.30-31.

by: the short text (259.18) agrees with SS, W: *in*.

10 brouȝte our lorde sodenly to my mynde, and shewed theyse wordes and seyde: I am grounde of thy besekyng. Furst it is my wylle that thou haue it, and sythen I make the to wylle it, and sythen I make the to beseke it. And thou (be)sekyst it, how schoulde it than be that thou shuldyst nott haue thy (be)sekyng? And thus in the furst reson *with* the
15 thre that folowe, oure good lorde shewyth a myghty comfort, as it may be sene in the same wordes.

74r And in the furst reson / there he seyeth: And thou besek(yst) it, ther he shewyth full gret plesannce and endlesse mede that he wylle geue vs for oure besekyng. And in the (ij^{de}) reson there he seyth: How schuld it

---

13 *besekyst*: ms: sekyst. 14 *besekyng*: ms: sekyng. 17 *besekyst*: ms: beseke. 19 *ij*^{de}: ms: vj^{te}.

---

10 *and*: S2: who. *shewed* : S1: swerid. 12 *sythen (I make the to wylle)*: om. W. *and sythen I make the to beseke ... besekyst it*: om. W. 13 *And (thou)*: add. S2: then. *sekyst* (ms): S1: besekyst; and so S2. 14 *sekyng* (ms): S1: besekyng; and so S2, W; add. W: seeth I make þe to besekyng it and þou besekist it. *with*: W: of. 15 *good lorde*: W: lord god. *it*: om. W. 16 *sene*: W: seyeng. 17 *And (in)*: om. W. *there*: SS: thus; W: wher. *beseke* (ms): S1: besekyst; and so S2, W. 19 *besekyng*: W: besekynges. *ij*^{de}: ms: vj^{te}; and so SS, W.

---

10 *and seyde: I am grounde ... thy besekyng?* (461.14): this corresponds with the short text, 259.20-28.

11 *Furst it is my wylle that thou haue it, and sythen I make the to wylle it, and sythen I make the to beseke it*: cf. the Roman Missal's votive Mass for peace: Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia et iusta sunt opera ... (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 460).

Furst it is my wille: cf. 259.21 note.

Furst it is my wylle that thou haue it / and sythen I make the to wylle it / and sythen I make the to beseke it: three long *cola*, with *repetitio* (*and sythen ... and sythen ... and sythen*), *conversio* (*it ... it ... it*), medial *repetitio* (*I make the ... I make the*), and *adnominatio* (*y wylle ... to wylle*).

13 *And thou besekyst it*: cf. 259.22 and note.

And thou besekyst it / how schoulde it than be / that thou shuldyst nott haue / thy besekyng: *ratiocinatio*, and *traductio* with the preceding *besekyng, beseke*. Clearly, the SS readings are superior to P.

14 *And thus in the furst reson with the thre that folowe*: below, line 17, Julian tells us precisely what is this *reson*, the clause *And thou besekyst it*, so that *the thre that folowe* can only mean the remaining three *cola* of the *ratiocinatio*. For her use of *reson* in the short text to mean 'reasoning by question and answer', as here, see 263.17 and note.

15 *as it may be sene in the same wordes*: not in the short text; cf. 259.25.

17 *besekyst*: again, SS are superior, since this is quoting the first *reson*, line 13.

ther he shewyth full gret plesannce and endlesse mede: cf. Ecclesiasticus 18.22: Let nothing hinder you from praying always, ... for the reward of God continues for ever.

19 *in the ij*^{de}: if the above analysis of the *compar And thou sekyst it*... be correct, it follows that *How schuld it than be* is not the 'sixth reason', as all long-text manuscripts have it, and as the scribe of A first wrote it (259.28), or the 'fourth reason', as the corrector of A has altered what the scribe of the short text wrote to give (259.28), but the 'second reason'. P has been accordingly emended.

than be? This was seyde for an vnpossible thyng; for it is the most vnpossible that may be that we shulde seke mercy and grace and nott haue it. For of alle thyng that oure good lord makyth vs to beseke, hym selfe he hath ordeyned it to vs from *with*out begynnyng. Here may we than see that oure besechyng is nott cause of the goodnesse and grace that he doyth to vs, but his *pro*pyr goodnesse. And that shewed he verely in alle theyse swete wordes, ther he seyeth: I am ground. And our good lorde wylle that thys be knowen of his lovers in erth. And the more that we

---

20 *be*: add. SS: *et cetera*. *thyng*: om. SS, W. *the*: om. SS. *vnpossible (that)*: SS: impossible. 21 *may*: om. SS. *be*: om. C, SS. *that (we)*: om. S_2. *seke*: S_1: besekyn; and so S_2, W. 22 *thyng*: S_2: things. *good*: om. W. 23 *he*: om. SS, W. *we*: W: swe; marg., al. m.: see. 24 *nott*: add. C: the. *the*: SS: gods. *grace*: om. SS. *he doyth ... And that*: om. SS. 25 *to*: W: vnto. *his*: add. W: owne. *shewed*: W: shewyth. *verely*: SS, W: sothfastly. 26 *ther*: SS: when. *ground*: add. S_2: *et cetera*; add. W: of thi prayer *and* of thy besekynges. *good*: om. W. 27 *of*: add. W: all. *in*: S_2: on.

---

20 *this was seyde ... doutfulle dredys* (474.69): not in the short text; cf. 260.36.

21 *that we shulde seke mercy and grace and nott haue it*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, suscipe deprecationem nostram et quos delictorum cathena constringit miseratio tue pietatis absoluat (Day, 10; not in extenso in Tolkien or Dobson, nor in the Vernon MS). The opening is that of the collect of the Roman Missal's general Mass for the faithful departed (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 492). Cf. also *A Ladder of Four Rungs*: The power of almyȝty god is eendles, and his mercy above alle his werkys (Hodgson, *Deonise* 106; Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II* 112).

22 *hym selfe he hath ordeyned it to vs from without begynnyng*: cf. Ephesians 1.4: ... he chose us in him before the foundation of the world.

23 *from without begynnyng*: MED, biginning(e, ger., quotes as its second instance a. 1225 *Lamb. Hom.*: He þe is and eure wes, butan biginnunge, soð god.

24 *oure besechyng is nott cause*: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 24: ... for þoȝ it be so þat preyere is noȝt þe cause for whilk oure *lord* ȝyueȝ grace ... (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 297; Underhill, 55).

25 *but his propyr goodnesse*: cf. I John 4.10: In this is charity — not as though we had loved God, but because he has loved us. Cf. also *A Ladder of Four Rungs*: That vndirstode wele seynt Powle whan he sayd: *Gracia dei sum id quod sum*, as if he seyd: 'That I am, that I have lyfe, that I may se, fele or goo or stonde, alle is of goddis grace' (Hodgson, *Deonise* 103; Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, have no corresponding passage; on the *Ladder*'s departures from Guido's Latin, cf. ibid. 45-52). See I Corinthians 15.10.

26 *ther he seyeth*: cf. 431.17 (but direct speech is not there employed), 461.11.

And our good lorde wylle / that thys be knowen / of his lovers in erth / And the more that we know / the more shalle we besech / if it be wysely take / and so is our lordes menyng: a *compar* of seven *cola*, with *traductio* (*knowen ... know*) and *repetitio* (*the more ... the more*).

And our good lorde wylle that thys be knowen: cf. I Corinthians 2.10: But to us God has revealed them by his Spirit.

27 *And the more that we know, the more shalle we besech*: cf. John 16.25-27: I ... will show you plainly of the Father. In that day, you shall ask in my name ... for the Father himself loves you.

know, the more shalle we besech, if it be wysely take, and so is our lor-
74v des / menyng.
30 Besechyng is a trew and gracious lestyng wylle of the soule, onyd and fastenyd in to the wylle of oure lorde by the swet prevy werkyng of the holy gost. Oure lorde hym selfe he is the furst receyvoure of our prayer, as to my syght, and he takyth it full thankefully, and hyghly enjoyeng he sendeth it vppe above, and setteth it in tresure wher it shall
35 nevyr perysscb. It is ther before god *with* all hys holy seyntes, contynually receyvyd, evyr spedyng oure nedys. And whan we shalle vndertak oure blysse, it shall be gevyn vs for a degre of joy *with* endlesse wurschyppfulle thankyng of hym.

Ful glad and mery is oure lord of oure prayer; and he lokyth ther af-

---

28 *know*: add. S2, W: it. *shalle*: S1: shuld; and so W. *besech*: add. W: it. 30 *Besechyng*: W: wyse sekynge. *trew*: S1: new. *and (gracious)*: om. SS, W. *lestyng*: C, S2: lasting; S1: lestyng. *onyd*: C: owned; W: ony. 31 *by the swet ... gost. Oure*: om. W. *prevy*: S2: secret. *werkyng*: S1: werke. 32 *lorde*: W: god. 33 *prayer*: SS: prayers. *he*: om. SS. *full*: W: ryght. *enjoyeng*: S1: enjoyand *and*; and so S2; W: enioyeth. 35 *seyntes*: om. SS; W: company. 36 *vndertak*: SS: underfongyn; and so W. 38 *thankyng*: W: thankynges. 39 *lord*: add. W: god. *prayer*: SS: prayers.

---

30 *onyd and fastenyd*: cf. *Privy Counsel*: ... þe heiȝ wisdom of þe godheed graciousli descendyng into mans soule, knitting it and onyng it vnto him self in goostly sleiȝt and prudence of spirit (Hodgson, *Cloud* 145), and *An Epistle of Prayer*: I wolde þat þou knewest what maner of worching þat it is þat knitteþ mans soule to god and þat makiþ it one wiþ him in loue and acordaunce of wile (Hodgson, *Deonise* 56).

32 *the furst receyvoure of our prayer*: cf. the *Gloria in excelsis*: Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram, which *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* translates: þou þat wostis þe worlds wrake, / oure praiere in þis tyme þou take (Simmons, 14).

33 *hyghly enjoyeng*: 'greatly rejoicing'. Cf. NED Enjoy, *v.* 1 *intrs*, 'To be in joy ...', where the last example is 1549.

34 *in tresure wher it shall nevyr perysscb*: cf. Luke 12.33: Make to yourselves ... a treasure in heaven which fails not, where no thief approaches nor moth corrupts.

Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace*, imagining that Christ is teaching her certain dispositions for each of the canonical hours, hears him say: Atte þe owre of complyne haffe mynde of þe vnyoun of þat blessede owre wharein þowe schalte be mayde oo spyritte with me ande haffe me or vse me in fulle experience, whiche vnyoun schalle begynne here be ane corde of thyne wille ande myne in alle thynges (Halligan, 470).

36 *vndertak*: 'receive'. Cf. NED Undertake, *v.* 2 b, with only three examples, *Cursor Mundi, Piers Plowman* C, and Lisle's translation, 1623, of Ælfric's 'underfeng'. The SS, W readings more probably represent what Julian wrote.

39 *he lokyth ther after*: 'he expects it'. See NED After, *adv.* and *prep.* 5.

40 ter, and he wyll haue it, for *with* his grace it makyth vs lyke to hym selfe
in condescion as we be in kynde, and so is his blessyd wylle. For he
75r seyth thus: Pray interly, thoughe the thyngke it savour the nott, / ȝett it
is profytable inowgh, though thou fele it nowgh(t). Pray interly, though
thou fele nought, though thou se nought, yea, though thou thynk thou

---

42, 43 *interly*: ms: interly inwardly. 43 *nowght*: ms: nowgh. 44 *though (thou thynk)*: ms: thought.

---

40 *wyll*: W: wolde. *with*: S2: by. *it (makyth)*: SS: he. 41 *and so ... wylle*: om. W. *blessyd*: S1: blisful; and so S2. *For*: W: also. 42 *thus*: om. W. *interly inwardly* (ms): C: intirely, inwardly; SS: inderly; om. W. *the*: W: þou. *thyngke*: S1: thynkyth. *the nott ... to thy mede* (466.55): om. W. *ȝett*: SS: for. *it (is)*: om. S1. 43 *Pray interly, though thou fele nought*: om. SS.

---

40 *lyke to hym selfe in condescion as we be in kynde*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 31, quoting Ephesians 4.23-24, Colossians 3.9-10: Be ȝe renewed in þe spirit of ȝoure soule ... *and* cloþe ȝow in a new man ... Spoile ȝ*our* self of þe olde man *with* alle his dedis, þ*at* is, kaste fro ȝow þe luf of þe werld *with* alle werdly man*ers*, *and* cloþe ȝow in a new man, þ*at* is, ȝe schul be renewed in þe knowynge of god aftir þe liknes of h*im* þ*at* made ȝow (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 106^{v}; Underhill, 368).

42 *Pray interly / thoughe the thyngke it savour the nott / ȝett it is profytable inowgh / though thou fele it nowght / Pray interly / though thou fele nought / though thou se nought / yea though thou thynk thou myght nott / for in dryenesse and barnesse / sicknesse and in febelnes / than is thy prayer fulle plesannt to me / though thou thynk it saver the nott but lytylle*: a *membrum* of twelve alternately short and long *cola* with *repetitiones* (*Pray interly; though thou*), *conversiones* (*nott; nought*), and *continuatio* with *similiter cadens* (in dry*enesse* and bar*nesse*, in sick*nesse* and in febel*nes*).

Pray interly: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Wherfore if þ*er*e come su*m*tyme te*m*ptaciou*n*s *and* tribulaciou*n*s þe whiche ben ordeyned for to ponesche *and* for to clense goddis children, *and* deuocio*u*n be wiþdrawe, strenkþe þe þ*a*nne not þe lesse for to p*r*aie ne to wake ne to faste (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 141^{v}; Jones, 82).

42, 43 *interly*: P's reading, *interly inwardly*, and those of SS suggest that P was copied from a parent with the archaic 'interly', 'whole-heartedly' (cf. 266.9, *enterlye*, and note), and a gloss, interlinear or marginal — and incorrect — *inwardly*), and that for safety's sake P has copied them both. The P scribe is, throughout, much given to compromise.

42 *thoughe the thyngke*: 'though it seem to thee'. This is the OE impersonal *þyncan*, not the personal *þenc(e)an*, 'to think'.

it savour the nott: the *Chastising*, after translating Ruysbroek's description of 'spiritual drunkenness' (cf. 466.59 note) goes on with his account of dryness: Þanne of oure owne wrecchidnesse we wondren and seien ... where is the soules comfort, gladnesse and sauour? (Bazire and Colledge, 109).

myght nott, for in dryenesse and barnesse, in sicknesse and in febelnes, than is thy prayer fulle plesannt to me, though thou thynk it saver the nott but lytylle. And so is all thy lyvyng prayer in my syght.

For the mede and the endelesse thanke that he wylle geue vs ther, for he is couetous to haue vs prayeng contynually in his syght, God acceptyth the good wylle and the traveyl of his seruantes, how so ever we fele; wherfore it plesyth hym that we werke in prayer and in good lyvyng by his helpe and his grace, resonable *with* discrecion kepyng oure

---

49 *prayeng*: 'e' interl. al. m. 50 *seruantes*: ms: seruuantes. 51 *fele*: ms: felle.

---

45 *dryenesse*: S1: dryhede. *and (barnesse)*: SS: *and* in. *barnesse*: C: barrenness; S1: barrenhede; S2: barrenes. *febelnes*: S1: febi(l)hede. 46 *is*: S2: are. *prayer*: SS: prayers. *fulle*: S1 wel; and so S2. *thou*: S1: þe; and so S2. *thynk*: S1: thynkyth; and so S2. 47 *prayer*: S2: prayers. 49 *prayeng*: SS: pray. 50 *the (traveyl)*: om. S2. *seruantes*: S1: servant. 51 *fele*: S1: felen; and so S2. *in prayer*: S1: and in our prayers; S2: in our prayers. 52 *resonable*: C: reasonably; and so SS.

---

45 *in dryenesse and barnesse, in sicknesse and in febelnes*: the *Chastising* (in an addition of the author's to Ruysbroek) continues: Also he shal nat leue his trauail for no maner heuynesse ... (ibid., 111).

barnesse: though 'bareness', 'deprivation', would fit the context well, the variants *barrenness* (C, and so S2), *barrenhede* (S1) are more probable. Cf. 460.1 note, and 460.7: *for we be as bareyne and as drye*. For recorded spellings, see MED barainnesse, n. ('Also baraine(se, barennes').

in sicknesse and in febelnes: Julian has already described her own experiences of such affliction: *I was turned and left to my selfe in hevynes and werynes of my life and irkenes of my selfe* (354.8 e.s.).

48 *for he is couetous to haue vs prayeng contynually*: cf. I Thessalonians 5.17-18: Pray without ceasing. In all things give thanks, for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you all.

49 *God acceptyth the good wylle and the traveyl of his seruantes*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Preier þat is mad with greet enforsynge whanne þe slouȝ flesh wolde be vnlusty is to god acceptable (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 142r; Jones, 84). Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* adds her witness to the traditional teaching: Whane a mane gyffes lovynges to god or prayere or whateuer other þynge he doo to goddys worschepe, of alle itt be þat he haffe no gostelye sauour for þat tyme, ȝitt neuerthelesse þat prayere or worscheppynge es neuerþeles sauoury to god ... (Halligan, 431).

50 *how so ever we fele*: the emendation from *felle* is supported by SS, and by what Julian has already written, e.g. *Pray ... though thou fele nought*.

52 *resonable with discrecion kepyng our myghtys to hym*: cf. *On Daily Work*: For þi bihoues man eauer to prai and neauer faile. He is eauer praiand þat is ai gode doand (Horstman, 1 141). Hope Allen called Horstman's manuscripts of this text 'very disjointed and confused' (*Rolle*, 286), and was not prepared to accept its attribution to

myghtys to hym tyll whan we haue hym that we seke in fulhede of joy
75v that is Jhesu. And that shewed he in the xv reuelation / wher he seyth:
55 Thou shalt haue me to thy mede.

Also to prayer longyth thankyng. Thankyng is a true inward knowyng, *with* grett reuerence and louely drede turnyng oure selfe *with* alle oure myghtes in to the werkyng that oure lorde steryd vs to, enjoyeng and thankyng inwardly. And some tyme for plenteousnes it

---

53 *whan*: add. SS: þat. *that*: S2: whom. 54 *xv*: S1: fifth; S2: 5th. *wher he seyth*: S1: for aforn þis word; and so S2. 55 *to*: S2: for. 56 *Also*: SS: and also. *prayer*: SS: prayers. *(longyth) thankyng*: W: thankynges. *true*: SS: new. 57 *selfe*: S2: selues. 58 *myghtes*: S2: might. *lorde*: SS: good lord; W: lorde god. *steryd*: SS: steryth. 59 *thankyng*: add. W: hym. *for*: W: with. *plenteousnes*: S1: plenteoushede.

Rolle because a passage, lacking in the Thornton MS but found in the Ingilby MS, teaches of the *ludus amoris* (cf. 326.18 note), whereas 'Richard Rolle declared that mystic joy was perpetual' (ibid., 287). Doubtless the last word on this question of authorship has not yet been said. Cf. also *Discretion of Stirrings*: ... þe soþfast knowing of himself and of alle his inward disposicioun, þorow þe whiche knowing he sitteþ quietly in hymself ... miȝtly, wisely and goodly gouernyng himself and alle his þouȝtes and steringes (Hodgson, *Deonise* 64).

53 *tyll whan we haue hym that we seke / in fulhede of joy that is Jhesu*: in the second *colon* of the *compar* there is calculated grammatical ambivalence: *that is Jhesu* has two antecedents, *hym that we seke* and *fulhede of joy*. The Son is the object of the soul's search, which, when attained, will be in a fullness of joy which is the Son himself whom the soul has sought, 'for in him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead' (Colossians 2.9). There may here be a reminiscence of *Dulcis Jesu Memoria*: Jhesu make me loue the so / that where I be or what I do / that I for weele or for woo / let nevyr my hertt turne the froo / Jhesu my weyle and all my wyn ... (*Processional of the Nuns of Chester*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, 32).

54 *And that shewed he in the xv reuelation*: cf. 621.16-17.

56 *Also to prayer longyth thankyng*: cf. Philippians 4.6: ... in everything, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your petitions be made known to God.

In *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Preye þanne contynuely if þou wilt purchace þe grace of deuocioun ... leue neuere praier, neiþer in wurchinge of wordli werk, neþer in bedde neþer out of bedde, in cumpanye neþer solitarie (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 142r; Jones, 84).

57 *with grett reuerence and louely drede*: cf. Hebrews 12.28: ... let us serve, pleasing God, with fear and reverence.

59 *for plenteousnes it brekyth ouȝt with voyce*: cf. the *Chastising*, translating Ruysbroek's description of 'gostli drunkennesse': Sum men ... bien plenteouse of teeris: sum men ... bien stired wiþ al þe membris of her bodi ... summe for ioie bete her handis togidre: summe crien aloude wiþ an hiȝ uoice (Bazire and Colledge, 103, 266 note). Cf. also the *Cloud*: ... when for habundaunce of spiryt it brestiþ up into worde (Hodgson, 78).

60 brekyth ouȝt *with* voyce and sey(th): Good lorde, grannt mercy, blessyd
mott thou be. And some tyme whan the harte is dry and felyth nought,
or ellys by temptacion of oure enemy, than it is drevyn by reson and by
grace to cry vp on oure lorde *with* voyce, rehersyng his blessyd passion
and his grett goodnes. And so the vertu of oure lordes worde turnyth in
65 to the soule and quyckynnyth the hart and entryth by hys grace in to tru
76r werkyng, and makyth it to pray fulle blessydfully, and truly to / enioy in
oure lorde. It is a fulle louely thangkyng in his syght.

---

60 *seyth*: ms: sey.

---

60 *ouȝt*: C, S1: out; S2: forth. 61 *the (harte)*: W: thy. *harte*: C: earth. 62 *ellys*: S1: ell. 64 *so*: om. SS. 65 *entryth*: add. SS: it; add. W: in. *to (tru)*: om. SS. 66 *fulle (blessydfully)*: S1: wel; and so S2. *blessydfully*: SS: blisfully; W: blessedly. *and truly*: om. W. *in*: om. S1. 67 *lorde*: add. W: god. *fulle (louely)*: om. W. *louely*: SS: blisfull.

---

60 *Good lorde, grannt mercy, blessyd mott thou be*: cf. the *Chastising*: A gracious lord Iesu Crist, goddis sone ... worship be to þe wiþouten ende ... I þanke þe, my lord, for al þis gostli comfort (Bazire and Colledge, 106). Cf. also 382.3 and note.

63 *rehersyng his blessyd passion and his grett goodnes*: the *Ancrene Riwle*, counselling help against temptations, writes: Nempne ofte Jhesu. Clepe his passions help. Halsene be his pynen, bi his derworþe blod, bi his deþ on roode ... (Vernon MS, f. 385c; Day, 131).

64 *the vertu of oure lordes worde*: cf. Hebrews 4.12: For the word of the Lord is living and effectual and more piercing than any two edged sword. Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* imagines Christ glossing this text: Ande soth itt es the worde of god qwykkene a sowlle, powrynge in thareto a gostelye ioy ande comforth, as itt semys wele in persones þat be noght vnderstondynge ne letterde (Halligan, 452).

turnyth in to the soule and quyckynnyth the hart and entryth by hys grace in to tru werkyng: cf. the *Chastising*, translating from Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*: Anon at his comyng þe soule wexiþ liȝt and ioieful, þe conscience is clier and myche in reste, þe spirites that weren dulle and deed bien quyk and redi to trauaile, and al þing þat was hard and sharp and impossible to semynge, anon thei wex softe and swete, and al maner excercises, in fastynge and in wakynge and alle goode werkis, suche excercises bien turned into miṛþ (Bazire and Colledge, 99-100).

The xlij Chapitur

Owre lorde wylle that we haue tru vnderstondyng, and namely in thre thynges that longyth to oure prayer.

The furst is by whom and howe that oure prayer spryngyth. By whom he shewyth whan he seyth: I am grounde; and how by hys goodnesse for he seyth: Furst it is my wylle.

For þe seconde, in what maner and how þ*at* we shulde vse oure prayers; and that is that oure wylle be turned in to the wylle of oure lorde enjoyeng. And so menyth he whan he seyeth: I make the to wylle it.

For the thurde, þ*at* we know the fruyt and the ende of oure prayer, that is to be onyd and lyke to oure lorde in althyng. And to this menyng and for thys ende was alle thys louely lesson shewed, and he wylle helpe
76v vs, and he shalle make / it so, as he seyth hym selfe, blessyd mot he be.

---

1 The 'x' has been erased to make space for 'in his syght' (467.67), add. scr.

---

1 S1: Off iij thyngs that longyn (S2: belong) to prayer, *and* how we shuld pray, *and* of the goodnes of god that supplyeth alwey our imperfection *and* febilnes whan we do that (S2: what) longyth to us to do. 2 *lorde*: add. SS: god. *that*: om. SS. 3 *longyth*: S2: belong. *prayer ... prayer*: SS: prayers ... prayers. 5 *shewyth*: W: shewed. *seyth*: W: seyd. *how*: om. S1. 7 *For*: W: and for. *þat*: om. SS, W. *oure prayers; and*: om. W. 9 *lorde*: add. W: god. 11 *the (ende)*: om. C. *prayer*: SS: prayers. 12 *althyng*: S2: all things. 13 *for*: S2: to. 14 *he (shalle)*: SS: we. *seyth*: C: seeth.

---

5 *whan he seyth*: cf. 461.11.

6 *for he seyth*: cf. 461.11.

7 *þat we shulde vse oure prayers*: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 24: Preyere is profitable and spedefull to vse for to gete clennes of hert (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 297; Underhill, 55), and NED Use *v.*3, 'to do, perform'.

9 *whan he seyeth*: cf. 461.12.

11 *þat we know the fruyt and the ende of oure prayer, that is to be onyd and lyke to oure lorde in althyng*: the *Cloud*-author, in *An Epistle of Prayer*, compares the life of the loving soul with a tree full of fruit, its roots the fear of God, its trunk and branches hope and its fruit 'reuerent affeccioun' (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 52); and he continues: 'And þerfore I sette it in þi gardine, for I wolde þat þou gaderist þe frute þerof and keptest it to þi lorde (ibid., 56).

13 *and he wylle helpe vs*: cf. Psalm 36.5: Commit your way to the Lord and trust in him, and he will do it.

and he wylle helpe vs / and he shalle make it so / as he seyth hym selfe / blessyd mot he be: a *compar*, with *exclamatio*.

15 For this is oure lordes wylle, that oure prayer and oure trust be both a lyke large. For if we trust nott as mekyll as we praye we do nott fulle worshyppe to oure lorde in oure prayer, and also we tary and payne oure selfe; and the cause is, as I beleue, for we know not truly that oure lorde is grounde in whom that oure prayer spryngyth, and also that we 20 know nott that it is gevyn vs by grace of hys loue. For yf we knew thys, it wolde make vs to truste to haue of oure lordes ȝefte alle that we desyer.

For I am suer that no man askyth mercy and grace *with* tru menyng but yf mercy and grace be furst gevyn to hym. But somtyme it comyth 25 to oure mynde that we haue prayde long tyme, and ȝett it thyngkyth vs 77r that we haue nott oure askyng. But here fore shulde / we nott be hevy, for I am suer by oure lordes menyng that eyther we a byde a better tyme, or more grace, or a beter ȝyfte. He wylle that we haue true

---

15 *prayer*: SS: prayers. 16 *mekyll*: C, marg.: much; and so W. 17 *prayer*: SS: prayers. 18 *selfe*: C2: selves. *beleue*: S1: leve; and so S2. *oure (lorde)*: S2: the. 19 *lorde*: add. W: god. *in*: SS: on; W: hymselfe of. *that (oure)*: om. SS, W. *prayer*: SS: prayers. 20 *by*: S1: be the; and so S2; W: by his. *hys*: add. W: grete and tender. . 21 *to (truste)*: om. W. *that*: S2: what. 23 *suer*: SS: sekir. *man*: add. W: þat. *and*: S2: or. 24 *yf*: om. SS, W. *to (hym)*: W: vnto. *somtyme*: W: somme tymes. 25 *ȝett*: W: þei. *it*: om. SS; W: we. *thyngkyth*: S2: think; and so W. *vs*: om. S2, W. 26 *that*: om. S2. 27 *suer*: SS: sekir. 28 *or (a)*: add. W: else. *that*: om. SS.

---

15 *For this is oure lordes wylle, that oure prayer and oure trust be both a lyke large*: cf. Matthew 15.25, 28: ... she came and adored him, saying: Lord, help me ... Then Jesus answering said to her: O woman, your faith is great. Be it done to you as you wish. Cf. also 260.31 e.s.: *Thus wille oure lorde ...*

16 *For if we trust nott as mekyll as we praye*: cf. *A Talking of the Love of God*: ... hose wole in meditacion swete fruit fynden ... þat he truste sikerliche to fynden þat he secheþ (Westra, 2).

21 *it wolde make vs to truste to haue of oure lordes ȝefte alle that we desyer*: cf. I Timothy 6.17: ... (trust) in the living God, who gives us abundantly all things to enjoy.

25 *we haue prayde long tyme, and ȝett it thyngkyth vs that we haue nott oure askyng*: cf. Psalm 21.3 (see 649.14 note) and Habacuc 1.2: How long, o Lord, shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear?

26 *But here fore shulde we nott be hevy ...*: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 33: When thou schalt preye ... þoȝ þou be neuere so mykel letted aȝeyns þi first will, be nott to mykel adredd ne to angrie with þiself (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 304; Underhill, 74).

28 *He wylle that we haue true knowyng in hym selfe that he is beyng ...*: cf. Psalm 35.10: For with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light we shall see light. In *Eight Chapters* (see 261.53 note) we read: The best loue and trewist is whanne a soule is reised *and* liȝtned in to knowynge of þe beynge of god in Crist, as whanne þe soule seeþ ... þat no þing haþ soþfast beinge but god (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 150v; Jones, 101).

that we haue true knowyng ... alle our menyng: Julian is teaching that 'the fruit of all our

knowyng in hym selfe that he is beyng; and in thys knowyng he wylle
30 that oure vnderstandyng be groundyd *with* alle oure myghtes and alle oure intent and alle our menyng. And in this grounde he wylle that we take oure stede and oure dwellyng. And by the gracious lyght of hym selfe he wylle that we haue vnderstandyng of thre thynges that folow.

The furst is our noble and excelent makyng, the seconde oure

---

30 *myghtes*: S2: might. 31 *menyng*: C: meanings. 32 *stede*: C: steeds; marg.: resting place. *dwellyng*: S1: wonynge; and so S2, W. 33 *that (we)*: om. SS. *thre*: S1: the; and so S2. *that folow*: om. W. 34 *our*: W: thi. *seconde*: add. W: is. *oure*: W: þe.

---

prayer is to be oned and like to our Lord' (468.12). This is in fact the case for 'all that shall be saved'; the problem is that we do not know — feel — that it is so. But this knowing — feeling — is integral to our existence in him and his in us, it is what Holy Church teaches (471.39-40). This knowledge — feeling — basically is faith; cf. chapter 54, pp. 563-564, and especially 564.30-33.

true knowyng in hym selfe that he is beyng: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: ... thayre euermore schynes that simple beynge of the clerenesse of god, in the whiche we be grownd yd, that is to saye, the whiche of oureselfe drawys vs into the moste hyȝe beynge and felaschip of his loue (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 246-247).

29 *he wylle that oure vnderstandyng be groundyd* ...: cf. Ephesians 3.17-19, where Paul, writing of the glorified Christ, prays for his hearers 'That Christ may dwell by faith in your hearts, that being rooted and founded in charity, you may ... know also the charity of Christ, which surpasses all knowledge; and *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*: Wherfore vs behoues to grownde oure lyfe vpon a profounde depenesse ... the incomprehensible depnesse of charite ... in the whiche we schalle ... be ... stable euerlastyngly (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 233).

30 *with alle oure myghtes and alle oure intent and alle our menyng*: cf. Deuteronomy 6.5 and Matthew 22.37 (see 309.62 note); and the *Treatise of Perfection*: ... vs muste hafe trewe experience and vndyrstandynge in oure selfe, that we may be made one lyfe and one spirit with god (Bazire and Colledge, 237).

31 *that we take oure stede and oure dwellyng*: cf. John 14.2 (see 289.7 note). It is noteworthy that the *Promptorium parvulorum* translates 'stede' as *situs*, 'dwelling place' as *mancio, habitaculum*, and 'wonynge' as *mansio* (Mayhew 433, 134, 533). Probably Julian wrote 'wonynge', as in S1, and *dwellyng* is a later scribe's modernization.

32 *by the gracious lyght of hym selfe*: cf. 654.8: *oure precyous louer helpyth vs with goostely lyghte*; 696.3: *by the swete gracious lyght of hym selfe*; and 725.24: *oure feyth is oure lyght in oure nyght, whych lyght is god, oure endlesse day*.

34 *our noble and excelent makyng*: cf. Psalm 8.5-6: What is man ...? Thou hast made him a little less than the angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, and hast set him over the works of thy hands; and the English *Stimulus amoris*: ... bigynneth he for to vndirstonde of wat worthynesse and of wat dignyte and nobeleye is þe kynde of his soule, for whos resstoringe goddis sone wolde be dede (H. J. Kane, 39; Kirchberger, 75).

oure precious and derunrthy agayne beyng: cf. *A Talking of the Love of God*: But ȝit ... not onliche madest þou me of nouȝt ... aȝeyn þou bouȝtest me wiþ deþ so deore vppon þe roode (Westra, 64).

precious and derwurthy agayne beyng, the thyrde althyng that he hath made beneth vs to serue vs and for oure loue kepyth it. Than menyth he thus, as if he seyde: Beholde and se that I haue done alle thys before thy
77v prayer, and now / thou arte and prayest me. And thus he menyth that it longyth to vs to wytt that the grettyst dedys be done as holy chyrch techyth.

And in the beholdyng of thys *with* thankyng we ow to pray fore the

---

39 *holy chyrch techyth*: here the seventh extract in W ends.

---

35 *agayne beyng*: C, marg.: redemption. *beyng*: C: being; S1: byeing; S2: buying; W: byeng. *althyng*: S2: all things; W: is þat all þyng. 36 *and*: W: he. *kepyth it*: S2: keep *and* preserues þem. 38 *prayer*: SS: prayers. *thus he*: W: þis our lord god. 39 *to (wytt)*: om. S1; W: for to. 41 *ow*: S1: owte; S2: ought.

---

35 *agayne beyng*: 'redemption'. 'Modelled on LLat red-imere' (MED ayen-bien, v.); cf. NED, Again-buy, *v.*, all entries in both suggesting that it is characteristically 14th-cent., much used in Wycliffite writings. The *Promptorium* translates 'Ageyn-byer' *Redemptor*, 'Ageyn-byyng' *Redempcio* (Mayhew, 7).

37 *I haue done alle thys before thy prayer*: cf. Ephesians 1.4 (see 462.22 note).

39 *as holy chyrch techyth*: Julian is affirming the Church's age-old statements, 'omnium visibilium et invisibilium factorem' (*our noble and excelent makyng*), 'qui propter nostram salutem descendit' (*oure precious and derwurthy agayne beyng*), 'per quem omnia facta sunt' (*althyng that he hath made*), and, by implication, refuting false Gnosticism, teaching that creation has a dual origin and that the material world is inherently evil, refuting also such doctrines as that imputed, in 1312 in Clement V's *Ad nostrum*, to the Begards, 'that it would be imperfection to descend from the purity and heights of contemplation ... to think at all of the sufferings of Christ's humanity' (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 898), teaching which is implicit in *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, circulating in English translation in Julian's day (Colledge and Guarnieri, 372).

41 *beholdyng* (and 472.49): cf. 484.14 note. This difficult passage, concerned with the contemplative effort, may be rendered as follows: 'And as we contemplate this with thanksgiving, we ought to pray for what is at this moment taking place: that God may rule us and guide us to live to his glory in this life, and may bring us to his bliss; and he has done all that is necessary for this. So it is his intention that we see that this is what he is doing, and that we pray that he may do it. For one (without the other) is not enough, because if we pray to him but do not perceive what he is doing, that makes us despondent and doubting, which does not give glory to him. And if we perceive what he is doing and do not pray, we are not fulfilling our duty. (One or the other) must not be, because that is not contemplating God. But to perceive what he is doing and to go on praying (that he may do it) gives glory to God and wins merit for us'. Julian is warning other contemplatives against two dangers: Pelagian reliance on our own efforts unassisted by grace (with its consequent psychological disorders), and the false Quietism denounced in *Ad nostrum* (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 892), and amply represented in the English *Mirror of Simple Souls*, e.g.: This douȝter of Syon desireþ neiþir massis ne sermons, fastinges ne orisons (Doiron, 270; and cf. Colledge and Guarnieri, 372).

dede that is now in doyng, and that is that he ruwle vs and gyde vs to his wurshyppe in this lyfe, and bryng vs to hys blysse; and therefore he hath done alle. Than menyth he thus, that we se that he doth it, and we pray
45 therfore. For that one is nott inow, for yf we pray and se nott that he do itt, it makyth vs hevy and doughtfulle; and that is nott his wurschyppe. And yf we se þat he doth it, and we pray nott, we do nott oure dewty. And so may it nott be, that is to sey, so is it nott in his beholdyng. But to se that he doyth it and to pray forthwithalle, so is he
50 worschyppyd and we sped. Althyng that oure lorde hath ordeyned to
78r do, it is his wylle that / we pray therfore eyther in specialle or in generalle. And the joy and the blysse that is to hym, and the thanke and þe wurschyppe that we shalle haue therfore, it passyth the vnderstandyng of all creatures in this life, as to my syght.

---

42 *vs (and)*: om. S2. 45 *that (one)*: S2: the. *one*: add. S2: of these. 46 *doughtfulle*: C, S2: doubtfull; S1: doutful. 47 *he*: om. C. *it*: om. SS. 48 *dewty*: S1: dette; and so S2. 49 *forthwithalle*: S2: forewith. 50 *sped*: C: speed. *Althyng*: S2: all things. 52 *that (is)*: add. S1: it. *thanke*: S2: thanks. 54 *all*: om. S1. *in this life*: om. SS.

---

42 *that he ruwle vs and gyde vs to his wurshyppe in this lyfe*: cf. the collect in the Mass for the third Sunday after Pentecost: Protector in te sperantium deus, sine quo nichil est ualidum, nichil sanctum, multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut te rectore te duce sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus eterna (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 260).

45 *For that one is nott inow / for yf we pray and se nott that he do itt / it makyth vs hevy and doughtfulle / and that is nott his wurschyppe / And yf we se þat he doth it and we pray nott / we do nott oure dewty*: a *membrum* with *oppositio* (*yf we pray and se nott / yf we se ... and we pray nott*) and *disjunctio* (*and that is nott his wurschyppe ... we do nott oure dewty*).

48 *so is it nott in his beholdyng / But to se that he doyth it and to pray forthwithalle / so is he worschyppyd and we sped*: a *compar*, with *oppositio* continued from the previous figure, and with *descriptio* ('clear, lucid and vivid description, especially of the consequences of an act').

50 *Althyng that oure lorde hath ordeyned to do, it is his wylle that we pray therfore*: cf. I Timothy 2.1-4: I desire therefore ... that supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings be made for all men ... for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth. Paul and Julian are considering the order of salvation. Cf. also *Bonum est*: A meke soule þat loueþ god ... what so euur falle, he is ful siker of him þat he loueþ þat hit mai not be but wel. He dredeþ him not pynefulliche but tristeþ in him sikerliche, and in a meke vnknowynge of him and of his priue werkes with loue abydeþ þe folfullyng of his wil (Wallner, 64-65).

52 *And the joy and the blysse ...*: cf. 390.15-19.

53 *it passyth the vnderstandyng of all creatures in this life*: cf. *Bonum est*: I may not sen þe in þi blessed kuynde, what þou art in þi self. Mi siȝt faleþ, and my resun wonteþ þer, þouȝ hit be lihtned þorw grace (Wallner, 63); and *Benjamin*: What þe hiȝe pees of god is, þat passeþ alle mans wit (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 30).

For prayer is a ryȝtwys vnderstandyng of that fulhed of joy that is for to come, *with* tru longyng and very trust. Saworyng or seyng oure blysse that we be ordeyned to, kyndely makyth vs to longe; trew vnderstondyng and loue *with* swete menyng in oure savoure graciously makyth vs to trust. And thus haue we of kynde to long and of grace to t(ru)st. And in these two werkynges oure lord beholdyth vs contynually, for it is our dewty, and hys goodnes may no lesse assyne in vs that

58 *savoure*: ms: savyoure. 60 *trust*: ms: turst.

55 *fulhed*: S2: fulness. *for (to)*: om. S2. 56 *tru*: SS: wel. *very*: SS: sekir. *Saworyng or seyng*: S1: faylyng of; and so S2. *seyng*: C: seeing. 57 *to (longe)*: SS: for to. *longe*: add. S2: *and*. 58 *menyng*: S1: mynd; and so S2. *savyoure* (ms): so C, SS. 59 *to (trust)*: SS: for to. *And thus ... to trust*: om. SS. 60 *trust*: so C. 61 *dewty*: S1: dett; and so S2. *that*: S1: than; and so S2.

55 *a ryȝtwys vnderstandyng of that fulhed of joy that is for to come*: cf. *Benjamin*: Neptalym, þat is to sey þe siȝt of ioies to come ... as oft as we ymagyn of þe worþines and þe faireheed of þe joyes of heuen (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 25-26). Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* makes Christ say: For itt es impossible a man noght to receyve þoo gyftes whiche he weneth ande hopeþ trustlye to haffe be þe mercye of god after dewe contricioun ande satisfaction; þarefore itt es fulle spedefulle tylle a man þat he truste me wele and hope wele to haffe of me a fulle grete rewarde ande grete gyftes for a lytelle meryte (Halligan, 419).

56 *Saworyng or seyng oure blysse / that we be ordeyned to / kyndely makyth vs to longe / trew vnderstondyng and loue / with swete menyng in oure savoure / graciously makyth vs to trust*: a *membrum*, with *oppositio* (*kyndely ... to longe / graciously ... to trust*) and *descriptio*.

58 *savoure*: the emendation is self-evident, as we see from this sentence's opening, *Saworyng or seyng*; and it is surprising that Cressy, as well as the SS scribes, copied such an error. Julian's definition of prayer, *a ryȝtwys vnderstandyng of that fulhed of joy that is for to come, with tru longyng and very trust*, is a distillation of the traditional doctrine of the use of the spiritual senses in contemplative prayer, with which we can 'savour or see' now our heavenly bliss. Fullness of trust ('that we shall have it') is the outcome of 'sweet meaning' (remembrance of contemplative presence), and our savour of that presence.

59 *And thus haue we of kynde to long / and of grace to trust*: a *compar*, with the *oppositiones* of the two previous figures continued.

trust: the emendation to 'trust' and not to 'thurst' is justified by the sense, and also by SS's homoeotopy, 'And thus ... to trust', showing that they derive in a copy which read 'trust ... trust', not 'trust ... thurst'.

61 *and hys goodnes may no lesse assyne in vs ...*: cf. *A Ladder of Four Rungs*: But þe good þat is in vs, if there eny be, he dooth it in vs, but not withoute vs, for as Powle sayth: *Cooperatores dei sumus* (cf. I Corinthians 3.9). That is, we be goddis helperis to oure good; that ys, we opyn oure hertis when he sendith vs goodis of his grace, and doo þat in vs is to kepe and to holde it (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 102; cf. Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 110); and also: But god wolle that we praye for this blissid grace (*Deonise*, 105; cf. *Guigues II*, 110).

longyth to vs to do oure diligence there to. And when we do it, ȝett shall vs thynke that it is nought. And true it is, but we do as we may, /
78v and mekly aske mercy and grace, and alle that vs feylyth we shalle it
65 fynde in hym. And thus menyth he there he seyth: I am þe grounde of thy besechyng.

And thus in theyse blessydfulle wordes with the shewyng I saw a fulle ouyrcomyng agaynst alle oure w(eke)nesse and alle oure doutfull dredys.

---

65 *þe*: interl., perh. al. m. 68 *wekenesse*: ms: wyckydnesse.

---

62 *longyth*: add. SS: it. *there to*: om. SS. *do (it)*: S1: have don; and so S2. *it (ȝett)*: add. S1: than; and so S2. 63 *it (is nought)*: om. SS. *true*: S1: soth; and so S2. 64 *mekly*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *and (alle)*: om. SS. *it*: om. SS. 65 *there*: S1: wher; and so S2. *þe*: om. SS. 67 *theyse*: C: those; S1: this; and so S2. *blessydfulle*: S1: blisful; and so S2. *wordes*: SS: word. 68 *wyckydnesse* (ms): S1: wekenes; and so S2.

---

64 *and alle that vs feylyth / we shalle it fynde in hym*: a *compar* with *oppositio*.

65 *there he seyth*: cf. 461.11.

67 *a fulle ouyrcomyng agaynst alle oure wekenesse*: cf. 260.31: *Thus wille oure lorde that we bath praye and triste, for the cause of the resones befor sayde is to make vs myghty agaynes waiknesse in oure prayers*. P's *wyckydnesse*, followed by C, is nonsensical in the context.

68 *doutfull dredys*: this repeats 472.46 The spiritual weaknesses there mentioned are the tendencies in contemplatives to the sins against hope, Pelagianism and Quietism, despair and presumption.

The xliij Chapter

Prayer onyth the soule to god, for though the soule be evyr lyke to god in kynde and in substannce restoryd by grace, it is ofte vnlike in condescion by synne of mannes perty. Than is prayer a wytnesse that the soule wylle as god wyll, and comfortyth the conscience and ablyth man to grace. And thus he techyth vs to pray and myghtyly to trust that

---

6 *myghtyly*: second 'y' al. m.

---

1 S1: What prayer doth ordeynyd to god (S2: gods) will, *and* how þe goodnes of god hath gret lekyng in the deds that he doth be us, as (S2: as if) he wer beholden to us, werkyng althyng ful (S2: most) swetely. 2 *onyth*: C: owneth. *for though the soule be*: C: which is. 3 *in (substannce)*: om. SS. *grace*: add. C: but. *it*: S2: yet. 4 *of* SS: on. 5 *wylle*: S2: wills. *god wyll*: S2: gods wills. 6 *man*: S2: a man.

---

2 *Prayer onyth the soule ... is acordyd with god* (476.17): this corresponds with the short text, 260.37-261.54.

Prayer onyth the soule to god: in the *Scale*, I chapter 8, 'Of the third part of contemplation', Hilton writes: ... þe soule is oned for þe tyme and conformed to þe ymage of þe trinite (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 282; Underhill, 14). Hilton and the *Cloud*-author, in his *Epistle of Prayer*, both cite I Corinthians 6.17 in support of this assertion: But he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit (Hodgson, *Deonise* 56).

3 *restoryd by grace*: not in the short text; cf. 258.10. One suspects the interpolation of a scribe-editor who failed to recognize how consonant with Julian's entire teaching about our substance being in God's substance (e.g. 562.13, 14-15 and notes) and with that of other spiritual writers *evyr lyke to god in kynde* is.

vnlike in condescion: 'condition' here seems to refer specifically to man's changeable nature, as opposed to divine immutability, as where she writes: *Man is channgeabyll in this lyfe* ... (496.16). Cf. MED condicioun 2. (a), 'Mode of being', which quotes *Boethius*: ... condicioun of fortune þat is vncerteyne to al mortal folk (Morris, 19).

4 *Than is prayer a wytnesse*: cf. Romans 8.15-16: You have received the Spirit of adoption of sons, whereby we cry Abba, Father. For the Spirit himself gives testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God.

6 *And thus he techyth vs to pray*: cf. Luke 11.1.

to trust that we shalle haue it: cf. 260.41: *that we schalle hafe that we praye fore*. This important change restores the short text's *he wille þat we be sekere to hafe oure prayere* (260.34) to a context which makes plainer that she is not dealing with the simple prayer of petition-response, but with unitive prayer (475.2) which is also thanksgiving (466.56 e.s) and a foreknowledge of heavenly joy (473.55), the proper object of the contemplative's prayer. The source of this understanding is the teaching in Luke 11.9 e.s.: And I say to you: Ask, and it shall be given to you ... How much more will your Father from heaven give the good Spirit to them that ask him?

we shalle haue it; for he beholdyth vs in loue, and wylle make vs per-
79r teyner of his good wylle and dede. And therfore / he steryth vs to pray
that that lykyth hym to do, for whych prayer and good wylle that we
10 haue of hys gyfte he wylle rewarde vs and geue vs endlesse mede. And
thys was shewyd in this worde: And thou besekyst it.

In this worde god shewyd so grett plesannce and so grett lykyng, as he were much beholdyng to vs for ech good dede that we do; and yet it is he that doth it. And for that we besech hym myghtly to do that thyng
15 that hym lykyth, as yf he seyd: What myght thou plese me more then to besech myghtly, wysely and wylfully to do that thyng that I wyll haue doen? And thus þe soule by prayer is acordyd *with* god.

---

7 *perteyner*: S2: partakers. 8 *good*: S2: goodnes. *wylle and*: om. SS. *dede*: om. S2. *vs*: add. S2: up. 9 *prayer*: S2: prayers. *we*: S1: he wil; and so S2. 12 *as*: S2: as if. 13 *much*: SS: mekyl. *beholdyng*: S2: beholdin (alt. to 'beholden') beholding (canc.). *ech*: SS: every. 14 *that (thyng)*: SS: al. 16 *that (thyng)*: S2: the. *wyql haue doen*: S1: shal do; and so S2. 17 *is acordyd with*: S1: accordyth to; and so S2.

---

7 *for he beholdyth vs in loue*: cf. Mark 10.21: And Jesus looking on him loved him. See 260.43 note.

perteyner of his good wylle and dede: cf. *A Ladder of Four Rungs*: God he is as felawe in half getyng in werkes of god, and doothe with vs as a felawe that wille wynnyng haue ... We 3evyn oure love to the feend and oure worshipe to the worlde and to the flessh, and so oure love ys withdrawe from oure gracious partenere (Hodgson, *Deonise* 104; this is an addition to the Latin; cf. Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*; cf. 462.25 note).

12 *as he were much beholdyng to vs for ech good dede that we do; and yet it is he that doth it*: cf. Matthew 25.21: Well done, good and faithful servant; because you have been faithful over a few things, I shall set you over many. Enter into the joy of your lord; and I Corinthians 3.7-8: Neither the one who plants is anything, nor the one who waters, but God, who gives the increase.

13 *beholdyng*: MED, biholden, v. 5, records this spelling for 'beholden' in Malory (twice).

15 *then to besech myghtly wysely and wylfully / to do that thyng that I wyll haue doen*: a *compar*, with *continuatio* in the first *colon* and *traductio* (*to do ... haue doen*) in the second. The figure is in the short text, 261.51, but it has been subtly reworded to furnish the *colores* which express Julian's deeper insights.

16 *myghtly*: this is substituted for *besily* (261.50), because Julian now sees that all prayer should be to Father, Son and Spirit, since it is through the revelation of the Father in Christ by the power of the Spirit that the gift of prayer is given.

wysely and wylfully to do that thyng that I wyll haue doen: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: And þere fore as þi wille is done and fulfilled in heuene ... so mote hit be done in erþe, þat is in vs erthely men, þat we aftir þe abeltee of ou3re vertu we my3te be conformed to þi wille (H. J. Kane, 182; Kirchberger, 191). In *A Ladder of Four Rungs* we have: The þridde grace is more specialle ... the 3ifte of the holy goste þat steryth men to doo good werkes ... god makyng and 3evyng this grace. This grace is tokenyng of specialle love of god to them that he sendyth hit ... god wolle that we praye for this blissid grace (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 105; cf. Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 110).

17 *þe soule by prayer is acordyd with god*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: ... whanne Ihesu Crist *and* a soule ben ... acoordably oonyd *and* bounden to gidere (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 152r; Jones, 103).

But whan oure curtesse lorde of his speciall grace shewyth hym selfe to oure soule, we haue that we desyer, and then we se nott for the tyme
79v what we shulde more pray, but all oure / entent *with* alle oure myghtys
21 is sett hoole in to the beholdyng of hym. And this is an hygh vnper-ceyvable prayer, as to my syghte; for alle the cause wherfore we pray is to be onyd in to the syght and the beholdyng of him to whom we pray, mervelously enjoyeng *with* reuerent drede, and so grett swettnesse and
25 delyȝte in hym that we can pray ryght nought but as he steryth vs for the tyme.

---

18 With 'And in thee selfe', the eighth extract in W begins. 23 *to be*: add. marg. al. m. 24 *enjoyeng*: first 'en' interl. al. m.

---

18 *speciall*: om. SS. *shewyth hym selfe*: W: And in thee selfe. 19 *soule*: W: soulis. *that*: S2: w*hat*. 20 *entent*: S2: content. *myghtys*: S1: myte; and so S2. 21 *hoole*: S1: holy. *in*: om. SS. *hygh*: add. W: *and*. 22 *pray*: C: prayer. *is to be*: SS: it is. 23 *to be*: om. W. *the (beholdyng)*: om. C, SS. 25 *can pray ryght nought*: W: can not pray no thyng.

---

18 *of his speciall grace*: cf. the quotation above from *A Ladder of Four Rungs*.

19 *we haue that we desyer*: cf. 261.54 note. The whole of this following passage seems to be inspired by the traditional spiritual exegesis of the Canticles, e.g.: I sat down under his shadow whom I desired (2.3); your voice is sweet and your face is comely (2.14); I found him whom my soul loves (3.4); I held him and I will not let him go (ibid.); how beautiful you are, my love (4.1); I to my beloved and my beloved to me (6.2). Julian never, however, feels called upon, as do Rolle (especially in his *Exposicio*) and the *Cloud*-author (cf. *An Epistle of Discretions of Stirrings*, Hodgson, *Deonise* 72) to draw attention to the erotic imagery by citing the words of the text. Her *mervelously enjoyeng* is always associated with *reuerent drede*. Cf. Introduction.

21 *vnperceyvable*: NED's first example is from the *Scale of Perfection*, II 8: Thorugh a pryue vnperceyuable worchyng of the holy ghost. The context of NED's quotation is: ... bot he may noþer see ne fele þe reformyng of his soule, how it is wonderly *and* vnperceyuablely channged fro þe filþe of a fende to þe fairhed of an anngel ... to þe liknes of god þorw a priue vnperceuable wirkyng of þe holy gost ... (MS Harley 6579, f. 69r; Underhill, 250-251). The rare occurrence of the term suggests that Julian may here have in mind the same connotations as Hilton's, which are explicitly sacramental.

23 *to be onyd in to the syght and the beholdyng of him to whom we pray*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: ... þat Crist is in þe soule *and* þe soule is *in* him so fully as if þei boþe weren o spirit ... þanne feeliþ þe soule hiȝe þingis *and* pryue of Crist Ihesu *and* of his fadir *and* of his holi spirit, *and* it tastiþ siche delectaciouns of Cristes charite þat þei may not fulli be con-(f. 152v)seyued *with* þouȝtis of mannys resoun ne declarid forþ wiþ wordis of mannys tunge (MS BN Fonds anglais 41; Jones, 104).

24 *reuerent drede*: in *Eight Chapters* there is: ... for in þat comeþ þe grace of þe holy goost doun in to a soule, *and* þanne it liȝtneþ *and* purgiþ so þe soule þat it is al as iȝe *and* it anoyntiþ þe soule (ibid., f. 147v; Jones, 96).

And welle I wott the more the soule seeth of god, the more she desyeryth hym by grace; but whan we se hym nott so, than fele we nede and cause to praye, for feylyng and for vnablynes of oure selfe to Jhesu.
30 For whan a soule is temptyd, troblyde and le(f)te to her selfe by her vnrest, then is it tyme to praye to make her selfe suppull and buxom to

---

30 *lefte*: ms: leste; cf. 262.61.

---

27 *she*: SS: W: it. 28 *by*: S1: be his; and so S2. 29 *and (for)*: om. SS. *vnablynes*: S1, W: ablyng; and so S2; cf. A (262.60): habelynge. *selfe*: S2: selves. *Jhesu*: W: our lord Jhesu. 30 *a*: SS: the. *temptyd*: SS, W: tempested; cf. A (262.60): tempted; add. S1: and; and so W. *her (selfe by)*: S1: hym; and so S2; W: it. *by her vnrest*: om. W. *her (vnrest)*: om. SS. 31 *it*: om. W. *her selfe (suppull)*: S1, W: hym; and so S2. *buxom*: C: asterisk in text, but no marg. gloss.

---

27 *the more the soule seeth of god, the more she desyeryth hym by grace*: cf. *A Ladder of Four Rungs*: Thus it faryth sumtyme by goddis loveris that from þe tyme that they hadde tastyd of this pyment, that is of the swettnesse of god, such lykyng þei founde theryn that as drunkyn men they did spende that they hadde (Hodgson, *Deonise* 113-114). This is not in Guigo's Latin; the English translator draws out the simile of the drunkard — the more he drinks, the more he wants to drink — making also the point that it is God who provides the drink, just as Julian here writes: *we can pray ryght nought but as he steryth vs for the tyme*.

28 *but whan we se hym nott so ... oon lyke in loue* (479.33): this corresponds with the short text, 261.59-262.63.

29 *for feylyng and for vnablynes of oure selfe*: cf. the *Chastising*: in his absence we bien al cold and drie, swetnesse haue we noon ne sauoure in deuocion, slouȝ we bien to preie or to trauaile, þe wreched saule sodanly is chaunged and made ful heuy and ful of sorwe and care (Bazire and Colledge, 98).

30 *For whan a soule is temptyd troblyde / and lefte to her selfe by her vnrest / then is it tyme to praye / to make her selfe suppull and buxom to god*: a *compar* with *oppositio* (*temptyd troblyde and lefte to her selfe / suppull and buxom to god*). The figure is in the short text; but the *oppositio* requires *suppull*; and *to praye to make* — to ask for the grace to achieve this — is much more likely to be what Julian wrote also in the short text than *to pray and to make*, with its Jansenist flavour.

31 *suppull and buxom to god*: cf. 262.62: *symple and boxsomm to god*, and note. If *symple* be not scribal error, it would seem as if Julian herself emended what she had originally written, when she finally came to understand, in the great parable, why she never saw God *shewyng to vs no more blame then if we were as clene and as holy as angelis* (511.14). This is a deeper penetration into the Johannine teaching (e.g. John 14.20-24) that we are enabled to be obedient because the love which is God abides in us, a love which is always the same, and we always abide in it, unless we positively reject it, whether we see God-love or not.

god. But he by no manner of prayer makyth god suppell to hym; for he is evyr oon lyke in loue. And thus I saw that what tyme we se nede
8or wherfore / we praye, then our lord god folowyth vs, helpyng our
35 desyre. And whan we of his speciall grace pleynly beholde hym, seyeng none other, nedys then we folowe hym, and he drawyth vs to hym by loue. For I saw and felt that his mervelous and his fulsom goodnesse fulfyllyth all oure myghtys; and ther *with* I saw that hys contynuall

---

32 *he (by)*: ms: she; cf. 262.62. 33 *oon lyke*: ms: oon-lyke. 37 *felt*: ms: felft.

---

32 *he (by)*: so SS, W. 33 *oon lyke*: C: one lyke; S1, W: alyke; and so S2. *se nede*: W: sedis. *nede*: S1: nedys; and so S2. 34 *lord god*: S1: good lord; and so S2. 36 *none*: add. C: of. *to*: SS, W; into. 37 *his (fulsom)*: C, marg.: plentiful. 38 *oure*: W: other. *ther*: S2: þen. *with*: om. SS. *contynuall*: SS: continuate; W: contynuynge.

---

32 *for he is evyr oon lyke in loue*: cf. Psalm 101.28: Thou art always the self-same; and Hebrews 13.8: Jesus Christ, yesterday and today and the same for ever.

33 *And thus I sawe ... helpyng our desyre*: cf. the Roman collect for the Ember Saturday in Lent: Actiones nostras, quaesumus Domine, aspirando praeveni et adjuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra oratio et operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te coepta finiatur (Bruylants 2 no. 18), and the *Cloud*, quoting Gregory and Augustine: For not what þou arte ne what þou hast ben beholdeþ god wiþ his mercyful iȝe, bot þat þou woldest be ... alle holy desires growen bi delaies ... al þe liif of a good cristen man is not elles bot holy desire (Hodgson, 132-133).

34 *helpyng our desyre*: cf. Luke 24.32: Was not our heart burning within us whilst he spoke on the way?

35 *whan we ... pleynly beholde hym*: Luke 24.31: Their eyes were opened, and they knew him.

seyeng none other: cf. Matthew 17.8: And they lifting up their eyes saw no one but only Jesus.

36 *nedys then we folowe hym*: cf. John 14.6: No man comes to the Father but by me.

and he drawyth vs to hym by loue: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note) quotes Osee 11.4: I will draw them with the cords of Adam, with the bands of love, and writes: Itaque patet quod nisi per vincula caritatis trahi cupimus, proculdubio ad Christum non veniemus (Murray, 59).

38 *fulfyllyth all oure myghtys*: cf. the *Cloud*: And he by him self ... is sufficient at þe fulle ... to fulfille þe wille and þe desire of oure soule. And oure soule ... is mad sufficient at þe fulle to comprehende al him by loue (Hodgson, 18).

I saw ... mene of thynke: cf. John 5.17-20: My Father works until now, and I work ... whatever things (the Father) does, the Son also does ... The Father ... shows him all things which he himself does, and greater works than these will he show him. Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* makes Christ say: My fader into his tyme worschith ande I worch ... Ande I wyrke in the swylke worke þorowe myne devyne wysdome, whiche werke passene þy wittes. The holy goste also werkes in the a werke þorowe his grete pytee of þe, whiche werke þowe maye noght ȝitte haffe þe taaste (Halligan, 399).

werkyng in alle maner thynges is done so godly, so wysely and so
40 myghtely that it ovyrpassyth alle oure ymagynyng and alle that we can mene or thynke. And than we can do no more but beholde hym, and enjoye *with* an hygh myghty desyer to be alle onyd in to hym, and entende to his motion and enjoy in his louyng and delyȝte in his goodnesse.
45 And thus shalle we *with* his swete grace in our owne meke continuall prayer come in to hym now in this lyfe by many prevy touchynges of swete gostly syghtes and felynges, mesuryd to vs as oure sympylhed may

---

39 *thynges*: SS: thing; and so W. *godly*: S2: goodly. 40 *ovyrpassyth*: W: plesith. 41 *mene*: S1: wenyn; and so S2. *or*: S1, W: *and*. *and (enjoye)*: om. SS. 42 *enjoye*: SS, W: enjoying. *hygh*: om. W. *entende*: C, marg.: attend; SS: entred. 43 *motion*: S1, W: wowyng; and so S2; in W, second 'w' underl., 'n' interl. al. m. *enjoy*: W: enioyeng. *louyng*: W: loue. 45 *thus*: SS: then. *with*: W: by. *meke*: om. S2. *continuall*: S1: continuat; S2: continuant; W: contynuyng. 46 *prayer*: SS: prayers. *come in to*: W: commyng (underl, interl. al. m.: come) vnto. *prevy*: S2: secret. 47 *felynges*: S1, W: felyng; and so S2. *sympylhed*: C, marg.: simplicity; S1: simplenes; and so S2. *may*: S2: can.

---

39 *godly*: in this markedly Johannine and Trinitarian passage, this can only mean 'divinely'; and S2's 'goodly' is erroneous.

40 *it ovyrpassyth alle oure ymagynyng*: cf. Ephesians 3.20: ... to him who is able to do all things more abundantly than we desire or understand ...

42 *to be alle onyd in to hym*: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (see 263.1 note) writes: ... in divino amore nitebatur currere ... iam amore languens pro vera securitate eterni amoris dissolvi cupiens ... (Murray, 66).

and entende to his motion / and enjoy in his louyng / and delyȝte in his goodnesse: a *compar* with *distributio*, a good example of Julian's use of this figure for the purposes of 'appropriation'.

entende to his motion: 'be attentive to his prompting'. See MED entenden v. 3 (a): *Higd. (2)*: When that kynge intendede (Trev.: took hede to) oon of theyme, an other did slee the kynge, and NED Motion *sb.* † 7: *Higden*: Heraclius themperour ... errede from the feithe thro the mocioun or Cirus and of Sergius (*suadentibus ad hoc Syro ... et Sergio*). Some commentators have accepted the SS, W variant for *motion*, 'wowyng' (whych another hand in W has altered), and the SS 'entred' for *entende*, and have seen here a reference to Julian's teaching on 'our dwelling in God' (see Molinari, 109, 166 and notes). But this would be tautological after *alle onyd in to hym*. What she goes on to write about *prevy touchynges* makes it clear that she is referring to the promptings of the Holy Spirit.

47 *as oure sympylhed may bere it*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 32: he opneþ þe innere iȝe of þe soule when he liȝtneþ þe resonn þurgh touchyng *and* schynynge of his blissed liȝt ... not alle fully at ones, bot litel *and* litel bi diuers tymes as þe soule may suffren him (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 107r, Underhill, 370).

80v / bere it. And this is wrought and shall be by the grace of the holy gost, so long tyll we shall dye in longyng for loue. And than shall we alle
50 come in to oure lorde, oure selfe clerely knowyng and god fulsomly hauyng, and we endlesly be alle hyd in god, verely seyeng and fulsomly felyng, and hym gostely heryng, and hym delectably smellyng, and hym swetly swelwyng. And ther shall we se god face to face, homely and fulsomly. The creature that is made shall see and endlesly beholde god

---

48 *is*: om. SS. 50 *lorde*: add. W: god. *fulsomly*: C, marg.: plentifully. 51 *hyd*: W: had. *god*: add. S1, W: hym; and so S2. 52 *and (hym gostely)*: om. C, SS. *hym (delectably)*: om. W. *hym (swetly)*: om. W. 53 *swelwyng*: C: smelling; S1: swelowyng; S2: swallowing; and so W. *ther*: S1: than; and so S2; W: thus. 54 *that*: C: which. *beholde*: S2: beholding.

---

48 *And this is wrought and shall be by the grace of the holy gost, so long tyll we shall dye in longyng for loue*: cf. II Corinthians 3.17-18: Now the Lord is a Spirit ... but we all, beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord; and Philippians 1.23: ... having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.

50 *oure selfe clerely knowyng and god fulsomly hauyng*: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: ... and in oure soule we shul han felynge of god, most parfite and fillynge of ioyȝe more þan inouȝe (H. J. Kane, 109; Kirchberger, 212).

52 *and hym gostely heryng / and hym delectably smellyng / and hym swetly swelwyng*: a *membrum* with *repetitio* (*and hym* ...) and *similiter desinens* (her*yng* ... smell*yng* ... swelw*yng*).

hym gostely heryng: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 46: Alle þese lufly daliau*n*ces of priuey speche atwix Jhesu *and* a soule (f. 140r) may be called an hid worde, of þe whilke holy writt seiþ þus: Porro ad me d*i*ctum est v*er*bum absconditu*m*, *et* venas susurrij eius p*er*cepit auris mea (Job 4.12): Soþly to me is seide an hid wurde, *and* þe veynes of his rowny*n*ges myn ere haþ p*er*ceifed (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 463).

and hym delectably smellyng: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 226.1 note) has: Illum sequamur odorem (cf. Canticles 1.3) et illuc studeamus pertingere, ubi odorem iugiter sencientes possumus pervenire (Murray, 76).

and hym swetly swelwyng: in the *Treatise of Perfection* we read: And that is oure most hye felynge, the whiche we may nouȝt hafe save onely in the swalowynge of loue ... a glad abydynge desyre frome god, welle smellynge, depe and wyde (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 249-250).

53 *And ther shall we se god face to face*: cf. I Corinthians 13.12: We see now through a glass in a dark manner, but then face to face.

homely and fulsomly: cf. I John 3.2: We know that when he will appear we shall be like to him, because we shall see him as he is.

54 *The creature that is made / shall see and endlesly beholde / god whych is the maker*: a *compar* with *oppositio* (*is made / the maker*).

shall see and endlesly beholde: this is not *tautologia*; the soul will contemplate what it sees. Cf. 491.16, *beholdinges*, and note.

55 whych is the maker; for thus may no man se god and leue aftyr, that is to sey in this dedely lyffe. But whan he of his speciall grace wyll shewe hym here, he strengthyth the creature a bouyn the selfe, and he mesuryth þe shewyng aftyr his awne wylle, and it is profytable for þe tym.

---

55 *whych*: S2: who; W: þat. 57 *strengthyth*: C: strengtheneth; and so SS. *the selfe*: C: himself. 58 *and*: SS, W: as. *is*: add. W: moste.

---

55 *for thus may no man se god and leue aftyr*: *Qui habitat* has: For I schal þenne schewen to him fulliche myn hele, þat is Jesu; þen schal I schewen him openliche þat I am Jesu. As longe as he lyueþ in þis bodi of synne, he mai not seo me as I am ... And for as muchel as (he) desyreþ me so muchel for to sen me as I am ... þerfore I schal fulfillen his desire and schewen me fulli to him in my ful blisse (Wallner, 49-50).

The xliiij Chapter

God shewed in all the reuelations ofte tymes that man werkyth evyr
81r more his wylle and his wurschyppe / duryngly *with*out styntyng. And what thys werkyng is was shewed in the furst, and that in a meruelous
5 grounde; for it was shewed in the werkyng of the blessydfull soule of our lady sent Mary by truth and wysedom; and how I hope by the grace of the holy gost I shall sey as I saw.

Truth seeth god, and wisdom beholdyth god, and of theyse two comyth the thurde, and that is a meruelous delyght in god, whych is
10 loue. Where truth and wysedom is, verely there is loue, verely comyng

---

10 *wysedom*: 'e' interl. al. m.

---

1 S1: Of the properties of the trinite *and* how mannys soule, a creature, hath the same properties, doyng that þat it was made for, seyng, beholdyng *and* mervelyng his god, so by that it semyth as nowte to the (S2: it) selfe. 2 *God shewed ... I shall sey as I saw*: om. W. *that*: add. C: (a holy). 3 *duryngly*: S1: lestyngly: and so S2. *without*: add. S1: ony; and so S2. 4 *werkyng*: S1: worke; and so S2. 5 *blessydfull soule of our*: S1: soule of our blisful; and so S2. 8 *seeth*: S1: seith; S2: saith. 9 *and*: om. S1. *and that is*: S2: i.e. *a*: SS: an holy. *meruelous*: add. W: hole. *whych*: S2: who. 10 *loue (Where)*: add. W: *and*.

---

2 *man*: that is, the whole man whom she has seen in the parable of the lord and the servant. Cf. 522.103: *For in the syghte of god alle man is oone man, and oone man is alle man*. The crucified, glorified Christ is this man, the new Adam. The prototype of the man, under Christ, is Mary, in whom true and continual prayer is achieved.

3 *duryngly*: NED's, MED's first example is 1413, *Pilgr. Sowle*, and the paucity of their entries shows the word's rarity. Cf. S1's *lastyngly*.

And what thys werkyng is ... and how: cf. 297.31. Originally she understood only in part this working in truth and wisdom. Later (310.4-5 e.s.) she saw more fully what it was. Now, after she has been given understanding of the parable, she sees that this is through the operation in man's soul of the Trinity.

4 *in the furst*: sc. 'revelation'. Cf. 213.24-214.39; 297.29-298.40; 310.2-311.11.

8 *Truth seeth god*: cf. John 14.6: I am the way, the truth and the life; and I John 5.6: It is the Spirit which testifies that Christ is the truth.

and wisdom beholdyth god: cf. Proverbs 8.22-30: The Lord possessed me (wisdom) in the beginning of his ways. I was set up from eternity ... I was with him forming all things.

10 *Where truth and wysedom is, verely there is loue*: cf. the English *Mirror of St. Edmund*: ... eueri mon may sen in him self: ... at his furste begynnyng he hedde in him self pouwer, aftur pouwer cunnynge, and aftur he bigon to louen þat cunnynge ... he may wel leeuen þat hit is so in god ... þat in god is miht, and of þat comeþ his connynge and wisdam, and of hem boþe comeþ loue (Horstmann 1, 259).

of them both, and alle of goddes makyng. For god is endlesse souereyne truth, endelesse souereyne wysdom, endelesse souereyne loue vnmade; and a mans soule is a creature in god whych hath the same propertes made. And evyr more it doyth that it was made for; it seeth god and it beholdyth god and it louyth god. Wherfore god enjoyeth in the creature and the creature in god, endelesly mervelyng, in / whych mervelyng he seeth his god, hys lorde, hys maker, so hye, so grett and so good in regarde of hym that is made that vnnethys the creature semyth ought to the selfe. But the bryghtnes and clernesse of truth and

11 *god*: SS: he. 13 *a (mans)*: om. SS, W. *god*: add. W: the. 14 *it (doyth)*: om. S2. *it (seeth)*: C: that. *and (it beholdyth)*: om. C, SS. 15 *Wherfore*: S2: whereof; W: where. 16 *creature (in)*: add. W: enioyeth. *in (whych)*: add. W: the. 18 *regarde*: S1: reward; and so W. *vnnethys*: S2: scarsely. 19 *ought*: W: nought. *the (selfe)*: S2, W: it. *bryghtnes*: S1: clertye; and so S2; W: clerenes. *and (clernesse)*: add. S1: the. *clernesse*: W: clennes.

11 *For god is endlesse souereyne truth / endelesse souereyne wysdom / endelesse souereyne loue vnmade*: the three subjects of the previous sentence but one, there treated as faculties of the soul, now become divine attributes, and so are formed into a *membrum* of three *cola* with *repetitio* and *distributio* (cf. 480.42 note).

12 *endelesse souereyne loue vnmade*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 34 (599.48-49 note).

13 *the same propertes*: the *Mirror of St. Edmund* continues: þerfore is pouwer apropred to god þe fader, wisdam to god þe sone, and for þe nome of þe þridde souneþ gastli, þerfore is apropred to him loue and swetnesse (Horstmann, 1 259).

14 *and evyr more ... it louyth god*: cf. the *Cloud*: For þis is þe werk ... in þe whiche man schuld haue contynowed 3if he neuer had synned, and to þe whiche worching man was maad, and alle þing for man, to help him and forþer him þerto (Hodgson, 19).

it seeth god / and it beholdyth god / and it louyth god: the previous figure repeated, with the triad of nouns there suggesting here the appropriate verbs (*truth — seeth; wysdom — beholdyth; loue — louyth*).

17 *his god / hys lorde / hys maker / so hye / so grett / and so good*: a *compar* of six *cola*, two triads with *repetitio* (*his ...; so ...*), used for *interpretatio*.

18 *that vnnethys the creature semyth ought to the selfe*: cf. 310.3-311.10, and I Corinthians 1.28-31; God has chosen ... things that are not, that he might bring to nothing things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight. But of him are you in Christ Jesus, who of God is made to us wisdom and justice and satisfaction and redemption; that, as it is written: He that glories may glory in the Lord.

19 *But the bryghtnes and clernesse of truth and wysedome ...*: Rolle in the *Incendium amoris* writes: Quo quidem amantis amor est purior, eo illi deus est presencior et proprior, ac per hoc ille in deo purius gaudet et de dei bonitate et suauitate benigna uberius sentit (Deanesley, 254). One English version has: Þe clerar certan lufe of a lufar is, þe nerre to hym and more present god is, and þerby clerelyar in god he ioys and of þe sweit gudenes þe more he felys (Harvey, 85).

20 wysedome makyth hym to see and to know that he is made for loue, in whych loue god endlesly kepyth hym.

---

21 Here the eighth extract in W ends.

---

20 *know*: S1: beknowen; and so S2, W. 21 *loue (god)*: om. SS.

---

20 *makyth hym to see and to know*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 43: þis opnynge *and* þis clernes of wit is made bi þe gostly presence of Jhesu ... þe gostly presence of Jhesu opneþ þe wit of his lufer þat brenniþ in desire to him (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 133v; Underhill, 444-445).

The xlv Chapter

God demyth vs vpon oure kyndely substance, whych is evyr kepte one in hym, hole and safe, *with*out ende; and this dome is of his ryghtfulhede. And man demyth vppon oure channgeable sensualyte, whych semyth now oone and now a nother, after that it takyth of the partyes and shew(yth) outward. And this dome is medelyd; for som tyme it is good and esy, and somtyme it is hard and grevous. And in as moch as it
82r is good and esy, it longyth to the ryghtfulnes, and in as / moch as it is hard and grevous, oure good lorde Jhesu reformyth it by mercy and

---

6 shewyth: ms: shewed.

---

1 S1: Off the forme (S2: firme) *and* deepe jugement of god *and* the variant (S2: variable) jugement of man. 2 *kyndely*: S1: kynde; and so S2. 3 *ryghtfulhede*: S2: rythfulnes. 4 *demyth*: S1: jugith; and so S2. 5 *and (now)*: om. C, SS. *a nother*: SS: other. *after that*: C, marg.: according as. 6 *shewyth*: S1: shewyth; and so S2. *dome*: S1: wisdam; and so S2. *medelyd*: C, marg.: mingled or twofold. 7 *it (is hard)*: om. S2. *is (hard)*: om. S1. *moch*: SS: mekil. 8 *ryghtfulnes*: S1: rythfulhede. *moch*: S1: mekil.

---

2 *God demyth ...*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: But ȝit be war þat þou deeme not a man fully what he is aftir þi sigt, but al comeþ as a þing vncerteyn *in* þe priuyte of goddis doom (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 146r; Jones, 93). Of the many Scriptural passages which Julian may here have in mind, the following may be cited: I John 3.19-20: In this we know that we are of the truth and in his sight shall persuade our hearts; for if our heart reprehend us, God is greater than our heart and knows all things; and I Corinthians 2.11-16: ... the things that are of God no man knows, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of this world but the Spirit who is of God, that we may know the things that are given us from God. But the sensual man perceives not these things ... but the spiritual man judges all things ... For who has known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.

3, 8 *this dome is of his ryghtfulhede ... it longyth to the ryghtfulnes*: cf. NED Righteoushead, -ness, Rightfulness ('Rightfulhead' is not recorded; cf. Glossary); it quotes *Handlyng Synne*: Yn þe touþer werlde ... Þere ys but ryȝtfulnes of dome. It is noteworthy that all NED's other early examples have Scriptural and theological connotations. MED has five instances of 'Rightfulhead', the first c. 1375, *Penitential Psalms*.

5 *after that it takyth of the partyes and shewyth outward*: 'as it derives from parts' (i.e. not from the whole of man's substance) 'and presents an external appearance'. Cf. NED Take *v.* V 31: *Cursor Mundi* 36: Ilk a frouit ... takes fra þe rote his kinde.

6 *medelyd*: cf. 548.21-23.

9 *oure good lorde Jhesu reformyth it by mercy*: Julian's version of Hilton's doctrine of 'reformation in feeling'.

grace thorow vertu of his blessyd passion, and so bringyth in to þe ryghtfulnesse. And though thyse two be thus acordyd and oonyd, ȝytt it shall be knowen both in hevyn w*ith*out ende.

The furst dome, whych is of goddes ryghtfulnes, and that is of his owne hygh endlesse loue, and that is that feyer swete dome that was shewed in alle the feyer revelation in whych I saw hym assign(e) to vs no maner of blame. And though theyse were swete and delectable, ȝytt only in the beholdyng of this I culde nott be fulle esyd, and that was for the dome of holy chyrch, whych I had before vnderstondyn and was contynually in my syght. And therfore by this dome me thought that me behovyth nedys to know my selfe a synner. And by the same dome I vn-
82v derstode / that synners be sometyme wurthy blame and wrath, and theyse two culde I nott see in god. And therfore my desyer was more

---

15 *assigne*: ms: assigns. 18 *vnderstondyn*: ms: vnderstondyng.

---

10 *thorow*: add. SS: þe. *in*: S2: it. 11 *ryghtfulnesse*: S1: rythfulhede. *it*: S2: they. 12 *both*: om. S2. 13 *whych*: om. S2. *ryghtfulnes*: S1: rythfulhede. 14 *owne*: om. SS. *loue*: SS: life. *that (is)*: S1: this; and so S2. 15 *revelation*:. S2: revelations. 16 *theyse were*: SS: this was. 18 *vnderstondyn*: S1: vnderstond; S2: understood. 19 *that*: om. SS. 20 *behovyth*: S1: behovyd; and so S2. *my selfe*: SS: me. 22 *therfore*: SS: there. *my desyer*: so SS; P: my advyce and desyer; and so C.

---

11 *it ... both*: cf. NED Both A *adj.* † 9, 'Used as a singular'. It calls the usage 'obsolete, rare', and its first example is 1721. But MED's bothe 2b, 'Either (of two)', is well attested, the first example being a 1400, *Cursor Mundi*.

13 *The furst dome ...*: what follows is manifestly corrupt, and this seems to have been caused by dittography. Tentatively it is suggested that the text might be emended to: The furst dome, whych is of goddes ryghtfulnes, that is that feyer swete dome that is of his owne hygh endlesse loue, was shewed in alle the feyer revelation in whych I saw hym assigne to vs no maner of blame. And though this was swete and delectable, ȝytt only in the beholdyng of this I culde nott be fulle esyd, and that was ...

15 *in alle the feyer revelation*: cf. 511.13 and its context.

... no maner of blame. And though theyse were swete and delectable ...: cf. Psalm 108.21: But thou, o Lord, do with me for thy name's sake, because thy mercy is sweet.

22 *theyse two culde I nott see in god*: Julian has in mind the many places in the Old and New Testaments which speak of God's anger: the 'woes' in chapter 23 of Matthew which echo Isaias, Jeremias and Ezechiel, the description of the Great Judgment and the other parables in chapter 25 of Matthew; the message to the Seven Churches in chapters 2 and 3 of the Apocalypse. Most of the spiritual writing with which she is so familiar, the works of Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author, are much preoccupied with sin and damnation; but Julian saw nothing of this.

my advyce and desyer (ms): the SS reading, which has been adopted, suggests that P and

than I can or may telle, for the hygher dome god shewed hym selfe in the same tyme, and therfore (m)e behovyd nedys to take it. And the lower dome was lernyd me before tyme in holy chyrche, and therfore I myght nott by no weye leue the lower dome.

Then was this my desyer, that I myght se in god in what manner that the dome of holy chyrch here in erth is tru in his syght, and howe it longyth to me verely to know it, where by they myght both be savyd, so as it ware wurschypfulle to god and ryght wey to me. And to alle this I nee had no nother answere but a mervelous example of a lorde and of a seruannt, as I shall sey after, and that full mystely shewed. And ȝytt I
83r stode in desyer and wylle in to my / lyvys ende that I myght by grace know theyse ij domys as it longyth to me. For alle hevynly thynges and alle erthely thynges that long to hevyn be comprehendyd in theyse ij domys. And the more knowyng and vnderstondyng by the gracious

---

24 *me*: ms: we.

---

23 *shewed*: C: sheweth. 24 *me*: so C, SS 25 *lernyd*: S1: lern; S2: taught. *before tyme*: S1: aforn. *tyme*: om. S2. 26 *nott by*: SS: in. 27 *that (the)*: S2: what. 28 *in erth*: S1: techyth; and so S2. 29 *verely*: SS: sothly. 31 *nee*: om. SS. *a (mervelous) ... a (lorde)*: om. S2. 32 *sey*: S2: declare. *mystely*: S2: mightily. 33 *stode*: S1: stond; and so S2. *lyvys*: om. SS. 34 *domys*: S2: demys. *thynges (and)*: om. SS. 35 *alle (erthely)*: om. S2. *long*: S1: belongyn; and so S2. 36 *knowyng and*: om. SS.

C derive from another marginal correction or gloss which a hesitant scribe has incorporated in the text. Cf. 464.42, 43 and note. MED avis n. 3 (a), 'Act of thinking, reflection, meditation', has as its first example c. 1390 Chaucer, *The Tale of Melibee*: Dame Prudence ... delibered and took avys in hirself.

23 *the hygher dome ... the lower dome*: cf. 414.6: ... *drawyn and connceylyd and lernyd inwardly by the holy gost, and outward by holy chyrch in the same grace*. No more than 'outward' and 'inward' are 'higher' and 'lower' to be equiparated with modern usages implying 'superior' and 'inferior'.

24 *And the lower dome*: cf. 321.7-322.9; 323.21-28; 424.37-425.46; 427.3-429.27; 431.12-20.

29 *savyd*: 'reconciled'. NED records the meaning under † Salve *v.*[2], but its earliest example is 1571.

30 *I nee had no nother answere*: 'I had no other answer'. Julian knew no more than Chaucer or any other contemporary of the later rule that two negatives negate one another, though her usage distressed the SS scribes (S2 being a notable purist).

31 *nee*: this may be the 'not' adverb or the more emphatic 'nay' adverb.

32 *as I shall sey after*: cf. 513 e.s.

And ȝytt I stode ... longyth to me: cf. 429.24-27.

ledyng of the holy gost that we haue of these ij domes, the more we shalle see and know oure felynges. And evyr the more that we see them, the more kyndly by grace we shall long to be fulfyllyd of endlesse joy and blysse, for we be made ther to. And oure kyndely substannce is now blessydfulle in god, and hath bene sythen it was made, and shalle be *with*oute ende.

---

37 *domes*: om. S2. 38 *felynges*: S1: faylyngs; and so S2; add. C: (and workings of grace). *that we ... the more*: om. S2. 41 *blessydfulle*: C: blessedfully; S1: blisful. *bene*: add. S2: ever. 42 *be*: om. S2.

---

38 *felynges / faylyngs*: SS seem, exceptionally, to have erred. P's reading is preferable, as is shown by C's addition. This is probably Julian's link-word with the next chapter, where she will show that it is because of our feeling of woe and pain (491.10-12) that we lack the self-knowledge whereby we might truly and clearly know God (491.13-15). The two judgments which must be reconciled are related to the two opposing sensations described in chapter 15: *This felyng was so glad and so goostely* (354.5) and: *Ther was no comfort ne none ese to my felyng ...* (354.10).

And evyr the more ...: cf. Psalm 15.7 e.s.: I will bless thee, Lord, who has given me understanding ... Thou hast made known to me the ways of life, thou shalt fill me with joy with thy countenance; at thy right hand are delights even to the end.

41 *and hath bene sythen it was made, and shalle be withoute ende*: cf. Ephesians 1.3-4: Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world.

The xlvi Chapter

But oure passyng lyvyng þat we haue here in oure sensualyte knowyth nott what oure selfe is but in our feyth. And whan we know and see
83v verely and clerely what / oure selfe is, than shalle we verely and clerly
5 see and know oure lorde god in fulhed of joye. And therfore it behouyth nedys to be that the nerer we be oure blysse, the more we shall long, and that both by kynde and by grace. We may haue knowyng of oure selfe in this lyfe by contynuant helpe and vertu of oure hygh kynd, in which knowyng we may encrese and wax by for-

---

9 *which*: ms: wich, w. 'hi' interl.

---

1 S1: We cannot knowen our self in this life but be feith *and* grace, but we must know our self synners; and how god is never wreth, being most nere the soule, it kepyng; and so S2. 2 *passyng*: S2: transitory. *lyvyng*: S1: lif; and so S2. 3 *but in our feyth ... oure selfe is*: om. SS. 5 *fulhed*: S2: fulnes. 8 *contynuant*: C: continual. 9 *forthering*: S1: for-thing; S2: feething; marg., al. m.: forthing.

---

1 *wreth* (S1): cf. 493.35: *wroth* (P): S2: wroth. NED, Wroth, *a.*, calls 'wreth' 'Scottish, 16th century'. But cf. NED, Wrath, *sb.*, which describes 'the two ME types *wreþþe* and *wraþþe*'. One must allow for the possibility of confusion, in any century, between noun and adjective.

2 *oure passyng lyvyng þat we haue here in oure sensualyte*: with what follows, cf. the *Riwle*: ... þe heuye flesch þat draweþ hire (sc. the soul) dounward, ac þorw þe heuischupe of hire hit schal worþe ful liht, lihtore þen þe wynt is *and* brihtore þen þe sone (Vernon MS, f. 378b; Day, 62).

knowyth nott what oure selfe is but in our feyth: cf. Galatians 2.20: And that I live now in the flesh, I live in the faith of the Son of God.

6 *the nerer we be oure blysse*: 'oure blysse' is dative; the syntax is of the fourteenth century. But it is clear from her continuation, *But we may nevyr fulle know oure selfe in to the last poynt* ..., that Julian is associating this drawing close to our joy with the moment of death. She has already recounted her surprise that what she was convinced was her fast-approaching end should have been accompanied by the clarity and the joy of her visions, especially since she knew that they were being given to her for the benefit of her fellow-Christians.

7 *and that both by kynde and by grace*: this parallel between the Christian's human growth and growth in contemplative prayer to the fulness of vision is one of Julian's cherished insights. Cf. Introduction, p. 123-124.

9 *in which knowyng we may encrese and wax by forthering and spedyng of mercy and grace*: cf. Ephesians 3.17-19 (see 470.29 note). The *Scale*, II chapter 31, reads: An oþer knowynge (sc. of God) is principally feled in vndirstandynge, whan it is conforted *and* illumined bi þe holy gost (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 107r; Underhill, 369).

forthering: 'assisting'. From the thirteenth century onwards, 'forth-' forms replacing 'firth-' forms are common. S2's *feething* is nonsense; but for *forthing* (S1, S2 marg.), cf. MED forthien < OE (ge)forþian, 2. (a), 'To aid or assist'.

theryng and spedyng of mercy and grace. But we may nevyr fulle know oure selfe in to the last poynt, in which poynte thys passyng life and alle manner of woo and payne shalle haue ane ende. And therfore it longyth properly to vs both by kynde and by grace to long and desyer *with* alle oure myghtes to know oure selfe, in whych full knowyng we shall verely and clerely know oure god in fulhede of endlesse joy. And
84r 3ytt in alle this tyme fro the begynnyng / to the ende I had ij manner of

---

12 *ane.*: 'e' alt. or canc.

---

10 *fulle*: C, S1: full; S2: fully. 11 *selfe*: S2: selues. *alle*: om. SS. 14 *know*: S1: knowand. *selfe*: S2: selues. *in whych full ... oure god*: om. SS. 15 *fulhede*: S2: fulnes. 16 *the (ende)*: S2: that.

---

11 *alle manner of woo and payne shalle haue ane ende*: cf. Apocalypse 21.4: And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes ... there shall be no mourning nor crying nor sorrow any more, for the former things have passed away.

13 *to long and desyer with alle oure myghtes* ...: Julian does not find it necessary to observe here that this is man, the created trinity, exercising all his given powers in union with the uncreated Trinity.

16 *ij manner of beholdinges*: 'two kinds of contemplation'. Mary Baldwin ('Some Difficult Words in *Ancrene Riwle*') considers how 'to behold' is used in that text. The key passage is in the *Wisse:* Þus lo þe articles þet beoð as þah me seide þe liðes of ure bileaue onont godes monhead hwa se inwardliche bihalt ham, fehteð toȝein þe feond þe fondeð us wið þeose deadliche sunnen (Tolkien, 135). She rightly points out that an earlier example of 'behold inwardly' (ibid. 49) comes in a recapitulation of advice on custody of the senses, and there simply means 'turn your attention inward (from distractions of sight, sound, etc.)', but that, p. 135, the author is summing up his teaching on resistance to temptation, and proposing to his anchoresses episodes from the earthly life of Christ as matter for meditation, so that here *se inwardliche bihalt* means 'who considers intently' or 'who meditates devoutly'. She goes on to observe how naturally this meaning of the verb would come to those trained in 'the method of imaginative reconstruction of the Gospel narrative as an aid to meditation ... found in Anselm and ... even more vivdly illustrated in chapters 29-30 of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum* — which came to be included in (pseudo-Anselm) as Meditation XV. The author of the *Riwle* knew Anselm's *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* ... also Aelred's rule for recluses'. That Julian too had early training in this method emerges clearly from the *Revelations*. Chaucer is especially fond of the *conduplicatio* 'see and behold', which sometimes may be tautology, but in one example from *Boethius* very clearly is not: we enhaunse us into the heighte of thilke soverein intelligence; for ther schal resoun wel seen that that it ne mai nat byholden in itself (Morris, 170).

beholdinges. That one was endlesse conntyn(ua)nt loue *with* suernesse of kepyng and blysful saluacion, for of this was all the shewyng. That othyr was the comyn techyng of holy chyrch, of whych I was befor enformyd and groundyd and wylfully hauyng in vse and in vnderstondyng. And the beholdyng of thys cam nott from me, for by the shewyng I was nott steryd nor led ther fro in no manner poynt; but I had ther in techyng to loue it and lyke it, wher by I myght *with* the helpe of oure lorde and his grace encrese and ryse to more hevynly knowyng and hyer lovyng.

And thus in alle this beholdyng me thought it behovyd nedys to se and to know that we be synners and do many evylles that we ouȝte to leue, and leue many good dedys vndone that we ouȝte to do, wherfore

---

17 *conntynuant*: ms: conntynannt.

---

17 *beholdinges*: S1: beholdyng; and so S2. *That*: C: the. *suernesse*: SS: sekirnes. 18 *That*: S2: the. 19 *of (whych)*: SS: in. 20 *in (vnderstondyng)*: om. C, SS. 23 *with*: S1: be; and so S2. 24 *oure*: S2: þe. 27 *evylles*: S1: evill; and so S2. *ouȝte ... ouȝte*: S2: intend ... intend.

---

18 *blysful saluacion*: Julian has a much wider and more ecclesial understanding of salvation than most spiritual writers of her time. Rolle and the *Cloud*-author, especially, in their defence of the *ex professo* contemplative life make a cliché of the distinction between salvation and perfection. Thus in *Privy Counselling* we read: I make a difference bitwix hem þat ben clepid to saluacion and hem þat ben clepid to perfeccion (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 161).

for of this was all the shewyng: the theme of all the revelations is the immensity of God's love, which is declared variously in creation and in man's life and soul, all the works which belong to man's *blysful saluacion*, but especially the works of Jesus crucified and glorified. Hence Julian can use *shewyng* in the singular, just as, later, she will write of *the pryvytes of the reuelacyon* (519.72), to refer indiscriminately to all sixteen or to a single one.

27 *and do many evylles that we ouȝte to leue, and leue many good dedys vndone that we ouȝte to do*: though the Roman Confiteor — quia peccavi nimis, cogitatione, verbo et opere — makes no specific mention of sins of omission, there were many local and monastic variants which did. Cf. Archdale King: *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies* 91-92, 194.

28 *wherfore we deserve payne, blame and wrath*: cf. the *Riwle*: Seint Anselme seiþ þeose dredful wordes: Hinc erunt accusancia peccata, illinc terrens iusticia, supra natus iudex, subtra patens horridum chaos inferni, intus vrens consciencia, foris ardens mundus. Peccator sic deprehensus, in quam partem se premet? O þe on half o domes day schullen vr swarte sunnen strongliche biclepen us of vre soule morþere, on þe oþer half stont rihtwysnesse þat no reuþe nis wiþ, dredful *and* grisful and fereful to biholden (MS Vernon, f. 386b; Day, 137). For Anselm's Latin in its context, see *S. Anselmi opera omnia*, 'Meditatio ad concitandum timorem' (Schmitt 3 78-79).

84v we deserve payne, blame and / wrath. And nott *with* stondyng alle this I
30 saw verely that oure lorde was nevyr wroth nor nevyr shall. For he is god, he is good, he is truth, he is loue, he is pees; and hys myght, hys wysdom, hys charyte and his vnyte sufferyth hym nott to be wroth. For I saw truly that it is agaynst the propyrte of hys myght to be wroth, and agaynst þe properte of hys wysdom, and agaynst the *pro*pyrte of hys
35 goodnes. God is that goodnesse that may nott be wroth, for god is nott but goodnes. Oure soule is onyd to hym, vnchanngeable goodnesse. And betwen god and oure soule is neyther wrath nor forgevenesse in hys syght. For oure soule is so fulsomly onyd to god of hys owne goodnesse that betwene god and oure soule may be ryght nought.

---

29 *blame*: om. SS. 30 *verely*: SS: sothfastly. 31 *he is (good), he is (truth), he is (loue)*: om. SS. *good*: S2: goodnes. *truth*: S1: life, trueth. *he (is pees)*: C: and he. *and hys myght, hys wysdom*: om. SS. 35 *that*: S1: the. *god (is nott)*: SS: he. *nott (but)*: S2: not (canc.); marg., scr.: nought. 36 *is (onyd)*: S1 in (underl.; marg., al. m.:) is. *onyd*: S2: united. *hym*: add. S2: who is the. 37 *soule (is neyther)*: S2: souls. 38 *so*: om. SS. *onyd*: S2: united. 39 *oure*: S1; S2: the.

---

30 *For he is god / he is good / he is truth / he is loue / he is pees*: a *compar* with *continuatio*. *For he is god*: because God is God, these qualities are of his being.

31 *he is good*: cf. Matthew 19.17: Only one is good, God; and *Privy Counselling*: For 3if þou sey 'Good' or 'Fair Lorde' or 'Swete' ... al it is hid and enstorid in þis litil worde 'is' (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 143).

he is truth: cf. John 14.6 and 483.8 note.

he is loue: cf. I John 4.8: For God is love.

he is pees: cf. Ephesians 2.14: For he is our peace ...

and hys myght / hys wysdom / hys charyte / and his vnyte: a *compar* with *continuatio*.

33 *it is agaynst the propyrte of hys myght ... / and agaynst þe properte of hys wysdom / and agaynst the propyrte of hys goodnes*: once again, Julian is using the figure of *distributio* for the purposes of 'appropriation'; and, in calling *myght, wysdom, goodnes* each a *propyrte*, she shows how familiar she is with the name and the process of 'appropriation'.

35 *God is that goodnesse that may nott be wroth / for god is nott but goodnes / Oure soule is onyd to hym vnchanngeable goodnesse / And betwen god and oure soule is neyther wrath / nor forgevenesse in hys syght / For oure soule is so fulsomly onyd to god of hys owne goodnesse / that betwene god and oure soule may be ryght nought*: a *membrum* with double *conversio* (*wroth ... wrath; goodnes ... goodnesse ... goodnesse*).

for god is nott but goodnes: cf. 304.10-11.

36 *vnchanngeable goodnesse*: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: God is *in* him silf vnchaungeable *and* a soule is chaungeable (ms: vnchaungeable) of it silf; but þanne whanne þe soule is oonyd to Crist bi loue, þe moore þat it is oonyd to him, þe moore vnchaungeable it is (MS BN Fonds anglais 41, f. 153v; Jones, 107). Cf. 475.3.

40 And to this vnderstondyng was þe soule led by loue and drawyn by
85r myght in every shewyng; that it is thus, oure / good lorde shewed, and
how it is thus, verely of his grett goodnesse; and that he wylle we desyer
to wytt, that is to sey as it longyth to his creature to wytte it. For all
thyng that the symple soule vnderstode, god wyll that it be shewed and
45 knowyn; for those thynges that he wylle haue prevy, myghtely and
wysely hym selfe hydyth them for loue. For I saw in the same shewyng
that moch pryvete is hyd whych may nevyr be knowen in to the tyme
that god of hys goodnes hath made vs wurthy to se it. And ther *with* I
am well apayde, abydyng oure lords wylle in this hye marveyle. And
50 now I ȝelde me to my modyr holy chyrch, as a sympyll chylde owyth.

---

42 *verely*: SS: sothly. *that (he)*: om. SS. 43 *that (is)*: add. S2: it. *creature*: C: creatures. 45 *those*: S1: the; and so S2. 46 *hym selfe*: add. SS: he. *them*: om. S2. 47 *that (moch)*: om. S1. *in to*: S2: untill. 48 *hath*: S2: shall haue. 49 *apayde*: C, marg.: content; S1: paid; and so S2. 50 *my* : C: our.

---

40 *And to this vnderstondyng ...*: cf. 732.15-733.19.

43 *as it longyth to his creature to wytte it*: cf. Romans 12.3: ... not to be more wise (plus sapere) than it behoves to be wise, but to be soberly wise, as God has divided to everyone the measure of faith.

For all thyng that the symple soule vnderstode ...: Julian's teaching on the showing of hidden mysteries appears to derive from Ephesians 3.1-10.

47 *in to the tyme that god of hys goodnes hath made vs wurthy to se it*: cf. Ephesians 3.2: ... the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me towards you.

50 *as a sympyll chylde owyth*: cf. Matthew 18.3-4: Unless you be converted and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whoever therefore humbles himself as this little child ...

The xlvij Chapter

Two poyntes longyn to our soule by dett. One is that we reverently
85v marveyle; that othyr is that we meekly suffer, evyr enjoyeng / in god.
For he wyll that we know that we shalle in short tyme se clerely in hym
5 selfe all that we desyer. And not *with*stondyng all thys I behelde and
merveylyd gretly what is the mercy and forgevenesse of god; for by the
techyng that I had before, I vnderstode that the mercy of god shalle be
forgeuenesse of hys wrath after the tyme that we haue synned. For me
thought that to a soule whose menyng and desyer is to loue, that the
10 wrath of god were harder than ony other payne. And therfore I toke
that the forgevenesse of his wrath shulde be one of the pryncypall poyn-

---

2 *longyn*: ms: longyng.

---

1 S1: We must reverently mervelyn (S2: admire) *and* mekly suffren ever enjoyand in god, *and* how our blyndhede (S2: blindnes) in *þat* we se not god is cause of synne. 2 *longyn*: C: belonging; S1: longen; S2: belong. *soule*: S2: souls. *by*: C: are. 3 *that (othyr)*: S2: the. *evyr*: C: every. *enjoyeng*: S2: rejoicing. 4 *that (we know)*: om. SS. 7 *be*: add. SS: the. 9 *that (to)*: om. SS.

---

2 *longyn*: SS discerned, as P and C did not, that here we have the Midland present plural indicative -en suffix.

reverently marveyle: Julian makes the point in passing that contemplative disposition and prayer are in some way the duty of every Christian, a teaching belonging to an earlier tradition and rooted in Scripture, but certainly not that of her contemporaries. Cf. 492.18 note.

3 *meekly suffer*: cf. Colossians 1.10-11: That you may walk worthy of God ... in all patience and longsuffering with joy.

4 *For he wyll that we know / that we shalle in short tyme / se clerely in hym selfe / all that we desyer*: a *compar.*

in short tyme: Cf. Romans 8.18: For I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come.

6 *for by the techyng that I had before*: cf. 487.19-21.

7 *the mercy of god shalle be forgeuenesse of hys wrath*: cf. Psalm 59.3: O God, thou hast cast us off and destroyed us, thou hast been angry and hast had mercy on us.

11 *the forgevenesse of his wrath shulde be one of the pryncypall poyntes of his mercy*: compare the liturgical prayer for the souls of the faithful departed: Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere (Bruylants, 2 nos. 207, 208). This prayer is prescribed in the *Riwle* (cf. 462.21 note): Þe þride fyue for alle cristene soules. After þe forme fyue kyrieleyson *christe*leyson kyryeleyson Pater noster Saluos fac seruos tuos *et* ancillas tuas deus meus sperantes in te. Oremus. Deus cui proprium. After þe oþer fyue ... (Vernon MS, f. 340 (recte 372)[d]; Day, 10). These highly abbreviated quotations of Latin opening phrases of liturgical forms imply that the anchoresses did not require them written out in full, since they had their own Latin service-books; and most texts of the *Riwle* (e.g.

tes of his mercy. But for oughte that I myght beholde and desyer, I culde nott see this poynt in all the shewyng. But how I saw and vnderstode of the workyng of mercy I shall sey som dele, as god wyll gyue me grace.

I vnderstode thus. Man is channgeabyll in this lyfe, and by sympylnesse / and vncunnyng fallyth in to synne. He is vnmyghty and vnwyse of hym selfe, and also his wyll is ovyr leyde in thys tyme he is in tempest and in sorow and woe. And the cause is blynnes, for he seeth not god; for yf he saw god contynually, he shulde haue no myschevous felyng ne no maner steryng, no sorowyng that servyth to synne.

---

12 *oughte*: SS: nowte. 14 *workyng*: S1: werks; and so S2. *wyll*: S2: shall. 16 *thus*: S1: this; S2: þat. *sympylnesse*: S1: frelte; and so S2. 17 *vncunnyng*: S1: overcummyng; and so S2. 18 *ovyr leyde*: add. S1: *and*; and so S2. 19 *and (woe)*: add. C: in. *is*: add. S2: his. *blynnes*: C: blindness; S1: blindhede: S2: his blindnes. 21 *no (sorowyng)*: C: nor; S1: ye; S2: ne. *sorowyng*: S1: yernyng; and so S2.

Day, 8: Euerich on sigge hire vres also heo haueð i writen ham) state clearly that they had themselves copied these. See Introduction, note 193.

12 *But for oughte ... all the shewyng*: cf. 487.20-21.

14 *I shall sey som dele*: this teaching on the working of mercy, which she begins to develop here and continues through the next three chapters (500-512), forms the immediate prologue to the parable of the lord and the servant.

16 *Man is channgeabyll ...*: for Julian, the *culmen contemplationis* is always the sight of the triune God in Jesus crucified and glorified. When man does not see this, his state is unlike the Trinity in condition (cf. 475.3 and note); he is *vnmyghty* (unlike the Father), *vnwyse* (unlike the Son), *and also his wyll is ovyr leyde* (unlike the Holy Spirit).

by ... vncunnyng fallyth in to synne: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 11: Bot summe are þan so fleschly *and* so vnkunnand þat þei wald felen or heren or seen þe forgifnes of þaire synnes ... *and* for as mikel as þei felen not so, þei fallen often in swilk weeres *and* doutes (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 73r; Underhill, 265).

17 *He is vnmyghty and vnwyse of hym selfe*: this corresponds with the short text, 262.64-66.

18 *his wyll is ovyr leyde*: again, the *Scale* reads: ... in tyme of temptacioun a freel mannes þouȝt is so trowbled *and* so ouerlaide þat he haþ no clere siȝt ne fredom of hym self (ibid., f. 72v; Underhill, 263).

in thys tyme he is in tempest / and in sorow and woe / and the cause is blynnes / for he seeth not god: comparison with the short text, 262.63-67, shows there the beginnings of the thought, couched in a rudimentary figure: *so vnmyghttye / so vnwyse / and so vnluffande*; but for this *interpretatio* Julian has now substituted another: *tempest ... sorow ... woe*, and she has made an essential change in the new *compar*: the symptom of man's grievous blindness is not that he does not perceive his own spiritual condition, but that he does not see God.

20 *for yf he saw god*: cf. 325.11-326.26.

21 *no maner steryng*: Julian touches only lightly here, as elsewhere, on temptations to sins of the flesh, which so preoccupy, say, the author of the *Riwle* in all his teaching on the custody of exterior and interior senses and on temptations.

Thus saw I and felt in the same tyme, and me thowght that the syght and the felyng was hye and plentyvous and gracious in regarde that oure co*mm*un felyng is in this lyfe. But ȝett me thought it was but lowe and smalle in regard of the grett desyer that the soule hath to se god. For I felt in me fyue maner of werkynges, whych be theyse: enjoyeng, mornyng, desyer, drede and trew hope. Enjoyeng, for god gave me knowyng and vnderstondyng that it was hym selfe that I sawe. Mor-
86v nyng, / and that was for f(ay)lyng. Desyer, that was that I myght se hym evyr more and more, vnderstondyng and knowyng that we shalle nevyr haue fulle rest tylle we se hym clerly and verely in hevyn. Drede was for it semyd to me in alle that tyme that syght shulde feyle, and I to be lefte

---

22 *me*: alt. fr. 'my'. 29 *faylyng*: ms: felyng.

---

22 *felt in*: S2: saw at. 23 *and the felyng*: om. S2. *regarde*: S1: reward; add. S2: of. *that*: S2: what. 24 *me*: SS: I. 25 *regard*: S1: reward. 27 *trew*: SS: sekir. 29 *faylyng*: so S1. *Desyer*: add. SS: and. *hym*: add. C: for. 31 *in (hevyn)*: add. S2: high. 32 *that (syght)*: S1: þat þat; S2: þat þe. *to (be)*: om. SS.

---

22 *Thus saw I and felt in the same tyme ...*: the illumination which she receives (that all our sin and sorow is the result of not seeing God) she considers as of secondary importance to the gift which she has called *the wound of willfull longing to god* (288.43).

23 *in regarde that*: see NED, Regard *sb.* III 12, 'in comparison with'. The first example is from *The Prick of Conscience*.

26 *For I felt in me fyue maner of werkynges*: this introduces a long *distributio*, which occupies the rest of this paragraph.

enjoyeng, mornyng, desyer, drede and trew hope: cf. the English *Stimulus amoris*: þer are foure affeccioun̄s of a sowle: ioye and sorwe, hope and drede (H. J. Kane, 35; Kirchberger, 72).

27 *for god gave me knowyng and vnderstondyng that it was hym selfe that I sawe*: cf. *Benjamin Minor*: How ioy of inward suetnes risiþ in þe affeccioun̄ ... þis joie is þe taast of heuenly blis ... fylled in soule of goostly gladnes and joie in god (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 30-31).

28 *Mornyng, and that was for faylyng*: one cannot say whether P's 'felyng' (which C, S2 follow) is scribal error or eccentricity; and S1 seems to have emended intelligently. But when Julian continues (498.39): *And therfore we fayle oftymes ...*, she makes her meaning here plain: her sorrow is for the weakness through which she has lost sight of God.

29 *Desyer, that was ... in hevyn*: cf. *Benjamin Minor*: ... when þou felist contynowely þin herte desire after þe loue of god ... þan byginniþ þer a maner of cleerte of þe liȝt of god for to schyne in þi soule ... after þis liif it schal be euerlastyng (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 43-44); and cf. 300.19-22.

to my selfe. Trew hope was in the endlesse loue, that I saw that I shulde be kepte by hys mercy and brought to the blysse.

35 And the joyng in hys syght *with* this trew hope of hys mercyfull kepyng made me to haue felyng and comfort, so that mornyng and drede were nott grettly paynfull. And yet in all thys I behelde in the shewyng of god that this maner syght of hym may not be *con*tynuant in this life, and that for his owne wurschyppe and for encrese of oure endlesse joy. And
87r therfore we fayle oftymes of the syght of hym, / and anon we falle in to

---

39 *endlesse*: the first 'e' alt. fr. 'a'; cf. 425.45.

---

33 *selfe*: add. S2: and. *Trew*: SS: sekir. *that (I shulde)*: om. SS. 34 *the (blysse)*: SS: his. 35 *trew*: SS: sekir. 37 *grettly*: S2: very. 38 *contynuant*: S2: continual.

---

33 *Trew hope ... to the blysse*: cf. *Benjamin Minor*: How hope riseþ in þe affeccyon ... For when þe oþer two children, drede and sorow, ben 3ouen of god to a mans soule ... þis þrid þat is hope schal not be delaied (ibid., 19).

36 *felyng and comfort, so that mornyng and drede were nott grettly paynfull*: cf. *Qui habitat*: I am with him and kepe him ful sikerliche in his tribulacion, I bere hym þorw my mi3t ... and I cumforte him with mi presence whon I vouche saaf, or elles he schulde dispeire. And so ledeþ he is lyf in a mournynge murþe, in wele wo, in a glad serwe, and in tribulacion þat is cumfortable (Wallner, 48).

37 *And yet in all thys ...*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 4: for if it ware reformid, þan schuld it haue stabil mynde, clere si3t *and* clene brennand luf in god *and* goostly þinges ay lastandly ... bot *þat* is in no creature as þu trowes lifand here in þis liif (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 66r; Underhill, 237).

38 *contynuant*: NED records as adjective and noun, but its earliest example is 1610, translating Augustine's *diuturnum*. MED has only the adverb, continuantli.

and that for his owne wurschyppe and for encrese of oure endlesse joy: cf. *A Ladder of Four Rungs*: Therfor he departyth fro the that his longe dwellyng with the make hym not vnworthy to the, and that þouc whan he is departyd fro the desyre hym and moorn aftyr hym the more hertly, and seke hym the qwycklyer *þat* with more grace þoue may fynde hym (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 113; Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 102).

39 *And therfore we fayle oftymes of the syght of hym, and anon we falle in to oure selfe*: cf. the *Ladder*: But foure inchesonys ther be that other while drawyn downwarde fro thes degrees ... The thride is febylnes of kynde ... the thride is wretchide (ibid., 116; Colledge and Walsh, 116-118). The source of this teaching in the West seems to be Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezechiel* II, II 12: Et aliquando quidem uincit (sc. animus) et reluctantes tenebras suae caecitatis exsuperat, ut de incircumscripto lumine quiddam furtim et tenuiter attingat, sed tamen ad semetipsam protinus reuerberata reuertitur atque ab ea luce, ad quam respirando transit, ad suae caecitatis tenebras suspirando redit (Adriaen, 232-233).

oure selfe, and than fynde we felyng of ryght nowght but the contraryous that is in oure selfe, and that of the olde rote of oure furst synne *with* all that folowyth of oure owne contynuance; and in this we be traveyled and temptyd *with* felyng of synne and of payne in many dyverse maner, gostely and bodely, as it is knowyn to vs in this lyfe.

---

41 *we (felyng)*: add. SS: no. *the (contraryous)*: om. SS. *contraryous*: S1: contrarioust. 42 *olde*: SS: elder. 43 *owne*: om. SS. *contynuance*: S2: contrivance. 44 *temptyd*: S1: tempestid; and so S2. *synne*: S1: synnys; and so S2. *payne*: S1: peynes: and so S2. 45 *it*: om. S2.

---

41 *contraryous*: the S1 reading, 'contrarioust', suggest ME contrariouste < AFr contrariousete; NED, Contrariosity, has as its first example Rolle's *Psalter*. But this may be another of S1's learned guesses. NED, Contrarious, records only adjectival uses; but MED's first example of the adjective, Trevisa: Þe contrarious in hote londes ... plainly is a noun, as is the '(ex) contrario' which gives, in the passage from Bartholomaeus Anglicus which Trevisa is translating: Econtrario autem est in calidis regionibus ... (ed. Frankfurt, 1650, 88).

42 *the olde rote of oure furst synne*: cf. the *Cloud*: For þis is only bi itself þat werk þat distroieþ þe grounde and þe rote of synne (Hodgson, 38).

43 *of oure owne contynuance*: S2's 'contrivance' is ingenious but wrong. MED has no example, and NED's first is dated 1647. Cf. MED, continuaunce, n., 2: 'Of activities or states: persistence, continued occurrence or existence', and its first example, a. 1393, Gower: Thurgh long continuance Of misbelieve.

The xlviij Chapter

But oure good lorde the holy gost, whych is endlesse lyfe dwellyng in oure soule, full truly kepyth vs and werketh ther in a pees, and bryngyth it to ees by grace, and makyth it buxom and accordyth it to god. And this is the mercy and the wey that oure good lord contynually ledyth vs in, as longe as we be in this lyfe whych is channgeable. For I saw no 87v wrath but on mannes perty, / and that forgevyth he in vs, for wrath is nott elles but a frowerdnes and a contraryousnes to pees and to loue. And eyther it comyth of feylyng of myght or (o)f feylyng of wysdom or of feylyng of goodnesse, whych feylyng is nott in god, but it is in oure party. For we by synne and wrechydnesse haue in vs a wrath and a con-

---

9 *of*: ms: ef.

---

1 S1: Off mercy *and* grace *and* their propertyes, *and* how we shall enjoy (S2: rejoice) that ever we suffrid wo patiently. 2 *dwellyng*: S1: wonnyng; and so S2. 3 *truly*: SS: sekirly. 4 *buxom*: C, marg.: complyant. 5 *the (mercy)*: S2: that. *good*: om. SS. 6 *be*: add. SS: here. 8 *nott*: S2: nothing. *elles*: S1: ell. *contraryousnes*: S1: contrarioste; S2: contrariety. *to (loue)*: om. C. 9 *feylyng* (4×): C: feeling (4×). 10 *in (god)*: C: of. *in (oure)*: SS: on. 11 *wrath*: SS: wretched. *a (contynuant)*: om. SS. *contynuant*: S2: continual.

---

2 *oure good lorde the holy gost ... full truly kepyth vs and werketh ther in a pees, and bryngyth it to ees by grace*: cf. Romans 14.17: ... justice and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. In the *Scale*, II chapter 30, there is: þe holy gost, þat is god in him self vnseable ... was vnseably felt in þe miȝtes of her soules ... þat þei haden sodeynly þe gostly knowynge of soþfastnes *and* þe perfecciou*n* of luf ... So it is in oþer soules þat are visited *and* liȝtned *with* inne of þe holy gost (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 105^{v}; Underhill, 364-365).

4 *And this is the mercy and the wey that oure good lord contynually ledyth vs in, as longe as we be in this lyfe*: cf. Deuteronomy 31.6: ... be of good heart; fear not nor be dismayed. For the Lord your God is himself your leader, and will not leave you or forsake you; and Psalm 24.8-10: The Lord is sweet ... He will guide the mild in judgment, he will teach the meek his ways. All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth.

6 *For I saw no wrath but on mannes perty*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 30: If þei han don amys *and* trespast ageyn god, þei þinke þen þat god is wroþ w*ith* he*m* as a man schuld be if þei had trespast ageyn hi*m* (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 103^{v}; Underhill, 359).

11 *For we by synne and wrechydnesse haue in vs a wrath and a contynuant contraryousnes to pees and to loue*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 28: Þan feliþ he mikel lettynge boþ w*ith yn* hi*m* self of frowardnes *and* hardnes of his owne wil *and* fro w*ith* outen þurwȝ temptaciou*n* of his enmy, þat he is often in ful grete tu*r*ment (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 99^{r}; Underhill, 348); and the *Riwle*: ... nomeliche of wraþþe. Inpedit ira animu*m* ne possit cernere

tynuant contraryousnes to pees and to loue; and that shewed he full ofte in his louely chere of ruth and pytte. For the ground of mercy is in loue, and the werkyng of mercy is oure kepyng in loue; and this was
15 shewed in such a manner that I culde not perceyve of the *pro*perte of mercy other wyse but as it were all loue in loue.

That is to sey, as to my syght, mercy is a swete gracious werkyng in
88r loue, medlyd / *with* plentuous pytte, for mercy werkyth vs kepyng, and mercy werkyth turnyng to vs all thyng to good. Mercy for loue sufferyth
20 vs to feyle by mesure; and in as moch as we fayle, in so moch we falle,

---

12 *contraryousnes*: S1: contrariuste; S2: contrariety. 13 *in (loue)*: om. SS. 15 *a*: om. SS. *perceyve*: S1: a perceyven; and so S2. *properte*: S1: partye. 16 *all loue*: SS: alone. 18 *medlyd*: C, marg.: mingled. 19 *for*: S1: be; and so S2. 20 *moch (as)*: S1: mekyl.

---

ver*um*. Wraþþe hit seiþ while hit last ablyndeþ so þe herte þat he ne may soþ iknowen ... for he reueþ mon his wit *and* chau*n*geþ al his chere, and forschuppeþ hi*m* from mon in to bestes kuynde (Vernon MS, f. 377^b; Day, 52). The figure here is noteworthy: *For we by synne and wrechydnesse / haue in vs a wrath / and a contynuant contraryousnes / to pees and to loue*: a *compar* of four *cola*, with the *contynuant contraryousnes* named in the third *colon* figured by the *oppositio* of the first and last: *synne and wrechydnesse / pees and loue*.

13 *For the ground of mercy ... all loue in loue*: Julian here seems to be conflating several Scriptural texts: Matthew 22. 37-40, where Jesus, citing the two great commandments from Deuteronomy 6.5 and Leviticus 19.18, adds: 'On these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets'; Romans 13.10 and Colossians 3.14, where Paul says that love is the fulness of the law and the bond of perfection; Matthew 5.43-48, where the fulness of love and compassion to which the follower of Christ is invited is summed up in the phrase: 'Be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect', which, in the parallel passage in Luke 6.36, becomes 'Be merciful, as your Father is merciful'; and, finally, the great example of 'Love your neighbour', the parable of the good Samaritan (who in traditional exegesis is Jesus himself) in Luke 10.30-37: 'Which was a neighbour to him who fell among the robbers? ... He who showed mercy to him'.

17 *mercy is a swete gracious werkyng ... turnyng to vs all thyng to good*: cf. Psalm 88.3: For thou hast said: Mercy shall be built up for ever in the heavens. In the figure there is *repetitio* (*mercy ... mercy ... mercy*) and *traductio* (*werkyng ... werkyth*).

20 *by mesure*: cf. NED Measure, *sb.* 12, 'An extent not to be exceeded; a limit'. The term is Scriptural; e.g. Job 28.25: Qui fecit ventis pondus, et aquas appendit in mensura; Wisdom 11.21: Sed omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.

and in as moch as we fayle ...: this is the only mortification which Julian mentions, the contemplative asceticism which owes its inspiration to II Corinthians 4.6 e.s.: God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness has shone in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels ... we are straitened but not destitute ... always bearing about in our bodies the mortification of Jesus ... We who live are always delivered up to death for Jesus's sake ... For which reason we do not faint; but though our outward man is corrupted, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. Cf. *Privy Counselling*: Euer whan þou beholdest to þi worchyng, and seest and felest þat it is þi self þat þou

and in as much as we falle, in so moch we dye. For vs behovyth nedys to dye in as moch as we fayle syghte and felyng of god that is oure lyfe. Oure faylyng is dredfulle, oure fallyng is shamfull, and oure dyeng is sorowfull.

25 But yet in all this the swet eye of pytte and of loue deperteth nevyr from vs, ne the werkyng of mercy cesyth nott. For I behelde the properte of mercy, and I behelde the properte of grace, whych haue ij maner of workyng in one loue. Mercy is a pyttefull properte, whych longyth to moderhode in tender loue; and grace is a wurshypfull
88v properte, / whych longyth to ryall lordschyppe in the same loue. Mercy

---

21 *as (much)*: S2: so. *much*: S1: mekyl. *as (we)*: om. S2. *in (so)*: om. SS. *moch (we)*: S1: mekyl. 25 *yet*: om. SS. *of (loue)*: om. C, SS. *deperteth*: S1: cummyth; and so S2. 26 *from*: SS: of. 28 *of (workyng)*: om. S1. 29 *to (moderhode)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 30 *to (ryall)*: add. SS: þe.

---

felest and not god, þen schalt þou make sorow ernestly, and hertely longe after þe felyng of god, euirmore desiryng wiþ outyn cesyng to forgo þe woful wetyng and þe foule felyng of þi blynde beyng (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 156-157).

and in as moch as we fayle / in so moch we falle / and in as much as we falle / in so moch we dye: in this *compar* there is *adnominatio* (*fayle ... falle*), double *repetitio* (*in as much ... in so moch*), medial *repetitio* (*we ... we ... we ... we*), and, in *as we fayle ... we falle ... as we falle ... we dye*, a sort of *gradatio*.

we falle ... in so moch we dye: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: Neuerþelesse thay fele not þereselfe stable nor 3it havynge god perfy3tly, ne certayne thay be not of the blysse of heuen, for 3it thay may turne and falle into synnys ... Botte howe mekylle that so euer we goo aboyfe oureselfe ... vnto god ... bothe vnto oureselfe and to alle othere thynges we dye ... '3e are dede, and youre lyfe is hid with Cryst in god' (Colossians 3.3; Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 245).

22 *as we fayle syghte and felyng*: cf. NED Fail, *v.*, 11 c, *trans.*, 'To come short of, to miss, not to obtain'. The first example is *Piers Plowman* B XI 25: Þe freke ... failled neuere blisse.

23 *Oure faylyng is dredfulle / oure fallyng is shamfull / and oure dyeng is sorowfull*: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*oure ... oure ... oure*) and *similiter cadens* (dred*fulle* ... sham*full* ... sorow*full*).

25 *the swet eye of pytte and of loue*: cf. the *Cloud*: For not what þou arte ne what þou hast ben beholdeþ god wiþ his mercyful i3e, bot þat þou woldest be (Hodgson, 132).

28 *whych longyth to moderhode in tender loue*: this is Julian's first overt allusion to her teaching on the motherhood of God. She refers back to this place when she begins to write about the *forth spredyng* of grace and mercy working together. The phrase she uses here is *spredyng abrode* (503.34, 593.46).

30 *ryall lordschyppe ... rewarding ... largesse ... curtesy*: though such terms are found in Scripture (dominator dominus, Isaias 3.1, 10.16, 33; apud dominum est merces eorum, Wisdom 5.16; quae largitus est eis secundum indulgentiam suam, Isaias 63.7), there can be no doubt that here Julian is consciously using 'curial' terminology, doubtless with the coming parable of the lord and the servant in mind. Cf. 392.37 note: 'dilexit, inquam, curialiter'.

werkyth kypyng, sufferyng, quyckyng and helyng, and alle is of tendyrnesse of loue; and grace werkyth *with* mercy, reysyng, rewarding, endlesly ovyr passyng that oure lovyng and our traveyle deseruyth, spredyng abrode and shewyng the hye plentuousnesse, largesse of goddes ryall lordschyppe in his mervelouse curtesy. And this is of þe habundannce of loue, for grace werkyth oure dredfull faylyng in to plentuouse and endlesse solace; and grace werkyth oure shamefull fallyng in to hye wurschyppefull rysyng; and grace werkyth oure sorowfull dyeng in to holy blyssyd lyffe.

For I saw full truly that evyr as oure contraryousnes werkyth to vs
89r here in erth payne, shame and sorow, ryght so on / the contrary wyse grace werkyth to vs in hevyn solace, wurschyp and blysse, ovyr passyng so ferforth that when we come vppe and receyve that swete reward whych grace hath wrought to vs, there we shall thanke and blysse oure lorde, endlessly enjoyeng that evyr we sufferyd woo; and that shalle be for a properte of blessyd loue that we shalle know in god, whych we

---

38 *wurschyppefull*: 'full' interl. scr.

---

31 *kypyng*: C, S2: keeping; S1: kepyng. *quyckyng*: C: quickening; and so SS; S2, marg., al. m.: qucking. 32 *with mercy*: om. SS. 33 *that*: S2: what. *our*: om. S2. 34 *plentuousnesse*: S1: plentivous; and so S2. 37 *and (endlesse)*: om. SS. *and grace werkyth*: om. S2. 38 *wurschyppefull*: S1: worship; S2: worship *and*. *and grace werkyth*: om. S2. 39 *blyssyd*: C: blissful; and so SS. 40 *truly*: S1: sekirly; and so S2. *contraryousnes*: S1: contrarioust. 41 *wyse*: om. S2. 42 *blysse*: add. C: and. 43 *that (swete)*: S1: the. 44 *there*: S1: than; and so S2.

---

36 *for grace werkyth oure dredfull faylyng / in to plentuouse and endlesse solace / and grace werkyth oure shamefull fallyng / in to hye wurschyppefull rysyng / and grace werkyth oure sorowful dyeng / in to holy blyssyd lyffe*: a six-membered *compar*, with *oppositiones* (*dredfull faylyng / plentuouse and endlesse solace*; *shamefull fallyng / hye wurschyppefull rysyng*; *sorowfull dyeng / holy blyssyd lyffe*), *repetitio* (... *grace werkyth* ..., which S2 has destroyed), and *adnominatio* (*faylyng ... fallyng*).

40 *For I saw full truly that evyr as / oure contraryousnes werkyth to vs here in erth / payne shame and sorow / ryght so on the contrary wyse / grace werkyth to vs in hevyn / solace wurschyp and blysse*: a six-membered *compar*, with internal *repetitio* (*werkyth to vs ... werkyth to vs*), and an elaborate series of *oppositiones* (*oure contraryousnes werkyth to vs / grace werkyth to vs*; *here in erth / in hevyn*; *payne shame and sorow / solace wurschyp and blysse*), which, as before (cf. 372.25, 500.11 and notes), Julian names with the technical term: *contraryousnes, on the contrary wyse*.

45 *endlessly enjoyeng that evyr we sufferyd woo*: cf. Isaias 40.1-2: Be comforted, my people, says your God. Speak to the heart of Jerusalem ... her iniquity is forgiven. She has received from the hand of the Lord double for all her sins.

myght nevyr haue knowen *with*ou3te wo goyng before. And whan I saw all thys, me behouyd nedys to grannt that þe mercy of god and the
49 forgyuenesse slaketh and wastyth oure wrath.

---

48 *behouyd*: ms: behouevyd.

---

47 *I*: S2: me. 49 *slaketh and wastyth*: SS: is to slaken *and* wasten.

---

47 *withou3te wo goyng before*: Julian is again recalling the 'felix culpa' of the *Praeconium Paschale*. Cf. 412.12 note.

48 *þe mercy of god and the forgyuenesse slaketh and wastyth oure wrath*: cf. the *Riwle*: Ho bi halt wraþþe þat bi halt þat god lihte on eorþe to make þreo fold acord: bitwene mon and mon, bitwene god and mon, bitwene mon and angel? (Vernon MS, f. 383c; Day, 111).

The xlix Chapter

For it was an hye marveyle to þe soule whych was contynuantly shewed in alle, and *with* grett diligence beholdyng that oure lorde god
89v as / a neynst hym selfe may not forgeue, for he may not be wroth. It
5 were vnpossible. For this was shewed, that oure lyfe is alle grounded and rotyd in loue, and *with*out loue we may nott lyve. And therfor to the soule that of his speciall grace seeth so ferforth of the hye marvelous goodnesse of god, that we be endlesly onyd to hym in loue, it is the most vnpossible that may be that god shulde be wrath, for wrath and
10 frenschyppe be two contrariese; for he that wastyth and dystroyeth

---

10 *contrariese*: ms: contrarioese.

---

1 S1: Our lif is growndid in love withoute the (S2 om. 'the') which we perish, but yet god is never wroth, but in our wreth *and* synne he mercifully kepith us *and* tretith us to peace, rewarding our tribulations. 2 *it*: S1: this; and so S2. *contynuantly*: S1: continuely; and so S2. 3 *beholdyng*: SS: beholden. 4 *a neynst*: C: aneynst; SS: anempst. 5 *is*: S2: was. 7 *his*: add. S2: own. *hye*: om. S2. 8 *god*: add. SS: *and*.

---

2 *contynuantly*: see 498.38 note.

contynuantly shewed in alle ...: 'which (marvel) was constantly revealed in all (the shewings), and (in this time the soul was) contemplating with great diligence how our Lord God cannot before himself (i.e. in his unique self-knowledge) forgive, for he cannot be angry'.

4 *as a neynst hym selfe*: cf. MED anent(es, prep., 4: 'In the opinion or judgment of (sb.); before (God)', where the Wycliffite Bible is quoted: Accepciouns of persoones ... is not anentis God (Non enim est acceptio personarum apud Deum — Romans 2.11).

5 *oure lyfe is alle grounded and rotyd in loue / and without loue we may nott lyve*: a *compar* with *adnominatio* (*lyfe ... loue*), *traductio* (*lyfe ... lyve*) and *chiasmus* (*lyfe ... loue ... loue ... lyve*).

oure lyfe is alle grounded and rotyd in loue: cf. Ephesians 3.17 (see 453.43 note).

6 *without loue we may nott lyve*: cf. I John 4.9-10: God has sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we may live by him ... because he has first loved us.

7 *so ferforth*: 'to such a degree'. MED's first example is c. 1300 S. Leg. Edm. Abp.: þe gretteste clerkes þat were in Oxenforde þo / Ne þozte þat enie vrþlich man so furforþ miȝte go / Ne wite so moch of godes stat.

the hye marvelous goodnesse of god, that we be endlesly onyd to him in loue: Julian is referring back to her exposition on contemplative (unitive) prayer — 477.20-24, 480.41-44 — and to her sight of Mary's contemplation — 484.11-19.

10 *for he that wastyth and dystroyeth oure wrath / and makyth vs meke and mylde*: again, *oppositio*, with the *contraria* named as *contrariese*.

wastyth and dystroyeth oure wrath and makyth vs meke and mylde: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 38: ... luf feȝtiþ for him *and* sleeþ wundre softly swilke stirynge of wreþ ... *and* makiþ his soule so esy, so pesible, so suffrende *and* so godly (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 119r; Underhill, 405).

oure wrath and makyth vs meke and mylde, it behovyth vs nedys to beleue that he be evyr in one loue, meke and mylde, whych is contrary to wrath. For I saw full truly that where oure lorde aperyth, pees is
9or takyn and wrath hath no stede; for I saw no manner of wrath in / god,
15 neyther for shorte tyme nor for long. For truly, as to my syght, yf god myght be wroth a whyle, we shuld neyther haue lyfe ne stede ne beyng; for as verely as we haue oure beyng of the endlesse myght of god and of the endlesse wysdom and of the endlesse goodnesse, also verely we haue oure kepyng in the endles myght of god, in the endlesse wysdom and in
20 the endlesse goodnesse. For thowe we fele in vs wrath, debate and

---

11 *vs (meke)*: om. SS. 12 *beleue*: S1: ben; and so S2. *in one*: S1: on in; S2: one in. *contrary*: S1: contrarious. 13 *truly*: SS: sekirly. 14 *stede*: C, marg., SS: place. 15 *truly*: S1: sothly; and so S2. 16 *myght*: S2: will. *whyle*: SS: touch. *neyther*: SS: never. 17 *as (verely)*: om. SS. 18 *also*: SS: as. *verely*: add. S2: as. 19 *oure*: add. S2: endles. *the (endles)*: add. S2: same. *of god in the endlesse*: om. S2. *in the endlesse (goodnesse)*: om. S2. 20 *wrath*: S1: wretches; S2: wretched. *debate*: S2: debates.

---

12 *that he be evyr in one loue, meke and mylde*: cf. Matthew 11.29: I am meek and humble of heart; Galatians 5.19-23: The works of the flesh are ... enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions ... the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, mildness.

13 *where oure lorde aperyth, pees is takyn and wrath hath no stede*: Julian may have in mind, firstly the appearances of the risen Christ, where his greeting is always 'Peace be to you' or 'Fear not' (cf. Matthew 28.10, Luke 24.36, John 20.19, 26); and, secondly, the salutation, *Pax domini sit semper vobiscum*, and the kiss of peace of the eucharistic liturgy at the moment before Communion. The author of the *Rivle* writes: After þe masse cos, whon þe prest sacreþ, þer forȝeteþ al þe world, þer beoþ al out of bodi, þer is brennynde loue. Bi cluppeþ or lemmon þat in to oure breste bour is iliht of heuene, and holdeþ him riht faste til he habbe igraunted ou al þat ȝe wolleþ (Vernon MS, f. 373a; Day, 14). Here, *holdeþ him riht faste* is probably also an allusion to the Resurrection — Matthew 28.9, Luke 24.30-32, John 20.17.

15 *For truly ... yf god myght be wroth a whyle, we shuld neyther haue lyfe ne stede ne beyng*: cf. *Boethius* III 12: God gouerneþ þis worlde ... of so many dyuerse and contrarious parties ne myȝten neuer han ben assembled in o forme but yif þere were oon þat conioigned so manye diuerse þinges (Morris, 102).

16 *lyfe ne stede ne beyng*: Julian is recalling Paul's sermon to the Athenians: For in him we live and move and are (Acts 17.28).

stryfe, yett we be all mercyfully beclosyd in the myldehed of god and in his mekehed, in his benyngnite and in his buxomnesse.

For I saw full truly that alle oure endlesse frenschypp, oure stede, our lyfe and oure beyng is in god. For that same endlesse goodnesse
90v that kepyth vs whan we / synne that we peryssch nott, that same end-
26 lesse goodnesse contynually tretyth in vs a pees agaynst oure wrath and our contraryouse fallyng, and makyth vs to see oure nede *with* a true drede, myghtely to seke vnto god to haue forgyvenesse *with* a gracious desyer of oure saluacyon. For we may nott be blesfully savyd tyll we be
30 verely in pees and in loue, for that is oure saluation.

And though we be wrath, and the contraryousnes that is in vs be

---

21 *stryfe*: S1: strives; and so S2. *mercyfully*: S1: mannerfull; and so S2. *myldehed*: C: midhead; S2: mildnes. 22 *mekehed*: S2: meeknes. *buxomnesse*: C, marg.: kindness; S1: buxumhede. 23 *truly*: SS: sekirly. 25 *(nott,) that*: SS: þe. 28 *to (seke)*: om. S2. *vnto*: SS: into. 29 *savyd*: S1: save; and so S2. 30 *that*: S2: þis. 31 *be (wrath)*: S2: by. *wrath*: S1: the wreth; and so S2. *the*: om. S2. *contraryousnes*: S1: contrariouste; S2: contrariety.

---

21 *myldehed ... mekehed ... benyngnite ... buxomnesse*: again, Julian seems to have the fruits of the Spirit in mind (Galatians 5.22-23; cf. 506.12 note), and the words of the Vulgate text: *mansuetudo, modestia, benignitas, bonitas.*

23 *alle oure endlesse frenschypp ... is in god*: cf. Wisdom 7.14 in the Vulgate version: (Sapientia) infinitus enim thesaurus est hominibus, quo qui usi sunt participes facti sunt amicitiae Dei.

oure stede: cf. 470.31 note.

24 *our lyfe ... is in god*: cf. Colossians 3.3: Your life is hidden with Christ in God.

oure beyng is in god: cf. Acts 17.28 (see 506.16 note).

For that same endlesse goodnesse that kepyth vs ... that we peryssch nott: cf. Romans 5.8-9: God commends his love to us, because when we were still sinners Christ died for us; much more therefore, being justified by his blood, shall we be saved from wrath through him.

25 *that same endlesse goodnesse contynually tretyth in vs a pees agaynst oure wrath and our contraryouse fallyng*: cf. Colossians 1.19-20, and *An Epistle of Discretion of Spirits*, where the *Cloud*-author writes: Whoso wol haue god contynouly wonyng in him, and liue in loue and in siȝt of þe hiȝe pees of þe godheed ... be he besi niȝt and day to put doun ... most besily þe spirite of malice, of wraþþe and of wickidnes (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 85).

29 *For we may nott be blesfully savyd tyll we be verely in pees and in loue*: again, *Discretion of Spirits* has: A soule, for longe use and custume in goodnes, may be mad ... so godly by pees and bi charite and by restfulnes of herte aȝens þe spirite of malice, of wraþþe and of wickidnes (ibid., 92).

31 *And though we be wrath ... as loue lykyth*: this passage, teaching that despite all our tribulations and failings we are preserved in God's merciful protection, may be compared with Paul's spiritual autobiography in II Corinthians 11.24-12.9, with its conclusion, that Christ revealed to him: My grace is enough for you, for power (*virtus*) is made perfect in me.

nowe in tribulacion, deseses and woo, as fallyng in to oure blyndnesse and oure pronyte, yett be we suer and safe by þe mercyfull kepyng of god that we perysch nott. But we be nott blyssefully safe in havyng of
35 oure endlesse joye tyll we be all in pees and in loue, that is to sey full
91r plesyd *with* / god and *with* alle his werkes and *with* alle his domys, and lovyng and plesabyll *with* oure selfe and *with* oure evyn cristen and *with* alle that god louyth, as loue lykyth. And this doth goddes goodnes in vs.
40 Thus saw I that god is our very peas; and he is oure suer keper when we be oure selfe at vnpeas, and he contynually werkyth to bryng vs in to endlesse peas. And thus when by the werkyng of mercy and grace we be

---

32 *deseses* add. marg.; ms: dysses (canc.).

---

32 *deseses*: C: disease; and so SS. *fallyng in to*: S1: fallyth to; and so S2. 33 *oure (pronyte)*: om. SS. *suer and*: SS: sekirly. 37 *plesabyll*: S1: possible; and so S2. *selfe*: C: selves. 40 *suer*: SS: sekir. 41 *selfe*: S2: selues.

---

33 *pronyte*: NED, Pronity, calls it *Obs.*, and could have added 'rare'; in all, it cites only six instances, the first two 1524, 1526, the last 17... Its first example of Proneness is 1548, its first of Prone from the Lollard Bible. This is another instance of Julian's modern and specialized vocabulary.

35 *full plesyd with god and with alle his werkes and with alle his domys*: cf. Job 1.21: The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away. As it has pleased the Lord, so is it done. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

36 *and lovyng and plesabyll with oure selfe*: cf. the Book of Common Prayer's translation of Psalm 121.3: Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself.

38 *alle that god louyth*: cf. Romans 8.19-21: For the expectation of the creature waits for the revelation of the sons of God ... because the creature itself also will be delivered from the servitude of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

40 *Thus saw I ... endlesse peas*: in a passage in the *Scale claustralium* not translated in the *Ladder*, Guigo writes: Absit hoc a nobis, domine, sed si forte ex humana infirmitate ad talia (peccata) relabimur, non ideo desperemus sed iterum recurramus ad clementem medicum ... Oremus omnes dominum ut ... per praedictos gradus de virtute in virtutem nos perducens donec videamus deum deorum in Sion ... et pacem immutabilem, pacem in idipsum (Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 120).

god is our very peas: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 21: ... þou schal come to *þat* place *þat* (f. 85r) þu coueites ... Ier*usalem* is ... si3t of pes *and* bitokneþ contemplacio*un* in perfit luf of god. For contemplacio*un* is not ellis bot a si3t of Ihesu, whilk is verrey pes (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 305).

41 *vnpeas*: 'disquiet'. NED: 'probably after *unfrīþ*'. Its first example is from *Cursor Mundi*; MED, unpes, has more than twenty instances.

made meke and mylde, than we be full safe. Sodenly is the soule onyd to god, when she is truly peesyd in her selfe, for in hym is founde no
45 wrath. And thus I saw whan we be alle in peas and in loue, we fynde no contraryousnes in no manner of lettyng, and that contraryousnes whych is now in vs, oure lorde god of hys goodnes makyth it to vs fulle profytable. For contraryousnes is cause of alle oure tribulation and alle
91v oure / woo; and oure lorde Jhesu takyth them and sendyth them vppe
50 to hevyn, and then they ar made more swete and delectable than hart may thyngke or tonge can tell. And when we come theder we shalle fynde them redy, alle turnyd in to very feyernesse and endlesse wurschype.

Thus is god oure stedfast ground, and shall be oure full blysse, and
55 make vs vnchaungeable as he is when we be ther.

---

44 *she*: marg., replacing 'it' canc.

---

43 *than*: om. SS. 44 *she*: so C; SS: it. *her*: S1: if; S2: it. 45 *thus*: S2: þis. 46 *contraryousnes (in)*: S1: contrariouste; and so S2. *in*: SS: ne. *and*: SS: of. *contraryousnes (whych)*: S1: contrariouste; S2; contraryety. 47 *god*: om. SS. 48 *contraryousnes (is)*: S1: that contrarioust; S2: that contrarious, foll. two letters canc. *alle (oure woo)*: om. SS. *tribulation*: SS: tribulations. 50 *then*: SS: there. 52 *feyernesse*: SS: faire. *wurschype*: S1: worships; and so S2. 54 *and (shall)*: add. SS: he.

---

43 *than be we full safe*: in the *Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings*, the *Cloud*-author writes: ... þe sely soule, at þe licnes of a schip, atteineþ at þe last to þe londe of stabelnes and þe hauen of helþe, þe whiche is þe clere and þe soþfast knowing of himself and of alle his inward disposicioun (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 64).

45 *we fynde no contraryousnes in no manner of lettyng*: that is, we find that no kind of hindrance puts us out of countenance. SS's *ne* is, superficially, a good guess, but it obscure's Julian's insistence that temptations or hindrances need not disturb contemplative peace.

50 *more swete and delectable than hart may thyngke or tonge can tell*: again, this clearly echoes the *Jubilus*; cf. 237.11 and note.

52 *turnyd in to very feyernesse and endlesse wurschyppe*: cf. 475.3, the note to *vnlike in condescion*.

The 1 Chapter

And in this dedely lyfe mercy and forgevenesse is oure way that evyr more ledyth vs to grace; and by the tempest and the sorow *þat* we fall in on oure perty, we be ofte deed, as to mannes dome in erth. But in the syght of god the soule *þat* shall be safe was nevyr deed, ne nevyr shall. But yet here I wondryde and merveylyd *with* alle þe dylygence of my soule, menyng thus: Goode lorde, I see the that thou / arte very truth, and I know truly *þat* we syn grevously all day and be moch blame

92r

---

1 S1: How the chosen soule was never ded in the syte of god, *and* of a mervel upon the same, *and* iij things boldid hir to aske of god the vnderstondyng of it; and so S2. 2 *that*: SS: *and*. 4 *in* (*erth*): S2: on. 6 *shall*: add. C: be. 7 *the*: om. C. *thou*: om. SS. *arte*: add. C: the. 8 *I*: om. S2. *truly*: SS: sothly. *all*: add. S2: þe. *moch*: S1: mekyl.

---

1 *boldid* (S1): cf. 512.29: make me hardy. NED records Bold, *v.* (< OE bealdian), its first instance *Beowulf* 4360, its last 1706 De Foe.

2 *mercy and forgevenesse is oure way that evyr more ledyth vs to grace*: cf. Psalm 118.132-133: Look upon me and have mercy on me ... direct my steps according to thy word; and Psalm 129.7: ... because with the Lord there is mercy and with him plentiful redemption.

4 *we be ofte deed, as to mannes dome in erth*: cf. Wisdom 3.1-5: The souls of the just are in the hands of God, and the torment of death shall not touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die ... but they are at peace; and though in the sight of men they suffered torments, their hope is full of immortality. Afflicted in a few things, they shall be well rewarded in many, because God has tried them and found them worthy of himself ... For grace and peace is to his elect.

6 *I wondryde and merveylyd with alle þe dylygence of my soule*: cf. Luke 2.18-19: All those who heard wondered ... But Mary kept all these words, pondering them in her heart.

7 *Goode lorde, I see the that thou arte very truth*: cf. John 1.14: And we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

8 *I know truly þat we syn grevously all day and be moch blame wurthy*: cf. Proverbs 24.16: A just man shall fall seven times and rise again. This translates the Vulgate version; but a quotation in *Piers Plowman* runs: *Sepcies in die cadit iustus.* / Seue siþes, seiþ þe bok, synneþ þe riȝtful / ... 'I shal seiȝe þe, my sone,' seide þe frere þanne / 'How seue siþes þe sadde man synneþ on þe day ...' (G. Kane, 367; A ix 17 e.s.). Though none of Kane's manuscripts suggest any lack of *in die*, the English may show that the poet knew of two Latin versions; the Latin he quotes is a conflation of the Proverbs text with Psalm 118.164: *Septies in die laudem dixi tibi*, and we can see that it is with this that Julian also was familiar. For Latin Bible manuscript witnesses to the conflation, see *Biblia Sacra* 11 99 app.

grevously: cf. the daily Confiteor: quia peccavi nimis ... mea culpa ... mea maxima culpa.

wurthy; and I may neyther leue the knowyng of this sooth, nor I se nott
10 the shewyng to vs no manner of blame. How may this be? For I knew
be the comyn techyng of holy church and by my owne felyng that the
blame of oure synnes contynually hangyth vppon vs, fro þe furst man in
to the tyme that we come vppe in to hevyn. Then was this my merveyle,
that I saw oure lorde god shewyng to vs no more blame then if we were
15 as clene and as holy as angelis be in hevyn. And betwene theyse two
contraryes my reson was grettly traveyled by my blyndnes, and culde
haue no rest for drede that his blessed presens shulde passe fro my
syght, and I to be lefte in vnknowyng how he beholde vs in oure synne.
For eyther me behovyd to se in god that synne were alle done awey, or
92v els me behovyd / to see in god how he seeth it, wher by I myght truly
21 know how it longyth to me to see synne and the manner of oure blame.
My longyng endured, hym contynuantly beholdyng; and yet I culde
haue no pacience for grett feer and perplexite, thyngkyng, yf I take it

---

9 *I*: add. SS: ne. *sooth*: C, marg.: truth. 10 *knew*: C, S2: know. 11 *the*: om. S2. 12 *synnes*: S1: synne; and so S2. *in to*: S2: untill. 15 *and (as)*: om. S2. 16 *blyndnes*: SS: blyndhede. 17 *passe*: add. S2: þen. 18 *beholde*: S1: beholdyth; and so S2. 20 *els*: SS: ell. 22 *contynuantly*: C: continually; and so SS. *and*: om. S2. 23 *feer*: SS: awer.

---

10 *Hou may this be?*: cf. *Benjamin Minor*: ... whether it (a soul) may yit lyue wiþoutyn synne? Nay, sekirly ... þe apostle seiþ þus: yif we seye we haue no synne, we disceyue oureself, and soþfastnes is not in us (I John 1.8). And also seinte Austyne seiþ þat he dar sey þat þer is no man leuyng wiþoutyn synne (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 36). As the editor suggests in her note, the Augustine reference may well be to *Epistola CLVII*: Si ergo quaeris utrum in hac vita quisquam ita justitiae perfectione proficiat, ut hic sine ullo vivat peccato, attende quid dixerit Joannes apostolus ... (quoting I John 1.8) (ed. Goldbacher, 44 449).

12 *fro þe furst man in to the tyme that we come vppe in to hevyn*: Julian never forgets that she sees, and now speaks, in the person of all who will be saved, as does Paul, when he says: Unhappy man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord (Romans 7.24).

15 *as clene and as holy as angelis be in hevyn*: cf. Luke 20.35-36: But they that will be accounted worthy of that world and of the resurrection from the dead ... neither can they die any more, for they are equal to the angels and are the children of God.

19 *For eyther me behovyd to se in god that synne were alle done awey*: if this were true, it would contradict the locution: *Synne is behouelye* (244.52).

20 *ell* (SS): MED, elles, adv., states 'elle from ON, cp. OI(celandic) ella, reduced form of el-liga(r', and records? a. 1425 *Mandev.*: 'or ell non', 1448-a. 1500 *Richm.*, 'and ell (vr. elles) in prison ligge euermore', a. 1450 (c. 1400) *Wor. Serm.*, 'In word or ell in dede', a. 1425 *Siege Troy*, 'Or elles (Arun: ell) men of Troye. MED also records ellewher, adv.

thus, þat we be no synners nor no blame wurthy, it semyth as I shulde
25 erre and faile of knowyng of this soth. And yf it be tru that we be synners and blame wurthy, good lorde, how may it than be that I can nott see this truth in the, whych arte my god, my maker in whom I desyer to se alle truth?

For thre poyntes make me hardy to aske it. The furst is for it is so
30 lowe athyng, for if it were an hye I shulde be adred. The secunde is that it is so comon; for if it were specyall and prevy, also I shulde be adred.
93r The thyrde is that it nedyth me to wytt, as me / thyngkyth, if I shall lyve here, for knowyng of good and evyll, wher by I may by reson and by grace the more deperte them a sonder, and loue goodnesse and hate
35 evyll as holy chyrch techyth. I cryde inwardly with all my myght, sekyng in to god for helpe, menyng thus: A, lorde Jhesu, kyng of blysse, how shall I be esyde, who shall tell me and tech me that me nedyth to wytt, if I may nott at this tyme se it in the?

---

24 *no (synners)*: SS: not. 25 *of (this)*: om. S2. *tru*: SS: so. 27 *truth*: S1: sothnes; and so S2. *whych*: S2: who. 28 *truth*: S1: trueths; and so S2. 30 *be adred*: C, marg.: fear. 32 *wytt*: S2: know; add. SS: it. 33 *by (grace)*: om. SS. 36 *in to*: C, S2: unto. 37 *who*: add. SS: that. *me (and)*: om. S2.

---

26 *that I can nott see this truth in the, whych arte my god*: cf. Psalm 24.4: Shew, o Lord, thy ways to me, teach me thy paths, direct me in thy truth and teach me.

30 *if it were an hye I shulde be adred*: cf. Psalm 130.1: Lord, my heart is not exalted, nor are my eyes lofty; neither have I walked in great matters, nor in wonderful things above me.

31 *it is so comon*: Julian seems to be thinking of all those lovers of Christ in whom there is the 'doubtful fear' of God.

33 *for knowyng of good and evyll*: cf. the *Cloud*: Reson is a myȝt þorou þe whiche we departe þe iuel fro þe good ... Before er man synned, miȝt reson haue done al þis by kynde. Bot now it is so blendid wiþ þe original synne þat it may not kon worche þis werk bot ȝif it be illuminid by grace (Hodgson, 116).

36 *A, lorde Jhesu, kyng of blysse*: the ejaculatory form of petitionary prayer by those in felt need, already traditional in the early Christian communities when the synoptic gospels were written (e.g. Matthew 9.27, 20.30; Mark 10.47; Luke 17.13, 18.38) has contemplative profundity which was soon recognized in the West as well as in the East; e.g. Augustine, *Tract. in Iohannem* XLVIII (ed. R. Willems, 412), Bede, *In Lucam* V xviii 38-39 (ed. D. Hurst, 331-332). Cf. the English *Stimulus*: A preier to oure lord aboute his passioun. A swete lorde Jhesu Criste ... (H. J. Kane, 67; Kirchberger, 96).

37 *who shall tell me*: cf. Acts 8.30-31, 35: Philip ... heard him reading the prophet Isaias. And he said: Do you think that you understand what you read? And he said: How can I, unless some man show me? ... Then Philip ... preached Jesus to him. In the disputation between Mercy and Truth, pseudo-Bonaventure writes: ... nihilominus Veritas fortissime allegat: Domine, contra te ista quaestio intorquetur, et est cavendum ne verbum Patris evacuetur (Peltier, 12 512; Ragusa and Green, 8).

The lj Chapter

And then oure curteyse lorde answeryd in shewyng full mystely by a wonderfull example of a lorde that hath a servannt, and gaue me syght

---

1 S1: The answare to the doute afor (S2: to the foregoing doubt) by a mervelous example of a lord *and* a servant; *and* (S2 om. 'and') god will be abidyn, for it was nere xx yeres after ere (S2 om. 'ere') she fully vnderstode this example; *and* how it is vnderstod þat Crist syttith on the ryth hand of the fader. 2 *mystely*: C, marg.: darkly; S2: mightily.

---

1 *for it was nere xx yeres after* (S1): cf. 520.86, 732.14.

2 *full mystely*: NED, Mistily, *adv.*, defines 'In a misty manner; in early quots. *fig.*'; but the four earliest quotations (*Prick of Conscience,* alluding to the Apocalypse, Wycliffe to Christ's parables, Chaucer, *Canon's Yeoman's Tale,* to 'philosophers' — that is, alchemists — *Merlin* to his book of prophecies) show clearly that the word was used in late Middle English as a blend of OE *mist*, 'mist', and ME *mystike*, to mean 'conveyed darkly and symbolically, after the manner of Scriptural parables'. Julian is here writing with hindsight, to describe not only the reception of the showing, but also her later difficulties over it. God first answered by showing very mistily a wonderful example, and then, after many years of contemplation, enlightened her to understand what both lord and servant signified. The SS title makes this very clear.

3 *example*: although MED's treatment of this noun (if one conflates ensaumple n. 3, 'Something spoken or written to teach a lesson ... a parable', and exaumple 3) is superior to NED Example, neither work makes the essential point that Julian (whom they do not quote) and many of her contemporaries (e.g. MED, ensaumple, *Piers Plowman*, Gower, the *Romaunt of the Rose*, exaumple, the *Catholicon anglicum*) use the word as a technical term of rhetoric to mean a preacher's *exemplum*. Welter, *L'Exemplum*, 75, quotes from his edition of the Franciscan *Speculum laicorum*: Ego de simplicium numero minimus ad honorem dei erudicionemque rudium de sanctorum patrum et doctorum legendis et scriptis temporumque preteritorum ac modernorum quibusdam eventibus exemplisque naturalibus, non margaritas set siliquas collegi quasi pecoribus erogandas ut paradigmatibus saltem et parabolis foveantur et exemplis. So Chaucer's Pardoner in his Prologue says: Thanne telle I hem ensamples many oon / Of olde stories longe tyme agoon / For lewed peple loven tales olde ..., and Robinson comments: '"exempla", the term regularly applied to the illustrative anecdotes of preachers' (ed., 180, 835). Chaucer is satirizing popular preaching, but he is himself notoriously prone to this embellishment.

of a lorde that hath a servannt: throughout this chapter she seems to have constantly in mind the passages in Isaias, now called the 'Servant Songs', or 'Oracles of Deutero-Isaias', particularly 42.1-9, 49.1-13, 50.4-9, 52.9-53.12. In the tradition of the Church, the 'Lord' is firmly and consistently identified with God the Father, the 'Servant' with God the Son made man (with all his Scriptural titles), and particularly with Christ in his Passion — the Suffering Servant — who is glorified in the Resurrection; so that there are other passages in the prophecy, especially 11.1, 51.1-5, 52.6-7, 53.1-12, 54.1-13 and

to my vnderstandyng of both. Whych syght was shewed double in þe
5 lorde, and the syght was shewed double in the servannt. That one perty was shewed gostly in bodely lycknesse. That other *p*erty was shewed
93v more gostly *with*oute bodely lycknes. For / the furst thus I sawe two persons in bodely lycknesse, that is to sey a lorde and a servannt; and therw*ith* god gaue me gostly vnderstandyng. The lorde syttyth solemp-
10 nely in rest and in pees. The servannt stondyth before his lorde, reverently redy to do his lordes wyll*e*. The lorde lokyth vppon his seruannt full louely and swetly and mekely. He sendyth hym in to a certeyne place to do his wyll. The servannt nott onely he goyth, but sodenly he stertyth and rynnyth in grett hast for loue to do his lordes

---

5 *That (one)*: S1: than; and so S2. 6 *lycknesse*: add. SS: *and*. *That (other)*: S1: the; and so S2. 10 *in (pees)*: om. S2. *before*: S1: by aforn; and so S2. 12 *louely and*: om. S2. *in*: om. SS. 13 *nott onely*: om. S2.

61.1-3, which are assimilated to the theme of the Lord and the Servant. As the Douai titles to some of these chapters illustrate (e.g. chapter 61, 'The office of Christ, the mission of the Apostles, the happiness of their converts'), there is much that is symbolic or allegorical, so that Julian's *in shewyng full mystely* is equally applicable to her sources and to her 'example'.

6 *gostly in bodely lycknesse ... gostly withoute bodely lycknes*: these two types of seeing differ from what Julian calls 'bodily sight' and 'ghostly sight', which concludes what she has to say about the first revelation (323.29-30).

8 *in bodely lycknesse*: cf. 313.35-314.45 and 313.36 note, a short but *open example* of a *solempne kyng or a gret lorde* and *a pore seruante*. This seems to be the same type of shewing, 'ghostly in bodily likeness'. It was *shewde so hygh that thys mannes hart myght be rauyssched*.

11 *reverently redy to do his lordes wylle*: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: He that from that heyȝt of god into the vayle of wrycchednesse is ordayned or sente ... he is euer abydynge and redy to do whate as god commawndys (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 257).

12 *He sendyth hym in to a certeyne place to do his wyll*: cf. John 17.18: As thou hast sent me into the world, I also have sent them into the world.

13 *The servannt nott onely he goyth, but sodenly he stertyth*: cf. Psalm 118.32: I have run the way of thy commandments, when thou didst enlarge my heart.

14 *sodenly*: 'promptly'. Cf. NED Sudden, *a.*, *adv.*, and *sb.* 3: 'Performed or taking place without delay; speedy; prompt, immediate'. Cf. *An Epistle of Prayer*, where the *Cloud*-author writes: Me þink þat seinte Bernard acordeþ to þis worching where he seiþ þat alle þinges schuld be done swiftlich and gladliche (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 51). The editor is probably right, 136, in identifying the probable source of 'Bernard' as *Vitis mystica seu tractatus de passione Domini*, chapter 9: Sunt autem nonnulli qui bona quidem opera faciunt vel coactione vel necessitate vel consuetudine, sed ad haec agenda nulla alacritate moventur ... (PL 184 674). Although it is now accepted that the ascription of *Vitis mystica* to Bernard is spurious, it is of Julian's age, and the kind of treatise which, if she knew it, she would esteem. Jolliffe does not list any translation of the work.

wylle. And anon he fallyth in a slade, and takyth ful grett sorow; and than he gronyth and monyth and wallowyth and wryeth, but he may nott ryse nor helpe hym selfe by no manner of weye. And of all this the most myschefe that I saw hym in was feylyng of comfort, for he culde nott turne his face to loke vppe on his lovyng lorde, whych was to hym
94r full nere, / in whom is full comfort; but as a man that was full febyll
21 and vnwyse for the tyme, he entendyd to his felyng and enduryng in woo, in whych woo he sufferyd vij grett paynes. The furst was the soore brosyng that he toke in his fallyng, whych was to hym moch payne. The seconde was þe hevynesse of his body. The thyrde was fybylnesse that folowyth of theyse two. The iiij was that he was blyndyd in his reson

---

15 *slade*: C, marg.: precipice. *ful*: om. S2. *sorow*: SS: sore. 16 *wallowyth*: S1: waylith; and so S2. *wryeth*: S1: writhith; and so S2. *may nott*: SS: ne may. 17 *of*: om. SS. 19 *whych*: S2: who. 20 *full (febyll)*: om. SS. 21 *enduryng*: S1: induryd; and so S2. 23 *brosyng*: C: brusing; S1: brosyng; S2: bruising. *moch*: S1: felable; and so S2. 24 *fybylnesse*: C: feebleness; S1: febilnes; S2: feeblenes. *that (folowyth)*: om. SS. 25 *folowyth*: C: followed; S1: folowyng; and so S2. *was (that)*: om. SS.

---

15 *And anon he fallyth...*: there can be no doubt that here she is contemplating the suffering Christ as she had seen him, in the first six revelations and, especially, in the eighth. She may also have had in mind the traditional falling of Christ along the Way of the Cross. In her day all who had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem must have known the tradition; Margery Kempe, who had, probably before she visited Julian, writes: Anoþer day erly in þe morwenyng þei went ageynes þe gret hyllys, and her gydes teld wher owyr lord bare þe cros on hys bakke, and wher hys modyr met wyth hym, and how she swownyd, and how sche fel down and he fel down also (*Book of Margery Kempe*, 72).

18 *for he culde nott turne his face to loke vppe on his lovyng lorde*: Julian may be comparing this with her own situation, when she said, in answer to the inward voice, *Loke vppe to hevyn to hys father, Nay, I may nott ...* (370.7-371.11).

20 *is full comfort*: cf. II Corinthians 1.3: Blessed be ... the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort.

a man that was full febyll and vnwyse: 'very weak and lacking in wisdom'. Julian does not write 'fully', completely, and, though SS have deemed it prudent to omit 'full', it in no way impugns her Christology.

23 *brosyng*: cf. NED Brisen, *v.*, brisinge, *ger.*, which cites pseudo-Bonaventure, *The Privity of the Passion*: They renewede all his olde bryssynges and his drye wondes (Horstmann 1 205). Cf. Isaias 53.5: He was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins (Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, attritus est propter scelera nostra).

24 *þe hevynesse of his body*: cf. Isaias 53.4: Surely he has borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows.

25 *blyndyd in his reson ...*: observe that Julian writes *allmost he had forgeten*; cf. the note above to (20) *full febyll*.

and stonyd in his mynde so ferforth that allmost he had forgeten his owne loue. The v was þat he myght nott ryse. The vj was payne most mervelous to me, and that was that he leye aloone. I lokyd alle about and behelde, and ferre ne nere ne hye ne lowe I saw to hym no helpe. The vijth was that the place whych he ley in was alang, harde and grevous.

94v I merveyled how / this seruannt myght thus mekely suffer all this woo; and I behelde *with* avysement to wytt yf I culde perceyve in hym ony defauȝte, or yf the lorde shuld assigne in hym ony maner of blame; and verely there was none seen, for oonly hys good wyll and his grett desyer was cause of his fallyng. And he was as vnlothfull and as good inwardly as he was when he stode before his lorde, redy to do his wylle.

And ryght thus contynuantly his loueyng lorde full tenderly beholdyth hym; and now wyth a doubyll chere, oone owtwarde, full mekly and myldely, *with* grett rewth and pytte, and this was of the furst; another inwarde, more gostly, and this was shewed *with* a ledyng of my

---

26 *stonyd*: C: stonnyed; and so SS: C, marg.: astonished. 27 *loue*: S2: life. *payne*: om. SS. 29 *ne (hye)*: om. SS. 30 *whych*: C: that. *in*: SS: on. *alang*: C: long; SS: a lang. 32 *thus*: om. SS. *suffer*: add. SS: there. 33 *wytt*: S2: know. *in hym*: S2: him in. 34 *maner of*: om. SS. 35 *verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. 36 *was (cause)*: add. C: the. *he was*: om. SS. 38 *contynuantly*: C: continually; and so SS.

---

28 *he leye aloone*: cf. Isaias 53.4: We have thought him as it were a leper, and 53.8: He is cut off from the land of the living.

30 *alang, harde and grevous*: cf. Isaias 51.3: The Lord will comfort Sion and all her ruins, and he will make her desert as a place of pleasure, and her wilderness as the garden of the Lord.

alang: NED, Along, *a*^{1}., *adv.* and *prep.*, states that the adjective is 'only in OE', which this disproves; and cf. MED, along, adj.

36 *vnlothfull*: the context plainly gives the meaning 'unreluctant'. NED does not record; but cf. Unloathfulness, where the first example is a. 1470, *Dives et Pauper*: Swete Iesu Cryst, what is thy gylt / That thou thus for me arte spylt, / Floure of vnlothfulnes? Under Unloathsome, NED states that its 1583 instance is 'misused for loathsome', but fails to quote in full *Promptorium parvulorum*: Onlothsum, onlusty, or lestles: *Deses*. Both examples may illustrate not the negative *un*-prefix but the rare intensive: OE *unhār*, 'very grey'.

40 *mekly and myldely, with grett rewth and pytte*: see Julian's exposition of the property of mercy, which immediately precedes this parable, 501.12-502.26.

vnderstandyng in to the lorde, in restoryng whych I saw hym hyely enjoy for the wurschypfull restyng and noble that he wyll and shall bryng his seruannt to by his plentuous grace. And this was of *þat* other
95r shewyng. / And now was my vnderstandyng ledde ageyne in to the
46 furst, both kepyng in mynd.

Than seyde this curteyse lorde in his menyng: Lo my belouyd servant, what harme and dysses he hath had and takyn in my servys for my loue, yea, and for his good wylle. Is it nott reson that I reward hym his frey
50 and his drede, his hurt and his mayme and alle his woo? And nott only

---

47 *belouyd*: ms: belouevyd.

---

42 *in restoryng*: om. SS. *whych*: S2: whom. *hym*: om. S2. *enjoy*: S2: rejoycing 43 *noble*: SS: nobleth. 44 *þat*: C: the. 45 *was (my)*: om. SS. 47 *seyde*: S1: seith; and so S2. *Lo*: C: to; SS: lo lo. *belouyd*: S1: lovid. 48 *had and*: om. SS. 49 *Is it*: C: it is. *reson*: SS: skyl. *reward*: SS: award. *frey*: C, marg.: fright; SS: afray. 50 *mayme*: S1: maine; and so S2; marg., al. m.: maim.

---

42 *in restoryng whych*: the antecedent of 'whych' is evidently *my vnderstandyng*; and this seems to refer to the ninth revelation, chapter 22, where, after the dialogue between Christ and Julian about their common joy in his Passion, she continues: *In thys felyng my vnderstandyng was leftyd vppe in to hevyn, and ther I saw thre hevyns* (382.7). All three concern Christ's sacred humanity; and in the first she sees the Father's joy in the Son and his reward to him for his Passion. This was 'no bodily likeness', and now she repeats that this is *inwarde, more gostly*. It is noteworthy that the usually intelligent and perceptive SS scribes do not make sense of this difficult passage.

43 *noble*: 'nobility'. Cf. NED, Noblé, where the first instance is c. 1400, MED, ? a 1425 (? a 1350), Castleford *Chron.*

44 *And this was of þat other shewyng*: that is, the second part of this present revelation, of which she has already written: *That one perty was shewed gostly in bodely lycknesse. That other perty was shewed more gostly withoute bodely lycknes* (514.5-7). Her inward, ghostly understanding of the Father's joy in the Son has been given again to her, and applies to the 'more ghostly' part of the parable.

47 *Lo my belouyd servant*: cf. Isaias 42.1: Behold my servant; I will uphold him.

49 *Is it nott reson ...*: cf. Isaias 53.10 e.s.: And the Lord was pleased to bruise him in infirmity. If he shall lay down his life for sin, he shall see a long lived seed ... because his soul has laboured, he shall see and be filled ... Therefore I will distribute to him very many, and he shall divide the spoils of the strong.

frey: 'fright'. The C gloss and the SS substitution show that Julian's form had become in the seventeenth century archaic.

frey ... drede ... hurt ... mayme: her vocabulary here is reminiscent of the synoptic accounts of the agony at Gethsemane, e.g. Matthew 26.38-39: My soul is sorrowful even to death ... he fell upon his face; Mark 14.33: ... and he began to fear and to be oppressed; Luke 22.43: And being in an agony, he prayed the longer.

this, but fallyth it nott to me to geve hym a ȝyfte that be better to hym and more wurschypfull than his owne hele shuld haue bene? And ells me thyngkyth I dyd hym no grace.

And in this an inwarde goostely shewyng of the lordes menyng
55 descendyd in to my soule, in whych I saw that it behovyth nedys to be standyng his grett goodnes and his owne wurschyppe, that his deer-
worthy servannt, whych he lovyd so moch, shulde be hyely and blessyd-
95v fully rewardyd without end, aboue that he shulde haue / be yf he had nott fallen, yea, and so ferforth that his fallyng and alle his wo that he
60 hath takyn there by shalle be turnyd in to the hye ovyrpassyng wurschyppe and endlesse blesse.

And at this poynt the shewyng of the example vanysschyd, and oure good lorde ledde forth my vnderstandyng in syght and in shewyng of the revelacion to the ende. But nott withstandyng all thys forthledyng,

---

51 *hym (a)*: om. SS. *that*: add. S2: may. 52 *hele*: S1: hole. *And*: C: or. *ells*: SS: ell. 55 *behovyth*: C: behooved. 56 *standyng*: add. S2: in. *goodnes*: om. S1. 57 *whych*: S2: whom. *hyely*: SS: verily. *blessydfully*: C: worshipfully; SS: blisfully. 58 *that*: S2: what. 59 *alle*: om. SS. 60 *the hye*: S1: hey *and*; and so S2.

---

51 *but fallyth it nott ... shuld haue bene?*: cf. 383.14-384.17: *The werkyng of the father is this: that he geavyth mede to hys sonne Jhesu Crist. This gyft and this mede is so blyssydfulle to Jhesu that his father myght haue geavyn hym no mede that myght haue lykeyd to hym better.* It is clear that the eighth revelation is strongly linked to this part of the parable.

55 *descendyd*: this is the only place in the revelations when Julian writes of a showing coming down from on high. It recalls the celebrated passage in *Privy Counselling*: ... þe heiȝ wisdom of þe godheed graciousli descendyng into mans soule (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 145), and James 1.17: Every best gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights.

In whych I saw: 'in which I saw that this must necessarily be the case, (that) his great goodness and his own honour (require) that his beloved servant ...'. See Glossary, stanndyng.

57 *whych he lovyd so moch*: cf. John 5.20: For the Father loves the Son.

59 *and so ferforth ... endlesse blesse*: cf. 255.21-23, 447.19-21.

63 *ledde forth my vnderstandyng in syght and in shewyng of the revelacion to the ende*: that is, to the fifteenth and sixteenth revelations, 263.1 e.s., 620.12 e.s. Note that in the short text, the fourteenth revelation, on prayer, ends at 262.78. This revelation was carefully re-edited in the light of her years of meditating and contemplating the parable; and all that follows in the long text, chapters 44-63 (483.2-620.12) depends immediately on the parable, and so has no place in the short text.

64 *But nott withstandyng all thys forthledyng, the marveylyng of þe example went nevyr fro me*: that is, during the showing of the fifteenth and sixteenth revelations, she is still contemplating the parable.

the marveylyng of þe example went nevyr fro me; for me thoght it was gevyn me for answere to my desyer. And yet culde I nott take there in full vnderstandyng to my ees in that tyme. For in the servannt, that was shewed for Adam as I shall sey, I sawe many dyuerse properteys that myght by no manner be derecte to syngell Adam, and thus in that tyme I stode mykylle in thre knowynges, for the full vnderstandyng of this mervelouse example was not gevyn me in that tyme. In whych mysty / 96r example the pryvytes of the reuelacyon be yet moch hyd; and nott with stand(y)ng this I sawe and vnderstode that euery shewyng is full of pryvytes. And there fore me behovyth now to telle thre propertes in whych I am som dele esyd.

The furst is the begynnyng of techyng that I vnderstode ther in in the same tyme. The secunde is the inwarde lernyng that I haue vnderstonde

---

73 *standyng*: ms: standng.

---

65 *went*: S1: cam;·and so S2. 66 *for (answere)*: add. SS: an. 67 *in (that)*: SS; at. 69 *manner*: add. S1: or wey; add. S2: way. *derecte*: SS: aret. 70 *mykylle*: S2: much. *thre knowynges*: S1: onknowyng; and so S2. 71 *in (that)*: S2: at. *mysty*: S2: mighty. 72 *the pryvytes*: S1: iij propertes; and so S2. *yet*: om. S2. *moch*: S1: mekyl. 75 *som dele*: C, marg.: somewhat. 76 *in (the)*: om. C; S2: at.

---

66 *for answere to my desyer*: compare her prayer, *A, lorde Jhesu, kyng of blysse, how shall I be esyde, who shall tell me and tech me that me nedyth to wytt, if I may nott at this tyme se it in the?* (512.36).

68 *as I shall sey*: cf. 521.100-522.114.

70 *in thre knowynges*: a clear example of P's superiority to SS.

71 *In whych mysty example*: cf. 513.2 note.

74 *thre propertes*: these are the *thre knowynges*, supra, line 70. Julian seems to be using *propertes* in the sense of '(essential) property', '(divine) attribute'; cf. Glossary. They can be separated mentally, but not in reality. Cf. 520.80-81.

76 *The furst is the begynnyng of techyng ... to the syght of my vnderstondyng*: Julian is here clearly distinguishing between three kinds of contemplative knowledge which she has received and is still receiving concerning her visions. The first is what she was taught by the visions themselves when they were first showed to her. The second is the continual learning process she underwent between 1373 and 1393 (cf. 520.86-87 and note) concerning them. The third is the exercise of the power of recall of the entire sequence of them. The first and the third indicate acquired as well as infused contemplation — a developed contemplative memory and understanding through the exercise of *lectio divina*, which she frequently brings to bear on the matter of the revelations. The second implies infused contemplative graces: *lyghtenynges and touchynges, I hope of the same spiryte that shewyth them alle* (631.36).

there in sythen. The thyrd is alle the hole revelation fro the begynnyng to the ende whych oure lorde god of his goodnes bryngyth oftymes frely
80 to the syght of my vnderstondyng. And theyse thre be so onyd, as to my vnderstondyng, that I can nott nor may deperte them. And by theyse thre as one I haue techyng wherby I ow to beleue and truste in oure lorde god, that of the same goodnesse that he shewed it and for the same end, ryght so of the same goodnes and for the same end he shall
96v declare it to vs when it / is his wyll.
86 For twenty yere after the tyme of the shewyng saue thre monthys I had techyng inwardly as I shall sey: It longyth to the to take hede to alle þe propertes and the condescions that were shewed in the example,

---

82 *beleue* alt. fr. 'lyve'.

---

78 *is (alle)*: om. SS. *hole*: C: holy. 79 *ende*: add. S1: þat is to sey of this boke; and so S2. *oftymes*: C: oft-times; S1: often tymes; S2: oftentimes. 82 *ow*: C, marg.: ought. *beleue*: so C; S1: levyn (alt. fr. 'leyvyn'); S2: leivyn. 83 *lorde*: om. S2. *for*: C: of. 86 *yere*: C: years; and so SS. *tyme of the*: om. S2. 88 *the (condescions)*: om. SS. *condescions*: S1: condition.

---

80 *And theyse thre be so onyd* ...: here we have Julian's own guarantee of the authenticity and integrity of the whole sequence of revelations. She can distinguish clearly between the *thre propertes*, which have now become for her *thre as one*; but none the less, throughout the long text, she is at pains to show what is the substance and what are the modes of the showings as such, and which are her own insights and reflections. We can be sure that if chapter 51 — the most notable single addition to the matter of the short text — had come to her not as a revelation but in the course of her later contemplation, it would not have been presented in its existing form. In what she next writes, *For twenty yere after* ..., she is recounting the difficulties she experienced with the showing-allegory of the lord and the servant, and describing how they were solved by obedience and by faith that God *shall declare it to vs when it is his wyll*. So we read: You see me, because I live, and you will live. In that day you will know that I am in my Father ... (John 14.19-20), and so Julian had written earlier: *But somtyme ... a beter ȝyfte* (cf. 469.24). She had given this general application; but this account illustrates that she was writing out of her own personal experience.

87 *as I shall sey*: this is no anticipation, such as Julian sometimes uses, of a locution later to be recounted, but introduces what follows immediately; it had been God's will that for almost twenty years she should ponder the details and implications of the 'example' which she did not fully comprehend, and did not report in the short text.

88 *þe propertes and the condescions*: *propertes* probably refers to the tokens of the divine attributes revealed both in lord and in servant, *condescions* to those human attributes which Christ the servant assumed.

though þe thyngke that it be mysty and indefferent to thy syght. I assen-
90 tyd wylfully *with* grett desyer, seeing inwardly *with* avysement all the poyntes and the propertes that were shewed in the same tyme, as ferforth as my wytt and my vnderstandyng wylle serve, begynnyng my beholdyng at the lorde and at þe servannt, at the manner of syttyng of the lorde and the place he satt on, and the coloure of his clothyng and
95 the manner of shape, and his chere *with*oute and his nobley and his goodnes *with*in; and the manner of stondyng of the seruannt, and the place where and how, and his manner of clothyng, the coloure and the
97r shape, at his outwarde behavyng and at his inwarde / goodnes and his vnlothfulnesse. The lorde that satt solemply in rest and in peas, I vn-
100 derstonde that he is god. The seruannt that stode before hym, I vn-

---

89 *þe* interl.; 'ȝe' canc. 90 *seeing* alt. fr. 'seieng'. 98 *behavyng*: 'be' interl.

---

89 *þe*: S1: þou; and so S2. *it be*: S1: they ben; and so S2. *assentyd*; SS: assend. 90 *seeing*: SS: *and*. 91 *the (propertes)*: om. SS. *in*: S2: at. 92 *my (vnderstandyng)*: om. SS. *wylle*: S1: wold; and so S2. *begynnyng*: add. C: at. 93 *at (the manner)*: SS: *and*. 94 *place*: add. S1: that; and so S2. 95 *nobley*: SS: nobleth. 96 *and (the manner)*: SS: at. 97 *and (his manner)*: SS: at. 98 *behavyng*: C: behaviour; S1: havyng; and so S2. 99 *vnlothfulnesse*: S1: onlothfulhede. 100 *hym*: S1: the lord; and so S2.

---

89 *indefferent*: cf. NED Indifferent *a.*[1] I.3., 'Undetermined in regard to impressions, actions ... *Obs.*' Its first example of this sense is 1538. MED, indifferent adj. (b), 'equally receptive (to heat or cold, various impressions, etc.)' has its first example a. 1398. Du Cange gives 'Indifferentialiter, Sine differentia, indistincte', and TLL, Indifferens Aβ, has 'in serm. metricorum i.q. anceps', and, under Anceps, quotes *Ad Herennium*: 'verborum ancipites aut multiplices potestates'. Clearly it is in this sense that Julian uses the term and couples it with *mysty*. See Introduction, IX.

95 *withoute ... within*: cf. 516.39-517.43.

98 *at his outwarde behavyng and at his inwarde goodnes and his vnlothfulnesse*: cf. 516.32-37.

99 *vnlothfulnesse*: cf. 516.36 note.

100 *The seruannt that stode before hym ...*: Julian is perceiving something of the mystery of sin and redemption as it is exposed in Paul's teaching on the first Adam, the 'old man', and the last Adam, Christ, the new man in whom all die in order to live according to the new creation, the new heaven and the new earth. Cf. I Corinthians 15.21-22: For by a man came death, and by a man the resurrection of the dead; and as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. The *Scale*, II chapter 1, has:.... bot þorw synne (f. 63ᵛ) of þe first man Adam it was diffigured *and* forschapyn in to a noþer liknes ... It fel fro þat goostly liȝt *and* þat heuenly fode in to pynful mirknes *and* lust of þis wrecchid liif (MS Harley 6579; Underhill, 226).

derstode that he was shewed for Adam, that is to sey oone man was shewed that tyme and his fallyng to make there by to be vnderstonde how god beholdyth alle manne and his fallyng. For in the syghte of god alle man is oone man, and oone man is alle man. This man was hurte in
105 his myghte and made fulle febyll, and he was stonyd in his vnderstandyng, for he was turnyd fro the beholdyng of his lorde, but his wylle was kepte in gods syght. For his wylle I saw oure lorde commende and aproue, but hym selfe was lettyd and blyndyd of the knowyng of this wyll. And this is to hym grett sorow and grevous dysses, for neyther
97v he seeth clerly his lovyng lorde whych is to / hym full meke and mylde,
111 nor he seeth truly what hym selfe is in the syght of his louyng lord. And welle I wott when theyse two be wysely and truly seen we shall gett rest and peas, here in party and the fulsomnesse in the blysse in hevyn by his plentuous grace.
115 And this was a begynnyng of techyng whych I saw in the same tyme,

---

101 *he (was)*: SS: it. 102 *to be*: om. SS. 103 *alle manne*: S1: aman; and so S2. 104 *man is (oone)*: S2: men are. 106 *was (turnyd)*: om. SS. 107 *kepte*: add. S1: hole; and so S2. 108 *blyndyd*: S1: blinhod. 110 *whych*: S2: who. 112 *wott*: add. C: that. *when*: S2: where. 113 *fulsomnesse*: S1: fulhede; S2: fulnes; C, marg.: perfect fulness. *in (the)*: SS: of. *in (hevyn)*: S1: of. 115 *in*: S2: at.

---

103 *For in the syghte of god / alle man is oone man / and oone man is alle man*: a *compar* with, in the second and third *cola, chiasmus* (*alle man ... oone man ... oone man ... alle man*). The SS variants destroy the figure.

104 *alle man is oone man ...*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 1: ... *euerilke* man was in þe same meschief, *and* non miȝt suffice to help hy*m* self (MS Harley 6579, f. 63v; Underhill, 226).

105 *he was stonyd in his vnderstandyng*: cf. the English *Stimulus*: A the gret blyndenesse of Adam sones ... (H. J. Kane, 10; Kirchberger, 51).

106 *but his wylle was kepte ... the knowyng of this wyll*: this is the point made by William of St. Thierry, dealing with the fall of David: Sic et David cum peccavit (II Kings 11) charitatem non perdidit, sed obstupuit quodammodo in eo charitas ad vehementem tentationis ictum; et charitatis in eo nequaquam facta est abolitio, sed quasi quaedam soporatio (*De natura et dignitate amoris*, PL 184 390).

his wylle was kepte: cf. Psalm 40.13: Thou hast established me in thy sight for ever.

108 *hym selfe was lettyd and blyndyd of the knowyng of this wyll*: cf. Psalm 72.22-23: I am brought to nothing and I knew not. I have become as a beast before thee.

109 *And this is to hym grett sorow and grevous dysses*: again, Julian seems to be contemplating the two consummate moments of Christ's passion: his prostration at Gethsemane — 'let this cup pass from me' (Matthew 26.39) — and at the point of death on the cross: 'Now there was darkness over the whole earth, and Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying ... My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? (Matthew 27.45-46).

111 *nor he seeth truly what hym selfe is in the syght of his louyng lord*: cf. 490.2-8.

And welle I wott ... by his plentuous grace: cf. 490.8-491.15.

wherby I myght come to knowyng in what manner he beholdeth vs in oure synne. And then I saw that oonly payne blamyth and ponyschyth, and oure curteyse lorde comfortyth and socurryth, and evyr he is to the soule in glad chere, lovyng and longyng to bryng vs to his blysse.

120 The place that the lorde satt on was symply on the erth, bareyn and deserte, aloone in wyldernesse. His clothyng was wyde and syde and full semely, as fallyth to a lorde. The colour of the clothyng was blew as
98r asure, most sad and feyer. His chere was mercifull, the colour of / his face was feyer brown whyȝt *with* full semely countenannce, his eyen
125 were blake, most feyer and semely, shewyng full of louely pytte, and *with*in hym an hey ward long and brode, all full of endlesse hevynlynes.

---

117 *payne*: S1: paynys; and so S2. 118 *socurryth*: S1: sorowith; and so S2. *evyr*: S1: over. 119 *his*: om. SS. 120 *the (lorde)*: S1; our; and so S2. *symply*: C, S2: simple; and so S1. 122 *the (clothyng)*: SS: his. 124 *whyȝt*: om. SS. *full semely countennance*: S1: fulsomely featours; and so S2. 126 *hey ward*: S2: highward.

---

117 *And then I saw ... to his blysse*: cf. 452.32-36.

118 *and oure curteyse lorde comfortyth and socurryth ...*: cf. 380.19-21.

119 *glad chere*: cf. Matthew 9.2: Be of good heart, son, your sins are forgiven you.

120 *symply*: the C, SS readings may be superior, but 'only', 'merely' can be justified: this was no throne upon a dais; the lord sat on the ground.

erth, bareyn and deserte, aloone in wyldernesse: with this stark description Julian recalls the great Scriptural themes of the loss of Eden (Genesis 3.17-18): cursed is the earth by your work ... thorns and thistles shall it produce for you; of the desert wanderings of Israel (Exodus 16.3): Why have you brought us into this desert, that you might destroy all the multitude with famine?; of the far country of the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15.14): there came a mighty famine in that country; the abomination of desolation in the last days (Matthew 24.15 e.s.); and of the solitude into which the scapegoat wanders (Leviticus 16.22).

121 *wyde and syde*: 'ample'; the terms are synonymous, but the tautology is ancient and traditional. Grein quotes *Saturn* 699: wīd and sīd, and *Genesis* 1655: sīde and wide. In one of the Harley Lyrics — betere is were þunne boute last / þen syde robes ant synke into synne (ed. G. L. Brook, 39) — the adjective implies, as here, sumptuousness. The rhetoricians called the figure *tautologia*.

126 *an hey ward*: 'a high (i.e. secure) place of refuge'. Cf. 639.2-3 note. Julian may have had in mind II Kings 22.3 (*elevator meus et refugium meum*), Psalm 58.17 (*susceptor meus et refugium meum*) and Judges 9.51: And there was in the midst of the city a high tower, which associates, as Julian will in the sixteenth revelation, the *endlesse warde*, 'everlasting citadel', with the *worschypfulle cytte*. Though the title *Sawles Warde* may translate that of its original, pseudo-Anselm's *De custodia interioris hominis* (Southern and Schmitt, 354-360), in the English author's conclusion, an addition, he writes: ... for euch unþeawes inȝong his warde to witene and te warden treowliche (Bennett and Smithers, 260): 'faithfully to guard and protect his citadel against every vice's incursion'. Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, I viii, with a prayer which calls Christ: in-

And the louely lokyng that he lokyd on his servannt contynually, and namely in his fallyng, me thought it myght melt oure hartys for loue and brest them on twoo for joy. This feyer lokyng shewed of a semely
130 medelur whych was marvelous to beholde. That one was rewth and pytte, that other joy and blysse. The joy and blysse passyth as ferre þe rewth and the pytte as hevyn is aboue erth. The pytty was erthly *and* the blysse hevynly.

The rewth and the pytty of the fader was of the fallyng of Adam,
135 whych is his most lovyd creature. The joy and the blysse was of the fallyng of his deerwurthy son, whych is evyn w*ith* the fader. The mer-
98v cyfull beholdyng / of his louely chere fulfyllyd all erth, and descendyd

---

127 *hevynlynes*: S1: hevyns; and so S2. 128 *melt*: S1: molten. 129 *on*: C: in. *This*: SS: the. 130 *medelur*: C, marg.: mixture. *That ... that*: S2: þe ... þe. 131 *other*: add. SS: was. 132 *þe ... the (pytte)*: om. SS. 133 *blysse*: add. SS: was. 134 *and*: SS: in. *the (fader)*: om. SS. 135 *whych ... whych*: S2: who ... who. *the fallyng of*: om. SS. 136 *evyn*: C, marg.: equal.

---

expugnabilis murus omnium in te sperantium ... in tribulatione meum refugium (Rigollot, 1 66). *A Book to a Mother* (cf. 203.36 note) has: ... þilke soule ... fleeþ vp into holis of (Christ's) fyue woundes, lokynge with symple eyen into þe clere wardes of holy writ, as a coluer for drede of þe faucoun (McCarthy, 12-13). The *warde*, 'citadel', is the house which its owner must defend against thieves in Matthew 24.43, the text with which *De custodia* begins.

127 *the louely lokyng*: cf. 394.4.

128 *melt oure hartys*: cf. Canticles 5.6: My soul melted when he spoke.

129 *This feyer lokyng ...*: cf. 501.12-13, 503.33-35.

130 *medelur*: 'mixture'. MED's first example is from Hilton's *Scale*.

That one was rewth and pytte / that other joy and blysse / The joy and blysse / passyth as ferre / þe rewth and the pytte / as hevyn is aboue erth / The pytty was erthly / and the blysse hevynly: a *membrum* of eight *cola*, with reiterated *oppositiones* (*rewth and pytte / joy and blysse*; *hevyn ... hevynly / erth ... erthly*).

134 *The rewth and the pytty of the fader / was of the fallyng of Adam / whych is his most lovyd creature / The joy and the blysse / was of the fallyng of his deerwurthy son / whych is evyn with the fader*: a *compar* of six *cola*, repeating the *oppositiones* of the previous figure and linking them with a new one: *Adam / his deerwurthy son*.

The rewth and the pytty of the fader ...: cf. Osee 11.4: I will draw them with the cords of Adam, with the bands of love.

136 *whych is evyn*: 'who is equal'. Cf. MED even adj. 4, 'Equal (in number, magnitude, quantity, degree or measure)', which quotes Trevisa's translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus: Þis holy potestas haþ euene miȝt (equalem potestatem) with dominaciounes.

The mercyfull beholdyng ...: cf. Psalm 144.9, 16: The Lord is sweet to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works ... Thou openest thy hand and fillest with blessing every creature.

downe *with* Adam into helle, *with* whych contyn(u)ant pytte Adam was kepte fro endlesse deth. And this mercy and pytte dwellyth *with* mankynde in to the tyme that we come vppe in to hevyn. But man is blyndyd in this life, and therefore we may nott se oure fader god as he is. And what tyme that he of hys goodnesse wyll shew hym to man, he shewyth hym homely as man, not *with* stondyng that I saw verely we ought to know and beleue that the fader is nott man. But his syttyng on the erth, bareyn and desert, is thus to mene: he made mannes soule to be his owne cytte and his dwellyng place, whych is most pleasyng to hym of all his workes. And what tyme man was fallyn in to sorow and payne, he was not all semely to serve of *þat* noble offyce; and therfore

---

138 *contynuant*: ms: conntynant.

---

140 *in to (the)*: S2: untill. *that*: om. SS. *in to (hevyn)*: S2: to. 141 *we*: om. S2. 143 *homely*: C, marg.: friendly. *man*: C: may. *that I*: SS: I ne. *verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. 144 *beleue*: S1: levyn. 145 *thus*: C, S1: this; and so S2. 147 *tyme*: add. S1: that; and so S2.

---

138 ... *into helle*: cf. Psalm 138.8, 10: If I descend into hell, thou art present ... Even there also shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

139 *And this mercy and pytte ... we come vppe in to hevyn*: the personification here may reflect some of the literature dealing with the debate of the 'Four Daughters of God' (Psalm 84.11: *Mercy* and *Truth* have met each other; *Justice* and *Peace* have kissed). Thus, in the English version of Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour*, Mercy says: Neuer I þi douhter neore / Bote milce toward him were. / Milce and merci he schal haue: / Þorw milce I chulle þe prisun craue / For þin owne swete pite: / I schal him bringe to sauete. / Þi milce for him I crie euer more, / And haue of him milce and ore (Weymouth, 16). See also *Piers Plowman*, C xxi, ed. Skeat, 1 531. For the derivation of the debate in pseudo-Bonaventure from Bernard of Clairvaux, see Columban Fischer, AFP 25, 1932, 459-464.

140 *But man is blyndyd ... god as he is*: cf. 496.19-20.

142 *what tyme that he of hys goodnesse wyll shew hym*: cf. I John 3.2 (see 481.53 note). *he shewyth hym homely as man*: cf. 294.9-296.19.

143 *I saw verely we ought to know and beleue that the fader is nott man*: the *Cloud*-author makes the same point about Stephen's vision in Acts 7.55, when 'he saw the glory of God and Jesus standing at God's right hand': þees bodely schewynges were done by goostly bemenynges (Hodgson, 109).

145 *he made mannes soule ... þat noble offyce*: part of Julian's contemplation here would appear to be the vision of the new heaven and the new earth, the new city (the Church, the body of Christ, purified and redeemed) which descends from heaven and becomes the new tabernacle of God with men: He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people ... and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes (Apocalypse 21.1-4).

146 *whych is most pleasyng to hym of all his workes*: cf. 639.2 e.s.

148 *he was not all semely to serve of þat noble offyce*: cf. Luke 17.10: So you also, when you have done all these things that are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants.

99r oure / kynde fader wolde haue dyght hym noon other place but to sytt
150 vppon the erth, abydyng man kynde, whych is medlyd *with* erth, tyll what tyme by his grace hys deerwurthy sonne had brought agayne hys cytte in to the nobyll feyernesse *with* his harde traveyle.

The blewhed of the clothyng betokenyth his stedfastnesse, the brownhed of his feyer face *with* the semely blackhede of the eyen was
155 most accordyng to shew his holy sobyrnesse, the largnesse of his

---

149 *dyght*: C, marg.: adorned for him; SS: adyten. *to*: om. SS. 150 *vppon*: S2: on. *medlyd*: C, marg.: mingled. 151 *brought*: S1: bowte; and so S2. 152 *feyernesse*: S1: fayrhede. 153 *blewhed*: C, marg.: blewness; and so S2. *the (clothyng)*: C: that; S2: his. 154 *brownhed*: C, marg.: brownness; and so S2. *blackhede*: C, marg.: blackness; and so S2. 155 *largnesse*: S1: larghede.

---

150 *medlyd with erth*: cf. Genesis 2.7: And the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth and breathed into his face the breath of life; Psalm 102.14: ... for he knows our frame; he remembers that we are dust.

153 *The blewhed of the clothyng betokenyth his stedfastnesse*: cf. NED Blue, *a.* 1 e.: 'Often taken as the colour of constancy or unchangingness ... a 1500 *Balade against Women Unconstant*: To newe thinges your lust is euer kene. / In stede of blew thus may ye were al grene.

blewhed: not recorded by NED, MED.

the brownhed of his feyer face ... was most accordyng to shew his holy sobyrnesse: cf. NED Brown, *a.* 3: 'Of persons' ... c. 1420 *Chron. Vilod.* 505: Þaw þou be broune þou art ryȝt welle shape and fere. This is an obvious reminiscence of Canticles 1.4: Nigra sum sed formosa, and of Psalm 44.3: Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum (cf. 375.15 note), as is what Julian writes here. Throughout, she has in mind John 14.9: Anyone who has seen me has seen the Father; and she is preparing the ground for the doctrine which she will later develop: that the Father's appearance as lord signifies his divinity and our humanity (539.273-275), that Christ whom she now sees as servant will himself be clothed and crowned and enthroned at the Father's right hand (544.314-323), where at last she descries him, *and the fader in the son, and þe holy gost in the fader and in þe son* (545.329-331). Julian here is deliberately ascribing to the Father the physical beauty traditionally attributed to the Son, as an easy symbol of her penetration of the Christological and Trinitarian mysteries. So too with *sobyrnesse*. For Paul, especially, *sobrietas* (e.g. I Timothy 2.9, 15), and *modestia* (e.g. Philippians 4.5, Colossians 3.12, II Timothy 2.25) are marks of a Christ-like perfection.

155 *the largnesse of his clothyng, whych was feyer flammyng about*: *flammyng* is not in NED, MED, but seems to be a special application of MED's flaumen, flammen (< OFr flam(b)er), 'to billow like flame or vapour'; and there may also be the implication that the garment's rich texture reflected light. Cf. Psalm 103.1-4: Thou hast put on praise and beauty, and art clothed with light as with a garment, who stretchest out the heaven like a pavilion ... who makest ... thy ministers a burning fire.

clothyng, whych was feyer flammyng about, betokenyth þat he hath beclosyd in hym all hevyns and all endlesse joy and blysse; and this was shewed in a touch, wher I saw that my vnderstandyng was led in to the lorde. In whych I saw hym heyly enjoye for the worschypfull restoryng
160 that he wyll and shall bryng hys servannt to by hys plentuous grace.
99v And yet I marveyled, / beholdyng the lorde and the servannt before seyde.

I saw the lorde sytt solemply, and the servant standyng reverently before his lorde, in whych servant is doubyll vnderstandyng, one
165 without, another within. Outward he was clad symply, as a laborer whych was dysposyd to traveyle, and he stod full nere the lorde, nott evyn for anenst hym, but in perty a syde, and that on the lefte syde; hys clothyng was a whyt kyrtyll, syngell, olde and alle defautyd, dyed with

---

156 *flammyng*: C: flaming; SS: flamand. 157 *beclosyd*: SS: beclesid. *endlesse*: om. SS. 158 *that*: om. SS. 159 *heyly*: S2: mightily. *enjoye*: C, marg.: rejoyce. 163 *sytt*: S2: sitting. 165 *another*: S2: the other. *symply*: C: simple. 166 *was*: S1: wer. 167 *and*: om. SS. *syde (hys)*: om. SS. 168 *defautyd*: SS: defaced.

---

156 *flamand* (SS): it is impossible to say whether this is merely SS preserving Northern *-and* present participle ending (cf. 290.19 *vnderlenand*, and Introduction, p. 32), or if the SS scribes (both probably Benedictine nuns at Cambrai or Paris), faced with an incomprehensible word describing fine attire, thought that it had some obscure connexion with French *flamand*, 'Flemish'. See NED, Flemish; *a.* 3., *Flemish point, Flemish stitch.*

betokenyth þat he hath beclosyd in hym all hevyns: cf. Wisdom 18.24: For in the priestly robe which he wore was the whole world. As early as the fourteenth century, the same notion is found in the iconography of the *Schützmantelmadonna*.

157 *this was shewed in a touch*: cf. 245.63 note. Here the meaning seems to be 'in a brief moment'. This is not recorded in NED, Touch, *sb.*, but several of the uses they list, 2c., 4, 13a., 16, 19, convey the idea of brevity, instantaneity. Elsewhere Julian writes *in a poynte*; cf. 226.1, 336.3 and notes.

158 *wher I saw ... by hys plentuous grace*: cf. 517.42-44.

163 *and the servant standyng ... another within*: cf. 514.5, 10-11.

168 *syngell, olde and alle defautyd*: there may be a reminiscence here of Aelred's sermon, 'De Annuntiatione Beate Marie de Tribus Tunicis Ioseph': 'When afterwards (Christ) hungered, his earthly nature covered him with an earthly appearance ... This is his gown and his tunic, for it reaches from end to end, strong because of his divinity, nor did his flesh see corruption. Therefore, Adam, be sure that it is your lord and God whom you see in this tunic ...' (C. H. Talbot, ed., *Sermones inediti*, 87; and see Talbot's introduction, 20-22, for the history in the Abelard controversy of the 'tunic'). Mechtild of Hackborn in the *Book of Special Grace*, I 2, describes how in prayer she recollected her sins, '... whiche were fulle byttere in here sawle. Ande with þat betternesse sche

swete of his body, streyte syttyng to hym and shorte, as it were an hand-
170 full beneth the knee, bare, semyng as it shuld sone be worne vppe, redy
to be raggyd and rent. And in this I marvelyd gretly, thynkyng: This is
now an vnsemely clothyng for þe seruant that is so heyly lovyd to stond
in before so wurschypfull a lord. And inward in hym was shewed a
100r ground of loue, whych loue he had / to the lorde, that was evyn lyke to
175 þe loue that þe lord had to hym. The wysdom of the seruannt sawe in-

---

170 *beneth*: S2: below. *worne*: S1: weryd; and so S2. 173 *in (before)*: om. SS. *wurschypfull*: S1: worship. *a (lord)*: om. SS.

---

behelde hereselfe clothede as to here gostelye syght with a fowle garmente als lyke to askes' (Halligan, 74). In *The Poor Caitiff* the devil says to Christ, of the Day of Judgment, 'Of þee þei tooken þe cloþ of vndeedlynesse, of me þei han take þis coote of synne and filþhed' (Brady, 16); and the editor shows that 'Seynt Austin', given as the source, is in fact Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber exhortationis* (*De salutaribus documentis*): a te accepit immortalitatis stolam, a me hanc pannosam qua indutus est tunicam (ibid., 216). This English version is wholly independent of the Lollard translation, 'A tretice þat seynt Austen maad to an eerlc' (Fristedt, 2 1-60; Jolliffe, *Check-List* H 20). J. A. Alford ('Haukyn's Coat') sees the same lesson in Julian's parable as in *Piers Plowman* B xiv 22-27, where he finds the poet's allusion to Matthew 6.19-20 significant: 'In taking on man's flesh, Christ transformed it for all men and for all time. It is a condition of his humanity that Haukyn will continue to stain his coat again and again, no matter how often he does penance; but it is only through penance that he may share in the plan of redemption so that finally he may put on the coat of salvation, reserved for him from the beginning, "eternally spotless"' (137).

170 *bare*: 'threadbare'. Cf. NED Bare *a.*, *adv.*, *sb.* 6 c.: 'Of cloth: napless, threadbare', the first example 1483; MED bar adj. has no separate treatment.

171 *raggyd and rent*: the *Ancrene Riwle* has: ... auh ure sotschipe is sutel, and heo weren iliche þeos 3eape children þet habbeð riche uederes, þet willes and woldes teteredð hore cloðes for to habben neowe. Vre olde kurtel is þet fleschs þet we of Adam ure olde ueder habbeð; þene neowe we schulen underuongen of god ure riche ueder in ðe ariste of domesdei (Day 164; the Vernon scribe omits).

This is now an vnsemely clothyng: cf. the *Scale* I, chapter 84: ... for alle come we of Adam and of Eue, cloþed with cloþes of beste hide, as holy writt se(i)þ of oure lord þus: Fecit deus Ade *et* vxori eius tunicas pelliceas (Genesis 3.21) ... in token þat for his synne he was forschapen like to a beste (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 355; Underhill, 204).

173 *And inward in hym was shewed a ground of loue, whych loue he had to the lorde*: two Johannine texts illustrate the meaning here: But that the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father has given me commandment, so do I (John 14.31); That the world may know that thou hast sent me and hast loved them as thou hast also loved me (ibid. 17.23).

175 *The wysdom of the seruannt sawe*: an example of metonymy, 'substituting for the name of a thing the name of an attribute of it' (NED). Geoffrey of Vinsauf illustrates: Consider a statement of this kind: *The sick man seeks a physician* ... Expression attains a fuller flowering in this trope: *Illness is in need of a physician* ... (Nims, 51).

wardly that ther was one thyng to do whych shuld be wurschyppe to the lord; and the servannt for loue, havyng no regarde to hym selfe nor to nothyng that myght fall of hym, hastely deed sterte and rynne at the sendyng of his lorde, to do that thyng whych was hys wylle and his wurshyppe; for it semyd by his outwarde clothyng as he had ben a contynuant laborer and an hard traveler of long tyme. And by the inward syght that I had both in the lorde and in the servant, it semyd that he was a newyd, that is to sey new begynny*n*g for to traveyle, whych servannt was nevyr sent out before.

Ther was a tresoure in the erth whych the lorde lovyd. I merveyled

---

176 *wurschyppe to*: S1: to the worshipp of; and so S2. 177 *regarde*: S1: reward. 178 *of*: C: off; SS: on. *deed*: C; did; SS: he. 179 *that*: S2: þe. *whych*: S2: that. 180 *as*: C, S2: as if. 181 *and an hard traveler*: om. SS. 183 *a newyd*: C: anoved; S1: anew; S2: a new. *to sey*: om. S2. *for*: om. SS.

---

177 *and the servannt ... fall of hym*: cf. Philippians 2.4-8: Each one not considering the things that are his own ... let the mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who ... emptied himself, taking the form of a servant ... becoming obedient to death.

and the servannt ... and his wurshyppe: cf. 514.12-515.15.

178 *fall of hym*: 'happen to him'. Cf. NED Of *prep.* VIII 26 e., 'After *become*; formerly also *befall, fortune*, etc.' The first example is c. 1440 *Tundale* 18: I will 3ou telle how it befell þanne ... of a ryche monne'. Evidently C and SS were not familiar with the usage.

180 *a contynuant laborer*: cf. Psalm 87.16: I am poor and in labours from my youth; and John 5.17, 19-20 (see 479.38 note).

181 *an hard traveler of long tyme*: Julian has John's warrant, in his account of the discourse at the Last Supper, for using 'traveller' here with two senses: there is the image of the woman in labour as the figure of passion, death and resurrection (John 16.19-21) and the references to Jesus's journey from the Father into the world and back to the Father (ibid., 13.1, 3; 13.33, 36; 14.2-5; 14.28; 16.16-19). For the notions of 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage' as typical of Christ and his earthly life, see E. Colledge, 'A Middle English Christological Poem', 255-257.

183 *a newyd*: this sense, 'newly appointed', is not recorded in NED, MED; and the C, SS emendations make no sense. NED's Anew, *v.*, has only the meaning 'renew'.

whych servannt was nevyr sent out before: cf. Galatians 4.4: when the fulness of time had come, God sent his Son ...; I Corinthians 15.45: Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem, novissimus Adam, in spiritum vivificantem.

185 *a tresoure in the erth*: Matthew 13.44: The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field. Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: Whate he be that beres anye grete or precious tresoure, he gerdeys hym the straytere that he lose nought his tresoure. In the same manere I that wolde bere so nobylle a tresoure that es mannys sawle fulle werlye ande diligentlye I gerdede me, for I bare in my herte withoutyne any cesynge alle þo sawlys that schullen be savyede with suche a love ande a desyre that none erthelye man canne telle (the speaker is allegedly Christ; Halligan, 91).

and thought what it myght be; and I was answeryd in my vn-
100v derstandyng: It / is a mete whych is louesom and plesyng to the lorde.
For I saw the lorde sytt as a man, and I saw neyther meet nor drynke
wher *with* to serue hym. Thys was one merveyle; a nother merveyle was
190 that this solempne lorde had no servant but one, and hym he sent out. I
beheld, thyngkyng what manner labour it may be that the servan*n*t
shulde do. And then I vnderstode that he shuld do the grettest labour
and the hardest traveyle that is. He shuld be a gardener, deluyng and
dykyng and swetyng and turnyng the erth vp and down, and seke the

---

187 *plesyng*: S1: plesant; and so S2. *to*: C: unto. 191 *manner*: om. C, S2. *may*: S2: might. 193 *the (hardest)*: om. SS. *deluyng and dykyng*: S1: delvyn *and* dykyn; and so S2. 194 *dykyng*: C, marg.: ditching; add. S1: swinkin; and so S2. *turnyng*: S1: turne; and so S2. *vp and down*: S1: vpsodowne; and so S2.

---

187 *It is a mete whych is louesom and plesyng to the lorde. For I saw the lorde sytt as a man*: Julian again shares the insights of the fourth Gospel: Jesus, being wearied with his journey, sat by the well ... My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, that I may perfect his work (John 4.6, 34); ... I have glorified thee on earth ; I have finished the work thou gavest me to do (17.4).

190 *no servant but one, and hym he sent out*: cf. Isaias 63.3, 5: I have trodden the winepress alone ... I looked about, and there was no one to help; I sought and there was no one to give aid. Cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 2: Mankynde *þat* was hol in Adam þe first man trespassid agayns god so wonder greuously ... *þat* ... it mi3t not be forgyuen, bot if amendis *and* ful satisfaccio*u*n were first maad ... bot þis amendes mi3t no man make *þat* was man only (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 63^{v}; Underhill, 228).

193 *the hardest traveyle that is*: cf. 386.46-47.

He shuld be a gardener ...: cf. Genesis 3.17: Because you have eaten of the tree ... cursed is the earth in your work ... In the sweat of your face shall you eat bread. Such agricultural images as Julian uses are natural to the Bible for representing all spiritual toil, of which the greatest, as Julian is assured, is the mysterious work of redemption in which all are called to co-operate after and in Christ. So we have the vineyard — the people of Israel — of which God is the farmer (Psalm 79.9-16) and the Son the heir (Matthew 21.33-42); and this is given eucharistic significance in the allegory of the vine and its branches (John 15.1-7). In the same way, the bread from heaven, the manna of Exodus 16.4 e.s., become the 'living bread ... my flesh for the life of the world' (John 6.51-52). The representation of Christ as a gardener in mediaeval iconography is relatively rare; see P. Diemer, art.: 'Gärtner' (LCI 2 81-82). For its appearance in hymns, cf. E. Colledge, *Latin Poems of Richard Ledrede*, 70-71. In Mechtild of Hackborn's *Book of Special Grace*, II 2, she writes: Than to this maydens semynge oure lorde delfede in þe erth in lyknes of a gardynere (Halligan, 330), and then goes on characteristically to interpret the 'spade', the 'hard earth' and the 'nesh' as symbols.

deluyng and dykyng and swetyng and turnyng the erth vp and down: the *Ancrene Wisse* has: Ower heorte nis nawt on eorde, for þi ne þurue 3e nawt deluen dunewardes, ah heouen

depnesse and water the plantes in tyme. And in this he shulde contynue his traveyle, and make swete flodys to rynne and nobylle plentuousnesse fruyte to spryng, whych he shulde bryng before the lorde, and serve hym therwith to his lykynk. And he shulde nevyr turne ageyne, tyll he had dyȝte this mett / alle redy, as he knew that it lykyd to þe lorde; and than he shulde take thys mett with the dryngke, and bere it full wurschypply before the lorde. And all thys tyme the lorde shulde sytt ryght on the same place, abydyng the servant whom he sent oute.

And yett I merveylyd fro whens the servant came, for I saw in the

---

196 *swete flodys*: C: sweatfloods. *plentuousnesse*: S1: *and* plenteous; and so S2. 197 *fruyte*: SS: fruits. 198 *lykynk*: C: liking; S1: lykyng; S2: likeing. 199 *to*: om. SS. 200 *with the dryngke*: om. S2; add. S1: in the mete. *wurschypply*: C: wor-fully; S1: worshipfully; S2: worshipfull. 201 *ryght*: om. SS. 202 *the (servant whom)*: SS: his.

---

uppart þe heorte, for þet is þe uprowunge aȝein þis worldes stream, driuen hire aȝeinward to deluen þe golthord þet up is in heouene. Ant hwet is þet delyynge? ȝeornful sech inde þoht hwer hit beo, hwuch hit beo, hu me hit mahe ifinden (Tolkien, 58-59; not in Vernon MS).

196 *and make swete flodys to rynne ...*: this brings to mind the great liturgical images in Ezechiel of the life-giving waters from the Temple: all trees that bear fruit ... their fruit shall not fail. Every month shall they bring forth first-fruits, because the waters thereof shall not fail (Ezechiel 47.12). See also the final vision of the Apocalypse, with its water of life, and the tree of life yielding its fruit in the midst of the new city; 'and there shall be no curse (Genesis 3.17) any more' (Apocalypse 22.1-3).

197 *whych he shulde bryng before the lorde*: the *Cloud*-author uses the image of presenting the Lord with ripe fruit in the *Epistle of Prayer*: ... þis reuerent affeccioun is euermore þe frute ... Bot whan it haþ a certein tyme ben departed fro þe tre and is ful ripe, þan it ... is kinges mete ... Offre it up bi itself to þe hiȝe kyng of heuen (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 52-53).

198 *nevyr turne ageyne*: cf. Luke 9.62: No man putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God.

200 *wurschypply*: NED's first example is *a* 1300, *Cursor Mundi*. MED cites Trevisa's *Bartholomeus*: ... anoyntede oure lordes body and buried it worschepeliche ...' (MS BM Add. 27944, f. 189a). Again, the context becomes eucharistic, and the figure of the servant becomes the priest, whose forerunner is Melchisedech (Genesis 14.18), as is emphasized in Hebrews 7.1 e.s., and also in the Roman canon of the Mass: ... et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech sanctum sacrificium ... (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 208).

201 *And all thys tyme ... whom he sent oute*: cf. James 5.7: Be patient, therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord.

203 *for I saw ... of endlesse loue*: this is reminiscent of the Vulgate version of Ephesians 3.17-19: ... in caritate radicati et fundati, ut possitis comprehendere ... quae sit latitudo et longitudo et sublimitas et profundum ... scire etiam supereminentem scientiae caritatem Christi ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei. Cf. the *Cloud*, chapter 38: Þe euerlastyngnes of god is his lengþe, his loue is his breed, his miȝt is his heiȝt, and his wisdam is his depnes (Hodgson, 75).

lord that he hath *with*in hym selfe endlesse lyfe and all manner of good-
205 nes, saue the tresure that was in the erth, and that was groundyd *with* in
the lord in mervelous depnesse of endlesse loue. But it was nott alle to
his wurschypp tyll his servant hath thus nobly dyȝte it and brought it
before hym in hym selfe present. And *with* out the lorde was ryght
noght but wyldernysse; and I vnderstode nott alle what this exampyll
210 ment. And therfore I marveylyd from wens the seruant came.
101v In the servant is / comprehendyd the seconde person of þe trynyte,
and in the seruan*n*t is comprehendyd Adam, that is to sey all men. And

---

204 *hath*: S2: had. 205 *the (tresure)*: S1: that; and so S2. *with in*: SS: in. 206 *lord in*: om. S2. *endlesse*: om. S2. 207 *his (wurschypp)*: S1: the; and so S2. *his (servant)*: S1: this; and so S2. *dyȝte*: C, marg.: drest. 208 *ryght noght*: SS: nothing. 210 *from*: om. SS. 211 *of*: SS: in. 212 *men*: S2: man.

---

207 *and brought it before hym in hym selfe present*: Julian here reproduces exactly the teaching in I Corinthians 15.22-24: ... And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive; but everyone in his own order: the first fruits, Christ; then they that are of Christ ... Afterwards the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father.

208 *in hym selfe present*: so C, SS. If this is not scribal error, it seems to mean 'in his (the lord's) very presence'. See NED, Himself, *pron.*, 4, 'dative and objective with preposition', and MED, him-self, 1. (c). But the construction seems improbable, and one may question whether it is not a bungled version of 'in his self presence'. See NED, Self, B. *adj.* I. 1., where, however, the distinctions between uses a. ('preceded by dem. pron. or definite article'), b. ('with article omitted'), and c. ('combined for emphasis with the synonymous *ilk, same* ...') seem confused and artificial.

ryght noght but wyldernysse: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: Grete is the dyfference betwyxe the clerete of the goodnesse of god ... for the schadowe of synne couers oure wyldyrnesse (Bazire and Colledge, 252).

211 It is significant that as soon as Julian begins to expound the parable, she resorts to rhetorical figures to clarify her meaning. What follows is a series of linked *compares*, the first of four *cola*: *In the servant is comprehendyd / the seconde person of þe trynyte / and in the seruannt is comprehendyd / Adam that is to sey all men*; this has *repetitio* (*In the servant ...*), *conversio* (*is comprehendyd*), and *oppositio* (*the seconde person of þe trynyte / Adam that is to sey all men*). Here, as often, she uses this *oppositio* figure when dealing with the mystery of the Hypostatic Union. This was traditional; cf. Constantinople III: ... (operationem) divinam et humanam, exiguam et immanem, humilem atque coelestem, carnalem et incorporcam ... (Mansi, 11 487).

In the servant ... whych is ryghtfull Adam: cf. I Corinthians 15.45-49: The first man was of the earth, earthly: the second man from heaven, heavenly ... Therefore as we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly. The *Scale*, II chapter 2, reads: Oure lord Jhesu godis sone bicome man *and* þorw his precious deeþ þat he suffrid mad amendis to þe fader of heuen for mans gilt, *and* þat miȝt he wel do, for he was god, *and* he awȝt not for him self, bot in als mikil as he was man born of þe same kynde þat Adam was þat first trespast (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 64r; Underhill, 229-230).

212 *And therfore whan I sey the sonne / it menyth the godhed / whych is evyn with the fader / and when I sey the servannt / it menyth Crystes manhode / whych is ryghtfull Adam*: six *cola* with *repetitio* initially (*it menyth ...*; *whych is ...*) and medially (*whan I sey ...*), and *oppositio* (*the sonne ... the godhed / the servannt ... Crystes manhode*).

therfore whan I sey the sonne, it menyth the godhed whych is evyn *with* the fader, and whan I sey the servannt, it menyth Crystes manhode
215 whych is ryghtfull Adam. By the nerehed of the seruannt is vnderstand the sonne, and by the stondyng of the lyft syde is vnderstond Adam. The lorde is god the father, the servant is the sonne Jesu Cryst, the holy gost is the evyn loue whych is in them both. When Adam felle godes sonne fell; for the ryght onyng whych was made in hevyn, goddys sonne
220 myght nott be seperath from Adam, for by Adam I vnderstond alle man. Adam fell fro lyfe to deth, in to the slade of this wrechyd worlde,

---

216 *sey (the servannt)*: C: saw. 217 *nerehed*: C: nearhood; S2: nearnes. 218 *of*: C, SS: on. 218 *the (evyn)*: om. SS. *whych*: C: that. 219 *ryght*: S1: rythful; and so S2. 220 *be seperath*: om. SS; C: separate.

---

215 *By the nerehed of the seruannt / is vnderstand the sonne / and by the stondyng of the lyft syde / is vnderstond Adam*: four *cola* with *repetitio* (*is vnderstand* ...) and *oppositio* (*nerehed ... sonne / stondyng of the lyft syde ... Adam*).

217 *The lorde is god the father*: in the *Riwle* there is this prayer to the Trinity: Almihti god, fader *and* sone *and* holi gost, as ȝe beoþ þre on god, also ȝe beþ on mihti, on wisdam, on loue. And þauȝ is (ms: his) mihte itorned to þe in holi writ nomeliche, þou derworþe fader, to þe wisdam, þ(ou) (ms: þe) sely sone, to þe loue, þ(ou) (ms: þe) holi gost, ȝef *þou* me, almihti god, þeose þre hodes, þeos ilke þre þinges: miht forte serue þe, wisdam forte queme þe, loue and wil to don hit, mihte þat ich mowe don, wisdam þat I cunne don, luue þat I chulle don, euere þat þe is leuest ... (Vernon MS, f. 340 (recte 372)[d]; Tolkien, 17).

The lorde is god the father / the servant is the sonne Jesu Cryst / the holy gost is the evyn loue / whych is in them both: a characteristic *compar* of four *cola* for dealing with the mystery of the Trinity.

218 *When Adam felle godes sonne fell ...*: Julian's thought here embraces the teaching of Hebrews 2.9-17: But we see Jesus ... made a little lower than the angels ... that ... he might taste death for all ... For it was becoming to him for whom are all things and by whom are all things ... to perfect the author of their salvation ... Therefore because the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself in the same way has partaken of the same ... Therefore it is necessary for him in all things to be made like his brothers.

220 *for by Adam I vnderstond alle man. Adam fell fro lyfe to deth*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: For as alle men weren lost in Adam, for he fel fro þis onyng affeccion ... (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 142).

221 *Adam fell fro lyfe to deth / in to the slade of this wrechyd worlde / and aftyr that in to hell / Goddys son fell with Adam / in to the slade of the meydens wombe / whych was the feyerest doughter of Adam / and that for to excuse Adam / from blame in hevyn and in erth / and myghtely he fechyd hym out of hell*: a *membrum* of nine *cola*, with *repetitio* (*in to the slade ...*), *conversio* (*Adam ...*), *traductio* (*Adam fell ... Goddys son fell*), and *oppositio* (*of this wrechyd worlde / of the meydens wombe*).

Adam fell fro lyfe to deth ... and aftyr that in to hell: cf. *Piers Plowman* C xxi: At the begynnynge of the worlde . god gaf the dom hymselue, / That Adam and Eue . and hus issue alle / Sholden deye doun ryht . and dwelle in peyne euere (Skeat, 1 533).

in to the slade of this wrechyd worlde: Julian would have been accustomed to recite the

102r and aftyr that in to hell. Goddys / son fell *with* Adam in to the slade of the meydens wombe, whych was the feyerest doughter of Adam, and that for to excuse Adam from blame in hevyn and in erth; and myghtely
225 he fechyd hym out of hell. By the wysdom and the goodnesse *þat* was in the seruan*n*t is vnderstond goddys son, by the pore clothyng as a laborer stondyng nere the lyft syde is vnderstonde þe manhode of Adam w*ith* alle the myschefe and febylnesse *þat* folowyth. For in alle this oure good lorde shewed his owne son and Adam but one man. The vertu and
230 the goodnesse that we haue is of Jesu Crist, the febilnesse and blyndnesse that we haue is of Adam, which two were shewed in þe servant.

---

224 *that*: add. C: was; S1: therfor; and so S2. *in (erth)*: S2: on. 225 *the (goodnesse)*: om. SS. 227 *of (Adam)*: SS: *and*. 230 *and (blyndnesse)*: add. S1: the; and so S2.

Salve Regina at Lauds and Vespers on many days of the year; cf. the English *Stimulus*: *Ad te clamamus*: To þe ladi we cryȝen ... *Exules filii Eue*: Outlawed sones of Eue ... *Gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum ualle*: Mornynge and wepynge in þis dale of teeris (H. J. Kane, 201-206; Kirchberger, 206-209). Cf. also C. Brown, XV 45-48.

222 *Goddys son fell with Adam in to the slade of the meydens wombe*: the *Riwle*, dealing with daily Matins, says: Wiþ Memento salutis auctor, falleþ euer adoun, and at þis word, Nascendo formam sumpseris, cusseþ þe erþe. Also in þe Te deum laudamus at þis word, Non horruisti virginis vterum, and at þe masse in þe muchele crede at Ex Maria virgine et homo factus est (MS Vernon, f. 340 (recte 372)^{c}; Day, 8).

223 *and that for to excuse Adam from blame*: cf. *Her Son Recovers Us from Adam's Fall*: Qwhereas Adam cawsed be synne / Owre nature thus to be mortall, / A maydene sone dothe now begyne / For to repoyse vs frome þat fall (C. Brown, XV 119).

224 *and myghtely he fechyd hym out of hell*: no one of Julian's age could fail to be familiar with the 'Harrowing of Hell', from such literary sources as translations of the 'Gospel of Nicodemus', as *Piers Plowman* and pseudo-Bonaventure, or from the mystery cycles.

225 *By the wysdom and the goodnesse þat was in the seruannt*: cf. 528.175-529.180. The servant is anointed with the spirit of wisdom and also of godliness, *pietatis* (Isaias 11.2). But Julian may have in mind the *bonitas* which Paul calls a fruit of the Spirit (Galatians 5.22).

226 *pore clothyng*: cf. 527.168 note.

229 *The vertu and the goodnesse / that we haue is of Jesu Crist / the febilnesse and blyndnesse / that we haue is of Adam*: four *cola*, with *repetitio* (*that we haue* ...) and *oppositio* (*vertu ... goodnesse ... Jesu Crist / febilnesse ... blyndnesse ... Adam*).

The vertu ... is of Adam: cf. Ephesians 2.3-6: We ... were by nature children of wrath, but God ... for his exceeding charity ... even when we were dead in sins has quickened us together in Christ ... and has raised us up together ... through Christ Jesus.

And thus hath oure good lorde Jhesu taken vppon hym all oure blame; and therfore oure fader may nor wyll no more blame assigne /
102v to vs than to hys owne derwurthy son Jhesu Cryst. Thus was he the ser-
235 vant before hys comyng in to erth, stondyng redy before the father in purpos tyll what tyme he wolde sende hym to do the wurschypfull deede by whych mankynde was brought agayn in to hevyn. That is to sey, nott withstondyng that he is god, evyn with the fader as anenst the godhede, but in his forseyng purpos, that he woulde be man to saue
240 man in fulfyllyng of the wyll of his fader, so he stode before his fader as a servant, wylfully takyng vppon hym alle oure charge. And than he sterte full redely at the faders wyll, and anon he fell full lowe in the maydyns wombe, havyng no regard to hym selfe ne to his harde paynes.

The wyth kyrtyll is his fleshe; the singlehede is that ther was ryght

---

234 *Jhesu*: om. SS. 235 *to (erth)*: add. C: the; and so S2. 236 *the*: S2: that. 243 *regard*: S1: reward. 244 *wyth*: C: white; S1: which; and so S2. *is (his)*: S2: was. *his*: C, S1: the; and so S2. *singlehede*: S2: singlenes.

---

232 *And thus hath oure good lorde Jhesu taken vppon hym all oure blame*: Julian here recalls several Servant texts: Isaias 50. 5-6: I have not gone back. I have given my body to the strikers ... I have not turned my face away from those who rebuked me; ibid. 53.4: He has borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows; ibid. 53.5: The chastisement of our peace was upon him; ibid. 53.7: He was offered because it was his own will. Cf. also II Corinthians 5.21: He has made him who knew no sin into sin for us.

234 *hys owne derwurthy son*: cf. Isaias 42.1 (see 517.47 note) and Matthew 3.16-17 and Luke 9.35, where the accounts of Christ's baptism and transfiguration allude to the Isaias text.

236 *tyll what tyme he wolde sende hym to do the wurschypfull deede*: cf. pseudo-Bonaventure: The time for the Incarnation of the Son, moved in his mercy by his love of the human race, entreated by the supernal spirits for the aid of the human race, as decided upon by the supreme Trinity, had come (Ragusa and Green, 15; Peltier, 12 514).

239 *woulde be man to saue man ...*: cf. Hebrews 2.11: For both he who sanctifies and they who are sanctified are both of one.

240 *the wyll of his fader*: cf. I Timothy 2.3-4: God our saviour, who will have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth.

241 *wylfully takyng vppon hym alle oure charge*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 2, which continues (see 532.211 note): *and* so þow3 he aw3t it nou3t for his owne person*e*, for hy*m* self mi3t not synne, neuerþeles he aw3t it of his fre wil for þe tr*e*spas of man kynde, (f. 64v) þe whilke kynde he toke for saluaciou*n* of man of his endeles m*e*rcy (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 230).

244 *The wyth kyrtyll is his fleshe*: see the quotation from the *Ancrene Riwle*, 528.171 note. *singlehede*: NED, MED do not record.

103r noght betwen / the godhede and the manhede. The strayght nesse is
246 povyrte, the elde is of Adams weryng. The defautyng is the swete of Adams travcyle; the shortnesse shewyth the servant laborar.

And thus I saw the sonne stonde, seyng in his menyng: Lo, my dere fader, I stonde before the in Adams kyrtylle, alle redy to sterte and to

---

246 *elde*: first 'e' perh. a badly-formed 'o'. 248 *his*: ms: this, 't' er.

---

245 *the (manhede)*: om. SS. *strayght nesse*: S1: st(r)eyte hede. 246 *elde*: C: old. *weryng*: S2: making. *defautyng*: S2: defacing. *is the*: SS: of. 247 *traveyle*: S2: trouble. *shortnesse*: S1: shorthede. *laborar*: S1: labour; and so S2. 248 *stonde*: SS: standing. 249 *to (rynne)*: om. S2.

---

245 *The strayght nesse is povyrte*: Julian is thinking not only of the material poverty evinced by Christ's birth in a stable and his nakedness on the Cross, but of spiritual poverty: cf. II Corinthians 8.9: For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, being rich, he became poor for your sakes, that through his poverty you might be rich. Julian's girlhood was in the years which witnessed the production of FitzRalph's *De pauperie salvatoris* and the uproar which it occasioned throughout Western Christendom (for an account of the — to us — scandalous wranglings on the topic conducted in Norwich Cathedral between the monks and the friars, see E. Colledge, reviewing Katherine Walsh's *The 'De Vita Evangelica' of Geoffrey Hardeby*); but she shows as little concern with this as with other controversies of her day.

246 *the elde is of Adams weryng*: cf. pseudo-Bonaventure: For a very long time, for the space of over five thousand years, the human race had been living in misery (Ragusa and Green, 5; Peltier, 12 511).

The defautyng ... the servant laborar: cf. 527.168 note.

247 *the servant laborar*: for this appositional use (which SS have not understood) see NED, Servant, *sb.*, 5., which cites 1379 *Poll-tax W. Riding*: Robertus seruantman, iiijd.

248 *Lo, my dere fader*: it is noteworthy that Mark's account alone of the Gethsemane prayer begins: Abba, Father, if it be possible ... (14.36), and that Bede, *In Marci evangelium expositio* IV, writes: ut nos ... exemplo illius informati ... Patrem Deum Hebraci Abba invocantes, una fidei et charitatis devotione praesidium coeleste quaeramus (ed. Hurst, 617).

249 *I stonde before the in Adams kyrtylle*: Grosseteste uses this idea, when he makes Christ say to the Father: Del serf prendrai la vesteure / En verité e en dreiture (*Le Chateau d'Amour*, Murray, 101). In the ME version, this is: Nimen I chulle þe þralles weden, / As soþ and riht hit wolden and beoden (*Castel off Loue*, Weymouth, 24). Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius, in Exodum* IV 23, comments on Aaron's priestly vestments: Tunica deinde linea stricta, id est subucula, quam uulgo camisiam uocant, noua est eiusdem caelestis hominis uita, quia uidelicet sicut nouo et inusitato ordine conceptus et natus, sic noua et uetera uita contraria pulchritudine inter homines conuersatus est (ed. Haacke, 2 776-777).

alle redy to sterte and to rynne: cf. Psalm 18.6: And he as a bridegroom coming out of his bridal chamber rejoiced as a giant to run the way. The verse is traditionally

250 rynne. I wolde be in the erth to thy worsch(y)ppe whan it is thy wyll to
send me. How long shall I desyer it? Full truly wyst the son whan it was
the faders wyll, and how long he sholde desyer, that is to sey as a nemp-
tes the godhed, for he is the wysdom of the fader. Wher fore this
menyng was shewed in vnderstandyng of the manhod of Crist. For all
255 mankynde that shall be savyd by the swete incarnacion and the passion
of Crist, alle is the manhode of Cryst. For he is the heed, and we be his
103v / membris, to whych membris the day and þe tyme is vnknowyn whan
every passyng wo and sorow shall haue an eende, and the everlastyng

---

250 *worschyppe*: ms: worschppe, w. marks. of alt.

---

250 *to (thy)*: add. S1: don; and so S2. 251 *it (Full)*: om. SS. *truly*: SS: soth-
fastly. *wyst*: C, marg.: knew. 252 *sholde*: S1: shal; and so S2. *as*: om.
SS. 253 *the (wysdom)*: om. S2. 254 *menyng*: S2: reason. 255 *the (passion)*:
add. S1: blisful; and so S2. 256 *be*: S2: but.

---

referred to the mystery of the Incarnation; cf. the *Glossa ordinaria*: *de thalamo*, id est, virginali utero, ubi deus humanae naturae ut sponsus sponsae copulatus est (PL 113 871). Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote that she 'desyrede of oure lorde to knowe howe she schulde vnderestande þo wordys of prophecye. Oure lorde anone schewyd hym to here standynge in hevyne as a longe streyte 3onge man ... semelye gerdede abowne ande tukkede vppe with a gerdelle'. As explanation she claims that Christ said to her: He that schalle renne a longe waye ande ane herde, hym nedys to gerde hym vppe hye with a stronge gerdelle (Halligan, 89-90).

251 *How long shall I desyer it?* Cf. Luke 22.15 (287.34 note).

253 *for he is the wysdom of the fader*: cf. 1 Corinthians 1.23-24: Christ crucified ... but to them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.

Wher fore this menyng was shewed: unlike *in his menyng* (536.248 supra), the word here seems to have the sense 'sentence, word, etc.' (NED, Meaning, *vbl. sb.*[1] 2 a).

254 *of the manhod of Crist*: cf. Hebrews 10.5-9: When he comes into the world he says ... a body thou hast fitted to me ... Behold, I come to do thy will, o God.

256 *alle is the manhode of Cryst, For he is the heed, and we be his membris*: cf. 1 Corinthians 12.12: For as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though they are many, still are one body, so also is Christ.

257 *to whych membris ... shall be fulfyllyd*: cf. Ephesians 4. 12-13: ... for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all meet in the unity of faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.

the day and þe tyme: cf. Mark 1.31-32: Heaven and earth shall pass away ... But of that day or hour no one knows, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father.

whan every passyng wo and sorow shall haue an eende: II Corinthians 5.17: If any then be in Christ a new creature, the old things have passed away ...

joy and blysse shall be fulfyllyd, whych day and tyme for to see, all the company of hevyn longyth or desyreth. And all that be vnder hevyn, whych shall come theder, ther way is by longyng and desyeryng; whych desyeryng and longyng was shewed in the seruant stondyng before the lorde, or ellys thus in the son stondyng afore the fadyr in Adam kyrtyll. For the longyng and desyer of all mankynd that shall be safe aperyd in Jhesu. For Jhesu is in all that shall be safe, and all that (shall) be sa(fe) is in Jhesu, and all of the charyte of god, *with* obedience, mekenesse and paciens and vertuous that longyth to vs.

---

264 *mankynd that shall ... shall be safe*: scr., on slip pasted over two lines. 265 *safe*: ms: savyd.

---

260 *or*: C: and. *or desyreth*: om. SS. *be*: S1: shall ben; and so S2. 261 *whych (shall)*: SS: that. *desyeryng* (bis): S1: desir (bis); and so S2. 263 *ellys*: SS: ell. *son*: SS: sons. *Adam*: C, SS: Adams. 264 *longyng*: SS: langor. *desyer*: C: desiring. 265 *in (all)*: om. SS. *shall (be safe, and)*: C: may. *be (safe is)*: S1: shal be; and so S2. 266 *in (Jhesu)*: om. SS. 267 *vertuous*: C, S1: vertues; and so S2.

---

259 *whych day and tyme for to see, all the company of hevyn longyth or desyreth*: cf. John 8.56: Abraham your father rejoiced to see my day. He saw it and was glad.

260 *And all that be vnder hevyn ... ther way is by longyng and desyeryng*: cf. the *Cloud*: Of þis holy desire spekiþ seint Austyne and seiþ þat al þe liif of a good cristen man is not elles bot holy desire (Hodgson, 133, and 204, where she identifies the quotation as *In Epistolam Johannis ad Parthos*, and points out its use also in *Mixed Life*).

261 *by longyng and desyeryng; whych desyeryng and longyng*: this is *gradatio*, 'repetition of the closing word of one clause as the opening word of the next'.

263 *or ellys*: 'or otherwise'. Cf. NED Else *adv.* 4: Matthew 6.1: Elles næbbe ȝe mede mid eowrum fæder (alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud patrem). Cf. supra, *the day and þe tyme* (537.257), and note. Julian is saying that her vision was first of a servant, then, otherwise, of the Son, but that in both manifestations she saw the longing and desire of all the people of God for the still unknown Last Day. By implication this follows the traditional exegesis of 'nor the Son' in Mark 13: the Son, as God, knows; the Son, as man, is one with his brethren, desiring and longing.

264 *For the longyng ... that shall be safe*: cf. 420.44-421.49.

265 *Jhesu is in all that shall be safe, and all that shall be safe is in Jhesu*: a second *shall* has been supplied on the authority of SS, and P's *savyd* amended to *safe*, because this restores what we may believe that Julian wrote, a twelve or nine-syllabled *compar* (according to whether she did or did not pronounce the unstressed syllables in such words as 'alle', 'shalle'), 'a combination of *cola* (succinct clauses, each complete in itself) with a virtually equal number of syllables'.

266 *... and all of the charyte of god, with obedience, mekenesse and paciens and vertuous that longyth to vs*: in this conclusion to the central part of her exposition, Julian returns again to a Pauline text which is central to all her reflection, the Christological hymn, and its

104r Also in thys merveylous example I haue / techyng w*ith* in me, as it were the begynnyng of an A B C, wher by I may haue some vn-
270 derstondyng of oure lordys menyng, for the pryvytes of the reuelacion be hyd ther in, not w*ith*stondyng that alle þe shewyng be full of prevytes.

The syttyng of the fader betokynnyth the godhede, that is to sey for shewing of rest and pees, for in the godhede may be no traveyle; and
275 that he shewyth hym selfe as lorde betokynnyth to oure manhod. The standyn of the servant betokynnyth traveyle, and on the lyfte syde betokynnyth that he was nott alle wurthy to stonde evyn ryght before þe lorde. His stertyng was þe godhed, and the rennyng was þe manhed; for

---

268 *haue*: S2: had. *in (me)*: om. SS. 270 *pryvytes*: S2: secrets. 271 *shewyng*: C: shewings. 272 *prevytes*: S2: privitie. 273 *the (godhede)*: S2: his. 275 *shewyth*: S1: shewed; and so S2. 276 *standyn*: C, S2: standing; S1: stondyng. *and on the lyfte syde*: S1: on syde *and* on the left; and so S2. 277 *evyn*: SS: ever.

---

preface, in Philippians 2.1-11: If there be any consolation, any comfort of charity ... fulfil my joy by being of one mind, having the same charity, being of one accord, agreeing in sentiment (*unanimes, idipsum sentientes*) ... in humility let each esteem others better than himself ... Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who ... emptied himself ... being made in the likeness of men ... humbled himself, became obedient to death. Therefore God has exalted him ... in the glory of God the Father.

273 *The syttyng of the fader ... may be no traveyle*: Julian is doubtless recalling the great vision of Daniel 7.9-13: I watched until thrones were placed and the Ancient of Days sat ... and so I watched in the vision of the night, and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven; and came as far as to the Ancient of Days, and they presented him before him. And cf. Psalm 131.13-14: The Lord has chosen before him. Sion, he has chosen it for his dwelling. This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell.

274 *and that ... manhod*: here again is the Pauline hymn with its final theme of the exaltation of the risen Christ as Lord: Philippians 2.10-11: ... that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow ... and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord in the glory of God the Father.

278 *His stertyng ... the rennyng*: cf. 514.14, *sodenly he stertyth and rynnyth*, and the note. Since Julian writes that *stertyng* symbolized the divinity, *rennyng* the humanity, these cannot be exact synonyms. She seems to mean that the servant's departure from the lord's presence signifies that the Son *descendit de celis*, his running the course of his earthly life. She appears to have in mind Paul's hunting metaphor, Philippians 2.6: ... Who, being in the form of God, did not think it a prey to be snatched at, to be equal with God; and his stadium metaphor, II Timothy 4.7: I have finished my course. In *stertyng* there is double meaning: Apocalypse 1.8: I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. This is the rhetoricians' *conflatio* (Geoffrey of Vinsauf: Vel manus artificis multas ita conflet in unam, / Mentis ut intuitu multae videantur in una; Faral, 219; Nims, 41).

for the godhed sterte fro þe fader in to þe maydyns wombe: the introit for the Sunday within

the godhed sterte fro þe fader in to þe maydyns wombe, fallyng in to the
104v takyng of oure / kynde, and in this fallyng he toke grete soore. The
281 soore that he toke was oure flessch, in whych as sone he had felyng of dedely paynes. By that that he stode dredfully before the lorde and nott evyn ryȝte betokynnyth that his clothing was not honest to stonde evyn ryght before þe lorde, nor that myght nott nor shulde nott be hys offyce
285 whyle he was a laborer; nor also he myght nott sytt *with* þe lord in rest and pees tyll he had wonne his peece ryghtfully *with* hys hard travcyle;

---

279 *sterte*: S2: started. 281 *as sone he had*: C: as soon as he took it he had; S1: he had also swithe; and so S2. 282 *that (he)*: om. C, SS. *dredfully*: C: dreadfull. 285 *with þe lord*: om. SS. 286 *pees*: add. S1: with þe lord; and so S2. *peece*: S2: place.

---

the octave of the Nativity reads: Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet, omnipotens sermo tuus domine de celis a regalibus sedibus uenit (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 27). The Scriptural source is Wisdom 18.14.

279 *fallyng ... this fallyng*: this use of the present participle and the gerund is *traductio*, 'repetition of a word, preferably in different cases'.

fallyng in to the takyng of oure kynde: in this use of *fallyng* there is also *conflatio* (cf. note 278 supra). Christ came down from heaven (NED Fall, *v.* I 1, 'To descend freely'), but he also 'descended from high estate' (NED Fall, I 1 c.) The Greek Fathers write of Christ 'becoming man' or 'body' as *ἐνανθρώπησις*, *ἐνσωμάτωσις*, and the Latin equivalent *incorporatio* is as early in the West as Tertullian. Then there is another technical term used by John Chrysostom, *συγκατάβασις* (*adtemperatio*), 'condescension', for the coming down of God to man. Julian's deft use of English vocabulary, grammar, syntax and figure succeeds remarkably in fusing these two theological ideas and technical terms.

280 *The soore that he toke ... dedely paynes*: cf. Isaias 53.5: Vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, attritus est propter scelera nostra ... et livore eius sanati sumus. Julian sees that the servant is the Son precisely because he suffers for and with his brothers.

281 *as sone*: she is insistent that the Son of God experienced pain. The subtlety of the Docetist heresy is witnessed by Cressy's emendation of Julian's impeccable theology. Whether or not she knew the scholastic term *communicatio idiomatum*, she was assured of its substance.

285 *nor also ... hard traveyle* : Julian is reflecting on the use made by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews of Psalm 109.1-2: The Lord said to my lord, sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool, to establish the divine sonship of Christ: To which of the angels did he say at any time, sit on my right hand? (Hebrews 1.13), and how he goes on to establish that this Son wins this peace by being made like his brethren in all things (Hebrews 2.10-11, 17-18). Cf. also Colossians 1.19-20: It has well pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell, and through him to reconcile all things to himself, making peace through the blood of his cross.

and by the lefte syde, that the fader lefte his owne son wylfully in the manhed to suffer all mans payne *with*out sparyng of hym. By that his kertyll was at the poynt to be ragged and rent is vnderstond the roddys
290 and (the) scorgys, the thornes and the naylys, the drawyng and the
105r draggyng, his tendyr flessch / rentyng, as I saw in some party. The flessch was rent fro the head panne, fallyng on pecys vnto the tyme þe bledyng feylyd; and than it beganne to dry agayne, clevyng to the bone. And by the walowyng and wrythyng, gronyng and monyng, is vn-
295 derstonde that he myght nevyr ryse all myghtly fro that tyme *þat* he was

---

291 *rentyng*: ms: ren- (catchword: tyng) / ryntyng. 294 *monyng*: ms: mornyng.

---

288 *payne*: S1: paynys; and so S2. 289 *at the*: SS: in. *roddys*: SS: sweppys. 290 *and (scorgys)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 291 *rentyng*: C: renting; S1: rendyng; and so S2. *The*: add. C, S2: tender. 292 *on pecys*: SS: in pets. *vnto*: SS: into. 293 *clevyng*: S1: clyngand; and so S2. *bone*: S2: bones. 294 *mornyng* (ms): S1: monyng; and so S2. 295 *myghtly*: C, S2: mightily; S1: mytyly. *that (tyme)*: SS: þe.

---

287 *by the lefte syde ... the fader lefte*: Meunier (216 note 1) calls this 'une sorte de jeu de mots qu'on ne saurait reproduire en français'. It is *adnominatio*; 'play on the sound or meaning of words'.

wylfully ... without sparyng of hym: cf. Romans 8.32: He who did not spare even his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; and Acts 2.22-23: ... Jesus of Nazareth ... being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.

289 *the roddys and the scorgys*: a second 'the' has been supplied so as to restore the *compar* (cf. 538.265 note) which we may believe that Julian composed: ... *the thornes and the naylys, the drawyng and the draggyng*. The SS reading *sweppys* (ME swap, v. and n., 'strike', 'stroke') suggests that the *compar*'s first member may have alliterated.

sweppys (SS): see NED, Swepe, *sb.*[1] (< OE *swipu*), 'A scourge, whip', where the last instance is c. 1460, *Towneley Mystery*, Christ's account of his flagellation.

291 *as I saw in some party*: that is, in the eighth revelation. Cf. 360.1-362.24.

rentyng: cf. NED Rend *v*[1]. 6, intrans., Rent *v*[2]. 3, intrans.

292 *in pets* (SS): this looks like nonsense.

294 *the walowyng and wrythyng, gronyng and monyng*: this is the figure known as *similiter cadens*, and, for its perfect rhyme with *gronyng*, SS's *monyng* has been preferred to P's defensible *mornyng*.

295 *he myght nevyr ryse ... for whome he was sent*: there seems to be a reminiscence here of the Easter prose, *Victimae paschali laudes*, and of its conceits: Agnus redemit oues, Christus innocens patri reconciliauit peccatores. / Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando, dux uite mortuus regnat uivus (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 212). Julian's theological comment is that of Paul in Galatians 4.4-5: When the fulness of time had come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that he might redeem those who were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

fallyn in to the maydyns wombe, tyll his body was sleyne and dede, he yeldyng the soule to the fadyrs hand *with* alle mankynde for whome he was sent.

And at this poynt he beganne furst to show his myght, for then he
300 went in to helle; and whan he was ther, than he reysyd vppe the grett root oute of the depe depnesse, whych ryghtfully was knyt to hym in hey hevyn. The body ley in the graue tyll E(as)ter morow; and fro that
105v tyme he ley / nevyr more. For ther was ryghtfully endyd the walowyng

---

297 *to*: ms: in to. 302 *Easter*: ms: efter.

---

297 *in* (ms): om. SS. *hand*: S1: hands. 299 *then*: om. SS. 300 *than*: om. SS. 302 *ley*: SS: was. *Easter*: so C, SS. 303 *ther*: S1: then; and so S2.

---

296 *he yeldyng the soule to the fadyrs hand*: cf. Luke 23.46. Julian knows that the gospel narrative tells us that the dying Christ was reciting Psalm 30: Into thy hands I commend my spirit ... thou hast redeemed me, the God of truth'.

Here we have a *compar* of five (or six)-syllabled members: *he yeldyng the soule / to the fadyrs hand / with alle mankynde / for whome he was sent*; and accordingly SS's *to* has been preferred to P's *in to*. Cf. 538.265 note.

300 *the grett root*: in IV Kings 19.30-31, the Lord prophesies through the mouth of Isaias the destruction and the future salvation of the house of Juda: And that which shall be saved ... and which is left shall take root downward and shall bear fruit upward. For out of Jerusalem a remnant shall proceed, and salvation from Mount Sion (cf. also Isaias 37.31). Paul, in anguish over the defection of his people, calls them 'the holy root' (Romans 11.16); and *Piers Plowman* attests that Christ's descent into hell was to bring 'al hus kyn . and out of care brynge, / And al the Iuwene ioye ...' (C xxi; Skeat, 1 537). Julian is doubtless also remembering that Christ himself is *flos de radice Jesse* (Isaias 11.1), the *radix Dauid* (Apocalypse 22.16); one English carol calls him: O of Jesse thow holy rote, / That to thy pepill arte syker merke (Greene, 3). To know God's justice and power, that is, the Son, is the root of immortality (Wisdom 15.3); and the elect are rooted and founded in the depths of his love (Ephesians 3.17-18).

301 *oute of the depe depnesse ... to hym in hey hevyn*: this is *contentio*, 'a statement built on contraries'. It also has, in *depe depnesse, hey hevyn*, tautology.

302 *Easter*: cf. 391.22: *on Ester morow*. The C, SS reading is obviously superior to P's *efter*. MED records 'after dai', 'night', 'the second day (night)', but not 'after morrow', and neither does NED; but even if they did, this could not be reconciled with the given chronology; the Crucifixion took place on Friday (e.g. John 19.31), and it was on Sunday, not Saturday, that Mary Magdalene came to the empty tomb (John 20.1).

and the wrythyng, the gronyng and the monyng; and oure foule dedely
305 flessch, that goddys son toke vppon hym, whych was Adams olde kyrtyll, streyte, bare and shorte, then by oure savyoure was made feyer, new, whyt and bryght, and of endlesse clennesse, wyde and seyde, feyer and rychar than was the clothyng whych I saw on the fader. For that clothyng was blew, and Crystes clothyng is now of feyer semely
310 medolour, whych is so mervelous that I can it nott discryve, for it is all of very wurschyppe.

Now sittyth nott þe lorde on erth in wyldernesse, but he syttyth on hys ryche and nob(lest) seet, whych he made in hevyn most to his

---

304 *monyng*: ms: mornyng. 313 *noblest*: ms: nobyll.

---

304 *and (the wrythyng)*: om. S2. *mornyng* (ms): S1: monyng; and so S2. 305 *vppon*: SS: on. 306 *new*: S2: snow. 307 *feyer*: C, SS: fairer. 308 *was (the clothyng)*: add. S1: than; and so S2. 309 *of*: add. SS: a. 310 *medolour*: C: medelour; SS: medlur; C, marg.: mixture. *discryve*: C: descrie; and so S2, alt. scr. to 'describen'; S1: discrien. 311 *wurschyppe*: S1: worshipps; and so S2. 312 *on (hys)*: SS: in. 313 *ryche and*: om. SS. *nobyll* (ms): SS: noblest.

---

304 *monyng*: cf. 541.294 and note.

oure foule dedely flessch ... endlesse clennesse: cf. Mark 9.1-2: ... Jesus ... was transfigured before them. And his garments became shining and exceedingly white as snow, white as no fuller on earth can make.

306 *then by oure savyoure was made feyer*: cf. *Qui habitat*: But þenne schal I taken him out of þe prisun of þis lif, and from alle þe fendes daunger, and from al his trauayle and his wo; and I schal glorifyen him ... (Wallner, 48).

308 *For that clothyng was blew*: cf. 526.153 and note.

309 *feyer semely medolour*: Julian may be thinking of Israel's son, Joseph, and his coat of diverse colours; Genesis 37.3 e.s. Cf. the *Glossa ordinaria*: *Mystice*. Et Judaei Christum per mortem expoliaverunt tunica corporali et polimyta, id est decorata omnium virtutum diversitate (PL 113 165).

310 *whych is so mervelous ... of very wurschyppe*: the theological idea which Julian is seeking to convey is the divine attribute of immensity, as she explained earlier (526.155-527.157 and notes). Here she confesses that she can go no further. But *of very wurschyppe* may be an echo of the Trinitarian praises of the *Te Deum*: sanctus dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestate gloriae tuae ... patrem immensae maiestatis, venerandum tuum verum et unicum filium ... tu rex gloriae, Christe.

discryve (P) / *descrie* (C, S1 and, with alteration, S2): see NED, Descrive, *v.*, < OFr descriv-re < Lat describere. 'In the course of the 16th c. gradually superseded (exc. in Sc.) by the latinized form Describe ... *Descrive* was in ME reduced to *descrie*'.

313 *noblest*: preferring the SS reading restores (we believe) a *compar* of three eight-syllabled members. Cf. 541.289 note.

seet, whych he made in hevyn: cf. Psalm 102.19: The Lord has prepared his throne in heaven.

lykyng. Now stondyth nott the son before the fader as a servant before
106r the lorde, (unornely) clothyd, in perty / nakyd, but he stondyth before
316 the fader evyn ryghte rychely clothyd in blyssefull largenesse, with a crowne vpon his hed of precyous rychenes. For it was shewede that we be his crowne, whych crowne is the faders joy, þe sonnes wurshyppe, the holy gostys lykyng, and endlesse mervelous blysse to alle that be in
320 hevyn.

Now stondyth not the sonne before the fader on the lyfte syde as a laborer, but he syttyth on the faders ryght hande in endlesse rest an pees. But it is nott ment that the sonne syttyth on the ryght hand besyde, as one man syttyth by an other in this lyfe, for ther is no such

---

315 *unornely*: ms: dredfully.

---

315 *dredfully clothyd* (ms): so C; SS: unornely clad. 316 *evyn*: SS: ever. *clothyd*: SS: clad. *largenesse*: SS: largess. 317 *rychenes*: S1: richess; and so S2. 322 *the (faders)*: SS; his. 323 *hand*: add. S1: syde; and so S2.

---

315 *unornely clothyd*: see the detailed description, 527.167-528.171, and NED Unorn, *a.*, Unornly, *adv.*, 'mean(ly), wretched(ly). There is no example of 'dreadful(ly)' in its modern, colloquial sense, earlier than Shakespeare. It may be observed that *unornely clothyd, in perty nakyd* is a *compar* of two five-syllabled members. Cf. 541.289 note.

but he stondyth: cf. Isaias 52.13: My servant ... shall be exalted and extolled, and shall be exceedingly high.

316 *evyn ryghte*: 'immediately in front'. NED Even *adv.*, (in early combinations) quotes 1382 Wycliffe Ecclesiasticus 49.3: He is euene riȝt (*directus*) godly in the penaunce of folc. See 527.167, where Julian says that the servant was not standing *evyn for anenst*.

rychely clothyd ... precyous rychenes: I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, and my soul shall be joyful in my God. For he has clothed me with the garments of salvation and with the robe of justice he has covered me; as a bridegroom decked with a crown and as a bride adorned with her jewels (Isaias 61.10).

a crowne: in *An Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings*, the *Cloud*-author, discoursing of wisdom, discretion and the perfection of virtue as the crown of life, cites James 1.12: Blessed is the man who endures temptations, for when he has been proved he will receive the crown of life, which God has promised to those who love him (*Deonise*, 64).

317 *it was schewede*: in the ninth revelation; cf. 384.21-23, 389.4-6, 393.50-51.

322 *he syttyth on the faders ryght hande in endlesse rest and pees*: *The Lay Folks Mass Book* translates the Apostles' Creed: Now syttus he on his fadur ryȝhte honde in maieste (Simmons, 21). Cf. Hebrews 8.1: ... a high priest who is set on the right hand of the throne of majesty in the heavens. For Julian, the contemplative context is liturgical and sacramental as well as Scriptural.

324 *for ther is no such syttyng, as to my syght, in the trynyte*: we may contrast this remark with Margery Kempe's jejune symbol for the Trinity: Ferþermor þu thynkist sum-

325 syttyng, as to my syght, in the trynyte; but he syttyth on his faders ryght
honde, that is to sey ryght in the hyest nobylyte of the faders joy. Now
106v is the / spouse, goddys son, in pees *with* his lovyd wyfe, whych is the
feyer maydyn of endlesse joy. Now syttyth the son, very god and very
man, in his cytte in rest and in pees, whych his fader hath dyȝte to hym
330 of endlesse purpose, and the fader in the son, and the holy gost in the
fader and in þe son.

---

326 *ryght*: om. SS. *nobylyte*: SS: nobleth. *joy*: SS: joyes. 327 *lovyd*: om. S2. 328 *very (man)*: om. SS. 329 *in (rest)*: S2: with. *in (pees)*: om. SS. 330 *of*: add. SS: his.

---

tyme, dowtyr, as þow þu haddist a cuschyn of gold, anoþer of red veluet, þe thryd of white sylke in thy sowle ... (*Book*, 210). When representations of the Trinity began again to be made, after a long period when this was virtually unknown, through, it is said, the influence of Augustine (W. Braunfels, art.: 'Dreifaltigkeit', LCI 1 528), one such commonly showed three men seated side by side (ibid., fig. 5). Julian plainly is of Augustine's mind: Quem si cogitare conamur quantum sinit et donat, nullus cogitetur per locorum spatia contactus aut complexus quasi trium corporum (*De trinitate* VIII ii, ed. Mountain and Glorie 1 270). Cf. 525.143 note.

326 *Now is the spouse ... endlesse joy*: cf. 582.14-583.18.

328 *Now syttyth ... and in pees*: cf. 639.5-640.10.

329 *whych his fader hath dyȝte to hym of endlesse purpose*: cf. Apocalypse 21.2: I ... saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

The lij Chapter

And thus I saw that god enjoyeth that he is our fader, and god enjoyeth that he is our moder, and god enjoyeth that he is our very spouse, and our soule his lovyd wyfe. And Crist enjoyeth þat he is our broder, and Jhesu enioyeth that he is our savyour. Theyse be v hye joyes, as I vnderstonde, in whych he wylle that we enioye, hym praysyng, (hym) thankyng, hym lovyng, hym endlessly blessyng, alle that shall be savyd.

107r For þe tyme of this lyfe we haue in vs a mervelous / medelur both of

---

7 *hym (thankyng)*: ms. om.

---

1 S1: God enjoyeth (S2: rejoyceth) þat he is our fadir, b(r)other (S2: mother) *and* spouse, *and* how the chosen have here a medlur of wele *and* wo; but god is with us in iij manner, and how we may eschew synne, but never it (S2: never perfectly as in heaven) 2 *enjoyeth* (that ... fader): C, marg.: rejoyce. 3 *and (god ... spouse)*: om. SS. 4 *soule*: add. SS: is. 5 *Theyse be*: S1: ther arn; and so S2. 6 *vnderstonde*: S2: understood. 7 *praysyng*: add. C, SS: hym. 9 *medelur*: C, marg.: mixture.

---

2 Julian is summarizing her insights in the mysteries of the Trinity, of the Incarnate Word, of the Redeemer and his solidarity with mankind.

god enjoyeth that he is our moder: cf. Isaias 66.13: As one whom the mother caresses, so will I comfort you.

3 *god enjoyeth that he is our very spouse*: cf. Isaias 62.5: And the bridegroom will rejoice over the bride, and your God will rejoice over you.

4 *Crist enjoyeth pat he is our broder*: cf. Hebrews 2.17 (see 556.24-26 note).

5 *Jhesu enioyeth that he is our savyour*: cf. Isaias 12.3: You will draw waters in joy out of the Saviour's fountains.

Theyse be v hye joyes: the five appear to be signified by the five following verbs, *enioye ... praysyng ... thankyng ... lovyng ... blessyng*.

6 *hym praysyng, hym thankyng ...*: here we have *articulus*, 'a series of words without connectives, giving a staccato effect', and, by restoring the second *hym* recorded by C, SS, *similiter cadens*. Cf. Apocalypse 7.10-12: Salvation to our God, who sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb ... blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and strength to our God for ever and ever.

9 *For þe tyme of this lyfe ... of wele and of woo*: cf. the seventh revelation, 354.2.

wele and of woo. We haue in vs oure lorde Jhesu Cryst vp resyn, and we haue in vs the wrechydnesse and the myschef of Adams fallyng. Dyeng by Cryst we be lastynly kept, and by hys gracyous touchyng we be reysed in to very trust of saluacyon. And by Adams fallyng we be so broken in oure felyng on dyverse manner by synne and by sondry paynes, in whych we be made derke and so blynde that vnnethys we can take any comforte. But in oure menyng we abyde god, and feythfully trust to haue mercy and grace; and this is his owne werkyng in vs, and of his goodnesse openyth the ey of oure vnderstanding, by whych we

---

10 *of (woo)*: om. SS. *Cryst*: om. SS. *and (we)*: om. SS. 12 *lastynly*: S2: stedfastly. *gracyous*: SS: grace. 13 *very*: SS: sekir. *fallyng*: S2: fall. 14 *manner*: C: manners *by synne*: S1: besynes; om. S2. 15 *vnnethys*: S2: scarce. 18 *goodnesse*: add. SS: he.

---

10 *We haue in vs oure lorde Jhesu Cryst vp resyn, / and we haue in vs the wrechydnesse and the myschef of Adams fallyng. / Dyeng by Cryst we be lastynly kept, / and by hys gracyous touchyng we be reysed in to very trust of saluacyon*: here is both *contentio* and *chiasmus*, 'a grammatical figure by which the order of words in one of two parallel clauses is inverted in the other' (NED).

12 *by hys gracyous touchyng*: 'by the touching of his grace'; this adjective always has this theological context for Julian: every gratuitous spiritual gift profitable to man's salvation in the full sense, reforming and building him according to God's image as revealed in Christ. This is the primary meaning of the word in ME literature; and the use of *gracious* to render such words as *fortunatus* (MED, 2, first example) or *prosper* (ibid. 3(d), first example) is derived from the theological sense, and not vice versa.

13 *in to very trust of saluacyon*: she is speaking of this life, and her wording is theologically precise. Here we possess salvation in sure hope; Romans 15.13: Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that hope may abound in you by the power of the Holy Spirit.

14 *broken*: she employs the word in its theological and well as its psychological sense, to render *contritus*. Jeremias 8.21: For the affliction (*contritione*) of the daughter of my people I am afflicted (*contritus*) and made sorrowful ...

by synne: S1's *besynes*, which S2 has intelligently omitted, suggests that Julian may have written 'by sycknes', garbled in a common ancestor, differently resolved by the parents of the two groups.

16 *we abyde god, and feythfully trust to haue mercy and grace*: the two clauses are synonymous for Julian, who always uses 'abide' in the Biblical sense of 'expectation'. Cf. the *Promptorium parvulorum*: Abydyng: *expectacio* (Mayhew, 4).

17 *and this is his owne werkyng in vs*: cf. 496.13-498.39.

18 *openyth the ey of oure vnderstanding, by whych we haue syght*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 43: ... a soule ... þurȝ inspiracioun of grace bi opnynge of þe gostly eiȝe ... seeþ þat it ... only hangiþ on þe mercy *and* godenes of Jhesu (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 133r; Underhill, 444). Cf. also the Nativity Preface: Quia per incarnati uerbi misterium noua mentis nostre occulis lux tue claritatis infulsit (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 202). Julian appears to be referring to 'ghostly sight' in the strict sense. Cf. 639.2: *opynnyd my gostely eye*.

haue syght, some tyme more and somtyme lesse, after *þat* god gevyth
107v abylte to take. And now we be reysyde in / to that one, and now we are
21 sufferyd to fall in to that other. And thus is that medle so mervelous in vs *þat* vnnethis we knowe of oure selfe or of oure evyn crysten in what wey we stonde, for the mervelousnes of this sondrye felyng, but *þat* ech holy assent *þat* we assent to god when we fele hym, truly wyllyng to be
25 *with* hym *with* all oure herte, *with* all oure soule and *with* all oure myghte. And than we hate and dyspise oure evyll steryng and all that myghte be occasion of synne, gostely and bodely. And yett nevyr thelesse whan this swetnesse is hyd, we fall ayeen in to blyndnesse, and so in to woo and trybulacion on dyuerse manners. But than is this oure
30 comfort, that we knowe in oure feyth that by the vertu of Crist, whych
108r is oure keper, we assent nevyr therto, but / we groge ther aȝenst and

---

19 *after þat*: C, marg.: according as. 20 *that (one)*: S2: þe. *we (are)*: om. S2. 21 *that (other)*: S2: þe. *that (medle)*: S1: this; and so S2 *medle*: C: medle; S1: medli; S2: medley. 22 *vnnethis*: S2: scarcely. *selfe*: S2: selves. *evyn crysten*: S2: neighbour. 23 *mervelousnes*: S1: mervelous hede. *ech*: S1: ilke. 26 *steryng*: SS: sterings. 28 *blyndnesse*: S1: blindhede. 29 *manners*: S2: manner. 31 *groge*: C: grudge; SS: grutchin.

---

20 *And now we be reysyde in to that one / and now we are sufferyd to fall in to that other*: this is *oppositio contrariorum*.

22 *þat vnnethis we knowe ... in what wey we stonde*: there is probably a Scriptural sense in Julian's use here of *stonde*. Cf. Ephesians 6.11-13: ... that you may be able to stand (*stare*) against the deceits of the devil ... to resist in the evil day and to stand (*stare*) perfect in all things. Cf. also Colossians 4.12, I Corinthians 10.12.

23 *this sondrye felyng ... gostely and bodely*: she is discussing the traditional spiritual problem of 'discerning spirits'; and she is making the point that the good impulse — *holy assent* — is a response to the indwelling presence of the Trinity in the soul's powers, *herte* (love), *soule* (understanding), *myghte* (power), which is experienced in faith. In vocabulary and ideas, this passage has much in common with chapter 4 of the *Cloud*. Cf. Hodgson, 18-20.

24 *we assent to god* ...: the *Scale*, II chapter 20, has: What man or womman wol dispose hym for to come to clennes of herte *and* to felynge of grace, hym bihouiþ haue mikel trauaile *and* grete feȝtyng in wil *and* in werke lastandly agayn wickid stirynges of alle þe heed synnes (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 82r; Underhill, 297).

28 *swetness is hyd*: cf. Wisdom 16.21: For thy sustenance showed thy sweetness to thy children, serving every man's will.

30 *whych is oure keper*: cf. the first revelation, 295.11-296.16.

31 *we assent nevyr therto / but we groge ther aȝenst*: this is a two-membered *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

endure in payne and in woo, prayeng in to that tyme that he shewede hym ayeen to vs. And thus we stonde in this medelur all the dayes of oure lyfe; but he wyll we trust that he is lastyngly *with* vs, and that in
35 thre manner.

He is *with* vs in hevyn, very man in his owne person, vs vpdrawyng ; and that was shewd in þe gostely thyrst. And he is *with* vs in erth, vs ledyng; and that was shewde in þe thyrde, wher I saw god in a poynt. And he is *with* vs in oure soule, endlesly wonnyng, rewlyng and
40 g(em)yng vs; and that was shewde in the xvi, as I shalle sey.

And thus in the servant was shewde the blyndnesse and the myschefe of Adams fallyng; and in þe servant was shewde þe wysdom and the
108v goodnesse of goddys son. And in the lorde was schewde / the rewth and the pytte of Adams woo; and in the lorde was shewde the hye noblyte
45 and the endlesse wurschyppe that mankynde is come to by the vertu of

---

40 *gemyng*: ms: gydyng.

---

32 *endure*: S1: duryin; and so S2. *in (woo)*: om. SS. *in to that*: S2: until the. *shewede*: SS: shewith. 34 *lastyngly*: S2: lasting. 35 *manner*: C: manners. 37 *in (erth)*: S2: on. 38 *thyrde*: add. S2: revel*ation*. 39 *wonnyng*: C: wonning; S1: wonand; C, marg., S2: dwelling. 40 *gydyng* (ms): C: guiding; S1: gemand; S2: yemand. *xvi*: add. S2: revelation. 41 *blyndnesse*: S1: blindhede. 42 *the (goodnesse)*: om. SS. 44 *the (pytte)*: om. SS. *the (lorde)*: S2: þis. *noblyte*: SS: noblyth. 45 *the (endlesse)*: om. C, S2.

---

32 *prayeng in to that tyme that he shewede hym ayeen to vs*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 11: ... a man þat wil come to reste in conscience, hym behouiþ first if he do þat in hym is trowen *with* outen gostly felyng forgifnes of his synnes; *and* if he first trowe it, he schal aftir ward þurw3 grace felen it (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 73v; Underhill, 265).

34 *he wyll we trust that he is lastyngly with vs*: cf. Isaias 41.10-13: Fear not, for I am with you ... the Lord your God who takes you by the hand and says to you: Fear not.

36 *very man in his owne person*: cf. 419.26-29.

37 *that was shewd in þe gostely thyrst*: cf. 418.18-20.

38 *and that was shewde in þe thyrde*: cf. 341.53-55.

40 *gemyng*: cf. the SS readings, and 640.10 and note.

41 *in the servant ... Adams fallyng / in þe servant ... goddys son*: this is *compar* and *oppositio contrariorum*.

43 *And in the lorde ... of his deerwurthy son*: cf. I Corinthians 1.30: Of him are you in Christ Jesus, who of God is made for us wisdom and justice and sanctification and redemption.

the passyon and þe deth of his deerwurthy son. And therfore myghtely he enjoyeth in his fallyng, for the hye reysyng and fulhed of blysse that mankynde is come to, ovyr passyng that we shuld haue had yf he had nott fallyn. And t(h)us to se this ovyrpassyng noblete was my vn-
50 derstondyng leed in to god in the same tyme that I saw the servant falle.

And thus we haue mater of mornyng, for oure synne is cause of Cristes paynes, and we haue lastyngly mater of joy, for endlesse loue made hym to suffer. And therfore the creature that seeth and felyth the workyng of loue by grace hatyth nought but synne, for of alle thyng, as
109r / to my syght, loue and hate be hardest and most vnmesurable con-
56 trarys. And nott with*stondyng* all this, I sawe and vnderstode in oure

---

49 *thus*: ms: tus.

---

47 *fulhed*: S2: fulnes. 48 *ovyr passyng*: S2: surpassing. 49 *noblete*: SS: nobleth. 50 *in (the)*: S2: at. 51 *haue*: add. S2: now. 54 *thyng*: S2: things. *as*: om. SS. 56 *all*: om. S2. *in (oure)*: C: this is.

---

46 *And therfore ... he had nott fallyn*: cf. the ninth revelation, 382.2-7. Though Julian pays no attention to the philosophical or abstract theological implications of the controversy, still in her day heated, between followers of St. Thomas (see *Summa* III.1.4) and of St. Bonaventure (see III *Sent.* 1.2.2), about whether or not Christ would have come if Adam had not sinned, she makes the point made long before by Irenaeus, that man could not become as fully like to God as is his destiny under the dispensation of grace, if God had not come down to man (*Adversus Hæreses*, ed. W. W. Harvey, IV.52.1, 2 259-260).

47 *for the hye reysyng and fulhed of blysse that mankynde is come to*: cf. I Corinthians 2.7-8: We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world was, to our glory; which none of the princes of this world knew, for if they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

48 *ovyr passyng that we shuld haue had yf he had nott fallyn*: Hilton uses the same thought and language about the soul in process of reformation, *Scale* II, chapter 4: ... it schal be restored to mikil more blis *and* mikil hiȝere ioye þorw þe mikil mercy *and* þe endeles goodnes of god þan it schuld haue had if it had neuer fallen (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 66r; Underhill, 238).

49 *was my vnderstondyng leed in to god in the same tyme that I saw the servant falle*: cf. 516.41-517.44.

51 *And thus we haue mater of mornyng* (A) */ for oure synne is cause of Cristes paynes* (B) */ and we haue lastyngly mater of joy* (A) */ for endlesse loue made hym to suffer* (B): this is a four-membered *compar* with double *oppositio contrariorum*, the AA, BB members alternating.

53 *And therfore the creature that seeth and felyth the workyng of loue by grace hatyth nought but synne*: the *Cloud* writes: For alle synne hem þinkyþ ... iliche greet in hem self, when þe leest synne departeþ hem fro god, and letteþ hem of here goostly pees ... wiþ þis general knowyng: þat and þou haddest god, þen schuldest þou lacke synne, and miȝtest þou lacke synne, þen schuldest þou haue god (Hodgson, 78-79).

55 *loue and hate be hardest and most vnmesurable contrarys*: cf. 372.24 note. Again, Julian shows that she knows what is the name of the rhetorical figure she is using. Cf. Canticles 8.6; For love is strong as death, jealousy as hard as hell.

lordys menyng that we may nott in this lyfe kepe vs fro synne alle holy, in full clenesse as we shall be in hevyn. But we may wele by grace kepe vs fro the synnes whych wolde lede vs to endlesse payne, as holy chyrch
60 techyth vs, and eschewe venyall resonably vppe oure myght. And if we by oure blyndnesse and oure wrechydnesse ony tyme falle, that we redely ryse, knowyng the swete touchyng of grace, and wylfully amend vs vpon techyng of holy chyrch, after that the synne is grevous, and go forth *with* god in loue, and neyther on that one syde fall ovyr lowe, en-
109v clynyng to dyspeyrs, ne on that other syde be ovyr rechelesse, / as yf we
66 geue no forse ; but mekely know oure febylnes, wyttyng that we may nott stonde a twynglyng of an ey but *with* kepyng of grace, and reverently cleue to god, in hym oonly trustyng.

---

57 *may*: C, marg.: can. *alle*: SS: as. 59 *payne*: S1: pay(n)es; S2: paines. 60 *resonably*: S2: reasonable. *vppe*: C, marg.: according to. 61 *oure (blyndnesse)*: S2: old. *blyndnesse*: S1: blyndhede. *oure (wrechydnesse)*: om. S2. 63 *vpon*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 64 *forth*: S1: for; S2: forthwith. *with*: S2: to. *that (one)*: S1: the; and so S2. 65 *dyspeyrs*: C: despair; and so S2. *that (other)*: S2: þe. *yf*: om. C. 66 *geue no forse*: C, marg.: cared not. *mekely*: S1: nakidly; and so S2. *know*: SS: knowing. *febylnes*: S1: feblehede. 67 *a*: C: the. *twynglyng*: C, S2: twinkling; S1: twinikling. *with*: S1: be; and so S2. 68 *in*: SS: on.

---

57 *kepe vs fro synne alle holy*: *Qui habitat* has: A lutel hurtyng of synne to him hit is wonder pyneful; and for he mai not ascape al clene from synne ... (Wallner, 47).

58 *But we may wele by grace ...*: in the *Cloud* the author writes: I say not þis for I trowe þat þou or any oþer soche as I speke of ben gilty and combrid wiþ any soche synnes; bot ... venial synne schal no man vtterly eschue in þis deedly liif (Hodgson, 37-38).

60 *vppe oure myght*: 'to the extent of our power'. See NED Up *prep.*[1] 6.b., which quotes Wycliffe, Matthew 9.29: Vp 3our feiþ (*secundum fidem vestram*) be it don to 3ou.

60 *And if we ... after that the synne is grevous*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 10: þer for go in þe mene, *and* hald þe in þe middes, *and* trowe as holy kirke troweþ, *and* þat is þat þe most synful man þat lifiþ in erþe, if he turne his wille þorw grace fro dedly syn ... he is reformid in his soule (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 70[v]; Underhill, 256).

64 *neyther on that one syde fall ...*: in *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*, the *Cloud*-author writes about the dangers of scrupulosity; see 356.26 note. In the *Cloud* he writes: Bot rechelesnes in venial synne schuld alweis be eschewed (Hodgson, 38).

neyther on that one syde fall ovyr lowe, enclynyng to dyspeyr / ne on that other syde be ovyr rechelesse, as yf we geue no forse: this is a *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

66 *mekely know oure febylnes*: cf. the *Cloud*: Meeknes ... is ... a trewe knowyng and felyng of a mans self as he is ... Two þinges þer ben þe whiche ben cause of þis meeknes ... On is þe filþe, þe wrecchidnes and þe freelte of man (Hodgson, 40).

wyttyng that we may nott stonde ...: *A Ladder of Four Rungs* has: we may doo nothyng hym to paye, ne to oure soule hele, but with his grace (*Deonise*, 102; cf. Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 110. The English varies considerably from the Latin). The Vulgate Psalm 72.28 has: Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est, ponere in domino Deo spem meam.

For other wyse is the beholdyng of god, and other wyse is the
70 beholdyng of man. For it longyth to man mekely to accuse hym selfe, and it longyth to the propyr goodnesse of oure lorde god curtesly to excuse man. And theyse be two partyes that were shewde in þe doubyll chere in whych the lorde behelde þe fallyng of hys lovyd servant. That oone was shewde ou(ȝt)ward, full mekely and myldely, *with* gret rewth
75 and pytte; and that other of inwarde endlesse loue and ryght. Thus wylle oure good lorde *þat* we accuse oure selfe wylfully, and truly se and know (our fallyng *and* all þe harmes *þat* cum therof, seand *and* witand *þat* we may never restoren it; *and* therwith, if we wilfully *and*
110r truly sen *and* knowen,) his evyrlastyng loue / that he hath to vs and his
80 plentuous mercy. And thus gracyously to se and know both to geder is

---

74 *ouȝtward*: ms: outȝward.

---

70 *longyth ... longyth*: S2: belongeth ... belongeth. 71 *to the propyr*: S2: properly to þe. 73 *lovyd*: S2: beloved. *That*: S2: þe. 74 *full*: SS: wel. 75 *inwarde*: om. SS. *ryght*: S2: ruth. 76 *good*: om. SS. *selfe*: S2: selues. *truly*: S1: sothly; and so S2. 77 *our fallyng ... and knowen*: fr. S1; and so S2; om. C, P. 78 *if*: om. S2. 79 *to (vs)*: om. S1.

---

69 *For other wyse is the beholdyng of god / and other wyse is the beholdyng of man*: this is a *compar* (538.265 note) with *repetitio* (269.37 note).

70 *beholdyng*: cf. *beholdinges*, 492.17 and note. Though the noun for Julian is always associated with contemplation, here it seems to mean primarily consideration and judgment, at least so far as the human reason is concerned. Compare the celebrated aphorism at the end of the *Cloud*; cf. 502.25 note.

mekely to accuse ... curtesly to excuse: *oppositio contrariorum*.

mekely to accuse hym selfe: this is the constant prayer of the Church, as instanced, for example, in the habitual use of the penitential psalms, and especially Psalm 50.

71 *and it longyth to the propyr goodnesse of oure lorde god curtesly to excuse*: cf. Psalm 129.3-4: If thou, Lord, wilt mark iniquities, who shall stand it? But with thee there is merciful forgiveness.

73 *That oone was shewde ouȝtward / full mekely and myldely / with gret rewth and pytte*: a three-membered *compar*.

74 The doublet *rewth and pytte* suggests the punctuation 'loue and ryght. Thus'; but a possible alternative is: 'loue. And ryght thus ...'.

77 *and know* (P) ... *and knowen* (S1): plainly the error has been caused, through homoeotopy, either in P or in an ancestor from which SS do not descend.

80 *And thus gracyously to se and know both to geder*: again Julian reveals her remarkable balance between Pelagianism and Quietism in any of their forms. Cf. the *Ladder of Four Rungs*: It behouyth that men receyve this grace whan god sendith it, and ordeyn hym thurwe helpe of this seconde grace þat he may be worthy to receyve the ȝifte of the holy gost (*Deonise*, 103; Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 110).

þe meke accusyng that oure good lorde askyth of vs. And hym selfe wurkyth there it is, and this is the lower party of mannys lyfe; and it was shewde in þe outwarde chere, in whych shewyng I saw two partes. The one is the rufull fallyng of man; that other is þe wurshypfull asseth that
85 oure lorde hath made for man. That other chere was shewde inwarde, and that was more hyly and all one; for the lyfe and þe vertu þat we haue in the lower perty is of the hyer, and it comyth downe to vs of the kynde loue of the selfe by grace. Betwene þat one and þat other is ryght nought, for it is all one love, whych one blessyd loue hath now in vs
110v doubyll / werkyng; for in þe lower perty be payns and passions, ruthis
91 and pyttes, mercis and forgevenesse and such other, whych be profytable. But in þe hyer perty be none of theyse, but all one hye loue and mervelous joy, in whych marvelous joy all paynes be holy dystroyed. And in this nott only oure good lorde shewde our excusyng,
95 but also the wurschypfulle noblyte that he shall breng vs to, tornyng all our blame into endlesse wurschyppe.

---

81 *good*: om. SS. *hym selfe*: S2: our *lord*. 82 *there*: C, marg.: where. *there it is*: S1: it then it us; S2: it where it is. 83 *The*: S1: that. 84 *fallyng*: S2: fall. *that (other)*: S2: þe. *asseth*: C, marg.: satisfaction; S1, marg., al.m.: propitiation. 85 *That*: SS: the. 88 *Betwene*: S1: atwixen; S2: betwixt. *þat ...þat*: S2: þe ... þe. *other*: add. S2: there. 91 *whych*: S1: that; and so S2. 93 *holy*: C: wholly; S1: heyly; and so S2. 94 *dystroyed*: S1: restorid; and so S2.

---

81 *And hym selfe wurkyth there it is, and this is the lower party of mannys lyfe*: Julian will draw out the theological implications of this complex statement in chapter 55; cf. 566.16 e.s.

83 *The one is the rufull fallyng of man / that other is þe wurshypfull asseth ... made for man*: this is *oppositio contrariorum* and *conversio*.

85 *inwarde, and that was more hyly and all one*: that is, the love both of the lord and of the servant. Cf. 528.173-175 and note.

86 *for the lyfe and þe vertu ... by grace*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 13 (573.35-36 note).

88 *atwixen* (S1): cf. NED, Atwixt, which quotes *Prompt. parv.*: Atwyxyn, atwexyn, atwyxt. *Inter*.

90 *for in þe lower perty be payns and passions*: in the *Scale*, II chapter 8, Hilton writes that the soul which is reformed only in faith 'is as he was vn to his felyng, *and* he felis þe same stirynges of syn *and* þe same corupcion of his flesch in passions *and* werdly desyres risand in his hert as he did bifore' (Harley 6579, f. 69r; Underhill, 250).

92 *But in þe hyer ... holy dystroyed*: ibid., chapter 4, where Hilton writes of the destruction of the image of sin and the reforming in fulness of God's image in the soul: Reformyng in fulnes mai not ben had in þis liif, bot it is delaied after þis lif to þe blis of heuen (Harley 6579, f. 66r; Underhill, 238).

94 *restorid* (S1): cf. NED, Restore, *v.*, 2, 'To make amends for', with its first example 13.., *K. Alis.*, Youre harmes to restore. This perhaps gives better sense than P's 'destroyed'. Unlike Hilton, Julian is writing not of the image of sin but of the pains incurred through sin.

95 *tornyng all our blame into endlesse wurschyppe*: cf. 447.19 e.s.

The liij Chapter

And thus I saw that he wyll that we know he takyth no herder the fallyng of any creatur that shalle be savyd than he tok the fallyng of Adam, whych we know was endlessly louyd and suerly kepte in þe tyme of all his nede, and now is blyssydfully restoryd in hye ovyr passyng
111r joyes. / For oure lorde god is so good, so gentyll and so curtesse that he may never assigne defauȝte finall in whome he shall be evyr blessyd and praysyd.

---

1 S1: The kindness of god assingneth no blame to his chosen, for in these is a godly (S2: holy) will þat never consent to synne; for it behovyth the ruthfulhede (S2: ruthfulnes) of god so to be knitt to these þat ther be a substance kept that may never be departid from hym. 2 *thus*: om. SS. *that (we)*: om. SS. *know*: S1: wettyin; and so S2; add. C: that. *no*: SS: not. 3 *fallyng (of Adam)*: S2: fall. 4 *whych*: S2: who. *suerly*: SS: sekirly. 5 *blyssydfully*: SS: blisfully. 6 *so good*: om. S2. 7 *finall*: om. SS.

---

2 *And thus I saw ... the fallyng of Adam*: cf. 412.8-413.13, and 412.12 note.

4 *whych we know was endlesly louyd and suerly kepte in þe tyme of all his nede*: cf. Wisdom 10.1-2: She (Wisdom) preserved him that was first formed by God, the Father of the world, when he was created alone, and she brought him out of his sin and gave him power to govern all things. Augustine, citing this text, writes that when Christ went down to Limbo, he liberated Adam, and that this is the view of almost all the Church (*quod eum indidem solverit, ecclesia fere tota consentit*; Epistola 164.6, ed. Goldbacher, 44.526). The theme is constantly treated in the vernacular *Harrowing of Hell* literature and in the mystery plays. Hence Julian's confident *we know*. The *endlessly louyd* is the fruit of her own theological reflection on Christ as the last Adam in Paul and in her parable.

6 *so gentyll and so curtesse*: she appears to be *curialiter loquens*. W. O. Evans ('"Cortaysye" in Middle English'), examining the term's fine gradations of meaning, quotes *The Tale of Beryn*: Then atte chirche dorr the curtesy gan to ryse, / Tyl þe kny3t, of gentilnes, þat knewe ri3te wel þe guyse, / Put forth þe prelatis ...; and he comments: 'Here, if one had to translate the word (*cortaysye*), "the question of precedence according to rank" would seem most suitable'. Julian is writing of human nature's restoration to its former state, and in calling God *gentyll, curtesse*, she too may be thinking of the precedence due over the rest of creation to man made in the divine image.

7 *defauȝte finall*: cf. 445.10, *to synne fynally*, where, as here, the qualification is not found in SS. It is feasible that P descends from an ancestor which had been theologically edited. If *finall* is Julian's own, she may have meant, by *defauȝte*, 'fault, misdeed, offence' (NED Default, *sb.* 5), but if she used the unqualified noun, she is more likely to have meant 'imperfection' (ibid., 2).

And in this that I haue now seyde was my desyer in perty answeryd, and my grete fere som dele esyd by the louely gracious shewyng of oure lorde god. In whych shewyng I saw and vnderstode full suerly that in ech a soule that shall be safe is a godly wylle that nevyr assentyd to synne ne nevyr shall, whych wyll is so good that it may nevyr wylle evyll, but evyr more contynn(u)ly it wyllyth good and werkyth good in the syght of god.

There fore oure lorde wylle we know it in the feyth and the beleue, and namly and truly that we haue all this blessyd wyll hoole and safe in

---

14 *contynnuly*: ms: contynnly.

---

10 *fere*: SS: awer. 11 *lorde god*: S1: good lord; and so S2. *suerly*: SS: sekirly. 12 *ech a*: SS: every. *a (soule)*: om. C. *assentyd*: S1: assent. 13 *evyll*: add. C: (finally); SS: ylle. 14 *wyllyth*: SS: will. 16 *There*: C: where-.

---

9 *And in this that I haue now seyde / was my desyer in perty answeryd / and my grete fere som dele esyd*: a three-membered *compar* with *disjunctio* ('position of verbs at the end of two or more clauses').

11 *lorde god*: this is theologically superior to SS's *good lord*, which in Julian's language usually refers to the person of Jesus. Here, however, both Father and Son (the lord and the servant) are equally involved in the showing of the parable.

12 *is a godly wylle that nevyr assentyd to synne ne nevyr shall*: this is an exact repetition of what she has already written, in chapter 38, in the context of her statement on the higher and lower parts of man's life; cf. 443.15-17. She has often been accused of theological ignorance or unorthodoxy because of this; cf. Hudleston, *Revelations*, xxiii, 174-175. However, in this chapter she explains, in the light of the parable, her meaning with great lucidity and confidence; but she expects us to follow her exposition with equal care and concentration.

13 *whych wyll is so good / that it may nevyr wylle evyll*: this is *adnominatio*.

14 *but evyr more ... god*: that is, the godly will is not simply a potency which might be in abeyance from time to time; it is always in act. Cf. John 5.17 (479.38 note).

it wyllyth good / and werkyth good / in the syght of god: this is *adnominatio* and *conversio*.

16 *the feyth and the beleue, and namly and truly*: Julian is purposely insisting that what she is saying about the godly will is no Gnostic teaching, but part of revealed truth, and, further, that she is writing not in metaphor but the revealed truth.

17 *namly*: 'precisely'; cf. NED Namely, *adv.*, 1.b.: a.1400-50: *Alexander*: For any cas þat is to com to knaw if þe likis, I sall as namely 3ow neuyn ...

all this blessyd wyll hoole and safe in oure lorde Jhesu Crist: cf. John 5.19: Amen, amen, I say to you, the Son cannot do anything of himself, but what he sees the Father doing.

11v oure lorde / Jhesu Crist, for that ech kynde that hevyn shall be fulfyllyd *with* behovyd nedys of goddys rygh(t)fulnes so to be knytt and onyd in 20 hym that there in were kepte a substan*n*ce whych myght nevyr nor shulde be partyd from hym, and that thorow his awne good wyll in his endlesse forse(ing) purpose.

And nott *with*stonding this ryghtfull knyttyng and this endlesse oonyng, yett the redempcion and the agayne byeng of man*n*ekynde is 25 nedfull and spedfull in every thyng, as it is done for the same entent and

---

19 *ryghtfulnes*: ms: ryghfulnes. 22 *forseing*: ms: forseyde.

---

18 *ech*: SS: ilke. 19 *behovyd*: S2: behoveth. *ryghtfulnes*: S1: rythfulhede. *onyd*: C, marg.: united. *in (hym)*: SS: to. 22 *forseing*: C: foresaid; S1: forseing; and so S2. 25 *and (the)*: add. SS: to.

---

18 *ech kynde that hevyn shall be fulfyllyd with*: that is, men and angels. She tells us in chapter 80 that she believes and understands the ministration of angels, as scholars have recounted, but that this was no part of her revelation (710.22-23).

19 *of goddys ryghtfulnes*: in the third revelation, she has written that *in this tyme* (that is, of all the revelations) *the workyng of creatures was nott shewde, but of our lord god in the creatures*. This she describes as *the ryghtfulnes of gods workyng*, which in sinful man becomes the operation of mercy and grace (338.19-339.30).

19 *so to be knytt and onyd in hym*: cf. Ephesians 4.15-16: We may in all things grow up in him who is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body is compacted and fitly joined together.

20 *there in were ... from hym*: cf. 562.15-563.20.

21 *and that thorow his awne good wyll / in his endlesse forseing purpose*: a *compar* of two members.

his awne good will in his endlesse forseing purpose: cf. Ephesians 1.4-5: He (the Father) chose us in him (the Lord Jesus Christ) before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless (*sancti et immaculati*) in his sight in love. He predestined us to be accepted as his sons through Jesus Christ to himself, according to the purpose of his will.

22 *forseing*: the SS readings accord better with the citation above than *forseyde*; and cf. *forsyghte* (557.29), *forseyeng* (558.35).

24 *yett the redempcion ... that holy chyrch in oure feyth vs techyth*: cf. the farced English version of the Apostles' Creed in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*: ... thurgh mekenes of þo holy gast / þat was so milde / he lyght in Mary mayden chast, / become a childe; / vnder Pounce Pilat pyned he was, / vs for to saue, / done on cros and deed he was / layde in his graue (Simmons, 20). Hebrews 2.17 reads: It behoved him in all things to be made like his brothers ... that he might be a propitiation for the sins of the people. The *Scale*, II chapter 2, has: ... sen þat oure lord Jhesu, god *and* man, died þus for saluacioun of mans saule, it was riȝtful þat synne schuld be forgiffen, *and* mannes soule þat was his ymage schuld mowe be reformed *and* restored to þe first liknes (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 64^{v}; Underhill, 231). When Julian writes *nedfull and spedfull, for the same entent and the same ende*, she seems to have in mind not only the Church's official teaching but also doctrine such as this of Hilton's.

the same ende that holy chyrch in oure feyth vs techyth. For I saw that god began nevyr to loue mankynde; for ryghte the same that mankynd shall be in endlesse blesse, fulfyllyng the joy of god as anemptis his
112r werkys, / ryghte so the same mankynd hath be in the forsyghte of god
30 knowen and lovyd fro *with*out begynnyng in his ryghtfull entent. And by the endlesse entent and assent and the full acorde of all the trynyte, þe myd person wolde be grounde and hed of this feyer kynde out of

---

31 *entent and*: om. SS. *and (the)*: SS: of.

---

26 *For I saw that god began nevyr to loue mankynde* ...: Julian's thought here is very close to that of Christ's great prayer in John chapter 17, where knowledge, eternal life, glory and the divine love are linked: Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he may give eternal life to all whom thou hast given him (that is, all who will be saved); now this is eternal life, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ ... All thine are mine, and mine thine, and I am glorified in them ... that they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves ... and the glory which thou hast given to me I have given to them ... I will that where I am, they also whom thou hast given to me may be with me; that they may see my glory which thou hast given to me, because thou hast loved me before the creation of the world ... that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them.

For I saw that god began nevyr to loue mankynde / for ryghte the same that mankynd shall be in endlesse blesse / fulfyllyng the joy of god as anemptis his werkys / ryghte so the same mankynd hath be in the forsyghte of god / knowen and lovyd fro without begynnyng in his ryghtfull entent: a *compar* of five members, the first two of thirteen syllables (if one discounts final unaccented syllables), the second two of fourteen and the fifth of sixteen.

29 *ryght so ... ryghtfull entent*: the thought is also Paul's; cf. 556.21-22 note.

30 *And by the endlesse entent and assent / and the full acorde of all the trynyte*: a *compar* of two members. The structure supports P against SS's omission of *entent and*; but it is not merely the rhetorical figure but also Julian's theological thinking which demands both nouns: the *entent* is the Father's, the *assent* is the Son's, the *full acorde* between them is the Holy Spirit.

32 *þe myd person*: 'the mediator'. Julian so calls the Son because he is the second of the three Persons, and because he is the intermediary between God and man. Her thinking is markedly Pauline: Because in (Christ) it has well pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, and through him to reconcile all things to himself ... and you, whereas you were once alienated ... he has reconciled in the body of his flesh through death (Colossians 1.19-22). NED Mid, *a.*, *sb* and *adv.*, 2 (d) has one instance, Scottish, 1535; but this instance, so much earlier, may well be of Julian's own coining.

þe myd person wolde be grounde and hed ...: a succinct and comprehensive expression of the doctrine of Paul in Colossians 1.13-20: Christ is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature. For in him were all things created in heaven and on earth ... All things were created by him and in him ... and he is before all, and by him all things consist. And he is the head of the body ... God the Father ... has translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love. This doctrine of the recapitulation of all things in Christ (cf. Ephesians 1.10) was elaborated by Irenaeus, and found its way into monastic theology, but was neglected by the scholastics of the fourteenth and later centuries. Among others from whom Julian could have learned it was Richard of St. Victor, who writes, in his exegesis of Apocalypse 1.17: I am the first and the last: Quasi

whom we be all come, in whom we be alle enclosyd, in to whom we shall all goo, in hym fyndyng oure full hevyn in everlastyng joy by the
35 forseyeng purpose of alle the blessyd trynyte fro without begynnyng. For or that he made vs he louyd vs, and when we were made we louyd hym; and this is a lo(u)e made of the kyndly substanncyall goodnesse of the holy gost, myghty in reson of the myghte of the fader, and wyse in
112v mynde of the wysdom of the son. And / thus is mannys soule made of
40 god, and in the same poynte knyte to god.

And thus I vnderstode that mannes soule is made of nought, that is to sey it is made but of nought that is made, as thus: whan god shulde make mannes body, he toke the slyme of the erth, whych is a mater medelyd and gaderyd of alle bodely thynges, and therof he made

---

37 *a loue*: ms: alone. 38 *myghty*: ms: myght(l-er.)y.

---

34 *goo*: SS: wyndyn. 36 *or*: C, marg.: before. 37 *alone* (ms): C: a love; and so SS. 38 *myghty*: C: mightily. 41 *vnderstode*: S1: vnderstond. 43 *slyme*: SS: slyppe. *the (erth)*: om. SS.

---

dicat: ... primus per creationem, novissimus per retributionem ... primus, quia a me sunt omnia, novissimus quia ad me sunt omnia ... primus, quia ego sum causa originis, novissimus, quia ego iudex et finis ... mortuus pro electis patiendo, vivus ex mortuis resurgendo (*In Apocalypsim libri VII*, I iv; PL 196 711). One sees here another spiritual writer as fond of the *oppositio contrariorum* as was Julian herself.

out of whom we be all come / in whom we be alle enclosyd / in to whom we shall all goo: a three-membered *compar*, whether we retain P's *goo* or suppose, on the evidence of SS, that she wrote *wende*.

33 *in whom ... in to whom ... in hym ... in everlasting*: *repetitio*.

34 *by the forseyeng purpose of alle the blessyd trynyte ...*: cf. note 2, supra, and Ephesians 1.9-12.

36 *or that he made vs he louyd vs*: cf. 733.21.

or that he made vs he louyd vs / and when we were made we louyd hym: a *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum*.

37 *a loue*: P's reading, *alone*, does not make proper sense; it is not only love which is formed from the Holy Spirit's substantial goodness.

38 *myghty in reson of the myghte ... wyse in mynde of the wysdom*: this seems to be a vernacular adaptation of *traductio*, placed within a *compar*.

41 *And thus I vnderstode ... is made ... it is made ... that is made*: this use of *conversio* appears to echo deliberately the prologue of John's Gospel: Omnia per ipsum *facta sunt*, et sine ipso *factum est* nihil quod *factum est*.

43 *the slyme of the erth, whych is a mater medelyd and gaderyd of alle bodely thynges*: cf. Genesis 2.7: Formavit igitur dominus deus hominem de limo terrae. Bartholomaeus Anglicus writes: Est itaque corpus hominis compositum ex quatuor elementis, scilicet ex terra, aqua, igne et aere, quorum quodlibet habet proprias qualitates (*De rerum proprietatibus* IV 1, 82).

slyme (P) / *slyppe* (SS): cf. NED, Slip, *sb.*[1] 3., which quotes *Prompt. parv.*: Slyp ... *idem quod* slyme. The Latin equivalent given is *limus* (Mayhew, 416); cf. Tobias 8.8.

45 mannes body. But to the makyng of mannys soule he wolde take ryght nought, but made it. And thus is the kynde made ryghtfully onyd to the maker, whych is substanncyall kynde vnmade, þat is god. And therfore it is that ther may ne shall be ryght nought betwene god and mannis soule. And in this endlesse loue mannis soule is kepte hole, as all the 50 mater of the revelacion menyth and shewyth.

113r In whych endlesse loue we be ledde and / kepte of god, and nevyr shalle be lost; for he wyll that we know that oure soule is a lyfe, whych lyfe of hys goodnesse and his grace shall last in hevyn withouȝt ende, hym lovyng, hym thangkyng, hym praysyng. And right the same þat we

---

52 With 'Also he wyll þat we wett', the ninth extract in W begins.

---

47 *whych*: S2: who. 48 *betwene*: S1: atwix; S2: atwixt. 49 *all*: om. SS. *the mater of*: om. S2 50 *revelacion*: S1: revelations. 52 *for*: W: also. *that (we)*: om. SS. *know*: S1: wetyn; and so S2, W. 53 *his (grace)*: om. W. 54 *thangkyng*: add. W: and. *And right ... withouȝt begynnyng*: om. W. *þat*: om. SS.

---

45 *he wolde take ryght nought*: Bede comments on Genesis 2.7: ... in corporis et animae substantiam factus sit, e quibus corpus de limo terrae formatum, anima vero de nihilo sit, deo inspirante, creata (*Hexaemeron* Liber I, PL 91 42).

48 *ryght nought betwene god and mannis soule*: the *Scale*, II chapter 34, has: Holy wryters seyn, *and* soþ it is, þat þer is two maner of gostly lufe. On is called vnformed, an oþer is callid formed. Lufe (f. 111r) vnformed is god him self, þe þridde personn in þe trinite, þat is þe holi gost ... luf formed is þe affeccioun of þe soule made bi þe holy gost of þe siȝt *and* þe knowynge of soþfastness, þat is god only, stirid *and* sett in him (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 381). However, for Julian the love is the work of the Trinity, and is not appropriated to the Holy Spirit.

51 *In whych endlesse loue we be ledde and kepte of god, and nevyr shalle be lost*: cf. John 17.11-12: Holy Father, keep them in thy name ... Those whom thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost.

52 *whych lyfe of hys goodnesse and his grace shall last in hevyn withouȝt ende*: this is a conflation of several Joannine texts: In him was life and the life was the light of men (John 1.4); He gave them the power to be made the sons of God ... who are born of God (ibid. 1.12-13); God has given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son (I John 5.11-12); Whatever is born of God overcomes the world (ibid. 5.4).

54 *hym lovyng, hym thangkyng, hym praysyng*: this is *repetitio* and *similiter desinens* ('two or more words with the same endings within the same period').

And right the same þat we shulde be withouȝt end / the same we ware tresured in god and hyd / knowen and lovyd fro withouȝt begynnyng: here there is a three-membered *compar*, with *oppositio contrariorum*: *withouȝt end ... withouȝt begynnyng*.

55 shulde be *with*ou3t end, the same we ware tresured in god and hyd, knowen and lovyd fro *with*ou3t begynnyng. Wherfore he wyll we wytt *þat* þe nobelest thyng that evyr he made is mankynde, and the fulleste substannce and the hyest vertu is þe blessyd soule of Crist. And ferthermore he wyll we wytt that this deerwurthy soule was preciously 60 knytt to hym in the makyng, whych knott is so suttell and so myghty that it is onyd in to god. In whych onyng it is made endlesly holy. Far-
113v thermore he wyll we wytt that all the soulys *þat* / shalle be savyd in hevyn *with* out ende be knytt in this knott, and onyd in this oony*n*g, and made holy in this holynesse.

---

55 *shulde*: S1: shal; and so S2. 56 *Wherfore*: W: also. *wyll*: add. W: þat. *we wytt*: W: *þat* we know. 59 *this*: SS: his. 61 *it (is onyd)*: om. SS.; add. S2. al.m. *onyd*: C: owned. *is (made)*: S2: was. 62 *we wytt*: W: *þat* we wett *and* vnderstonde. 63 *in this knott*: om. SS. 64 *this (holynesse)*: om. S2. *holynesse*: S1: holyhede.

---

55 *the same we ware tresured in god and hyd*: a conflation of two texts from Colossians 2.3: In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; and 3.3: Your life is hid with Christ in God.

56 *Wherfore he wyll ... þe blessyd soule of Crist*: cf. Colossians 2.9-10: For in him dwells corporeally all the fulness of God, and you are filled with him who is the head of all principality and power.

59 *this deerwurthy soule ...*: Hilton in *Eight Chapters* and the *Cloud*-author use the same concepts and vocabulary as does Julian in the rest of this chapter. But they are both writing of the transforming union, not of the Pauline doctrine of recapitulation, though both are giving anagogical exegesis of I Corinthians 6.17: He who is joined to the Lord is one spirit (both writers add 'with him'). Cf. *Deonise*, 56. 15-20 and *Eight Chapters* (Jones, 103-104).

was preciously knytt to hym: Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: Ande in this worde, omnes sancti eius, sche knewe wele þat alle creatures which be halwede in hevyne ande in erth be made holye of Cryst Jhesu, whiche es moste holye ande halwere of alle (Halligan, 78).

60 *knytt ... knott, onyd ... onyng, holy ... holynesse*: this is another vernacular adaptation of *traductio*.

The liiij Chapter

Ande for the grete endlesse loue that god hath to alle mankynde, he makyth no depertyng in loue betwen the blessyd soule of Crist and the lest soule that shall be savyd. For it is full esy to beleue and truste that the dwellyng of the blessyd soule of Crist is full hygh in þe glorious godhede; and truly as I vnderstode in oure lordes menyng, where the blessyd soule of Crist is, there is the substance of alle the soules that shall be savyd by Crist.

Hyely owe we to enjoye þ*at* god dwellyth in oure soule; and more hyly we owe to enjoye that oure soule dwellyth in god. Oure soule is

---

9 *enjoye (þat god)*: add. marg., w. caret, al.m.: mick.

---

1 S1: We ought to enjoye that god wonyth (S2: dwelleth) in our soule *and* our soule in god, so that atwix (S2: between) god *and* our soule is nothing, but as it were al god; *and* how feith is (add. S2: þe) ground of al vertue in our soule be the holy gost. 2 *the (grete)*: om. W. 3 *depertyng*: S1, marg., al.m.: difference. 4 *full*: W: well. *beleue*: S1: leven; W: lyue. *truste*: S1: to trowen; and so W; S2: trow. 5 *dwellyng*: S1: wonyng. 6 *truly*: S1, W: sothly; and so S2. *vnderstode*: S1: vnderstond; and so S2, W. 8 *savyd*: add. C: (in their exemplar and final cause). 9 *owe (... þat god)*: C, marg., S2, W: ought. *dwellyth ... dwellyth*: S1: wonyth ... wonyth. *and*: add. S1: mekil; add. S2: much; and so W. 10 *we (owe)*: om. S1. *owe (... oure soule)*: S2, W: ought. *to*: om. S1.

---

2 *Ande for the grete endlesse loue ... the lest soule that shall be savyd*: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: Bot the inwarde touchynge of god, we shalle knowe, causes vs to be made one with god, to dye ... into þat loue whiche is moste one and symplest, þorow the whiche the fathere and the sonne are bothe consayved (Bazire and Colledge, 255-256). Again, Julian writes of man's creation in Christ, Ruysbroek of the transforming union.

4 *For it is full esy ... the soules that shall be savyd*: this is a conflation of texts: Why do you say, Show us the Father? Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me? (John 14.9-10); Father, I will that where I am, they also whom thou hast given me may be with me ... (John 17.24); Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom (Luke 23.42-43).

9 *Hyely owe we to enjoye þat god dwellyth in oure soule*: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note) writes: Unde et in hoc nostrum consistit gaudium, cum deus in nobis habitat, ut nos in eo vivamus (Murray, 4).

10 *Oure soule is made ... whych is vnmade*: in the *Scale*, II chapter 33, we read: he þ*at* wil seke god w*ith* in, he schal forget first alle bodily þinge ... *and* he schal forgete þenkynge of his owne soule, *and* þenken on þ*at* vnmade kynde þ*at* is Jhesu þ*at* made h*im* ... þe whilk is w*ith* in h*im* þurgh his mi3t *and* souereyn sotilte (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 109^{v}; Underhill, 377).

made to be goddys dwellyng place, and the dwellyng of oure soule is
114r god, whych is vnmade. / A hye vnderstandyng it is inwardly to se and to know that god, whych is oure maker, dwellyth in oure soule, and a hygher vnderstandyng it is and more, inwardly to se and to know oure
15 soule that is made dwellyth in god in substance, of whych substance by god we be that we be.

And I sawe no dyfference betwen god and oure substance, but as it were all god; and yett my vnderstandyng toke that oure substance is in god, that is to sey that god is god and oure substance is a creature in

---

11 *dwellyng (place)*: S1: wonyng. *dwellyng (of)*: S1: wonyng; add. S1, S2, W: place. *oure (soule is god)*: S1: the; and so S2. *is (god)*: add. W: in. 12 *whych ... whych*: S2: who ... who. *A*: SS: and. 13 *dwellyth*: S1: wonyth. 14 *and more*: om. SS. *know*: add. W: þat. 15 *dwellyth*: S1: wonyth. *god*: S1: gods. *in (substance)*: om. SS. *by*: om. S1. 16 *that*: S2: what. 17 *And I sawe ... creature in god*: om. W. *betwen*: S1: atwix.

---

12 *A hye vnderstandyng it is inwardly to se and to know that god whych is oure maker dwellyth in oure soule / and a hygher vnderstandyng it is and more inwardly to se and to know oure soule that is made dwellyth in god*: this is a *compar* of two exceptionally long members, which also has *oppositio contrariorum* (*god whych is oure maker ... oure soule that is made, dwellyth in oure soule ... dwellyth in god*), and *repetitio* (*A hye vnderstanding ... a higher vnderstandyng, inwardly to se and to know* (bis)).

13 *dwellyth in oure soule*: the capital Scriptural text is John 14.23: ... and we shall come to him and we shall make our home with him. Cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: ... in oure taryynge with vertuse vnto god dwellys god in vs, bot in þat we goo fro oureselfe and fro alle thynge, we dwelle in hym. For sothly, 3yf we hafe faythe, hope and charite, than withowt dowte we hafe takyng god, for he with his grace dwellys in vs (Bazire and Colledge, 246).

14 *oure soule that is made dwellyth in god in substance*: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note) writes: ... ita eterni amoris ignis animam tangens et penetrans paulatim in ea proficit, donec illam manentem tamen substancia in suam formam suamque gloriam plene mutaverit (Murray, 80).

17 *I sawe no dyfference betwen god and oure substance*: taken literally and out of context, this has the same pantheistic ring as could be found in the short text, e.g.: ... *that may wille nane eville, botte euer goode, na mare than the persones of þe blissed trinyte* (255.12). It is evident that Julian had come to see how she could be misinterpreted, and therefore has added her important qualification, *and yett my vnderstandyng* ... There is a similar caveat in the *Treatise of Perfection*, concerning rapture: Not that thay be vtterly turnyd into nou3t, for than we schulde forgo oure fourmynge, that is to say oure makynge or beynge (Bazire and Colledge, 250). The same vocabulary is used by the *Cloud*-author in *Privy Counselling*, writing of the Dionysian *culmen contemplationis*: In þis tyme it is þat þou bo̧e seest þi god and þi loue, and nakidly felist hym also bi goostly onyng to his loue in þe souereyn poynte of þi spirit (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 169). But this union is inseparable only during the time of the seeing and feeling: and in þis tyme (that is, not at others) is þi loue bo̧e chaste and parfite (ibid.).

god. For the almyghty truth of the trynyte is oure fader, for he made vs and kepyth vs in hym. And the depe wysdome of þe trynyte is our moder, in whom we be closyd. And the hye goodnesse of the trynyte is
114v our lord, and in hym we be closyd and he in vs. / We be closyd in the fader, and we be closyd in the son, and we are closyd in the holy gost. And the fader is beclosyd in vs, the son is beclosyd in vs, and the holy gost is beclosyd in vs, all myght, alle wysdom and alle goodnesse, one god, one lorde. And oure feyth is a vertu that comyth of oure kynde

---

26 *myght*: ms: myghty.

---

20 *For (the)*: W: also. 21 *hym*: S2: himselfe. 22 *closyd (And)*: S1: al byclosid; and so S2; W: all enclosed. *And*: om. SS. 23 *closyd* (4×): S1: beclosid (4×); and so S2. *he*: add. W: is. *We be closyd ... beclosyd in vs (all myght)*: om. W. 25 *vs (the son)*: add. S1: *and*. *the son ... beclosyd in vs (all might)*: om. S2. 26 *all myghty* (ms): C: all might; S1: almytyhede; S2: almightines. *and*: om. SS. 27 *lorde*: add. W: and oon goodnes. *And oure feyth ... vp in to hevyn* (563.3): om. W.

---

21 *And the depe wysdome of þe trynyte is our moder*: in the sapiential books, wisdom becomes the mother of all qualities and virtues (cf. Wisdom 7.10-12) and of God's spiritual gifts to his people; cf. Ecclesiasticus 24.24-25: I am mother of fair love, of fear and knowledge and holy hope. In me is all grace of the way and of the truth ... all hope of life. These are titles which Christ applies to himself; cf. e.g. John 14.6.

And the depe wysdome of þe trynyte is our moder in whom we be closyd / And the hye goodnesse of the trynyte is our lord and in hym we be closyd: a *compar* of two twenty-syllabled members, with *repetitio*: *of þe trynyte, we be closyd*.

23 *We be closyd ... in the holy gost*: William of St. Thierry, in one of his meditative prayers, reflecting on John 17.23, writes: Locus ergo tuus pater est, et tu patris; et non solum, sed etiam nos locus tuus sumus et tu noster ... Unitatis vero qua in nobis vel in te unum sumus auctor et ordinator est idem spiritus sanctus (*Meditativae orationes* VI; PL 180 224).

We be closyd in the fader ... in the son ... in the holy gost: this is *repetitio*.

25 *And the fader is beclosyd in vs ... is beclosyd in vs ... is beclosyd in vs*: this is *conversio*.

26 *all myght, alle wysdom and alle goodnesse*: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: the fathere almy3tty 3yues ychone of vs his wysdome and his goodnesse (Bazire and Colledge, 255).

all myght: the theological sense here requires a substantive, and, although MED, almighti, adj. (& n.), does quote one instance, a.1333, of a meaning 'omnipotence', it seems reasonable to suppose that Julian wrote either 'all myght' or, as suggested by S1, 'allmyghtyhede'.

27 *And oure feyth ... whych we se nott*: again, Julian's thought seems to approximate that of William of St. Thierry, here in the introduction to his *Speculum fidei*, where he writes that man begins from faith, because as Paul teaches (Ephesians 3.17), Christ dwells by faith in our hearts, and continues: Oculus vero animae mens sive ratio est ... pura atque purgata; quod ei primo nihil aliud praestat quam fides (PL 180 365).

substannce in to oure sensuall soule by the holy gost, in whych vertu alle oure vertues comyn to vs, for without that no man may receyue ver-
30 tues, for it is nouȝt eles but a ryght vnderstandyng with trew beleue and suer truste of oure beyng, þat we be in god and he in vs, whych we se nott.

And this vertu with all other that god hath ordeyned to vs comyng ther in werkyth in vs grete thynges; for Cryst marcyfully is werkyng in
115r vs, and we gracyously accordyng to hym / thorow the yefte and the
36 vertu of the holy gost. This werkyng makyth that we be Crystes chyldren and cristen in lyvyng.

---

37 *lyvyng*: first 'y' alt. fr. 'o'.

---

28 *vertu (alle)*: om. SS. 29 *to*: C: into. *vertues (for)*: S1: vertue; and so S2. 30 *eles*: S1: ell. S1, marg., al.m.: Fides quid. 31 *suer*: SS: sekir. *he*: SS: god. 34 *Cryst*: S1: Crists; and so S2. *marcyfully*: S1: mercifull. *is*: om. SS. *in (vs and)*: SS: is in. 35 *yefte*: S1: gefts; and so S2. 36 *vertu*: S1: vertues; and so S2. 37 *cristen*: S2: *christ*ians.

---

30 *with trew beleue and suer truste ... whych we se nott*: again, compare William of St. Thierry in the *Speculum fidei*: Una virtutis forma ... in hac vita, in qua credimus, speramus, amamus quod non videmus, fides est et fides nominatur (PL 180 368).

31 *of oure beyng ...*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: Þis nakid entent, frely fastenid and groundid in verrey beleue, schal be nouȝt elles ... bot a nakid þouȝt and a blynde feling of þin owne beyng (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 136). Compare also Hebrews 11.1: Faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that are not seen.

33 *And this vertu ... werkyth in vs grete thynges*: compare the *Speculum fidei*: Fides enim radix est omnium virtutum et fundamentum bonorum operum. Nec virtus est quae non est ex fide, nec aedificatio sed ruina extra fidei fundamentum (PL 180 376).

34 *werkyth in vs grete thynges ... the vertu of the holy gost*: cf. Ephesians 3.20 (see 480.40 note).

for Cryst marcyfully is werkyng in vs / and we gracyously accordyng to hym / thorow the yefte and the vertu of the holy gost: a three-membered *compar.*

36 *This werkyng makyth that we be Crystes chyldren and cristen in lyvyng*: this is no vague aphorism, but a specific allusion to the sacrament of baptism. Cf. the *Speculum fidei*: ... ad hoc inclinaverat se ad consortium humanitatis nostrae, ut participes nos efficeret divinitatis suae ... in aqua baptismi ... interius vero spiritu sancto operante anima purificatur; et sic in fide filii hominis et filii dei purificati homines peccatores efficiuntur filii dei (PL 180 382).

The lv Chapter

And thus Crist is oure wey, vs suerly ledyng in his lawes, and Crist in his body myȝtely beryth vs vp in to hevyn; for I saw that Crist, vs alle havyng in hym that shall be savyd by hym, wurschypfully presentyth his fader in hevyn *with* vs, whych present fulle thangkfully hys fader receyvyth, and curtesly gevyth it vnto his sonne Jhesu Crist. Whych gyfte and werkyng is joy to the fader and blysse to the son and lykyng to the holy gost, and of alle thyng that to vs longyth, it is most lykyng to
115v oure lorde that we enjoye in this joy, / whych is in the blessyd trynyte
10 of oure saluacion.

---

10 *of oure saluacion*: here the ninth extract in W ends.

---

1 S1: Christ is our wey, ledand *and* presenting us to the fader *and* forwith as (S2: as soon as) the soule is infusid in the body, mercy *and* grace werkyn; and how the second person tooke our sensualite to deliver us from duble deth. 2 *suerly*: SS: sekirly. 3 *for*: W: also. 5 *fulle*: W: well. 6 *vnto*: SS, W: to. 7 *to (the)*: om. S2. 9 *blessyd*: SS: blisfull. 10 *of*: S2: in.

---

1 *forwith as* (S1): cf. 566.17, *as soone*, which S2 has substituted. NED, MED show that in ME 'forwith' and 'forthwith' were interchangeable, but neither work records 'forwith / forthwith as'.

2 *And thus Crist is oure wey / vs suerly ledyng in his lawes*: a *compar.*

Crist is oure wey ...: this echoes several places in Scripture: Master ... you teach the way of God in truth (Matthew 22.16); How can we know the way? ... I am the way (John 14.5-6); The Lord ... has led me on the paths of justice (Psalm 22.1-3); Ascending above all the heavens, that he might fill all things (Ephesians 4.10); A new and living way he has dedicated for us ... through his flesh (Hebrews 10.20).

3 *vs alle havyng in hym that shall be savyd by hym / wurschypfully presentyth his fader in hevyn with vs / whych present fulle thangkfully hys fader receyvyth / and curtesly gevyth it vnto his sonne Jhesu Crist*: a four-membered *compar*, in which, if in the second 'wurschypply' were substituted for *wurschypfully* (cf. 531.200 note), and in the fourth the 'vnto' of SS, W were preferred to *to*, each member would be of thirteen syllables, which is probably how Julian composed it.

4 *in hym ... by hym*: *traductio* (540.279 note). There is also here an echo of the conclusion of the Roman Canon (cf. 295.13 note).

presentyth ... present: *adnominatio.*

presentyth his fader ... vnto his sonne Jhesu Crist: there seems to be an allusion here to the passage in Ephesians 5.25-27 where Christ is said to prepare and adorn the Church by water and the word, that he might present her to himself, glorious and holy (*ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam ecclesiam*). Mechtild of Hackborn, in her *Book of Special Grace*, in a pious meditation on the Resurrection, imagines Christ speaking to her: The thrydde ioye that I hadde was when I presentede to my fadere with so grete ioye that hitt maye nought be spokene þat precious wedde, þat es to saye my sawle, with alle þe sawlys whiche y bought with my passioun (Halligan, 189-190).

And this was sene in the nyneth shewyng, where it spekyth more of this matere ; and nott *with*stondyng alle oure felyng, woo or wele, god wyll we vnderstond and beleue that we be more verely in hevyn than in erth. Oure feyth comyth of the kynde loue of oure soule, and of the
15 clere lyȝte of oure reson, and of the stedfaste mynde whych we haue of god in oure furst makyng. And what tyme oure soule is enspyred in oure body, in whych we be made sensuall, as soone mercy and grace begynne to werke, havyng of vs cure and kepyng *with* pytte and loue, in whych werkyng the holy gost formyth in oure feyth hope that we shall
116r come agayne vp abovyn to our substan*n*ce, / in to the vertu of Crist, en-
21 cresyd and fulfyllyd throw the holy gost. Thus I vnderstode that the sensuallyte is groundyd in kynde, in mercy and in grace, whych grou*n*d ablyth vs to receyue gyftes that leed vs to endlesse lyfe. For I saw full

---

13 *beleue*: S1: feithyn. *in (erth)*: S2: on. 16 *tyme*: add. SS: þat. *in (oure body)*: SS: into. 17 *as*: SS: also. *soone*: SS: swithe. 18 *werke*: S1: werkyng; S2: werkyn. 21 *vnderstode*: S1: vnderstond. 23 *ablyth*: S2: enableth.

---

11 *in the nyneth shewyng*: cf. 382 e.s., and especially 389.3-5.

12 *god wyll we vnderstond and beleue that we be more verely in hevyn than in erth*: cf. Philippians 3.20-21: But our living (*conversatio*) is in heaven, from where also we look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who will reform the body of our lowness, made like the body of his glory, according to the working by which he is able to subject all things to himself.

14 *Oure feyth comyth ... in oure furst makyng*: this Trinitarian context is that of William of St. Thierry at the beginning of the *Speculum fidei*: Hanc enim trinitatem (sc. fidem, spem, caritatem) constituit trinitas sancta in mente fideli ad imaginem et similitudinem suam (PL 180 365; and cf. 563.27-31, 564.36-37, notes). The hope is *the stedfaste mynde whych we haue of god.*

16 *what tyme oure soule in enspyred in oure body, in whych we be made sensuall*: cf. Genesis 2.7: Deus ... inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem; and the *Speculum fidei*: Voluntas enim initium amoris est ... A carnali affectione accipe similitudinem ad patrem deum (PL 180 371).

17 *as soone* (P) / *as swithe* (SS): cf. NED, Swith, *adv.*, 4.b., 'as soon as', with three instances, the first a.1300, the last c.1420.

23 *For I saw full suerly that oure substannce is in god / and also I saw that in oure sensualyte god is*: *compar.* Julian is here offering her own exegesis of Genesis 1.27: God created man to his own image; to the image of God he created him, and Genesis 2.17 (cf. 566.16-17 note). Our 'sensuality' is our body informed by our soul, which in its first making is what William of St. Thierry calls *caro vera* (said of Adam in his creation as well as of Christ incarnate) as opposed to *caro peccati*. Cf. *Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos* IV viii (PL 180 627). The *Cloud*-author makes a similar point: that before man sinned his sensuality was wholly obedient to his will (Hodgson, 118). Hilton, however, begins from the point of view that in practice the sensuality is the image of sin: Þus seid seint Paule:

suerly that oure substan*n*ce is in god, and also I saw that in oure sens-
25 ualyte god is, for in the same poynt that oure soule is made sensuall, in the same poynt is the cytte of god, ordeyned to hym fro w*ith*out begynny*n*g. In whych cytte he comyth, and nevyr shall remeve it, for god is nevyr out of the soule, in whych he shalle dwell blessydly w*ith*out end.

30 And this was seyd in the xvi shewyng, where it seyth: The place that Jhesu takyth in oure soule, he shall nevyr remeve it. And all the gyftes
116v that god may geue to the creature he / hath gevyn to his son Jhesu for vs, whych gyftes he wonnyng in vs hath beclosyd in hym in to the tyme that we be waxyn and growyn, oure soule *with* oure body and oure
35 body *with* oure soule. Eyther of them take helpe of other tylle we be broughte vp in to stature as kynde werkyth; and than in the ground of kynd *with* werkyng of mercy þe holy gost gracyously enspirith in to vs gyftes ledyng to endlesse lyfe.

---

24 *suerly*: SS: sekirly. 25 *same ... same*: S1: selfe ... selfe; and so S2. 27 *cytte (he)*: S1: se; and so S2. 28 *shalle dwell*: S1: wonen; S2; dwelleth. *blessydly*: SS: blisfully. 30 *seyd*: S1: sen; and so S2. 32 *the creature*: S1: cretures; and so S2. 33 *wonnyng*: C, marg., S2: dwelling. *in to*: S2: untill. 34 *soule*: add. SS: in. 35 *take*: S1: takeing; and so S2. 38 *ledyng*: S2: abiding.

Qui autem chr*ist*i sunt carnem suam crucifixerunt cum viciis *et* concupiscenciis: Þose þat arn Cristes foluers han crucified and sleyn here flesch, þat is þe ymage of synne, *with* all þe luste3 and vnskilfull likynges of it (*Scale*, I chapter 87; MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 356; Underhill, 209; Hilton is citing and translating Galatians 5.24).

30 *in the xvi shewyng*: cf. 641.15.

31 *And all the gyftes that god may geue ...*: the thought is Pauline, from Ephesians 4.4-13: One body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope ... One God ... who is in us all ... To everyone is given according to the measure of the giving of Christ ... He gave gifts to men ... he ascended that he might fill all things ... he gave ... for the perfecting of the saints ... for the building up of Christ's body, until we all meet ... to a perfect man ... to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.

34 *oure soule with oure body / and oure body with oure soule*: this is *commutatio*, 'balanced phrasing, with transposed order of words in the two halves of a statement'.

35 *Eyther of them take helpe of other tylle we be broughte vp in to stature as kynde werkyth*: cf. Luke 2.52: And Jesus grew in wisdom and age and grace before God and man. An asceticism which bears any trace of Manichaeism is entirely foreign to Julian. Her discretion is that of the *Cloud*-author; cf. *An Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings* (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 69.22-70.2). If we accept the P reading and punctuate as here, *take* is imperative or subjunctive; but the SS readings would give: '... and oure body with oure soule, eyther of them take(yng) helpe of other', a statement of fact which *as kynde werkyth* may support.

38 *abiding* (S2): although the chapter heading (565.1 app. crit.) copies correctly: Christ is *our* way leading ..., this erroneous reading appears here.

And thus was my vnderstandyng led of god to se in hym and to wytt,
40 to vnderstonde and to know that oure soule is a made trynyte lyke to
the vnmade blessyd trynyte, knowyn and lovyd fro with out begynnyng,
and in þe makyng onyd to the maker, as it is before seyde. Thys syght
117r was / fulle swete and mervelous to beholde, pesyble and restfull, suer
and delectabyll. And for the worschypfull oonyng þat was thus made of
45 god between the soule and þe body, it behovyd nedys to be þat
mankynd shuld be restoryd fro doubyll deth, whych restoryng myȝt
nevyr be in to the tyme that þe seconde person in the trynyte had takyn
þe lower party of mankynd, to whome that hyest was onyd in the furst

---

40 *a*: om. SS. 41 *blessyd*: SS: blisfull. 42 *onyd*: S2: unid. 43 *and (restfull)*: om. S2. *suer*: SS: sekir. 45 *þe*: om. SS. *behovyd*: S1: behovith; and so S2. 46 *shuld*: S1: shal; and so S2. 47 *in to*: S2: untill. 48 *that (hyest)*: S1: the; and so S2.

---

40 *oure soule is a made trynyte ... before seyde*: again, in this deceptively simple summary, Julian's thought seems to be derived from William of St. Thierry, where he apostrophises his soul: tu vero mens rationalis, cogitatio, delectio tua, unus es homo, ad similitudinem auctoris tui factus ... accede ad formam formatricem ... eidemque semper adiungere, quia tanto ab illa specie amplius accipies, quanto te illi, maiori charitatis pondere, impresseris. Ab illa enim obtinebis imaginis huius indemutabilem statum a quo sumpsisti principium (*De natura corporis et animae* II, PL 180 721).

42 *as it is before seyde*: cf. 558.36-37.

Thys syght was fulle swete and mervelous to beholde / pesyble and restfull suer and delectabyll: *compar.*

44 *And for the worschypfull oonyng ... fro doubyll deth*: Julian has in mind, it would seem, the divine command respecting divorce: Therefore now they are not two but one flesh. What therefore God has joined together let no man separate (Matthew 19.6).

46 *doubyll deth*: that is, natural death, the separation of the soul from the body, to be restored in the resurrection from the dead (Philippians 3.20-21), and the death to the soul which comes from sin, restored through the incarnation and redemption of Christ (Romans 5.8-18).

48 *to whome*: she may have written this, rather than 'to whyche', to indicate that this relative has a double antecedent, the second Person of the Trinity and the lower part of mankind. Cf. 560.56-61.

to whome that hyest was onyd ... in full joy and blysse: William of St. Thierry, alluding to Christ's prayer to the Father in John 17.20-21, writes: Et haec est oratio filii ad patrem, 'Volo', id est voluntatis meae virtute, qui spiritus sanctus est, efficio, 'ut sicut ego et tu unum sumus' in substantia, 'sic et ipsi in nobis unum sint' ex gratia. Unum amore, unum beatitudine, unum immortalitate et incorruptione (*De natura corporis et animae* II, PL 180 722).

makyng. And theyse two pertyes were in Crist, the heyer and þe lower,
50 whych is but one soule. The hyer perty was evyr in pees *with* god in full
joy and blysse. The lower perty, whych is sensualyte, sufferyd for the
117v saluacion of mankynd. And theyse two pertyes were seene and felte / in
the viij shewyng, in whych my body was fulfyllyd of felyng and mynd of
Cristes passion and his dyeng. And ferthermore *with* this was a suttell
55 felyng and a prevy inwarde syghte of þe hye partys, and that was shewed
in the same tyme, wher I myȝte nott for the mene profer loke vp in to
hevyn. And that was for that ech myghty beholdyng of the inwarde lyfe,
whych inward lyfe is *þat* hye substannce, *þat* precious soule whych is
endlessly enjoyeng in the godhede.

---

50 *evyr*: S1: on; S2: one. 54 *dyeng*: S1: deth; and so S2. 55 *a prevy*: S2: secret. *partys*: S1: parte; and so S2. *and that*: SS: that I. 56 *in (the)*: S2: at. *in (to)*: S1: on. 57 *ech*: om. SS.

---

51 *The lower perty, whych is sensualyte, sufferyd for the saluacion of mankynd*: cf. 566.20-21 note, and Colossians 1.20, 22: Making peace with the blood of his cross ... he has reconciled us in the body of his flesh through his death, Hebrews 5.7-8: In the days of his flesh ... the Son of God learned his obedience from the things which he suffered.

52 *in the viij shewyng ... in the same tyme*: cf. 364.50-53, 370.6-7, 372.24-373.39.

56 *the mene profer*: cf. 370.6: *Than had I a profyr ... as it had ben frendely seyde to me: Loke vppe to hevyn to hys father.* Julian there makes it plain that although the *propositio* seemed to be kindly intended, it was no divine locution, as the pronoun *hys* shows; and she rejected it. Here she calls it *mene*, 'intermediate'. Throughout, she shows distrust of 'means', however pious; cf. 210.16 and note, 304.5.

57 *And that was for ... in the godhede*: Julian is here recapitulating what she has already written in her account of the eighth revelation, in the long text, 371.21-373.39, which does not appear in the short text, and is thus the fruit of her continued meditation and contemplation on the parable of the lord and the servant. Even whilst she was experiencing regret for having prayed that she might share Christ's Passion (364.52-56; again, this does not appear in the short text), she becomes aware of *a suttell felyng and a prevy inwarde syghte*, which leads her to the wilful choice which is the contrary of repenting (372.25-26). In spite of this opposing feeling, she is able to answer *with alle the myght of my soule* (371.10; the phrase is not in the short text), because she received a contemplative sight of all the souls who will be saved in their union with the blessed soul of Christ.

that ech myghty beholdyng: 'that same mighty contemplative sight'.

The lvj Chapter

And thus I saw full suerly that it is redyer to vs and more esy to come to þe knowyng of god then to know oure owne soule. For oure soule is
118r so depe growndyd in god and / so endlesly tresoryd that we may nott
5 come to the knowyng ther of tylle we haue furst knowyng of god, whych is the maker to whome it is onyd. But not *with*stondyng I saw that we haue kyndly of fulhed to desyer wysely and truly to know oure owne soule, wherby we be lernyd to seke it ther it is, and that is in to god. And thus by the gracious ledyng of the holy gost we shall know

---

2 With 'Also I sawe ful surely', the tenth extract in W begins.

---

1 S1: It is esier to know god than our soule, for god is to us nerer than that, *and* therfore if we will have knowing of it, we must seke into god; *and* he will we desir to have knowledge of kynde mercy *and* grace; and so S2. 2 *And thus*: W: Also. *suerly*: SS: sekirly. *redyer*: C: ready. *to (vs)*: S2: for. *and more esy*: om. SS. *to come*: om. S1. 3 *know*: W: knowyng of. 6 *whome*: S2: *which*. 7 *kyndly*: om. SS. *fulhed*: W: fulnes. 8 *lernyd*: S2: taught. *ther*: C, marg., S2: where; and so S1. *to*: so C; om. SS, W. 9 *the (gracious)*: om. SS. *shall*: SS: shuld; and so W.

---

4 *so depe growndyd in god and so endlesly tresoryd*: cf. Colossians 3.3 (507.24, 560.55, notes).

we may nott come to the knowyng ther of tylle we haue furst knowyng of god: this is the teaching of William of St. Thierry in his gloss on Canticles 1.7: If you do not know yourself, go outside: Ac si dicat: Quae indicari tibi petis a me, non ignoras, sed te ignoras. Idcirco enim videris tibi ignorare me, quia ignoras te ... Sed cognosce te, quia imago mea es, et sic poteris nosse me, cujus imago es, et penes te invenies me ... In id quod creata es, respirare coeperis ... Adesto ergo tota tibi, et tota te utere ad cognoscendum te, et cujus imago sis; ad discernendum et intelligendum quid sis, quid possis in eo cujus imago es (Déchanet and Dumontier, 160-166).

6 *But not withstondyng I saw ...*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 30: A soule ... haþ miȝt in it self for to seen *and* knowen þe sou*e*reyn soþfastnes ... þ*at* is god ... Seke þi self in none oþ*e*r place (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 102^{v}; Underhill, 357).

7 *kyndly of fulhed*: cf. Ephesians 3.19 (456.22 note).

9 *And thus by the gracious ledyng of the holy gost ...*: cf. William of St. Thierry: Sta in gradu tuo ...Virtus autem est stationis tuae cognitio gratiae ... Praescientia enim dei de te, ejus circa te bonitas est ... Novit dominus qui sunt ejus. Si cognoscis, scito quia praecognita es ... si credis, in hoc es creata; si amas, in hoc es formata (Déchanet and Dumontier, 166).

know hym both in oone: Vade o homo quicunque thesaurum istum absconditum invenis in agro cordis tui ... Thesaurus in possessione tua: Christus in conscientia (William of St. Thierry: *Meditativae orationes* X; PL 180 237).

hym both in oone; whether we be steryd to know god or oure soule, it is both good and trew. God is more nerer to vs than oure owne soule, for he is grounde in whome oure soule standyth, and he is mene that kepyth þe substannce and the sensualyte to geder, so that it shall nevyr
118v departe. For oure soule syttyth in god in very rest, and oure / soule stondyth in god in suer strenght, and oure soule is kyndely rotyd in god in endlesse loue. And therfore if we wylle haue knowyng of oure soule, and comenyng and dalyance ther *with*, it behovyth to seke in to oure lord god in whom it is enclosyd.

---

10 *hym*: S1: hem; and so S2, W. *oure*: add. W: selfe. *it is*: S1: they arn; and so S2. 11 *more*: om. SS, W. *owne*: om. S2. 13 *geder*: SS: god. *it*: S1: thei; and so S2. 15 *suer*: SS: very. 16 *knowyng*: S1: knowlidge; and so S2. 17 *comenyng*: C: commoning; S1: comenyng; S2: communing.

---

11 *God is more nerer to vs than oure owne soule*: Peter Erb points out that this sentiment, which becomes a commonplace in Eckhart and later German spiritual writers, is probably derived by them, as by Julian, directly or not, from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 74.9: Noli ergo cogitare deum in locis; ille tecum est talis, qualis fueris ... Quando autem et teipso interior est, non est quo fugias a deo irato nisi ad deum placatum (ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, CCSL 39 1031); and Mary Baldwin has drawn our attention to a similar passage in the *Confessiones* III 7: Tu autem eras interior intimo meo, et superior summo meo (PL 32 688).

more nerer: it would seem that SS, W (or an ancestor) deplored this as a pleonasm; but the usage was common in ME (and later). Cf. NED More, *a.* (*sb.*) and *adv.*, C.1.d., which quotes 1340 *Ayenb.*: Hi byeþ more worse þanne þe Gyewes. But it should be observed that if, on the evidence of SS, W, *more* were suppressed, the result: *God is nerer to vs than oure owne soule / for he is grounde in whome oure soule standyth*, would be a *compar.*

12 *for he is grounde in whome oure soule standyth*: cf. II Timothy 2.19: But the sure foundation of God stands firm, having this seal: he knows who are his.

and he is mene that kepyth þe substannce and the sensualite to geder: cf. Job 34.14-15: If (God) take back (a man's) heart to himself, he will withdraw his spirit and breath to himself. All flesh shall perish together, and man will return to ashes. Cf. 486.2-3.

14 *For oure soule syttyth in god in very rest / and our soule stondyth in god in suer strength / and oure soule is kyndely rotyd in god in endlesse loue*: a *compar*, with *repetitio* (*oure soule* ...) and a form of *conversio* (*in very rest ... in suer strenght ... in endlesse loue*).

15 *rotyd in god in endlesse loue*: cf. Ephesians 3.17 (453.43 note).

16 *And therfore ... it is enclosyd*: William of St. Thierry, *Super Cantica Canticorum* 1.5, writes: Nec umquam anima se cognoscit, quid sit, quid possit, nisi cum in his se invenit; nec libet eam aliquo egredi a se, quamdiu in his datur frui se. Beatus vir et jucundus homo qui gloriam hanc et divitias hujus gratiae habet in domo cordis sui, in thesauro conscientiae suae (ed. Déchanet and Dumontier, 168).

And of this enclosyng I saw and vnderstode more in the xvi shewyng,
20 as I shall sey; and as anemptis oure substannce it may ryghtly be callyd oure soule, and anemptis oure sensualite it may ryghtly be callyd oure soule, and that is by the onyng that it hath in god.

That wurschypfull cytte þat oure lorde Jhesu syttyth in, it is oure sensualyte, in whych he is enclosyd; and oure kyndly substance is beclosyd
25 in Jhesu, with þe blessyd soule of Crist syttyng in rest in the godhed. And
119r I saw full suerly that it behouyth nedys to be that / we shulde be in longyng and in pennance into the tyme that we be led so depe in to god that we verely and trewly know oure owne soule; and suerly I saw that

---

20 *as (anemptis)*: interl. al. m. w. caret.

---

19 *And of this enclosyng ... I shall sey*: om. W. *enclosyng*: S1: inclos; and so S2. 20 *as (anemptis)*: so C; om. SS, W. *substannce*: add. S1: *and* sensualite; and so S2. *ryghtly*: W: ryghtfully. *callyd*: SS: clepid. 21 *and anemptis ... callyd oure soule*: om. SS. *ryghtly*: W: ryghtfull. 22 *that (it)*: om. S2. 23 *That*: SS; the. *Jhesu*: add. W: Criste. 25 *rest*: add. S2: *and*. 26 *suerly*: SS: sekirly. *to be*: om. W. *shulde*: W: shall. 27 *into*: S2: until. 28 *we (verely)*: add. W.: may. *suerly*: S1, W: sothly; and so S2.

---

19 *in the xvi shewyng, as I shall sey*: cf. esp. 639.2 e.s. The triad here, *syttyth, stondyth, is kyndely rotyd*, is there elaborated; the soul is *an endlesse warde, a blessyd kyngdom, a wurschypfulle cytte*.

20 *and as anemptis oure substannce it may ryghtly be callyd oure soule / and anemptis oure sensualite it may ryghtly be callyd oure soule*: a *compar*, with *conversio* (*and as anemptis ... and anemptis*).

23 *That wurschypfull cytte / þat oure lorde Jhesu syttyth in / it is oure sensualyte / in whych he is enclosyd*: a four-membered *compar*.

25 *And I saw full suerly ... so depe in to god*: cf. Psalm 41.3-5: My soul has thirsted for the living God; when shall I come and appear before the face of God? My tears have been my bread day and night ... and I poured out my soul; for I shall go ... even to the house of God.

28 *and suerly I saw ... his blessyd passyon*: cf. *Bonum est*: I am glad þat I am as I am and þat þou hast made me ... Muche miȝt schewed vr lord in makyng of þe world ... but muchel more in helping and sauyng of monnes soule. Þis is good murþe to a clene soule (Wallner, 60-62).

that in to this hye depnesse our good lorde hym selfe ledyth vs / in þe same loue he made vs and in þe same loue he bouȝte vs / by mercy and grace thorow vertu of his blessyd passyon: a *compar* of three fifteen-syllabled members, with *repetitio* (*in þe same loue*).

in to this hye depnesse our good lorde hym selfe ledyth vs, in þe same
30 loue he made vs and in þe same loue he bouȝte vs, by mercy and grace thorow vertu of his blessyd passyon.

And not *with*standyng all this, we may nevyr come to the full knowyng of god tylle we knowe furst clerely oure owne soule. For in to the tyme that it is in the full myghtis, we may nott be alle holy; and *þat*
35 is that oure sensualyte by the vertu of Cristes passion be brought vp in to þe substance, *with* all þe profytes of oure trybulacion that oure lorde shall make vs to gett by mercy and grace.

119v I had in perty / touchyng, and it is growndyd in kynd, *þat* is to say:

---

29 *to*: om. S2. *good*: om. W. 30 *loue (he bouȝte)*: add. S1: that; and so S2, W. 32 *the*: om. SS. 33 *in to*: S2: untill. 34 *is*: W: be. *myghtis*: S2: might. *alle*: add. SS: ful; and so W. 35 *in*: om. SS.

---

29 *this hye depnesse*: cf. Ecclesiastes 7.24-25: I have tried all things in wisdom ... and it departed further from me, much more than it was. It is a high deepness (*alta profunditas*); who shall find it out? The figure is *similitudo*. It is reminiscent of chapter 11 of the *Treatise of Perfection*. Ruysbroek is there writing of the ineffable experience of unitive prayer, a considerable tour de force to which Jordaen's Latin and the English do much justice; and we find such figures as 'insaable depnesse', 'moste depe vnmeuable euerlastynge rystfulnesse', 'hye dyrkenesse', 'depe derknesse' (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 247-248).

29 *in þe same loue he made vs / and in þe same loue he bouȝte vs*: a *compar*, with the same *repetitio* and *complexio* (*in ... vs*).

32 *we may nevyr come ... we may nott be alle holy*: William of St. Thierry, *Super Cantica Canticorum* 1.7, writes: Sponsa, disciplinae corripientis magisterio erudita ac sapientiae dote glorificata, induens affectum incipit jam perfectius semetipsam cognoscere et intelligere ac discernere quid intra semetipsam agatur (Déchanet and Dumontier, 184). The *Cloud*-author in *Benjamin Minor* has: ... by þis ilke Joseph (sc. discretion) ... a man is led by hym to þe parfite knowyng of hymself. And al after þat a man knoweþ hymself, þerafter he profiteþ in þe knowyng of god, of whom he is þe ymage and þe liknes (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 41-42).

35 *that oure sensualyte by the vertu of Cristes passion be brought vp in to þe substance ... by mercy and grace*: in Hilton's terminology, the upward movement of the sensuality is its obedience to the higher part of reason, and this is reforming in faith: Bot an oþer soule þat fleeþ þurw grace alle dedly stirynges of þe sensualite *and* venials also so ferforþ *þat* he feliþ hem not is reformed in felynge, for he folweþ ouerer party of resoun in beholdyng of god *and* gostly þinges (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 75v; *Scale* II chapter 13; Underhill, 273-274). The *Cloud*-author gives also his own presentation of the same teaching: Bot ȝif it (þe sensualite) be reulyd by grace in þe wille, for to suffre meekly and in mesure þe pyne of þe original synne ... elles wil it wrechidly and wantounly weltre (Hodgson, 119).

38 *I had in perty touchyng / and it is growndyd in kynd*: *compar*.

in perty: cf. 722.2 note.

touchyng: cf. NED Touching, *vbl. sb.* 2, 'in various *fig.* senses' ... 'affecting', of which the first example is Hilton, *Scale*: Made bi þe presence and the touchyng of a good angell'. The word is technical, belonging to the vocabulary of the spiritual senses, and

oure reson is groundyd in god, whych is substanncyally kyndnesse. Of this substancyall kyndnesse mercy and grace spryngyth and spredyth in to vs, werkyng all thynges in fulfyllyng of oure joy. Theyse be oure groundys, in whych we haue oure beyng, oure encrese and oure fulfyllyng. For in kynde we haue oure lyfe and oure beyng, and in mercy and grace we haue oure encres and oure fulfyllyng. It be thre propertes in one goodnes, and where that one werkyth alle werkyn in the thynges whych be now longyng to vs.

God wylle we vnderstande, desyeryng *with* all oure hart and alle oure strengh to haue knowyng of them evyr more and more in to the tyme

---

39 *substanncyally*: SS: substantial. *kyndnesse (Of)*: SS: heyhede; in either ms, marg., al.m.: kindhede. 40 *kyndnesse (mercy)*: SS: kindhede. 42 *beyng, oure*: om. SS. *oure (fulfyllyng* - 2×): om. S2 (2×). 44 *It*: SS: these. 45 *where that one*: S1: wheron. *that*: om. S2. 46 *thynges whych be now longyng*: C: thing that belongen. 47 *with*: S1: of. *and*: add. C, S2: with. 48 *evyr*: om. SS. *in to*: S2: until.

---

frequently employed by Julian to convey that she is being directly affected and moved by the Holy Spirit to experience the reality of God, in a way which is above intellectual comprehension, but which accompanies and supports some form of inner seeing. The *suttell felyng* which comes with the *prevy inwarde syghte of þe hye partys* (569.55) is the result of this touching. Cf. 631.36, 658.38-39, and especially 722.2, where she uses the active and passive together: *I had in perty touchyng, syght and feelyng.*

39 *oure reson is groundyd in god / whych is substanncyally kyndnesse*: *compar.*

reson: another technical word, which here means our higher faculties whose proper object is the knowledge and love of God. The *Cloud*-author calls them our 'principal worching mi3t', which he distinguishes as 'a knowyng mi3t' and 'þe louyng mi3t' (Hodgson, 18-19).

40 *substancyall kyndnesse*: Julian's purpose is not to offer a metaphysical definition of the divine nature; she is trying to explain what she knows and feels as a result of the showing of the parable and all its consequences. She has experienced that we have our life and being in the incarnate Christ, now glorified, who is substantially united to the Father. This awareness is different from her awareness of the operation of mercy and grace in the souls that will be saved in Christ.

41 *Theyse be oure groundys* ...: William of St. Thierry, in his *Liber de natura et dignitate amoris*, writes of the joy which the whole body of Christ experiences when it finds itself vivified by his spiritual touch for growth and fulfilment: In se enim vivens et per se totum corpus vegetans et conformans gaudium sibi ... facit de consummatione corporis ... gaudium universo corpori ... ita ut quodam mentis tripudio universali, illo tactu spirituali vivificati et confirmati clamemus: Quod vidimus et audivimus et manus nostrae contractaverunt de Verbo vitae (I John 1.1) (PL 184 398; and cf. J. Walsh, 'Guillaume de Saint-Thierry et les sens spirituels', 30-31 and note 17).

44 *thre propertes in one goodnes*: that is, three theological attributes of the three Persons: *substancyall kyndnesse* for the Father, *mercy* for the Son and *grace* for the Holy Spirit; but in one God and goodness.

45 *where that one werkyth alle werkyn*: *traductio.*

120r that we be fulfyllyd; for fully to know them and / clerely to se them is
50 not elles but endles joy and blysse that we shall haue in hevyn, whych god wyll we begynne here in knowyng of his loue. For only by oure reson we may nott profyte, but yf we haue evynly therwith mynde and loue, ne onely in oure kyndly grounde that we haue in god, we may not be savyd, but yf we haue, co(m)yng of the same grounde, mercy and
55 grace. For of these thre werkynges alle to geder we receyue alle oure goodys, of whych the furst be goodys of kynde. For in oure furst makyng god gaue vs as moch good and as grete good as we myght receyve onely in oure spyryte; but his forseeyng perpos in his endlesse wysdom wolde that we were doubyll.

---

54 *comyng*: ms: connyng.

---

49 *them (is)*: S2: him. 50 *not*: S2: nothing; C, marg.: naught. *elles*: S1: ell. 51 *we begynne*: S1: they ben begun; and so S2. 52 *evynly*: S1: verily. 54 *connyng* (ms): C: coming; S1: connyng; S2: comming. 55 *of*: S2: if. *werkynges*: S1: werkyng; S2: werkyn. 56 *goodys, of*: S1: goodnes of the; and so S2. 57 *moch good*: S1: ful goods; and so S2. *as grete good*: S1: also greter godes; and so S2. 58 *spyryte*: S2: spirits.

---

49 *fully to know them and clerely to se them*: *conversio*.

is not elles but endles joy and blysse that we shall haue in hevyn: cf. 574.41-42 note.

51 *For only by oure reson ...*: For we cannot profit through our understanding alone, unless we have in equal measure memory and love, nor can we be saved only by the natural substance in God which we have, unless we have, proceeding from that same substance, mercy and grace'.

52 *reson ... mynde and loue*: the traditional analogue of man as a made Trinity (cf. 568.40-42 and note), with understanding, memory and will, which begins from Augustine's *De Trinitate*.

54 *comyng*: the emendation, supported by S2, is plainly necessitated by the context.

55 *For of these thre werkynges ...*: William of St. Thierry writes of these *goodys* in *De natura corporis et animae* II: ... humanam naturam participem omnis boni fecit deus ... imago autem dei est homo. Igitur in eo quod sit plenitudinis omnis boni capax, ad principale exemplum imago habet similitudinem; est enim nobis omnis boni forma, virtutis, sapientiae et omnium quae in melius possunt intelligi; in eo item quod sit liber omni necessitate animus ... habet voluntatem ... Hic animus vel haec anima a deo datur, ab anima vero naturalis vita nostra (PL 180 717).

59 *doubyll*: that is, substantial and sensual. She is saying what William of St. Thierry had said, by distinguishing *spyryte* (*animus*) from *soule* (*anima*).

The lvij Chapter

120v And anemptys oure substannce / he made vs so nobyll and so rych þ*at* evyr more we werke his wylle and his worshyppe. Ther I sey: We, it menyth man þ*at* shall be savyd. For truly I saw that we be that he lovyth, and do that hym lykyth lastyngly *with*oute ony styntyng. And of this grete rychesse and of this hygh noble, vertues by mesure come to oure soule, what tyme þ*at* it is knytt to oure body, in whych knyttyng we be made sensuall. And thus in oure substannce we be full and in oure

---

7 þ*at*: interl. w. caret al. m.

---

1 S1: In our subs(t)ance we aren full, in our sensualite we faylyn, which god will restore be mercy *and* grace; *and* how our kinde, which is the heyer part, is knitt to god in the makyng, *and* god Jesus is knitt to our kind in þe lower part in our flesh takyng; *and* of feith spryngyn other vertues; Mary (S2: *and* Mary) is our moder. 2 *anemptys*: C: against. *so (nobyll)*: om. SS. 3 *I (sey)*: om. SS. 4 *truly*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *that ... that*: S2: *what ... what*. 5 *hym*: SS: he. 6 *this (grete)*: SS: the. *rychesse*: C, SS: riches. *this (hygh)*: S1: the; and so S2. *noble*: C, SS: noble (in all three cases treated as adjective, as C's punctuation indicates). 7 þ*at*: so C; om. SS.

---

2 *nobyll*: cf. I Kings 9.6 (of the prophet Samuel): Behold there is a man of God in this city, a noble man.

so nobyll and so rych: so William of St. Thierry: Vide et amplectere o homo dignitatem naturae tuae ... quam pretiosus (tu) in interiori tuo ... secundum interiorem enim dignitatem in regiam natus es conditionem (*De natura corporis et animae*, II; PL 180 717).

3 þ*at evyr more we werke his wylle and his worshyppe*: so William of St. Thierry: Sicut enim corpus vivit ex anima, sic ex deo vivit anima illa ... manens in deo per fidelem actionem eumque amat in se habens manentem per omnipotentem operationem. Voluntas enim patris et filii et spiritus sancti ... voluntas eius sibi conformans (ibid.; PL 180 722).

Ther I sey ... shall be savyd: Julian is aware that she must constantly remind her readers that she is not writing a theological or philosophical treatise. She is recounting what she saw of the glorified Christ, and of his union with his Father and the Father's chosen, as Christ himself says to his apostles: The Father himself loves you, because you have loved me and have believed that I proceed from God (John 16.27), and to his Father about his apostles and 'those who shall believe': that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them and I in them (ibid. 17.20).

5 *And of this grete rychesse and of this hygh noble / vertues by mesure come to oure soule / what tyme þat it is knytt to oure body / in whych knyttyng we be made sensuall*: a four-membered *compar*.

6 *noble*: 'nobility'. Cf. 517.43 note.

8 *And thus in oure substannce we be full / and in oure sensualyte we feyle*: *oppositio contrariorum*, with *adnominatio* (*full ... feyle*).

sensualyte we feyle, whych feylyng god wylle restore and fulfyll by
10 werkyng of mercy and grace, plentuously flowyng in to vs of his owne
kynde goodnesse. And thus this kynde goodnesse makyth that mercy
121r and grace werkyth in vs and the kynde goodnesse that we / haue of hym
ablyth vs to receyve þe werkyng of mercy and grace.

I saw that oure kynde is in god hoole, in whych he makyth dyversytes
15 flowyng oute of hym to werke his wylle, whose kynde kepyth and mercy
and grace restoryth and fulfyllyth. And of theyse none shalle be
perysschyd, for oure kynde, whych is the hyer party, is knytte to god in
þe makyng, and god is knytt to oure kynde, whych is the lower party in

---

10 *werkyng*: S1, interl. scr. *of (mercy)*: om. SS. 11 *goodnesse (And)*: S1: godhede; and so S2; S1, marg., scr.: goodnes. *goodnesse (makyth) ... goodnesse (that)*: S1: godhede ... godhede; and so S2. 14 *dyversytes*: S1: divers setis; and so S2. 15 *whose*: SS: whom. 16 *be perysschyd*: S1: perishen; and so S2. 17 *the ... the*: S2: our ... our.

---

10 ... *of his owne kynde goodnesse. / And thus this kynde goodnesse ... / and the kynde goodnesse* ...: this is *gradatio*.

11 *And thus this kynde goodnesse ... mercy and grace*: cf. Philippians 2.13: For it is God who works in you both to will and to accomplish, according to his good will.

14 *I saw that oure kynde ... restoryth and fulfyllyth*: cf. Ephesians 2.4-5: But God, who is rich in mercy, for the exceeding love with which he loved us even when we were dead in our sins, has given us life together in Christ, by whose grace you are saved.

I saw that oure kynde is in god hoole / in whych he makyth dyversytes / flowyng oute of hym to werke his wylle: a *compar* of three nine-syllabed members.

dyversytes: Chaucer uses the word in *Boethius*, where he asks whether all the elements of happiness conjoin to make the perfection of happiness, or whether they are to be referred to the sovereign good as source (Morris, 92).

15 *flowyng oute of hym to werke his wylle*: in Ezechiel's vision of the new temple of God, the holy waters which flow from it are healing and life giving (chapter 47).

16 *And of theyse none shalle be perysschyd*: cf. Romans 8.39: Nothing will be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. William of St. Thierry comments on this: Nemo ergo nos separet a Deo, minando mortem, quia idipsum quod diligimus Deum, mori non potest (PL 180 643).

17 *perysschyd*: 'lost'. Cf. NED Perish, *v.*, 2.: 'In *pa.pple.* with the auxiliary *be*, expressing the resulting state (as with OF *perir*)'. NED quotes Wycliffe, Luke 15.24: Þis sone of myn was deed ... and he was perished (quia hic filius meus mortuus erat ... perierat ...). Cf. John 3.16: God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whoever believes in him may not perish but have everlasting life.

for oure kynde ... is knytte to god / and god is knytt to oure kynde: this is *inclusio*, repetition of the same word at the beginning of one clause and the end of the next. Julius Rufinianus, *De schematis lexeos*, writes: 'Επαναδίπλωσις est cum idem verbum in eadem sententia et primum est et extremum, ut ... Unum illud tibi, ante dea, proque omnibus unum. Latine dicitur 'inclusio' (Halm, *Rhetores*, 50). There is also *chiasmus*.

18 *god is knytt to oure kynde*: cf. *Privy Counselling*: For he is þi being, and in him þou arte þat at þou arte, not only bi cause and bi beyng, bot also he is in þee boþe þi cause and þi beyng (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 136).

oure flessch takyng. And thus in Crist oure two kyndys be onyd, for the trynyte is comprehendyd in Crist, in whom oure hyer party is groundyd and rotyd; and oure lower party the second parson hath taken, whych kynd furst to hym was adyght.

121v For I saw full trewly that alle the werkys that / god hath done or evyr shall were full knowen to hym and before seen fro *with*out begynnyng. And for loue he made mankynd, and for the same loue hym selfe wolde become man. The nexte good that we receyue is oure feyth, in whych oure profety*n*g begynnyth; and it comyth of the hye rychesse of oure

---

27 *begynnyth*: ms: begynnynth.

---

19 *oure (flessch)*: S2: þc. 21 *parson*: C, S1: person; S2: person. 23 *trewly*: S1: sekir; S2: sekirly. 26 *become*: SS: be. *that*: om. S2. 27 *comyth*: C: becometh. *rychesse*: C, SS: riches.

---

19 ... *in Crist oure two kyndys be onyd / for the trynyte is comprehendyd in Crist*: simple *inclusio* (577.17 note, supra).

20 *in whom oure hyer party is groundyd and rotyd*: cf. Colossians 2.6-7: ... Jesum Christum ... radicati et superaedificati in ipso. Greene's first carol, the manuscript of which (BM Add. 5665) he dates sixteenth century, the language of which seems to be at least one century earlier, has: O of Jesse thow holy rote, / That to thi pepill arte syker merke ... (3).

21 *whych kynd furst to hym was adyght*: cf. 550.46-49 note.

23 *For I saw full trewly ... fro without begynnyng*: cf. Chaucer's *Boethius*: It byhoueþ by necessite þat þilke þinge be alwey present to hym self and compotent, as who seiþ alwey present to hym self ... and þat he haue al present þe infinit of þe moeuable tyme (Morris, 172).

25 *And for loue ... wolde become man*: cf. I John 3.1-16: See what kind of love the Father has bestowed on us that we should ... be the sons of God ... In this we have known the love of God, because he laid down his life for us.

26 *The nexte good ... oure profetyng begynnyth*: Hebrews 10.38-39: My just man lives by faith ... We are not the children of abandonment to perdition, but of faith to the saving of the soul.

oure feyth: William of St. Thierry, commenting on Romans 1.17 (Justus ex fide vivit), writes: quia credendo intelligere nos facit fides ipsa, quia non ex nobis sed ex deo nobis est non solum quod bene credimus, sed etiam quod bene vivimus. Neque enim ipsum recte vivere nobis ex nobis est, nisi credentes adiuvet et orantes, qui et ipsam fidem dedit qua nos ab ipso adjuvandos esse credamus (*Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos* I i 17; PL 180 557).

27 *rychesse*: NED, Riches, 'Abundance of means ...', 1.b., *transf.* or *fig.*, cites as its first example 1586, Spenser, *Astrophel*; but this antedates it by two centuries. Julian has the word from the Vulgate, e.g. Ephesians 3.16: ... ut det vobis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per spiritum eius in interiorem hominem.

kynde substannce in to oure sensuall soule, and it is groundyd in vs and we in that throw the kynde goodnes of god by the werkyng of mercy and grace. And therof come alle oure go(o)dys by whych we be led and savyd. For the commawndementys of god come there in, in whych we owe to haue two manner of vnderstandyng. That one is that we owe to vnderstand and know whych b(e) his byddynges, to loue them and to
122r kepe them. That other is that / we owe to knowe his forbyddynges, to hate them and refuse them. For in theyse two is all oure werkyng comprehendyd. Also in oure feyth come the vij sacramentes, eche folowyng other in order as god hath ordeyneth them to vs, and all manner vertuse. For the same vertuse þat we haue receyvyd of oure substannce gevyn to vs in kynd of the goodnes of god, the same vertuse by the werkyng of mercy be gevyn to vs in grace, throw the holy gost renewed; which vertuse and gyftys are tresoured to vs in Jhesu Criste. For in that

---

30 *goodys*: ms: goddys. 33 *be*: ms: by.

---

29 *that*: S2: it. 32 *owe*: S2: ought. *That one ... and know*: om. SS. 33 *by* (ms): C: be; SS: are. *byddynges*: SS: bidding. 34 *them (That)*: om. SS. *That (other)*: S2: þe. *owe*: S2: ought. 35 *them (and)*: om. SS. *and*: add. C, SS: to. 35 *them (For)*: om. SS. 37 *ordeyneth*: C, S2: ordained; and so S1. *manner*: add. SS: of. 39 *of (the)*: S1: be; and so S2.

---

30 *And therof come alle oure goodys ... For the commawndementys of god come there in*: in the episode of the rich young man who asks 'What good ought I to do that I may have everlasting life?', Christ replies: 'If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments'; and then he enumerates first the prohibitions and then the mandates concerning man's duty to his neighbour (Matthew 19.16-19). Plainly Julian has this passage in mind, as she proceeds to make the same distinction between all ten commandments.

33 *be* (ms): as this is not so common a P spelling as 'my' for 'me', it has been treated as erroneous and emended.

39 *the same vertuse by the werkyng of mercy be gevyn to vs in grace*: though this sounds as if Julian is taking up a position in the scholastic controversy whether or not the moral or natural virtues are infused, she is merely concerned to state that the powers and dispositions given in the creation of the man Christ are also given in a new way by the Spirit of Christ risen and glorified. What she has to say accords well with the definition of Peter Lombard: Bona qualitas mentis qua recte vivitur et qua nullus male utitur, quam deus solus in homine operatur (*Liber sententiarum* II.27.5, Quaracchi 1 446).

41 *which vertuse and gyftys are tresoured to vs in Jhesu Criste*: see William of St. Thierry, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*: Sed quibus Christus sapientia est, ipsis ipse omnis virtus est. Etenim in sapientia omnis virtutum plenitudo continetur (Déchanet and Dumontier, 235-236).

same tyme that god knytt hym to oure body in the meydens wombe, he toke oure sensuall soule, in whych takyng, he vs all havyng beclosyd in hym, he onyd it to oure substance. In whych oonyng he was perfit man,
122v for Crist, havyng / knytt in hym all man that shall be savyd, is perfete
46 man.

Thus oure lady is oure moder, in whome we be all beclosyd and of hyr borne in Crist, for she that is moder of oure savyoure is mother of all *þat* ben savyd in our sauyour; and oure savyoure is oure very moder,
50 in whome we be endlesly borne and nevyr shall come out of hym.

Plentuously, fully and swetely was this shewde; and it is spoken of in the furst, wher it seyde we be all in hym beclosyd, and he is beclosyd in vs. And that is spoken of in the xvi shewyng, where he seyth he syttyth

---

42 *same*: SS: ilke. 44 *hym*: S2: himself. 45 *all*: SS: ilk. 48 S1: is mother of all that shall be saved in our savio*u*r; S2 om. scr., add. marg. al.m. 49 *ben*: SS: shall be. 50 *be (endlesly)*: om. S2. 51 *Plentuously*: add. S1: *and*. 52 *the*: S2: my. *it*: C: it is. *it seyde*: S1: he seith; and so S2. 53 *he (seyth)*: SS: it.

---

42 *he toke oure sensuall soule ... perfete man*: in *De natura corporis et animae* II, William writes: ... cum hominis caput homo Christus in unitatem personae ab ipsa veritate a filio dei vere et perfecte assumptus meruerit iam olim audire ... a deo patre 'Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi complacui' (Matthew 3.17). Gaudeat itaque glorificata in capite suo Christo sancta humanitas (PL 180 721-722).

44 *In whych oonyng he was perfit man*: ... in aedificationem corporis Christi, donec occurramus omnes in ... virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi (Ephesians 4.12-13).

47 *Thus oure lady is oure moder* ..: the doctrine of Mary's spiritual motherhood is explicit in the West from the time of Augustine; and his treatise, *De sancta virginitate*, remained a classic in the contemplative tradition. Julian probably knew that Augustine had written: ... plane mater membrorum (Christi) quod nos sumus, quia co-operata est charitate, ut fideles in ecclesia nascerentur, quia illius capitis membra sunt; corpore vero ipsius capitis mater (PL 40 399).

48 *of oure savyoure ... in our sauyour*: *traductio*.

mother of all ... in our sauyour; and our savyoure ... oure very moder: *chiasmus*.

50 *in whome we be endlesly borne and nevyr shall come out of hym*: Augustine, in the same section of *De sancta virginitate* just quoted, writes: Et mater quidem spiritu, non capitis nostri, quod est ipse salvator, ex quo magis illa spiritualiter nata est, quia omnes qui in eum crediderint, in quibus et ipsa est, recte filii sponsi appellantur (PL 40 399).

in whome we be endlesly borne / and nevyr shall come out of hym: a *compar* of two eight-syllabled members.

51 *in the furst, wher it seyde we be all in hym beclosyd*: this is not a direct quotation, but Julian's précis of several passages; cf. 299.5, 307.41, 43.

53 *in the xvi shewyng*: cf. 640.9.

in oure soule, for it is his lykyng to reigne in oure vnderstandyng
55 blessydfully, and sytt(e) in oure soule restfully, and to dwell in oure
123r soule endlesly, vs all werkyng in to hym. In whych werkyng he / wylle
we be his helpers, gevyng to hym alle oure entent, lernyng his lawes, kepyng his lore, desyeryng that alle be done that he doth, truly trustyng in hym, for verely I saw that oure substan*n*ce is in god.

---

55 *sytte*: ms: syttyth.

---

55 *blessydfully*: S2: blisfully. *syttyth* (ms): C: sitteth; SS: sitten. *dwell*: S1: wonen. 56 *to hym*: S2: himselfe. 57 *entent*: S1: entendyng; and so S2. *lernyng*: S1: lerand. *lawes*: SS: loris. 58 *lore*: S1: lawes; S2: laws and. *truly*: add. S2: *and*. 59 *verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *that (oure)*: add. C: all.

---

55 *and sytte in oure soule restfully / and to dwell in oure soule endlesly*: *compar.*

56 *vs all werkyng ... In whych werkyng*: *traductio.*

vs all werkyng in to hym: the metaphor may be agricultural, and Julian may have in mind Paul's comparison of his Gentile converts with the wild olive branch grafted (ἐνεκεντρίσθης, insertus es) on to the stock of Israel (Romans 11.17, 24). NED's earliest example, Work, *v.*, B.9.b.: '*Hort.* To graft ...' is Thomas Browne, 1658; but MED has several instances which may be apposite. MS BM Add.27944, f.98^{c} (Trevisa): ... þe 3olk of an ey ibake *with* salt worchiþ þe same (vitellum oui cum sale pistatum, ed. 1650, 347). Na that he ne wyrk na lede amanges any other metall is disseyt of the kynges poeple (1417, *York Memorandum Book*, 1 183). For the sense 'cultivate, till', see Lindberg, 1 38, Genesis 2.5: and was no man þat mi3te wirch þe erþ (et homo non erat qui operaretur terram).

57 *gevyng to hym alle oure entent*: Psalm 118.34: Give me understanding and I shall search thy law, and I shall keep it with my whole heart.

58 *desyeryng that alle be done that he doth*: cf. 471.41-472.43.

59 *for verely I saw that oure substance is in god*: cf. *A Ladder of Four Rungs* (see 473.61 note). If Julian had in mind the metaphor of the vineyard when she wrote *vs all werkyng in to hym* (581.56 and note), it is significant that she continues in this vein, since elsewhere Paul wrote: Dei sumus adjutores, dei agricultura estis (I Corinthians 3.9).

The lviij Chapter

God the blyssydfull trynyte, whych is evyr lastyng beyng, ryght as he is endlesse fro w*ith*out begynnyng, ryghte so it was in his purpose endlesse to make mankynde, whych feyer kynd furst was dyght to his owne son, the second person; and when he woulde, by full accorde of alle the trynyte he made vs alle at onys. And in oure makyng he knytt vs and onyd vs to hym selfe, by whych oonyng we be kept as clene and as noble as we were made. By þe vertu of that ech precyous onyng we / loue oure maker and lyke hym, prayse hym and thanke hym and endlesly enjoye in hym. And this is the werkyng whych is wrought contynually in ech soule that shalle be savyd, whych is the godly wylle before seyde.

123v

And thus in oure makyng god almyghty is oure kyndly fader, and god alle wysdom is oure kyndly mother, w*ith* the loue and the goodnes of

---

1 S1: God was never displesid with his chosin wif; *and* of iij properties in the trinite, faderhede, moderhede *and* lordhede, *and* how our substance is in every person, but our sensualite is in Criste alone; and so S2. 2 *blyssydfull*: S1: blisful; and so S2. *whych*: S2: who. 4 *dyght*: SS: adyte. 8 *that ech*: S1: the ilke; and so S2. 9 *thanke*: S1: thankyng. *thanke hym*: om. S2. 10 *werkyng*: S1: werke; and so S2. 11 *ech*: SS: every.

---

2 *God the blyssydfull trynyte* ...: this sentence forms a simple but precisely accurate theological statement. So William of St. Thierry writes: ... tres propter Sabellianum, unum propter Arianum. Nec in uno deo est trinitas ipsa, sed trinitas ipsa deus est; nec deus est in trinitate, sed deus ipsa trinitas est (*Aenigma fidei*, PL 180 434).

evyr lastyng beyng: so William of St. Thierry, commenting on John 1.1, *In principio erat verbum*: signatur patris et filii coaeternitas (PL 180 436).

God the blyssydfull trynyte / whych is evyr lastyng beyng: *compar.*

as he is endlesse: though the antecedent is *trynyte, he* is the Father, as what follows, *whych feyer kynd furst was dyght to his owne son*, makes clear. Language cannot express the mystery. Again, Julian seems to be following the *Aenigma fidei*: Est enim deus pater quasi fons quidam et origo divinitatis, principium filii et spiritus sancti ... et tres sunt principium omnis creaturae (in the PL text, erroneously, 'sint': PL 180 435).

5 *by full accorde of alle the trynyte he made vs alle at onys*: cf. the *Aenigma fidei*: Hoc a patre et filio fieret ut filius appareret ... forma illa suscepti hominis filii est ... Servilem enim formam, quam unigenitus deus assumpsit, tota trinitas fecit (PL 180 437). For William, the *forma hominis* is *servilis*, as opposed to the *forma dei* (cf. Philippians 2.6-7).

7 *by whych oonyng we be kept as clene and as noble as we were made*: cf. Hebrews 2.7: What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou hast visited him? ... thou hast crowned him with glory and honour.

12 *god almyghty is oure kyndly fader / and god alle wysdom is oure kyndly mother / with the loue and the goodnes of the holy gost*: *compar.* Julian is following the principle of William of St. Thierry, that in the Trinity there is no diversity of operation, but simple cooperation: Aeque enim ex patre et ex spiritu sancto sunt omnia, sicut ex natura omnium creatrice aeque per patrem et filium et per spiritum sanctum, sicut per deum om-

the holy gost, whych is alle one god, onne lorde. And in the knyttyng
15 and in the onyng he is oure very tru spouse and we his lovyd wyfe and his feyer meydyn, *with* whych wyfe he was nevyr displesyd; for he seyeth: I loue the and thou louyst me, and oure loue shall nevyr parte in two.

I beheld þe werkyng of alle the blessyd trynyte, in whych beholldyng I
124r saw and / vnderstode these thre propertes: the properte of the faderhed,

---

14 *one*: S1: our. 16 *was*: SS: is. 17 *parte*: S1: be departid; and so S2.

---

niu-n opificem; aeque in patre et filio et spiritu sancto sicut in deo omnia continente (PL 180 431). The allusion is to the doxology in Romans 11.36; cf. 295.13 note. Edmund of Canterbury in his *Speculum religiosorum* writes: Potencia appropriatur patri, sapiencia filio, bonitas spiritui sancto, licet hec omnia in personis singulis inveniantur equaliter, inseparabiliter et perfecte (Forshaw, 44; the illuminating second clause is not found in the Latin *Speculum ecclesie*, nor in the printed English text; Horstman, 222).

14 *And in the knyttyng and in the onyng he is oure very tru spouse and we his lovyd wyfe*: Again, there is probably here an allusion to Matthew 19.6; cf. 568.44-46 note. Compare *Benjamin Minor*: And so it is þat god, þat is þe trewe housbonde of oure soule, is dwellyng in þat soule, strengþing it in þe affeccioun with goostly joie and swetnes in his loue (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 35).

15 *and we his lovyd wyfe*: Rolle in his *Exposicio* (cf. 263.1 note) writes: Amplectitur igitur sponsas suas, quo omnes una sunt sponsa ... (Murray, 1).

16 *with whych wyfe he was nevyr displesyd ... oure loue shall nevyr parte in two*: in the *Scale*, I chapter 8, Hilton writes: Of þis onyng and conformyng speke3 seint Paule þus: Qui adheret deo vnus spiritus est cum illo (I Corinthians 6.17): þat is for to sey: Who so by rauischyng of loue is festned to god, þen god *and* a soule arn no3t two bot boþe one, no3t in flesch bot in one spirite. And soþly in þis onyng is þis mariage made bitwix god *and* þe soule whilk schal neuer be broken (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 283; Underhill, 14-15). The same text, in the same context, occurs in the *Cloud*-author's *Epistle of Prayer*, with the same comment: And in þis oonheed is þe mariage maad bitwix god and þe soule, þe whiche schal neuer be broken; but he adds: bot by a deedly sinne (*Deonise*, 56). In the *Horologium sapientiae*, Suso like Julian has in mind the doctrine of the mystical body when he uses the image of the spiritual marriage: Sooþly, I am euer redy and in alle tymes to fulfille þat þou askest and to assente in to þis goostly weddynge, if þere were any þat wolde feruently desyre it and traueil þerfore ... (Horstman, *Orologium*, 383).

17 *oure loue shall nevyr parte in two*: cf. John 15.9: As the Father has loved me, so have I also loved you; abide in my love. The S1 variant, *be departid*, is reminiscent of Romans 8.35: Quis ergo nos separabit a caritate Christi?

20 *propertes*: cf. NED Property, *sb.*, 5. 'An attribute or quality ...'. The earliest examples are 1303, *Handlyng Synne*. Julian is using the word in its strict theological sense. Certain properties belonging to creatures or to the relationships between creatures are applied by analogy to the Persons of the Trinity. (Cf. DTC 1 col. 1708, art. 'Appropriation'). The application of these vestiges to the divine Persons is called 'appropriation'. Cf. *Summa theologiae* I.39.7: Sicut igitur similitudine vestigii vel imaginis in creaturis inventa utimur ad manifestationem divinarum personarum, ita et essentialibus attributis; et haec manifestatio personarum per essentialia attributa, appropriatio nominatur. She seems to be the first theologian to call motherhood an 'essential attribute'.

and the properte of the mother hed, and the properte of the lordschyppe in one god. In oure fader almyghty we haue oure kepyng and oure blesse, and a nemptys oure kyndely substannce whych is to vs by oure makyng fro without begynnyng; and in the seconde person in wytt and wysdom we haue oure k(e)pyng, and anemptys oure sensuallyte, oure restoryng and oure savyng, for he is oure moder, broder and savyoure; and in oure good lorde the holy gost we haue oure rewardyng and oure yeldyng for oure lyvyng and oure traveyle, and endlessly ovyrpassyng alle that we desyer in his mervelous curtesy of his hye plen-

25 *kepyng*: ms: kypyng.

21 *and (... mother hed)*: om. SS. *lordschyppe*: S1: lordhede; and so S2. 23 *blesse*: C, SS: bliss. *and (a nemptys)*: SS: as. 24 *fro*: om. SS. *in (the seconde)*: S2: by. 25 *kypyng* (ms): C, S2: keeping; S1: keping. *and (anemptys)*: SS: as. 26 *oure (savyng)*: om. S2. 28 *endlessly*: S1: endless; and so S2.

22 *lordhede* (S1): cf. NED, Lordhead, with three instances, the first c. 1250, the third c. 1325.

24 *and in the seconde person in wytt and wysdom we haue oure kepyng / and anemptys oure sensuallyte oure restoryng and oure savynge*: *compar.*

in wytt and wysdom: for the Pauline notion of the Second Person, the Son, as the Father's wisdom, cf. 484.18, 537.253, 549.43-46 notes.

25 *kepyng ... restoryng ... savyng / moder ... broder ... savyoure*: again, Julian is writing with great theological precision. Augustine in *De sancta virginitate*, points out that Christ with the Father is the source and principle of our spiritual generation (cf. 578.20-21 note), so that motherhood is first appropriated to him as the Word, and secondarily in his taking of our sensuality. That is, Julian is teaching that his motherhood is rooted in the godhead, and is coterminous with the 'keeping' of the Father. Cf. Introduction. It will be observed that, in order to convey the complex subleties of her thought, Julian has constructed this whole sentence on the figure *membrum*, 'two, or preferably three clauses, each complete in itself, but joined to express a total meaning': *In oure fader almyghty we haue oure kepyng ... and in the seconde person ... we haue oure kepyng ... and in oure good lorde the holy gost we haue oure rewardyng* ... Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* makes Christ say: I am to here a fadere in creacione, a modere in redempcion, ande I am a brothere to here in departynge of my kyngedome (Halligan, 534).

28 *endlessly ovyrpassyng alle that we desyer in his mervelous curtesy*: Julian's thought here may owe something to William of St. Thierry's prayer to the Holy Spirit: Cum veneris in divitiis plenitudinis tuae et deliciis bonitatis tuae in pauperem tuum et ostendere coeperis ... quam vere deus caritas est ... suavitas amandi et initium fruendi (*Super Cantica Canticorum*, ed. Déchanet and Dumontier, 302). The Pentecost Sunday prose calls the Holy Spirit: Dator munerum, consolator optime, dulces hospes anime, dulce refrigerium ... (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 241).

124v tuous grace. For alle oure lyfe is in thre: in the / furst (we haue) oure
31 beyng, and in the seconde we haue oure encresyng, and in the thyrde we haue oure fulfyllyng. The furst is kynde, the seconde is mercy, the thyrde is grace.

For the furst I saw and vnderstode that þe hygh myght of the trynyte
35 is oure fader, and the depe wysdom of the trynyte is oure moder, and the grete loue of the trynyte is oure lorde; and alle these haue we in kynde and in oure substanncyall makyng. And ferthere more I saw that the seconde person, whych is oure moder, substanncyally the same derewurthy person, is now become oure moder sensuall, for we be
40 doubell of gods makyng, that is to sey substannciall and sensuall. Oure

---

30 *we haue*: om. P, C.

---

30 *we haue*: so SS. 36 *these*: S1: this; and so S2. 37 *substanncyally*: S2: substantial. 38 *the (same)*: SS: þat. S2: person is become our; om. scr., add. marg. al.m. 39 *now*: om. SS; S2, marg., scr.: N B Psalm 135 v.5: Retro et ante formasti me.

---

30 *in the furst we haue oure beyng / ... in the seconde we haue oure encresyng / ... in the thyrde we haue oure fulfyllyng*: this gives a three-membered *compar* — which justifies the restoration, we believe, of the omitted *we haue* — with *disjunctio* (*beyng — encresyng — fulfyllyng*).

our beyng: cf. Acts 17.28: In ipse enim vivimus et movemur et sumus ... Ipsius enim et genus sumus.

31 *oure encresyng*: cf. Ephesians 4.15: Crescamus in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus.

32 *oure fulfyllyng*: cf. Colossians 1.9-10: To beg that you may be filled with the knowledge of his will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding ... being fruitful in every good work and increasing in the knowledge of God.

The furst is kynde / the seconde is mercy / the thyrde is grace: another three-membered *compar*, with *dissolutio*.

34 *þe hygh myght of the trynyte is oure fader / ... the depe wysdom of the trynyte is oure moder / ... the grete loue of the trynyte is oure lorde*: a three-membered *compar* with an adaptation of the principle of *repetitio* and *conversio*, repetition of the phrase *of the trynyte* in the middle of the clause, 'medial *repetitio*'. These three *compares* well illustrate Julian's employment of rhetorical figures to make statements incorporating her insights concerning divine unity, trinity and appropriations.

þe hygh myght ... the depe wysdom: plainly this echoes Ephesians 3.18-19; cf. 531.203 note. Hilton (*Scale* II.40) says that when the soul is enlivened by the inspiration of the Spirit, it hears the Spirit witnessing in the conscience '... *þat* he is a chosen sone to heuenly heritage ... *and* whan it is in þis pees, þan is it in heiȝenes of þouȝt' (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 124v; Underhill, 419-420, where she records that MS Harley 6573, roughly contemporary with Harley 6579, reads 'heighenes or depnes of thought').

40 *doubell*: cf. 575.59.

substannce is þe hyer perty, whych we haue in oure fader god almyghty;
125r and the / seconde person of the trynyte is oure moder in kynd in oure substanncyall makyng, in whom we be groundyd and rotyd, and he is oure moder of mercy in oure sensualyte takyng. And thus oure moder
45 is to vs dyverse manner werkyng, in whom oure pertys be kepte vndepertyd; for in oure moder Cryst we profyt and encrese, and in mercy he reformyth vs and restoryth, and by the vertu of his passion, his deth and his vprysyng onyd vs to oure substannce. Thus workyth oure moder in mercy to all his belovyd chyldren whych be to hym buxom
50 and obedyent. And grace werkyth *with* mercy, and namely in two

---

41 *þe*: S2: *our*. 44 *of*: SS: in. *takyng*: add. SS: flesh; in S1 interl. al.m. 47 *vs (and)*: om. S2. *his (deth)*: S1: *and* his; om. S2. 48 *his (vprysyng)*: om. SS. *onyd*: SS: onyth. *Thus*: C: This. 49 *belovyd*: om. SS.

---

44 *And thus oure moder ... onyd vs to oure substannce*: Julian will presently develop her doctrine on the Motherhood of God; but it is worth noting here how dense already is her theological thought, introduced by the phrase *in whom oure pertys be kepte vndepertyd*. The reference clearly is to the *corpus mysticum* and its unity, both in its primary meaning as Eucharist, and what was later to become its predominant meaning, the Church, the unity of whose members in their head must be visibly expressed. The *Ancrene Riwle* is witness to a theology of the Eucharist which would for Julian be a commonplace: at Mass, when the priest elevates the body of God, the anchoresses are to stand and say the verse: Ecce salus mundi, *ver*bum patris, hostia vera, viua caro, deitas integra, verus homo. And þenne falleþ adoun *with* þeos gretynges: Aue principium nostre creacionis. Aue *pre*cium nostre rede(m)pcionis. Aue viaticum nostre *pere*gri*n*acionis. Tu esto nostru*m* gaudiu*m* qui es futuru*s* premiu*m*. Sit nostra in te glo*r*ia *per* cunta se*m*p*er* secula (Vernon MS, f. 373a; Day, 13-14). Julian would also be familiar with *Lauda Sion*, the great prose, attributed to Thomas Aquinas, for the feast of Corpus Christi, finally established in the Universal Church by John XXII in 1317, though it had been celebrated in the southern Netherlands from 1246, through the influence of Blessed Juliana of Liège (A SS April 1 457-463): Assumente non concisus / Non confractus nec diuisus / Integer accipitur. / Sumit unus, sumunt mille; / Quantum isti tantum ille, / Nec sumptus consumitur (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 257). Augustine's doctrine on the mystical body which is the Church and the Eucharist, paramount in Julian's day as it still is in ours, is well summed up in William of St. Thierry's *De sacramento altaris*, IX: Sicut enim diversa in corpore membra subserviendo et subministrando et cohaerendo sibi invicem unitatem corporis efficiunt, sic et ecclesiae membra capiti suo et sub ipso invicem sibi cohaerentia pulcherrimam sui corporis efficiunt unitatem ... factus hoc quod eramus nos, fecit nos quod erat ipse, caput nostrum Christus Jesus. Sic enim per unitatem naturae, per amorem spiritus, ubicumque ille est et nos sumus; et corpus eius et plenitudo eius effecti, hoc quod sumus ab eo accipimus, dum corpus eius manducamus (PL 180 357).

45 *in whom oure pertys be kepte vndepertyd*: this is *adnominatio*, but it is only achieved through Julian's interest in word-formation and etymology. Cf. 338.26 note.

48 *Thus workyth oure moder ... buxom and obedyent*: cf. Hebrews 5.8 (376.17 note).

propertes, as it was shewde, whych werkyng longyth to the thurde per-
125v son, the holy gost. He werkyth, rewardyng and gevyng. / Rewardyng is
a gyfte of trust that þe lorde doth to them that hath traveyled; and
gevyng is a curtesse werkyng whych he doth frely of grace, fulfyllyng
55 and ovyr passyng alle that is deservyd of creaturys.

Thus in oure fader god almyghty we haue oure beyng, and in oure
moder of mercy we haue oure reformyng and oure restoryng, in whom
oure partys be onyd and all made perfyte man, and by yeldyng and
gevyng in grace of the holy gost we be fulfyllyde. And our substannce is
60 in oure fader god almyghty, and oure substannce is in oure moder god
all wysdom, and oure substannce is in oure lorde god the holy gost all

---

51 *the (thurde)*: om. S2. 53 *a*: add. SS: large. *trust*: S1: treuth; and so S2. *them*: S1: hym; and so S2. 55 *and (ovyr)*: om. SS. *deservyd*: S2: disired. 57 *mercy*: add. C: Jesu Christ. *oure (restoryng)*: om. SS. 60 *in (oure - 3×)*: om. SS (3×). 61 *god (the)*: om. SS. *gost*: add. SS: god.

---

52 *Rewardyng is a gyfte of trust*: the erroneous SS emendation, *treuth*, is hardly surprising. The statement as Julian wrote it, with *trust*, is a subtle exposition of the traditional doctrine of merit, often simplified in over-literal applications of texts such as Romans 2.5-6: Just as your heart is hard and impenitent, so you store up wrath for yourself ... the just judgment of God, who will repay every man according to his works. As has frequently been noted, Julian has the gift of penetrating to the heart of the Western tradition, frequently rooted in Augustine; here, for example, in *Sermon 170*, 10: Cum hinc exieris, recipieris pro meritis et resurges ad recipienda quae gessisti. Tunc deus coronabit non tam merita tua quam dona sua. Quidquid tibi donavit, si servasti cognoscet (PL 38.932). For Julian, perseverance is simply being enabled to trust the Lord, that he is faithful to his promises.

54 *gevyng is a curtesse werkyng ... deservyd of creaturys*: she would be very familiar with the prayer in the Roman Canon: Nobis quoque peccatoribus ... de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum ... omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium, non estimator meriti sed venie quesumus largitor admitte (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 208).

56 *in oure fader god almyghty ... all made perfyte man*: cf. I Corinthians 1.6-9: Christ was confirmed in you, so that nothing is wanting to you in any grace, waiting for the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will also confirm you to the end without crime in the day of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, by whom you are called to the fellowship of his Son Jesus.

59 *And our substannce is in oure fader god almyghty / and oure substannce is in oure moder god all wysdom / and oure substannce is in oure lorde god the holy gost all goodnes / for oure substannce is hole in ech person of the trynyte*: a *membrum*, composed of four *compares*, the first two of thirteen, the second two of sixteen syllables, all four with *repetitio* (*our substannce*).

60 *and oure substannce is in oure moder god all wysdom*: cf. William of St. Thierry, *Expositio in Cantica* 83: Sed venit filius dei, aeterna sapientia, et inclinavit coelos suos et descendit, et fecit de semetipso quiddam in nobis quod simile esset nobis ... et simile sibi per quod levaremur (Déchanet and Dumontier, 200).

goodnes, for oure substannce is hole in ech person of the trynyte, whych is one god. And oure sensuallyte is only in the seconde person, /
126r Crist Jhesu, in whom is the fader and þe holy gost; and in hym and by
65 hym we be myghtly takyn out of hell and oute of the wrechydnesse in erth, and wurschypfully brought vp in to hevyn, and blyssydfully onyd to oure substannce, encresyd in rychesse and nobly by all the vertu of Crist and by the grace and werkyng of the holy gost.

---

62 *ech*: S1: ilk a; S2: ilk. 65 *in*: S2: on. 66 *blyssydfully*: SS: blisfully. 67 *rychesse*: C, SS: riches. *nobly*: S1: noblith; and so S2.

---

62 *for our substannce ... whych is one god*: so William, in *Meditativae orationes* II: Fides et ratio et auctoritas ... nihil in sancta trinitate censent admittendum quod tempore vel loco vel numero substantiae faciat divisionem, vel personarum sonare videatur confusionem. Sic enim astruunt ... trinitatem unitatis, ut in deitatis substantia non recipiant numeri pluralitatem (PL 180 210).

63 *And oure sensuallyte ... and þe holy gost*: William writes in the *Aenigma fidei*: Nam et cum verbum caro factum est, tota trinitas cooperando fecit, id quod solum verbum factum est, carnem scilicet quae facta a solo verbo in unitate personae assumpta est, in quo temporaliter factum dicitur verbum quod deus apud deum est. Sed et vocem patris quae super dominum audita est dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectus (Matthew 3.17) tota trinitas fecit, quamvis a solo patre insonuit (PL 180 432). Cf. 391.30-392.32.

64 *Crist Jhesu, in whom ... grace and werkyng of the holy gost*: Julian is here employing the formula *ad patrem* (*onyd to oure substannce*), *per Christum* (*by hym ... vp in to hevyn*), *in spiritu* (*encresyd in rychesse ... of the holy gost*) which is at the centre of William of St. Thierry's trinitarian doctrine. Cf. Odo Brooke, 'The Trinitarian Theology of William of St. Thierry'. In his *Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos* III, commenting on Romans 5.1-5, William writes: Viam quippe accessus huius ad deum doctrina Christi demonstravit, exemplum eius fecit, passio munivit, veritas suscipit ... Stamus autem in gratia ... in spe gloriae filiorum dei (PL 180 591).

66 *and wurschypfully brought vp in to hevyn / and blyssydfully onyd to oure substannce*: a *compar* of two eleven-syllabled members, supporting P's *blyssydfully* against SS's *blisfully*.

67 *encresyd in rychesse and nobly*: William of St. Thierry in the *Expositio* continues: Non enim est nobis a nobis tam pretiosa haec substantia qua te diligimus, sed a spiritu sancto tuo quem das nobis (PL 180 592).

nobly: cf. 517.43 note.

The lix Chapter

And all this blysse we haue by mercy and grace, whych manner blysse we myght nevyr haue had and knowen, but yf that properte of goodnesse whych is in god had ben contraryed, wher by we haue this blysse. For wyckydnesse hath ben sufferyd to ryse contrary to *þat* goodnesse; and the goodnesse of mercy and grace contraryed agaynst that wyckydnesse, and turnyd all to goodnesse / and wurshyppe to all that shall be savyd. For it is that properte in god whych doth good agaynst evylle; thus Jhesu Crist, that doth good agaynst evyll, is oure very moder; we haue oure beyng of hym, where the ground of moderhed begynnyth, *with* alle the swete kepyng of loue that endlesly folowyth.

126v

---

4 *in*: interl. scr.

---

1 S1: Wickednes is turnyd to bliss be mercy *and* grace in the chosyn, for the properte of god is to do good ageyn ille; be Jesus our moder in kynd grace *and* (S2: *and þat*) the heyest soule in vertue is (add. S2: þe) mekest, of which ground we have other vertues. 2 *manner*: add. SS: of. 3 *haue*: om. SS. *and (knowen)*: SS: ne. *properte*: S1: propertes. *of*: C: and. 4 *in*: so C; om. SS. 5 *þat*: S1: the; and so S2. 6 *agaynst*: S2: again. *that ... that*: S1: the ... the; and so S2. 7 *and (wurshyppe)*: add. SS: to. *all (that)*: add. S1: these; add. S2: those.

---

2 *And all this blysse ... that endlesly folowyth* (589.11): for an analysis of the rhetorical figures in this remarkable passage, constituting a fine example of *expolitio*, see Introduction. In it, Julian is attempting a summary of the soteriological aspect of the trinitarian *operatio ad extra* which she deals with in chapter 59. It is a double movement: *a patre* (the substantial goodness) *in Christo et per Christum* (cf. I Corinthians 1.30: But of him you are in Christ Jesus, who of God is made to us wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption), *in spiritu et per spiritum*. There is also the traditional *per Christum, cum spiritu*; the mission of the Son from the Father and of the Holy Spirit *ab utroque*.

5 *For wyckydnesse hath ben sufferyd to ryse ...*: there is a clear Pauline echo here, with the personification of evil and goodness as two contending potentates. Cf. Romans 5.20-21: Now the law entered in so that sin might abound; and where sin abounded, grace abounded more. No sin has reigned by death, but grace has reigned by justice for everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

9 *thus Jhesu Crist, that doth good agaynst evyll ...*: cf. Romans 12.17-21: Repaying no man evil with evil; providing good things ... Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good.

we haue oure beyng of hym ...: that is, in our substance and in our sensuality.

As verely as god is oure fader, as verely is god oure moder; and that shewde he in all, and namely in theyse swete wordys there he seyth: I it am; that is to sey: I it am, the myght and the goodnes of faderhode, I it
15 am, the wysdom and the kyndnes of moderhode, I it am, the lyght and the grace that is all blessyd loue; I it am, the trynyte, I it am, þe vnyte; I it am, the hye souereyn goodnesse of all manner thyng, I it am that makyth the to (loue, I it am þat makith þe to) long, I it am, the endlesse
127r fulfyllyng of all true desyers. / For ther the soule is hyest, noblyest and
20 wurschypfullest, yett it is lowest, mekest and myldest.

---

12 With 'Also as verely', the eleventh extract in W begins. 15 *and the kyndnes*: add. marg. scr. w. caret.

---

12 *As*: W: Also as. *as (verely is)*: S2: so; W: so as. 13 *shewde*: W: shewyth. *there*: SS: where; W: there as. 14 *of ... of*: add. C, SS: the ... the. 15 *and the kyndnes*: om. SS. 17 *it (... souereyn)*: om. SS. *hye*: om. SS. *thyng*: S1: of thyngs; and so S2. *it (... makyth)*: om. SS. 18 *loue ... þe to*: om. C, P: fr. W, and so SS. *it (am þat makith þe to long)*: om. SS. *I it am (... endlesse)*: om. W. 19 *ther*: S1: then; and so S2. 20 *wurschypfullest, yett*: S1: worthyest when; and so S2; W: worthyeste there.

---

12 *As verely as god is oure fader ... lowest, mekest and myldest* (590.20): this is another *expolitio*, which Julian constructs to expound her doctrine of the divine parenthood. It is a simple though solemn series of *repetitiones* with *compares*. It does not seem as if, by the reiterated *I it am*, she intends *dissolutio*, but the effect of the named attributes, *the myght and the goodnes, the wysdom and the kyndnes, the lyght and the grace*, is to produce a kind of *complexio* with *similiter desinens*.

13 *in theyse swete wordys there he seyth*: cf. 402.7. Julian is insisting again that the motherhood of Christ is an attribute of the Trinity which is appropriated to the second Person. We might say that, as Paul states that all fatherhood in heaven and in earth is named for God the Father (Ephesians 3.14-15; cf. 598.45 and note), so Julian states that all motherhood is named for God the Son, and that both aspects of the divine parenthood — the *natura creatrix* of William of St. Thierry — coexist only *with the loue and the goodness of the holy gost* (582.13-14); that is, as creature in eternity and in time.

I it am: cf. 403.11, 15 and notes.

16 *I it am the trynyte / I it am þe vnyte*: a *compar* with *repetitio*.

17 *I it am that makyth the to loue / I it am þat makith þe to long*: another *compar* with *repetitio*, set inside a *compar* with longer *cola*: *I it am the hye souereyn goodnesse of all manner thyng / ... I it am the endlesse fulfyllyng of all true desyers*. W, it will be observed, is the only scribe who has not in some way damaged this complex structure.

19 *For ther the soule is hyest ... and myldest*: Julian ends this last account of the twelfth revelation with a *contentio* based on the Pauline hymn in Philippians 2.5-11. Again, the SS and W substitutions for *wurschypfullest* destroy the figure.

And of this substanncyall grounde we haue all oure vertuse in oure sensualyte by gyft of kynd, and by helpyng and spedyng of mercy and grace, *with* oute whych we may nott profyte. Oure hye fader, almyghty god, whych is beyng, he knowyth vs and louyd vs fro before ony time. Of whych knowyng in his full mervelous depe charyte by the forseeng endlesse councell of all the blessyd trynyte, he woulde that the seconde person shulde become oure moder, oure brother and oure savyoure. Where of it folowyth that as verely as god is oure fader, as verely god is oure mother. Oure fader wyllyth, oure mother werkyth, oure good

---

21 *in*: SS: *and*. 22 *gyft*: W: ryght. 23 *oute*: add. SS: þe; and so W. *Oure hye ... hat synne and wyckyd nesse* (592.36): om. W. 24 *knowyth*: SS: knew. *vs (and)*: om. S2. 25 *full*: om. SS. 28 *as*: om. C. 29 *wyllyth*: om. SS.

---

21 *substanncyall grounde*: that is, God the Trinity. Cf. 587.59: *And our substannce is in oure fader god almyghty, and oure substannce is in oure moder god all wysdom, and oure substannce is in oure lorde god the holy gost.* See the proper preface for the Mass on Trinity Sunday in the Roman rite (which in Julian's time was recited on all feasts of double rank, all of semi-double rank and on all Sundays without their own preface): Quod enim de tua gloria reuelante te credimus, hoc de filio tuo, hoc de spiritu sancto sine differentia discretionis sentimus, ut in confessione uere sempiterneque deitatis et in personis proprietas et in essentia unitas et in maiestate adoretur equalitas (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 205, text and rubric). Cf. the carol to the Trinity: O iii persones in one vnite, / Beyng but one god and one light, / One in substance, essens and myght, / Honour to the alone (Greene, 199) by the Franciscan James Ryman, who may have been a near-contemporary of Julian (E. Colledge, *The Latin Poems of Richard Ledrede*, xliv note 156).

23 *almyghty god, whych is beyng*: cf. the *Book of Privy Counselling*: in him self only he is his owne cause and his owne being (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 136).

24 *he knowyth vs and louyd vs fro before ony tyme*: cf. the Athanasian Creed (recited at lauds on the feast of the Holy Trinity): ... aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus aeternus (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 71). Julian achieves theological accuracy with her singular subject — her *nomber* (403.11 and note) — and her three terms denoting appropriation, *beyng, knowyth, louyd*. The transition from present to past tense, destroyed by SS, is part of the same grammatical figure.

24 *knowyth*: this is defensible and has not been emended; but see SS: *knew*. Possibly this is a P spelling for 'knowed'; NED, Know, records thirteenth-century forms 'knawed', 'knaued', 'knaud', and a fourteenth-century form 'knowed'.

25 *Of whych knowyng ... oure brother and oure savyoure*: what Julian wrote separately in chapter 58 on the relationship between the mysteries of Trinity and Incarnation *quoad nos* she now brings together in the context of the divine parenthood. Cf. 582.2-6, 405.15-18, and notes.

28 *as verely as god is oure fader / as verely god is oure mother / Oure fader wyllyth / oure mother werkyth / oure good lorde the holy gost confyrmyth*: a *compar* in a series of different combinations, with *repetitio* and, in the last three *cola, membrum* and *dissolutio*.

127v lorde the holy gost confyrmyth. / And therfore it longyth to vs to loue
31 oure god in whome we haue oure beyng, hym reverently thankyng and praysyng of oure makyng, myghtly prayeng to oure moder of mercy and pytte, and to oure lorde þe holy gost of helpe and grace. For in these iij is alle oure lyfe, kynd, mercy and grace, werof we haue myldeheed,
35 pacyence and pytte, and hatyng of synne and wyckydnesse; for it longyth properly to vertuse to hat synne and wyckyd nesse.

And thus is Jhesu oure very moder in kynd of oure furst makyng, and he is oure very moder in grace by takyng of oure kynde made. Alle the

---

38 *oure very moder*: ms: oure very surst moder.

---

32 *praysyng*: S1: prayeng. 34 *myldeheed*: S1: mekehede, myldhede; S2: meeknes, mildnes. 35 *and (pytte)*: om. S2. 36 *vertuse*: S2: virtue. 37 *And thus is Jhesu*: W: Also Jesu þe secunde person in trinite in whom is the fader and the holy gooste, he. 38 *oure very*: W: verely our. *surst* (ms): om. SS, W. *Alle the feyer ... propyr goodnesse*: om. W.

---

30 The construction of this figure seems to be: *therfore it longyth to vs*: (a) *to loue oure god in whome we haue oure beyng* / (b) *hym reverently thankyng and praysyng of oure makyng* / (c) *myghtly prayeng to oure moder of mercy and pytte* / (d) *and to oure lorde þe holy gost of helpe and grace*; again, a *compar* of two members, (a), (d), enclosing another, (b), (c). This figure links a triad of threes: Father — *thankyng and praysyng*; Son — *prayeng ... of mercy and pytte*; Spirit — *prayeng ... of helpe and grace*.

34 This gives a four-membered *compar*: *myldeheed pacyence and pytte / hatyng of synne and wyckydnesse / for it longyth properly to vertuse / to hat synne and wyckyd nesse*, with *synne and wyckydnesse* providing *oppositio contrariorum* to *pacyence and pytte, vertuse*, and *conversio*. The points she wishes to make are these: our life is trinitarian — we are a *made trynyte* (568.40); that life has its unity in the *esse* (*beyng*) of the godhead (587.56), with the Father in our creating, with the Son by our restoring, and with the Holy Spirit by grace (587.56-59). It is a personal as well as a corporate union. The virtues, dispositions which correspond to the operations of the Trinity, are *myldeheed*, the disposition of the lord-Father towards the servant-Adam-Christ (*whych is to hym full meke and mylde*, 522.110), *pacyence* (the hard travail of the servant-Son, 541 e.s.), and *pytte* (appropriated to the Holy Spirit). It is these precise powers and dispositions which are rooted in the goodness of God, *whych doth good agaynst evylle* (589.8). The total effect of the whole passage, with its two *compares*, is heightened by a kind of unifying *inclusio*; it begins *it longyth to vs to loue oure god*, and ends *it longyth properly to vertuse to hat synne and wyckyd nesse*.

38 *oure very moder*: obviously, the P scribe intended *oure very furst moder*; but such a reading, with which none of the other witnesses except C agree, is not defensible. It flatly contradicts 593.44, the *seconde* 'manner of beholding of God's motherhood', and it seems to arise from confusion with the phrase immediately before it, *kynd of oure furst makyng*. By suppressing *surst*, we have in this sentence the *compar*: *And thus is Jhesu oure very moder in kynd of oure furst makyng / and he is oure very moder in grace by takyng of oure kynde made*, with *conversio* (271.26 note), *makyng ... made*.

Alle the feyer werkyng ... here, when Julian begins to set out her full teaching on the motherhood of Christ, she mentions the *goodly wylle* for the last time. *Goodly*, which is supported by S1, C and W, is quite likely to be Julian's own word. William of St. Thierry uses the same expression, commenting on 'No one comes to the Son except the

feyer werkyng and all the swete kyndly officis of dereworthy motherhed
40 is in propred to þe seconde person, for in hym we haue this goodly
wylle, hole and safe *with*out ende, both in kynde and in grace, of his
128r owne / *pro*pyr goodnesse.

I vnderstode thre manner of beholdynges of motherhed in god. The furst is grounde of oure kynde makyng, the seconde is takyng of oure
45 kynde, and ther begynnyth the moderhed of grace, the thurde is moderhed in werkyng. And therin is a forth sp(r)edyng by the same grace of lengt and brede, of hygh and of depnesse *with*out ende; and alle is one loue.

---

46 *spredyng*: ms: spedyng.

---

39 *officis*: SS: office. 40 *in propred*: C: impropred; and so SS; C, marg.: appropriated. *goodly*: S2: kindly. 43 *beholdynges*: S1: beholdyng; and so S2 44 *grounde*: S1: groundid; and so S2. *takyng*: SS: taken. 46 *in*: SS, W: of. *forth*: S1: ferther; alt. scr. to 'ferth'; marg., scr.: forth. *spedyng* (ms): S1: spreadyng; and so W. 47 *and (brede)*: add. W: of. *brede*: C: bredth; and so SS. *hygh*: C: height; and so SS, W. *of (depnesse)*: om. S2. 48 *is*: SS: his. *one*: SS : own.

Father draw him' (John 6.44). His answer to how this may be is that the Father breathes into man a good will: in so far as we possess the good will we are predestined, otherwise we are reproved, as Paul says (II Corinthians 13.5; *Speculum fidei*, PL 180 370).

40 *is in propred to þe seconde person*: William refers the 'goodly will' to parenthood: Voluntas enim initium amoris est ... et amor crediti suggerit facultatem credendi ... Credit se homo majorum auctoritati, et quod nullo didicit experimento, patris et matris suae filium se esse indubitanter tenet; quia crediti patris et matris tanti apud eum est auctoritas ut eam nec refellere velit quia diliguntur ... Amplectere et tu gratiam divinae adoptionis, haeres dei et cohaeredes Christi. Flecte genua tua ad patrem domini nostri Jesu Christi ... agnosce matrem gratiam (PL 180 371). Though he does not write in so many words that Christ is the 'mother', the implication is clear.

in propred (P), *impropred* (C SS): cf. MED empropren, appropren, where, 3B. ben appropred to, there is: (a1393) Gower, *Confessio Amantis*: The soule hath many an hygh noblesse / Appropred to his oghne kinde. This is further evidence of Julian's command of a modern and precise theological vocabulary.

43 *beholdynges*: cf. 491.16 note. The word is used with deliberation, to convey the *culmen contemplationis*.

The furst is grounde of oure kynde makyng / the seconde is takyng of oure kynde / and ther begynnyth the moderhed of grace / the thurde is moderhed in werkyng: a *compar with dissolutio* in the first, second and fourth members, the third member parenthetical.

46 *And therin is a forth spredyng by the same grace / of lengt and brede of hygh and of depnesse / without ende and alle is one loue*: a second *compar*, with, in the last member, *transitio*. The two *compares* together form a *membrum*.

a forth spredyng: Julian is here translating the theologians' *circumsessio*. See Introduction, 157-158.

47 *and alle is one loue*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 42: Bot per channce þou bygynnist to wundre whi I sey o tyme þat grace wirkiþ al þis, *and* an oþer tyme I sey þat loue wirkiþ or Ihesu wirkiþ or god wirkiþ. I mene lufe, Ihesu *and* god, for al is on and not bot on (MS Harley 6579, f. 132v; Underhill, 441-442).

The lx Chapter

But now me behovyth to seye a lytyll more of this forth spredyng, as I vnderstode in þe menyng of oure lord: how that we be brought agayne by the motherhed of mercy and grace in to oure kyndly stede, where *þat* we ware in, made by þe moderhed of kynd loue, whych kynde loue nevyr leevyth vs.

128v Oure kynde moder, oure gracious modyr, for he / wolde alle hole become oure modyr in alle thyng, he toke þe grounde of his werke full lowe and full myldely in the maydyns wombe. And that shewde he in the furst, wher he broughte *þat* meke maydyn before the eye of my vn-

---

2 *seye*: marks of altn. fr. or to 'see'.

---

1 S1: How we be bowte ageayn *and* forthspred be mercy *and* grace of our swete, kynde *and* ever lo(v)yng moder Jesus, *and* of the propertes of moderhede; but Jesus is our very moder, not fedyng us with mylke but with himselfe, opening his syde on to vs *and* chalengyng al our love; and so S2. 2 *me*: om. SS. *seye*: C: see. 3 *brought*: S1: bowte; and so S2. 5 *in*: om. SS, W. *loue (nevyr)*: add. S1: it; add. W: þat. 7 *hole*: S1: holy; S2; wholly; and so W. 9 *wombe*: add. W: takyng fleshe of her. *And that shewde ... dyght hym all*: om. W. 10 *wher*: S1: when. *þat*: C: the. *maydyn*: S1: mayde; and so S2. *eye*: S2: eyes.

---

3 *how that we be brought* ...: 'how we are restored ... to our natural place, which once we occupied, (and this is) done ...' The *kyndly stede* is our substance, created by the Father and one with him; and the restoration is effected through *mercy* (the Son) and *grace* (the Spirit). Julian writes this in the context of the mutual indwelling of man in God and God in man.

5 *whych kynde loue nevyr leevyth vs*: this is the *bona voluntas*, the 'goodly will', at once the gift and the giver. Cf. 593.43-46 note.

7 *Oure kynde moder* ...: Julian is intimating that there is a theological connection between Christ's office of motherhood — in the Trinity, the equal sharing of divine parenthood (590.13 note) — and that, in his humanity, all his experience of priesthood was from his mother. So she can link the insight she gained in the parable *(Goddys son fell with Adam in to the slade of the meydens wombe* — 534.222) with her first sight of *our ladie sainct Mari ... in the stature as she was when she conceivede* (297.28, an addition not found in the short text). As he learned his obedience *ex iis quae passus est* (Hebrews 5.8), so he learned his humility.

he wolde alle hole become oure modyr in alle thyng: there is a clear echo here of Hebrews 2.17: Therefore it was fitting for him to be made like his brethren in all things, that he might become merciful and faithful ... Because he himself has suffered and has been tested, he can help those who are now being tested.

9 *in the furst*: cf. 297.28.

derstondyng, in þe sympyll stature as she was whan she conceyvyd; that is to sey oure hye god, the souereyn wysdom of all, in this lowe place he arayed hym and dyght hym all redy in oure poure flessch, hym selfe to do the servyce and the officie of moderhode in alle thyng. The moders
15 servyce is nerest, rediest and suerest: nerest for it is most of kynd, redyest for it is most of loue, and sekerest for it is most of trewth. This office ne myght nor coulde nevyr none done to þe full but he allone.
129r We wytt that alle oure moders bere vs to payne and to dyeng. A, / what is that? But oure very moder Jhesu, he alone beryth vs to joye and to
20 endlesse levyng, blessyd mot he be. Thus he susteyneth vs *with* in hym in

---

18 ms: dyeng (catchword: A, what) / what.

---

11 *she (was)*: C: he. 12 *the (souereyn)*: S2: who is. 13 *all*: S1: ful; and so S2. 14 *the (officie)*: om. S2. *officie*: C, SS: office. 15 *suerest*: S1: sekirest; and so S2; add. W: it is. *nerest for ... sekerest*: om. SS. *most (of kynd)*: om. W. 16 *sekerest*: W: sureste. *most (of trewth)*: om. W. 17 *nor*: SS, W: ne. *he*: W: Criste Jesu god and man. 18 *wytt*: W: knowe wel. *bere*: S1: beryng is; and so S2. *A*: S1: and; and so S2. *A, what is that?*: om. W. 19 *he alone*: om. S2. *alone*: S1: al love. 20 *endlesse*: W: blysse and endeles. *mot*: W: moste. *susteyneth*: C: sustained. *hym*: SS: himselfe.

---

11 *that is to sey oure hye god / the souereyn wysdom of all / in this lowe place he arayed hym and dyght hym all redy in oure poure flessch / hym selfe to do the servyce and the officie of moderhode in alle thyng*: a *compar* composed of two shorter *cola* followed by two longer ones.

14 This figure is composed as follows: *The moders servyce is nerest rediest and suerest* (a) / *nerest for it is most of kynd* (b) / *redyest for it is most of loue* (c) / *sekerest for it is most of trewth* (d) *This office ne myght nor coulde nevyr none done to þe full* (e) *but he allone* (f), a *compar* of longer *cola*, (a), (e), enclosing another with shorter *cola*, (b), (c), (d), with *similiter desinens* (nerest, rediest, suerest ...), medial *repetitio* (*for it is most*) and *transitio* (*but he allone*).

15 *nerest for it is most of kynd*: Julian is elsewhere insistent that she saw no difference between God's 'kind substance' and our own. Cf. 562.17 and note.

16 *redyest for it is most of loue*: she has in mind the servant who *stertyth and rynnyth in grett hast for loue*. Cf. 514.14 and note.

sekerest for it is most of trewth: cf. I Timothy 1.15: This is a sure saying and worthy of full acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners ...

This office ne myght nor coulde nevyr none done to þe full but he allone: a reference to the traditional soteriological doctrine that Christ alone could repair the harm wrought by sin, and restore the unity between creator and creature. Cf. e.g. the *Scale*, II chapter 2: Þan nedid it þat if mannes soule schuld be reformid *and* þe trespas mad good, þat oure lord god him self schuld reforme þis ymage ... Þerfor it nedid þat he schuld take þe same mankynde þat had trespasid (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 64r; Underhill, 229). But this is not Julian's main point. Cf. 590.13 note.

18 *A, what is that? ... blessyd mot he be*: *exclamatio* and *oppositio contrariorum*, emphasizing that when all has been said about pain, sin and death, the mystery remains.

loue and traveyle, in to the full tyme þat he wolde suffer the sharpyst thornes and grevous paynes that evyr were or evyr shalle be, and dyed at the last. And whan he had done, and so borne vs to blysse, yett myght nott all thys make a seeth to his mervelous loue. And that shewd he in theyse hye ovyrpassyng wordes of loue: If I myght suffer more I wold suffer more. He myght no more dye, but he wolde nott stynte werkyng.

Wherfore hym behovyth to fynde vs, for the deerworthy loue of moderhed hath made hym dettour to vs. The moder may geue her chylde sucke hyr mylke, but oure precyous moder Jhesu, he may fede vs

---

21 *traveyle*: SS: traveled; and so W. *in to*: S2: vntill. 22 *thornes*: SS, W: throwes. *grevous*: S1: the grevousest; and so S2, W. 24 *make a seeth*: C, marg.: give satisfaction. *a seeth*: S1, marg., al.m.: satisfaction. 26 *stynte*: add. SS, W: of. 28 *fynde*: S1: fedyn; and so S2, W. 30 *chylde*: add. C, W: to.

---

22 *thornes*: the SS, W variant, *throwes*, is attractive. Though Julian has much to say about the crowning with thorns in the revelations of the crucified Christ, she never writes explicitly of the sharpness of the thorns. *Throwes*, if preferred, would refer to the end of the eighth revelation and the beginning of the ninth, where she reflects on the extent of the Lord's sufferings. Cf. 374.2 e.s.

and dyed at the last: Mechtild of Hackborn in her *Book of Special Grace* wrote: ... þe vertue of þat charyte whiche bowede me downe fro the restynge place of my faders bosume, ande putte me in a maydenes wombe ... ande made me suffre manye trauayllys ... and atte þe laste slowe me with a fulle bittere ande the fowleste ande moste peynefulle deth (Halligan, 372).

24 *a seeth*: the sense here is not, as at 247.10, 'atonement', but 'fulfilment'. Cf. MED asseth 1.(a), and the example from Misyn's *Fire of Love*: To þe askynge of þi desyre ... couetynge asethe to make.

... *to his mervelous loue*: cf. 385.32 e.s.

25 *in theyse hye ovyrpassyng wordes*: cf. 382.6.

28 *to fynde vs*: 'to nourish us'. Cf. NED, Find, *v.* III.19., 'To support, maintain, provide for', and, better, MED finden v.17. (a), 'To support ... to nourish or feed'. The *Promptorium parvulorum* distinguishes between 'fyndyn þingis ylost, *Inuenio*', and 'fyndyn helpyn and susteyn hem þat hath nede, *Sustento*' (Mayhew, 180). MED finding, ger. 5. (b), 'that which is provided by way of sustenance ...', quotes Higden: 'The fyndynge (Lat. victus) of iiij monkes is ȝiffen'.

29 *The moder may geue her chylde sucke hyr mylke*: so William of St. Thierry, expounding on the *natura creatrix*, writes: Gratia generat, gratia lactat, gratia nutrit ac provehit et ad perfectum usque perducit. Hoc est ut charitas, id est magna et bene affecta voluntas, fiat; charitate vero operante multo dulcius omni affectu carnali et multo certius, praesto fit spiritu ad testimonium perhibendum filiis gratiae quod sint filii dei quam natura filiis hominum quod sint filii parentum suorum (*Speculum fidei*, PL 180 371). Julian's image of the child at the breast was common among mediaeval spiritual commentators, because of the use of the same image in I Peter 2.2: Quasi modo geniti infantes sine dolo lac concupiscite. Rolle draws out the image, writing of the *uterum Christi* and the *mamillae matris* (*Exposicio*; Murray, 30, 33).

30 *he may fede vs wyth hym selfe*: Julian may here be alluding to the legend of the

129v / wyth hym selfe, and doth full curtesly and full tendyrly *with* the blessyd sacrament, that is precyous fode of very lyfe; and *with* all the swete sacramentes he systeynyth vs full mercyfully and graciously, and so ment he in theyse blessyd wordys, where he seyde: I it am that holy
35 chyrch prechyth the and techyth the. That is to sey: All the helth and the lyfe of sacramentys, alle þe vertu and þe grace of my worde, alle the goodnesse that is ordeynyd in holy chyrch to the, I it am.

---

31 *and (doth)*: S2: *Christ*. 32 *sacrament*: add. W: of his body *and* blode. 33 *full (mercyfully)*: W: well. 34 *theyse*: S1: this; and so S2. *blessyd*: W: gracious. *wordys*: SS: word. *where*: S2: when. 36 *the (lyfe)*: om. SS. *of (sacramentys)*: C: of the. *þe (grace)*: om. SS. 37 *to*: SS: for.

---

pelican, piercing her side for blood with which to restore to life her dead chicks (Carmody, *Physiologus latinus versio Y*, 106). She would also have in mind the *Adoro te devote* (in her time commonly ascribed to Thomas Aquinas, though this is now contested; Szövérffy 2 253-254), with its celebrated stanza: Pie pellicane, Jesu domine, / me immundum munda tuo sanguine ... (Mone 1 275). Augustine had written of the pelican as a type of Christ: Congruit illi (sc. Christo) quod matris caro viuificat sanguine suo filios suos ..., and, after citing in the context Christ's own image of the hen and her chickens (Matthew 23.37), concluded: Habet enim paternam auctoritatem, maternum affectum (*Enarrationes*, Psalm 101, 8; ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, 1431). For the frequent use, north as well as south of the Alps, of representations of the 'pious pelican' as a crucifixion or eucharistic symbol, cf. art. 'Pelikan' (LCI 3 390-393), and Lampen, 'Pie Pelicane, Jesu Domine'.

32 *and with all the swete sacramentes he susteynyth vs*: a much-interpolated English version of the *Jubilus* has: As modur of him I make mynde / Þat biforen my burþe to me tok hede / ... Wiþ noble mete he norsched my kynde, / For wiþ his flesch he dude me fede (Vernon MS, f. 116c; cf. Horstman, *The Minor Poems*, 46, and C. Brown, XIV 62).

34 *in theyse blessyd wordys*: cf. 402.10, part of the long locution reported at the beginning of the twelfth revelation. It is noteworthy that in her redrafting, Julian has repeated and commented on all the rest of the locution, 590.14 e.s., excepting only *I it am that holy chyrch prechyth the and techyth the*, which, clearly, she has reserved for this, its most appropriate context.

I it am that holy chyrch prechyth the and techyth the / That is to sey All the helth and the lyfe of sacramentys / alle þe vertu and þe grace of my worde / alle the goodnesse that is ordeynyd in holy chyrch to the I it am: a *compar* of four members, with *inclusio* (*I it am*) and *repetitio* (*all the helth, alle þe vertu, alle the goodnesse*).

36 *alle þe vertu and þe grace of my worde*: in the English verse *Meditationes de passione Domini* there is: Behold how homli Iohn liþ sleping / On Cristes brest as his derling. / This sermoun at his brest sleping he soke / And toke hit to vs in holi boke (MS Bodley 415, f. 81d). The Latin has merely: Nunc igitur conspice domini benignitatem, quomodo suum dilectum supra pectus suum retinet tam benigne (Stallings, 90-91). The prose *Privity of the Passion* does not translate (Horstman, 1 198), and Nicholas Love follows the Latin exactly (Powell, 201).

The moder may ley hyr chylde tenderly to hyr brest, but oure tender mother Jhesu, he may homely lede vs in to his blessyd brest by his swet
40 opyn syde, and shewe vs there in perty of the godhed and þe joyes of hevyn, *with* gostely suernesse of endlesse blysse. And *þat* shewde he in the x revelation, gevyng the same vnderstandyng in thys swet worde
130r where he seyth: / Lo, how I loue thee, behold(yng) in to his blyssyd syde, enjoyeng.
45 Thys feyer louely worde: Moder, it is so swete and so kynde in it selfe that it may not verely be seyde of none ne to none but of hym and to hym that is very mother of lyfe and of alle. To the properte of

---

42 *x*: ms: ix. 43 *beholdyng*: ms: beholde.

---

38 *hyr (chylde)*: S1: the; and so S2. 39 *mother*: W: lorde. *in*: om. W. 40 *vs*: om. SS. *the (godhed)*: W: his. 41 *suernesse*: SS: sekirnes. *And*: om. W. 42 *the x ... vnderstandyng in*: om. W. *revelation*: om. SS. *thys*: S2: þe; W: thees. 43 *seyth*: W: seyd. *loue*: S1: lovid; and so S2, W. *beholde* (ms): S1: beholdand; and so S2, W. *blyssyd*: om. SS, W. 45 *in (it)*: SS: of. *it (selfe)*: S1: the. 46 *ne to none*: om. SS. 47 *hym (that)*: S1: hir; and so S2. *lyfe*: SS: him. *of (alle)*: om. W.

---

38 *The moder may ley ...*: cf. 394.3, 6 and notes.

40 *shewe vs there ... endlesse blysse*: cf. 395.10-14.

41 *in the x revelation*: this is one of the very few instances in the redrafting when Julian uses the word 'revelation' of one of her sixteen showings. It is not found in SS, giving: *And þat shewde he in the x*, which elsewhere is a frequent form of cross-reference. Cf. 419.25-26: *in the xij, wher he seyth ...*; 419.30: *in the ixth, where he sayth*. If *revelation* be suppressed as a later addition, this gives a *compar*: *And þat shewde in the x / gevyng the same vnderstandyng in thys swet worde / where he seyth Lo how I loue thee / beholdyng in to his blyssed syde enjoyeng*, with two shorter alternating with two longer *cola*.

43 *beholdyng*: the emendation is supported by SS, W, and by the short text: *Fulle merelye and gladlye oure lorde lokyd in to his syde and behelde ...* (242.1) and by the earlier draft of the long: *Wyth a good chere oure good lorde lokyd in to hys syde and behelde ...* (394.3).

45 *it is so swete and so kynde ... very mother of lyfe and of alle*: cf. 590.13 note. On the text of Proverbs 31.1, 'the words of King Lamuel. The vision with which his mother instructed him', Bede writes: Mater autem quae hanc eum visionem edocuit non alia melius quam divina gratia intelligitur, quae illum in corde invisibiliter erudivit intellectu sapientiae ... quia ... spiritum sapientiae percepit, vidit in eodem spiritu quam prudenter se mater bona docuerit (*Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, PL 91 1028).

it is so swete and so kynde in it selfe / that it may not verely be seyde of none / ne to none but of hym and to hym / that is very mother of lyfe and of alle: a four-membered *compar*, with *chiasmus* (*of none / ne to none*) and *transitio*, the first *colon* recapitulating, the next three introducing what is to follow.

moderhede longyth kynd, loue, wysdom and knowyng, and it is god. For though it be so þat oure bodely forthbryngyng be but lytle, lowe
50 and symple in regard of oure gostely forth brynggyng, yett it is he that doth it in the creaturys by whom that it is done. The kynde lovyng moder that woot and knowyth the neyde of hyr chylde, she kepyth it full tenderly, as the kynde and condycion of moderhed wyll. And evyr as it waxith in age and in stature, she channgyth her werkes, but nott
130v her loue. And when it is wexid of more age, she sufferyth / it that it be
56 cha(s)tised in brekyng downe of vicis, to make the chylde receyve vertues and grace. This werkyng *with* all þat be feyer and good, oure lord doth it in hem by whome it is done. Thus he is our moder in kynde by

---

56 *chastised*: ms: chatised.

---

48 *longyth*: S2: belongeth; and so S2. *god*: S2: good. 50 *regard*: W: rewarde; 'w' canc. and 'g' subst. al.m. *brynggyng*: W: brynger. 51 *creaturys*: W: creature. 52 *woot*: C: wotteth. *woot and*: om. S2. 53 *evyr*: om. SS. 54 *and in stature*: om. SS. *stature*: add. W: so. *her (werkes)*: C: the. *werkes*: SS: werking; and so W. 55 *sufferyth*: S1: suffrid. *it (that)*: om. C. *that it*: S2, W: to. 56 *chastised*: S1: cristined; and so S2. *chylde*: add. SS, W; to. 57 *grace*: SS: graces. *all*: add. W: oþer. *feyer and*: om. W. 58 *hem*: C, S2: him.

---

49 *For though it be so ... it is done*: this is her comment, in the light of her Trinitarian insights, on what she saw in the first revelation about the unitive quality of petitionary prayer: *the chiefe and principall meane (that the goodnes of god hath ordeineth to helpe vs) is the blessed kynde that he toke of the maiden*, so that *to the goodnes of god is the highest praier, and it cometh downe to vs to the lowest party of our need ... nerest in kynde and redyest in grace* (305.24-306.32).

50 *oure gostely forth brynggyng*: cf. Isaias 66.9: Shall not I who made others to bring forth children myself bring forth? says the Lord. Shall I who give generation to others be barren? says the Lord your God.

51 *The kynde lovyng moder ... moderhed wyll*: cf. Isaias 66.12-13: You will be carried at the breasts, and on the knees they will caress you. As one whom the mother caresses, so I shall comfort you, and you will be comforted.

54 *as it waxith in age and in stature, she channgyth her werkes*: this recalls the analogy (which the author found in the *Ancrene Riwle*, but which is a common one) which gives the title to *The Chastising of God's Children*. Cf. chapter 5: A goode louynge modir suffrip hir childe souke and tendreli be norisshed, til it haue more strengp to suffre more hardnesse ... (Bazire and Colledge, 113).

55 *And when it is wexid of more age she sufferyth it that it be chastised / in brekyng downe of vicis to make the chylde receyve vertues and grace*: a *compar* (which only P has preserved), with, in the second *colon*, *oppositio contrariorum (vicis ... vertues and grace)*.

57 *This werkyng with all þat be feyer and good, oure lord doth it in hem by whome it is done*: despite her apparent dependence in this passage on the *Chastising*, Julian here

the werkyng of grace in the lower perty, for loue of the hyer. And he
60 wylle that we knowe it, for he wylle haue alle oure loue fastenyd to
hym; and in this I sawe that alle dett that we owe by gods byddyng to
faderhod and moderhod is fulfyllyd in trew lovyng of god, whych
blessyd loue Cryst werkyth in vs. And this was shewde in alle, and
namly in þe hye plentuous wordes wher he seyth: I it am that thou
65 louest.

---

59 *the (lower)*: W: vs. *perty*: W: partith. *hyer*: add. S1: parte; and so S2. 60 *wylle (that)*: W: whiche. *wylle (haue)*: W: wold. 61 *hym*: S2: himselfe. *alle*: add. S1: our; and so S2, W. *dett*: W: dettes. *to*: S1: be; and so S2; W: it is to. 62 *moderhod*: add. S1: for gods faderhede *and* moderhede; and so S2. 63 *and (namly)*: om. W. 64 *plentuous*: W: plenteousnes. *seyth*: W: seyd.

---

puts what she has to say into a context wider than that of the spiritual growth of the contemplative by trial and temptation. William of St. Thierry writes that whilst we are still infirm in the faith, we are not acknowledging God as our true father and mother; we need this parental authority to teach us: Sit ergo interim auctoritas paedagogus noster in Christo Jesu, ut per humilitatem credendi a gratia mereamur illuminari (*Speculum fidei*, PL 180 373). Augustine in his *Enarratio* on Psalm 101.7 (similis factus sum pelicano qui habitat in solitudine) had written: Habet enim (Christus) paternam auctoritatem, maternum affectum; and he added: sicut et Paulus et pater est et mater est; non per seipsum sed per evangelium; pater ubi dicit ... in Christo enim Jesu per evangelium ego vos genui (I Corinthians 4.15); mater ubi ait: Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec Christus formetur in vobis (Galatians 4.19) (Dekkers and Fraipont, 1431). Augustine in the *Confessions*, I vi, writes: ... audiui a parentibus carnis meae ex quo et in quo me formasti in tempore ... exceperunt ergo me consolationes lactis humani, nec mater mea vel nutrices meae sibi ubera implebant, sed tu mihi per eas dabas alimentum infantiae secundum institutionem tuam et divitias usque ad fundum rerum dispositas (Knöll, 6).

This werkyng ... good / oure lord ... done: a *compar.*

59 *in the lower perty, for loue of the hyer*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 13: þe ouerer party is likned to a man, for it schuld be maister *and* souerayn, *and* þat is proprely þe ymage of god, for bi þat *only* þe soule knowiþ god *and* lufiþ hym. And þe neþerer is likned to a woman, for it schuld be buxum to þe ouerer partie of reson (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 75^{v}; Underhill, 272-273).

61 *and in this I sawe that alle dett that we owe / by gods byddyng to faderhod and moderhod / is fulfyllyd in trew lovyng of god / whych blessyd loue Cryst werkyth in vs*: a double *compar.*

alle dett that we owe by gods byddyng to faderhod and moderhod: Julian would have in mind the various passages in Scripture which comment on the fourth commandment, Exodus 20.12, 'Honour your father and your mother'; cf. Deuteronomy 5.16, Matthew 15.4, Ephesians 6.2, and, especially, Ecclesiasticus 3.1-18.

62 *in trew lovyng of god*: Matthew 12.50: Whoever will do the will of my Father who is in heaven, he is my brother, my sister and my mother.

64 *þe hye plentuous wordes*: cf. 402.7-8.

The lxi Chapter

Ande in oure gostly forth bryngyng he vsyth more tendernesse in kepyng *with*out ony *com*paryson, by as moch as oure soule is of more /
131r pryce in his syght. He kyndelyth oure vnderstondyng, he prepareth oure
5 weyes, he esyth oure consciens, he confortyth oure soule, he lyghteth

---

1 S1: Jesus usith more tenderness in our gostly bringing forth, *and* how (*and how*: S2: tho) he suffrith us to fallyn in knowing of our wretchidnes, he hastily reysith us, not brekyng his love for our trispas, for he may not suffre his child to perish, for he will þat we have the properte of a child, fleing to him alway in our necessite; and so S2. 2 *in (kepyng)*: SS: of. 3 *ony*: om. W. *comparyson*: SS: likenes. 4 *prepareth*: S1: directith; and so S2, w. marg., al.m.: dygtith; W: addith.

---

2 The introduction to this chapter constitutes an elaborate figure, the preface of which consists of a three-membered *compar*, with *similiter desinens* and *transitio*: *Ande in oure gostly forth bryngyng / he vsyth more tendernesse in kepyng / without ony comparison.*

3 There then follows a series of short *cola*, ending with a *compar* of two fourteen-syllabled members: *by as moch as oure soule / is of more pryce in his syght / He kyndelyth oure vnderstondyng / he prepareth oure weyes / he esyth oure consciens / he confortyth oure soule / he lyghteth oure harte / and gevyth vs in party / knowyng and louyng / in his blessydfull godhede / with gracyous mynde / in his swete manhode / and his blessed passyon / with curtesse mervelyng / in his hye ovyr passyng goodnesse / and makyth us to loue all that he louyth for his loue / and to be well apayde with hym and with alle his werkes.* There is *repetitio* (*he kyndelyth ... he prepareth ... he esyth ... he confortyth*), and *conversio* (*oure soule ... oure vnderstondyng ... oure weyes ... oure consciens ... oure soule ... oure harte*). And the entire passage constitutes *expolitio*.

oure soule is of more pryce in his syght: cf. I Peter 1.7: that your faith, much more precious than gold which is tried by the fire, may be found for praise and honour and glory.

4 *He kyndelyth*: William of St. Thierry also says that this operation of Christ's Spirit makes us understand that we are children of God: Cum enim venerit illuminans gratia, iam non sumus sub pædagogo, quia ubi fuerit spiritus domini ibi libertas (II Corinthians 3.17). Accepto enim spiritu, filii dei efficimur et ipsi filii dei, et intelligentes et sentientes nos patrem habere deum (*Speculum fidei*; PL 180 373).

5 *he esyth oure consciens, he confortyth oure soule*: Walter Hilton writes in the same vein when, commenting on Ephesians 4.23-24 and Colossians 3.9, he refers to the gift of 'new feelings': Nolite conformari huic seculo *sed* reformamini in nouitate sensus *vest*ri: þat is: ȝe þat are þurgh grace reformed in feiþ, conforme ȝow not hen(s)forwarde to þe maners of þe werld in pride, in coueitise *and* in oþer synnes, bot be ȝe reformed in newed (f. 106v) of felynge. Loo here þu maiȝt see þat seynt Poul spekiþ of reformynge in felynge, *and* what þat newe felynge is he exponiþ in an oþer place þus: Vt impleamini in agnicio*ne* voluntatis eius, in omn*i* intellectu *et* sapi*encia* spi*ri*tuali: þat is: We preie god þat ȝe may be fulfilled in knowynge of goddis wille in alle vndirstandynge *and* in al maner gostly wisdom (MS BM Harley 6579; *Scale* II, chapter 31; Underhill, 367-368).

he lyghteth oure harte: some of these phrases are reminiscent of the antiphon and versicle of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and the prayer for the gifts of the Spirit (cf. Isaias 11.2-3) which the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* recommends (Salu, 11).

oure harte and gevyth vs in party knowyng and louyng in his blessydfull godhede, *with* gracyous mynde in his swete manhode and his blessed passyon, *with* curtesse mervelyng in his hye ovyr passyng goodnesse, and makyth us to loue all that he louyth for his loue, and to be well apayde
10 *with* hym and *with* alle his werkes. And whan we falle, hastely he reysyth vs by his louely beclepyng and his gracyous touchyng. And when we be strenthyd by his swete werkyng, than we wylfully chose hym by his grace to be his seruanntes and hys lovers, lestyngly *with*out ende.

15 And yett aftyr thys he sufferyth some of vs to falle more hard and
131v more grevously then evyr we dyd before, as vs thyngkyth. / And than ween we that be nott alle wyse that all were nouȝte that we haue

---

6 *louyng*: S1: levyng. *blessydfull*: S1: blisful; and so S2; W: blessed. 7 *swete*: om. W. 9 *be*: S1: bend. *well*: om. SS, W. *apayde*: S1: payd; and so S2, W. 10 *with (alle)*: om. SS. *alle*: add. W: þat he dothe *and* in all. *whan*: om. SS. 11 *beclepyng*: S1: clepyng; and so S2; C, marg.: embracing. *his (gracyous)*: om. SS. 12 *be*: add. S1: thus; add. S2: once. 13 *his (grace)*: add. S1: swete; and so S2. 15 *yett*: om. SS. *some of*: om. S2. 6 *grevously*: C: grievous. *vs*: W: we. 17 *that (be)*: W: þe whiche; add. C: we.

---

6 *gevyth vs in party*: in his gloss on Canticles 1.11, Dum esset rex in accubitu suo, William of St. Thierry writes: Locus vero cubitus ... sponsi et sponsae memoria est intellectus et amor. In his autem accumbunt sponsus et sponsa, ille gratiam infundendo, illa pie memorando, humiliter intelligendo, ardenter amando (*Expositio super Cantica*, 76, Déchanet and Dumontier, 186).

8 *with curtesse mervelyng*: that is, the contemplative disposition of Mary. Cf. 483.2 note.

9 *to be well apayde*: cf. 391.25 e.s.

10 *he reysyth vs*: cf. the *Cloud*: Þis is childly and pleyingly spoken, þee þink, parauenture. Bot I trowe who so had grace to do and fele as I sey, he schuld fele good gamesumli pley wiþ hym, as þe fadir doþ wiþ þe childe, kyissyng and clippyng (Hodgson 88).

11 *And when we be strenthyd by his swete werkyng / than we wylfully chose hym by his swete grace*: here, by supplying *swete (grace)* from SS, we have a compar with *complexio*, which fittingly emphasizes the relationship of the Son (*werkyng*) and the Spirit (*grace*). Cf. 594.3 note.

12 *strenthyd*: Cf. *Benjamin Minor* 583.14-15 note.

15 *And yett aftyr thys ...*: cf. the *Chastising*: ... sum þer haue bien þat aftir long strif ... sodeinli þei han falle bi suffraunce of god ... For suche presumpcion oure lord haþ suffred boþ men and wymmen of hiȝe lyueng falle in sum synne, þe whiche wende neuer to haue falle. Þese wordis I trowe shuld suffice to shewe ȝou what profijt is in þe chastisyng of goddis children (Bazire and Colledge, 150-151).

16 *And than ween we / that be nott alle wyse / that all were nouȝte / that we haue begonne*: a *compar* with *repetitio* initially (*that ... that ... that*) and medially (*alle ... all*).

begonne. But it is nott so, for it nedyth vs to falle, and it nedyth vs to see it; for yf we felle nott, we shulde nott knowe how febyll and how
20 wrechyd we be of oure selfe, nor also we shulde not so fulsomly know þe mervelous loue of oure maker.

For we shalle verely see in hevyn *with*out ende þ*at* we haue grevously synned in this lyfe; and not *with*stondyng this we shalle verely see that we were nevyr hurt in his loue, nor we were nevyr the lesse of pryce in
25 his syght. And by the assey of this fallyng we shalle haue an hygh and a mervelous knowyng of loue in god *with*out ende; for hard and mervelous is that loue whych may nott nor wyll not be broken for trespas.

And this was one vnderstandyng of profyte; and other is the lownesse
132r and mekenesse that we shall get by the syght of / oure fallyng, for

---

18 *it (is)*: W: þ*at*. *to (see)*: add. W: know it *and* to. 19 *it (for)*: om. S2. 20 *selfe*: S2: selves. *nor also ... that meknesse* (604.31): om. W. 20 *fulsomly*: C, marg.: fully. 23 *verely*: om. SS. 24 *his*: add. C: (eternal). *we (... the lesse)*: om. S1. 25 *and (a)*: om. S1. *a*: om. SS. 28 *was*: SS: is. *and other*: C: an other; and so SS.

---

18 *But it is nott so / for it nedyth vs to falle / and it nedyth vs to see it*: a *compar* with medial *repetitio* (*it nedyth vs*)..

19 *for yf we felle not / we shulde nott knowe how febyll and how wrechyd / we be of oure selfe*: a *compar* with *repetitio* (*we ... we*).

how febyll and how wrechyd we be: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: On (encheson) is þ*at* we ne prouden, anoþer þ*at* we knowen vr oune feblenesse *and* vre muchele vnstrengþe, and þis is a swiþe muche perfeccion (Vernon MS, f. 382^{d}).

20 *nor also we shulde not so fulsomly know þe mervelous loue of oure maker*: cf. the *Chastising*: ... he smyteþ þe hardenesse of oure herte wiþ his desire; but whanne he smyteþ he heeliþ, for he clepiþ us a3en ... wiþ sharpe dartis of his loue ... be þe heete of charite (Bazire and Colledge, 146).

22 *For we shalle verely see in hevyn without ende / þat we haue grevously synned in this lyfe / and not withstondyng this we shalle verely see / that we were nevyr hurt in his loue / nor we were nevyr the lesse of pryce in his syght*: a *compar* of five *cola*. In the first three there is *chiasmus* and *inclusio*, in the first four *oppositio contrariorum*. There is *contentio* and *disjunctio*: *we haue grevously synned ... we were nevyr hurt ... we were nevyr the lesse of pryce*) with *expolitio*. It could be attractive to admit C's addition: in his *eternal* loue, for the sake of its *oppositio* with *in this lyfe*; but this idea may have occurred first to Cressy.

24 *the lesse of pryce in his syght*: cf. Psalm 115.15: Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.

25 *assey*: 'experience'. Cf. NED, Assay, *sb.*, 5., *Obs.*, with two instances, 1387 Trevisa, c.1449 Pecock. MED assai, n., 5. (a), includes 'experience' with a number of somewhat different meanings.

26 *for hard and mervelous is that loue*: cf. Canticles 8.6: Love is as strong as death ... Many waters cannot quench love, nor can the floods drown it.

28 *the lownesse and mekenesse*: cf. the *Chastising*: Also sum þer haue bien þat ... sodeinli þei han falle bi suffraunce of god, for þei shuld be more lowli and poore in spirit aftirward (Bazire and Colledge, 150).

therby we shall hyely be reysyd in hevyn, to whych rysyng we myȝte nevyr haue comyn w*ith*out that meknesse. And therfor it nedyt vs to see it; and if we se it not, though we felle it shuld not p*ro*fyte vs. And comonly furst we falle and sethen we se it; and both is of the mercy of god.

The moder may suffer þe chylde to fall some tyme and be dyssesed on dyuerse manner, for the one profyte, but she may nevyr suffer that ony manner of perell come to her chylde for loue. And though oure erthly

---

37 *manner*: 'man' scr., 'ner' add. al. m.

---

30 *rysyng*: S1: reysyng; and so S2. 31 *therfor*: W: also. *nedyt*: S1: nedyth; S2: needeth; C: needed. 32 *it (and)*: W: our fallyng. *and*: W: for. *felle*: W: fall. *it (shuld)*: add. C: it. 33 *sethen*: S1: syth; and so S2; S1, marg., al.m.: afterwards; W: aftir. *both is of*: W: thorough þat syght by. *is*: om. SS. 34 *god*: add. W: we be lowe and meke. 35 *fall some tyme ... hyr chylde to*: om. W. *on*: C, SS: in. 36 *manner*: S1: maners; and so S2. *the one*: S2: its. *one*: C: own; and so S1. 37 *her*: S1: the; and so S2.

---

31 *And therfor*: cf. the *Chastising*: sumtyme we see nat ne knowe nat hou ne whanne we offenden; and þus wexiþ oure soule blynde ... Þerfor sum tyme of þe largenesse of þe ȝift of god, peyne folwiþ þe trespas, and ... openeþ þe iȝen of þe trespassouris (Bazire and Colledge, 147).

33 *syth* (S1): NED, Sith ('Reduced form of OE siððan ...'), records such spellings from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

35 *The moder may suffer ...*: cf. the *Chastising*: whanne oure lord suffrith us to be tempted in oure bigynnynge, he pleieþ wiþ us as þe modir with hir child, whiche sumtyme fleeth awei and hideþ hir, and suffreþ þe child to wepe and crie and besili to seke hir wiþ sobbynge and wepynge. But þanne comeþ þe modir sodeinli wiþ mery chier (Bazire and Colledge, 98).

The moder may suffer þe chylde to fall some tyme / and be dyssesed on dyuerse manner / for the one profyte / but she may nevyr suffer that ony manner of perell / come to her chylde for loue / And though oure erthly moder may suffer hyr chylde to perysscb / oure hevynly moder Jhesu / may nevyr suffer vs þat be his chyldren to perysscb / for he is almyghty all wysdom and all loue: a *compar* with *oppositio contrariorum* (*may suffer / may nevyr suffer*) and *conversio* (*to perysscb ... to perysscb*).

36 *for the one profyte*: cf. C, S1: *own*. NED records 'one' as a 16th-17th-century spelling; but P's intention perhaps was 'for the sole benefit'. For 'the own', cf. NED Own, a.† 2 2.b: its first example is the *Prick of Conscience*: Als it may be with þe awen body.

but she may nevyr suffer: cf. Psalm 22.4-6: For though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I shall fear no evil, for thou art with me ... and thy mercy will follow me all the days of my life.

moder may suffer hyr chylde to peryssch, oure hevynly moder Jhesu may nevyr suffer vs þat be his chyldren to peryssch, for he is almyghty,
40 all wysdom and all loue, and so is none but he, blessyd motte he be.

But oft tymes when oure fallyng and oure wrechydnes is shewde vs, we be so sore adred and so gretly ashamyd of oure selfe that vnnethis
132v we witt wher / þat we may holde vs. But then wylle nott oure curtesse moder that we flee away, for hym were nothing lother; but he wyll than
45 that we vse the condicion of a chylde. For when it is dissesyd and a feerd, it rynnyth hastely to þe moder; and if it may do no more, it cryeth on the mother for helpe *with* alle þe myghtes. So wyll he that we

---

38 *peryssch*: add. W: but. *Jhesu*: add. W: Criste. 39 *nevyr*: SS: not. 41 *But*: W: also. 42 *so (sore)*: om. C. *selfe*: S2: selves. *vnnethis*: S2: scarsely. 43 *witt*: S2: know. 44 *lother*: C, marg.: more unwilling. 45 *and (a feerd)*: SS, W: or. *a feerd*: C: afraid; S1: dred; S2, W: adred; add. W: than. 46 *and if it ... the mother*: om. SS. 47 *þe (myghtes)*: S2: its. *myghtes*: C, S2: might; and so S1. *he*: W: our lorde.

---

38 *oure hevynly moder Jhesu may nevyr suffer vs ... to peryssch*: cf. John 3.16-18: God so loved the world as to give his only Son, so that whoever believes in him may not perish but have everlasting life. God did not send his Son into the world to judge it, but that the world might be saved by him. He who believes in him is not judged.

41 *But oft tymes when oure fallyng and oure wrechydnes is shewde vs / we be so more adred and so gretly ashamyd of oure selfe / that vnnethis we witt wher þat we may holde vs*: a *compar* with three equal *cola*, with *conversio* (*vs ... vs*) and *conduplicatio* (*fallyng / wrechydnes ... sore adred / gretly ashamyd*).

43 *holde*: NED, MED do not record a sense 'to hide', but cf. NED Hold, *v.* 7. 'To keep, preserve, retain', MED holden v.(1)16.(a), 'To guard, defend, protect', NED Hold, *sb.* 9., 'A place of refuge, shelter', MED hold n.(2) 4.(a), 'safekeeping'. Julian may have had in mind Genesis 3.8: abscondit se Adam et uxor eius a facie domini dei in medio ligni paradisi.

44 *nothing lother*: NED, Loath, loth, *a.*, 4.B., gives as its first example of 'Nothing loath', 1667 *Paradise Lost*, and does not treat the comparative form. The C gloss indicates the rarity of the phrase. Cf. 457.34 where S2 has substituted *more loath*.

45 *that we vse the condicion of a chylde*: cf. Matthew 18.2-4: And Jesus, calling a little child to him, set him in the midst of them, and said ... unless you be converted and become like little children, you will not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whoever therefore will humble himself ...

For when it is dissesyd and a feerd / it rynnyth hastely to þe moder / and if it may do no more / it cryeth on the mother for helpe: a *compar* of four equal *cola*.

47 *with alle þe myghtes*: the usage, with which C, S1 agree, is recorded once by NED, Might, *sb.*, 1.b.: *Towneley Mystery* 15 28: Tyll Egypp shall thou fare with all the myght thou may. The angel is speaking to Joseph, so that the noun means, as here, 'power', and not 'military resources', with which sense the definite article could still be used in modern English.

done as þe meke chylde, seyeng thus: My kynd moder, my gracyous moder, my deerworthy moder, haue mercy on me. I haue made my
50 selfe foule and vnlyke to thee, and I may not nor canne amende it but *with* thyne helpe and grace.

And if we feele vs nott than esyd, as sone be we suer þat he vsyth the condycion of a wyse moder. For yf he see that it be for profyte to vs to

---

48 *þe (meke)*: SS, W: a. 49 *on*: C: upon. *my (selfe)*: om. W. 50 *selfe*: add. S1: my. *may not nor*: SS, W: ne may ne. 51 *thyne*: S1: prive; and so S2. 52 *as sone*: S1: al swithe; and so S2; S1, marg., al.m.: immediately or all on a sudden; add. W: than. *suer* SS: sekir. 53 *for*: SS, W: more. *to (vs)*: add. W: for.

---

48 *My kynd moder*: Mechtild of Hackborn in the *Book of Special Grace* makes Christ say to her: ... my luffe schalle be thy modere ... ande she schalle helpe the ande comforth the als a luffynge modere helpys ande conforthtys here douȝter in alle tyme of nede (Halligan, 353).

My kynd moder / my gracyous moder / my deerworthy moder / haue mercy on me: a *compar* of four equal *cola*, with *conversio* (... *moder* ...) and *exclamatio*.

49 *I haue made my selfe foule and vnlyke to thee / and I may not nor canne amende it*: a *compar* of two equal *cola* with *conduplicatio* (*foule ... vnlyke to thee; may not ... nor canne*).

made my selfe foule and vnlyke to thee: this is another excellent example of *sermocinatio* (370.9 note). The repentant sinner speaks in the character of a small child distressed by its own incontinence. Julian has used the illustration before; cf. 306.35 note. We may compare this with the counsels in the Syon sisters' rule on the gentleness and patience which infirmarians should show to their charges: ... not squaymes to wasch them and wype them, or auoyde hem, not angry nor hasty or vnpacient, thof one haue the vomet, another the fluxe, another the frensy ... (Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 285).

made ... foule: cf. MED foul adj. 1a.(b), 'maken foul, to void excrement'. Their first example is a. 1400, the *Recluse* (the Lollard interpolated version of the *Ancrene Riwle*): (Saul) went þider in forto make foule. The reference is to I Kings 24.4.

50 *but with thyne helpe and grace*: Anselm concludes his *Oratio ad Sanctum Paulum Apostolum*: Tu quoque, anima mortua per te ipsam, curre sub alas Iesu matris tuae et conquerere sub pennis eius dolores tuos. Postula ut plagas tuas confoveat et ut confotis vita redeat. Christe mater, qui congregas sub alas pullos tuos, mortuus hic pullus tuus subicit se sub alas tuas. Nam lenitate tua exterriti confortantur, odore tuo desperantes reformantur ... Agnosce mater filium tuum mortuum vel per signum crucis tuae et per vocem confessionis tuae (*Oratio X*, Schmitt 3 41). On Wilmart's establishing the authenticity of this text, see Molinari, 170 note 3.

52 *And if we feele vs nott than esyd as sone be we suer / þat he vsyth the condycion of a wyse moder / For yf he see that it be for profyte to vs to morne and to wepe / he sufferyth with ruth and pytte in to þe best tyme for loue / And he wylle then þat we vse the properte of a chylde / that evyr more kyndly trustyth to the loue of þe moder in wele and in woo*: a *compar* of six long *cola*, with *conduplicatio* (*to morne and to wepe, with ruth and pytte*) and *oppositio contrariorum* (*in wele and in woo*).

53 *that it be for profyte to vs to morne and to wepe*: cf. the *Chastising*: Þus is chastisyng spedeful and nedeful to mannes soule, for ioie þat is to come, and al be it þat sorwe and blisse mowe nat come togydre, ȝit skilfulli it may be seide ...: Blessid is þat man þat is vndirnyme or chastised of oure lord (Bazire and Colledge, 147-148).

morne and to wepe, he sufferyth *with* ruth and pytte in to þe best tyme
55 for loue. And he wylle then þ*at* we vse the p*ro*perte of a chylde, that
133r evyr / more kyndly trustyth to the loue of þe moder in wele and in
woo. And he wylle þ*at* we take vs myghtly to the feyth of holy chyrch,
and fynd there oure deerworthy mother in solas and trew vn-
derstandyng *with* all þe blessyd comon*n*. For one singular person may
60 oftyn tymes be broken, as it semyth to þe selfe, but the hole body of
holy chyrch was nevyr broken, nor nevyr shall be *with* out ende. And
therfore a suer thyng it is, a good and a gracious to wylle mekly and
myghtly be fastenyd and onyd to oure moder holy church, that is Crist

---

54 *and to wepe*: om. S2. *he sufferyth*: W: than he will suffer. *sufferyth*: add. S2, W: it. 55 *he*: W: our lord god. 58 *and (trew)*: SS, W: of. 59 *comonn*: C, marg.: community of Christians. 60 *þe*: om. SS. *body*: om. S2. 61 *be (with)*: om. SS, W. 62 *suer*: SS: sekir. *a (good)*: W: and. *a (gracious)*: om. S2, W. 63 *be (fastenyd)*: om. W. *fastenyd*: S1: susteynd; and so S2.

---

55 *And he wylle then*: the same advice is given to the son in Ecclesiasticus 2.2-10: Humble your heart and endure ...

57 *the feyth of holy chyrch, and fynd there oure deerworthy mother*: the *Praeconium Paschale*, recorded in the fourth century (E. Lucchesi Palli, art. 'Exultet', LCI 1 coll. 713-714, and, for iconography, W. Greisenegger, art. 'Ecclesia', ibid. 1 coll. 562-569) has: Letetur et mater ecclesia tanti luminis adornata (ed. J. Wickham Legg, 2 col. 580). As early as 177, the Christians of Gaul, writing of the martyrdoms at Lyons, call the Church *μήτηρ*, and Tertullian in *Ad martyres*, probably to be dated 197, calls her 'domina mater ecclesia' (Plumpe, 36-37, 45-46).

59 *comonn*: 'community'. Cf. MED commune n.1, and, 3, *Piers Plowman* C VI 187: Lo in heuene an hy was an holy comune.

For one singular person / may oftyn tymes be broken / as it semyth to þe selfe / but the hole body / of holy chyrch was nevyr broken / nor nevyr shall be with out ende: a *compar* of four shorter and two longer *cola*, with *conversio* (*broken ... broken*), *oppositio contrariorum* (*one singular person / the hole body of holy chyrch*) and *adnominatio* (*hole ... holy*).

may oftyn tymes be broken: Julian's image of the Church would seem to be that of the vine and its branches of John 15.1 e.s., of the olive tree of Romans 11.16-24. Cf. 581.56 note. William of St. Thierry in his *Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos* VI writes: Olivam creavit deus patriarchas sanctos, unde et floruit populus dei ... inde superbi rami fracti sunt, blasphemus populus Judaeorum ... De radice patriarcharum dicit fractos quosdam ramos propter incredulitatem (PL 180 661). *Incredulitas* is the fault of which Julian accuses herself bitterly; cf. 633.25 e.s.

61 *And therfore a suer thyng it is / a good and a gracious to wylle / mekly and myghtly to be fastenyd and onyd / to oure moder holy church that is Crist Jhesu*: a *compar*. If we accept W's variant, *and good*, that gives *repetitio*.

63 *to oure moder holy church*: Julian's ecclesiology is rooted in Augustine. Cf. *Tractatus in Johannem* LXXX 1: Iste locus euangelicus ... ubi se dicit dominus uitem et discipulos suos palmites secundum hoc dicit quod est caput ecclesiae, nosque membra ejus, mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus. Vnius quippe naturae sunt uitis et palmites; propter quod cum esset deus, cuius naturae nos sumus, factus est homo, ut in illo esset uitis humana natura cuius et nos homines palmites esse possemus (Willems, 527).

that is Crist Jhesu: the clearest Scriptural warrant for the identification of the

Jhesu. For the flode of mercy that is his deerworthy blode and precious
65 water is plentuous to make vs feyer and clene. The blessed woundes of oure sauiour be opyn and enjoye to hele vs. The swet gracious handes of oure moder be redy and diligent a bout vs; for he in alle this /
133v werkyng vsyth the very office of a kynde norysse, that hath not elles to done but to entende about the saluation of hyr chylde.
70 It is his office to saue vs, it is his worshyppe to do it, and it is hys wylle we know it; for he wyll we loue hym swetely and trust in hym

---

69 *entende*: ms: entenned, alt. to 'entended'.

---

64 *flode*: S1: foode; and so S2, alt. scr. fr. 'flood'. 65 *is (plentuous)*: W: it is. *woundes*: S1: wound. 66 *enjoye*: C, marg.: rejoyce. 67 *diligent*: S2: diligentlly. 68 *very*: om. SS. *that*: SS: *and*. *not*.: C: nought; W: nopinge. *elles*: SS: ell. 69 *entende*: W: attend. *about*: C: to. 70 *his office*: W: þe office of oure lorde Jesu Criste. *it (and)*: SS: us. 71 *wyll*: add. W: þat.

Church with Christ is the account of Paul's conversion, Acts 9.1-7: And Saul, breathing out threats against the disciples of the Lord ... falling to the ground, heard a voice saying to him: Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? ... I am Jesus whom you are persecuting.

64 *flode*: P's is the superior reading. Cf. 344.24: *The precious plenty of his dere worthy blode ovyrflowyth all erth.*

precious water: Mechtild of Hackborn, in one of the less attractive imaginings in her *Book of Special Grace*, sees a great river flowing from the heart of Christ, who says to her: Lo, I wille be thy goode modere. Ande als goode moders teche here gostelye chyldrene, so schalle I teche the (Halligan, 436).

65 *to make vs feyer and clene*: Julian may have in mind the petition of the *Anima Christi*: Aqua lateris Christi laua me (e.g. MS Cambridge UL Ff. 6.8, f. 72r). Despite innumerable Latin texts of this in England surviving from Julian's time and earlier, no mediaeval English version of this prayer has so far been found.

The blessed woundes of oure sauiour be opyn and enjoye to hele vs / The swet gracious handes of oure moder be redy and diligent about vs: a *compar*, with *conversio* (*vs ... vs*), with balancing *interpretatio* (*blessed woundes ... swet gracious handes, opyn and enjoye ... redy and diligent*).

67 *for he in alle this werkyng vsyth / the very office of a kynde norysse*: another *compar*, which, taken with the previous figure, gives *notatio*.

68 *a kynde norysse*: Ephesians 5.29-30: For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nurses it and cherishes it, as Christ does the Church, because we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones.

70 *It is his office to saue vs / it is his worshyppe to do it / and it is hys wylle we know it*: a *compar* with *repetitio* in all three *cola* and *conversio* in the second and third.

71 *for he wyll we loue hym swetely / and trust in hym mekely and myghtly*: a two-membered *compar* with *similiter desinens* (swet*ely* ... mek*ely* ... mygh*tly*).

mekely and myghtly. And this shewde he in these gracious wordes: I kepe the fulle suerly.

---

72 *I kepe the fulle suerly*: here the eleventh extract in W ends.

---

72 *in*: W: on.

---

72 *And this shewde he in these gracious wordes / I kepe the fulle suerly*: another *compar*. The three figures are full of rhetorical allusions to the mystery of the Trinity.
in these gracious wordes: cf. 442.10.

The lxij Chapter

For in that tyme he shewde oure fraylte and oure fallyng, oure brekynges and oure noughtynges, oure dispytes and oure chargynges and alle oure woo, as farre forth as me thought that it myght falle in thys lyfe. And therwith he shewde his blyssyd myght, his blessyd wysdome, his blessyd loue, that he kepyth vs in this tyme as tendyrly and
134r as swetely to hys wurschyppe and as suerly to oure saluacion as / he doth when we be in most solace and comfort, and ther to reysyth vs gostly and hyely in hevyn, and turnyth alle to his wurshypp and to oure

---

1 S1: The love of god suffrith never his chosen to lose tyme, for all their troble is turnyd into endless joye; *and* how we arn al bownden to god for kindness *and* for grace, for every kind is in man, *and* us nedyth not to seke out to know sondry kindes, but to holy church; and so S2. 2 *fallyng*: C, S2: fallings; S1: faylyngs (canc.) fallyngs. 3 *chargynges*: SS: outcastings. 4 *as (farre)*: SS: so. *that*: om. SS. 6 *wysdome*: add. S2: *and*. 7 *suerly*: SS: sekirly. 8 *to*: add. SS: he. 9 *turnyth*: add. SS: it. *to (oure)*: om. S2.

---

2 The whole of this first paragraph is in fact one complex figure, which may be treated as follows: *For in that tyme he shewde / oure fraylte and oure fallyng / oure brekynges and oure noughtynges / oure dispytes and oure chargynges / and alle oure woo / as farre forth as me thought / that it myght falle in thys lyfe*: a *compar* of seven *cola*, with *repetitio* (*oure* ...), *similiter cadens* (fall*yng* ... brek*ynges* ... nought*ynges* ... charg*ynges*) and *adnominatio* (*fallyng* ... *falle*).

5 *And therwith he shewde his blyssyd myght / his blessyd wysdome his blessyd loue*: in these two *cola* there is *oppositio contrariorum* with the previous figure: human sinfulness and misery are contrasted with *his blyssyd myght ... wysdome ... loue*. Here there is internal *repetitio* (*blyssyd ... blessyd ... blyssyd*) and the two figures together give a form of *articulus*.

6 *that he kepyth vs in this tyme as tendyrly and as swetely / to his wurschyppe and as surely to oure saluacion / as he doth when we be in most solace and comfort / and ther to reysyth vs gostly and hyely in hevyn / and turnyth alle to his wurshypp and to oure joye with out ende*: in these five *cola* there is again *oppositio* with the first figure: *solace and comfort ... his wurshyppe and oure joy*. There is *similiter desinens*: tendyr*ly* ... swete*ly* ... gost*ly* ... hye*ly*.

he kepyth vs in this tyme as tendyrly ...: in *Bonum est* we read: But he abydeþ in þis merke niȝt and scheweþ to þe, lord, ful trustiliche þi soþfastnes ... He knoweþ wel þat grace is with drawen from him in o manere. But hit is giuen to him in anoþur manere as god wole, not so sweteli ne so felabli as hit was, but more priueli and more miȝtili and more godly ... In þis niȝt is muche liȝt, but hit schineþ not: hit schal schynen whon þe niht is passed ouer and þe ful day scheweþ (Wallner, 56-57; the allusion is to II Peter 1.19). It is probable that Julian had in mind Psalm 91.14-15: They that are planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish ... they shall still increase in a fruitful old age; and they shall be well treated, that they may show that the Lord our God is just.

joye *with* out ende. For his precious loue he sufferyth vs nevyr to lese tyme; and all this is of the kynde goodnes of god by the werkyng of grace.

God is kynd in his being; that is to sey that goodnesse that is kynd, it is god. He is the grounde, he is þe substannce, he is the same thyng that is kyndnesse, and he is very fader and very modyr of kyndys. And alle

---

10 *precious*: om. SS. *he*: om. SS. 11 *tyme*: add. C: (since all things turn to our greater good) (ital.) 13 *kynd*: C, marg.: nature. 15 *and (he)*: om. S2. *kyndys*: S2: kind.

---

10 *For his precious loue he sufferyth vs nevyr to lese tyme / and all this is of the kynde goodnes of god by the werkyng of grace*: there is here a subtle *inclusio* with the previous figure: *he kepyth vs in this tyme ... he sufferyth vs nevyr to lese tyme*. The whole constitutes another remarkable example of *expolitio*, with its skilful combinations of *compares* for the Trinitarian mystery and *oppositio* for that of the Hypostatic Union. The first figure is *shewed for Adam ... and his fallyng to make there by to be vnderstonde how god beholdyth alle manne and his fallyng* (522.101). The second we see that *by the wysdom and the goodnesse þat was in the seruannt is vnderstond goddys son* (534.225). The third deals with the attributes of the Trinity, so that the Father *kepyth vs*, the Son *to oure saluacion ... reysyth vs*, the Spirit works in us *to his wurshypp and to oure joye*. And in the final *colon* we have *definitio*: *all this is of the kynde goodnes of god by the werkyng of grace*.

nevyr to lese tyme: Julian is aware that the devout can become over-anxious about time and its use and abuse, and unlike the *Cloud*-author (see *Cloud*, 20, and *Deonise*, 48), she has come to terms with the problem. In MS Fitzwilliam Museum 55, f. 127^{v}, there is a prayer to the Father for time for contrition: ... concede michi queso famulo tuo ut in die mortis mee tantum spacium presentis saltem quo ad mensuram ut omnia peccata mea ualeam deplorare et veniam et graciam secundum misericordiam tuam consequi merear.

13 This paragraph is an *expolitio*, consisting of four *compares*. The first (*God is kynd ... it is god*), of four *cola*, with *inclusio* (*God ... god*) and *chiasmus* (*God ... being ... goodnesse ... god*) treats of the divine unity. The second (*He is the grounde ... modyr of kyndys*), of four *cola*, with *repetitio* (*He is ...*) and *conversio* (*kyndnesse ... kyndys*) deals with divine Fatherhood and Motherhood. The third (*And alle kyndes ... werkyng of grace*), of four *cola*, with *traductio* (*werke ... werkyng*), considers the Father as Creator, the Son as Redeemer. The fourth (*For of all kyndys ... and wurschyppe*), of eight *cola*, with *oppositio* (*dyverse ... party / hole ... fullheed*), *inclusio* (*all kyndys ... alle the hole*) and *similiter cadens* (ryalte, noblye, solempnyte), demonstrates the Trinitarian *operatio ad extra*. Part of the *expolitio's* effect is achieved through reiteration from one *compar* to another: *God ... god ... He ... he* ... The thought is radically Pauline, a statement of the great Christological teaching of Colossians 1.12-20; and this Christology is linked to William of St. Thierry's development of Augustine's Trinitarian theology. See especially *De natura corporis et animae* II: Omnis quippe anima ... tribus individuis subsistit ... (PL 180 722).

kyndes that he hath made to flowe out of hym to werke his wylle, it shulde be restoryd and brought agayne in to hym by saluacion of man throw the werkyng of grace. For of all kyndys that he hath sett in
134v dyverse creatures by party, in man is alle the hole / in fullheed and in
20 vertu, in feyerheed and in goodheed, in ryalte and in noblye, in alle manner of solempnyte, of preciousnesse and wurschyppe.

Here may we see that we be all bounde to god for kynd, and we be bounde to god for grace. Her may we see that vs nedyth nott gretly to

---

16 *kyndes*: S2: kindnes. *it shulde*: S2: shall. 17 *by*: add. SS: the. 20 *in (noblye)*: om. SS. *noblye*: C: noblety; S2: nobility. 22 *be (... for grace)*: add. S1: al; and so S2. 23 *that (vs)*: om. SS.

---

16 *to flowe out of hym*: cf. NED, Emanate, *v.*, 'To flow forth'; but neither NED nor MED records this theological use of the metaphor. See Margery Kempe, where Mary is made to say: my sone Ihesu xal flowyn so mech grace in þe ... (*Book*, 73).

to werke his wylle: another text influencing Julian's thought in this passage is I Corinthians 12.11-12: But one and the same Spirit works all these things, dividing to each according as he will. For as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, whereas they are many members, yet are one body, so also is Christ.

it shulde be restoryd and brought agayne in to hym: cf. Romans 8.19-23: For the expectation of the creature waits for the revelation of the sons of God ... because the creature itself shall also be delivered from the servitude of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

19 *in man is alle the hole in fullheed and in vertu ...*: this is Thomas Aquinas's teaching, after he had harmonized Aristotle's views concerning human nature with pseudo-Denis's theories about participation: Persona significat id quod est perfectissimum in tota natura, scilicet subsistens in rationali natura (*Summa theologiae* I.29.3). But it is very rare to find such an opinion expressed in mediaeval spiritual literature. Far commoner is the contrast made between the beauty of the spirit (or of man before the Fall) and the vileness of the body: Þou erte now vylere þane any mukke. Þou was getyne of sa vile matire and so gret fylthe þat it es schame for to nevynne, and abhomynacyone for to thynke (*The Mirror of Holy Church*; Horstman 1 220). Julian has briefly alluded to such an attitude (cf. 558.43-44 and note), and will again in her account of the *suylge stynkyng myrre*; but this glorification of human nature is wholly consistent with her growing perceptions of Adam-Christ.

22 *Here may we see*: this passage appears to be a contemplative reflection on the Trinitarian and Christological statement of the previous pericope, 611.13 e.s. It is composed in a series of *cola*, with *repetitio, oppositio* and, perhaps, *adnominatio*. The passage contains echoes of the beginning of Augustine's *Confessions*, I ii: Quoniam itaque et ego sum, quid peto ut uenias in me, qui non essem, nisi esses in me? (Knöll, 2).

23 *to seke ferre out to know sundry kyndys*: cf. Acts 17.24 e.s.: God who made the world and all things in it ... has made of one all mankind ... that they should seek God, if happily they may feel after him or find him, although he be not far from every one of us. For in him we live and move and are ... we are also his own offspring.

seke ferre out to know sondry kyndys, but to holy church into oure moders brest, that is to sey in to oure owne soule, wher oure lord dwellyth. And ther shulde we fynde alle, now in feyth and in vnderstandyng, and after verely in hym selfe clerely in blysse.

But no man ne woman take this syngulary to hym selfe, for it is not so. It is generall, for it is oure precious moder Cryst, and to hym was this feyer kynde dyght for the wurshyppe and the nobly of mans makyng, and for the joye and the blysse of mannes saluacion, ryght as he saw, wyst and knew fro *with* out begyn*nyng*.

---

26 *dwellyth*: S1: wonnyth. *shulde*: S1: shal; and so S2. 28 *syngulary*: C: singularity; S1: singler; S2: singular. 29 *moder*: om. SS. 30 *dyght*: C, marg.: appropriated. *the (nobly)*: om. SS. *nobly*: S1: noblyth; S2: noblenes. 31 *the (blysse)*: om. S2.

---

24 *into oure moders brest*: in *Benjamin Minor*, the *Cloud*-author writes: Þou schalt clepe togeders þi þou3tes and þi desires and make þee of hem a chirche, and lerne þee þerin for to loue only þis good worde Jhesu ... And þan in þis chirche of þou3tes and desires, and in þis onehedd of studies and of willes ... pacyently abidyng þe wille of oure lorde, vnto þe tyme þat þi mynde be rauischid abouen itself to be fed wiþ þe feire foode of aungelles in þe beholdyng of god (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 45-46). This passage is incorporated in the compilation, *Of Active Life and Contemplative*, in MS BM Add.37049; see Jolliffe, 'Two Middle English Tracts', 100-101.

to holy church: sc. 'to go to'.

28 *syngulary*: this seems to be merely an eccentric P spelling, which occurs elsewhere: *syngulery* (322.9). The C emendation is not happy, and makes Julian say the opposite of what she is leading to, *It is generall*. In SS, *singler, singular* are adverbial; cf. NED Singular, *a, adv.* and *sb.*, 14. NED, Singularly, *adv.*, quotes (1 'Singly') Rolle's *Psalter*: þat raises þain vp syngulerly and suffers na felaghis, and (2 'In the singular number') Wycliffe: He seid not pluraliche, þat he shulde 3yve it to his seedis, but singularly, to his seed.

135r / The lxiij Chapter

Here may we see that we haue verely of kynd to hate synne, and we haue verely of grace to hate synne, for kynd is all good and feyer in it selfe, and grace was sent oute to saue kynde and dystroy synne, and bryng agayne feyer kynde in to the blessyd poynt from thens it cam, that is god, *with* more noblynes and wurschyppe by the vertuse wurkyng of grace. For it shall be seen before god of all his holy in joy *with*out end

4 ms: to saue kynde and kepe kynde.

1 S1: Synne is more peynfull than hell *and* vile (*and vile*: om. S2) *and* hurting kinde, but grace savith kinde *and* destroyith synne. The children of Jesus be not yet all borne, which pass not the stature of childhood, levying in febilnes till thei come to hevyn, wher joyes arn ever new begynnand without end. 2 *kynd*: C, marg.: nature. 3 *it*: S1: the. 4 *and kepe kynde* (ms): om. SS. 5 *in*: om. SS. *thens*: S1: whens; and so S2. 6 *noblynes*: S1: noble. *vertuse*: C: vertuous; S1: vertuis; S2: virtuous. 7 *holy*: S2: saints.

2 *Here may we see*: this introduces a meditative passage, written in *cola*, which divides itself into fourteen members (... *nor no defaute*).

4 *to saue kynde and kepe kynde* (ms): this reading (which C follows) has not been accepted. SS do not have *and kepe kynde*; it spoils the *oppositio* (*saue / dystroy*) and the balance of the clauses. It may have originated as a marginal gloss, 'kepe' to *saue*.

dystroy synne: Julian's thought is Pauline. Cf. I Corinthians 15.54-57: And when this mortal has put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is your victory? O death, where is your sting? Now the sting of death is sin ... but thanks be to God who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

5 *bryng agayne feyer kynde in to the blessyd poynt from thens it cam*: the classical text upon the *processus reditus* is pseudo-Denis, *De divinis nominibus* iv 17: lumen intelligibile bonus dicitur propter hoc quod omnem quidem supercoelestem mentem implet intelligibili lumine, omnem autem ignorantiam expellit ab omnibus quibus ingignitur animabus, et omnibus illis sanctum lumen tradit, et intellectuales ipsarum oculos mundat ... et omnes excedens eo quod superextendatur, et omnia comprehendens ... et in seipsa coassumens ... et intellectualia et rationabilia omnia congregans et indestructibilia faciens (Sarracenus's translation; Chevallier, *Dionysiaca* 1 172-176).

7 *For it shall be seen before god of all his holy*: cf. Luke 15.10: There shall be joy before the angels of God over one sinner doing penance; and Romans 2.4: ... the riches of his goodness and patience and longsuffering ... The benignity of God leads you to penance.

þat kynd hath ben assayde in the fyer of trybulation, and ther in founde no lack nor no defaute.

Thus is kynd and grace of one accorde; for grace is god, as vnmade kynde is god. He is two in manner werkyng, and one in loue, and
135v neyther of them werkyth *with*out / other, ne none be depertyd. And whan we by þe mercy of god and *with* his helpe accorde vs to kynde and to grace, we shall se verely that synne is wurse, vyler and paynfuller than hell *with*out ony lycknesse. For it is contraryous to our feyer kynde; for as verely as synne is vnclene, as trewly synne is vnkynde. Al this is an horryble thyng to see to the lovyng soule that wolde be alle feyer and shynyng in the syght of god, as kynd and grace techyth. But be we nott a dred of thys, but in as moch as dred may spede.

But mekely make we oure mone to oure derewurthy mother, and he

---

13 *þe*: interl. w. caret. 16 *Al*: 'l' interl. w. caret.

---

9 *nor*: om. SS. 10 *vnmade*: om. SS. 12 *ne*: om. SS. 13 *þe*: so C; om. SS. 14 *to (grace)*: om. SS. *wurse*: SS: very. 15 *ony*: om. SS. 16 *verely*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *trewly*: S1: soth(l)y; and so S2. *synne is*: SS: is it. *vnkynde*: C, marg.: unnatural. *Al*: C, S1: and; and so S2. 17 *this is*: SS: thus. *lovyng*: S1: lovid; and so S2. 19 *but in ... spede*: om. S2. *spede*: add. S1: us.

---

8 *assayde in the fyer*: cf. I Peter 1.7 (see 601.3-4 note).

10 *Thus is kynd and grace of one accorde*: a second meditative passage, which divides into sixteen *cola*, follows (... *as dred may spede*).

11 *He is two in manner werkyng ...*: Julian here is exploring the theology of the *indivisa unitas*: *kynde* (Father), *grace* (Spirit), *helpe* (redeeming Son).

two in manner ... / one in loue ... / neyther of them ...: a complex form of *oppositio*.

14 *very* (SS): this substitution destroys the triad of comparatives *wurse, vyler, paynfuller* and its *interpretatio* and *similiter desinens*.

16 *for as verely as synne is vnclene / as trewly synne is vnkynde*: *repetitio*.

17 *horryble / alle feyer and shynyng*: *oppositio*.

18 *as kynd and grace techyth*: so C, SS; but in S1 *techith* is underlined, with a marginal cross, the usual signs that the reviser has detected an error; but there is no correction. Plainly, the reviser expected a plural verb; but two nouns governing a single verb is common enough in ME. Less probably, an ancestor of P, forming present plural indicatives in '-en', may have been contaminated by a plural '-eth' form.

19 *in as moch as dred may spede*: in *Benjamin Minor* we read: ... it is wretyn in þe psalme: Þe bygynnyng of wysdom, dreed of oure lorde god (Psalm 110.10). Þis is þe first felt vertewe in a mans affeccioun ... whoso desireþ to haue soche a sone, hym behoueþ besily and oft also beholde þe iuels þat he haþ done (Hodgson, *Deonise* 17).

a dred ... dred: *traductio*.

20 *But mekely make we oure mone ...*: here follow nine long *compares*, evidently composed with marked alliteration (*mekely ... make ... mone*; *soule ... softe*; *fulle feyer*; *ceese ... stynte*; *borne ... brought*; *loue longyng ... last*), but with no other evident *colores*.

shall all besprynkyl vs in his precious blode, and make oure soule full
softe and fulle mylde, and heele vs fulle feyer by processe of tyme, ryght
as it is most wurschype to hym and joye to vs *with*out ende. And of this
1361 swete feyer werkyng / he shalle nevyr ceese nor stynte, tylle all his deer-
25 wurthy chyldren be borne and brought forth; and that shewde he
where he gaue the vnderstandyng of the gostely thurst that is the loue
longyng that shalle last tylle domys day.

Thus in oure very moder Jhesu oure lyfe is groundyd in the forseeyng
wysdom of hym selfe fro *with* out begynnyng, *with* þe hye myght of the
30 fader and þe souereyne goodnesse of the holy gost. And in the takyng of
oure kynd he quyckyd vs, and in his blessyd dyeng vppon the crosse he

---

24 *deerwurthy*: S2: dear. 26 *gaue the*: S1: shewid; and so S2. *the (gostely)*: om. SS. *that is the loue longyng*: om. S2. 28 *oure*: om. SS. 30 *þe (souereyne)*: add. S1: hey; and so S2. 31 *quyckyd*: S1: quicknid; and so S2. *and (in his)*: om. SS. *vppon*: S1: on.

---

21 *all besprynkyl vs*: cf. Isaias 52.14-15 (written of the Suffering Servant): His visage shall be inglorious among men, and his form among the sons of men. He shall sprinkle many nations.

and make oure soule full softe and fulle mylde: in *Privy Counselling* we read: ... iche tyme, ȝif þou wel bere þee by meek suffryng, wil he come more worþelyer and merilier þen oþer; and alle þis he doþ for he wil haue þee maad as pleying to his wille goostly as a roon gloue to þin honde bodely (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 168).

22 *and heele vs fulle feyer*: cf. Osee 6.2-3: He has taken us and he will heal us; he will strike and he will cure us. He will revive us after two days; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight.

24 *tylle all his deerwurthy chyldren be borne and brought forth*: Julian has in mind the image Christ uses of his death and resurrection in John 16.21. Cf. 529.181 note. Another mediaeval witness to the tradition concerning Christ's motherhood is Margaret d'Oyngt, prioress of the house of Carthusian nuns at Poleteins near Lyons, who died in 1310. In her *Pagina meditationum* (preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript from the Grande Chartreuse) she writes: Nonne tu es mater mea et plus quam mater? Mater quae me portavit, in partu meo laboravit per unam diem forte, vel per unam noctem, et tu, pulcher domine dulcis, propter me fuisti vexatus non una nocte vel uno die solummodo, immo laborasti plus quam triginta annis. Ha! pulcher domine dulcis, quam amare laborasti pro me, tota vita tua; sed quando tempus appropinquabat quo parere debebas, labor fuit tantus quam sudor tuus sanctus fuit ut guttae sanguinis quae per corpus tuum decurrebant usque ad terram (Cabassut, 240).

31 *he quyckyd vs*: cf. NED, Quick, *v.*[1] 2.a., 'To give or restore life to, *Obs.*', which quotes *Piers Plowman* B.XV 23: 'The whiles I quykke the corps', quod he . 'called am I Anima'. Cf. William of St. Thierry: Sicut enim corpus vivit ex anima, sic ex deo vivit anima illa, ipsa soli suspirans, ipsum solum jugiter spirans sicut corpus vivens aerem: tota manens in deo per fidelem affectionem, eumque quem amat in se habens manentem per omnipotentem operationem (*De natura corporis et animae* II, PL 180 722).

he bare vs: cf. John 5.21: For as the Father raises up the dead and gives life, so the

bare vs to endlesse lyfe. And fro þ*at* tyme, and now and evyr shall in to domysday, he fedyth vs and fordreth vs, ryght as þe hye souereyne kyndnesse of moderhed wylle, and as þe kyndly nede of chyldhed askyth. Feyer and swete is our hevenly moder in þe syght of oure soule, precyous and louely be þe gracyous chyldren in þe syght of oure 136v hevynly moder, / w*ith* myldnesse and mekenesse and alle þe feyer vertuse that long to chyldren in kynde. For kyndly the chylde dyspeyreth nott of the moders loue, kyndely the chylde presumyth nott of it selfe, kyndely the chylde louyth the moder and eche one of them other.

Theyse be as feyer vertues w*ith* alle other that be lyke, wher w*ith* oure hevynly moder is servyd and plesyd. And I vnderstode none hygher stature in this lyfe than chyldehode in febylnesse and faylyng of myght and of wytte in to þe tyme þ*at* oure gracious moder hath brought vs vpp to oure fadyrs blysse. And ther shall it verely be made knowe*n* to vs, his

---

38 With 'Ferther more a kyndely', the twelfth extract in W begins.

---

32 *to (endlesse)*: om.. S2. *in to*: S1: onto; and so S2. 33 *fordreth*: C: fordreth (marg.: nourisheth); S1: foethes; S2: forthes. *vs (ryght)*: add. S1: and; and so S2. *þe (hye)*: SS: þ*at*. 34 *wylle*: om. SS. *þe (kyndly)*: om. SS. 35 *moder*: add. C: Jesu. 37 *þe (feyer)*: C: that. 38 *For*: W: ferther more a. *the*: om. W. 39 *loue*: add. W: and. *it*: S1: the. 40 *eche*: SS: ilke. *one*: om. W. *them*: S1: the; and so S2; add. W: both. 41 *Theyse be ... hym by grace* (619.4): om. W. *be as*: S1: arn þe; and so S2. 43 *in this lyfe*: om. S2. 44 *in to*: S2: untill. *þ*at: om. C. 45 *to (oure)*: C: into that. *oure*: S2: þe. *ther*: S1: than.

Son also gives life (*vivificat*) to whom he will; and the Easter proper preface: Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et uitam resurgendo reparauit (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 203). Margaret d'Oyngt writes: Ha! pulcher domine deus, qui vidit unquam alias quam mater vellet tam turpi morte mori amore sui infantis? Certe nullus vidit eam unquam, quia tuus amor fuit ultra omnes alios amores (Cabassut, 240).

37 *alle þe feyer vertuse*: Bede writes on Mark 10.14: ... his qui similem haberent innocentiam et simplicitatem praemium repromittit ... Sicut puer non perseverat in iracundia, non laesus meminit, non videns pulchram mulierem delectatur, non aliud cogitat, aliud loquitur ... fideliter suscipit quod docetur, et cum metu obtemperat et quiescit, ita et nos in obediendo simpliciter et sine ulla retractatione verbis domini facere debemus (*In Marci Evangelium Expositio* III x, ed. D. Hurst, 559).

38 *kyndly the chylde ... kyndely the chylde ... kyndely the chylde*: *repetitio*.

41 *Theyse be as feyer vertues with alle other that be lyke / wher with oure hevynly moder is servyd and plesyd*: a *compar*, with *adnominatio* (*lyke ... plesyd*).

42 *And I vnderstode none hygher stature in this lyfe than chyldehode / in febylnesse and faylyng of myght and of wytte in to þe tyme / þat oure gracious moder hath brought vs vpp to oure fadyrs blysse*: a *compar*, with *oppositiones* (*hygher stature / febylnesse, faylyng of myght and of wytt / blysse*).

menyng in the swete woordes wher he seyth: Alle shalle be welle, and thou shalt see it thy selfe, that alle manner thyng shall be welle. And than shalle þe blysse of oure moderheed in Crist be new to begynne in /
137r the joyes of oure fader god, whych new begynnyng shall last, *with*out
50 end new begynnyng.

---

46 ms: shall be welle. The xv Revelacon and the lxiiij Chapt*er*. And than shalle þe blysse ...

---

46 *the*: S2: these. *wher*: S2: when. 47 *it*: om. SS. *manner*: add. C: of. 48 *moderheed*: S1: moder; and so S2. 50 *new begynnyng. The*: C: Now beginning thus; S1: new begyn*n*and. thus; S2: new beginning. Thus.

---

46 *in the swete woordes*: cf. 422.2.

48 *new to begynne ... new begynnyng*: this is *traductio*. If we consider S1's reading: be new to begyn*n*en in the joyes of our god, which new begyn*n*yng shal lesten without end, new begyn*n*and, the *traductio* is improved. S1 descends from an ancestor which preserved the earlier distinction between gerunds, *-ung/-yng*, and present participles, *-and/-end*. The Moore, Meech and Whitehall *-yng/-end* isogloss runs through Norfolk and Suffolk, with Norwich some thirty miles into the *-end* section (MED, Plan and Bibliography, 9, Map 4). For all we know, this may have been Julian's own usage; and at the very least S1 guarantees that its ancestor's scribe was certain that what in P looks as if it might have been dittography, *new begynnyng ... new begynnyng*, is what Julian in fact wrote.

49 *without end new begynnyng*: one can be sure that this is indeed Julian's, as one examines the complex of allusions these four words contain. Writing of how Christ's motherhood will bring us to the Father's joys to which the risen and ascended Word was restored, and recalling the promise that *alle manner thyng shall be welle*, she recalls how the Word who was in the beginning (John 1.1) called himself the *primus et novissimus* (Apocalypse 22.13), and how John wrote that he was shown, at the end of time, a new heaven and a new earth (ibid. 21.1; Isaias 65.17).

(The xv Revelacon and the lxiiij Chapter)

Thus I vnderstode that all his blessyd chyldren whych be come out of hym by kynd shulde be brougt agayne in to hym by grace.

Afore this tyme I had grete longyng and desyer of goddys gyfte to be delyuerde of this worlde and of this lyfe. For oft tymes I behelde þe

---

6 *this (worlde)*: 'is' add. al. m.

---

1 *Revelacon*: C: Revelation; S1: Revelation; S2: Revelacion. 4 *shulde*: SS: shall. *brougt*: S1: bowte. 5 S1: The xv revelation (S2: lxiv chapter the xv) is as it shewid *et cetera* (S2: as set down before). The absense of god in this lif is our ful gret peyne besyde other travel, but we shal sodenly be taken fro all peynes, having Jesus to our moder; *and* our patient abyding is gretly plesyng to god, and god wil take our disese lightly for love, thinkand us alwey at the poynte to be delivirid. lxiiij capt. Aforn this tyme ... Cf. A (263.1), where chapter xx begins: Be fore this tyme. *Afore this tyme*: W: also. 6 *this worlde*: S2: þe, w. mark of om. but no correction.

---

1 *The xv Revelacon*: the dislocation here between P and C, which make the break at 618.47, and SS, at 619.5, shows the probable cause in a common ancestor: a scribe's omission of any indication where the new revelation and chapter began. P's ancestor chose to end with *alle manner thyng shall be welle* (chapter 34, 431.25-26, ends with *Alle schalle be wele*, and chapter 85, 729.14, has a similar conclusion). Certainly A, 263.1, has the coloured initial indicating a new chapter, which begins: *Before this tyme* ...; but the question to which chapter Julian's new sentence, *Thus I vnderstode ... by grace*, not in the short text, belongs still remains. It serves as a link between the two chapters; and it has been thought better to let it introduce chapter 64, so as to preserve what appears to be, theologically and rhetorically, the true conclusion to chapter 63, *whych new begynnyng shall last, without end new begynnyng*.

5 *Afore this tyme ... shall be nought* (622.30): this corresponds with the short text, 263.1-264.25.

Afore this tyme: cf. 208.14-17. Julian is echoing Philippians 1.21-23: To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain ... But I am stretched between two, having a desire to be dissolved and be with Christ, a thing by far the better. Augustine writes on Psalm 41.3: 'Sitiuit anima mea ad deum uiuum'. Quid sitiuit? 'Quando ueniam et apparebo ante faciem dei'. Hoc est quod sitio: uenire et apparere. Sitio in peregrinatione, sitio in cursu; satiabor in aduentu. Sed 'quando ueniam'? Et quod citius est deo tardum est desiderio. 'Quando ueniam et apparebo ante faciem dei?' (*Enarrationes*, ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, 1 463).

as it is shewid et cetera (S1): cf. 284.47, and 324.1 note.

6 *þe woo that is here* ...: Augustine on verse 4 of the same psalm writes: 'Fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panis die ac nocte ...' Diem intelligas pro huius saeculi prosperitate, noctem uero pro huius saeculi aduersitate. Siue ... in prosperis ... siue in aduersis

woo that is here and þe wele and the blessyd beyng that is there; and yf there had no payne ben in this lyfe but the absens of oure lorde, me thought some tyme þat it was more than I myght bere, and this made me to morne and besely to longe, and also of my owne wretchydnesse, slowth and werynesse, þat my lykyd not to lyue and to traveyle as me felle to do.

And to all this oure curteyse lorde answeryd for comfort and pacyens, and seyde these wordes: Sodeynly thou shalte be taken from / all thy payne, from alle thy sycknesse, from alle thy dyseses and fro alle

---

7 *here*: add. W: in þis lyfe. *blessyd beyng*: SS: bliss. *is*: add. S1: beyng; and so S2; add W: *in* heuy*n*, and me thought so*m*me tymes. *and yf*: W; þough. 8 *lorde*: add. W: god. 8 *me thought some tyme þat*: om. W. 10 *of*: om. W. 11 *werynesse*: S1: wekehede; S2: weakens; W: irkenesse halpe þerto so. 13 *this*: om. W. *lorde*: add. W: god. 14 *and seyde these wordes*: om. S2.

---

rebus saeculi, ego desiderii mei lacrimas fundo, ego desiderii mei auiditatem non desero; et cum in mundo bene est ... huius saeculi prosperitas ... nonne deceptoria est? ... Quamdiu sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a domino (id. 1 463). Cf. also an English version of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*: ... and þu be saad and haue despyt of the wordle and þyn owne flehs be to þe sorwe, certes than coueytest þu deeþ wit gret desyr. (f. h[d]). For deeþ put awey heuynesse of þys lyf and makeþ an ende of saadnesse of þis wordle and deliuereþ þe body out of much sorwe (Vernon MS; cf. A. Hoste and Ch. Talbot, 1 677).

8 *the absens of oure lorde*: the *Chastising* calls this 'the play of love', which is a commonplace in late mediaeval spiritual literature: Þis is a queynt pleie — what is þis pley, þat þus heuy we bien in þe absence of oure loue? Þe pley of loue is ioye and sorwe ... bi þe presence and absence of him þat is oure loue (Bazire and Colledge, 99, borrowing from the *Horologium sapientiae*; ibid., 264).

9 *and this made me to morne and besely to longe / and also of my owne wretchydnesse slowth and werynesse / þat my lykyd not to lyue and traveyle as me felle to do*: at the end of a whole passage composed in *compares* come these three, composed like the *exornatio* and *complexio* of the *argumentatio perfectissima*, with *conduplicatio* (*to morne ... to longe*; *wretchydnesse slowth and werynesse*).

10 *to morne and besely to longe*: cf. Matthew 5.5: Happy are they who mourn, for they will be comforted. Bede glosses this: ... amore coelestium desideriorum ... quia aeterna laetitia consolabuntur (*In Matthaei Evangelium Expositio* I, PL 92 24).

and also ... felle to do: with this passage (which is not in the short text — cf. 263.8), compare the *Chastising*, writing of this desolation: Sume bi slouþ and folie wilfulli leuen her trauaile ... (Bazire and Colledge, 110).

13 *And to all this oure curteyse lorde answeryd / for comfort and pacyens and seyde these wordes*: a *compar*, with *conduplicatio* (*curteyse ... comfort ... pacyens*) mitigating the austerity of the short text's *Than god sayde to me, for pacience and for sufferannce, thus* (263.9).

16 thy woo. And thou shalte come vp abone, and thou schalt haue me to thy mede, and thou shalte be fulfyllyd of joye and blysse, and thou shalte nevyr more haue no manner of paynne, no manner of sycknes, no manner mysselykyng, no wantyng of wylle, but evyr joy and blysse
20 *with*oute end. What shulde it than agrevyn thee to suffer a whyle, sythen it is my wylle and my wurschyppe?

And in thys worde: Sodeynly thou shalte be taken, I saw that god rewardyd man of the pacience that he hath in abydyng goddys wylle and of hys tyme, and that man lengyth his pacyence ovyr þe tyme of his

---

21 *and my wurschyppe?*: here the twelfth extract in W ends.

---

16 *abone*: C: above; S1: aboven; S2: above; W: a boue. 17 *more*: om. SS. *paynne*: add. W: neþer. *sycknes, no manner*: om. SS. 19 *manner (mysselykyng)*: add. W: of. *no (wantyng)*: W: ne no. *evyr*: add. W: in. 20 *What*: S2: why. *agrevyn*: C: grieve; and so S2, W. 21 *sythen*: S1: sen that; S2: seeing. 22 *thys*: S2: þe. 23 *rewardyd*: C: rewarded; S1: rewardith; S2: rewardeth; and cf. A (263.18): rewardys. *goddys*: C: of Gods. 24 *of (hys)*: om. S2. *lengyth*: so C, SS; C, marg.: lengthneth. *ovyr*: C, marg.: far above.

---

16 *abone*: the files of NED and MED contain examples of 'a bone', 'aboune', 'abown', 'abowne', 'o bown', from texts which all have Northern or Northeastern characteristics.

thou schalt haue me ... but evyr joy and blysse withoute end: in *Eight Chapters* (cf. 261.53 note) we read: Naþelees ȝit schalt þou triste *and* hope þat as þou ert felawe *with* him in peyne *and* in dissese, litil if it be, so schalt þou be felawe *with* him in his ioie *and* in his blis, for as þe apostil seiþ, if we ben felawes of Cristis passion*s*, we schu-(f. 145r)-len be felawes of his blessid con*s*olacion*s* (II Corinthians 1.7; MS BN Fonds anglais 41; Jones, 89-90).

20 *What shulde it than agrevyn thee ...*: this *interrogatio* is also found in the short text, 263.15.

22 *And in thys worde*: cf. 263.17: *Also in this resonn*, and note. Julian may have replaced the rhetoricians' *resonn* with *worde* in case it were thought that *Sodeynly ...* is not a locution.

23 *rewardyd*: the SS readings and A shows that this is a P 'd' for 'th' spelling which C failed to interpret.

pacience: cf. Luke 21.19: In your patience you shall possess your souls. Bede glosses this: Possessio animae in virtute patientiae ponitur, quia radix omnium custosque virtutum patientia est (*In Lucae Evangelium Expositio* VI, ed. D. Hurst, 367).

24 *that man lengyth his pacyence*: in a prayer to God the Son for a good death we read: Concede michi domine spacium vite et graciam bene viuendi. Ante diem exitus mei veram cordis contricionem, puram confessionem et veram penitenciam h(a)bere merear ... (MS Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 55, f. 139r).

ovyr þe tyme ... ovyr that tyme: cf. NED, Over, *adv.*, IV.12., 'Through its whole extent, to the end ...', where the first example is 1399, *Richard Redeles*: ... And if ȝe sauere sum dell, se it forth ouere.

lyvyng for vnknowyng of hys tyme of passyng. This is a greate profyte, for yf man knew hys tyme, he shulde nott haue pacience ovyr that tyme. And also god wylle that whyle the / soule is in the body, it seeme to it selfe þ*at* it is evyr at þe poynte to be takyn. For alle this lyfe and thys longyng that we haue here is but a poynt, and when we be takyn sodey*n*ly out of payne in to blesse, than payn shall be nought.

And in thys tyme I sawe a body lyeng on þe erth, whych body shewde heuy and feerfulle and w*ith* oute shape and forme, as it were a swylge

---

25 *of hys tyme of*: C: the time of his. *This*: S1: þ*at*; and so S2. 26 *yf*: add. C, SS: a. 27 *also*: SS: as. *that*: om. SS. *seeme*: S1: semyt; S2: seemeth. *it (selfe)*: S1: þe; and so S2. 28 *takyn*: add. C: (out thereof). 29 *longyng*: SS: langor. 32 *feerfulle*: S1: vggley; and so S2. *and (with oute)*: om. SS. *swylge*: C, marg.: foul: S1: bolned quave of; al.m. (corner of leaf torn): (bol)ned (qua)ue: puffed up, a quaggmire; S2: bolned quave of.

---

25 *for vnknowyng of hys tyme of passyng*: cf. Mark 13.32: (see 537.257 note).

27 *that whyle the soule is in the body / it seeme to it selfe þat it is / evyr at þe poynte to be takyn*: a *compar* of three *cola*, also found in the short text, 264.22.

28 *poynte*: 'instant, moment'. Cf. 226.1 note, 264.23 note.

For alle this lyfe and thys longyng / that we haue here is but a poynt / and when we be takyn sodeynly out of payne / in to blesse than payn shall be nought: a further *compar*, with *transitio* from the previous figure, with *oppositio* (*payne ... blesse*; *alle this lyfe ... but a poynt*).

29 *longyng*: cf. 264.24: *langoure*, and SS: *langor*, which is probably the better reading. It is not in Julian's mind to refer here to desire; that is for her a source of consolation, and now she is writing merely of *woo*.

30 *than payn shall be nought*: cf. 264.25 note.

31 *And in thys tyme ... blysse without ende* (625.59): not in the short text; cf. 264.25.

And in thys tyme I sawe a body lyeng on þe erth / whych body shewde heuy and feerfulle and with oute shape and forme / as it were a swylge stynkyng myrre / and sodeynly oute of this body / sprong a fulle feyer creature / a lyttylle chylld full shapyn and formyd / swyft and lyfly and whytter then the lylye / whych sharpely glydyd vppe in to heuyn: a *compar*, the whole of which is an extended *imago*, which is also a parable, details of which are to be explained. In *body ... erth / body ... heuy* there is *chiasmus*; there is also *oppositio*: *heuy and feerfulle and with oute shape and forme / swyft and lyfly and whytter then the lylye*.

I sawe a body: apart from the long chapter 51, this is the only occasion when a 'bodily sight' is described which is not already reported in the short text.

erth ... with oute shape and forme: Julian seems to be echoing Genesis 1.2: Terra erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi. Guigues II, reflecting on this text, notes that an alternative translation for *vacua* is *incomposita*, which precisely renders *with oute shape and forme*. He adds: Peccator abyssus est ... Terra mentis meae adhuc inanis et vacua ... velut quoddam chaos confusione sua teterrimum et involutum (Colledge and Walsh, 148-150).

32 *a swylge stynkyng myrre*: 'a pit stinking of mud'. It is hard to know what to make of the SS variants, apart from the S1 commentator's *quaggmire*. Cf. NED, Swallow, *n.*[2], and MED swelgh. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 171-172, cites the recorded OE (ge)swelg, swelh, and postulates OE *swylg as the root in Swillaton, Swilly; and

stynkyng myrre; and sodeynly oute of this body sprong a fulle feyer creature, a lyttylle chylld, full shapyn and formyd, swyft and lyfly and
35 whytter then the lylye, whych sharpely glydyd vppe in to hevyn.

The swylge of the body betokenyth grette wretchydnesse of oure dedely flessch; and the lyttylnes of the chylde betokenyth the clennes and the puernesse of oure soule. And I thought: *with* thys body blyueth

---

34 *and (whytter)*: om. SS. 35 *the (lylye)*: om. SS. *in to*: SS: on to. 36 *The*: S1: and the; and so S2. *swylge*: C: swilge; C, marg.: foul; SS: bolnehede. 37 *and the*: SS: of. 38 *puernesse*: SS: purity. *of oure*: SS: in þe. *I*: om. SS. *blyueth*: C, marg.: abideth; S1: belevith; and so S2.

MED mir n. records the spelling 'myrre', a 1500 *Henley's Husbandry*; but 'swylge' and 'myrre' may be no more than P's scribal vagaries.

This is the closest that Julian comes to the language of her times in describing the miseries of the flesh. Cf. e.g. the English *Stimulus*, chapter 37: I stynke foule in þy nose þrilles, 3e so foule þat ne were þat þi loue helde þe, þou woldest fleen þe filþe of me as I wolde don þe stynke of a caryoun (H. J. Kane, 190-191; Kirchberger, 198). Generally, she shows the same restraint as does Augustine, when he writes of the raising of Lazarus: ... incipit enim habere pessimam famam, tamquam odorem teterrimum ... Quando te audit quem terra sic premit, et tabe corrumpitur, et mole consuetudinis praegrauatur? Nec ad ipsum tamen resuscitandum minor fuit uirtus Christi (Willems, 421).

33 *and sodeynly* ...: this account closely resembles mediaeval representations of death and the soul's departure. Charles Singer, fig. 107, reproduces an illustration from a manuscript of Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*, 'written at Bingen about 1180', showing a young woman from whose mouth a naked child emerges to fly up to welcoming angels, escaping the devils who lurk in wait for it (*From Magic to Science*).

36 *The swylge of the body betokenyth grette wretchydnesse of oure dedely flessch / and the lyttylnes of the chylde betokenyth the clennes and the puernesse of oure soule*: a *compar* of two long *cola*, improved if we were to adopt the SS readings (1) *and the*, (2) *the*. The figure insists on the *oppositiones*: *swylge / the clennes and the puernesse*; *grette wretchydnesse / the lyttylnes of the chylde*.

bolnehede (SS): 'swelling, swollenness'. Cf. NED, Bell, *v.*[1], Bollen, *ppl. a. Obs.*, MED bellen v. (1), bolnen v. Neither NED nor MED records this compound.

grette wretchydnesse of oure dedely flessch: Ludolph of Saxony ends his *Vita*, II xvii, with a prayer comparing his sinful soul with Lazarus's buried and corrupting body: mole malae consuetudinis oppressum et sepultum, jamque quatriduanum et foetidum, et me a sepulchro vitiorum resuscita (Rigollot, 3 123).

38 *with thys body blyueth / no feyernesse of thys chylde / ne of this chylde dwellyth / no foulnes of the body*: a *compar*, with *commutatio* (*thys body ... thys chylde ... this chylde ... the body*), *conduplicatio* (*blyueth ... dwellyth*), *repetitio* (*thys ... thys ... this ...*), and *oppositio* (*no feyernesse / no foulnes*).

blyueth: 'remains'. Cf. NED, Beleave, *v.*, and MED bileven v. (1) 3 (a).

no feyernesse of thys chylde, ne of this chylde dwellyth no foulnes of the
138v body. / It is fulle blesfulle man to be taken fro payne, more than payne
41 be taken fro man; for if payne be taken from vs, it may come agayne. Therfore this is a souereyne comfort and a blesful beholdyng in a longyng soule, that we shall be taken fro payne. For in this behest I saw a mercyfulle compassion that oure lorde hath in vs for oure woo, and a
45 curtesse behytyng of cleene delyuerance; for he wylle that we be comfo(r)tyd in þe ovyr passyng joy. And þat he shewde in theyse wordes: And thou shalte come vppe aboue, and thou shalte haue me to thy mede, and thou shalt be fulfyllyd of joy and blysse.

It is goddys wylle that we sett þe poynt of oure thought in this

---

46 *comfortyd*: ms: comfotyd. 49 *It is goddys wylle*: the thirteenth extract in W begins here, and ends at: *and as long* (625.50).

---

39 *ne*: S2: no. *of (this)*: SS: on. *the*: C, S1: this; and so S2. 40 *man (to)*: C: (for) man. 41 *be (taken fro man)*: C, SS: to be. 42 *this*: SS: it. *a (blesful)*: om. SS. 43 *longyng*: S1: lovand; and so S2. *behest*: C, marg.: promise. 44 *mercyfulle*: SS: mervelous. 45 *behytyng*: C, marg.: assurance. *cleene*: C: clear. 46 *joy*: om. SS.

---

40 *It is fulle blesfulle / man to be taken fro payne / more than payne be taken fro man / for if payne be taken from vs / it may come agayne*: a *compar*, with *inclusio, chiasmus, contentio* and *sententia*.

43 *For in this behest*: the promise for Julian, as for her contemporaries, the authors of the *Chastising* and of *Qui habitat*, is located in Psalm 90.15: cum ipso sum in tribulatione; eripiam eum et glorificabo eum. The *Chastising* glosses the prophet's 'comfortable words' with a *sententia* of St. Bernard: Lord, ȝiue me alwei tribulacion, þat I may alwei be wiþ þe (Bazire and Colledge, 200-201; and cf. 297); and in *Qui habitat* we read: ... I schal glorifyen him, bringend his soule furst in to blisful reste. And aftirward at þe laste dai his bodi glorified in to ioye endeles (Wallner, 48). Bernard's gloss begins: Agamus gratias patri misericordiarum qui nobiscum est in tribulatione et in omni tribulatione nostra nos consolatur — an allusion to II Corinthians 1.3-4, which is clearly also in Julian's mind.

46 *in theyse wordes*: cf. 621.16.

49 *It is goddys wylle that we sett þe poynt of oure thought in this blesfulle beholdyng / as oftyme as we may and as long tyme kepe vs ther in with his grace / for this is a blesfulle contemplacion to the soule that is ladde of god / and fulle moch to his wurschyppe for the tyme þat it lastyth*: a *compar* of four long *cola*, in which Julian offers a brief resumé on contemplative reflection. She first recalls that the 'beholding' she has received calls for the exercise of contemplative memory and intelligence, but that the frequency and duration of the exercise depends on God's grace: a special grace, it would seem, since such contemplation presumes that, during the time it lasts, God is leading and the soul following. Finally she recalls that the exercise is an act of adoration and thanksgiving.

sett þe poynt of oure thought: this is the Dionysian language of the *Cloud*-author: ... mynde or þinkyng of any creature þat euer god maad, or of any of þeire dedes

blesfulle beholdyng, as oftyme as we may and as long tyme kepe vs ther in *with* his grace, for this is a blesfulle contemplacion to the soule that is ladde of god, and fulle moch to his wurschyppe for the tyme þ*at* 139r it lastyth. / And whan we falle agayne to oure selfe by hevynes and gostely blynesse and felynge of paynes gostely and bodely by oure fragylyte, it is goddys wylle that we know that he hath nott forgett vs. And so menyth he in theys wordes and seyth for comforte: And thou shalt nevyr more haue payne in no manner nor no manner of sycknes, no manner of myslykyng, no wantyng of wyll, but evyr joy and blysse *with*out ende. What shuld it than a greuyd the to suffer a whyle, sythen it is my wylle and my wurschyppe?

---

59 *a greuyd*: ms: agreuyd.

---

50 *blesfulle (beholdyng)*: W: blessed. *oftyme*: SS, W: often. 51 *blesfulle (contemplacion)*: S1: blissid; and so S2. 52 *moch*: SS: mekil. 53 *whan*: om. SS. *selfe by*: om. SS. 54 *blynesse*: C: blindness; S1: blyndhede; S2: blindnes. 55 *that (he)*: om. S2. 57 *in*: om. SS. *nor so manner of*: om. SS. 58 *of (myslykyng)*: om. SS. *wantyng*: C: want. 59 *a greuyd*: C: agrieved; S1: agrevyn; and so S2. *sythen*: S1: seing; and so S2.

---

ouþer, it is a maner of goostly liȝt; for þe iȝe of þi soule is openid on it and euen ficchid þer apon, as þe iȝe of a schoter is apon þe prik þat he schoteþ to (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 24). And this is not for him the best part of contemplation: ... in þis werk it profiteþ litil or nouȝt to þink of þe kyndeness or þe worþines of god (ibid., 25). Julian knows the vocabulary; but her understanding of contemplative prayer and effort is broader.

53 *And whan we falle agayne to oure selfe by hevynes and gostely blynesse / and felynge of paynes gostely and bodely by oure fragylyte / it is goddys wylle that we know that he hath nott forgett vs*: three more long *cola*, related to the previous figure. Its essence is the *oppositio* between ecstatic prayer and the return to the flesh; and the *complexio* is our recollection of God's care for us at all times. This teaching on the alternation of spiritual consolation and desolation is common in the West after Augustine; but it is possible that Julian knew the source: ... ad hunc sonum peruenerimus interdum, ut aliquid de illa domo dei nitendo capiamus; onere tam quodam infirmitatis nostrae ad consueta recidimus, et ad solita ista dilabimur ... adhuc tamen homo est, adhuc hic gemit, adhuc carnem fragilem portat (*Enarrationes*, Psalm 41.10, Dekkers and Fraipont, 1 467-468).

55 *it is goddys wylle*: Augustine, commenting on Psalm 41.12: The salvation of my countenance and my God, writes: Spe enim salui facti sumus ... Perseuera ergo ut peruenias; perseuera donec ueniat salus. Audi ipsum deum tuum de interiore tibi loquentem: Sustine dominum, uiriliter age et confortetur cor tuum, et sustine dominum (Psalm 26.14) (Dekkers and Fraipont, 1 468-469).

56 *in theys wordes*: cf. 621.17.

59 *What shuld it than ... my wurschyppe?* Cf. 263.17 note. This is also *exclamatio*.

It is goddys wylle that we take his behestes and his comfortyng as largely and as myghtly as we may take them; and also he wylle that we take oure abydynges and oure dyssesys as lyghtely as we may take them, and sett them at nought. For the lyghtlyer that we take them, and þe
65 lesse pryce that we sett at them for loue, lesse payne shalle we haue in
39v þe / feelyng of them, and the more thanke and mede shalle we haue for them.

---

61 *that*: om. SS. *comfortyng*: C, SS: comfortings. 63 *abydynges*: SS: abiding. *oure (dyssesys)*: om. S2. 64 *lyghtlyer that*: S1: lyter; and so S2. 65 *that (we sett)*: om. SS. *loue*: add. SS: þe.

---

61 *It is goddys wylle ... the better lyketh him* (628.8): this corresponds with the short text, 264.27-40.

It is goddys wylle that we take his behestes and his comfortyng / as largely and as myghtly as we may take them / and also he wylle that we take oure abyndynges and oure dyssesys / as lyghtely as we may take them and sett them at nought / For the lyghtlyer that we take them and þe lesse pryce that we sett at them for loue / lesse payne shalle we haue in þe feelyng of them / and the more thanke and mede shalle we haue for them: cf. 264.27-33. By the addition of *and mede* here, Julian has perfected the last *colon*. But throughout there is slight re-editing of the short text, so that the *oppositio* (*the lyghtlyer ... þe lesse pryce / lesse payne ... the more thanke and mede*), *repetitio* (*the lyghtlyer ... þe lesse ... the more*) and *conversio* (*of them ... for them*) emerge more clearly.

The lxv Chapiteir

And thus I vnder stode that what man or woman wylfully chosyth god in this lyfe for loue, he may be suer þat he is louyd *with*out end, *with* endlesse loue that werkyth in him þat grace. For he wylle we kepe this trustly, þat we be as seker in hope of the blysse of hevyn whyle we are here as we shalle be in suerte when we ar there.

---

1 S1: He that chesith god for love with reverent mekenes is sekir to be savid, which reverent mekenes seith (S2: saith; marg., al.m.: seeeth) the lord mervelous grete *and* the (S2: om. 'the') selfe mervelous litil; and it is gods will we drede nothing but him, for the power of our enemy is token in our freinds hand, and therfore al that god doith shall be gret likyng to us. 3 *suer*: SS: sekir. *with*: S1: which; and so S2. 4 *that (werkyth)*: om. SS. *wylle*: add. S1: that; and so S2. 4 *that (werkyth)*: om. SS. *wylle*: add. S1: that; and so S2. 5 *trustly*: SS: trosty. *as (seker)*: SS: all. 6 *suerte*: SS: sekirnes.

---

2 *And thus I vnder stode that what man or woman / wylfully chosyth god in this lyfe for loue / he may be suer þat he is louyd without end / with endlesse loue that werkyth in him þat grace / For he wylle we kepe this trustly / þat we be as seker in hope / of the blysse of hevyn whyle we are here / as we shalle be in suerte when we ar there*: Julian has again revised the short text (264.34-38) by using *compar*; the point which she now wishes to make in the long text is that the human choice is the response to the divine vocation which is 'at work in him'. It is the operation of mercy and grace, of the Son sent by the Father, and of the Spirit sent by Father and Son, all of one love (cf. 593.48). In the *compar* there is *chiasmus* (*louyd without end / with endlesse loue*), *traductio* and *gradatio*. In *whyle we are here / when we ar there* there is *oppositio*.

wylfully chosyth: cf. 353.32-35.

4 *For he wylle*: it is noteworthy that here Julian substitutes this for the more didactic *Kepe this treulye* (264.36) of the short text.

5 *trustly*: cf. NED, where the first instance is c.1200, the last the *Promptorium parvulorum*: Trostly or sekyrly: *Confidenter*.

þat we be as seker in hope: cf. Romans 8.24: For we are saved by hope. But hope that is seen is not hope. Why does a man hope for what he sees? But if we hope for that which we do not see, we wait for it with expectation. William of St. Thierry glosses this: Gaudet se redemptum, sed nondum re. Spe securus est, sed gemit in spe, ut perveniat ad rem ... Jam quidem redempti sumus, sed spe salvi facti sumus; quia quod speramus jam quidem exspectamus, sed nondum tenemus (*Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos* V, PL 180 636).

And euer the more likyng and joye þat we take in this sekernesse, *with* reverence and meekenes, the better lyketh him. For as it was shewed, this reverence þat I meane is a holy curtious drede of our lorde to which meekenes is knyt; and that is that a creatur see þe lord meruelous great and her selfe mervelous litle. For these vertues ar had endlesly to þe louyd of god, and it may now be seen and feelt in / mesure by the gracious presence of oure lord whan it is. Which presence in all thing is most desyrid, for it worketh that mervelous sekernesse in true faith and seker hope by greatnes of charitie in drede that is sweet and delectable.

It is gods wyll that I see my selfe as much bound to hym in loue as if

---

7 *þat*: om. S2. 8 *For*: om. SS. S1, marg., al.m.: Timor domini quid. 10 *see*: so C; SS: seith; in S2 alt. scr. fr. 'saith'. 11 *her*: SS: þe. 12 *of*: om. S2. *may*: SS: mon. 13 *thing*: S2: things. 14 *that*: om. SS. 16 *that (I)*: om. S2. *much*: S1: mekil.

---

7 *with reverence and meekenes*: in the first sight which Julian had of Mary, she writes of *the reuerent beholding, that she beheld her god ... marvayling with great reuerence* (297.32; cf. 213.28). When she reflects on this in the light of the parable of the lord and the servant, she understands it afresh in the context of contemplative prayer (cf. 483.2-4 notes). Here Julian explains what she means by 'reverence', as she now understands it through the revelations and her contemplations of them: the marvel which the creature has in seeing his God in comparison with himself (cf. 484.16 e.s.) To achieve this, she constructs a long *compar.*

9 *this reverence þat I meane is a holy curtious drede of our lorde to which meekenes is knyt / and that is that a creatur see þe lord meruelous great and her selfe mervelous litle*: *oppositio* (*meruelous great / mervelous litle*) with *repetitio.*

11 *For these vertues*: sc. *reverence and meekenes.*

For these vertues ar had endlesly to þe louyd of god / and it may now be seen and feelt in mesure / by the gracious presence of oure lord whan it is / Which presence in all thing is most desyrid / for it worketh that mervelous sekernesse in true faith / and seker hope by greatnes of charitie / in drede that is sweet and delectable: Julian here is stressing that these are contemplative virtues, by relating them to the presence of the Trinity in the soul (*seen and feelt ... gracious presence ... in all thing*), a presence which is the answer to the contemplative petitionary prayer (*most desyrid*), felt and reflected in the Trinitarian response (*true faith ... seker hope ... greatnes of charitie*). Again, the basic thought is Pauline; cf. Ephesians 3.16-21; and in *greatnes of charitie* there is allusion to the capital Joannine text on indwelling, John 14.21-23.

16 *It is gods wyll ...*: the initial reasoning here, as in the short text, seems to be a reflection on Revelation IX. Cf. 382.2 e.s.

It is gods wyll that I see my selfe / as much bound to hym in loue / as if he had done for me all þat he hath done / and thus shuld everie sowle thynke in regard of his louer: a *compar*, with *conversio* (*done ... done*) and *traductio* (*loue ... louer*). Cf. 264.39-265.44. There is here a

he had done for me all *þat* he hath done; and thus shuld everie sowle thynke in regard of his louer. That is to say, the charyte of god makyth in vs such a vnitie that when it is truly seen, no man can parte them
20 selfe from other. And thus ought ech sowle to thynke *þat* god hath done for hym all that he hath done.

And this shewith he to make vs to loue him, and likyn him, and nothyng dred but hym. For it is his wyll we know that all our myght of our enemy is loketh in our frindes handes; and therfore the sowle *þat*

---

18 *regard*: S1: reward. *louer*: C: love. 19 *them*: SS: him. 20 *ought*: S1: oweth. *ech*: S1: our; and so S2. 22 *to (loue)*: om. S2. *and likyn him*: om. SS. *nothyng*: S1: nowte; and so S2. 23 *we know*: SS: *þat* we wetyn. *our (myght)*: C: the; and so SS. 24 *enemy*: so SS; C: enemies. *loketh*: C: locked; S1: ɩ.ken; and so S2. *in*: SS: into. *handes*: SS: hand.

---

significant change of emphasis from that of the short text. Julian had advised there that if we are to be convinced *that god hase done* for us *alle that he hase done* (the allusion is clearly to Galatians 2.20), then we must try to isolate ourselves psychologically from all men, *forgettande ȝif he might alle creatures* (265.43). Moreover, the parable has taught her that it is precisely because of the unity of each with other in Christ that we can say, in love, and believe what Paul says. So Augustine can adapt Paul's text and write: Diligamus ergo invicem, sicut et Christus dilexit nos, et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis (Willems, 538). In redrafting, she employs her customary balanced clauses; but she uses no simple connective conjunctions, except to link the steps in her argument; so that in *as much bound to hym in loue / as if he had done* ... there is a form of *dissolutio*, and *as if* introduces a form of *dubitatio*.

18 *That is to say the charyte of god / makyth in vs such a vnitie / that when it is truly seen / no man can parte them selfe from other / And thus ought ech sowle to thynke / þat god hath done for hym / all that he hath done*: a *compar* with a form of *expeditio, repetitio* and *similiter desinens* (*hath done ... hath done*). The two figures (*It is gods wyll ..., That is to say ...*) together form an *expolitio*, with theme stated and reason added, theme restated and theme repeated, and concluding *complexio*.

charyte ... vnitie: cf. Philippians 2.2: Fulfil my joy, be of one mind, having the same charity, being of one accord, feeling the same things; and I John 4.7-12: Let us love one another, for charity is of God, and everyone who loves is born of God and knows God ... If we love one another, God remains in us and his charity is perfected in us. In this we know that we remain in him and he in us.

23 *all our myght*: cf. C, SS: 'the might'. P may well have the true reading: all the power we have, in regard to our enemy, is in the hands of the Lord, who is our friend, so that if we are to dread anyone, it is 'the holy one and the true one, he who has the key of David; he who opens and no man shuts, shuts and no man opens' (Apocalypse 3.7), for 'it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God' (Hebrews 10.31). In the *Ancrene Riwle* we read: Hardi bileeue makeþ þe deuel to flen a non riht ... Beoþ hardi of godes help, *and* witeþ how he is wok *þat* no strengþe naþ on vs bote of vs seluen ... for ne rixleþ he mon bote þorw sunne one (Vernon MS, f. 383^{c}; Day, 110).

24 *loketh*: P's spelling is improved by C; but S1's *token*, which S2 follows, is at least as probable. Cf. NED, Take, *v.*, 60: 'To deliver ... commit, entrust', which quotes c.1400

140v knoweth this sekerly, she / shall nott dred but him þat she louyth. Alle
26 other dredes, she set them among passions and bodely sick(n)esse and imaginations; and therfore though we ben in so much payne, woo and dysese that vs thynkith we can thinke ryght nought but that we are in, or that we feele; as soone as we may, passe we lightly over, and sett we
30 it at nought. And whi? For god will be knowen. For if we know him

---

26 *sicknesse*: ms: sickensse.

---

25 *knoweth*: S1: wott; and so S2. *she (shall)*: C, S2: he; S1: s(canc.)he. *she (louyth)*: SS: he. 26 *other*: S1: our; and so S2. *she (set)*: SS: he. *set*: SS: setteth. 29 *passe we*: C: we pass it. 30 *be*: SS: we. *For (if)*: om. S1; S2: that.

Prymer: We biseche þe þat þe soule of þi seruaunt ... be not take into þe hondis of oure enemy.

loketh in our frindes handes: cf. 228.39-40, 347.18 and note, where Julian uses the same term, rather than 'God's hands'. The immediately previous reference here to the charity of God and his redemptive love may have recalled to her mind the relevant texts from John: For the prince of this world comes, and in me he has not anything (14.30); No man has greater love than this, to lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends ... (15.13-14).

25 *she ... she ... she*: the antecedent is *sowle* < OE *sawol*, feminine, as in the other Germanic languages. Julian would be well accustomed to this usage; thus, in the fourteenth-century Vernon MS, in the *Riwle* there is: þe soule is wydewe þat haþ for lore*n* hire spouse (f. 340 (recte 374)[a]; cf. Day, 4).

26 *she set them*: subjunctive; 'let her set them'.

among passions: Julian is firmly relegating all fears except reverent dread to the lower and the outward part, the sensuality, which she sees drawn to the inward part by grace, and in which she chose Jesus to be her heaven (cf. 372.31 e.s.). She is not concerned, as are the authors of the *Riwle* and the *Chastising*, to relate various temptations to specific outward or inward feelings and influences.

28 *that vs thynkith / we can thinke ryght nought / but that we are in / or that we feele / as soone as we may / passe we lightly over / and sett we it at nought / And whi / For god will be knowen / For if we know him / and loue him / and reverently drede him / we shall haue patience / and be in great rest / And it shuld bin / great likyng to vs / all þat he doth / and this shewid our lord in these wordes / What shuld it than agrieue thee to suffre a while / seeing it is my will and my worshipe*: a series of remarkably short *cola*, leading to the three longer which conclude the *compar*. This is an *expolitio*, in which the *interrogatio, And whi?*, is central. Throughout, we have *continuatio*, which 'often takes the form of a maxim' (Nims): *as soone as we may ... For if we know him ...*; and in *For if we know him ...* there is *similiter cadens*.

we can thinke ryght nought ...: the *Scale*, II chapter 22, has: nerþeles if þu be taried su*m* tyme þurgh frelte of þi self *with* swilke vneses þ*at* fallen to þi bodily lif þurgh yuel wil of man or malice of þe feende, as sone as þu maiȝt come ageyn to þi self, lefe of þe þinkynge of þ*at* disese, *and* go forþ to þi werk (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 88[r]; Underhill, 314).

30 *god will be knowen*: cf. 335.94 e.s.

and loue him and reverently drede him, we shall haue patience, and be in great rest. And it shuld bin great likyng to vs, all þ*at* he doth; and this shewid our lord in these wordes: What shuld it than agrieue thee to suffre a while, seeing it is my will and my worshipe?

35 Now haue I tolde you of xv shewynge*s*, as god whytsafe to minyster them to my mynde, renewde by lyghtenynge*s* and touchynge*s*, I hope of
141r the same spiryte that shewyth them alle. Of whych xv shewynge*s* þe / furst beganne erly in þe mornynge, aboute the oure of iiij, and it lastyd shewyng by processe, fulle feyer and soberly, eche folowyng other, tylle
40 it was none of þe day or paste.

---

31 *patience*: S1: peas; and so S2. *and (be)*: om. S2. 32 *shuld*: SS: shall. *bin*: C: been; SS: be. 34 *seeing*: SS: sith. 35 *shewynges*: S1: revelation*s*; and so S2. *why:safe*: C: witsafe; S1: wouchsafe; S2: vouchsafed. 36 *my*: om. SS. *lyghtenynges*: S1: lyghtings; and so S2. 37 *shewyth*: S2: shewed. 38 *in*: S1: on. *mornynge*: S1: morne. 39 *soberly*: SS: sekirly. 40 *or paste*: S1: ovirpassid; and so S2.

---

31 *patience*: cf. 301.27 e.s.

33 *in these wordes*: cf. 621.20.

35 *Now haue I tolde you of xv shewynges / as god whytsafe to minyster them to my mynde / renewde by lyghtenynges and touchynges / I hope of the same spiryte that shewyth them alle*: a *compar* of four longer *cola*, with *similiter cadens*: shew*ynges* ... lyghten*ynges* ... touch*ynges*.

whytsafe: NED, Vouchsafe, *v.*, records fifteenth-century spellings 'wetsaffe', 'wytsaffe' and (Scottish) 'witsaufe' which persist into the next century.

minyster ... spiryte: Julian echoes I Corinthians 12.4-6 in this Trinitarian summary: There are diversities of graces, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but the same God, who works all in all.

37 *Of whych xv shewynges / þe furst beganne erly in þe mornynge / aboute the oure of iiij / and it lastyd shewyng by processe / fulle feyer and soberly / eche folowyng other / tylle it was none of þe day or paste*: this seems to be intended as a kind of conclusion to what appears to be the first part of the long text and the beginning of the second. The first three lines of the next chapter, 632.3-5, seem to belong to it. Revelation XVI does not begin until 639.2. Thus we have as preface to that revelation a reference to a fixed point in time and a description of her physical and mental state, an account of a diabolical temptation and to a state of peace and joy as soon as the revelation begins.

39 *by processe*: the probable meaning is 'in a determined order'. MED quotes from MS Wellcome 564, 'an incomplete and abridged ... translation, originally written in 1392, by an unknown surgeon who seems to have practised in London', of a work based on Henry of Mondeville's and Lanfranc of Milan's treatises on anatomy (Moorat, 1 439-440): Also þe sunne regneþ eftsones in his owne day in þe nynþe hour and aftir him by processe regneþ Venus, Mercurius, Luna ... (f. 49[a]).

tylle it was none of the day: although Julian has just referred to an hour 'of the clock', *the oure of iiij*, by the new system (for which NED's first example is from Chaucer), dividing the entire twenty-four hours midnight — noon — midnight, here Julian probably means *usque ad horam nonam* (Matthew 27.45), using the old Roman method which reckoned the hours from sunrise. In the *Dialogue of St. Anselm and of our Lady* (see 367.15 note), we are told that the eclipse on Good Friday '... duryd iij houris, vn to the houre of none, that ys to vndurstond iij of clok aftyr noonn' (MS Laud misc. 38, f. 14[v]).

The xvj Reuelation and the lxvi Chapter

Ande after this the goode lorde shewde the xvj revelation on the nyght folowyng, as I shalle sey after; whych xvj was conclusyon and confirmation to all the xv. But furst me behovyth to telle yow as anenst my febylnes, wretchydnes and blyndnes. I haue seyde at the begynnyng, wher it seyth: And in this sodeynly all my payne was taken fro me; of whych payne I had no grefe ne no dysesses as long as þe xv shewynges lastyd in shewyng. And at the ende alle was close, and I saw no more. And soone I feelt that I should life longer. And anone my sycknes cam aȝene, furst in my hed, *with* a sownde and anoyse. And sodeynly all my
141v body / was fulfyllyd *with* sycknes lyke as it was before, and I was as baryn and as drye as I had nevyr had comfort but lytylle, and as a wrech mornyd hevyly for feelyng of my bodely paynes, and for fautyng of comforte gostly and bodely.

Then cam a relygyous person to me and askyd me how I faryd, and I

---

1 Add. S1: And it is (add. S2: a) conclusio*n and* confirmatio*n* to (S2: of) all xv (S2: þe xv foregoing); and of hir frelte *and* morning in disese *and* lyfe, speking after the gret comfort of Jesus, seying (S2: in saying) she had ravid, which being hir gret sekenes I suppose was but venial synne. But yet the devil after that had gret power to vexin hir ner to deth. *Reuelation*: add. S2: *et cetera*. 3 *revelation*: om. SS. 5 *the (xv)*: om. SS. 6 *at*: SS: in. 7 *wher it seyth*: om. SS. 8 *no (dysesses)*: om. SS. *dysesses*: C, S2: disease; and so S1. 9 *in shewyng*: S1: folowand; and so S2. 10 *longer*: S1: *and* langiren; and so S2. 11 *anoyse*: S1: a dynne; and so S2. 13 *had (comfort)*: om. SS. 14 *wrech*: add. SS: I. *hevyly*: S1: *and* hevyed; and so S2. *fautyng*: S1: fayling; and so S2; cf. A (266.5): faylynge. 16 *to*: C: unto. *to me*: om. S2.

---

1 *And it is ... ner to deth* (S1): this does not correspond with the summary of Revelation XVI in chapter 1, 284.51-54.

3 *Ande after this ... gostly and bodely*: throughout, Julian uses *compares* to give tautness and urgency to her narrative.

7 *wher it seyth*: cf. 292.35.

8 *dysesses*: C's *disease*, with which SS agree, is more probable. Cf. NED, Disease, *sb.*, 1.b., 'A cause of discomfort or distress'. The first example of the plural, 2.b., 'an individual case or instance of (illness)', is 1526.

10 *And anone ... as it was before*: not in the short text; cf. 266.2.

13 *and as a wrech ... my bodely paynes* (14): this corresponds with the short text, 266.2-3.

16 *Then cam a relygyous person ... in my throte* (635.3): this corresponds with the short text, 266.5-267.27.

seyde I had ravyd to day. And he loght lowde and in(ter)ly. And I seyde: The crosse that stode before my face, me thought it bled fast; and *with* this worde the person þat I spake to waxsed all sad, and mer-
20 veylyd. And anone I was sore ashamyd and astonyd for my rechelesnesse, and I thought: this man takyth sadly the lest worde that I myght sey, that sawe no more therof. And when I saw that he toke it so sadly and *with* so grete reverence, I waxsyd full grettly ashamyd, and
142r wolde / a bene shryvyn. But I cowlde telle it to no prest, for I thought,
25 how shulde a preste belieue me when I by seaying I ravid, I shewed my

---

17 interly: ms: inwardly.

---

17 *loght*: S1: leuhe. *loght lowde*: S2: ben helond. *inwardly* (ms): so C; SS: inderly; S2, marg., al.m.: he leuhe loud *and* inderly. 18 *bled*: SS: blode. 20 *I*: S2: he. *astonyd*: C: astonished. 21 *lest*: S2: best. 22 *myght*: C: may. *that (sawe)*: S1: than; and so S2. *sawe*: add. SS: I; cf. A (266.13): that says na mare þerto. *so (sadly)*: om. SS. 23 *waxsyd*: S1: wepid; and so S2; cf. A (266.14): i wex. 24 *shryvyn*: C, marg.: confessed; add. S1: at that tyme; and so S2. *to*: om. SS. 25 *belieue*: S1: levyn; and so S2. *when I ... my selfe*: om. SS.

---

17 *interly*: cf. 266.9 and note. P's *inwardly*, followed by C, is barely defensible. See NED, Inwardly, *adv.*, 3.b., '... heartily, fervently, earnestly'; but none of the instances qualify verbs in any way suggesting mirth.

18 *me thought*: not in the short text (266.9), where Julian tells the religious that the crucifix did bleed; but cf. 343.10 and note, where (in both texts) Julian stresses that the bleeding is not a physical reality.

20 *ashamyd and astonyd*: cf. 266.11: *aschamed*. The *conduplicatio* here explains more precisely her state of mind.

22 *that sawe no more therof*: this has been left unemended, since it can perhaps be defended. NED, MED do not record a meaning 'nothing' for 'no more'; but Julian may mean 'who saw no more of this than I had told him' (though, even so, he had in fact seen nothing). The SS reading is scarcely happier, and they and P probably have different corruptions of an archetype which corresponded with the short text (266.12-13), 'who says nothing more about this'.

25 *how shulde a preste belieue me*: Julian is pointing out a very important psychological fact about auricular confession. The author of the *Riwle* is merely affirming the tradition when he writes that confession must be truthful (Day, 152). In this connexion, see E. J. Dobson's recent and important demonstration of the derivation of the *Riwle's* teachings on confession from the *Moralia super Evangelia*, in the light of which some of the *Riwle*'s cruces are more easily resolved (*Moralities on the Gospels*, chapter I and Appendix, 152-157). But equally (and this is not so often stated) the confessor must believe in the good will of his penitent, that he is telling the truth; and what is more, if the penitent cannot presume this, he also cannot presume that he will receive absolution. Julian is not stating that she was too ashamed to confess; she has just stated the opposite: *I waxsyd full grettly ashamyd, and wolde a bene shryvyn*. She knows, with the *Riwle*'s author, that confession must be made with shame (Day, 149). The question is that of the confessor's credence; and she asks why she ought to presume on anyone's credence,

selfe nott to belyue oure lorde god? Nott *with*standing I beleft hym truly for the tyme þ*at* I saw hym; and so was than my wylle and my menyng ever for to do w*ith*out end. But as a fole I lett it passe oute of my mynde.

A, loo how wrechyd I was! This was a grett synne and a grett vnkyndnesse, that I for foly of (f)elyng of a lytylle bodely payne so vnwysely left for þe tyme the comfort of alle this blessyd shewyng of oure lorde god. Here may yow se what I am of my selfe; but here in woulde oure curtesse lorde nott leeue me. And I ley stylle tylle nyght, trustyng in his mercy, and than I began to slepe. /

---

31 *felyng*: ms: selyng.

---

26 *nott to belyue*: SS: I leve not. *Nott withstanding*: om. SS. *I beleft hym truly*: S1: this I levid sothfastly; S2: this (I - interl. al.m.) levid sothely; cf. A (266.16): This I leued sothfastlye. 28 *to*: om. SS. *oute of*: SS: fro. 30 *how wrechyd I was!*: SS: I wretch; cf. A (267.20): Loo I, wrich! *a (grett vnkyndnesse)*: om. SS. 31 *selyng* (ms): C, S2: feeling; S1: feling. *of (a)*: om. S2. 32 *left*: SS: lost; cf. A (267.21): lefte. 34 *I (ley)*: om. SS. 35 *began*: SS: gan.

---

when she herself had doubted God's credence. Karl Rahner has observed: La théologie mystique, comme la théologie fondamentale, affirme: Dieu peut se révéler — au sens strict de révélation verbale — et donner au bénéficiaire de la révélation une certitude suffisante de l'origine divine de son expérience personnelle par des critères internes ou externes ... le destinataire immédiat, au moins, peut avoir le droit et même le devoir d'adhérer par un acte de foi à leur contenu ('Les révélations privées', 506-507).

when I by seayng I ravid, I shewed my selfe nott to belyue oure lorde god: the *ratiocinatio* is present in the short text, but Julian, in redrafting, emphasizes her argument by specifying wherein exactly her disbelief lay: *But I cowlde telle it to no prest / for I thought how shulde a preste belieue me / when I be seaying I ravid / I shewed my selfe nott to belyue oure lorde god.* Here there is also *membrum*.

26 *Nott withstanding I beleft hym truly / for the tyme þat I saw hym / and so was than my wylle and my menyng / ever for to do without end*: cf. 266.16-18. The small changes in the long text, in addition to giving better balance in the *cola*, give emphasis to what Julian seeks to stress; she did not deliberately change her intention — weakness and folly obscured it. Cf. 460.9 and note.

30 *A, loo how wrechyd I was!*: the short text's *exclamatio, Loo I, wrich!* (267.20) is more striking; but perhaps Julian modified it here to make it plain that this was a state which has passed, on which she is now soberly reflecting.

33 *Here may yow se ...*: there may be a reminiscence here of II Corinthians 12.5-6: For myself, I shall glory only in my infirmities. For though I may wish to glory, I shall speak the truth. I shall be sparing, lest any man should think more of me than what he sees in me.

33 *but here in woulde oure curtesse lorde nott leeue me*: again, compare II Corinthians 12.9: And he said to me: My grace is sufficient for you, for power is made perfect in infirmity. Gladly therefore shall I glory in my infirmity, so that the power of Christ may dwell in me.

142v

The lxvij Chapter

Ande in my slepe at the begynnyng me thought the fende sett hym in my throte, puttyng forth a vysage fulle nere my face lyke a yonge man, and it was longe and wonder leen. I saw nevyr none such; the coloure was reed, lyke þe tylle stone whan it is new brent, *with* blacke spottes there in lyke frakylles, fouler than þe tyle stone. His here was rede as rust, not scoryd afore, *with* syde lockes hangyng on þe thonwonges. He grynnyd vpon me *with* a shrewde loke, shewde me whyt teth and so

---

1 In SS, no chapter-division or heading. 2 *my*: S1: the. 5 *tylle*: C: Tile; SS: tile. 6 *there in*: om. S2. *frakylles*: S1: blak steknes; S2: black frecknes. 7 *not scoryd*: C: not scoured; S1: evisid; and so S2. *on þe thonwonges*: C: down in flakes. *thonwonges*: S1: thoungs; S2: thowongs. 8 *vpon*: SS: on. *loke, shewde me*: SS: semelant shewing. *shewde*: C: and shewed.

---

1 *The lxvij Chapter*: SS make no chapter division here; cf. 639.1 note. Cf. the conclusion of the SS chapter heading at 632.1: *But yet the devil after that had gret power to vexin hir ner to deth*. This might indicate that the long text, as originally prepared by Julian, had neither chapter divisions nor titles, but simply the divisions according to the revelations and their subject-matter, as indicated in the first chapter of P, C and SS.

2 *Ande in my slepe*: it is noteworthy how many of the details in this account of diabolic visitation, and in the corresponding passage in the short text (267.26-40) are enumerated in the *Speculum christiani*, in an extract attributed to Gregory, 'De penis inferni': Fire vnquenchable, colde insuperable, worme vndedly, stynke vnsuffrable, derknes thik to be felede, scorges of deueles betynge, gastful syght of fendes, despeyr of al gude thynges schal be in helle (Holmstedt, 120). It is tempting to consider whether, with reading-matter such as this available to her, Julian may after twenty years be embellishing the details of her nightmare. But this would be to impugn her integrity, and her constant solicitude, especially in the long text, to record only what she saw.

3 *puttyng forth a vysage ... he helde me in the throte*: not in the short text; cf. 267.27.

6 *His here was rede as rust not scoryd afore*: P's reading makes sense: 'His hair was as red as rust, (and) not cut short in front', although NED, Score, *v.*, I., 'To cut, mark with incisions', has no example referring to the cutting of hair. It has therefore been retained, although SS is probably superior: *his here was rede as rust, evisid aforn* (S1): '... clipped in front'. Cf. NED, Evese, *v.*, *Obs.*, which gives as one of its examples Walter of Bibbesworth: Monn top vus pri estancez — Evese my cop. C's *scoured* is certainly a misinterpretation of P, even though sense can be imputed to it: 'his hair in front was as red as unscoured rust'.

7 *thonwonges*: 'temples'. Cf. NED, Thunwang. MED quotes Walter of Bibbesworth: thonewon: les temples.

He grynnyd: cf. the English *Horologium*: Oo my god, how dreedful a siȝte! Loo, þe cruel bestes, þe horrible faces of deuiles, and blak forschapen þinges with oute noum-

mekylle me thought it the more vgly. Body ne handes had he none
10 shaply, but *with* hys pawes he helde me in the throte, and woulde a stoppyd my breth and kylde me, but he myght not.

This vgly shewyng was made slepyng, and so was none other; and in
143r all this tyme / I trustyd to be savyd and kepte by þe mercy of god. And

---

9 *mekylle*: C: my kill; marg.: much. 11 *stoppyd my breth and kylde*: S1: stranglid; and so S2.

---

bre haue envyrouned me, aspiynge and abidynge my wrecched soule (Horstman, 363). In the *Vita Antonii*, the devil appears 'stridens dentibus ... puer horridus atque niger' (*De vitis patrum* I iv, PL 73 130).

9 *the more vgly*: the prayer for a good death in MS Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 55 (cf. 621.23 note) contains the following petition: et libera in hora mortis mee de horribili vultu diaboli (f.139^{v}).

Body ne handes had he none shaply: this probably reflects the common mediaeval belief that if the devil appear in human shape, he will always be recognizable by some physical defect (which, often, he will go to pains to conceal). So the *Cloud* tells us that he has only one nostril, up which one may look to his brain, which is the fire of hell (Hodgson, 103).

Body ne handes had he none shaply / but with hys pawes he helde me in the throte / and would a stoppyd my breth and kylde me / but he myght not: in adding the details of the nightmare not in the short text, Julian again uses balanced *cola*, with *oppositio* (*handes ... pawes*) and *conduplicatio* (*stoppyd ... kylde*).

10 *but with hys pawes*: here we have the common fusion of two originally distinct traditions, one representing the devil as a man, the other as a beast or monster. See Beat Brenk, art.: 'Teufel' (LCI 4 295-300).

12 *This vgly shewyng was made slepyng / and so was none other / and in all this tyme / I trustyd to be savyd / and kepte by þe mercy of god / And oure curtesse lorde gaue me grace to wake / and vnnethys had ony lyfe*: the figure continues, with *oppositio* (*slepyng ... to wake*) and *conduplicatio* (*savyd and kepte*).

This vgly shewyng ... þe mercy of god: not in the short text; cf. 267.27-28.

This vgly shewyng was made slepyng: though Julian uses the word 'shewyng', she is careful to distinguish this event from the revelations. The office of compline is witness to how seriously the monastic tradition took the feasibility of diabolic temptations in the night. After the opening invocation, 'Noctem quietam et finem perfectam concedat nobis dominus omnipotens', the following verse from I Peter 5.8 is always recited as the chapter: Be sober and watch, because your adversary the devil as a roaring lion goes about seeking whom he may devour; and the hymn contains the following strophe: Procul recedant somnia / et noctium phantasmata / hostemque nostrum comprime / ne polluantur corpora.

13 *I trustyd to be savyd*: compare Alcuin's prayer for the night hours: Qui placido in puppi carpebat pectore somnum / Exurgens ventis imperat et pelago / Fessa labore gravi quamvis hic membra quiescant / Ad se concedat cor vigilare meum / Agne dei, mundi qui crimina cuncta tulisti, / Conserva requiem mitis ab hoste meam (ed. Duemmler, 350).

And oure curtesse lorde ... homelyest home (641.16): this corresponds with the short text, 267.28-268.14.

oure curtesse lorde gaue me grace to wake, and vnnethys had ony lyfe.
15 The persons that were *with* me beheld me and wett my templys, and my harte beganne to comfort. And anon a lyttyll smoke cam it at þe dorre *with* a greete heet and a foule stynch. And than I seyd: Benedicite dominus! Is it alle on fyer that is here? And I went it had bene a bodely fyer that shuld a burne vs all to deth. I asked them þat were *with* me if
20 they felt ony stynch. They seyde nay, they felt noone. I seyde: Blessyd be god! for than wyst I wele it was the fende that was come only to tempte

---

14 *lorde*: add. S2: god. *vnnethys*: S2: oneth; C, marg.: scarcely. *had ony*: SS: had I my; cf. A (267.28): hadde I my. 16 *to comfort*: so C; SS: to comforten. *lyttyll*: S1: lyte; and so S2. *in at*: S2: into; S1: in. 17 *And than*: om. SS. 18 *dominus*: S1: domine; and so S2, alt. scr. fr. 'domini'. *Is it*: S2: it is. *went*: so C; S1: we...id; S2: wened. 19 *a (burne)*: om. C. *burne*: SS: brent. *deth*: SS: dede. 21 *than*: SS: that. *only*: om. SS. *tempte*: SS: tempest; cf. A (267.36): tempest.

---

16 *to comfort*: 'to take comfort'. MED records no intransitive use, and NED's single instance, called *'obs. rare'*, is from *As You Like It*, II vi 5, where Orlando says to Adam, who claims that he is dying: 'Live a little; comfort a little; cheer thyself a little'. But the SS *-en* suffixes are some indication of the form's antiquity.

a lyttyll smoke: in the life of St. Abraham the hermit we read that when he was tempted by the devil in the form of a young man, he said: Nomen siquidem domini mei et salvatoris Jesu Christi ... mihi validissimus murus est, in quo te increpo, immunde canis, ac ter miserande. Et dicente eo haec, confestim ut fumus ab oculis ejus evanuit (*De vitis patrum* I, PL 73 289).

17 *a foule stynch*: it is told of the Abbot Pachomius that the devil appeared to him in the guise of a monk; but when the old man cursed him, he dissolved in a kind of dust, and filled the cell with a foul odour: factus veluti pulvis, cellulam eius molestissimo fetore complevit, ita ut ipsum corrumperet aerem (ibid., 266-267). Cf. an English version of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*: And in caas þat whan þu wakest, sodeynliche ... þe hete of þy flehs be styred, and þyn cruel enemy (f. a[1]) wolde drawe þe in to nyce fantacye ... (Vernon MS; cf. Hoste and Talbot, 1 652). Julian does not state what would be obvious to her contemporaries, the symbolism of this *ugly shewyng*.

Benedicite dominus: cf. 211.17 note.

18 *Is it alle on fyer*: in a prayer to God and the angels for protection, in MS Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 55, there is: ... et omnes celorum virtutes, summa dei potencia, prestent michi auxilium ut nullus inimicus michi nocere aut dampnifica(re) possint in via nec in domo nec in terra nec in aqua nec in igne nec extra, nec morte subitanea a(u)t improuisa (f. 140[v]).

19 *if they felt ony stynch*: cf. NED, Feel, *v.*, which gives as the primary meaning 'To examine or explore by touch', but has, 7., 'To perceive by smell or taste'. This is called *'Obs.* exc. *dial.*', but there are examples from c.1220 to 1884.

21 *come only to tempte me*: on another occasion, the devil leapt and tore at Pachomius (suis velut unguibus foede laceravit); but he disappeared when the old man made the sign of the cross: Intelligebat enim cunctas inimici versutias; et ... illusiones ejus pro nihilo computabat (PL 73 240).

me. And anon I toke me to that oure lorde had shewed me on þe same daye *with* alle þe feyth of holy church, for I behelde it as both in one,
143v and fled ther to as to my / comfort. And a non alle vanysschyd awey,
25 and I was brought to grete reste and peas, *with*out sycknesse of body or drede of conscience.

---

22 *me (to)*: om. SS. *to (that)*: om. S2. 23 *as both in*: S1: is bother; S2: is bothen; cf. A (267.38): as bathe. 24 *comfort*: S1: comforts; cf. A (267.38): comforth.

---

22 *And anon I toke me to that oure lorde had shewed me / on þe same daye with alle þe feyth of holy church / for I behelde it as both in one / and fled ther to as to my comfort*: *compar. I toke me to that*: cf. 629.24 *loketh*, note. Julian here supplies her own synonym, *and fled ther to*.

23 *holy church ... comfort*: Hilton writes in the *Scale*, II chapter 21: ... vnclene spirites ... spoile þee *and* bete þe þurw3 diuers temptaciouns, þi lif schal ay be safe. And ... þu schalt askape alle periles *and* meschiefs *and* come to þe sitee of Ierusalem *with* in schort tyme (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 86r; Underhill, 308).

The lxviij Chapter

And then oure good lorde opy*n*nyd my gostely eye and shewde me my soule in þe myddys of my harte. I saw þe soule so large as it were an endlesse warde, and also as it were a blessyd kyngdom; and by the condicio*n*s þ*at* I saw there in I vnderstode þat it is a wurschypfulle cytte, in myddes of that cytte (sitts) oure lorde Jh*es*u, very god and very man, a

---

6 *sitts*: om. ms.

---

1 *lxviij*: SS: lxvij. Add S1: Of the worshipfull syte (S2: sight) of the soule, which is so nobly create þ*at* it myte no better a be made, in which the trinite joyeth everlastingly, *and* (S2: and that) the soule may have rest in nothing but in god, which (S2: who) sittith therin reuling al things. 2 *good*: om. SS. 3 *þe (myddys)*: om. SS. *an*: C: and. 4 *warde*: C, SS: world. *also*: om. SS. *blessyd*: SS: blisfull. 5 *þat (I)*: om. SS. *is*: S2: was. *cytte* (2×): S1: syte; S2: city; marg. al.m.: syte (2×). *in (myddes)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 6 *cytte (oure)*: add. S1: sitts; and so S2; cf. A (268.5): sittes. *very ... very*: om. SS; cf. A (268.5): verraye god and verray man.

---

1 *the lxviij Chapter*: SS number this 'lxvij'.

2 *And then oure good lorde opynnyd my gostely eye and shewde me my soule in þe myddys of my harte*: cf. the short text: *and than owre lorde opennedde my gastely eyenn and schewyd me my saule in myddys of my herte* (268.1). The additions here, 'oure *good* lorde', 'in *þe* middys', produce a perfect *compar*. With regard to the conflict *eye/eyenn*, compare the *Scale*, II chapter 29: ... ne þe i3e of her soule is not 3it opened to þe beholdynge of gostly þinges (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 102r; Underhill, 355).

3 *an endlesse warde*: cf. 523.126 note. Julian introduces this new phrase under the influence of the parable of the lord and the servant. She has scriptural warranty for the *as it ware a kyngdome* of the short text, 268.3; cf. Luke 17.21: Neither shall they say, Look here or Look there; for behold, the kingdom of God is within you. Bede's gloss reads: Regnum dei seipsum dicit, intra illos positum, hoc est in cordibus eorum, ubi credidere regnantem (*In Lucae evangelium expositio* V, PL 92 545). Here in the long text she seems anxious to emphasize the theological fact of the mutual indwelling, which she does by constructing a *compar*: *þe soule so large as it were an endlesse warde / and also as it were a blessyd kyngdom*, with medial *repetitio*: *as it were*. and with the additional Scriptural allusion: Come you blessed ... possess the kingdom (Matthew 25.34). Hilton, the *Scale*, II chapter 32, writes of 'þis man*er* knowynge of Jh*es*u ...' (sc. a clearer sight and purer love of Jesus, in whom is all the blessed Trinity), which is 'þe openynge of heuene to þe i3e of a clene soule of þe whilk holy men speken in here writyng' (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 108v; Underhill, 374). One such which Julian may have read is William of St. Thierry's *Meditativae orationes*, VI: Cum autem nos inhabitas, coelum tuum sumus, utique, sed non quo sustenteris ut inhabites, sed quod sustentes ut inhabitetur; tu quoque coelum nobis existens, ad quem ascendamus, ut inhabitemus (PL 180 224).

6 *sitts*: the SS reading, which is supported by A, seems superior.

feyer person and of large stature, hyghest bysschoppe, most solempne kynge, wurschypfullest lorde. And I saw hym clothyd solemply in wurschyppes. He syttyth in þe soule evyn ryghte in peas and rest, and he
144r rulyth and ȝe(m)yth hevyn and erth and all that is. The manhode / *with*
11 the godhed syttyth in rest, the godhede rulyth and ȝe(m)eth *with*outyn ony instrument or besynesse. And þe soule is alle occupyed *with* þe blessyd godhed, *þat* is souereyne myghte, souereyne wysdom and souereyn goodnesse.

---

10 *ȝemyth*: ms: ȝevyth. 11 *ȝemeth*: ms: ȝeveth.

---

7 *most solempne*: S1: solemnest; and so S2. 8 *wurschypfullest*: C: worshipful. *clothyd*: SS: clad. *in (wurschyppes)*: SS: *and*. *wurschyppes*: C: worship; S1: worshiply; S2: wor*shipfully*; cf. A (268.7): in wyrschippes. 9 *he (rulyth)*: S1: the godhede; and so S2. 10 *ȝevyth* (ms): C: giveth; SS: gemeth; cf. A (268.8): ȝemeȝ. *and all that is ... rulyth and ȝemeth*: om. S2. *The manhode ... blessyd godhed þat is*: om. S1. 11 *ȝeveth* (ms): C: giveth; not in SS. 12 *ony*: om. S2. 13 *blessyd*: S2: blisfull.

---

7 *hyghest bysschoppe, most solempne kynge, wurschypfullest lorde*: Julian expands both the *compar* and the *membrum* of the short text (cf. 268.4 note) for theological enrichment. Cf. I Peter 2.25: You are now converted to the shepherd and bishop of your souls. She calls Christ *bysschoppe* as the pontiff, the priestly head of the Church which is his body of the Epistle to the Hebrews. MED observes, *bishop* 3, that in her day the word is often used to mean high priest, pontiff of the Hebrews. The context here is liturgical, and *wurschypfullest* is used with deliberation. She has in mind the 'king of kings and lord of lords' of the Apocalypse (17.14); cf. 525.145 note, and Ezechiel chapter 40 e.s., which Hilton interprets as his Jerusalem (*Scale* II, chapter 25). Much of Mechtild of Hackborn's interminable descriptions of the 'city of the heart' is based on these passages in Ezechiel and the Apocalypse. Thus she makes our Lord say: Thys þyne sawle es inclusede alwaye in myne herte, ande y am inclusede in þe herte of thy sawle. Ande allebehitt þowe conteyne me in the moste inwarde parties of thy sawle so þat y be more inwarde to the be my beynge with the þan alle thyne inwardenes, ȝitt neuerþelesse þe herte of my godhede es so excellente ande so ouerepassynge þyne sawle þatt hitt semys to the þere maye no sawle atteyne þareto in no wyse (Halligan, 184).

10 As in the short text, Julian makes her doctrinal points by means of *oppositio*: *The manhode with the godhed syttyth in rest* (Jesus is true man, but is of one substance with the Father) / *the godhede rulyth and ȝemeth withoutyn ony instrument or besynesse* (God's work does not change him) / *And þe soule is alle occupyed with þe blessyd godhed* (the soul is at one with the humanity of Jesus, and works with him for the Father's glory) / *þat is souereyne myghte souereyne wysdom and souereyn goodnesse* (Trinitas, indivisa unitas — the Trinitarian works *ad extra*).

11 *syttyth in rest*: cf. the metre *O qui perpetua* in Chaucer's *Boethius*: O þou fadir creatour of heuene and of erþes þat gouernest þis worlde by perdurable resoun, þat comaundist þe tymes for to gon from tyme þat age hadde begynnyng, þou þat dwellest þi selfe ay stedfast and stable and ȝiuest alle oþer þinges to ben mocued ... (Morris, 87).

12 *þe soule*: cf. 268.10: *my saule*: cf. 639.2-3 note.

15 The place that Jhesu takyth in oure soule he shall nevyr remoue *with*outen ende, as to my syght, for in vs is his homelyest home and his endlesse dwellyng. And in this he shewde the lykyng that he hath of the makyng of mannes soule; for as wele as the fader myght make a

---

15 *remoue*: add. SS: it; cf. A (268.13): remove it. 17 *dwellyng*: S1: wonyng; and so S2. *shewde*: C: sheweth.

---

15 *The place that Jhesu takyth in oure soule / he shall nevyr remoue withouten ende / as to my syght / for in vs is / his homelyest home and his endlesse dwellyng*: Julian has discarded the *compar* of four *cola* in the short text for this more subtle and varied arrangement, which enables her to emphasize through *oppositio* the various aspects of the Trinity's relationship in Christ with us; *place* and *dwellyng*, which give *inclusio.* indicate the chief *oppositio* between man and God, resolved in Christ's person. This is the burden of William of St. Thierry's argument in the prayer cited above: that 'place' and 'God' are contraries: Nam, o conditor omnium, et locorum et temporum, tu nec tempore noveris nec loco teneris, nec coelo corporeo sustentaris ne cadas, nec sic in eo habitas ut coelem et terram non impleas: ubique praesens, si de illocali hoc dici potest; ubique totus, si in te vel de te praedicari potest totitas in quo non est particularitas (PL 180 223).

The place ...: Julian's teaching, as has frequently been observed, has its source in the Johannine discourse at the Last Supper. So William writes: Locus ergo tuus pater est, et tu patris; et non solum sed etiam nos locus tuus sumus, et tu noster. Cum ergo, o domine Jesu, tu es in patre et pater in te, o summa et indivisa trinitas, tu tibi locus es, tu tibi coelum es, sicut non habens ex quo, sic non indigens in quo subsistas, nisi ex teipso in teipso (ibid., 224).

remoue: cf. NED, Remove, *v.*, 6.: 'To go away from, to quit (a place or position), *Obs. rare*', with only two examples, c.1440 and c.1450.

16 *withouten ende*: this derives from Julian's capital text on the doctrine of inhabitation: I shall ask the Father, and he will give you another paraclete, that he (which refers to both Father and Spirit) may stay with you for ever, the Spirit of truth ... you will know him because he will abide with you and be in you (John 14.16-17).

his homelyest home: this *tautologia* is of special importance to her teaching on the Trinity and the Hypostatic Union, and merits analysis. Almost at the end, she proposes three properties *in whych the strenght and þe effecte of alle þe revelacion stondyth*: the properties are *lyfe, loue and lyght*; and she continues: *In lyfe is mervelous homelyhed* (722.3 e.s.). So too in *Benjamin* the *Cloud*-author writes: Fro now forþ begynneþ a maner of homlynes for to growe bitwix God and mans soule ... oft tymes he feliþ hym not only be visityd of god bot greetly coumfortyd in his comyng. Þis homlynes and þis kyndelyng ... (*Deonise*, 20).

17 *And in this he shewde ... shulde lyke him with out ende*: again, this long figure describes the Trinitarian *operationes ad extra*, using *complexio* (*for as wele as the fader myght make a creature / and as wele as þe son myght make a creature ...*), *similiter desinens* (*as wele ... as wele ... so wele*), and *oppositio* (*myght make ... were made*).

the fader myght make a creature: cf. the *Treatise of Perfection*: ... anone than we fele the hete of the holye goste and the oned of god burnynge and makynge vs lyquet. And there we hyre the voyce of the fathere drawynge vs in, and techynge vs, thus spekyn vnto his welbeloued in this euerlastynge worde: This, he says, is my welbeloued sonne, in whome I am wele plesed (Bazire and Colledge, 256). The editors supply some lines of Ruysbroek's Latin which are omitted in the English: Sciendum namque, patrem cum filio filiumque cum patre eternam excercuisse complacentiam de eo quod filius humanitatem nostram erat assumpturus (ibid., 339), which is Julian's precise point.

creature, and as wele as þe son myght make a creature, so wele wolde
20 þe holy gost that mannys soule were made, and so it was done. And therfore the blessydfulle trynyte enjoyeth *with*out ende in þe makyng of mannys soule, for he sawe *with*out begynnyng what shulde lyke him *with* out ende.

144v Al thyng that he / hath made shewyth his lordschyppe, as vn-
25 derstandyng was gevyn in the same tyme by example of a creature that is led to se grete noblynesse and ky*n*gdoms longyng to a lorde; and when it had sene all the nobylnes beneth, than mervelyng it was steryd to seke vppe aboue to that hygh place where the lorde dwellyth, knowyng by reson þ*at* hys dwellyng is in the wurthyest place. And thus I
30 vnderstonde truly that oure soule may never haue rest in thyng þ*at* is

---

19 *(son) myght*: S1: cowth; and so S2. 21 *blessydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. *trynyte*: here and at 643.38 S2 employs the symbol 'Δ'. 22 *sawe*: add. S1: fro; and so S2. 25 *in*: SS: at. 26 *led*: om. SS. *noblynesse*: SS: noblyes. *longyng*: S2: belonging. *a (lorde)*: add. S2: great. 27 *nobylnes*: SS: noblyth. *than*: S1: ther; and so S2. 28 *vppe*: om. SS. *that*: SS: the. *dwellyth*: S1: wonnyth; and so S2. 30 *vnderstonde*: S1: vnderstode; and so S2. *truly*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *thyng*: C, SS: things. *is*: S2: are.

---

20 *And therfore* ...: cf. Isaias 65.18-19: But you will be glad and rejoice for ever in these things which I create: for see, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing ... and I shall rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people ...

22 *for he sawe*: cf. 389.2.

24 *Al thyng ... is his very dwellyng* (643.34): this whole paragraph is built up on carefully balanced *cola*. Theologically, Julian wishes to emphasize lordship, the attribute of the Holy Spirit; but there is present the notion of transcendence as well as immanence. It is feasible that Augustine helps to shape both her thought and language here; and *example of a creature* may well mean here also the rhetorical figure (cf. 513.3 note), 'the citing of something done or said in the past', as well as the preacher's *exemplum*. In the celebrated dialogue between Augustine and his mother, we find the same 'ascensio mentis': perambulauimus gradatim cuncta corporalia et ipsum coelum, unde sol et luna et stellae lucent super terram et adhuc ascendebamus ... mirando opera tua et venimus in mentes nostras et transcendimus eas, ut attingeremus regionem ubertatis indeficientis (*Confessionum* VIII, Knöll, 216).

26 *and when it had sene*: compare Augustine's gloss on Psalm 41.4: Ubi est deus tuus: Ubi enim domus dei mei, super animam meam ... habet etiam in terra tabernaculum ... et quamvis admirabile sit tabernaculum, stupeo cum pervenio usque ad domum dei (Dekkers and Fraipont, 1 466).

29 *And thus I vnderstonde*: again, compare Augustine: Quaero ego deum meum in omni corpore, siue terrestri siue caelesti, et non invenio; quaero substantiam eius in anima mea et non invenio; meditatus sum tamen inquisitionem dei mei ... effudi super me animam meam, et non iam restat quem tangam, nisi deum meum (ibid., 465).

30 *oure soule may never haue rest* ...; cf. 216.49 note. Even more clearly, this recalls Augustine: Thou hast made us for thyself, and our hearts are restless till they rest in thee (*Confessions* I 1, trans. F. J. Sheed, 3; cf. PL 32 661).

beneth it selfe. And whan it comyth aboue alle creatures in to it selfe, yett may it not abyde in the beholdyng of it selfe; but alle þe beholdyng is blyssydfully sett in god, that is the maker, dwellyng ther in, for in mannes soule is his very dwellyng.

35 And the hyghest lyght and the bryghtest shynyng of þe sytte is the /
145r glorious loue of oure lorde god, as to my syght. And what may make vs more enjoye in god than to see in hym þat he enjoyeth in vs hyghest of all his werkes? For I saw in the same shewyng that yf þe blessyd trynyte myght a made mannes soule ony better, ony feyerer, ony nobeler than it

---

31 *it (selfe, yett)*: S1: the. 32 *þe*: S2: þat. 33 *blyssydfully*: SS: blisfully. *that*: S2: who. 34 *dwellyng*: S1: wonyng; and so S2. 35 *sytte*: C: City; S1: cite; S2: city. 36 *god*: om. SS. 37 *more*: add. SS.: to. *than*: S2: þat. *in vs*: om. SS. *hyghest*: S1: hyliest; and so S2. 39 *ony (feyerer)*: S2: *and*; corr. al.m.: any. *nobeler*: S1: noblyer. *than*: S1: that; and so S2.

---

32 *yett may it not abyde*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 30: Nerþeles I sey not þat þi soule schal reste stil in þis knowynge, but it schal bi þis seke hiȝere knowynge aboue it self, and þat is þe kynde of god (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 102v; Underhill, 357-358).

beholdyng ... in god: cf. William of St. Thierry, *Meditativae orationes* VI: Ad te domine, ad te oculi mei semper, qui habitas in coelis; ad domum tuam, ad civitatem tuam Jerusalem, unde ad nos descendisti, cujus tecum tam mirabile exemplar nobis detulisti (PL 180 226-227).

34 *his very dwellyng*: in this passage Julian has been reflecting on the Holy Spirit and his *lordschyppe*, so that the Pauline texts which stress the Spirit's indwelling are in her mind. Cf. I Corinthians 3.17, 5.19, II Corinthians 6.16.

35 *the hyghest lyght ... the bryghtest shynyng ... the glorious loue*: cf. Apocalypse 21.23: And the city has no need of the sun, nor of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God has enlightened it, and the Lamb is its lamp. This is a *compar* with *similiter cadens*.

36 *And what may make vs / more enjoye in god / than to see in hym / þat he enjoyeth in vs / hyghest of all his werkes*: *compar* with medial *repetitio* (*enjoye in ... enjoyeth in*).

38 *For I saw in the same shewyng / that yf þe blessyd trynyte / myght a made mannes soule / ony better ony feyerer ony nobeler / than it was made / he shulde nott a been full plesyd / with makyng of mannys soule / But for he made mannes soule / as feyer as good as precious / as he myght make it a creature / therfore þe blessyd trynyte / is fulle plesyd withoute ende / in þe makyng of mannes soule / And he wylle that our hartes / be myghtly reysed / aboue þe depnesse of þe erth / and alle veyne sorowes / and enjoye in hym*: a *compar* of short *cola*, with much *repetitio*, with *articulus* (*one better ony feyerer only nobeler ... as feyer as good as precious*). Julian is also using the figures to emphasize her logical argument. The major premise is *that yf þe blessyd trynyte ... he shulde nott a been full plesyd*; the minor premise is *But for* (Atque) ... *as he myght make it a creature*; and the conclusion is *therfore* (Ergo) ... *and enjoye in hym*. This is a perfectly constructed συλλογισμός (*ratiocinatio*; cf. *Ad Herennium*, Marx-Trillitzsch, 130 e.s.). Julian is using the valid form of the conditional (hypothetical) syllogism: the major posits the hypothesis in its protasis, the minor asserts the truth of the condition, so that the conclusion establishes the apodosis.

39 *myght a made mannes soule ony better*: the first chapter of Hebrews still seems to be integral to her reflection: He has been made so much better than the angels, and has inherited a more excellent name than they (1.4).

was made, he shulde nott a been full plesyd *with* makyng of mannys soule. But for he made m*a*nnes soule as feyer, as good, as precious as he myght make it a creature, therfore þe blessyd trynyte is fulle plesyd *with*oute ende in þe makyng of m*a*nnes soule. And he wylle that oure hartes be myghtly reysed aboue þe depnesse of þe erth and alle veyne sorowes, and enjoye in hym.

This was a delectable syghte and a restfulle shewyng that is *with*out ende, and þe beholdyng of this whyle we are here, it is fulle plesannt to
145v god and fulle grete sped to vs. / And the soule that thus beholdyth, it makyth it lyke to hym that is beholde, and ony(th) it in rest and in pease

---

49 *onyth*: ms: onyd.

---

40 *with*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 41 *But for ... mannes soule*: om. SS. 46 *This was a*: add. S1: Of sothfast knowing that it is (S2: was) Jesus that shewid all this *and* it was no raving, *and* how we owen to have sekir troste in all our tribulation*n* (S2: tribulations), that we shall not be overcome. lxviij Capt. (in S2, no chapter number). *a (delectable)*: om. S2. *is (without)*: SS: it is so. 49 *it (lyke)*: C: him. *onyd* (ms): C: oned; SS: onyth. *in (pease)*: om. SS.

---

40 *plesyd with makyng of mannys soule*: this is the word of the Father concerning the Incarnate Word, at the mystery of his baptism by John and the descent of the Spirit (Matthew 3.16-17) and at the later mystery, the Transfiguration (Mark 9.6).

43 *And he wylle ...*: Julian here seems to be conflating two Pauline texts: Therefore if you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above ... mind the things that are above, not the things that are on the earth (Colossians 3.1-2), and: Ascending on high, he led captivity captive, he gave gifts to men. Now he who ascended, what is it but because he also first descended into the lower parts of the earth ... he the same who also ascended above the heavens that he might fill all (Ephesians 4.8-10).

46 *Of sothfast knowing* ... (S1): the SS chapter division and heading here, which brings their chapter numbering level again with P, C, may be another indication that there were originally no such divisions or headings, except for the numbered division into revelations and the brief descriptions in 281.3 e.s. In fact the logical place for such a division would be at 645.53, *And whan I had behold thys* ..., which introduces the next locution, *Wytt it now wele* ...

This was a delectable syghte ... dyspere, as me thought (648.8): this corresponds with the short text, 268.15-270.8.

This was a delectable syghte and a restfulle shewyng: the long text's addition of *shewyng* may not be Julian's. The short text (268.15-17) gives a perfect *compar*; and P as it stands in no way improves A theologically.

48 *And the soule that thus beholdyth / it makyth it lyke to hym that is beholde / and onyth it in rest and in pease by hys grace*: a *compar* with *traductio* (*beholdyth ... is beholde*).

And the soule that thus beholdyth: cf. 464.40 and note.

49 *makyth it lyke*: the Scriptural source of the mirror image for the knowledge of self which leads to the contemplative knowledge of the Father in Christ is II Corinthians

50 by hys grace. And this was a synguler joye and blysse to me that I saw hym syttyng, for þe truth of syttyng shewde endlesse dwellyng; and he ȝawe me knowyng truly þ*at* it was he þ*at* shewde me alle before.

And whan I had behold thys *with* avysement, then shewed oure good lorde wordes fulle mekely, *with*out voyce and *with*out openyn*g* of lyp-

---

54 *lorde*: so ms, w. 's' add. scr.; but cf. 269.23.

---

50 *I*: om. S2. 51 *syttyng (for)*: SS: sitten. *truth*: SS: sekirnes; cf. A (268.21): sikernes. *shewde*: S1: shewith; and so S2; cf. A (268.20): schewed. 52 *ȝawe*: C, SS: gave. *truly*: S1: sothfastly; and so S2; cf. A (268.21): sothfastly. 53 *behold*: add. C: all. 54 *of*: add. S2: his.

3.18: But we all, beholding (*contemplantes*) the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord; and ibid. 4.6: For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, has shone in our hearts to give the light of knowledge of him, in the face of Christ Jesus. So William of St. Thierry, in *Meditativae orationes* VI, writes: Similitudinem autem ipsam dei conferet nobis visio ejus, quâ deum videbimus, non quod est sed sicut est; et ipsa est similitudo qua similes ei erimus (PL 180 224). Hilton, writing of the souls who are reformed in faith by perfect meekness, has: Vnto þese soules þe trewe sunne schal spryngen, *and* illumine here reson in knowynge of soþfastnes (*Scale* II, chapter 26; MS BM Harley 6579, f. 94^{v}; Underhill, 334-335), and again, chapter 30: For þi soule is bot a mirrour in þe whilk þou schalt see god gostly (f. 102^{v}; 358).

onyth it in rest and in pease: William of St. Thierry goes on: Haec unitas, haec similitudo, ipsum est coelum quo deus in nobis habitat et nos in deo (PL 180 224).

50 *by hys grace*: cf. 268.18-19: *and anes in reste and in pees*. The *compar* would seem to indicate that *by hys grace* is Julian's own addition. She is writing specifically of the work of contemplation, and not simply of the ontological situation of all who are to be saved. God is in man's soul, and if man will behold, contemplate, by the grace that is given him, he will experience the union, an experience of God's rest and peace. See *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*: ... whoso wol haue god contynouly wonyng in him, and liue in loue and in siȝt of þe hiȝe pees of þe godheed, þe whiche is þe hiȝest and þe best partye of contemplacion ... (*Deonise*, 85).

And this was ... endlesse dwellyng: a continuation of the previous *compar*, with *conversio* (*syttyng ... syttyng*) and *similiter cadens* (syttyng ... syttyng ... dwellyng).

51 *shewde endlesse dwellyng*: this seems to refer to *a restfulle shewyng that is without ende* (644.46). There Julian seems to be differentiating between *syghte* and *shewyng*: the 'sight' is the beholding, contemplation of the mystery of indwelling, the 'shewyng' is the vision granted to her, when she saw, in imaginative vision, 'him sitting' (640.9).

52 *ȝawe*: this spelling, which C and SS do not follow, and which NED does not record, is no more than a P eccentricity.

53 *And whan ... thou shalt not be ovyrcome*: another *compar* with much *repetitio*.

54 *without voyce ...*: that is, in Revelation V, where she wrote: *Then he without voys and openyng of lyppes formȳd in my soule these wordes* (346.6 and note).

pes, ryght as he had done afore, and seyde full swetely: Wytt it now wele, it was no ravyng that thou saw to day, but take it and beleve it and kepe thee ther in and comfort thee ther *with* and trust therto, and thou shalt not be ovyrcome.

Theyse last wordes were seyde for lernyng of full tru sykernesse *þat* is
146r oure lorde Jhesu / that shewed me alle. And ryght as in the furst worde
61 *þat* oure good lorde shewde, menyng his blessyd passyon: Here *with* is the fende ovyr come, ryght so he seyde in the last worde *with* full tru feytfullnes, menyng vs alle: Thou shalt not be ovyr come. And alle this lernyng and this tru comfort, it is generalle to alle myne evyn crysten, as
65 it is afore sayde, and so is gods wylle.

And this worde: Thou shalt nott be ovyrcom, was seyde fulle sharply

---

55 *afore*: om. SS. 56 *wele*: add. S1: that; and so S2. *beleve*: SS: leve. 57 *thee (ther in)*: om. S2. *trust*: add. SS: thou. 59 *lernyng*: S1: leryng; and so S2; cf. A (269.28): lernynge. *full*: om. SS. *sykernesse*: C, marg.: assurance. *þat*: add. SS: it; cf. A (269.29): that it is. 61 *blessyd*: S1: blissfull; and so S2. 62 *fende*: S1: devill; and so S2; cf. A (269.31): fende. 63 *feytfullnes*: S1: sekirness; and so S2; cf. A (269.32): sikernesse. 64 *lernyng*: S1: leryng; and so S2; cf. A (269.33): lernynge. *and*: SS: in; cf. A (269.33): and. *it (is generalle)*: om. C. 66 *this worde*: S1: these words; and so S2.

---

56 *ravyng*: 'madness'. Cf. NED, Rave, *v.*[1] and Raving, where this sense is not defined, but is established by the first example, c.1440, *Promptorium parvulorum*: 'Ravynge, *deliracio*'.

57 *and comfort thee ther with and trust therto*: not in the short text; cf. 269.26.

59 *Theyse last wordes were seyde / for lernyng of full tru sykernesse / þat is oure lorde Jhesu / that shewed me alle*: cf. the short text's *compar*: *This laste wordes ware sayde to me / for lernynge of fulle trewe sikernes* ... (269.28). Julian probably edited out *to me* deliberately in the long text, to make her reiterated point that the revelations are for everyone, a point which she will make again a few lines further on.

60 *And ryght as in the furst worde / þat oure good lorde shewde / menyng his blessyd passyon / Here with is the fende ovyr come / ryght so he seyde in the last worde / with full tru feytfullnes / menyng vs alle / Thou shalt not be ovyr come*: cf. 269.29-32. In both texts there is *compar*, with *oppositio* and *conversio* (*is ... ovyr come / not be ovyr come*). Julian's insertion here, *menyng vs alle*, introduces a new kind of *oppositio*. Julian is using Scripture and tradition (cf. 269.39 note) as part of her *probatio*.

the furst worde (cf. 346.7) ... *the last worde*: there is special emphasis here in *furst* and *last*; they form an *inclusio* for all that she has heard. See Apocalypse 21.5-6: And he said to me: Write, for these words are most fruitful and true. And he said to me: It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end ... He who will overcome will possess these things, and I shall be his God, and he will be my son.

66 *And this worde ... that may come*: cf. 269.35-37, where there is verbatim correspondence; *compar* with *similiter desinens*.

was seyde: cf. II Corinthians 1.3-4: ... Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of

and full myghtly, for sekernesse and comfort agaynst all trybulacyons that may come. He seyde nott: Thou shalt not be trobelyd, thou shalt not be traveyled, thou shalle not be dyssesyd; but he seyde: Thou shalt
70 not be ovyrcom. God wylle that we take hede at this worde, and þat we
146v be evyr myghty in feytfull trust, in wele and wo, for / he louyth vs and lykyth vs, and so wylle he that we loue hym and lyke hym and myghtely trust in hym, and all shall be welle.

And sone all was close, and I saw no more afftyr this.

---

69 *shalle*: 'le' shows marks of altn.

---

67 *sekernesse*: C: sickness. *and (comfort)*: add. S1: for. 68 *trobelyd*: S1: tempestid; and so S2; cf. A (269.38): tempestyd. 70 *this worde*: SS: these words; cf. A (269.40): of his worde. 71 *feytfull*: SS: sekir; cf. A (269.40): in sekernesse. *trust*: C: trusting. *vs (and)*: om. SS. 72 *so*: om. S2. 74 *sone*: add. SS: after. *afftyr this*: cf. 528.173.

---

consolations and the God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our tribulations, that we may also be able to comfort those who are in any distress, by the exhortation by which we are exhorted by God. Julian seems to be recalling Paul's own tribulation: We had in ourselves the answer of death, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God who raises the dead. He has delivered and does deliver us out of great dangers; and we trust in him that he will once again deliver us (vv. 9-10).

sharply: cf. NED. *for sekernesse and comfort* manifestly excludes NED's senses 'Severely, sternly, harshly', 'With sharp or painful effect', but may indicate 3.a., 'sagaciously, shrewdly', or 3.b., 'vigilantly, closely'.

68 *He seyde nott / Thou shalt not be trobelyd / thou shalt not be traveyled / thou shalle not be dyssesyd / but he seyde / Thou shalt not be ovyrcom*: *compar* with *repetitio, dissolutio* and *oppositio*. Cf. 269.35-37, which, rhetorically, is superior.

70 *God wylle that we take hede at this worde / and þat we be evyr myghty / in feytfull trust in wele and wo / for he louyth vs and lykyth vs / and so wylle he / that we loue hym and lyke hym / and myghtely trust in hym / and all shall be welle*: *wylle* and *welle* Julian now seems to see as an *adnominatio*, and in *God wylle ... be welle* there is *inclusio*. The *loue ... lyke ... trust* is probably a Trinitarian formula.

this: cf. 269.40 note.

71 *myghty in feytfull trust*: cf. Proverbs 28.1: ... iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit.

feytfull trust: cf. 269.40 and note.

The lxix Chapter

The feende came agayne *with* his heet and *with* his stynch, and made me fulle besy. The stynch was so vyle and so paynfulle, and bodely heet also dredfull and traveylous; also I harde a bodely talkyng, as it had been of two bodyes, and both to my thyngky*n*g talkyd at one tyme, as they had holde a perlement *with* greate besynes, and all was softe whystryn. And I vnderstode nott what they seyd, and alle this was to stere me to dyspere, as me thought, semyng to me as they scornyd byd-
147r dyng of bedys whych are seyde boystosly with moch faylyng / devout in-

---

1 *The lxix Chapter*: om. S1 (cf. 644.46), and add: Of the second long temptation of the devill to despeir, but she mytyly trosted to god *and* to the feith of holy church, rehersing the passion of Christe, be þe which she was deliverid; and so S2. 2 *The feende*: S1: Aftir this the fend (cf. 647.74); and so S2. 3 *bodely heet*: om. SS. 4 *talkyng*: S1: jangeling; and so S2; cf. A (270.4): iangelynge. 5 *talkyd*: S1: janglyd; and so S2; cf. A (270.5): iangled. *as*: add. SS: if. 6 *with*: add. SS: a. 7 *whystryn*: C: whistering; SS: muttering; cf. A (270.6): mutterynge. *And (1)*: SS: as. 9 *boystosly*: S2: boisterously. *moch*: S2: mouth. *faylyng*: add. C: of.

---

1 *The lxix Chapter*: cf. app. crit. and 639.1, 644.46, notes. S2 agrees with P, C; and S1, though it does not number the chapter, makes its usual break in the lines before and after the chapter-heading.

3 *The stynch was so vyle ... and bodely heet also dredfull*: cf. 637.17 note.

4 *a bodely talkyng*: in a satiric poem, *On Chattering in Church*, women who do so are called 'al of the deuelis rowte' (C. Brown, XV 277). One of the desert fathers saw a crowd of demons circling such a man's head like bees, and grinding their teeth over him (*De vitis patrum*, VI, PL 73 994). Cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*, where Mary's taciturnity is contrasted with the garrulity to which the devil tempted Eve (e.g. Tolkien, 35 e.s.).

6 *perlement with greate besynes*: Cassian reports a vision granted to one of the brethren, in which demons were gathered *in quodam tribunali*, where the leader *uniuscuiusque actus diligenti coepit examinatione discutere (Conlationes* VIII 16; Petschenig, 232).

7 *whystryn*: 'whispering'. The etymology is dubious, and the earliest examples in NED, MED are 1382, the first Wycliffite Bible.

to stere me to dyspere: cf. the *Chastising*: Also sum bien ... stired and priked: sum bien taried and troublid wiþ sum temptaciones aȝens her wil, wiþouten any assentyng, as wiþ dispeir and obstinacie (Bazire and Colledge, 167).

8 *as they scornyd byddyng of bedys whych are seyde boystosly*: 'as if they were mocking the recitation of prayers which are said imperfectly'.

scornyd: cf. NED, which quotes the *Prick of Conscience*, 1189: Bot þa þat wille him folow he ledes / And þam scornes and taries in his nedes (this is written of the world, that is, of the pride of life; Morris, 33).

9 *bedys*: 'prayers'. MED, bede, 3 a., gives 'rosary' as the meaning, citing *Piers Plowman* A.V 8 (Skeat 1, 123), but this is anachronistic; the very earliest pictorial representations

10 tendyng and wyse diligence, the whych we owe to god in oure prayer.
And oure good lorde god gaue me grace myghtly to trust in hym and to comfort my soule *with* bodely spech, as I shulde a done to a nother person *þat* had been traveyled. Me thought that besynes myght nott be lykened to no bodely lykenesse.

---

10 *prayer*: S2: prayers. 11 *good*: om. SS. *to (trust)*: S1: for to. 14 *lykenesse*: S1: bysynes; and so S2; cf. A (270.11): besenes.

---

of rosary beads which Eithne Wilkins was able to date are of the early 1400s (*The Rose-Garden Game*).

boystosly: NED: 'Of uncertain etymology ... The phonology and form suggest French origin, and in form the ME word exactly answers to OFr *boisteus* ... lame; but no connexion of sense appears to be traceable'; but MED records 'c.1450, *Pilg.L.M.* 108: the goutous, the encrampised, the boistous ...', and 'lamely' perfectly fits this context. Cf. 362.22, *boystours*, and note.

11 *gaue me grace*: cf. the short text: *I triste besely in god* ... This alteration is typical of Julian's theological thoroughness in her second recension: there is no trust nor comfort in the order of salvation except that which is specifically given. She would think that *I triste besely* could be interpreted in a semi-Pelagian way.

myghtly to trust in hym: cf. 269.42.

12 *as I shulde a done*: she is writing with the assurance of a spiritual director, in the contemplative context of diabolic illusions. The counsel which she gives herself follows directly.

14 *lykenesse*: the SS readings provide one of numerous instances that, even if their text were derived from an ancestor which P shared, there had been careful collation with a short text having readings agreeing with A; but either reading is defensible. A (270.10): 'It seemed to me that this activity could not be compared with any human activity'; P: '... with any bodily apparition'.

The lxx Chapter

Mi bodely eye I sett in the same crosse there I had seen in comforte afore þat tyme, my tong *with* spech of Cristes passion and rehersyng the feyth of holy church, and my harte to fasten on god *with* alle the truste

---

1 In SS, no chapter-division or heading. 2 *there*: S1: wher; and so S2. *seen*: S1: ben; and so S2; cf. A (270.12): sene. 3 *my tong with spech*: cf. A (270.12-13): my tunge I occupyed with speche.

---

2 *Mi bodely eye ... seyde afore* (651.16): this corresponds with the short text, 270.11-25. *Mi bodely eye I sett in the same crosse / there I had seen in comforte afore þat tyme / my tong with spech of Cristes passion / and rehersyng the feyth of holy church / and my harte to fasten on god / with alle the truste and þe myghte / that I thought to my selfe menyng / thou hast now great besenes / to kepe the in þe feyth / for þat thou shuldest nott / be taken of thyne enemys / Woldest thou now fro this tyme evyr more / be so besy to kepe þe fro synne / this were a good and a souereyne occupacion / For I thought faythfully / were I safe fro synne / I were fulle safe / fro alle the feendys in helle / and enemys of my soule*: cf. the short text, 270.11-19. The rhetorical structure of the passage has been polished, and the changes and additions are also of considerable theological significance. All the balanced *cola* are now made to depend on the first two: *Mi bodely eye I sett ... afore þat tyme*. She wishes to write that she can use her external senses to respond to the image of the crucified Saviour, whom she has also seen glorified *in comforte*); she rejoices in her sufferings when she is comforted (cf. Colossians 1.24) in sharing Christ's sufferings (cf. Philippians 3.10); she can also, in that recollection, respond with her inward senses (*my harte*) in affective prayer. This is the contemplative effort as she has described it in Revelation II: *And this vision was a lernyng to my vnderstandyng that the contynually sekyng of the soule plesyth god moch. For it may do no more than seke, suffer and trust* (332.68-70). *my ... my ... my* gives *repetitio*; *thou hast now great besenes / to kepe the in þe feyth / for þat thou shuldest nott / be taken of thyne enemys* is *exclamatio*, which o becomes a form of *ratiocinatio*, with a wish instead of a question, but still a *συλλογισμός* (cf. 643.38-45 note); and these four *cola* are the statement of what she is now doing which sums up what has gone before. *For I thought faythfully ...* expands the apodosis of the conditional.

3 *my tong with spech of Cristes passion and rehersyng the feyth of holy church*: she repeated prayers and creeds to ward off diabolic temptation. Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita* I lxxii, has a prayer: Opto etiam et desidero ... ut quotiescumque malignus spiritus abominandas cogitationes blasphemiae mihi immiserit, toties ex voto omnium desideriorum meorum ineffabilis laus et gratiarum actio tibi sit (Rigollot, 2 221).

rehersyng the feyth: the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* has this gloss on Hebrews 11.33: þe holy halewen alle ouercomen þorw bileeue þis deueles rixlynge (Vernon MS, f. 383^c; Day, 111).

4 *to fasten*: cf. 270.14: *I festende*; there is no reason to regard the long text's reading as inferior, any more than *faythfully* need be rejected for *sothly* (270.18). They are both significant changes; Julian can no longer say 'I fastened', only 'I directed my heart towards being fastened'.

and þe myghte, that I thought to my selfe, menyng: thou hast now great besenes to kepe the in þe feyth, for þat thou shuldest nott be taken of thyne enemys. Woldest thou now fro this tyme evyr more be so besy to
147v kepe þe fro synne, this / were a good and a souereyne occupacion. For I thought faythfully, were I safe fro synne I were fulle safe fro alle the feendys in helle and enemys of my soule.

And thus he occupyed me alle that nyght and on þe morow tylle it was about pryme day, and anon they were alle goone and passyd, and there lefte nothyng but stynke; and that lastyd styll a whyle. And I scornede hym, and thus was I delyured of hym by þe vertu of Crystes passion. For ther *with* is þe feend ovyrcome, as oure lorde Jhesu Cryst seyde afore.

In alle this blessyde shewyng oure good lorde gave vnderstandyng þat

---

5 *myghte, that I thought*: cf. A (270.15): myght that was in me. And I thouȝt. *that*: SS: and. 6 *þat*: om. SS. 7 *thyne*: S1: the; and so S2. *enemys*: S2: enimy. 8 *a (souereyne)*: om. S2. 9 *faythfully*: S1: sothly; and so S2; cf. A (270.18): sothlye. 10 *in*: SS: of. 11 *morow*: SS: morne. 12 *and (passyd)*: add. SS: all. 13 *there*:. S2: þen. *that*: om. C. *styll*: S2: till. 14 *hym (by)*: S1: hem. 17 *In alle this*: add. S1: In all tribulation we owe to be stedfast in the feith, trosting mytyly in god, for if our faith had no enimyte it should deserve no mede, *and* how all these shewings arn in the faith. lxx capt.; and so S2.

---

11 *he*: cf. 270.20, *thay*, which is probably what Julian wrote here; but *he* (*the feende*, 648.2) is defensible. In *Privy Counselling*, the *Cloud*-author, writing of the three spirits of wickedness, has: ... þou schalt not be takyn by no sleiȝt ne gile of þin enemys, þe feend and his fautours, þe woreld and þi flessche (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 148-149).

12 *pryme day*: cf. 270.21 note.

13 *I scornede hym*: this is the counsel of the *Ancrene Riwle*: Spite him a midde þe bert to hoker and to scorn þat flikereþ so *with* þe (Vernon MS, f. 385c; Day, 131). Cf. the *Chastising*: Also it is grete confusion to þe deuel whan he is repreued and dispised ... Þerfor it is a spedeful remedie, whan a man or womman feeliþ ony stirynge of þese temptacions, anoon þanne to speke out and seie, þat þe deuel may knowe what a man seiþ to his shame and confusion (Bazire and Colledge, 204).

14 *hym*: cf. 270.23, *thame* with which S1's *hem* agrees.

15 *as oure lorde Jhesu Cryst seyde afore*: cf. 346.7.

17 *In alle this blessyde shewyng / oure good lorde gave vnderstandyng / þat þe syght shulde passe / whych blessyd shewyng the feyth kepyth / with his owne good wylle and his grace / for he lefte with me neyther sygne ne tokyn / where by I myght know it / But he lefte with me his owne blessyd worde / in tru vnderstandyng / byddyng me fulle myghtly that I shulde beleue it / and so I do blessyd mott he be*: here Julian is assembling and setting out her *probatio*; *alle this blessyde shewyng* probably refers directly to Revelation XVI and the consequent locution, but this, as she writes at the beginning, is conclusion and confirmation to all fifteen. Cf. 632.3. At this point she is clear in her mind that though the showings are the

þe syght shulde passe, whych blessyd shewyng the feyth kepyth *with* his owne good wylle and his grace; for he lefte *with* me neyther sygne ne
20 tokyn where by I myght know it. But he lefte *with* me his owne blessyd
148r worde in tru vnderstandy*n*g, / byddyng me fulle myghtly that I shulde beleue it, and so I do, blessyd mott he be.

I beleue *þat* he is oure sauyoure that sh(e)wed it, and that it is in þe feyth that he shewde, and therfore I loue it evyr joyeng. And therto I
25 am bounde by alle hys owne menyng, *with* the nexte wordes *þat* folowen: Kepe thee there in, and comforte thee ther *with*, and truste therto.

---

23 *shewed*: ms: shwed.

---

22 *beleue (it)*: S1: leven. 23 *in*: om. SS. 24 *loue*: S1: leve; S2: beleeve. *evyr*: om. SS. *joyeng*: SS: enjoyand. 26 *truste*: add. SS.: thou.

---

source of her certainty in trust, that trust does not depend on the showings. They are kept in the faith, the *vertu that comyth of oure kynde substannce in to oure sensuall soule by the holy gost* (563.27); so that the *oppositio contrariorum* between revelation and faith is resolved by faith's personification. There is also *oppositio* between *sygne ne tokyn / his owne blessyd worde*; there is no external evidence for proof for non-believers, but there is Trinitarian knowledge.

18 *the feyth kepyth with his owne good wylle*: cf. William of St. Thierry: Quomodo autem est Christus Jesus in nobis? Utique per bonam voluntatem ... volendo scilicet ut habitet Christus per fidem in cordibus nostris. Voluntas enim haec aliquantus jam amor Christi est, sine quo fides in Christum omnino esse non potest. Pia namque fides sine spe et charitate esse non potest (*Speculum fidei*, PL 180 371).

19 *for he lefte with me neyther sygne ne tokyn*: perhaps Julian was thinking of stories such as Raymond of Capua's, of how Christ gave Catherine of Siena a gold and jewelled ring as a token of their espousal. The narrative concludes: His dictis, disparuit visio, sed semper remansit annulus ille in digito, non quidem secundum visionem aliorum, sed tantum secundum ipsius virginis visionem (ASS April III, 891). The same legend was told of Catherine of Alexandria; for Capgrave's English version of it, see Horstman, *St. Katharine*, 246. But she may be stating that, unlike Francis of Assisi and others of whom she might know, she had not received the stigmata. She has called Christ's own wounds *the tokyns of the blessydfulle passion* (317.4-5; cf. 217.5-6).

23 *I beleue þat he is oure sauyoure that shewed it / and that it is in þe feyth that he shewde / and therfore I loue it evyr joyeng / And therto I am bounde by alle hys owne menyng / with the nexte wordes þat folowen / Kepe thee there in and comforte thee ther with and trust therto*: in *þat he is oure sauyoure ... that he shewde* there is *complexio*, in *and therfore ... and therto* there is *repetitio*, and in the last *colon* there is *conversio*. In the second, third and fourth *cola* there is Trinitarian reference, and a parallel reference in the last to the Trinitarian image — *Kepe / feyth, comforte / loue, truste /* hope — in the soul.

25 *with the nexte wordes þat folowen*: cf. 646.57.

Thus I am beholdyng to kepe it in my feyth; for on the same day that it was shewde, what tyme the syght was passyd, as a wrech I for soke it, and openly I seyde that I had ravyd. Than oure lorde Jhesu of his mercy wolde nott lett it peryssch, but he shewde hyt all ageene within my soule, with more fullehed with the blessyd lyght of his precyous loue, seyeng theyse wordes full myghtely and fulle mekely: Wytt it now welle, 148v it was no ravyng that thou saw this day, as if he had / seyde: For the syghte was passyd fro the, thou l(ef)t it and cowth or myght nott kepe it. But wytt it now, that is to seye, now thou seest it.

This was seyde nott onely for the same tyme, but also to sett there vpon the grounde of my feyth, where he seyeth anone folowyng: But take it, and lerne it, and kepe thee ther in, and comfort the ther with, and trust therto, and thou shalt nott be ovyr com.

---

35 *left*: ms: lost. 38 *where* bis, not canc.

---

28 *beholdyng*: S1: bounden; and so S2. *same*: S1: selfe; and so S2. 29 *tyme*: add. SS: þat. 30 *I (seyde)*: om. S2. 31 *within*: add. S1: in. 32 *fullehed*: S2: fulnes. 33 *wordes*: S1: word. *it (now)*: S2: is. 35 *thou (left)*: om. SS. *lost* (ms): so C; S1: leftist; S2: lestist. *or myght*: om. SS. 36 *now (thou)*: add. S1: þat; and so S2. 39 *and lerne*: SS: leve. 40 *trust*: add. S1: þou: and so S2.

---

28 *Thus I am beholdyng to kepe it in my feyth / for on the same day that it was shewde / what tyme the syght was passyd / as a wrech I for soke it / and openly I seyde that I had ravyd.*
beholdyng: 'beholden'. Cf. 476.13.

31 *he shewde hyt ... with more fullehed*: this statement in no way contradicts that at the end of Revelation XVI — *I saw no more afftyr this* (647.74). This is an allusion to the last of the *thre propertes in whych I am som dele esyd* (519.74), *The thyrd is alle the hole revelation fro the begynnyng to the ende whych oure lorde god of his goodnes bryngyth oftymes frely to the syght of my vnderstondyng* (520.78).

33 *Wytt it now welle*: cf. 646.55.

35 *left*: P's *lost* is barely defensible; *it* is presumably the truth, or the content of the showing, because she could not see exactly as she was shown it, and so could not preserve it. 'And you know now (that it was no raving), because you are seeing it again (the third *properte*)'.

38 *where he seyeth anone folowyng*: cf. 646.59.
But take it ...: cf. 646.56.

The lxxi Chapter

In theyse vj wordes that folowyth wher he seyth: Take it, his menyng is to fasten it feytfully in oure hert; for he wylle it dwelle *with* vs in feyth in to oure lyfes end and after, in fullehed of joye, wyllyng that we haue
5 evyr feythfulle trust of his blessydfulle promyses, knowy(ng) his goodnesse, for oure feyth is contraryed in dyverse maner by oure owne
149r blyndnesse and / oure gostely enemys *with*in and *with*oute. And there fore oure precyous louer helpyth vs *with* goostely lyghte and tru techyng

---

4 *wyllyng* bis, not canc. 5 *knowyng*: ms: knowy.

---

1 In SS no chapter-division or heading. 2 *wher he seyth*: om. SS. 3 *hert*: S2: hearts. *wylle*: add. SS: that. 4 *in (to)*: om. SS. *fullehed*: S2: fulnes. 5 *feythfulle*: SS: sekir. *of (his)*: SS: in. *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. *promyses*: SS: behests. 6 *maner*: S1: manners; and so S2. 7 *blyndnesse*: S1: blinhede. *enemys*: S1: enemy; and so S2. 8 *precyous*: S1: gracyous; and so S2. *lyghte*: S1: syte; and so S2.

---

2 *theyse vj wordes*: sc. *take, beleve, kepe, comfort, trust, ovyrcome* (646.56-58).

3 *in oure hert*: that the place for God's word and command is the heart of him who walks the way of the Lord is the burden of Psalm 118.

If one were to accept the SS variants, that would give the following *compar*: *for he wylle that it dwelle with vs in feyth / to our lyfes end and after / in fullehed of joye / wyllyng that we haue evyr sekir trust / in his blisfull behests / knowyng his goodnesse / for our feyth is contraryed in dyverse manners / by oure owne blyndhede and oure gostely enemy / within and withoute / And there fore oure gracyous louer helpyth vs / with goostely syghte and tru techyng on sundry manners / within and without / where by that we may know hym*; and by this the figures would in many ways be improved. There are *oppositiones (feyth / fullehed of joy, within and without)*; but the central *oppositio* is *oure owne blyndhede and oure gostely enemy / oure precious louer ... goostely syghte and tru techyng.*

4 *that we haue evyr feythfulle trust of his blessydfulle promyses*: cf. Psalm 144.13: The Lord is faithful in all his words.

6 *by oure owne blyndnesse and oure gostely enemys*: William of St. Thierry writes: ... nec aedificatio sed ruina extra fidei fundamentum. Propter quod antiqui serpentis malitia primo hanc radicem inficere semper aggreditur labefactare, agens, si potest, ut fides vel omnino non sit, vel imperfecta sit, ... vel subducatur ei adeps pinguedinis spiritualis (*Speculum fidei*, PL 180 376).

8 *goostely lyghte*: cf. the *Cloud*: Þan wil he sumtyme parauenture seend oute a beme of goostly liȝt, peersyng þis cloude of vnknowing (Hodgson, 62).

syte (S1): since this gives as good *oppositio* to *blyndnesse*, it is impossible to express preference. If one be deliberate substitution, it is indeed skilful.

tru techyng on dyuerse manner within and withoute: in *Discretion of Stirrings*, the *Cloud-*

on dyuerse manner *with*in and *with*oute, where by þ*at* we may know
10 hym. And therfore in what manner that he techyth vs, he wylle þ*at* we
*per*ceve him wysely, receyvyng hym swetly, and kepe vs in hym feyth-
fully. For a boue the feyth is no goodnesse keppt in this lyffe, as to my
syght; and beneth the feyth is no helth of soule. But in the feyth, there
wyll oure lorde we kepe vs, for we haue by his goodnesse and his owne
15 werkyng to kepe vs in the feyth; and by his suffra*n*nce throw goostely

---

9 *dyuerse manner*: S1: sundry manners; and so S2. 10 *that*: om. SS. *þat (we)*: om. SS. 11 *receyvyng*: S1: receivyn; S2: receive. *and (kepe)*: om. S2. 13 *helth*: S1: helpe; and so S2. 14 *oure*: SS: þe. *lorde*: add. SS: þat. *and (his)*: add. S2: by. 15 *throw*: S1: be; and so S2.

---

author writes: I beseche almi3ti Jesu, as he is clepid þe aungel of grete counseile, þat he of his mercy be þi counselour and þi coumfortour ... and wisse me wiþ his wisdom to fulfille in party by my teching (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 69).

10 *þat we perceve him wysely / receyvyng hym swetly / and kepe vs in hym feythfully*: a *compar* with *dissolutio* and *similiter desinens*, improved if one substitutes S1's *receivyn* for P's *receyvyng*.

Reflecting on our Lord as teacher, Julian places what she has to say in a eucharistic context, the *mysterium fidei*: to perceive him wisely, a man must prove himself, and have the discernment which enables him to receive the body and blood of the Lord worthily (cf. I Corinthians 11.27-29). The context is also inevitably Johannine: To as many as received him he gave the power to become the sons of God, to them who believe in his name (John 1.12), with the relationship established between the bread of life, of the Word and the Eucharist in John 6.47 e.s. Nor is the adverb *swetly* in any way otiose: cf. I Peter 2.3-4: If you have tasted that the Lord is sweet, coming to him as to a living stone ... And *kepe vs in hym feythfully* is a distillation of the doctrine of the great eucharistic discourse, John chapters 14-17.

12 *For a boue the feyth is no goodnesse / keppt in this lyffe as to my syght / and beneth the feyth is no helth of soule / But in the feyth there wyll oure lorde we kepe vs / for we haue by his goodnesse and his owne werkyng / to kepe vs in the feyth*: a *compar*, all based on *oppositio*, which seems to echo Paul: Who shall separate us? ... In all these things we overcome because of him who has loved us. For I am sure that neither death nor life ... nor height nor depth will be able to separate us (Romans 8.35-39). There is also *repetitio (the feyth)*, and *inclusio* (*For a boue the feyth ... to kepe vs in the feyth*). In *wyll ... goodnesse ... werkyng* there is the usual Trinitarian reference.

13 *helthe / helpe* (S1): either reading is defensible.

15 *and by his suffrance throw goostely enmyte / we are asayde in þe fayth and made myghty / For if oure feyth had nott enmyte / it shulde deserue no mede / as by the vnderstandyng / that I haue in oure lordes meynyng*: a *compar* in which the apparent *oppositio, enmyte / made myghty* is explained in the *cola* which follow; and in *throw ... enmyte, had ... enmyte* there is *conversio* and *traductio*.

suffrannce ... mede: cf. the *Chastising*: ... for two þinges we shullen stidefastli hope. Þe firste is þat no man is temptid but bi þe suffraunce of god; þe secunde, þat what euere god sendiþ us ... it is 3ouen us and sent us fro oure louyng fadir ... and for oure grete profite ... we shuln go to blisse clene purgid (Bazire and Colledge, 165).

enmyte we are asayde in þe fayth and made myghty. For if oure feyth had nott enmyte, it shulde deserue no mede, as by the vnderstandyng
149v that I haue in oure lordes / meynyng.

Glad and mery and swete is þe blessydfulle louely chere of oure lorde
20 to oure soulys, for he behelde vs evyr lyvyng in loue longyng, and he wylle oure soule be in glad chere to hym, to ȝelde hym his mede. And thus I hope *with* his grace he hayth and more shall drawe the vtter chere to the inner, and make vs all att one *with* hym, and ech of vs *with* other in tru lastyng joye that is Jhesu.

25 I haue menyng of th(re) manner of cherys of oure lorde. The furst is

---

25 *thre*: ms: the, w. 'r' add. scr. to read 'ther'.

---

16 *asayde*: C, marg.: tryed. 17 *nott*: S1: none; and so S2. *by*: SS: to. 18 *in*: add. SS: all. 19 *Glad and mery*: add. S1: Jesus will our soules (S2: soul) be in g(l)ad cher to hym, for his cher is to us mery *and* lovely; *and* how he shewith to us iij manner cher (S2: of chere, viz.) of passion, compassion *and* blisfull cher. lxxi capt. *and mery*: om. S2. *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 20 *he behelde*: S1: be havith; S2: behadeth. 21 *ȝelde*: S1: gevin; and so S2. 22 *hayth*: C, SS: hath. *drawe*: add. S2: in. *vtter*: C, marg.: outward. 23 *inner*: add. S1: cher; and so S2.

---

19 *Glad and mery and swete / is þe blessydfulle louely chere of oure lorde / to oure soulys for he behelde vs / evyr lyvyng in loue longyng / and he wylle oure soule be in glad chere to hym / to ȝelde hym his mede*: in *Glad ... chere of oure lorde / oure soule be in glad chere to hym* there is a form of *chiasmus*, and *lyvyng in loue longyng* has *similiter cadens*. The epithets are chosen as suitable for countenance, disposition, look; and there is Trinitarian reference to the 'joy, bliss and liking' of the three Persons (cf. 389.2 e.s.), and to the interchangeable roles of Father and Son in the parable of the lord and the servant.

20 *behelde*: the SS readings are nonsensical; but one may ask whether they do not derive from an ancestor with 'behaldith'.

21 *And thus I hope with his grace / he hayth and more shall drawe / the vtter chere to the inner / and make vs all at one with hym / and ech of vs with other / in tru lastyng joye that is Jhesu*: a *compar* with Trinitarian *inclusio*.

22 *hayth* (P) / *hath* (C, SS): though the other manuscripts give no support for the conjecture, Julian may have used the verb 'to high'. NED quotes from the Wynkyn de Worde *Scale*, I chapter 18: cf. MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686: For oure lord seiȝ: Qui se humiliat exaltabitur *et* qui se exaltat humiliabitur (Luke 14.11); whoso heȝes (p. 292) hymself he schal be lowȝed, and whoso lowȝes hymself he schal be heȝed (Underhill, 39). 'Lifts up' makes better sense here than 'has', unless this is Julian's (or a scribe's) syntax for 'has drawn and will draw'. If this interpretation be correct, Julian seems to be thinking of John 12.32: If I be lifted up from the earth, I shall draw all men to myself, and of the context of faith and Eucharist in John 6.44: No one can come to me, unless the Father who sent me draw him; and I shall raise him up.

25 *I haue menyng of thre manner of cherys of oure lorde / The furst is chere of passion as he*

chere of passion, as he shewde whyle he was *with* vs in this lyfe dyeng; and though this beholdyng be mornyng and swemfulle, yet it is glad and mery, for he is god. The seconde manner of chere, it is pitte and ruth and compassion, and this shewyth he to all his louers *with* sekernesse of
30 kepyng that hath nede to his mercy. The thyrde is þe blessydfulle /
150r chere as it shalle be *with* outyn ende, and this was oftenest shewyd and longeste contynuyd. And thus in the tyme of oure payne and oure woo he shewyth to vs chere of his passion and his crosse, helpyng vs to beer it by his owne blessyd vertu. And in tyme of oure synnyng he shewyth
35 to vs chere of reuth and pytte, myghtely kepyng vs and defendyng agaynst all oure enmys. And theyse two be þe comyn cherys whych he

---

26 *with vs*: SS: here. *and (though)*: om. SS. 27 *swemfulle*: C, marg.: dark. 28 *it*: om. SS. 29 *sekernesse*: C, marg.: sureness. 30 *nede*: om. SS. *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 31 *shewyd*: om. SS. 33 *to*: om. SS. *and (his)*: add. SS: of. 34 *it*: om. SS. *in*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 35 *chere of*: om. S2. *defendyng*: add. S2: us. 36 *cherys*: S1: cher; and so S2.

---

shewde / whyle he was with vs in this lyfe dyeng / and though this beholdyng be mornyng and swemfulle / yet it is glad and mery for he is god / The seconde manner of chere / it is pitte and ruth and compassion / and this shewyth he to all his louers / with sekernesse of kepyng / that hath nede to his mercy / The thyrde is þe blessydfulle chere / as it shalle be with outyn ende / and this was oftenest shewyd / and longeste contynuyd: again, Trinitarian reference through *compar*. The second, third and fourth *cola* allude to the second revelation, the Vernicle, the Man of Sorrows; but all the Trinity laboured in Christ's Passion (cf. 391.30). Then comes *oppositio contrariorum* (*mornyng and swemfulle / glad and mery*), leading to the glorified Christ (*wher Jhesu appireth the blessed trinitie is vnderstand* — 295.15). In the triad *pitte and ruth and compassion* there is *interpretatio*.

32 *And thus in the tyme of oure payne and oure woo / he shewyth to vs chere of his passion and his crosse / helpyng vs to beer it by his owne blessyd vertu / And in tyme of oure synnyng he shewyth to vs chere of reuth and pytte / myghtely kepyng vs and defendyng agaynst all oure enmys / And theyse two be þe comyn cherys / whych he shewyth to vs in this lyfe / therwith meddelyng þe thyrde / and that is his blessyd chere / lyke it perty as it shalle be in heuyn / and that is by gracyous touchyng of swete lyghtenyng of goostly lyfe / wher by that we ar kept in true feyth hope and charite / with contrycion and devotion and also with contemplation / and alle manner of tru joyes and swete comfortes*: in this passage there is a perceptible lowering of the rhetorical tone. No longer concerned with Trinity and Incarnation, she employs fewer figures, and the *cola* are constructed with less regularity.

34 *And in tyme of oure synnyng*: Julian is thinking immediately of her own 'doubtful dread'. William of St. Thierry in a meditative reflection on Psalm 26.8-9: Faciem tuam domine requiram. Ne avertas faciem tuam a me, writes of the 'three faces' of God, two of which the Psalmist names here, the third of which was described to Moses: You cannot see my face and live; for man shall not see me and live (Exodus 33.20-23). William continues: Eam ergo, dulcissime, faciem quam avertisti aliquando a sancto David, et factus est conturbatus, converte ad me et ero consolatus ... (PL 180 228).

shewyth to vs in this lyfe, therwith meddelyng þe thyrde, and that is his blessyd chere lyke in perty as it shalle be in hevyn; and that is by gracyous toucchyng of swete lyghtenyng of goostly lyfe, wher by that we
40 ar kept in true feyth, hope and charite, with contrycion and devotion and also with contemplacion and alle manner of tru joyes and swete
150v comfortes. The blessydfull chere of oure lorde god werkyth / it in vs by grace.

---

37 *meddelyng*: S2: mingling. 38 *blessyd*: S2: blisfull. 39 *of (swete)*: SS: and. *lyghtenyng*: S1: lyfeyng; S2: lighting. *of (goostly)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 40 *true*: SS: sekir. 41 *joyes*: SS: solace. 42 *comfortes*: S2: comfort *and*. *blessydfull*: SS: blisfull. *oure*: S2: þe. *god*: om. S2.

---

37 *and that is his blessyd chere lyke in perty as it shalle be in hevyn*: William continues: visio vel scientia divinae majestatis tuae ... summa ejus scientia est (ibid.).

38 *by gracyous toucchyng of swete lyghtenyng*: whether one prefers P's *of* or SS's *and*, these are included in *all manner of tru joyes and swete comfortes* which Julian associates with *contemplacion* (the first time in the long text that she has used the word; hitherto she has usually written 'beholding'; cf. 491.16 and note). In *Western Mysticism*, 150-151, Cuthbert Butler listed from Bernard's *Sermon on the Canticle* the expressions he used 'describing the experiences of the soul in the mystic union'. *and* (SS) *gracyous toucchyng* could well itself be Julian's description of such an experience. Thus, Bernard writes, Canticles 62.4: Sed et si quando per excessum rapi in illam (sc. maiestatem dei) contingat, digitus dei est iste dignanter levans hominem ... (ed. J. Leclercq et al., 2 158). Cf. also the *Treatise of Perfection*: Bot the inwarde touchynge of god ... causes vs to be made one with god (Bazire and Colledge, 255).

39 *swete lyghtenyng*: though Butler does not list this expression, elsewhere (*Western Mysticism*, 157) he points out Canticles 41.3, where Bernard writes: Cum autem divini aliquid raptim et veluti in velocitate corusci luminis interluxerit menti ... (ed. J. Leclercq et al., 2 30), probably with such Scriptural passages in mind as Ecclesiasticus 43.14: ... et accelerat coruscationes emittere iudicii sui. The second Wycliffite version translates this term as 'liȝtnyngus' (MED); and, although NED groups its Lightning quotation from *Piers Plowman* B.XIX 197: Thanne come ... One *spiritus paraclitus* to Pieres and to his felawes In lyknesse of a liȝtnynge ... under 1., 'The visible discharge of electricity ...', it would more properly be glossed as does the *Promptorium parvulorum*: Lyhtnyng: *Coruscacio* ... (Mayhew, 266). There is little doubt that Julian too uses the term in this sense: a sudden and vivid illumination, one of the higher and rarer forms of spiritual consolation.

(The lxxij Chapter)

But now me behouyth to telle in what manner that I saw synne deedly in the creatures whych shulde nott dye for synne, but lyue in the joye of god *with* oute ende. I saw that twoo contrares shulde not be to geder in one stede. The most contraryous that are is the hyghest blesse and the deppest payne. The hyghest blesse that is is to haue god in cleerte of endlesse lyght, hym verely seyng, hym swetly felyng, hym all

---

1 *The lxxij Chapter*: om. C, P, but so SS: Synne in the chosen soulis is dedly for a time, but thei be not ded in the syght of god; *and* how we have here matter of joy *and* moneing, *and* that for our blindhede (S2: blindnes) *and* weyte of (add. S2: þe) flesh, *and* of the most comfortable chere of god, *and* why these shewings were made. lxxij capt. 2 *now*: add. S2: it. *that*: om. SS. 3 *whych*: S2: þat. *shulde*: SS: shall. 4 *contrares*: SS: contrarieties. *not be*: S1: neve; S2: never be. 5 *geder*: SS: god. 6 *god*: SS: him. 7 *cleerte*: S2: clarity. *lyght*: SS: life. *hym (all)*: om. SS.

---

2 *But now me behouyth to telle / in what manner that I saw synne deedly / in the creatures whych shulde nott dye for synne / but lyue in the joye of god with oute ende / I saw that twoo contrares / shulde not be to geder in one stede / The most contraryous that are is / the hyghest blesse and the deppest payne / The hyghest blesse that is / is to haue god in cleerte of endlesse lyght / hym verely seyng hym swetly felyng / hym all peasable havyng in fullhede of joye / and thus was þe blessydfulle chere of oure lorde god shewde in perty / In whych shewyng I saw / that synne was þe most contrary / so ferforth þat as long / as we be meddlyd with any part of synne / we shall nevyr see cleerly / þe blessyd chere of god / And the horyblyer and the grevouser that oure synnes be / the depper are we for that tyme fro this blessyd syghte*: the *compar* here is a truly remarkable *expolitio*. Julian is employing all her rhetorician's skills and her theological insights as she meditates on how *contraryous* is her *most contraryous, the hyghest blesse*, the Beatific Vision, and *the deppest payne*, our deprivation through sin of that vision. Here, as at 372.24, she shows her conviction that *oppositio contrariorum* is the figure for showing man and his sin and pain, God and his goodness and joy; and plainly she has laboured to make her *compar* as perfect as possible. (Again, several of the SS readings if adopted would improve the *cola*). Her mind turns to the Church's great prayers for the Beatific Vision; as she writes *to haue god in cleerte of endlesse lyght ... hym all peasable havyng in fullhede of joye*, she is thinking of the Roman Canon: locum refrigerii lucis et pacis (*Missale Romanum 1474*, 1 208); and her language here is also reminiscent of Ruysbroek's English translator: The state of good men is feruente and clere, for why, thay lyffe and wauke in the mydday, and with open and clere eyen the goodly sonne in his clerenesse thay beholde, and thay sacyate with the ioye of god ... (*Treatise of Perfection*; Bazire and Colledge, 253).

synne deedly: though the *oppositio* makes it clear that Julian has in mind sin which is destructive of the soul, she is not specifying individual mortal sins; rather, she sees all sins as deadly, in the sense in which the Midland Prose Psalter translates Psalm 18.13: Ab occultis meis munda me: Lord, make me clene of my dedelich priuetez (cf. MED, dedli 3).

peasable havyng in fullhede of joye; and thus was þe blessydfulle chere of oure lorde god shewde in perty. In whych shewyng I saw that synne
10 was þe most contrary, so ferforth þat as long as we be meddlyd with any part of synne we shall nevyr see cleerly þe b(l)essyd chere of god. And
1511r the horyblyer and the grevowser that oure / synnes be, the depper are we for that tyme fro this blessyd syghte.

And therfore it semyth to vs oftyn tymes as we were in parelle of deth
15 and in a party of helle for the sorow and þe payne that synne is to vs, and thus we are deed for the tyme fro the very syght of oure blessydfulle lyffe. But in all this I saw feythfully that we be nott deed in the

---

11 *blessyd*: ms: bessyd.

---

8 *peasable*: SS: perfectly. *fullhede*: S2: fulnes. *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 9 *god*: om. SS. *perty*: S1: pite; and so S2. 10 *was þe*: SS: is. *meddlyd*: S2: mingled. 11 *god*: S1: o(u)r lord; and so S2. 12 *horyblyer*: S2: more horrible. *the grevowser that*: S2: grieveous. 13 *that (tyme)*: S2: this. *blessyd (syghte)*: S1: blisfull; and so S2. 15 *and (in a)*: om. SS. *þe*: om. SS. *that*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 16 *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 17 *feythfully*: SS: sothfastly.

---

9 *perty / pite* (S1): this SS reading is attractive; but it is clear that Julian is making again the point she explains in the previous chapter: *his blessyd chere lyke in perty as it shalle be in hevyn* (658.37). Whatever supernatural favours she and others may have received on earth, these are no more than the dimmest foreshadowing of the Beatific Vision.

10 *meddlyd with any part of synne ... þe blessyd chere of god*: cf. William of St. Thierry: tenebras ignorantiae nostrae et caecitatis humanae posueris latibulum faciei hujus (*Meditatio VII*; PL 180 228).

12 *grevowser*: MED, grevous adj., records the comparative grevouser(e and superlatives grevouseste, etc.

14 *And therfore it semyth to vs oftyn tymes / as we were in parelle of deth / and in a party of helle / for the sorow and þe payne / that synne is to vs / and thus we are deed for the tyme / fro the very syght of oure blessydfulle lyffe / But in all this I saw feythfully / that we be nott deed in the syght of god / ne he passyth nevyr from vs / but he shall nevyr haue his fulle blesse in vs / tylle we haue oure full blesse in hym / verely seyng his feyer blessydfulle chere / For we are ordeyned therto in kynde / and getyn therto by grace*: a *compar* with *conversio*, medial *repetitio* and *oppositio*.

14 *in parelle of*: cf. NED, Peril, *sb.* The earliest instance is from the *Ancrene Riwle*; and it cites, 1.b., the *Prick of Conscience*, 'In grete perille of saul'.

15 *in a party of helle*: cf. William of St. Thierry: Propter quod, cum expellor a coelo, a taedio vitae meae libet etiam me aliquando descendere ad infernum viventem, ne contingat me illuc descendere morientem (*Meditatio VI*; PL 180 226).

for þe sorow: cf. the *Cloud*: ... he findeþ euermore his wetyng and his felyng as it were ocupied and fillyd wiþ a foule stinkyng lumpe of him self ... as ofte he goþ ni wood for sorow (Hodgson, 84).

17 *feythfully / sothfastly* (SS): cf. NED, Faithfully, *adv.*, 1.b., 'Assuredly, in truth, with only one instance, c.1400, *Destr. Troy*. MED, feithfulli adv., 4 (c), groups this with two other examples, 'indeed'.

syght of god, ne he passyth nevyr from vs; but he shall nevyr haue his fulle blesse in vs tylle we haue oure full blesse in hym, verely seyng his feyer blessydfulle chere. For we are ordeyned therto in kynde and getyn therto by grace. Thus I saw how synne is deedly for a short tyme to þe blessyd creatures of endlesse lyffe.

And evyr the more clerly that the soule seeyth the blyssefull chere by grace of lovyng, the mor it longyth to se it in / fulhed, that is to sey in his owne lycknes. For not*with*stondyng that oure lorde god dwellyth now in vs, and is here *with* vs, and colleth vs and beclosyth vs for tendyr

---

20 *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 21 *to*: SS: in. 23 *the (blyssefull)*: S1: this; and so S2. 24 *fulhed*: S2: fulnes. *that is ... lycknes*: om. SS. 25 *god*: om. S2. *dwellyth*: S1: wonnyth; and so S.2 26 *now*: om. SS. *colleth*: C, marg.: embraceth; S1: al he halsith; S2: al behalseth.

---

21 *Thus I saw how synne is deedly for a short tyme / to þe blessyd creatures of endlesse lyffe*: this is the conclusion of the previous *compar*, making a form of *inclusio* to *But now me behouyth to telle in what manner that I saw synne deedly in the creatures* (659.2). Characteristically, Julian ends with *oppositio*: they are *þe blessyd creatures of endlesse lyffe*, in whom *synne is deedly for a short tyme*.

23 *And evyr the more clerly that the soule seeyth the blyssefull chere by grace of lovyng / the mor it longyth to se it in fulhed that is to sey in his owne lycknes*: two long *cola*, with *repetitio* (*the more ... the mor*).

24 *in his owne lycknes*: cf. 644.48-50 and note. The thought echoes I John 3.2 (see 481.53 note). William of St. Thierry glosses this text in his *Speculum fidei*: Similem enim ibi esse deo, videre deum, sive cognoscere erit: quem in tantum videbit sive cognoscet, qui cognoscet vel videbit in quantum similis erit; in tantum erit ei similis in quantum eum cognoscet vel videbit. Videre namque ibi seu cognoscere deum similem est esse deo; et similem ei esse videre seu cognoscere eum est. Haec cognitio perfecta vita erit aeterna, gaudium quod nemo tollet habenti (PL 180 393).

25 *notwithstondyng that oure lorde god / dwellyth now in vs / and is here with vs / and colleth vs and beclosyth vs for tendyr loue / that he may nevyr leue vs / and is more nere to vs / than tonge may telle or harte may thyngke / yet maye we nevyr stynte / of mornyng ne of wepyng / nor of sekyng nor of longyng / tyll whan we se hym clere / in his blessydfulle chere / for in þat precious syght ther may / no woo abyde nor wele feyle*: another *expolitio*, with *conversio* (*vs ... vs ... vs ... vs*), *conduplicatio* (*colleth ... beclosyth, mornyng ... wepyng, sekyng ... longyng*), and, in the last, *similiter cadens*, which in its turn leads to the rhymed couplet: tyll whan we se hym *clere* / in his blessydfulle *chere*. The short, rhythmic *cola* lead us to the *complexio, for in þat precious syght* ...; once again, the *expolitio* is inspired by Julian's poetic vision of the *most contraryous* (659.2 note), the Beatific Vision in which *ther may no woo abyde nor wele feyle*.

notwithstondyng ... that he may nevyr leue vs: Julian reverts to Revelation I (cf. 299.4-6 and 212.3-6, where *colleth* is *halses, halseth*); but now she completes the thought begun there: the indwelling is mutual.

26 *colleth*: the synonyms supplied by C and SS are accurate. Cf. NED, Coll, *v.*[1] (though the distinction they make between their senses 1. and 2. is not clear). 'To embrace, hug'. The first example is c.1320, their last 1708. *halsith* (S1) or *behalseth* (S2) may well have been what Julian here wrote, though NED, MED have no instance of 'behalseth'. FEW records *colier*, 'embrasser', in Machaud.

loue, that he may nevyr leue vs, and is more nere to vs than tonge may telle or harte may thyngke, yet maye we nevyr stynte of mornyng ne of wepyng nor of sekyng nor of longyng, tyll whan we se hym clere in his
30 blessydfulle chere; for in *þat* precious syght ther may no woo abyde nor wele feyle.

And in this I saw mater of merth and mater of mornyng — mater of myrth, *þat* oure lorde, oure maker is so nere to vs and in vs, and we in hym by feythfulnesse of kepyng of his great goodnes, mater of mornyng,
35 for oure gostly eye is so blynde, and we so boren downe *with* weyght of

---

27 *may* (2×): SS: can (2×). 28 *mornyng*: S1: moning; and so S2. 29 *nor of sekyng*: om. SS. *clere*: S1: cleerly; and so S2. 30 *blessydfulle*: S1: blissfull; and so S2. *precious*: add. S1: blisfull; and so S2. *nor*: SS: ne no. 32 *mornyng*: S1: monyng; and so S2. 33 *þat*: SS: for. *oure (maker)*: S2: *and*. 34 *feythfulnesse*: S1: sekirne(s); and so S2. *of (his)*: S2: by. *mornyng*: S1: monyng; and so S2. 35 *we*: add. SS: be. *with*: S1: be; and so S2.

---

27 *is more nere to vs*: cf. 571.11 e.s. and notes.

than tonge may telle: cf. 237.11 note.

28 *yet maye we nevyr stynte*: cf. the English *Horologium sapientiae*: And so a deuowte sowle þat is feruent in love of godde, þe more sweteley þat he feleþ bye experience in him selfe þe confort of godde aftere bitter prefe, so miche more of vnseyne before ioye he falleþ alle in to teres (Horstman, 347).

29 *tyll whan we se hym clere* ...: Julian's description of the Beatific Vision is not unlike the language used by the Pearl in expounding on the jewel which is her espousals gift from the Lamb, and the kingdom of heaven (Matthew 13.46) and also the New Jerusalem in which she dwells: For hit is wemle3, clene and clere / And endele3 rounde and blyþe of mod' (ed. Gordon, 27).

32 *And in this I saw mater of merth and mater of mornyng / mater of myrth þat oure lorde oure maker is so nere to vs and in vs / and we in hym by feythfulnesse of kepyng of his great goodnes / mater of mornyng for oure gostly eye is so blynde / and we so boren downe with weyght of oure deedely flessch and darcknes of synne / that we may nott see oure lorde god clerly in his blessydfull chere*: this passage, which begins with *transitio*, and has *repetitio* and *traductio*, introduces a marked change of rhythm.

mornyng / monyng (S1): either is admissible, since either provides *oppositio* to *merth*.

33 *so nere to vs*: cf. Psalm 144.18: The Lord is near to all who call upon him.

35 *oure gostly eye is so blynde*: so Hilton writes, in the *Scale*, II chapter 16: ... ri3t as a blynde man is al vmbilappid wiþ li3te of þe sonne when he stondiþ þer inne, *and* 3et seeþ he it not ... ri3t so gostly a soule blynded wiþ dedly synne is al vmbilappid *with* þis gostly li3t, *and* 3it he is neuer þe better, for he is blynde (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 78^{v}; Underhill, 285).

boren downe: Julian seems to be recalling the lament of Job 7.20: I have sinned ... I have become a burden to myself. Gregory the Great in his gloss on this verse writes that even the cure of bodily ills brings fresh burdens to the body: ipsa nostra salus aegritudo est, cui curandi necessitas nunquam deest (PL 75 834). Cf. 441.72, *borne ovyr lowe*, and note.

oure deedely flessch and darcknes of synne that we may nott see oure /
152r lorde god clerly in his blessydfull chere. No, and bycause of this darknesse, sca(r)ce we can beleue or trowe his grete loue and oure feythfulnes of kepyng. And therfore it is þat I sey, we may nevyr leue of
40 mornyng ne of wepyng.

This wepyng menyth nott all in poryng out of teerys by oure bodely

---

38 *scarce*: ms: scace.

---

37 *blessydfull*: S1: faire blisful; and so S2. 38 *darknesse*: S1: myrkehede; and so S2. *scarce*: S1: unethes; S2: scarcely. *beleue or*: S1: leven *and*; and so S2. *trowe*: C, marg.: think. 39 *feythfulnes*: S1: sekirness; and so S2. *leue*: SS: stinten. 40 *mornyng*: S1: moning; and so S2. *of (wepyng)*: om. C.

---

36 *darcknes of synne*: she recalls the situation of those who 'sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, bound in want and in iron, because they had exasperated the word of God ... and their heart was humbled with labours and they were weakened' (Psalm 106.10-12).

that we may nott see: so William of St. Thierry: cum etiam nolenti mihi et rebus melioribus intento, sic saepe foeda peccatorum meorum facies mentis meae oculis se ingerat, ut propter ipsa ipse me oderim. O domine, quid multa dicam de ignominiosa facie conscientiae meae? (PL 180 227).

37 *No and bycause of this darknesse / scarce we can beleue or trowe / his grete loue and oure feythfulnes of kepyng / And therfore it is þat I sey / we may nevyr leue of mornyng ne of wepyng*: this is the conclusion of the *compar* beginning 662.32. It begins with a sort of *correctio*, not exactly according to the definition in *Ad Herennium* (Marx-Trillitzsch, 145), but the figure there is related to μετάνοια, which is a figure of thought as much as of speech. There is *conduplicatio (beleue or trowe)*, and in the last two *cola conclusio*.

38 *oure feythfulnes of kepyng*: 'our assurance of preservation'. NED, MED do not notice this usage; but cf. the *Catholicon Anglicum*: Faythfully ; *fiducialiter* (Herrtage, 121).

41 *This wepyng menyth nott all / in poryng out of teerys by oure bodely eye / but also to more gostely vnderstandyng / for the kyndly desyer of oure soule / is so gret and so vnmesurable / that if it were yeve vs to oure joy and oure comfort / alle the nobley þat evyr god made in hevyn and in erth / and we saw nott þe feyer blessydfulle chere of him selfe / yett shuld we nevyr leue mornyng ne of gostely wepyng / þat is to sey of paynfull longyng / tyll whan we se verely / the feyer blessedfull chere of oure maker / And if we were in all the payne / that hart may thyngk or tong may telle / and we myght in that tyme se his blessydfull chere / alle this payne shule vs nott greve*: this whole figure is built of *contraria*; and there is also *ratiocinatio* (συλλογισμός), not by question and answer but by the use of hypotheses (*if it were yeve ... and we saw nott ... tyll whan we se verely ... And if we were ... and we myght in that tyme se*), a frequent device of Julian's.

Julian associates the heaviness and remorse of guilt and unforgiven sin with what the tradition calls the 'gift of tears' (cf. 660.14-15 and notes), the sorrow of the contemplative. They are certainly the same in their psychological effects; and she wishes us to know that when we can see them together, as they belong together, we already have hope.

Guigo II writes at length of tears and desires. Cf. *A Ladder*: ... the sowle ... is en-

eye, but also to more gostely vnderstandyng; for the kyndly desyer of oure soule is so gret and so vnmesurable that if it were yeve vs to oure joy and oure comfort, alle the nobley þat evyr god made in hevyn and in
45 erth, and we saw nott þe feyer blessydfulle chere of him selfe, yett shuld we nevyr leue mornyng ne of gostely wepyng, þat is to sey of paynfull longyng, tyll whan we se verely the feyer blessedfull chere of oure
152v maker. And if we were in all the payne that hart may thyngk / or tong may telle, and we myght in that tyme se his blessydfull chere, alle this
50 payne shule vs nott greve. Thus is þat blessydfull syght ende of alle manner of payne to louyng soules, and fulfyllyng of all manner joy and blysse; and þat shewde he in the hye mervelous wordes where he seyth: I it am that is hyghest, I it am þat thou lovyst, I it am that is alle.

---

42 *eye*: S2: eyes. *kyndly*: C, marg.: natural. 44 *joy*: SS: solace. *and (oure)*: add. SS: to. *nobley*: C, marg.: nobleness; SS: nobleth. 45 *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 46 *nevyr leue mornyng*: S1: not stynt(i)n of moning; and so S2. 47 *feyer*: om. S2. *blessedfull*: S1: blisfull; and so S2. 48 *may (thyngk)*: SS: can. *or*: SS: *and*. 49 *and (we)*: SS: if. *blessydfull (chere, alle)*: SS: faire blisfull. 50 *greve*: SS: agrieven. *þat*: S2: þe. *blessydfull (syght)*: SS: blisfull. 51 *soules*: S1: soule; and so S2. *of (all)*: om. SS. *manner*: add. C, SS: of. 52 *seyth*: S2: said. 53 *thou lovyst*: S1: is lowist; and so S2.

---

flaumyd and so ravisshed in desire ... god for to se ... Wyth thes ... desyres the herte is inflaumed. God is callid ... to comme to the moornyng sowle that langurith in love ... whethir sighynges and teerys be massengers of this likyng and this comforte? It semyth not commynly that comfort acordith with syghyngs and ioy with terys (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 109, 111 ; cf. Colledge and Walsh, *Guigues II*, 90, 96, 98. The passage in the *Ladder*: ... a symple olde pore woman ... such likyng wille haue in so litel a while, so in sely moornyng the hert al tomeltyth, þat withoute terys and moornyngys may she not praye (110), is not in the Latin).

43 *that if it were yeve*: compare the similar *ratiocinatio* in Matthew 16.25-26: For he who wishes to save his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for my sake will find it. For what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange will a man give for his soul?

45 *yett shuld we nevyr leue*: the *contraria* of this and other passages are inspired by the Gospel 'beatitudes': Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur; beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur ... beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi deum videbunt (Matthew 5.5-8).

48 *that hart may thyngk*: cf. 237.11 note.

50 *Thus is þat blessydfull syght / ende of alle manner of payne to louyng soules / and fulfyllyng of all manner joy and blysse / and þat shewde he / in the hye mervelous wordes where he seyth / I it am that is hyghest / I it am þat thou lovyst / I it am that is alle*: this serves as a superb *conclusio* to all the figures of this chapter, the first three *cola* giving *oppositio* with the last *compar.*

52 *in the hye mervelous wordes*: cf. 402.7.

It longyth to vs to haue thre manner of knowyng. The furst is þat we
55 know oure lorde god. The seconde is that we know oure selfe, what we ar by him in kinde and in grace. The thyrde is þat we know mekely þat oure selfe is a gaynst oure synne and agaynst oure febylnes. And for these thre was alle this shewyng made, as to my vnderstandyng.

---

54 *knowyng*: C, S2: knowings; and so S1. 55 *(seconde) is*: om. SS. *selfe*: S2: selves. 56 *in (grace)*: om. SS. *(thyrde) is*: om. S1. *þat (oure)*: S1: what; and so S2. 57 *a gaynst (oure synne)*: S1: anempts; S2: anempt. *agaynst (oure febylnes)*: om. SS. *oure (febylnes)*: om. S2. 58 *this*: S1: the; and so S2.

---

54 *It longyth to vs to haue thre manner of knowyng / The furst is þat we know oure lorde god / The seconde is that we know oure selfe / what we ar by him in kinde and in grace / The thyrde is þat we know mekely / þat oure selfe is a gaynst oure synne and agaynst oure febylnes*: again, there is an abrupt change of rhythm and tone, from the exalted *compares* which treat of the Beatific Vision to the dry, measured language of this didactic passage. Theologically, we have reference to the Trinity: what we are by him, in kind and in grace — 'by him', the Father creating, 'in kind' the Son, who takes on our sensuality, 'in grace' the Spirit.

57 *a gaynst ... agaynst* (P) / *anempts* (S1), *anempt* (S2): the variants may be synonymous, 'with respect to'. Cf. NED, Against, I.2., Anent, A.11., or 'opposed to', cf. NED Against, I.10, Anent, B. *adv*. Either sense could be admitted; the human personality must be seen to be what it is with respect to sin and debility; or, if one favours 'opposed to', this may be an allusion to the *godly wylle that nevyr assentyd to synne ne nevyr shall* (555.12). But see 670.46, *agaynst* (P) / *anempts* (SS), where either word must mean 'with respect to'.

58 *alle this shewyng made*: cf. 732.9: *In whych knowyng he wylle geve vs grace to loue hym and cleve to hym ...*

The lxxiij Chapter

153r Alle this blessyd techyng of oure / lorde god was shewde by thre partys, that is to sey by bodely syght, and by worde formyd in myne vnderstondyng, and by gostely syghte. For þe bodely syghte, I haue seyde as I sawe, as truly as I can. And for þe words, I haue seyde them ryght as oure lorde shewde them me. And for the gostely syghte, I haue seyde some dele, but I may nevyr fulle telle it; and therfore of this gostely syght I am steryd to sey more, as god wylle geue me grace.

God shewde ij manner of sycknesse *þat* we haue. That one is vnpacyens or slouth, for we bere oure traveyle and oure payne hevyly. That other is dispeyer or doughtfulle drede, as I shalle sey after. Generally he shewde synne, wher in alle is comprehendyd; but in

---

1 *lxxiij*: C: lxxij. S1: These revelations were shewid iij wises; and of ij gostly sekernes (S2: sekenes) of which god will we amend us, remembring his passion, knowing also he is al love, for he will we have sekirnes *and* liking in love, not takyng onskilfull hevyness for our synnes past. 2 *this*: S1: the; and so S2. 3 *that is to sey*: S2: viz. *and by worde ... gostely syghte*: om. S2. 5 *ryght*: S2: with. 6 *them (me)*: add. SS: to. 7 *fulle*: S2: fully. *(this) gostely*: om. SS. 9 *That* (2×): S2: þe (2×). *vnpacyens*: S2: impatience. 10 *traveyle*: S2: travels. *payne*: S1: pey(n)es; and so S2. 12 *in (alle)*: add. S1: that.

---

2 *Alle this blessyd techyng ... as god wylle geue me grace*: there is verbatim correspondence here with the short text, 272.51-273.64, except that in the short text, after *be thre partyes*, Julian adds: *as I hafe sayde before*. The reference is to the summary at the end of the first revelation, 224.1 e.s. There she wrote of the ghostly sight: *I maye nought ne can nought schewe it vnto 3owe oponlye and als fullye as I wolde* (224.3-5).

6 *shewde*: cf. 273.62 and note.

9 *vnpacyens*: the 'un-' prefix is common in the fourteenth century.

10 *or slouth*: not in the short text; cf. 274.2. Seemingly it is added here because the definition, the same in either text, could apply to either vice. NED defines impatience as 'Want of endurance; failure to bear suffering, discomfort, annoyance, etc., with equanimity ...'. For the author of the *Ancrene Riwle*, impatience is the eighth whelp of Pride: þis whelp fet þat ine suffringe a3eyn alle greues and eueles (Vernon MS, f. 381a; Day, 88). Furthermore: Þe beore of heui slouþe haþ eihte whelpes. Torpor is þe forme, *þat* is vnlust to eny good wlech herte þat schulde lihten al on a leome in loue of vr lord ... þe þridde is Cordis grauitas. Þis haueþ whose worcheþ god and deeþ hit þau3 mid a ded and mid an heuy herte (f. 381b; Day, 89).

11 *dispeyer*: in the *Riwle*, this is the eighth cub of Sloth (Day, 90).

12 *Generally ... but theyse ij*: not in the short text; cf. 274.4. Julian is repeating here her observation that she was shown sin in general: ... *oure lorde brou3te to my mynde generally alle that is nott good*, and that, too, in the context of being *trobelyd ... tylle we be fulle purgyd of oure dedely flessch* (405.15 e.s.).

specyall he shewde noone but theyse ij, and theyse two are it þat /
153v moste traveylyth and trobyllyth vs, as by that oure lorde shewde me, of
15 whych he wylle we be amendyd. I speke of such men and women þat for goddes loue hate synne and dyspose them to do goddes wylle. Than by oure gostly blyndhed and bodely hevynesse we are most enclynyng to theyse; and therfore it is goddys wylle þat they be knowen, and than shulde we refuse them, as we do other synnes.

20 And for helpe agaynst thys, full mekely oure lorde shewd the pacyens that he had in his harde passion, and also the joy and þe lykyng that he hayth of þat passion for loue. And this he shewde in example þat we shulde gladly and esely bere oure paynes, for þat is great plesyng to hym and endlesse profyte to vs. And þe cause why we are traveyled with
25 them is for vnknowyng of loue. Though the thre persons of þe blessyd

---

13 *noone*: SS: not. *it*: S1: thei; and so S2. 14 *moste*: om. S2. *trobyllyth*: SS: tempesten; cf. A (274.5): tempestes. 16 *them*: S2: þemselves. 17 *blyndhed*: S2: blindnes. 18 *theyse*: C: this. *þat*: om. SS. 19 *shulde*: S1: shall; and so S2. 20 *for*: S1: full. *agaynst*: SS: of. 21 *his*: C: this. *joy*: S1: joyeing; and so S2; cf. A (274.12): ioye. 23 *esely*: SS: wisely; cf. A (274.14): esely. 25 *of (þe)*: SS: in. *blessyd*: om. SS.

---

14 *of whych he wylle*: cf. 274.5 and note.

15 *I speke of such men and women þat for goddes loue hate synne and dyspose them to do goddes wylle*: she has in mind, primarily, dedicated contemplative religious. On the other hand, however, she can hardly conceive of anyone who does not hate sin; cf. 272.48-49.

16 *Than by oure ...*: cf. 274.8 and note.

17 *gostly blyndhed*: cf. 662.35-663.39.

20 *And for helpe agaynst thys*: cf. 274.11: *And thus*. In the *Ancrene Riwle* we read: Ho may beo for schome slumy, sluggi *and* slouh þat bihalt swiþe hou bisi vr lord was on eorþe ... how he i þe euen of his lyf swonk on þe harde roode? (Vernon MS, f. 384a; Day, 115).

full mekely oure lorde shewd the pacyens / that he had in his harde passion / and also the joy and þe lykyng / that he hayth of þat passion for loue: a *compar*, with *oppositio*.

22 *in example*: this is the figure of thought, *exemplum*.

23 *gladly and esely*: in the English *Stimulus*, chapter 4, we read: ... and þou þou may not ay haue deuocioun ne meltyng of teres wenne þou woldist ne fele swetnesse ne comforþ siche as þow ȝernyst, be not ouer cast in heuynesse, but bere esyli þi þouȝten (var.: wiþ outen) vntrist, as Criste suffred on þe cros ... (H. J. Kane, 28; Kirchberger, 66).

is great plesyng: 'is a great delight'.

25 *vnknowyng of loue*: cf. I John 3.1: See what manner of love the Father has bestowed on us, that we should be called and should be the children of God. Therefore the world does not know us, because it did not know him.

154r trynyte be alle / evyn in the selfe, the soule toke most vnderstandyng in loue. Ye, and he wylle in alle thyng þ*at* we haue oure beholdyng and oure enjoyeng in loue. And of this knowyng are we most blynde, for some of vs beleue that god is allmyghty and may do alle, and that he is 30 alle wysdom and can do alle, but that he is alle loue and will do alle, there we fayle. And this vnknowyng it is that most lettyth goddes lovers, as to my syght; for whan we begynne to hate synne and amend vs by the ordynannce of holy chyrch, yett ther dwellyth a drede þ*at* lettyth vs, by þe beholldyng of oure selfe and of oure synne afore done, and some of 35 vs for oure every day synnes, for we holde nott oure promise nor kepe oure clennes that oure lorde settyth vs in, but fall oftymes in to so

---

26 *the (selfe)*: S2: it. 27 *thyng*: S2: things. 29 *beleue*: S1: leven. 31 *fayle*: S1: astynten; S2: are stynten. 32 *by*: SS: for. 34 *synne (afore)*: S1: synnes; and so S2. 35 *day*: S1: dayly. *nott*: S1: nor. *promise*: SS: covenants. *nor*: S1: ne; S2: we. *kepe*: add. SS: not. 36 *in to*: SS: in.

---

26 *in the selfe*: cf. 274.17: *in properte*. This change seems to have been made in the interests of theological precision; the properties are attributed in the distinction of the persons, and not precisely in their unity. Julian is careful here to use the singular. Cf. Concilium Toletanum XVI, using the Augustinian similitude: ... voluntas ad personam sancti referatur spiritus ... quia quibus est unum esse in deitatis natura, his est in personarum distinctione specialis proprietas (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 573, p. 194).

the soule toke most vnderstandyng in loue: cf. 274.17 and note.

27 *Ye, and he wylle ... we can see ony comfort* (669.38): not in the short text; cf. 274.18. There the train of Julian's thought is more immediately evident. The change is probably because, once again, she was reluctant to refer to herself. But there is also a theological point: she wants to link knowing and loving. Cf. I John 4.7-16: Everyone who loves ... knows God ... and we have known and believed the love which God has towards us. God is love.

29 *god is allmyghty ... there we fayle*: cf. the English *Horologium*: Why þanne ȝit quakest þou and why dredist? for soþ, hee is most pitevous, and þerfore hee wil helpe; hee is alþerewisiste, and þerfore hee wote best what is expedient and profitable to euery manne; and also hee is moost myȝhty, and þerfore his alþerstrengest hande fulfillith and parfourmith, þere as a man of hym selfe failith (Horstman, 350-351).

31 *astynten* (S1): NED, Astint, *v.*, gives as its last example 1480 Caxton, which explains S2's failure to recognize what S1 had faithfully copied.

32 *as to my syght*: cf. 275.21-22, where there is a universal statement without this qualification. Here she wishes to remind her readers that she makes such assertions only in the light of what she was shown.

34 *and some of vs ... we can see ony comfort*: not in the short text; cf. 275.25. Julian has here amplified what she wrote about the despair of doubtful dread to include that frame of mind, bordering on the scrupulous, in which the devout are sometimes paralyzed by the fear of falling into sin. The *Riwle's* author writes of despair: vnhope ... is grimmest of alle, for hit to cheweþ and to fret godes mylde milce and his muchele merci and his vnimete grace (Vernon MS, f. 381^{b}; Day, 90).

moche wrechydnes that shame it is to say it. And the beholldyng of thys
154v makyth / vs so sory and so hevy that vnnethys we can see ony comfort.
And thys drede we take some tyme for a mekenes, but it is a foule
40 blyndnes and a w(eke)nesse; and we can nott dyspyse it as we do an-
other synne that we know, whych comyth thorugh lack of true jugment,
and it is agayne truth. For alle the propertees of þe blessydfulle trynyte,
it is goddys wyll þat we haue most feythfulnes and lykyng in loue.

---

40 *wekenesse*: ms: wyckydnesse.

---

37 *say*: S1: seen; and so S2. 38 *vnnethys*: S2: scarsely. *see*: S1: finde; and so S2. 39 *it*: S1: this; and so S2. 40 *blyndnes*: S1: blyndhed. *wyckydnesse* (ms): S1: waykenes; and so S2; cf. A (275.26): waykenesse. 41 *whych comyth thorugh*: S1: for it commyth of enmite; and so S2; cf. A (275.28): for it comes of the enmy. *lack of true jugment*: om. SS. 42 *blessydfulle*: SS: blisfull. 43 *feythfulnes*: SS: sekirnes; cf. A (275.30): sekernesse.

---

39 *And thys drede ... for swetnesse of loue* (673.19): this corresponds with the short text, 275.25-276.17.

And thys drede ... and a wekenesse: Julian may have in mind some of the exaggerations, in contemporary devotional writing, of self-denigration, so as to acquire humility or even 'reverent dread'. One such instance is in the English *Stimulus*, chapter 6, where the writer accuses himself of being 'prudder þanne Lucifer, more presumptuouse þanne þe first man Adam', and continues: I shal dissese my seelf with peynfulnesse and angwisshes als moche as I may skylfulli bere, and I schal ay lothe my self als vyle stynckande filth (H. J. Kane, 56-58; Kirchberger, 86-87).

40 *wekenesse / wyckydnesse* (P): cf. 474.68 and note, where also this emendation has the support of SS and of A.

41 *comyth thorugh lack of true jugment*: in the short text, Julian had written that the source of such a fault or temptation is the enemy; here she implies that to identify the precise source is less important than recognizing it for what it is, a lack of discernment, stupidity or ignorance. In this sense it is a *foule blyndnes*, but a *wekenesse*, not a *wyckydnesse*. The author of *Benjamin*, after having named dread as 'þe first felt vertewe in a mans affeccioun', goes on to name discretion as the last, 'wiþ þe whiche alle oþer mowen be gouernyd' (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 17, 39).

it is agayne truth: Julian may have in mind I John 5.20, the penultimate verse of the epistle: We know that the Son of God has come, and has given us understanding, that we may know the true God and may be in his true Son. This is the true God and eternal life.

43 *feythfulnes / sekirnes* (SS): this is a frequent variant. NED, Sickerness, *Obs.* exc. *Sc.*, 3, 'The state or condition of being secure', cites *Hali Meiðhad*: Se seli sikernesse as ha (the dedicated virgin) was in ... under godes warde. MED, feithfulnesse n., has as its first example c.1400 Bible SNT, I John 5.14, translating the Vulgate's *fiducia*. More probably, Julian wrote *feythfulnes*, which, with *lykyng in loue*, corresponds to the Pauline triad, 'faith, hope and charity'.

For loue makyth myght and wysdom fulle meke to vs; for ryght as by
45 þe curtesy of god he forgetyth oure synne after the tyme that we repent vs, so wylle he that we forgett oure synne as agaynst oure vnskylfulle hevynesse and oure doughtfulle dredes.

---

45 *forgetyth*: S1: forgivith; and so S2; cf. A (275.32): for gettys. 46 *vs*: add. S1: ryte; and so S2; cf. A (275.33): right so. *forgett*: S1: forgive; and so S2; cf. A (275.33): fore gette. *agaynst*: SS: anempts.

---

44 *For loue makyth* ...: in this personification, Julian is writing both of Trinity and Incarnation. She appears to be echoing such texts as Titus 3.4-5: when the goodness and kindness (Vulgate: *benignitas et humanitas*) of God our Saviour appeared, not by the works of justice we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us, by the renovation ... of the Holy Ghost, whom he has poured out on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

45 *he forgetyth oure synne*: cf. Isaias 43.25: I am he ... who blots out your iniquities for my own sake, nor shall I remember your sins.

forgetyth / forgivith (SS): either reading is acceptable, that of P the more probable.

The lxxiiij Chapter

For I vnderstonde iiij manner of dredys. One is dreed of afray, that
155r comyth to man sodeynly by freelte. / This dreed doth good, for it
helpyth to purge man, as doth bodely sycknesse or such other payne
5 that is nott synne; for all such paynes helpe man if they be pacyently
taken. The seconde is drede of payne, wher by man is sterid and wakyd
fro slepe of synne; for man that is harde of slepe of synne, he is nott
able for þe tyme to receyue þe softe comforte of the holy goste, tylle he

---

1 *lxxiiij*: C: lxxiij. S1: There ben iiij manner of drede, but reverent drede is a lovely true that never is without meke love; and yet thie be not both one, *and* how we should pray god for the same; and so S2. 2 *vnderstonde*: C, S2: understood, in S2 'oo' w. marks of altn. *dredys*: S2: dread. *is*: add. S1: the; and so S2. *afray*: C: a fray; marg.: fright. 3 *to*: add. SS: a; cf. A (276.2): a mann. 7 *for man ... slepe of synne*: om. SS; cf. A (276.6): for man þat is harde of slepe of syne.

---

1 *thie* (S1): NED, They, *pers. pron.*, does not record this spelling for any century.

2 *vnderstonde*: cf. 276.1 and note. Julian here replaces *sawe* with this, presumably to indicate that part at least of what she is going to say is the fruit of her own reflections.

iiij manner of dredys: though we can find in this description of the categories terminology to fit the multiple divisions of the schoolmen, there is no indication that she knew, for instance, the 'sex species timoris, scilicet "segnitiem, erubescentiam, verecundiam, admirationem, stuporem, agoniam" ' which Thomas inherited from John Damascene (*Summa theologiae*, I-II.41.4).

dreed of afray: the *Cloud*-author describes this first kind of fear: A man or a womman affraied wiþ any sodeyn chaunce of fiir or of mans deeþ ... sodenly ... he is dreuyn upon hast and upon nede for to crie or for to prey after help (Hodgson, 74).

5 *pacyently taken*: this is the fear that so often moves the Psalmist to renew his hope in God; e.g. Psalm 54.5-9: My heart is troubled within me, and the fear of death has fallen on me. Fear and trembling have come upon me, and darkness has covered me ... I waited for him who saved me ...

6 *drede of payne*: 'The fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom', which is cited in *Benjamin*: ... whoso desireþ to haue ... he schal ... þink þe greetnes of his trespas, and ... þe power of þe domesman ... For verrely is he blent þat seeþ not þe peynes þat ben to come and dredeþ not to synne (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 17).

sterid and wakyd fro slepe of synne: the metaphor is Scriptural: Awake, you just, and do not sin (I Corinthians 15-34); It is now the hour for us to rise from sleep ... The night is passed ... Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness (Romans 13.11-12). NED, Sleep, *sb.*, 3.b., quotes the *Riwle*: ... þene bimasede gost ðet in one slepie ȝemeleaste uorȝemeð him suluen (Day, 121-122). The *Glossa ordinaria* has: *Somno surgere*. Somnus est negligentia vel ignorantia, and cites Augustine: ... huic non resistitur, nisi crebris divinorum librorum testimoniis incutiatur timor et charitas (PL 114 513-514).

8 *tylle he hayth* ...: so far in this description of the first two dreads there has been exact verbal correspondence between the two texts. But now Julian makes this sub-

hayth vndertaken this drede of payne of bodely deth and of gostly
10 enemys. And this drede steryth vs to seke comfort and mercy of god; and thus this drede helpyth vs as an entre, and abyllyth vs to haue contrycion by þe blessydfulle touchyng of þe holy gost. The thurde is

---

9 *hayth vndertaken this*: S1: have vnderstonding of this; and so S2; cf. A (276.7-8): to he hafe getyn this. *of (gostly)*: om. S2. 11 *vs (as)*: om. S2. *as an entre*: om. S1 and repeats: to sekyn comfort *and* mercy of god; and so S2. 12 *blessydfulle*: S1: blisfull; and so S2.

---

stitution for *to he hafe getynn this drede of payne and of the fyre of purgatory* (276.7). It does not appear to be primarily for theological or even psychological reasons; though it is true that a man in sin will fear death rather than purgatory (she is not writing of or for those who are moved by the fear of hell, except in so far as the fear can be classed as a 'doubtful dread'), it is a question of her own immediate experience of the pain of her own agony, and the fear which accompanied her diabolical illusions. She has already written that although she desired to have had some sight of hell and purgatory, she could see nothing at all of this. Cf. 427.2-10.

9 *vndertaken*: 'accepted, endured'. Cf. NED, Undertake, *v.* 2.a., where the Titus *Ancrene Riwle* is quoted: and tah ne grucchede he nawt, ah vndertoc hit eadmodliche (Mack, 29). The subject is Christ, the object the bitter drink he was offered on the cross.

this drede of payne: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 16: when þei felen hem self out of grace *and* ouerleide *with* dedly synne, þan þat þei þinken what mischief *and* what peril it is to hem ... for þer is no þinge þat holdeþ hem fro þe pit of hell þat þei ne schuld astite falle þer inne, bot on bare sengle þrede of þis bodily lyfe ... What liȝtlier may be loste þan a sengle threde? (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 78^{v}; Underhill, 285-286).

gostly enemys: cf. 276.9 and note.

10 *And this drede* ...: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 12: as agayn þe shame *and* þe disconfort þat þu hast of þe beholdyng of it, *and* also agayn vpbraydyng þat þu felist in þi hert of þi gostly enemys ... conforte þi self þan bi trouþ stifly ... Accipe scutum fidei (Ephesians 6.16) (ibid., f. 75^{r}; Underhill, 271).

11 *as an entre*: cf. 276.10 and note. Hilton, writing of 'bodily working or customs' (religious exercises, penances and so on) 'that men use in the state of beginning' (that is, in the purgative way), has: I wolde þat þei helden hem not bot as a wey *and* an entre toward gostly felyng (*Scale*, II chapter 19; MS BM Harley 6579, f. 81^{v}; Underhill, 295).

abyllyth vs to haue contrycion by þe blessydfulle touchyng of þe holy gost: cf. 449.6, where Julian is describing this *timor initialis*: ... *tylle whan contriscion takyth hym by touchyng of the holy gost*. In either case, *touchyng* is challenged by the short text: *be the techynge of the haly gaste* (256.36), *be the blysfulle techynge of the hali gaste* (276.11). But cf. 256.29: *contricion takes hym be the towchynge of the haly gaste*. It is impossible to decide whether here we have an afterthought of Julian's, or scribal error.

12 *touchyng of þe holy gost*: again, the Scriptural texts coalesce in Julian's observation: The fear of God is the beginning of his love (Ecclesiasticus 25.16); The Spirit of the Lord will rest upon him ... and he will be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord (Isaias 11.2-3). Thomas Aquinas writes that this fear 'competit statui incipientium, in quibus inchoatur quidam timor per inchoationem caritatis' (*Summa*, II-II.19.8 *ad corp.*).

doughtfull drede. Doughtfulle drede, in as moch as it drawyth to dyspeyer, god wylle haue it turnyd in vs into loue by tru knowyng of
155v loue, that is to sey that þe bytternesse of douȝte / be turned in to swet-
16 nes of kynde loue by grace, for it may nevyr plese oure lorde that his servanntes douȝte in his goodnesse. The iiijth is reverent drede, for ther is no drede þat fully plesyth god in vs but reverent drede, and that is softe; for þe more it is had, the lesse it is felte, for swetnesse of loue.
20 Loue and drede are bredryn, and they are rotyd in vs by the good-

---

13 *drede (Doughtfulle)*: add. S2: þis. *in (as)*: C: is. 14 *by tru knowyng of loue*: om. S2. 15 *douȝte*: C: doubts. 17 *in (his)*: S2: of. 18 *and that is*: S1: that is full; S2: *and* þat is full; cf. A (276.16): and that is fulle swete and softe. 20 *bredryn*: C, S2: Brethren; S1: brethren.

---

13 *Doughtfulle drede / in as moch as it drawyth to dyspeyer / god wylle haue it turnyd in vs into loue / by tru knowyng of loue / that is to sey that þe bytternesse of douȝte / be turned in to swetnes of kynde loue by grace / for it may nevyr plese oure lorde / that his servanntes douȝte in his goodnesse*: in this *compar*, in each pair of *cola* there is *oppositio*; Julian employs the figure to enforce her argument: 'doubtfull dread' is against the truth.

14 *tru knowyng of loue*: cf. the *Epistle of Prayer*: ... it may not be bot þat þou schalt fele a grete stering of loue vnto him þat is so good and so merciful vnto þee (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 50).

17 *The iiijth is reverent drede for ther is no drede / þat fully plesyth god in vs but reverent drede / and that is softe for þe more it is had / the lesse it is felte for swetnesse of loue*: a *compar*, much superior in P to the version in SS, with *conversio* and *oppositio*. This introduces Julian's expansion of what she had written in the short text.

reverent drede: the classical place in Scripture is I John 4.18: Fear is not in love, but perfect love casts out fear, because in fear is pain. And he who fears is not perfected in love. Augustine, who is here at the head of the Western tradition, in a long disquisition on this verse, writes: Sunt homines qui propterea timent deum ne mittantur in gehennam ... Ipse est timor ille qui introducit charitatem : sed sic venit ut exeat ... Ille timor quo times ne in gehennam mittaris cum diabolo nondum est castus; non enim venit ex amore dei sed ex timore poenae; cum autem times deum, ne deserat te praesentia ejus, amplecteris eum, ipso frui desideras (*In epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, IX iv 5; PL 35 2049).

19 *softe*: this is her adjective when first she writes of her own dread: *I merveyled in that syght with a softe drede* (336.6); and she defines reverence as *a holy curtious drede of our lorde to which meekenes is knyt* (628.9).

for þe more it is had, the lesse it is felte: not in the short text; cf. 276.17.

20 *Loue and drede ... to loue hym for goodhed*: not in the short text; cf. 276.17.

Loue and drede are bredryn / and they are rotyd in vs by the goodnesse of oure maker / and they shall nevyr be taken from vs without end / We haue of kynd to loue and we haue of grace to loue / and we haue of kynd to drede and we haue of grace to drede / It longyth to the lordeschyppe and to þe faderhed to be dred / as it longyth to the goodnes to be lovyd / and it longyth to vs þat are his servanntes and his children / to drede hym for lordschyppe and faderhed / as it longyth to vs to loue hym for goodhed / And though this reverent drede and loue be nott both in oone / but it are two in properte and in wurkyng / and neyther of them may be had without other: this is perhaps one of Julian's finest theological passages, and the language and style match

nesse of oure maker, and they shall nevyr be taken from vs *with*out end. We haue of kynd to loue, and we haue of grace to loue; and we haue of kynd to drede,and we haue of grace to drede. It longyth to the lordeschyppe and to þe faderhed to be dred, as it longyth to the goodnes to be lovyd; and it longyth to vs *þat* are his servanntes and his children to drede hym for lordshyppe and faderhed, as it longyth to vs to loue hym for goodhed. And though this reverent drede and loue be nott / both in oone, but it are two in *pro*perte and in wurkyng, and neyther of them may be had *with*out other.

And therfore I am suer, he that louyth, he dreedyth, though he feele

---

22 *loue (and)* (2×): om. S2 (2×). 23 *drede (and)*: om. S2. 24 *dred*: so C, S1: dreaded; and so S2. *goodnes*: S2: goodhede. 25 *lovyd*: S2: beloved. 26 *(loue) hym*: S1: hem. 27 *goodhed*: C: godhead. *both in oone*: S1: partid asunder, yet thei arn not both one; and so S2; cf. A (276.17): bathe ane. 28 *it*: om. C; S1: they; and so S2; cf. A (276.18): thay. 30 *And*: om. SS. *suer*: S2: sekir; cf. A (276.20): sekyre. *though*: add. S1: that; and so S2. *feele*: S2: feeleth.

---

the theology. In the opening *colon* there is personification, and there is the seemingly paradoxical *oppositio, Loue and drede*. The figure then becomes an *expolitio*, as the first *contraria* are paired with others: *kynd / grace, lordeschyppe / goodnes*. There is initial and medial *repetitio*: *We haue ... we haue, It longyth ... it longyth*. Throughout, there is *distributio* between love and dread, the persons of the Trinity, the two natures in Christ. There is *contentio*, and, as so often in the Trinitarian *compares, notatio*. Perhaps *An Epistle of Prayer* is the *Cloud*-author's most accomplished work; but Julian, treating precisely the same topics, is at once more lucid and more direct. She deals with unity between body and soul, substance and sensuality, humanity and divinity, creation and immortality, nature and grace, 'timor initialis' and 'timor castus', 'caritas imperfecta' and 'caritas perfecta', and, above all else, with the mutual love of Father and Son in the Spirit which is the *bonitas Dei* which flows out to his children.

27 *godhead* (C): a pious but unhappy substitution, which destroys the thought and the figure.

And though this ... may they be knowen (675.33): this corresponds with the short text, 276.17-277.23.

And though this reverent drede ...: when she comes to this final re-editing, we have the measure of her theological development. These three propositions which form the conclusion of the figure here are all that is in the short text; and even in these there are significant differences.

28 *but it are two*: this replaces *bot thay er twa* (276.17-18). Since writing that, she has come to see what is the essential point she must make: in personis proprietas et in essentia unitas et in maiestate equalitas; and she knows precisely how, grammatically, it can be done. Though no other witnesses support *it are*, the usage is well attested. Cf. MED hit pron. 1.(c), which cites, among other instances of plural antecedents to 'it', c, 1400 (? c.1380) *Cleanness* 869: I haf ... my fayre de3ter ... Hit arn ronk, hit arn rype ...

partid asunder .. (S1): this looks like the superfluous gloss of a later scribe.

30 *And therfore ...*: cf. 276.20 note.

it but lytylle. Alle dredys other than reverent drede þ*at* are p*ro*feryd to vs, though they come vnder coloure of holynesse, they are nott so tru; and here by may they be knowe*n* on sonder. That dreed that makyth vs hastely to fle fro alle that is nott goode and falle in to oure lordes brest, as þe chylde in to þe moders arme, w*ith* alle oure entent and w*ith* alle oure mynde, knowyng oure febylnes and oure greate nede, knowyng his evyrlastyng goodnesse and his blessyd loue, only sekyng in to hym for saluation, clevyng to w*ith* feythfulle trust. That dreed that bryngyth vs

---

31 *but*: add. SS: a. 32 *vnder*: add. SS: the. *they (are)*: SS: yet. 35 *arme*: so C; SS: barme. 37 *blessyd*: SS: blisfull. *in*: om. SS. 38 *feythfulle*: SS: sekir.

---

32 *vnder coloure of holynesse*: 'disguised as holiness'. MED, colour, 5b. (a), '... a disguise, ruse, trick', has its first example *a*1393 Gower, but NED, Colour, *sb.* 12.d., quotes Rolle's *Psalter*: Swikil tunge þat vndire colour goed counsaile bryngis til syn.

33 *and here by may they be knowen on sonder* ...: Julian discards her commonplace teaching on discernment of spirits in the short text (277.26-278.33 and notes) in favour of a last mother-and-child analogy, which illustrates her doctrine more simply, clearly and personally. Cf. the *Cloud*'s description of spiritual discernment: ... a man schulde haue discrecion goostly, and kun disseure þe good fro þe iuel and þe yuel fro þe worse and þe good fro þe betyr (Hodgson, 103).

on sonder: cf. 277.23 and note.

That dreed that makyth vs ...: from here to the end of the long text, there is no correspondence with the short text.

That dreed that makyth vs hastely to fle / fro alle that is nott goode / and falle in to oure lordes brest / as þe chylde in to þe moders arme / with alle oure entent and with alle oure mynde / knowyng oure febylnes and oure greate nede / knowyng his evyrlastyng goodnesse and his blessyd loue / only sekyng in to hym for saluation / clevyng to with feythfulle trust / That dreed that bryngyth vs in to this wurkyng / it is kynde and gracious and good and true / and alle that is contraryous to this / eyther it is wrong or it is medylde with wrong: this is a *similitudo* ... *ornandi causa* ... *per conlationem*, concluding *per negationem* (*Ad Herennium* IV xlv 59-xlvi 59). Throughout there is *conduplicatio*: *brest / barme* (SS); *entent / mynde*; *febylnes / nede*; *goodnesse / loue*; and, artfully, Julian introduces her *conclusio*, a reiteration of the *contraria*, by naming the figure: *alle that is contraryous to this*.

35 *arme*: this is defensible, and has not been emended; but the antecedent *brest* makes SS's reading *barme* ('bosom' < OE b(e)arm) more probable, especially as this gives *conduplicatio*.

with alle oure entent and with alle oure mynde: cf. Deuteronomy 6.5: You must love the Lord your God with your whole heart and with your whole soul and with your whole strength, and the parallel texts.

36 *mynde*: again, *conduplicatio* with *entent*; cf. NED, Mind, *sb.*[1], II., 'Thought; purpose, intention'.

38 *clevyng to*: there is no manuscript support for emending to 'clevyng to hym'. NED does not record this intransitive use with 'to', but cf. MED cleven v. (1) 1. (a): ? a1425 **Chauliac* ... Anoyntyng wiþ oile hauyng vertue emplastic i(d est) cleuyng to.

in to this wurkyng, it is kynde and gracious and good and true; and alle
40 that is contraryous to this, eyther it is wrong or it is medylde *with*
156v wrong. / Than is this the remedy, to knowe them both, and refuse the wrong.

For the kynde propyrte of drede whych we haue in this lyfe by the gracious werkyng of the holy gost, the same shall be in hevyn afore god,
45 gentylle, curteyse, fulle swete; and thus we shalle in loue be homely and nere to god, and we in drede be gentylle and curtesse to god, and both in one manner, lyke evyn.

Desyer we than of oure lorde god to drede hym reverently and loue

---

39 *and (gracious) and (good)*: om. SS. *and (alle)*: om. SS. 40 *that is*: om. S2. *is (contraryous)*: om. S1. *contraryous*: SS: contraries. *medylde*: S2: mingled. 43 *propyrte*: S1: profitt; and so S2. 45 *fulle swete*: S1: *and* ful delectabile; and so S2. 46 *we (in)*: add. SS: shall. 47 *in one manner*: om. SS. *lyke*: SS: alike. *evyn*: C, marg.: equal. 48 *than*: om. SS. *oure lorde*: om. S2.

---

43 *For the kynde propyrte of drede / whych we haue in this lyfe / by the gracious werkyng of the holy gost / the same shall be in hevyn afore god / gentylle curteyse fulle swete / and thus we shalle in loue / be homely and nere to god / and we in drede / be gentylle and curtesse to god / and both in one manner lyke evyn*: a *compar* (of which the eighth *colon* is much improved by SS's *and we shall in drede*), with *oppositiones* (*in this lyfe / in hevyn, homely and nere / gentylle and curtesse*), *repetitio* (*to god ... to god, we shalle ... we shall* (SS)), the *repetitiones* also giving *complexio*.

the kynde propyrte: this is the 'donum timoris domini' attributed to the Holy Spirit; cf. Isaias 11.3. The working of the Spirit purifies and perfects the gift in us, so that we know no other fear; cf. I John 4.18.

45 *gentylle, curteyse, fulle swete*: again, Julian uses *continuatio* as she moves to her conclusion. *curteyse* here probably translates *benignus*. W. O. Evans ("Cortayse" in Middle English') writes: 'The first recorded occurrence of *cortaysye* in English is in the *Ancrene Riwle*, and already here we have the tone of the word's central import in English — action intended to please or help others' (143), and later: 'If *cortaysye* is a virtue it is natural that God as the source of all virtue should be *cortays* ...' (151). *Benignitas* is one of the fruits of the Spirit, associated with *bonitas* and *longanimitas* (Galatians 5.22; see 534.225 note).

48 *Desyer we than of oure lorde god to drede hym reverently / and loue hym mekly and to trust in hym myghtly / for when we drede him reuerently and loue hym mekly / oure trust is nevyr in veyne / For the more that we trust and the myghtylyer that we trust / þe more we plese and wurschyppe oure lorde þat we trust in / and if vs feyle this reuerent drede and meke loue / as god forbyd we shuld / oure trust shalle sone be mysrulyd for that tyme / And therfore vs nedyth moch to praye oure lorde of grace / that we may haue this reverent drede and meke loue of his gyfte / in hart and in worke / for without this no man may plese god*: a Trinitarian *compar*, with the fourth and last didactic *cola* markedly shorter than the rest. Of the *colores* it employs, the most striking is the *repetitiones*: *drede ... loue ... trust* ... The whole appears to be an *argumentatio perfectissima*, the first two *cola* the *propositio*, the second two the *ratio*, the third two the *rationis confirmatio*, the next three the *exornatio* and the final four the *complexio*.

hym mekly and to trust in hym myghtly; for when we drede him
50 reuerently and loue hym mekly, oure trust is nevyr in veyne. For the more that we trust and the myghtylyer that we trust, þe more we plese and wurschyppe oure lorde þ*at* we trust in; and if vs feyle this reuerent drede and meke loue, as god forbyd we shuld, oure trust shalle sone be
157r mysrulyd for that tyme. And therfore / vs nedyth moch to praye oure
55 lorde of grace, that we may haue this reverent drede and meke loue of his gyfte, in hart and in worke, for w*ith*out this no man may plese god.

---

50 *and (loue)*: S1: *and* to; S2: to. 51 *that we trust (þe)*: om. SS. 53 *forbyd*: SS: forbode. 54 *that (tyme)*: S1: the; and so S2. *moch*: S1: mekil for; and so S2. 55 *this*: om. S2. *meke*: C: make.

---

49 *to trust in hym myghtly*: trust is the disposition most highly esteemed by the Psalmist: The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? (Psalm 26.1). This whole psalm clearly demonstrates Julian's thought. Because of what the editors have elsewhere called 'the persistent statements which have appeared during the last twenty-five years that she is in debt to Eckhart and Tauler', it is worth observing here how far her thought on this topic is from one of Eckhart's propositions condemned by *In agro dominico*: Ego nuper cogitavi utrum ego vellem aliquid recipere a deo vel desiderare: ego volo valde bene deliberare quia ubi ego essem accipiens a deo, ibi essem ego sub eo vel infra eum, sicut unus famulus vel servus, et ipse sicut dominus in dando, et sic non debemus esse in aeterna vita (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 959, where in the newest edition the formulation of this in Eckhart's genuine writings is documented; and see de Guibert, n. 285).

54 *mysrulyd for that tyme*: Julian knows the adage 'virtus stat in medio' (in *Boethius*, Chaucer gives it as: 'Occupy þe mene by stedfast strengþes'; Morris, 146), and that the sins against hope are despair and presumption. She may have the beginning of Wisdom (1.1-2) in mind here: ... Think of the Lord in goodness, and seek him in simplicity of heart. For he is found by those who do not tempt him, and he shows himself to those who have faith in him.

The lxxv Chapter

I saw that god may do alle that vs nedyth; and theyse thre þat I shall say (vs) nede: loue, longyng (and pytte). Pytte (in) loue kepyth vs in the tyme of oure nede; and longyng in þe same loue drawyth vs in to hevyn. For þe thurst of god is to haue the generalle man in to hym, in whych

---

3 *vs*: om. ms. *and pytte*: om. ms. *in*: ms: and.

---

1 *lxxv*: C: lxxjv. 2 S1: Vs nedith love longing *and* pite, *and* of iij manner of longing in god which arn in us, *and* how in the day of dome the joy of the blissid shal ben incresid, seing verily the cause of all (S2: every) thyng that god (S2: *our* god) hath don, dredfully tremeland (S2: trembling) *and* thankand for joye, mervelyng (S2: admiring) the gretnes of god, lulhed (S2: *and* littleness) of all that is made. 3 *vs*: all other mss also omit; but cf. S1: vs nedith love. *and pytte*: P, C omit; S1: pite; and so S2. *in*: so SS; P, C: and. *the (tyme)*: om. S2.

---

2 Though it has been the editors' policy not to emend P solely because other mss have superior rhetorical figures, the opening sentences of this chapter are much corrupted, and knowledge of the *colores* is a helpful guide to some of the necessary reconstructions. The edited text gives the following compar: *I saw that god may do alle that vs nedyth / and theyse thre þat I shall say vs nede / loue longyng and pytte / Pytte in loue kepyth vs in the tyme of oure nede / and longyng in þe same loue drawyth vs in to hevyn*. This is a typical figure to refer to the Trinitarian *operationes ad extra*; there are three appropriations, *loue, longyng and pytte*, and three active verbs, *do, kepyth, drawyth*. In the text as we have it in P the meaning is strained and lacks Julian's precision and clarity. The figures are *conversio*, personification, *distributio* and *repetitio*. Theologically, we have a variant of William of St. Thierry's formula: ad patrem (or: ex patre), per Christum, in sancto spiritu (e.g. in *Meditativae orationes* II, PL 180 210). She immediately proceeds to reflect on the 'ghostly thirst' in Trinitarian terms.

5 *For þe thurst of god is to haue the generalle man in to hym / in whych thurst he hath drawyn his holy soules þat be now in blysse / And so gettyng his lyvely membris / evyr he drawyth and dryngkyth / and yett hym thurstyth and longyth*: theologically, the Father's thirst is through Christ — no man comes to the Father except through me (John 14.6) — yet the first *colon* refers to the whole Trinity. The second plainly refers to the Son as Saviour, the third to him as head of his Church; but there is also, in *lyvely*, allusion to the life of the Spirit. In the fourth there is in *drawyth* allusion again to the Father — 'no man comes to me unless the Father draw him' (John 6.44), and the last *colon* again refers to the whole Trinity. Furthermore, the *conduplicatio* in *drawyth and dryngkyth, thurstyth and longyth* refers to the two natures of the Incarnate Word.

thurst he hath drawyn his holy soules, þat be now in blysse. And so gettyng his lyvely membris, evyr he drawyth and dryngkyth, and yett hym thurstyth and longyth.

I saw thre manner of longyng in god, and alle to one ende, (of which
10 we have the same in vs, *and* of the same vertue, *and* for the same end).
The furst is for that he longyth to lerne vs to know hym and to loue
157v hym evyrmore / and more, as it is convenyent and spedefulle to vs. The

---

6 *drawyn*: SS: anwin. *holy*: om. S2. *soules*: om. S1; S2: saints. *so*: om. SS. *gettyng*: C, marg.: takyng. 7 *hym*: SS: he. 9 *longyng*: C: longings. *of which ... same end*: from S1, and so S2; om P, C. 11 *to (loue)*: om. SS.

---

6 *his holy soules*: it is extraordinary that NED, MED and Bosworth-Toller make no mention of this usage (though illustrative examples are to be found in NED, Soul, *sb.*, III 11 a. and b., with other, different senses of the noun). It is still common among Catholics to mean the departed who are in Paradise or Purgatory. It is of great antiquity: in *Blickling Homilies*, in one for Easter Day, we read: Þa halgan sawla ... cwæþon: Astig nu, drihten hælend Crist, up, nu þu hafast helle bereafod (Morris, 87). The scene is 'The Harrowing of Hell' (the title derives from early Christian terminology, in which no clear distinction was made, as later, between 'Hell' and 'Purgatory'). But the omission of *holy* in S1 and the substitution of *saints* in S2 suggests that they derive from an ancestor with 'his holy', i.e. his saints who are in bliss.

anwin: in S1, the corrector has underlined 'an' and placed a cross in the margin, which seems to indicate that this is merely a corruption of 'drawin'.

gettyng: this gives acceptable sense, and is not challenged by any witness; but even so one may speculate whether Julian did not write 'gedryng'. It is a word she is fond of, as also of its Scriptural associations (cf. 410.19 and note, 418.19 and note).

gettyng his lyvely membris: cf. *Bonum est*: ... for ȝit schul chosen beo multiplied in þe elde of holi chirche be fulnes of ȝiftus of grace ... But hit (i.e. grace) schal multiplyen priueliche in mennes hertes and cundel þe desyre þorw brennynde loue, and make soules redi and gredi aȝein þat tyme come. Hit schal drawe sodeynliche chosen soules ... (Wallner, 89-90).

9 *I saw thre manner of longyng in god / and alle to one end / of which we have the same in vs / and of the same vertue / and for the same end*: in this *compar* there is *transitio* (*thre ... one*), and *repetitio* in *same ... same ... same*, which is also *traductio*. The *conversio end ... end* accounts for the homoeotopy in P. The figures seem to guarantee that here we have an omission from P, not a latter addition to SS; and the *compar* is a concise theological statement of unity, trinity, immanence, transcendence and participation.

11 *The furst is for that he longyth to lerne vs / to know hym and to loue hym evyrmore and more / as it is convenyent and spedefulle to vs / The seconde is that he longyth to haue vs vppe in to blysse / as soules are whan they be taken oute of payne in to hevyn / The thurde is to fulfylle vs of blysse / and that shall be on þe last day / fulfylled evyr to last*: this passage is an expansion and completion of the teaching on the Trinity and the Hypostatic Union in Revelations IX (382.2 e.s.) and XIII (417.2 e.s.). In the first three *cola* we have attribution to the Holy Spirit, in the next two to the Son, in the last three to the Father.

12 *convenyent*: 'proper, appropriate to' in the technical theological and philosophical sense. Cf. NED, Convenient, *a.* and *sb.*, 4.a., with its first example from Chaucer's *Boethius*: Nature ȝeveth to euery thing þat þat is conuenient to hym.

seconde is that he longyth to haue vs vppe in to blysse, as soules are whan they be taken oute of payne in to hevyn. The thurde is to fulfylle vs of blysse, and that shall be on þe last day fulfylled evyr to last. For I saw as it is knowyn in oure feyth þ*at* than payne and sorow schall be endyd to alle that shalle be savyd. And nott only we shalle receyue þe same blysse that soules afore haue had in hevyn, but also we shall receyve a new, whych pl*e*ntuously shalle (be flowing) oute of god in to vs and fulfylle vs.

And thoo be þe goodes whych he hayth ordeyned to geve vs fro w*ith*out begynnyng. Theyse goods are tresowred and hid in hym selfe, for in to that tyme, creature is nott myghty ne worthy to receyue them.

---

19 *be flowing*: ms: flye.

---

13 *in to (blysse)*: SS: to his. 14 *of*: SS: in. 16 *than*: S1: the; and so S2. *and (sorow)*: add. S2: þe. 17 *And*: om. S2. 18 *that soules*: S1: the soule; and so S2. *that soules ... in hevyn*: add. below scr., who adds 'of' (not in any other ms). 19 *flye* (ms): C: flie; SS: be flowing. 21 *thoo*: C: those; S1: this; S2: these. *whych*: om. S2. 23 *in to*: S2: untill.

---

13 *in to blysse*: SS's *to his* seems superior; cf. 421.49.

15 *For I saw as it is knowyn in oure feyth / þat than payne and sorow schalle be endyd / to alle that shalle be savyd / And nott only we shalle receyue þe same blysse / that soules afore haue had in hevyn / but also we shall receyve a new / whych plentuously shalle be flowing / oute of god in to vs and fulfylle vs*: a *compar*, much improved by the adoption of the SS reading.

16 *payne and sorow schall be endyd*: Julian's vocabulary is again reminiscent of the final prophecy of the New Jerusalem: (Apocalypse 21.4; see 491.11 note).

17 *And nott only ...*: cf. the English *Stimulus*, chapter 38: There shul we ioyȝen and haue myrthe, vche man of oþeris ioyȝe as of his owne, and souereynli we shul haue ioyȝe of þe vnmesurabel mykelnesse of goddis myȝte (H. J. Kane, 209-210; Kirchberger, 213).

19 *flye* (P) / C: *flie* / SS: *be flowing*: NED, s.vv. Flee, Flow, Fly, MED, flen v. (1), flien, flouen, have neither meanings nor forms (except possibly 'flewen' for 'flowen') to suggest that this is not an error; and it has accordingly been emended.

21 *And thoo be þe goodes ...*: cf. Isaias 64.4: From the beginning of the world they have not heard, o God ... what things thou hast prepared for those who wait for thee.

22 *tresowred and hid*: Julian is recollecting the 'thesaurus absconditus' of Matthew 13.44, and Isaias 45.3: And I shall give you hidden treasures, and the concealed riches of secret places.

23 *in to that tyme*: cf. Colossians 2.2-3: ... that you might be instructed in love, to all the riches of the fullness of understanding, to the knowledge of the mystery of God the Father and of Christ Jesus, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

is nott myghty: cf. John 16.12: I have yet many things to say to you: but you cannot bear them now.

158r In this we shulde se verely þe cause / of alle the dedes that god hayth
25 done; and ovyr more we shulde see the cause of alle thynges that he hayth sufferyd. And þe blysse and þe fulfyllyng shalle be so depe and so hygh þat for wonder an merveyle all creatures shulde haue to god so grett reuerent drede, ovyr passyng þat hath be sene and felte before, þat þe pyllours of hevyn shulle tremylle and quake.
30 But this manner of tremelyng and drede shalle haue no manner of payne, but it longyth to þe worthy maieste of god thus to be beholde of

---

24 *shulde (se)*: SS: shall. *alle*: S2: every. *the dedes that*: S1: thyng; and so S2. *god*: SS: he. 25 *ovyr*: SS: ever. *shulde (see)*: S1: shall; and so S2. *alle*: S2: every. *thynges*: C, S2: thing. *that*: om. S2. 27 *an*: C: and; and so SS. *shulde (haue)*: S1: shull; S2: shall. 28 *drede*: C: and dread. *þat (hath)*: S2: *what*. 29 *tremylle*: C: travel. 30 *manner of*: om. SS. 31 *maieste*: S1: myte; and so S2.

---

24 *In this we shulde se verely þe cause / of alle the dedes that god hayth done / and ovyr more we shulde see the cause / of alle thynges that he hayth sufferyd*: a *compar* with *oppositio* (*done ... sufferyd*) and *repetitio* (*þe cause ... the cause*). If we adopt S1's *shall* for *shulde*, that strengthens the *oppositio*.

25 *ovyr more*: 'moreover'. Cf. NED, Overmore, *a.*, with its first instances from Gower and *Piers Plowman*. Sense suggests that P here is superior to SS's *ever*.

the cause: cf. 386.46 e.s.

26 *And þe blysse and þe fulfyllyng shalle be so depe and so hygh / þat for wonder an merveyle all creatures shulde haue to god so grett reuerent drede / ovyr passyng þat hath be sene and felte before / þat þe pyllours of hevyn shulle tremylle and quake*: once again, a marked change of rhythm as she passes from the last, didactic *compar* to this *descriptio*. She is seeking to tell of that contemplation which is the *beata pacis visio* of the heavenly Jerusalem; and she is recalling what she had written about contemplation as *the werkyng of the blessydfull soule of our lady sent Mary* (483.5). There is also a reminiscence of Isaias chapter 54, itself a vision of the New Jerusalem: ... with everlasting kindness have I had mercy on you, said the Lord your Redeemer ... For the mountains shall be moved and the hills shall tremble ... all your children will be taught by the Lord, and great shall be your children's peace (vv. 8, 10, 13).

so depe and so hygh: cf. 573.29 and note.

29 *þe pyllours of hevyn*: cf. the prophet's sight of the heavenly temple, Isaias 6.4: And the lintels of the doors were moved at the voice of him who cried (Holy, holy, holy).

30 If one again accepts the SS variants, the following *compar* results: *But this tremelyng and drede shalle haue no manner of payne / but it longyth to þe worthy myte of god / thus to be beholde of his creatures / dredfully tremelyng and quakyng for mekehede of joy / merveylyng at the greatnesse of god þe maker / and of the litilhede of alle þat is made*: P's *this manner of (tremelyng)* looks like dittography, *myte* gives as good *oppositio* as *maieste* to *tremelyng and drede*, in *mekehede of joy* there seems to be allusion to Isaias 29.19: And the meek shall increase their joy in the Lord, and, plainly, in *litilhede* we have *oppositio* to *greatnesse* which is lost in *lest parte*.

his creatures dredfully tremelyng and quakyng, for moch more of joy endlesly merveylyng of the greatnesse of god, þe maker, and of the lest parte of alle þ*at* is made.

For þe beholdyng of this makyth creature mervelous meke and
158v mylde; wherfore god wylle and also it longyth / to vs, boyth in kynde and in grace, to wylle haue knowyng of this, desyeryng the syghte and the wurkyng. For it ledyth vs in ryght wey, and kepyth vs in tru lyfe, and onyth vs to god.

And as good as god is, as grett he is; and as moch as it longyth to his godhed to be louyd, so moch it longyth to his grett hyghnesse to be drad. For this reverent dred is the feyerrer curtesy that is in hevyn before goddys face; and as moch as he shall be knowy*n* and lovyd, ovyr passyng that he is now, in so much he shall be drad, ovyr passyng þ*at*

---

44 *(þat) he*: om. ms.

---

32 *moch more*: S1: mekehede; S2: meeknes. 33 *endlesly*: om. SS. *of (the)*: SS: at. *lest parte*: S1: litilhede; S2: littlenes. 35 *makyth*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 37 *in (grace)*: om. SS. *wylle haue knowyng*: S1: wittin *and* knowen; and so S2. *haue*: C: to have. *the ... the*: S1: this ... this; and so S2. 38 *in (ryght)*: add. S2: þe. 40 *moch (as)*: S1: mekil. *longyth*: S2: belongeth. 41 *godhed*: S2: goodnes. *grett hyghnesse*: S1: grethede; S2: greatnes. 42 *feyerrer*: C: fairer; SS: faire. *in*: om. SS. 43 *moch*: S1: mekil. *shall*: add. S1: than; and so S2. 44 *that*: S2: what. *much*: S1: mekill. *þat*: add. C, SS: he.

---

35 *For þe beholdyng of this makyth creature mervelous meke and mylde / wherfore god wylle and also it longyth to vs boyth in kynde and in grace / to wylle haue knowyng of this desyeryng the syghte and the wurkyng / For it ledyth vs in ryght wey and kepyth vs in tru lyfe and onyth vs to god / And as good as god is as grett he is / and as moch as it longyth to his godhed to be louyd / so moch it longyth to his grett hyghnesse to be drad*: in this *compar* Julian is expanding the point made in Revelation XVI, that contemplation is the God-given means to assimilation and union between creature and Creator. Cf. 644.48-49 and note. The meekness and mildness is that of the lord towards the servant; cf. 516.40. Here is also, at last, the explanation of the *sententia, sekyng is as good as beholdyng* (332.74-333.75): the seeking under the influence of grace is the actual union of wills. In the fourth long *colon* there is a Trinitarian statement, each verb appropriate to a person: *ledyth* (Son), *kepyth* (Father), *onyth* (Spirit); and the term of the Trinity's operation is the Incarnate Word, who leads us *in ryght wey*, as the Father preserves us *in tru lyfe* (John 14.6; see 483.8 note). Thus there is *distributio*.

38 *ledyth ... kepyth*: cf. the English *Stimulus*: Ther fore ȝif þou wolt do wel and sikerli, seke hym with drede and with al maner reuerences, and ȝif þi herte mai any reste or ony counfort fele of him, preie hym þenne mekeli þat he kepe þe (H. J. Kane, 102; Kirchberger, 124).

in ryght wey: NED, Right, *a.* I.b., quotes c.825 *Vespasian Psalter*: Dryhten ... ut alædde hie in weȝ rihtne (in viam rectam — Psalm 106.7), and 13... *Cœur de L.*: Ful ryght way wenten (they) to Archane ...

44 *þat he is now*: so C, SS. The omission of *he* in P spoils the *conversio*.

45 (he) is now. Wherfore it behovyth nedys to be þat alle hevyn, alle erth shall tremylle and quake whan the pillers shall tremylle and quake.

---

45 *alle (erth)*: SS: *and.*

---

46 *tremylle and quake*: cf. Job 4.6: He is wise in heart and mighty in strength ... He shakes the earth out of her place, and her pillars tremble; and ibid. 26.11: The pillars of heaven tremble and dread (contremiscunt et pavent — Vulgate) at his beck. Gregory, commenting on this in the *Moralia*, XVII 44, writes: quia in plerisque nec ipsi pertingere ad voluntatis ejus celsitudinem praevalet qui eausdem voluntatis praemia denuntiantes vident ... quia ipsae quoque virtutes coelestium quae hunc sine cessatione conspiciunt in ipsa sua contemplatione contremiscunt ... non timoris est sed admirationis (PL 76 31).

The lxxvj Chapter

I speke but lytylle of this reverent dred, for I hope it may be seen in this matter afore seyde. But wele I wott oure lorde shewd me no soules but thoe þ*at* dred hym, for welle I wott þe soule þ*at* truly takyth þe
159r techyng of þe / holy gost, it hatyth more synne for þe vyelnesse and þe
6 horyblyte than it doyth alle the payne that is in helle. For the soule that beholdeth þe kyndnesse of oure lorde Jh*es*u, it hatyth no helle but hell(e)s synne, as to my syght. And therfore it is goddys wylle þ*at* we

---

8 *helles*: ms: helle is.

---

1 *lxxvj*: C: lxxv. S1: A loveand soule hatith syn*ne* for vile hede (S2: vileness) more than all þe payn (S2: pains) of hell; *and* how the beholdyng of other mennys syn*ne*, but if it be with compassio*n*, lettith the beholdyng of god; and the devill be putting in remembrance our writchedness would letten (add. S2: us) for the same; *and* of our slawth. 2 *this*: om. SS. 3 *wott*: add. C: that. 4 *thoe*: C, S1: those; S2: these. 5 *þe (vyelnesse)*: om. SS. *vyelnesse*: S1: vilehede. *þe (horyblyte)*: om. SS. 6 *horyblyte*: C: horribility; S1: horibilite; S2: horribillity. *payne*: S2: pains. *is*: S2: are. 8 *helle is* (ms): so C; om. SS.

---

1 *The lxxvj Chapter*: so S2, but S1, which makes its usual break in the line before and after the chapter-heading, omits its usual chapter-number, which here would be 'lxxvj Capt'. The S2 scribe, however, has supplied in S1 'LXXVI' in the elegant Roman numerals found throughout S2.

2 *I speke but lytylle of this reverent dred / for I hope it may be seen in this matter afore seyde*: *transitio*.

3 *But wele I wott / oure lorde shewd me no soules / but thoe þat dred hym / for welle I wott / þe soule þat truly takyth / þe techyng of þe holy gost / it hatyth more synne / for þe vyelnesse and þe horyblyte / than it doyth alle the payne / that is in helle / For the soule that beholdeth þe kyndnesse of oure lorde Jhesu / it hatyth no helle but helles synne as to my syght*: again, Julian uses the device of a marked change of rhythm, short, staccato *cola* leading to the two long ones of her *conclusio*.

shewd me: cf. 428.19 e.s.

4 *takyth þe techyng of þe holy gost*: cf. John 16.7-8: ... the Paraclete ... when he has come ... will convince (arguet) the world of sin.

6 *horyblyte*: NED calls this 'Now rare', but its examples and MED's show that this was always so. Their only example before 1400 is *SVra.Leg.*

For the soule that beholdeth ...: in *Bonum est* we read: He haþ a riht herte þat hateþ synne and crokeþ not to loue of þe world ... and haþ euere a gostlich beholdyng of god with reuerent loue (Wallner, 91).

8 *helle is* (ms): the SS reading, which omits, is superficially the simplest, but the *compar* supports this emendation. Theologically, Julian seems to be parting company with the

know synne, and pray besyly and traveyle wylfully and seke techyng
10 mekly, þat we falle nott blyndly there in, and yf we falle, þat we reyse redely. For it is þe most payne þat the soule may haue, to turne fro god ony tyme by synne.

The soule þat wylle be in rest when other m(a)nnys synnes come to mynde, he shuld fle it as þe payne of helle, sekyng in to god for helpe

---

13 *mannys*: ms: mennys, and so line 15.

---

10 *reyse*: C, S2: rise; and so S1. 13 *mennys* (ms): S1: mannys; C, S2: mens. *to (mynde)*: add. S1: my; add. S2: his. 14 *shuld*: SS: shall. *for*: add. SS: remedy for.

---

scholastics (and with Hilton, who follows them) who taught, after Tertullian, that the sight of the torments of the damned adds to the joy of the blessed. So Hilton, *Scale* II, chapter 45: ... for to seen *with* þe gostly eiȝe þe peynes of reprofed *and* þe ioye *and* þe blis of chosen soules, it is ful confortable (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 138r; Underhill, 457). When she writes of God scorning the fiend, she describes it as *an inwarde shewyng of sothfastnesse without channgyng of chere* (349.33). Although she wished to have some sight of Hell and Purgatory, she could see nothing at all of this (427.3 e.s.). By *helles synne* she seems to mean final damnation, the sin which makes a man a child of the devil (cf. I John 3.10; cf. 427.10-428.12).

And therfore it is goddys wylle þat we know synne / and pray besyly and traveyle wylfully and seke techyng mekly / þat we falle nott blyndly there in / and yf we falle þat we reyse redely: a *compar* with *continuatio, repetitio* and *similiter desinens*.

þat we know synne: cf. the *Scale*, I chapter 91: þis desire, if þou (p. 360) kepe it, schal wel tell þe whilk is synne and whilk is not, and whilk is gode and whilk is bettere gode. And if þou wilt festen þi thoȝt þerto, it schal kenne þe all þat þe nedeȝ ... aȝeyns þe ground of synne in generale or elles aȝeyns any special synne (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686; Underhill, 218).

11 *For it is þe most payne þat the soule may haue / to turne fro god ony tyme by synne*: this is the *conclusio* to the preceding *compar*.

13 *The soule þat wylle be in rest / when other mannys synnes come to mynde / he shuld fle it as þe payne of helle / sekyng in to god for helpe agayne þat / For þe beholdyng of other mannes synne / it makyth as it were a thyck myst afore þe eye of þe soule / and we may nott for þe tyme se the feyerhede of god / but yf we may beholde them with contrycion with him / with compassion on hym and with holy desyer to god for hym / For with out this it noyeth and trobelyth and lettyth the soule that beholde them / for this I vnderstande in þe shewyng of þe compassion*: this is an *argumentatio perfectissima*, the first four *cola* giving the *propositio*, the next two the *ratio*, the next one the *confirmatio rationis*, the next two the *exornatio* and the last two the *complexio*. There is *oppositio, similiter cadens* and *repetitio*. The passage bears a marked resemblance to Psalm 72: My steps had almost slipped, for I was incensed about the wicked when I saw the prosperity of sinners ... See, there are sinners, and ... they have obtained riches ... My heart has been inflamed, and I have been brought to nothing ... I have become like a beast before thee.

agayne *þat*. For þe beholding of other m(a)nnes synne, it makyth as it were a thyck myst afore þe eye of þe soule, and we may nott for þe tyme se the feyerhede of god, but yf we may beholde them *with* contrycion *with* him, *with* compassion on hym, and *with* holy desyer to god for
159v hym. For *with* out this it noyeth and trobelyth and / lettyth the soule that beholde them; for this I vnderstande in þe shewyng of þe compassion.

In thys blessydfulle shewyng of oure lorde I haue vnderstandy*n*g of

---

15 *þat*: SS: it. *mennys* (ms): C, S_2: mens; S_1: mannys, alt. fr. mennys, or vice versa. *synne*: S_1: synnes; and so S_2. 17 *feyerhede of god*: S_2: fairnes of þe godhead. 18 *with compassion on hym*: om. S_2. 19 *trobelyth*: S_1: tempestith; and so S_2. 20 *beholde*: S_1: beholdith; and so S_2. *I*: om. S_1. *vnderstande*: S_1: vnderstode; and so S_2. *þe (compassion)*: om. SS. 22 *blessydfull*: S_1: blissid; S_2: blissfull.

---

15 *it makyth as it were a thyck myst afore þe eye of þe soule*: the image is Dionysian. Cf. *De divinis nominibus* IV: lumen intelligibile bonus dicitur, propter hoc quod omnem quidem supercaelestem mentem implet intelligibili lumine, omnem autem ignorantiam et errorem expellit ... et intellectuales ipsarum oculos mundet a circumposita ipsis faece ex ignorantia, et movet et operit multa gravitate tenebrarum conclusos (John Sarracenus's version; Chevallier, *Dionysiaca* I 172-173). The *faex* or *caligo*, which in pseudo-Denis refers to intellectual darkness, takes on a moral connotation with his mediaeval commentators; for example, for Thomas Gallus it is the darkness which results from original and actual sin, from the neglect of God's commandments, and the unruly sensuality; so that he comments: Fex est infima sensualitatis corpulencia, circumposita ipsis, id est contracta ex originali peccato et actualibus et negligencia (*Explanatio super De divinis nominibus*, MS Vatican D.181, f. 175^v).

17 *but yf we may beholde them with contrycion with him*: the antecedent of *them* is *other mannes synne*. The historic plural of OE *synn* was *synna*, reduced to *synne*, though early in ME both strong plurals 'sins' and weak 'sinnen' are found. The antecedent of *him* is *mannys*, the reading which only S1 has correctly preserved (unless we were to suppose that P is descended from a Southern ancestor with 'hem' for 'them', of which we have no other evidence).

19 *it noyeth and trobelyth and lettyth the soule*: the *Cloud*-author writes: ... þe mynde of any man leuyng in þis wrichid liif or of any maner of bodely or wordely þing wil hinder þee and let þee in þis werk (Hodgson, 35). Julian is far less trenchant.

20 *for this I vnderstande in þe shewyng of þe compassion*: cf. 408.2, chapter 28, with its incipit: *Thus I saw how Crist hath compassyon on vs for the cause of synne.*

22 *In thys blessydfull shewyng of oure lorde / I haue vnderstandyng of twoo contrarious / That one is þe most wysdom / þat ony creature may do in this lyfe / that other is the most foly / The most wysdom is a creature to do / after the wyll and þe councelles of his hyghest sovereynn frende / This blessyde frend is Jesu / and it is his wylle and counceyle / þat we holde vs with hym / and fasten vs homely to hym evyr more / in what state so ever we been / For whether we be foule or clene / we are evyr one in his lovyng / for wele ne for woo he wylle nevyr we fle hym / But for the channgeablete þat we are in oure selfe we falle oftyn in to synne / Than haue we this by þe steryng of oure enemy and by oure owne foly and blyndnes / For they sey thus / Thou wottest wele*

twoo contrarious. That one is þe most wysdom þ*at* ony creature may do in this lyfe, that other is the most foly. The most wysdom is, a creature to do after the wyll and þe counce*lles* of his hyghest sovereyn*n* frende. This blessyde frend is Jesu, and it is his wylle and counceyle þ*at* we holde vs w*ith* hym, and fasten vs homely to hym evyr more, in what state so ever we been. For whether we be foule or clene, we are evyr one in his lovyng; for wele ne for woo he wylle nevyr we fle hym. But for the channgeablete þ*at* we are in oure selfe, we falle oftyn in to synne. Than haue we this by þe steryng of oure enemy, and by oure owne foly and blyndnes. For they sey thus: Thou wottest wele thou arte a wrech, a
160r synner and also / vntrew, for thou kepyst nott thy cou(en)an*n*t. Thou

---

33 *couenannt*: ms: co*n*uan*n*t.

---

23 *contrarious*: SS: contraries. *That*: S2: þe. 24 *is, a*: S2: is for þe. 25 *þe (councelles)*: om. SS. *councelles*: C: counsel; and so SS, S2 w. marks of eras. and altn. 26 *and (counceyle)*: add. SS: his. 28 *ever*: om. S1. *whether*: add. S1: so that. *evyr (one)*: S1: al; and so S2. 30 *in (oure)*: add. SS: in. 31 *oure (o* add. S2: old. 32 *blyndnes*: S1: blyndhede. 33 *thy*: S1: the; and S2. *couenannt*: so C; S1: com*m*and; and so S2.

---

thou arte a wrech / a synner and also vntrew / for thou kepyst nott thy couenannt / Thou pron oftyn tymes oure lorde / þat thou schallt do better / and anon þou fallest agayne in þe san namely in slouth and in lesyng of tyme: this entire *compar*, to show the *oppositio* betw obedience to the divine will and sin, has been constructed with great care; and it e ploys what has become a favourite device, the alternation of short and long *cola*. F short ones serve as introduction to the *sententia, The most wysdom is a creature to do* (which derives from the *sententia* in Ecclesiasticus 6.14-17: A faithful friend is a stro defence ... Nothing can be compared to a faithful friend ... the medicine of life and ir mortality ... no weight ... can countervail the goodness of his fidelity). In the sixt seventh and eighth *cola* there is *gradatio*, and there seems to be *continuatio* in the fit teenth.

25 *after the wyll and þe councelles of his hyghest sovereynn frende*: cf. John 3.29: ... the friend of the bridegroom who stands and hears him rejoices with joy because of the bridegroom's voice.

28 *For whether we be foule or clene, we are evyr one in his lovyng*: cf. Matthew 11.19: ... they say: Look, a man ... a friend of publicans and sinners. And wisdom is justified by her children.

29 *for wele ne for woo*: NED, Well, *sb.*[2], has as its first instance of the phrase Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, 687.

But for the channgeablete þat we are in oure selfe, we falle oftyn in to synne: cf. 498.40-499.45.

32 *For they sey thus ...*: Julian's *exclamatio*, which is also *notatio*, finds a close analogue in the *Scale* II, chapter 12: ... þi gostly enemys, whan þei sey to þe þus: Where is þi lord Jhesu ... what felis þu o3t bot blyndnes *and* syn? (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 75[r]; Underhill, 271).

promysse oftyn tymes oure lorde þ*at* thou schallt do better, and anon
35 þ*ou* fallest agayne in þe same, namely in slouth and in lesyng of tyme. For þ*at* is þe begynnyng of synne, as to my syghte, and namely to þe creatures þ*at* haue gevyn them selfe to serve oure lorde *with* inwarde beholdyng of his blessydfulle goodnesse; and this makyth vs a dred to appere afore oure curteyse lorde.

40 Than it is oure enmye þ*at* wylle put vs aback *with* his false drede of oure wrechydnesse, for payne that he thretyth vs by. For it is his menyng to make vs so hevy and so sory in this þ*at* we schuld lett outt of mynde þe blessydfull beholdyng of oure evyrlastyng frende.

---

34 *promysse*: C: promisest; S1: behotist; and so S2. *anon*: add. SS: after. 35 *and (in)*: om. SS. *in (lesyng)*: om. C. 36 *as*: om. S2. 37 *selfe*: om. S1; S2: selves. *oure*: S2: þe. 38 *blessydfulle*: S1: blissid; and so S2. 40 *drede*: S2: dreads. 42 *sory*: S1: wery; and so S2. 43 *þe*: add. S1: fair; and so S2. *blessydfull*: S1: blisfull; and so S2.

---

36 *For þat is þe begynnyng of synne as to my syghte / and namely to þe creatures þat haue gevyn them selfe / to serve oure lorde with inwarde beholdyng of his blessydfulle goodnesse*: here we have Julian's own comment on the preceding *compar*; and the three *cola* form a *complexio*.

The *Cloud*-author, writing for those called 'in to a more special state and forme of leuyng, to be a seruaunt of þe special seruauntes of his, where þou miȝtest lerne to liue more specialy and more goostly in his seruise', similarly warns against sloth and the wasting of time: Look up now, weike wreche, and see what þou arte ... þus to be clepid of oure lorde? What weri wrechid herte and sleping in sleiþe is þat, þe whiche is not waknid wiþ þe drawȝt of þis loue ...? (Hodgson, 14). Julian, however, is not concerned to make distinctions between forms of living.

þe begynnyng of synne: the author of the *Chastising* gives similar prominence to the dangers of indolence in the contemplative life: Þis sikenesse is more perlous þan ony of þe oþer whiche I haue reherced, for out of þis ... sum men fallen into anoþer feuere ... þat is to seie, necligence or sleuth ... (Bazire and Colledge, 129).

37 *to serve oure lorde with inwarde beholdyng of his blessydfulle goodnesse / and this makyth vs a dred to appere afore oure curteyse lorde*: a *compar*, with a variety of *chiasmus* in *lorde ... goodnesse ... a dred ... lorde*, and also *oppositio*.

38 *makyth vs a dred*: cf. I Esdras 9.6: My God, I am confounded and ashamed to lift up my face to thee.

40 *Than is it oure enmye þat wylle put vs aback / with this false drede of oure wrechydnesse / for payne that he thretyth vs by / For it is his menyng to make vs so hevy and so sory in this / þat we schuld lett outt of mynde þe blessydfull beholdyng of oure evyrlastyng frende*: a *compar* is which the *oppositio* which has been the main theme of the whole chapter is taken up finally in *enmye / frende*. There is *similiter cadens* in menyng ... beholdyng ... evyrlastyng. The language is that of the Psalmist: Let them be confounded and ashamed together, who seek after my soul to take it away. Let them be turned backward and be ashamed who desire evils for me. Let them immediately bear their confusion, who say to me: It is well, it is well (Psalm 39.15-16).

41 *it is his menyng ... oure evyrlastyng frende*: Julian recalls her own sin. Cf. 634.28 e.s.

The lxxvij Chapter

Owre good lord shewde the enmyte of the fende, wherby I vnderstode that alle that is contraryous to loue and to peace, it is of þe
160v feende and of his / perty. And we haue of oure febylnesse and oure foly
5 to falle, and we haue of mercy and of grace of þe holy gost to ryse to more joye. And yf our enmye owȝt wynnyth of vs by oure fallyng, for it is his lyck(yng), he lesyth many tymes more in oure rysyng by charyte

---

7 *lyckyng*: ms: lycknes.

---

1 *lxxvij*: C: lxxvj. S1: Off the enmite of the fend, which (S2: who) lesith more in our uprising than he winnith be our fallyng, *and* therfore he is scornyd; and how the scorge of god shuld be suffrid with mynde of his passion, for that is spe(c)ially rewardid aboven penance be our selfe chosen, *and* we must nedes have wo, but curtes god is our leder, keper *and* blis. 3 *of* (*þe*): om. SS. 4 *oure* (*foly*): om. S2. 5 *of* (*grace*): om. SS. 7 *tymes*: SS: fold.

---

2 *Owre good lord shewde the enmyte of the fende / wherby I vnderstode that alle / that is contraryous to loue and to peace / it is of þe feende and of his perty*: in this *compar* the *oppositio* which is to be the theme of the whole chapter is stated summarily. It is also a Trinitarian statement, referring by implication to the Incarnation: *lord* here is for the Son, *loue* for the Spirit and *peace* for the Father. The Scriptural allusion is to Luke 2.14.

4 *And we haue of oure febylnesse and oure foly to falle / and we haue of mercy and of grace of þe hole gost / to ryse to more joye*: a *compar* with *repetitio* and further Trinitarian reference: *mercy* for the Son, *grace* for the Spirit, *joye* for the Father (cf. 389.2 e.s.). Probably *febylnesse, foly, falle* is a deliberate triad, with allusion to flesh, world and devil (cf. 406.20 e.s.), which would seem to be the significance of *þe feende and ... his perty*. So we read in *Discretion of Spirits*: And þees two spirites of þe flessche and also of þe woreld ben as it were seruauntes or seriauntes of þat cursed spirite, þe foule feend of helle (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 81).

we haue ... to falle ... to ryse: cf. NED, Have, *v*.B.7.: 'To possess as a duty or thing to be done', which has as one example: Ic hæbbe ðe to secȝenne sumðing (Luke 7.40: habeo tibi aliquid dicere). But that is not here the sense, which seems to be 'We have the propensity ... to fall, and we have the possibility ... to rise'.

6 *And yf our enmye owȝt wynnyth of vs by oure fallyng / for it is his lyckyng / he lesyth many tymes more in oure rysyng / by charyte and mekenesse / and this glorious rysyng / it is to hym so great sorow and payne / for the hate þat he hath to oure soule / that he brynneth contynually in envy / And alle this sorow / þat he would make vs to haue / it shall turne in to hym selfe / and for this it was þat oure lorde skornyd hym / and shewde þat he shalle be skornyd / and this made me myghtely to lawgh*: a *compar* constructed around the oppositio *fallyng / rysyng*, which also has *similiter cadens*.

7 *lycknes* (ms): this reading is not challenged in C or SS, but the sense 'happiness', which plainly is required in the context and by the *oppositio* with *sorow and payne*, is nowhere recorded for 'likeness'. It is evident that this is a corruption of 'lyckyng', and the text has been emended.

and mekenesse; and this glorious rysyng, it is to hym so great sorow and payne, for the hate *þat* he hath to oure soule, that he brynneth contynually in envy. And alle this sorow *þat* he would make vs to haue, it shall turne in to hym selfe, and for this it was *þat* oure lorde skornyd hym, and shewde *þat* he shalle be skornyd; and this made me myghtely to lawgh.

Than is this þe remedy, *þat* we be a knowyn of oure wrechydnes and fle to oure lorde; for evyr the more nedyr *þat* we be, the more spedfulle it is to vs to touch hym. And sey we thus in oure meanyng: I knowe

---

9 *he (hath)*: om. S1. *to (oure)*: S2: for. 10 *this*: S2: þe. 11 *in*: om. SS. 12 *shewde þat ... skornyd, and*: om. S2. 14 *of*: om. SS. 15 *nedyr*: C: needier; and so SS. 16 *touch*: S1: neyghin; and so S2.

---

8 *to hym so great sorow and payne*: cf. the *Ancrene Riwle*: 3if þe fend *with* fondinge greueþ ow sore, þou greuest hi*m* whon þou *with* stondest an hondret siþe sarre ... fret his herte of sor grome of teone ... i þe te*m*ptacion þ*at* þou stondest a 3eyn mucheleþ þi meede, and for pyne þ*at* he wende forte drawen þe touward, breydeþ þe a croune of blisse (Vernon MS, f. 383a; Day, 105).

9 *for the hate þat he hath*: cf. the *English Prose Benedictus*: fro the hand of alle þat hated vs, þat is, fro þe powere of vnclene spirites þat aren deueles þat enuyously hate vs and wolde lette vs fro þe blisse of heuen, þe wilk blisse þei mai not have (Wallner, 7).

11 *for this it was þat oure lorde skornyd hym*: cf. 348.24-349.35 and notes.

14 *Than is this þe remedy / þat we be a knowyn of oure wrechydnes / and fle to oure lorde / for evyr the more nedyr þat we be / the more spedfulle it is to vs to touch hym*: a *compar* with medial *repetitio*, and, if one prefers S1's *neyghin*, *oppositio* to *nedyr*.

Privy Counselling gives the same advice: ... þof al þou fele þi self 3it þan so vile and so wrechid þat for kombraunce of þi self þou wost not þi self what is best þee for to do wiþ þi self, þis þan schalt þou do as I sei þee: Take good gracyous god as he is ... bere up þi seek self as þou arte and fonde for to touche bi desire good gracious god as he is (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 138-139). Julian is more direct and less didactic.

be a knowyn: NED's examples, Acknow, and MED's, aknoue(n, show that in ME only the past participle survives, that it is regarded as an adjective and is used with 'to be'.

15 *more nedyr*: C, SS interpret as 'needier', which is defensible; but what has preceded, our falling into sin by weakness and folly, our rising again through mercy and grace to greater joy, suggests that *nedyr*, 'lower', is what Julian wrote. NED, More, *a.* (*sb.*) and *adv.*, C.1.d., gives as its first example *c.1205 Lay.* 4349: and þu eær muchele ahtere and ec mare hærdere, and excepts it from the general definition 'pleonastic'. That is also true here; *more* qualifies *be*, not *nedyr*.

16 *touch*: if this is what Julian wrote, she (as the *Cloud*-author) probably had in mind Matthew 9.21: If I only touch his garment, I shall be healed. S1's *neyghin* evokes Luke 15.1: ... publicans and sinners drew near to him to hear him. See 694.49: *Flee we to oure lorde ... Touch we hym ...*; but we are not bound to suppose that she is there repeating herself. Either reading is defensible. NED's definition, Nigh, *v.*, 1.b., 'To approach so as to touch or handle', does not help us.

And sey we thus in oure meanyng / I knowe wele I haue deserwyde payne / but oure lorde is almyghty / and may ponyssch me myghtly / and he is all wysdom / and can ponyssch me wysely /

161r wele I haue deservyde / payne; but oure lorde is almyghty, and may ponyssch me myghtly, and he is all wysdom, and can ponyssch me wysely, and he is alle goodnesse, and lovyth me tendyrly. And in this 20 beholdyng it is spedfulle to vs to abyde; for it is a fulle louely mekenes of a synnfulle soule, wrought by mercy and grace of the holy gost, whan we wyll wylfully and gladly take þe skorgyng and the cha(s)tyssyng that

---

22 *chastyssyng*: ms: chatyssyng.

---

17 *wele*: add. C: that. *deservyde*: S1: a shrewid; and so S2. 19 *wysely*: SS: skilfully. *me (tendyrly)*: add. S2: full. 20 *spedfulle to*: S1: necessarye for; and so S2. *fulle*: om. SS. 22 *skorgyng*: SS: scorge. *the (chastyssyng)*: om. SS. *chastyssyng that*: SS: chastening of.

---

and he is alle goodnesse / and lovyth me tendyrly / And in this beholdyng it is spedfulle to vs to abyde: a Trinitarian *compar*, the central figure of which is the *oppositio* between *ponyssch* and *lovyth*, touching on the mystery of the nature of God, to whom are predicated alike justice and wisdom and love. It would seem that *lorde ... he ... all* is for the *una et indivisa trinitas*, with the adverbs and abstract nouns for the appropriations — *distributio*. The Scriptural commonplace is Deuteronomy 32.39 (repeated in Tobias 13.2): There is no other God besides me; I shall kill and I shall make to live, I shall strike and I shall heal. This the *Chastising* glosses: Oure good lord sleeþ, for he wil make to lyue, he smyteþ þat he may heele, and betiþ outward þat he may heele inward þe woundis of trespassis; and þus he smyteþ the flessche, and makeþ soft and tendre þe hardnesse of þe soule (Bazire and Colledge, 146; and see 277, where parallels are shown from Isidore of Seville, Bridget of Sweden and Gregory the Great).

20 *for it is a fulle louely mekenes of a synnfulle soule / wrought by mercy and grace of the holy gost / whan we wyll wylfully and gladly / take þe skorgyng and the chastyssyng / that oure lorde hym selfe wylle geue vs / And it shalle be fulle tendyr and fulle esy / yf we wylle onely holde vs plesyd / with hym and with alle his werkes*: this pericope is a comment on the phrase immediately preceding, *And in this beholdyng it is spedfulle to vs to abyde*; and it appears to be the *propositio* of an *argumentatio*, with the first *colon* the *ratio*, the second the *confirmatio*, the third, fourth and fifth *cola* the *exornatio*, and the last three the *complexio*, stressed by the *conduplicatio* of *holde vs* with *to abyde*. Julian is insisting that this is a contemplative grace; when she calls it *a fulle louely mekenes*, she is comparing it with Mary's contemplation of the Trinity (cf. 310.3 note). It is also *wrought by mercy*, a healing and redeeming grace which repairs the harm done by sin, the *gratia sanans* of the scholastics. Also it is elevating and transforming, *gratia elevans, sanctificans*, for it communicates to us the tenderness and gentleness of God's love, the work of the Holy Spirit.

21 *whan we wyll wylfully ... with alle his werkes*: the same teaching on union of will appears in *Bonum est*: He ... haþ euere a gostlich beholdyng of god with reuerent loue, euur sechynge and desirynge þe priue presence of him in clannesse of herte and in gladnes of spirit. Rihtful is god in his siht, for his wil is confermed to godes wil ... he holdeþ him payed with what so god doþ, and falleþ doun mekely in his þouȝt to his wille, and þinkeþ hit al riȝtful and wel don (Wallner, 91).

oure lorde hym selfe wylle geue vs. And it shalle be fulle tendyr and fulle esy, yf we wylle onely holde vs plesyd *with* hym and *with* alle his
25 werkes.

For that pennance that man takyth vppon hym selfe, it was nott shewde me; that is to sey, it was not shewde me specyfyed. But this was shewde specially and hyghly and *with* fulle louely chere, that we shulde mekely and pacyently bere and suffer *þat* pennawnce *þat* god hym selfe
161v gevyth vs, *with* mynde / of hys blessyd passion. For whan we haue
31 mynde of his blessyd passion, *with* pytte and loue, then we suffer *with* hym lyke as his frendes dyd that saw it. And this was shewd in þe thyrtene, nere at þe begynnyng, where it spekyth of pytte.

For he seyeth: Accuse not thy selfe that thy trybulation and thy woo

---

24 *his*: bis, not canc.

---

23 *oure*: S2: þe. 24 *yf*: add. S2: that; and so S2. *plesyd*: SS: paid. 26 *that (pennance)*: S1: the; and so S2. *vppon*: S1: of; S2: from. *it*: om. SS. 27 *me*: om. SS. *this*: SS: it. 28 *shulde*: SS: shall. 29 *þat (pennawnce)*: SS: the. 30 *of* (2x): SS: in (2x). 32 *saw*: S1: seen. *thyrtene*: C: xiijth. 34 *thy (selfe)*: om. SS. *selfe*: add. S1: over don mekil demandand; and so S2.

---

26 *For that pennance that man takyth vppon hym selfe / it was nott shewde me / that is to sey it was not shewde me specyfyed*: Julian's observation here approximates to that of the *Cloud*-author in the *Epistle of Prayer*, where he too has been writing of devotion or accordance of wills: ... sikerliche I had leuer haue his mede þat lasteþ in soche doyng, þof al he neuer did bodiliche penance in þis liif, bot onlich þat þat is enioined to him of holi chirche (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 51); and the same point is made repeatedly in *Discretion of Stirrings* (ibid., 69-70, 71-72, 73-75), with more emphasis than is here.

27 *But this was shewde specially and hyghly and with fulle louely chere / that we shulde mekely and pacyently bere and suffer þat pennawnce / þat god hym selfe gevyth vs with mynde of hys blessyd passion / For whan we haue mynde of his blessyd passion with pytte and loue / then we suffer with hym lyke as his frendes dyd that saw it*: this is a particularly fine example of the ease with which she is able to compose in long *cola*. It is a good example also of *continuatio*; and the transition from penance to Passion to compassion is very smooth. The whole *compar* is a carefully-worked chiastic structure.

32 *in þe thyrtene ... where it spekyth of pytte*: in the exceptionally long and complex Revelation XIII (404-459) the most relevant passage is 408.2, inc.: *Thus I saw how Crist hath compassyon on vs ...*

34 *For he seyeth*: it is arguable that what follows is indeed a locution, belonging to Revelation XIII (the most appropriate place would be at 412.8, after *And to thys oure blessyd lorde answeryd fulle mekely and with fulle louely chere*, which significantly resembles *But this was shewde specially and hyghly and with fulle louely chere* — 692.27). Chapter 29, like the two preceding it, is concerned with the suffering which sin brings to man,

is alle thy defawght; for I wylle not þat thou be hevy ne sorowfulle vndiscretly. For I telle thee, how so evyr thou do, thou shalle haue woo. And therfore I wylle that thow wysely know thy pennannce whych thou arte in contynually, and that thou mekely take it for thy pennannce. And than schalt þou truly se that alle th(y) lyvyng is pennannce profytable.

This place is pryson, this lyfe is pennannce, and in þe remedy he wylle

---

39 *thy*: ms: this.

---

35 *alle*: add. SS: for. 36 *evyr*: om. SS. 37 *whych thou ... pennannce (And)*: om. SS. 39 *than*: om. SS. *truly*: S1: sothly; and so S2. *this* (ms and C): S1: thi; and so S2. 41 *pryson*: add. SS: *and*.

---

and Julian's sorrow that she cannot reconcile the world's sinfulness with 'All shall be wel'. It may be that this locution, together with the lord-and-servant parable, was suppressed in the short text (cf. 247.6-7) and in the first redaction of the long, because until Julian had worked out the full implications of the parable she could not see precisely where it belonged. Now it has been included in this recapitulation, written with full enlightenment.

Accuse not thy selfe that thy trybulation and thy woo is alle thy defawght / for I wylle not þat thou be hevy ne sorowfulle vndiscretly / For I telle thee how so evyr thou do thou shalle haue woo / And therfore I wylle that thow wysely know / thy pennannce whych thou arte in contynually / and that thou mekely take it for thy pennannce / And than schalt þou truly se / that alle thy lyvyng is pennannce profytable: this is an *argumentatio perfectissima*, in which the first *colon* is the *propositio*, the second the *ratio*, the third the *confirmatio rationis*, the fourth, fifth and sixth *cola* the *exornatio*, the two last the *complexio*.

Accuse not thy selfe ... vndiscretly: the same point is made with emphasis in *Discretion of Spirits*, where the author adds: And þe cause of alle þis is lackyng of knowing of discrecioun of spirites (Hodgson, *Deonise*, 90); and in *Benjamin* he writes: ... ouer moche sorow castiþ a man into bitternes and heuines of kynde, for þe whiche he is vnable to receyue gostly coumforte (ibid., 38).

37 *And therfore ...*: this is the burden of the section on penance in the *Ancrene Riwle*, which begins: Al is penaunce and strong penaunce þat ȝe euer driȝeþ ... Al þat ȝe euer doþ in goode, al þat ȝe þoleþ is ow martirdom ... Bliþe mowe ȝe ben þer of, for as seint Powl seiþ: Si compatimur conregnabimus. As ȝe scotteþ with him of his pyne on eorþe, so ȝe schul scotten with him of his blisse in heuene (Vernon MS, f. 388b; Tolkien, 177).

41 *This place is pryson this lyfe is pennance / and in þe remedy he wylle that we enjoy / The remedy is þat oure lorde is with vs / kepyng vs and ledyng in to fulhed of joy*: a *compar* with *dissolutio* in the first *colon, repetitio* (*remedy ... remedy*). and, perhaps, *conflatio* (*pryson ... kepyng*).

pryson: cf. the *Riwle*: ȝif ȝe þeonne ine nerewe stude þolieð biternesse, ȝe beoð his feolawes, reclus ase he was (Day, 172; not in the Vernon MS).

in þe remedy ...: in *Qui habitat* we have the following gloss on *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione* (Psalm 90.15): But gode lord, what tribulacion mai þi seruaunt felen, to whom þou art so fauurable and so helplich and makest him to knowe þe and loue þe so tenderlich, and cumfortest him so graciouslich with þi presence? ȝus, schal he haue tribulacion in sum maner wyse, no mon more (Wallner, 47).

that we enjoy. The remedy is *þat* oure lorde is *with* vs, kepyng vs and
162r ledyng in to fulhed of joy. For this is an endlesse / joy to vs in oure
lordes menyng, that he that shalle be oure blesse when we are there, he
45 is oure keper whyle we are here, oure wey and oure hevyn in tru loue
and feythfulle trust. And of this he gaue vnderstandyng in alle, and
namely in shewyng of his passion, where he made me myghtly to chose
hym for my hevyn.

Flee we to oure lorde, and we shall be comfortyd. Touch we hym,
50 and we shalle be made cleene. Cleve we to hym, and we shalle be suer
and safe from alle manner of peryllys. For oure curtese lorde wylle *þat*

---

51 *alle*: 'e' al. m.

---

42 *that*: om. SS. *vs (and)*: om. SS. 43 *to (fulhed)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 45 *in (tru)*: SS: is. 46 *feythfulle*: SS: sekir. 47 *in (shewyng)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. *his*: S2: þe. 50 *we (to)*: om. S1. *suer*: S1: sekir; S2: made sekir. 51 *peryllys*: SS: peril.

---

43 *For this is an endlesse joy to vs in oure lordes menyng / that he that shalle be oure blesse when we are there / he is oure keperwhyle we are here / oure wey and oure hevyn in tru loue and feythfulle trust*: a *compar* with a marked change of rhythm, serving as a kind of *complexio* to the previous one, stressing the attributes of the Redeemer — *joy ... blesse ... keper ... wey ... hevyn ... tru loue ... feythfulle trust*, and, in the last two *cola*, markedly echoing the sentiments and the rhythm of Isaias 55.6: Seek the Lord while he may be found; call upon him while he is near (*Quaerite dominum dum inveniri potest, invocate eum dum prope est*).

45 *oure wey and oure hevyn*: in the *English Prose Benedictus*, glossing the last phrase of the canticle, *in viam pacis*, we read: for he is (þe) wai in þe whiche we schal goo with oute fallynge, and he is soþfastnesse bi þe whiche we schal goo wiþ oute willynge, and he is þat blissid lif and steede of pees in þe whiche we schal reste with oute endynge (Wallner, 18).

47 *where he made me myghtly to chose hym for my hevyn*: cf. 371.11 e.s.

49 *Flee we to oure lorde and we shall be comfortyd / Touch we hym and we shalle be made cleene / Cleve we to hym and we shalle be suer / and safe from alle manner of peryllys*: in the first three *cola* there is chiastic structure, and the *compar* has medial *repetitio, traductio* and *conduplicatio*.

Touch we hym: cf. 690.16 note.

50 *Cleve we to hym*: cf. Deuteronomy 11.22: ... love the Lord your God, and walk in his ways, cleaving to him, and Psalm 72.28: It is good for me to cleave to my God, to put my hope in the Lord God.

51 *For oure curtese lorde wylle / þat we be as homely with hym / as hart may thynke / or soule may desyer / but be we ware þat we take not / so rechelously this homelyhed / for to leue curtesye / For our lorde hym selfe is souereyn homelyhed / and so homely as he is / as curtesse he is / for he is very curteyse*: in this *compar*, the *oppositio* (*homelyhed / curtesye*) and the *repetitiones* are designed to stress Julian's doctrine: if our courtesy and our familiarity are to be as

we be as homely *with* hym as hart may thyngke or soule may desyer; but be we ware *þat* we take not so rechelously this homelyhed for to leue curtesye. For oure lorde hym selfe is souereyn homelyhed, and so
55 homely as he is, as curtesse he is; for he is very curteyse. And the
162v blessyd creatures *þat* shalle be in hevyn *with* hym *with* out / ende, he wylle haue them lyke vnto hym selfe in alle thyng, and (to) be lyke to oure lorde perfetly, it is oure very saluacion and oure fulle blysse. And yf we wett nott how we shall do alle this, desyer we of oure lorde, and
60 he shalle lerne vs, for it is his owne lykyng and his wurschyppe, blessyd mott he be.

---

57 *to*: om. ms.

---

53 *we (ware)*: om. SS. *so*: om. S2. *rechelously*: C: retchesly; SS: reklesly. *homelyhed* (2×): S2: homelynes (2×). *for to*: S1: that we; and so S2. 54 *so*: SS: as. 57 *vnto*: C, S1: to. *thyng*: S1: things. *to be*: so C, SS. *to (oure)*: om. S2. 59 *wett*: C: wote; and so SS. 60 *lerne*: S2: teach.

---

perfect as are those qualities in Christ, we must not accept the qualities in him *rechelously*. Cf. NED, Reckless, *a.*, 1.a.: 'Careless in respect of one's conduct' (a sense now archaic).

54 *homelyhed*: NED's first instance is c.1440, which MED dates c.1450.

55 *And the blessyd creatures þat shalle be in hevyn with hym with out ende / he wylle haue them lyke vnto hym selfe in alle thyng / and to be lyke to oure lorde perfetly / it is oure very saluacion and oure fulle blysse / And yf we wett nott how we shall do alle this / desyer we of oure lorde and he shalle lerne vs / for it is his owne lykyng and his wurschyppe / blessyd mott he be*: a *compar* with *repetitio* and *inclusio*.

57 *and to be lyke*: though one can make grammatical sense out of P's reading by punctuating thing,... perfectly. It..., the *compar* and the C and SS readings, as well as the otiose nature of P's tautology, justify the emendation.

lyke to oure lorde perfetly...: in the conclusion to chapter 77, Julian appears to have chosen the attributes of familiarity and courtesy to specify the immanence and transcendence of God. She has said that the oneness between God and the soul is such that she could see no difference between the two, but that she understood that there is such difference (562.17 e.s.). Here she is able to express that difference by these *oppositiones*, which find their harmony in our union with the glorified Jesus, God and man. Assimilation and union come together; cf. John 17.22-23: ... that they may be one as we are one, ... that they may be made perfect in one.

59 *and he shalle lerne vs*: the phrase indicates that Julian has in mind the great eschatalogical chapter 54 of Isaias: ... all your children will be taught by the Lord, which is taken up and given its Trinitarian and eucharistic references in John 6.44-45: No man can come to me except the Father draw him. It is written in the prophets: And they will all be taught by God. Everyone who has heard of the Father and has learned comes to me. The words *he shalle lerne vs* are thus predicated of the Father, *his owne lykyng* of the Spirit and *his wurschyppe* of the Son. Cf. 389.4 e.s.

The lxxviij Chapter

Owre lorde of his mercy shewyth vs oure synne and oure feblynesse by the swete gracious lyght of hym selfe, for oure synne is so foule and so horryble that he of his curtesy wylle not shewe it vs but by þe lyght of his mercy.

Of iiij thynges it is his wylle that we haue knowyng. The furst is þat he

---

1 *lxxviij*: C: lxxvij. S1: Our lord will we know iiij manner of goodnes that he doith to us, *and* how we neede the lyte of grace to knowen our synne *and* febilnes, for we arn nothing of our selfe but writchednes, *and* we may not know þe horribilnes of synne as it is; and how our enemy would we should never know our synne till þe last day, wherfore we arn mekil (S2: much) bowndend (S2: bound) to god that shewith it now. 3 *lyght*: C: sight. *foule*: SS: vile. 4 *he*: add. S1: is. *it*: add. SS: to. 5 *his (mercy)*: add. SS: grace *and*.

---

2 *Owre lorde of his mercy / shewyth vs oure synne and oure feblynesse / by the swete gracious lyght of hym selfe / for oure synne is so foule and so horryble / that he of his curtesy wylle not shewe it vs / but by þe lyght of his mercy*: a *compar* with the recurring figure of *oppositio*: *mercy / synne, swete / foule, gracious / horryble*. Cf., in *Qui habitat*, the gloss on *susceptor meus es tu et refugium meum*: ... whon I was sunken in þe muyre of synne ... and hedde no siht of myn oune meschef ne felyng of þe light of grace, þou lord þorw touching of þi blessed liȝt toke me vp from þer I lay, schewyng to my siht þe horiblete of my synnes, ȝiuyng to me verrei contricion and hol forsakyng of hem (Wallner, 4).

Though Julian in this chapter is fundamentally concerned with contemplative passive purification, as is clear from the analogues which can be drawn from contemporary *ex professo* contemplative writing, she puts no restrictions on her observations. The penitent dispositions of which she writes are those of the whole Church as it prays, in the Miserere; we only really know that we need forgiveness when we are aware of living in and by God's forgiveness: ... according to thy great mercy ... blot out my iniquity; wash me yet more from my wickedness ... thou wilt sprinkle me and I shall be cleansed; thou wilt wash me ... a contrite and humbled heart, o God, thou wilt not despise (Psalm 50.3-19).

3 *lyght*: C's 'sight', which SS do not support, is defensible but inferior. Cf. Psalm 35.10-11, infra.

4 *by þe lyght of his mercy*: cf. Psalm 35.10-11: With thee is the fountain of life; and in thy light we shall see light. Extend thy mercy to those who know thee.

6 *Of iiij thynges it is his wylle that we haue knowyng / The furst is þat he is the grownde / of whom we haue alle oure lyfe and oure beyng / The seconde is that he kepyth vs myghtly and mercyfully / in þe tyme that we are in oure synne / among alle oure enmys that are fulle felle vppon vs / and so moch we are in the more parell / for we geve them occasyon therto / and know not oure awne nede / The thyrde is howe curtesly he kepyth vs / and makyth vs to know þat we goo amysse / The iiij is how stedfastly he abydyth vs / and channgyth no chere / for he wylle þat we be turnyd and oonyd to hym in loue / as he is to vs*: it would appear that in this *compar* Julian is again propounding the Trinitarian formula of William of St. Thierry: *ex patre, per filium, in*

is the grownde, of whom we haue alle oure lyfe and oure beyng. The seconde is that he kepyth vs myghtly and mercyfully, in þe tyme that we are in oure synne, among alle oure enmys that are fulle felle vppon vs;
163r and so moch we are in the more parell / for we geve them occasyon
11 therto, and know not oure awne nede. The thyrde is howe curtesly he kepyth vs and makyth vs to know *þat* we goo amysse. The iiij is how stedfastly he abydyth vs, and channgyth no chere, for he wylle *þat* we be turnyd and oonyd to hym in loue as he is to vs.
15 And thus by gracyous knowing we may se oure synne, profytable

---

7 *the (grownde)*: S1: our; and so S2. 8 *is (that)*: om. S1. 9 *synne*: add. SS: *and*. 10 *moch*: SS: mekil. *them*: SS: him. 11 *and (know)*: add. C: we. 13 *vs (and channgyth)*: om. S2. 14 *oonyd*: C: unied. 15 *by*: add. S1: this; and so S2. *profytable*: SS: profitably.

---

sancto spiritu. The second and third *cola* are specifically for the Father, *of whom — ex quo* — we have life, and this not referring only to human kind in Christ but also to the procession of the Son. The twelfth and thirteenth *cola* are for the Spirit, sent by Father and Son to dwell with us for ever (cf. John 14.16). The eleventh *colon* is for the Son in relation to the Spirit — the operation of mercy and grace (cf. 564.33-35). The last two *cola* seem to be a resumé of the formula: *turnyd and oonyd* (*per Christum*) *to hym* (*ad patrem*) *in loue* (*in spiritu sancto*).

8 *he kepyth*: in this carefully constructed Trinitarian context Julian is summarizing her previous observations on how and why sin is profitable in the chosen. Cf. 451.18 e.s.

11 *know not oure awne nede*: cf. the *Chastising*: Oure hertis bien ful yuel heelid whanne þei bien nat wounded wiþ no loue of god, whan þei feele nat þe harm and þe perel of oure lyueng (Bazire and Colledge, 146).

13 *channgyth no chere*: in the Glossary it is suggested that this means 'does not change his demeanour', a sense and use well established in Scripture, e.g. Psalm 12.1: Usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me? But the derivation may be OE cerr, cierr (cf. NED Chare, *sb*1., MED char. (1), meaning 'direction, attitude, disposition'). The word occurs twice with this spelling and sense in *Gawain*: Þe kny3t tok gates straunge / In mony a bonk vnbene, / His cher ful oft con chaunge / Þat chapel er he my3t sene (edd. Tolkien and Gordon, Davis, 20); And ofte chaunged his cher þe chapel to seche (ibid., 60).

for he wylle þat we be turnyd and oonyd: the classical text on conversion in the Old Testament is Ezechiel 33.11: I do not wish for the death of the wicked man, but that he be converted and live.

15 *And thus by gracyous knowing we may se oure synne / profytable without dyspeyer / For sothly vs nedyth to see it / and by þe syghte we shulde be made ashamyd of oure selfe / and brokyn downe as agaynst oure pryde and oure presumpcion / For vs behovyth verely to see / þat of oure selfe we are ryght nought but synne and wrechydnesse / And thus by the syght of þe lesse that oure lorde shewyth vs / the more is wastyd whych we se nott / for he of his curtesy mesuryth the syght to vs / for it is so foule and so horryble / þat we shulde not endure to se it as it is / And thus by this meke knowyng thorow contrycion and grace / we shall be broken from alle thyng þat is not oure lorde / and than shalle oure blessyd savyour perfetely cure vs / and oone vs to hym*: an *argumentatio*

*with*out dyspeyer. For sothly vs nedyth to see it, and by þe syghte we shulde be made ashamyd of oure selfe, and br(o)kyn downe as agay*n*st oure pryde and oure presumpcion. For vs behovyth verely to see *þat* of oure selfe we are ryght nought but synne and wrechydnesse. And thus
20 by the syght of þe lesse that oure lorde shewyth vs, the more is wastyd whych we se nott; for he of his curtesy mesuryth the syght to vs; for it is so foule and so horryble *þat* we shulde not endure to se it as it is. And
163v thus by this meke / knowyng, thorow contrycion and grace we shall be broken from alle thyng *þat* is not oure lorde; and than shalle oure

---

17 *brokyn*: ms: brekyng.

---

17 *shulde*: S1: shal; and so S2. *selfe*: S2: selves. *brekyng* (ms): so C; SS: broken. *as*: om. S2. *agaynst*: S1: anempts; and so S2. 18 *oure (presumpcion)*: om. SS. 19 *selfe*: S2: selves. 20 *lesse*: add. C: (part of sin) (ital.) *that oure*: S2: *which* þe. 22 *foule*: SS: vile. 24 *thyng*: SS: things.

---

perfectissima, with the first two *cola* the *propositio*, the next three the *ratio*, the next two the *rationis confirmatio*, the next four the *exornatio*, and the last four the *complexio*. The *complexio*, in this *meke knowyng*, refers back to the *propositio*'s *gracyous knowing*; and it assembles all the points of the argument which show how sin is profitable.

16 *For sothly vs nedyth to see it*: cf. the first gloss in *Bonum est*: ... for þe si3t þat he haþ of his synnes þorw grace is a verrei schrift to god, beo þe synne muchel or luytel, and in þat si3t is þe synne for3iuen ... Þis si3t is þen trewe and gracius ... for he seoþ so muchel of þe godnes and of the merci of god þat he schameþ beo him self and fullich dispiseþ him self (Wallner, 52).

17 *and brokyn*: cf. 409.17 e.s.

brokyn: P's *brekyng*, which C follows, is indefensible, and the SS reading has been preferred.

20 *the more is wastyd*: Hilton in *Scale* II, chapter 33, has a gloss on Hebrews 12.29: Our*e* lord is fir wastende ... God is luf *and* charite, for as fiire wasteþ al bodily þinge þ*at* may be wasted, ri3t so þe luf of god brenniþ *and* wastiþ al synne out of þe soule *and* makiþ it clene (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 110^{r}; Underhill, 378).

23 *this meke knowyng*: Julian, unlike the *Cloud*-author (and, to a lesser extent, Hilton), is not concerned with the somewhat esoteric distinction between imperfect and perfect humility. For her it is all one; contrition is the love of God, and we have it of the gift of grace. (For the *Cloud*, cf. Hodgson, 41-44; for the *Scale* II, chapter 21, Underhill, 306-307; chapter 37, ibid., 397-403).

we shall be broken from alle thyng þat is not oure lorde: cf. the *Scale* II, chapter 37: Perfit meknes a soule feliþ of þe si3t *and* þe gostly knowynge of Jhesu ... settiþ at no3t it self *with* al þe synnes *and* alle þe gode dedis þ*at* euer it did, as if þ*er* ware no þinge bot Jhesu (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 117^{r}; Underhill, 398).

blessyd savyour perfetely cure vs and oone vs to hym.

This brekyng and this curyng oure lorde menyth by þe generall man, for he that is hyghest and nerest *with* god, he may se hym selfe synfull and nedy *with* me. And I *þat* am the leste and the lowest of tho that shalle be savyd, I may be confortyd *with* hym *þat* is hyghest. So hath oure lorde oonyd vs in charite.

Whan he shewde me *þat* I shuld synne, and for joy that I had in

---

25 *cure*: S1: helyn; and so S2. 26 *curyng*: S1: helyng; and so S2. *oure*: S2: þe. 28 *nedy*: S1: nedith; and so S2. *the (lowest)*: om. SS. *tho*: C, S1: those; S2: þem.

---

25 *perfetely cure vs and oone vs to hym*: Julian may have in mind the spiritually curative properties of eucharistic communion, e.g. the adaptation of the centurion's plea (Matthew 8.8) to the prayer before communion: Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum, sed tantum dic verbo et sanabitur anima mea, and Christ's own eucharistic prayer to the Father in John 17.22-23: ... ut sint unum sicut et nos unum sumus, ego in eis et tu in me, ut sint consummati in unum.

26 *This brekyng and this curyng / oure lorde menyth be þe generall man / for he that is hyghest and nerest with god / he may se hym selfe synfull and nedy with me / And I þat am the leste and the lowest of tho that shalle be savyd / I may be confortyd with hym pat is hyghest / So hath oure lorde oonyd vs in charite*: Julian is using interlocking *compares* to express accord as well as *contrarietas*. In the first *colon*, the *brekyng* and *curyng* are the operations of the Son and the Spirit, sent by the Father to work our salvation, we who are *tho that shalle be savyd*. There are oppositiones in *hyghest and nerest / synfull and nedy, the leste and the lowest / hym þat is hyghest*. The three past participles, *savyd ... confortyd ... oonyd*, have Trinitarian implication, with a typical Julian allusion to faith (*savyd*), hope (*confortyd*) and charity (*oonyd*). There is also a reference back to the contemplation of Mary, 483.5 e.s.; and there we are referred to the first sight of Mary (Revelation I, chapter 7): *she sawe hyr selfe so lytylle and so lowe, so symple and so poer in regard of hyr god* (311.7).

28 *I þat am the leste and the lowest*: this sentiment, in the context of the Lord's manifestation, is that of Paul: And last of all he was seen also by me, as by one born out of due time. For I am the least of the apostles ... I Corinthians 15.8-9.

29 *So hath oure lorde oonyd vs in charite*: the *Cloud*-author expresses a similar thought as he reflects on the 'habundaunce of freelte and slownes of sperite' of the contemplative: Help me now for þe loue of Ihesu ... Knyt þee ... bi him by loue and by beleue; and þan by vertewe of þat knot þou schalt be comoun parcener wiþ him and wiþ alle þat by loue so ben knittyd vnto him ... Loo, here liþ counforte (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 21).

31 *Whan he shewde me þat I shuld synne / and for joy that I had in beholdyng hym / I entendyd nott redely to þat shewyng / oure curteyse lorde restyd there / and wolde no ferther tech me / tylle whan that he gaue me grace and wylle to entende*: again, interlocking *compares* to emphasise the *oppositiones*: *synne / joy, entendyd nott / to entende*: and this last is *inclusio*.

beholdyng hym, I entendyd nott redely to þ*at* shewyng, oure curteyse lorde restyd there, and wolde no ferther tech me, tylle whan that he gaue me grace and wylle to entende. And herof was I lerned, though
35 þ*at* we be hyely lyftyd in to contemplacyon by the specialle gyfte of oure
1641r lorde, yett vs behovyth nedys / therw*ith* to haue knowyng and syght of oure synne and of oure febylnes; for w*ith*out this knowyng we may not haue trew meknesse, and w*ith*outyn this we may nott be safe. And also I

---

32 *oure curteyse lorde*: ms: and oure curteyse lorde.

---

32 *beholdyng*: add. SS: of. *entendyd*: S1: entend. 33 *restyd*: S1: stynte; S2: stinted. *no*: SS: not. *whan*: om. SS. 34 *to*: S1: for to. *lerned*: S1: lerid; and so S2. 35 *lyftyd*: add. SS: up. 37 (*and*) *of*: om. SS.

---

32 *oure curteyse lorde*: P's reading, *and oure* ... (found in all the witnesses) gives an ambiguity of syntax uncharacteristic of Julian. C solves it as follow: ... oned us in Charity, when he shewed ... should sin. And for joy ... to that shewing. And our courteous Lord ...; but this division is arbitrary. What follows plainly has *Whan he shewde me þat I shuld synne* as its protasis. The simplest solution has seemed to be to suppress *and (oure curteyse lorde)*, so making that unambiguously the main clause.

33 *tylle whan that he gaue me grace* ...: in the *compar*'s first three *cola* Julian has written of *beholdyng* in the sense of infused contemplation; now, with *to entende*, of the acquired contemplation that can be had by grace, through will. This is still an activity of grace, less passive than the first. See the phrase *enjoy in his louyng* (480.43), in the final chapter of Revelation XIV, where, writing of unitive prayer, she insists that the joy in beholding must always be accompanied by a high and powerful desire to be entirely united with God.

34 *And herof was I lerned* ...: in what follows there is no more than an approximation to *compar*; and one asks whether the passage may have been tampered with. But even without the *colores*, it is an important biographical reflection. She recognizes that her shewings are gifts of high contemplation, and that the weaknesses of humanity, far from being left behind at such moments, are integral to them. That is, Julian is teaching the exact opposite of the 'Brethren of the Free Spirit' and other pseudo-spiritual writers tainted by false Quietism. Her teaching is firmly rooted in the mystery of Christ, the incarnate Word. Then she reflects on private revelations such as she has received; at the heart of spiritual discernment is the power of Christ's meekness, the knowledge of self without which knowledge of God is impossible.

38 *and withoutyn this we may nott be safe*: again, the syntax is ambiguous; but it is more probable that the antecedent of *this* is *meknesse*. So in the *Cloud* we read that the cause of imperfect meekness is: þe filþe, þe wrecchidnes and þe freelte of man, into þe whiche is fallen by synne ... a trewe knowyng and a felyng of my self a wrech as I am ... it is inpossible a sinner to gete or to kepe when it is getyn þe parfite vertewe of meeknes wiþ outen it (Hodgson, 40-41).

saw we may nott haue thys knowyng of oure selfe, nor of none of all
40 oure gostly enmys, for they wylle nott vs so moch goode. For if it were by ther wylle, we shoulde nevyr se it tylle oure endyng day. Than are we moch bounde to god, that he wylle hym selfe for loue shewe it vs, in tyme of mercy and of grace.

---

39 *saw*: add. S1: that; and so S2. 40 *moch* (2×): S1: mekil (2×). 41 *nevyr*: SS: not. *tylle*: S1: into; S2: unto. 43 *of (grace)*: om. C, SS.

---

39 Accepting the SS variants, which improve the *cola*, we have: *And also I saw that / we may nott haue thys knowyng of oure selfe / nor of none of all oure gostly enmys / for they wylle nott vs so mekil goode / For if it were by ther wylle / we shoulde nevyr se it into oure endyng day / Than are we mekil bounde to god / that he wylle hym selfe for loue shewe it vs / in tyme of mercy and grace*. We have here the necessary elements of an *argumentatio*. The second and third *cola* present the *propositio*, which contains a logical (not rhetorical) *disjunctio*. No *ratio* is needed, for it has already been stated: *for we geve them occasyon therto and know not oure awne nede* (697.10). The fourth *colon* is the *rationis confirmatio*, the fifth and sixth *cola* the *exornatio*; and the *complexio* one might expect (that since we can have this knowledge neither from ourselves nor from our enemies, it must come from God) is there only by implication, to provide a further conclusion, in the last three *cola*, that when this knowledge does come from God we are the more indebted to him.

Theologically, Julian indicates that she knows the common doctrine, 'De actione angelorum in homines'; Thomas Aquinas argues (*Summa theologiae* I.111.1) that although angels have the power to enlighten man's mind, it is the devil's office to tempt him, not to help him but to hurt him: Diabolus autem semper tentat ut noceat, in peccatum praecipitando (ibid., I.114.2 *in corp.*) To the possible question, might not a good angel do us this service? she will presently answer that she was never shown the ministrations of good angels, only that God does all that we need (cf. 710.22 e.s.).

42 *for loue shewe it vs*: cf. 733.18.

in tyme of mercy and of grace: Paul, urging his Corinthians not to neglect the grace of God which they have received, cites Isaias 49.8: At the favourable time I have listened to you, on the day of salvation I came to your help; and he states that now is the favourable time (II Corinthians 6.2).

The lxxix *Chapter*

Also I had in this more vnderstandyng, in þat he shewde me þat I shulde synne. I toke it nakydly to myn owne synguler person, for I was no notherwyse steryd in þat tyme, but by the hygh gracious comfort of oure lorde that folowde aftyr, I saw that his menyng was for þe generalle man, that is to sey alle man, whych is synfulle and shall be in to þe last day, / of whych man I am a membre, as I hope, by þe mercy

164v

---

1 *lxxix*: C: lxxviij. S1: We are lernyd to our synne *and* not to our neighbore but for (S2: taught to be dredful *and* see *our* own sin but not *our* neighbors except it be for) their helpe, *and* god will we know what somever stering we have contrary to this shewing, it comith of our enemy, for the gret love of god knowen we should not ben þe more reckles to fallen, *and* if we fallen we must hastily risen, or ell (S2: else) we are gretly onkend to god. 4 *in*: SS: at. *of oure lorde*: om. C. 6 *whych*: S2: þat. *in*: om. S2.

---

3 *I toke it nakydly to myn owne synguler person / for I was no notherwyse steryd in þat tyme / but by the hygh gracious comfort of oure lorde that folowde aftyr / I saw that his menyng was for þe generalle man that is to sey alle man / whych is synfulle and shall be in to þe last day / of whych man I am a membre as I hope by þe mercy of god / for the blessyd comfort þat I sawe it is large inough for vs alle*: Julian, in referring back to the long and complex Revelation XIII, which begins with chapter 13, 404.2 e.s., is re-examining various elements of that revelation which she grasped only in her final understanding of the parable of the lord and the servant. Here she is concerned to stress the implications of incorporation into Christ (cf. 532.211 e.s.) which are set out in her 'equation': the servant = the second person of the Trinity; the servant = Adam = everyman = Christ's manhood = the true Adam, and in her conclusion: *For in alle this oure good lorde shewed his owne son and Adam but one man* (534.228).

4 *the hygh gracious comfort of oure lorde that folowde aftyr*: the reference is probably both to the end of the parable, 544.317 e.s., and also to Revelation XVI concerning the mutual indwelling, 646.63 e.s. There may here be an echo of II Corinthians 1.3-7.

6 *alle man, whych is synfulle and shall be*: one of the closest parallels to this statement about the condition of Christ's Body *in via* is to be found in the Second Vatican Council's 'Dogmatic Constitution on the Church', *Lumen gentium*, no. 8: '... the Church embracing sinners in her bosom is at the same time holy and always in need of being purified, and incessantly pursues the path of penance and renewal' (W. M. Abbott: *The Documents of Vatican II*, 24).

7 *of whych man I am a membre, as I hope*: cf. Ephesians 4.4: One body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope of your calling.

as I hope: 'as I believe'. This sense is not recorded in NED, but cf. MED, hopen, v.(1), 2.(a): '... to believe, infer, suppose'. Julian does not need to hope or believe that she is a member of the human race; she knows that she is. But she believes that although she shares in mankind's sinfulness, she will also share in God's mercy towards 'all who are of salvation'.

of god, for the blessyd comfort þat I sawe, it is large inough for vs alle. And ther was I lernyd that I shulde se my awne synne and nott other mennys, but if it may be for comfort or helpe of my evyn crysten.

And also in þe same shewyng, ther I saw þat I shuld synne, ther was I lernyd to be dradfull for vnsykernesse of my selfe, for I wot nott how I shalle falle, ne I know not the mesure ne þe gretnesse of my synne. For that wolde I awyst dredfull, and therto I had no answere.

Also oure curteyse lorde, in that same tyme he shewde fulle swetly and fulle myghtely the endleshed and the vnchanngeabylte of his loue,

---

9 *ther*: SS: here. *lernyd*: S1: lerid; and so S2. 10 *mennys*: add. S1: synns; and so S2. *but if*: S2: exept. *or*: SS: *and*. *helpe*: S2: healing. 11 *þe*: S1: this. *ther (I)*: SS: where. *ther (was)*: S1: then. 12 *lernyd*: S1: leryd; and so S2. *dradfull*: C: dreadful; S1: dredfull; S2: dreadfull. *vnsykernesse*: C, marg.: frailty. *my*: om. SS. 14 *wolde I awyst dredfull*: C, marg.: I desired with fear to have known. 15 *that*: SS: þe. *swetly*: SS: sekirly. 16 *fulle (myghtely)*: om. SS. *endleshed*: S2: endlesnes. *(and) the*: om. S2. *vnchanngeabylte*: S2: unchangeablenes.

---

8 *large inough for vs alle*: cf. Revelation XVI, 394.6: *large jnow for alle mankynde that shalle be savyd*. Here Julian indicates briefly the theology which is the basis of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

9 *I shulde se my awne synne and nott other mennys*: in the *Scale*, I chapter 16, there is: Þe felyng of þis lowȝnes schal putt out of þi hert vnskilful beholdyng of oþer mennys misliuyng and ... dedes, and it schal dryue only þe to be hold þiself ... for mykelhed of synne *and* filth þat þou schalt fynd *and* fele in þe (MS Cambridge UL Add.6686, p. 290; Underhill, 34).

11 *And also in þe same shewyng / ther I saw þat I shuld synne / ther was I lernyd to be dradfull / for vnsykernesse of my selfe / for I wot nott how I shalle falle / ne I know not the mesure ne þe gretnesse of my synne / For that wolde I awyst dredfull / and therto I had no answere*: a *compar* of short *cola*, evidently so composed to convey emotional stress. In *wot ... know ... awyst* there is *conduplicatio*.

12 *dradfull for vnsykernesse of my selfe*: in *Qui habitat*, the verse *Non timebis a timore nocturno* is glossed: ... a newe turned mon ... feleþ him so vnwis and so weik ... þe frelete of him self is schewed so fulliche to his siht þat him þinkeþ þat he mihte not stonden (Wallner, 15).

dradfull: the word and the sentiment seem to echo the Biblical cliché *timor et tremor*. Paul's use of it, especially in connection with the crucified and glorified Christ (cf. I Corinthians 2.3 and Philippians 2.12) corresponds to Julian's *reverent drede* (673.17).

15 *Also oure curteyse lorde / in that same tyme he shewde / fulle swetly and fulle myghtely / the endleshed and the vnchanngeabylte of his loue / and also his grete goodnesse and his gracious inwardely kepyng / that þe loue of hym and of oure sowlys shalle nevyr be departyd / vnto withouten ende*: in this *compar, similiter cadens* is used. Theologically, Julian is assembling the various aspects of the locution *I kepe the fulle suerly* (442.10) into a complex Trinitarian statement: *swetly ... myghtely*; *endleshed ... vnchanngeabylte*; *loue ... goodnesse ... kepyng*; *gracious inwardely*, and into the consequent reference to the unitive work of God through the Incarnate Word, in all who will be saved.

and also his grete goodnesse and his gracious inwardely kepyng, that þe loue of hym and of oure sowlys shalle nevyr be depertyd vnto withouten
165r ende. / And thus in þe dred I haue matter of mekenesse, that savyth me
20 fro presumpcion, and in þe blessyd shewyng of loue I haue mater of true comforte and of joy, that savyth me fro dyspeyer.

Alle this homely shewynge of oure curteyse lorde, it is a louely lesson and a swete gracious techyng of hym selfe, in comforthyng of oure soule. For he wylle þat we know by the swetnesse of the homely loue of

---

17 *also*: add. S2: by. *gracious*: SS: grace. 18 *of (oure)*: om. SS. *sowlys*: S1: soule; and so S2. *vnto*: C: into; SS: in two. 19 *þe*: S1: this. 24 *of the*: SS: *and*. *loue*: S1: loveing; and so S2.

---

17 *gracious / grace* (SS): this looks like a bold SS emendation, dictated by their failure to recognize that *inwardely* is an adjective. NED calls it 'rare' and gives no instance in Julian's sense earlier than 1820.

18 *vnto / in two* (SS): again, this emendation, ingenious though it is, errs through failure to recognize that, just as Julian often writes 'from without beginning' to render *ab initio*, so here *vnto withouten ende* renders *in saecula saeculorum*, and *withouten ende* is treated as a nominal compound. Cf. MED, ende, n. (1), 23/(6), where they quote the Lollard Bible: into withouten ende (in aeternum)'.

19 *And thus in þe dred I haue matter of mekenesse / that savyth me fro presumpcion / and in þe blessyd shewyng of loue / I haue mater of true comforte and of joy / that savyth me fro dyspeyer*: a *compar* with *oppositiones* (*mekenesse / presumpcion*; *true comforte and ... joy / dyspeyer*) and *repetitio* (*I haue matter ... I haue mater*).

Julian may have known a *locus classicus* on presumption and despair, the epigram attributed to Gregory the Great and quoted in the *Riwle*: Þeos two no mon ne parte from oþer, for as seint *Gregori* seiþ: Spes sine timore luxuriat in presumpcione, timor sine spe degenerat in desperacione(m) (Vernon MS, f. 387c; Day, 150). Mary Baldwin informs the editors that this seems to be a paraphrase rather than a direct quotation. In the *Moralia*, XXXIII, Gregory writes: Spes quippe ad alta subvehit, timor autem cor inferius premit (PL 76 687); and in *in Librum Primum Regum libri VI* 5 there is: Timor quidem sine spe in desperationem praecipitat, sed cum spei conjungitur salutem mentis operatur (ed. Verbraken, 442). 'It looks as if the author of the *Riwle* composed his own epigram by reworking these phrases from Gregory and completing the *oppositio* himself'.

22 *Alle this homely shewynge of oure curteyse lorde*: with this sort of introductory phrase Julian usually introduces an *argumentatio*. This which follows may be examined member by member.

it is a louely lesson / and a swete gracious techyng of hym selfe / in comforthyng of oure soule: this is the *propositio*.

23 *techyng*: Julian may have written 'tochyng'. Cf. 658.38: *and that is by gracyous touchyng*; and 705.31: *than oure curtesse lord touchyng vs*.

24 *For he wylle þat we know / by the swetnesse of the homely loue of hym / that alle that we see or fele within or withoute / whych is contraryous to thys / that it is of the enmy and nott of god*: this is the *ratio*, with the figure (of thought) *disjunctio*: *see or fele, within or withoute*.

homely loue: Hilton in the *Scale* II, chapter 29, equiparates familiarity with reformation in feeling: Bot 3it be þay not reformed in felynge ne þay (f. 102r) are not 3it perfit ... for þei han not 3it none homlynes *with* hem ... þai are not 3it made lordes of hem self by stabilnes of þo3t *and* lastande desire in Jhesu (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 355).

hym that alle that we see or fele, *with*in or *with*oute, whych is contraryous to thys, that it is of the enmy, and nott of god. As thus: yf that we be steryd to be the more rechelesher of oure levyng, or of the kepyng of oure harte, by cause þ*at* we haue knowyng of this plentuous loue; than nedyth vs gretely to beware of this steryng. If it come, it is
165v vntrew, and greatly we owe to hate it, for it hath noo lycknes / of god-
31 dys wylle. And whan we be fallen by freelte or blyndnes, than oure curtesse lord touchyng vs steryth vs and kepyth vs. And than wylle he that we se oure wrechydnesse and mekely be it aknowen; but he wylle nott that we abyde ther*with*, ne he wylle nott þ*at* we besy vs gretly aboute
35 oure accusy*n*g, ne he wylle nott that we be to wrechydfulle on oure

---

25 *or (withoute)*: S2: *and*. 26 *that it*: om. SS. *that (we)*: om. SS. 27 *rechelesher*: C: retchlesser; S1: recles; and so S2. 28 *by*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 28 *of (this)*: SS: for. 30 *it (hath)*: add. SS: all. 31 *whan*: add. SS: þ*at*. *we*: om. C. *blyndnes*: S1: blyndhede. 32 *touchyng*: S1: touchith; and so S2. *kepyth*: S2: clepyth. *vs (And than)*: om. C. 34 *that (we abyde)*: om. SS. *therwith*: S1: thus; and so S2. 35 *to wrechydfulle on*: SS: wretchfull of.

---

26 *As thus yf that we be steryd to be / the more rechelesher of oure levyng / or of the kepyng of oure harte / by cause þat we haue knowyng of this plentuous loue / than nedyth vs gretely to beware of this steryng / If it come it is vntrew / and greatly we owe to hate it / for it hath noo lycknes of goddys wylle*: this is the *confirmatio rationis*, with terms designed to correspond with those in the *ratio*: *steryd* (*fele*), *levyng* (*withoute*), *kepyng* (*within*), *knowyng* (*see*).

30 *lycknes*: see 689.7 and note. Again, *lycknes* is not challenged by C or SS; but although 'lyckyng', 'delight', could well be substituted, 'because it does not resemble the will of God' gives good sense, and has therefore not been emended.

31 *And whan we be fallen by freelte or blyndnes / than oure curtesse lord touchyng vs steryth vs and kepyth vs / And than wylle he / that we se oure wrechydnesse and mekely be it aknowen / but he wylle nott / that we abyde therwith / ne he wylle nott / þat we besy vs gretly aboute oure accusyng / ne he wylle nott / that we be to wrechydfulle on oure selfe / But he wylle / þat we hastely entende to hym / for he stondyth alle aloone / and abydyth vs contynually / monyng and mornyng tylle whan we come*: this is the *exornatio*, a series of *oppositiones* introduced by the *repetitio*, *wylle he ... he wylle not ... But he wylle*, which is a chiastic structure.

33 *and mekely be it aknowen*: 'and let it be humbly confessed' (NED, Acknow, *v.*, 2) or 'and let us humbly confess it' (id. 4.c., 'with *simple obj.*', which quotes 1414 Brampton *Penit. Ps.* 57.22: I am aknowe my synfull lyif). Several such instances in NED and MED suggest that Julian here is alluding to sacramental confession.

be it aknowen: cf. 690.14 and note.

but he wylle nott that we abyde therwith: in this recapitulation of the parable of the lord and the servant, there is a strong reminiscence of that of the prodigal son: I shall rise and go to my father and say to him: Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you ... and when he was still a great way off, his father saw him and was moved with compassion, and running to him fell on his neck and kissed him ... (Luke 15.18-20).

selfe. But he wylle þ*at* we hastely entende to hym, for he stondyth alle aloone, and abydyth vs contynually, monyng and mornyng tylle whan we come. And he hath haste to haue vs to hym, for we are his joy and his delyght, and he is oure salue of oure lyfe.

40 There I sey he st*o*ndyth alle aloone, I leeve the spekyng of the blessyd company in hevyn, and speke of his office and his werkyng here in erth, vppe the condicion of þe shewyng.

---

37 *aloone*: S1: a lufe. *contynually, monyng and mornyng*: S1: swemefully *and* monyngly; and so S2. 38 *he*: om. SS. 39 *of*: SS: *and*. 40 *There*: SS: tho. 41 *in (hevyn)*: SS: of. *speke*: add. C: only. *his (werkyng)*: om. S2. *in (erth)*: SS: on. 42 *vppe*: C: upon. *condicion*: C, marg.: manner.

---

36 *alle aloone*: cf. 516.28.

37 *contynually monyng and mornyng*: the SS variants are worthy of consideration, but we have no justification for preferring them. The meaning appears to be: he waits for us, is patient with us continually in our moaning and mourning.

39 *oure salue of oure lyfe*: NED, Salve, *sb.*[1], 2.*fig.*a., 'A remedy (esp. for spiritual disease, sorrow, and the like)', quotes Robert of Brunne: Þank we now oure sauyoure / Þat salue vs haþ bro3t / Oure syke soules to saue / Whanne synne haþ hem so3t. P's *of* is defensible, SS's *and* more probable. NED quotes c.1200 *Ormin*: Jesumm mankinne sawle sallfe ... If we read *and our lyfe*, that alludes directly to John 14.6, and in *salue* there may be allusion to I John 2.20, 27.

40 *There I sey he stondyth all aloone / I leeve the spekyng of the blessyd company in hevyn / and speke of his office and his werkyng here in erth / vppe the condicion of þe shewyng*: a *compar* with *oppositio*: *in hevyn / in erth*.

There I sey ...: there is a similar theological qualification at the end of the parable of the lord and the servant, concerning the Son's sitting at the Father's right hand; cf. 544.323 e.s.

I leeve the spekyng: again, NED, Leave, *v.*[1], 11., 'In the course of narration: to drop, cease speaking of', quotes Robert of Brunne: We salle leue þat pas vnto we com ageyn.

42 *vppe the condicion*: cf. NED, Up, *prep.* [1], 2., 'On or upon'.

condicion: C's gloss, *manner*, is inexact. NED, Condition, *sb.*, distinguishes between varieties of meanings akin to 'circumstance', and quotes, II.9.b., *The Parson's Tale*: He moste confessen hym of alle the condicioun*s* that bilongen to his synne.

The lxxx Chapter /

166r By thre thynges man stondyth in this lyfe, by whych iij god is wurschyppyd and we be sped, kepte and savyd. The furst is vse of mannes kyndly reson. The seconde is the comyn techyng of holy chyrch. The iij is the inwarde gracious werkyng of the holy gost; and theyse thre be alle of one god. God is grounde of oure kyndly reson; and god is the techyng of holy chyrch, and god is þe holy gost, and alle be sondry gyftes, to whych he wylle we haue grete regarde, and accordyng vs therto.

---

1 *lxxx*: C: lxxjx. S1: By iij (alt. fr. 'iiij'; S2: 4) thyngs god is worshippid *and* we savid, *and* how our knowing now is but as an A B C, *and* swete Jesus doith all, abyding *and* monyng with us, but whan we arn in synne Christ monyth alone; than it longith to us for kindness *and* reverens hastily to turne agen to him. 3 *is (vse)*: om. S2. 4 *kyndly reson*: S1: reason naturall; and so S2. *the (comyn)*: om. SS. *chyrch*: add. S2: *and* 5 *the' (inwarde)*: om. SS. 6 *is (grounde)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. *and (god)*: om. S2. *is (the)*: om. S1. *the (techyng)*: om. C. 8 *wylle*: add. S2: þat. *accordyng*: SS: attenden.

---

2 *By thre thynges man stondyth in this lyfe / by whych iij god is wurschyppyd / and we be sped kepte and savyd / The furst is vse of mannes kyndly reson / The seconde is the comyn techyng of holy chyrch / The iij is the inwarde gracious werkyng of the holy gost / and theyse thre be alle of one god*: in this introduction to what is to be a long pericope, it is as if Julian begins to set out in a credal formula what she has been taught concerning her revelations. There is *repetitio* of *thre*; and in the triad *sped, kepte and savyd* there is *distributio* by implication: *sped* (Spirit), *kepte* (Father), *savyd* (Son).

6 *God is grounde of oure kyndly reson / and god is the techyng of holy chyrch / and god is þe holy gost / and alle be sondry gyftes / to whych he wylle we haue grete regarde / and accordyng vs therto*: this is a most ingenious application of the last *colon* of the introduction, *and theyse thre be alle of one god*. The *distributio* is reversed, and the triad all attributed to the *one god*, emphasized by the *repetitio*.

god is the techyng of holy church: the Athanasian Creed, which defines the attributes of the divine persons, and asserts the unity of God and the mystery of the Hypostatic Union, concludes: Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit salvus esse non poterit (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 76).

8 *and accordyng vs therto*: the subject is *god* (which SS failed to understand): 'and he is attuning us to them'. Cf. MED, accorden, 6.(a): 'To reconcile or harmonize (things)'; but 'things' is disproved by their first instance, *Ayenb.*: Zoþnesse acordeþ þe onderstondynge of þe herte and þet word of þe mouþe. Julian probably has in mind Hebrews 13.20-21: Deus ... aptet vos in omni bono ut faciatis ejus voluntatem.

For theyse wurke in vs contynually, alle t(o) geder, and thoo be gret
10 thinges; of whych gretnesse he wylle we haue knowyng here, as it were
in an A B C. That is to sey that we may haue a lytylle knowyng, where
of we shulde haue fulhed in hevyn; and that is for to spede vs.
166v We know in oure feyth / that god aloone toke oure kynde, and none
but he, and ferther more that Crist aloone dyd alle the grett werkes that

---

9 *to*: ms: te.

---

9 *geder*: SS: god. *thoo*: C: those; SS: these. 10 *gretnesse*: S1: gret things; and so S2. 11 *an*: S2: our. *may*: om. SS. 12 *shulde*: SS: shall. *fulhed*: S2: fullnes. 14 *grett*: om. SS. *werkes*: S2: werk.

---

9 *For theyse wurke in vs contynually alle to geder / and thoo be gret thinges / of whych gretnesse he wylle we haue knowyng here / as it were in an A B C*: the first *colon* re-emphasizes *and theyse thre be alle of one god*; and there is *repetitio*: *gret ... gretnesse*.

10 *as it were in an A B C*: this in its context, the three preceding *cola*, plainly alludes to I Corinthians 12.31: But be zealous for the better gifts ... and ibid., 13.11-12: When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child ... We see now through a glass, in a dark manner. The Vulgate's rhetoric (Cum essem *parvulus*, sapiebam ut *parvulus*, cotitabam ut *parvulus*) would impress this in Julian's recollection.

11 *That is to sey / that we may haue a lytylle knowyng / where of we shulde haue fulhed in hevyn / and that is for to spede vs*: the pericope ends with this *complexio*; and *a lytylle knowyng* continues the allusion to I Corinthians 13.11-12: Now I know in part, but then I shall know just as I am known.

13 *We know in oure feyth / that god aloone toke oure kynde and none but he / and ferther more that Crist aloone dyd alle the grett werkes / that longyth to oure saluation and none but he / and ryghte so he aloone doth now in the last end / that is to sey he dwellyth here in vs and rewlyth vs / and gemyth vs in this lyvyng and brynggyth vs to his blesse / And thus shalle he do as long as any soule is in erth that shalle come to hevyn / and so farforth that yf ther were none such soule in erth but one / he shulle be with that alle aloone / tylle he had brought it vppe to his blesse*: the first *colon* announces another credal formulation, which deals with the Incarnate Word and his work of redemption and sanctification; after the first *colon*, it is composed of three sections, each consisting of three long members of more or less equal length. Throughout, the subject is Christ, God and man; and Julian is stressing the theandric operation, which began in time (*cola* 2, 3, 4), continues in the present (*cola* 5, 6, 7) and endures for ever (*cola* 8, 9, 10). In the compar there is *inclusio, repetitio, conversio, membrum* and *repetitio*.

god aloone toke oure kynde: Julian here appears to be following the author of Hebrews in teaching that the Son who has become man is 'made so much better than the angels as he has inherited a name more exalted then they' (1.4). Whatever is to be said about the mediation of angels (cf. 709.20), in the giving of the Law 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ' (John 1.17).

14 *and ferther more that Crist aloone ...*: what Julian writes here is close to the declaration of the Council of Quiercy (Carisiacum), A.D. 853, cap. 4: Christus Iesus dominus noster, sicut nullus homo est, fuit vel erit, cuius natura in illo assumpta non

longyth to oure saluation, and none but he; and ryghte so he aloone doth now in the last end, that is to sey he dwellyth here in vs, and rewlyth vs, and ge(m)yth vs in this lyvyng, and brynggyth vs to his blesse. And thus shalle he do as long as any soule is in erth that shalle come to hevyn; and so farforth that yf ther were none such soule in erth but one, he shulle be *with* that alle aloone, tylle he had brought it vppe to his blesse.

---

17 *gemyth*: ms: gevyth.

---

15 *longyth*: S2: belongs. 16 *in (the)*: om. SS. *dwellyth*: S1: wonny(t)h; and so S2. *in (vs)*: *SS*: with. 17 *gevyth* (ms): C: giveth; S1: governith; and so S2. 18 *in (erth)*: S2: on. 19 *in erth*: om. SS. 20 *that*: om. SS. *it*: om. SS.

---

fuerit, ita nullus est, fuit vel erit homo pro quo passus non fuerit ... Quod vero omnes passionis eius mysterio non redimuntur, non respicit ad magnitudinem et pretii copiositatem, sed ad infidelium et ad non credentium ea fide 'quae per dilectionem operatur' (Galatians 5.6), respicit partem; quia poculum humanae salutis quod confectum est infirmitate nostra et virtute divina habet quidem in se ut omnibus prosit ... (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 624).

alle the greit werkes that longyth to oure saluation: we may here have, in *longyth*, a plural noun governing a single verb (cf. 615.18 note), or a contamination from a manuscript with Southern present plural indicatives in '-eth' (ibid), or, most probably, this may be one of P's many 'th' for 'd' spellings: 'all the great works which pertained to our salvation'.

16 *in the last end*: the SS reading indicates that the scribes failed to understand that Julian is writing of the present as the end, the time of salvation, which began with Christ's Incarnation (Galatians 4.4), is continued in his redeeming death (Romans 5.6), and has a permanence in the Church in which he lives (Matthew 28.20).

that is to sey he dwellyth here in vs, and rewlyth vs, and gemyth vs in this lyvyng: since Julian is to tell us that she is acquainted with the Dionysian doctrine of angelic mediation, it may be significant that one of the more prominent mediaeval Dionysians in the West, in a gloss on Galatians 2.20, cited in the *Divine Names*, writes: 'Vivo ego iam non ego ...'; id est, vita naturali per unitionem excessivam ad eternitatis immensitatem quasi absorpta et suo officio suspensa diriger, doceor, moveor, reger vita supersubstanciali, cui unior, qua repleor; et hoc est 'Christus vivit in me'; id est ... virtus Christi eterna cui unior me gratitudo vivificat et ad omnia disponit (Thomas Gallus: *Explanatio super De divinis nominibus* IV, MS Vatican d 181, f. 122^{b}).

17 *gemyth / gevyth* (ms): cf. 549.40 note, 640.10 note.

20 *he shulle be with that alle aloone*: in the parable of the lord and the servant, Julian has written of the Father dwelling on the earth alone, awaiting the sorrow and pain of the Son (524.134-526.152). Now she indicates that the Son performs the same office for each soul that shall be saved.

I beleue and vnderstonde the mynystracion of holy angelys, as clarkes telle, but it was not shewde me; for hym selfe is nerest and mekest, hyghest and lowest, and doyth all, and not onely alle that vs nedyth, but also he doyth alle that is wurschippefulle to oure joy in hevyn; and there I sey he abydyth / vs, monyng and mornyng, it menyth alle þe trew felyng þ*at* we haue in oure selfe, in contricion and in compassion, and alle monyng and mornyng for we are nott onyd w*ith* oure lorde.

---

22 *beleue*: S1: leve. *holy*: om. SS. 26 *there*: S1: wher; and so S2. *monyng and mornyng*: S1: swemefully *and* monyng; and so S2. 27 *in (compassion)*: om. SS. 28 *monyng and mornyng for*: S1: sweming *and* monyng that; and so S2.

---

22 *I beleue and vnderstonde the mynystracion of holy angelys / as clarkes telle but it was not shewde me / for hym selfe is nerest and mekest / hyghest and lowest and doyth all / and not onely alle that vs nedyth / but also he doyth alle / that is wurschippefulle to oure joy in hevyn*: in this passage, introductory to the rest of the chapter, Julian resumes what was written in Revelation I (chapters 5 and 6, 299.2-308.56) on the 'homely loving'. There she contrasted the immediate and mediate action of God in the context of unitive prayer with petition to Mary, the saints and Christ's humanity (304.12-306.34). Here she turns to theological teaching on angelic mediation, summarizing succinctly, using *compar* and *contrarietas*: *beleue / shewde*; *mynystracion / he doyth alle*. The effect is heightened by the *similiter cadens* which expresses immanence (*nerest*) and transcendence (*hyghest*), and the humanity (*makest ... lowest*) of the Incarnate Word who *doyth alle (conversio)*.

as clarkes telle: one such could be the *Cloud*-author, who, writing in *Privy Counselling* of the Dionysian apophatic contemplation, has: ... goostly wisdome in verrey contemplacion and hei3 sauour of þe godheed; and al þis schal be done sodenly ... be þe mynistracion of aungelles þorow vertewe of þis louely blinde werk (Hodgson, *Cloud*, 144). Another is Hilton in the *Scale*, II chapter 46, writing in a similar context, treating of infused contemplation: Þan bigynniþ þe soule for to han grete aqweyntannce of þese blissed spirites *and* a grete felawschip. Þei are ful tendre *and* ful bisy aboute swilk a soule for to help it ... (f. 139^{r}) ... *and* if ony disese falle gostly, þe(i) seruen þe soule *and* ministren to it al þ*at* it nediþ ... alle holy spirites are ministres sent of Jhesu, for hem þ*at* takyn þe heritage of helpe (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 460-461; cf. Hebrews 1.14). Julian, however, writes in a wider and theologically more accurate context. Where Hilton uses the epithet 'tender' anthropomorphically of spirits, she uses it accurately of God made man. Hilton also fails to notice that the author of Hebrews is writing of the glorified Christ enthroned with the Father rather than of his presence in the Church, the continuing effects of the Incarnation, which is Julian's concern. On the implications of this statement for a balanced angelology and for Julian's acquaintance with mediaeval Dionysianism, cf. Introduction, 188-190.

25 *and there I sey he abydyth vs, monyng and mornyng ...*: in what follows, she seems to be offering her own spiritual exegesis of Romans chapter 8, with its *oppositiones* between spirit and flesh, grace and sin, life and death, where the energizing, healing and life-giving agent is indiscriminately Christ and the Spirit.

27 *in contricion and in compassion, and alle monyng and mornyng for we are nott onyd with oure lorde*: here, she identifies the sorrow, pain and awareness of sinfulness as integral to the third wound which she has asked for, *the wound of willfull longing to god* (288.43).

And such as is spedfull, it is Crist in vs; and though some of vs feele it
30 sylden, it passyth nevyr fro Crist tylle what tyme he hath brought vs oute of alle our woo.

For loue sufferyth hym nevyr to be *with*out pytte; and what tyme *þat* we falle in to synne and leue þe mynde of hym and þe kepyng of oure owne soule, than beryth Cryst a loone alle þe charge of vs. And thus
35 stondyth he monyng and mornyng. Than longyth it to vs for reverence and kyndnesse to turne vs hastely to oure lorde, and lett hym nott aloone. He is here aloone *with* vs alle; that is to sey, only for vs he is

---

30 *sylden*: 'y' alt. fr. 'e' or vice versa, scr.

---

29 *such*: S1: all swich; and so S2. *as*: S1: that. 30 *sylden*: C, S2: seldom; S1: seld*om*. *what tyme*: om. S2. *hath*: C: have. 32 *hym*: om. SS. *þat*: om. S2. 33 *synne*: S2: time. 34 *beryth*: S1: kepith; and so S2. 35 *monyng and mornyng*: S1: swemely *and* monyng; and so S2. *longyth*: S2: belongeth. 36 *and lett*: S1: levyn; S2: leaving. 37 *aloone (He)*: C: all alone.

---

29 *Crist in vs ... alle our woo*: Julian is teaching here that the gift of contrition, compassion and wilful longing is not given without the giver, and that in the gift the giver, Christ, is identified with his body; his Spirit groans continually within us, even as, intermittently, we groan within ourselves, 'waiting for the adoption of the sons of God ... the liberty of the glory of the children of God' (Romans 8.26-27, 23, 21).

30 *tylle what tyme*: NED does not record the usage; but cf. Till, *prep.*, *conj.*, *adv.*, II. 'Of time', 5.c., which has such instances as 'till afterwards', and What, *pron* ... IV.10., *What time*, with 1648 Evelyn: 'at what time'.

33 *and leue þe mynde of hym and þe kepyng of oure owne soule*: there is here a reminiscence of the parable of the prodigal, who leaves his father and then, in the midst of his deprivation, 'returns to himself' (Luke 15.11-17).

34 *than beryth Cryst a loone alle þe charge of vs*: here again there are echoes of Scripture as it deals with Christ's redemptive suffering. Cf. Isaias 63.3: I have trodden the winepress alone; John 16.32: ... you will be scattered, every man ... and will leave me alone.

And thus stondyth he monyng and mornyng: cf. the messianic Psalm 68.21: My heart has expected a reproach and misery; and I looked for one who would grieve together with me, but there was no-one.

35 *Than longyth it ... nott aloone*: see the prayer to our Lord, dealing with his Passion, in the English *Stimulus amoris*: A dere lord Jhesu, helpe now þat I be not hethen forward vnkynde to þe ... open to me þe blessid wounde of þi side and lete me fynde þere þat I seke aftir ... vnkynde haue I ben to þe, and þer fore haue I ben pyned ful sore (H. J. Kane, 69).

37 *He is here ... he is here: inclusio* and *chiasmus*. Julian seems to mean that since Christ's peace is personal and individual to each soul that will be saved (711.29-30), there is a sense in which the unitive operation of the Redeemer fails in its purpose, un-

167v here. And what tyme I be straunge to hym by synne, / dyspeyr or
slowth, then I lett my lorde stonde aloone, in as moch as he is in me.
40 And thus it faryth *with* vs all whych be synners; but though it be so *þat*
we do thus oftyn tymes, his goodnesse sufferyth vs nevyr to be a loone,
but lastyngly he is *with* vs and tendyrly he excusyth vs, and evyr kepyth
vs from blame in his syght.

---

38 *be*: SS: am. 39 *moch*: S1: mekill. *he*: SS: it. 40 *whych*: S2: *þat*. 42 *kepyth*: S1: sheildith; and so S2.

---

less and until it is achieved in and with each soul which is destined for heaven. Cf. II Corinthians 5.15: And Christ died for all, so that they also who live may not now live for themselves but for him who died for them.

38 *And what tyme I be straunge to hym / by synne dyspeyr or slowth / then I lett my lorde stonde aloone / And thus it faryth with vs all whych be synners / but though it be so þat we do thus oftyn tymes / his goodnesse sufferyth vs nevyr to be a loone / but lastyngly he is with vs / and tendyrly he excusyth vs / and evyr kepyth vs from blame in his syght*: the chapter concludes with this Trinitarian *compar* (*his goodnesse sufferyth vs nevyr* — Unity; *lastyngly he is with vs* — Spirit; *tendyrly he excusyth* — Son; *evyr kepyth* — Father) which emphasizes, with its *conversio* (*lett ... aloone — nevyr ... a loone*) and its *similiter desinens* (*lastyngly ... tendyrly*) the essential *oppositio* between man's sinful conduct and the Lord's love towards him.

straunge to hym: cf. NED, Strange, *a.*, 6., 'With *from*: Alien, far removed ...', and 7., 'Unknown, unfamiliar', which quotes 1500-1520, Dunbar: 'so nyce array, so strange to thair abbay'.

The lxxxi Chapter

Owre good lorde shewde hym to his creature in dyverse manner both in hevyn and in erth; but I saw hym take no place but in mannes soule.

---

1 *lxxxi*: C: lxxx. S1: This blissid woman saw god in divers manners, but she saw him take no resting place but in manys soule; and he will we enjoyen more in his love then sorowen for often falling, remembring reward everlasting *and* liveing gladly in penance; *and* why god suffrith synne; and so S2. 2 *to his creature*: om. SS. *manner*: S1: manners; and so S2. 3 *and (in)*: om. S1.

---

1 *The lxxxi Chapter*: after her solemn credal statements of the previous chapter, Julian now begins to review the sum of all her revelations; and this chapter opens with a Trinitarian *expolitio*.

2 *Owre good lorde shewde hym to his creature / in dyverse manner both in hevyn and in erth / but I saw hym take no placé but in mannes soule / He shewde hym in erth in the swete incarnacion and hys blessyd passion / and in other manner he shewde hym in erth where I seyde I saw god in a poynt / and in other manner he shewde hym in erth thus / as it were a pylgrymage / that is to sey he is here with vs ledyng vs / and shalle be tylle whan he hath brought vs / alle to his blysse in hevyn / He shewde hym dyuerse tymes reignyng / as it is a fore sayde / but pryncypally in mannes soule / he hath take there his restyng place / and his wurschyppfulle cytte / Oute of whych wurschyppfulle see / he schalle nevyr ryse ne remeve withoute ende*: the topic here is the presence of God, one and three, in his creation, and the manifestation of that presence in and to man. This is stated in the first three *cola*, and then elaborated, with *distributio* and *repetitio* — *complexio*. The fourth *colon* is for the Son, the fifth and sixth *cola* for the Father, the seventh and eighth for the Spirit; and *he is here with vs ledyng vs* ... explains the Trinitarian purpose of all revelation. With *He shewde* ... we have a *transitio* to the second half of the topic, the eternal quality of God's presence in man.

In this catalogue of her shewings, Julian deliberately uses the Johannine term for god's revealing himself in Christ and through his creation, ἐμφανίζειν and φανερούν, both rendered by the Vulgate as 'manifestare', and here as *shewde*. The capital text is John 14.21-23: Qui diligit me ... ego diligam eum, et manifestabo ei me ipsum ... Domine, quid ... manifestaturus es nobis te ipsum et non mundo? ... Pater meus diligit eum ... et mansionem apud eum faciemus.

to his creature: she has not employed this term for herself since the very beginning of the long text: *This reuelation was made to a symple creature vnlettyrde* ... (285.2). Here, it is not supported by SS; it is otiose in the context of *I saw hym*, which immediately follows; and in all probability it is some scribe's gloss.

in dyverse manner: there may be in this an echo of the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews: God who at various times and in different manners spoke in times past ... (1.1).

3 *I saw hym take no place but in mannes soule*: cf. 643.33: *for in mannes soule is his very dwellyng*.

He shewde hym in erth in the swete incarnacion and hys blessyd passion, and in other manner he shewde hym in erth, where I seyde I saw god in a poynt; and in other manner he shewde hym in erth thus, as it were a pylgrymage, that is to sey he is here *with* vs ledyng vs, and
168r shalle be tylle whan he hath / brought vs alle to his blysse in hevyn.

He shewde hym dyuerse tymes reignyng, as it is a fore sayde, but pryncypally in mannes soule; he hath take there his restyng place and his wurschypfulle cytte. Oute of whych wurschypfulle see he shalle nevyr ryse ne remeve *with*oute ende.

---

4 *hym (in erth in)*: S2: himself. *in (erth in)*: S2: on. *and (hys)*: add. SS: in. 5 *hym (in erth, where)*: om. S2. *seyde*: S1: sey; and so S2. 6 *in (erth thus)*: S2: on. 7 *a*: SS: in. *ledyng*: S1: bidand; S2: biddand. 8 *whan*: om. S2. 9 *it*: om. S2. 10 *there*: om. S2. 11 *see*: C, marg.: seat.

---

4 *in the swete incarnacion*: this may refer to the first revelation of Mary, *in the stature as she was when she conceivede* (297.30). More probably, however, it is a general reference to all the sights she had of the Word made flesh.

hys blessyd passion: she had written: *oure curteyse lorde shewyd his passyon to me in fyue manneres* (389.8).

5 *where I seyde I saw god in a poynt*: cf. chapter 11, beginning: *And after this I saw god in a poynte* (336.3), which goes on to describe the operation of God in his creatures, which operation, she affirms, is Trinitarian.

6 *and in other manner ... to his blysse in hevyn*: it is not immediately obvious to which shewing or shewings she is here referring, which may account for the SS stumbling over P's *ledyng*, which is the obvious word suggested by *pylgrymage*.

as it were a pylgrymage: this analogy for human existence is a mediaeval commonplace, inspiring, in Julian's day alone, William de Guilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Piers Plowman* and the long analogy of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the *Scale*, Book II. In *Lollai litel child* a mother says to her babe: Child, þou ert a pilgrim in wikidnis ibor, / Þou wandrest in þis fals world, þou loke þe bifor (C. Brown, XIV 36). John Sheppey, bishop of Rochester 1352-1360, in a poem inspired by the Apocalypse likens Christ to a bridegroom, a knight, a merchant and a pilgrim; and many contemporary writers compare 'the hardship and loneliness of the pilgrim's lot ... with the lineaments of the Suffering Servant' (cf. E. Colledge: 'A Middle English Christological Poem').

9 *He shewde hym dyuerse tymes reignyng, as it is a fore sayde*: cf. especially 567.30. And Julian's extensive regal and curial vocabulary, with its Scriptural antecedents, is concentrated in her account of the vision of the indwelling in Revelation XVI. Cf. 639-642 and notes.

10 *his restyng place*: cf. 545.328, 639.6-640.9. As in the Epistle to the Hebrews (3.6-4.11), the idea of pilgrimage is contrasted with that of a place of peace and rest, with Christ 'as the Son in his own house'.

11 *wurschypfulle see*: cf. NED, See, *sb.*[1], 2.a., 'The seat, chair, or throne of a bishop'. Julian again thinks of the Son as the high priest of Hebrews 4.14-15; cf. 330.57 and note. She has described him in chapter 68 as enthroned in her heart, *hyghest byschoppe* (640.7).

he shalle nevyr ryse ne remeve withoute ende: cf. 641.15-16.

Mervelous and solempne is the place where þe lorde dwellyth; and therfore he wylle that we redely intend to his gracious touchyng, more
15 enjoyeng in his hole loue than sorowyng in oure oftyn fallynges.

For it is the most wurschyppe to hym of ony thyng that we may do that we leue gladly and merely for his loue in oure pennannce. For he beholdyth vs so tendyrly that he seth alle oure lyvyng here to be penannce. For kynde longyng in vs to hym is a lastyng penannce in vs, /
168v whych penannce he werkyth in vs, and mercyfully he helpyth vs to bere
21 it. For his loue makyth hym to long, his wysdom and his truth *with* his

---

13 *lorde*: S1: lond. *dwellyth*: S1: wonnyth; and so S2. 15 *in (his)*: S2: with. 16 *to hym*: om. S2. *that*: om. S2. 17 *leue*: C, S2: live; S1: liven. 18 *here to be*: SS: *and*. 19 *longyng*: S1: loveand; S2: loving. *in vs to hym is a*: SS: is to him ay. 20 *he (helpyth)*: om. C.

---

13 *Mervelous and solempne is the place where þe lorde dwellyth / and therfore he wylle / that we redely intend to his gracious touchyng / more enjoyeng in his hole loue / than sorowyng in oure oftyn fallynges*: this serves as *transitio* to the *argumentatio* which is to follow.

14 *his gracious touchyng*: a reminder that the indwelling is dynamic; cf. Ephesians 3.20 (see 480.40 note). More probably, Julian here means the operation of grace (as at 707.5), rather than the felt presence to which she refers at, e.g., 631.36.

15 *his hole loue*: this seems to refer back to 668.30: *he is alle loue*.

16 *For it is the most wurschyppe to hym / of ony thyng that we may do / that we leue gladly and merely / for his loue in oure pennannce*: this is the *propositio*.

the most wurschyppe: the author of the *Riwle* proposes the same view: Lokeþ nou hou witterliche vr lord self hit witnessiþ: Cum sederit filius hominis in sede maiestatis sue (Matthew 19.28) ... þe seete is reste and ese bitokneþ, aȝein þe swynke þat heer is ... (Vernon MS, f. 388^{d}; Day, 162).

17 *For he beholdyth vs so tendyrly / that he seth alle oure lyvyng here to be penannce*: this is the *ratio*. In it, Julian seems to be recalling that the blessed of the Lord are the poor, those who mourn, hunger and thirst and suffer persecution (Matthew 5.3-10).

18 *that he seth alle oure lyvyng here to be penannce*: this is the view proposed at the beginning of the section on penance in the *Riwle*: Al is penaunce and strong penaunce þat ȝe euer driȝeþ, myne leoue sustren, al þat ȝe euer doþ in goode, al þat ȝe þoleþ is ow martirdom (Vernon MS, f. 388^{b}; Day, 157).

19 *For kynde longyng in vs to hym / is a lastyng pennance in vs / whych penannce he werkyth in vs / and mercyfully he helpyth vs to bere it*: this is the *rationis confirmatio*.

20 *and mercyfully he helpyth vs to bere it*: so in the *Riwle* we read: ure louerd þet is þe soule spus þet isihð al ðet heo deð, þauh he heie sitte, he is ful wel ipaied þet heo murneð efter him, and he wule bien toward hire mucheles þe swuðere mid ȝeoue of his grace (Day, 167; not in the Vernon MS).

21 *For his loue makyth hym to long / his wysdom and his truth with his ryghtfulhed / makyth hym to suffer vs here / and in this manner he wylle se it in vs*: this is the *exornatio*.

For his loue makyth hym to long: in this complex description of penance Julian is recapitulating all the *oppositiones* belonging to the revelation which derive from the mystery of the Hypostatic Union; it is the human experience, integral to the existence

rygh(t)fulhed makyth hym to suffer vs here, and in this manner he wylle se it in vs. For this is oure kyndly penannce, and þe hyghest to my syght, for this penawnce comyth nevyr fro vs, tylle what tyme that we be fulfylled, whan we shulde haue hym to oure mede.

And therfore he wylle *þat* we sett oure hartes in the ovyr passyng, that is to sey fro the payne *þat* we feele in to the blysse *þat* we trust.

---

22 *ryghtfulhed*: ms: rygh-fulhed.

---

22 *ryghtfulhed*: S2: rythfulnes. *manner*: S2: man. 23 *to*: SS: as to. 24 *what*: S2: þe. 25 *shulde*: S1: shal; and so S2.

---

of the man Christ, which is inseparable from passibility. Positively, it is *metanoia*, both the act and the state of one who is living his reconciliation to God in Christ, and who yet feels the need and desire for a fuller reconciliation. At its most perfect, it is the reflection of God's longing for us, the ultimate gift, *the wound of willfull longing to god*, as she first called it (288.43).

23 *For this is oure kyndly penannce / and þe hyghest to my syght / for this penawnce comyth nevyr fro vs / tylle what tyme that we be fulfyllyd / whan we shulde haue hym to oure mede*: this is the *complexio*.

In this *argumentatio*, Julian carefully begins each of the five members with the word *For*, and *penannce* is repeated six times to insist on the central topic, our sharing of Christ's earthy life, until, characteristically, in her last *colon* she takes up again one other of her constant themes, the Beatific Vision.

24 *for this penawnce comyth nevyr fro vs*: the author of the *Riwle* tells his anchoresses: ȝe beoþ niht *and* day vppon godes roode. Bliþe mowe ȝe ben þer of, for as seint Poul seiþ: Si compatimur conregnabimus (II Timothy 2.12, and cf. Romans 8.17, 314.4 note). As ȝe scotteþ *with* him of his pyne on eorþe, so ȝe schul scotten *with* him of his blisse in heuene (Vernon MS, f. 388b; Day, 157).

26 *And therfore he wylle / þat we sett oure hartes / in the ovyr passyng / that is to sey / fro the payne þat we feele / in to the blysse þat we trust*: once again, Julian relies on a *compar* of short *cola*, giving a staccato effect, to drive home her final point, that all earthly *oppositiones* will be resolved *in the ovyr passyng*. It is the conclusion, theological and also practical, to all the chapter's teachings on indwelling and penance. Her teaching, that each moment of desolation or affliction carries with it the promise of consolation, is also Hilton's, in the *Scale*, II chapter 27: ... þi fleschly desires *and* þi pyneful dredis *and* doutes *and* wicked spirites ... alle þese schul weiken and lesen mikel of her miȝt, *and* þu schalt be ... broȝt in to þis gostly rest (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 98r; Underhill, 344-345).

The lxxxij Chapter

But here shewde oure curteyse lorde the monyng and the mornyng of oure soule, menyng thus: I wott well þ*ou* wylt lyue for my loue, merely
169r and gladly sufferyng alle þe / penawnce þ*at* may come to the; but for as
5 moch as thou lyvyst nott w*ith* out synne, therfore thou arte hevy and sorowfulle, and if thou myghtest lyue w*ith*out synne, thou woldest suffer for my loue alle the woo that myght come to the, and it is soyth. But be not to moch a grevyd w*ith* synne þ*at* fallyth to þe agaynste thy wylle.

And here I vnderstode þ*at* þe lorde behelde þe servannt w*ith* pytte and

---

1 *lxxxij*: C: lxxxj. S1: God beholdith the monyng of the soule with pite *and* not with blame, and yet we do nowte but synnen, in the which we arn kept in solace *and* in drede, for he will we turne us to him, redy clevand to his love, seand that he is our medicyne, and so we (bis) must love (S2: live) in longing *and* in enjoyeing, and what so ever is contrarie to this is not of god but of enmity. 3 *oure (soule)*: S1: the; and so S2. 4 *for*: SS: in. 5 *therfore*: om. SS. *arte hevy ... synne, thou*: om. SS. 7 *woo*: add. S1: all the tribulation *and* desese; and so S2. *soyth*: C: sooth; S1: soth; S2: sothe. 8 *to moch*: S1: mekill; and so S2. *to (þe)*: S2: on. *wylle*: add. C: (that is, not maliciously). 9 *behelde*: S1: beholdith; and so S2.

---

2 *But here shewde oure curteyse lorde / the monyng and the mornyng / of oure soule menyng thus / I wott well þou wylt lyue for my loue / merely and gladly sufferyng / alle þe penawnce þat may come to the / but for as moch as thou lyvyst nott with out synne / therfore thou arte hevy and sorowfulle / and if thou myghtest lyue without synne / thou woldest suffer for my loue / alle the woo that myght come to the / and it is soyth / But be not to moch a grevyd with synne / þat fallyth to þe agaynste thy wylle*: Julian continues her reflection on the mystery of indwelling by interpreting the revelation in the form of a logical argument, a kind of *disjunctio* distinguishing the alternatives, with consequent *oppositio*: *lyue for my loue / lyvyst nott with out synne, merely and gladly sufferyng / hevy and sorowfulle*. There is a paradox in the conclusion, that penance would not be penance if man could live without sin, but it is sin which does not militate against man's good will — indeliberate or at the most semi-deliberate faults — which in retrospect can appear grievous, like her own momentary disbelief. In the second and eighth *cola* there is *conduplicatio*, medial *repetitio* in the fourth, seventh and ninth, *conversio* in the seventh and ninth, fourth and eleventh, and in the fifth *colon* there is *similiter desinens*.

5 *arte hevy ... synne, thou*: the omission in SS is evidently caused by homoiotopy.

7 *all the tribulation and desese* (S1): this seems otiose and inauthentic.

But be not to moch a grevyd ...: cf. 693.35 e.s.

8 *agaynste thy wylle*: cf. 443.16 e.s.

9 *And here I vnderstode / þat þe lorde behelde þe servannt / with pytte and nott with blame / for this passyng lyfe askyth not / to lyue alle without synne / He lovyth vs endlessly / and we synne customeably / and he shewyth it vs fulle myldely / And than we sorow and morne dyscretly*

nott *with* blame; for this passyng lyfe askyth not to lyue alle w*ith*out synne. He lovyth vs endlessly, and we synne customeably, and he shewyth it vs fulle myldely. And than we sorow and morne dyscretly, turnyng vs in to the beholdyng of hys mercy, clevyng to his loue and to his goodnesse, seeyng that he is oure medycyne, wyttyng that we do but synne.

169v And thus by the / mekenesse þ*at* we gett in the syght of oure synne, feythfully knowyng his evyrlasty*n*g loue, hym thangkyng and preysyng,

---

10 *without*: add. SS: blame *and*. 11 *customeably*: S2: customarily. 12 *it*: om. SS. 13 *to his (goodnesse)*: om. SS. 14 *do*: add. C: (nothing); add. S1: nowte; and so S2. 16 *in*: S1: be; and so S2.

/ turnyng vs in to the beholdyng of hys mercy / clevyng to his loue and to his goodnesse / seeyng that he is oure medycyne / wyttyng that we do but synne: here Julian begins to link the parable of the lord and the servant with Revelation XIV, dealing essentially with the nature of unitive prayer. Knowing our sinful natures, we feel ourselves in some way alienated from God; but that is in our minds, not in God's. Since *in the seruannt is comprehendyd Adam, that is to sey all men* (532.212) and *the servant is the sonne Jesu Cryst* (533.217), the argument proceeds by *contrarietas*: *he ... we ... he ... we*. In the sixth, seventh and eighth *cola* there is *similiter desinens*, and in the last four *similiter cadens*.

10 *for this passyng lyfe ...*: cf. Ecclesiastes 7.21: For there is no just man upon earth who does good and does not sin.

askyth not: cf. NED, Ask, *v.*, 23.: 'To need, require, demand ...'.

11 *we synne customeably*: Solomon's petitions after he had built the Temple describe the same movement of the heart: If they sin against thee (for there is no man who does not sin) ... if they do penance in their hearts in the place of captivity ... and being converted supplicate thee, saying: We have sinned ... and return to thee with all their hearts and souls ... then hear and forgive thy people ... and give them mercy (III Kings 8.45-50).

customeably: NED's, MED's first instances of the adverb and adjective are 1303 Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*.

12 *And than we sorow and morne ...*: cf. the *Scale* I, chapter 44: ... for þis name Jhesu is no3t elles forto sey upon Englisch bot helere or hele. Now euere ilk man þat lyue3 in þis wrecched lyfe is gostly seke, for þere is no man þat lyue3 withouten synne, þe whilk is gostly sekenes, as seint John sei3 ...: If we sey þ*at* we han no synne, we bigyle oure self (I John 1.8; MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 316; Underhill, 105).

16 *And thus by the mekenesse / þat we gett in the syght of oure synne / feythfully knowyng his evyrlastyng loue / hym thangkyng and preysyng / we plese hym / I loue the and thou lovyst me / and oure loue shall nevyr be depertyd on two / and for thy profyte I suffer / And all this was shewde in gostly vnderstondyng / seyeng this blessyd worde / I kepe the full sykerly*: as the argument proceeds to its conclusion, Julian plainly is thinking of Christ's meekness, of Christ as in his union with the Father he submits himself on behalf of his brethren to John's baptism of repentance. The train of thought is close to Hilton's, in the *Scale* I, chapter 20: ... folue þe publican first in low3nes, askand mercie and for3yuenes of synnes *and* of gostly vertus grace, þat we mi3t afterward with a clene hert sothfastly thank hym *and* lowue hy*m* and 3yue hym holly þe worschip withouten feinyng (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686, p. 294; Underhill, 45-46).

we plese hym. I loue the and thou lovyst me, and oure loue shall nevyr be depertyd on two; and for thy profyte I suffer. And all this was shewde in gostly vnderstondyng, seyeng this blessyd worde: I kepe the full sykerly.

And be the grett desyer that I saw in oure blessyd lorde that we sulle lyue in this manner, that is to sey in longyng and enjoyeng, as alle this lesson of loue schewyth, ther by I vnderstonde þat alle that is contraryous to this is nott of hym, but it is of enmyte. And he wille þat we know it by þe swete gracious lyght of hys kynde loue.

---

18 *nevyr*: SS: not. 19 *on*: SS: in. *thy*: S2: þis. 20 *this (blessyd)*: SS: these. *worde*: SS: words. 21 *sykerly*: C, marg.: surely. 22 *the (grett)*: om. SS. *saw*: SS: have. 23 *lyue*: S1: leven. 24 *vnderstonde*: S1: vnderstode; and so S2. 25 *this*: SS: us; add. C: it. *it is*: om. SS.

---

18 *I loue the and thou lovyst me*: cf. 583.17-18 and 704.17-19 and note. Julian makes the point (as does the *Cloud*-author in *Privy Counselling*; Hodgson, *Cloud*, 163) that God is with us in our sinfulness 'only by sufferance and not by consent'; but she makes the further point that there is a positive working for our good in that sufferance.

19 *And all this was shewde ...*: Julian once more refers back to the long and difficult Revelation XIII, and in particular to 442.10 e.s., in which she was shown, as eventually she has come to understand, that Christ's body, those who are to be saved, is, here on earth, in a sinful condition — in the words of the Second Vatican Council, 'semper reformanda' (*Lumen gentium*, 8; Abbott, 24).

20 *seyeng this blessyd worde*: cf. 442.10.

22 *And be the grett desyer that I saw in oure blessyd lorde / that we sulle lyue in this manner / that is to sey in longyng and enjoyeng / as alle this lesson of loue schewyth / ther by I vnderstonde þat alle / that is contraryous to this is nott of hym / but it is of enmyte / And he wille þat we know it / by þe swete gracious lyght of hys kynde loue*: here is resumed the teaching on prayer, especially in chapter 44, where we were shown that the need to pray and the desire to pray are both expressions of the longing for God which his answer to our prayer fulfils; cf. 479.33 e.s. Here this is presented as a paradox: *longyng and enjoyeng* is an *oppositio*, but both are part of the *lesson of loue*, and there is a greater *oppositio*, all which is *contraryous* to what the lesson teaches, which comes not from God, but from the devil.

23 *longyng and enjoyeng*: this seems to place in a contemplative context I Thessalonians 5.16-18: Always rejoice, pray without ceasing, give thanks in all things; this is the will of God in Christ Jesus for you all.

as alle this lesson of loue schewyth: cf. 733.20.

25 *but it is of enmyte*: Julian is enunciating a cardinal principle in the discernment of spirits: all thought, impulses and feelings which cannot be related to the desire and longing for God, or to his joy, peace and consolation, are from the evil spirit, whether of the world, the flesh or the devil.

26 *þe swete gracious lyght of hys kynde loue*: a summary statement of the Trinitarian operation: love is principally appropriated to the Spirit (cf. 667.25-668.27), but the epithet *kynde* is primarily referred to the Father (e.g. 573.38 e.s.). Similarly, the epithet *swete* is referred to the Incarnate Word, and *gracious* to the Spirit. The *swete*

Iff any such lyver be in erth, whych is contynually kepte fro fallyng, I
170r know it / nott, for it was nott shewde me. But thys was shewde, that in
fallyng and in rysyng we are evyr preciously kepte in o(ne) loue. For in
30 the beholdyng of god we falle nott, and in þe beholdyng of oure selfe
we stonde nott; and boyth theyse be soth, as to my syght, but the

---

29 *one*: ms: oure.

---

27 *lyver*: S1: lover; and so S2. *in*: S2: on. *whych*: S2: þat. 29 *oure* (ms): C, SS: one. *loue*: add. C: (by which we were chosen before others from all eternity). 30 *and (in)*: om. S1. *oure (selfe)*: om. SS. 31 *boyth*: C, SS: both. *soth*: C, marg.: true.

---

gracious lyght is luminous faith; cf. 723.14 e.s. Cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 24: ... bot þe ay lastand luf of Jhesu is a trew day *and* a blissed liȝt, for good is boþe luf *and* liȝt, and he is ay lastande, as seynt John seiþ: ... He þat lufiþ god dwelliþ al in liȝt (I John 2.10; MS BM Harley 6579, f. 90r; Underhill, 320-321).

27 *Iff any such lyver be ...*: Hilton implies that the martyrs had a special grace to prevent them from falling, a grace which was also given to the apostles; and, writing of those perfectly reformed in feeling, he says: ... þe more stableness þat þer is in grace vnhurt *and* vnbroken, þe luflier (f. 128v) is þe soule *and* more like vnto him in whom is no manere chaungabilite, as þe postel seiþ. *And* it is ful semely þat þe soule spouse be like to Jhesu spouse in maners *and* in vertues, ful acordant to him in stabelnes of perfit lufe. Bot þat falliþ seldom — nowȝhere bot in þe special spouse (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 430). The *Mirror of Simple Souls*, however, teaches explicitly that the 'simple soul' is impeccable: Þis soule, seiþ loue, holdeþ þe counsel of þe gospel þat seiþ: Haueþ þe iȝe symple and so schule ȝee not synne (cf. Matthew 6.22; Doiron, 291). The teaching was condemned in 1312 at Vienne in the constitution *Ad nostrum* (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 891). Julian states the orthodox theological position very precisely; she allows for the de facto possibility that a soul might continually be kept from sinning, which is very different from canvassing the possibilities of impeccability as Margaret Porete did.

28 *But thys was shewde that in fallyng and in rysyng / we are evyr preciously kepte in one loue*: this is the *propositio* of an *argumentatio*, and it also serves to introduce the *fallyng / rysyng oppositio* which will run throughout.

29 *we are evyr preciously kepte*: Julian has consistently taught that in the time of true contemplation, a man is safe from all spiritual (and even bodily) harm; cf. 326.23 e.s. It is when we are left to ourselves that we experience our sinfulness (cf. 355.21 e.s.) and the harm which can follow.

one: P's reading, *oure*, is theologically barely defensible, in this context of unitive life and prayer. The love in which we are preserved is God's; it only becomes ours through his communication. This C has recognized.

For in the beholdyng of god we falle nott / and in þe beholdyng of oure selfe we stonde nott: this is the *ratio*.

31 *we stonde nott*: cf. I Corinthians 10.12: He who thinks that he stands, let him take heed lest he fall.

and boyth theyse be soth as to my syght / but the beholdyng of oure lord god is the hygher

beholdyng of oure lord god is the hygher sothnes. Than are we moch bounde to hym, that he wylle in this lyvyng shew vs this hygh sothnes; and I vnderstode whyle we be in this lyfe, it is full spedfull to vs that we se theyse boyth at onys. For the hygher beholdyng kepyth vs in gostly joy and trew enjoyeng in god, that other, *þat* is the lower beholdyng, 170v kepyth vs in drede, and makyth vs a shamyd of oure / selfe.

But oure good lorde wylle evyr that we holde vs moch more in þe beholdyng of the hygher, and nought leue the knowyng of the lower in to the tyme that we be broughte vppe aboue, where we shalle haue oure lorde Jhesu to oure mede, and be fulfyllyd of joy and blysse *with* oute ende.

---

32 *hygher*: S1: heyest; and so S2. *sothnes*: C, marg.: truth. *moch*: S1: mekil. 33 *bounde*: S2: beholding. *hym*: SS: god. *lyvyng*: S2: life. *this (hygh)*: S2: the. 34 *vnderstode*: add. S1: that; and so S2. 35 *boyth*: C, SS: both. 36 *joy*: SS: solace. *that*: S2: *and* þe. 38 *holde*: S2: behold. *moch*: S1: mekil. 39 *knowyng*: S2: beholding. *in to*: S2: till. 40 *that*: om. S2. *be*: om. S1. 41 *to (oure)*: S1: vnto. *of*: S2: with.

---

sothnes: this is the *rationis confirmatio*. The *Cloud*-author, in his teaching on the Dionysian ascent to God, writes of 'a nakid þouȝt and a blynde feling of þin owne beyng' and the sorrow which accompanies it as the last thing to be forgotten in the reaching out for the feeling of the being of God: ... þe whiche nakyd felyng of þi blynde beyng wol euyrmore prees abouen þee, betwix þee and þi god ... wel heuy and a ful peynful birþen of þi self (*Privy Counselling*, Hodgson, *Cloud*, 157).

32 *Than are we moch bounde to hym / that he wylle in this lyvyng / shew vs this hygh sothnes / and I vnderstode / whyle we be in this lyfe / it is full spedfull to vs / rhat we se theyse boyth at onys*: this is the *exornatio*.

moch bounde: Julian's point seems to be that the beholding of God is owed to an infused contemplative grace, whereas the beholding of self is a lesser grace.

34 *and I vnderstode*: she has already said that whether we are moved to know God or our own soul, either movement is good and true, and that we shall know them both at once by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Cf. 570.9 e.s.

35 *For the hygher beholdyng kepyth vs / in gostly joy and trew enjoyeng in god / that other þat is the lower beholdyng / kepyth vs in drede and makyth vs a shamyd of oure selfe*: this is the *complexio*.

gostly joy and trew enjoyeng: though the SS reading, *solace*, is an attractive alternative to P's *joy*, this can be defended. *gostly joy* is the Spirit's gift, *trew enjoyeng* the soul's response to it, so that the figure used is not *tautologia* but *similitudo*.

37 *makyth vs a shamyd*; as has been observed, 633.20 note, the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* lays stress on the spiritual value of shame.

38 *that we holde vs moch more ...*: Julian is expanding what she has earlier written about the knowledge of ourselves and of God (570.1 e.s.) We are to see ourselves in him, but as sinful and in need of his merciful love.

The lxxxiij Chapter

I had in perty touchyng, syght and feelyng in thre propertees of god, in whych the strenght and þe effecte of alle þe revelacion stondyth. And it were seen in every shewyng, and most properly in the twelfe, were it seyeth oftyn tymes: I it am. The propertees are theyse: lyfe, loue and

---

2 *perty*: 'e' alt. fr. 'a' or vice versa, scr.

---

1 *lxxxiij*: C: lxxxij. S1: Of iij properties in god, life, love *and* light, and þat our reason is in god accordand; it is heyest gift, *and* how our feith is a light commeing of þe fader, mesurid to us *and* in this night us ledand; and (add. S2: at) the end of our wo, sodenly our eye shall be openid in full light *and* clerte of syte, which is our maker, fader *and* holy gost in Jhesus our sauior. 2 *perty*: C: party; S1: parte; S2: part. 3 *þe (effecte)*: om. SS. 4 *it (were)*: S1: theie; and so S2. 5 *I it am*: om. SS.

---

2 *I had in perty touchyng* ...: in this long *compar*, which ends only with *and it is growndyd in kynd*, Julian is discussing the knowledge of God and of ourselves in the light of the parable. She had already written *I had in perty touchyng, and it is growndyd in kynd* (573.38), the first and last *cola* is this present pericope; but there the three properties mentioned are *substancyall kyndness, mercy and grace*. Here she seems anxious to be at once more precise and more comprehensive, with regard both to the manner in which she had received the shewings and the Trinitarian teaching they embody. So she identifies what she considers to be the most typical appropriations to the divine persons in her experience of all the revelations, and the most incisive way of describing her own response to the divine influence — its power and strength, and the effect of seeing in and by the divine light. Doubtless she is recalling the Psalmist: For with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light we shall see light. Extend thy merciful love to those who know thee, and thy justice to those who are just of heart (Psalm 35.10-11).

in perty: cf. NED, Party, *sb.*, 3., '? A part of a matter, a point, particular; matter, affair, respect', which quotes 1439 *E. E. Wills*: to eche of my seide executours for his labor in this party'. NED refers to Part, *sb.*, 2.c., with similar definition, which quotes, 1719, 'If we neglect our duty in that part'. It is evident that Julian means 'in this matter', and not 'partially'.

touchyng ... feelyng: cf. 569.54-55, and 573.38 note. It is striking that what began as one of the most obscure of her visions, the experience of the darkness of Calvary (cf. 367.15-16), leads to her clearest insight into the mystery of the Hypostatic Union and the Trinitarian nature of man's soul (568.39 e.s.).

5 *lyfe, loue and lyght*: in this recapitulation of her Trinitarian teaching, Julian appears to be saying that the most perfect appropriations are those which can properly be applied to each person of the Trinity in turn; and this is the technical significance of the adverb *most properly*. It was in Revelation XII that the primary names of the triune God

lyght. In lyfe is mervelous homelyhed, in loue is gentylle curtesse, and in lyght is endlesse kyndnesse.

Theyse iij propertees were seen in oone goodnesse, in to whych /
171r goodnesse my reson wolde be oonyd and clevyng to *with* alle þe
10 myghtes. I behelde *with* reuerent drede, and hyghly mervelyng in the syght and in feelyng of the swete accorde that oure reson is in god, vnderstandyng that it is þe hyghest gyfte that we haue receyvyd, and it is growndyd in kynd.

Oure feyth is a lyght, kyndly comyng of oure endlesse day that is oure

---

6 *homelyhed*: S2: homelynes. *curtesse*: C: courtesie; S1: Curtesye; S2: curtesy. 7 *kyndnesse*: S1: kyndehedes. 8 *iij*: om. SS. *seen*: om. SS. 9 *clevyng*: S1: cleve; and so S2. 10 *myghtes*: S1: myte; and so S2. 11 *in (feelyng)*: add. S1: the; and so S2. 14 *of*: S2: from.

---

were listed. She seems here to be following the tradition in the West which has its source in the *Divine Names*, where pseudo-Denis distinguishes between essential and personal attributes. Those essential are listed in chapters iv-viii, and the order is: goodness, light, beauty, love (iv); being (v); life (vi); wisdom, intelligence, reason, truth (vii); power, justice, salvation, redemption (viii).

8 *Theyse iij propertees were seen in oone goodnesse*: pseudo-Denis (*Divine Names*, iv, Sarracenus's translation) writes: Ex bono enim est illud lumen et imago bonitatis; propter quod et luminis nominatione laudatur bonum (*Dionysiaca* 1, 162).

In the very dense and possibly corrupt passage which follows, Julian is striving to express the essential contemplative desire and effort, and its fulfilment. From the first revelation, she has seen that there is no human happiness and peace except in the substantial union of the creature with its creator (213.17-21), whose goodness is his very essence which he shares with his creatures (*Divine Names*, iv 1). The point of this union is reason, the higher part of man's soul, his knowing and loving powers (cf. 574.39 note), which are expanded and increased as his desire for union grows under the operation of mercy and grace, until the Trinity is fully known and clearly perceived in heaven (574.47 e.s.). Here she intimates that the effect of each revelation is at once an increasing desire to experience the divine goodness in contemplation, and the fruit of the contemplation: *I saw him and sought him, and I had hym and wantyd hym* (326.18).

12 *þe hyghest gyfte*: Julian has earlier written that our nature is wholly in God, and that our higher part is grounded and rooted in the Trinity, whilst God is knit to our lower part in the Incarnate Word, and that all this is comprehended in the first good which we receive. Cf. 576.2-579.28. Here she identifies our first gift with the higher part or reason, but relates it to nature, which, in Christ, embraces both higher and lower parts.

14 *Oure feyth is a lyght / kyndly comyng of oure endlesse day / that is oure fader god / in whych lyght oure moder Cryst / and oure good lorde the holy gost / ledyth vs in this passyng lyfe / This lyght is mesuryd dyscretly / nedfully stondyng to vs in the nyght / The lyghte is cause of oure lyfe / the nyght is cause of oure payne and alle oure woo / in whych woe we deserve endlesse mede and thanke of god / for we with mercy and grace wylfully know and beleue / oure lyghte goyng therin wysly and myghtely / And at þe end of woe sodeynly oure eye shalle be opynyd / and in*

fader, god, in whych lyght oure moder, Cryst, and oure good lorde the holy gost ledyth vs in this passyng lyfe. This lyght is mesuryd dyscretly, nedfully stondy(ng) to vs in the nyght. The lyghte is cause of oure lyfe, the nyght is cause of oure payne and alle oure woo, in whych woe we deserve endlesse mede and thanke of god, for we *with* mercy and grace
171v wylfully know and beleue oure lyghte goyng / therin wysly and myghtely. And at þe end of woe, sodeynly oure eye shalle be opynyd,

17 *stondyng*: ms: stondyth. 20 *know and*: ms: knowand.

17 *stondyth (ms)*: S1: standand; S2: standing. 18 *oure (payne)*: S2: all our. *alle*: S1: of al. *woe*: om. SS. 19 *endlesse*: om. SS. 20 *know and beleue*: S1: knowen *and* leven; and so S2.

clernes of syght oure lyght shalle be fulle / whych lyght is god oure maker fadyr and holy gost / in Crist Jhesu oure savyour / Thus I sawe and vnderstode / that oure feyth is oure lyght in oure nyght / whych lyght is god oure endlesse day: the entire *compar* is an *expolitio*, with the last three *cola* for *conclusio*. It is resoundingly Johannine both in its genesis and its process. Faith, which is a given knowledge, power and perception, is the recognition which makes us sons of God in him who is Son (John 1.9); but the light is only effective when it is consciously and willingly received in the new birth from our parent, God, who 'is light and in him there is no darkness' (I John 1.5). This light, which is the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, is the fullness of grace and truth (John 1.14), the grace which is measured out to us from his fullness (ibid. 1.16). The light is also life (ibid. 1.4), and whilst we have the light, darkness does not overtake us (ibid. 12.35); and if we believe in the light, we are the children of light (ibid. 12.36), we walk in the light and not in the darkness (I John 1.7), because we follow Christ, who is the light of the world (John 8.12), so that we 'know and believe that the Father is in me and I in the Father' (ibid. 10.38).

16 *ledyth*: so C, SS. The syntax here makes it difficult not to suppose that this is an extraneous Southern '-eth' plural indicative suffix. Cf. 709.14-15 note.

17 *nedfully*: NED records only the sense 'necessarily', but cf. Nedfull, *a.* (and *sb.*), 2.a., 'Characterized by need, necessity, or straits', which is how the adverb here is used: 'in our need'.

stondyng: the emendation, supported by the present participles in SS, is required by the syntax.

18 *the nyght is cause of oure payne*: *Bonum est*, commenting on *Ad annunciandum mane misericordiam tuam, et veritatem tuam per noctem*, has: Niht betokneþ aduersite and wontyng of cumfort, bodiliche or gostliche (Wallner, 55).

in whych woe we deserve endlesse mede and thanke of god: in the *Scale*, II chapter 27, we read: ... liȝt schal spryngen to þe in mirknes ... *and* þi mirknes schal be as midday. *Þat* is, þi mirknes of *t*raueiland desire *and* þi blynde trust in god *þat* þu hast first schal *turne* in to clere knowynge *and* in to sikirnes of luf (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 98^{r}; Underhill, 344).

21 *And at þe end of woe, sodeynly oure eye shalle be opynd*: cf. II Peter 1.19: We have the more firm prophetical word, to which you do well to attend, as to a light that shines in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day star arise in your hearts.

sodeynly: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 40: ... a siȝend soule to seen þe face of Jhesu whan it

and in clernes of syght oure lyght shalle be fulle, whych lyght is god, oure maker, fadyr, and holy gost in Crist Jhesu oure savyour.

Thus I sawe and vnderstode that oure feyth is oure lyght in oure nyght, whych lyght is god, oure endlesse day.

---

22 *clernes*: S1: clerte; S2: clarity. *syght*: SS: light. *lyght*: SS: sight. 23 *fadyr*: om. SS.

---

is touchid þourȝ grace of þe holy gost, it is sodenly chaungid *and* turned fro þe pliȝt þat it was in to a noþer maner feling (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 123v; Underhill, 417).

oure eye shalle be opynyd: cf. ibid. chapter 41: (S)chew me þan a soule þat þurȝ inspiracion of grace haþ openynge of þe gostly eiȝe in to beholdynge of Jhesu ... þis soule brennyth al in luf and schynyth in gostely liȝt (ibid., f. 127r; 426).

22 *whych lyght is god* ...: cf. ibid., chapter 46: þan is it opned soþfastly to þe eiȝe of þe soule þe onhed in substance *and* distincionn of persons in þe blissid trinitee (ibid., f. 139r; 462).

The lxxxiiij Chapter

Thys lyght is charite, and the mesuryng of this lyght is done to vs profytably by the wysdom of god; for neyther þe lyght is so large þ*at* we may se clerly oure blessydfulle day, ne it is all sperryd fro vs, but it is such a lyghte in whych we may lyue medfully w*ith* traveyle, deservyng þe wurschypfull thangke of god. And this was sene in the syxte

---

1 *lxxxiiij*: C: lxxxiij. S1: Charite is this light which is not so litil but that it is nedefull (S2: medefull) with travel to deserven endles worshipfull thanke of god, for feith *and* hope leden us to charite, which is in iij manners. 2 *Thys*: SS: the. 4 *clerly*: om. SS. *blessydfulle*: S1: blisfull; and so S2. *all*: om. SS. *sperryd*: C, marg.: shut up. 5 *medfully*: C, marg.: meritoriously. *deservyng*: C: reserving. 6 *wurschypfull thangke*: S1: endles worship; and so S2. *thangke*: C: thanks.

---

2 *Thys lyght is charite ... alle shalle be charite*: in this *compar*, not surprisingly, the source is Paul's celebrated hymn to charity in I Corinthians chapter 13, As he does, Julian personifies charity, and relates it firmly to faith and hope. But she makes explicit what is implicit in Paul's text: the identification of charity with the sight and knowledge of God, its partial possession here and its fullness in the Beatific Vision: Charity never falls away (8) ... For we know in part (9) ... but when that which is perfect has come, that which is partial shall be done away (10) ... We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then we shall see face to face. Now I know partially, but then I shall know just as I am known (12) ... and now there remain these three, faith, hope and charity (13) ... the greatest of these is charity ...

This doctrine is also Hilton's, in the *Scale*, II chapter 37: And þus is þe soule made meke ... bi þe wirky*n*g of þe holy gost, þ*at* is þe gifte of luf, for he opneþ þe iȝe of þe soule for to seen *and* lufen Jhesu ... *and* su*m* han it more fully for þei han clerer siȝt of Jhesu, *and* þei fele more of his loue (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 118^{v}; Underhill, 403).

3 *profytably*: this is a clarification of *dyscretly* (724.16). The discretion of the Trinity in the divine *operationes ad extra* coincides with the good pleasure ('This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased'; Matthew 3.17) which looks simply to the growth in well-being of the creature, after the pattern of the Incarnate Christ. Cf. John 16.12-13: I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. But when he, the Spirit of truth, has come, he will teach you all things.

5 *medfully with traveyle*: cf. the *Scale*, II chapter 25: þerfor applie þin hert fully to þe stirynge of grace, *and* vse for to wonen in þis mirknes *and* be often assaynge to ben homly þerin ... *and* þe trew liȝt of gostly knowynge schal sprynge to þe, not al at ones bot priuely by litel *and* by litel ... (f. 92^{v}) ... bi smale sodeyn liȝtynges þ*at* glideren out þurgh smale caues ... for wete þu wele þawȝ þ*at* þi soule be in þis restful mirknes ... it is not ȝit cloþed al in liȝt ne turned al into fiire of luf (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 328).

6 *in the syxte shewyng*: cf. 351.3. Revelation VI speaks of reward and thanking, of homeliness and courtesy, of solace and bliss, and concludes: *And the more that the lovyng soule seeth this curtesy of god, the levyr she ys to serve hym all her lyfe* (353.35).

shewyng, wher he seyth: I thanke the of thy servyse and of thy traveyle.
172r Thus charite kepyth vs in feyth and in hope. / And feyth and hope
ledyth vs in charite, and at þe ende alle shalle be charite.
10 I had iij manner of vnderstondynges in this lyght of (c)ha(r)ite. The
furst is charite vnmade, the seconnde is charyte made, the thyrde is
charyte gevyn. Charyte vnmade is god, charyte made is oure soule in
god, charyte gevyn is vertu, and þat is a gracious gyfte of wurkyng, in
whych we loue god for hym selfe, and oure selfe in god, and alle þat god
15 lovyth for god.

---

10 *charite*: ms: thacite.

---

7 *seyth*: S1: seid; and so S2. *of*: S1: soft. 8 *feyth and*: om. SS. 10 *vnderstondynges*: S1: vnderstonding; and so S2. *charite*: so C, SS. 14 *(oure) selfe*: SS: selves. *alle*: om. SS.

---

10 *I had iij manner of vnderstondynges / in this lyght of charite / The furst is charite vnmade / the seconnde is charyte made / the thyrde is charyte gevyn / Charyte vnmade is god / charyte made is oure soule in god / charyte gevyn is vertu / and þat is a gracious gyfte of wurkyng / in whych we loue god for hym selfe / and oure selfe in god / and alle þat god lovyth for god*: in the first colon, Julian tells us that what is to follow will be an *expolitio*. So the figures follow: in the third, fourth and fifth *cola* there is *repetitio* (*the*) and medial *repetitio* (*charite*) which may also be *complexio*; and in the sixth, seventh and eighth there is *commutatio, repetitio* and *dissolutio*.

Julian here writes with the clarity and simplicity of the accomplished theologian. St. Thomas, among others, distinguishes between charity uncreated (the Holy Spirit himself dwelling in the soul; *Summa*, II-II.23.2 *in corp.*), and created charity, which is our participation in the Holy Spirit who is the love between the Father and the Son (ibid., II-II.24.2 *in corp.*). He also teaches that charity is an infused virtue (ibid.), given us by the Spirit; and he quotes I Corinthians 12.11: All these things one and the same Spirit works, dividing to each one according to his will; and Ephesians 4.7: To every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the giving of Christ (ibid., II-II.24.3 *in corp.*).

11 *charite vnmade ... charyte made ... charyte gevyn*: the *Scale*, II chapter 34, makes a similar distinction, which lacks, however, Julian's precision: Holy wryters seyn, *and* soþ it is, þat þer is two maner of gostly lufe. On is called vnformed, an oþer is callid formed. Lufe (f. 111r) vnformed is god him self ... þe holi gost ... Luf formed is þe affeccioun of þe soule made bi þe holy gost of þe si3t *and* þe knowynge of soþfastnes þat is god only (MS BM Harley 6579; Underhill, 381).

13 *and þat is a gracious gyfte of wurkyng ...*: a succinct exegesis of the 'great commandment', as enunciated for example in Matthew 22.37-40. The *Cloud*-author gives his own contemplative specification to this *wurkyng*: ... in þe tyme of þis werk schal alle be iliche homly vnto hym ... so þat alle schul be louyd pleinly and nakidly for god, and as wel as him self (Hodgson, 60).

The lxxxv Chapter

Ande in this syght I merveyled hyghly, for nott *with* stondyng oure sympylle lyvyng and oure blyndnesse heer, yett endlessly oure curtesse lorde beholdyth vs, in this wurkyng enjoyeng. And of alle thyng we may plese hym best, wysely and truly to beleue it, and to enjoy *with* hym and
172v in hym. For as veryly as we shulle / be in blysse of god *with*out end, hym praysyng and thankyng, as veryly we haue been in þe forsyght of god lovyd and knowyn in his endlys purpose fro *with*out begynnyng, in

---

1 *lxxxv*: C: lxxxjv. S1: God lovid (S2: loveth) his chosen fro without begynnyng, *and* he neve(r) suffrith them to be hurte, wherof (S2: whereby) their bliss might be lessid; *and* how privities now hidde in hevyn shall be knowen, wherefore we shall bliss our lord that everything is so wele ordeynid. 3 *oure (blyndnesse)*: om. S2. *blyndnesse*: S1: blindhede. 5 *beleue*: S1: leven; and so S2. *and in hym*: om. S2. 6 *in (blysse)*: add. S1: the; and so S2.

---

2 *Ande in this syght ...*: the whole of this penultimate chapter is composed as one long *compar*, so that Julian is able to communicate, with her apparently inexhaustible sense of contemplative wonder, how the almighty and eternal God is constantly at work with the *sympylle*, the spiritually retarded — a work which is integral to his eternal joy. The text which now seems to be most in her mind is Proverbs 8.30-31 on the excellence of divine Wisdom: I was with him, forming all things, and I was delighted every day, playing before him at all times, playing in the world; and my delights were to be with the children of men. (She appears to have adverted to the same text in the short text, but to have removed the allusion in the corresponding place, earlier in the long text; cf. 268.14 note). This for Julian is God's homeliness and courtesy; and our response can only be to accept the invitation to share his delight. At the same time, it is a final and comprehensive theological statement of the Trinitarian operation in the economy of salvation revealed in the Son, the Word made flesh. The great Pauline texts (to all of which she has already alluded) which expound the mystery of salvation in the person of Christ, in whom and by whom all things were created as well as redeemed, are prominent in her thought: Colossians 1.10-11 (cf. 495.3 note) and 2.2-3 (cf. 560.55 note), and Ephesians 1.4-5 (cf. 462.22, 471.37, 556.19-20 and notes).

3 *sympylle*: 'foolish' (cf. NED, Simple, A. *adj.*, 9.) or 'wretched' (ibid. 8.).

4 *And of alle thyng ...*: unless this is corrupt (which the other witnesses do not suggest) the syntax is elliptic: 'And of all things (which we can do) we can best please him by wisely and faithfully believing ...'.

6 *For as veryly as we shulle be / in blysse of god without end / hym praysyng and thankyng / as veryly we haue been / in þe forsyght of god / lovyd and knowyn in his endlys purpose / fro without begynnyng*: in this section of the *compar* there is *traductio* (*shulle be ... haue been*), *oppositio* (*without end / without begynnyng*), *interpretatio* (*without end ... endlys*), and *similiter cadens* (prays*yng*, thank*yng*, begynn*yng*).

whych vnbegonne loue he made vs. In the same loue he kepyth vs, and nevyr sufferyth vs to be hurt, by whych oure blysse myght be lessyd. And therfore whan the dome is gevyn, and we be alle brough(t) vppe aboue, than shalle we clerely see in god the prevytees whych now be hyd to vs. And then shalle none of vs be steryd to sey in ony thyng: Lorde, yf it had ben thus, it had ben wele. But we shalle alle sey *with* one voyce: Lorde, blessyd mott thou be, for it is thus, it is wele; and

---

11 *brought*: ms: brough.

---

9 *(made) vs*: add. SS: *and*. 12 *shalle*: om. SS. *prevytees*: S2: secrets. 13 *And*: om. SS. *thyng*: SS: wise. 14 *thus (it had)*: add. S1: than; and so S2. *ben (wele)*: add. SS: full. *with one*: S1: without. 15 *it (is wele)*: C: thus it.

---

9 *vnbegonne*: NED, Unbegun, *ppl. a.*, records its first form c. 1000, and shows that, though rare, it survived into the nineteenth century.

11 And thérfore whan the dóme is gévyn
and wé be alle bróught vppe abóue
than shálle we clérely sée in gód
the prévytees whych nów be hýd to vs.

The rhythms here, giving roughly the effect of iambic tetrameters, well show Julian's flexible use of *compar*.

the dome: cf. 224.15 and note, and NED, Doom, *sb.*, 6., 'The last or great Judgment at the end of the world', with its first instance c. 1200. It is significant that she nowhere manifests any of that fear of death so prominent in the Roman liturgy (in the Mass of the Dead, for example, the *Dies Irae* prose and the *Libera Me* antiphon and responsory) and among her literary contemporaries — the refrain *Timor mortis conturbat me*, which the *Cloud*-author so stresses at the beginning of his *Epistle on Prayer*, is foreign to her spirit of trust.

brought vppe aboue: cf. 621.16.

12 *the prevytees*: cf. 407.39 e.s., 426.55 e.s., 437.27 e.s.

13 *And then shalle none of vs be steryd ...*: she appears to be referring to a previous *exclamatio*: *A, good lorde, how myght alle be wele for the gret harme that is come by synne to thy creatures?* (412.3).

14 *But we shalle sey with one voyce*: this is the *una voce dicentes* of the preface to the canon of the Mass, which leads into the hymn of praise, attributed to the angels and the saints and the whole court of heaven, *Sanctus sanctus sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth*, which Julian paraphrases with her own *exclamatio*, a cry not of 'indignation or sorrow' but of praise and thanksgiving, like to that of the seraphim in Isaias 6.3.

now we see verely that alle thyng is done as it was thyn ordynawnce or ony thyng was made.

---

16 *verely*: alt. fr. 'werely'.

---

16 *we*: om. S1. *was*: om. S2. *thyn ordynawnce or*: S1: then ordeyned beforn that; and so S2. *or*: C, marg.: before.

---

16 *alle thyng is done as it was thyn ordynawnce*: she recalls the creation formulae of the first chapter of Genesis: And God said: be light made, and it was made (1) ... And God said: let there be a firmament made ... and it was so (6-7) ... And God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good (31); and also the new heaven and earth of Isaias 65.17-18 (cf. 386.36 note).

thyn ordynawnce: cf. Chaucer's *Boethius*: Alle þinges seken aȝein in to hir propre cours, and alle þinges reioisen hem of hir retournynge aȝein to hir nature, ne noon ordinaunce nis bytaken to þinges but þat (Morris, 69), and also the English *Horologium* (cf. 417.3 note).

The lxxxvi Chapter

173r This boke is begonne by goddys / gyfte and his grace, but it is nott yett performyd, as to my syght. For charyte, pray we alle to gedyr *with* goddes wurkyng, thankyng, trustyng, enjoyeng, for th(u)s wylle oure good lord be prayde, by þe vnderstandyng þ*at* I toke in alle his owne

---

4 *thus*: ms: this.

---

1 *lxxxvi*: C: lxxxv, S1: The good lord shewid this (S2: þ*at* þ*is*) booke shuld be other wise performid than at the first writing; and for his werking he will we thus prey, him thankand, trostand *and* in him enjoyand; and how he made this shewing because he will have it knowen, in which knoweing he will give us grace to love him; for xv yeere after it was answerid that the cause of all this shewing was love, which Jhesus grant us, amen. 3 *gedyr*: SS: god. 4 *thankyng*: add. S2: *and*. *thus*: so SS; C, P: this. 5 *by*: S1: as be; and so S2.

---

2 *This boke is begonne* ...: in this thirteen-membered *compar* which forms the first paragraph of the last chapter, there is a notably more tranquil tone. Julian is now content that she has, after the long years of pondering and searching, recounted as best she can the matter and meaning of the whole revelation.

but it is nott yett performyd: the SS chapter-heading wholly misinterprets the meaning of this. Characteristically, Julian begins with a paradox: the chapter which is to end the book begins: *This boke is begonne*. The 'performance' of which she now writes is the continuous life-long expression of a Christian's relationship with all the aspects of the person of Christ: at the heart of the Trinitarian mystery, as revealing the Father to men, as sending, with the Father, his own Spirit on the mission of mercy and grace, as one with mankind in the various revealed facets of the Hypostatic Union. This expression is found in contemplative, unitive prayer — the seeking and finding (Luke 11.9) which reflect God's longing and search for us.

3 *For charyte, pray we alle*: as the allusion which will soon follow to the beginning of Revelation XIV, directly concerned with unitive prayer, makes plain, it is to this unitive prayer of petition (for her definition of that prayer, cf. 463.30 e.s., *Besechyng is a trew and gracious lestyng wylle* ...) that she is now calling other contemplatives.

to gedyr with goddes wurkyng: the SS variant, *god*, arises from a further misunderstanding of what she is saying. She is not asking her readers to pray all together with God — in groups — she is asking them all to pray, wholly one in God's activity.

4 *wurkyng, thankyng, trustyng, enjoyeng*: this colon, with its *articulus* and *similiter cadens*, summarizes the components of the unitive prayer of petition, and intimates that they are all one movement, God's and ours. Cf. her definition of thanksgiving, 466.56 e.s.

5 *in alle his owne menyng*: that is, in all his teaching on prayer in Revelation XIV, and perhaps specifically in the extended locution, 464.42 e.s.

menyng, and in þe swete wordes where he seyth fulle merely: I am grownd of thy bes(e)chyng. For truly I saw and vnderstode in oure lordes menyng that he shewde it for he wyll haue it knowyn more than it is. In whych knowyng he wylle geve vs grace to loue hym and cleve to hym, for he beholde his hevynly tresure (with so grete love on erth that he will give us more light), and solace in hevynly joye, in drawyng of oure hartes fro sorow and darknesse whych we are in.

And fro the tyme þat it was shewde, I desyerde oftyn tymes to wytt in what was oure lords menyng. And xv yere after and mor, I was answeryd in gostly / vnderstondyng, seyeng thus: What, woldest thou wytt

173v

---

7 *besechyng*: ms: beschyng. 8 *knowyn*: ms: knowyng. 10 *with so ... more light*: om. ms.

---

8 *knowyng* (ms): so C; S1: knowen; and so S2. 10 *beholde*: C: beholds; and so SS. *with so ... more light*; from S1: and so S2; om. C, P. 12 *hartes*: S2: heart. *fro*: SS: for. *darknesse*: S1: merkness; and so S2. 13 *the*: S1: that; and so S2. *wytt (in)*: S2: know. *in*: om. S2. 15 *What*: om. S1.

---

6 *in þe swete wordes*: cf. 461.16; the epithet *swete* is no cliché here, as her following reflection on the consolatory nature of the locution indicates.

8 *knowyng* (ms): this is a characteristic P spelling, which C's *knowing* fails to interpret.

10 *beholde*: 'beheld'. Cfr. NED, Hold, *v.*, 2., where 'hold' as preterite is called fifteenth-century; they cite c.1420 *Chron. Vilod.*: Seynt Wultrud hold hurr' ry3t wel afrayde.

with so grete love ... (S1): plainly, Julian is here referring to 529.185: *Ther was a tresoure in the erth whych the lorde lovyd ...* and this SS reading seems wholly authentic. If we accept it, the following figure is given: *for he behold his hevynly tresure / with so grete love on erth / that he will give us more light / and solace in hevynly joye / in drawyng of oure hartes / fro sorow and darknesse whych we are yn*, a perfect Trinitarian *compar*, taking up and explaining the image of the 'treasure', in the parable, and relating it to the *operationes ad extra*.

15 *What woldest thou wytt / thy lordes menyng in this thyng / Wytt it wele loue was his menyng / Who shewyth it the Loue / What shewid he the Love / Wherfore shewyth he it the For loue*: though this is not reported as any kind of locution, but as an answer *in gostly vnderstondyng*, it is couched in the rhetorical terms in which all of her locutions presented themselves to her. It is *ratiocinatio*, not the usual reasoning by question and answer, but rather an examination of the original proposition, 'What is the meaning or purpose of the revelation?', by analytical questioning; and for her analysis Julian relies on the 'four causes', as defined in Aristotle's *Physica*, and accepted by the mediaeval schoolmen of the West. E. A. Synan and D. Flippen, whom the editors consulted, both pointed out to them that *woldest thou wytt thy lordes menyng?* enquires for the 'formal cause', *Who shewyth) it the?* for the 'efficient cause', *What shewid he the?* for the 'material cause',

16 thy lordes menyng in this thyng? Wytt it wele, loue was his menyng. Who shewyth it the? Loue. (What shewid he the? Love.) Wherfore shewyth he it the? For loue. Holde the therin, thou shalt wytt more in the same. But thou schalt nevyr witt therin other *with*outyn ende.

20 Thus was I lernyd, *þat* loue is oure lordes menyng. And I sawe fulle surely in this and in alle that or god made vs he lovyd vs, whych loue was nevyr slekyd ne nevyr shalle. And in this loue he hath done alle his

---

17 *shewyth* (2×): S1: shewid; and so S2 (2×). *What ... Love*: fr. S1; and so S2; om. C, P. 18 *the (For)*: om. SS. *therin*: add. SS: *and*. *wytt (more)*: add. SS: *and* knowen. 19 *witt*: SS: knowen ne witten. *other*: add. SS: thing. 20 *lernyd*: SS: lerid. *is*: SS: was. 21 *surely*: SS: sekirly. *or*: C: our; SS: ere. 22 *slekyd*: S2: shaken.

---

and *Wherfore shewyth he it the?* for the 'final cause'. In *the ... the ... the* there is *conversio*, in *shewyd ... shewid ... shewyd, loue ... Loue ... Love ... loue* there is *repetitio*; and the *colores* stress the theological and philosophical implications. God is love (I John 4.8), and the response he asks from Julian is love: *Holde the therin, thou shalt wytt more ... But thou schalt nevyr witt therin other*. In this there is Aristotle's own teaching that 'The last three (causes) often coincide for the "what" and "that for the sake of which" are one' (*Physica* 198[a] 7, ed. Hardie and Gay); this the *repetitio* demonstrates. And there is also implicit Thomas's doctrine (*Summa theologiae* I.82.3): voluntas est perfectior et nobilior potentia quam intellectus, with the conclusion, elsewhere drawn out (e.g.: amor nihil aliud est quam quaedam transformatio affectus in rem amatam — *Super lib. III sententiarum*, Dist. XXVII q.I art.1.12), that the soul must come to resemble the object of its love. Thomas Gallus's gloss on the *Divine Names* would have presented no difficulties for Julian: Anima racionalis unitur eternitati per summam suam virtutem naturalem, quam Dionysius vocat unicionem, et videtur esse summus et unitivus apex affeccionis, secundum quam inest dileccio dei (J. Walsh: 'Thomas Gallus et l'effort contemplatif', 27 and note 28).

20 *Thus was I lernyd þat loue is oure lordes menyng / And I sawe fulle surely in this and in alle / that or god made vs he lovyd vs / whych loue was nevyr slekyd ne nevyr shalle / And in this loue he hath done alle his werkes / and in this loue he hath made alle thynges profytable to vs / and in this loue oure lyfe is evyr lastyng / In oure makyng we had begynnyng / but the loue wher in he made vs / was in hym fro with out begynnyng / In whych loue we haue oure begynnyng / and alle this shalle we see in god with outyn ende*: this is Julian's concluding Trinitarian reflection on *loue was his menyng*; the fifth to eighth *cola* summarize the locution in Revelation III: *See, I nevyr lefte my handes of my workes* (340.52), where it is attributed to the whole Trinity (340.50).

21 *or god made vs*: this final statement bears a certain resemblance to Hilton's doctrine on creative, redemptive and unitive love 'unformed' in the *Scale*, II chapter 34: e.g. *þus* seiþ seynt Jon: Nos diligamus *deum quoniam* ipse prior dilexit nos (I John 4.19); *þat* is: loue we god now for he first loued vs. He loued vs mikel when he made vs to his liknes, bot he loued vs more when he boȝt vs *with* his precious blode ... bot he lufiþ vs most when he gifiþ vs þe gifte of þe holy gost, *þat* is luf, bi þe whilk we knowen h*im and* louen h*im and* are made siker *þat* we are his sones chosen to saluacio*un* (MS BM Harley 6579, f. 111[v]; Underhill, 382).

werkes, and in this loue he hath made alle thynges profytable to vs, and in this loue oure lyfe is evyr lastyng. In oure makyng we had begyn-
25 nyng, but the loue wher in he made vs was in hym fro *with* out begynnyng. In whych loue we haue oure begynnyng, and alle this shalle we
174r see in god *with* / outyn ende.

Deo gracias. Explicit liber revelacionum Julyane ana(c)orite Norwyche, cuius anime propicietur deus.

---

28 *anacorite*: ms: anatorite.

---

23 *thynges*: C: thing. *to*: S2: for. 25 *fro*: om. S2. 26 *we see*: SS: be seen. 28 *Deo ... deus*: om. SS. 29 *deus*: add. C: Finis; add. S1: which Jhesus mot grant us. Amen. Thus endith the revelation of love of the blessid trinite shewed by our savior Christ Jesu for our endles comfort *and* solace, *and* also to enjoyen in him in this passand jorney of this (om. S2 'this') life. Amen Jhesu Amen. I pray almyty god that this booke com not but to the hands of the(m) that will be his faithfull lovers, *and* to those þat will submett them (om. S2 'them') to þe feith of holy church *and* obey the holesom vnderstondyng *and* teching of þe men that be of vertuous life, sadde age *and* profound lerning, for this revelation is hey divinitye *and* hey wisdam, wherfore it may not dwelle with him that is thrall to synne *and* to the devill. And be ware þou take not on thing after thy affection *and* liking *and* leve another, for that is the condition of an heretique; but take every thing with other, *and* trewly vnderstonden: all is according to holy scripture, *and* grownded in the same, *and* that Jhesus our very love light *and* truth shall shew to all clen soules that with mekenes aske perseverantly this wisdom of hym. And thou to whome this booke shall come, thanke heyley *and* hertily our savior Crist Jhesu that he made these shewings *and* revelations for the *and* to the of his endles love, mercy *and* goodnes, for thine *and* (om. S2 'thine and') our save guide *and* conduct to everlesting bliss, the which Jhesus mot grant us. Amen. Add. S2: Here end the sublime *and* wonderful revelations of þe unutterable loue (f. 141v, on which the rest is written in eight diminishing lines to form an inverted pyramid) of God in Jesus *Christ* vouchsafed to a dear lover of his *and* in her to all his dear friends *and* lovers whose hearts like hers do flame in þe loue of our dearest Jesu.

---

26 *alle this shalle we see in god*: cf. the *Cloud*: ... and þis is þe eendles merueilous miracle of loue, þe whiche schal neuer take eende, for euer schal he do it, and neuer schal he seese for to do it. See, who bi grace see may, for þe felyng of þis is eendles blisse (Hodgson, 19).

Appendix

RHETORICAL FIGURES EMPLOYED BY JULIAN

(In each case a definition is supplied, usually from Caplan's translation of *Ad Herennium* or from Frances Nim's unpublished notes. This is followed by one example from the *Revelations,* and, where apposite, examples from the Vulgate and Chaucer's *Boethius*).

Adnominatio

'By means of a modification of sound, or change of letters, a close resemblance to a given verb or noun is produced, so that similar words express dissimilar things' (Caplan, 301-303).

... by the *lefte* syde, that the fader *lefte* his owne son ... (541.287).

Tu es *Petrus*, et super hanc *petram* aedificabo ecclesiam meam (Matthew 16.18).

He haþ a *litel* forȝeten hym self, but certis he schal *lyȝtly* remembren hym self (Morris, 9).

Argumentatio

('The most complete and perfect *argumentatio*' consists of five parts: (a) *propositio*, (b) *ratio*, (c) *rationis confirmatio*, (d) *exornatio*, (e) *complexio*; Caplan, 107).

(a) Desyer we than of our lorde god to drede hym reverently ...
(b) for when we drede him reuerently ...
(c) the more that we trust ... þe more we plese ...
(d) and if vs feyle this reuerent drede ...
(e) And therfore vs nedyth moch to praye (676.48).

(a) Quicumque enim spiritu dei aguntur, ii sunt filii dei.
(b) Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore
(c) sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum
(d) in quo clamamus: Abba, pater.
(e) Ipse enim spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro (Romans 8.14-16).

Articulus

'When single words are set apart by pauses in staccato speech (caesa oratione)' (Caplan, 295).

... hym praysyng, hym thankyng, hym lovyng, hym endlessly blessyng (546.6).

Fructus autem spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas (Galatians 5.22).

Chiasmus

'A grammatical figure by which the order of words in one of two parallel clauses is inverted in the other' (NED).

We haue in vs oure lorde Jhesu Cryst *vp resyn* /
and we haue in vs the wrechydnes and the myschef of *Adams fallyng* / *Dyeng* by Cryst we be lastynly kept /
and by hys gracyous touchyng we be reysed *in to very trust* (547.10).

Quid *nobis* profuit *superbia* /
aut divitiarum *iactantia* quid contulit *nobis*? (Wisdom 5.8).

I am glade to chaunge þe *lowest* to þe *heyeste* /
and þe *heyest* to þe *loweste* (Morris, 34).

Colon

'A member or section of a sentence or rhythmical period' (NED, which quotes W. Blades: 'The Greek grammarians ... called a complete sentence a period, a limb was a colon, and a clause a comma'). The classical *colon* was a complete grammatical unit, but vernacular writers are much freer.

That is to say the charyte of god / makyth in vs such a vnitie / that when it is truly seen / no man can parte them selfe from other / And thus ought ech sowle to thynke / þat god hath done for hym / all that he hath done (629.18).

Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas / et qui non habetis argentum / properate emite et comedite / venite emite absque argento / et absque ulla commutatione vinum et lac (Isaias 55.1).

... þise proude kynges þat þou seest / sitten on heyȝe in her chayeres / glyterynge in shynynge purpre / envyroned wiþ sorweful armures / manasyng wiþ cruel mouþe / blowyng by woodnesse of herte (Morris, 118).

Commoratio

'When one remains rather long upon, and often returns to the strongest topic on which the whole cause rests' (Caplan, 375).

... it is of the goodnes of god ... (305.15, 17, 19, 22).

... caritatem autem non habuero ... (I Corinthians 13.1, 2, 3).

Commutatio

'Balanced phrasing, with transposed order of words in the two halves of a statement' (Nims; this differs from *chiasmus* in not contrasting contraries).

oure soule with *oure body* /
and *oure body* with *oure soule* (567.34).

Caro autem concupiscit adversus *spiritum* /
spiritus autem adversus *carnem* (Galatians 5.17).

Compar

'A combination of *cola* with a virtually equal number of syllables' (Nims; in the vernacular languages, with their loss of inflexional endings and increasing use for inflexional purposes of prepositions, structure is more free than in Greek or Latin).

Two *cola*:

Jhesu is in all that shall be safe /
and all that shall be safe is in Jhesu (538.265).

Non volentis neque currentis /
sed miserentis est dei (Romans 9.16).

Forwhy for þou arte confounded wiþ forȝetyng of þi self /
forþi sorwest þou þat þou art exiled of þe propre goodes (Morris, 28).

Three *cola*:

the roddys and the scorgys /
the thornes and the naylys /
the drawyng and the draggyng (541.289).

Quis potest dicere /
Mundum est cor meum /
purus sum a peccato? (Proverbs 20.9).

Four *cola*:

he yeldyng the soule /
to the fadyrs hand /
with alle mankynde /
for whome he was sent (542.296).

Noli diligere somnum /
ne te egestas opprimat /
aperi oculos tuos /
et saturare panibus (Proverbs 20.13).

I vnderstonde þe felefolde colour and deceites /
of þilke merueillous monstre fortune /
and how she vseþ ful flatryng familiarite /
wiþ hem þat she enforceþ to bygyle (Morris, 30).

Five *cola*:

For I saw that god began nevyr to loue mankynde /
for ryghte the same that mankynd shall be in endlesse blesse /
fulfyllyng the joy of god as anemptis his werkys /
ryghte so the same mankynd hath be in the forsyghte of god /
knowen and lovyd fro without begynnyng in his ryghtfull entent (557.26).

Ne dicas Reddam malum /
expecta dominum et liberabit te /
Abominatio est apud dominum /
pondus et pondus /
statera dolosa non est bona (Proverbs 20.22-23).

Complexio

'Repetition of both initial and final words in successive clauses' (Nims).

in þe same loue he made *vs* /
and *in the same loue* he bouȝte *vs* (573.29).

Confitemini domino quoniam bonus, *quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius* / *Confitemini* deo deorum *quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius* (Psalm 135.1-2).

Conclusio

'By means of a brief argument deduces the necessary consequences of what has been said or done' (Caplan, 331).

... þat we be kept also verily in loue, in woo as in wele, by the goodnes of god (282.22).

Si Moysen et prophetas non audiunt, neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit credent (Luke 16.51).

For what sholde þilke glorie ben, for he of whom þis glorie is seid to be nis ryȝt nouȝt in no wise (Morris, 59).

Conduplicatio

'Repetition of one or more words (or synonyms) for amplification' (Nims).

His clothyng was wyde and syde (523.121).

Quia illic interrogaverunt nos qui captivos duxerunt nos verba cantionum; et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis (Psalm 136.3).

And whan schey say me not oonly stille but wiþ outen office of tonge and al doumbe (Morris, 9).

Conflatio

'The use of words with double meanings'.

His stertyng was þe godhed (539.278).

Mulier ... iam non meminit pressurae (John 16.21).

Contentio

'A statement built on contraries' (Nims; this differs from *oppositio* (*contrarietas*) in being used, not for reasoning but for affirmation).

he reysyd vppe the grett root oute of the *depe depnesse*, whych ryghtfully was knyt to hym in *hey hevyn* (542.300).

Habemus autem thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus, ut *sublimitas* sit *virtutis dei* ... ut et vita Jesu manifestetur *in corporibus nostris* (II Corinthians 4.7-10).

He haþ a litel *forȝeten hym self,* but certis he schal lyȝtly *remembren hym self* (Morris, 9).

Continuatio

'A dense series of words expressing a single thought' (Nims).

... the schamefulle dyspyte and the vtter noghtynge (244.54).

Deus in adiutorium meum intende, domine ad adiuvandum me festina (Psalm 69.2).

What þing is more feble and more caitif þan is þe blyndenesse of ignoraunce? (Morris, 116).

Conversio

'Repetition of a word at the end of successive clauses' (Nims).

And thus I vnderstode that mannes soule *is made* of nought, that is to sey it *is made* but of nought that *is made* (558.41).

Cum essem *parvulus,* sapiebam ut *parvulus,* cogitabam ut *parvulus* (I Corinthians 13.11).

... þat siþen þou knowest þe begynnyng *of þinges,* þat þou ne knowest not what is þe endyng *of þinges* (Morris, 27).

Correctio

'Retracts what has been said and replaces it with what seems more suitable' (Caplan, 319).

... we may nott see oure lorde god clerly in his blessydfull chere. No, and bycause of this darknesse, scarce we can beleue or trowe his grete loue (663.36).

Bene dixisti quia non habeo virum; quinque enim viros habuisti, et nunc quem habes non est tuus vir (John 4.17-18).

Definitio

'In brief and clear-cut fashion grasps the characteristic qualities of a thing' (Caplan, 317).

For his precious loue he sufferyth vs nevyr to lese tyme, and all this is of the kynde goodnes of god (611.10).

Ipsi enim audivimus, et scimus quia hic est vere salvator mundi (John 4.42).

Al be it so þat þe proude Nero wiþ al his woode luxurie kembed hym and apparailed hym wiþ faire purpers of Tirie and wiþ white perles, algates ȝitte throf he hateful to alle folk (Morris, 74).

Descriptio

'A clear, lucid and impressive description of the consequences of an act' (Caplan, 357).

The mercyfull beholdyng of his louely chere fulfyllyd all erth, and descendyd downe with Adam into helle, with whych contynuant pytte Adam was kepte fro endlesse deth (524.136).

Filii autem regni eiicientur in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium (Matthew 8.12).

When sche hef hir heued heyer sche percede þe selue heuene, so þat þe syȝt of men lokyng was in ydel (Morris, 5).

Disjunctio

'Position of verbs at the end of two or more clauses' (Nims).

And in this that I haue now *seyde* /
was my desyer in perty *answeryd* /
and my grete fere som dele *esyd* (555.9).

Et spiritus et sponsa *dicunt: veni* /
et qui *audit dicat: veni* /
et qui *sitit veniat* (Apocalypse 22.17).

Þe sonne is *hid* /
when þe sterres ben *clustred* (Morris, 9).

Dissolutio

'A concise series of clauses without connectives' (Nims).

The furst is kynde /
the seconde is mercy /
the thyrde is grace (585.32).

Noli adorare deum alienum /
dominus zelotes nomen eius /
deus est aemulator (Exodus 34.14).

Distributio

'When certain specified roles are assigned among a number of things or persons' (Caplan, 347).

... for ryght as to every synne is answeryng a payne by truth, ryght so for every synne to the same soule is gevyn a blysse by loue (445.3).

Nunquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus? (Matthew 7.16).

... yif þat dignites wexen foule of hir wille by þe filþe of shrewes, and yif þat dignities losen hir shynynge by chaungyng of tymes, and yif þei wexen foule by estimacioun of poeple ... (Morris, 74).

Dubitatio

'... When the speaker seems to ask which of two or more words he had better use' (Caplan, 328).

... as if he had done for me all þat he hath done (628.16).

Quid existis in desertum videre?
harundinem vento agitatam?
Sed quid existis videre?
hominem mollibus vestimentis indutum? (Luke 7.24-25).

What may be seid herto?
Haþ my studie and my konnyng deserued þus
or ellys þe forseide dampnacioun of me
made þat hem ryȝtful accusours or no? (Morris, 16).

Exclamatio

'An expression of grief or indignation, addressed to a person, place or object' (Nims).

A wriched synne, whate ert þou? Thowe er nought (271.26).

Dicam deo: Noli me condemnare! Indica mihi cur me ita iudices! (Job 10.2).

Allas, allas, wiþ how deef an eere deeþ cruel tourneþ awey! (Morris, 4).

Exemplum

'The citing of something done or said in the past, along with the definite naming of the doer or author' (Caplan, 383).

... a wonderfull example of a lorde that hath a servannt (513.2).

... a sanguine Abel iusti usque ad sanguinem Zachariae filii Barachiae quem occidistis inter templum et altare (Matthew 23.35).

Regulus hadde taken in bataile many men of Affrike (Morris, 53).

Expeditio

'When we have enumerated the several ways by which something could have been brought about, and all are then discarded except the one on which we are insisting' (Caplan, 329).

And therfore whan the dome is gevyn, and we be alle brought vppe aboue, than shalle we clerely see in god the prevytees whych now be hyd to vs. And then shalle none of vs be steryd to sey in ony thyng: Lorde, yf it had ben thus, it had ben wele. But we shalle alle sey with one voyce: Lorde, blessyd mott thou be, for it is thus, it is wele (729.11).

Non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum ut judicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum (John 3.17).

Lat hym eschewe to bilde on þe cop of þe mountayngne, or in þe moyste sandes ... haue mynde certeynly to ficchyn þi house of a myrie site in a lowe stoone (Morris, 44-45).

Expolitio

'A dwelling on and refining of the same topic, by repeating it in a variety of ways, and by descanting upon it, varying words and treatment' (Nims).

And alle this blysse we haue by mercy and grace
whych manner blysse we myght nevyr haue had and knowen
but yf that properte of goodnesse whych is in god had ben contraryed
wher by we haue this blysse.
For wyckydnesse hath ben sufferyd to ryse
contrary to þat goodnesse
and the goodnesse of mercy and grace
contraryed agaynst that wyckydnesse
and turnyd all to goodnesse and wurshyppe
to all that shall be savyd.
For it is that properte in god whych doth good agaynst evylle
thus Jhesu Crist that doth good agaynst evyll
is oure very moder
we haue beyng of hym
where the ground of moderhed begynnyth
with alle the swete kepyng of loue that endlesly folowyth (589.2).

(It is significant that Julian's topic here is the property in God which turns all to goodness and everlasting bliss, charity, for the *locus classicus* in Scripture for *expolitio* is Paul's hymn to charity):

Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum
caritatem autem non habeam factus sum velut aes sonans aut cymbalum tinniens.
Et si habuero prophetiam et noverim mysteria omnia et omnem scientiam
et si habuero omnem fidem ita ut montes transferam
caritatem autem non habuero nihil sum.
Et si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnes facultates meas
et si tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam
caritatem autem non habuero nihil mihi prodest.
Caritas patiens est ... (I Corinthians 13.1-3).

O þou what so euer þou be
þat knyttest alle bondes of þinges
loke on þise wrecchede erþes.
We men þat ben nat a foule party
but a faire party of so grete a werke
we ben turmentid in þe see of fortune.
Þou gouernour wiþdraw and restreyne
þe rauyssinge flodes and fastne and forme

þise erþes stable wiþ þilke bonde
wiþ whiche þou gouernest þe heuene þat is so large (Morris, 23).

Frequentatio

'When the points scattered throughout the whole cause are collected in one place so as to make the speech more impressive or sharp or accusatory' (Caplan, 361).

... in the takyng of oure kynd he quyckyd vs, and in his blessyd dyeng ... he bare vs ... he fedyth vs and fordreth vs ... (616.30).

Non est species ei neque decor, et vidimus eum et non erat adspectus ... despectum et novissimum virorum, virum dolorum et scientem infirmitatem, et quasi absconditus vultus eius et despectus, unde nec reputavimus eum (Isaias 53.2-3).

And I þat am put awey from goode men and despoiled from dignitees and defoulid of my name by gessyng haue suffred torment for my goode dedis (Morris, 21).

Gradatio

'Repetition of the closing word of one clause as the opening word of the next' (Nims).

... ther way is by *longyng and desyeryng* / whych *desyeryng and longyng* was shewed ... (538.261).

... sed et gloriamur in *tribulationibus* /
scientes quod *tribulatio patientiam* operatur /
patientia autem *probationem* /
probatio vero *spem* /
Spes autem non confundit ... (Romans 5.3-5).

Inclusio

'Repetition of the same word at the beginning of one clause and the end of the next'.

oure kynde whych is the hyer party is knytte to god in þe makyng / and god is knytt to *oure kynde* (577.17).

Iustus perit et non est qui recogitet in corde suo ...
a facie enim malitiae collectus est *iustus* (Isaias 57.1).

Interpretatio

'The figure which ... replaces the word that has been used by another with the same meaning' (Caplan, 325).

... wylle *heyle* it and *hyde* it fro vs (424.28).

... sed iudicabit in *iustitia* ... et arguet in *aequitate* (Isaias 11.4).

We han wel knowen how many greete harmes and destruccioun weren don by þe emperoure Nero (Morris, 55).

Interrogatio

Howe schulde it thann be þat þou schulde noght hafe thy besekynge? (259.28, which Julian calls 'a sobere vndertakynge', 260.29 and note).

Aut non licet mihi quod volo facere? an oculus tuus nequam est quia ego bonus sum? (Matthew 20.15).

But what shal I seie of delices of body, of whiche delices þe desiringes ben ful of anguisse, and þe fulfillinges of hem ben ful of penaunce? (Morris, 79).

Membrum (the classical *colon*)

'A sentence member, brief and complete, which does not express the entire thought, but is in turn supplemented by another *colon*' (Caplan, 295).

In oure fader almyghty we haue oure kepyng ... /
and in the seconde person ... we haue oure kepyng ... /
and in oure good lorde the holy gost we haue oure rewardyng (584.22).

Quoniam omne quod natum est ex deo vincit mundum /
haec est victoria quae vincit mundum fides nostra /
quis est qui vincit mundum nisi qui credit quoniam Jesus est filius dei? (I John 5.4-5).

Metonymy

'Substituting for the name of a thing the name of an attribute of it' (NED).

The wysdom of the seruannt sawe inwardly ... (528.175).

(Augustine's example of what he calls 'verborum ambiguitas' is II Corinthians 3.6 — *De doctrina christiana* II v. 9, Martin 82):

Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat.

Notatio

'Character delineation ... describing a person's character by the definite signs which ... are attributes of that character' (Caplan, 387).

... for he in alle this werkyng vsyth the very office of a kynde norysse (608.67).

Ipse autem Ioannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum, et zonam pelliceam circa lumbos suos; esca autem eius erat locustae et mel sylvestre (Matthew 3.4).

Who, quod sche, haþ suffred aprochen to þis seeke man þise commune strumpetis of siche a place þat men clepen þe theatre? (Morris, 6).

Oppositio contrariorum (*Contrarietas*: Arbusow, 87)

'Combining a litotes with a corresponding positive affirmation' (Arbusow).

Repentyng and wylfulle choyse be two contrarytes /

whych I felt both at that tyme /
and tho be two partes /
that oon outward that other inwarde (372.24).

Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate /
tunc autem facie ad faciem
nunc cognosco ex parte /
tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum (I Corinthians 13.12).

ȝif god is /
whennes comen wikked þinges /
and yif god ne is /
whennes comen goode þinges? (Morris, 18).

Personification

'The representation of a thing or abstract as a person' (NED).

And this mercy and pytte dwellyth with mankynde (525.139).

Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi; iustitia et pax osculatae sunt (Psalm 84.11).

Sorou haþ comaunded his age to be in me (Morris, 4).

Propositio (cf. *Argumentatio*)

'Through the proposition we set forth summarily what we intend to prove' (Caplan, 107-109).

Than had I a profyr in my reason, as it had ben frendely seyde to me: Loke vppe to hevyn to hys father (370.6).

Sed quid existis videre? hominem mollibus vestitum? Ecce qui mollibus vestiuntur in domibus regum sunt (Matthew 11.8).

Yif þou abidest after helpe of þi leche, þi byhoueþ discouere þi wounde (Morris, 13).

Ratiocinatio

'Reasoning through question and answer' (Nims).

Whate schulde it than greve the to suffere a while
senn it is my wille and my wyrschippe? (264.26).

Tanto tempore vobiscum sum
et non cognovistis me? ...
Quomodo tu dicis:
Ostende nobis patrem?
Non creditis quia ego in patre
et pater in me est? (John 14.9-10).

Knowest þou me not?
Why art þou stille?
Is it for schame or for astonynge? (Morris, 9).

Repetitio

'Reiteration of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses' (Nims).

He sayde nought /
Þou salle not be tempestyd /
thowe schalle not be trauayled /
þou schalle not be desesed /
bot he sayde /
Þou schalle nouȝt be ouercommen (269.37).

Omnia suffert /
omnia credit /
omnia sperat /
omnia sustinet (I Corinthians 13.7).

What wronges haue I don þe /
what goodes haue I byreft þe þat weren þine? /
stryf or plete wiþ me byfore /
what iuge þat þou wilt (Morris, 33).

Repetitio can be medial as well as initial:

þe hygh myght *of the trynyte* is oure fader ... /
the depe wysdom *of the trynyte* is oure moder ... /
the grete loue *of the trynyte* is oure lorde (585.34).

Beati pauperes spiritu *quoniam* ipsorum est regnum caelorum /
Beati mites *quoniam* ipsi possidebunt terram /
Beati qui lugent *quoniam* ipsi consolabuntur (Matthew 5.3-5).

I haue put it in scripture and remembraunce /
for touching þe *lettres* falsly maked /
by whiche *lettres* I am accused /
to han hooped þe fredom of Rome (Morris, 17).

Sententia

'A saying drawn from life, which shows concisely what happens or ought to happen in life' (Caplan, 289).

The most wysdom is a creature to do after the wyll and þe councelles of his hyghest sovereynn frende (687.24).

Amicus fidelis medicamentum vitae et immortalitatis, et qui metuunt dominum invenient illum (Ecclesiasticus 6.16).

Who so wolde ben myȝty, he mot daunten hys cruel corage, ne putte nat his nekke ouercomen vndir þe foule reines of lecherie (Morris, 77).

Sermocinatio

'Assigning to some person language which ... conforms with his character' (Caplan, 395).

I answeryd inwardly with alle the myght of my soule and sayd: Nay, I may nott for thou art my hevyn (371.10).

Simon Ioannis, diligis me plus his? — Etiam, domine, tu scis quia amo te ... Simon Ioannis, amas me? — Domine, tu omnia nosti; tu scis quia amo te (John 21.15-17).

And nediþ it ȝitte, quod I, of rehersyng or of amonicioun, and scheweþ it not ynouȝ by hym self, þe scharpnes of fortune þat wexeþ woode aȝeynes me? (Morris, 13).

Similiter cadens

'When in the same period two or more words appear in the same case, and with like terminations' (Caplan, 299).

And the bodyly syght *styntyd* and the gastely syght *dwellyd* in myne vndyrstandynge and I *abade* with reuerente drede (218.19).

Omnes qui credebant ei *dissipati* sunt et *redacti* ad nihilum ... et omnes quotquot consenserunt ei *dispersi* sunt (Acts 5.36-37).

But he is *ashamed* of hys vngentil lynage, and som man is *renomed* of noblesse of kynrede, but he is *enclosed* in so gret angre ... (Morris, 41).

Similiter desinens

'When the word endings are similar, although the words are indeclinable' (Caplan, 301).

And by the walow*yng* and wryth*yng* gron*yng* and mon*yng* (541.294).

Non vol*entis* neque curr*entis* sed miser*entis* est dei (Romans 9.16).

... a derkenes of a forleten and dispis*ed* elde hadde dusk*id* and dirk*id* as it is wont to derken bysmok*ed* ymages (Morris, 5).

Similitudo

'A manner of speech that detects a kind of resemblance in things or situations that are different' (Nims).

I saw that in to this *hye depnesse* ... (572.28).

... et *alta profunditas*, quis inveniet eam? (Ecclesiastes 7.25).

Tautologia

(Arbusow, 31).

... oute of the *depe depnesse*, whych ryghtfully was knyt to hym in *hey hevyn* (542.302).

... et *miratus* sum cum vidissem illam *admiratione* magna (Apocalypse 17.6).

Haue I not *stryuen* wiþ ful greet *strife*: (Morris, 10).

Traductio

'Repetition of a word, preferably in different cases' (Nims).

... for the godhed sterte fro þe fader in to þe maydyns wombe, *fallyng* in to the takyng of oure kynde, and in this *fallyng* he toke grete soore (539.279).

Quoniam ex *ipso* et per *ipsum* et in *ipso* sunt omnia (Romans 11.36).

For wiþ ful fewe *þinges* and with ful lytel *þing* nature halt hire appaied (Morris, 47).

Transitio

'The figure which briefly recalls what has been said, and likewise briefly sets forth what is to follow next' (Caplan, 317-319).

And therin is a forth spredyng by the same grace /
of lengt and brede of hygh and of depnesse without ende /
and alle is one loue (593.46).

Postea sciens Iesus quia omnia consummata sunt /
ut consummaretur scriptura /
dixit: Sitio (John 19.28).

Yif þou wolt demen in þi pure þouȝt /
þe ryȝtes or þe lawes of þe heye þunderere /
loke þou and bihold þe heyȝtes of souereyne heuene (Morris, 143).

GLOSSARY

This is concerned with the text only as edited from A and P. Variants recorded in the critical apparatus are, where necessary, discussed in the footnotes.

The principle of selection has been to gloss only those words which may offer difficulties to modern readers through unfamiliarity of meaning or spelling. Normally only one main entry is recorded, and most inflectional variants of it are ignored.

abayde 253.26 *note*, v.; 'waited' (OE abīdan, abād)
ablyth 475.5, v.; 'prepares, fits' (OFr hable, adj.; habiller v.)
abone 621.16 note, adv.; 'above' (OE a + bufan)
abyden 327.30, pa. pa.; 'waited for' (cf. abayde)
accorde 261.53, n.; 'agreement' (OFr acord(e) <LLat ad + cord-, 'heart')
accordyng 707.8 note, v.; 'attuning' (OFr acorder)
adred 512.30, pa. pa.; 'afraid' (OE ondrædan)
advyce 487.22 note, n.; 'meditation' (OFr avis)
adyght 578.22, pa. pa.; 'assigned' (OE a + dihtan)
afferdede 245.65, pa. pa.; 'frightened' (OE a + fēran)
a fray 276.1, n.; 'sudden attack' (OFr effrei)
agayne beyng 471.35 note, n.; 'redemption' (OE ongegn, bicgan)
a gaynst 665.57 note, adv.; '? with respect to, opposed to' (cf. agayne)
agreffe 380.17 note, n.; 'grief' (OFr a gref)
a knowyn 690.14 note, pa. pa.; 'acknowledged' (OE on + cnāwan)
alang 516.30 note, adj.; 'long' (OE and-lang)
alde 207.1, adj.; 'old' (OE áld)
alsone 267.38, adv.; 'at once' (OE all + sōna)
and 240.36 (*primum*), conj.; 'if' (cf. NED, And, *conj.*, formerly *prep.*, IV. C.)
ane 220.17, adj.; 'one' (OE ān)
ane anntre 276.10 adv.; 'by chance' (on + OFr aventure)
aned 213.19, pa. pa.; 'united' (ME anen, onen <OE ān)
anehede 220.23, n.; 'unity' (ME an hede, on hede)
aneȝ 234.27, anes 240.29, adv.; 'once' (ME anes, ones)
a newyd 529.183 note, pa. pa.; 'newly appointed' (<OE nīewe)
aneynst 418.22 note, a nemptes 537.252, prep.; 'as regards' (OE on efen)
anntre: cf. ane anntre
anynge, 249.10 n.; 'union' (ME anen, onen, v.)
apayd 382.2, pa. pa.; 'satisfied' (OFr apayer)
are 243.33, adv.; 'before' (OE ǣr)
arneste 228.48, n.; 'seriousness' (OE eornust)
a seeth 596.24 note, n.; 'fulfilment' (OFr asset)
aseth 247.11, n.; 'atonement' (cf. a seeth)
askyth 718.10, v.; 'requires' (OE āscian)
assendyd 208.30, v.; 'consented' (OFr assenter)
assey 603.25 note, n.; 'experience' (AFr asai, OFr essai)
atte 203.24, conj.; tylle at: 'until' (cf. NED At, *'rel. pron., adv., conj.'*)
avisement 269.23, n.; 'deliberation' (OFr adviser + ment)
avysion 319.32, n.; 'vision' (OFr avision)
ayeenn 355.16, adv.; 'again' (OE ongēn, ongegn)

barayne 259.16, adj.; 'barren' (OFr baraine)
bare 528.170 note, adj.; 'threadbare' (OE bær)
beclepyng 602.11, ger.; ? 'summoning'

? 'embracing' (OE becleopan, beclepian or beclyppan)

beclosyde 306.34, pa. pa.; 'enclosed' (OE beclȳsan, ME beclosen; cf. ME closen v. <OFr close)

bedys 648.9, n.; 'prayers' (OE gebed, ME bede)

befallyth 456.23 note, v.; 'is fitting' (OE befallan)

before hand 260.36, adv.; 'previously' ('modelled on Lat præ manibus' (MED))

begrowyng 326.22, pa. pa.; 'begrown' (OE bi- + grōwan; MED bigroue(n, NED Begrown records only the pa. pa.)

behest 624.43 note, n.; 'promise' (OE behæs, EME biheste)

beholdinges 492.17 note; 'contemplation' (OE bihaldan)

beholdyng 476.13, adj.; 'beholden, obliged' (cf. NED Beholden)

behouelye 244.52 note, adj.; 'necessary' (OE behōflīc)

behytyng 624.45, ger.; 'promising' (OE behātan)

beleft 634.26, v.; 'believed' (EME bileven; cf. leevyd)

be levande 202.22, adj.; 'believing' (cf. beleft)

ben 418.17, v.; 'are' (OE bēon)

be seke 258.5, v.; 'beseech' (OE be- + sēcan)

besekynge 259.21, n.; 'entreaty' (cf. be seke)

be teches 212.4, v.; 'guides' (OE betǣcan)

blackhead 328.41 note, n.; 'blackness' (OE blæc + OE -*hādu)

blessydfulle 317.5, adj.; 'most blessed' (OE blēdsian, blētsian + -ful; NED's etymologies s.v. Bless *v.*[1] are no more than conjecture)

blewhed 526.153 note, n.; 'blueness' (ME blew <OFr bleu; cf. blackhead)

blissynge 239.21, ger.; 'rejoicing' (OE blissian)

bludyelesse 233.2 note, adj.; 'bloodless' (OE blōdig + -less)

blyndehede 271.39 note, n.; 'blindness' (OE blind, and cf. blackhead)

blyssede 240.22, pa. pa.; 'joyful' (cf. blissynge)

blyssedfulle 241.46; cf. blessydfulle

blyueth 623.38 note, v.; 'remains' (OE belǣfan)

borne ovyr lowe, 441.72 note; 'too oppressed, depressed' (OE beran; cf. NED Bear, *v.*[1], 29 + ufer(r)a + ON lágr)

both 487.12 note, adj., pron.; 'either' (OE bāþe)

bowke 307.43, n.; 'trunk (of the body)' (OE būc)

boxsomm 262.62, adj.; 'pliant' (OE būhsum, fr. būgan)

boystosly 648.9 note, adv.; 'imperfectly' ('Of uncertain etymology' — NED, Boistous)

boyth 313.38, adv.; 'both' (EME bā þe <ON baþ-)

boystours 362.22 note, adj.; 'violent' (cf. boystosly, and NED, Boisterous, II 7).

bredryn 673.20, n.; 'brothers' (cf. NED, Brother, n.)

brent 635.5, pa. pa.; 'fired' (OE bærnan, ON brenna)

brosyng 515.23, n.; 'bruising' (OFr bruser, 'break'; OE brȳsan, 'crush, bruise'; cf. NED, Bruise, *v.*)

brownhead 328.41, n.; 'brownness' (OE brun; cf. blackhead)

brynneth 690.9, v.; 'burns' (cf. brent)

but only 391.20 note, conj.; 'except' (OE būtan + ānlīc(e))

buxomnesse 507.22 note, n.; 'pliability' (cf. boxsomm)

by 436.4 note, prep.; 'with respect to' (OE bī

by than 316.67 note, prep.; 'until' (OE bī + OE þanne)

byddyng 648.8, ger.; 'praying' (OE biddan)

changyth no chere 697.13 note; 'does not at all change his demeanour' (OFr changer, OE nā, OFr chere)

charge 456.29, v.; 'pay heed' (OFr charger)

chargyng 373.34, v.; 'paying heed' (cf. charge)

chargynges 610.3, n.; 'burdens' (cf. OFr charge)

chere 697.13 note, n.; 'demeanour' (cf. channgyth no chere)

chese 237.6 v.; 'choose' (OE cēosan)

chesyd 237.4, v.; 'chose' (cf. chese; ME chesid, -ed)

clarkes 710.22, n.; 'scholars' (OE clerc)

cledde 268.6, adj.; 'clad' (OE clādde, ON klædd-r)
cleerte 659.7, n.; 'clarity' (OFr clarté n., cler adj.)
clethynge 212.4, n.; 'clothing' (OE clǣþan)
clongyn 357.10 note, pa. pa.; 'shrivelled' (cf. clyngyng)
close 623.9, pa. pa.; 'closed' (OFr clos)
cloteryd 363.34, pa. pa.; 'congealed' (obscure; cf. NED, Clotter *n.* & *v.*)
clunge 233.10 note, adj.; 'shrivelled' (cf. clyngyng)
clyngyng 361.14 note, v.; 'sticking, shrivelling' (OE clingan)
colleth 661.26 note, v.; 'embraces' (OFr (a)coler)
coloure 675.32 note, n.; 'disguise' (OFr color)
comenyng 571.17, n.; 'communing' (OFr communer)
comfort 637.16 note, v.; 'to take comfort' (OFr conforter)
comfortabelye 249.2, adv.; 'reassuringly' (OFr conforte)
comonn 607.59 note, n.; 'community' (OFr commune)
contrary 348.22, v.; 'oppose' (OFr contrarier)
contraryed 654.6, pa. pa.; 'opposed' (cf. contrary)
contrarytes 372.25 note, n.; 'antithesis' (OFr contrariete)
contynuance 499.43 note, n.; 'persistence' (OFr continuance)
contynuant 498.38 note, adj.; 'enduring' (OFr continuant)
contynuantly, 505.2, adv.; 'constantly' (cf. contynuant)
conveniable 346.4, adj.; 'suitable' (OFr convenable)
convenyent 679.12 note, adj.; 'proper, appropriate to' (L convenient-em)
curette 208.23, n.; 'curate' (LLat curatus)
curtayse 211.21, adj.; 'courteous' (OFr curteis)
customeably 718.11 note, adv.; 'customarily' (OFr custumable + -ly)

dawnger 372.23 note, n.; 'tyranny' (OFr danger <LLat *dominarium)
declaryd 403.16, pa. pa.; 'explained' (OFr declarer)
dede 203.31, n.; 'death' (OE dēaþ, n., dēad, adj.)
dedlye 210.9, adj.; 'mortal' (OE dēadlīc)
deed, 457.36 note, n.; 'death' (cf. dede)
defauȝte 554.7 note, n.; '? default, ? imperfection' (OFr defaute)
demyd 224.16, pa. pa.; 'judged' (OE dēman)
demyng 339.35, n.; 'judgment' (cf. demyd)
demyth 486.2, v.; 'judges' (cf. demyd)
departe 231.34, v.; 'separate' (OFr departir)
depertyng 561.3, n.; 'distinction' (cf. departe)
dere worthy 217.7, adj.; 'beloved' (OE dēorwurþe)
deyde 363.33. pa. pa.; 'dyed' (OE dēagian)
discryve 543.310 note, v.; 'describe' (OFr descrivre)
dome 486.3, n.; 'judgment' (OE dōm)
domes daye 224.15 note, n.; 'day of judgment' (OE dōmes dæg)
domesmann 256.35, n.; 'judge' (OE dōm + OE mann)
doughtfulle 472.46. adj.; 'uncertain' (OFr douter + -full)
dowȝtter 208.26, n.; 'daughter' (OE dohtor)
dradfull 703.12, adj.; 'timid' (EME dred + -full)
druste 412.5 note, v.; 'dared' (OE durran, dorste)
dryhede 233.13, n.; 'dryness' (OE drȳge, and cf. blackhead)
duryd 391.22, v.; 'lasted' (OFr durer)
duryngly 483.3 note, adv.; 'continually' (cf. duryd)
dyd wryte 369.31,; 'caused to be written' (OE dōn, wrītan)
dyȝte 531.199, pa. pa.; 'prepared' (OE dihtan)
dyrke 208.34, adj.; 'dark' (OE deorc)
dyspyttous 237.14, adj.; 'cruel' (OFr despiteus)
dyssesyde 355.15, pa. pa.; 'harmed' (OFr desaaisier)

ech 582.8. adj.; 'same' (OE ilca)
eelde 204.46, n.; 'age' (OE eldo)
eftyr 248.36, adv.; 'according to' (cf. after, and ON eptir, prep.)

ellys 538.263 note, adv.; 'otherwise' (OE elles)
emange 265.49, prep.; 'among' (OE gemang)
endlesshead 303.44 note, n.; 'everlastingness' (OE endlēas, and cf. blackhead)
endure 208.31, v.; 'last' (OFr endurer)
eniewnyd 256.35 note, pa. pa.; 'enjoined' (OFr enjoign-)
enjoyeng 463.33 note, v.; 'rejoicing' (OFr enjoier)
ensampille 225.19, n.; 'example' (OFr essample)
entende 480.42 note, v.; 'be attentive' (OFr entendre)
entendyd 442.3, v.; 'attended' (cf. entende)
enterlye 266.9 note, adv.; 'wholeheartedly' (OFr entier + -ly)
enuyroned 363.32, pa. pa.; 'surrounded' (OFr environner)
eschapes 228.35, v.; 'escape' (OFr eschaper)
euery ylk 230.14, adj.; 'every' (OE æfre ylc)
eventure 226.6, n.; 'chance' (? blend of OFr event and auenture)
evesyng 312.23, n.; 'eaves' (OE efesung)
evyn for anenst 527.167; 'immediately in front' (OE efne, adv., fore, adv. and cf. NED, Anent)
evyn forthe 208.32, adv.; 'at eye level' (cf. evyn (for anenst); OE forþ)
evyn ryghte 544.316 note, adv.; 'immediately in front' (cf. evyn (for anenst); OE rihte)
evynn cristene 219.1, n.; 'fellow Christians' (OE efen, adj.; OE cristen)
example 513.3 note, n.; '(preacher's) *exemplum*' (OFr example)
exsample 400.32 note, n.; 'typical instance' (cf. prec.).
eyenn 208.25, n.; 'eyes' (OE ēagan (pl.)

faderhed 584.20, n.; 'fatherhood' (OE fæder, and cf. blackhead)
falynge 250.17, n.; 'deficiency' (OFr faillir)
farde 266.7, v.; 'fared' (OE faran (strong), feran (weak))
fautyng 632.14, n.; 'want' (OFr fauter)
fayle 502.22 note, v.; 'lack' (OFr faillir)
felt 637.20 note, v.; 'perceived' (OE fēlan)
ferforth 505.7 note, adv.; 'to such a degree' (OE feor(r), adv., + OE forþ)
ferthe 207.3, adj.; 'fourth' (OE fēorþa + OE māre)
ferthermore 429.35, adv.; 'furthermore' (OE furþor + OE māre)
feyerhede 312.20, n.; 'beauty' (OE fæger, and cf. blackhead)
feyght 315.59, n.; 'faith' (OFr feid, feit)
feyndys 203.36, n.; 'fiends' (OE fēond)
feythfully 660.17 note, adv.; 'in trust, indeed' (OFr feid, feit + ful + -ly)
feythfulness 663.39 note, n.; 'assurance' (cf. prec. + -ness)
flammyng 527.156 note, adj.; 'flowing, spreading' (? OFr flamber)
flowe out 612.16, v.; 'emanate' (OE flōwan, OE ūt)
for 258.1 note, prep., 'about' (OE for)
for bettes 256.26, v.; 'beats severely' (OE for-, pref. + OE betan)
for brekes 256.27, v.; 'crushes' (OE forbrecan)
fordreth 617.33, v.; 'fosters' (OE fyrþr(i)an)
forluke 226.7 note, n.; 'prevision' (OE fore-, pref. + OE lōcian)
forse 551.66 (cf. 'geue no forse')
forseande 244.42, adj.; 'prescient' (OE foresēon)
fortheryng 490.9 note, ger.; 'assistance' (cf. fordreth)
forth spredyng 593.46 note, ger.: 'widening', *circumsessio* (OE forþ + OE sprædan).
forthwithalle 472.49, adv.; 'immediately' (OE forþ, adv., ON við, prep. OE eall, adj.)
frakylles 635.6, n.; 'freckles' (ON freknur (pl.))
freele 244.49, adj.; 'weak' (OFr fraile, frele)
frendfulle 432.7, adj.; 'friendly' (OE frēond + -full)
frey 517.49, n.; 'fright' (OFr effrei)
frinshipe 305.21, n.; 'friendship' (OE frēondscipe)
frowerdnes 500.8, n.; 'perversity' (cf. NED, Froward, *adj., adv., prep.*)
fulfilled 246.79, pa. pa.; 'filled full' (OE fullfyllan)
fulfylle 210.3, v.; 'fill full' (cf. fulfilled)
fulheede 214.35, n.; 'fullness' (OE full, and cf. blackhead)

fulsomly 366.6, adv.; 'abundantly' (OE full + some + -ly)
fulsomly 493.38 note, adv.; 'wholly, completely' (cf. prec.)
furthe 207.4, adv.; 'on' (OE forþ)
fynde 596.28 note, v.; 'nourish, feed' (OE findan)

gane 270.21, v.; 'gone' (OE gegān)
gaste 247.22, n.; 'spirit' (OE gāst)
gastelye 203.35, adj.; 'spiritual' (OE gāstlīc)
geder 418.19 note, v.; 'gather' (OE gæd(e)rian)
geue no forse 551.66; 'attach no importance' (OE giefan, OFr force)
glad 351.9, v.; 'make glad' (OE gladian)
godhede 242.3, n.; 'divinity' (OE god, and cf. blackhead)
godly 480.39 note, adv.; 'divinely' (OE godlic(e))
goodhead 612.20, n.; 'goodness' (OE gōd, and cf. blackhead)
gostelye 211.27, adj.; 'spiritual' (cf. gastelye)
graciously 325.16, adv.; 'by divine grace' (cf. gracyous)
gracyous 547.12 note, adj.; 'of God's spiritual gift' (OFr gracious)
gramercy 239.7, int.; 'thanks' (OFr grant merci)
grannt mercy 400.24, int.; 'thanks' (cf. prec.)
groge 548.31, v.; 'grumble' (OFr groucier)
grownde 257.15, n.; 'foundation' (OE grund)
grugyng 372.23, ger.; 'unwillingness' (cf. groge)

habelynge 262.60 note, ger.; 'enabling' (OFr habiller)
haelye 250.18, adv.; 'wholly' (OE hāllīc)
hale 262.67, adj.; ? 'whole' ? 'healing' (OE hāl)
halses 212.4, v.; ? 'greets' ? 'embraces' (cf. NED Halse, *v.*[1] 3., *v.*[2].)
halye 202.15, adj.; 'holy' (OE hālig)
hamly 212.2, adj.; 'intimate' (OE hām + -ly)
happe 226.6, n.; 'chance' (ON happ)
hate 210.12, adj.; 'hot' (OE hāt)
haue her 333.78 note, 'behave herself' (OE habban)
hayth 656.22 note, v.; 'lifts up' (OE hēan)
helde 208.35, v.; 'persisted' (OE haldan)
hele 518.52, n.; 'health' (OE hǣlu)
herdeste 257.12, adj.; 'hardest' (OE heardost)
here fore 309.62, adv.; 'for this' (OE hēr + -for)
hesyd 247.5, pa. pa.; 'assuaged' (OFr aaisier)
heuely 274.3, adv.; 'as a burden' (OE hefiglice)
heuyed 266.2, v.; 'grieved' (OE hefigian)
heyle 424.28, v.; 'conceal' (OE helan)
hey ward 523.126 note, adj. and n.; 'high citadel' (OE hēah, and cf. warde)
hevynesse 334.89, n.; 'grief' (cf. heuely)
hile 256.31, v.; 'heal' (OE hælan
holde 605.43 note, v.; ? 'hide' (OE haldan)
hole 209.43, adj.; 'healthy' (cf. hale)
holehed 255.14, n.; 'health' (cf. hale and blackhead)
holpen 290.18, pa. pa.; 'helped (OE helpan, holpen)
holsomly 343.15 note, adv.; 'healingly' (cf. hale + some + -ly)
holy 551.57, adv.; 'completely' (cf. hale + -ly)
holy soules 679.6 note, n.; 'departed souls' (OE hālig, sāwol)
holyn 428.13, n.; 'saints' (OE hālgan)
homblye 211.19 note, adv.; 'humbly' (OFr humble + -ly)
homelyhed, 695.54, n.; 'intimacy' (cf. hamly, blackhead)
homelynesse 314.41, n.; 'intimacy' (cf. hamly + -ness)
honest 540.283, adj.; 'proper, fitting' (OFr honeste)
honestly 306.37, adv.; 'decently' (cf. honest)
hope 702.7 note, v.; 'believe' (OE hopian)
hoped, 204.37, v.; 'expected' (cf. prec.)
horyblyte 684.6 note, n.: 'horror' (OFr horriblete)
hyghed 419.24, pa. pa.; 'raised' (OE hēan)
hyng 324.4, v.; 'hung' (OE hōn, heng)
hynges 212.5, v. intrans.; 'hangs' (ON hengja (trans.))

iff alle 254.1 note, conj.: 'even though' (OE if, eall)
indefferent 521.89 note, adj.: 'un-

determined, indistinct' (OFr indifferent)
in lyke 355.24, adj.: 'alike' (in + OE (ge)līc)
innocens 411.35 adj.: 'innocent' (OFr innocenz (pl.))
in propred 593.40 note, pa. pa.: 'appropriated' (LLat. impropriare)
in semyng 342.3 note: ? 'in appearance', ? 'in the grooves' (ON sēma or OE sēman)
irkenes 354.9, n.: 'weariness' (etymology obscure)

jowth 288.39, n.; 'youth' (OE geoguð)

keping 296.23, n.; 'protection' (OE cēpan)
knawynge 202.20, n.; 'knowledge' (OE cnāwan)
kynde 209.46, n.; 'nature' (OE gecynde)
kynde 210.8, adj.; 'humane' (cf. prec.)
kyndnes 304.14, n.; 'humanity' (cf. prec. + -ness.)
kyrke 202.15, n.; 'church' (OE circe, ON kirkja).

langes 248.29, v.; 'pertains' (<OE gelang, adj., 'at hand')
langgynge 206.53, ger.; 'longing' (OE langian)
langourede 207.4, v.; 'languished' (OFr langorer)
langhuryng 357.5, adj.; 'languishing' (cf. prec.)
langyng 305.26, v.; 'belonging' (ME (be)longe)
large 469.16, adj.; 'liberal' (OFr large)
lathere 256.47, adj.; 'more hateful' (OE lāþer)
leenhead 328.41 note, n.; 'leanness' (OE hlǣne, and cf. blackhead)
leese 452.35, v.; 'lose' (OE lēosan)
leevyd 202.15, v.; 'believed' (OE liefan, lēfan)
lefte 340.53 note, v.; ? 'removed', ? 'lifted' (OE lǣfan, or ON lypta)
lenande 208.20, v.; 'leaning' (OE hleonian, hlinian)
lengyr 226.10, adv.; 'longer' (OE lengre)
lere 231.37, v.; 'teach' (OE lǣran)
lerede 243.26, pa. pa.; 'taught' (cf. prec.)
lerne 355.21, v.; 'teach' (OE leornian)
lernynge 237.5, ger.; 'lesson' (cf. prec.)
lese 256.52, v.; 'should lose' (OE losian)
lesyng 688.35, ger.; 'losing' (OE -lēosan)
lettes 223.56, v.; 'hinders' (OE lettan)
lettyd 252.15, v.; 'hindered' (cf. prec.)
lettyng 509.47, ger.; 'hindrance' (cf. prec.)
leue 269.26, v.; 'believe' (cf. leevyd)
leue 306.31, v.; 'live' (OE libban)
leued 222.41 note, adj.; 'ignorant' (OE lǣwede)
leuen 289.4, pa. pa.; 'lived' (cf. leue; NED records strong pa. pa. forms only in the 16th cent.)
levande 202.22 note, adj.; 'living' (cf. leue)
levyr 353.36, adj.; 'gladder' (cf. prec.)
littlehead 297.35, n.; 'smallness' (OE lȳtel, and cf. blackhead)
lokene 228.39, pa. pa.; 'secured' (OE lūcan, locen)
loketh 629.24, pa. pa.; 'secured' (EME loken, lokéd)
longyn 495.2 note, v.; 'belong' (ME longen)
lother 605.44, adj.; 'more reluctant' (OE lāþ)
lothfullnesse 376.17 note, n.; 'reluctance' (cf. lother)
lowhyd 409.13 note, pa. pa.;? 'humiliated', ? 'mocked' (<low, adj., <ON lág-r, or OE hliehhan, hlōh)
lowsenes 362.26, n.; 'looseness' (lōs, adj. <ON lous-s + -ness)
lowyde 419.24, pa. pa.; 'abased' (cf. lowhyd)
lugh 266.8, v.; 'laughed' (OE hliehhan, hlōg)
lycknesse 615.15, n.; 'similarity' (cf. in lyke + -ness)
lyevande 211.20, v.; 'living' (cf. leue)
lyggande 212.9, v.; 'lying' (OE licgan)
lyghtenyng 658.39 note, ger.; 'coruscation' (OE lēoht, n. + -en + -ing)
lykande 230.12, adj.; 'delectable' (OE lician)
lyke 433.11, v.; 'take pleasure' (cf. lykand)
lykeyd 384.17 note, pa. pa.; 'been pleasing' (cf. prec.)
lykoure 227.23, n.; 'liquor' (OFr licour)
lykyng 348.27, ger.; 'delight' (cf. lykande)
lykyng 353.27, adj.; 'delectable' (cf. lykande)
lytelle heede 214.32, n.; 'smallness' (cf. litlehead)

lyuelyhede 312.20, n.; 'vitality' (OE līflīc, and cf. blackhead)
lyvelye 210.12, adj.; 'living' (cf. prec.)

manhede 214.37, n.; 'humanity' (OE mann, and cf. blackhead)
mare 201.10, adv.; 'more' (OE māre)
mayme 517.50 note, n.; 'bodily injury' (OFr meshain, mayhem, main, etc.)
meane 305.24 note, n.; 'mediator' (OFr men)
mech 347.16, adj.; 'much' (OE micel)
meddelyng 658.37, v.; 'mingling' (OFr medler)
mede 239.19, n.; 'reward' (OE mēd)
medelur 524.130, n.; 'mixture' (cf. meddelyng)
medfully 726.5, adv.; 'meritoriously' (cf. mede, + -ful + -ly)
medle 548.21, n.; 'mixture' (cf. meddelyng)
medlyd 526.150, pa. pa.; 'mixed' (cf. meddelyng)
medylde 676.40, pa. pa.; 'mixed' (cf. meddelyng)
meenn 210.16 note, n.; 'intermediary' (cf. meane)
mekehed 507.22 note, n.; 'humility' (ON miúk-r, and cf. blackhead)
mene 569.56 note, adj.; 'serving as a means' (cf. meane, and NED Mean *adj.* 4)
menyng 537.254 note, n.; 'utterance' (OE mǣnan)
menynge 203.26, n.; 'intention' (cf. menyng)
merelye 239.4, adv.; 'joyfully' (OE myrige + -ly)
mervelande 214.29, v.; 'marvelling' (OFr merveillier)
merveyled 383.8 note, pa. pa.; 'astonished' (cf. mervelande)
mesure 501.20 note, n.; 'amount, limit' (OFr mesure)
mo 324.6, adj.; 'more' (OE mā)
motherhed 593.39, n.; 'motherhood' (OE mōdor, and cf. blackhead)
motion 480.43 note, n.; 'prompting' (OFr motion)
moystere 234.18 n.; 'moisture' (OFr moistour)
mut 239.7, v.; 'mayest' (OE mōt-)
my thought 290.12; 'it seemed to me' (OE þyncan (impers.))
myd person 557.32 note, n.; 'mediator' (OE midd- + OFr persone)
mykille hede 235.45, n.; 'greatness' (cf. mech, blackhead)
mykylle 209.37, adv.; 'much' (cf. mech)
myldhed 434.25, n.; 'mercifulness' (OE milde, and cf. blackhead)
mynde 201.7, n.; 'recollection' (OE gemynd)
mynde 675.36 note, n.; 'intention' (cf. prec.)
myrke 208.34, adj.; 'dark' (OE mirce)
myrre 623.33 note, n.; 'mud' (ON myr-r)
myschevous 496.20, adj.; 'harmful' (AFr meschevous)
mystely 513.2 note, adv.; 'darkly, mysteriously' (OE mistig + -ly, ? assoc. w. L mysticus)

namely 524.128, adv.; 'above all' (ME nameliche)
namly 555.17 note, adv.; 'precisely' (ON nafnliga)
nedyr 690.15 note, adj.; 'lower' (OE neoþera)
nee 488.31 note, adv.; 'not' (?OE ne, ?ON nei)
nerehed 533.215, n.; 'closeness' (OE nēar (comp. adj.) and cf. blackhead)
nescessery 306.36, n.; 'necessity' (L necessarius)
nese 233.9, n.; 'nose' (EME neose, nese)
no 222.41, conj.; 'nor' (OE nā)
noble 517.43 note, n.; 'nobility' (OFr noblee)
noblete 283.35, n.; 'nobility' (OFr noblete)
nobly 588.68, n.; 'nobility' (cf. noble)
noblye 612.20, n.; 'nobility' (cf. noble)
noblyest 314.48 note, adj.; ? 'fullest of nobility' (OFr nobli, pa. pa. of noblir, 'ennoble')
noghthed 216.51, pa. pa.; 'annihilated' (OE nāwiht, n.)
no nother 323.21, 'none other' (OE nān, ōþer)
norysse 608.68, n.; 'nurse' (OFr nour(r)ice)
nothere 203.34, conj.; 'nor' (OE nowþer)
noughtes 215.40, n.; 'nothings' (cf. noghted)

nou3t 215.43, v.; 'annihilate' (cf. noghted)
nydes 379.6, adv.; 'of necessity' (OE nȳdes)

oder 220.18, n.; 'others' (OE ōþer)
of 529.178 note, prep.; 'concerning' (OE of)
office 307.40, n.; 'function' (OFr office)
one 328.39 note, adj.; 'own' (OE āgen)
one 604.36 note, adj.; ? 'own', ? 'sole' (? cf. prec. ?OE an)
onn ane 270.21, adv.; 'at once' (OE on ān)
on sonder 675.33, adv.; 'apart' (OE on sundran)
onyd 463.30, pa. pa.; 'united' (cf. aned)
or 211.24, adv.; 'before' (OE, ON ār)
or that 396.22, adv.; 'before' (cf. prec. +OE þæt, dem. pr.)
ought 484.19, n.; 'anything' (OE āwiht)
over passyng 446.12, v.; 'surpassing' (OE ofer+OFr passer)
over 3ede 324.7, pa. pa.; '(was) covered' (OE ofer+OE eode)
ovyr 621.24, 622.26 note, adv.; 'throughout' (OE ofer)
ovyr more 681.25, adv.; 'moreover' (cf. prec. +OE mār-)
owere 263.19, prep.; 'beyond' (cf. prec.)

parcyners 261.44, n.; 'sharers' (AFr parcener)
partes 323.29 note, n.; 'modes, qualities' (OE, OFr part)
partyes 213.16 note, n.; 'parts' (OFr partie)
passande 230.17 note, adv.; 'surpassingly' (OFr passer, passant)
passyble 376.24 note, adj.; 'capable of suffering' (OFr passible)
payde 239.6, pa. pa.; 'satisfied' (OFr payer)
paynym 368.28, n.; 'pagan' (OFr paienime)
paysynge 234.21, v.; 'pressing down' (OFr peser)
peesyd 509.44, pa. pa.; 'pacified' (OFr pais, n.)
pee3 230.21, n.; 'peace' (cf. prec.)
pelottes 311.15, n.; 'pellets' (OFr pelote)
perlement 648.6, n.; 'debate' (OFr parlement)
personn 208.23, n.; 'parson' (OFr persone)
perte 227.31, n.; 'part' (OFr part)
perteyner 476.7, n.; 'sharer' (cf. parcyners)
perty 722.2 note, n.; 'matter, affair' (OFr partie)
plentuoushede 312.22, n.; 'abundance' (OFr plentivous, and cf. blackhead)
plesannce 240.43, n.; 'delight' (OFr plaisance)
portrude 328.43 note, pa. pa.; ? 'portrayed' (OFr pourtrai-)
poynt 338.20 note, n.; '(central) point (of a radius)' (OFr point)
poynte 226.1 note, n.; 'instant' (cf. prec.)
poynte 420.47 note, n.; 'distinctive trait' (cf. prec.)
preciousshede 375.15, n.; 'preciousness' (OFr precios, and cf. blackhead)
prefe 427.3 note, n.; 'proof' (OFr prueve)
prevy 335.94, adj.; 'secret' (OFr prive)
privyties 284.42, n.; 'secrets' (OFr privite)
processe 631.39 note, n.; 'determined order' (OFr proces)
profyr 370.6 note, n.; '*propositio*' (AFr profre)
pronyte 508.33 note, n.; 'propensity' (OFr prone+-ity)
properte 584.21 note, n.; '(essential) quality' (OFr propriete)
propyrly 357.7 note, adv.; 'distinctively' (OFr propre+-ly)
pryme dayes 270.21 note; 'soon after sunrise' (OE prīm, dæges (adv.))
pryse 225.18, n.; 'value' (OFr pris)
pynede 205.49, v.; 'suffered' (OE pīnian)

quickened 306.30 note, v.; 'created' (OE cwician; cf. ON kvikna)
quyckyd 616.31 note, v.; 'enlivened' (OE cwic (adj.), and cf. prec.)
qwkkynn 256.31, v.; 'revive' (cf. quickened)

rasyd 362.18, pa. pa.; 'cut' (cf. rasyng)
rasyng 361.12 note, ger.; 'scraping, shaving' (OFr raser; cf. NED Rase *v.*[1] 1.b.)
ravyng 646.56 note, ger.; 'madness' (OFr raver)
regarde 497.23 note, n.; *in regarde that* 'because' (OFr regard)
rehersyng 650.3, ger.; 'repetition' (OFr rehercer)

remoue 641.15 note, v.; 'vacate' (OFr remouvoir)
rentyng 541.292 note, ger.; 'tearing' (?OE rendan)
resonn 263.17 note, n.; *'ratiocinatio'* (OFr reisun)
resynyth 333.81, v.; 'surrenders' (OFr resigner)
reward 287.31 note, n.: 'regard' (ONF reward)
rewlyhead 328.41 note, n.; 'ruefulness' (OE hrēowlīc, and cf. blackhead)
rightes 287.23 note, n.; 'rites' (L ritus)
rode 358.14, n.; 'cross' (OE rōd)
rychesse 578.27 note, n.; 'abundance of m^ans' (OFr richeise)
ryght 250.25, adv.; 'just' (OE rihte)
ryghtfulhede 486.3 note, n.; 'righteousness' (OE riht + -full, and cf. blackhead)
ryghtynges 203.31 note, n.; 'rites' (cf. rightes)
rympylde 363.36 note, pa. pa.; 'wrinkled' (?OE *hrympel)
ryste 215.48, n.; 'rest' (OE reste)

sad 523.123, adj.; 'dignified' (OE sæd)
sadde 266.10, adj.; 'solemn' (cf. prec.)
saddehede 228.47, n.; 'sadness' (cf. prec. and blackhead)
sadly 633.23, adv.; 'firmly, seriously' (OE sæd + -ly)
sadlye 202.15, adv.; 'firmly' (cf. prec.)
safe 204.37, conj.; 'except. (OFr sauf (adj.))
sare 228.34, adv.; 'hard' (OE sāre)
sarye 207.7, adj.; 'sorry' (OE sārig)
satylde 209.40, v.; 'sank' (OE setlan)
savyd 488.29 note, pa. pa.; 'reconciled' ('app. ad L salvare' (NED))
sawlle 204.37, n.; 'soul' (OE sāwol)
saworyng 473.56, ger.; 'testing' (OFr savourer)
saydene 217.2 note, pa. pa.; 'said' (OE secgan)
saye 211.25, v.; 'saw' (OE sēon, seah)
schewynge 203.24, ger.; 'revelation' (OE scēawung)
scho 235.44, pr.; 'she' (prob. OE sēo (fem. def. art.))
scornyd 648.8, v.; 'were mocking' (OFr escarnir)
scoryd 635.7 note, pa. pa.; 'cut' (ON skora)
see 714.11, n.; 'seat' (OFr se)
seker 460.5, adj.; 'sure' (OE sicor)
self 532.208 note, ?adj.; ? 'very' (OE self)
semes 227.16, n.; 'furrows' (OE sēam)
semyng 342.3 note, ger.; ?'appearance' (ME sēme <ON sēma)
semyng 390.11, ger.; 'furrowing' (OE *siēman)
senn 257.1, conj.; 'since' (OE siþþan)
sensualyte 486.4, n.; 'physical nature' (OFr sensualite)
sethyn 386.43, conj.; 'since' (OE siþþan + -es)
seuenn nyght 233.11, n.; 'week' (OE seofon nihta)
sex 217.5, adj.; 'six' (OE sex)
sharply 646.66 note, adv.; ? 'shrewdly' ? 'vigilantly' (OE scearp + -ly)
shrewde 635.8, adj.; 'malignant' (obsc.)
shrewdnes 348.22, n.; 'malignity' (cf. prec.)
singlehede 535.244, n.; 'being in one piece' (OFr single, and cf. blackhead)
slade 515.15, n.; 'dell' (OE slæd)
slake 262.70, v.; 'appease' (OE slacian)
slekyd 733.22, pa. pa.; 'diminished' (OE sleacian)
sodenly 514.14 note, adv.; 'promptly' (AFr sodein + -ly)
softe 226.4, adj.; 'gentle' (OE sōfte)
softes 277.23, v.; 'mollifies' (cf. prec.)
solempne 313.36 note, adj.; 'of great dignity' (OFr solempne)
sore 347.12, adv.; 'hard' (cf. sare)
soth 262.72, adj.; 'true' (OE sōþ)
sothelye 213.18, adv.; 'truly' (cf. prec.)
souerayne 222.43, adj.; 'supreme' (OFr soverain)
soule 306.35, n.; 'food' (OE sufel; cf. NED Sowl, n.)
sowlynge 225.23, n.; 'soiling' (?OFr soill(i)er)
spared 248.27, pa. pa.; 'closed' (cf. NED Spar, *v.*[1].)
sped 472.50, pa. pa.; 'furthered' (OE spēdan)
spede 268.17, n.; 'profit' (OE spēd)
spice 276.11, n.; 'sort' (OFr espice)
stanndyng 328.42, v.; 'being the case' (OE standan; cf. NED Stand, v. 38 b)
stede 659.5, n.; 'place' (OE stede)
stertyng 539.278 note, ger.; 'departure' (cf. NED Start, v.)

stondyng 425.47 note, v.; 'being the case' (cf. stanndyng)
stonez 223.55, v.; 'astounds' (OFr estoner)
stonyd 522.105, adj.; 'astounded' (cf. stonez)
strange 314.43, adj.; 'distant' (OFr estrange)
streyte syttyng 528.169, adj.; 'close fitting' (OFr estreit, OE sittan)
styntyd 218.19, v.; 'ceased' (OE styntan)
styntyng 483.3, ger.; 'ceasing' (cf. styntyd)
styrrande 201.4, v.; 'inspiring' (?OE styrian)
suernes 442.11, n.; 'assurance' (OFr sure + -ness)
sumdeele 285.7, adv.; 'somewhat' (OE sum, dæl)
swemfulle 657.27, adj.; 'abhorrent' (OE *swǣm (aswǣman, v.) + -full)
swemly 325.11, adv.; 'frighteningly' (cf. swemfulle)
swemly 412.2, adv.; 'fearfully' (cf. swemfulle)
swethe 335.95, adv.; 'very' (OE swīþe)
swylge 622.32 note, n.: 'devouring pit' (OE geswelg, *swylg)
syde 523.121, adj.; 'ample' (OE sīd)
syeknes 201.7, n.; 'sickness' (OE sēoc + -ness)
syekernes 224.14, n.; 'security' (cf. syekyr)
syekyr 231.40, adj.; 'secure' (OE sicor)
sylden 711.30, adv.; 'seldom' (OE seldan)
symply 523.120 note, adv.; 'only, merely' (OFr simple + -ly)
sympylle 728.3 note, adj.; '?foolish ? wretched' (OFr simple)
sympylhed 480.47, n.; 'simplicity' (OFr simple, and cf. blackhead)
syngulary 442.5 note, adv.; 'exclusively' (OFr singulaire)
sythene 202.22, adv.; 'since' (OE siþþan)
sythes 231.33, n.; 'times' (OE sīþ)

takenynge 255.23, n.; 'betokening' (OE tācnung)
takyns 217.6, n.; 'signs' (OE tācen)
tempes 277.30 note, v.; ? 'tempts' (?OFr tempter)
tempest 267.36 note, v.; 'assail' (OFr tempeste)
the tane 231.32, 'the one' (OE þæt āne)
there whiles 325.9 note, 'meanwhile' (OE þǣr, hwil)
tho 252.7, dem. pro.; 'those' (OE þā)
thonwonges 635.7 note, n.; 'temples (of the head)' (OE þunwange)
thou nedyth 325.13 note, 'thou needest' (OE nīedan)
threttye 204.46, num. adj.; 'thirty' (OE þrītig)
thynke 240.32, v.; 'it may seem' (OE þyncan)
thyrstede 210.14, v.; 'thirsted' (OE þyrstan-)
to 213.18 (*secundum*), prep.; 'until' (OE tō; cf. NED To II. 6.)
to betyth 449.3 note, v.; 'belabours' (OE tobēatan)
to breke 409.18, v.; 'separate' (OE tobrecan)
toch 245.63 note, n.; 'brief mention, hint' (OFr touche)
touch 527.158 note, n.; 'brief moment' (OFr touche)
touchyng 573.38 note, n.; '(divine) intervention, inspiration' (OFr toucher)
to whethere 231.42 note, prep. and n.; '? in either case' '? none the less' (OE to hwæþer)
travelle 351.4, n.; 'labour' (OFr travail)
trayste 203.25, v.; 'trusted' (ON treysta)
trekylle 210.11, v.; 'trickle' (NED Trickle, *v.* ('history doubtful'))
tretyth 507.26 note, v.; 'draws' (OFr tretier)
trist 248.41, v.; 'trust' (cf. trayste)
trustly 627.5 note, adv.; 'confidently' (ON traust + -ly)
twynglyng 551.67, n.; 'twinkling' (OE twinclian)
twynnes 272.45 note, v.; 'separates' (OE twinn, adj., 'consisting of two')
tylle stone 635.5, n.; 'tile' (OE tigelstān)

vncunnyng 496.17, n.; 'ignorance' (OE un + cunnan; cf. NED: 'Common in 14th-15th c.')
vndersett 290.19, pa. pa.; 'supported' (OE under- + settan)
vnderstand 295.15 note, pa. pa.; 'understood' (OE understandan)
vnderstandyng 346.4 note, n.; 'signification' (cf. vnderstand)
vndertak 463.36 note, v.; 'receive' (OE under- + ON taka; cf. NED Undertake, *v.*, I. 2. b.)

vndertaken 672.9 note, pa. pa.; 'accepted, endured' (cf. undertake)
vndertakynge 260.30 note, n.; 'rebuke' (cf. undertake)
vnforsyght 337.10 note, n.; 'lack of foresight' (OE un- + fore + sihð)
vnithing 281.5, n.; 'uniting' (OFr unite, n.)
vnknawenge 274.16 note, n.; 'ignorance' (OE un- + cnāwan)
vnlothfull 516.36 note, adj.; 'unreluctant' (OE un- + laþ + full)
vnlothfulle 411.35 note, adj.; 'innocent' (cf. prec.)
vnmesurable 308.55 note, adj.; 'immeasurable' (OE un-, OFr mensurable)
vnmyght 227.31, n.; 'impotence' (OE unmiht)
vnnethes 230.24, adv.; 'scarcely' (OE unēaþe(s))
unornely 544.315 note, adv.; 'meanly, wretchedly' (OE unorne + -ly)
vnpassible 420.36, adj.; 'impassible' (OE un-, OFr. passible; NED's first ex. is c. 1450).
vnpeas 508.41 note, n.; 'disquiet' (OE un-, & cf. peesyd)
vnperceyvable 477.21 note, adj.; 'imperceptible' (OE un-, OFr *perceivre)
vnpossible 426.50 adj.; 'impossible' (OE un-, OFr possible; NED: 'Very common c. 1400-1660')
vnpowere 209.39, n.; 'weakness' (OE un-, OFr poer; NED's first ex. is c. 1380, Wycliffe)
vnwetyng 337.13 note, v.; 'not knowing' (OE unwitende)
vppe 551.60 note, prep.; 'to the extent of' (OE uppan)
vppe resyn 377.25, pa. pa.; 'arisen' (OE up + rīsan)

vertu 270.23, 420.42 note, n.; 'power' (OFr virtu)
vysemente 226.3, n.; 'deliberation' (OFr visement; NED's first ex. is ?1414, and MED's is Julian)

wa 232.45, n.; 'woe' (OE wā)
walde 208.22, v.; 'would' (OE walde)
wallowyth 515.16, v.; 'tosses about' (OE wealwian)
wantyd 326.19, v.; 'lacked' (ON vanta)
wappes 212.4, v.; 'encloses' (NED Wap, *v.*[2]: 'Of obscure origin')
ward 523.126 note, n.; 'citadel' (OE weard)
wax 490.9, v.; 'grew' (OE weaxan)
waxid 291.28 note, v.; 'grew' (cf. wax)
waykenesse 259.17, n.; 'weakness' (ON veik-r + -ness)
weenied 289.6, v.; 'expected' (OE wēnan)
wele 215.45, n.; 'advantage' (OE wel (adv.))
wenande 203.32, adj.; 'expecting' (cf. weenied)
wende 379.3, v.; 'expected' (cf. weenied)
went 319.26, v.; 'expected' (cf. weenied)
werely 372.23, adv.; 'truly' (OFr verrai + -ly)
werkyng 581.56 note, v.; 'inserting' (OE wyrc(e)an)
werkys 228.38, v.; 'acts' (cf. prec.)
wet 385.29, v.; 'know' (OE witan)
whethere 231.42, pr. adj.; 'whichever (of the two)' (OE hwæþer)
whilke 201.3, adj.; 'which' (OE hwilc)
whystryn 648.7, n.; 'whispering' (?OE hwæstrian)
whytsafe 631.35 note, v.; 'vouchsafes' (OFr vocher + sauf)
wilfulle 209.49, adj.; 'desirous' (cf. OE wilfullīce, adv.)
wilfullye 230.2, adv.; 'voluntarily' (cf. wilfulle)
willy 257.14, adj.; 'willing' (prob. ON vil-jug-r)
wittande 226.3, v.; 'knowing' (cf. wet)
witterlyest 238.15, adv.; 'most plainly' (ON vitr, adj.; cf. NED Witter *adj.* 1, 2)
witty 257.14, adj.; 'having wisdom' (OE wittig)
wonnyng 549.39, v.; 'dwelling' (OE wunian)
woote 204.42, v.; 'knowest' (cf. wate)
wordines 298.38, n.; 'honour' (OE weorþ + -y + -ness)
wordle 326.27 note, n.; 'world' (OE weorold; cf. NED World, for such spellings, well attested, 14th-17th c.)
worschippe 208.14, n.; 'honour' (OE weorþscipe)
wott 398.6, v.; 'know' (cf. wate)
wrake 326.23 note, n.; 'seaweed' (cf. MDu wrak)
wryeth 515.16, v.; 'turns' (OE wrīgian)

wurschypply 531.200 note, adv.; 'reverently' (OE weorþscipe + ly)
wyllyngfully 352.14 note, adv.; 'voluntarily' (cf. wilfulle)
wyrke 228.38, v.; 'act' (cf. werkys)
wyrkynge 209.45, n.; 'action' (cf. werkys)
wyste 209.36, v.; 'knew' (OE witan)
wytt 321.4, v.; 'know' (cf. wyste)

3a 242.11, adv.; 'yes' (OE gēa)
3emes 268.8, v.; 'guards' (OE gīeman)
3itt 201.2, adv.; 'still' (OE gīet(a))
3ough 229.54, n.; 'youth' (OE geoguþ)
3ought 204.45, n.; 'youth' (cf. 3ough)

yefte 564.35, n.; 'gift' (OE gift)
ylke 231.38, adj.; 'every' (OE ilca)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, Walter M.: *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York, 1966)

Adriaen, Marcus, ed.: *Sancti Gregorii Magni homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam* (CCSL 142, 1971)

Alberts, Wybe J. et al.: *Dancwerc. Opstellen aangebeden aan Prof. Dr. D. Th. Enklaar* (Groningen, 1959)

Alford, John A.: 'Haukyn's Coat: Some Observations on *Piers Plowman* B XIV. 22-7' (MÆ 43, 1974, 133-137)

Allen, Hope E., ed.: *English Writings of Richard Rolle* (Oxford, 1931)

Allen, Hope E.: *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle and Materials for his Biography* (New York and London, 1927)

Amassian, Margaret: *An Edition of Richard Rolle's 'The Commandment'* (Fordham Ph. D. dissertation, 1967)

Arbusow, Leonid: *'Colores rhetorici': eine Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze als Hilfsmittel für akademische Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten* (Göttingen, 1948)

Ayscough, Samuel: *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum ... Including the Collections of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart ...* (2 vols., London, 1782)

Baker, Augustine: *Holy Wisdom ... the Digest made by Fr. Serenus Cressy* (London, 1972)

Baker, D. C.: 'Therefor to wepe, cum Lerne off me: a *Planctus* Fragment in MS Corpus Christi College, Oxford, F. 261' (MÆ 38, 1969, 291-294)

Baldwin, Mary: 'Some difficult Words in the *Ancrene Riwle*' (MS 38, 1976, 268-290)

Bartholomæi Anglici de genuinis rerum ... proprietatibus libri XVIII (Frankfurt, 1650, repr. 1964)

Baudot, J.: 'Bénédiction de la table ou des aliments' (DACL 2 714)

Baugh, Nita S., ed.: *A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400* (Philadelphia, 1956)

Bazire, Joyce: 'The Dialect of the Manuscripts of *The Chastising of God's Children*' (*English and Germanic Studies* 6, 1957, 64-78)

Bazire, Joyce, and Colledge, Eric, ed.: *The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* (Oxford, 1957)

Bennett, Jack A. W.: 'The Date of the A-Text of *Piers Plowman*' (PMLA 58, 1943, 566-572)

Bennett, Jack A. W., and Smithers, Geoffrey V., ed.: *Early Middle English Verse and Prose* (²Oxford, 1968)

Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ... Iussu Pii PP. XI ... edita (Rome, 1926-)

Blomefield, Francis, continued by Parkin, Charles: *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (5 vols., Fersfield and Lynn, 1739-1775; vol. 2: *The History of the City and County of Norwich*, Norwich, 1745)

Blume, Clemens, Dreve, Guido, and Bannister, Henry M., ed.: *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (55 vols., Leipzig, 1886-1922)

Bonetti, Ignazio: *Le stimate della Passione* (Rovigo, 1952)

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments ... of the Church of England (London, 1634)

Brady, Mary Teresa, ed.: *The Pore Caitiff* (Fordham Ph. D. dissertation, 1954)

Breitenbach, Edgard: 'Israhel van Meckenem's *Man of Sorrows*' (*Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 31, 1974, 21-26)

Brewer, Derek S., ed.: *Chaucer and Chaucerians* (London, 1966)

Brook, George L., ed.: *The Harley Lyrics* (²Manchester, 1956)

Brooke, Odo: 'The Trinitarian Theology of William of St. Thierry' (RTAM 28, 1961, 26-58)

Brown, Carleton F., ed.: *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (Oxford, 1939)

Brown, Carleton F., rev. Smithers, Geoffrey V., ed.: *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* (Oxford, 1957)

Brown, Carleton F., ed.: *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932)

Brown, Carleton F. and Robbins, Rossell H.: *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943)

Brown, Raymond E.: *The Gospel According to John* (2 vols., Garden City, N.Y., 1966-1970)

Bruno de Jésus-Marie, ed.: *Satan* (English translations London and New York, 1951)

Bruylants, Placide: *Les oraisons du Missel Romain* (2 vols., Louvain, 1952)

Burrow, John A.: *A Reading of 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (London, 1965)

Butler, Cuthbert: *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne* (2 vols., London, 1926)

Butler, Cuthbert: *Western Mysticism* (²London, 1927)

Butterworth, Charles C.: *The English Primers (1529-1549)* (Philadelphia, 1953)

Cabassut, André: 'Une dévotion médiévale peu connue: la dévotion à "Jésus nôtre mère"' (RAM 25, 1949, 234-245)

Candon, Mary Patrick, ed.: *The Doctrine of the Hert* (Fordham Ph. D. dissertation, 1963)

Caplan, Harry, ed.: (*Cicero*) *ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi* (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) (London, 1954)

Carmody, Francis J., ed.: *Physiologus latinus versio Y* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941)

Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCCVI-MDCCCCX (London, 1912)

Chatillon, François: 'Hic, ibi, interim' (*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 25, 1949, 194-199)
Chevalier, Cyr U. J.: *Repertorium hymnologicum* (6 vols., Louvain, 1892-1912, Brussels, 1920-1921)
Chevalier, Philippe, ed.: *Dionysiaca* (Paris, 2 vols., 1937)
Colledge, Edmund: 'A Middle English Christological Poem' (*Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. O'Donnell, James R., Toronto, 1974, 248-261)
Colledge, Edmund: 'Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century English Versions of "The Golden Epistle of St. Bernard"' (MS 37, 1975, 122-129)
Colledge, Edmund: *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (Leiden, London and New York, 1965)
Colledge, Edmund: 'The Capgrave "Autographs"' (*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7, 1974, 1-12)
Colledge, Edmund, ed.: *The Latin Poems of Richard Ledrede, O.F.M.* (Toronto, 1974)
Colledge, Edmund, reviewing Walsh, Katherine: *The 'De vita evangelica' of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A.*, Rome, 1972 (*Speculum* 50, 1975, 167-170)
Colledge, Edmund, and Guarnieri, Romana: 'The Glosses by "M. N." and Richard Methley to "The Mirror of Simple Souls"' (AISP 5, 1968, 357-382)
Colledge, Edmund, and Smetana, Cyril: 'Capgrave's *Life of St. Norbert*: Diction, Dialect and Spelling' (MS 34, 1972, 422-434)
Colledge, Edmund, and Walsh, James: 'Editing Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*: a Progress Report' (MS 38, 1976, 404-427)
Colledge, Edmund, and Walsh, James: *Following the Saints* (3 vols., Gastonia, N. Carolina, 1970)
Colledge, Edmund, and Walsh, James: 'Julienne de Norwich' (DSp 8, 1974, 1605-1611)
Colledge, Edmund, and Walsh, James, ed.: *Guigues II le Chartreux: Lettre sur la vie contemplative (l'Echelle des moines): Douze méditations* (SC 163, 1970)
Colledge, Eric: *'Epistola Solitarii ad Reges*: Alphonse of Pecha as Organizer of Birgittine and Urbanist Propaganda' (MS 18, 1956, 19-49)
Colledge, Eric: '"The Hours of the Planets": an Obscure Passage in "The Recluse"' (*Modern Language Notes* 54, 1939, 442-445)
Colledge, Eric: *The Mediaeval Mystics of England* (New York, 1961, 1972)
Colledge, Eric: '*The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*: a Fifteenth-Century English Ruysbroek Translation' (*English Studies* 33, 1952, 49-66)
Collijn, Isak, ed.: *Acta et processus canonizacionis Beate Birgitte* (Uppsala, 1924-1931)
Collins, Arthur J., ed.: *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (HBS 91, 1958)
Cornelius a Lapide (Cornelis van den Steen): *Commentarii in Sacram Scripturam* (10 vols., Leiden, 1840)
Cox, John C.: 'Religious Houses' (VCH: *Norfolk* 2, London, 1906)
Cressy, Serenus, ed.: *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection* (London, 1869)

Davy, Marie-M., ed.: *Un traité de la vie solitaire: Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei* (Paris, 1940)

Day, Mabel, ed.: *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. XIV* (EETS OS 225, 1952, 1957)

Deanesly, Margaret: *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, England, 1920)

Déchanet, Jean-M.: *Aux sources de la spiritualité de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry* (Bruges, 1940)

Déchanet, Jean-M., ed.: *Le miroir de la foi* (Paris, 1946)

Déchanet, Jean-M.: 'Les divers états du texte de la *Lettre aux Frères du Mont-Dieu* dans Charleville 114' (*Scriptorium* 11, 1957, 63-86)

Déchanet, Jean-M.: 'Les manuscrits de la Lettre aux Frères de Mont-Dieu de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry et le problème de la "Préface" dans Charleville 114' (*Scriptorium* 8, 1954, 236-271)

Déchanet, Jean-M.: 'Un recueil singulier d'opuscules de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, Charleville 114' (*Scriptorium* 6, 1952, 196-212)

Déchanet, Jean-M., and Dumontier, (J.)-Marie, ed.: *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: Exposé sur le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1962)

Dekkers, Eligius: *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (²Bruges, 1961)

Dekkers, Eligius, and Fraipont, Jean, ed.: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini enarrationes in Psalmos* (CCSL 38-40, 1956)

Delisle, Léopold: *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta* (Rouen, 1877)

Denzinger, Heinrich J. D., and Schönmetzer, Adolf: *Enchiridion symbolorum* (Freiburg i.B., 1967)

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (Nos. 51 to 100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson, the Notices Contributed by Various Hands (Cambridge, England, 1902)

Devlin, Mary A., ed.: *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)* (Camden Society 85, 86, 1954)

Dobson, Eric J.: *Moralities on the Gospels: a New Source of 'Ancrene Wisse'* (Oxford, 1975)

Dobson, Eric, J., ed.: *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle: BM Cotton MS Cleopatra C. vi* (EETS 267, 1972)

Dobschütz, Ernst von: *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, NF 3, Leipzig, 1899)

Doiron, Marilyn, ed.: 'The Mirror of Simple Souls'. A Middle English Translation' (AISP 5, 1968, 241-355)

Du Cange, Charles Du F.: *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (10 vols., Paris, 1937-1938)

Duemmler, Ernst: *Poetae latini aevi Carolini I* (MGH, 1881)

Dumontier, Pierre: *S. Bernard et la Bible* (Paris, 1953)

Duns Scotus: *Opera omnia* (26 vols., Paris, 1891-1895)

Ellies-Dupin, Louis, ed.: *Joannis Gersonii ... opera omnia* (5 vols., Antwerp. 1706)
Emden, Alfred B.: *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (4 vols., Oxford, 1957-1959)
Emden, Alfred B.: *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, England, 1963)
Eubel, Conrad: *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (8 vols., Münster, 1913-)
Evans, William O.: '"Cortaysye" in Middle English' (MS 29, 1967, 143-157)

Faral, Edmond: *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1924)
Farmer, Hugh: 'The Meditations of the Monk of Farne' (*Analecta Monastica* 4, 1957, 141-245)
Farmer, Hugh, and a Benedictine of Stanbrook: *The Monk of Farne: the Meditations of a Fourteenth Century Monk* (London, 1961)
Forshall, Josiah, and Madden, Frederic, ed.: *The Holy Bible ... by John Wycliffe and his Followers* (4 vols., Oxford, 1850)
Forshaw, Helen P., ed.: *Edmund of Abingdon: Speculum Religiosorum and Speculum Ecclesie* (Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 3, London, 1973)
Foucard, Betty: 'A Cathedral Manuscript' (*Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* 50, 1956, 41-43, 59-60, 74-75, 89-90, 108-110)
The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe 3 (repr. New York, 1965)
Fretté, Edouard, and Maré, Paul, ed.: *Doctoris Angelici Divi Thomae Aquinatis ... opera omnia* (34 vols., Paris, 1871-1880)
Fristedt, Sven L., ed.: *The Wycliffe Bible* (Stockholm Studies in English 4, 21, 1953, 1969)
Furnivall, Frederick J., ed.: *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* (EETS OS 117, 1901)

Garrett, Robert M., ed.: 'De arte lacrimandi' (*Anglia* 32, NF 20, 1909, 269-294)
Gillow, Joseph: *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical History of the English Catholics* (5 vols., London and New York, 1885-1902)
Gillow, Joseph: 'Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai' (*Catholic Record Society* 13, 1913, 1-85)
Godefroy, Frédéric E.: *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881-1902)
Goldbacher, Alois, ed.: *S. Aurelii Augustini ... epistulae* (CSEL 34, 44, 57, 58, 1895-)
Gordon, Eric V., ed.: *Pearl* (Oxford, 1953)
Gray, Douglas: *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London, 1972)
Greene, Richard L., ed.: *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935; St. Clair Shores, Michigan, 1971)
Grein, Christian W. M.: *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter* (Heidelberg, 1912)
Greven, Joseph: *Die Exempla aus den Sermones Feriales et Communes des Jacob von Vitry* (Heidelberg, 1914)

Guibert, Joseph de: *Documenta ecclesiastica christianae perfectionis* (Rome, 1931)
Guy, Jean-C., ed.: *Jean Cassien: Institutions cénobitiques* (SC 109, 1965)
Guy, Robert E.: *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection by Walter Hilton* (London, 1869)

Haacke, Hraban, ed.: *Ruperti Tuitiensis de Sancto Trinitate et operibus eius* 4 vols., CCCM 21-24, 1971-)
Hackett, Benedict: 'The Spiritual Life of the English Austin Friars of the Fourteenth Century' (*Sanctus Augustinus, Vitae Spiritualis Magister* 2, Rome, 1959, 421-492)
Halflants, Corneille: 'Le Cantique des Cantiques de saint Bernard' (*Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* 15, 1953, 250-294)
Halligan, Theresa A., ed.: *The Booke of Gostlye Grace* (Fordham Ph. D. dissertation, 1963)
Halm, Karl: *Rhetores latini minores* (Leipzig, 1863)
Halm, Karl, ed.: *Sulpicii Severi libri qui supersunt* (CSEL 1, 1866)
Hanslik, Rudolph, ed.: *Benedicti regula* (CSEL 75, 1960)
Hardie, Robert P., and Gaye, Russell K., ed.: *The Works of Aristotle: Physica* (Oxford, 1930)
Hardy, Thomas D.: *Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (Chronicles and Memorials, 1862)
Harford, Dundas: *Comfortable Words to Christ's Lovers* (London, 1911)
Harvey, William W., ed.: *Sancti Irenaei ... libri quinque adversus haereses* (Cambridge, England, 1858; Ridgewood, New Jersey, 1965)
Harvey, Ralph, ed.: *The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life or the Rule of Living* (EETS OS 106, 1896, 1973)
Hausherr, Irenée: *Penthos* (Rome, 1944)
Hecht, Hans, ed.: *Bischof Werferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialog Gregors des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1900, Hamburg, 1907, Darmstadt, 1965)
Herrtage, Sidney J. H., ed.: *Catholicon anglicum* (EETS OS 75, 1881)
Hesbert, René-J.: *Corpus antiphonalium officii* (4 vols., Rome, 1963-)
Hitchcock, Elsie V., ed.: *The Folower to the Donet* (EETS OS 164, 1924)
Hodgson, Phyllis, ed.: *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling* (EETS OS 218, 1944, 1958)
Hodgson, Phyllis, ed.: *Deonise Hid Diuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to The Cloud of Unknowing* (EETS OS 231, 1955, 1958)
Holmstedt, Gustav, ed.: *Speculum christiani* (EETS OS 182, 1933)
Horstman, Carl, ed.: *The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria by John Capgrave* (EETS OS 100, 1893, 1973)
Horstman, Carl, ed.: *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* (EETS OS 98, 1892, 1973)
Horstman, Carl, ed.: *'Orologium Sapientiae*, or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom, aus MS Douce 114' (*Anglia* 10, 1888, 323-389)
Horstman, Carl: *Yorkshire Writers* (2 vols., London, 1896)
Hoskins, Edgar, ed.: *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis* (London, 1901)

Hoste, Anselm, and Talbot, Charles H., ed.: *Aelredi Rievallensis opera omnia* 1 (CCCM 1, 1971)
Hudleston, Roger: *Revelations of Divine Love* (London, 1927)
Hugh of St. Victor: *De sacramentis* (PL 176 579-609)
Hulbert, J. R.: 'Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome' (*Modern Philology* 20, 1922-1923, 403-424)
Hunt, William: 'John (d. 721), Saint, called of Beverley' (DNB)
Hurst, David, ed.: *Bedae Venerabilis opera II: opera exegetica* (CCSL 120, 1960)
Hussey, Stanley S.: 'Latin and English in *The Scale of Perfection*' (MS 35, 1973, 456-476)

Jacob, Ernest F.: *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443* (4 vols., Oxford, 1943-1947)
James, Montague R.: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, England, 1895)
James, Montague R.: *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924)
Jolliffe, Peter S.: *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974)
Jolliffe, Peter S., ed.: 'Two Middle English Tracts on the Contemplative Life' (MS 38, 1976, 85-121)
Jones, Dorothy: *Minor Works of Walter Hilton* (London, 1929)

Kane, George, ed.: *Piers Plowman: The A Version* (London, 1960)
Kane, George, and Donaldson, E. Talbot, ed.: *Piers Plowman: The B Version* (London, 1975)
Kane, Harold J.: *A Critical Edition of the 'Prickynge of Love'* (University of Pennsylvania Ph. D. dissertation, 1968)
Ker, Neil R.: *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 1 (Oxford, 1969)
King, Archdale A.: *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies* (London, 1930)
Kirchberger, Clare: *Walter Hilton: The Goad of Love* (London, 1952)
Knöll, Pius, ed.: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini confessionum libri tredecim* (CSEL 33, 1896)
Knowlton, Mary A.: *The Influence of Richard Rolle and of Julian of Norwich on the Middle English Lyrics* (The Hague, 1973)
Kock, Ernst A.: *Three Middle English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet* (EETS OS 120, 1902, 1972)

Lambertini, Prospero Lorenzo: *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* (4 vols., Bologna, 1734-1738)
Lampen, Willibrord: 'Pie Pelicane, Iesu Domine' (*Antonianum* 21, 1946, 68-92)
Lampen, Willibrord: 'Prosae seu poemata Petri de Candia O.F.M.' (AFH 23, 1930, 172-182)
Leclercq, Henri: 'Véronique' (DACL 15 2962-2966)
Leclercq, Jean, trans. Catharine Misrahi: *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York, 1961)

Leclercq, Jean, Talbot, Charles H. and Rochais, Henri-M., ed.: *S. Bernardi opera* (Rome, 1957-)

Legge, J. Wickham, ed.: *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis* (HBS 1, 5, 12, 1891-1897)

Legge, J. Wickham, ed.: *The Processional of the Nuns of Chester* (HBS 18, 1899)

Legge, M. Dominica: *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963)

Lietzmann, Hans: *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar* (Münster, 1921, 1967)

Lindberg, Conrad, ed.: *MS Bodley 959: Genesis-Baruch 3.20 in the Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible* (Stockholm, 1959-)

Lippe, Robert, ed.: *Missale romanum Mediolani, 1474* (HBS 17, 18, 1899, 1907)

Loenertz, Raymond J.: 'La légende parisienne de s. Denys l'aréopagite: sa genèse et son premier témoin' (*Analecta Bollandiana* 69, 1951, 217-237)

Lubac, Henri de: *Histoire et esprit: l'intelligence de l'Ecriture d'après Origène* (Paris, 1951)

Lubac, Henri de: *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Ecriture* (4 vols. in 3, Paris, 1959-1964)

Lubac, Henri de: '"Typologie" et "allégorisme"' (*Recherches de Science Religieuse* 34, 1947, 180-226)

Mack, Frances M., ed.: *Seinte Marherete* (EETS OS 193, 1934, 1958)

Mack, Frances M., ed.: *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle ... from Cotton MS Titus D. XVII* (EETS 252, 1963)

Mansi, Giovanni D.: *Sacrorum conciliorum ... collectio* (31 vols., Florence, 1759-1798)

Martin, Joseph, ed.: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: De doctrina christiana: De vera religione* (CCSL 32, 1962)

Marx, Friedrich, ed.: *Incerti auctoris de ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium lib. IV* (Leipzig, 1894, re-ed. Trillitsch, Winfried, 1964)

Maurer, Armand, ed.: *St. Thomas Aquinas (1274-1974): Commemorative Studies* (2 vols., Toronto, 1974)

Mayhew, Anthony L., ed.: *The Promptorium parvulorum* (EETS OS 102, 1908)

McCarthy, Adrian J., ed.: *A Book to a Mother* (Fordham Ph. D. dissertation, 1961)

McRoberts, David: 'The Fetternear Banner' (*Innes Review* 7, 1956, 69-86)

Meech, Sanford B., and Allen, Hope E., ed: *The Book of Margery Kempe* (EETS OS 212, 1940)

Meier-Ewart, Charity: 'A Middle English Version of the Fifteen Oes' (*Modern Philology* 68, 1970-1971, 355-361)

Meinsma, Koenraad O.: *Middeleeuwsche Bibliotheken* (Amsterdam, 1902)

Meunier, Gabriel ('un bénédictin de Farnborough'): *Julienne de Norwich ... Révélations de l'amour de dieu* (Paris, 1910)

Mills, C. A., ed.: *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes ... by John Capgrave* (London, 1911)

Molinari, Paul: *Julian of Norwich: the Teaching of a 14th Century English Mystic* (London, 1958)
Mone, Franz J.: *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (3 vols. Freiburg i.B., 1853-1855, 1964)
Moorat, Samuel A. J.: *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library* (3 vols., London, 1962-1973)
Moricca, Umberto, ed.: *Gregorii Magni dialogi libri IV* (Rome, 1924)
Morin, Germain, ed.: *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones* (2 vols., CCSL 103, 104, 1953)
Morrin, Margaret J., ed.: *John Waldeby, O.S.A. ... with ... his Tracts on the Ave Maria* (*Analecta Augustiniana* 35, 1972, 7-80)
Morris, Richard, ed.: *Chaucer's Translation of Boethius's 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'* (EETS ES 5, 1868, 1969)
Morris, Richard, ed.: *Legends of the Holy Rood* (EETS OS 46, 1881)
Morris, Richard, ed.: *Old English Homilies* (EETS OS 29, 34, 53, 1867-1873)
Morris, Richard, ed.: *The Blicking Homilies of the Tenth Century* (EETS OS 58, 1874)
Morris, Richard, ed.: *The Pricke of Conscience* (Berlin, 1863)
Mountain, William J., assisted by Glorie, Fr., ed.: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de Trinitate libri XV* (CCSL 50, 50ª, 1968)
Muir, Bernard J.: 'The Dialogue of St. Anselm and of our Lady' (MS, at press)
Murray, Elizabeth M.: *Richard Rolle's Comment on the Canticles, Edited from MS Trinity College, Dublin, 153* (Fordham Ph. D. dissertation, 1958)
Murray, Jessie, ed.: *Le Chateau d'amour de Robert Grosseteste* (Paris, 1918)

Nichols, John: *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (9 vols., London, 1812-1815)
Nims, M. Frances: *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (Toronto, 1967)

Ogilvie-Thomson, S.: 'Some Unpublished Verses in Lambeth Palace MS 559' (RES NS 25, 1974, 385-395)
Oliver, George: *The History and Antiquities of ... Beverley* (Beverley, 1829)
Orme, Nicholas: *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973)
Owen, Hywel W.: 'Another Augustine Baker Manuscript' (Ampe, Albert, ed.: *Dr. L. Reypens-Album*, Antwerp, 1964, 269-280)
Owen, Hywel W.: *An Edition of 'The Upholland Anthology'* (Liverpool B.A. dissertation, 1962)

Paues, Anna C.: *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (Cambridge, England, 1902)
Parker, George H.: *Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love* (London and Leicester, 1843)
Pearson, Karl: *Die Fronica: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter* (Strasburg, 1887)

Peck, Francis: *Academia Tertia; or, the Antiquarian Annals of Stamford* (London, 1727)
Petschenig, Michael, ed.: *Iohannis Cassiani Conlationes XXIIII* (Vienna, 1886)
Peltier, Adolphe C., ed.: *Bonaventurae ... opera omnia* (15 vols., Paris, 1864-1871)
Pantin, William A.: *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks* (3 vols., Camden Society 45, 47, 54, 1931-1937)
Pepler, Conrad: *The English Religious Heritage* (London, 1958)
Person, Henry A.: *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics* (²Seattle, 1962)
Petri Lombardi libri IV sententiarum, Studio ... PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (2 vols., ²Quaracchi, 1916)
Plumpe, Joseph C.: *Mater Ecclesia: an Enquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity* (Washington, D.C., 1943)
Poiret, Pierre: *Bibliotheca mysticorum selecta* (Amsterdam, 1708)
Pourrat, Pierre: 'Attributs divins (médiation des)' (DSp 1 1078-1098)
Powell, Lawrence F., ed.: *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* (Oxford, 1908)
Powell, Margaret J., ed.: *The Pauline Epistles contained in MS Parker 32* (EETS ES 116, 1916)
Power, Eileen E.: *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275-1535* (Cambridge, England, 1922)

Ragusa, Isa, and Green, Rosalie B.: *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Princeton, 1961)
Rahner, Karl: 'Les révélations privées: quelques remarques théologiques' (RAM 25, 1949, 506-514)
Rahner, Karl, et al., ed.: *Sacramentum Mundi* (6 vols., London and New York, 1968-1970)
Rahner, Karl., trans. Donceel, Joseph: *The Trinity* (New York, 1970)
Raine, James: *The Historians of the Church of York* I (Chronicles and Memorials, 1879)
Raynaud, Gaston: *Catalogue des manuscrits anglais de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1884)
Ricci, Seymour De: *A Hand-List of a Collection of Books and Manuscripts belonging to the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney at Dillington Hall, Norfolk* (Cambridge, England, 1906)
Rickert, Edith: *Ancient English Christmas Carols* (London, 1910)
Rigg, A. G., ed.: *The Poems of Walter of Wimborne* (Toronto, 1978)
Rigollot, L. M., ed.: *Ludolphus de Saxonia: Vita Jesu Christi* (4 vols., Paris, 1878)
Ringbom, Sixten: '*Maria in Sole* and the Virgin of the Rosary' (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, 1962, 326-330)
Rivière, J.: 'Jugement' (DTC 8 ii, 1804 e.s.)
Robbins, Rossall H.: 'Middle English Versions of "Christe qui lux es et dies"' (*Harvard Theological Review* 47, 1954, 55-63)

Robinson, Fred N., ed.: *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933)
Roth, Francis: *The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538* (2 vols., New York, 1961)
Russell-Smith, Joy: 'Walter Hilton and a Tract in Defence of the Veneration of Images' (*Dominican Studies* 7, 1954, 180-214)

Salu, Mary B.: *The Ancrene Riwle* (London, 1955)
Schlier, Heinrich, trans. anon.: *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament* (New York and Montreal, 1961)
Schmitt, Franciscus S., ed.: *S. Anselmi opera omnia* (6 vols., Seckau, then Edinburgh, 1938-1961)
Seccombe, Thomas: 'Peck, Francis, (1692-1743)' (DNB)
Sheed, Francis J., trans.: *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (New York, 1943)
Shepherd, Geoffrey, ed.: *Ancrene Wisse, Parts Six and Seven* (London, 1959)
Sheppard, Joseph B.: *Literae cantuarienses* (3 vols., Chronicles and Memorials, 1887-1889)
Shewring, Walter, trans.: *The Golden Epistle of Abbot William of St. Thierry* (London, 1930)
Simmons, Thomas F., ed.: *The Lay Folks Mass Book* (EETS OS 71, 1879)
Singer, Charles J.: *From Magic to Science* (New York, 1958)
Sisam, Kenneth, ed.: *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* (Oxford, 1921)
Skeat, Walter W., ed.: *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* (2 vols., Oxford, 1886)
Smedick, Lois K.: 'Cursus in Middle English: *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God* Reconsidered' (MS 37, 1975, 387-406)
Smith, Albert H.: *English Place-Name Elements* II (Cambridge, England, 1956)
Smithers, Geoffrey V.: 'Two Typological Terms in the *Ancrene Riwle*' (MÆ 34, 1965, 126-128)
Southern, Richard W., ed.: *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer* (Oxford, 1972)
Southern, Richard W., and Schmitt, Franciscus S., ed.: *Memorials of St. Anselm* (London, 1969)
Spearritt, Placid: 'The Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality among the Exiled English Black Monks' (*American Benedictine Review* 25, 1974, 287-309)
Spicq, Ceslaus: '*Υπομονή* — Patientia' (*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques* 19, 1930, 95-105)
Squire, Aelred: *Aelred of Rievaulx: a Study* (London, 1969)
Stallings, M. Jordan: *Meditaciones de passione Christi olim Sancto Bonaventurae attributae* (Washington, D.C., 1965)
Stanley, David: 'Contemplation of the Gospels, Ignatius Loyola and the Contemporary Christian' (*Theological Studies* 29, 1968, 417-443)
Stone, Robert K.: *Middle English Prose Style: Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich* (The Hague, 1970)

Szövérffy, Josef: *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung* (3 vols., Berlin, 1964-1965)

Tait, James: 'Scrope, Thomas' (DNB)
Talbot, Charles H.: *Sermones inediti B. Aelredi Abbatis Rievallensis* (Rome, 1952)
Tanner, Norman P.: *Popular Religion in Norwich with Special Reference to the Evidence of Wills, 1370-1532* (Oxford D. Phil., dissertation, 1973)
Teresa of Avila, trans. Edgar A. Peers: *Complete Works* (3 vols., New York, 1946)
'St., G. T.' (i.e. Tersteegen, Gerhard): *Auserlesene Lebensbeschreibungen Heiliger Seelen* (3 vols., Essen, vol. 3 1786)
Thien, Hermann: *Über die englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel, 1906)
Thomae Aquinatis, Sancti ... opera omnia (Parma, 1852-1873, 1948-1949)
Thomae de Aquino, S. ... Summa theologiae (Ottawa, 1941-)
Thomas Aquinas: *Summa contra gentiles* (Rome, 1934)
Thouless, Robert H.: *The Lady Julian: a Psychological Study* (London, 1924)
Tout, Thomas F.: 'Ufford, William de, second earl of Suffolk of his House' (DNB)
Thurston, Herbert: 'Anima Christi' (DSp 1 670-672)
Tolkien, John R. R., and Gordon, Eric V., rev. Davis, Norman: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Oxford, 1967)

Underhill, Evelyn, ed.: *The Scale of Perfection by Walter Hilton* (London, 1923)
Utley, Francis L.: 'Dialogues, Debates and Catechisms' (in Hartung, Albert E., ed.: *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, vol. 3, New Haven, Connecticut, 1972)

Vandenbrouke, Francois: 'Démon en occident' (DSp 3 212-234)
Verbraken, Pierre-P., ed.: *Sancti Gregorii Magni expositiones in Canticum Canticorum, in Librum Primum Regum* (CCSL 144, 1963)
Vogüé, Adalbert de, and Neufville, Jean, ed.: *La règle de saint Benoît* (SC 181, 1972)

Wallner, Björn, ed.: *An Exposition of Qui habitat and Bonum est* (Lund, 1954)
Wallner, Björn, ed.: *A Commentary on the 'Benedictus'* (Lund, 1957)
Walsh, James: 'Guillaume de Saint-Thierry et les sens spirituels' (RAM 35, 1959, 27-42)
Walsh, James, ed.: *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality* (London, 1965)
Walsh, James: 'Thomas Gallus et l'effort contemplatif' (*Revue d'Histoire de la Spiritualité*, formerly RAM, 51, 1975, 17-42)
Walsh, James, and Colledge, Eric: *Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and of God* (London, 1961)
Walsh, Killian: *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux 2: On the Song of Songs* (Spencer, Massachusetts, 1971)

Walther, Hans: *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi* (5 vols., Göttingen, 1964-1967)
Warrack, Grace: *Revelations of Divine Love, Recorded by Julian, Anchoress at Norwich* (London, 1901)
Watkin, Aelred: *Archdeaconry of Norwich: Inventory of Church Goods, temp. Edward III* (2 vols., Norfolk Record Society, 1947)
Watkin, Edward I.: *Poets and Mystics* (London, 1953)
Welter, J.-Th.: *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris and Toulouse, 1927)
Weymouth, Richard F., ed.: *Castel off Loue* (London, 1864)
Westra, M. Salvina, ed.: *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God* (The Hague, 1950)
Wilkins, Augustus S., ed.: *M. Tulli Ciceronis ... libri de oratore tres* (Oxford, ³1895)
Wilkins, Eithne: *The Rose-Garden Game* (London, 1969)
Willems, Radbodus: *Augustinus Aurelius: in Iohannis evangelium* (CCSL 36, 1954)
Willems, Radbodus, ed.: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini in Johannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV* (CCSL 36, 1954)
Wilmart, André: 'Le "Jubilus" sur le nom de Jésus dit de saint Bernard' (*Ephemerides Liturgicae* 57, 1943, 1-285)
Wolters, Clifford: *Julian of Norwich: Revelations of Divine Love* (Harmondsworth, 1966)
Woolf, Rosemary: *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968)
Wordsworth, Christopher, ed.: *Horae Eboracenses* (Surtees Society 132, 1920)
Wright, Thomas, ed.: *The Chester Plays* (2 vols., London, 1843-1847)

Zingerle, Anton, ed.: *S. Hilarii Pictaviensis tractatus super Psalmos* (CSEL 22, 1891)

Ad nostrum, 471, 720
Adam lay ibowndyn, 412
Adoro te devote, 547
Aelred of Rievaulx, *De institutione inclusarum*, 348, 491, 620, 637
Sermones inediti, 527
Alcuin, 447, 626
Alysoun, 250
Ancrene Riwle, 48, 53, 77, 202, 203, 214, 306, 326, 430, 438, 462, 491, 530, 601, 648
MS Nero A.xiv, 306, 496, 528
Vernon MS, 203, 211, 222, 227, 244, 264, 347, 348, 350, 370, 423, 441, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 467, 490, 492, 495, 500, 504, 506, 533, 534, 586, 603, 629, 630, 650, 651, 666, 667, 668, 690, 693, 704, 715, 716
Anima Christi, 58, 272, 296, 394, 608
Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur deus homo*, 330
Meditatio ad concitandum timorem, 491, 492
Oratio ad sanctum Paulum apostolum, 606
Pseudo-Anselm, *De custodia interioris hominis*, 523
Dialogus B. Mariae et Anselmi de passione domini, 286
Oratio ad deum patrem, 358
Aristotle, *Physica*, 732
Athanasian Creed, 303, 707
Athanasius, *Vita sancti Antonii*, 88
Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 216, 571, 600, 612, 642
De sancta virginitate, 580, 584
De trinitate, 218, 295, 545, 575
Enarrationes in Psalmos, 330, 571, 600, 619, 625, 642
Epistolae, 511, 554
In epistolam Johannis ad Parthos, 532, 673
Sermones, 587
Tractatus in Johannem, 333, 512, 607

Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus*, 558
Bede, *Hexaemeron*, 559
In Lucam, 512, 621, 639
In Marcum, 536, 617
In Matthaeum, 620
Super Parabolas Salamonis, 598
Behold Jesus on the Cross, 418
Benedictine Rule (Latin and English), 219, 348, 371
Beniamyn Minor (*Cloud*-author), 332, 334, 335, 457, 459, 472, 473, 497, 498, 511, 573, 583, 602, 613, 615, 641, 669, 671, 693
Bernard of Clairvaux, 624
Sermones super Cantica, 205, 394, 658
Pseudo-Bernard, *Golden Epistle*, 301, 321
Bird with Four Feathers, The, 207
Boethius, see Geoffrey Chaucer
Bonaventure, *Evangelii sancti Lucae expositio*, 36
III Sententiarum, 550
Vitis mystica, 233, 361
Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Meditationes de passione Christi* (English), 201, 202, 233, 234, 323, 328, 361, 370, 597
Meditations on the Life of Christ, 203, 204, 205, 225, 233, 234, 294, 324, 361, 363, 370, 395, 512, 535, 536
Privity of the Passion, The, 52, 201, 281, 294, 328, 342, 358, 360, 363, 364, 366, 376, 381, 418, 515, 597
Bonum est (English), 232, 334, 338, 411, 430, 472, 572, 610, 679, 684, 691, 698
Book of Privy Counselling (*Cloud*-author), 213, 221, 303, 306, 335, 336, 354, 371, 419, 434, 452, 457, 463, 492, 493, 501, 518, 533, 562, 564, 577, 591, 616, 651, 690, 710, 719, 721, 724
Book to a Mother, A, 203, 205, 207, 210, 344, 524
Bridget of Sweden, 201
Brother, abide, 225

Candet nudatum pectus, 357
Cassian, *Conlationes*, 648
Institutiones, 348
Catholicon anglicum, 663
Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, The, 237
Chastising of God's Children, The, 23, 36, 87,

219, 220, 255, 269, 321, 326, 334, 343, 346, 347, 353, 356, 399, 406, 408, 411, 439, 453, 456, 464, 465, 466, 467, 478, 599, 602, 603, 604, 606, 624, 648, 651, 655, 688, 691, 697
Chauncon de noustre dame (English), 235, 243
Christ's Testament, 363
Christ's Three Songs to Man, 357
Pseudo-Cicero, *Ad Herennium* 226, 521, 643, 663, 675
Clement of Alexandria, 446
Clement V, 471
Cloud of Unknowing, The, 220, 221, 224, 272, 277, 297, 304, 309, 332, 355, 372, 383, 424, 430, 433, 436, 437, 440, 441, 466, 479, 484, 499, 502, 512, 525, 531, 538, 548, 550, 551, 552, 566, 573, 574, 602, 624, 636, 654, 660, 671, 675, 686, 688, 699, 700, 727, 734
Constantinople III, 532
Contemplations of the Love and Dread of God, 255

David, 255, 446
De arte lacrimandi (English), 298
De ornamentis verborum, 382
De pauperie salvatoris, 536
De sancta trinitate et operibus, 536
De vitis patrum, 636, 637
Deonise Hid Diuinite (*Cloud*-author), 346, 402
Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names*, 218, 614, 686, 709, 723
Letter to Polycarp, 368
Dispute between Mary and the Cross, 329, 361, 363
Dulcis Jesu memoria, see Jubilus

Edmund of Canterbury, *Mirror of Holy Church, The*, 286, 364, 365, 429, 483, 484, 583, 612
Speculum religiosorum, 385, 583
Eliot, T. S., *Four Quartets*, 245
English Prose Benedictus, 690, 694
Epistle of Discretion of Spirits, An (*Cloud*-author), 456, 507, 645, 689, 693
Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings, An (*Cloud*-author), 466, 477, 509, 544, 568, 654, 692
Epistle of Prayer, An (*Cloud*-author), 214, 301, 335, 452, 463, 468, 475, 514, 531, 567, 583, 673, 674, 692, 729

Fifteen Oes (Latin and English), 52, 58, 86, 201, 212, 217, 234, 394, 418
Folower to the Donet, 370

Geoffrey Chaucer, *Boethius*, 45, 48, 226, 336, 337, 338, 339, 406, 424, 433, 506, 577, 578, 640, 677, 730
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova* 370, 444, 445, 528, 534
Glossa ordinaria, 289, 537, 671
'Gospel of the Birth of Mary', The, 297
Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, 317
Homilies on Ezechiel, 498
In librum primum Regum, 704
Moralia, 662, 683, 704
Guigo II, *Ladder of Four Rungs, A*, 326, 332, 355, 375, 379, 462, 473, 476, 477, 478, 498, 508, 551, 552, 581, 622, 663

Henry of Mondeville, 631
Henry Suso, *Horologium sapientiae*, 2, 36, 52, 375, 381, 384, 408, 410, 467, 620, 635, 662, 668, 730
Her Son recovers us from Adam's Fall, 534
Hugh of Saint Victor, 202, 224
De arrha animae, 326

I would be clad in Christ's Skin, 203, 285
Improperia, 234
Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 550

James Grenehalgh, 3, 450
James of Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 205, 297
John of Beverley, 447
John Grimston, 203, 285
John Pecham, 392
John Ruysbroek, 399, 456, 466
Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God, The, 215, 470, 481, 502, 514, 532, 561, 562, 563, 573, 641, 658, 659
John Sheppey, 714
John Whiterigg (the 'Monk of Farne'), 302, 394, 395
Jubilus, 237, 466, 509, 597

Lamentations of the Virgin Mary, The, 266
Lanfranc of Milan, 631
Lauda Sion, 586
Lay Folks' Mass Book, 258, 463, 544, 556
Lewis de Fontibus, 261
Lorde Jhesu Cryste, good almyghty, 445

Ludoph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*, 207, 208, 209, 220, 229, 252, 348, 349, 418, 523, 623, 650

Maiden Makeles, The, 317, 330
Margaret d'Oyngt, 616, 617
Margery Kempe, 35, 38, 53, 204, 219, 222, 255, 276, 408, 432, 515, 544, 612
Mechtild of Hackborn, *Special Grace, The Book of*, 2, 153, 172, 210, 237, 295, 302, 304, 306, 323, 360, 361, 370, 380, 415, 432, 450, 463, 465, 467, 473, 479, 527, 529, 530, 537, 560, 565, 584, 596, 606, 608, 640
Meeting in the Wood, The, 523
Mirror of Saint Edmund, The, 258, 259, 364, 365, 429, 483, 484
Mirror of Simple Souls, The, 471, 720

Now Springs the Spray, 250

Obsecro te domina Maria, 243
Of Active Life and Contemplative, 613
On Chattering in Church, 270, 648
Oratio de septem verbis Christi, 243
Oratio super populum, 411
Our Lady's Imprecation, 342, 343

Pearl, 90, 353, 662
Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, 294, 324, 367, 368
Peter Lombard, *Libri sententiarum*, 579
Physiologus latinus versio Y, 597
Pie pelicane Jesu domine, 597
Piers Plowman A, 305, 403, 404, 415, 425, 431, 510
Piers Plowman B, 244, 348, 403, 404, 412, 418, 428, 439, 443, 453, 528
Piers Plowman C, 248, 429, 525, 533, 542
Plato, 202
Poor Caitiff, The, 2, 363, 394, 446, 528
Praeconium Paschale, 388, 412, 504, 607
Promptorium parvulorum, 324, 326, 361, 470, 471, 516, 596, 658

Qui habitat (English), 37, 425, 434, 454, 455, 457, 482, 498, 543, 551, 624, 693, 696, 703

Richard Ledrede, 214
Richard Rolle, *Commandment, The*, 226
Ego dormio, 357
Exposicio, 153, 226, 263, 326, 402, 415, 477, 479, 480, 481, 561, 562, 583, 596
Incendium amoris, 226, 484
Job, 207
Meditations on the Passion, 357, 374
On daily Work, 465
Richard of Saint Victor, *Beniamin Maior*, 214
Explicatio in Cantica canticorum, 399
In Apocalypsim libri viii, 557
Robert Grosseteste, *Castel off Loue*, 525, 536

Saint Katherine, 652
Salve regina, 534
Sawles Warde, 523
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 255, 363, 697
Song of Love-Longing, A, 242
Song of the Nativity, A, 298
Speculum christiani (English), 38, 226, 237, 635
Stabat mater (English), 349
Stimulus amoris (English), 2, 52, 72, 87, 205, 219, 322, 328, 343, 344, 345, 405, 408, 410, 411, 433, 442, 445, 449, 454, 457, 458, 459, 470, 476, 481, 497, 512, 522, 534, 623, 667, 669, 680, 682, 711
Sunset on Calvary, 286
Swete Jhesu now wol I synge, 237, 250

Talking of the Love of God, A, 48, 469, 470
Tertullian, 269, 540, 685
Ad martyres, 607
Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 228, 292, 550, 583, 612, 671, 672, 701, 727, 733
In Psalmos expositio, 330
Thomas Gallus, *Explanatio super De divinis nominibus*, 686, 709, 733
Tractatus de dominica oratione (English), 415
Treatise of Discretion of Spirits, A (Cloud-author), 277, 356, 405, 551

Veni sancte spiritus, 601

Walter Hilton, 202, 205
Eight Chapters on Perfection, 261, 295, 322, 339, 354, 456, 464, 465, 466, 469, 476, 477, 486, 493, 621
Scale of Perfection, The, Book I (MS Cambridge UL Add. 6686), 215, 245, 262,

277, 325, 327, 329, 406, 427, 451, 454, 455, 458, 462, 468, 469, 475, 528, 567, 583, 656, 685, 703, 718
Scale, Book II (MS BL Harley 6579), 205, 245, 254, 271, 277, 295, 308, 309, 314, 329, 347, 349, 354, 371, 383, 396, 402, 416, 419, 420, 421, 427, 433, 434, 464, 477, 480, 481, 485, 490, 496, 498, 500
'When a solle begynyth to fele grace ...', 451
William de Guilleville, *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, 714
William Herebert, 239
William of Saint Thierry, *Aenigma fidei* 582, 588
De natura corporis et animae, 568, 575, 576, 580, 611, 616
De natura et dignitate amoris, 522, 574
De sacramento altaris, 586
Expositio super Cantica canticorum, 570, 571, 573, 579, 584, 587, 602
Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos, 566, 577, 578, 588, 607, 627
Meditativae orationes, 385, 563, 570, 588, 639, 641, 643, 645, 657, 658, 660, 663, 678
Speculum fidei, 563, 564, 566, 593, 596, 600, 601, 652, 654, 661
Woefully Arrayed, 239

INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL CITATIONS

Genesis 1: 730
1.2: 622
1.27: 566
1.31: 260
2.5: 581
2.7: 526, 559, 566
2.17: 566
3.8: 605
3.17: 530, 531
3.17-18: 523
3.21: 528
4.10: 344
14.18: 531
37.3 e.s.: 543

Exodus 3.14: 340
15.11: 436
16.3: 523
16.4: 530
20.12: 600
32.9-10: 439
33.20-23: 657

Leviticus 16.22: 523
19.18: 501

Deuteronomy 5.16: 600
6.5: 309, 470, 501, 675
11.22: 307, 694
31.6: 500
32.4: 338
32.39: 409, 691

Judges 9.51: 523

I Kings 9.6: 576
24.4: 606

II Kings 11: 522
11, 12 e.s.: 446
22.3: 523

III Kings 3.9: 277
8.45-50: 718
11.4: 446

IV Kings 19.30-31: 542

II Paralipomenon 20.15: 453

I Esdras 9.6: 688

II Esdras 8.10: 390

Tobias 8.8: 558
13.2: 691

Judith 8.27: 449
10.7: 383
15.10: 398

Job 1.21: 508
4.6: 683
4.12: 481
5.17: 409
7.20: 662
13.15: 460
14.1: 207
20.5: 226
21.13: 226
26.11: 683
28.25: 501
30.15: 405
34.14-15: 571

Psalms 4.7: 379
4.9: 354
8.5-6: 470
12.1: 697
15.5: 248
15.7 e.s.: 489
15.9: 354
17.6: 235
18.6: 536
18.13: 659
20.6: 416
21-30: 325
21.3: 460, 469
21.8: 348
21.15: 360
22.1: 225

22.1-3: 565
22.4-6: 604
24.4: 512
24.8-10: 500
26.1: 325, 354, 677
26.8-9: 657
30: 542
31.1-2: 445
31.10: 449
35.10: 469
35.10-11: 696, 722
36.4: 333
36.5: 468
39.15-16: 688
40.13: 522
41.3: 204, 420, 619
41.3-5: 572
41.4: 619, 642
44: 330
44.3: 328, 330, 526
44.3 e.s.: 375
50: 552
50.3-19: 696
54.5-9: 671
54.8-9: 267
58.17: 523
59.3: 495
64.10: 343
68.21: 202, 354, 711
68.22: 363
68.29: 428
68.33: 431
69.5: 431
69.6: 244
72.22-23: 522
72.25-26: 302
72.28: 430, 694
72.25-26: 302
72.28: 430, 551
79.9-16: 530
84.5-9: 454
84.11: 525
87.16: 529
88.3: 501
90.15: 352, 624, 693
91.14-15: 610
92.1: 268
93.9: 397
96.10: 222, 457
101.27: 307
101.28: 419, 479
102.14: 526
102.19: 543
103.1-4: 526
106.7: 682
106.10-12: 663
108.21: 487
109.1-2: 540
110.3-4: 429
110.10: 615
115.15: 603
117.23-24: 436
118: 654
118.32: 514
118.34: 581
118.57: 248
118.132-133: 510
118.164: 510
120.7: 442
121.3: 508
127.3: 384
129.3-4: 552
130.1: 512
131.13-14: 539
138.8-10: 525
138.9-10: 326
141.6: 248
144.9, 16: 524
144.13: 654
144.18: 662

Proverbs 3.4: 348
8.22-30: 483
8.30-31: 728
8.31: 268
12.21: 355
20.9: 442
24.16: 510
28.1: 647
31.1: 598

Ecclesiastes 3.11-15: 337
7.21: 718
7.24-25: 573
8.1: 239
11.3: 338

Canticles 1.2: 263
1.3: 481
1.4: 526
1.5: 571
2-6: 477
2.14: 394
2.17: 250

4.7: 458
4.9: 205
5.6: 524
6.8: 399
8.6: 550, 603
8.6-7: 385

Wisdom 1.1-2: 677
2.23-24: 412
2.24: 347
3.1-5: 510
5.16: 502
7.10-12: 563
7.14: 507
7.16: 338
7.21: 336
7.27: 336
10.1-2: 554
11.21: 501
11.23-26: 212
11.25: 307, 318
12.16: 340
15.1-2: 443
15.3: 542
16.21: 548
18.14: 540
18.24: 527

Ecclesiasticus 2.2-10: 607
2.19: 258
3.1-18: 600
3.23: 438
4.18-21: 454
6.14-17: 687
11.4: 407
13.9: 439
18.22: 461
24.7-8: 326
24.24-25: 563
25.16: 672
35.11: 392
39.39-40: 337
43.14: 658
49.3: 544

Isaias 3.1: 502
5.4: 239
6.3: 729
6.4: 681
10.16: 502
10.33: 502
11.1: 513, 542
11.2: 534
11.2-3: 601, 672
12.3: 546
14.12-14: 425
30.18: 442
33.4-5: 405
37.31: 542
40.1-2: 407, 503
41.10-13: 549
42.1: 517, 535
42.1-9: 513
43.25: 670
45.3: 680
49.1-13: 513
49.8: 701
49.13: 212
50.4-9: 513
50.5-6: 535
50.6: 361
51.1: 430
51.1-5: 513
51.3: 516
52.6-7: 513
52.9-53.12: 513
52.13: 544
52.14-15: 616
53.1-12: 513
53.2: 281, 330
53.4: 225, 515, 516, 535
53.5: 515, 535, 540
53.7: 328, 535
53.8: 516
53.10: 517
53.10-11: 349
53.10 e.s.: 517
54: 681, 695
54.1-13: 513
54.7: 226
54.8: 681
54.10: 681
54.13: 430, 681
54.14: 333
55.6: 694
61.1-3: 514
61.10: 390, 544
62.5: 546
63.3: 711
63.3, 5: 530
63.7: 502
64.4: 237, 455, 680
65.17: 386, 618
65.17-18: 730

65.18-19: 642
66.9: 599
66.12-13: 599
66.13: 546
66.14: 222

Jeremias 2.2: 351
8.21: 547
22.22: 457

Lamentations 1.12: 235, 365, 374
1.12-18: 201
3.65: 227

Ezechiel 11.19: 205
33.11: 697
36.26: 205
40 e.s.: 640
47: 577
47.12: 531

Daniel 3.42-43: 434
3.50: 354
3.52 e.s.: 211
7.9-13: 589

Osee 6.2-3: 616
11.4: 479, 524
12.8: 327

Habacuc 1.2: 469

Zacharias 1.13: 212
13.6: 205

Matthew 3.16-17: 535, 644
3.17: 580, 588, 726
4.11: 364
5.3: 252
5.3-10: 715
5.5: 620
5.5-8: 664
5.6: 252
5.39: 459
5.43-48: 501
5.44: 459
6.1: 538
6.9: 248
6.9-10: 258
6.10: 429
6.22: 720
6.30: 307
7.7-8: 332
7.8: 431
8.8: 449, 699
8.25: 231, 355
9.2: 523
9.20: 452
9.21: 452, 690
9.24: 409
9.27: 512
10: 252
10.29: 422
11.19: 687
11.25-27: 384
11.28: 455
11.28-29: 215, 339, 410
11.29: 294, 454, 506
11.30: 339
12.50: 600
13.44: 529, 680
13.46: 662
14.30: 231, 355
15.4: 600
15.25, 28: 469
16.9: 371
16.21-23: 276
16.25-26: 664
17.2: 379
17.8: 479
18.2-4: 605
18.3-4: 494
18.7: 405
19.6: 568, 583
19.16-19: 579
19.17: 212, 493
19.27-29: 261
19.28: 715
20: 353
20.22: 364
20.28: 307
20.30: 512
21.15: 422
21.22: 260
21.33-42: 530
22: 351
22.16: 565
22.37: 470
22.37-40: 309, 501, 727
23: 487
23.8: 222
23.37: 410
24.15 e.s.: 523
24.35: 425

24.36: 251
24.43: 524
25: 487
25.21: 381, 476
25.21-23: 352
25.31-46: 347
25.34: 352, 639
25.41: 348, 425, 428
26.38: 354
26.38-39: 517
26.39: 248, 288, 522
26.64: 349
26.67: 324
26.69-75: 446
27: 368
27.45: 291, 631
27.45-46: 522
27.46: 325
28.9: 506
28.10: 506
28.20: 408, 431, 709

Mark 1.31-32: 537
9.1-2: 543
9.6: 644
10.14; 617
10.21: 476
10.47: 512
13.4: 415
13.31-32: 537, 538
13.32: 415, 622
14.33: 354, 517
14.36: 288, 536
15.34: 325

Luke 1.35: 399
1.37: 426
1.38: 297
1.42: 329
1.74-75: 353
1.78: 430
2.9: 247
2.10: 437
2.14: 689
2.18-19: 510
2.52: 567
3.22: 384
4.18: 430
6.22-23: 452
6.36: 501
7.36-50: 446
7.47: 367
9.29: 379
9.35: 535
9.62: 531
10.29-37: 459
10.30-37: 501
11.1: 475
11.9 e.s.: 475, 731
12: 252
12.33: 463
12.37: 351
13: 236
14: 252
14.11: 656
15: 351, 353
15.7: 384, 446
15.10: 352, 614
15.11-17: 711
15.14: 523
15.18-20: 705
17.10: 436, 525
17.13: 512
17.21: 639
18.1: 456
18.10-14: 450
18.13: 371
18.26-27: 426
18.38: 512
20.35-36: 511
21.19: 356, 621
22.15: 287, 328, 377, 536
22.43: 517
23.42-43: 561
23.46: 542
24.25: 460
24.26: 384
24.30-32: 506
24.31: 479
24.32: 479
24.36: 506

John 1.1: 582, 618
1.2: 318
1.4: 559, 724
1.9: 724
1.12: 655
1.12-13: 559
1.14: 510, 724
1.14, 16: 414
1.16: 724
1.17: 708
3.8: 356

3.16: 377, 577
3.16-18: 605
3.29: 687
4.6: 530
4.34: 248, 530
5.17: 383, 555
5.17-20: 479, 529
5.19: 555
5.19-20: 383
5.20: 518
5.21: 616
6.35: 302
6.44: 414, 593, 656, 678
6.44-45: 695
6.45: 221, 333, 430
6.47 e.s.: 655
6.51-52: 530
6.69: 302
8.10-11: 407
8.12: 724
8.29: 248
8.56: 538
10.9: 371
10.38: 724
12.26: 352
12.32: 421, 656
12.35: 724
12.36: 724
13.1, 3: 529
13.13: 222
13.13-16: 313
13.33, 36: 529
14-17: 655
14.2: 289, 470
14.2-5: 529
14.5-6: 565
14.6: 479, 483, 493, 563, 678, 682
14.8: 318
14.9-10: 383, 561
14.10: 318
14.16-17: 641
14.16-18: 212
14.18: 244
14.19-20: 520
14.20-24: 478
14.21-23: 628, 713
14.23: 318, 562
14.26: 377, 414
14.30: 630
15.1 e.s. 607
15.1-7: 530
15.5: 336
15.9: 583
15.12: 318
15.13-14: 630
15.18-21: 409
16.7: 355
16.7-8: 684
16.12: 437, 680
16.12-13: 726
16.13: 431
16.16-19: 529
16.19-20: 380
16.19-21: 529
16.20-22: 677
16.21: 349, 616
16.22: 318, 414
16.25-27: 462
16.26-27: 261
16.27: 212, 576
16.32: 711
16.33: 417
17: 557
17.4: 530
17.10: 384
17.11-12: 559
17.13: 318
17.18: 514
17.20: 576
17.20-21: 568
17.21: 417
17.21-26: 321
17.22: 352
17.22-23: 695, 699
17.23: 563
17.24: 561
18-19: 368
18.18: 358
18.22-23: 370
18.29-38: 368
19.25: 201, 243, 286, 398
19.28: 233, 418
19.31: 542
20.1: 542
20.17: 506
20.19: 506
20.19-29: 446
20.26: 506
20.28: 382

Acts 2.22-23: 541
2.37: 440
7: 441
7.55: 383, 525

8: 446
8.30-31: 512
8.35: 512
9: 446
9.1-7: 608
17.23: 369
17.24 e.s.: 612
17.28: 506, 507, 585
17.34: 368

Romans 1.17: 434, 578
1.23: 327
2.4: 614
2.5-6: 587
2.11: 505
4.21: 458
4.7-8: 445
5: 344, 404
5.1-2: 435
5.5 e.s.: 386
5.5-17: 344
5.6: 709
5.8-9: 454, 507
5.8-18: 568
5.9: 376
5.12: 247
5.13: 412
5.15: 387
5.20-21: 386, 589
6.1-2: 456
6.12: 406
7.23: 440
7.24: 354, 511
7.24-25: 441
8: 710
8.15-16: 475
8.17: 215, 381, 452
8.18: 352, 495
8.19-21: 508
8.19-23: 612
8.24: 627
8.26-27: 711
8.32: 541
8.35: 355, 583
8.35-39: 231, 655
8.38-39: 444
8.39: 577
9.16: 436
10.17: 424
11.16: 542
11.16-24: 607
11.17: 581
11.24: 581
11.33: 415
11.36: 295, 583
12.2: 258
12.3: 415, 494
12.5: 307
12.17-21: 589
13.10: 501
13.11-12: 671
13.14: 307
14.17: 500
15.4: 427
15.13: 547

I Corinthians 1.6-9: 587
1.18: 312
1.23: 236
1.23-24: 537
1.28-31: 484
1.30: 396, 549, 589
2.3: 703
2.7: 240
2.7-8: 550
2.9: 237
2.9-10.12: 455
2.10: 462
2.11-16: 486
2.16: 234
3.7-8: 476
3.9: 356, 473, 581
3.11: 453, 458
3.17: 643
4.15: 600
5.19: 643
6.17: 214, 301, 333, 475, 560, 583
9.25: 210
10.12: 548, 720
10.13: 347
11.27-29: 655
12.4-6: 631
12.7: 222, 319
12.11: 727
12.11-12: 612
12.12: 537
12.31: 708
13: 231, 309, 315, 726
13.8: 444
13.10: 221
13.11-12: 708
13.12: 423, 444, 481
14.34: 222
15.8-9: 699

15.9: 446
15.10: 462
15.21-22: 521
15.22: 307, 349
15.22-24: 532
15.28: 336
15.34: 671
15.41: 289
15.45: 529
15.45-49: 532
15.52-53: 380
15.54-57: 614

II Corinthians 1.3: 212, 515
1.3-4: 355, 624, 646
1.3-5: 201
1.3-7: 702
1.4: 306
1.5: 407
1.5, 7: 381
3.17: 601
3.17-18: 481
3.18: 379, 644
4.6 e.s.: 501
4.10-11: 405
4.11: 285
5.14: 222
5.15: 712
5.17: 537
5.21: 327, 535
6.2: 701
6.16: 643
8.9: 536
9.7: 392
9.8: 436
11.13-14: 277
11.24-12.9: 507
12.5-6: 634
12.9: 634

Galatians 2.19: 285, 379
2.20: 285, 490, 629, 709
3.29: 215
4.4: 529, 709
4.4-5: 541
4.7: 215
4.19: 600
5.6: 709
5.19-23: 506
5.22: 534, 676
5.22-23: 507
5.24: 567
6.14: 236, 370
6.17: 205

Ephesians 1.3-4: 489
1.4: 462, 471
1.4-5: 556, 728
1.10: 557
2.3-6: 534
2.4-5: 577
2.14: 493
3.1-10: 494
3.2: 494
3.14-15: 590
3.16: 578
3.16-21: 628
3.17: 453, 505, 563, 571
3.17-18: 542
3.17-19: 470, 490, 531
3.18-19: 585
3.19: 456, 570
3.20: 390, 480, 564, 715
4: 220
4.4: 702
4.4-13: 567
4.7: 727
4.8-10: 644
4.10: 565
4.12-13: 537, 580
4.15: 485
4.15-16: 556
4.23-24: 464, 601
4.24: 307
5.1-2: 210
5.25-26: 410
5.25-27: 565
5.29-30: 608
6.2: 600
6.11-13: 548

Philippians 1.6: 437
1.21-22: 208, 289
1.21-23: 619
1.23: 209, 481
2.1-11: 539
2.2: 629
2.4-8: 529
2.5: 234, 285
2.5-11: 590
2.6: 539
2.6-7: 582
2.10-11: 539
2.12: 703

2.13: 254, 577
3.10: 285, 650
3.14: 431
3.20-21: 566, 568
4.1: 384
4.5: 526
4.6: 466

Colossians 1.9-10: 485
1.10-11: 495, 728
1.12-20: 611
1.13-20: 557
1.16-19: 367
1.19-20: 507, 540
1.19-22: 557
1.20, 22: 569
1.24: 379, 650
2.2-3: 424, 680, 728
2.3: 560
2.6-7: 578
2.9: 434
2.9-10: 560
3.1-2: 644
3.3: 502, 507, 570
3.9: 601
3.9-10: 464
3.10: 307
3.12: 526
3.14: 501
4.12: 548

I Thessalonians 4.3: 396
4.15-16: 418
5.16-18: 719
5.17-18: 465

I Timothy 1.14-15: 387
1.15: 595
2.1-3: 260
2.1-4: 472
2.3-4: 535
2.4: 458
2.9: 526
2.15: 526
6.17: 469

II Timothy 1.14: 429
2.10-12: 381
2.12: 452
2.19: 571
2.25: 526
4.7: 539

Titus 3.4-5: 670
3.7: 215

Hebrews 1.1-3: 247
1.1: 713
1.4: 643, 708
1.11-12: 349
1.13: 540
1.14: 710
2.7: 582
2.9-17: 533
2.10-11: 420, 540
2.11: 535
2.17: 221, 546, 556, 594
2.17-18: 540
3.6-4.11: 714
4.12: 467
4.14-15: 714
4.15: 330
5.7-8: 376, 569
5.8: 586, 594
5.25-27: 565
7.1 e.s.: 531
8.1: 544
9.11-12: 364
10.5 e.s.: 391
10.5-9: 537
10.7: 377
10.10: 385
10.15-17: 391
10.20: 565
10.31: 629
10.38-39: 578
11.1: 564
11.33: 650
11.40: 421
12.2: 222, 349, 377, 414
12.6: 409
12.11: 377, 451
12.28: 466
12.29: 698
13.20-21: 707

James 1.2: 451
1.6: 460
1.12: 544
1.15: 412
1.17: 518
2.5: 215
4.6: 348
5.7: 531

I Peter 1.4: 353
1.5-6: 264
1.7: 601, 615
1.19: 282
2.2: 596
2.3-4: 655
2.24: 225
2.25: 640
3.8: 408
4.13: 390
5.5: 348
5.6-7: 333
5.8: 636
5.10: 381

II Peter 1.19: 250, 610, 724

I John 1.1: 574
1.5: 724
1.7: 724
1.8: 442, 511, 718
2.20, 27: 706
3-4: 396
3.1: 667
3.1-16: 578
3.2: 254, 314, 330, 423, 481, 525, 661
3.9-10: 443
3.10: 685
3.14-17: 220
3.19-20: 486
3.23-24: 220
4.7-12: 629
4.7-16: 668
4.8: 212, 493, 733
4.9-10: 505
4.10: 212, 462
4.12-16: 321
4.16: 459
4.18: 673, 676
4.19: 733
5.4: 559
5.6: 483
5.6-8: 343
5.11-12: 559
5.20: 417, 669

Apocalypse 1.8: 431, 539
1.17: 557
2, 3: 487
3.7: 371, 629
6.11: 345
7.10-12: 546
14.12: 429
17.14: 640
19.9: 351
20.15: 428
21.1-4: 525
21.2: 545
21.4: 352, 380, 491, 680
21.6: 431
21.23: 643
21.5-6: 646
22.1-3: 531
22.13: 618
22.16: 542

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED[1]

Aberdeen, Blairs College 22: 368
Ampleforth Abbey 165: 14
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 55: 54, 86, 328, 611, 621, 636, 637
176: 368
177: 368
Sidney Sussex College 80: 211
Trinity College B.14.19: 2
University Library Add. 6686: *see Scale of Perfection* I
Ff. 6.8: 176, 608
Downside Abbey 26530: 325
26533: 282, 324, 328, 394
26542: 2, 3
Dublin, Trinity College 70: 230
423: 213
509: 447
Glasgow, University Library Hunterian V.6.22: 266
London, British Library Harley 2445: 447
6573: 585
6579: *see Scale of Perfection* II
Royal 17 A.xxvii: 54, 212
17 C.xvii: 201, 212, 217, 234, 249, 418
London, Society of Antiquaries 717: 2
Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 415: 201, 234
Douce 262: 450, 451
Vernon: *see Ancrene Riwle*
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds anglais 41: *see* Walter Hilton, *Eight Chapters*
Stonyhurst College XXIII: 237
Ushaw College 10: 175, 325
Vatican Library D. 181: 686

[1] Excluding those described in the Introduction, pp. 1-10.