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Reat, English - Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary

Liebermann, Heinrich von Hunting



*Die Antike*  
Münster i.W. 15,- 50.

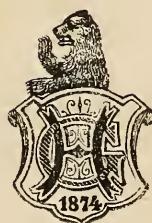
# SAMMLUNG ALTENGLISCHER LEGENDEN,

GRÖSSTENTHEILS

ZUM ERSTEN MALE HERAUSGEGEBEN

von

C. HORSTMANN.



HEILBRONN,

VERLAG VON GEBR. HENNINGER

1878.

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MR. F. J. FURNIVALL,

DEM UM DIE

ALTENGLISCHE WISSENSCHAFT HOCHVERDIENTEN BEGRÜNDER  
DER „EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY“

GEWIDMET.



I.

# Sammlung des Ms. Vernon,

Bruchstück einer metrischen Uebertragung von Legenden aus des  
Jacobi a Voragine »Legenda Aurea«.



## I. S. Paula.

Der Anfang, c. 250 V., fehlt im Ms. Vernon, da ein Blatt hier ausgefallen ist. Das lateinische Original dieser Legende, wie der ganzen Sammlung, ist des Jacobi a Voragine (c. 1290) bekannte »Legenda aurea«, aus der der Dichter einzelne Legenden wörtlich metrisch übertragen hat; Paula findet sich daselbst in cap. 29: de sancta Paula (ed. Grässle Dresd. & Lips. 1846).<sup>1)</sup>

Der im Anfang ausgefallene Theil erzählte, wie Paula, deren Leben mit des Hieronymus, ihres Freundes und Biographen, eigenen Worten geschildert wird, eine edle Römerin war, von solcher Tugend und Güte, dass es unmöglich wäre sie nach Verdienst zu preisen; wie der Edelstein die anderen Gesteine, wie die Sonne der Sterne Heer verdunkelt, so überstrahlte sie Alle durch Demuth und Mildthätigkeit; durch Geburt und Reichthum hervorragend, erschien sie die geringste unter den Weibern. Nach dem Tode ihres Gemahls, dem sie fünf Kinder geschenkt, besuchte sie, nur von ihrer Tochter Eustochium begleitet, das heilige Land und weilte andachtsvoll an den Stätten wo Christus gelebt und gelitten hatte. So demüthig, dass man sie für die letzte der Mägde halten konnte, so enthaltsam, dass sie nur wenig und auf hartem Boden schlief, beweinte sie geringe Sünden als habe sie die grössten Verbrechen begangen. Ihre Wohlthätigkeit war so gross, dass Hieronymus sie einmal desshalb tadelte, auf die Worte des Apostels<sup>2)</sup> hinweisend: »non ut aliis refrigerium sit, vobis autem tribulatio, sed ex aequalitate in hoc tempore, ut vestra abundantia sit ad illorum inopiam et illorum abundantia sit ad vestram inopiam« (— hier schliesst der englische Text an, V. 1 —), und ihr bemerkte: et providendum esse, ne quod libenter faceret semper facere non posset (so V. 2—5). Ihre Entgegnung siehe V. 6.

.....  
.....  
»Eipur oþur þus to cloþun and fede;  
Such purueaunce men schulde make

Pat charite gunne not to slake,  
But as he gladliche nou ȝiueþ and doþ  
Pat he mowe do afturward forþ.«  
5  
Of þeos word was heo nouht aferd,

V. 6 der latein. Text in der Leg. Aur. cap. 29 (ed. Grässle) fährt fort: Quae illa mira verecundia (et sermone parcissimo peritissimoque) dissolvebat, testem invocans

<sup>1)</sup> In der Edit princ. Dresd. 1472 fehlt diese Legende der Paula. Eine Prosaübertragung derselben, aber unter dem Titel S. Pauline statt Paula, enthält die altenglische Uebersetzung der Leg. Aur. (Ms. Egert. 876, Harl. 630, Harl. 4775), welche im Anfange des 15 Jhdts. von mehreren »Doctoren der Theologie« nach der französischen Uebersetzung des Jehan de Vignay angefertigt und später von Caxton überarbeitet und gedruckt wurde; diese engl. Uebertragung ist bereits sehr verderbt.

<sup>2)</sup> Vgl. 2 Corinth. 8, 13—14. Der Text der Vulgata stimmt nicht wörtlich mit der oben citirten Stelle überein.

- Ful mydeliche heo onswerd :  
 »God i take to my witnes,  
 For his loue do i þis godnes ;
- 10 And also hit is my disir  
 To dye a pore beggir,  
 No peni to my douthres leue,  
 So clene awey my good to zeue  
 þat of myn owne leue nouht bishynde.
- 15 A schete, my bodi in to wynde,  
 Of moni men þat her liue,  
 Zif i bidde, þei wol me ziuie ;  
 A beggere zif he aske of me  
 Anoþur monnes þing þauh hit be,
- 20 Zif I from him þenne torne myn eȝe,  
 And þenne for faute þe pore mon dye, —  
 I take witnes of seint Poule —  
 God of me wol aske his soule.«
- Þis wommon of so gret nobleye
- 25 Wolde not spende hire moneye,  
 þat heo hedde kept for þe nones,  
 In to suche precious stones  
 þat wiþ þis world and eorþe here  
 Passen awey al in fere,
- 30 But to stones þat meuen and lyue,  
 To whuche God haþ his grace iziue :  
 In eorþe her þat ben pore  
 And sum tyme hungren and þursten sore, —  
 Of þe whuche, wiþoute lipse,
- 35 Seint Jon seide in þe Apocalipse :  
 Þe cite of þe grete kynge  
 Is mad ouer alle þinge.
- Óþur sounel vsede heo non
- But oyle wiþ hire bred alon,  
 But hit were þe grettore festeday ;  
 þen lutel mete wolde hire pay.
- 40 Of hony oþur milk or elles fisch  
 Oþur eiren comen non in heore disch,  
 And oþur metes þat to mouþ ben swete,  
 Ful luyte of hem heo wolde ete. —
- Sum men þer ben neuerþeles :  
 Al þauh þei vsen no gret deyntes,  
 Her wombres þei wollen wiþ such metes  
 fille
- And chastite þerfore þei spille,  
 And zit þei wene hit beo clannes
- 5 Hem to fulle wiþ suche mes. —
- (JERONIMVS dicit :)
- But i kneuz a mon of þe Susuron —  
 þat is a schrewed nacion (!) —  
 þat seide to hire on þis maneere :  
 »Pou þi self spildest here,  
 Pou art so feruent in vertue  
 þat sum men seyn þart waxen newe  
 Out of þi witte ; þerfore i red,  
 Cumforde þi brayn beter wiþ sum bred  
 And wiþ sum substancial mete,
- 6 þi wit aȝeyn forte gete,  
 And take þe to anoþur scole,  
 For men þe holde but a fole.«
- Penne heo him ful sone onswerd,  
 As wommon þat of God was ferd :  
 »To gode angeles and to men  
 Spectacle mad forsoþe we ben :  
 For Cristes loue we ben holden vnwyss ;  
 But neuerþeles þenk on þis :

34) lipse: ellipse. 52) Jeronimus dicit eingeschoben, wie 133, 212.

dominum (engl. directe Rede) se pro illius nomine cuncta facere et hoc habere voti ut mendicans ipsa moreretur, ut unum nummum filiae non dimitteret et in funere suo aliena sindone involveretur. 16 (Ad extrellum inferebat :) Ego si petiero, multos inveniam qui mihi tribuant ; iste mendicans si a me non acceperit quid ei possum etiam de alieno tribuere, si mortuus fuerit, a quo ejus anima requireretur ? (V. 22 Zusatz des Dichters) 24 Nolebat in his lapidibus effundere pecuniam qui cum terra et saeculo transituri sunt, sed in vivis lapidibus qui volvuntur super terram (32—33 erklär. Zusatz), de quibus in Apocalipsi Johannis : civitas magni regis exstruitur. 38 Exceptis festis diebus vix oleum in cibo accipiebat, ut ex hoc uno aestimaretur quid de vino et de liquamine et piscibus et lacte et melle et ovis et reliquis quae gustui suavia sint judicarit, 46 in quibus sumendis quidam se abstinentissimos putant et, si his ventrem ingurgitaverint, tutam pudicitiam suspicantur. 52 Novi susuronem quandam, quod genus hominum vile est, quasi benevolum nuntiasse quod prae nimio fervore virtutum quibusdam videatur insana et cerebrum illius diceret confovendum (engl. directe Rede). Cui illa respondit : Theatrum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus : nos stulti propter

70 Pat þing þat is to God folye  
To men hit is wisdam and joye.  
Pus holy writ bereþ witnes —  
Good is beo war boþe more and les.

AN Abbei of men of religiou  
75 Heo hedde mad, of gret renoun;  
And aftur þat, wiþouten wene,  
Heo gederde of maidens clene  
þeo wel feire cumpaignies  
And hem sette in feir abbeys,  
80 God to serue day and niht,  
Pat made alle þing, derknes and liht.  
Whon eny of hem bigonne to chide,  
Wiþ softe wordes in þat tyde  
Heo wolde hem ouercome anon  
85 And loueliche make hem aton.  
Whon þe ȝonge in hote blood  
Bigonne to waxe wylde of mod:  
Þouh þei were neuer so nessche,  
Wiþ fastyng heo maad hem chast heor  
flesche:

90 For þe bettre heo chose and toke  
Pat þe wombe raþur þen þe þouht oke.  
Heo seide: »clannes of bodi in cloþing  
Is ofte þe soule defoulyng —  
Pat heo seide, for þei schulde nouht  
95 Haue to muchel in heor þouht  
Bisynesse of gret aray  
For þe bodi, niht ne day. —  
Deedes þat men holden no trespass  
In þis world in certeyn cas,

75) þart aus þou art versehmolzen.

Idon in cloystre heo hem heold  
Ful gret trespas, as heo feld.  
To hem heo wolde, whon þey weore seke,  
Flesch and fischt let dihten hem eke,  
But, þouh hire self weore seek also,  
Heo nolde not ete neuer þe mo :  
To oþure heo schewed hire godnes,  
And to hire self al hardnes.

IN a somer hit biful,  
In þe Moneþ of Jul,  
Pat al hire bodi, hond and fote,  
Was taken wiþ a feuere hote;  
Pat hedde ibrouht hire so lowe  
Pat vnneþe heo mihte breþ blowe.  
But aftur þat wiþ Godus gras  
Of þat seknes heo mended was.

Pen leches hire counseyled and bad,  
Wiþ wordus softe and eke sad,  
Pat heo schulde vse to drinke wyn,  
A luitel þunne, but not to fyn;  
Pei seiden wiþ o vois alle  
Pat heo mihte lihtliche falle  
In to a dropesye and synke,  
Zif þat heo watur dude drinke.  
(JERONIMVS dicit:)

PEn i bigon priueliche  
To preye þe pope ful specialiche,  
Pat was icalled Ephiphayn —  
Of his presence heo was euer fayn, —  
þat he schulde bidde hire and constreyn  
Wyn to drinke wiþouten feyn.

102 u. 103) hem doppelt.

Christum, sed stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus (71—72 nicht im lat.). 74 Post virorum monasterium, quod viris tradiderat gubernandum, plures virgines, (quas ex diversis provinciis congregaverat, tam nobilis quam mediocris et infimi generis), in tres turmas et monasteria divisit, (ita dumtaxat ut opere et cibo separatae psalmis et oratione jungerentur). 82 Jurgantes inter se sermone lenissimo foederabat, 86 lascivientem adolescentularum carnem crebris et duplicatis frangebat jejuniis, malens eas stomachum dolere quam mentem, dicens munditiam corporis atque vestium animae esse immunditiam, et, quod inter saeculi homines vel leve putatur vel nihil, hoc in monasteriis gravissimum esse delictum dicebat. 102 cumque aliis languentibus large praeberet omnia et esum exhiberet carnium, si quando ipsa aegrotaret, sibi non indulgebat, et in eo inaequalis videbatur quod in aliis clementiam, in se duritiam commutabat. 108 (Referam quod expertus sum:) Mense Julio ferventissimis aestibus incidit in ardorem febris; et post desperationem cum Dei misericordia respirasset et medici suaderent ob refectionem corporis vino esse opus tenui et parvo, ne aquam bibens in idropisim verteretur, 124 et ego clam beatum episcopum Epiphanium (127 Zus.) rogarem ut eam moneret, immo compelleret vinum bibere,

130 But heo parceyued sone hit,  
 Heo louh and seide hit was my wit  
 Pat þe pope Epiphayn  
 So schulde hire bidde and to hire sayn.  
 Whon i sauh þat heo so louh,  
 135 Out of þe hous I me drouh.  
 And whon þat i was out iworþe,  
 I abod til heo com forþe;  
 Pen I him asked hou he hedde isped  
 Of þe wordus þat I him red.  
 140 He onswerde þat heo him bad  
 To bidde an holde mon, þat wolde be lad,  
 Wyn forte drinke, for heo wolde non,  
 For frendes counseyl ne for fon.  
 Whon þat heo serwe schulde make  
 145 For deþ, for hire children sake,  
 Euere þerwiþ heo was meke;  
 But neuerþeles heo was ofte seke  
 For hire hosebondes dizinge  
 And for hire children departyng,  
 150 Out of þis world whon þat þei went;  
 But euermore heo tok entent  
 Wiþ signe of þe holy crois  
 Hire mouþ to stoppe and hire vois,  
 Hire þouht also heo wolde refreyne,  
 155 On God þerfore þat heo nolde pleyne.  
 And þauh monkynde, þat is so frele,  
 For frendes deþ wol make gret dele,

137) heo statt he?

V. 130 (ut erat prudens et sollertis ingenii,) statim sensit insidias et, subridens, meum esse quod ille diceret intimavit. (Quid plura?) 134 Cum beatus *pontifex* (engl. I, sc. Ierom) post multa horamenta exiisset foras, quaerenti mihi quid egisset, respondit: Tantum profeci ut ipsa mihi seni homini paene persuaserit ut vinum non bibam (der engl. Text setzt eine andere Lesart des Orig. voraus?) 144 In luctu mitis erat et suorum mortibus frangebatur maxime liberorum, nam et viri et filiorum dormitione saepe periclitata est, 151 et cum os stomachumque signaret et matricis dolorem crucis niteretur impressione lenire, (superabatur affectu et credulam mentem parentis viscera consernebant animoque vincens fragilitate corporis vinebatur — Der engl. Dichter folgt hier dem wohl verdorbenen oder in seinen Antithesen nicht bequemen Text seiner Vorlage nicht genau, vgl. V. 156—159). 160 Scripturas sanctas tenebat memoriter, et cum amaret historiam et illam veritatis diceret fundamentum, magis sequebatur intelligentiam spiritualem et hoc culmine aedificationis animae protegebat. 168 (Loquar et aliud, quod fortasse aemulis videtur incredulum:) Hebraeam linguam, (quam ego ab adolescentia multo labore et sudore ex parte didici et infatigabili meditatione non desero, ne ipsa ab ea deseratur,) discere voluit et consecuta est ita, ut psalmos hebraice caneret et sermonem absque ulla latinae linguae proprietate personaret — quod quidem usque hodie in sancta filia Eustochia ejus cernimus. 178 (Hucusque navigavimus prosperis ventis et crispantia maris aequora labens carina sulcavit; nunc in scopulos incurrit oratio,) quis enim posset siccis oculis Paulam narrare morientem? 182 Incidit in gravissimam valetudinem, immo quod optabat invenit: ut nos desereret et domino plenius jungeretur. (Quid diu differo et dolorem meum in aliis immorando facio longiore?)

Wiþ good bileue and sad preyere  
 Hire soule heo comforted here. 16  
 Studefastliche heo set hire wit  
 In muynde to haue holy writ;  
 Heo louede wel good stori  
 And clept hit founðement of soþfastnus,  
 witerly. 16  
 Whon heo hit herde, was hire vertue  
 Parfytliche forte suwe  
 Pe spirituel vndurstondyng,  
 To kepe hire soule in good lyuyng.  
 Heo hedde also þis vertu  
 Pat heo couþe speken Ebru,  
 In so muchel, wiþouten lesyng, 17  
 Pat heo wolde boþe rede and syng  
 Pe salmus of þe sauteer  
 Wiþouten fayle al in feir,  
 Vppon hire tonge feire hit felle  
 On Ebru hire tale to telle.  
 So dude aftur hire hir douhtur dere,  
 Eustoche, þat wel couþe lere.

NOu who mihte wiþoute wepyng  
 Telle of þis wommons departyng  
 Out of þis world at Godus wille,  
 Pat heo disirede euere to folfuller? 18  
 In to a wondur gret seknes  
 Þis wommon fel, wiþouten les;



240 Penne was hard hem forþ to fynde,  
And worse was (ha) left al bihynde.  
Al þis storie, hol and sum,  
Telleþ to ou þus seint Jerom,

Pat kneuh hire lyf and hire ende.  
Perfore haueþ hit wel in mynde!  
Fare wel, Paula, and prey for vs  
To Godus sone, þat is Jhesus!

## 2. S. Ambrosius.

HERkeneþ, sires! for my purpose  
Is ou to telle of seint Ambrose.  
But furst his name i wol expoune:  
Lustneþ wiþ good deuociounē!  
5 Ambra is a spicerie,  
Of gret pris, smelleþ swotelye:  
Þerof is called þis name Ambrose:  
For riht as hit sauereþ in monnes nose  
Riht so dude he in word and dede,  
10 Monnes soule to gete gret mede;  
And precious was to holy churche:  
Doctur he was and tauhte to wōrche  
Cristene mēn heore God to plese,  
In charite to lyue and pese.

15 Oþer elles þou maiȝt sei þat Ambros  
Is seid of ambra and syos:  
Syos is to seyn »God« riht,  
And ambrum good sauour pliht.  
Penne, for he wiþ good preaching  
20 Made men knowe God ouer alle þing,  
God is good sauour to vche mon  
Porwh his techinge, þat good con.  
For Ambros is and also was  
Good Cristes sauour in eueri plas.

251) Ms. Ief mit klein überschr. t; zu lesen ist: (to) leve oder ha left.  
17) Ms. Good st. God.

Oþer þou maiȝt wel diuise  
Pe nome of Ambros in þis wyse:  
Ambrum is to seye fadur of liht,  
And syon a luytel child ful riht.  
Pen Ambros him seluen  
Is fadur of moni gostliche children,  
He was lihtful in expounyng  
Holy writ, wiþouten lesyng,  
In conuersaciu[n] he was eke  
Riht as a chyld wondurliche meke.  
Oþur þou maiȝt expoune hit, and not 35  
varie,  
As seiþ þe bok, iclept Glosarie:  
Ambrum is heuenlich smel of sauour:  
So sauerede he in halle and bour  
In gode fame and contemplaciun,  
He hedde gret deuociun.  
40 Celestis Ambrosia, wiþouten lete,  
Is vndurstonden Angles mete:  
Þat is to seyn þat inward siht  
Þat Ambrose hedde in God Almiht.  
PIs word also Ambrosium  
Is to seyn al and sum  
An heuenliche honycombe:

(V. 242—245 Zus.) 246 Vale o Paula et cultoris tui ultimam senectutem orationibus juva.  
2) Ueberschrift im Ms.: de nomine Ambrosii. Das lat. Original s. Leg. Aur. cap. 57 de s. Ambrosio. In der altengl. Prosaübers. (Ms. Egert. 876) fehlt die Deutung des Namens, die aber in Caxton's Ausg. wieder aufgenommen ist. V. 1—4 Einl. des Dichters.—5 ff. vgl. L. A.: Ambrosius dicitur de ambra, quae est species valde redolens et pretiosa: iste enim ecclesiae valde pretiosus exstitit et in dictis et in factis suis valde redoluit. 15 Vel dicitur Ambr. ab ambra et syos, quod est Deus, quasi ambra Dei: Deus enim per eum quasi per ambram ubique redolet; fuit enim et est bonus odor Christi in omni loco. 25 Vel dicitur ab ambor (engl. ambrum), quod est pater luminis, et sior (engl. sion), quod est parvulus: quia pater in multorum filiorum spirituali generatione, luminosus in sacrae scripturae expositione et parvulus in sua humili conversatione. 35—50 Vel sicut dicitur in Glossario: ambrosia, esca angelorum, ambrosium coeleste mellis favum; fuit enim coelestis odor per odoriferam famam, sapor per contemplationem intimam, coeleste mellis favum per dulcem scripturarum expositionem, esca angelica per gloriosam fruitionem. (Die Erklärung V. 37

Pat hedde seint Ambrose in his wombe  
Porwh swetnesse of exposiciooun  
50 Of holy writ in religiou恩.  
Now haue I expounded his name,  
And hou he sauered in gode fame.  
Herkneþ nou, hosbonde and wyf,  
And i schal tellen ou of his lyf,  
55 Riht as a clerk, was clept Paulin,  
Wrot hit to seint Austyn.

AMbrose of Rome was prefecte,  
And of his wyf wiþouten lette  
He gat a child, was clept Ambrose,  
60 Pat mon was aftur of gret lose.  
Hit bifel vppon a day,  
Whil he was ȝong, in cradel he lay,  
And, forte stille him of his wepe,  
Rokked he was and fel on slepe;  
65 Per he lay wiþ open mouþ.  
Pen ful a cas wondur selcouþ :  
For sodeynliche a cumpaygnye  
Of beon þer come, swiþe monie,  
His mouþ þei fulden and his face —  
70 Pat men seȝen wel in þat place, —  
Þei fullen in and out blyue  
As þeiȝ his mouþ hedde ben heor hyue.  
And afturward þei toke þe flith  
In to þe eir so fer on hiht  
75 Pat no mon mihte on eorþe wiþ eȝe  
Seo þis ben whodur þei dude flize.  
Whon his fadur þis wondur hedde seyn,  
He seide, as mon þat was riht fayn:  
»Pis child, i wot, so mot i þeo,

97) Ms. he st. hem.

Sum gret mon schal he beo.«  
Whon þis child com to fourtene ȝere  
Of age, he wente ofte tyme in fere  
Wiþ modur and sustur to þe churche,  
Goode dedes forte worche.  
He tok good hede to vndurstonde  
Hou þei cussed þe prestes honde.  
Whon he com hom, he wolde, iwis,  
Profre his sustur his hond to cus,  
And he wolde sei on his pleying  
Pat moste heo do nedelyng.  
For he was ȝong, non hede heo tok,  
Heo wolde him bidde go to his bok.  
Whon he was lettered and vndurstod,  
Monye causes, bi þe rod !  
In þe noble cite of Rome  
Sikerliche he vndurnome,  
95 Rihtfuliche he hedde in mende  
And lawefuliche brouhie hem to ende.  
Whon þe emperour parceyued þis,  
To him he sende anon iwis,  
To gouerne þe prouinces of Lygurie  
And also of Emylye.  
Whon þat he com to Melan,  
Per of þe bisschop ded was þan,  
Pe peple gedrede euerichon  
100 To chese to bisschop sum god mon.  
But heretykes dwelled hem amon(g),  
Weren called Arrianus, of wit ful strong,  
Pat sumwhat weren out of bileeue.  
Gode feiþful men and þei penne streue  
110 Who schulde beo bisschop and hed ;  
Pei neore not alle in on red,

nicht im lat., vgl. V. 23; sie scheint vom englischen Dichter selbst hinzugefügt zu sein). —  
(51—54 Zusatz.) 54 Ejus vitam scripsit Paulinus Nolanus episcopus ad Augustinum.  
57 Ambrosius, filius Ambrosii praefecti Romae, cum in cunabulis in atrio praetorii  
esset positus et dormiret, examen apum subito veniens faciem ejus et os ita complevit,  
ut quasi in alveolum suum intrarent pariter et exirent. 73 Quae postea evolantes  
in tantam aeris altitudinem sublevatae sunt, ut humanis oculis minime vide-  
rentur. 77 Quo peracto territus pater ait: Si vixerit infantulus iste, aliquid magni  
erit. — 81 Postea cum adolevisset et videret matrem et sororem, sacram vir-  
ginem, manus sacerdotibus osculari, ipse ludens sorori dextram offerebat, asse-  
rens et sibi id ab ea fieri opportere. 91 Illa vero, ut adolescentem et nescientem  
quid diceret, respuebat. — V. 93 Romae igitur litteris eruditus, cum causas praetorii  
splendide peroraret, 99 a Valentianino imperatore ad regendam Liguriam  
Emiliamque provinciam directus est. 103 Cumque Mediolanum venisset et ibi-  
dem episcopus tunc deesseset, convenit populus, ut sibi de episcopo provideret. 107 Sed  
cum inter Arianos et catholicos de eligendo episcopo seditio non modica oriretur,

Per ros a gret sediciun  
Tofore þat ilke elecciun.

- 115 Ambrose þenne wiþ gret res  
Tok þider þe wey, to make al pes.  
As sone as he þenne comen was  
Þider as þe pepul was gedred in plas,  
A vois anon of an innocent
- 120 Was herd of alle, verement! :  
»I put þou alle in sad hope,  
Ambrose schal ben oure bisschope.«
- 125 »Pei smented alle to þat vois,  
»Ambrose«, þei crieden wiþ gret noys,
- 130 »To vr bisschop we wol haue;  
Pat he assente, onliche we craue.«
- Whon þat he þus vndurstod,  
Wiþ fere he wolde ha torned heore mod,  
And zit he dude anoþur þing:
- 135 To þe juges seete he wente hizing  
And aȝeynes his olde wone  
Sum men tofore him dude he come,  
Als he sat for juggement,  
And hem comaunded to turment —
- 140 For þe pepul schulde wel se  
Pat he hedde ben ful of cruwelte.  
Þis holy mon caste þat,  
For he desired non such stat,  
And for þei schulde ha lost heor hope
- 145 Him haue had to heore bisschope. —  
But þe peple for al his gyse  
Cried on him vppon þis wyse:  
»Let beo þi fare, mak hit not þus!  
Þi sunne þer of falle hit on vs..»
- 150 Pen was he stourbled in þouȝt and eze  
And wente him hamward in gret hyze;

123) smented = assented. 147) im Ms. fehlt ha oder haue.

He wolde to philosophye him (ha) pro-  
fessed.

- But he was called aȝeyn and cessed.  
And for he nolde bisschop haue ben,  
He made þe moste comun women  
Openliche come to his in, 150
- Pat bisschopriche for he nolde wyn,  
And, þauȝ he dude not bote good,  
He wolde haue mad þe peple wood,  
Anoþur mon forte haue chose 155
- And of him laft heore purpose.  
Pe peple euere and ay in on  
On him þei criede euerichon  
Pat þei wolde bere al þe synne,  
Pat bisschophede so he wolde winne. 160
- He sauȝ þat he þus miht not spede:  
Pe nexte niht wiþoute nede  
He stal awey and wolde haue gon  
To þe toun of Ticinun anon.
- 165 Piderward, þe soþe to say,  
He wende he hedde holden þe way.  
Whon hit was day, he loked aboute:  
Pen sauȝ he wher he stod þer oute:  
At on of þe zatus of Melan, 160
- 170 Pat is called þe zate Roman.  
Penne men sone him fonde  
At þe zate, þer he dude stonde.  
Pei him kepte and word sent  
To þe emperor Valentinian, verrement, 175
- Hou þei to bisschop him hedde ichose,  
Preyeden him assente to heor purpose.  
Pe emperor þenne ful joyful was  
Pat him schulde falle so feir a caas  
Pat a juge, þat he hedde isent

V. 115 illuc Ambr. causa sedandae seditionis perrexit. 118 Et statim vox infantis insonuit, dicens Ambrosium episcopum (engl. directe Rede), 123 cuius voci omnes unanimiter consenserunt, Ambrosium episcopum acclamantes (engl. dir.). 127 Quo ille cognito, ut eos a se terroribus removeret, ecclesiam exiens (129 ist Austfullsel) tribunal concendit et contra consuetudinem suam tormenta personis adhiberi jussit (135—140 erklär. Zusatz). 141 Quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus acclamabat: Peccatum tuum super nos. 145 Tunc ille turbatus domum rediit et philosophiam profitari voluit. Quod ut ne faceret, revocatus est. 149 Publicas mulieres publice ad se ingredi fecit, ut, his visis, ab ejus electione populum revocaret. 157 Sed cum nec sic proficeret, sed semper populum peccatum suum super nos acclamare videret, 161 fugam media nocte concepit; cumque Ticinum se pergere putaret, mane ad portam civitatis Mediolanensis, quae Romana dicitur, invenitur. 170 Qui inventus cum custodiretur a populo, missa relatio est ad clementissimum imperatorem Valentinianum. 177 Qui summo gaudio accepit, quod judices a se directi ad sacerdotium peterentur.

To kepe his lawes wiþ good entent,  
Was ichose so feiþfuliche  
A bisschop to beo verreyliche.  
Pe prefecte, þat corteis was of wille,  
Was glad þat he þat schulde folfille;  
For, whon Ambrose was to Melan sent,  
Pe prefecte seide wiþ good talent:  
»Go forþ now, as no domusmon,  
But as bisschop ouer mony on.«  
Whil þat þeos tiþinges þus hynge,  
Ambrose him huddle, wiþoute lesyng;  
But he was founden amongus hem.  
He leued wel, but him lakked baptem:  
Pen was he cristened in watur cler  
And þe eihtepē day set in bisschops  
chayer.  
Penne at þe four ȝeres ende  
To Rome forsoþe gan he wende.  
His sustur þat maiden was, an holy wom-  
mon,  
His riht hond heo custe anon.  
He smyled and seide: »suster, hit is  
wust,  
Pou hast cussed a prestes fust;  
I seide þe sum tyme hit moste so be,  
But neuerþeles þou leuedest not me.«  
HIt bifel afturward sikerliche  
Þat in a cite voyded a bisschopriche.  
Pider he went al in certeyne,  
A bisschop þer forte ordeyne.  
Whon þer on ichosen was,  
Pen nolden heo assente to þat caas,

213) Of secte of þe arian st. of þe secte of arian wie 213. 276. 286.

Pe emperice, was clept Justine,  
Ne oþur heretykes monye and fyne, 210  
For þei wolden þat þe eleccoun  
Hed fallen vppon on of here sori reli-  
gioun.  
Pen a maiden of secte of þe Arian  
Hedde þouȝt haue wrouȝt Ambroses ban;  
To seint Ambrose anon heo stert 215  
And tok him smartly bi þe skert,  
To þe wyȝmen heo wolde him haue  
drawe,  
And þei him wolde ha smite ful fawe,  
Him boren an honde þen vuel talent  
And, bi þe lawe! þenne him haue schent 220  
And from his churche wrongfully  
Haue put him out wiþ vileny.  
Penne to hire he seide corteisly:  
»Prest ich am, þauȝ i beo not worþi.  
Forsoþe, þou art vuele itauht, 225  
To set hond on prest bi semeþ þe nauht.  
Godus dom þou scholdest haue in drede;  
Þou nost what may falle to þi mede.«  
Hit byfel as he seid:  
Heo was on morwen ded on bere ileyd. 230  
Touward hire graue of his godnesse  
Pen he hire ladde for al hire schrewed-  
nesse.  
Pen alle men þat þis wondur herd  
Of God and him woxun aferd.  
AFtur þat, in certeyn, 235  
To Melan he tornde azein.  
Pen Justine, þat emperice,

V. 183 Laetabatur enim probus praefectus, quod verbum suum fuerat in eo adimplesum; dixerat enim, cum proficiscenti mandata donaret: vade, age, non ut judex, sed ut episcopus. 189 Pendente relatione, iterum absconditur, sed inventus, cum adhuc esset catechumenus, baptizatur et VIII die in episcopalem cathedram sublimatur. 195 Cum autem post annos IV Romam ivisset et soror sua, sacra virgo, ejus dextram oscularetur, sibi ridens ait: Ecce, ut dicebam tibi, sacerdotis manum oscularis. — 203 Cum autem in quandam civitatem pro quodam episcopo ordinando ivisset et ejus electioni Justina imperatrix et alii haereticici contradicerent, volentes ut aliquis de sua secta ordinaretur, 213 una de Arianorum virginibus impudentior caeteris (tribunal conscendit et) beatum Ambrosium per vestimentum apprehendit, volens ipsum ad partem mulierum trahere, ut ab iis caesus de ecclesia cum injuria pelleretur. 223 Cui Ambr. ait: Etsi ego indignus tanto sacerdotio, tibi tamen non convenit in qualemcumque sacerdotem manus injicere: unde timere debuisti judicium Dei, ne tibi aliiquid contingat. 229 Quod dictum exitus confirmavit: nam die alio mortuam ad sepulcrum usque deduxit, gratiam pro contumelia rependens; quod factum omnes perterrituit. — 235 Post hoc Mediolanum reversus, inumeras insidias a Justina imperatrice pertulit,

- Of maners wox boþe wylde and nice,  
And of þe peple heo worshiped moni on  
240 And ȝiftus ȝaf to vche mon,  
Hem to sture aȝein Ambrose —  
Pat was iwis an vuel purpose.  
Pei weoren aboute, of vuel wil  
To haue put him in exil.
- 245 A schrewe þer was among oþur —  
I trouwe he was þe deueles broþur —  
Pat was so wod in his doyng  
þat bi his chirche he made his dwellyng  
And in his hous he hedde redye
- 250 A cart, seint Ambrose to carie  
Out of þe lond, fox of fyl,  
Whon he weore dampned to exil,  
þat no bodi wox so bolde  
In londe him astur forte holde;
- 255 þis was þe cast of Justine,  
Pe emperice, a schrewe ful fyne.  
But bi Godus ordinaunce  
Penne bifel þis ilke chaunce :  
He þat hedde arayed þe cart
- 260 He was exiled swiþe smart  
Vppon þat ilke same day  
Pat wende to ha lad Ambrose away,  
In þe same cart he was caried  
Out of þat lond, and foule iharized.

- 265 SEint Ambrose was þe furste man  
Pat in þe churche of Melan  
Ordeyned offyces and songe  
And melodye of vois and tonge.  
In þe cite of Melan

264) wende = wende he, wie 714 wolde, 961 knewe, Theod. 314 leued. 291) u. 2) ms. non statt nou.

- Was þat tyme moni a man  
þat wiþ þe deuel acumbred were  
And weren ibrouht in muchel fere ;  
þe deuel made hem crie in heore turment  
þat Ambrose hedde hem ischent.
- But Justine, þat wikked womman,  
Wiþ heretykes of þe secte of Arrian,  
þat to gedere token heore dwellyng,  
On Ambrose maden a lesyng :  
þei seiden hit was soþ verrey
- 2 Pat Ambrose wiþ his money  
Hedde hured men to þat entent,  
To seize þat þe deuel hem dude turment,  
And eke of Ambrose verreyliche  
þis lesyng þei maden falsliche.
- HIt bifel sodeynliche þan  
þat on of þe secte of Arrian  
Wiþ þe deuel sone was take ;  
For wod he grenned and gon to quake,  
He fel adoun among hem alle  
And gon to crye and to calle :
- »I wolde þat alle þat nou ne purpose,  
þat nou ne byleeue on Ambrose,  
þat þei ne weore turmented als am I —  
I suffre serwe, sikerly! «
- Confuys þenne was þat cumpaygnye ;  
Per þei him slowen for his crye  
And þenne wiþ heore oune honde  
Pey him dreynte in a ponde.
- A maister heretyk þer was on,  
An hard mon of conuercion  
And a scharp mon of wit

muneribus et honoribus adversus eum populum excitante. 243 Cum ergo multi eum in exsilium pellere niterentur, 245 unus eorum caeteris infelicior in tantum furorem excitatus est, ut juxta ecclesiam domum sibi locaret ac in ea quadrigam paratam haberet, quo procurante Justina facilius raptum ad exsilium deportaret. 257 Sed Dei judicio ipso die quo eum rapere arbitrabatur, in eadem quadriga de eadem domo in exsilium pulsus est. (Cui tamen Ambr. reddens bona pro malis, sumptus et necessaria ministravit.) — 265 Cantus et officium in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari instituit. 269 Erant et tunc temporis Mediolani multi a daemonibus obsessi, qui se torqueri ab Ambrosio magnis vocibus clamabant; 275 Justina autem et multi Arianorum, cum simul habitarent, dicebant Ambrosium pecunia homines comparare qui se ab immundis spiritibus vexari mentirentur et ab Ambrosio dicere se torqueri. 285 Tunc subito unus ex illis Arianis qui adstabant, arreptus a daemonio in medium prosiluit atque clamare coepit: Utinam sic torqueantur ut torqueor, qui non credunt Ambrosio! 295 At illi confusi in piscinam demersum hominem necaverunt. — 299 Quidam haereticus, acerrimus disputator et durus et inconvertibilis ad fidem,

To plede aȝeynes holy writ.  
 Vppon a day he com to here  
 Seint Ambrose preche, þe peple to lere,  
 5 And he sauh at Ambroses ere  
 An angel speke þe wordus þere  
 Pat to þe peple he dude preche —  
 Wel forte lyue he dude teche.  
 Of þat siht he was ful feyn,  
 o To cristene feiþ he tornde aȝeyn  
 And defended strongliche  
 Pat he hedde dispysed falsliche.

A coniuror þer was also  
 Pat þouȝte to Ambrose worche wo;  
 5 He calde vp fendas and forþ hem sende,  
 Seint Ambrose forte schende.  
 But þei nedde pouwer, wiþ no gin,  
 To neihe þe hous þat he was in,  
 Ne nouþur nuyȝe his persone —  
 o God ȝaf him grace, þat sit in trone.  
 Hit bifel bi þat coniurour  
 Pat he was take and put in tour.  
 Whon he was turmented for his misdede,  
 He seide seint Ambrose him put in drede;  
 5 On seint Ambrose he cried out —  
 Pei wondred on him þat stoden about.  
 Per was a mon in Melan  
 Pat þe fend was fallen on.  
 In to þe citee whon he schulde go,  
 o Pe deuel wolde him fleo fro;  
 And whon þat he schulde outward wende,  
 In to þat mon he wolde lende.  
 He was asked hou þat was.

Pe fend onswered in þat cas  
 And seide : awei from him he fledde, 335  
 For seint Ambrose sore he dredde.  
 ANoþur mon bi nihtes tale  
 In to seint Ambroses chaumbre stale :  
 Justyne, þat wikked emperice,  
 Him hedde i huired to beo so nice, 340  
 Pat holy mon forte sle  
 And afturward awey to fle.  
 Pis mon wiþ his riht hond  
 His swerd out drouh, as brennyng brond,  
 Forte haue smiten þis holy mon ; 345  
 But his arm druyed vp anon,  
 He ne mihte on none wyse  
 Perwiþ astur do no seruyse.

ANoþur mon þe fend hedde take,  
 And turmented him wiþ muchel wrake 350  
 And maad him crie in his wodnes :  
 »Ambrose me pyneþ wiþ wikkednes.«  
 Ambrose seide : »pes, þou foule fende !  
 Ambrose þe doþ no þing schende,  
 But þyn envye, for þat þou sest 355  
 Of cristen men, boþe lest and mest,  
 Steyhȝe vpward from whennes þou fil ;  
 Ambrose nis not inflat of wil.«  
 Pe fend þenne ouercome wes  
 And of his criȝing heold his pes. 360

Hit bifel vppon a day,  
 As Ambrose wente bi þe way,  
 A mon slod aȝeynes his wil,  
 Adoun to þe eorþe sone he fyl.  
 Anoþur mon, þat þer was, 365

cum audiret Ambrosium praedicantem, vidit angelum ad aures ejus loquentem verba quae populo praedicabat. 309 Quo viso fidem quam persecubatur coepit defendere. — 313 Quidam aruspex daemones advocabat et ipsos ad nocendum Ambrosio transmittebat, sed (reversi daemones renuntiabant, quod) non solum ad ipsum sed nec etiam ad fores domus sua appropinquare valebant, (quoniam ignis insuperabilis omne illud aedificium communiret, ut etiam longe positi urerentur.) 321 Praedictus vero aruspex cum a judice propter quaedam maleficia torqueretur, clamabat amplius ab Ambrosio se torqueri. — 327 Quendam daemoniacum Mediolanum ingredientem daemon dimisit, egredientem invasit; interrogatus de hoc daemon ait Ambrosium se timere. — 337 Alius quidam nocte ejus cubiculum adiit, ut gladio ipsum necaret, prece ac pretio a Justina inductus; sed cum dextra gladium elevasset, ut ipsum percuteret, continuo aruit manus ejus. (Die bei Grässle l. c. hier folgende Erzählung von der Verweisung des Kaisers aus der Kirche fehlt im engl. wie auch in der Edit. princ.; sie folgt später ausführlich.) — 349 Quidam a daemonio arreptus clamare coepit ab Ambrosio se torqueri. Cui Ambr.: Obmutesce, diabole, quia non te torquet Ambrosius sed tua invidia, quia illuc homines adscendere conspicis unde tu turpiter corruisti, nam Ambrosius nescit inflari. At ille statim obmutuit. — 361 Quædam

Stod and louh at þat cas.

## Seint Ambrose þenne wib deuocion

Seide : » pou pat stondest, fal- nouzt  
adoun ! «

Vnnebe seint Ambrose þus hed seid.

<sup>370</sup> Pe mon fel doun, on eorþe was leid,

And sori was for his oun fallyng

Pat of þe toþur monnes fal made lauh-wyng.

**bE**      b      E      e

Pat was called Macedonia.

375 He was chef mayster of offyces,

Hem to rule and punische vices.

Ambrose toward him went vpon a day,

For a pore mon him to pray;

But he his gate fond ischut,

Pat ingoinge miht he non get.

Per of saint Ambrose was sum

And seide to him: »þou schalt come

kirke.

And hough he dore al open stondes

In her art she has not found a

"In per at senart pou hot fondo." —

385 Hit bifel sone aithirward  
þe Mædland.

Pat Macedon hedde enemys hard;

To chirche needes heo moste he po,  
I

Pe dore was open, he miht not in go.

Pen was fallen þe purpose

390 Of þe holy mon seint Ambrose.

HE was of so gret abstinence,

For loue of god and reuerence,

Pat he fasted alway,

403) dude wohl zu tilgen.

vice cum beatus Ambr. per civitatem pergeret, quidam casu lapsus est et in terra prostratus jaciebat: quod videns alter ridere coepit. Cui A.: Et tu, qui stas, vide ne cadas. Quo dicto statim lapsum doluit suum qui riserat alienum. — 373 Quadam etiam vice A. ad palatium Macedonii, magistri officiorum, ut pro quodam intercederet, venit; sed cum fores clausas invenisset nec intrandi copiam habere potuisset, ait: Et tu quidem venies ad ecclesiam et non clavis januis ingredi, sed apertis januis non valebis. 385 Elapso aliquo tempore metuens inimicos Macedonius ad ecclesiam fugit et patentibus januis aditum reperire non potuit. — 391 Fuit etiam tantae abstinentiae, quod quotidie nisi in sabbato et die dominico et festis praecipuis jejunabat. 397 Tantae etiam largitatis erat, quod omnia quae habere poterat ecclesiis et pauperibus, nil sibi retinens, tribuebat. 401 Tantae compassionis, ut, cum aliquis lapsum suum sibi confitebatur, sic amarissime flebat, quod illum similiter flere compellebat. 411 Tantae humilitatis et laboris, ut libros quos dictabat propria manu scribebat, nisi cum infirmitate corporis gravaretur. 417 Tantae antem pietatis et dulcedinis, ut, cum alicujus sancti sacerdotis vel episcopi sibi obitus nuntiaretur, sic amarissime flebat, ut vix consolari valeret. 423 Cum autem interrogaretur cur viros sanctos,

5 And wepte for holy men and murie  
 Pat passed weren vp to glorie,  
 He wolde onswere : »ne leeue þe nouht  
 Pat i þus wepe and falle in þouht,  
 Out of þis world for þei ben gon  
 o To him þat mad vs euerichon,  
 But for þei ben gon tofore me,  
 And for hit is hard, so mot i þe,  
 Forte fynden aftur such a mon  
 Pat such an offys so wel do con.«

5 HE was of so good constaunce  
 And strong in spiryt in eueri chaunce :  
 Pouh emperour or kyng in dede were  
 nice,

He nolde not suwe hem in no vice,  
 But he wolde in certeyne

o Wiþ opene vois him wel repreyne.

PER was a mon þat wikkedliche  
 An vuel dede hedde don openliche.  
 Tofore Ambrose whon men him broght,  
 He seide, as hit was in his þouht :  
 5 »Hit bihoueþ, seid Ambrose, þat þis man

Beo bitaken to Sathan,  
 Pat wheþer he beo hard oþur nessche  
 Him to chastise in his flessche.«

Pat word vnneþe Ambrose hadde seid,

o Pat þe mon al wod abreyd,  
 A wikkede spirit þe bodi torment,  
 So þat þe soule schulde not be schent.  
 VVpon a tyme bi godus dome  
 Seint Ambrose tok þe wei to Rome,

455) Ms. trissye st. Tuscie. 485) of causal, mit dem Infin. als Gerund.

And in a toun, þat hette Trissye,  
 He was herborwede, sikerlye,  
 At a riche monnes hous,  
 Per he in dwelled and his spos.  
 Seint Ambrose apposed þis man  
 Of his stat hou hit stod þan.

455

He seide : »Sire, so mot i þe,  
 Ich am in gret prosperite,  
 Mi self, mi wyf and min hous,  
 We ben wondur glorious :  
 Ich haue plente of richesse,  
 Men and wymmen, more and lesse,  
 Me to serue niht and day  
 Euer more to my pay ;  
 Ich haue moni a mon ful fyn,  
 Children, nevues and cosyn,  
 I haue alle þing at my wille,  
 Per nul no wiht me greue ne spille ;  
 I hedde neuere aduersite,  
 Ne gret serwe ful non on me.«

460

Whon seint Ambrose þeos wordes herd, 475  
 Wondurliche he was aferd,  
 And to hem þat were of his cumpaygnye  
 He bad hem faste þeennes heize,  
 »For i wot wel now in þis space  
 Pat God nis not in þis place ;  
 Hize we faste on vre goyng,  
 And as we gon makeþ no dwellyng,  
 Leste þorwh Godus veniaunce  
 Vs falle vyppon sum mischaunce  
 For þis ilke monnes sinne,  
 Of his hous now dwellen inne.«

470

480

485

qui ad gloriam proficiscebantur, sic fleret, ajebat : Ne putetis me flere quod recesserint, sed quia me praecesserunt et quia difficile invenitur qui tam dignus ejus officii habeatur. — 435 Tantae etiam constantiae et fortitudinis, quod imperatoris vel principum vitia non palpabat sed eos voce libera constantissime arguebat. 441 Cum quidam vir quoddam flagitium perpetrasset et coram eo adductus fuisset, dixit A. : Oportet illum tradi Sathanae in interitum carnis, ne talia deinceps audeat perpetrare. Quem eodem momento, cum adhuc sermo esset, more ejus immundus spiritus dispergere coepit. — 453 Quadam vice, ut ajunt, cum beatus A. Romam pergeret et in quadam villa Tusciae (engl. Trissye) apud quendam hominem nimium locupletem hospitatus fuisset, illum hominem super statu suo sollicite requisivit. 461 Cui ille respondit : Status meus, domine, semper felix exstitit et gloriosus; ecce enim divitiis infinitis abundo, servos et famulos quam plures habeo et omnia semper ad vota habui nec unquam mihi aliquid adversum accidit vel quod contrastaret evenit. 475 Quod audiens A. vehementer obstupuit et his qui erant secum in comitatu dixit : Surgite et hinc quantocius fugiamus, quia dominus non est in loco isto; festinate, filii, festinate, nec in fugiendo moram facite, ne nos hic divina ultio apprehendat et in peccatis

- Vnneþe Ambrose and his meyne  
Weoren passed out from þat citeé,  
Þat sodeynliche opened þe eorþe :  
490 Per lafte nouþur þe þridde ne feorþe  
Þat in þat hous dwelled and swonken,  
But alle in to þe eorþe þei sonken,  
Þat of hem no steppe was seyn ;  
Per þe hous stod al was pleyn.  
495 Whon seint Ambrose þis biheold,  
Wiþ his meyne þat stod in feld,  
He seide: »lo, how merciful God is  
To hem þat soffren here iwis  
In þis world aduersite,  
500 And of his grace sendeþ so to be,  
And hou he punisscheþ, her mow ze se,  
Hem þat han al prosperite.«  
In þat ilke same plas,  
Pere as bifel þis cas,  
505 Is a deop put alway,  
Pat euer schal laste, as men say.  
OF alle maner vuel þe rote  
Is auarice iclept and ihote.  
And whon he sauh þat in monkuynde  
510 Auarice was most in muynde,  
Among holy churche and worldly men,  
Muche deol he made þen;  
Out of þis world, so sori place,  
He preyed God þat in schort space  
515 He schulde him bringe at his wille,  
And þat his soule schulde not spille.

533) lutlum by little, alter dat. plur.

God hit him grauñted specialiche :  
An angel him warned priueliche.  
Whon he was war of þat day  
Þat he schulde passe hennes away,  
Perof he was joyful and feyn  
And tolde his breþeren in certeyn  
Þat til þe feste of þe resureccioun  
He schulde wiþ hem dwelle her doun.

A fewe dayes tofore he fel seek,  
He was aboute — i telle ow ek —  
Forte endyte wiþ wit ful cler  
Þe foure and fourtiþe psalm of þe sauter,  
And wiþ him was his notarie :  
Þat sauh on him a siht of glorie :  
Sodeynliche in maner of a scheld  
A schort fuir his hed þen held  
And lutlum and lutlum  
In to his mouþ crep hole and sum,  
As þouh hit hedde ben in to his hous ;  
Þen wex his face al glorious  
And lyk to snouh hit wox al whit,  
But aftur to his oun kynde turned hit.  
Þat day he made an endyng  
Of writyng and endyting,  
Þat psalm þen mihte he not þarfourme —  
Nere Godus wille, þat mihte men mourne.  
A fewe daies aftur þat  
Wiþ seknes he was al to squat.

PEn þe eorl of Ytalie

illorum pariter nos involvat. 487 Cum ergo fugerent et aliquantulum processissent, subito se terra aperuit et hominem illum cum universis qui ad illum pertinebant ita absorbuit, ut nullum inde vestigium remaneret. 495 Quod cernens A. dixit: Ecce, fratres, quam misericorditer Deus parcit, cum hic adversa tribuit, et quam severe irascitur, cum semper prospera elargitur. 503 In eodem autem loco fovea quaedam profundissima remansisse dicitur, quae (usque hodie in hujus facti testimonium) perseverat. — 507 Cum autem A. radicem omnium malorum, avaritiam, magis ac magis in hominibus crescere cerneret et maxime in his qui erant in potestatibus constituti, (apud quos omnia pretio vendebantur,) nec non et in his qui erant sacris ministeriis deputati, vehementer ingemuit et se de hujus saeculi aerumna liberari instantius exoravit. 517 Qui cum se id obtinuisse gauderet (im engl. erklärt), 522 revelavit fratribus quod usque ad resurrectionem dominicam secum esset. 525 Ante vero paucos dies quam lectulo detineretur, cum XLIII psalmum cum notario dictaret, 530 subito ipsi, vidente notario, in modum scuti brevis ignis caput ejus operuit atque paulatim per os ejus, tanquam in domum habitator, intravit. 536 Tunc facies tanquam nix effecta est, sed postmodum ad suam speciem reversa est. 539 Ipso igitur die scribendi et dictandi finem fecit nec ipsum psalmum explere potuit, post igitur paucos dies infirmitate corporis laborare coepit. 545 Tunc comes Italiae cum Mediolani

At Melan was and mad him murie ;  
 But, whon he herde of þis tiþinge,  
 He made del and gret mournynge  
 And gedered to gedre alle þe grete  
 Of þat citéé on an aftur mete,  
 And seide to hem : he dredde *peril*,  
 Leste þer schulde falle sum il  
 To þat ilke cuntry,  
 Whon þat Ambrose wer gon away ;  
 5 Perfore he preyed þat þei schulde gon  
 To saint Ambrose swiþe anon,  
 To preye him preye God wiþ good face  
 Forte sende him lengor space,  
 Wiþ hem to dwelle sumwhat more,  
 10 Zif þat his swete wille wore.  
 Riht so þei seiden and he hem herd,  
 But riht anon he onswerd :  
 »I haue not liued amongus zou  
 Pat i am not aschomed nou,  
 15 Ne i drede not to dye, iwis :  
 We haue to lord þe kyng of blis.  
 Four dekenes of his,  
 Whon þat þei herden of þis,  
 Pei come to gedere in þat plas  
 20 Per he seek ileyd was,  
 Sumwhat also þei stoden afer,  
 For þat he scholde not hem her.  
 Pei gonno to treten in þat hour  
 Who mihte be best his successour ;  
 25 Amonges hem softly þei seiden þan  
 Hit were best chese Simplician.  
 Al þouh þei made no gret nois,

564) not pleonastisch.

He onswerd, as he hed herd heore vois,  
 Pei seide wiþ mylde mod :  
 »He is old, but he is god.« 580  
 Alle foure þen woxen aferd,  
 Whon þat þei his vois herd.  
 But neuerþeles, whon he was ded,  
 Symplician þei chosen to heore hed.

PE bisschop of Vercellenen — 585  
 Honoratus him cleped men —  
 He bod Ambrosus passyng.  
 But as he fel on slepyng,  
 He herde a vois þries þo  
 Seize : »rys, for nou he schal forþ go !« 590  
 He ros and þenne to Melan went  
 And ministred to Ambrose þe sacrament.  
 And he in maner of þe crois  
 His hondus streihte, wiþoute nois ;  
 In preyers, as he bisied him most, 595  
 To god he zeld vp þe gost.  
 Pis mon regned in lyf ful fyne  
 Aboute þe ȝeres þre hundred heihti and  
 nyne  
 Of þe date of vr lord,  
 An holi mon in dede and word. 600  
 To þe chirche an ester niht  
 As men him beren forþ riht,  
 Cristen children and innocent  
 Seiden þei sauh him verrement  
 As a juge sitte in a chayer,  
 Riht as þe sonne briht and clearer ;  
 Summe wiþ heore fyngres, verreyliche,

esset, nobiles convocabavit, dicens, quod, tanto viro recessente, periculum esset ne Italiae interitus imminaret; V. 555 rogavitque ut ad virum Dei accederent rogantes ut sibi adhuc spatium vivendi (uno anno) a domino impetraret. 561 Quod ille ut ab illis audit, respondit: Non ita inter vos vixi, ut me vivere pudeat, nec mori timeo, cum bonum dominum habeamus. 567 Eo tempore quatuor ejus dyaconi invicem convenierunt tractantes inter se quis post ejus obitum bonus esset. Cum ergo a loco in quo vir Dei Ambrosius jacebat, longe essent et Simplicianum ita silenter nominassent, ut vix invicem se audirent, ille ab iis longe positus tertio exclamavit: senex, sed bonus. 581 Quod audientes territi fugerunt et nonnisi illum post ejus obitum elegerunt, (in loco autem in quo jacebat vidit Jesum ad se venientem et sibi vultu alacri arridentem.) 585 Honoratus vero, episcopus Vercellensis, qui beati Ambrosii obitum expectabat, cum se sopori dedisset, vocem tertio se clamantis audit: surge, quia mox est recessurus. 591 Qui consurgens Mediolanum concitus venit et ei dominici corporis sacramentum dedit; moxque ille manus in modum crucis expandit et ultimum spiritum inter verba oris efflavit. 597 Floruit circa annos domini 379 (!) — 601 Cum autem in nocte paschae corpus ejus ad ecclesiam fuisset delatum, plurimi infantes baptizati eum viderunt, ita ut aliqui eum sedentem in cathedra tribunali dicerent (606 Zus.).

Scheweden heore frendes openliche  
Vpward hou þei sauh him stihe  
610 Wiþ heore bodiliche eize;  
Summe seiden þey seȝen wel a fyne  
A sterre ligge briht and schyne  
Euene aboue vppon his brest —  
Signe hit was of wel god rest.

615 PEr was a prest, sat at a fest,  
Wher men of Ambrose speeken mest;  
Þe prest bigon him to bakbyte  
And bi his godnes he set luyte:  
Wiþ seknesse he was smiten anon,  
620 Pat to his bed þen moste he gon —  
I not wher he dude him schriue,  
But þer he mad ende of his lyue.

ALso in þe cite of Cartage  
Þ(r)e bischops of gret parage  
625 Weren iset at a fest  
And iserued at þe best,  
But on of hem gon to bacbyte  
Seint Ambrose wiþ gret dilyte.  
Pen of þe prest on him told  
630 Hou hit bifel, þat was so bold  
To speke harm of þat mon,  
And hou vengaunce ful him vpon.  
He onswarde: so god him spede,  
Peroſ tok he but luytel hede.

635 And sodeynliche a deþes wounde  
Him tok, anon he fel to grounde —  
Per he made his laste ende  
For bacbytyng of Godus frende.

NOTE ze nou þis, for hit is able:  
640 In mony þinges he was comendable,

613) Ms. vppen. 624) Ms. þe st. þre.

Furst in liberalite :  
For alle þinges þat hedde he  
To pore folk forsoþe he zaf  
Pat bedreden weore or wente wiþ staf.  
Perfore of him a tale men telle,  
Pat is as soþ as gospelle:

AN emperor to him sent,  
Pat he schulde wiþ good talent  
Zelde vp a noble churche to him —  
For he þouȝte, wiþ wille ful grim,  
Hit to heretykes haue ȝiue,  
Pat were not worpi þer in to lyue —  
He seide þat he was of al þing lord  
And wolde hit haue at o word.  
Ambrose onswerde wiþ honour:  
»Zif þat, he seide, þe emperor  
Asked of me þing þat myn wer,  
Þouȝ hit were gold or seluer  
Oþur elles hous or lond,  
Hit scholde beo redi to his hond,  
And þauȝ al þat i haue here, i wot wel,  
Is pore mennes catel —  
So ich hit holde, and euer schal be  
Þorwh Godus oune charite.

But holichirche to God doþ longe,  
Perfore as wel he mihte me honge  
As make me ȝiue him such a þing;  
Hit weore a cursed doyng,  
For, þauȝ he beo muchel of miht,  
To such þing haþ he no riht.«  
Pus þis gode mon, iwis,  
Knouleched þat al þat was his  
Was pore mennes at heore nede —  
Such a prelat god wol spede.

alii adscendentem digito suis parentibus demonstrarent, nonnulli vero stellam super corpus ejus se videre narrarent (614 Zus.). — 615 Quidam presbiter cum in convivio cum multis aliis esset et sancto Ambrosio detrahere coepisset, eum continuo plaga perculit et de convivio ad lectum ductus vitam finivit (621 Zus.). — 623 In urbe Carthaginensi cum tres episcopi simul convivarent et unus eorum beato A. detraxisset, relatuum est quid illi presbitero qui sibi detraxerat accidisset. 633 Quod cum ille vili penderet, subito letale vulnus accepit et extreum continuo diem clausit. — 639 Notandum, quod beatus A. in multis commendabilis fuisse videtur. Primo in liberalitate, quia omnia quae habebat pauperum erant; unde refert de se ipso (646 Zus.), quod imperatori petenti basilicam sic respondit (et est in decreto XXIII qu. VIII, convenior etc.): 655 Si a me peteret quod meum esset, id est fundum meum, argentum meum et huiusmodi meum, non refragarer, quamquam omnia quae mea sunt pauperum sunt (663—675 nicht im latein. Text bei Grässle). —

Also he was comendable, wiþouten les,  
In puite of clannes :  
For he was a mayden clene —  
Leeue hit wel wiþouten wene ! —  
Seint Jerom telleþ he herde him say  
Peos wordus to him vpon a day :  
»We speken not onliche of maydenhede,  
But we hit kepe also in dede.«

IN studefastnesse also of fe  
Comendable he was al wei.  
Per as i aboue seid :  
Whon þe emperour him vpbreid,  
For þat þe chirche he wolde hauwe had,  
Seint Ambrose rafur him bad  
Furst his lyf take him fro  
Pen his feiþ — he seide him so.

IN couetise of martirdom,  
Forte come to þat blessed hom,  
He was to comende witerli.  
I schal zou telle þe skile whi.  
Whon Valentinian þe emperour  
His churche coueyted wiþ errour —  
As i tolde zou a luitel bifore —,  
An officer greued Ambrose sore  
For he nolde not þerto assent,  
And sende word to him wiþ gret talent:  
»Pen þou woit not fulfillie  
Mi lord, þe emperoures, wille,  
Þin heued þerfore I wol hauie,  
Pi lyf, þi self schaltou not saue.«  
Ambrose onswerde loueliche :  
»God ziuë þe grace smartliche

To parfourne þi manase,  
Whon euer þe luste and what place !  
Wolde god þat on þat maneer  
From holi chirche to turne heore vuel 710  
cher

Pei wolden and vengen hem al on me  
And kele heore þurst in sleing me !«  
Of his deþ he þaf luyte,  
Pat þerwiþ his chirche wolde quite.

IN bisynes of orisoun 715

He was comendable of deuocioun.

Azeines þe emperice Justine  
Pat proued he wel wiþ hert ful fine,  
For azeynes hire woodnes  
He schewed alle goodnes, 720  
He fendet him not azeynes hire  
Nouþur wiþ scheld ne wiþ spere,  
But wiþ wakynge and preyer,  
Vndur an holy auter  
He preyed God his chirche defende 725  
And of mendyng grace hire sende.

HE was comendable and zep  
In habundaunce of teres and wep.  
Preo maner of teres here  
He vsud — nou ze mowe hem lere :  
Furst he hedde teres of compassiun, 730  
For he wolde wepe for deuociun  
For hem þat hedden don amis  
And gulti weren in heore dedis ;  
Paulin seiþ for þat of him aboue :  
Whon eny wiht him schrof to him forloue  
Of eny gult þat he hedde don,

710) to vor d. Infin., weil wolde erst folgt; oder ist V. 710 and vengen st. avengen verschrieben?  
735) aboue, s. v. 40.

V. 675 Secundo in munditiae puritate : fuit enim virgo; unde refert Hieronymus eum dixisse : virginitatem non solum efferimus sed etiam servamus. — 683 Tertio in fidei firmitate; unde dixit, cum imperator peteret basilicam, (et est in eodem capitulo) : prius est ut animam mihi quam sedem auferat. — 691 Quarto in martirii aviditate; unde legitur in epistola sua de basilica non tradenda, quod praepositus Valentiniani Ambrosio mandavit dicens : Tu contemnis Valentinianum, caput tibi tollo. 705 cui Ambrosius : Deus permittat tibi ut facias quod minaris, atque utinam Deus avertat eos ab ecclesia, in me omnia tela sua convertant et meo sanguine sitim suam expleant. (713—4 Zus.). — 715 Quinto in orationis instantia; (unde dicitur de eo et habetur in libro XI hystoriae ecclesiasticae) : Ambr. adversum reginae furorem non se manu defensabat aut telo, sed jejuniis et continuatis vigiliis, sub altari positus per obsecrationes defensorem sibi et ecclesiae Deum parabat. — 727 Sexto in lacrymarum abundantia: habuit enim tria genera lacrymarum, scilicet lacrymas compassionis pro aliorum culpis, — unde dicit Paulinus de eo in legenda, quod, cum aliquis lapsum sibi confitebatur, sic amarissime flebat, quod illum similiter flere

Perfore he wolde wepe anon,  
And riht so he wolde constreyne  
740 Pe mon to wepe for his peyne.

ANd teres he hedde of deuociun  
Euer to preye, in feld and toun,  
Out of þis world forte go —  
Pat was his disyr euer mo ;  
745 Perfore — tofore as hit is seid —  
Whon þat Paulin him wolde vpreid  
And aske whi he wepte so sore,  
Whon holi men dyed him bifore  
Pat in to joye weren ipast

750 Pat wiþouten ende schal last,  
He bad him leeue neuer þe mo  
þat he made deol and wepte so  
For þei passed þis world fro,  
But for þei weore tofore him go

755 To þe kyngdom of blis,  
Pat euer schal laste wiþouten mis.

OF compassioune eke he hedde þe tere  
For hem þat wronges suffreden here.  
Pe knihtes þat weren fers and grim  
760 He onswerde, þat weren sent to him  
From Valentinean þe emperor  
þat þouȝte him to worche harde stour,  
He seide: »ich vse nouþur spere ne  
charmes,

Mi bitter teres beoþ myn armes“ —  
765 And so þei schulde to alle clerkes

Pat suwen wole seint Ambrose werkes —

745) s. oben 417 ff. 752) im Ms. fehlt ne?

»Peos, he seide, ben prestes defens,  
Oþur nul i make no resistens.“

PE bok also bereþ witnes :  
He was comendable in stedefastnes.  
þat bisemed in þeo þinges  
þat he vsud in his liinges :

Furst in defendyng — as þe bok seiþ —  
Of soþnes of holichirches feiþ.  
Whon þe modur of Valentinian,  
þat Justine men called þan,  
Pe whuche meyntened mani a man  
In þe heresy of Arrian,  
Bigan to distorble þe stat  
Of holichurche, and mony prelat  
And prestes manased to exile,  
But ȝif þei wolde reuoke þe counsyle  
þat was iholde in þe citéé  
þat men cleped Arimminence :  
In þe whuche alle þe clergye  
Hedde dampned þe heresye  
Of þe Arrianes lore  
And heretykes icorsed perfore,  
And þer vppon was mad a decre,  
þat euermore schulde iholde be ;  
Ambrose of hire tok non hede,  
But stod stedefast at þat nede  
And he him self was wal and tour,  
To kepe holichirches honour,  
And he on hond tok þat batayle —  
Hem he distruyed wiþoute fayle.

HE was comendable ek parde

784) Ms. Arimminence. 793) Ms. hin st. him.

compellebat (vgl. V. 401 ff.) —, 741 lacrymas devotionis pro aeternis desideriis, — unde supra dictum est a Paulino, quod, cum interrogabatur cur sanctos qui moriebantur sic fleret, respondit: Ne me putetis flere quod recesserint, sed quia me ad gloriam praecesserunt (s. oben V. 417 ff.) —, 757 lacrymas compassionis pro aliorum injuriis, — unde ipse dicit de se (et est in decreto in superiori capite:) Adversus milites Gothos lacrymae meae arma sunt mea, satis enim munimenta sacerdotis sunt, aliter nec debo nec possum resistere (765—6 Zus.). — 769 Septimo in fortia constantia; cuius constantia maxime in tribus apparet: primo in defensione catholicae veritatis, — (unde dicitur in libro XI ecclesiasticae hystoriae, quod) Justina, mater Valentiniani imperatoris, Arianae haereseos alumna, coepit conturbare ecclesiarum statum, comminari sacerdotibus depulsiones et exsilia, nisi Ariminensis concilii decreta revocarent (785—790 erklär. Zus.), quo bello ecclesiae murum ac turrim validissimum pulsabat Ambrosium. (Ein im lat. bier folgender anderer Ausspruch über des A. Glaubensmuth aus der praeftatio desselben Buches fehlt im engl.) —. 797 secundo in tuitione ecclesiasticae libertatis, — unde, cum imperator auferre vellet quandam basilicam, opposuit se Ambrosius contra imperatorem, (sicut

In kepyng of þe liberte  
Of holichurche wiþ honour.  
○ Perfore, whon þe emperour  
A chirche from him wolde haue take,  
He hit wiþstod for Godus sake  
And he onswerd, as mon wel sage,  
To hem þat wer sent on message (!) :  
5 »I am comaunded, he seide, of knihtes  
Þorwh þe emperoures mihtes  
Þat i schulde wiþouten irke  
Delyuere vp to him a kirke.  
I onswered (!) wiþouten lesyng:  
○ Zif þat ȝe aske weddyng,  
Takeþ me forþ wiþ ou away —  
I schal ȝou suffre, par ma fay;  
Zif my bodi ȝe wolde hent,  
I wol come to ȝou, verreyment;  
5 Zif ȝe wole me bynde wiþ bondes,  
I schal neuere fleo ȝor hondes,  
Nouþur to chirche ne to auter,  
Beo ȝe neuer so strong ne feer;  
But for þe auter wiþ god wil  
○ I schal me putte in to peril.  
I am comaunded delyuere þe chirche :  
Þat were a wondur werk to worche!  
Þe biddyng of þe emperour  
Preteþ me wiþ gret irrour,  
5 But holy writ confermeþ me  
Þat seiþ þus, in good lewte :  
Þou hast ispoken on þe gyse  
As on of þe wymmen þat weren vnwyse.

826) Pat bezieht sich auf holy writ, während lat. Qui respondit auf Ambr.; allerdings sind die 827—8 folg. Worte aus Job 2, 10 (Vulg.: quasi una de stultis mulieribus locuta es.) — Die ganze Rede des Ambr. ist aus verschiedenen Stellen seiner Schriften zusammengetragen. 839) þat st. þat þat.

ipse testatur et est in decreto XXIII quaest. VI) : 805 convenior ipse a comitibus ut per me basilicae fieret matura traditio, dicentibus imperatorem iussisse (: jure suo tradi debere); 809 respondi: si patrimonium petit: invadite, si corpus: occurram, vultis in vincula: imponite, (vultis in mortem: voluntatis est mihi); (non ego me vallabo confusione populorum) nec altaria tenebo vitam obsecrans, sed pro altaribus gratius immolabor; mandatur tradere basilicam, urgemur igitur praeceptis regalibus, sed confirmamur scripturae sermonibus. 826 Qui respondit (engl. bezieht anders): Tanquam una ex insipientibus locuta es; noli gravare te, imperator, ut putas te in ea quae divina sunt jus habere; ad imperatorem palatia pertinent, ad sacerdotes ecclesiae. 835 Sanctus Naboth vineam suam proprio cruore defendit; si ille vineam suam non reddidit, nos trademus Christi ecclesiam? tributum Caesari est, non negetur, ecclesia Dei est, Caesari utique non donetur. 845 Si de me aliquid compellaretur aut posceretur: fundus aut domus aut aurum aut argentum, id quod juris mei esset libenter offerrem; templo Dei nihil possum decerpere nec detrahere, cum illud custodiendum, non decerpendum acceperim. — 855 tertio in objurgatione vitii et omnis iniquitatis, — (unde legitur in hystoria tripartita in quadam chronica, quod,) [der engl. Text mit eigenem Titel.]

»Perfore, emperour, greue not þe,  
Ne trowe þou not, he seide, pard,  
No maner riht þat þou maiȝt haue  
In heuenlich þinges noþur hem craue;  
Paleises longen to emperours,  
And halewed chirches ben prestes tours.  
Zif seint Naboth wiþ his oune blood  
His vynȝard defendet wiþ herte god, 835  
For he hit wolde not vp zelde :  
I hope þat god schal ben vr schelde,  
Þat sunful dede schul we not worche  
To zelde þe emperour vr churche.  
Þe tribute is duwe to Cesar —  
Hit to deniȝe vche mon bi war! —  
Holychirche is godus al one,  
Þe emperour þerwiþ haþ not to done.  
Zif he aske ouȝt þat is myn,  
Lond or rente or gold so fyn, 845  
Wiþ gode wille I wolde him take  
And þeroþ no daunger make;  
But I mai not ȝiue awei  
Godus temple, ne hit bitray,  
Ne to no temperel lord hit zelde,  
Þou he beo gret in toun and felde;  
Forte kepe hit is me take,  
Nouȝt to zelde vp, for godus sake.«

HE was also commendable, 855  
For he hem wolde blame þat wer not stable,  
And repreyne hem of wikkednesse,  
Boþe more and eke lesse.

## De Theodosio imperatore.

HIT BISEL SUM tyme in certeyn

860 In þe cite of Tessaleyn

Pat þer was a gret rysing  
Of þe pepul þer dwellyng  
Aȝeynes þe judges of þe lawe,  
þe pepul hem stened and duden *of*  
dawe.

865 Teodosius þe emperoure

Perwiþ was wroþ and gon to loure,  
He comaundered men hem to sle,  
Pat non of alle awey schulde fle;  
Bote he dude noþing goodly,

870 For he slouh gulti and vngulti :

þe noumble was, men seide in londe,  
Almost to fyf þousunde.

Aftur þat þe emperour

To Melan wente wiþ gret honour,

875 In to þe chirche he wolde haue gon.

Ambrose aȝeines him com anon  
And, whon he com riht to þe ȝate,  
He him forbad cum in þer ate.

Pen Ambrose him gan vbbreide

880 And þeose wordus to him seide :

»Whi woldust þou nouht, sir emperour,  
Aftur þi wodnes and errour  
Knowleche þi presumcioun,  
Pat þou hast wrouht as feloun ?

885 But parauenture hit may be

Pat þe grete miht of þyn emperorite  
Make þat þou nult nouȝt knowleche  
þi foule sunne and þy wreche.  
Hit schulde ben euere in þi dome

864) Ms. to dawe st. of dawe.

Resoun, þi miht to ouercome ;  
Þouh þou beo prince and emperor  
Ouer men wiþ gret honour,  
þou schuldest þenke bi good steem  
þou nart but riht as on of hem  
Tofore god, zif þou take hede.  
Avise þe wel of þi dede !  
Hou dorstest þou beo so bold  
Wiþ þin ezen to bi hold  
þe temple of vr alre lord,  
Opur so hardi to speke a word ?

Hou maiȝt þou fynde in þin entent  
Wiþ þi feet to gon on þe pament ?  
Hou mihtest þou wiþ eny moode  
Holde vp þin hondes to þe rode,  
Pat zit aren fouled wiþ þe blod  
Of innocens, whon þou were wood ?

Hou mihtest þou wiþ þi mouȝt  
His blod receyue þat for vs couȝt  
Mon bicom, riht as beo we,  
And for vs dye on rode tre,  
Pat wiþ þi mouȝt ȝaf juggemens  
For to sle innocens

And hem þat were not gulti  
As hem þat trespast verreyli ?  
Go forþ, he seide, þerfore þi way,  
Leste þi secunde sunne to day  
Eche þi former wikkedhede

And god take vengaunce of þi dede !  
þe bond þat god haþ þe wiþ ibounde  
Tak hit, and walk forþ on þe grounde !  
Pat is þe moste medecin  
Pat mon may take for his sin —  
Pat was to sei : for his misded  
From holychirche he was departed.

V. 859 cum apud Thessalonican orta seditione quidam judices fuissent a populo lapidati, Theodosius imperator indignatus jussit omnes interimi, nocentes ab innocentibus non secernens, ubi fere 5000 hominum sunt occisa. 873 Cum igitur imperator Mediolanum venisset et ecclesiam intrare vellet, occurrit ei A. ad januam eique adiutum prohibuit, dicens: 881 Cur, imperator, post causam tanti furoris non agnoscis molem tuae praesumptionis, sed forte recognitionem peccati prohibit potestas imperii? decet te ut vincat ratio potestatem; princeps es, o imperator, sed conservorum. (895—96 Zus.) 897 quibus ergo oculis adspicies communis domini templum (900 Zus.), quibus pedibus calcabis sanctum pavimentum, quomodo manus extendes de quibus adhuc sanguis stillat injustus, qua praesumptione ore tuo poculum sanguinis ejus percipies, dum furore tuorum sermonum tantus injuste sit sanguis effusus? 915 recede ergo, recede, ne secundo peccato priorem nequitiam augere contendas; suscipe vinculum quo te dominus nunc ligavit: est enim medicina maxima sanitatis. (923—4 Zus.).

25 Pe emperour þen was aschamed  
And obbeyed, as he þat was blamed;  
Wiþ gret deol and wiþ wepyng  
Hamward he rod to his dwellyng.  
Sire Rufin, maister of his knihtes,  
30 Asked him anon rihtes  
Whi þat he loked so dreri,  
Pat of cher was so sori?  
He onswerde : »þou wost wel luyte  
What is my wo or myn edwyte;  
35 For to beggers and to bonde men  
þe temple zates open ben,  
To my self þat am al on  
Ingoyngh nou is þer non.«  
And euere as he þeos wordes seid  
40 He wept and snobbed and ofte abreid.  
Pen seide Rufin, þat kniht :  
»I schal not stunte but anon riht  
Renne to Ambrose, zif þat þou wilt,  
Pat he forȝiue þe þi gilt,  
45 And also, þat he take on honde  
To vnbynde þe of þat bonde  
Pat he bond þe wiþ last,  
Porwh power of holichirche so fast.«  
Pe emperour onswerde þan :  
50 »Þou schalt not ouercome þat man  
For no fere of no miht  
Of emperour, kyng ne kniht,  
For no mon may make him wiþ awe  
To don aȝeynes godus lawe.«  
5 But Rufin biheet wel inowe  
Pat he wolde make him bowe.  
Pe emperour bad him go tofore,

, 982) Ms. genten st. geten.

V. 925 His sermonibus imperator obediens, gemens et flens ad regalia remeavit.  
929 Cum ergo diu in fletu mansisset, Rufinus, magister militum, causam tantae tristitiae inquisivit. 933 Cui ille: Tu, inquit, mea mala non sentis, quia-servis et mendicantibus aperta sunt tempa, mihi vero ad ea ingressus non est — et haec dicens singula verba singultibus interrumpebat. 941 Cui Rufinus: Curro, si vis, ad Ambrosium, ut tibi solvat vinculum quo te ligavit (944 u. 8 Zus.). 949 Et ille: Non poteris suadere Ambrosio, quia non verebitur imperiale potestatem, ut legem possit praevericari divinam. 955 Sed cum ille promitteret quod eum flecteret, eum imperator ire praecepit, et ipse post paululum est secutus. 959 Mox autem ut A. Rufinum vidit, ait: Impudentiam canum imitatus es, o Rufine! tantae videlicet necis auctor exsistens et nec pudorem ex fronte detergens non erubescis contra majestatem latrare divinam. 969 Cumque Rufinus pro imperatore supplicasset et diceret eum sequi, superno zelo accens us (engl. bezieht anders, als ob accensum zu lesen; 976 Zus.) Ambrosius ait: 978 Ego tibi praedico quoniam ingredi eum sacra limina prohibeo; si vero potestatem in tyrannidem mutaverit, necem libenter suscipio. Quod cum Rufinus imperatori nuntiasset, 990 Pergam, inquit, ad eum, ut justas in faciem contumelias recipiam.

And he him suwed wiþ herte sore.

Anon as seint Ambrose

Sauh Rufin come, his purpose

960

Knewe and seide wiþ vois ful round :

»Þou art vnschomefast as an hound :

Þou were autour of þat slauhter,

But þer of nou þou makest lauhter

And in þi forehed nis no schame,

Ne þou dredest for no blame

Forte berke and wod be

Aȝeynes godus maieste.«

But neuerþeles for þe emperour

Rufin preyed him at þat hour

965

Pat he him þenne wolde vnbynde,

And tolde þat he com him bihynde,

Him suwyng so for his loue

Pat in heuene sitteþ aboue,

Istured of þe holi gost,

970

»His herte is sori, wel þou wost.«

Pen Ambrose gan to sey :

»Pe tofore i telle, þe wey

I forbeode him algate,

Pat he entre in not atte zate

975

Of Godus ounre holy place,

Til þat he haue geten grace ;

And zif þat he wiþ tirauntrie

Eny þing do to my bodye,

Þou he me sle, for godus sake

980

Ful gladliche þe deþ schal i take.«

Pat Rufyn þe emperour tolde

And wherto þat he schulde him holde.

Pe emperour mekeliche »forsoþe« he seide,

»Hou so euere he me vpbreide,

990

I schal to him go to his place  
And suffre him to myn oun face  
Sei, what so euer his likyng be,  
And take hit wiþ god charite.«

995 Whon he to saint Ambrose com,  
He preyed wiþ good deuocion  
þat he his grace mihte fynde,  
His harde bondes to vnbynde.  
Seint Ambrose ran him aȝein  
1000 And bad him trauayle not in veyn,  
For he him bad schortly also  
In to þe churche schold he not go,  
And seide: »mon, þou art ful lewed,  
What penaunce hastou nou ischewed  
1005 For þi grete wikkednesse,  
Pi sunne and þyn vnbuxumnesse?«  
þe emperor wiþ gret deal  
»Sire«, he seide, »i wot wel,  
Hit falleþ to þe, comauunde me,  
1010 And me, obeysaunt forte be.

What euer þou bidde for my soule hele,  
I schal hit do eueridele.«  
Neuerþeles þe emperor forþwiþ  
Alegged hou þe kyng Dauid  
1015 Hedde idon auoutrye

And monnes slauhtre wiþ felenye,  
And hou þat he zit hedde space  
Him to amende þorwh Godus grace.  
Seint Ambrose þenne wiþouten weer  
1020 Onswerd him on þis maneuer:

»Zif þou haue suwed Dauid in vuel doyng,  
Suwe his dede in amendyng!«  
þe emperor þat so mekeliche tok  
Pat open penaunce he not forsok,  
1025 But, riht as Ambrose bad him don,

1030) þro = quickly. 1047) þouh demonstr., jedoch; so häufig.

Parfourned his penaunces euerichon.

Seint Ambrose him reconysled  
To holychirche and him asoyled.

þe emperor in to þe chirche wente þo,  
In to þe chauncel he dressed him þro; 10  
In his deuociun þer he stod,  
Ambrose him asked wiþ mylde mod  
What he abod þat he stod þer.  
And he onswerd wiþ mylde cher:  
»Sire, he seide, wiþ myn entent  
Is to receyue þe sacrament.«

Ambrose spared for non honour,  
But seide: »ze, sire emperor,  
Pis place is ordeynt onliche for prestes,  
And not for lewed men ne beestes.

In to þe churche þerfore go doun  
And wiþ oþur men in comoun  
Stond and bidde þi preyere;  
þer schulde no such mon stonden here.

Pyn aray of purpur palle  
Makeþ an emperor wel wiþ alle,  
Prestes, þouh, ne makeþ hit non.«  
þe emperor forsoþe ful son  
Obeisaunt was to his biddyng,  
Out of þe chauncel tok his going  
And stod adoun in þe bodi  
Of þe chirche, as mon modi.

Anoþur tyme whon þe emperor  
To Constantynople wiþ honour  
Was comen and wolde here messe,  
To þe churche wiþ more and lesse  
He went and tok his stondyng  
Wiþouten þe chauncel, astur þe teching  
Of seynt Ambrose, þe noble clerk,  
þat him tauhte to worschipe prest and clerk. 10

995 Cum ergo venisset et sua solvi vincula postulasset, occurrens Ambrosius et ingressum prohibens ait: Quam poenitentiam ostendisti post tantas iniquitates? 1007 Et ille: Tuum est imponere, meum obtemperare (1011—2 Zus.). 1013 Verum cum imperator allegaret quod et David adulterium et homicidium commisisset (1017—8 Zus.), ait Ambrosius: Qui secutus es errantem, sequere corrigitem. 1023 Quod ita gratauerit imperator suscepit, quod publicam poenitentiam non recusavit. 1027 Cum igitur, reconciliatus, ecclesiam intrasset et intra cancellos staret, requirit A. quid ibi exspectaret. 1034 Cui cum diceret se perceptionem sacrorum mysteriorum exspectare, ait Ambrosius: O imperator, interiora loca tantum sacerdotibus (1040 Zus.) sunt collata; egredere igitur et hanc expectionem cum caeteris communem habe; purpura namque imperatores facit, non sacerdotes. 1048 Cui imperator protinus obedivit. 1053 Cum ergo, Constantinopolis reversus, extra cancellos staret (engl. ausgeführt),

Pe bisschop þenne of þat citéé  
 To þe emperour so fre  
 Seide : »sire, hit besemeþ ou wel  
 To go in to þe chauncel,  
 65 Per to make zoure standyng  
 Or, ȝif ow luste, zoure knelyng«.  
 Pe emperour þenne gon to say :  
 »I lernde sum tyme on a day  
 What is þe difference  
 70 In doyng of reuerence  
 Bitwene a prest and an emperour.  
 Pe chauncel is place of prestes honour.  
 Vnneþe among old or newe  
 Fond i euere mayster trewe,  
 75 But i put þou out of whonhope :  
 Ambrose is worþi be called bisschope.«

COMendable he was eke and fyn  
 In his holy doctrin.  
 Ierom, þat spekeþ of doctours twelue,  
 o Ambrose comendeþ ouur oþur him selue  
 And seip of him in þis manere :  
 Pe he is lyk to a brid þat set were  
 Vppon a pynacle to fleo an heize,  
 As eny mon mihte seo wiþ eze :  
 5 Pe herre he fleoþ to take þe wynde  
 Euer þe beter he may fynde :  
 So ferde he in his þouht,  
 For euer þe furror þat he souht  
 Pe saddor grount and fruit he fond —.

1075) whonhope mit unorg. h, wie whinges 3, 363. 1109) Ms. Jannarie.

His bokes witnessem, itake an hond. 1090  
 Perfore nou his sentence  
 Is of stable credence  
 And piler, as saint Jerom seiþ,  
 Of holy churche and of þe feiþ.  
 HOse of him tok hede oþur cure, 1095  
 He was of comely stature,  
 And þerto of so gret wit  
 Pat saint Austin comendeþ hit  
 And seiþ : þat þe feiþ of Rome  
 Of saint Ambroses bokus come,  
 And of al translatours in to latyn  
 He was flour enditour fyn ;  
 He was so feiþful and pure of wit  
 Pat an enemy miht not repreyne hit.  
 He was of such auctorite 1100  
 Pat olde doctours wolden, parde,  
 Pat his ensaumples for his sake  
 For gret auctorite was take.  
 Seint Austin tolde to Januarie  
 Pe tale, þat i nul not in varie :  
 Pat his modur hedde gret wondring  
 Whi þat men vsud no fastyng  
 At Melan on þe saterday —  
 Pat was noþing þe Romaynes lay — ;  
 Perfore Austyn asked Ambrose 1110  
 Per of what was þe purpose.  
 He onswerde wiþ good dome  
 And seide : »whon i come at Rome,  
 I kepe þe maner of þat fay

1061 mandavit eidem episcopus ut intraret (engl. dir.) ; et ille ait : 1068 Vix discere potui quod differentia sit imperatoris et sacerdotis, vix enim veritatis inveni magistrum, Ambrosium namque solum novi vocari pontificem. — —

1077 Octavo insana doctrina, (ejus namque doctrina habet altam profunditatem :) Hieronymus de XII doctoribus : »Ambrosius super profundorum pinnaraptus et aeris volucet, quamdiu in profundum ingreditur, fructum de alto capere videtur«. 1091 (Firmam soliditatem :) Hieronymus ibidem : »Ejus omnes sententiae fidei et ecclesiae et omnium virtutum firmae sunt columnae«. 1095 Elegantem venustatem (sc. habet doctrina ; im engl. missverstanden) : Augustinus (in libro de nuptiis et contractibus : »Pelagius haeresiarcha sic laudat Ambrosium , ut dicat:) beatus Ambrosius episcopus in cuius praecipue libris romana lucet fides , qui scriptores inter latinos(!) flos quidam emicuit«. (et subdit Augustinus :) »cuius fidem et purissimum in scripturis sensum ne inimicus quidem ausus est reprehendere«. 1105 Magnam auctoritatem, quia antiqui scriptores (sicut Augustinus) verba sua pro magna auctoritate habebant ; 1109 unde refert Augustinus ad Januarium, quod, cum mater ejus mirata fuisset cur Mediolani sabbato non jejunaretur, et de hoc Augustinus Ambrosium interrogasset, ait Ambrosius : cum venio Romam , jejuno sabbato ; sic et tu, ad quam forte ecclesiam veneris, ejus morem serva , si cuiquam non inde vis scandalum esse

1120 And þenne i faste þe saturday.

To what churche so euer þou cum,  
Per of kep þou þe custum,  
Zif þou nult desclaundred beo  
Ne oþur men for loue of þe».

1125 Seint Austin seide þat sentence

He hedde in as gret reuerence  
And euer hit to haue in mende  
As from heuene hit God hed sende. —  
Of þis lyf is þer no more.  
God zif vs grace to beo not lore !

### 3. De quadam virgine in Antiochia.

AT Antioche, as men han sayde,  
Dwellede sum tyme a mayde  
Pat was a wommon of god fame —  
Pe bok telleþ not hire name,

5 But seint Ambrose, hose lust to lok,  
In his secunde bok  
Pat he made of maydens clene,  
Pe storie of hire al bidene  
Telleþ vs on þis manere.

10 Herkneþ now, and ze mowe here!  
At Antioche in þat cuntre  
Per was a mayden feir and fre,  
Pat hire peyned wiþ al hire mihtes  
To holde hire out of comun sihtes;

15 Fleo heo wolde and huide hire þen,  
Pat heo neore not isezen of men.  
But þe more þat heo hire hud,  
Pe more men coueytud  
Hire feirnes forte se.

20 Per of hedde heo no deynte,  
For feirnes iherd and not seyn  
Pe more disired is, certeyn,  
A mon is stured on þat wyse  
Wiþ twey kene prikkes of couetise :

Pe ton is loue wiþoute doyng,  
Pe toþur is knowyng of þat þing,  
Pat is : whon mon loueþ hotly  
And ne haþ not his purpos fully,  
And luytel plesed þauȝ þat beo he, 2  
Wel more plesaunce he weneþ þer be ; 3  
Pe eze ziueþ not þe juggement,  
Bote wel disireþ to þarfourne his talent :  
So wilful loue weneþ he se  
Of whom he þenkeþ al þe beute,  
Al þouȝ þe eze seo hit nouȝt,  
For þe knowyng þen is in þe þouȝt;  
In hope þerfore is heore lykyng  
Wiþ eze to seo þe same þing.  
Forte cese such hopyng, 4  
Þis mayden made auouwyng  
Of chastete and clannes  
And þerto let hire self profes —  
Pat heo dude men to restreyne  
Pat hire louede al in veyne,  
For þei schulde loue hire no more,  
But let hire passe as þing forlore.  
Nou gode men of deuocion  
Mow here of persecucion.

nec quemquam tibi. et subdit Augustinus : Ego de hac sententia etiam atque etiam cogitans, ita semper habui, tamquam coelesti oraculo acceperim. —

3) Das Orig. s. Leg. Aur. cap. 62 (in der Edit. princ. fehlt diese Legende) : De virginе quadam Antiochena. Der im engl. nach V. 181 stehende weitere Titel : Quædam virgo in lulanari posita seruavit pudicitiam, gehört ders. Erzählung an und ist ganz überflüssig. — V. 1 vgl. L. A. : Virgo quaedam fuit Antiochiae, cujus hystoriam Ambrosius in II libro de virginibus recitat in haec verba (4 Zus., ebenso 10) : 11 Antiochiae nuper virgo quaedam fuit, fugitans publici visus ostentationem. 17 Sed quo magis vitabat oculos, incendebat affectus eo amplius impudicos. 20 Puicitudo enim audit a et non visa plus desideratur duobus stimulis cupiditatum : amoris et cognitionis, dum et nihil occurrit quod minus placeat, et plus putatur esse quod placeat; quod non index oculus explorat, sed animus amator exoptat (engl. führt freier aus). 39 Itaque sancta virgo, ne diutius aleretur potiendae spes cupiditatis, integratatem pudoris professa sic restrinxit improborum facies, ut jam non amaretur sed proderetur. 47 Ecce persecutio.

Pis mayde þat coude not fleo away,  
 50 In dredre liuede day by day  
 Leste heo hed fallen among hire fon  
 Pat al wey spyed hire vppon ;  
 Heo greiþed hir wil of good clannes  
 To vertuwes and parfytnes ;  
 55 Heo was so religious þat heo ne dredde  
 Ne deþ of mon wiþ knyf ne bedde,  
 Heo was also þerto so clene  
 Pat deþ heo bod, wiþouten wene,  
 Atte vche mon aboute al way.  
 . . . . .  
 60 Pat heo schulde for deuocioun  
 Of martirdom take þe croun,  
 Tofore hem þat hire loued had  
 Heo was broght and forþ ilad.  
 Pen bihoued hire, certeyn,  
 65 Stifly stonde in batayles tweyn :  
 Forte kepe wiþ charite  
 Pe religion, and þe chastite  
 Pat heo hedde ymad a vow to  
 Forte kepe euere mo.  
 70 Heo was þrat forte beo ded,  
 But heo wolde do aftur sum red.  
 And whon þei sezen hire deuociun  
 And constaunce of perfecciun,  
 And þat heo was schomeful, and not bolde,  
 75 Pat men hire schulde biholde,  
 And for dredre to leose hire clannes  
 Was redi wiþ al mekenes  
 Forte suffre al þe wo  
 Pat þei casten to don hire þo ;  
 80 For þei parceyued hire deuociun

Pat heo hedde, þat hire religiun  
 Wolde kepe hire chastite  
 And make men heore loue to fle :  
 85 Pei caste alle wiþ felenye  
 Hou þat hope þei mihte distruye :  
 Oþur to make hire do sacrefyse  
 To false goddus on heor wyse,  
 Oþur elles þei casten, as fendes fel,  
 To puyten hire to þe bordel.  
 90 Whon þat heo vndurstod þis,  
 To hire self heo seide iwis :  
 »A lord God, what do we now ?  
 For þat i wole kepe my vow,  
 To day martir moste i be,  
 95 Oþur kepe my maidenhod, pard.  
 I wot riht wel, þe to coroun  
 I schal take wiþ deuocioun,  
 Bote heo nis not worþi bere maidens name  
 Pat forsakeþ þe lord of þat fame ;  
 Hou schulde heo beo mayden holde  
 100 Pat hordom herieþ wiþ herte bolde ?  
 Or hou schulde mayden bi holden heer  
 To caste hire loue to avouter ?  
 Or hou schulde heo be mayden  
 Pat disireþ loue of men ?  
 105 Hit is more betur beo mayden of þouht  
 Pen of þe flesch þat serueþ of nouht.  
 Boþe beo goode whose moote  
 From erþly strengþe kepe hire cote ;  
 And, zif we mou not for such power  
 Kepe vr flesch clene her,  
 110 To vr God þat is so good  
 Kepe vs chast in þouht and mood —

59) Hier fehlt ein Vers im Ms., etwa: þo þat icomen was þe day. 68) to statt þo?

V. 49 Puella, fugere nescia, aetate pavida ne incideret in insidiatores pudoris, animam ad virtutem paravit, tam religiosa ut mortem non timeret, tam pudica ut mortem expectaret. 58 Venit enim coronae dies, maxima omnium expectatio; producitur puella duplex professa certamen, castitatis et religionis (70—1 Zus.). 72 Sed ubi viderunt constantiam professionis, metam (? der Dichter las metum) pudoris, paratam ad cruciatus, erubescensem ad adspectus, excogitare coeperunt quemadmodum spem castitatis, religionem, tollerent, (ut, cum id abstulissent quod erat amplius, etiam id eriperent quod derelinqueretur). 86 Aut sacrificare virginem aut luponari prostitui jubetur. (Quomodo colunt Deos suos qui sic vindicant, aut quemadmodum ipsi vivunt qui ita judicant?) 90 Haec puella (non quod de religione ambigeret, sed quod de pudore trepidaret,) ipsa secum inquit: »Quid agimus hodie? aut martir aut virgo, altera nobis invidetur corona. 96 Sed nec virginis nomen agnoscitur ubi virginitatis auctor negatur; nam quemadmodum virgo, si meretricem colas, quemadmodum virgo, si adulterum diligas, quemadmodum virgo, si amorem petas? (!) 106 Tolerabilius est mentem virginem quam carnem habere; utrumque bonum, si liceat, et si non liceat saltem non homini castae sed Deo

For of þe wil he takeþ hede,  
 115 Whon he schal quite a monnes mede.  
 Pe bible bereþ witnesse  
 Of a wommon of vncleynesse,  
 Pat þat tyme was Raab iclept,  
 But aftur þat heo for hir sunnes wept  
 120 And in God hedde good bileue,  
 And God hele hire sone had zeue.  
 And also þe byble witnesseþ hit:  
 Pe noble wommon Judit,  
 Forte plese an auouter,  
 125 Made hire gay and liht of cher;  
 For heo dude þat not for loue  
 Ne for no displesyng of God aboue,  
 Per wente no mon bi þe wey  
 þat heo avouteres was wolde sey».  
 130 And þen heo seide: »beo my hode,  
 Nou ben þese ensaumples goode:  
 For, zif Judit dude þat for religiun  
 And wiþ good deuociun  
 Kept hir clannes and hire cuntre,  
 135 In hap hit may falle so by me:  
 Zif i kepe my religiun wel,  
 I may me kepe chast eueridel.  
 »Zit, heo seide, i seo more:  
 Zif Judit hedde iput bifore  
 140 Clannes raþer þen religioun,  
 Par autre heo hedde ifallen doun  
 And lost cuntrie and clannes  
 And al þe name of goodnes».  
 Pe wordus in herte heo heold wel  
 145 Pat crist seide in þe gospel:  
 Who so leoseþ his lyf for me

156) Ms. non. 189) Ms. wey st. prey.

He schal hit fynde aȝein, parde.  
 Whon heo þus hedde iþouht and seid,  
 Wondurliche heo abreyd  
 And wepte sore and heold hire pes, 150  
 Lest eny auouter hed herd hire res;  
 Ne heo chese nouȝt of hire clannes  
 Pe wrong, but refused wiþ mekenes  
 Pe wrong don to Crist of miht,  
 Pat lord is of alle riht.  
 155  
 SEint Ambrose bit us take nou hed  
 Of þis wommon maydenhed:  
 Wheþer hir bodi miht do auoutrie,  
 Zif hit weore constreyned be maistrie,  
 Whos vois to lecherie nolde assent,  
 Pouh þe bodi schulde beo torent.  
 Sum tyme mi resun aschomed was,  
 Ambrose seiþ, to here þis cas,  
 Or of þe orible doing  
 To schewe ouȝt in seying; 160  
 But alle ȝe Godus maidenes clene,  
 Schutteþ ȝor eres al bidene!  
 For þenne þis mayden — þat was del! —  
 Lad heo was to þe bordel.  
 Bot, þauh ȝor eȝen renne on teres,  
 Zit, maidenes, openeþ ȝor eres  
 And vndurstondeþ: sikerli,  
 A maiden wiþ strengþe may beo leze bi,  
 But aȝeines hir wil such vilenye  
 Schal beo told for non avoutrye;  
 For wher so euere Godus maiden is,  
 Per Godus temple is, iwis,  
 Ne þe bordel place, parde,

simus. 116 Et Raab meretrix fuit, sed postquam domino credidit, salutem invenit; 117 et Judith se, ut adultero placeret, ornavit, quae tamen quia hoc religione, non amore, faciebat, nemo eam adulteram judicabat. (130 Zus.). 131 Bene successit exemplum, nam, si illa, quae se commisit religioni, et pudorem servavit et patriam, fortassis et nos servando religionem servabimus etiam castitatem; 138 quodsi Judith pudicitiam religioni praeferre voluisse, perdita prima etiam pudicitiam perdidisset». 145 Itaque talibus informata exemplis silenter animo tenens verba domini, quibus ait: »Quicunque perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam», flevit et tacuit, ne eam vel loquentem adulter audiret, nec pudoris elegit injuriam sed Christi recusavit. 156 Aestimate utrum adulterare potuerit corpore quae nec voce adulteravit. 162 Jamdudum verecundabatur oratio mea et quasi adire gestorum seriem criminosam atque explanare formidat. Claudite aures, virgines Dei! ducitur puella Dei ad lupanar; sed aperite aures, virgines Dei! virgo prostitui potest, adulterari non potest; ubicunque dei virgo est, templum Dei est, nec lupanaria infamant castitatem, sed castitas etiam loci abolet infamiam (engl. bezieht loci falsch).

- Defameþ noþing chastite,  
80 But chaste place is of god name  
And doþ awey al vuel fame.
- NOu, ze maidens, alle and sum,  
Lerneþ þe miracles of martirdom,  
Lerneþ also wiþ liht faces  
85 Þe nomes of such maner places !  
In hous is schut a coluere meke,  
Þe sparhaukes wiþouten heor preies seke,  
Vche wiþ oþur striueþ, par fey,  
Whuch schal furst take þat prey. —
- 90 Pus Ambrose seiþ beo þat maiden  
And bi þulke lecherous men  
Þat lykyng of hire wolden haue had,  
Aftur to bordel þat heo was lad. —  
But whon heo was comen in to þat hous,
- 95 A heef vp hire hondes glorious,  
As to an hous of good preyere  
Heo hedde icomen, masse to here —  
Heo heold hit non hous of lecherie,  
But rafþur a feir diuersorie, —
- 100 And þenne heo seide wiþ mylde mood :  
»Crist, þat art boþe mon and God,  
Þat hast ichasted lyouns feer  
Wiþ zerdes in eorþe heer,  
Þou maiȝt chaste at þi willyng
- 105 Þe woode þouȝtes of men liuing.  
To þe Caldeyes þe fuir aȝein rauht,  
And to þe Jewes þi merci was hauht,  
Whon þe watur drouh bihynde,  
Huld vp also not of his owne kynde ;
- 110 Susanne at hire torment
- 215
- 220
- 225
- 230
- 235
- 240
- 245
- kneled to þe wiþ good entent  
And of hem hed heo maistrie  
Þat wolde ha wrouht wiþ hire auoutrie ;  
Þe riht hond also, sikerlye,  
Of him weorned and wox al drie  
Þat hedde defouled wiþ vnþrifteſ  
Of þi temple þe feire ȝiftus :  
Nou þat same temple þat is þyne  
Þei ben aboute to foule and tyne :  
Þat is my bodi, I vndurstonde.  
Lord, þou take me in to þyn honde,  
Ne suffre no mon, mest ne leste,  
Of sacrilege to doinceste  
Wiþ me, as þou art al weldyng  
And hast not suffred stelyng !
- Nou, lord, iblessed beo þi nome,  
And euer more kep me from schome,  
Þat I to auoutrie am icome,  
Mayde mowe passe hol and sume ! «  
Vnneþe heo hedde an ende ymad  
Of þat preyere þat heo bad,  
Þer com in to hire wiþ good spede  
A mon arrayzed as kniht in wede,  
A muche mon and a grim.  
Þis maiden, whon heo lokud on him,  
Heo was aferd sumwhat þon  
To ben al one wiþ such a mon.  
Þen com þat lessun to hire mende  
Of Susanne, þat wommon hende,  
And þenþe heo seide softly sum del :  
»Pe innocent child Daniel  
Com to abyde þe passiun  
Of Susanne wiþ disreciu,

195) A = heo. 217) Ms. þi feire. 228) Das Relat. ist ausgelassen nach J.

V. 181 Hier hat der engl. Text eine überflüssige Ueberschrift: Quedam virgo inuite in lupanari posita seruauit pudicitiam. 182 (Ingens petulantium concursus fit ad fornicem). Discite martiris miracula sanctae virginis (!), discite locorum vocabula, clauditur intus columba, strepunt accipitres foris, certant singuli quis praedam primus invadat (190—3 Zus.). 194 At illa manibus ad coelum levatis quasi ad domum orationis venisset, non ad libidinis deversorium (engl. anders): 201 »Christe, inquit, domuisti virginis (! engl. las virgis) feros leones: potes domare etiam hominum feras mentes; Chaldaeis roravit (!) ignis, Judaeis sese unda suspendit misericordia tua, non natura sua, Susanna ad supplicium genua flexit et de adulteris triumphavit, aruit dextra quae templi tui dona violabat: 218 nunc templum ipsum attrectatur tuum, ne patiaris incestum sacrilegii, qui non passus es furtum (220 erkl. Zus.)! benedicatur et nomen tuum, ut quae ad adulterium virgi veni virgo discedam«. 230 Vix compleverat orationem et ecce miles specie terribilis ierupit — quemadmodum virgo tremuit, (cui populus tremens cessit)! 238 Sed illa non immemor lectionis, »Et Daniel, inquit, supplicium Susannae spectatus advenerat et quam populus damnaverat unus

And, þauh þe peple hire dampned had,

245 He alone wiþ vois ful sad

Asoiled hire fro þat dampnyng

And demed þe juges to dyzing.

Hit may bifalle, heo seide, parde,

Þat vndur wolues cloþing a schep þer be.

250 Vr lord Crist haþ his knihtes

And also legiouns of gret mihtes.«

And to hir self zit heo gon say :

»A smiter zif þer beo to day,

Me to sle, nou icomen in,

255 Wiþ eny strengþe or elles gin,

Wiþ staf or ston oþur elles swerd,

Mi goode soule, beo not aferd!

For suche men for Godus sake

Ben wont martires for to make!«

260 Pe feiþ of þis mayden

Saued hire from wikked men —

As I schal nouþe zou tel,

Zif ze wole herken me wel.

Pen þe kniht »suster«, he seid,

265 »Beo not aferd ne abreid!

As a broþur I am come,

Mi soule to sauue atte day of dome.

Kep þou me, and i schal þe,

I preye þe for charite!

270 I com hider as avouter:

Zif þou wolt, i schal go out marter.

Chaunge we nou vire cloþing,

For hit wole beo wel semyng

Þat þi cloþing beo don on me,

275 And also myne vppon þe;

For, soþ to seye, þis is my list

Þat boþe two we seruen Crist.

Þi cloþing schal make me verrey kniht,

And my cloþing þe maiden briht.

Þou schalt be cloþud swiþe wel,

But i moste beo spoyled eueridel,

Þat he þat pursuweþ so harde þe  
Mowe riht wel knowe me.

Tac þou nou my cloþing on

Þat wel wol huyde a wommon,

And tak me þyne anon riht her :

Þei mowe me halewe a marter.

Do on my mantel þat is so syde,

A maidenes membres þat wol hyde ;

Set myn hat vppon þyn hed,

To huide þin her and eke þi sched,

Hit wole also schadewe þi faas,

Whon þou schalt go forþ þi paas :

Aschomed, forsoþe, woned þei ben

Þat in to bordel entren.

Wayte wel, whon þou art gon oute,

Loke not azein, for no doute :

Of Lothus wyf loke þou haue mynde,

Hou þat heo lost hire ownkynde,

For heo loked hire bishynde

On hem þat to God weoren vnkynde ;

Al þouh hir oune ezen weren clene,

Þat heo biheold, wiþouten wene,

Was vnclene — þerfore þat place

Distruyzed was þorwh Godus grace.

To no mon loke þou verreyed beo

Who þat þou art, whom euer þou seo,

For hit mihte falle on þat wyse

Sumwhat to perissche of vr sacrefyse « —

Þat forsoþe to hire seide he,

Þat he for hire wolde martired be ;

Perfore to hire he seide : »þou trist,

For þe i schal me offre to Crist.

absolvit: potest et in hoc lupi habitu ovis latere; habet et Christus milites suos, qui etiam legiones habet; 253 aut fortasse percussor intravit: ne verearisi, anima! et tales solent martires facere». 260 O virgo, fides tua te salvam fecit (262—3 Zus.)

264 Cui miles: »Quaeso ne paveas, soror! huc veni salvare animam, non perdere (!); serva me, ut ipsa serveris! 270 quasi adulter ingressus, si vis, martyr egrediar. Vestimenta mutemus, convenientia mea tibi et tua mihi, sed utraque Christo; tua vestis me verum militem faciet et mea te virginem; 280 bene tu vestieris, ego melius exuar ut me persecutor agnoscat. 283 Sume habitum qui abscondat feminam, trade qui consecret martirem! inde chlamydem quae occultet membra virginis et servet pudorem, sume pileum qui tegat crines, abscondat ora: solent erubescere qui luppenar intraverunt. 296 Sane cum egressa fueris, ne respicias retro, memor uxoris Loth, quae naturam suam, quia impudicos licet castis oculis adspexit, amisit (304—5 Zus.); nec vereare (!), ne quid pereat sacrificio (310—2 Zus.). 312 Ego pro te hostiam Deo meo reddam, tu pro me militem Christo, habens bonam militiam castitatis quae

And loke þerfore boþe day and niht  
 15 Pat for me þou beo good kniht  
 To Crist, þat wiþ good chiuallri  
 Clannes þou kepe and beo holi  
 For þat ilke same huyre  
 Pat wiþouten ende schal duryre.  
 20 Pe habergoun of rihtwysnes  
 Loke þou haue wiþ meknes —  
 Zif þat hit þi bodi close,  
 Pou schalt not flecche from þi purpose,  
 But specialiche of þi bodi  
 25 Hit wol beo keper from vileny.  
 Loke þou haue þe schedl of feiþ,  
 For, as þe holy bok seiþ,  
 Sinful woundes þou schalt wiþstonde,  
 And þou hit take wel forþ on honde.  
 30 Pe helm of helpe also þou take,  
 Pat wol þe saue from eueri wrake.  
 Per vre defence is, iwis,  
 Per Jhesu Crist him seluen is :  
 A wommones hed is ay mon,  
 35 But maidenes hed is Crist al on».  
 Among þeos wordus þis ilke kniht  
 Duke of his mantel in hire siht,  
 But neuerþeles in her eize þer  
 Sumwhat semed of auouter  
 40 And eke of an enemy,  
 Pe cloþing suspecte was, pardi.  
 Hire hed þauh adoun heo bent,  
 And þe kniht wiþ good entent  
 Wiþ bliþe cher and hizing fast .  
 45 His mantel on hire hedde icast.  
 Wondur couplynge in such a place

323) Ms. þat st. pou.

Per was bitwene bost and grace,  
 Whon þei in hous of hordom  
 Striuen so faste of martirdom.

NOu to gedere beo þer tweyn, 350  
 A maiden and a kniht, certeyn ;  
 Vnlicchi þouh þei ben of kuynde,  
 Lichchi inouh in þouht and mynde ;  
 Nou ben ifed to geder wiþ honour  
 A wolf, a lamb in o pastour,  
 And nouȝt onliche to gedere so,  
 Bote to God offred boþe two.  
 Whon heo hed chaunȝed hire cloþing,  
 Forþ heo wente wiþ gret hizing,  
 Out of þat hous, as brid fro gren, 360  
 Heo fleih awei and scaped þen :  
 Porwh Godus grace heo was bore  
 Wiþ spirituel whinges, and nouȝt ilore,  
 And þat was neuer seizen but þat day :  
 A maiden from bordel plas gon away ;  
 But heo was Cristes maiden iwis  
 365 Pat kepte hire and alle his.  
 Pe rauinoures þat hire abiden  
 Ne seȝen hire nout; þen in þei slyden,  
 For þei wenden swiþe wel  
 Pe maiden ha founden in þe bordel. 370  
 On entrede faste wiþ gret heize,  
 Pe moste schrewe of þe cumpaignie.  
 Whon he sauh þer þe kniht sittynge  
 In a maydens cloþing,  
 »A ha«, he seide, »what is þis gyn ?  
 375 A mayden, forsoþe, wente her in,  
 But now, forsoþe, as i seo con,

stipendiis militat sempiternis, loricam justitiae quae spirituali munimine corpus induat, scutum fidei quo vulnus repellas, galeam salutis. 332 Ibi enim est praesidium nostrae salutis ubi est Christus, quoniam mulieris caput est vir, virginum Christus». 335 Et inter hae verba chlamyden exuit, suspectus tamen adhuc habitus et persecutoris et adulteri. 342 Virgo cervicem, chlamydem coepit miles offerre. 346 Quae pompa illa, quae gratia, cum in lupanari de martirio certarent. Addantur personae miles et virgo, hae dissimiles inter se natura — sed Dei misericordia consimiles, (ut compleatur oraculum: tunc lupi et agni simul pascentur:) ecce agna et lupus non solum simul pascentur sed etiam immolantur. 358 (Quid plura?) Mutato habitu evolat puella de laqueo: jam non suis alis, utpote quae spiritualibus ferebatur — et, quod nulla unquam viderunt saecula, egreditur de lupanari virgo Christi. 368 At illi qui videbant oculis et non videbant corde (engl. anders) (ceu raptore ad agnam lupi fremuere ad praedam). 372 Unus, qui erat immodestior, introivit; sed ubi hausit oculis rei textum, »Quid hoc, inquit, est? puella ingressa est, sed vir videtur. Ecce non fabulosum illud: cerva pro virgine, sed quod verum est: miles ex virgine.

- Zonde sitteþ a verrei mon.
- 380 Nou i seo soþ as men han sayde :  
 Lo heer an herte for a maide,  
 Hit is soþ, as to my siht :  
 Of a mayden we haue a kniht.  
 I haue ofte herd men seye a clatur
- 385 Pat in to wyn Crist torned þe watur,  
 And nou he leueþ not beohynde  
 For to chaunge monnes kynde.  
 Go we heonne, for zit we ben  
 As we weren-hit is wel sen.
- 390 Wheþer i beo chaunged, nou i meue,  
 On forte seo, anoþur to leeue ?  
 Whon i com to þe bordel sted,  
 Per me þinkeþ i seo a wed  
 For þat þing þat was ido,
- 395 And i my self am chaunged also :  
 Out of þis hous chast schal i go,  
 Pat as avouter com in wel þro».
- 400 And riht also was þe kniht.  
 But þat was a wondur siht  
 Pat out of þe bordel schulde take þe wey  
 A mayden clene and martires twey.  
 Hit is told þat, whon þis kniht
- 405 Touward his juwyse was idiht,  
 Pe maiden to þat place ron  
 And wiþ him þus striue bigon :  
 »Wenestou, heo seide, þat þou for me  
 Schalt take þe juwyse and ded be,
- 410 And i so schulde leose my mede  
 Pat i schulde haue for martirhede?«
- Pen þe kniht seide : »certeyn,  
 I am sent hider to beo slain ;  
 Pe sentence, mayden, asoyleþ þe,  
 Whon þat hit passeþ on me.«
- Pen heo cried and seide : »nay, nay,  
 I ches þe not my wed to lay  
 For my deþ, but i þe ches  
 To beo pris of my clannes ;  
 For þauh my clanhed beo isouht,
- 415 Zit my kuynde chaungeþ nouht ;  
 Zif þat men asken my blood,  
 I nul hit not borewen, beo þe rod !  
 For i haue þis ilke day  
 Wher of my self forte pay.
- 420 In me þis sentence is ziuie,  
 For me hit is þat i not liue.  
 Herken hou i schal hit schwae  
 Bi good proces of þe lawe :  
 Zif þou heddest for mypreyere
- 425 Mi borwh bicomen for money here  
 And astur þat for myn absence  
 Pe juge hedde zиuen such a sentense  
 Pat þou to him schuldust make þe pay  
 Of whom i borwed þe monay,
- 430 Pe same sentence condempne schuld me  
 To paye to þe þat ilke mone  
 Of myn oune heritage,  
 Zif þat i were of ful age ;  
 Zif i refused þat to pay,
- 435 Who is þat, þat nolde say  
 Pat I nere worþi to beo dede  
 Pat so vnkuindely quit þi mede ?  
 Nou þou maiȝt seo þe same skile  
 In þis doyng, zif þat þou wile.
- 
- V. 384 At etiam audieram, et non credideram, quod aquas Christus in vina convertit; jam mutare coepit sexum. 388 Recedamus hinc, dum adhuc quod fuimus sumus; nunquid et ipse mutatus sum qui aliud cerno quam credo? 392 Ad lupanar veni: cerno vadimonium: et tamen dum mutatur(!), egrediar: pudicus exibo qui adulter intravi. Iudicio rei, quia debebatur tanto corona victori, damnatus est pro virgine qui pro virgine comprehensus est (der engl. Dichter macht auch den Anderen zum Märtyrer, vgl. 399). 401 Ita de lupanari non solum virgines sed etiam martires exierunt. 404 Fertur puella ad locum supplicii cucurrisse, certasse ambos de nece (408—12 nicht im lat.). 412 Cum ille diceret: »Ego sum jussus occidi, te absolvit sententia, quoniam me tenuit«, at illa clamavit: »Non ego te vadem mortis elegi, sed praesidem pudoris optavi; si pudor quaeritur, manet sexus: si sanguis exponitur, fidejussorem non desidero! unde dissolvam habeo, in me lata est sententia quae pro me lata est. 427 Certe si pecuniae te fidejussorem dedissem et, absente me, judex tuum censem foeneratori adjudicasset, eadem me sententia convinceres meo patrimonio solvere tuos nexus; si recusarem, quis me indignam morte censeret? quanto major est capitis hujus censura?

Nou wol I wiþ good entent  
Raþur dye an innocent  
Pen liuen a while and lete þe dye  
And leose so innocencie;  
To day for me schal go no mene —  
And þat, forsoþe, þou schalt wel sene :  
Oþur i schal beo gulti of þi blood  
Oþur martir beo wiþ mylde mood.  
Zif I beo sone comen azein hom,  
Who is so hardi holde me þer from ?  
And zif þat I haue dwelled to longe,  
Me to asoyle ho dar vndurfonge ?  
I haue agulted more to þe lauh,  
For out of prisun þat i flauh,  
And I am gulti, þow wost, also  
Of þe toþur monnes deþ þerto  
Pat in to prisun tok þe way  
And þerfore was slayen þat day.  
I þe telle wiþ open breþ :  
Mi membres suffisen to þe deþ,  
Pe whuche, forsoþe, nouȝt gon longe,  
Weore not sufficient to þe wronge.  
A maiden haþ on hire bodi  
Place, woundes on to suffri,  
To whom, leeue wel ! hit is non ese  
Ne no good, mon forte disese.  
Sclaundre þauh þat i fled in þouht,  
To ȝelde vp martirdom to þe þouȝt i  
  nouȝt :  
Pauh I my cloþing leide adoun,  
I chaunged not my professiou.

Tofore me to deþ zif þou woldest go,  
Þou hast not bouȝt me from wo,  
And i may sei in herte þen sone :  
Þou hast me gyled and vndurgone.  
Be war, be war, I preye nou þe,  
Aȝeinsei me not, strif not wiþ me !      480  
Pat þou me ȝaf, þe benefice,  
To take hit me fro, be not so nice !  
We schul make good al vr biheste,  
To god, wiþouten eny cheste,      485  
Zif þou me soffre now in certeyn  
Furst ar þou forte beo sleyn ;  
Anoþur peyne vppon þe  
Pei han icast to do, parde.  
Pe more joyful þou shalt beo,      490  
Of avouteres zif þat þou seo  
A martir þat þou hast maad,  
And þou þer aftur þe more sad,  
Pen þat þou furst a martir were  
And lafte me aftur to avouter.      495  
Whon þat þei þus hed striuen,  
As þe dom was iziuen  
Boþe forsoþe weoren do to dede —  
God þerfore haþ quit heore mede.  
Pe biginnynge of þis martirdom      500  
Furst of þat mayden com,  
But þe kniht þe effecte folfuld,  
For þat he was furst iculd ;  
But, as God wolde for þe nones,  
Pei toke heor coroune boþe at ones.      505

V. 446 Moriar innocens ne moriar nocens ; nihil medium est hodie : aut rea ero sanguinis tui aut martir mei. 454 Si cito redii, quis me audeat excludere ? si moram feci, quis me audeat absolvare ? 458 plus legibus debeo, rea non solum fugae meae sed etiam caedis alienae. 465 Sufficiunt membra morti quae non sufficiebant injuriae ; est in virgine vulnus locus qui non erat contumeliae : ego opprobrium declinavi, non martirium ; tibi cessi vestem, non professionem mutavi. 476 Quodsi mihi praeripis mortem, non redemisti me sed circumvenisti. 480 Cave quaeso, ne contendas, cave ne contradicere audeas ! noli eripere beneficium quod dediti, (dum mihi hanc sententiam negas, illam restituis superiorem : sententia enim sententia superiore mutatur, si posterior me non tenet, superior sententia tenet). 484 Possumus utrique satisfacere sententiae (!), si me prius patiaris occidi; in te habent aliam quam exerceant poenam, (in virgine obnoxius pudor est). 490 Itaque gloriosior eris, si videaris de adultera martirem fecisse, quam de martire adulteram reddidisse. 496 (Quid exspectatis?) duo contenderunt et vicerunt : nec divisa est corona sed addita. 500 Itaque sancti martyres invicem sibi beneficia conferentes, altera principium martirio, dedit alter effectum.

## De duobus veris amicis.

- SUM tyme men reden þat þer was  
In a cuntre, clept pittogoras,  
Dwellynge þere twey men,  
Iclept Sithia and Climonen ;
- 510 To gedere þei loued hem wondur wel  
And frendes weoren at murþe and mel.  
A tiraunt þer was of wikked red,  
Jugged þat on to ben ded.  
Anon riht þen in þat place
- 515 He preyed þe tiraunt of sum space,  
Þat his good he mihte dispose  
As he hedde cast in purpose.  
But for þe tiraunt leeued þon  
Þat he schulde ha founde no mon
- 520 In þat caas his borwh haue be,  
Anon riht graunted he,  
So þat a borwh he mihte fynde  
In þat caas wolde him bynde,  
Zif he ne come not at his day,
- 525 Pe deþ to take for him, in fay.  
His felawe þenne his borwh bicom,  
And þe toþur wente him hom.  
Pe day was come, he was ful longe :  
His borwh þe deþ schulde vndurfonge.
- 530 And as he was riht atte caas,  
Þe toþur com in to þe plaas,  
His nekke forþ he streihte ariht,

523) Das Relat. ausgelassen.

To sauе his borwh, as he hedde hiht.  
Þen þe tiraunt wondrede þer  
Þat þeose two men were more cheer  
Of heore loue þen of heore lyue ;  
He preyed hem him to receyue  
In to heore loue for euer more,  
And he heore lyf hem graunted þefore.

Þis was grace of gret vertue,  
Frendschipe to kuiþe, to old and newe ;  
But þis was lasse worþi of meed  
Pen þe kniþtes and þe maiden ded :  
For þulke weren boþe men,  
Þe pride was a wommon clen  
Þat is more frele of kuynde  
Pen mon, as bokus maken muynde ;  
Þulke were frendes of long tyme met,  
Peos weoren vnknownen, and no steuene  
set ;

Þulke to on tiraunt hem zolde,  
But þeose to moni on, stout and bolde,  
Þat weren more cruel þen was he,  
For he hem spared, þeose let hem sle ;  
Pei for loue deþ wolde haue nome,  
But þeose for þe croune of martirdome ;  
Þulke hedden heore þonk tofore men,  
But þeos tofore God glorious ben.  
Þis lyf endyted seint Ambrose  
On latyn. tak hede to his purpose !

V. 506 ff. im engl. mit eigenem Titel; das folg. ist aber nur der Schluss der Geschichte. 506 At etiam philosophorum gymnasia Damonem et Synthiam Pythagoreos in colas (!) ferunt (510—1 Zus.). 512 Quorum unus, cum esset morti adjudicatus, commendandorum suorum tempus poposcit. 518 Tyrannus autem astutissimus, cum reperiri non posse existimaret, petivit ut sponsorem daret, qui pro se feriretur, si ipse moram faceret. 526 (Quid de duabus praecarius, nescio; utrumque praecarum :) alter vadet mortis invenit, alter se obtulit. 528 Itaque cum reus moram suppicio faceret, fidejussor sereno vultu mortem non recusavit. 530 Cum duceretur, amicus reversus est, cervicem substituit, colla subjicit. 534 Tunc admiratus tyrannus cariorum philosophis amicitiam quam vitam fuisse, petivit ut ipse ab ipsis quos damnaverat in amicitiam recipere. Tantam virtutis esse gratiam (ut tyrannum inclinaret.) Digna laude, sed minora nostris : 544 Nam illi ambo viri, hic una virgo, quae primo etiam sexum vinceret; illi amici, isti incogniti; illi tyranno uni se obtulerunt, isti tyrannis pluribus ac etiam crudelioribus: quod ille pepercit, isti occiderunt; (inter illos in uno obnoxia necessitas, in his amborum voluntas libera; hoc quoque isti prudentiores, quia) illis studii sui finis amicitiae gratia, istis corona martirii: illi enim certaverunt hominibus, isti domino. Haec Ambrosius. —

## 4. De S. Theodora.

AT Alisaundrie, tel i ow con,  
 In þe emperours tyme Zenon  
 Dwelled a wommon — þe bok seiþ swa —  
 Pat men called Theodora,  
 5 A noble wommon and a feir,  
 And hire hedde iweddet a riche heir,  
 A semely mon and muri of mod,  
 Pat God dredde and dude muche good.  
 Pe deuel; so ful of tricherie,  
 o To þis wommon hedde envyne,  
 Tempted so a riche mon  
 Pat he coueyted þis wommon.  
 Messagers þen he hire sent,  
 And giftus, to haue hire assent.  
 5 Pe messagers heo forsoke,  
 Of his giftus non heo toke.  
 He bisied him þouȝ neuerþeles,  
 Pat heo mihte wel haue no pes,  
 And put him to þouȝt and trauayle,  
 Til he bigon neihond to fayle.  
 Atte laste ful wikkedliche  
 To þat wommon he sent a wicche,  
 Wiþ hire to talke his entent  
 And forte maken hire assent.  
 5 Pe wicche wiþ sotyl wordus þan  
 Bigon to talke to þis womman,  
 And hou þat heo scholde bere þe gult  
 For þat mon, ȝif he weore spilt.  
 Pe gode wyf seide: »for Godus eize  
 o I dar me not aun tren, þouȝ i schulde dize,  
 20) he st. heo? —

4) S. Leg. Aur. cap. 92 : de s. Theodora. V. 1 Theodora nobilis mulier et sponsa apud Alexandriam tempore Zenonis imperatoris virum habebat divitem et timentem Deum. 9 Dyabolus autem, Theodorae invidens sanctitati, virum quendam divitem in illius concupiscentiam incitavit, qui eam crebris nuntiis et muneribus molestabat ut assensum sibi praeberet. 15 Sed illa nuntios respuebat et munera contemnebat. 17 In tantum autem eam molestabat, quod ipsam quietem habere non permitteret et paene deficere videretur; 21 tandem quandam magam ad eam misit, quae eam ut viri illius misereretur sibique consentiret plurimum hortabatur. 29 Quae cum diceret se coram oculis Dei cuncta cernentis tam grande peccatum nunquam committere (engl. dir.), malefica adjunxit (33—4 Zus.): 35 Quidquid in die fit, hoc utique Deus scit et videt, quidquid autem advesperascente et occidente sole committitur, Deus minime intuetur. 39 Dixitque puella maleficæ: Numquid veritatem dicis? Et illa: Etiam dico veritatem. 43 Decepta puella verbis maleficæ dixit ut advesperascente die virum ad se venire faceret, et voluntatem suam adimpleret (engl. dir.). 49 Quod cum viro retulisset, ille, vehementer exsultans, hora qua condixerat ad eam venit secumque concubuit et abscessit. 55 Theodora autem, ad se ipsam rediens, amarissime flebat et faciem suam percutiebat, dicens: Heu heu me, perdiði animam meam, destruxi aspectum de-

· Pat wiþ his ezen whateuer we do  
 Seoþ, tyde and tyme, and euermoo. 35  
 þe wicche þen þe fend was wors —  
 Alle suche haue Godus curs! —  
 And seide: »al þat euere is don bi day  
 God almihti seo wel may,  
 But, aftur þe sonne is forþ gon,  
 He may seo noþing what we don.«  
 Pen onswerd þe gode wyf:  
 »Is þat soþ, bi þi lyf?« 40  
 And heo onswerd: »dame, beo my fey,  
 Hit is soþ nou þat i sey.«  
 Heo was bigyled verreylichche,  
 And þen heo seide to þe wicche:  
 »Pat þou seist, nou i beoleuee.  
 Bid him come nou sone at eue:  
 I schal beo redi to folfulle,  
 When þat he comeþ, al his wille.« 45

WHon þat þe wicche hed told him þis,  
 He was a joiful mon, iwis, 50  
 And atte same tyme he com  
 And fond Theodora at hom;  
 Wiþ hire he dude what him lust,  
 And went his wei, whon he hedde cust.  
 Whon heo biþouȝt hire aftur wel,  
 Heo weopte and made muche deol  
 And beot hire owne face ful sore,  
 And among criede euer more:  
 »Allas allas, what haue i do! 55

60 Mi soule is lost for euermo,  
I haue destryzed nou þe siht  
Of my beute, þat was so briht.  
Whon hir hosebonde comen hom was,  
He biheold hire in þe fas,  
65 And whon he sauh hire heui cher,  
þerof he hedde gret wonder.  
He asked hire what hire was.  
Heo nolde him not telle of þat cas.  
And he hire cumforted ofte siþe,  
70 But for no þing wolde heo beo bliþe.  
Vppon þe morwen, whon hit was day,  
Heo wente hir to an abbay  
Of nonnes, and of þat abbes  
Heo asked sone, wiþouten les,  
75 Wheþer God mihte wite a gret trespas  
þat heo dude þe niht þat last was  
Tofore, aftur þe sonne went doun.  
þe abbesse onswereð wiþ deuocioun  
þat »God so mihtful is al way  
80 þat he seoþ as wel bi niht as day  
And wot al þing þat is ido,  
What tyde, what tyme, what vre also.  
Heo onswerde, wepyng bitterli :  
»Reche me þe bok of þe Ewangeli,  
85 þat i mowe assaye, for i wite mot,  
What schal me falle nou for my lot.  
Heo opened þe bok. anon heo fond  
þe wordus þat Pilat seide her in lond,  
On Latyn þat is : Quod scripsi scripsi,  
90 And on Englisch is, sikerli :  
»þat haue i writen þat wrot I,  
To þe men þat stod him bi.  
Theodora went hir hom þan,

As a ful sori womman.  
HIt bifel vpon a day 95  
Hir hosebonde was out of þe way :  
And þenne of hire owne witte  
Al hire her awey heo kutte,  
And in monnes cloþing  
Tok þe wey wiþ gret hiȝing 100  
Touward a munstre of monkes blake,  
And þer heo preyed for Godus sake  
þat amonges oþur men  
A monk of þe hous heo mihte ben.  
þei wende heo hedde ben a mon,  
And þerfore þei asked hire þon 105  
What was hire riþe name —  
Heo schulde hem telle wiþoute blame.  
Hire name, þat was femynyn  
Of gendre, heo turned in to masculyn :  
Theodora hire name was, parde,  
But Theodorus heo hiȝt, seide heo.  
þEn of þat mon þe monkes were glad  
And token him in wiþ chere ful sad. 110  
þat tyme monkes neih lewed men were.  
þis mon þei dude among hem schere  
And to bere þe blaþ abyt  
Of heore ordre wiþ good dilyt.  
þei putten him to an offyce —  
þat nouþe schulde bi holde nyce — :  
To ȝoke þe oxen, so mot i þe,  
And fette oyle at þe cite.  
Theodorus feir and wel  
Dude his offys eueridel.  
Hire hosebonde was ful sori 115  
And of chere al dreri,

coris mei. 63 Vir autem ejus domum rediens et uxorem suam sic desolatam et moerentem videns, causam tamen nesciens, eam consolari nitebatur; sed illa nullam consolationem percipere volebat. 71 Mane autem facto quoddam monasterium monialium adiit et abbatissam interrogavit an Deus quoddam grave delictum, quod die advesperascente commiserat, scire posset. 78 Cui illa : Nihil Deo abscondi potest et Deus scit et videt omne quod fit, quacumque hora illud committatur. 83 Quae, flens amare, dixit : Da mihi librum sancti evangelii, ut sortiar memet ipsam. 87 Aperiens reperit : Quod scripsi scripsi (engl. erkl.). 93 Rediens ergo domum, dum quadam die vir suus abesset, comam suam praecedit, vestimenta viri assumens ad quoddam monasterium monachorum (quod per octo milliaria distabat) festinabat et ut ibidem cum monachis reciperetur petiit, 113 et quod petiit impetravit. 105 Interrogata de nomine, dixit se Theodorum nuncupari (105. 109—111. 115—118. 120 Zus.). 123 Illa vero officia omnia humiliter faciebat (et ejus servitium omnibus gratum fuit. Post aliquot ergo annos) 119 abbas fratrem Theodorum vocavit et ut boves jungeret et oleum de civitate afferret praeceperit. 125 Vir autem ejus plurimum flebat, timens ne

For he wende heo hedde beo gon  
Awey wiþ sum oþur mon.  
  
 ON a tyme God almiht  
○ Him comforted bi an angel briht,  
And seide to him : »vppon alle wyse  
Loke to morwe þat þou rise  
And stonde in þe same way  
Þer Petur and Poul vppon a day  
5 For Cristes loue tok martirdome ;  
And þe furste wommon þat þou seost  
  come  
Heo hit is þat is þy wyf,  
Þat þou louedest as þy lyf».  
Vppon þe morwen he tok þe pas,  
10 Til he com to þe same plas.  
Theodora wiþ hire chamayles  
Com þer forþ, to fette hire oyles.  
Whon þat heo sauh hire hosebonde,  
Heo kneeo him wel, boþe fot and honde,  
15 And to hire self softly heo seid,  
And sykede sore in herte and breyd :  
»Allas allas, my gode fere,  
Hou sore i trauayle in eorþe here,  
Of þat sunne dilyuered to be  
20 Pat i haue sungenge aȝeines þe!«  
Whon þat heo neihȝed him neih,  
Wiþ open vois al an heih  
Penne to him heo seide þis word :  
»Stondeþ murie, sire, my lord!«  
25 And he stod stille al in þouht,  
For outurliche he kneuh hir nouht.  
Whon heo was bi him passed hir way  
And he hedde longe abide þat day,  
He gan to crie and faste he weyed

159) Ms. hee, aus heo corr.

170) nach almost fehlt was?

185) Ms. stumpet st. strumpet.

cum viro altero recessisset. 129 Et ecce angelus domini sibi dixit: Surge mane et sta in via martirii Petri apostoli, et quae tibi obviaverit ipsa tua uxor erit. 139 Quo facto Theodora cum camelis venit et virum suum videns et recognoscens intra se dixit: Heu me, vir bone meus, quantum labore, ut eripiar a peccato quod feci in te. 151 Cum autem appropinquasset, salutavit eum dicens: Gaudeat dominus meus. Ille autem eam penitus non cognovit; sed cum diutissime exspectaret et se deceptum clamaret (161 Zus.), facta est vox ad eum dicens: Ille qui te heri mane salutavit uxor tua erat. 165 Tantae autem sanctitatis fuit beata Theodora, ut multa miracula faceret: nam et hominem a bestia laceratum eripuit et suis precibus suscitavit, ipsam quoque bestiam insecura maledixit, quae subito mortua corruit. 175 Dyabolus autem, suam sanctitatem ferre non volens, eidem apparuit dicens: Meretrix prae omnibus et adultera, reliquisti virum tuum, ut huc venires et me contemneres; per virtutes meas tremendas in te suscitaro proelium, et si non te fecero crucifixum negare, non dicas quia ego sum.

And seide þat he was bigyled. 160  
In his bed whon he was leide,  
At niht a vois to him seide :  
»He þat þe saluwed ȝesterday  
Was þi wyf, sire, in good fay«.  
  
 THEodora forsoþe wes 165  
Of so gret holynes  
Þat God for hire miracles wrouhte  
For moni men, as heo bisouȝte.  
A wylde best hedde al totoren  
A mon and al most forloren,  
But heo sauued þat mon, certeyn,  
And him reised vp aȝeyn ;  
Þe best heo corsed witerliche,  
And hit fel doun ded sodeynliche.  
  
 PE deuel hedde gret enuye 175  
Þat þis wommon was so holye ;  
To hire he apeered vppon a day  
And grimliche gon to hire say :  
»Now artou wel imet,  
Þow vyle foule stumpet,  
Ouer al oþure more and lesse  
Þou foulest avouteresse !  
Þin hosebonde þou hast forsake,  
And here þi dwellyng þou hast take,  
For þou woldest me dispise.  
I schal þe quyte on oþur wyse :  
I þe telle wiþouten fayle,  
Aȝeyn þe i schal reyse a batayle,  
I schal þe make wiþ muchel wrake  
Þe crucifixe forte forsake;  
And but þat hit beo so, verreily,  
Sei þou þat I nam not I. 180  
185  
I schal þe make wiþ muchel wrake  
Þe crucifixe forte forsake;  
And but þat hit beo so, verreily,  
Sei þou þat I nam not I.  
190

Whon þat heo hed herd his vois,  
Heo schewed him þe signe of þe crois,  
195 And þenne þe schrewe anon riht  
Vanischt awey out of hire siht.

HIt bifel, as ȝe schul here,  
Vppon a tyme of þe ȝere,  
Fro þe cit   as heo com

200 Wiþ hire chamayles, forte gon hom :  
Heo was herborwed in a plas  
And to bedde ibrouht was.  
A damisele com to hire þon,  
As þauh hit hedde beo to a mon,

205 And seide : »sire, so mote þou þe,  
To niht slep þou wiþ me !«  
Theodora þenne þat forsok,  
And þe maide þe wey þen tok  
To anoþur monnes bed

210 Pat in þat same hous was leid.  
Whon hire wombe was gret iwaxe,  
Mony men þenne gonne hire aske  
Whos þat child mihte þenne be.  
»Theodorus þe monk haþ leȝen bi me«

215 Heo seide, and was noþing aschamed,  
And al, for he schulde beo blamed.  
Whon þe child was ibore,  
Anon riht wiþouten more  
Þe men, þat weren of vuel entent,

220 To þe abbot þe child þei sent  
And seiden : his monk was waxen to wyld :  
Pat hedde igeten him such a child.  
Þe abbot þenne his monk gan blame  
Of þat ilke wikkede fame,

And, þouh he neore not guilty,  
He asked forȝuenessee mekely.

Pen þe abbot anon riht þo  
Wende hit hedde beo riht so,  
And caste þe child in þe monkes lap  
And bad hem boþe vuel hap,  
He put hem boþe from þat abbey  
And bad him go forþ on his wey.

THeodora þenne seuen zeer  
Heold hire fro þe munster ;  
Wiþ milk of beestes, tame and wyld,  
Heo norissched feire vp þat chyld.

PE deuel forsoþe wiþ gret anuye  
To hire pacience hedde envyne,  
And in liknesse of hire hosebonde  
Tofore hire þenne gon he stonde  
And seide to hire : »bi þi lyf,  
What dostou here, myn owne wyf ?  
Lo hou sek I am for þe !

I may no cumfort take to me.  
Cum wiþ me, my swete leue,  
And i þe, certes ! schal forzeue  
Zif eny mon haþ bi þe leyzen,  
I nul þe þe lasse louen, certeyn«.

Heo wende hire hosbonde he hed bene,  
And him onswerde wiþ herte clene :  
»I schal neuer dwelle wiþ þe more,  
Min herte, iwis, hit is ful sore,  
For I sunged foule azeines þe,  
Whon Jon, þe knihtes sone, lay bi me«.  
In to hire preyere heo ful þo,  
And þe deuel vanischt hire fro.

V. 193 Ipsa autem signum crucis sibi edidit, et protinus daemon evanuit. 197 Qua-dam autem vice, dum de civitate cum camelis rediret et in quodam loco hospitata fuisset, puella quadam nocte ad eam venit dicens: Dormi mecum. 207 Quae cum respueret, ivit ad alterum qui in eodem loco jacebat. 211 Cum autem ejus venter intumuisset et de quo concepisset interrogata fuisset, ait: Monachus ille Theodorus dormivit mecum (216 Zus.). 217 Natum igitur puerum ad abbatem monasterii transmisserunt (219 u. 221—2 Zus.). 223 Qui cum Theodorum increparet et ille sibi indulgeri peteret, scapulis suis puerum imposuit et de monasterio projecit. 233 Illa autem abjecta per septem annos extra monasterium mansit et de lacte pecorum infan-tem nutritivit. 237 Dyabolus autem, tantae ejus patientiae invidens, in speciem viri sui se transfiguravit eique dixit: Quid hic agis, domina mea? ecce langueo pro te nec aliquam consolationem recipio; veni ergo, lux mea, quia, si cum viro aliquo jacuisti, hoc tibi indulgeo. 249 At illa, credens virum suum esse, dixit ad illum: Nunquam amplius tecum manebo, quia filius Johannis militis jacuit mecum, et volo agere poenitentiam de eo quod in te peccavi. Et cum orasset, statim evanuit (et daemonem fuisse cognovit.)

¶E deuel eftsones wiþ wyles cast  
Hire to fere, and atte last  
In wylde beestes liknes  
60 Deueles, boþe more and les,  
To hire he sent, and a man  
Hem suwed and seide þan:  
»Go forþ, ze beestes, euerichon  
And eteþ þis comuyn wommon!«  
65 To God þenne heo made hire preyere:  
Þei vanischt awey alle in fere.

OF knihtes heo sauh a cumpaygnie  
Anoþur tyme wiþ hire eze,  
And as a prince tofore hem dude gon  
70 And þei him worschiped euerichon,  
To Theodora þe knihtes gon sei:  
»Arys vp al in good fey  
And vre prince loke þou adoure,  
Pat lord is of gret honoure!«  
75 Pen heo onswerde anon riht:  
»I worschipe him wiþ al my miht:  
Mi lord God, of mihtes most,  
And bouht vs alle þat weren lost.  
To heore prince azein þei breid  
80 And tolden him what heo hedde iseid.  
And he comaunded wiþ gret talent  
Þei schulde hire trauayle wiþ torment,  
Til þat heo weore wel neih dede,  
»Loke ze quyte hire so hire mede!«  
85 And þen þei alle vppon o flift  
Vanisch(t) awey out of hire siht.

¶E deuel in anoþur wyse  
Tempted hire wiþ couetyse:  
For on a tyme heo say muche gold

269) as wohl zu tilgen.

And oþur tresur monyfold. 290  
Heo blessed him þenne wiþ þe crois  
And wiþouten more nois  
Heo preyed God to ben hire help,  
Pat, where he loueþ, wol not zelp.  
Heo fleyz þefro as bitterly 295  
As mon wolde from an enemy.

ANoþur tyme þer com to hire  
A mon þat a basket dude bere,  
Ful of alle maner of mete,  
And seide: »þe prince þat þe bad bete 300  
Bad þou schuldest take þeroft and ete,  
And þat for noþing þou schuldest lete;  
For vniwityng he bad his men,  
And wiþ wrong, bete þe þen.«  
Penne wiþ þe crois heo hire blessed, 305  
And anon þenne hit vanisched.

AT þe seuen þeres ende  
þe abbot tok riht wel to muynde  
Theodorus longe pacience,  
And of good concience 310  
His monk reconciled azen,  
Wiþ his child in munstur to ben.  
And aftur þat al two zer  
Wiþ monkes in cloistre liued in fer.

Vpon a day wiþouten were 315  
In to hire celle heo wente hire,  
In to hire þat child heo clept  
þat heo so longe tofore hed kept,  
And, whon heo adoun was set,  
þe dore to hire faste heo schet.  
Whon þe abbot of þis wuste, 320

V. 257 Altera iterum vice dyabolus volens eam terrere, in similitudinem ferarum terribilium daemones ad eam venerunt, et vir quidam instigans eas dicebat: Comedite meretricem hanc. Ista autem oravit, et evanuerunt. 267 Altera vice multitudo militum veniebat, quam princeps praecedebat, et eum caeteri adorabant; dixeruntque milites Theodorae: Surge et adora principem nostrum. Quae respondit: Dominum deum adoro. Quod cum principi nuntiatum fuisset, jussit eam adduci et tot tormentis affici, ut mortua putaretur; et postmodum omnis turba evanuit. 287 Alia iterum vice vidit ibidem aurum multum, quae, signans se, illud refugit et Deo se recommendavit. 297 Altera etiam vice vidit quandam, canistrum plenum omni genere ciborum ferentem et dicentem sibi: Dicit princeps qui te cecidit: tolle, comedete, quia nesciens fecit hoc. Illa autem se signavit, et protinus evanuit. — 307 Completis autem septem annis abbas, patientiam ejus considerans, eam reconciliavit et cum pueru suo in monasterium introduxit. 313 Ubi cum duos postmodum annos laudabiliter peregisset, puerum accepit et secum illum in cella sua clausit. 321 Quod cum abbati revelatum fuisset,

He sende his monkes forte luste,  
Prieueliche forto here  
What þei tweyne speken ifere.

325 Heo tok þe child loueliche  
In hir armes, ful sweteliche  
Custe hit and seide : »child, haue in mende :  
Tyme is comen of my lyues ende.  
To God of heuene nou leue i þe,

330 A good mon loke þat þou be,  
Tac him þin helpere and þi syre :  
He wol quite þe wel þin hire.  
Mi swete sone, beo bisy ay  
Him to serue boþe niht and day

335 Wiþ fastynge and god preyere,  
Whil þat þou schalt liuen here,  
Deuout loke on alle wyse  
Þat þou beo in þi breþer seruyse.«

Wiþ þat word heo ȝald þe gost

340 To God, þat is of mihtes most.  
Whon þe child þeroft was war,  
He wepte and made muche car.

PE abbot þat same niht at euen  
Him þhouȝte he say al in his sweuen

345 A wondur swiþe gret weddyng,  
And þer to was a gret comyng  
Of angeles, prophetes, grete and smal,  
Of martires and of halewes al;  
And hem among was a wommon,

350 Wiþ wondur gret blisse bigon;  
Whon heo com to þat weddyng,  
Vppon a bed was hire sittyn,

And as þei stoden hire aboute  
Þei worschiped hire, al þe route.

355 And þen he herde a vois sei þus :  
»Abbot, þis is Theodorus  
Þat falsliche acuised was  
Of þat child in þi plas ;  
Seuen tymes wiþouten les  
Vppon hire chaunged þer wes.

360 Heo was chastised tofore hire ded,  
For heo brac hire sposheda.«

365 Þe abbot ros him vp anon  
And waked his breþeren euerichon.  
And whon þei to þe celle were gon,  
Þei founden hire ded as eny ston.  
Hire þere þenne þei vnheled :

A wommon þer þei sayȝ and feled.

370 Þen þe abbot was aschamed  
And sent aftur hir fadur þat hire defamed.  
»Pe mon is ded, he seide, verreyli,  
Þat þi douȝtur hedde child bi.«  
Whon þe cloþ was taken hire fro,  
A wommon he sauh, he wuste wel þo.  
Þei weoren aferd and aschamed  
Alle þat euere hire hedde defamed.

375 AN angel, þat from God was sent,  
To þe abbot seide þis entent :  
»Tac þin hors, loke þat þou ride  
In to þe cité in þis tyde ;  
Whomeuer þou metest, whon þou comest  
380 pider,  
Tac him wiþ þe and bring him hider!«

misit quosdam monachos, qui diligentius auscultarent quidnam cum eo loqueretur.  
325 Illa autem, puerum amplexans et deosculans, dixit : Fili mi dulcissime, tempus  
vitae meae venit; relinqu te Deo, ipsum patrem et adjutorem habeas, fili dulcissime,  
jejunii et orationibus insistas et fratribus tuis devote servias. 339 Hoc dicens, spi-  
ritum tradidit (et in domino feliciter obdormivit circa annos domini CCCCLXX) : quod  
puer cernens plurimum flere coepit. 343 In ipsa autem nocte visio abbati monasterii  
monstrata est in hunc modum : nuptiae maxima parabantur, et veniebant ordines  
angelorum et prophetarum et martirum et omnium sanctorum, et ecce in medio eo-  
rum mulier sola, gloria ineffabili circumdata, et venit usque ad nuptias et sedit super  
lectum, et omnes adstantes ad vocabant eam; 355 et ecce vox dicens : Hic est,  
abbas, Theodorus, qui falso de puer accusatus est, VII tempora super ea mutata  
sunt, castigata est enim, quia cubile viri sui coinquinavit. 363 Excitatus autem abbas  
concitus cum fratribus ad cellam ejus ivit et eam jam defunctam invenit, et intrantes  
et discooperientes ipsam esse feminam invenerunt. 369 Misitque abbas pro patre  
puellae quae eam infamaverat, et dixit illi : Vir filiae tuae mortuus est; et auferens  
vestimentum mulierem esse cognovit. Factus est igitur timor magnus super omnes qui  
hoc audierunt. 377 Angelus autem domini abbati locutus est : (Surge velociter),  
equum adscende et vade in civitatem et, si quis obviaverit, assume et tecum adduc.

Pe abbot rod forþ his way.  
A mon he mette and he gon say  
5 And asked also »whodur rennest þou?«  
And he onswerede »I hiȝe me nou  
To seo my wyf þat nou ded is —  
Of hire haue i had ful gret mis«.  
Pe abbot þen tok þis mon him wiþ,  
o And wenten wepyng bi feld and friþ,  
Til þat þei to þe abbei com,  
Þer þe monkes þei founden at hom.  
Pe bodi þenne wiþ swete song  
Þei burieden þo hem among.  
5 And in þat ilke same celle  
Per Theodora was wont to dwelle,

He dwelled aftur al his lyue  
And preyed for his noble wyue,  
And at þe last to God he went,  
Blisse to haue, verreyment. 400  
Pe child also þat his wyf  
Hedde inorissched in hire lyf,  
Among his breþeren iloued so was  
Pat he was chosun of þat plas  
Heore abbot and heore hed to be,  
Hem to gouerne in charite,  
Aftur þat he to God was go  
Pat abbot was tofore him þo.  
God graunte vs grace wel to do,  
And ȝiue us heuene blisse also! AMEN. 405

## 5. S. Bernard.

SEint Bernard born was at Burgoyne,  
In þe castel men calleþ Fountayne,  
Of wondur noble kinred  
Of gentrie and of goodhed.  
5 His fader was a worþi kniht  
Boþe to þe world and to God almiht,  
Men called him sir Tecelyn.  
He hedde also a modur fyn,  
Pat men called tofore hire deþ  
o Bi þulke dayȝes dame Aaleth.  
Seuen children in þat londe  
Heo hedde bi hire hosebonde :

Pe sixe weor knaue children, as men  
saide,  
And þe seuenþe waſ a mayde;  
Pe knaue children vchone monkes were, 15  
A nonne bicom heore douhtur deore.  
Heo was wont wiþ herte myld,  
As sone as heo hedde ibore a child,  
Wiþ hire ounе hondes deuoutely  
Offre hit heo wolde to God almihti.  
Hem to norissche heo wolde not lete  
Wiþ milk and wiþ oþur mete  
Non oþur wommon, witerly, 20

V. 383 Qui dum pergeret, quidam vir currens sibi obviauit. Quem cum abbas interrogaret quo pergeret, ille ait: Mulier mea mortua est et vado videre eam (388 Zus.). 389 Et assumxit abbas virum Theodorae (in equum), et venientes plurimum fleverunt et ipsam cum multis laudibus sepelierunt. 395 Vir autem ejus cellam uxoris suae Theodorae accepit (398 Zus.) et ibidem permanens tandem in domino obdormivit. 401 Puer autem Theodorae, nutricem sequens, omni morum honestate pollebat, ita quod mortuo abbate monasterii in abbatem ipse unanimiter est electus. —

5) Das lateinische Original s. Leg. Aur. cap. 120 de S. Bernardo. Die den lateinischen Text einleitende Ableitung des Namens (: a ber quod est puteus vel fons, et nardus quae, ut dicit Glossa super cantica, herba est humilis et calidae naturae et odorifera) und die Angabe dass das Leben des Heiligen »Wilhelmus abbas sancti Theodorici, socius beati Bernardi et Hernaldus abbas Bonae Vallis« geschrieben, fehlt auffälliger Weise in der engl. Uebertragung, welche doch sonst die Etymologien der Leg. Aur. wiedergibt. — V. 1 Bernardus in Burgundia castro Fontanis ex nobilibus valde et religiosis parentibus ortus est. 5 Cujus pater Coelestinus (alii codd.: Deccelinus) miles saeculo strenuus, nec minus Deo religiosus, 8 mater vero Aaleth nuncupata est. 11 Haec septem filios genuit, sex mares et feminam unam, 15 mares autem omnes monachos futuros, feminam autem sanctimonialem (promiserat — dieses Verb fehlt auch in Ed. princ.). Mox autem, ut filium partu ediderat, manibus propriis ipsum Deo offerebat, 21 alienis ubeibus ipsis nutriti refugiebat, quasi cum lacte ma-

- But al hir oune body :  
 25 Heo trouwed wel, wiþouten lees,  
 ¶at, zif ¶at eny goodnes .  
 Hedde ben in þe modur kynde,  
 ¶e child hit schulde best fede and fynde.  
 Whon þei woxen ouȝt of stature,  
 30 Whil heo of hem hedde þe cure  
 Heo norissched hem rāþur to desert  
 ¶en in court to lyue apert :  
 Wiþ comuyn metes and boystous  
 Heo hem norissched in heor hous,  
 35 For þei schulde not astur ben aferd  
 Hardnes to soffre in desert.
- WHon ¶at wommon meke and mylde  
 In wombe hedde þe þridde childe,  
 ¶at was icalled asturward  
 40 At þe cristendom Bernard,  
 Heo hedde a sweuene of him, wituring :  
 What he schulde beo in tyme comyng :  
 Hir þhouȝte ¶at in hir wombe heo had  
 A luytel whelp, of mouþ ful glad,  
 45 And was as whit as swannes federe,  
 His bac was rouh eke al to gedere.  
 And to a good holi man  
 ¶e goode wyf tolde hire sweuene þan,  
 And he onswerde, as a prophete :  
 50 »I schal þe telle what is þi meeete :  
 Pou schalt beo modur of a whelp  
 ¶at schal boþe berke and zelp  
 And also þerto gret noyse make  
 Aȝeynes enimys for Godus sake,  
 55 For þer schal bi tak eto him
- Godus hous for to zem ;  
 ¶at is to sei : wiþouten let  
 He schal beon a prechour gret  
 And wiþ þe medecyn of his tonge  
 Of suzne hele boþe olde and zonge,  
 He schal beo mon of holy churche,  
 Of grete wondres þer inne worche«.  
 WHil he was zong and tendre ek,  
 His hed ook : ¶at made him sek.  
 Forte sauен him of ¶at harme,  
 ¶er com a wommon his hed to charme.  
 Whon ¶at he þerof was war,  
 He criede and made muche far  
 And bad men schulde hire bidde forþ gon,  
 For of hir charmes wolde he non.  
 ¶e child anon, witterli,  
 Perfore felede Godus merci,  
 For þe ache was went away,  
 And he aros and went to pley.
- Vpon a cristemassee niht  
 To þe churche he wente forþ riht  
 And abod þer wiþinne ;  
 And whon matyns schulde beginne,  
 He coueyted wiþ al his miht  
 To wite what hour of þe niht  
 Crist vr saueour was bore.  
 And as he stod in þouȝt þerfore,  
 Him þhouȝt he sauȝ child Jhesus  
 As he boren was amongus vs,  
 In þe tyme riht of þe burþe,  
 As hit hed ben wiþ muchel murþe  
 Of his modur riht þenne, so dere,

55) bi = be, wie öfter im Ms. Vernon.

62) Aehnliche Constr. s. Ambr. 486.

terno materni quodammodo boni infundens iis naturam. 29 Cum autem crevissent, quamdiu sub manu ejus erant, eremo magis quam curiae nutriebat, cibis grossioribus et communibus pascens eos quasi continuo ad erenum transmittendos. 37 Cum igitur tertium filium, scilicet Bernardum, adhuc gestaret in utero, vidi somnium prae-sagium futurorum : 43 catellum scilicet totum candidum, totum in dorso subrufum et latrante in utero se habere. 47 Quod cum cuidam viro Dei exposuisset, ille prophetica voce respondit : 50 Optimus catelli mater eris, qui domus Dei custos futurus magnos contra inimicos dabit latratus; erit enim praedicator egregius et multos medicinalis linguae gratia curaturus (61—2 Zus.). — 63 Cum autem Bernardus adhuc puerulus esset et gravi dolore capitum aegrotaret, venientem ad se mulierculam, ut dolorem suis carminibus mitigaret, cum indignatione nimia exclamans repulit et abjecit; 71 pueruli autem bono zelo misericordia Dei non defuit, sed tunc continuo surgens liberatum se esse cognovit. — 75 In sacratissima dominicae nativitatis nocte cum puer Bernardus matutinale officium in ecclesia exspectaret et qua hora noctis Christus natus fuisset, scire cuperet, 82 apparuit ei puerulus Jesus, quasi iterum ante oculos

As heo in trauaylyng were.  
 He leeued euer aftur þat þat same hour  
 Jhesus was boren, vr sauiour.  
 And aftur þat tyme his wit was more briȝt  
 To knowe and seo wiþ spirituel liȝt  
 Pe sacrament of incarnaciun;  
 Pen was him ȝiuen deuociun  
 And deppore wit to vndurstonde,  
 And copious to beo of tonge in londe.  
 Afturward þerfore wel sone  
 Of vr ladi and hire sone  
 In þe biginning of his makynge  
 He made a wondur worching,  
 þat is: a lessun of gret leornynge,  
 To vche monnes heryng,  
 In þe whiche he expouned þe gospel  
 Missus est angelus Gabriel.

WHen þe fend kneuh his purpos,  
 He was aboute destruye his los  
 And mad him moni a temptaciun  
 Of chastite, to leue his deuociun.

VPPon a tyme on a wommon  
 To loke hire wiþ eȝen liked him þon;  
 And whon him self he hedde biȝouht,  
 He wox aschamet and nolde hir nouht.  
 Perfore to pyne his oune flesch,  
 þat was so frele, him phouzte, and nesch,  
 In to a pol þat was froren  
 He sturte sone in — he was not boren;

131) Ms. fel, in fyl corrigirt.

So longe forsoȝe þer he stood  
 Forte kele his hote blod,  
 þat he was in poynt almost  
 Forte haue ȝolden vp þe gost.

120

SOne aftur þe damysel  
 Pe fend hedde tempted & mad so fel  
 þat heo crep in to þe bed  
 Per he to slepe hed leid his hed.  
 Whon he hire feled in þat tyde,  
 He tornde him to þat oþur syde  
 Of þe bed, and nouht he seide  
 Ne made no noyse ne noþur abreyde,  
 And leet hire haue þat partye  
 þat heo com in ate forte lye,  
 And he him self on sleep fyl.  
 And heo lay stille a luytel whil,  
 Pen heo groped him atte laste  
 And put vpon him swiþe faste.  
 But whon heo sauȝ he wolde not stire,  
 þat forsoȝe aschomed hire,  
 And gretliche wondred and aros  
 And dode hire forþ out of þat clos.

125

EFTsones in his lyf  
 He was herborwed wiþ an hosewyf.  
 For he was semely in hire eȝe,  
 On him heo gan loke and prye,  
 Heo coueyted inwardliche  
 He schulde ha knownen hire flescliche.

130

suos nascens ex utero matris. 89 Unde, quamdiu vixit, hanc fuisse horam nativitatis dominicae semper putavit. 91 Ab illa ergo hora in his quae ad illud pertinent sacramentum, et sensus ei profundior (v. 91 u. 95) et sermo copiosior datus est; 97 unde et postmodum in laudem genitricis et geniti inter ipsa suorum tractatuum initia insigne opusculum edidit, in quo illam lectio nem evangelicam: Missus est angelus Gabriel, explanavit. — 105 Videns antiquus hostis propositum pueri (tam salubre), ejus castitatis proposito incidit multosque sibi laqueos tentationis opposuit. 109 Cum enim aliquando in quandam feminam oculos defixos aliquamdiu tenuisset, continuo de se ipso erubescens in semet ipsum severissimus ultor insurgit ac in stagnum gelidarum aquarum insiliens tamdiu ibidem permanxit, donec paene exsanguis effectus a calore carnalis concupiscentiae totus refriguit. 121 Circa idem tempus instinctu daemonis puella qua edam (im engl. dasselbe Mädchen, welches V. 109 genannt ist; der Dichter das blos puella) in lectum dormientis se nuda injectit, quam ille sentiens cum omni pace et silentio partem ei lectuli, quam occupaverat, cessit et in latus alterum se convergens dormivit; 132 misera vero illa aliquamdiu sustinens et exspectans, deinde palpans et stimulans, novissime, cum immobilis ipse persisteret, illa licet impudentissima esset, erubuit et horrore ingenti atque admiratione perfusa surges aufigit. — 138 Cum iterum in domo cuiusdam matronae hospitaretur, illa adolescentem aspectu decorum considerans, vehementer in concupiscentiam ejus exarsit,

135

- 145 Heo let maken a bed ful sone,  
Him self to liggen in al one.  
Whon þat he to bed was brouht,  
Þe hosewyf wolde do as heo þouht :  
Al wiþ silence and wiþ pes,
- 150 Vp heo ros, and made no res,  
heo ne spared for no grim  
In to þe bed to go to him.  
Whon he hire feled, he cried out  
And seide : »þeues ben her about.«
- 155 Þe hosewyf was aferd þan,  
Vp heo ros, awey heo ran.  
Þe seruauns alle at þat cri  
Risen vp wel smartly  
And souhthen þe hous anon wiþ liht,
- 160 But þei ne founden no wiht.  
Þe seruauns wente to bedde wel prest  
And wenden forte ha taken heore rest —  
Saue þe sori hosewyf,  
Þat þouhte neuer forte þrif :
- 165 To Bernardus bed heo wente eftson.  
And he criede »out, out« anon,  
»Aryseþ, men, loke ȝe ne blynne,  
For þer ben þeoues her inne.«
- 170 Þei risen and souhthen bisyliche,  
170 Þei founden no mon, treweliche.  
Whon vche mon for his best  
Was gon to take eftsones rest,  
Þe þridde tyme heo wolde ha sayed,
- 175 And, for heo sauh hit nolde not be,  
Heo let him ligge in pes, parde.

173) sayed = assayed. 190) im Ms. fehlt ha; sollte es in hit versteckt sein?

Vpon þe morwen, whon hit was day  
And he hedde itake his jurnay,  
In his sleep what he was dreih  
His felawes asked him, þat niht,  
Whi he so faste on þeoues cried,  
And þer mihte non beon aspyed.  
He seide and swor : »so mot i cheue,  
I was biset wiþ a þeoue,  
For þe hosewyf of þe hous,  
Þer we hedde iherborwed vs,  
Mi tresour of chastite  
Heo wolde ha boren awey, parde ;  
To me þat wolde ha ben gret pein :  
I schulde hit neuere (ha) rekeuered azein.«

He sauh he mihte not dwelle siker  
Wiþ a serpent wiþouten biker :  
He him caste hou he mihte fle,  
To lyue in pes and charite.

Pen he forsok þe worldly þewes,  
To take þe ordre of Sistewes.  
Whon his breþeren knewen his þouht,  
Þei him forboden he schulde nouht ;  
But God þat grace þen him sent  
Pat he torned heor aller talent  
To ben men of religiun,  
And moni anoþur wiþ deuociun  
He won to God wiþ his techyng  
And wiþ his goode lyuyng.

HE hedde a broþur, þat was a kniht,  
Pat of his wordus lette pure liht

V. 145 cum autem seorsim lectum sibi sterni fecisset, ipsa impudenter et silenter de nocte surgens ad eum accessit. 153 Quam ille sentiens, protinus exclamavit: latrones, latrones! Ad quam vocem mulier fugit, familia surgit, lucerna accenditur, latro quaeritur, sed minime invenitur. 161 Ad lectulos singuli redeunt, quiescent caeteri, sed non illa misera requiescit, nam denuo exsurgit, Bernardi lectulum petit, sed ille: latrones, latrones! denuo exclamavit. 169 Latro iterum quaeritur, sed nequaquam (ab eo qui solus noverat publicatur), 171 usque tertio improba mulier sic repulsa vix tandem metu vel desperatione victa cessavit. 177 Cum autem sequenti die iter ageret, arguentes eum socii, quod totiens latrones somniaverit, perquirebant. 183 Quibus ille ait: Veraciter hac nocte insidias sum perpessus latronis, quia hospita mihi nitebatur auferre thesaurum irrecuperabilem castitatis. — 191 Perpendens igitur non esse tutum cohabitare serpenti, fugam meditari coepit, 195 et ordinem Cisterciensium extunc ingredi deliberauit. 197 Quod cum fratres ejus cognoscerent et eum ab hoc proposito modis omnibus prohiberent, 199 tantam ei gratiam dominus contulit, ut (non solum ipse a conversione non prohiberetur, sed) omnes fratres suos et multos alias ad religionem domino lucraretur. 205 Gerardus tamen frater ejus,

And pouzte þat he spac al in veyn,  
Gerard was his nome, certeyn.

Bernard bi wei of charite  
Sumwhat meued was, for he  
Aftur his counseil nolde nouȝt do,  
And to him he seide þo :  
»Broþur myn, wiþouten wening  
I knowe riht wel þi menyng.  
Aftur holichirche seiȝing  
Tribulaciu[n] onliche schal ȝiue þe  
stonc

His finger he put þen to his syde:  
»Or ouht longe hit schal beotyde«,  
He seide, »þe day schal not longe abyde,  
Pat a spere schal perse þi syde;  
And riht so forþ to þin herte  
Whon þou felest hit so smerte,  
Þou schalt repente wiþouten fayl  
Þou neddest don astur my counsayl«.

A fewe dayes afturward  
Enemys token sire Gerard :  
In þe same place stak a spere  
þer his broþur putte his fyngere ;  
He was ibounden swiþe fast'  
And herto in prisun cast.

Whon saint Bernard herde of þis,  
Wip him to speke he wente, iwis;  
But þei þat hedden him in keþyng  
Wolde not soffre heor spekyng.

Perfore seint Bernard cryed al out,  
Pat he mihte here and al þe rout:  
»Wite þou wel, broþur Gerard,  
Not long tyme her afturward

We schullen to gedere take þe way,  
In to an abbeye to dwelle al way«.

Pe same niht riht, as he seet,  
Pe fetres fullen fro his feet,  
Pe prisun dore eke ful abrod,  
And he him self out þerate glod.

Whon to his broþur he was come,  
He tolde him al hou he was nome,  
And seide : »i kepe no knihtes los,  
Ichauē ichaunged my purpos ;  
I haue trauayled and eke iswonke,  
But i þenke to ben a monke«.

OF zeeres two and twenti  
Of age Bernard was, witerli,  
Whon he wiþ felawes þritti  
Tok þe ordre deuoutli  
Of Cistewes, þe whuche hous,  
And þerof þe constitucioun glorious,  
Tofore þat foliftene ȝer  
Was ifoundet, good and cler;  
Þe date of vr lord him selue  
A housund an hundrut and twelue  
Was, whon seint Bernard was ischore  
Wiþ his breþeren, as i seide bifore.

WHon þis children glorious  
Wenten out of heor fadur hous  
Toward þe hous of Cistewes,      26.  
To god, for þei wolde haue gode þewes :  
Gy, þat was þe furste childe,  
Sayz his ȝonge broþur murie and wilde,  
Pat Niuard was cald, verreyment,

miles strenuus, haec fratria verna vana putabat et ejus omnino monita repellebat; V. 209 tunc Bernardus (fide jam igneus et) fraternali caritatis zelo mirum in modum exasperatus: Scio, inquit, frater mi, scio, sola vexatio intellectum dabit auditui (215 Zus.). 217 Digitumque lateri ejus apponens: Veniet, inquit, dies, et cito veniet, quando lancea latus hoc perforabit et ad cor tuum consilio, quod abjicis, viam dabit. 225 Post paucos dies Gerardus ab iunioribus capitulatur et in loco cui frater digitum imposuerat infixam lanceam gestans, trahitur et in custodia vinculatur. 231 Ad quem Bernardus veniens, cum sibi loqui non permetteretur, ad eum exclamavit (236 Zus.): Scio, frater Gerarde, quia in proximo ituri sumus et monasterium intraturi. 241 Eadem nocte compedes de ejus pedibus ceciderunt et, ostio per se aperto, laetus aufugit, 245 indicavitque fratri se mutasse propositum et fieri velle monachum. — 251 Anno ab incarnatione domini MCXII, a constitutione domus Cisterciensium XV, servus Dei Bernardus, annos nactus circiter XXII, cum sociis amplius quam XXX ordinem Cisterciensium ingressus est (im engl. frei geordnet). 263 Cum autem Bernardus cum fratribus suis domum paternam egredetur (265—6 Zus.), 267 Guido primogenitus, videns Nivardum fratrem suum minimum puerum ludentem in platea

- 270 Pleyze him vppon þe pament  
Wiþ oþur children of his age,  
Pat lusten wel to pleye and rage.  
He seide to him : »broþur Nyuard,  
Herken þou nou hideward!
- 275 To þe schal falle feld and toun,  
Vr lond and vre possessioun«.  
Pe toþur þouȝte, þaþ he were wyld,  
He onswerd noþing as a child :  
»A, he seide, heuene þe schul haue
- 280 And þe leue me lond onliche to craue?  
.Me þinkeþ in my resoun  
Þis is non euene diuisioun«.  
Wiþ his fadur a luytel while  
He dwelled aftur wiþouten gyle,
- 285 And aftur þat wiþ deuociun  
He suwed his breþeren in to religiun.
- WHon Bernard hed taken his abyt,  
In God he hedde so gret dilyt  
Pat al his bodiliche witte
- 290 Out of vse he hedde flitte,  
And al his spiret outurliche  
Was rauischt so heuenliche  
Pat, whon he hedde iben a zer  
Wiþ oþur nouices in fer
- 295 In an hous wipinne þe plas  
Pat for þe nouices ordeynd was,  
He nuste neñere beo his eze  
Wheþer þeron weore a rof on hiȝe.
- IN þe gable ende of þe churche  
300 Ben þeo wyndouwus of noble worche :

Long tyme he went in and out,  
And so luytel loked him about  
Pat he wende, bi saint Jon,  
Pat þer hedde ben but on.

PE abbot þen of Sistews  
Sende monkes to Clereuaus,  
Gode men and religious,  
Forte builde þer an hous.  
Tofore hem alle, God hit wot,  
He mad Bernard heore abbot.  
Per long tyme in pouerte  
Pei lyueden and wiþ charite,  
Pat ofte þei eten bechene leues,  
Pat þer growed among þe greues.

SEint Bernard wok boþe day and niht  
More þen monkuynde feire bere miht;  
Ofte he wolde pleyne wiþouten bost  
And sei : þer was no more tyme lost  
Pen while he lay to slepyng ;  
And euere he made a liknyng  
Bytwene slep and monnes deþ :  
»Sae onliche a luytel breþ,  
A ded mon to God on slep is holde,  
A slepyng mon to men is tolde  
As good as ded for þe tyme,  
Bi niht or day, vndurne or pryme«.  
Zif þat he herde þerfore on route  
Or esylische ligge wiþ cloþus aboute,  
To him hit was so gret offence  
Pat vnneþe he mihte his pacience

cum pueris (272 Zus.) : Eya , inquit , frater Nivarde , ad te solum respicit omnis terra possessionis nostrae . 277 Cui non pueriliter puer respondit : Vos ergo coelum habebitis et mihi solum terram relinquitis ? non ex aequo divisio facta est haec . 283 Modico igitur tempore cum patre remansit , sed fratres postmodum secutus est . — 287 Ingressus igitur ordinem , servus Dei Bernardus ita totus in spiritum absorptus est (291) et Deo totaliter occupatus (288) , ut jam nullis sensibus corporis uteretur ; 293 jam quippe annum in cella novitiorum exegerat et adhuc an domus haberet testudinem , ignorabat . 299 Multo tempore ecclesiam intrans et exiens , in capite , ubi tres erant , unam tantum putabat esse fenestram . — 305 Abbas autem Cisterciensium fratres ad aedificandum domum Claraevallensem misit et iis Bernardum in abbatia praefecit , 311 qui (sc. Bernardus , im engl. die Mönche) multo ibidem tempore in nimia paupertate degebat et pulmenta saepius ex foliis fagi conficiebat . — 315 Vigilabat autem servus Dei ultra possibilitatem humanam , nullum enim tempus se magis perdere conqueri solebat quam quo dormivit , 320 idoneam satis reputans comparationem somni et mortis , ut sic dormientes videantur mortui apud homines quomodo apud Deum mortui dormientes (322 u. 326 Zus.) . 327 Unde etiam , si quem forte durius stertentem audierit seu minus composite viderit jacentem , patienter ferre vix potuit

To constreyne, þat he nolde sei openliche  
 Pat hit was to wordliche  
 Or elles to muche loue of flesche,  
 A mon to kepe him self to nessche.  
 5 He tok non hede of no dylyt  
 Of metes, ne of appetyt,  
 But onliche to susteyne his kynde,  
 To serue his God wiþ good mynde,  
 To mete he went wiþ such entent  
 o As toward his owne turment.  
 Whon he hedde eten, he wold him biþink  
 Boþe of his mete and eke of his drynk  
 Wher he hedde don arȝt his cure,  
 Pat he passed not his olde mesure;  
 5 And zif he parseyued þat he hedde so  
     don,  
 He him repente wolde anon.  
 He kepte him so fro glotenyne  
 Pat for þe more partye  
 Pat he nedde discreciun ne sauour  
 o Of metes ne drȝkes ne oþur licour;  
 Perfore oþurwhile he wolde drynke  
 Oyle for watur, and nouȝt þeron þynke,  
 Whon þat recheles men  
 Serued him of drinken þen,  
 5 Ne hit nas parseyued no more  
 Til þat his lippes þerof dude glore.  
 He eet ofte tyme rau blood  
 In stude of buttur, wiþ good mod,  
 Whon he was serued rechelesliche :

331) to beim Inf. nach einem Hülfswerb, wie Ambr. 710. 334) absoluter Infin., wie 146. 3,  
 471 u. ö. 349) þat scheint zu tilgen. 369) Ms. wyde st. wylde. 384) hit nach d. Relat., nicht  
 unhäufig.

et carnaliter seu seculariter eum dormire causabatur. — V. 335 Ad comedendum  
 vix aliqua voluptate trahebatur appetitus, sed solo timore defectus sic accede-  
 bat ad sumendum cibum quasi ad tormentum. 341 Post cibum, quantum co-  
 mederit semper cogitare solitus erat; si quando vel ad modicum mensuram solitam  
 excessisse se deprehendit, impune abire non patiebatur. 347 Sic gulae illecebras  
 edomuerat, ut ipsam quoque saporum discretionem ex magna parte perdiderit.  
 351 Nam et oleum, sibi per errorem aliquando propositum, bibt et penitus ignoravit,  
 nec prius id est cognitum, donec quidam ejus labia miraretur inuncta; 357 sanguinem  
 crudum insuper, per errorem sibi oblatum, pro butyro multis diebus noscitur  
 comedisse; solum autem aquam sibi sapere dicebat, eo quod, dum sumeret, fauces et  
 guttur ejus refrigeraret. — 365 Quidquid in scripturis didicerat, maxime in silvis et  
 in agris meditando et orando se confitebatur accepisse (370 Zus.) et nullos se ali-  
 quando magistros habuisse nisi quercus et fagos, inter amicos dicere solebat.  
 373 Denique confessus est, aliquando meditanti vel oranti sacram omnem velut sup-  
 positam vel expositam sibi apparuisse scripturam. 381 Quodam tempore (sicut ipse  
 in canticis refert,) cum inter loquendum ex his quae suggerebat spiritus, etsi non  
 infideli, minus tamen fidenti animo reservaret, ut haberet quid diceret, denuo tracta-  
 turus, 387 ecce vox ad eum venit dicens: Donec istud tenueris, aliud non acci-

Þerof he tok hit meokeliche.  
 He seide þat watur onliche  
 Sauered him verreyliche,  
 For þat hit wolde riht weel  
 His jouwes and his þrote keel.

AMong his frendus þat he loued wel     365  
 He was wont forte tel  
 Pat al his lernynge of clergye  
 Was in þenkyng and preying deuoutlyc  
 Among wodus and feldes wy(l)de :  
 Per he wolde wake wiþ herte ful mylde ; 370  
 Oþur maister hedde he non  
 But okus and beches, swiþe gret won.  
 Knowleche he wolde ofte tyme also  
 To hem þat he louede þo,  
 Pat, whon he was in meditaciun     375  
 Or in preyer wiþ deuociun,  
 Al maner þing of holy writ  
 Was vndurput to his wit  
 Oþur elles expouned verreyli,  
 Wiþouten eny maistri.

ONes he biþouhte him on a speche  
 Pat þe holigost dude him teche,  
 Pe whuche, þouh he leeued hit wel,  
 He nedde hit not in mynde eueridel ;  
 Perfore he þouhte what oþur þing     385  
 He mihte take in tretynge.  
 A vois to him þen gon sey :  
 »In veyn þou trauaylest, al in fey ;

Aftur oþur matere þar þe nouȝt craue,  
 390 Til þat þou holde and in muyde haue  
 Pat furst was put in to þi wit.  
 Penk on þerfore and hold wel hit!«

IN cloþing pouerte lyked him euere,  
 But vnclemnesse louede he neuere.

395 Whon he sauh men wiþ veyn glorie  
 Haue likyng in heore oune eȝe  
 Oþur elles in oþur mennes siht,  
 Perof forsoþe he wolde lete liht.  
 Ouþur wiþ herte or wiþ mouþe

400 A prouerbe þat he riht wel couþe,  
 He wolde sey on þis manere,  
 As ȝe mowe nouþe ihere :  
 »He þat doþ þat doþ no man,  
 On him wondrefþ vche mon þan.«

405 Per tofore mony a ȝere  
 Next his bodi he wered þe here,  
 As longe as hit priue was ;  
 Aftur þat he wuste men knewe þe cas,  
 From him awey he dude þe here

410 And tornede to comun manere.  
 He his herte neuer cast  
 Inwardly to lauhwhe so fast,  
 Pat he nas bisy hit to restreyne  
 Wiþ al his mihtes and to refreyne.

415 HE wolde sey ofte wiþ concience  
 Pat in þeo þinges stod pacience :  
 In soffring wrong of vuel word  
 Of comun mon or of lord ;  
 And in los of vre þing

419) los = loss.

Meble, ded oþur lyuyng ;  
 And in hurtyng of vre bodi,  
 Druye strok oþur blodi,  
 Oþur elles fals enprisonement —  
 He þat may þeose suffre, is pacient.  
 Pat he was pacient and wise,  
 Bi ensaumples he proued on þis wyse :  
 An apostle to a bisschop he wrot  
 And him amonested, God hit wot,  
 Wiþ riht parfyte charite,  
 A certeyn defaute he schulde fle.  
 Pe epistle to þe buschop was loþ,  
 He wrot aȝeyn, as mon al wroþ, —  
 Pat he him hedde scorned, wel he wende,  
 Perfore in þe lettre þat he aȝein sende  
 He ne seide good day noþur god morn,  
 But : » saulucȝ and nouȝt þe spiryt of  
 scorn.«

Whon Bernard þis lettre vndurstood,  
 He wrot aȝein wiþ mylde mood :  
 »I leeue þat i haue nouȝt  
 Pe spirit of scorn, in word ne þouȝt,  
 Ne corse no mon i can  
 Or wille to curse, child ne man,  
 And also nouȝur nomeliche  
 Him þat gourneþ principaliche  
 Pe peple and is souereyn —  
 Pat weore to me a werk of veyn.«

AN abbot him toward vpon a day  
 Six hundred mark him sent of pay,  
 A newe abbey forte make

pies. — 393 In vestibus ei semper paupertas placuit, sordes numquam, nimirum animi fore judices ajebat (!) (aut negligentis) aut inaniter apud se gloriantis aut foris humanam gloriam affectantis; proverbium illud in ore ejus frequenter, semper in corde erat: Qui hoc facit quod nemo, mirantur omnes. 405 Unde et cilicium pluribus annis portavit, quamdiu occultum esse potuit, sed ubi hoc cognitum esse sensit, continuo illud abjiciens ad communia se convertit. — 411 Nunquam sic risit, ut non potius ad ridendum quam ad reprimendum vim sibi facere oporteret et risui suo magis stimulum adhibere quam frenum. 415 Cum autem patientiae genus solitus erat dicere tripartitum, videlicet ad verborum injurias, ad damna rerum, ad corporis laesionem (418. 420. 422—4 Zus.), hanc ipse his exemplis se habere probavit. 427 Cum enim cui-dam episcopo amicabiliter ad monens quandam scripsisset epistolam, (430 Zus.), ille vehementer exacerbatus amarissimam scripsit ei epistolam (in principio) ita dicens: Salutem et non spiritum blasphemiae — tamquam ex spiritu blasphemiae ita scripsisset. 437 Ad quod ille: Ego spiritum blasphemiae me habere non credo nec male-dixisse cuiquam aut maledicere me velle scio, praesertim principi populi mei. — 447 Quidam abbas pro uno coenobio construendo sexcentas marcas eidem misit argenti,

o In a plas, for Godus sake.  
 Toward him as hit schulde come,  
 Peues þe men hit hedden binome.  
 Whon seint Bernard wuste of þis,  
 He seide noþing elles, iwis,  
 5 But : »blessed beo God þat þus haþ spared  
 Of þat charge we schulde ha cared!  
 But we mosten take þe lihtor heed  
 Of hem þat hit toke, so God vs speed;  
 On is for þe Romayns couetyse  
 o Pat hit tok awey on heore wyse,  
 Anoþur is, for þe grete soun  
 Of þat moneye þaf hem occasiun  
 Hit to take so, witerly.  
 God of hem nou haue merci«.

5 VPpon a tyme he was at hom,  
 A chanoun ruleer to<sup>z</sup>him com  
 And made to him a gret preyer,  
 A monk þat he wolde him scher.  
 Seint Bernard him answered, in certeyn,  
 o And bad him go to his churche aȝeyn.  
 Pe chanoun him þenne gon vbbreyd  
 And on þis maner to him seid :  
 »Wherto wiþ so gret deuociun  
 Hastou comendet þi religiun  
 ; In þi bokes, as a clerk,  
 And to him þat coueyteþ þat werk  
 Graunte hit þou nult for noþing?  
 I holde hit but a fodyng.  
 Wolde God in hond i hade  
 o Pe bokes þeroft þat þou hast made :

Ful vuel þauh hit schulde þe dere,  
 Forsoþe i wolde hem al totere!«  
 Seint Bernard seide in good fey :  
 »In no bok, i dar wel sei,  
 Pat euer i made, þat þou sauh zite, 485  
 Pou raddest neuure þeron iwritle  
 Pat þou mihtest not beo parfyt  
 In þi cloystre, zif þou heddest delyt;  
 Of mennes maners amendyng,  
 And not þe places chaungyng 490  
 I haue comendet in my bokus,  
 Vppon hem hose riht lokus«.  
 Pe chanoun was ȝong and hot of blod,  
 And, as a mon þat waxen weore wod,  
 He smot seint Bernard vndur þe chek, 495  
 Pat he wox red and aferd ek.  
 Pei þat stoden abouten hem þan  
 Wolden ha risen vppon þat man,  
 But Godus seruaunt wiþouten blame  
 Hem forbad on Godus name 500  
 Pat þei schulde him non harm do  
 But let him passe feire hem fro.  
 Whon þat nouices schulden ben schorn,  
 To hem he wolde seye biforen :  
 »Zif þat ze heze nou bisyliche 505  
 To þing þat beon wiþinne, deuoutliche,  
 Zor bodies wiþouten loke þei beo laft  
 From þe world and al his craft,  
 Pat ze com fro, and comeþ in  
 Onliche in spirit, wiþouten gin;  
 For, zif ze take good hede of þis,  
 Pe flesch profyteþ noþing iwis«.

459) lat. humana cupiditas; über die Raubsucht der »Romayns« vgl. Alex. Ms. Laud 622. v.571.

sed tota pecunia, dum deferretur, a praedonibus sublata est. 453 Quo auditio nihil aliud dixit nisi: Benedictus Deus, qui nobis pepercit ab onere, sed et illis, inquit, qui tulerunt, levius est ferendum, tum quia hoc humana(!) cupiditas sustulit, tum quia magna pecunia magnam iis temptationis occasionem ingessit. — 465 Quidam insuper canonicus regularis ad eum venit et ut in monachum reciperetur instanter rogavit. 469 Cui quum ille non acquiesceret sed ad suam ecclesiam redire persuaderet: Ad quid ergo, ait ille, in libris tuis perfectionem tantopere commendasti, si eam non exhibes cupienti? utinam illos tuos tenerem libros, ut eos penitus lacerarem! 483 Cui ille: In nullo eorum legisti non posse te in tuo claustro esse perfectum; morum correctionem, non locorum mutationem in libris omnibus commendavi. 493 Ille vero insanus (493 Zus.) in eum impetum faciens tam graviter maxillam ejus percussit, ut succederet rubor ictui et tumor (der Dichter las timor?) rubori. 497 Nam, qui aderant, in sacrilegum insurgebant, sed praevenit eos servus Dei, clamans et adjurans per nomen Christi ut nullatenus tangeretur nec sibi quidquid injuriae inferretur. — 503 Novitiis autem intrare volentibus dicere consueverat: Si ad ea quae intus sunt festinatis, hic foris dimittite corpora quae de saeculo attulisti, soli spiritus ingredian-

- HIs fadur, þat Tecelyn hedde to nome  
And al one was laft at home,  
515 To þe munster þen he went  
And dwelled toward þat couent,  
And afturward soone in good elde  
To God of heuene þe gost he zelde.  
He hedde a suster þat tyme also,  
520 Þat wedded was and riche þerto :  
Vppon a day wiþ gret delyte  
Heo wente hire breþeren to visyte.  
Whon heo to þe abbey com,  
Heo fond hire breþeren alle atom ;  
525 But, for heo com in stout aray,  
Wiþ moni men, and hire self gay,  
Seint Bernard wolde hire not se,  
As a þing of horriblete,  
And seide : heo was lyk þe deneles nette,  
530 To take mennes soulus þat were isette.  
On of hire breþeren was porteer,  
And he hire seide : »what dostou heer?  
Þow art lyk a toord, he seide,  
Þat in a feir cloþ weore leyde«.  
535 Whon heo sauh al in certeyn  
Non of hire breþeren coomen hire aȝeyn,  
Weopynge heo seide þan :  
»Paul i beo a sunfol womman,  
For suche Crist dyede for his pite  
540 And he may haue merci on me;  
And for i knowe my sunfolhede  
Boþe in word, þouȝt and dede,  
I com gode men forte seche,  
Me to counseyle and to teche.
- 524) atom = at hom.
- And þouȝ my broþur my bodi foule  
Dispise, zit schulde he not my soule  
Bustousliche þus nou forsake,  
But as Godus seruaunt hit to him take.  
Let him come and comaunde me :  
I schal hit do, what euer hit be.  
Whon he herde of þis biheste,  
To hire he wente wiþouten cheste  
And tok wiþ him his breþeren alle,  
Whon he hed beden hem forþ calle.  
Seint Bernard wuste wel bi Godus lawe  
Þat heo miht not hire wiþdrawe,  
Whil þat hire lasted þe lyf,  
From him þat hedde hire taken to wyf;  
Perfore wiþ god mekenesse  
He hire forbed þe bisynesse  
Of þis world, and eke þe blis  
Perof — forsoþe, nouȝt hit nis ! —  
And comaundet hire for Godus sake  
Ensaumple of hire modur take  
And suwen hire in good liuyng,  
In preyers and in fastyng.  
Heo torned hir hom hizingliche  
And chaunged was al sodeynliche :  
He tok non hede þat heo was wyf,  
But ladde holy hermites lyf,  
As þauȝ þe world heo hedde forsake  
And to God hire al bitake.  
Atte last wiþ mony a preyere  
Heo ouercom hire hosebonde dere,  
Þat he zaf hire leue feir and wel  
In an abbey for to dwel;

tur, caro autem non prodest quidquam. — V. 513 Pater ejus, qui solus domi remanserat, ad monasterium ivit et ibidem post aliquod tempus in senectute bona decessit. 519 Soror autem ejus, saeculo nupta, cum in divitiis et deliciis saeculi periclitaretur, quadam vice fratres suos ad monasterium visitatura accessit; cumque venisset cum comitatu et apparatu superbo (524—5 Zus.), ille eam tanquam rete dyaboli ad animas capiendas abhorruit nec ad videndum eam exire aliquatenus acquievit. 531 Videns illa, quod nullus fratum suorum occurreret (535), sed ab uno eorum, qui tunc portarius erat, stercus involutum diceretur (531), 537 tota in lacrymis resoluta est. Etsi peccatrix sum, inquit, pro talibus Christus mortuus est: quia enim peccatricem me sentio, idcirco consilium et colloquium bonorum requiro; et si despicit frater meus carnem meam, ne despiciat servus Dei animam meam; veniat et praecipiat, et, quidquid praeceperit, adimplebo. 551 Hanc ergo promissionem tenens, exiit ad eam cum fratribus (554 Zus.), 555 et quia eam a viro separare non poterat, primo omnem ei mundi gloriam interdixit (562 Zus.) et formam matris imitandam eidem indicens (illam dimisit). 567 Illa vero rediens ita repente mutata est, ut in medio saeculi vitam duceret eremiticam et ab omni saeculo prorsus se faceret alienam. 573 Tandem precibus multis virum suum vicit et ab ipso (alii codd.: ab episcopo) absoluta monaste-

A nonne þerinne heo was ischore  
And serued God so euermore.

Vpon a tyme seint Bernard  
Was itaken wiþ seknesse hard,  
Pat hit was a comuyn sawe  
Toward þe deþ þat he dude drawe.  
His spirit rauisched was anon  
Tofore God, sittinge in tron,  
And þer was al redi þe fend Sathan,  
Pat him þere accused þan.  
Whon þat he his tale hedde told,  
Seint Bernard dredde not, but was bold  
And seide : »for myn vnworþines  
Of meryt oþur of goodnes  
I knowleche wel I may not craue  
Þe kyngdom of heuene for to haue ;  
But for my lord haþ double riht  
To þat kyngdom so ful of liht :  
Bi wei of heritage of his fader  
And bi merit of his passion togeder,  
He is wel payed of þat one,  
Þe toþur he me zaf as Godus sone«.  
Þe fend confuis wente awey þan,  
Þe spirit aȝein to þat man  
Turned : and þerwiþ he awoke  
And lyfliche aboute him he gon loke.  
HE abstined him so wondurliche  
And traualied and waked so bisyliche,  
His bodi he brouhte so lowe eke :

Pat continualiche he was so neiz seke,  
In so muchel þat vnceþe  
Him serue nolde his ounre breþe,  
Þe couent forte suwe þo,  
To þe chirche whon þei schulde go. 610

Vpon a tyme wiþ seknesse stronge  
He was itaken, þat heold him longe ;  
His breþeren for him preyed so faste :  
He fond him amendyng atte laste.  
Aboute him he gedred hem euerichon 615  
And to hem alle he seide anon :  
»Wherto, my breþeren dere,  
A wrecched mon holde ze þus here ?  
Ze ben strengore þen I,  
Perfore ze han þe mastri 620  
Wiþ zor preyere toward our God.  
I preize ow alle wiþ mylde mood :  
Spareþ me, i preye ou, spareþ me nou  
And leteþ me passe hennes from þou !«

OFte forsoþe wiþ good hope 625  
He was chosun to beo bisschope,  
But specialiche of citees tweyn :  
Iauuesse and Melayn ;  
And whon þei asked his assent,  
He onswered þus, verreyment :  
»Seruaunt, he seide, am I non,  
But I am deputet nou al on  
To þe seruyse of oþur men,  
Pat as worþi as I ben.« 630

rium intravit. — 578 Infirmatus aliquando vir Dei, cum extremum jam spiritum trahere videretur, 583 in excessu mentis sua ante tribunal Dei visus est praesentari, affuit autem et Sathan ex adverso improbis eum accusationibus pulsans. 587 Ubi vero ille omnia fuerat prosecutus et viro Dei pro sua fuit parte dicendum, nihil territus aut turbatus ait : 589 Fateor, non sum dignus ego, nec propriis possum meritis obtinere regnum coelorum; caeterum duplici jure illud obtinens dominus meus, hereditate scilicet patris et merito passionis, altero ipse contentus alterum mihi donat; (ex cuius dono jure illud mihi vindicans non confundor). 599 Confusus in hoc verbo inimicus, (conventus ille solutus) et vir Dei in se reversus est (601-2 Zus.). — 603 Tanta autem abstinentia, labore et vigiliis corpus suum attrivit, quod et gravissima et fere continua aegritudine languens conventum vix sequi posset (610 Zus.). 611 Quadam vice dum gravissime infirmaretur, fratibus pro eo instanter orantibus aliquantulum convaluisse se sensit; congregatis autem fratibus dixit : 617 Quid tenetis miserum hominem? fortiores estis et invalisistis, parcite, quaeso, parcite et sinite me abire. — 625 A multis autem civitatibus vir Dei in episcopum electus, praecipue a civitate Iauensi et civitate Mediolanensi, petentibus se (nec annuens nec improbe renuens) dicebat: se non esse suum (der Dichter las servum), sed aliorum servitio deputatum (634 Zus.). (Frates autem ex consilio viri Dei sibi providerant et summi pontificis auctoritate muniti erant, ne quis gaudium suum ab iis tollere

635 Bi counsel of seint Bernard þan  
þei wolde chese hem anþur man.

VPPon a tyme wiþ good delyte  
He rod out to visyte  
þe freres of Charthous —

640 Pat is an ordre glorious.

Per wiþ gret deuocioun  
He tauht hem good edificacioun.  
But o þing þer was of liht repreue  
Pat þe prior of þe hous gon meue:

645 Pat þe sadel semed al forlet

Pat saint Bernard inne set.  
Pis þe prior tolde to  
On of his breþeren þo,  
And he þenne to saint Bernard

650 Spak þeroft aftrward.

Seint Bernard þeroft wondur had  
And þe sadul bringe to him he bad;  
He hedde rideñ fro Cleruous  
Til he com to Charthous,

655 What maner sadel he rod inne

Wuste he neuere, more ne mynne.

ON a tyme his wey lay  
Al a dayes jurnay  
Bi þe lake of Lausan,

660 Pat knoweþ wel mony a man.

He wente so þer al in þouht  
Pat þe lake sauh he nouht.  
At niht whon his felawes eke  
Of þat lake gunne to speke,

659) Ms. Lansan.

He hem asked for his oune sake

þei schulde him telle wher was þe lake.  
Whon þat þey so asken him herde,  
þey wondred muchel whi he so ferde.

PE heizenes of his name

Wiþ meknes of herte he ouurcame;  
Al þe world miht him not reise:  
So he him self wolde dispreyse.  
Of men he was holden mest,  
But he him self heold aller lest;  
Eueri mon wolde him putte forþ,  
But he huld him self lest worþ.

Ofte tyme he wolde knowleche  
Pat, whon he herde of him gret speche  
And was among most honour  
And in þe peuples feire fauour,  
Bi him self he þphoute riȝt wel  
As mon þat weore chaunged eueridel,  
And he him self hedde such entent  
Pat he huld him as absent,  
And trouwed hit hedde ben a sweuen  
Pat falleþ on him þat slepeþ at euuen.

But whon he was among symple men,  
As his breþeren weoren þen,  
Pat he mihte vse his mekenes  
Wiþ frendschipe and goodnes:  
Pen he wolde be wondur glad,  
As mon þat to lyf beo turned had.  
Euere a mon mihte him fynde  
Preyinge or redyng or writynge

posset — anders 635—6). — 637 Quodam tempore cum fratres Cartusienses (640 Zus.) visitasset et ipsi ab eo in omnibus plurimum aedificati fuissent, unum fuit quod praedicti loci priorem aliquantulum movit, scilicet quod sella, cui equitando insidebat, minus (der Dichter las nimis?) neglecta erat (et parum praeferebat paupertatem). 647 Quod quum dictus prior uni ex fratribus et ille viro Dei retulisset, non minus ipse miratus, qualis esset sella, quaerebat; nam a Claravalle usque ad Cartusiam venerat et tamen, qualis esset sella, penitus ignorabat. — 657 Juxta lacum Lausannensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus eum non vidit (aut se videre non vidit). 663 Cum enim sero facto de eodem lacu socii loquerentur, interrogavit eos ubinam lacus ille esset. Quod illi audientes plurimum admirati sunt. — 669 Vicebat sane in eo sublimitatem nominis humilitas cordis, nec tam poterat universus eum erigere mundus quam se ipse dejicere solus. 673 Summus reputabatur ab omnibus, infimus ipse se reputans, et quem sibi omnes, ipse se nemini praeferebat. 677 Denique, sicut saepius fatebatur, inter summos quoque honores et favores populorum alterum sibi mutuatus (engl., als ob mutatus) hominem videbatur seque potius reputabat absente m, velut quoddam somnium suspicatus (686 Zus.); 687 ubi vero simpliciores fratres erant, et amica semper humilitate frui ibi se invenisse gaudebat et in propriam rediisse personam. 693 Semper autem inveniebatur aut orans aut legens aut scribens aut meditans

- 5 Or in good meditacion  
Or to his breþeren in edificacion.
- VPpon a tyme he stod vp to preche  
To þe peple, and hem dude teche;  
Men herden him bisyliche
- 0 And token his wordus deuoutliche.  
Whil he þus was in his predication,  
Per ful on him such a temptacion  
Pat to him self : him þhouȝte, he seide,  
As he auctorites forþ leide :
- 5 »For þou prechest nou in þe best  
And þe herkneþ nou boþe mest and lest,  
On þe to loke þei ben bolde,  
Of hem alle wys þou art holde«.
- Whon he biþouȝt him vppon þis,  
Temptacion he hit heold iwis,  
A luytel while stille he stod  
And biþouȝt him on his mood  
Wher him weore bettere forþ to sey  
Or elles let of and go his wey.
- 5 Porwh Godus help, þat nul not fayle,  
Anon riht of good couȝsayle  
To þe temptour softeliche  
He seide þeos wordus wyslyche :  
»Beo þe made I not my biginninge,
- 0 Ne for þe nul I make non endyngē«,  
And forþ þen aftur deuoutliche  
He prechede þe peple bisyliche.
- A monk ones he hedde wiþ him.  
Pat in þe world was sum tym
- 5 A ribaut and a pleyer grete,  
Whon þat he mihte wiþ felawes mete.
- Pe deuel him tempted so, certeyn,  
þat to þe world he wolde go ȝeyn.
- Whon Bernard sauh he wox so bolde  
Pat he him noþing mihte wiþholde,  
He asked him, as he hedde iþriue !  
Hou he schapt him forte lyue.
- Anon he onswerd and gon to seye :  
»At þe echesse i con wel pleye :  
Perwiþ schal I liue riht wel  
And winne þat me nedeþ eueridel.«
- 730 Seint Bernard þen gon to him seye :  
»Zif i take þe þe chef moneye,  
Wiþ to pleye, wolto be my feer  
And come aȝein zer bi zer
- 735 And parte wiþ me half þi wynnyng  
And take þe toþurdel to þi liuyng ?«  
Whon he þat herde, he was ful glad  
And þeroþ wiþ him god couenaunt mad.
- Seint Bernard in hyzing  
Comaundet him twenti schilyng. 745
- He þenne þerwiþ went his wey,  
Wiþ his felawes in þe world to pley.
- Seint Bernard dude þis, for certeyn,  
Forte make him come aȝeyn :  
750 And so hit ful þe nexte zere,  
Anon riht as ze schul here.
- Þis mon went abouþe faste to pleye,  
And lost faste his moneye,  
Atte laste he lost al togedere
- 755 And leue hedde to pley him wiþ a fedre.  
To þe abbey zate þen he went,  
As a mon worþi beo schent.
- Whon saint Bernard þeroþ herde,

aut fratres verbo aedificans. — 697 Quadam vice cum populo praedicaret et omnes verba ejus attente ac devote susciperent, ejus animo quaedam talis irrepit tentatio (704 Zus.) : Vere nunc optime praedicas et ab hominibus libenter audiris et sapiens ab omnibus reputaris. 709 At vir Dei tali tentatione pulsari se sentiens, parumper substitit et an procederet vel finem faceret cogitare coepit, 715 statimque divino confortatus auxilio tentatori silenter respondit: Nec per te incepi nec per te dimittam. sicut securus praedicationem usque ad finem prosecutus est. — 723 Monachus quidam, qui in saeculo ribaldus fuerat atque lusor (726 Zus.), maligno stimulatus spiritu ad saeculum redire voluit. 729 Cum autem beatus Bernardus eum retinere non posset, interrogavit eum unde victurus esset. 733 Qui respondit: Ad taxillos ludere scio et inde vivere potero. 737 Et ille: Si tibi capitale commisero, vis singulis annis ad me redire et mecum lucrum dividere? 743 Quod ille audiens gavisus est et se libenter sic acturum promisit. 745 Viginti igitur solidos ei dari praecipit, et ille cum illis abiit. Hoc autem faciebat vir sanctus, ut eum iterum revocare posset, sicut et postmodum factum est. 753 Ille igitur abiens totum perdidit (756 humor. Zus.) et ad portam confusus rediit. 759 Quo auditio vir Dei ad eum laetus exit

760 Ful gladly out to him he ferde  
And huld his lappe abrod, lauzwhyng,  
And asked him half his wynnnyng.  
He seide: »fadur, nay nay,  
But I haue lost vr chef monay.

765 I preye ow for charite,  
For þat moneye tac nou me«.  
Seint Bernard of his godnesse  
Seide þus to him wiþ mekenesse:  
»Seþþe hit is so, beter me is

770 Take þe, þen leose al at onus«.  
SEint Bernard to a place wolde go,  
Vppon his hors he set him þo.  
Beo þe wei as he rod,  
He mette wiþ a boistes mon of mod;

775 Forþ wiþ him þen gon he walke,  
Of diuerse maters þei gunne to talke.  
Atte laste, wiþouten fable,  
Þei speken hou a mon schulde beo stable  
And þenke vppon non oþur þing,

780 Whyl he weore in his preyng.  
Þe cheorl þerof hedde dispyt  
And bad he schulde him nouȝt edwyt,  
He seide his herte was al stable,  
»And forte preye hit is nouȝt able,

785 But hit beo wiþouten eny lettyng  
Of eny oþur maner þyng«.  
Seint Bernard caste þenne anon  
To ouercome his presumpcion;  
»Pat i schal seo«, he seide, »parde!

771–86) Dieselbe Erzählung findet sich in der Evangelienämlung des Ms. Vernon. 774) boystes st. boystous.

Wiþdrauh þe sumwhat from me,  
Þi pater noster loke þou biginne  
Wiþ al þe entent þat þe is inne;  
And ȝif þou mowe wiþ stable mende  
Wiþouten lettyng make an ende,  
Þe hors, forsoþe, þat i on sit,  
Zif þou soþ seye, þow schalt haue hit!  
Þou schalt bihote me bi þi fey  
Þat þou schalt þe soþe sey«.  
Þen wox he a wel glad monne,  
His hors he wende he hedde wonne.  
Hardiliche he wente him fro,  
His pater noster bigon he þo  
Wiþ as god wille and talent  
As he couþe, and good entent.

He nas vnnēþe þe middel ipast,  
Þat in his herte anon he cast  
Wheþer he mihte þe sadel craue  
Wiþ þe hors þat he schulde haue.  
Whon he abreid out of þat þouht,  
He wuste wel he was worþi nouht.  
He wente forþ to þat holy mon  
And tolde al to gedre þon  
What mater ful in his mende,  
His pater noster or he mihte ende,  
And ȝaf him to deuocioun,  
Forsok eke his presumpcioun.

HE hedde ischoren his kynnes man,  
Þat frere Robert men called þan:  
Þat men brouhten aftur in such deuocion

extenditque gremium, ut simul dividerent lucrum. 763 Cui ille: Nihil, pater, lucratuſ ſum, ſed etiam capitali noſtro nudatus ſum; ſi vultis, pro noſtro capitali recipite me. 767 Cui Bernardo benignus repondebit: Si ita, inquit, eſt, melius eſt ut hoc recipiam, quam simul utrumque perdam. — 771 Quadam vice dum beatus Bernardo ju- mento insidens aliquo pergeret, cuidam rustico, materia ſic ſe offerente, de cordis instabilitate in oratione eſt conqueſtuſ. 781 Quod ille audiens mox eum deſpexit et in orationibus ſuis cor firmum et stabile habere ſe dixit (im engl. andere Wendung). 787 Volens autem Bernardo eum convincinge et a ſua temeritate coercere, dixit: Se- queſtare paulisper a nobis et tota qua poteris intentione orationem dominicam inchoato: quam ſi absque aliqua cordis intentione et vagatione finire poteris, jumentum, cui inſideo, tuum procul dubio mox habebis; tu autem mihi in fide tua ſpondeas, quod ſi aliud ibidem cogitaveris, hoc mihi aliquatenus non celabis. 799 Laetatus ille et tamquam jumentum jam lucratum ſe reputans, audacter ſecedit et ſe ipsum recolligenſ orationem dominicam dicere inchoavit. 805 Vix orationis explevit dimidium, et ecce importuna cogitatio de ſella cordi ſuo ſe ingerit, utrum eam habere debeat cum jumento. 809 Quod ille advertens concitus ad Bernardo rediit (810 Zus.) et quid in ipsa oratione ſollicite cogitaverit indicavit, et de ſe poſtea temere non praefumisit. — 817 Frater Robertus ejus monachus et ſecundum ſaeculum propinquus in ado-

¶ Pat he wente to þe abbey of Cloun;  
He wende he hedde idon riht wel,  
And was bigyled eueridel.

His fadur was war of þat gyle  
And suffrede hit a luytel whyle,  
5 But he him biþouȝte atte laste  
And him to reuoken þen he caste  
To þe abbeye, as he wel wust,  
þer þat he was ischoren furst.

As Bernard a lettre gon to endyte,  
Anoþer monk also hit to write :  
As þei seten þer oute, in certeyn,  
þer fel a gret drift of reyn ;  
He þat þe lettre a writhen scholde,  
For fere to gedere he gan hit folde.  
5 To him þen seyde seint Bernard :  
»Loke þou beo noþing aferd  
To write forþ, as a clerk,  
For þis is nou Godus werk«.  
Among al þe reyn þe lettre he wrot :  
þeron ful no drope, God hit wot,  
Hit reyned abouþ oueral,  
But þeron ful nouþur gret ne smal.

IN a munstre þat he hedde mad,  
And a couent of beryng sad,  
5 Hit biful þat mony anuyzes  
þey hedden þerin þorwh noumbre of  
fliȝes.

Whon þat com to Bernardus ere,  
»I hem curse«, he seide, »al in fere«.

833) a = ha, haue. 866) Ms. wommoȝs.

Vppon þe morwe alle weore founde  
Ded liggyng vppon þe grounde.

850

VPPON a tyme þe pope him sent  
To Melan to þis entent,  
þer to dwelle a luytel whyle,  
Hem and heore chirche to reconcyle  
þat dwelleden in þat cite,  
For þey hedden trespassed, parde.  
þat dede he dude deuoutelye  
And was tornd azeyn to Papye.

855

In þat cite þer was a mon  
þat hedde to wyf an old wommon  
þat þe fend so cumbred had  
þat heo was verrey wod and mad.  
In hope of hele to seynt Bernard  
He hire brouhte afturward.  
Anon riht in þat tyde  
Bi þe wommones mouȝ he gan chide  
To seint Bernard and gan to seyn :  
»Pou schalt not putte me out azeyn  
Out of þis luttel scheþes bodi,  
þat gnaweȝ lekes a(n)d weodes wiȝ foly«. 870

860

Seint Bernard bad hem deuoutelye  
þat to þe churche of seint Syri  
þei schulde hire lede tofore þat mele,  
þer þat heo mihte geten hire hele.  
But seynt Syri on Godus part  
Pouhete to do worshipe to seint Bernard,  
And lete hire passe as heo com.  
And þei tornd alle azein hom,

875

870) Ms. ad st. and.

lescentia sua quorundam persuasione deceptus Cluniacum se contulerat. 823 Venerabilis autem pater postquam aliquamdiu dissimulavit, eundem statuit per epistolam revocare. 829 Quam cum sub divo dictaret et alias monachus eam ex ore suo conscriberet, subito inopinatus imber erupit, et hic qui scribebat chartam complicare voluit. 835 Cui Bernardus : Opus Dei est, scribere ne formides. Scripsit ergo epistolam in medio imbre sine imbre; cum enim undique plueret, (ibidem tamen molestiam imbris virtus expulit caritatis). — 843 Cum quoddam monasterium, quod vir Dei construxerat, occupasset muscarum incredibilis multitudo, ita ut omnibus gravem molestiam generarent, ille dixit: Ego excommunico eas. Mane autem omnes pariter mortuas invenerunt. — 851 Cum a summo pontifice Mediolanum missus fuisse, ut ipsos cum ecclesia reconciliaret, et jam Papiam rediisset (856—7 Zus.), 859 quidam uxorem suam daemonicam ad eum adduxit, 865 moxque per os miserae mulieris diabolus in contumelias ejus prorupit, dicens: Non me de agnicula (Graesse: agnicula) mea hic porrulos edens et brassicas devorans (sc. Bernardus, der Dichter bezieht diese Attribute auf agnicula) pellet. 871 At vir Dei ipsam ad ecclesiam beati Syri remisit, 875 beatus autem Syrus hospiti suo deferre voluit nec eidem aliquid curationis impedit, sicque iterum ad beatum Bernardum adducta est.

And aȝeyn to seint Bernard

880 Pey hire ladden afturward.

Pe fend seide þan wiþ gret schout :

»Seint Syri me naþ not cast out,

Ne Bernard schal neuer þe mo«.

Seint Bernard onswered anon riht þo :

885 »Nouþur Syry ne Bernard þe schal out  
cast,

But Jhesus Crist atte laste«.

Seint Bernard made his orisoun

To God wiþ gret deuocioun :

Anon þe fend þen gon to sey :

890 »Ful fayn wolde i go my wey

Out of þis luytel croume brid

Per mony day i haue me hid,

For nou i suffre muche wo,

And fayn wolde I henne go,

895 But i may not haue mi miht

For þe grete lord of riht«.

Seint Bernard þenne asked þis word :

»Who is þat ilke grete lord?«

Pe fend onswerde wiþ foul breþ :

900 »Hit is Jhesus of Nazareþ«.

»Bernard him asked for þe nones :

»Sauh þou him euere? sei me at ones!«

And he onswerde þenne aȝeyn :

»Ze, ze haue i him seyn«.

905 »Where?« quaþ Bernard, »tel me þis!«

And he onswerde and seide : »in blis«.

»In blis«, quaþ Bernard, »hastou be?«

»Ze, wite þou þat riht wel! «quaþ he.

»Hou«, quaþ Bernard, »ful þou þer fro?«

»Wiþ Lucifer«, quaþ he, »and moni mo«. 91

Alle þeose wordus brode and couþ

Pe fend spac wiþ þe wommones mouþ.

Bernard seide : »þen tel me þis,

Woldustou not gon aȝein to blis?«

He made a mouwe, þat foule mate,

And seide : »nouþe hit is to late«.

Porwh preyere of seint Bernard þan

He went out of þat womman.

But as sone as Bernard was gon,

In to þe wommon he wente anon. 92

Hire hosebonde þenne anon riht

Aftur him ran wiþ fot liht

And tolde him in þat plas

Hou þat þe fend icomen aȝeyn was.

Seynt Bernard him tok a luyte bok,

A scrouwe iwriten on to lok,

And bad him byde not to longe

Aboute hire nekke hit forte honge.

And þat scrouwe was no more ne min

But þeose wordus on latin : 93

In nomine domini nostri Jhesu Cristi pre-

cipio tibi, demon, ne hanc mulierem amodo

contingere presumas —

Þat is to sei vnto þe ende :

»I þe comaunde, þou foule fende,

In vr lord Jhesu Cristes name,

Þis wommon þat þou ne touche ne tame —

No more loke þou beo so hardi«.

Whon þe hosbonde hedde so don soþly,

Pe fend nas so hardi afturward

To come aȝein, for seint Bernard.

V. 881 Tunc diabolus per os ejus garrire coepit ac dicere: Non me expellet Syrulus nec ejiciet Bernardinus (Ed. pr. Bernardus). 884 Ad haec servus Dei respondit: Nec Syrus nec Bernardus te ejiciet, sed dominus Jesus Christus. 887 Mox ut ille orationem effudit, spiritus nequam dixit: Quam libenter egrederer ab hac anicula, graviter molestatus in ea! quam libenter egrederer! sed non possum, quia nonvult magnus dominus. 897 Cui sanctus: Et quis est magnus dominus? Cui ille: Jesus Nazarenus. Ad quem vir Dei: Vidistine unquam eum? Quo respondente: Etiam, — ait: Ubi eum vidisti? Et ille: In gloria. Et sanctus: Et tu in gloria fuisti? Quo respondente: Utique, — ait: Quomodo inde exiisti? Et ille: Cum Lucifero multi cecidimus. Haec autem omnia voce lugubri per os vetulae omnibus audientibus loquebatur. Dixitque ei vir Dei: Numquid in illam gloriam redire velles? At ille miro modo cachinnans ait: Modo tarde est. 917 Tunc orante viro Dei daemon de muliere exiit. Sed cum vir Dei inde recessisset, diabolus iterum ipsam invasit; vir autem ejus post eum accurrens, quod acciderat indicavit. 925 Ille autem collo ejus alligari chartulam continentem haec verba praecepit: In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi praecipio tibi, daemon, ne hanc mulierem amodo contingere praesumas. 936 Quod cum factum fuisset, ad eam postea non est ausus accedere. —

AT Aquitayne was a wommon  
 Pat a fend hedde so bigon  
 And idon so gret anuye,  
 Pat wiþ hire he dude lecherye —  
 Such a fend, as þe bok telleþ vs,  
 Is icalled Incubus.  
 Sixe zer so he hire schent  
 And dude wiþ hire his talent.  
 Hit bisel vpon a day  
 Seint Bernard was comen to þat cuntryay.  
 Pe fend hir bad »beo not so hardi  
 Seint Bernard þat þou come not nyȝ«;  
 He seide hit schulde hire profyte nouht,  
 And seide he hedde cast in his þouht  
 Pat, zif þat heo wente to him,  
 He wolde to hire beo ful grim  
 And, riht as he hedde loued hire wel,  
 He wolde hire pursuwe fers and cruel.  
 But neuerþeles þe wommon þon  
 Wente to þat holy mon  
 And wiþ seruhfol wepyng  
 Told him þe maner of doyng.  
 »Wommon, he seide, in þe nome of þe  
     trinite  
 Tac nou here my staf to þe  
 And in þi bed loke þou hit lay;  
 What he may do þenne, let him assay.«  
 Pe wommon to bedde wente þat niht  
 And leide þat staf bi hire doun riht.  
 Pe fend þenne com anon,  
 Riht as he was iwont to don,

But he nas not so hardi  
 Hire bed to neihe, to ligge hire by,      970  
 But he hir manased þenne anon  
 Heo schulde abugge, wer Bernard gon.  
 Whon heo to saint Bernard tolde þis,  
 He called þe peple togedere iwis  
 And bad þat vche mon schulde fonde,      975  
 A brennynge candel holde in his honde.  
 Per wiþ candel, bok and belle  
 Pey corsud þe foule fend of helle  
 And comaundered him in Godus name  
 He schulde no more hir neihȝe ne blame. 980  
 Pus was þe wommon wiþ good entent  
 Delyuered of þat encumbrement.  
  
 PE pope him sende, in certayn,  
 In to þe prouince of Aquitayn,  
 Pe duyk þeroþ, þat corsud was,      985  
 To reconcyle: þat was þe cas —  
 And meke to beo to holy churche.  
 But he forsok þat werk to worche.  
 Seint Bernard to þe auter went,  
 To make þe holi sacrament,      990  
 And, while his masse he was aboute,  
 Pe corsud duyk stod þe churche wipoute.  
 Whon þe masse was come so neihȝe  
 Pat Bernard seide Pax domini,  
 Goddus bodi he tok þen  
 And leyde vpon þe paten,      995  
 Wiþ furi face and brennyng eȝe  
 He bar hit to þe duyk in heiȝe,

V. 939 Apud Aquitaniam quaedam mulier miserabilis erat, quae a quodam daemone petulante et in cubo vexabatur. Sex enim annis abusus est ea et incredibili vexavit libidine. 947 Adveniente autem illuc viro Dei, daemon mulieri, ne ad eum accederet, vehementer minatur, quia nil ei prodesse posset et recedente eo ipse, qui fuit ejus amator, crudelissimus fieret persecutor. 957 At illa secure ad virum Dei accessit et, quae pateretur, cum multo gemitu enarravit. 961 Cui ille: Tolle hunc meum baculum et in tuo lectulo pone, et, si quid agere potest, agat. 965 Quod cum fecisset et in lectulo suo recumberet, adest ille continuo; sed nec ad consuetum opus nec ad ipsum cubile praesumit accedere, sed acerime minatur, quod illo recedente se de ea atrociter vindicabit. 973 Quod cum illa Bernardo retulisset, ille populum convocavit et omnes candelas in manu accensas habere praecepit daemonemque cum universo qui aderat coetu excommunicavit ac ne ad illam vel aliam deinceps accessum haberet interdixit. 981 Sicque illa a tali illusione penitus liberata est. — 983 Cum in eadem provincia vir sanctus legatione fungeretur, ut ducem Aquitaniae ecclesiae reconciliaret, et ille modis omnibus reconciliari renueret, 989 vir Dei ad altare celebratur accessit, ipso duce tamquam excommunicato prae foribus exspectante. 993 Cum autem Pax domini dixit, corpus dominicum super patenam ponit et secum tollit atque ignea facie et flammeis oculis foras egreditur et verbis terribilibus comitem aggreditur.

To him þenne þeos wordus he spake  
 1000 And seide : »vre wordus and us þou hast  
                   forsake,

We haue þe preyed, þou wolt not here.  
 Perfore loke and seo nou heere  
 Pat maydenes sone is and lord ful riht  
     Of holichurche, and God of miht,  
 1005 Pat þou hast pursuwed so longe.

Aske merci and vndurfonge :  
 Heer is þi juge, seo and fele,  
 To whom on kneo vche mon schal knele ;  
 Heer is þi juge hol and sum,  
 1010 In to whos hond þi soule schal cum.  
 Him nou forsake oþur dispysse  
 Pou wolt not on þe same wyse  
 As þou hast herbifore  
 Hem þat to þe han spoken herfore !

1015 For Goddes seruauns þou wolt not here,  
 I haue þe broght him self, þi lord, lo  
                   here !

Zif þat þou maiht wiþ eny riht  
 Wiþstonde, let seo nou al þi miht !«  
 Pe duyk wox þenne swiþe sore aferd  
 1020 And qwok, hond, foot and berd,  
 Doun at his feet þer he fil,  
 Meoke, to suffre al maner skil.  
 Seint Bernard þenne, as he stod,  
 Put him a luytel wiþ his fot  
 1025 And bad him rise, wiþ good reuerence  
 To here Godus sentence.  
 Pe emperor ros vp wiþ gret fere  
 And herkned wel wiþ herte and ere

1010) cum aus com corrigirt.

1036) Ms. þa st. þat.

1027) Emperour, hier gesagt vom Herzog.

Al þat euere seint Bernard bad,  
 And parfourned hit wiþ herte ful sad.

Vpon a tyme, al in certayn,  
 In to þe kyngdom of Germayn  
 Seint Bernard tok þe wey forþword,  
 For to seese a gret dissord  
 Pat was þer amongus hom.

And whon þa(t) he þider com,  
 Pe erchebisschop aȝein him sent  
 A worþi clerk of good entent,  
 Him to welcome curteisliche  
 In to þat ilke bisschopriche.

Whon þe clerk seyt Bernard mette,  
 Loueliche þenne he him grette  
 And seide : his lord him sente had,  
 Him to welcome wiþ herte glad.

Seint Bernard onswerd wiþ dim entent : 1

»Anoþur lord, sire, þe haþ sent.«

Pe clerk wondred gretly þo  
 Of his wordus, whi he seide so,  
 And seide : »sire, al wiþ good hope  
 From my lord þe erchebisschope  
 I am sent ow aȝayn,

Pat of zor comynge is riht fayne.«

Seint Bernard seide zit eftsonus  
 Qweynete wordus for þe nonus :  
 »Pou art bigyled, sone dere,  
 For a grettore lord wiþouten were  
 Sent þe to me astur his list :  
 Pat is vr lord Jhesu Crist.«

Whon þe clerk þis vndurstod,

V. 1000 Rogavimus te, inquit, et sprevisti nos ; ecce ad te processit virginis filius, qui est dominus ecclesiae quam tu persequeris ; adest judex tuus, in cuius nomine omne genu curvatur ; adest judex tuus, in cuius manibus illa anima tua deveniet ; numquid et ipsum sicut servos ejus contemnes ? resiste ei, si vales (1015—6 Wiederholung).  
 1018 Statimque dux totus irriguit et membris omnibus dissolutis ad pedes ejus protinus prosiluit. 1023 Quem vir sanctus calce pulsans surgere jubet et Dei audire sententiam. Ille autem (engl. emperor für duyk) tremebundus surrexit et quidquid vir sanctus praecipiebat, protinus adimplevit. — 1031 Cum regnum Germaniae pro quadam magna sedanda discordia servus Dei intrasset, 1037 archiepiscopus quidam (so Ed. princ., Graesse liest Moguntinensis) venerabilem quendam clericum obviam ei misit. 1041 Cui dum clericus se sibi obviam a suo domino missum fuisse diceret, vir Dei respondit : Alius dominus misit te. 1047 Miratus ille, se non nisi a suo domino archiepiscopo missum fuisse affirmabat (engl. dir.). 1053 Econtra servus Christi dicebat : Falleris, fili, falleris ; major dominus est qui misit te, Christus. 1059 Quod clericus intelligens ait : Putas, quod monachus velim fieri ? absit hoc a me ! non cogitavi nec

He onswerde wiþ milde mod :  
 »Wenestou a monk þat i wolde be ?  
 God hit forbeode þat falle on me !  
 Hit com neuer zit in my þouht,  
 Ne in myn herte falle schal hit nouht«.  
 But as þei wolken bi þe wey,  
 Seint Bernard tornde his herte, in fey,  
 þat he þe world þenne al forsoc  
 And habyt of monk of him he tok.

VPpon a tyme þorwh Goddus miht  
 Saint Bernard hed schoren in a kniht  
 Pat in werres tofore hedde iswonke  
 And þenne was biconne a monke.  
 Hit bifel sone asturward  
 Pat, as he folewed seint Bernard,  
 Sodeynliche ful him vppon  
 A wonder gret temptacion,  
 Pat made him wondur sori  
 And of cher ful dreri.

On of his breþeren asked him þo  
 What him mihte beo, to loke so.  
 He onswerde wondurliche  
 And seide : »i wot wel sikerliche,  
 Heraftur schal i not, parde,  
 Neuer in herte muri be«.  
 Pat oþur monk in gret hizing  
 Tolde seint Bernard his seying.  
 Bernard preyed God wiþ deuocion  
 His monk delyuere of þat temptacion.  
 Anon þe monk wox al muri  
 Pat tofore was so sori,

And gladdore of chere þen eni oþur.  
 Pen a monk, on was his broþur,  
 Blamed him for his heuynes  
 And bad him þenke on holynes.  
 »I seyde and onswerde sum tyme to þe 1095  
 Pat i schulde neuer glad be,  
 But nou i sey, sikerly,  
 In herte schal i neuer beo sori«.

IN Irelond dwelled, sikerly,  
 A bisschop, was called seint Malachi, 1100  
 Pat seint Bernard louede wel  
 And endyted his lyf eueridel.  
 Whon seint Malachi ded was,  
 Bernard for him song an heiȝ mas —  
 Of Requiem i trouwe hit were, 1105  
 For a miracle þat ful þere.  
 God schewed to Bernard iwis  
 Pat Malachi was in blis,  
 And enspried him of an orisoun,  
 To seyn at his post-comoun.  
 Aftur þe post-comoun was isonge,  
 He chaunged his orisoun wiþ his tonge  
 Of Requiem þat he schulde seie,  
 And seide of seint Malachie :  
*Deus qui beatum Maluchiam sanctorum  
 tuorum meritis coequasti, tribue quesumus  
 ut qui preciose mortis eius festa agimus uite  
 quoque imitemur exempla, per Cristum.*  
 Pe chauntur hedde gret wondring 1115  
 Pat he fayled of his seying,  
 And made signe, as he stod a ferre :

adscendit super cor meum. V. 1065 (Quid plura?) In eodem itinere saeculo valefecit et a viro Dei habitum suscepit. — 1069 Cum quendam militem valde nobilem ad ordinem recepisset, et virum Dei quodam tempore sequeretur, gravissima coepit tentatione pulsari. 1079 Cum autem eum quidam de fratribus tam tristem videret, causam tantae tristitiae requisivit. Cui ille respondit: Scio, inquit, scio, quod nunquam amplius laetus ero. 1085 Quod verbum cum dictus frater ad servum Dei retulisset, ille pro eo attentius oravit, statimque ille frater, qui tam graviter tentatus et tam tristis erat, tantum caeteris apparuit jucundior et hilarior quantum prius caeteris tristior. 1092 Cum autem ei (dictus) frater verbum moestitiae, quod locutus fuerat, amicabiliter improperaret, ille respondit et dixit: Etsi tunc dixi: numquam amplius laetus ero, sed nunc dico: nunquam amplius tristes ero. — 1099 Cum sanctus Malachius, episcopus Hyberniae, cuius vitam plenam virtutibus ipse descripsit (1101 Zus.), ad Christum feliciter in monasterio suo migrasset, et vir Dei pro eo hostiam salutarem offerret (1105—6 Erkl. des Dichters), 1107 gloriam ejus Deo revelante cognovit et eodem inspirante post communionem formam orationis mutavit (1113—4 Zus.), laeta voce sic dicens: Deus qui beatum Malachium sanctorum tuorum meritis coequasti, tribue, quaesumus, ut, qui pretiosae mortis ejus festa agimus, vitae quoque imitemur exempla. 1115 Cui dum cantor innueret quod erraret, ait: Non erro, sed

- Of his orisoun he dude erre.  
And he seide : »i wot wel  
**1120** Pat i erre neuer a del«.  
Pe chauntur ful adoun al mete  
To pe grounde, to cusse his fete.  
ONus in a lenton tym  
Men of Tirone visyted him.  
**1125** Pen he hem preyed goodliche  
Pei schulde hem abstine deuoutliche  
Vppon heiȝe feste dawes  
From vanytes and nice plawes.  
But þei nolden on none maner  
**1130** Graunten him his preyer.  
Penne he comaundet hem þe wyn,  
Such as he hedde, good and fyn.  
And whon þat þe coupe was broght,  
He seide, as hit was in his þouht :  
**1135** »Drynkeþ nou zor soules drynke!«  
Pen on þat word þei gonre to þenke.  
Whon þei hedden dronke sweteliche,  
Pei weoren al chaunged, verreiliche :  
Of wyldenesse tok þei non hede,  
**1140** But serued God, to gete hem mede.  
ATte laste þe day com neize  
Pat saint Bernard schulde on dyze.  
To his breþeren þen he gon say :  
»Preo þinges loke ze kepe al way,  
**1145** Pat I haue kept in my liuyng,  
As I leeue to my wityng :  
I nolde neuere sclaundre more ne lesse  
And, zif eny aros, I wolde hit cesse ;
- I zaf lasse credence to myn owne wit  
Pen to oþur mennes zit ;  
And zif þat me hurted eny mon,  
Veniaunce þeroſ asked i non.  
Loke þat ze kepen wel also  
Peos þeo same þinges euermo,  
Pat is : charite and mekenesse  
And pacient beo to more and lesse.  
Peos þeo þinges i leue to zou,  
Perfore kepeþ hem riht wel nou!«  
**M**Iracles he wroght in toun and felde,  
An hundred and sixti munstres he belde,  
Bokus and tretes he compyled  
And mony a mon he reconcyled.  
Heer in þis world liuede he  
Aboute sixti wintres and þre.  
He lafte þis lyf and speche of word  
In þe zeer of þe daie of vr lord  
A þousund and hundred fifti and þre,  
And from his breþeren passed he,  
To God, þat is of mihtes most,  
Deuoutliche he zald þe gost.  
Aftur þat he was ded, iwis,  
To mony a mon he schewed his blis.  
TO an abbot of an abbay  
He apered : þat he wel say —  
And bad him anon riht þare  
Him to suwe he schulde not spare.  
Pe abbot dode as he him bad,  
And forþ wiþ him þen he him lad.  
Penne sone aftur hit biful

**1124)** Tirone als Eigename, vgl. Susurron in Paula V. 52.

novi quod dico. Deinde accedens sacra ejus vestigia osculatur. — **1123** Cum, instante quadragesima, a multis fuisset tironibus (!) visitatus, rogavit eos ut in illis saltem sacris diebus a suis vanitatibus et lasciviis abstinerent. **1129** Quibus nullo modo acquiescentibus, jussit iis propinari vinum, dicens: Bibite poculum animarum. (**1136** Zus.) **1137** Quo hausto, subito mutati recedunt et, qui modicum tempus deneraverant, totum tempus vitae suae Deo dederunt. — **1141** Tandem beatus Bernardus morti feliciter appropinquans, ait fratribus suis: **1144** Tria vobis observanda relinquo, quae in stadio praesentis vitae, quo cucurri, memini me pro viribus observasse: nemini scandalum facere volui et, si aliquando incidit, celavi ut potui; minus semper sensui meo quam alterius credidi; laesus de laedente nunquam vindictam expetui: ecce caritatem, humili atem et patientiam vobis relinquo. **1159** Denique postquam multa miracula perpetrasset et CLX monasteria construxisset multosque libros et tractatus compilasset (**1162** Zus.), consummatis vitae suaे diebus circiter LXIII annis anno domini MCLIII inter filiorum manus obdormivit in domino. **1171** Post obitum suum multis gloriam suam manifestavit. **1173** Cuidam enim abbati in quodam monasterio apparuit et ut sequeretur admonuit. Qui abbas cum sequeretur, dixit ei vir Dei: Ecce ad montem Libani venimus, et tu hic manebis, ego autem illuc adscendam.

¶ þat bei comen to a gret hul

Seint Bernard seide : »to me entende,  
Vppon þis hul i mote astende,  
But i þe telle wiþouten weer  
þou most dwelle stille riht heer«.

¶ Pe abbot him asked penne, wharto  
He wolde steih vp on þat hul so.  
Pen he seide : "ȝif þou wolt here,  
Pider i go nou forte lere".

Pe abbot him askede wiþ wondring :  
»Fadur, what neodeþ þe of leornynge ?  
We trouwen þat of connynge  
Beo not such anoþur lyuyngc.  
And he onswerde wiþ pacience :  
»Heer nis no verrey science,  
Ne no verrey knowyng

Wel neih of no maner þing;  
Aboue of science is al fulnes,  
Aboue is verrey knowyng of soþnes».  
Whon þat he him þus hedde told fore,  
Þe abbot of him seih no more.1200  
He tok good hede what day þat was,  
To wite what wolde falle of þat cas.  
And he fond soþly atte last  
At þat same day seint Bernard fast  
Out of þis world to God aboue,1205  
Of whom euere he hedde set his loue.  
Mo miracles þen mon may telle  
God wrouhte for him, as clerkes wite wel.  
God for þe loue of seint Bernard  
Of heueneriche blisse zeue us part!1210  
AMEN.

## 6. S. Augustin.

SEint Austin was nempned þat name  
For þeo causus of gret fame :  
Þe furst is excellence of dignite,  
Þe secunde is feruour of loue & charite,  
Þe þridde is for þe kynde interpretacioun  
Of þat name of gret renoun.  
Whi? furst for excellence of dignite,  
For , riht as þe emperor Augustus in his  
mageste

Grettur is þen eny oþur kyng,  
Riht so was Austin in his teching  
Tofore oþur doctours excellent

In declaryng holy writtes entent.  
Perfore, whon oþur doctours her  
Weren liknet to þe sterres cler,  
As Daniel witnesseþ in his boke,  
Seyzing þus, whose luste to loke : 15  
»Pei þat techen mony men rihtwysnes  
Ben lyk þe sterres in clernes«;  
But to þe sonne is Austyns liknyng,  
As witnesseþ þe epistle þat we of him syng,  
þat seiþ : »he schon as sonne schinynge 20  
In Godus temple wiþ his techyng«.  
Þe secunde cause is, as I seide aboue,

1182) Ms. a stende st. ascende.

V. 1185 Interrogatus ab eo ad quid vellet adscendere: Discere, inquit, volo.  
1189 Miratus ille: Quid, inquit, vis discere, pater, cui nullum hodie in scientia credimus esse secundum? Et ille: Nulla hic scientia, nulla veri cognitio: sursum scientiae plenitudo, sursum vera notitia veritatis. 1199 Et in hoc verbo disparuit. Ille autem diem notavit et tunc virum Dei Bernardum de corpore migrasse invenit.  
1207 Multa autem alia et paene innumerabilia miracula per servum suum Deus operatus est. —

6) S. Leg. Aur. c. 124: de sancto Augustino. Der Text Grässle's enthält leider manche offensichtliche Unrichtigkeiten. V. 1: Augustinus hoc nomen sortitus est vel propter excellentiam dignitatis vel propter fervorem dilectionis vel propter etymologiam nominis. 7 Propter excellentiam, quoniam, sicut Augustus praecellebat omnes reges, sic et iste excellit omnes doctores (secundum quod dicit Remigius); 13 unde alii doctores comparantur stellis, Daniel. XII: Qui ad justitiam erudiant multos quasi stellae etc. —, hic autem comparatur soli, sicut patet in epistola, quae de eo cantatur: Quoniam sicut sol resplendens sic ipse resplendit in templo Dei.

- Feruour in charite and loue :
- 25 For, as þe moneþ of August to his meete  
 Passeþ oþure in gret hete,  
 Riht so saint Austyn his herte wiþinne  
 Wiþ heuenliche loue, forsoþe, dude  
 brinne.
- Perfore to God al in good feiþ
- 30 In þe bok of his confessions he seiþ :  
 »Min herte, lord, þou hast, ich wot,  
 Wiþ þi charite (i)schot«;  
 And »oþurwhile þou puttest me  
 In an affeccioun nouȝt wonete to be
- 35 Wiþinne me, i not forsoþe þer is  
 Such a maner of swetniss ;  
 Pe whiche parfourned ȝif þat hit be,  
 I not what hit schal beo in me,  
 But as a þing þat in þis lyf
- 40 Ne is nouȝt, so mot i þryf«.
- Pe þridde cause makeþ mencion  
 Of his names interpretacion :  
 For, as þe bok telleþ vs,  
 Pis name Augustinus
- 45 Of »augeo auges« mad hit is :  
 Pat is on Englisch »to eche«, iwis,  
 And of þis word : »austy«, parde :  
 Pat is on Englisch »a cite«,  
 And of þis word : »ana«, in certeyn :
- 5) Ms. so hot st. (i)schot, vgl. v. 447. 33 ff.) dies ist ein neues Citat. 35) Ms. in not st. i not.
- 65) Chartous ist in dieser Leg. Carthago.

Pat is »aboue« forte seyn ;  
 Augustinus is to seyn, in verite,  
 As hose seiþ : echyng þe heize cite.  
 Perfore of him men rede and syngē  
 Pat he passeþ oþere in echinge  
 Of þat ilke grete cite,  
 Porw Godus grace and charite.  
 Perfore of him hit is iseid  
 In Glosarie — þat is a bok ofte leyd —  
 Pat Austyn was wondur gret in liuyng  
 And more cler þen oþure in teching  
 And celi mon he was in blis.  
 Clerkes recorden of him þis.

AUstin þe doctour, þe noble man,  
 Boren was in þe prouince of Africān  
 In þe cite of Chartous,  
 Of worschipful kunreden and gloriouſ ;  
 His fader men called Patrik,  
 And his modur hihte Monik.  
 He was so lernd in vche art  
 Pat of hem he hedde so gret part  
 Pat he was a philosofre and a rethor,  
 On þe greste þat þenne was bor :  
 For Aristotiles bokes and oþur moni on  
 He radde wiþoute teching of mon,  
 As he witnesseþ in his bok

V. 23 Secundo propter fervorem dilectionis, quoniam sicut mensis Augustus valde fervet aestu caloris, sic et ipse valde incaluit igne divini amoris; 29 unde ipse in libro confessionum de se dicit: Sagittaveras tu cor meum caritate tua etc.; iterum ibidem: Aliquando intromittis me in affectum multum inusitatum introrsus, nescio ad quam dulcedinem; quae si perficiatur in me, nescio quod erit, quod vita ista non erit (Graesse: si vita aeterna non erit). 41 Tertio propter etymologiam nominis: dicitur enim Augustinus ab augeo (46 erkl.) et astin, quod est civitas, et ana (ἀνα), quod est sursum; inde Augustinus quasi augens supernam civitatem, unde de eo cantatur: Qui praevaluuit amplificare civitatem etc. (Der nun folg. Satz ist im engl. nicht übersetzt: De qua civitate ipse dicit in libro XI de civ. Dei: Inest civitati Dei et origo et informatio et beatitudo, quoniam, si quaeratur unde sit, Deus eam condidit, si: unde sapiens, a Deo illuminatur, si: unde felix, Deo fruatur; subsistens modificatur, contemplans illustratur, inhaerens jucundatur: videt et amat, in aeternitate Dei viget, in veritate Dei lacet, in bonitate Dei gaudet.) 57 vel, ut dicitur in Glossario: (Augustinus dicitur magnificus, felix, praeflatus;) fuit enim magnificus in vita, praeflatus in doctrina, felix in gloria (!). 62 (Ejus vitam compilavit Possidonus Calamensis episcopus, ut dicit Cassiodorus in libro de viris illustribus). — 63 Augustinus doctor egregius in provincia Africana civitate Carthaginiensi ortus, ex honestis valde parentibus, scilicet patre Patricio, matre Monica genitus, in liberalibus artibus sufficienter edocitus fuit, adeo ut summus philosophus et rhetor luculentissimus haberetur. 73 Nam libros Aristotelis et omnes libros liberalium artium, quoscumque legere potuit, per se didicit

Of confessiouns, hose luste to lok :  
 Per he seip, as ze mowe here,  
 Riht clene on þis manere :  
 »Of artes þe bokes alle,  
 Pat liberales clerkes don calle,  
 As a seruaunt of wikked couetyse  
 Aftur myn oune wit and auyse  
 I radde al way and vndurstod  
 Al þat i radde wiþ wylde mod«.  
 Þis was also his seying  
 Pat of þe art of spekyng and of endyng,  
 And of þe mesures of figures and musek,  
 And of alle þe noumbres ek,  
 Wiþouten eny gret lettyng  
 He vndurstod in his redyng  
 Wiþouten monnes teching  
 Or eny oþur witeryng :  
 »And þou, lord God , wost riht wel  
 Pat al hasty lernyng eueridel  
 And þe scharpe maner of lernyng  
 Is þi grace and þi ziuyng.  
 But neuerþeles on þat wyse  
 Tofore þat tyme dude i to þe no sacrifice ;  
 Hit is soþ þat science wiþouten charite  
 Edefyeþ not, but makeþ a mon bilowen,  
 pardæ.».

INTO an erroour þenne he fil  
 Pat mony a monnes soule dude spil,

77) Ms. sayz st. seip. 100) Ms. bi lowen st. blowen? oder bolwen? 111) heolde = heold he.  
 116) sc. Cicero.

Pat þulke tyme heolden þe Manichees,  
 Pat heretykes weren, wiþouten les :  
 For þei affermed sikerlye 105  
 Pat Crist nas bote a fantasye,  
 And þei forsolok þat alle men  
 Schulde rise in flesch, to lyue azen,  
 At þe dredful day of dom,  
 Whon vs to juge Crist schal com. 110  
 Peos opinions heolde nyne zer,  
 He and þe Manachees in feir.

WHon he was nine and twenti zer old  
 And of witte was waxe al bold,  
 He studied faste and gon to look 115  
 Vpon a philosofres bok :  
 Per he radde iwriten in verite :  
 A mon schulde dispise þis worldus vanite.  
 Pe bok lyked him swiþe wel,  
 But, for he fond þerin neuer a del 120  
 Iwriten of vr lord Cryst,  
 Sori he was, þauh no wiht wist ;  
 A luitel sauour of him he hed caught,  
 As his modur hedde him tauht.  
 His modur for him wept euer fast,  
 For he schulde torné atte last 125  
 To þe vnite of þe feiþ —  
 As þe bok vs telleþ and seiþ.

IN þe bok of his confessiones  
 Pe soþe is writen for þe nones : 130

et intellexit, sicut in libro confessionum testatur dicens : 79 Omnes libros, quos liberales vocant, tunc nequissimus malarum cupiditatum servus per me ipsum legi et intellexi, quoscunque legere potui. 85 Item in eodem : Quicquid est de arte loquendi et disserendi, quicquid de dimensionibus figurarum et de musicis et de numeris, sine magna difficultate nullo hominum tradente intellexi (engl. indirect). 93 scis, tu domine Deus meus, quia celeritas intelligendi et discendi acumen donum tuum est, sed non inde sacrificabam tibi : verum, quia scientia sine caritate non aedificat sed inflat. — 101 In errorem Manichaeorum, qui Christum phantasticum fuisse affirmant et carnis resurrectionem negant (102. 109—110 Zus.), incidit et in eo per annos IX (dum adhuc adolescens esset) permansit. (Ad has etiam nugas adductus est ut arborem fici plorare diceret, cum ab ea folium vel ficus tolleretur). 113 Cum igitur esset annorum XIX (engl. unrichtig XXIX) et quondam librum cuiusdam philosophi (sc. Ciceronis), in quo vanitas mundi contempnenda (et philosophia appetenda) dicebatur, perlegeret, ex hoc quidem liber plurimum placuit, sed quia nomen Jesu Christi, quod a matre imbiberauit, ibi non erat, dolere coepit; mater vero eius plurimum flebat et ipsum ad unitatem (al. veritatem) fidei reducere satagebat (128 Zus.). 129 Quodam igitur vice, ut legitur in libro III confessionum, vidit se stare in quadam linea lignea licet tristem et quidam ei juvenis adstitit et causam tantae tristitiae requisivit; quae

His modur phouhte þat heo stood  
 Vppon a tyme wiþ entent good  
 In an euen forþriht lyne  
 þat hedde beo marked wiþ þred of twyne,  
 135 And, þouh heo weore in herte sori,  
 Heo sauh bi hire stonde a child louely,  
 And asked hire þe cause whi  
 þat heo was so sori.  
 And heo onswerde riht anon :  
 140 »I weope for Austin, my son :  
 I drede euere of his leosyng,  
 But God beo his helpyng«.  
 þe toþur onswerde : »noþing so !  
 Beo riht siker and leue þi wo,  
 145 For þer as þou art þer is he.  
 Leeue wel ! hit schal non oþur be«.  
 And as heo loked hire bisyde,  
 Heo sauh anon riht in þat tyde  
 Hou þat Austin stod hire by.  
 150 And heo him tolde þen openly  
 Hou on seide to hire pard :  
 þer as þou art þer is he.  
 And he onswerde : »nay, modur, nay,  
 He seide riht þus, as i leeue may :  
 155 þer as I am þer art þou«.  
 And heo seide : »sone, þou gabbest nou !  
 For hit nas not iseid to me :  
 þer as he is þer art þou, pard,  
 But : þer as þou art þer is he —  
 160 þat was þe word was seid to me«.

137) and relativisch. 169) Ms. þat tat st. þat þat.

His modur wiþ riht good entent  
 Preyed a bisschop, verreyment,  
 For hire sone þat he schulde preye  
 þat he weore brought in to rihte weye.  
 Of hire preyere he lihtly dude lete,  
 But seide to hire as a prophete :  
 »Fare wel, he seide, and haue no fere !  
 For an impossible þing hit were  
 þat tat child ilost schulde beo  
 For whom þi teres so faste doun fleo«.

AT Chartouse he tauȝte mony ȝeres  
 Rethorike to his scholeres.  
 Pen priueliche astur his oune dome  
 He stal awey and wente to Rome,  
 þat his modur schulde not wite,  
 Leste heo þerfore wiþ him hedde flite.  
 Per ful to him gret repeyre  
 Of clerkes, to lerne boþe wel and feire.  
 þat same tyme men of Melan  
 To þe prefecute of Rome senden þan,  
 Hem to seenden witerlike  
 A doctour in rethorike ;  
 Bisschop þat tyme wiþouten glose  
 Of Melan was seint Ambrose.  
 Penne wiþ good entent and fyn  
 To Melan was sent seint Austyn.  
 On him was euere his modur þenkynge,  
 And, forte seo him, com wiþ hyzinc,  
 Forte herken of his stat.

cum diceret : Perditionem mei filii deploro ; ille respondit : Esto secura, quia ubi tu ibi  
 ille — et ecce continuo filium suum juxta se stare vidit. 150 Hoc cum Augustino re-  
 tulisset, ille ait : Falleris, mater, falleris nec sic tibi dictum est, sed : ubi ego ibi tu.  
 Econtra illa dicebat : Non, fili, mihi dictum est : ubi ille ibi tu, sed : ubi tu ibi  
 ille (Grässle liest unrichtig : Non, fili; mihi . . . sed non . . .) 161 Rogabat igitur  
 sedula mater (quasi importuna) quendam episcopum (sicut in eodem libro confessio-  
 num Augustinus testatur), ut pro filio suo intercedere dignaretur. Qui (tanta quodam-  
 modo importunitate devictus) prophetica voce respondit : Vade secura, quia impossi-  
 bile est ut filius tantarum lacrymarum pereat. — 171 Cum autem apud Carthaginem  
 multis annis rhetorican docuissest, occulte matre nesciente Romam venit et ibi disci-  
 pulos congregavit. (Cum autem mater usque ad portam eum secuta fuisset, ut aut  
 eum retraheret aut secum iret, ipse eam decipiens nocte latenter recessit; quod illa  
 mane considerans aures Dei clamoribus implebat; quolibet autem die, mane et ves-  
 pere, ad ecclesiam ibat et pro filio orabat — im engl. fehlt dieser Satz, der in dem  
 lat. Text des Dichters gefehlt zu haben scheint). 179 His temporibus Mediolanenses (Grässle liest unrichtig : Athenienses), a (Symmacho) praefecto Romanorum  
 petierunt sibi doctorem in rhetorica destinari. Praesulabatur tunc ibi vir Dei Am-  
 brosius et ad preces Mediolanum illuc(!) mittitur Augustinus. 187 Mater autem eius  
 quiescere non valens cum multa difficultate ad eum venit et ipsum jam nec vere

But þen wox heo sumwhat mat,  
For heo fond him not fulliche holdyng  
Wiþ þe Manachees erryng  
Nouþur fulliche in rihte wei  
Of alle cristene mennes fei.  
Whon he com to Melan,  
Perof was glad moni a man,  
And for þe bisschop saint Ambrose  
Was a mon of gret lose  
And preached ofte swiþe wel  
To alle maner of pepel,  
Austin hedde gret likyng  
Forte go here his preaching.

Ambrose in his sarmoun  
Hedde euer gret discreciooun  
Pat azeyn þe heresyes on Manachees,  
Nouþer fore, nouþur more no les  
He nolde him entremete ne seye,  
But take raþur anoþur weye.

VPpon a tyme, þauh, asturwarde  
Ambrose disputed wondur harde  
Azein þat ilke heresye,  
Wiþ strong resun hit to disruye;  
So longe he spac of þis mateer  
Pat Austyn þhouzte his seizing cler  
And from his herte outurliche  
Putte þulke heresye, verreyliche.  
What ful asturward of þat,  
In þe bok of confessiouȝs he teileþ sum-  
what

And seiþ : »whon I þe kneuh furst ariht,  
Þe syknesse þou beetest of my siht, 220  
Schynynge wiþinne me wondurliche,  
And I for fere qwok, treweliche,  
I fond fro þe þat fer I was,  
As in a kyngdam of vnlikenes,  
As i hedde herd a vois from hiht 225  
Þat to me hed seid þus riht :  
To grete men I am þe mete,  
Bileeue : and me þen þou schalt ete !  
But in to þe þou schalt not chaunge me,  
As mete þat þou puttest in to þe, 230  
But i schal make bi charite  
Pat þou schalt beo chaunged in to me».

WHon he Cristes weyes lyked wel,	
Zit þe streitnesse schomed him sumdel.	
God putte in to his þouht þan	235
Þat he schulde go to Simplician —	
In whiche mon þat tyme was	
Muche good liuyng and Godus gras, —	
Forte telle him his herte brennyng	
To leorne þe maner of good liuyng,	240
Hou he miht best day bi day	
Riȝtfulliche gon in Godus way.	
For þe loue of God, vr lord,	
Al þat he dude in þis world	
Hit him displesed outerly	
For þe swetnesse of him an heiz	245
And for þe swetnesse of his hous,	
Þat he louede, so glorious.	

205) Ms. on st. of.

206) Ms. non þer fore st. nouber fore oder nouber berfore

Manichaeum nec vere catholicum reperit. V. 195 Coepit autem Augustinus beato Ambrosio adhaerere. (196 Zus.) et ejus praedicationes frequenter audire. Erat autem valde in praedicatione suspensus, ne quid contra ipsam Manichaeorum haeresin vel pro ipsa diceretur (!) 209 Quadam enim (!) vice contra illum errorem Ambrosius diutius disputavit et ipsum apertis rationibus et auctoritatibus confutavit, ita, ut error ille a corde Augustini penitus pelleretur. 217 Quid autem post hoc sibi contigerit, ipse in libro confessionum narrat, dicens: 219 Cum te primum cognovi, reverberasti infirmitatem adspectus mei, radians in me vehementer, et contremui (amore et) horrore et inveni me longe esse a te, in regione dissimilitudinis, tanquam audirem vocem (tuam) de excelso: cibus sum grandium, cresce (der Dichter las crede) et manducabis me, nec tu me mutabis in te, sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me. — 233 Cum autem (sicut ibidem refert) via Christi sibi placeret, sed per istas angustias adhuc ire pigeret, immisit dominus in mentem ejus ut ad Simplicianum, in quo lucebat lux: divina scilicet gratia, pergeret, ut sibi aestus suos secum conferrent proferret, quis esset aptus modus vivendi ad ambulandum in via Dei, (in qua alius sic, alius sic ibat). 243 Displicebat enim ei quidquid agebat in saeculo, prae dulcedine Dei et decore domus ejus, quam dilexit. 249 Simplicianus autem coepit eum hortari, ipse

SImplician, þat noble man,

250 Bigon to amonesten him þan,

And so he dude him self also,

Seint Austyn, and seide þo :

»A, hou moni children ben þer now

And maydens þat han imad a vou,

255 Pat seruen God in holy churche

And mony a good dede don worche !

And þou maizt not beo he

Pat may do as he and heo ?

Or elles þeos men and þeos wymmen

260 So mihti of hem self ben

Pat þei mowen so do þis,

And nouht in God, þat almihti is ?

Wherto stondest þou in þi self as ouzt,

And zit ne stondest þou riht nouht ?

265 Caste þi self in him anon,

And he schal þe take to him al on

And, for þat þou art not i wele,

He him self wol þe hele«.

AMong þis speche boþe more and min

270 Pei hedden muynde of on Victoryn,

Pat Simplician wiþ glad cher

Tolde Austyn on þis maner

How þat he wuste wel þan

Pat Victorin was an heþen man

275 And, for of wit he was so sage,

Per was imad an ymage

Of him and set vp at Rome

For worship of his wisdome,

And he wolde seye ofte among men

303) tornyng st. troublinge?

quoque se ipsum hortari et dicere : Quot pueri et puellae intra ecclesiam domini Deo serviant, et tu non poteris quod iste et iste? an vero iste et iste in se ipsis possunt et non in Deo suo? quid in te stas et non stas? projice te in eum et excipiet te et salvabit te. 269 Inter horum colloquia memoria Victorini in medium venit; unde exhilaratus Simplicianus narrat, qualiter ibidem gentilis ob sui sapientiam Romae (, quod maximum tunc erat,) statuam in foro meruisset et qualiter se saepius christianum dicebat; cui quum Simplicianus diceret: non credo nisi te in ecclesia videro, ille jocando dicebat: numquid parietes faciunt hominem christianum?; tandem dum ad ecclesiam venisset et ei (tamquam verecundo occulite) liber, ubi erat symbolum fidei, (ad legendum et pronuntiandum, ut tunc moris erat,) datus fuisset, ille (in altum adscendit et) alta voce pronuntiavit, (mirante Roma, gaudente ecclesia, omnes autem subito perstrepserunt: Victorinus, Victorinus, cito sonuerunt et cito siluerunt.) — 293 Tunc etiam ab Africa quidam amicus Augustini, nomine Pontianus, supervenit et vitam et miracula illius magni Antonii, qui nuper (in Aegypto) sub Constantino imperatore defunctus fuerat, recitavit. 301 Horum exemplis Augustinus vehementer exarsit ita, quod socium suum Alipium tam vultu quam mente turbatus invasit et fortiter exclamavit: Quid patimur, quid audimus? surgunt indocti et coelum rapiunt, et nos cum

Pat he was ful cristen,

Simplician wolde seie : »parde !

I leeue hit not, til I þe se

In holy churche wiþ charite

And beo, as cristene men be«,

Bourdyng he wolde aske þan

Wheþer þe walles maden a cristen man;

Atte last to churche he went,

And him was a bok brought, verreiment,

Vppon þe whuche was writen þe crede:

Pen al aloud he gan hit rede,

Pat alle men miht him here,

Til he hedde pronounced al ifeere.

ANoþur frend of Austines eke

Com to him out of Aufreke,

Pat was icalled Poncian,

And he him tolde þe lyf of an holi man

And þe miracles also,

Pat saint Antonyn men called þo,

Pat ded was tofore in good hour

In Constantines tyme, þe emperor.

Poruh þeoſe ensaumples loue hed him

take

And brenneþ him wiþinne for Godus sake,

And his tornyng was so cler

Boþe in þouȝt and in cheer

Pat on his felawe wiþ open lippe,

Pat men called þo Alippe,

Pen he cried an heih to his ere :

»What suffre we, what do we here ?

Lewed men rauischen heuen ful welle,  
And we, þatben lettred, ben dreint in  
helle.

Wheþer we schul schone nou for scham,  
For þei ben tofore, to suwen ham ?«

In to a gardyn þenne he ran  
And vndur a fyge tre he leide him þan  
And þer wiþ bitter wepyng  
He made gret deol and serewyng.  
His bok witnesset of confession  
Pat þer he cried wiþ deuocion :  
»Hou longe, hou longe schal i sorewe  
For to morwe and to morewe ?  
Now soffre a luitel þat hit mot bee.  
þeose wordes risen al of charite,  
Him þouhte he hedde to longe iben  
From him þat made alle þing and men.  
Of his slouþe in þat doyng  
He made þus his pleynyng :  
»Allas to me ! hou heilh þou art in þin  
heihnesse

And hou deop in þi deopnesse !  
From vs þou wolt neuermore be,  
And vnneþe we wole come to þe.  
Do þou now, lord, and also make  
To stire vs, and calle aȝeyn, þat þou ne  
slake !  
Tac þou hede and rausiche vs,  
Hete vs wiþinne and be swete & glorious !  
I dredde my self þorwh lettyng  
To beo sped of my disiring,  
Riht as I schulde haue had lettyng

Þorwh myn oune dreyng.

Þou art feirnes old and newe,

Ful sore, forsoþe, i may me rewe 340

Þat I þe loued haue so late —

For i knowe nou my self al mate.

Þou weore wiþinne and I wiþoute :

Per þe to seche i was aboute ;

Þou were, forsoþe, ay wiþ me, 345

But i ne was nout wiþ þe ;

Þow calledest and crizedest of þi godnes,

Þow hast ibroken my defnes,

Þou hast ischyned wiþ brihtnes

And driuen awey my blyndnes, 350

Þow hast isauered swetliche

And lad my spirit goodliche :

And nowþe þat makeþ me

Forte breþe aftur þe,

I haue þe tasted wiþ good lust : 355

Perfore i hungre þe and þrust,

And i haue had a brennyng res

Forte come in to þi pees.

AMong þis grete mournyng

And þis bitter wepyng

He herde a vois, and tok gret hede,

Þat seide to him : »tac þou and rede !

Tac and red !« hit seide eftsones.

Pen tok he hit to him for þe nones,

Þe book of þe apostles pistles,

And opened hit — þer weore þistles ! — 365

He fond iwriten hol and sum :

Induimini dominum Jhesum Cristum,

doctrinis nostris in infernum demergimur; an quia praecesserunt, pudet sequi (et non pudet nec saltem sequi) ? 313 Et accurrens in quandam hortum sub quadam ficu se projectit, ut in eodem libro confessionum commemorat, et amarissime flens lamentabiles voces dabat: Quamdiu, quamdiu eras et eras, sine modo, sine paululum. (Modo non habebat modum et sine paululum prodibat in longinquum). 325 De hac sui tarditate plurimum conquerebatur, (sicut postmodum in eodem libro scripsit): Heu mihi, quoniam excelsus es in excelsis et quoniam profundus in profundis et nusquam recedis et vix redimus ad te; age, domine, et fac et excita et revoca nos! accede et rape et fragra et dulcesce! 335 impedimentis omnibus sic timebam expediri, quemadmodum impeditri timendum est. sero te amavi, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova, intus eras et ego foras et ibi te quaerebam (et in ista formosa quae fecisti, deformis irrueram); mecum eras et tecum non eram, vocasti et clamasti et rupisti surditatem meam, coruscasti, splenduisti et fugasti caecitatem meam, fragrasti et duxisti spiritum et anhelito tibi, gustavi et esurio et sitio te, (tetigisti me) et exarsi in pacem tuam. — 359 Cum autem amarissime fleret, audivit vocem dicentem sibi: Tolle lege, tolle lege. 364 Aperuitque statim codicem apostolicum et (conjectis oculis ad primum capitulum) legit: Induimini dominum Jesum Christum: et statim omnes ab eo dubietatis tenebrae diffugerunt.

- Pat is to sei, whose wite list :  
 370 »Beo ze icloþud wiþ Jhesu Crist«.  
 And anon riht wiþ pat loking  
 Alle maner of misdoutyng  
 Of derknesse fleyh from his herte.  
 And in þe mene while him sore smerte,  
 375 For he hedde so gret an ache  
 Of seknesse of þe toþ-ache —  
 For he was fallen in þat dolour, —  
 Pat he was in point to ha bileeued an  
 error  
 Pat Cornelius þe philosofre  
 380 Heold sum tyme wiþ open profre :  
 Pat of þe soule þe grettest godnes  
 In wisdom stod awes  
 And of þe bodi þe most good  
 In feling of non ache stood.  
 385 Pe ache for þe tyme was so stronge  
 Pat he lafte þe speche of his tonge.  
 þerfore in a waxed table  
 He wrot þat alle men, wiþouten fable,  
 For him schulde preize God witerly  
 390 Pat ache to hele of his merci.  
 Penne alle men wiþ deuocioun,  
 And he also, kneoleden adoun :  
 And sodeynliche he feled wel,  
 Pe ache was passed eueridel.  
 395 TO saint Ambrose lettres he sent  
 Pat he schulde sende him his entent  
 As him þhouȝte best in his wit,  
 What bokes penne of holy writ  
 382) awes st. iwis?.
- Best him were forte rede,  
 To leorne þe rihte wey to lede,  
 Pat he mihte beo þe more apt  
 To cristene feiþ, as he hedde schapt.  
 Seint Ambrose him bad : deuoutelye  
 Pe book of þe prophete Ysaye  
 Tofore al oþure he schulde rede —  
 Per he schulde lerne to gete him mede,  
 For þat bok techeþ wel  
 Pe callyng to God bi þe gospel  
 Of þe folk rediliche, —  
 And bad him studie bisiliche.  
 Austin bigon þat redyng,  
 But he vndurstod not þe beginning,  
 And for þat hit was to him so hard,  
 He caste to abyde til afturward,  
 Til he couþe more of holy writ,  
 Pat þerwiþ he mihte acorde his wit.
- AT ester whon þat feste schulde bi holde,  
 Austin, þat was þritti winter olde,  
 And his sone, þat men called þo  
 »Godusȝift«, and Alippe also,  
 Porwh his modur preizing  
 And saint Ambrosus preaching  
 Weoren icristenet alle þre  
 In þe nome of þe trinite.  
 Penne, as þe bok telleþ vs,  
 Ambros bigon Te Deum laudamus,  
 And Austin onswered wiþouten wondur  
 Te dominum confitemur,  
 And so þei tweyne wiþ herte glade

V. 374 Interim autem tam vehementissimo dentium dolore torqueri coepit, ut fere (sicut ipse ait) ad credendam opinionem Cornelii philosophi duceretur, qui summum bonum animae in sapientia, summum vero bonum corporis in nullum sentiendo dolorem posuerat. 385 Tam vehemens autem ille dolor fuit, quod etiam loquela amisit, quocirca (ut in libro confessionum refert) in tabulis cereis scripsit ut omnes pro eo orarent ut dolorem illum dominus mitigaret. Ipse igitur cum aliis genua flexit et subito sanum se sensit. — 395 Insinuavit ergo per litteras sancto viro Ambrosio suum votum, ut moneret quid sibi de libris sanctis legendum esset, quo aptior fieret fidei christiana. 403 At ipse jussit Ysaiam prophetam eo, quod evangelii et vocationis gentium prae-nuntiator aptior videatur. 410 Cujus principium cum Augustinus non intelligeret, totum aliud tale esse arbitrans distulit, ut illud relegeret, cum in scriptis sanctis magis exercitatus esset. 417 Adveniente vero paschali tempore Augustinus, cum esset annorum XXX, cum filio suo Adeodato (puero valde ingenioso), 431 quem Augustinus in sua adolescentia, dum adhuc gentilis et philosophus esset, generat, 420 necnon et cum Alipio 435 amico suo, 421 meritis matris et praedicatione Ambrosii sacrum baptisma suscepit. 425 Tunc, sicut fertur, Ambrosius Te Deum laudamus, inquit et Augustinus Te dominum confitemur, respondit et sic tunc ipsi duo hunc hymnum alter-

An ende of þat ympne þei made.  
His sone, þat cald was »Godusȝift«,  
He gat whon he þouȝte on no þrift,  
Whil þat he was an heþen man  
And tauȝte philosofye þan;  
5 And Alippe was a frend ful dere  
To Austin al wei, wiþouten were.

AUstin aftur his cristen-dom, as þe bok  
seiþ,  
He was so wondurlich confermed in þe  
feiþ

Pat þe hope þat he in þe world had  
He fleyh awey and waxed al sad,  
And his scolus he forsoc  
Pat he rad inne vppon þe bok.

Hou muche swetnesse of heuenlich loue  
He hedde wiþinne for God aboue,

5 In his bok he telleþ opunliche  
And seiþ þus deuoutliche:

»Min hert þou hast ischotan and me,  
Deore lord, wiþ þi charite,  
And i bar þi wordus stiked

5 In my guttus, faste ipriked,  
And ensaumpplus of þi seruauns dere,  
Of þe whuche þou madest here  
From blaknesse to turne to liht,

From deþ also to lyue ful riht,  
5 I hem bar longe in my þouȝt  
And in to slouȝe þei me brouȝt (!).

To him þat com doun fro þe valeye  
447) vgl. V. 31. 452) of þe whuche = of those which. 481 u. 2) sind aus dem 4. Psalm.

456) in to st. out of? 476) Ms. melteþ.

natum composuerunt et usque in finem decantaverunt, (sicut etiam testatur Honorius in libro suo qui dicitur *speculum ecclesiae*; in aliquibus autem libris antiquis titulus talis praeponitur: *Canticum ab Ambrosio et Augustino compilatum*). — 437 Protinus autem in fide catholica mirabiliter confirmatur, spem omnem quam habebat in saeculo dereliquit et scholis quas regebat abrenuntiavit. 443 Quanta autem dulcedine divini amoris extunc frueretur, ipse in hoc libro confessionum aperit dicens: 447 Sagittaveraſ tu cor meum caritate tua et gestabam verba tua transfixa in visceribus, et exempla servorum tuorum, quos de nigris lucidos et de mortuis vivos feceras, congesta in sinum cogitationis meae urebant et assumebant (!) gravem torporem, et adscendenti a convalle plorationis et cantanti canticum graduum dederas sagittas acutas et carbones vastatores (462 Zus.). nec satiabar in illis diebus dulcedine mirabili considerare altitudinem consilii divini super salutem generis humani (470 Zus.). 471 quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis suave sonantis ecclesiae vocibus commotus acriter, voces illae influebant auribus meis et eliquabatur veritas tua in cor meum et currebant lacrymae et bene mihi erat cum iis — tunc enim in ecclesia Mediolanensi haec cantica instituta sunt. 479 et clamabam clamore alto cordis mei: »O in pace, o in id ipsum«, o qui dixit: »dormiam (et requiescam) et somnum capiam« — tu es enim in id ipsum, qui non mutaris, et in te requiescens laborum omnium;

Of wepyng, and song bi þe weye  
Pe louely song of degres,  
Pou zaf, forsoþe wiþouten les,  
Scharpe arwes and coles wastyng,  
To amende wiþ my liuing;  
Nouþur i nas fulled at þat tyme,  
At vndurne, noon, euesong ne prime,  
Of þat wondurful swetnes  
Pat i hedde in my dissches:

460

To consydre þe heihnes  
Of diuyne counseil and godnes  
Vppon þe hele of monkynde,  
Pat þoruh sunne was put bihynde.

465

Muche haue i wept in ympnes and þi song,  
Stered wiþ swetnes of holichirches vois

among,

Pulke voices flowen in to myn eres  
And from myn eȝen roȝnen doun þe te-  
res —

And wel was me þat þei were smerte,  
For þi soþnes melted in myn herte. —

470

Pat tyme furst in godus louyng  
In þe chirche of Melan was ordeynd syn-  
gyng. —

Perfore I cried a loud cry

Wiþ myn herte, al on heih : 480

O in pace, O in idipsum,

O qui dixit dormiam & capiam sompnum.

Tu es enim in idipsum

Wiþouten chaungyng boþe hol and sum —

Pat is to sei : a in pees and in þi self one, 485

A, þou seist i schal slep and take nap-  
ping sone (!);

490 Pou art in þi self onliche,  
Pat neuermore chaungest sikerliche,  
And in þe my restyng is,  
Forȝetynge al trauayles iwis.

Pat psalme i radde al wiþ lykyng,  
Wiþ loue of herte wiþinne brennyng,  
Pat sum tyme was a bitter berkere  
And also a blynd herknere

495 Aȝeynes lettres goode and mete,  
Wiþ hony of heuene ihonied swete  
And liht inouh weren of þi liht  
Pat schineþ euere so feir and briht;  
And i tapissed vndur such lettiring,

500 Swete Jhesu Crist, myn helpyng!.  
Hit is waxen swete to me sodeynlye  
To leue þe swetnesses of japerye —  
Such tyme i dredde such japes to lete,  
Nou is my joye wiþ hem not meete —

505 Pou þreuh hem out, wiþouten les,  
Pou art icalled verrey swetnes,  
In stude of hem þou come in to me  
Swetter þen lust of vanite —  
But nouþur to flesch nouþur to blod,

510 But to my spirit wiþ mylde mod, —  
Brihtor to me þen eny liht,  
Priuiest of alle þing wiþinne wiþ riht,  
Hyȝest in worshipe and nobelte  
To hem þat heiz of hem self nouȝt bee.

515 AFtur þat he tok wiþ him to go

497) Das Attribut geht in einen Nebensatz über.  
Enodie.

Nebridie, Euodie, and his modur also,

And torned aȝeyn stillelike

To þe cuntrye of Affrike.

Whon þei weore comen wel afyn

To þe zates of Tiberyn (!),

Per bifulle þorwh Godus gras

Pat his modur ded þer was.

Pen Austin þouhte on his lynage  
And wente hom to his heritage.

Pen in wakyng and good preyere

He serued God, þat bouht him dere,

And oþure also þat dwelled wiþ him

At þat ilke same tym,

He wrot bokes of holy writ

And tauhte hem þat weoren lewed of wit. 5

His fame þen sprong wondur wyde,

And wondurful he was holden on vche  
syde

Boþe in his bokes and in his dede,  
And euermore God was his spede.

He wolde raþur holde him self at home 5

Pen at eni such cite come

Per as þe bisschop ded was,

Leste he hedde beo chosun in þat cas.

AT þe cite of Yppon

Dwelled þat tyme a riche mon,

Pat to saint Austyn sent to seye :

Zif þat he wolde take þe weye

Touward him, þat was so couþ,

And þat he miht here of his mouþ

Goddus word preached holliche,

499) tapissed v. frz. se tapir? 516) Ms.

V. 491 legebam totum psalmum illum et ardebam, qui fueram latrator amarus et caecus adversus litteras de melle coeli mellitas et de lumine tuo luminosas (498 Zus.), et super scripturas huiusmodi tabescbam, Christe Jesu adjutor meus. quam suave mihi subito est factum carere suavitatis nugarum mearum, et quas amittere metus fuerat, jam dimittere gaudium erat — 505 ejiciebas enim eas a me, vera tu et summa suavitas, ejiciebas et intrabas pro iis omni voluptate dulcior: sed non carni et sanguini (510 Zus.), omni luce clarior: sed omni secreto interior, omni honore sublimior: sed non sublimibus in se. — 515 Post hoc, assumptis Nebrodio et Euodio et matre, ad Africam remeabat, sed cum essent apud Hostiam Tyberinam, pia mater ejus defuncta est. 523 Post cuius mortem reversus est Augustinus ad agros proprios, ubi cum his qui sibi adhaerebant, jejuniis et orationibus Deo vacabat, libros scribebat et indoctos docebat. 531 Fama autem ejus ubique diffundebatur et in omnibus libris suis et actibus admirabilis habebatur (534 Zus.). Refugiebat autem ad aliquam civitatem accedere quae episcopo careret, ne ipsum in praedicto officio impediri contigeret. — 539 Eodem tempore apud Hyponem erat quidam vir magnarum opum, qui Augustino misit, quod, si ad eum accederet et verbum ex ore suo audiret, saeculo renuntiare

He wolde forsake verreyliche  
Al þe world and to God turne  
And for his sunnes make deol and morne.  
Whon seint Austin herde of þis,  
Pider he wente anon iwis.  
Whon þe bisschop Valerius  
Of þat cite herde hit was þus,  
And of Austines goode fame  
And also of his grete name,  
He made him in his oune chirche  
Chef prest, þerinne to worche.  
Seint Austin wepyng hit longe forsolk,  
But atte laste he hit to him tok.  
Anon riht þer a munstre he mad  
Of clerkes, lyf to lede ful sad,  
And bigon to lyue on þat same manere  
As þe apostles duden in eorþe here —  
Out of þat munster aftur weren chose  
Ten bisschopos, þat men weren of good  
lose.  
And for þe bisschop of þat citéé  
Was a Greke, in verite,  
And luytel couþe of latyn,  
Perfore he ȝaf to seint Austin  
Pouwer to preche for him þe fey,  
Azein þe custum of þat cuntrey ;  
Men þerfore þe bisschop duden blame,  
But he of þat tok no schame  
Þouh anoþur for him preched wiþ mouþe  
On latin, þat better þen he couþe.

Pat tyme Austin wiþ disputyng 575  
Ouercom þe Manaches erryng  
And a prest, þat men called Fortunat,  
þat principal heretyk was of þat,  
And þe Donatistes, þat weren fayn  
To ben ibaptised azayn 580  
Azeines holichurches feiþ,  
As vr bocuſ techeþ and seiþ,  
He drof awey wiþ his clergyse,  
And stabled þe feiþ on þat wyse.  
Pen bisschop Valerius wex aferd 585  
Lest Austin from him schulde beo reued  
And þat of men asked he schulde be  
To bisschop of anoþur citéé, —  
For, nedde he onus him isent  
To a place, to bi hud priuement, 590  
He hedde iben lad him fro  
And sone aftur mad bisschop þo.  
Pen gat he leue of þe erchebisschope  
Of Cartus wiþ god hope  
Of his bisschophed to sees, 595  
þat Austin mihte wiþouten les  
þerof ben his successour  
And hit gouerne wiþ honour.  
Long tyme Austin þat forsolk,  
But atte laste he hit tok, 600  
Sumwhat compelled he was þerto —  
þer beoþ but fewe þat nou don so! —  
Aftur, whon he hedde lerned more,  
Gretliche him forþhouȝte þerfore

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posset (548 Zus.). 549 Quod Augustinus ubi comperit, illuc concitus ivit; audiens autem Valerius Hypponensis episcopus famam ejus, ipsum plurimum renitentem in ecclesia sua presbiterum ordinavit, (nonnullis quidem lacrymas suas superbe interpretantibus et tamquam eum consolantibus et dicentibus, quia et locus presbiteri, licet ipse majori dignus esset, appropinquaret tamen episcopatu). 559 Qui statim monasterium clericorum instituit et coepit vivere secundum regulam a sanctis apostolis constitutam; de cuius monasterio fere X episcopi sunt electi. 565 Et quia praedictus episcopus erat graecus et minus in latina lingua et litteris doctus, Augustino potestatem tribuit ut contra morem orientalis ecclesiae coram se in ecclesia praedicaret; unde cum multi episcopi (!) derogarent, ille de hoc non curabat, dummodo per eum fieret quod per se fieri non valebat. — 575 Eo tempore Fortunatum presbiterum Manichaeum et alios haereticos praecipue rebaptisatores Donatistas et Manichaeos convicit, absulit et confutavit (582 Zus.). — 585 Coepit autem Valerius formidare ne sibi Augustinus tolleretur et ab alia civitate in episcopum peteretur — nam sibi aliquando ablatus fuisset, nisi eum ad locum secretum transire curasset, ita ut inveniri minime potuisse. 593 Impetravit igitur ab archiepiscopo Carthaginiensi ut ipse cederet et Augustinum Hypponensi ecclesiae in episcopum promoveret. 599 Sed cum hoc Augustinus omnimode recusaret, compulsus tamen et coactus succubuit et episcopatus curam suscepit (602 satyr. Zusatz). 603 Quod in se fieri non debuisse, ut suo vivente

- 605 Pat he tok such dignite þon,  
Whil þe bisschop was lyues mon,  
Aȝeyn þe bidding of holichurche;  
And for oþur men schulde not so worche,  
He made him bisy wiþ herte and wil  
610 Pat bisschops schulde ordeyne *in heore*  
*counzyl*  
Pat to him þat schulde bisschop ord-  
eynd be  
Alle þe constitucions in verite  
Of vr eldre faderes his ordeynours  
Schuld him furst schewe wiþ honours.  
615 Perfore he seid he felde for *nōþing* God  
*so wroþ*  
Wiþ him also, oþur hedde him loþ,  
As whon he put him to þe heȝe dignite  
Of holy churche gouernour to be,  
Whon he nas worþi in no wyse  
620 Vnneþe (beo) do to such on seruyse.  
His cloþinge and his ornement  
Nas nouþur to precious, ne torent  
Ne abhominable to monþus siht,  
But mesurable euen forþ riht.  
625 Often tyme he wolde seyn:  
»Of precious cloþus am I nouȝt fayn  
But raþur aschomed, sikerly,  
Þen to han lykyng þerby;  
Perfore, whon þei ben ȝiue to me,  
630 I hem sulle, so mot i þe:  
For þe cloþ may not comuyn be,

614) him wiederholt. 630) Ms. do to st. to do oder beo do to; oder do st. þo?

Pe prys þerof may wel, pard».  
HIs mete, luytel þouh hit were,  
He wolde hit ȝiue wiþ god chere;  
Oþurwhile in his potage,  
For gestes þat coomen to his hostage,  
Flesch he let seoþe for heor mete,  
And he also wiþ hem wolde ete.  
He loued raper at such sittynge  
To here a lessun oþur disputynge,  
Þen his wombe to fol to fille —  
And þat was euermore his wille.  
Per was writen on his mete bord  
Aȝeynes bacbyters þis same word:  
»Who so loueþ wiþ his seying  
In absence of men blame heor liuyng,  
He may wite riht wel iwis:  
Pis bord to him vnworþi is«.  
Perfore, whon he bad to his fest  
Bisschops þat he loued aller best,  
And þei bigonne to bacbyte,  
Perof he wolde hem þen edwyte  
And hem blame for heor speche  
And seye þat he wolde for wreche  
Oþur þenne hem aȝeynseye  
Oþur elles aryse and gon his weye.  
TO þe mete he hedde ibeden ones  
Gode frendes of his for þe nones;  
Whon þat þei weren aftur sent,  
On into þe kuchen went,

episcopo ordinaretur, postea et dixit et scripsit propter concilii universalem prohibitionem, quam postmodum ordinatus didicit (603), 608 nec quod sibi factum esse doluit aliis fieri voluit; unde etiam sategit ut in conciliis episcoporum constitueretur ut omnia statuta patrum ordinandis deberent ab ordinatoribus intimari. 615 Ipse autem de se dixisse postmodum legitur: In nulla re mihi dominum sentio sic iratum sicut in hoc, quod, quum non essem dignus poni ad remum, posuit me ad amplustre in apice regiminis ecclesiae. — 621 Vestimenta ejus et calceamenta et ornamenta alia nec nitida nimium nec abjecta plurimum, sed ex moderato et competenti habitu erant; ipse enim de se dixisse legitur: Fateor, de pretiosa veste erubesco et ideo, cum datur mihi, vendo eam, ut, quia vestis non potest esse communis, pretium sit commune. 633 Mensa frugali et parca semper usus est (634 Zus.) et inter olera et legumina propter (infirmos et) hospites plerumque carnes habebat (638 Zus.); in ipsa autem mensa magis lectionem vel disputationem quam epulationem diligebat (642 Zus.), et contra pestem detractionis in ea sic scriptum habebat: Quisquis amat dictis absentem rodere vitam, hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi. 649 Nam et aliquando, cum quidam sibi familiarissimi coepiscopi ad detractionem linguam laxassent, adeo dure eos redarguit, ut diceret, quod, nisi desisterent, aut versus ipsos deleret (!) aut mensa recederet. — 657 Quadam vice cum quosdam suos familiare(s) ad prandium invitasset, unus illorum curiosior caeteris coquinam ingressus est, cumque omnia fri-

Forte loke what þei schulde haue;  
He fond þerinne nouþur cok ne knawe,  
And þe herþes weren al cold —  
He wondred þerfore monyfold;  
To þe halle he wente him in  
And asked of seint Austin  
What he hedde arayed forte ete  
To hem þat he hedde bede to mete.  
Seint Austin nas not curious  
Of metes and drinkes not costous,  
On onswerd þen on þis manere:  
»Lo i my self am wiþ you here.«

HE seide he hedde lerned þreo þinges  
Aftur seint Ambrosus techinges:  
; Pe furste was, wiþouten rage  
Þat he schulde make no mariage,  
Leste þat mon and þe wyf,  
Whon þei weoren weri of þat lyf,  
Him wolde curse in certeyn  
For þat ilke bargeyn.  
Pe secunde was, wiþouten fayle,  
Þat he schulde not cumforte to batayle  
A kniht þat wolde him ziue to fliht  
And oþur men to putte at fliht,  
For hit miht falle of þat doyng:  
He mihte men greue in heore þing  
And do also muche wronge  
To hem þat he werged amonge;  
For þat þen him þei wolden blame  
For his counseil, and þat were schame.  
Pouh he weore beden to feste to cum,

671) Ms. on st. and oder he? 699) Ms. And st. Pat.

Pe þridde was, he schulde him hold at  
hom,  
Leste þat him ful þer such a chaunce  
Þat he loste his temperaunce  
In etyng and drynkyng, 695  
In spekyng and al oþur þing.  
IN him self he was so pure  
And of meknes hedde so gret cure,  
And of þe leste maner sinne  
Þat eny mon falleþ inne 700  
To God vr lord he wolde him schriue  
And mekeliche acuse his lyue  
In his bok of confessiou[n] swiþe wel —  
Witnesseþ hit so eueridel.  
For þere he accuseþ him self at al  
Hou he pleyd at þe bal,  
Whyl he was child, and raged also,  
Whil þat he scholde to scole han go;  
And hou he nolde don his entent  
Forte lerne, ne take talent, 710  
Til his frendes him wolde peyne  
Oþur elles his maister him constreyne;  
And, whil he was child, þat he wolde rede  
Poetes fables — þat nas no nede,  
And for he made ones gret wepyng 715  
For a wommones dying;  
And for he stal out of his frendes celere  
Mete, his felawes forte bere  
Þat he was wont wiþ to pleye,  
As children don ofte in þe weye; 720  
And hou he wolde wiþ queyntyse

gida reperisset, reversus ad Augustinum interrogavit quid ciborum ipse pransurus paterfamilias praeparasset. Cui Augustinus, nequaquam talium epularum curiosus, respondit: Et ego vobiscum (nescio)!). — 673 Tria a beato Ambrosio se didicisse ait: primum est, quod uxorem cuiquam nunquam peteret, 681 secundum: quod militare volentem ad hoc non commendaret, 691 tertium: quod ad convivia invitatus non iret; 677 causa prima est, ne illi inter se non convenient et sibi maledicant, 685 causa secunda est, ne militantes calumniam exerceant et in eum alii culpam refundant, 693 causa tertia est, ne forte temperantiae modum perdat (695—6 Zus.). — 697 Tantae autem puritatis et humilitatis fuit, ut ipsa etiam minima peccata, quae apud nos nulla vel minima reputantur, in libro confessionum de his confiteatur et de his coram Deo humiliter se accuset. 705 Nam ibidem accusat se de eo quod, cum puer esset, ludebat ad pilam, dum ad scholam ire deberet; 709 item de eo quod nolebat legere vel addiscere, nisi a parentibus vel magistro urgeretur; 713 item de eo quod fabulas poetarum (sicut fabulam Aeneae), cum adhuc esset puer, libenter legebat et Didonem (dem engl. Dichter ist diese eine unbekannte Frau) mortuam (propter amorem) plorabat; 717 item de hoc quod de cellario parentum (vel mensa) aliiquid furabatur, et pueris ludentibus daret (720 Zus.); 721 item de eo quod in ludo

Casten his wit and diuise  
 Hou he mihte most propurly  
 Of his felawes haue þe victory;  
 725 And hou þat he was so bold,  
 Whon he was sixtene ȝer old,  
 Peres to stèle from a tre  
 Of his neihȝebors, saunȝ cunge.

HE accused him also wiþ deuociun  
 730 Of þat luttel delectaciun  
 þat he feled in his etyng;  
 Perfore þis was his seying :  
 »Pou hast me tauȝt, lord, on þis maneir:  
 Riht so to take my mete heer  
 735 Riht as i schulde a medecyn  
 Proporcione, boþe good and fyn.  
 But whon nede me takeþ mi bodi to fille,  
 Concupiscence is aboute mi soule to  
 spille :  
 Pat is þe pas þat i mot go,  
 740 Whon neode dryueþ me þerto,  
 But þat paas is voluptuosite,  
 Per nis non oþur wey, whon neode driueþ  
 me ;  
 Pe cause of vche monnes mele  
 Schulde ben onliche monnes hele,  
 745 But voluptuosite eueneþ him to as a fot  
 page  
 Pat preseþ tofore wiþ gret outrage,  
 Pe cause of hele to putte away,  
 And he for cause him self doþ forþ lay,

773) such st. swet, als Gegensatz zu vnlofsum 768?

To ete or drinke whon I am pliht —  
 Pe cause schal be hele ful riht.

DRonkenesse is fer fro my þouht —  
 Ha merci on me, lord, þat he neihȝe me  
 nouȝt! —

Glad of chere drinke wol me make,  
 But þi merci, lord, hit may slake.  
 And who is he, lord, more oþur lasse  
 þat oþurwhile ne schal passe  
 Pe boundes of neode in etyng  
 And also in his drinkyng ?  
 Whateuer he beo, wiþouten let,  
 He may beo called wondur gret  
 And þi name worschipe may he  
 Boþe niht and day, whereuer he be ;  
 I am not he, lord, sikerly!  
 For a sunfol mon am I «.

HE hedde him self in his purpose  
 Suspecte in sauour of his nose,  
 Perfore he seiþ wiþ dolour :  
 »In vnlofsum sauour  
 I haue coueyted not muche,  
 Whon hit is from me, verreyliche,  
 Ne i ne seche hit nouȝt, parde,  
 Nouþur aske, whon hit is azeines me ;  
 And whon such sauours ben me by,  
 To hem am I al redi,  
 Pauh i wolde say þei lakken to me (!),  
 Bigyled par auenture miht I be.

puerorum fraudulentas victorias exercebat; 725 item de eo quod pirum de quadam arbore vicina (vineae suaे), cum adhuc esset amorum XVI, furatus fuit. 729 (In eodem quoque libro de confessionibus) accusat se de ipsa modica delectatione quam aliquando in comedendo sentiebat, dicens: Sic me docuisti ut quemadmodum medicamenta sic alimenta sumturus accedam (736 Zus.); sed dum ad quietem satietatis ex indigentiae molestia transeo, in ipso transitu insidiatur mihi laqueus concupiscentiae: ipse enim transitus voluptas est et non est aliud quo transeat, quam quo transire cogit necessitas, et cum salus sit causa edendi et bibendi, adjungit se tamquam pedissequa periculosa jucunditas et plerumque praeire conatur, ut ejus causa fiat quod salutis causa me facere vel dico vel volo. 751 ebrietas longe est a me — misereberis ne appropinquet mihi! crapula autem nonnunquam subrepit servo tuo — misereberis ut longe fiat a me ! et quis est, domine, qui non aliquando rapiatur aliquantulum extra metas necessitatis ? quisquis ille est, magnus profecto est, magnificet nomen tuum; ego non sum, quia homo peccator sum. — 765 Habebat etiam se suspectum de olfactu, dicens : De ille cebra (!) odorum non satago nimis, cum absunt, nec requiro, cum adsant, non respuo, paratus iis etiam semper carere : ita mihi videcr et forsitan fallor (so Grässle, der engl. Dichter interpung. anders und versteht anders);

Per may no mon, so mot i þryue,  
Beon siker, whil he is here alyue,  
For þis lyf here of renoun  
Nis noþing but temptacioun;  
Wheþer a mon þat feble is  
Bette mihte beo mad to blis,  
So þat of a good mon he neor not mad  
Worse, oþur elles al to bad».

ALso of his herynge  
He confessed him, seyngē  
Pat þe lustes of his ere  
Hedde him broght in gret fere  
And ifolden him strongliche  
And vndurgon him vyleynliche:  
»But, lord, of þi godnesse  
Pou hast me vnbounde what more and  
lesse.

Whon þe song to my ere  
Is more likyng, whon I hit here,  
Pen is þe þing þat men don synge,  
I knoweleche: I sunge in herynge,  
And þen were me leuere here no synginge  
Pen þerinne haue such lykinge».

HE accused him self eke: in seoinge  
Pat he hedde had to muche likyngē,  
To seo houndes rennyngē  
In eny maner of huntyngē —  
Pat vsed he nouȝt wilfuliche,  
But ȝif hit ful so sodeynliche  
As he passed on feld bi  
On his romyng, sikerli.

Herof he wolde him confes  
Tofore vr lord of his mekenes;  
He seiþ þat his skile was whi,  
For such maner of veneri  
Torned awey from God his þouht  
And breeken preyeres al to nouht.

HE accused him self ek of delyt  
Pat he hedde in appety  
In veinglorie of preisynge,  
Whon he hit herde of his cunnyng  
Oþur of oþur vertuwy  
Pat God him sende, or goode þewes,  
And he wolde seye þen:  
»He þat wole beo heried of men,  
Zif þat þou, lord, wolt him blame,  
Per may nomon defende þat schame;  
And ȝif þou, lord, dampne him,  
Nomon him sauе may at þat tym.

A mon is preised onliche  
For þi ȝifte specialiche,  
And zit mon haþ more lykyng  
In his owne preisynge  
Pen to preise þi special ȝift:  
Pat is vuel don, beo my þrift.

WE ben tempted day bi day  
Of mony maner of assay,  
But vr fourneis brennyngē  
Is monnes tonge in spekyngē.  
Neuerþeles i wolde nouȝt  
Pat hit schulde falle in my þouht  
Pat i schulde beo þe more glad

783) So st. se? 804) Ms. ȝaf st. ȝif.

805) Ms. þe st. he.

810

815

820

825

830

835

V. 777 nemo enim securus esse debet in ista vita, quae tota tentatio nominatur, verum qui fieri potuit ex deteriori melior, non fiat ex meliori deterior. — 785 Iterum de auditu confitetur dicens: Voluptates aurium tenacius me implicaverant et subjugaverant, sed resolvisti et liberasti me; cum mihi accidit ut me amplius cantus quam res quae canitur moveat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor et tunc mallem non audire cantem. — 799 Accusat etiam se de visu, sicut de eo quod aliquando nimis libenter vidit canem currentem (et de eo), quod per agrum casu transiens venationem (libenter) prospexit (et de eo quod domi existens araneas muscas suis retibus capientes nimis attente conspexit). Ideo autem de his coram domino confitetur, ut ibidem dicit, quia aliquando haec a bonis meditationibus avertunt et orationes interrumpunt. — 813 Accusat etiam se de appetitu laudis et motu inanis gloriae (816—8 Zus.), dicens: Qui laudari ab hominibus vult vituperante te, non defendetur ab hominibus (judicante te) nec eripietur damnante te; laudatur homo propter aliquod donum quod dedisti ei, et tamen plus gaudet se laudari quam donum. 831 tentamus his temptationibus quotidie sine cessatione, quotidiana fornax est humana lingua. verumtamen nollem ut vel augeret mihi gaudium cuiuslibet boni mei suffragatio oris alieni; sed auget, fateor,

For anoþur mon me preised had  
Of eny maner of goodnesse,  
840 Wheþer þat hit beo more or lesse;  
And, þouh a luytel hit eche my blis,  
Blame hit amenuseþ sone, iwis.  
In herte I am ay sori,  
Whon men me pre(i)sen hertely  
845 In suche þinges as me displesse,  
In my self a ben non ese,  
Or whonne luytel or luyte god  
Is mad more, beo þe rod,  
Þen þei ben al togeder worþ —  
850 Aftur men trouwe not euen forþ!«

HEretykes so he schent  
Þat þei him hated in heor entent  
And þei preached openliche  
Þat hit nas no sunne dedliche  
855 Seint Austin for to sle,  
For to a wolf lyk was he,  
And þat he schulde haue remissiou[n]  
Of his sunnes euerichon  
Þat him wolde don of dawe  
860 And noþing spare for Godus awe.  
Pei setten a wayte ofte, him to slo,  
But þorwh Godus grace he skaped euermo.

EUere he hedde mynde on þe pore  
And wiþ hem he parted euermore  
865 Such as he hedde, gladliche,

846) a st. and? 847) luytel st. liht? 871) Ms. buylde st. buye.

In sum tyme þat so muche  
Þat þe vessel of seluer and golde  
Of holichirche, taken him to holde,  
He wolde breke and melte hit smal,  
Þe mescheuous to parte wiþ al.  
He nolde neuere buye hous ne toun,  
Were þei neuere of so gret renoun;  
In so muche þat mennes heritage,  
Þat him was laft, as mon of age,  
He lafte to heore kinnes men  
Oþur to heore children þat liueden þen.  
In þe possessiou[n]s of his churche  
Hedde he no þouȝt ne wil to worche,  
Nouȝt to loue hem ouerwel,  
But ȝaf his wit eueridel  
Niht and day to holy writ —  
Perwiþ he occupied his wit.  
For to buylde eny newe plas,  
Luytel þeron his þouȝt was,  
For he wolde nouȝt his wit defoule  
Wiþ worldly þinges, bote beo soule  
And freo in good þenkyng  
And in lessounes redynge.  
But forbeode wolde he nouȝt  
Hem þat buylden hedden þouȝt —  
To curious þei schulde not be,  
Þat onliche forbede wolde he.

HEm he wolde preise outerlye  
Þat hedden desyr forte dye.

non solum(!), sed vituperatio minuit. contristor autem aliquando laudibus meis, cum ea laudantur in me in quibus mihi ipse displiceo, vel etiam bona minora vel levia pluris existimantur quam existimanda sunt. — 851 Haereticos vir iste sanctus validissime confutabat, ita ut ipsi inter se publice praedicarent (852 Zus.) peccatum non esse interficere Augustinum, quem tamquam lupum occidendum dicebant, et occisoribus omnia sua peccata a Deo dimittenda asserebant. Multas ab iis insidias pertulit, ita ut sibi aliquo pergenti in via insidias ponerent, sed Dei providentia itineris errore seducuntur, ut invenire eum non possent. — 863 Compauperum semper memor erat iisque ex his quae habere poterat liberaliter exhibebat, nam et de vasis dominicis propter pauperes et captivos aliquando jubebat frangi et conflari et indigentibus dispendari. 871 Domum vel agrum sive villam nunquam emere voluit; multas etiam hereditates sibi dimissas respuit eo, quod mortuorum filiis vel propinquis potius ipsa deberi dicebat. 877 In his quoque quae in ecclesia possidebat, intentus amore vel implicatus non erat, sed die ac nocte de scripturis et de rebus divinis cogitabat. 883 Fabricarum quoque novarum nunquam studium habuit, dejurans in iis implicacionem sui animi, quem semper liberum habere volebat ab omni molestia corporali, ut libere vacare posset continuae meditationi et assidue lectioni. Non tamen illa aedicare volentes prohibebat, nisi forte immoderate fieri conspexisset. — 893 Laudabat quoque plurimum illos quibus moriendo desiderium inerat, et super hoc trium episco-

Penne ensaumples he wolde hem tel  
 Of þeo bisschops, þat he louede wel :  
 Of saint Ambrose whon he schulde dye,  
 Hou þe peple him preyed deuoutelye  
 þat he schulde wiþ his preyere  
 Sumwhat lengþen his lyf here,  
 And he onswerde wiþ vois ful clear :  
 I haue not liued on þat maner  
 þat I am aschomed nou  
 Forte liue amonges zou,  
 Nouþur to dye I haue no drede :  
 We han a lord wol quyte vr mede.  
 Seint Austin preised muche þis onswere,  
 Whil þat he was on eorþe here.

PE secunde ensaumple was of a bis-  
 schope,  
 A mon þat was of stedefast hope,  
 To whom þe peple gan to seye,  
 Whon þe gost schulde taken his weye :  
 To holichirche þou hast ben good  
 Boþe in word, dede and mood,  
 God þerfore, as nouþe leeue we,  
 Wole þat þou delyuered be».  
 Pen he onswerde and seide þus :  
 Zif þat beo neuer, wel is vs ;  
 And eny tyme zif hit schal beo,  
 Whi not nou? hit wolde lyke me».

OF þe þridde bisschop he tolde eke :  
 Whon þat he was wondur seke,  
 He preyed to God ful hertily

To sende him hele for his merci ;  
 To him apeered a wel feir childe,  
 Ac spac to him wiþ maners wylde  
 And seide : »ze mouwe suffre no wo,  
 Ne ze wol nouȝt hennes go,  
 Perfore wot i neuer nou  
 What me is best to do wiþ zou«.

930

OF wymmen, i telle zou in certayn,  
 Nouȝt his sustur Germayn,  
 His breþeres douhtres neuer þe mo,  
 Pat God almihti seruede þo,  
 He nolde soffre wiþ him to dwelle,  
 For temptyng of þe deuel of helle ;  
 He seide : þouȝ men hadde no suspe-  
 cioun

Of his suster or neuew, in feld ne toun,  
 Zit, for þei miht not ben wiþoute  
 Seruauns, to ben hem aboute,  
 And beo cause of heore dwellyng  
 Oþur wymmen schulde beo to hem com-  
 yng,

And of hem penne ful lihtlyche  
 Men mihte beo stured foliliche  
 Oþur elles wikked-tonged men  
 Wolde speke vuel of hem þen.  
 He wolde neuer him self alon  
 Speken wiþ no wommon,  
 But zif þer weore gret priuete,  
 Bi þe wey of charite.

940

945

950

HE was such a benfesour

902) vgl. Ambr. 363 ff. 941) And ist zu tilgen, wenn man nicht ein Anacoluth annehmen will.

porum exempla saepius recitabat: 897 Ambrosius enim, cum in extremis esset et rogaretur ut prolongationem vitae sibi precibus obtineret, respondit: Non sic vixi ut me pudeat inter vos vivere, nec mori timeo, quoniam bonum habemus dominum — quod responsum Augustinus mirabiliter extollebat. 909 Addebat quoque de alio episcopo (910 u. 912 Zus.), cui cum diceretur eum ecclesiae multum necessarium fore et ideo adhuc eum dominus liberaret (engl. dir.), ait: Si nunquam, bene, si aliquando, quare non modo? 921 De aliquo quoque episcopo ajebat (Cyprianum referre,) quod, cum infirmitate gravi laboraret, adhuc sibi sanitatem restitui exorabat; cui juvenis speciosus apparens cum indignatione infremuit et ait: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? — 931 Feminarum nullam unquam nec etiam germanam sororem aut fratri sui filias, quae Deo pariter serviebant, secum habitare permisit (936 Zus.); dicebat enim, quod, etsi de sorore et nepotibus nulla mali posset oriri suspicio, tamen, quia tales personae sine aliis sibi necessariis esse non possent et ad eas etiam ali adventarent, ex illis possent infirmiores aut humanis tentationibus commoveri aut certe malis hominum suspicionibus infamari. 947 Nunquam cum muliere solus loqui volebat, nisi secretum aliquod interesseret. — 951 Consanguineis sic bene-

To his kunrede wiþ honour  
 Pat þei nedde no gret richesse  
 Ne to gret neode to more ne lesse.  
 955 Ful selde, forsoþe, was his maner  
 For eny mon to make preyer  
 Or lettres sende for benefyce —  
 Such maner doyng he huld a vice;  
 Of a philosofre he hedde a þouht  
 960 Pat to his frendes luytel ȝaf or nouht,  
 Forte geten him eny name,  
 Mon to bi holden of gret fame.  
 Perfore ofte tyme was his seying:  
 »Pouste þat comeþ þorwh askyng  
 965 Holdeþ a mon oþur while doun,  
 Pouh he beo of gret renoun«.  
 Ful selden whon þat he wrot  
 For eny mon, God hit wot,  
 His askyng schuld not beo so large  
 970 Pat hit schulde bere eny gret charge,  
 But þorwh his corteis endityng  
 Men schulde take hede of his preyng.  
 HE hedde leuere þe causes here  
 Bitwene twei enimys on his manere  
 975 Pen bitwene frendes tweyn.  
 Pis was his skile, as he wolde seyn:  
 For bitwene enimys he miht  
 Freoliche knowe bi word and siht  
 Pe wikkednes of þat on or boþe,  
 980 And wheþer to oþur weore more loþe,  
 And such grace God miht him sende:  
 Pe ton he milhte make his frende:  
 Him þat he schulde ȝiue fore þe sentence  
 1009) heþen st. Goþen?

fecit, non ut divitias haberent, sed ut aut non aut minus egerent. 955 Raro pro aliquo aut litteris aut verbis intercedere volebat (958 Zus.), recolens quendam philosophum contemplatione famae amicis non multa praestitissee, et saepe dicebat: Plerumque potestas quae petitur premit (966 Zus.). 967 Cum autem id faciebat, sic stylum temperabat, ut onerosus non esset, sed mereretur urbanitate dictaminis exaudiri. 973 Volebat potius inter ignotos quam inter amicos causas audire, dicens, quia inter illos poterat libere iniquum cognoscere et unum ex his amicum esset facturus: pro quo scilicet justitia mediante sententiam daret, ex amicis vero esset unum perditurus: scilicet contra quem proferret sententiam. — 989 A multis ecclesiis invitabatur et ibi verbum domini praedicabat et multos ab errore convertebat. Aliquando a proposito digressionem facere conuseverat in praedicatione (et tunc dicebat Deum hoc) ad profectum salutis alicuius (ordinasse). — 997 sicut in quodam Manichaeorum negotiatore patuit, qui in praedicatione quadam Augustini, ubi ipse digressionem faciens contra hunc errorem praedicaverat (1004 Zus.), conversus fuit. — 1009 Eo tempore, dum Gothi (!) Romam cepissent, ydololatras et insideles christianis plurimum insultabant; propter quod Augustinus librum de civitate Dei compositus, in quo justos in hac vita

Bi rihtwysnes, wiþoute reuerence;  
 ȝif þei were his frendes boþe two,  
 Pat ones frendschipe schulde pas him fro:  
 Pe sentence aȝeynes whom  
 He schulde ȝiue and eke þe dom.  
 HE was preyzed forte preche  
 To moni a churche, Godus word to teche,  
 And so he dude to Godus honour  
 And torned moni on from heore errour.  
 Oþurwhyle in his prechinge  
 He wolde turne from his furst biginnynge  
 And take þenne oþur mateere  
 Pat proþyted to summe þat weren þere.  
 As hit bifel bi a chapman  
 Pat of þe Manachees secte was þan:  
 Vppon a day he herde Austin  
 Preche wondur wel and fyn.  
 Seint Austin turned his mater fro  
 And aȝeines þe Manachees preched þo  
 And eke aȝeynes heore errour,  
 As a clerk of alle þe flour.  
 Pe chapmon þorwh his preching  
 Torned al to his teching  
 And forsolk þat ilke lore  
 Pat he heold wiþ þerbiore.

PULKE tyme weren heþen men icome  
 And hedden taken þe cite of Rome:  
 Pen alle þe heþene men  
 Maden asaut vppon þe cristien.  
 For þat cause Austyn in good fey  
 Made þe bok »de Ciuitate dei«,

In þe whuche is his seying  
 Pat rihtwys men in þis liuyng  
 Schul not beo of reputacioun  
 But raþur euer beo put adoun,  
 And wikked men wiþ honoure  
 2 Schul her beo maistres and bere þe floure.  
 And þer he spekeþ of citees tweyn :  
 Jerusalem and Babileyn,  
 And also of heore twey kynges,  
 And seþþhe among oþur þinges :  
 2 Þat of Jerusalem kyng is Crist,  
 Of Babiloyne þe deuel vnrist ;  
 Peose twei citees on heor maners  
 Geeten hem twey louyers :  
 3 Þe deueles citéé loueþ nouht  
 But him self in dede and þouht  
 And waxeþ forþ wiþ wylde blood  
 Til þat he haue forsaken God,  
 Godus citéé is aboue  
 And onliche is in Godus loue  
 4 And makeþ mon wiþouten wrake  
 Him self dispise for Godus sake.

IN þe zer of vr lord of heuene  
 Four hundred and eke elleuene  
 Wandaly þe prouince tok  
 Of Aufrike — so seiþ þe bok —,  
 Pei wasted al, as men ful wylde,  
 And spared nouþur mon, wommon ne  
 childe

Ne men of ordre of holichurche :  
 Such grisly werkes þei gonне worche.

1029) fehlt þat vor loueþ? 1048) þat st. and? 1073) Ms. Sod st. God.

And so þei wenten wiþouten reuerence 1045  
 To þe citéé of Iponence.  
 Per dwelled Austyn a mon ful old,  
 Pat tribulacion hedde monyfold,  
 His teres to him weren his bred  
 Niht and day for þat qued, 1050  
 Pat he sayȝ so men slayn  
 And summe to fleo weoren ful fayn  
 And churches prestes hedde non,  
 Men fro citees weren awey gon.  
 Neuerþeles in þat offence 1055  
 He was cumforted beo a sentence  
 Of a wys monnes seying  
 On þis maner in his writyng :  
 »He may not beo gret of sped  
 Pat takeþ to muchel hed 1060  
 Pauh tren and stones falle  
 And eorþly men dyen, gret and smalle«.

ÞEN his breþeren euerichon  
 Tofore him he calde anon  
 And seide : »i haue ipreyed vr lord, 1065  
 Boþe wiþ þouht and wiþ word,  
 Pat he schulde of his god wil  
 Delyuere vs of þis peril  
 Oþur elles wiþouten offence  
 Zif vs good pacience 1070  
 Or elles take me þis lyf fro,  
 Pat i seo not so muche wo«.

GOd graunte him þe þridde askyng :  
 For þe þridde moneþ of þe beseching

debere premi, impios autem florere ostendit, 1021 ubi de duplici civitate, scilicet Jerusalem et Babylone et earum regibus agit, quia rex Jerusalem Christus, rex Babylonis dyabolus : 1027 quas duas civitates (ut ibidem dicit) duo amores sibi fabricant (!), quia civitatem dyaboli construxit amor sui (!) crescens usque ad contemptum Dei, civitatem Dei amor Dei crescens usque ad contemptum sui. — 1037 In diebus autem ejus, anno scilicet domini CCCCXL (engl. —XI) Wandali totam Africæ provinciam occupaverunt vastantes omnia nec parcentes sexuī, ordini vel aetati. Post hoc autem ad Hypponensium civitatem pervenerunt et ipsam manu valida obsederunt. 1047 Sub hac tribulacione Augustinus prae caeteris suae senectutis amarissimam et lugubrem duxit vita n̄ fueruntque sibi lacrymae ejus panes die ac nocte, cum alios videret occisos, alios effugatos, ecclesias sacerdotibus viduatas, civitates cum accolis dissipatas. 1055 Inter tot tamen mala cuiusdam sapientis sententia se consolabatur dicentis : Non erit magnus magnum putans quod cadunt ligna vel lapides et moriuntur mortales. 1063 Convocatis autem fratribus dixit iis : Ecce rogavi dominum ut aut nos ab his periculis eruat aut patientiam tribuat aut me de hac vita suscipiat, ne tot calamitates videat compellar. 1073 Et ecce tertium quod petivit obtinuit : et tertio obsidionis

1075 Of þat citéé he fel seek  
And of þe feuere to bedde went ek.  
He vndurstod wel, certeynly,  
þat dissoluued scholde be his bodi.

þe seuen psalmus al on a rowe  
1080 He let writen vppon a wowe,  
þat, as he in his beodes lay,  
Miht hem sigge eueriday;  
He wolde hem seye deuoutliche,  
Wepe þerto wel tenderliche,  
1085 And, for þat he nolde nouȝt be let  
To don as he his herte hedde set,  
Ten dayes bifore his dyzing  
Per moste nomon come in his seoing,  
But ȝif his leche were in ilet  
1090 Oþur elles a mon þat brouht him met.

A seek mon to him com  
And preyed him for Godus dom  
þat he wolde on him holde his honde,  
þat his seknes mihte awey fonde,  
1095 And þat he wolde him sumwhat fele,  
For, he scide, he schulde so cacche hele.  
Austin onswerde on þis manere:  
»Whi spekest þou so, my broþur dere?  
Trouwest not þou, ȝif i miht do so,  
1100 I wolde my self hele and forþ go?«  
þe mon seide: he hedde comaundement  
In a visioun, verreyment,  
þat I schulde to ȝou go,  
ȝif i wolde haue hele of my wo.«

1081) beodes st. bedde? 1082) he ist versteckt.

Whon Austin sauh his feijfulnes,  
He preyed to God of his godnes  
þat his wille were þat mon to hele.  
And so he was sone eueridele.  
He heled mony a sek man  
And mony a miracle dode he þan.

IN his two and twentipe bok  
De ciuitate dei whose luste lok,  
He may fynde miracles tweyn  
þat he telleþ, in certein,  
As þei weore anoþur monnes doyng —  
But God hem wrought for his preying.  
In his bok þus he sayde:  
»At Iponence I wot a mayde  
þat wiþ oyle enoynted hire had:  
Perfore þe deuel made hire mad;  
But a prest for hire wepte sore  
To God, þat heo schulde not beo lore:  
And anon heo dilyuered was  
Of þe fend in þat cas.«

»Also«, he seide, »i knewh a bisschope  
þat preyed to God wiþ good hope  
For a ȝong mon, þat he not sawe,  
Whom þe deuel heold in awe:  
And anon riht, verreyment,  
He was sauued from þat cumbrement.«  
Pis tales he tolde þus of his mekenes,  
For me schulde not knowe his holynes.

IN þe same bok also we fynde

mense feribus laborans lecto decubuit. V. 1077 Intelligens autem dissolutionem sui corporis imminere, VII psalmos poenitentiales sibi scribi fecit ipsosque in loco contra parietem positos, lecto decubans, legebat et ubertim ac jugiter lacrymas fundebat, et ut (Deo vacaret liberius et) ejus intentio a nullo impediri posset, ante X dies sui exitus nullum ad se ingredi praecepit, nisi vel cum medicus ingredieretur vel cum sibi refectio portaretur. — 1091 Quidam autem aeger ad eum venit et ut sibi manum imponeret et ab infirmitate curaret, ipsum instanter rogavit. Cui Augustinus respondit: Quid est hoc, fili, quod loqueris? putas, quod, si tale quid facere possem, mihi hoc ipsum non conferrem? Ille autem instabat asserens sibi in visione praeceptum esse ut ad eum accederet et sanitatem reciperet. Videns autem fidem ejus pro ipso oravit et sanitatem recepit. 1109 Energumenos multos curavit et plura alia miracula fecit. 1111 In libro XXII de civ. Dei duo miracula de se tamquam de quodam alio refert dicens: 1118 Hypponensem quandam virginem scio, quae cum se oleo perunxisset, cum pro illa orans presbyter lacrymas suas instillaverat, mox a daemone fuisse sanata. 1125 In eodem etiam libro sic ait: Scio etiam episcopum semel pro adolescente, quem non vidit, orasse illumque illico daemonio caruisse. Nullum autem dubium videtur, quin de se ipso loquatur, sed humilitatis causa se ipsum noluit nominare. — In eodem quoque libro de civ. Dei sic ait, quod, cum quidam infirmus in-

A good miraele, to haue in mynde :  
 A seek mon þer was — þe bok telleþ  
 hit —

Pat for his hele schulde ha be kit ;  
 He was adred and hedde gret anyze :  
 Zif he were kut, þat he schulde dyze ;  
 He wepte þerfore wiþ al his miht  
 And preyed to God boþe day and niht,  
 And seint Austin also wiþ him  
 Preyed to god þat ilke tym,  
 So longe he preyed to God and bad  
 Pat wiþouten eny cuttyng hele he had.

WHon þat seint Austines breþ  
 Bigon to schorten and drawe to deþ,  
 He tauhte vche mon to haue in mynde,  
 And for noþing leue hit behynde,  
 Pat, þauh a mon beo neuer so worþi  
 In his liuynge here deuoutli,  
 He schulde euer þenke on þis cas :  
 Wiþouten schrift and hosel þat he ne pas.  
 His limes weore hole and sounde,  
 Riht as he wente on þe grounde,  
 His siht was cler and his heryng  
 Euene to his dyzing.  
 As his breþeren toforen him stod,  
 Preying to God wiþ dreri mood,  
 Tofore hem alle boþe best and most  
 To God þen he zeld þe gost,  
 Pe zeer of his age wiþouten wene  
 Preo score and sixtene,  
 And of his bisschopbed in feer

Euene þe fourtieþ zer.

He made no testament þan,

1165

For he was Cristes pore man

And hedde noþyng wheroft to make —

Al he forsoc for Cristes sake.

He passed his wei on þis maner

Þe date of vr lord four hundred zer.

1170

SEint Austin, of wisdom schining briht,  
 Defensour of soþfastnes and riht  
 And þarfyt kepere of þe feiþ,  
 Ouer oþur doctours, as men seiþ,  
 In wit and connynge, he passeþ alle  
 Wiþ(oute) comparisun, gret oþur smalle,  
 He floureþ wiþ ensaumpler of vertuves  
 in liuing

And wiþ affluence wonderliche in teching.

Perfore seint Remigious

Of Jerom and oþur doctours glorious 1180  
 Makeþ mynde, but he concludeþ hit  
 Pat Austin passeþ alle in cunnyng of  
 wit :

For, þouh seint Jerom þe clerk

Parfourned so gret a werk

Pat six þousend volumes he dude rede 1185  
 Of Origenes, wiþouten drede,  
 Seint Austin so moni wrot,  
 Pat nouȝt onliche — God hit wot ! —  
 Nihes no dayes no mon miht  
 Alle his bokes write out fulle riht,  
 Ne, þouh he mihte him gete gret mede,  
 His bokes alle ouerrede.

1173) Ms. profyt st. þarfyt.

1176) Ms. wiþ st. wiþoute.

1183) Ms. þorwh st. þouh.

cidi deberet et de ejus morte ob incisionem plurimum timeretur, et infirmus multis lacrymis Deum exoraret, cum eo et pro eo Augustinus oravit, et sine incisione aliqua integrum sanitatem recepit. — 1145 Denique dissolutione corporis appropinquante hoc memoriale docuit: nullum videlicet hominem quantumcunque excellentis meriti sine confessione et eucharistia debere transire. 1153 Ad extremam autem horam veniens membris omnibus sui corporis incolumis, integro adspectu atque auditu, 1161 anno aetatis suaee LXXVII (engl. —VI), episcopatus vero XL, 1157 coram positis fratribus et orantibus migravit ad dominum. 1165 Testamentum nullum fecit, quia, unde faceret, pauper Christi non habuit. Floruit (!) circa annos domini CCCC. — 1171 Itaque Augustinus, sapientiae lumen perfulgidum, propugnaculum veritatis et fidei munimentum, omnes ecclesiae doctores tam ingenio quam scientia vicit incomparabiliter, florens tam exemplis virtutum quam affluentia doctrinarum. 1179 Unde et beatus Remigius Hieronymum et quosdam alios doctores commemorans, sic concludit: Hos omnes Augustinus ingenio et scientia sua vicit, nam licet Hieronymus VI millia volumina Originis se legisse fateatur, iste tamen tanta scripsit, ut non solum diebus ac noctibus scribere libros ejus quis non possit, sed nec legere qui-

PE same clerk of him writ in þe bok  
Of þe twelue doctours, hose luste to lok,  
1215 And seip: »seint Austin was a bisschop  
fleoing  
Ouer þe hexte of þe mountayns wip  
hizing,  
As an egle, wipouten drede,  
Pat of þe feet of þe mountayns tok non  
hede,

1198) Volusians st. Jeroms, der auch V. 1213 gemeint ist.  
help st. heep.

But of heuene þe brode space  
And þe cyte of þe eorþe in vche place  
And þe viroun of þe wattres wondurliche  
He schewed to alle men openliche». 1

SEint Jerom hedde him *in loue and reverence*:  
**P**at witnessep a pistle, of his sentence  
Wherin he wrot on þis manere,  
As þe schulle nouþe ihere:  
»To an holy and blessedest pope Austin  
Jerom recomaundep him.  
Eueri tyme þi blessedhed  
Wip such worshipe as bisemeþ, bi mi  
hed,

I honoured tide, tyme and our,  
And i loued þat dwelleþ in þe, vr sa-  
ueour;  
But nouþe, zif hit mihte beo so,  
To þe heep sumwhat we adden þerto,  
And fulliche hit to folfulle  
Wip al vr herte and vr wille,  
Þat wiþouten mencioune  
Of þi name of renoun  
Wip wondur gret honour  
We mowe not suffre passe an hour».

IN anoþur pistle eke he seiþ :  
»God forbeode hit and good feiþ  
þat I schulde beo so hardi  
Of bin holinesse to touche bocus any;

dem occurrat. V. 1193 Volusianus autem, cui Augustinus epistolam scripsit, sic de eo dicit: Legi Dei deest quidquid Augustino contigerit ignorare. 1198 Hieronymus (!) quoque in quadam epistola scribens Augustino ait: Duobus libellis tuis eruditissimis et omni eloquentiae splendore fulgentibus respondere non potui, certe quidquid dici potuit et assumi ingenio et de scripturarum hauriri fontibus, a te positum atque disertum est, sed quaeso reverentiam tuam, parumper patiaris me tuum laudare ingenium. 1213 Hieronymus (!) etiam in libro de XII doctoribus sic de eo scribit: Augustinus episcopus volans per montium cacumina quasi aquila et ea quae sunt in montium radicibus non considerans, multa coelorum spatia terrarumque situs et aquarum circulum claro sermone pronuntiat. 1223 Denique in quanta eum reverentia et dilectione Hieronymus habuit, patet in epistolis quas eidem misit, in quarum una sic dicit: Domino sancto ac beatissimo papae Hieronymus. omni quidem tempore beatitudinem tuam eo quo decet honore veneratus sum et habitantem in te dilexi dominum salvatorem, sed nunc, si fieri potest, cumulo aliquid addimus et plena complemus, ut absque nominis tui mentione ne unam horam quidem praeterire patiamur. 1241 Idem in alia epistola ad eundem: Absit autem ut quidquam de libris beatitudinis tuae attingere audeam, sufficit enim mea probare et aliena non carpere.

Hit soffiseþ to me proue myn owne doyng  
And of oþur mennes entremete noþing».

SEint Gregori ek, þe grete clerk,  
Comendeb saint Austines werk  
Wiþ al his wit verreylike  
In a pistel þat he sent to Aufrike  
To Innocent, þat prefecute was þere,  
And seiþ forsoþe on þis manere :  
»We beoþ riht glad of þor moode,  
Þat ze to vs senden for goode  
For þe exposicioun of Jobs lyf;  
But, so mote we euer þryf!  
Zif þat ze coueyte to beo fed  
Wiþ dilicious foodus to þor hed,  
Tac hede of þe werk þon  
Of saint Austin, þor contre mon,  
And to þe compar(i)soun of his whete flour  
Secheþ not or bren — hit were errour».

IN his registre he seiþ also  
Of saint Austin þis word wel þro :  
Pat wiþ his suster wolde he not dwelle,  
»Perfore he wolde sey ful welle :  
Pulke wymmen þat wiþ my suster be  
Sustres beo þei nouht to me.  
Þe cautel of þis mon so wys  
Schulde beo ensaumple to vre auys».

SEint Ambrose in his preface  
Of saint Austin seiþ in þat place :  
»Pi mihtinesse we worschuþeþ, lord,

Boþe in dede and in word  
And of þe stablyng of saint Austin      1275  
Þorw þin owne vertu diuin,  
Þat was so wiþ þe holigost  
Enspiret — riht wel þou wost —  
Þat ouercome miht he not be  
Wiþ no falles of vanite ;  
For wiþ al maner of pite,  
Of mekenes and of charite  
Þou him foundedest on good wyse,  
Þat he was to þe auter and sacrifice  
And also temple and eke prest —      1285  
His doyng to þe was honest».

ÞE clerk saint Prosper  
Seiþ in his þridde bok þer  
Þat he made her in his lyf  
Of þe lyf contemplatyf,      1290  
On þis maner, hose lokeþ hit :  
»Seint Austin was a bisshop of scharp  
wit,  
Soft mon in spekyng,  
And in seculer letrure cunnyng,  
In holichirche werk and fulle werkere,      1295  
And in eueriday disputisouns clere,  
And in alle his doynges  
Manerliche of alle þinges,  
To assoyle questions he was scharp,  
To ouercome heretykes wise of carp,      1300  
And riht trewe — as Prosper seiþ —  
»In exposicion of þe feiþ,  
And wondur war in expleyting

1295) Ms. and st. a?

V. 1247 Gregorius quoque in epistola ad Innocentium Africæ praefectum de ejus libris sic ait: Quod expositionem sancti Iob vobis transmitti voluistis, vestro studio congaudemus, sed si deliciose cupitis pabulo saginari, beati Augustini compatriotæ vestri opuscula legit et ad comparationem illius similaginis nostrum furfurem non quaeretis. 1263 Idem quoque in registro sic ait: Legitur, quod beatus Augustinus nec cum sorore habitare consensit dicens: quae cum sorore mea sunt, sorores meae non sunt. docti ergo viri cautela magna nobis debet esse instructio. 1271 In præfatione quoque Ambrosiana sic legitur: Magnificentiam tuam in mortificatione Augustini adoramus tua (in omnibus) operante virtute, ut nullis promissis blandimentorum fallacium vir tuo ignitus spiritu vinceretur, quia eum ita omni genere pietatis imbueras, ut ipse tibi ara et sacrificium et sacerdos esset et templum. 1287 Beatus igitur Prosper in tertio libro de vita contemplativa sic de eo dicit: Sanctus Augustinus episcopus acer ingenio, suavis eloquio, saecularis literatura e peritus, in ecclesiasticis laboribus operosus, in quotidianis disputationibus clarus, in omni sua actione compositus, in quaestionebus solvendis acutus, in convincendis haereticis circumspectus, in expositione fidei nostrae catholicus, in expla-

- Of holy mennes writyng.<sup>1</sup>
- 1305 Seint Bernard, God hit wot,  
Of saint Austin þus he wrot:  
»Austin is beetel strongest to felle,  
Heretykes resouns forte quelle».
- HIt bifel longtyme after þare  
1310 þat þe heþene folk of Barbare (!)  
Occupied þat ilke londe  
And holi places destruyeden wiþ heor  
honde,  
Per saint Austin buried was;  
Perfore byful þis ilke cas  
1315 þat cristene men token his bodi  
And translated hit in to Sardini.
- HIt bifel þenne atte last,  
Whon two hondred zer and XXX<sup>t</sup>i wer  
past,  
In þe zer of vr lord bidene  
1320 Fyf hondred and eihte tene:  
Per com to þe heryng  
Of Ludbrande, þe noble kyng  
Of Longobardis, þat distruyed  
Was Sardinie. þerfore anuyed  
1325 He was. he sende þider þo  
Messagers, þat weren þro,  
Seint Austins reliques as a drurye  
For to bere to Papye.  
Pis messagers gret ȝiftus ȝauen  
1330 Seint Austines bodi forte hauen,
- And forþ wiþ hem þei gone hit walwe,  
Til þei come to þe toun of Janwe.  
When þe goode kyng herde of þis,  
Aȝeynes þe bodi he wente, iwis,  
Wiþ joye, and wiþ reuerence  
He hit receyued wiþoute offence.  
Vpon þe morwe whon hit was day,  
Þei wolde haue lad hit forþ on way.  
Per bifel a wondur cas:  
Þei miht not meue hit from þe plas,  
Til þe kyng a vow hedde mad  
þat, gif he suffrede him þennes be lad,  
He wolde riht þere wiþouten blame  
Buylde a chirche in his name.  
When þe kyng hedde mad þe vou,  
Lihtliche inou — i telle hit ȝou —  
Þei toke wiþ hem forþ þe bere.  
Þe kyng a churche let buylde riht þere.  
Vpon þat oþurday wiþ god wil  
Þe same miracle of his bodi bifil  
In a toun of þe bisschopriche  
Of Terdonence, sikerliche,  
þat men callen þere Cassel;  
On þe same maner þe kyng riht wel  
Let buylde a chirche of seint Austyn,  
A wondur noble, feir and fyn;  
And þat ilke same toun  
Wiþ al þe possessioun  
He graunted and ȝaf wiþouten ende,  
For þei of him schulde haue sum muynde,  
To hem þat in seruise diuyn

1357) Ms. In st. And, wie 1680.

nandis scripturis canonice cautus. V. 1305 Bernardus quoque sic de eo scribit: Augustinus hic est validissimus malleus haereticorum. — 1309 Post hoc autem, cum barbara gens (!) terram illam occupasset et sancta loca profanaret, fideles corpus Augustini ceperunt et ipsum in Sardiniam transtulerunt. 1317 Transactis autem ab ejus obitu annis CCLXXX (!) circa annos domini DCCXVIII (!) Liprandus devotus Longobardorum rex, audiens Sardiniam (a Saracenis) depopulatam, sollemnes illuc nuntios misit, ut doctoris sancti reliquias Papiam deferrent, 1329 qui magno pretio dato corpus sancti Augustini tulerunt et ipsum usque Januam deportaverunt. 1333 Quod devotus rex audiens, usque ad praedictam civitatem cum magno gaudio eidem obviauit et reverenter exceptit. 1337 Cum autem mane vellent corpus deducere, nullo modo de loco moveri potuit, donec rex votum emisit, quod, si se inde duci permitteret, ibidem in suo nomine ecclesiam fabricaret. Cum autem votum fecisset, statim sine difficultate inde deductum est, rex autem quod voverat implevit et ibidem in honorem sancti Augustini ecclesiam construxit. 1349 Idem miraculum die sequenti in quadam villa episcopatus Terdonensis, quae dicitur Cassellae, contigit et eodem modo ibidem in honore sancti Augustini ecclesiam fabricavit (1356 Zus.); insuper villam ipsam cum omnibus suis appendentiis concessit servientibus ecclesiae

In þat chirche seruen seint Austin.

Þe kyng hedde gret þenkyngē

Leste he to Papye him schulde not bringe ;

Perfore, to plese þat seint wiþ his miht,

Whereuer þe bodi lay al niht

Per a churche he let buylde,

Wheþur hit were in toun or felde.

Pus wiþ joye ful goodlye

He brouhte þe bodi to Papye.

And in þe chirche of seint Petre

Worschipfuliche in a fertre

Þe bodi was leid wiþ mylde steuene —

Þat chirche is called »þe guyldene he-  
uene«. — — —

135 A muleward þer was in þat cuntry,

Þat hedde a gret enfermete

Vppon his leg for þe none,

Hit was so sor : he miht not gone ;

But euer he hedde in feld and toun

140 In seint Austin deuocioun,

Perfore he preyed him deuouteliche

To ben his help certeynliche.

Seint Austin for his deuocioun

Apered to him bi a uisioun

145 And hondled his leg softe and wel :

And hit was hol þen eueridel.

Whon he awok, he fond hit so —

A wondur glad mon was he þo,

Almihti God and seint Austin

Nach 1374 sind 2 Zeilen Raum gelassen für eine Ueberschrift (etwa Miracula). 1384) Ms. au-

sioun. 1402) Ms. stond st. stone.

Augustini perpetuo possidendam. V. 1363 Quia vero rex viderat sancto complacere ut in suo nomine ecclesia fieret ubicumque mansisset, et timens ne in alio loco quam ubi desiderabat, locum sibi eligeret, in omni loco ubi de nocte cum corpore hospitabatur in honorem ipsius ecclesiam construebat, sicque cum magno gaudio Papiam deducitur et in ecclesia s. Petri, quae coelum aureum dicitur, honorifice collocatur. — —

(Folgen jetzt die Miracula :) 1375 Molendarius quidam in beatum Augustinum specialem devotionem habens cum quandam infirmitatem (quae dicitur phlegma salsum) in tibia pateretur, beatum Augustinum devote in sui adjutorium invocabat. Cui per visum s. Augustinus apparuit et tibiam manu palpans integrae restituit sanitati. Qui excitatus se liberatum invenit et Deo et beato Augustino gratias reddidit. — 1391 Quidam puer cum vitio lapidis premeretur et de consilio medicorum incidi debet, mater pueri, mortis sibi timens periculum, beatum Augustinum devote in sui filii subsidium invocavit, statimque fusa oratione puer lapidem cum urina emisit et plenam sanitatem recepit (1404 Zus.). — 1405 In monasterio, quod Elemosina dicitur, monachus quidam in vigilia s. Augustini raptus in spiritu vidit nubem (splendidam) coelitus delapsam et super nubem Augustinum sedentem pontificalibus insignitum, cuius oculi quasi duo solis radii totam illam ecclesiam illuminabant et odor inde

He þonked þenne wiþ herte fyn.

1390

A child þer was wiþ wo bigon :

Wiþ þe seeknesse of þe ston ;

Leches putte his frendes in witte

Þat he moste nedes beo kitte.

But þe modur hedde gret drede

1395 Leste þorwh þat cuttyng he schuld be  
dede ;

Perfore to seint Austin þan

Deuoutliche preyede þat womman,

Wiþ word and wiþ herte mylde,

Pat he schulde helpe and hele hir 1400  
chylde.

Anon riht þenne þe chyld, iwis,

A gret stone al out dude pis

And was al hol of þat seknes,

And þonked God of his goodnes.

IN an hous of religious,

Þat men callen Almous,

In þe vigile of seint Austin

A monk was rauissched þerin

In spirit and sauh such a cas :

1405 Þat a cloude from heuene滑den down  
was,

And seint Austin þeron sittynge

In bisschops cloþing, him phouzte, wel  
semynge,

And his tweyn ezen verreyliche

To twei sonne bemus weren liche,

1415 Pat al þat churche lihted þo,  
A wondur gret swetnesse com him fro.

SEint Bernard þorwh Godus miht  
Was at matins on a niht,  
Per þe legende good and fyn  
1420 Was rad of a trete of seint Austin;  
Pe while a luytel on slepe he fil,  
Pouh hit were not wiþ his wil,  
Him þhouȝte he say þat ilke tym  
A feir child stondyne ge beo him,

1425 Of whos mouþ out þer ran  
So grete cours of watres þan  
Pat hit semed to him wel  
Pat hit fulde þe chirche eueridel.  
Whon he awok, he wuste wel afyn

1430 Pat þat was seint Austin,  
Pat wiþ his goode teching  
Fulled holichirche wiþ god lyuyng.

A mon þat louede him hertilike  
Coueyted of him to haue a relyke:

1435 Perfore ful deuoutely  
To a monk þat kepte þe bodi  
He ȝaf for seint Austines sake,  
On of his fingres him forto take,  
A gret summe of good money.

1440 Pe monk penne tok al in god fey,  
But he him þouȝt sumwhat on gyle:  
And a ded monnes fynger he rayed þat  
while,

Wrapped hit in a selkene cloþ,  
And tok hit þe mon wiþouten oþ,

1419) legende st. lessoun? 1476) Ms. þat þat.

He seide: hit was of seint Austyn  
A fingre and a relyke fyn.

Pe mon hit tok reuerentliche  
And worshiped hit deuoutliche,  
Wiþ his ezen and his mouþ,  
He hit cussed, as þing selcoup.  
But God tok hede to his feip  
Þorwh his miht, as þe bok seiþ,  
And a verrei fingre of seynt Austin  
Him sende of his merci diuin,  
And þat oþur anon riþt  
Was don awey þorwh Godus miht.  
Whon he to his cuntreye com, anon  
Mony miracles þer weoren don.

Pe fame spong so brod wiþ hyze,  
Til hit com to Papye.

Pe monk þat him bygyled hadde  
Seide þat men weren waxen al madde,  
For he him bigyled on his maner  
Wiþ a ded monnes fynger.

But whon þe toumbe was vndon,  
Pei founden þat þer lakked on  
Of þe fyngres of his honde.  
And þenne þei þonked Godus sonde,  
And þe abbot of his offyce  
Remued þe monk, þat was so nyce,  
And punissched him for þat doyng  
Of such a fals begyling.

AT Burgoyne in a munster swet,  
Pat is icalled Fountanet,  
Per was a monk, god mon and truwe,  
Pat men called þo Daun Huwe,

nimius exhalabat. — V. 1417 Sanctus quoque Bernardus dum quadam vice in matutinis existens aliquantulum obdormivisset et de quodam tractatu Augustini lectiones legerentur, vidit quendam pulcherrimum juvenem ibi stantem, de cuius ore tantus inundantium aquarum impetus exibat, quod totam illam ecclesiam videretur replere. Qui Augustinum esse non dubitavit, qui fonte doctrinae totam ecclesiam irrigavit. — 1433 Quidam s. Augustinum valde diligens monacho custodi corporis s. Augustini pecuniam magnam dedit, ut sibi s. Augustini digitum unum daret; sed ille accepta pecunia digitum cuiusdam mortui sericis involutum sibi tribuit, simulans esse digitum Augustini. Quem ille reverenter accipiens semper devotissime adorabat et ori oculisque apponens crebro pectori adstringebat. 1451 Cuius fidem Deus intuens, dígito illo projecto unum digitum s. Augustini tam mirabiliter quam misericorditer sibi dedit. 1457 Qui cum repatriasset et multa ibi miracula fierent, fama usque Papiam delata est. Sed cum praedictus monachus assereret, quod cuiusdam mortui digitus ille esset, sepulchrum aperuerunt et unum deesse de ejus digitis invenerunt. Unde abbas recognita monachum ab officio depositus et dire afflixit. — 1473 Apud Burgundiam in monasterio, quod dicitur Fontanetum, erat quidam monachus, Hugo nomine,

To seint Austin he was deuout,  
To rede his bokus he was about.  
He preied seint Austin deuoutlye  
1 o Pat, what tyme þat he schulde dye,  
Pat hit scholde falle on his festeday —  
Pus hertiliche he dude him pray.  
Fiftene dayes tofore þat solempnite  
Wiþ brenyng feuere taken was he,  
15 And riht vpon seint Austines eue  
Wiþ al his rihtes and good bileue  
Vppon þe grounde he was forþ leyde,  
Forte dye, as alle men seide.

In þe chirche an old monk sat,  
Seyinge his psauter vpon a mat,  
And sauh a siht of gret delyt:  
A cumpaynye, cloþed in whit,  
Entringe wiþ deuocioun  
In to þe churche on a processioune,  
Beohynde hem alle þer com a man  
Al lyk a bisschop icloþed þan.  
Þe monk sumdel aferd was,  
But he asked on of hem þe cas,  
What þei weren and whodur þei went,  
o Whi þei come so, to what entent.  
And anon riht in þat tym  
On of hem onswerde him  
Pat seint Austin wiþ his chanouns  
Was icomen for þe nones,  
5 To fette þe monkes soule to blis

Pat him tofore hedde serued, iwis.  
Po al þat feire cumpaygnie  
Wenten euene to fermerie.  
Whon þei a while hedden beo þerin,  
Pe soule from þe bodi dude twin  
1510 Of þat ilke monk holye  
Pat forþ was leid forte dye,  
And seint Austin and his cumpaygnie  
Pat soule token to glorie  
And diliuerde hit from þat enemye  
Pat to monkynde haþ euer envy. 1515

VPPon a tyme wiþouten drede  
Seint Austin vpon a bok gon rede,  
W(h)il þat he liuede, wiþ good entent:  
He sauh wher a fend wend  
1520 And a gret bok in his nek  
Trussed, in þe maner of a sek.  
Anon him coniured seint Austyn  
To schewe him what was writen þerin.  
And he seide: »sunnes, wiþouten douȝe, 1525  
Pat I haue gedered of mennes aboute«.  
»Zif þou hast eny þer of myn,  
Schewe me anon!« quaþ seint Austyn.  
And he him schewed wel a fyn  
Pat he hedde forzeten ones a cumplyn. 1530  
He bad þe fend him scholde abyde,  
Til he coome to him þat tyde.  
In to þe chirche he hyed sumwhat

s. Augustino valde devotus, qui in ejus scriptis miro desiderio pascebatur, quem etiam crebra supplicatione rogaverat ut ipsum ex hac luce migrare non sineret, nisi in die suae sacratissimae sollemnitatis. Ipse igitur XV die ante festum ejusdem sic coepit duris febris aestuare, ut in vigilia ipsius super humum tamquam moriens poneretur. V. 1489 Et ecce plures decori ac fulgentes viri amicti albis ecclesiam dicti monasterii processionaliter intraverunt, quos sequebatur quidam reverendus pontificatus insignitus: quidam autem monachus in ecclesia consistens hoc videns, obstupuit et quinam essent vel quo pergerent inquisivit. 1501 Cui unus eorum dixit, quod s. Augustinus esset cum suis canoniciis, qui ad devotum suum morientem pergeret, ut ejus animam ad regnum gloriae deportaret. 1507 Post hoc illa reverenda processio ad infirmarium ingreditur; ubi cum aliquamdiu mansisset, sancta illa anima a carne soluta est, quam dulcis amicus et ab hostium insidiis securam reddidit et ad coeli gaudia introduxit. — 1517 Legitur quoque, quod, dum Augustinus in carne vivet et quaedam relegeret, ante se transire vidit daemonem librum humeris bajulanten. Qui ab eo protinus adjuratur ut, quae ibi scripta lateant, sibi pandat. Qui peccata hominum ibidem esse asserit scripta, quae undecumque collegit et in eo reposuit. Moxque ei praecepit ut, si aliquid suorum peccatorum ibi scriptum retineret, sibi legendum continuo manifestet (engl. dir.). Ostendo autem loco nihil Augustinus ibi scriptum reperit nisi quod quadam vice completorium ex obliuione dimisit, 1531 praeciensiisque dyabolo ut suum praestolaretur adventum, ecclesiam est ingressus et completorium devote dixit et solitas orationes complens peregit, reversusque

- And seide þe cumplin þat he forȝat,  
 1535 And his orisouns euerichon,  
 As he was wont forte don.  
 Whon he com to þe fend azeyn,  
 »Scheuh me þe place he gon seyn,  
 »Per þat i was set in þi boke,  
 1540 Let me seo, red and loke!«  
 Pe fend turnde faste, he couþe not  
     fynde,  
 He wox al wroþ as þe wynde  
 And seide: »me forþinkeþ i schewed  
     þe  
 Mi bok, for þou hast bigyled me  
 1545 And don awey wiþ þi preyere  
 Pi synne þat was writen here.«  
 Pe fend vanissched þenne away,  
 Seynt Austin nomore of him saih.
- A wommon dwelled sum men among  
 1550 Sumtyme, þat dude hire muche wrong,  
 And þen heo went to seint Austin  
 To place þer he sat in,  
 Forte aske counsel of him  
 What hire weore best do for þat tym.  
 1555 Heo fond him studying bisiliche,  
 And heo saluwed him reuerentliche,  
 But he biheold on hire noþing  
 Ne onswerd nouht to hire seying.  
 Pe wommon gan in hire hert caste  
 1560 þat þe holy mon was so studefaste  
 þat he nolde not in no cas
- Biholde a wommon in þe fas;  
 Perfore heo neihhed him ner,  
 Tolde him þe cas of hire daunger.  
 But he tornd him nouȝt to hire  
 Ne ȝaf hire non onswere,  
 And heo perfore wiþ sori cher  
 Wente hir hom in heuy maner.  
 Afturward what more and lesse  
 On a day seint Austyn wente to messe;  
 Pis wommon stod þere and herde hit,  
 And was rauissched in hire spirit  
 Aftur þe sacringe in verite  
 Tofore þe heze trinite:  
 Per heo sauh wiþouten dred  
 Seint Austin, enclyning wiþ his hed,  
 As bisi as he mihte beo, iwis,  
 Disputyng of þe grete blis  
 Of þat blisful trinite —  
 God ȝif vs grace þat siht to se! —  
 A vois to hire seide cler and fyn:  
 »Whon þou were at seint Austyn,  
 He was so ifulled of charite,  
 To dispute of þe blis of þe trinite,  
 Pat of þe tok he non hede,  
 Nouþur to counsel no to rede.  
 Bote go nou to him safliche,  
 For þou schalt fynde þat mekeliche  
 He schal þe ȝiue good counsayle,  
 Pe beste to don, wiþouten fayle.«  
 As heo was beden, so dude heo,  
 And good counsel þen ȝaf hire he.

1552) a fehlt vor place.

dixit ei ut praedictum locum sibi ostenderet iterum relegendum (engl. dir.). 1541 Qui dum crebro revolveret et tandem locum vacuum reperisset, iratus dixit: Turpiter me decepisti, poenitet me quod librum meum tibi ostendi, quia peccatum tuum orationum tuarum virtute delevisti. Et his dictis confusus evanuit. — 1549 Cum quaedam mulier a quibusdam malitiosis injuriam pateretur, illa ad beatum Augustinum accessit, ut super hoc ejus consilium imploraret. Quae cum ipsum studentem invenisset et eum reverenter salutasset, ille nec ad eam respxit nec quidquam sibi respondit. 1559 Co-gitans illa ne forte ob nimiam sanctitatem in faciem mulieris nollet intendere, propius accessit et negotium diligenter exposuit; sed ille nec se ad eam convertit nec responsum aliquod sibi dedit, ideoque illa cum tristitia magna recessit. 1569 Altera autem die, cum Augustinus missam celebraret et dicta mulier interesset, post elevationem corporis rapta in spiritu vidi se positam ante tribunal sanctissimae trinitatis, ubi vidit Augustinum facie inclinata de trinitatis gloria attentissime et sublimissime disputantem (1580 Zus.), 1581 factaque est vox ad eam dicens: Cum ad Augustinum ivisti, ille sic de trinitatis gloria attentissime disputabat et ideo, quod ibi fueris, penitus non advertit; sed ad eum secure redeas, quia et eum clementem invenies et consilium salubre reperies. Quod cum fecisset, Augustinus benigne eam audivit et consilium sa-

SUM tyme a mon þer was  
 Pat bifel such a cas :  
 Pat rauissched was in his spirit  
 In to blis wiþ gret dilyt :  
 Per he sauh angeles monye  
 And oþur seintes in gret glorie,  
 But, for seint Austin he sauh nouht,  
 He wondrede gretliche in his þouht.  
 He asked þen on of hem  
 Wher seint Austin mihte ben.  
 And he seide : he was an heilh,  
 As a wys clerk and a sleih  
 Disputyng in diuinite  
 Of þe heinesse of þe trinite.

ALso sum tyme men of Papye  
 Weren itake for envye  
 Of þe marchiun of Malaspyn  
 And in a prison put strong wiþin ;  
 For couetyse of heore moneye  
 Pei forbed vppon al weye  
 Pat men schulde ziuem hem no drinke,  
 Nouþour swet ne sour, in hem to sinke.  
 Perfore summe dized þer in  
 And summe dronken heore oune vrin.  
 Amongus hem was a zong felawe  
 Pat of seint Austin stod gret awe  
 And worschiped him hedde ofte tym :  
 Perfore he preyed he schulde helpe him.  
 Pe nexte niht at heiz midniht  
 Austin apeered to him ful riht  
 And lad him bi þe riht hond

Forþ wiþ him vppon druyze lond,  
 Til he com to þe flod of Grauel — 1625  
 Pat mony a mon knoweþ riht wel ;  
 Per Austin dupperd a leef of a vyn  
 In þat flod wel ofte þerin,  
 Perwiþ his tonge he moysted þan :  
 Perof was he a wel fayn man,  
 He þhouȝte him so at ese, verreyment,  
 Pat he tok non hede of pyement.

A prouost of a chirche collegial  
 Loued seint Austin wiþ his herte al.  
 But at a tyme him tok seknes, 1635  
 Pat þeo zer wiþouten les  
 He kepte his bed as mon beddered,  
 Pat mihte not sture out of þe sted.  
 Tyme of zeer com þen, parde,  
 Of seint Austines day þe solempnete. 1640  
 Vppon his euen to euensong  
 Men rongen þo þeo peles long.  
 Whon þat he herde þe swete soun,  
 Wiþ god herte and deuocioun  
 He dressed him to seye his preyere  
 To seint Austin wiþ gode chere. 1645  
 Seint Austin apeered þo to him  
 Al in whit, þe same tym,  
 And called him þries bi his name  
 And seide to him : »her I ame  
 Pat þou hast cleped so ofte siþe.  
 Pat i nou seie, to me nou liþe :  
 Ary vp swiþe, and dwelle not long,  
 And go to churche and do euensong !«

lubre donavit. — V. 1593 Fertur quoque, quod, dum quidam vir sanctus in spiritu raptus sanctos in gloria conspexisset et b. Augustinum minime vidisset, quendam de sanctis, ubinam A. esset, percunctatus est. Qui respondit: A. residet in excelsis, ubi disputat de gloria excellentissimae trinitatis. — 1607 Cum quidam Papienses a mar-chione Malaspinae in carcere detinerentur, ab iis omnis potus penitus est interdictus, ut posset ab iis magna pecunia extorqueri. Unde plerique jam spiritum exhalabant, quidam vero urinam bibebant. 1617 At quidam juvenis inter eos, qui in b. Augustinum magnam devotionem habebat, ipsum in sui adjutorium invocavit. Tunc circa noctis medium s. Augustinus praedicto adolescenti apparuit et quasi manum ejus dextram apprehendens usque ad flumen Graveloni (1626 Zus.) ipsum deduxit ibique cum folio vitis in aqua madefacto sic ejus linguam refrigeravit, ut (qui urinam bibere cupierat) de potu nectaris non curaret. — 1633 Praepositus cuiusdam ecclesiae in b. Augustinum magnum devotionem habens, cum per tres annos gravem infirmitatem incurisset, ita ut de lecto surgere non valeret, adveniente sollemnitate s. Augustini, cum jam in vigilia ad vesperas pulsaretur, (1643 Zus.) ad rogandum s. Augustinum tota devotione se contulit. 1647 Cui in albis Augustinus apparens, eidem ter citato proprio nomine dixit: Ecce assum totiens a te rogatus, surge cito et celebra milii

- 1655 And so he dude anon riht:  
 And was al hol þorwh Godus miht  
 And þe preyere of saint Austine,  
 þat grete clerk is of dyuyne.
- A schepherde bitwener his scholdres  
 twein
- 1660 A gret bocche hedde and a uylein,  
 þat him dude so muche wo  
 Pat his mihtes were neih ago.  
 But to saint Austin he preyed fast  
 To sende him hele, atte last.
- 1665 Seint Austin in a uisioun  
 Apered to him in his deuocioun  
 And leide his hond vpon þe sore:  
 And hit was hol for euermore.
- ÞAt same mon asturward þo  
 1670 Lost þe siht of his ezen two.  
 To seint Austin his herte he lende  
 And preyed, his siht him forte sende.  
 Vppon a day astur þe meridien  
 Austin apeered to him þen
- 1675 And wiped his ezen wiþ his honde:  
 And he was hol þorwh Godus sonde.
- ABoute nizene hundred zer  
 And twelue of þe date of vr lord in fer  
 Per bifel such a chaunce
- 1680 Pat fourti sum of men of Germayn in  
 Fraunce
- 1660) bocche = botch, a swelling of the skin. 1680) Ms. in st. and; sollte es mehr als ein  
 blossen Schreibfehler sein? 1687) þat st. þei? 1701) Ms. þat st. þer?
- Toward Rome wente wiþ gret dilyte,  
 Pe holy apostles to visyte:  
 Summe were cruceles in carres led,  
 And summe were blynde and harde  
 bisted,  
 And summe wiþouten staues miȝt not  
 stande,  
 And summe hedden lost boþe fot and  
 honde:  
 Pat passeden ouer hulles monye  
 Til þei come to þat place, called Carbo-  
 narie.
- Whon þei weoren comen almost þan  
 To a place, men clepen Can,  
 Pat is fro Papye but þeo mile,  
 Per þei rested a luytel while,  
 Out of a chirche — þat mani a man  
 Knoweþ: — of seint Cosme and Damian  
 Com seyt Austin in bisschopes wede  
 To þis cumpaigni and bad god spede  
 And asked hem whodur þei scholde.  
 Þei seiden to Rome þat þei fayn wolde.  
 Pen he hem bad þat in hiȝe  
 Pey schulden wende to Papye,  
 Pat »aftur seint Petres churche wiþ mylde  
 steuene  
 Askeþ, þat men calleþ »þe guylde he-  
 uene!«
- Per schul ze fynden þat merci!  
 He seide, »þat ze sechen, sikerli!«
- officium vespertinum. Qui sanus surgens (cunctis stupentibus) ecclesiam intravit et officium devote peregit (1657—8 Zus.). — V. 1659 Cum cuidam pastori saevum ulcus inter scapulas ortum esset, adeo morbus invaluit, ut jam totis esset viribus destitutus. Qui dum ad s. Augustinum preces emitteret, eidem Augustinus in visu apparuit et super locum infirmum manum apponens perfecte eum sanavit. 1669 Idem quoque vir procedente tempore oculorum lumine est privatus. Qui cum s. Augustinum sedulo invocaret, quodam die circa meridiem eidem apparuit et oculos manibus suis tergens pristinam sibi sanitatem restituit. — 1677 Circa annum domini DCCCCXII viri quidam graviter infirmi numero plus quam XL de Germania et Gallia Romam ibant ad limina apostolorum visitanda; quorum quidam scannis in terra curvi se ve-hentes, alii cum baculis se sustentantes, alii privati oculis post alios se trahentes, alii contractas manus et pedes habentes pergebant. Qui montes transeuntes ad locum, qui dicitur Carbonaria, pervenerunt. 1689 Cum autem paene ad locum, qui Cana dicitur, advenissent, qui tribus millibus a Papia distat, (1692 Zus.) s. Augustinus pontificalibus indutus, de quadam ecclesia in honore ss. Cosmae et Damiani constructa exiens, eisdem apparuit eosque salutans, quo tenderent requisivit. Qui cum ei quo tenderent respondissent, adjecit: Ite Papiam et de coenobio s. Petri, quod dicitur Coelum Aureum, interrogate et ibi misericordiam habebitis quam optatis.

Pen þei him asked what he hiht.  
 Pen onswerde he anon riht :  
 »Mi nome is Austin, wite ze wel, men,  
 Pat sum tyme was bisschop of Iponen«,  
 And þenne anon from heore eze-siht  
 He vanissched þorwh Godus miht.  
 Te Papye whon þei weren come,  
 To þe munstre þe wey þei nome,  
 Anon þei liften heore vois at ones  
 And cried riht þus for þe nones :  
 »Seint Austin confessour glorious,  
 Haue merci nou and help þou vs!«  
 At þis cri þer comen anon  
 Monkes and oþur men mony on :  
 Per mihte men seo þe traces of bledyng  
 Of heore veynes streynyng,  
 From þe churche dore wel a fyn  
 Til þei come to þe tumbe of seynt Austin :  
 Pere þei weren heled alle, pardē,  
 Pat no sore on hem men mihte se.  
 From þat tyme forþ þe grete fame  
 Encresed of seint Austines name,  
 Pat muche pepele afturward  
 Pat seke weoren wenten þiderward,  
 And of heore seknesse feir and wel  
 Weren iheled eueridel.  
 And þer weore laft so mani  
 Signes of wax, verreyli,

1746) Ms. he ist zu tilgen.

Pat saint Austines chapel  
 And þe porche þerof eueridel  
 Weoren so ful, þat no wiht  
 Nouþur in ne out passe miht. 1735  
 Neode drof þe monkes to take away  
 Mony of þe signes, day bi day.

Hiit is an old notabilite  
 Pat þreo þingus þer be 1740  
 Pat worldliche men disiren here :  
 Riches, delices, and worships in feere.  
 Pis seint was of so gret parfecciu  
 Pat he of þeos þinges hedde abhomina-  
 ciun.

Pat he dispised so riches, 1745  
 Pe bok »Soliloquijjs« he bereþ witnes ;  
 Per Resun askeþ him þus :  
 »Of richesse wheþur þou beo couetous ?«  
 Seint Austin þer onswereþ him  
 And seiþ : »þis nis not þe furste tym, 1750  
 For i am now of þritti zeer  
 And seþþe fourtene ben passed her  
 Siþen i hedde no coueytyng  
 But onliche to mete, drinke and cloþing :  
 For vppon Ciceronis oun boke  
 I lernde wel whon I dude loke,  
 Pat i schulde on none wyse  
 Of richesse haue no coueytise. 1755

V. 1705 Qui cum eum de nomine suo interrogassent, ait : Ego sum Augustinus, quondam Hypponensis civitatis episcopus — statimque ab oculis eorum evanuit. Illi autem Papiam pergentes, cum ad dictum monasterium pervenissent, coeperunt omnes voces levare ac unanimiter conclamare : Sancte Augustine, adjuva nos. 1717 Ad quorum clamores cives et monachi (excitati ad tam grande spectaculum) confuebant, et ecce ex nervorum distentione sanguis multis coepit effluere, ita ut ab introitu coenobii usque ad tumbam s. Augustini tota terra sanguine videretur respersa. Cum autem ad sepulcrum s. Augustini venissent, omnes sanitati sunt integrae restituti, acsi nulla in eorum corporibus laesio exstitisset. 1725 Coepit extunc fama s. Augustini crebescere et multitudo languentium ad ejus tumulum adventare, qui omnes sanitatis beneficia reportantes suae salutis pignora relinquebant, factumque est ut tanta praedictorum pignorum fuerit multitudo, ut inde totum oratorium s. Augustini et porticus plena essent, ita ut eundi et redeundi impedimentum non modicum generarent. Quapropter monachi necessitate compulsi ea inde removeri fecerunt. — 1739 Notandum, quod, cum tria sint quae a mundanis hominibus appetuntur : scilicet divitiae, deliciae et honores, vir iste sanctus tantae perfectionis exstitit, quod ipse divitias contempsit, honores respuit, voluptates abhorruit. 1745 Quod enim divitias contemneret, ipse testatur in libro Soliloquiorum, ubi ratio eum interrogat dicens : Divitias nullas cupis ? et respondet Augustinus : Hoc quidem nec nunc primum; nam cum XXX annos agam, XIV fere anni sunt ex quo ista cupere destiti nec aliud in his praeter necessarium victum cogitavi, prorsus unus Ciceronis liber mihi facile persuasit nullo modo

REsun him asked also

1760 In þe same bok þerto :

Wheþer he tok ouht to gret kepe  
To eny worldly worschepe.

Per he onswereþ godliche

And seiþ : »I knowleche outurliche

1765 I haue hem laft for euermo,

Whil niht and day mai come and go«.

LVst also and dilytinge

Of fleschlich likyng or tastinge

He forsoc, as þe same bok telleþ vs,

1770 And seiþ and telleþ riht þus :

Resun him askeþ of a wyf :

Wher he hedde lykynge in þat lyf,

Zif þat heo weore feir and clene,

Feir-manered, wiþouten wene,

1775 And zif þat he wuste sikerliche

Þat heo weore wondur riche,

Nomeliche zif he wuste sikerliche his ese,

Þat he schulde soffre no disese.

Austin onswereþ anon riht :

1780 »Pauh þou hire peynted neuer so briht

And rikene as muche goodnesse

As þou const, boþe more and lesse,

I haue icast ouer alle þing

To fleo flescliche doyng«.

Qwaþ Resun þenne : »I aske þe nouht

What to do þou hast cast in þi þouht,

But wheþer wiþ loue oþur wiþ awe

Pyn herte þerto weore ouht idrawe?«

Austin onswerde wiþouten ire :

»In such þing haue I non disyre;

And zif hit falle out to my mynde,

Hit is wiþ horrour a(n)d dispisyng«.

REsun him asked : of his dilyt

In mete and drinke hou stod hit.

And he onswerde wiþouten scape :

»Of mete, drinke ne of baþe

Nouþur of oþur bodilyche lustus

Aske me nouȝt, as þouh þou nustes ;

I ne aske no more, my lyf to lede,

But onliche on such þinges þat me do  
nede«.

God ziuue ou grace wiþ herte glade

To preye for him þat þis lyf made.

AMEN.

esse appetendas divitias. V. 1759 Quod autem honores respuerit, in eodem libro testatur, ubi ratio eum interrogat dicens: Quid honores? et respondet Augustinus Fateor eos modo ac paene his diebus cupere destiti. 1767 Voluptates quoque et delicias (Grässe: divitias) contemsit et quantum ad concubitum et quantum ad gustum Quantum ad primum, interrogat eum ratio dicens in eodem libro: Quid uxor? nonne delectat pulchra, pudica, morigerata, dives, praesertim si certus sis nihil ex ea te molestiae esse passurum? 1779 et respondet Augustinus: Quantumlibet velis ean depingere atque cumulare bonis omnibus, nil mihi tam fugiendum quam concubitum esse decrevi. Cui ratio: Non ego quaero quid decreveris, sed utrum ad hoc aliceris? et respondet Augustinus: Prorsus nihil in hujusmodi quaero, nihil desidero, etiam cum onere, horrore et aspernatione talia recordor. 1793 Quantum ad secundum, interrogat eum ratio dicens: Quid de cibis? et respondet Augustinus: Sive de cibo ei potu sive de balneis caeteraque corporis voluptate nihil interroges; tantum ab ea pete quantum in valetudinis spem conferri potest. —

## 7. Savinian &amp; Savina.

SVm tyme þer was an heþen man  
 þat men called Sauyn þan.  
 Of his furste wyf he gat a childe  
 And called him Sauyn, god and mylde,  
 ðf his secunde wyf also  
 A feir douhtur he gat þo  
 And called hire rihte name  
 Sauyna, wommon of gode fame.  
 Sauyn þe zonge rad on a boke  
 On a tyme as he gon loke,  
 þis vers, wiþouten mor:  
 Asperges me domine & mundabor.  
 What was þeroſ þe vndurstondyng,  
 Couþe he not wite for noþing.  
 In to his chaumbre he wente him þere,  
 Leide him in askes and in an here,  
 And seide he hedde leuer dye þen  
 But he mihte wite what þat was to  
 men.  
 An angel seide to him þis red:  
 Trouble not þi self riht to bi ded,  
 For riht here in þis place  
 Of God þou hast ifounden grace;  
 Whon þou art cristned, wite wel nou,  
 Pou schalt beo whittore þen is þe snouh,  
 And þen scha(l)t þou riht wel wite  
 What is to sei þat þou sauh write».

19) Ms. And st. an. 25) Ms. schat st. schalt.

Whon þe angel was gon him fro,  
 Idoles and maumetes he forsok þo  
 And worshiped hem nomore astur þat tym.  
 Perfore his fader was wroþ wiþ him 30  
 And seide: »beter is, wiþouten drede,  
 þat þou al one beo dede  
 For þou vr godus nult not honoure,  
 þen alle we dyen in on vre«.  
 Priueliche fleih he þan 35  
 To þe citéé of Terasinan.  
 Whon he com to þe watur of Secan,  
 þer preyed he God, as a good man,  
 þat cristendom he wolde him sende.  
 And so hit was, er he þeonne wende. 40  
 þen seide vr lord: »þat þou hast souht,  
 þou hast nou founden — leose hit nouht!«  
 He stiked þer his staf adoun  
 And seide þen his orisoun —  
 Toforen alle þat þer weren þat vre 45  
 Hit bar leues and eke floure.  
 So þat for þat miracle þo  
 A þousund an hundred and eizte þerto  
 Men bileeued in vr lord  
 And worschuped him wiþ herte and word. 50  
 Whon þe emperor Aurelean  
 Herde of such a maner man,  
 þider he sente mony kniþtes

7) Das Orig. s. Leg. Aur. cap. 127: de sanctis Saviniano et Savina. Der Titel m Ms. ist blos Sauina. — 1) V. 1 vgl.: Savinianus et Savina fuerunt filii Savini (viri nobilissimi, sed) pagani, qui de prima uxore Savinianum (!) genuit, de secunda Savinam filiam generavit (et ex nomine suo ambos vocavit). 9 Legens autem Savinianus versum illum: Adasperges me domine etc., quid hoc esset quaerebat, sed intelligere non valebat. 15 Unde intrans in cubiculum in cinere et cilicio prostratus jacebat, dicens se malle mori quam non intelligere sensum verbi. 19 Cui apparens angelus dixit: Noli te usque ad mortem affligere, quoniam invenisti gratiam apud Deum, et cum baptizatus fueris, nive candidior eris et tunc intelliges quod nunc quaeris. 27 Recedente angelo (laetus efficitur et) ydola de caetero venerari contempnens a patre plurimum objurgatur. Cum ergo pater saepius sibi diceret: Melius est ut, quia Deos non adoras, tu solus moriaris, quam nos omnes in morte tua insimul involvamur, — 35 latenter aufugit et ad urbem Trecasinam devenit. Cumque super fluvium Secanae venisset et ut ibi ex eo baptizaretur, dominum exorasset, ibidem baptizatus est, dixitque ei dominus: Nunc invenisti quod tamdiu quaerendo laborasti. Statimque in terra baculum fixit et facta oratione baculus ille coram multis adstantibus frondes et flores produxit, ita quod MCVIII viri domino crediderunt. 51 Imperator autem Aurelianus hoc audiens, milites ad eum capiendum plures direxit, qui eum orantem

Him to take and bringe forþ rihtes.  
 55 Whon þei comen to þe watur syde,  
 Pei founden him preyngie in þat tyde ;  
 Pei weren aferd him to lette,  
 But, whon he ros, þei him grette  
 And seiden : »sire, wite þou pardē,  
 60 Pe emperor desyref to seo þe.  
 Go we þerfore to Aurelian !«  
 And whon þat he was ibrouht þan,  
 For he nolde not do sacrificise  
 To heore maumetes on heore gyse,  
 65 Fot and hond he let him bynde  
 And al to-beten bifore and bihynde.  
 Sauiniam seide þenne anon riht :  
 »Puyt forþ mo tormens, ȝif þat þou miht !«  
 Pe emperor comaunded anon þat he  
 70 In þe middel of þat citéé  
 Schulde beo bounde to a piler,  
 Pat he mihte feor no ner,  
 And wode and oyle put to him þan  
 And fuir, to brenne Sauinian.  
 75 Whon þe emperor him sauh in his tur-

ment

Preye to God wiþ good entent,  
 And þat he was neuer þe wors  
 For þe fuir, at þat cours  
 For wonder in þat ilke stounde  
 80 He fel doun griueling to þe grounde,  
 And ros vp wod as eny hare  
 And seide þeose wordus þare :  
 »Pou wode best, wiþ þi doyng

86) þou fehlt? 97) Ms. luſt st. left.

101) þou aus nou corrig.

Suffiseþ not þi deseyuyng  
 Of mennes soules, so mote þou priue,  
 But wiþ wiccheraft vs deceyue. :  
 Sauiniam seide to him þo :  
 »ȝit Porwh me schullen soulus mo  
 And þou þi self beo tornd to God,  
 Pauh þou beo nou ful wilde of mod. :  
 Pe emperor comaundedede in þat stoun-  
 de :  
 Vppon þe morwe he schulde beo bounde  
 To a stok and þenne beo schote  
 Wiþ arwes from hed to fote.  
 Whon þei schoten, his bodi to peire,  
 Pe arwes hengen in þe eire  
 On his luſt syde and his riht arm,  
 But he him self hedde non harm.  
 Pe emperor ful wroþ hym leete,  
 Anoþur day bad men him schete  
 And seide : »wher is þi God ? þou  
 Let him saue þe from þeos arwes nou. :  
 On of þat same arwes wiþouten lyze  
 Huttie þe emperor in þe eze.  
 And for he hedde lost his eze-siht,  
 He comaundedede him to prisun anon riht,  
 And he bad also wiþ sorwe  
 Pei schulde gurde of his hed amowre.  
 Sauinian preied God in þat cas  
 Pat he moste come to þat plas  
 Per he was cristned for Godus sake :  
 Anon his veteres al to-brake,  
 And among þe kniþtes euerichon

invenientes ad ipsum accedere timuerunt, (imperator autem plures prioribus misit, qui venientes cum eo orante pariter oraverunt) surgentesque (!) dixerunt: Imperator desiderat te videre (61 Zus.). 62 Qui cum venisset et nollet sacrificare, manus ejus et pedes fecit ligari et vectibus ferreis caedi. Cui Savinianus: Adauge tormenta, si potes. 69 Tunc jussit eum in media civitate ligari super scamnum (72 Zus.) et suppositis lignis, oleo et igne incendio concremari. Rex autem intuens vidi eum in media flamma stantem pariter et orantem. Stupefactus in suam faciem cecidit et surgens ei dixit: 83 Fera mala, non tibi sufficient animae quas decepisti, nisi et nos per magicam artem decipere moliaris. 87 Cui Savinianus: Adhuc multae animae et tu ipse per me sunt domino crediturae (90 Zus.). 91 (Cum autem imperator ex hoc nomen Dei blasphemasset), in crastinum jussit eum ad stipitem ligari et sagittari; sagittae autem a dextris et a sinistris in aëre suspendebantur nec aliqua eum laesit. 99 Altera die imperator ad eum veniens dixit ei: Et ubi est Deus tuus? veniat nunc et de sagittis istis te liberet. Statimque una de illis sagittis (exsiliens) regem in oculo percussit et penitus excaecavit. Unde iratus jussit eum in carcere recipi et in crastino decollari. 109 Savinianus autem orans ut ad locum ubi baptizatus fuerat transferretur, confractis catenis (et apertis ostiis) per medios milites transiens illuc venit; quod

To þat flos he wente anon.  
 Pe emperour herde of þis cast  
 And bad men schulde pursuwe him fast,  
 His hed þer of to smyte —  
 For þat was his most delyte.  
 Whon Sauinian sauh ful riht  
 Pat þer suwed him mony a kniht,  
 Vppon þe watur he wente anon,  
 As þeih he on eorþe hedde igon,  
 Til þat he com to þat same plas  
 Per þat he icristened was.  
 þe knihtes waded in ful fast  
 And come to him atte last;  
 Pei weren aferd him forte smite,  
 He bad hem not spare for no despite,  
 »And whon þat ze haue so idon,  
 Takeþ my blod wiþ ou anon  
 And to þe emperour ful riht  
 Bereþ hit, þat he mowe haue his siht,  
 Pat he mowe knowe euer afturward  
 Godus vertue, þat is vr lord!«  
 Whon his hed was of ismite,  
 In his ounе hondes he tok hite  
 And þorwh Godus grete graas  
 Bar hit nine and fourti paas.  
 Pe emperour afturward wiþ hize  
 Wiþ þat blod enoynte(d) his eze :  
 And anon riht wiþouten more  
 He sauh as wel as dude bifore,  
 And þen he seide wiþ milde mood :  
 »Forsoþe, cristen mennes God is good!«

140) Ms. enoynte st. enoynted. 142) dude = dude he.

A wommon þat blynd hedde iben iwis 145  
 Fourti winter, herd of þis  
 And let men to þat place hire bere,  
 And þer heo made hire preyere :  
 And þorwh þe grace of God almiht  
 And of his seyt heo hedde hire siht. 150  
 þis seint was sent þus to glorie  
 Pe niþe kalende of Februarie (!).  
 But his owne suster  
 Dized anoþur tyme of þe zer.  
 Of hire now schal i tel, 155  
 And ze wollen lusten me wel.

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SAuina was heþene zit  
 And in idoles hedde gret dilyt,  
 And pryzede for hir broþur to hem fast,  
 Heo wepte also. but atte last, 160  
 In hire slep as heo was leyd,  
 An aungel com and to hire seid :  
 »Sauina, wep þou no more!  
 Saeu þi self, beo not forlore,  
 And forsak al þyn hauyng : 165  
 And þou schalt fynde þi broþur, dwel-  
 lyng

In þe moste worschupe iwis  
 þat may beo, in joye and blisc.  
 Whon heo awok of hire sleepynge,  
 Heo asked hire felawe : »sauz þou eny 170  
 ping ?«

audiens imperator jussit eum illuc insequi et capite truncari (118 Zus.). 119 Videns autem Savinianus milites insequentes, super aquam velut supra petram ambulavit, quoisque ad locum sui baptismi pervenit. 125 Cum igitur milites transvadassent et eum percutere formidarent, dicit illis : Securi me percutite et de sanguine meo ad imperatorem deferte, ut lumen recipiat et Dei virtutem agnoscat. 135 Percussus igitur caput suum levavit et passibus XLIX illud portavit. 139 At imperator, cum de ejus sanguine oculum tetigisset, continuo sanatus est, dicens : Vere bonus et magnus est Deus christianorum. 145 Quod audiens quaedam quae annis XL lumen amiserat, ad locum portari se fecit et facta oratione protinus lumen accepit. 151 Passus est autem circa annos domini CCLXXIX cal. Februarii (!) — 153 (Sed hoc ideo inseritur, ut hystoriae sororis sua, cuius festum praecipue hic recolitur, haec quoque hystoria coniungatur).

2) V. 157 Cum ejus soror igitur Savina fratrem suum quotitie fleret et pro eo ydolis supplicaret, tandem sibi dormienti apparuit angelus dicens : Savina, noli flere (164 Zus.), sed quaecumque habes derelinque et invenies fratrem tuum in honore maximo constitutum. 169 Quae evigilans collectaneae sua dixit : Amica mea, aliquidne sensisti? Et illa : Etiam, domina; nam vidi hominem tecum loquentem, sed nescio qui-

»Ze, heo seide, my deore ladi,  
I saih a mon speke wiþ þe, verreyli,  
But what he seide, wot i nouht,  
Perfore þeron haue I no þouht«.

175 Sauyna seide : »loke þou hit not oute«.  
»Nay, dame, quaþ heo, wiþoute doute,  
Whateuer þou wolt, do þi wille,  
So þou þi self nouþur sle ne spille«.

Vppon þe morwe whon hit was day,  
180 Boþe two þei wenten heore way.

Hire fadur hir souhte in eueri plas —  
No mon coupe wite wher þat heo was.  
His hondus þen heold he vp to heuene  
And seide þeos wordus wiþ mylde ste-

nene :

185 »Zif þou beo God of heuene, as men letes,  
Lord of al : brek my maumetes  
Þat miht not sauie my children twein —  
Hem to truste is not but veyn«.

Vr lord sende a þondur anon  
190 And brac his idoles euerichon.

Alle þulke þat sezen and þere stood  
Euer aftur leeued in God.

Sauina com þenne to Rome,  
Eusebie þe pope zaf hire cristendome ;  
195 Twey blynde heo heled þoruz Godus sonde  
And tweyne þat weren crooked, fot and  
honde.

Vppon a niht in hire slepyng  
An angel com to hire, seyzing :  
»Sauina, hou hast þow

185) letes v. let = to pretend, vgl. Gen. u. Exod. 2168 (ags. laétan to pretend). 229) wonde, so Gen. u. Exod. 4136. 3782, v. winden.

Forsaken þi richesse, now  
Þou art ifed her wiþ delice? —  
Beo þou not þeroft to nice.  
Aris vp þerfore out of þis plas  
And go to þe citéé of Thretas —  
Loke þou beo not longe beohynde —  
Per þi broþur þou schalt fyndē«.

Heo seyde to hire maiden þo :  
»Hennes forsoþe we moste go«.  
»A, ladi! heo seide, whodur wol ze?  
Alle men here louen wel þe,  
And þou wolt go on pilgrimage,  
To dye, or þou come to ful age?«

Heo onswerd : »God al vr weye,  
What þat vs nedeþ, wol purueye«.  
Heo tok wiþ hire barli-bred þen,  
Til þat heo com to þe cite of Rauen,  
To a riche monnes hous in þat stede,  
Whos douhtur was neih dede —  
For hire hir frendes maden serwe.  
Per heo asked hire herborwe  
Of a seruaunt of þat hous,  
Þat hire onswerde sone þus :

»Hou mihte ze beo herborwed her,  
Seþþe my maistresse makeþ such cher  
And al oþur beoþ wiþ del bistedde,  
For hir douhtur is neih ded a bedde?  
Sauina onswerde wiþouten more :  
»Heo ne schal not dyze þerfore«.  
In to þat hous þen heo wonde  
And tok þe child vp bi þe honde

229) wonde,

dem quid dicentem. Non me, inquit, accusabis? Et illa: Absit, domina; quaecunque vis, facias, tantum non te occidas. 179 Sicque in crastino ambae recesserunt. Cum ergo pater diu fecisset eam inquire et non invenisset, elevatis ad coelum manibus ait: Si tu es Deus potens in coelo, ydola mea comminue, quae natos meos salvare non potuerunt. Tunc dominus intonans omnia comminuit et confregit, quod multi videntes crediderunt. 193 Verum beata Savina Romam veniens ab Eusebio papa baptizatur et duos caecos duosque contractos sanans (V annis ibi permansit). 197 Cui dormienti apparens angelus dixit: Savina, quid est quod facis, ut tuas divitias deserens nunc igitur in deliciis hic epuleris? surge et vade in Trecas civitatem, ut fratrem tuum ibidem invenias (205 Zus.). 207 Dixit ergo famulae suae: Non oportet nos hic amplius habitare. Et illa: Domina, quo vis ire? ecce omnes valde te diligunt, et tu peregre mori cupis? Et illa: Deus nobis providebit. 215 Et accipiens panem hordeaceum, in urbem Ravennam devenit, veniensque ad domum cuiusdam divitis, cuius filia quasi mortua plangebatur, se ibidem a famula hospitio recipi postulabat. Quae ait: Domina mea, quomodo hic hospitari vales, cum filia dominae meae moriatur et omnes se graviter affligant? Non propter me, inquit, morietur. 229 Intrans igitur domum, manum puellæ apprehendit et sanam ipsam erexit (232

And made hire hol of hire seknesse —  
 þerof made joye boþe more and lesse.  
 He goode mon of þe hous and his wyf  
 Wolden han wiþholden hire as heore lyf,  
 But þerto wolde heo nouȝt assent,  
 But went hire wei wiþ good entent.  
 Whon heo com to a plas  
 Pat nas bote a myle from Tretas,  
 Heo seide to hire maiden þere :  
 A luytel þat heo wolde reste here.  
 Out of þat citéé a noble man  
 Com to hem tweyne þan,  
 Lycen icalled was he,  
 And he hem asked : »whennes beo ze?«  
 Sauina seide : »sire, parde,  
 I am riht of þis cuntrie.«  
 Lycen seide : »whi gabbest þou?«  
 Pi tonge scheweþ þe for a pilgrym nou.«  
 Sauina seide þenne to him :  
 »Forsoþe, sire, I am a pilgrim,  
 And seche my broþur Sauinian  
 Pat was ilost long tyme agan.«  
 Lycen seide þan : »in certayn,  
 He þat þou sechest was islayn.  
 Hit neodeþ not to þe forte scof :  
 For Cristes loue his hed is of,  
 His bodi, as i þe sey, iwis,  
 In Godus place iburied is.«  
 Prostrat heo fel þen to grounde  
 And preyed to God þus in þat stounde :  
 »Lord, on God in Trinite,  
 Suffre þou nou me no more

Beo fortrauayled wiþ weyes sore,  
 Ne my bodi awei to pas,  
 Zif þi wille beo, out of þis plas !      265  
 To þe also, lord, i comende  
 Mi damysele for to defende,  
 Pat wiþ me þus hiderto  
 Haþ isoffred pyne and wo.  
 And my broþur, þat wiþouten lye      270  
 I wende to haue seyzen here wiþ eze,  
 In þi kyngdom mak me him seo,  
 Lord, þauh i vnworþi beo !«  
 Pi orisoun whon heo hedde ised,  
 Anon riht þo heo was ded.      275  
 Whon hir seruaunt þerof was war,  
 Heo wepte and hedde muche car,  
 For heo nedde nouȝt, sikerly,  
 To burie wiþ þenne þe bodi.  
 Pe forseid mon þenne parde      280  
 Sende a criour þorwh þe cite,  
 Pat alle men schulde come to him,  
 To burie a wommon, a pilgrim.  
 And so þei duden soþliche  
 And burieden þe bodi worschipefuliche. — 285  
 Pe dai, þat þe feste is of saint Sauin &  
 Sauina,  
 Is þe festeday of saint Sabina,  
 Pat was a wyf of gret miht  
 To Valentinian þe kniht,  
 Pat, for heo nolde not do sacrificise      290  
 On þe heþen mennes wyse,  
 Was imartred and don to ded,  
 For þei smiten of hire hed.

Zus.), et cum vellent eam retinere, nullatenus acquievit. 236 Cum ergo juxta Trecas ad milliare venisset, dixit famulae suae ut paulum repausarent. 241 Et ecce vir quidam nobilis Licerius de civitate veniens dixit ei : Unde estis ? Cui Savina : Hinc sum de ista civitate. Et ille : Cur mentiris , cum loquela indicat te esse peregrinam ? Et illa : Domine, vere peregrina sum et fratrem meum Savinianum diu perditum requiro. Cui ait : Vir ille quem quaeris ante paululum pro Christo decollatus est (255 Zus.) et in tali(!) loco sepultus. 259 Tunc se prosternens in oratione ait : Domine, (qui me semper in castitate servasti,) non permittas me amplius duris itineribus fatigari aut corpus meum de loco isto ulterius moveri ! commendo tibi famulam meam , quae propter me tanta sustinuit, fratremque meum, quem hic videre non potui, fac ut in regno tuo videre merear. 274 Finita autem oratione migravit ad dominum. Quod videns ejus famula coepit flere, quia ad sepeliendum necessaria non habebat. 280 Praedictus autem vir praeconem per civitatem misit, ut homines ad sepeliendum mulierem peregrinam venirent. Qui venientes honorifice eam sepelierunt. — 286 Hac quoque die fit festum sanctae Sabinae, quae fuit uxor Valentini militis, quae, cum nollet sacrificare, (sub Adriano imperatore) decollata est.



II.

Einzellegenden.



## I. Kindheit Jesu.

a) aus Ms. Harl. 3954, fol. 70 (14. Jhd.).

Hic incipit infancia saluatoris.

Lord god in trinite,  
Pou boutyst man on rode dere :  
Pou send hem grace, wel to the,  
Pat lystyn me wt mylde chere,  
For þe loue of Mary fre  
Pat helpyth vs wt here preȝere !  
Zyf þat ze wyllyn herkyn to me,  
A gret solace ze may here :  
Of hym þat is most of vertu  
A fayir tale I wyl zow telle,  
Ryth of þe chyldhod of Jhesu,  
Zyf þat ze wyllyn a stounde duelle.

Qwan Jhesu was of Mary born —  
Blyssyd mote þat tyme be ! —  
Thre kynges komyn hym beforne  
And dedyn hym homage & feute.  
Heroudes wt enuye had suorn  
Pat Jhesu ded xuld be.  
Mary wold not here chyld were lorn :  
Out of þat lond she gan fle,  
Out of þat lond wt myth & mayn,

Fro kyth þer men here ne knewe ;  
She bad a man þat he xuld sayn  
þat she kom þer qwan þat he sewe.

Forth went Mary wt Jhesu, 25  
And Jochep folwyd on a rowe ;  
Þe iewys folwyd after anone,  
& þan þat corn men shar & mowe.  
& þan forþer our lady gan gon  
Be vnkout weyis þat she ne knewe : 30  
She sey lyony, lebbardes, many on,  
& þan began here sorwyn newe.  
Mary seyd : »þis bestes xullyn vs slon.  
Alas, þe day waxit so dym !«  
Jhesu blyssyd þo bestes Ichon : 35  
More & lesse he loutyd to hym.  
For merthe of lebbardes þat she sey  
Mary blyssyd here sone anone,  
She dred no best in þe wey,  
She seyde : here kar was al gon. 40

Forþermore, I zow say,  
Our lady went be cuntres wylde.  
Barabas wonyd in þat way,

Das Ms. schreibt *wt* für *wyth* oder *wyt* (t steht häufig st. th), *þt* für *þat*, *þs* für *þis*, stets *þu* und meist *zū* für *pou*, *zow* (zou 41), *qþ* für *qwaþ*, *qn* für *qwan*, *Jhū* für *Jhesu* (vgl. die Reime *Jhū* vertu 563, *Jhū* blu 595, *Jhū* prow 663, doch scheint es V. 25 in *Jhesum* aufzulösen); öfter sind Vocale obengeschrieben, ohne Abkürzung zu bezeichnen, so bei *þe*, *þi*, *þo*, ebenso zuweilen s, wie in *was*, *as*, *hys*. — V. 1—192 s. ebenso (aber mit vielfach verderbtem Texte) die 2. Version V. 1—210. 6) Ms. *praeȝere*. 21) Ms. out of *þt* *wt* *myth* *lond*; *lond* ist nach *þat* umzustellen. 27) Ms. *anoñ*, so öfter; der Strich über n kann hier nur e bezeichnen sollen, wie in *doñ*, *goñ* 520 u. ö., *foñ* 258, *hom* 380 (home 435), *moñ* 506, *noñ* 584, *soñ* 621; *euerychoñ* 260; wol auch in *pleyn* 359 und *dronkyñ* 100, *takyñ* 545; in *anoñ* 101. 254. 378 u. ö. ist u st. n verschrieben, wie öfter; in *anoñ* bezeichnet der Strich *n*. 36) *he plur.*, wie 86.

He was a thef *in* wode & felde;  
 45 He askyd *our* lady be here lay:  
 »Qwat beryst *þou*?« she seyd : »a chylde«,  
 Jhesu preyd, þer he lay.  
 Dysmas preyd hys fader to ben mylde.  
 Barabas seyd : »þat may not be.

50 Sekerly, w<sup>t</sup>outyn nay,  
 Ze xul be robbyd alle III,  
 Or þat ze pace þis Iche way».

He tok Mary al in hey,  
 He held here styll be þe lappe.  
 55 Pan gan Dysmas for to cry :  
 »My leue fader, let hem schappe!  
 Me were leuer for to dey  
 Pan here mystyd euyl happē.  
 Hys fader let hem gon sekerly,  
 60 Pe sone hys handes gyn to clappe.  
 Pan seyd suete Mary :  
 »My leue sone, qwyt hym þis!«  
 »Moder, wt me he xal dey  
 And kome wt me *in* to my blys».

65 Forþermore *our* lady went,  
 Toward Egypt she tok þe gate.  
 Here for to restyn she had talent :  
 Hete of þe sunne mad here to suate.  
 Joshep *in* armys he her hent,  
 70 For wel he vnderstod here state,  
 He tok here dou<sup>n</sup> wt good entent  
 Of þe asse þat she on sate,  
 Vnder a tre, þat was ful hey,  
 Wt fayre flourys he made here sete.

75 Mary seyd : he were ful sly  
 þat of þis freyt now myth gete.

Qwan Mary had mad here mone,  
 Hyre sone wyſt al here wyl,  
 Of þe froyt wol good wone  
 80 He here ȝaf, & þat was scylle :  
 Jhesu spak to þe tre þanne :  
 »þou louſt adoun my moder tyl,

Tyl she & Josep boþe han tanne  
 Of þe frut ryth al here wyl.«  
 Onto here fot þe tre gan folde,  
 Tyl he hadde takyn þat hem tyth.  
 Qwan he takyn hadde þat he woldē,  
 As it was it stod vp ryth.

And þan seyd *our* suete lady :  
 »Certes, me thrysty wonder sore«.  
 »Certes«, seyt Josep, »so do I,  
 And *our* asse zetmekyl more.  
 Al þis lond it is so dry,  
 For lak of water is al my kare«.  
 Jhesu spak to þe tre on hey  
 And bad it wyssyn water þare.  
 Of þe tre þer gan spryng  
 Wellys fele & water at wyl,  
 Wyn & water it gan fort bryng.  
 Perof he dronkyne al here fyl.

Mary blyssyd here sone anone  
 & thankyd hym þat was so fre.  
 Jhesu seyd to þe tre son :  
 »In paradys þou xalt be«.  
 In to paradys it was browt  
 To Elyze & Ennok hys fere.  
 Jhesu, þat al þis werd hat wrout,  
 þat tyme was old but o ȝere.

Wt an old man þei gun mete,  
 And of þe weyze askyd resoun.  
 He seyd : »to Egypt ze ha zete  
 XXX dayis journe to þe toun«.  
 Pan gan Mary to wepe,  
 For werynesse she sat dou<sup>n</sup>.  
 »Moder«, qwaþ Jhesu, »wylt þou lete?«  
 Lo here þe wallys of þe toun!«  
 It is so fayir a rych cete.  
 Lo how short he made here way.  
 »Sone«, she seyd, »blyssyd þou be,  
 As lord þat al mythtes may!«

87 u ö.; he (hee) ist neben þei (they) gleich häufig gebraucht. 44) Ms. athef, a ist meist mit d. Sbst. verschmolzen. 48) Ms. h<sup>9</sup> = hys, wie 60. 124. 355. 568; 9 ist sonst Abbrev. für us, doch kommt ausgeschrieben nur hys vor wie 121. 128. 152. 163. 314. 358. 83) Ms. tañe = tane, taken. 107) werd = world. 112) Ms. Jurue.

Qwan Jhesu & hys moder fre  
In to Egypt weryn browt,  
Freudes was lord of þat cete.  
Alle hys goddes of gold were wrout ;  
þe puple fro fer þeder gun te,  
þo maumentes for goddes þei sout.  
Qwyl Jhesu duellyd in þat kunte,  
Alle hys goddes felle to nowt.

SO it befel vpon a day  
A lytyl beforne þe none :  
Chyldryn of þe cete madyn a play,  
As he were wone to done.  
Jhesu here play gan to say,  
And here play was endyd sone :  
Judas seyd wellaway,  
He made a karful mone.  
Anone Judas gan to deyze,  
A lytyl fote myth he not go.  
Judas seyd : »þou xalt abyze,  
Jhesu, for þou dedyst soo«.

Chyldre in to þe toun ranne  
For dred of Judas sake,  
Onto sere Lyne, here aldermanne,  
Pleynt on Jhesu for to make,  
He seyd : Judas ded was þan  
For þe plezyng be þe lake.  
Alle þe Juwys Jhesu gun ban,  
On hym þei thout to take warke.  
Alle þe Juwys tokyn hem to rede  
Qwat det Jhesu xuld endure ;  
Summe seyde he xuld be stonyd  
For hys fals lythyr kure.

Mary & Josep were ful woo  
For Jhesu þat was hem dere ;  
Qwan þe Juwys thoutyn hym to slo,  
Pan chaungyd al here chere.  
To þe water Mary gan go :

»Leue sone, qwat dost þou here ?«  
»Moder, I make dammys II,  
To stoppyn water here, myth þou lere. 160  
She seyde : »sone, me lyst not play,  
In toune I herde sueche a kry :  
But Judas ryse & go hys way,  
Þou xald deyze wt gret enuy.«

»Moder«, he seyde, »I do þi wylle, 165  
Judas xal I makyn hol here.  
And zet hym xal lykynt ful ylle  
þat he of lyue now ne were :  
Moder, for soþe I tellyt þe,  
þis tretour is ful of fellonyze, 170  
Onto þe Juwys he xal selle me,  
Among my fomen for to deyze.«  
Jhesu zede þat body tylle  
And tok hym vp be þe ere :  
»Judas, qwy lyst þou so styllie ? 175  
My moder wold þat þou rese were.«

Sere Lyne & þe maystrys alle  
And sere Kayfas, þat was here fere,  
On Mary & Josep gun to calle  
And seydyn to hem on þis manere : 180  
»We han thout þat ze xal alle  
For zoure sone þat wyl not lere  
Euer in kare & wo to walle —  
Betre zou were to lyn on bere.  
Zyf he wold lere, zet myth he the, 185  
And wysely to wysdam drawe,  
On lytyl tyme he myth be  
Prince & kepere of our lawe.«

To þe scole þei hym ledde.  
Cayfas kam hym azen, 190  
A bok beforne hym he spredde  
& bad he xuld leryn wt wen,  
He bad hym seyn A. b. c.,  
For be. mowt he wold hym teche.

129 ff.) Vgl. Version b, 149 ff. 131 ff.) Der Text ist fehlerhaft, der Tod des Judas ist nicht motivirt; die Worte 139—140 waren im Orig. wohl die Worte Jesu. 148) Ms. warke = wrike, vgl. sporn 620 st. sprong. 151) Das Reimwort fehlt, der Schreiber hat das nördl. déde st. detha eliminirt. 167) lykynt = lykyn it, wie tellyt 169. 169—172 gehören, wie die Reime zeigen, ans Ende der Strophe, sie sind vom Schreiber versetzt. 167) hym st. zou? s. Vers. b, 187. 171) Ms. stets on to. 193—328) hier gehen die 2 Versionen ganz auseinander, vgl. b, 211—265. Der ganze Abschnitt 193—328 findet

195 »Now«, qwaþ Jhesu, »I may wel se  
 þat þou art wrot & egre of speche.  
 Now qwy is a beforne þe .b.?  
 Tel me now, I þe beseche!  
 And ellys I xal telle þe,  
 200 Wreth þe not to werke wretche!«

Cayfas þan wt wordes Ille  
 Seyd to Jhesu anone ryth :  
 »Jhesu, þou hast a wonder welle,  
 I rede þou lere wt al þin myth ;  
 205 And but þou wylt holde þe styllie,  
 To hard betyng þou xalt be dyth«.  
 Jhesu seyde : sit were no scyllie,  
 I kam not hyder for to fythe.

»Zeta«, qwaþ Jhesu, « of myn askynge  
 210 þou me zeyst non answeare.  
 I am ful eld, þow I be zyng,  
 Perfore I kan þe ryth wel lere.  
 Wt þe I sey wtoutyn lecyng :  
 A is letter wtoutyn pere,  
 215 A is III & but o thyng,  
 III partys he hat knyth in fere.

But a begynnnyt þe letterurre,  
 For a is lyk to þe trinite :  
 III partys he hat of o mesure,  
 220 And alle III a may wel be.  
 I wyl þe lere, zyf þou wylt dure :  
 A is lyk to þe deyte :  
 þe deyte is, þou myth be sure,  
 III personys & on in mageste,  
 225 Euermore hereafter he xullyn endure  
 Indeportable alle III.  
 Now myth þou lere, tak god kure,  
 A is most of dygnyte.«

Cayfas seyd in þat stonde :  
 230 »Qwat art þou, letterure for to lere?«

Be Moyses lawe we han fou(n)de  
 þis clergye þat þou seyst here.  
 þou seyst in Ilke a grounde  
 þat þou art eld & zyng in fere ;  
 þi sawys solty be not sounde,  
 Perfore þou art to me not dere.

Spek no more, I þe say,  
 But zyf þe holy to þi lore :  
 And þou myth ben al wey  
 Ryth fully wys for euermore.  
 And wol zong þat wyt is kore,  
 It is medlyd wt folye,  
 And þat me greuyt suythe sore,  
 It katchys me to felonye.

Of Moyses our lawys we hadde,  
 And oþer lawys þou wylt vs teche ?  
 Of þi sawe, sone, I am sadde  
 Of þe trinite to make þi speche ;  
 þou greyst me, I am not glad,  
 To me þou art a leþer leche :  
 þou spekyst of god as a chyld mad  
 Wel ferþer þan þi wyt wyl retche.«

Jhesu azen to hym gan spelle  
 And wold wetyn of hym anone  
 Zyf he koude ony thyng telle  
 Of þe prophetes þat weryn gon,  
 þat seydyn Cryst xuld deyze  
 Here in erthe among his fone  
 And þe lawe he xuld felle : —  
 »þis aute ze knowyn euerry-chone.«

Cryst is lyth of god almyth,  
 And of þe lyth he is kore.  
 Isay spak aryth :  
 þat of a mayde he xuld be bore —  
 þou myth wel wetyn þat it is ryth,  
 For to by þat is forlore.

sich als eigenes selbständiges Gedicht in Ms. Vernon fol. 300 wieder (gedruckt in d. »Altengl. Legenden«, Paderborn 1875, p. 212 ff.), wo der zwölfjährige Jesus diese Disputation im Tempel zu Jerusalem mit den »maystres of the lawe« hält, nicht mit Cayphas. Der Dichter der Kindh. Jesu scheint diesen ganzen Theil entlehnt und in sein Gedicht eingefügt zu haben, wie er auch die Strophenform beibehalten hat. Ms. Vernon bietet den besseren Text. 196) wrot st. wroth. 213) lecyng st. lesyng. 216) knyth st. knit, wie wyth st. wit 252. 231) Vern.: nis not st. we han 238) statt þi hat

God is fader, & Cryst is lyth,  
Pe sone is gotyn wythoutyn ore :  
  
For as pe sunne zeuyt hys lem,  
Zyf he wt cloudes be not let;  
So komyt Crist of a sunne-bem  
In to erthe, balis to bet;  
Zyf þou take wel good zem  
How pe sunne-bem is set:  
2; Vndepartyd is pe strem  
Of Crist pe sonne wtowtyn let.  
  
Now tak here-to good entent :  
Pe fader lyth in pe sonne xal be,  
Pe faderes lyth may not be blent,  
2; Al is o lyth in deyte.  
Pan ben hee prouyd be argument  
Pe fader & pe sone o lyth ben hee,  
Pe holygost wt hem present,  
For þat fulfillyt pe trinite.  
  
25 For pe trinite, I pe seyze,  
A is letter of alle chyf,  
Perfore a is al weyze  
Iput beforne. þat is god pref.  
Pe trinete xullyn he seyn wt eye  
2; Alle þo men þat ben hym lef;  
Pan is man a blysful pere  
Þat to pe trinete is lef.  
Of pe trinete I haue told in heye«.  
  
Pan seyde pe maystrys of pe lawe :  
5 Of deuelles þat he had clergye :  
»A maydyn wtoutyn ony awe  
Shuld beryn pe kyng of glorie.  
Wel we wetyn þat it is knawe :  
Old Josep weddyd Marye —  
Oþer record kun we non drawe;  
He is not Crist be prophessye«.  
  
Jhesu spak wt mylde chere  
Onto pe Jewys þat gun cry :  
»Faryt fayre, frendes dere!  
5 Ze fare foule thoru folye.

But o thyng xul zet ze here,  
As seyt pe prophete Isaye :  
She xal be weddyd, þat hat no pere,  
Pe myld moder of messy.

Isay seyd a noþer thyng :  
Cryst in pe lawe xuld be bore —  
And þat xuld ben in weddyng,  
And ellys Cristes lawe is lore.  
Pe prophetes spekyn of hys komynge  
At Jesse began pe more,  
For Crist hath no begynnyng,  
Al-þow he be man kore,  
Thoru myth of heuene kyng.  
Josep virga floruit fatu Isaye,  
Coniux, lex vt monuit, mater fit messye«. 320  
  
Cayfas & oþer Jewys mo  
Of zyng Jhesu he haddyn maruayl  
How þat he was kome to  
Wt clergye hym for to asayl ;  
Of hem had Jhesu many foo,  
For here wyt wol sone gan fayl.  
Many of hem awey gan go,  
Qwan here clergye wold not avayl.  
  
XII sparwys Jhesu mad þanne  
& bad hem flyzin qwere hem thout. 330  
Alle pe Juwys gun hym banne,  
For her halyday he halwyd nowt;  
Hee banned hym alle þanne,  
Beforn pe maystrys wa<sup>s</sup> he brut.  
Alle þei gun Jhesu to banne,  
He seydyn : of hem he rout nowt.  
  
Hee kallyn hym þan a qwent syre,  
Hee seydyn : he wold dystriyn here lay.  
Jhesu seyd : »I tok non heyre,  
I made hem not but on my play.  
Al-þow I do an oþer kure,  
It helptyt þou not to seyn nay.  
I wel not duellyn, be ze sure,  
I wel wend & go my way!«

Vern. my. 288) Ms. god is st. is god. 291) pere ist falsches Reimwort, Vern. liest preize. 293) Dieser Vers ist unnützer Zusatz. 295) Ms. deuell<sup>s</sup> mit dem Zeichen der Abbrev. für er st. es, ys, wie 384 bei hylles (Ms. hyller). 318) Dieser Vers ist unnützer Zusatz, wie 293. 319—20) im Ms. in rother Schrift. 323) vor to fehlt hem? 326) wol = wel, wie 241. 470. — 329—344) vgl. wieder b, 265—276. Der Text ist verdorben, wie die Wiederholung 331. 333. 335 zeigt. 345—380) vgl. b, 325—360; beide Texte

Hic ient ad aquam pueri cum  
ollis.

345 AFterward on an oþer day

Euery chyld to oþer gan telle :  
»Wend we fort wt good aray  
Onto þe water, our pottys to fylle !«  
Alle hee lokyddyn, I zou say,

350 Qwych of hem was most snelle ;

Hee ȝedyn fort in here way,  
Ful lytyl qwyle gun þei duelle.  
Jhesu fyrst þe water hent.

Arka dede Jhesu wrong :

355 Hys pot to-brak, þe water out went.

Jhesu seyde : »suych xalt þou fong.«

Pan Jhesu hol hys pot gan make,  
Ant to hys frend he seyd anon :  
»Wyl we pleyne be þe lake ?

360 On þe sunne-bem xul our pottes gon.«.

On þe sune-bem þei hem honge :  
Crystes heng styll, here gan don falle,  
Alle þei brokyn, he were not stronge.  
And Archa weppe sore wt alle.

365 »Archa«, qwaþ Jhesu, þou were to blame.

Qwy madyst þou my water to shede ?  
Now hast þou an oþer shame  
And after þi gylt þou hast þi mede.«.

Josep seyde al in þat throwe :

370 »Jhesu is lord of gret poste,  
Wel aut we hys myth to knowe  
For þe meracly þat we se  
Fro day to day for vs to shewe.  
»My pot þat was brokyn on III,

375 It wold ben hol, & þou wold leue :

Now help, Jhesu, þat art so fre !«

»Josep«, qwaþ Jhesu, »for þi sake  
þe pottes xullyn ben hole anone.«.

Gret Joye þe chyldryn gun to make,

380 Synggande to toune he wentyn home.

Sythen vpon an oþer day

Jhesu wt chyldere gan to mete.

He seyde : »wyl we go play  
Vpon þe hylles for to lepe ?«  
Hee wentyn fort al in hey,  
Jhesu & hys felas alle.

Summe thoutyn hym to enuy  
Wt herte bytter as ony galle.  
Jhesu lep for þe maystry,  
And oþer lepyn & hard gun falle,

387 þat legges & armys sekyrly  
And neckes brokyn, þei myth not kalle.

But Josep & an oþer, hys fere,  
Sowyn of Jhesu gret meruayl  
And seydyn þat þei myth lere :  
Jhesu to vyon wold not avayl :  
»Jhesu is lord wtoutyn pere,  
Noman it geynyt hym to sayl,  
He dot hys wyl boþe fer & nere  
At hys lykyng wtoutyn faylk.«

393 Jhesu seyde : »hens wel I wende  
And to my moder wyl I gon  
And letyn hem lygyn in þe ende,  
For now þei arn dede Ichon :  
To lytyl wyt he haddyn in mende,  
For avyzen me þei done (?).  
Go hom, Josep, my moder frende !  
Her owyn dedys ha hem slon.«.

403 Jhesu went aforn alone,  
Josep kom after wt hys fere.  
Þe Jewys komyn after sone anon,  
For to sekyn here chyldryn þere,  
Hee askyd Josep euerry-chon  
Of here chyldryn, qwere þei were.  
And Josep seyde : »dede as a ston  
Hee lyn in feld, & I am here.«.

413 Þe Jewys madyn a foul cry,  
Hee seydyn : »alas, how may þat be ?«  
Josep seyde : »sykerly,  
Hee deyid throu here nyste :  
They wold lepyn & enuy  
Suethe Jhesu þat is so fre,

weichen von hier ab bedeutend und zuletzt ganz ab. 349) Ms. lokyddyn. — 381—487) vgl. b., 277—324 (bis auf die ersten Verse ganz abweichend). 389) Ms. Jhesu for þe maystry lep; lep ist hinter Jhesu umzustellen.

Perfore dede ben they,  
Gamyt hem non oþer gle«.

425 Jewys seydyn on þis manere —  
And euer þei seydyn alas — :  
»How scapydyst þou & þi fere ?«  
Josep seyde : »our wyl it nas  
For to make Jhesu our pere :  
430 We wylst wel, our mayster he was;  
Perfore we ben here,  
Þe toþere ly dede vp þe gras«.  
»Alas«, seyde þe Jewys Ichone,  
»An hard hap here is befallé !

435 We wylyn alle wendyn home  
And for our chylder hys moder kalle«.

Hee zedyn to here ryth anone  
And on here madyn a lody cry,  
Hee seydyn : here chylder euerry-chon  
440 Jhesu had slawyn throu felony ;  
»Perfore þou xalt, or it be nyth,  
And old Josep, þat syttet þe by,  
Ben to-brent in fyr bryth,  
And Jhesu in ȝour kompany !«

445 Mary seyde : »wtoutyn duellyng  
I xal wend, my sone to seche.  
For hem ne make ze no wepyng,  
For, ȝyf he wyl, he may hem leche —  
He kan do more wonder thyng  
50 Pan to helyn hem wt hys speche :  
So is hys myth, þou he be ȝyng.  
It fallyt not ȝou to take wreche«.

Mary fort þan gan she go,  
She sey qwere here sone gan pley,  
55 And þer kom ryth anone

Josep to hym in þe wey.  
Mary seyde : »sone, be our fon  
We be dempt for to dey.  
My leue sone, þe chyldryn Ichon  
60 Pou ȝyf hem lyf, I þe preye!«

Jhesu seyde anon ryth :  
»Moder, þi wyl xal be do«.  
He bad Josep anon aplyth  
Onto þe tounys ende go,

V. 432) Ms. lydede st. ly(n) dede. 464) Ms. touñ<sup>9</sup>. 466) Ms. renyg. — 487—530 vgl. b. 361—396 (ganz abweichend). 490) Ms. komyn. 493) nach as sind

»Byd hem komyn hom be my myth,  
Reny(n)g as faste as ony roo,  
Pat my moder may sen aplyth  
Pat I am frend aȝen my foo«.

465 Josep þe chylder gan to kalle :  
Wol suethe hee komyn rennyng.  
Here frendes boþe in boure & halle  
For hem here handes gun wryng : —  
A gret joy þer was befallé  
Qwan hee sowyn hem leuyng.  
Þe chylder kome wt þat in hast  
Beforn þe grete of þe cete ;  
Of hem hee gun to queryn fast :  
»How were dede & leuyn ze ?«

470 475  
Hee toldyn anon of þat meruayl,  
How Jhesu myth done al hy<sup>s</sup> wyl :  
»We greuyd hym — it wold not vayl,  
Perfore we fellyn dede ston-styl ;  
And now we ben wtoutyn fayl  
Kome to lyue wtoutyn II.  
Gaynyt not hym to asayle,  
For, ȝyf ze done, he wyl ȝou spyl«.

480 485  
Of here chylder hee weryn in drede :  
In an ouene hee letyn hem do  
And madyn a man hem to fede,  
Þat noman xuld komyn(n) hem to,  
And ȝouyn hym ful gret mede  
Þat hee xuld not komyn hem fro.  
And þan kam Jhesu as . . . . .  
Wt hym þer kam no moo,  
Jhesu seyde : »felawe myn,  
Qwat is þat þou keyst þare?«  
Þe man seyde : it were swyn.  
»Swyn« qwaþ Jhesu, »motyn hee benzare!«

490 495 500  
& as swyn he grontyn & grone  
And alle hee weryn swyn in fere.  
Þe man made þan wepyng mone  
And went to here frendes dere,  
He seyde how Jhesu kom alone  
& mad hem swyn thour hys powere.  
»Alas«, he seydyn, »qwat xul we don ?  
Oure chylder mone ben no-qwere«.

Hee wentyn to þe ouene anon :  
 Swyn þerin gun gruntyn grylle.  
 þe Jewys gun to seyn anone :

510 »Pis meruayl vs lykyt Ille.

Prey we help of Marye,  
 þat our chylder nowt spylle :  
 Jhesu grantyt sekyrly  
 Hys moder preyere at hyr wylle«.

515 Hee told Mary an hap wasalle,  
 And preydyn here of help Ichon,  
 »And namely for our chyldryn alle,  
 For wel we wetyn : Jhesu wyl done  
 þi wyl boþe in boure & halle«.

520 Sone she grantyd wt hem to gone,  
 Onto here sone for hem to kalle.  
 For hem she preyid sone anone  
 Onto here sone a myld bone.  
 He grantyd here wyl ful sone :

525 þe chylder of wo weryn vnbounde.  
 He thankyd Mary þat had it done  
 For help þat hee in here founde ;  
 Hee preyidyn here wt carful mone  
 þat here chylder myth go sounde.

530 Jhesu grantyd hem anone.

A Rych man was in þat cete  
 þat to Jhesu had envyne,  
 Josep fader, Braudyn hyth he.  
 Ouer hys sone he made maystrye,

535 He seyd : »my sone, þou were me dere,  
 Now þou dost azen my wylle  
 To ben wt Jhesu, of hym to lere —  
 þou were wel betre to ben style.

For hys loue þou xalt be kept  
 540 In a tour of lym & ston,  
 Hys loue þou xalt abyin, Josep,  
 Ne geynyt þe no betre won.  
 To þe xal noman komyn ne lep,  
 Per myth þou cry & kalle alon,  
 545 þat noman of þe xal takyne kep  
 Ne for onys for to heryn þi bon.  
 I suere be god Adonay :  
 Lyth þer þou xalt non haue ;

Lud þou þou cry wellaway,  
 Non helpe geynyt þe to craue.

Jhesu, þat hath þe þus shent,  
 Out of presoun xal þe not bryng  
 Be no maner of sharment  
 þat he kan of rede & syng«.  
 Josep seyde anon ryth :  
 »Fader, þou myth done þi wyl.  
 Jhesu is ful of mekyl myth,  
 He wyl not suffre me to spyl«.  
 Josep left in þat prisoun,  
 þe dorys weryn lokyn faste.  
 Per lay Josep al alon,  
 To hym kam Jhesu ryth in haste.

»Josep, felaw«, qwaþ Jhesu,  
 »For my loue þou lyst here,  
 þou xalt se more of my vertu,  
 For so I wyl, my leue fere«.  
 Jhesu fond a lytyl bore  
 And bad Josep hys fynger take :  
 Heyl & sond as he was core  
 He kam out wtoutyn wrake.  
 Euer wt Jhesu he wold be,  
 Nothyng myth hym lette ;  
 Euer was Jhesu hym so fre,  
 For hys felaw he hym fette.

### Ad artem tingitoris Ibat.

Pan seyd Jhesu to Marye :  
 »Off diuers craftes I wyl say,  
 Of craft þat is of gret maystrye,  
 I xal done alle men to pay«.  
 Onto a lyster hee komyn sone,  
 Wt hym komenant for to make :  
 Hee weryn acordyd ryth anone,  
 þe dyere was glad for Jhesu sake  
 Jhesu dede hys maystrys wylle,  
 A better seruant he had neuer none,  
 For neuer he let thyng spylle,  
 Al was wel þat he gan don.

So it befel, as I zow say :  
 Hys mayster had preyere  
 For to dynyn on a day,  
 He and hys wyf in fere.  
 Clothys hadde þei, for soþe to say,  
 To dyzyn boþe fayre & clere —  
 Fynē cloth to mannys pay  
 Was non in þat mestere.  
 And qwan he went, he bad Jhesu  
 Pe clothys fynly dye,  
 Scharlet, morre, grene & blu,  
 »Iche cloth after þat I seye«.

Jhesu anone a fyr gan make,  
 And went hym fort for to plye.  
 Hys mayster saw hym be þe lake,  
 Jhesu & oþer chyldryñ tweye.  
 Pe wyf seyd : »zonder hys our wrake,  
 I se hem wt myn eye,  
 He hat not done þat þou bode hym make.  
 Ryth it is þat he abyę.  
 Jhesu hem sep & hom hym dyth :  
 And alle þe clothys were qwyte,  
 And þe fyr brynnynge bryth.  
 Pat mayster began to flyte.

Jhesu toke þe clothys Ichon  
 And in to þe led he hem kast.  
 Pe mayster seyd : »I am vndone!  
 Pou xalt abyin in hast.  
 A brond he tok vp wt hys hond,  
 Jhesu for to smyte,  
 To throwyn þe brond wold he not wond :  
 Of Jhesu it faylyd lyte.  
 Pe brond bar lef & blosomyd anon  
 And sporng, þer it gan falle.  
 Pe mayster it sey & dred hym sone,  
 Mercy to hym gan he calle.

And euerry cloth had hys hu,  
 Ryth as it xuld haue,  
 Scarlet, morre, grene & bleu,  
 No betere myth men kraue.

Jhesu forȝaf hym, I zow say,  
 And fro hym he gan wende.  
 Carpenterys craft he wol say,  
 Perto he gan lende.

630

## Ad artem carpentarij Ibat.

Jhesu was boþe strong & durable  
 Wt an ex for to hewe :  
 At euery werk he was ful stable,  
 To techyn men to ben trewe.  
 Pe mayster-wryth forsoþe þan  
 Had a gret werk on honde,  
 For he was most crafty man  
 þat was in al þat londe.

635

To Jhesu he tok a wol fayr tre  
 And bad hym hewyn faste,  
 & taute hym qwere it xuld be  
 Be leyd at þe laste.

640

Jhesu it hew in gret rapyng  
 To short be IIII fote.  
 Pe mayster made gret sorwyng,  
 For þe tre was long & grete,  
 To Jhesu he seyd ful zare :  
 »Pou hast don ful Ille —  
 We a(ute) han gret kare —  
 Pis fayr tre to spylle ;

645

For it is þe fayrst tre  
 Pat euer kom in myn hond.  
 Alas, he seyde, gret kare is me,  
 For sorwe I may not stond.  
 Pan qwaþ Jhesu : »let me se,

650

And o thyng wyl I fond :  
 Zyf it myth lenger be  
 Throu myth of my hond.  
 Draw, qwaþ Jhesu, at þe toþer hende,  
 For at þis ende I wyl drawe!«

655

»Pou scornyst, me thyngkyst, leue frende,  
 Of þat þou seyst in þi sawe.«

»Set on þin hond«, qwaþ Jhesu,  
 »And drawe on god spedē!«

660

V. 600) Ms. plye st. pleye. 603) hys = is mit unorgan. h. 604) hem st. hym. 620) Ms. sporng st. sprong. — 631—692) vgl. b, 730—753 (ganz abweichend). 644) fote st. fete. 649) das 2. Wort ist zerstört, nur a ist sichtbar, zu lesen scheint alle oder aute. 659) hende mit unorg. h.

665 »**P**at were a werk of lytyl prow«

**P**e wryth seyde, »at nede«.

»**P**ou art not wys, qwaþ Jhesu,  
But þou do now my wylle.«

**P**e carpenter seyde : »qwydch Idel dede

670 I wyl letyn be styll«.

»**P**an wylt not **p**e maystrie wynne«

Qwaþ Cryst, »of carpentrye?«

**P**e mayster seyde : »þou myth begynne,  
I wyl **p**e not avyze.«

675 Jhesu seyde : »I wyl asay,

Or þat I hens wende.«

**P**e mayster seyde : »bis iche day  
It komyt to non ende.«

Jhesu drew for he was strong,

680 Pat many men myth se,

V. 693) chylde st. shilde.

He drow it IIII fote long,

Ryth as it xuld be.

**P**e mayster seyde : »it were wrong,

Maystyr but þou be ;

Mythyd þou art, & myld among,

**P**i pere is nowt, qwaþ he.

Jhesu went þat same day

Fro hym, as I zou telle,

No more craftes wold he asay,

No lenger wold he duelle.

He went fort in hys way,

**P**e lawe to fulfylle.

Cryst vs chylde, þat best may,

Fro **p**e peyne of helle !

Explicit infancia saluatoris.

b) aus Ms. Harl. 2399, fol. 47 (15. Jhd.).

### Pueritia vel Infancia Christi.

Alle-myȝtthy god yn trynyte,  
Pat bowth man on rode dere,  
He yefe ows welle to þe,  
A lytyl wyle þat ye wylle me hyre,  
5 For þe lofe of Mary fre  
Pat helpyth os alle wyth hyre preyere.  
& ye wyll herkene to me,  
A gret solase ye mow hyre :  
Off hym þat ys most of vertu  
o A lytyl tale y wol yow telle,  
Of þe chyld þat hete Jhesu,  
& ye wylle a stond dwelle.  
  
Wen Jhesu was of Mary borne —  
Yblessy(d) mot þat tyme be! —

III kyngys knelyd hym byfore 15  
& dede hym omage alle þre.  
Herod(es) hyely had sore  
Pat Jhesu schuld dede be.  
M(ary) wol not hyre sone were ylorne :  
(Out of) þe lond sche gan flee; 20  
(For hyre) foys were myȝthy of mayn,  
(Sche wen)d yn to Egyp(t), þer sche was  
not knowy(n)e.  
. . . . . schuld sayn  
. . . . . forþe, wen (þay) sewen.  
(Pe) yewys softe þem many on : 25  
(Pen men) hyre corne repyd & mew.  
(Fyrd)ermore sche gan gone  
(In) yldernys, þat was fayr of hew.

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Das Ms. (15. Jhd.) ist in einer nachlässigen und schwer lesbaren Schrift von verschiedenen Händen geschrieben: so wechselt die Hand v. 241—260, ferner 534—545, 545—565, 565 bis zum Schluss; dieser Wechsel verräth sich auch in graphischen Besonderheiten. Von v. 630 an hat eine andere Hand in den Text hinein corrigit und ihn noch mehr verwirrt. Der Text ist sehr verderbt und fehlerhaft. Der Abdruck schliesst sich eng an die Hdschr. an. Die Abkürzungen sind aufgelöst, die über ll, n, m, hinter d, g stehenden Striche sind mit e bezeichnet. —

V. 6) Ms. helpt, wie standt 556, obengeschr. t für yth, wie wt = wyth. 7) & = and = if, wie öfter. 13) wen mit w st. wh, wie in were, wy, weder, wat, wych, auch wytte 799. 14) Ms. yblessy. 15) Ms. by fore st. byforne. 17) sore st. sworne. 20—32) Die Anfänge der Verse sind abgerissen. 21) Ms. foy swere, offenbar st. foys were, foys plur. v. fo, vgl. treys, kneys, feloys, iurnyys. 22) Ms. egyp. knowye. 25) softe = souzte, vgl. mit ft st. zt rofte 693, ofte 508, doftor 518. 528; neben ft begegnet auch wt, wth: wroot 268, wrowth 219, powt 266, browt 272, owth 656, bowth 414, selbst sowfte 130, sowȝth 223, daneben zt, th. 26) hyre poss. plur., so 85. 100. 130. 139 u. ö., neben here 174. 198. 636. 728, selten þer 84. 28) vor yldernys ist vielleicht w ausgesunken; doch vgl. orlle 111 (= worle 532), ordes 384

(Sch)e say lyonis, lypardus, many on,  
30 (& oþer) best(es) fowle & grymme.

(Mary) sayd : »we byn slain.

(Alas,) þys day waxyd alle dynmme!«

Jhesu blesyed þe bestys euery on :

Lasse & more lowtyd to hym.

35 Mary blesyed hyre sone flesch & bon,  
For yoe hyre hert reiosyd wythynne,  
For byrdys songes sche hyrd þat day,  
He s(a)yde hyre drede was alle agon  
For drede(!) of b(e)stes yn þat way.

40 Fyrdymore sche wente anone.

(In þat) contre, þat wasse west & wylde,  
Barabas wonyde yn þat way,  
Þat owtlays was, as y yow telle.

. . . h(e) sayd : »womman, by þe laye!

45 Wat beryst þou?« Mary sayd : »a chyld.  
Jhesu lowe, þer he lay.

The sone bade þe fader be myld.

»So myld, sone, y wylle be to day,  
Weder þou well, wythoutyn nay :

50 Y wyl robbe hem al III,  
Certeynly, þys ylke day».

He toke Yosef wyth vylonye,  
And he toke Mary by þe lappe.

Pan bygan Dysmas to crye :

55 »Lefe fader, let them schape!

Me were lyuer to day for ay  
Pen he toke on them no happe».

Þe fader foryefe hym sycurly.

Hys sone for yoye began to chappe(!)

60 & made myrþe & melody.

Pen sayd anon mylde Mary :

»Lefe sone, quyte hym thys!«

»Dame, on my ryȝt hond he schalle day  
& come wyth me yn to blysse».

F(yrder) more ow(re) 1(ad)y went,  
Pe sonne schon þat tyme ful hote :  
To rest hyre Mary had talent  
& sayd : »for hete y wax al mate«.  
Josef hyre yn hys armys hent,  
For he vnderstod hyre state,  
& toke hyre down yn good entent  
Of þe mule, were-apon sche sate ;  
Vnder a tre, þat (was) ful hye,  
Wyth fayr flowres he made hyre sete.  
Mary sayd : he were ful slee  
Þat of þys tre ony frute mayȝth gete.

Wen Mary þus had menyd hyre mone,  
Here sone wyst welle wat was hyre wylle;  
Of þat frute, þat wasse goode, y wene,  
He yeafe hys moder, & þat was schele :  
Jhesu spake to þe tree anone :  
»Þou by adon my moder tylle,  
Tylle sche & Yosef bothe calle  
Of þy frute wat þat ys þer wylle«.  
The tre to hyre fete gan falle,  
Tylle þat þay had take þat þay wylle.  
Wen þey had take wat þay wolde,  
As hyt was fu(r)st, hyt stod uppe welle.

Pen sayd myld Mary :

»Sertys, me þorstyth swyþe sore«.

Yosep sayd : »þorste am y,  
& yet our mule hath meke more.

(Al) þys londe ys so drye,  
For fawt of wete ys alle my care«.

Jhesu spake to þeke tree hym bye :

» . . . more wylle hym water þare«.

Of þe rowte sone gan water spryng,  
Wyllys fayr, bothe water & wyne at wylle,  
Plenty of al both he gan brynge.

Perof þey dronkyn alle hyre fylle.

ohne w im Anlaut, sore st. swore 17. 30) Ms. best. 31) byn = ben, vgl. ye byn 229, .byn 3 pl. 291. 292. 300. 499 neben byth 296, beth 350, buþ 611; y steht vielfach st. e, wie in ynde 203, fyld 522, lyrne 210, hyre 4, wyppe 303, grytte 460, furȝye præt. 627, vnnyþe 136, lyuer 56, nydys 159 u. a. 32) waxyd st. waxyth. 36) yoe = joy, reiosyd rejoiced. 38) Ms. he syde; he fem. 36—40) Diese Verse sind offenbar verderbt. 44) vor he scheint ein kleines Wort ausgefallen. 55) schape escape. 57) he ist plur., obwohl diese Form sonst nicht wieder begegnet. no happe st. onhappe? 58) hym plur., wie 635. 636. 672. 698. 751. 796, daneben ham 231. 266. 385. 434, hem, them {hem}. 59) Ms. chappe st. clappe. 62) Ms. thus st. thys. 63) day, Orig. dy; auch 56. 159. 184. 196. 234 u. ö. 72) Ms. a pon, so stets. 73) was fehlt im Ms. 77) Ms. þs st. þus. 83) calle falscher Reim zu v. 85, st. haue tane. 88) Ms. fust.

Mary blesyd hyre sone blod & bone  
& þankyt hym þat was so fre.  
Jhesu spake to þe tree anone:  
»Yn paradyse þou schalt ybore be«.  
»Per com angelys many onne  
Wyth gret lyzth, þat men mayzth se,  
An toke þe bronchys euery-chone  
& left þer noþyng of þe tree,  
Yn to paradyse þey hyt browt  
Tylle Ennoc & Hely, hys fere.  
Jhesu, þat alle þys orlle hath wroot,  
Pat tyme was old bot þe tyme of o yere.

WYth a wold yew gan þay mete  
& of þe way hy askyd hym by reson.  
He sayd: »to Yegypte hafe ye yette  
Pyrty yurnyss of good mylyn«.  
Pan bygan Mary to grete,  
For werynys sche sat hyre done.  
Dame«, sayd Jhesu, »þy greuyng þou  
lete!  
Loe here ys þe wallys of Egypte towne«:  
Per wasse Egypte, þe ryche syte:  
So shorte he mad þe way.  
»Lefe sone, yblysyd þou be,  
As lord þat alle myzts may!«

Wen Jhesu & hys moder fre  
Yn to Egypte þey were ybroth,  
Frawd was lord of þat contre.  
Alle hys goodes of gold he had wroth;  
(Pil)gremys come by þyrt & þree,  
(Pe)se maumentes for hyre goodes þay  
sowfste.  
(W)en Jhesu wallyde yn þat syte,  
(A)ll ys goodes fyl to noȝt.  
Frawdys was wroþe & nydel ode (!),  
He smete hym sylfe yn þe hede

Pat hys nose & mowth was al blod : 135  
Vnnyþe was any lyfe on hym ylefide.  
Algates Frawdes herde say  
Pat Jhesu schuld by lord of alle,  
As prophetes tolde yn hyre lay  
Pat Jhesu schuld be myzthys of alle. 140  
He wase of Jhesu dred þeke day :  
& mercy he gan to hym calle.  
Jhesu sayd not onys nay,  
He foryefe hys synnys alle.  
Jhesu tok them euery-chone  
Pat wyld come to hys mercy ; 145  
Þay þat nolde, were ysloe,  
Yn loge prison for to lye.

WYth chyldern of þe towne Jhesu gan  
wynne 150  
On a day byfore þe none  
To a water þer hyt gan rynne,  
To pley as þey were ywonyd.  
Jhesu bade þe water þat ranne blyne :  
Anone he made hyt stonde sone.  
Yudas pyzth a staffe þer anne 155  
& vndede þat Jhesu had done.  
»Judas«, sayd Jhesu, »þou schalt abyte  
Pat þou ayenst me hast (doe)«.  
Nydys behowys Judas to day,  
A fot fyrdre þan myzth he not goe. 160

Þe chyldern of þe town þan ranne  
For drede of hyre feloys sake  
To syre Lenye, þe aldurmanne,  
Playnt for Jhesu þay gan make  
& sayd þat Judas dede wasse þazne 165  
For he playd yn þe lake.  
Alle Juys Jhesu gan blame  
& sayd: on hym þay wold take wrake.

V. 105) Ms. con st. com. 107) an st. and. 108) Ms. & left þer of hym noþyng of þe tree. 113) wold st. old, auch 526, wie woder st. oder 361. 114) hy plur., nur hier, sonst þay, þey (they), þe 606. 116) mylyn st. mylon? 120) loe = lo; die Hs. schreibt gern oe: soe, froe, woe, goe, toe, doe, sloe, ae in nae 283. 122) Ms. sworte st. shorte. 130) Ms. māmetes. 133) ode st. wode? 134) hede st. hefid, heuid. 140) myzthys Superl., wie formes 673, sonst endet der Sup. auf yst. 142) Ms. falle st. calle. 147) ysloe st. yslone. 152) wonyd st. wone. 155) anne st. ynne. 157) Ms. Judas sayd þu Jhū þu. 158) Ms. name st. doe; name müsste jedenfalls nome lauten als part. v. nimen, im Sinne von practise, conceive. 167) blame st. banne.

All þe Jwys toke hyre rede  
 170 Wat deth þat he schuld hafe,  
 Pay sayd: þey wyld steyn hym to deth,  
 »Hys fader schal day & hys moder bothe.«

Mary & Josep were ful (woe)  
 For here sone þat was them dere;  
 175 For þe yewys wyld them sloe,  
 Hyt was no wonder: þowrfe dede chonge  
 chere.

To þe water was Mary goe:  
 »My lefe sone, wat dowst þou here?«  
 »Dame, y make dryuyngys toe,  
 180 To chyppe þe water, as ye may lere.«  
 »Leue sone, me lystyth not to play,  
 Yn þe town y herd swche a crye:  
 But Jwdas ryse & goe hys way,  
 Alle þre we schullun day.«

185 »Moder, for to fulfylle þy wylle,  
 Judas schal ryse vp ful ȝare.  
 Hyt schalle leke yow ful ylle —  
 Hyt were beter he were dede are.«  
 Jhesu went þe body tylle  
 190 & toke hym vppe by þe arme:  
 »Judas, wy lyyst þou so styll?  
 My moder wolde not þou schalt hafe har-  
 me.  
 »Sertynly, dame, y telhyt þe:  
 195 Pys traytyr ful of felony  
 To þe Juys schalle syl me,  
 Among my fomen for to day.«

Syre Leneye & þe maystrys alle  
 & Cayphas, þat was here fere,  
 On Mary & Yosep gan þy calle  
 200 & sayde to hem sau: »vs here!«

We owȝte yow honge & hewe ful smale  
 For yowre sone, þat ys (yow) der;,  
 Yn hys ynde fowle mot hym falle  
 þat on hys yowþe wyl not lere.  
 Wold Jhesu lerme, zet myȝt he þe,  
 & he wyld cast hym sylfe perto,  
 On of þys days he myȝt be  
 A buschype & kepe our lawe.  
 A boke Cayphas toke, yn Jhesu ys hond  
 he bede,  
 And bade hym lyrne wyth alle hys mayn.  
 Jhesu askede hym yn þat stede:  
 »Say, wat y þynke kan þou me say?«  
 Cayphas onsueryd & sayd: »nay,  
 By hym that alle þys worle hath wroth!  
 Y not ner by nyȝt noder by day  
 Wat þou þenkyst yn þy þouȝt.«

»Now þou wost not my þowth,  
 Sy(re) Cayphas, ne Zakarye,  
 Who hath yowre lawys wrowth?«  
 He sayd: »Aron, Enok & Elye,  
 Samuel owre lays browth,  
 Ysaac, Yacob & Dauy,  
 Moyses owre lays sowȝth  
 Out of þe montyn of Synay,  
 Abram bygan to spelle —  
 Now ys a þowsant wynter (gone);  
 Was neuer no man our lays myȝth fel(l)e,  
 Sethen were þay neuer ondone.«

»Go way,« sayd Jhesu, »ye byn welle  
 madde,  
 21 Z e ne knowun not of clergy.  
 Moyses ham of my fader hadde  
 Yn þe montayn of Synay,

171) deth st. ded, der Schreiber hat die nördl. Form (noch in v. 176) eliminiert. steyn wie beyn st. ben 318, aber stennyd 536. 172) bothe st. bathe? 173) Ms. ware st. woe. 182) Ms. a swche a crye. 184) schullun wie knowun 230, (schullyn 604, scholon 766). 187) leke = like, lekyd 481. 189) Ms. styll st. tylle. 193) telhyt = tel hyt. 199) Ms. þy, auch 266, wohl st. þay þay verschrieben. 200) sauæ = sawe? 202) yow fehlt im Ms. 203) ynde = ende. 209) he st. hyt? bede v. beoden. 212) say st. sayn. 215) ner auch 292, nere 338. 218) Ms. Sy st. Syre. 224) montyn (montene 762, montayn 232, montanys 282) vgl. sertyn 193, resynys 235, traytyr 194, buschyp 208. 226) im Ms. fehlt gone. 227) Ms. fele st. felle.

Abraham prechydē as y hym bade,  
& sayd : a man for folke schalle day.  
For Jhesu ys resynys þay wax al madde  
& cast on hym a loud crye,  
Pay sayd: »þou gabbyst, & þat ys þe  
schame,

Þat may neuermore be :  
God had neuer chyldys name  
Þat any erthyly man hath«.

Wo was they — so mut they the !  
He that schope cornelys & corne,  
As Abraham seyde so schalle hyt be,  
& off a meyde he was borne.  
»My fader sytth & lokyth on me :  
There y am, he ys me byforne«.  
For Jhesu ys reson they gan fle,  
For Jhesu ys reson they were forlorne.  
Syre Cayphas toke vp a zerde  
& smote Jhesu on the hede : —  
They alle wanst not how hyt ferde,  
But Cayphas there hys lyffe levyde.

»Y have getyn at my hart rowte«,  
Mary seyde wyt̄hmekylle care,  
Leve sone, by Cayphas ys blode«.  
»Dame, he schalle aryse fulle sone.  
Apon me he schalle holde a mote  
And do so to-bete my body bare  
That a fly schalle not set hyre fote  
In alle my body, dame, for sare«.  
Pan Mary lyȝt no songe  
Suche sowrow on hyre sone to see.  
»Pe þarnet lete hym lyfe so longe,  
Sone, but yf þy wylle bee«.

XII sparowys Jhesu made of clay  
& bade ham fle as þy powt.

Pe chyldern to þe towne to hyre way  
& sayde : Jhesu on hyre sabate-day wroot.  
Alle þe yuys Jhesu gan banne  
For þat day halewede nowt,  
& þay wryyd hym by hys name,  
& byfore þe justys he was browt.  
»Wat art þou ? a, sely syre,  
þou ert abute to dystre our lawe«.  
Jhesu sayd : »y toke no hyre,  
Y dede hyt noȝt but yn my play«.

SYthen apon a noder day  
Wyt̄h chyldern of þe town Jhesu gan mete.  
He sayd to them : »wylle we goe play  
Among þe hyllys, þer for to lepe?«  
Forþe lepe Jhesu, so dede þay,  
Ouer þe montanys þat were wyde.  
Osep wol lepe, Jhesu sayd nae :  
He wolde noȝt deth schulde hym dere.  
»Osep«, sayde Jhesu, »hade þe, welle 285  
fare (!),

þou schalt not lepe here.  
Oure feloys schalle by hurte ful sore,  
For þay wolle algate be my pere«.

To þe towne þay toke here gates gayn,  
No more but þay too. 290  
»Y trowe our chyldern byn slayn,  
We wot ner weder oure chyldern byn goo«.  
Osep sayde : »hyt ys notȝ to weyn.  
For to lepe we made ows men (!) .  
Ayenst Jhesu we had no mayn,  
For alle our feloys byth sclayn«.  
»How schapyst þou þat wase hys fere?«  
»Ayenste Jhesu we had no myȝt.  
For þay wolde be algates hy(s) pere,  
Owre feloys byn to deth ydyth«.

V. 237—240) dieselben Verse auch 417—420. 240) hath falsches Reimwort, st. myȝt se, wie 420. 241) mut = must, may, dieselbe Form Destr. of Troy 4865. 250) heide st. hevid. 253) vor rowte fehlt a; rowte violent movement. 255) blode st. lote? od. blote? 256) sone st. zare. 262) sowrow, dieselbe Schreibung 301. 385. 389. 482, später sorow. 263) þarnet = þar not. 267) to verschr. st. toke? oder = te, wie to in Sir Gaw. 1671? 270) he liegt im Verbum. 274) lawe st. lay. 283) Osep öfter st. Josep, auch in der Mitte des Verses. nae st. nay. 285) hade st. hale? oder = heide? 287) by = be. auch 138. 306. 289) ff. der Text ist hier sehr verderbt. 291) y st. we? es sind die Worte der Juden. 292) Ms. goo. 294) Ms. men, st. vien? oder st. bayn? 297) Dieser Vers steht ohne Beziehung. 299) Ms. hy st. hys.

Gre(te) sowrow þe Juys gan make —  
 Pat many men made yn þat syte —  
 & wyppe for hyre chyldern sake.  
 Mary & Josep were þere.

305 »But ye on Jhesu wol take wrake,  
 Ye schal by hongen al þree«.  
 Mary to hyre sone sche gan make,  
 & yn hys moder he had pyt :  
 »Osep, felow, þou art mysse-kende.  
 310 & for my moder schal hafe no blame,  
 Goe vppe to þe towne ys ende  
 & clype þem home al by name!«

Osep clepe them, as þay hete :  
 To towne þay we(n)t alle bydene.  
 315 Pe Juys were glad of þat sythe,  
 Wen þey hyre chylder myȝth sene.  
 Pay askede of þem anon ryȝth :  
 Were so longe þay had beyn.  
 »For to lepe had we hyȝth,  
 320 & Jhesu dede ows tray & tene.  
 We were dede, for sothe ywysse,  
 But hys mercy was more :  
 For we wende we had lost owre blysse.  
 We wolle lere & lorne hys lore..

325 SYthen ylke a chyld to oder gan telle :  
 Oftir water þay were schent  
 Wythout þe cete at a wylle.  
 & Jhesu wyth them, þys good sone,  
 went.  
 Pay lokyd wych schuld be snelle,  
 330 Bot frust Jhesu hys water hente.  
 On of hys feloys was schelle,  
 Brake Jhesu ys pot & hym schent.  
 »Achas, þou ert to blame  
 Pat þou my water hast sede & doe me  
 tene.  
 335 Er þat we come home,  
 Alle to scherdys schalle be þyne.«

Jhesu gaderyd hys scherdys yn haste,  
 Per he left nere a one,  
 Blessyd them & togedere raste.  
 »Zut, feloys, hyt ys not none :  
 Y rede þat we pley & reste  
 & honge owre pottes yn þe sunne-beme,  
 On þe sun-beme me þynkyth hyt ys  
 beste.«

So wente þay for to done :  
 Pe Juys brake hyre pottes on hye ;  
 Achas fryst bygan to wepe.  
 Pen sayd Jhesu : »sycurly,  
 Now on-hanges, & anoþer wylle kepe.«

Osep sayde : »yf þy wylle be,  
 Me þynkyth of wyt we beth to sclowe.  
 þou art lord of al poscte,  
 Welle ouzt we alle þe knowe  
 Euery day þy myracles to se —  
 So ofte þou wylt them schowe.  
 My pycher þat ys brokyn a-þree  
 Wylle be hole, yf þou þer yn blowe.«  
 »Osep, felow, for þy sake  
 Yowre pycharus schalle be hole (anone).«  
 Grete yoe þe chylderne gan make,  
 To towneward þay songe euery-chone.

SYthen eueriche Jew to woder tolde  
 Of Jhesu ys myracle & many mo :  
 »Yf he hafe owre chyldern yn honde,  
 Ywysse he wylle them alle sclo.  
 Y rede we gete a man stronge  
 Owre chyldern to kepe & wyth þem to  
 holde,  
 Pat none goe fro hym wyth wronge,  
 Tylle þay be wyxyn men bolde.«  
 Jhesu cam þat man by :  
 »Wat kepyst þou?« he sayd : »swyne.«  
 »Swyne« sayd he, »schal þay be,  
 For þy word þou schal not lyne.«

V. 301) Ms. gre st. grete. 304) Das Reimwort (ny?) fehlt. 306) Ms. honȝ. 312) Ms. mame st. name. 313) hete st. hyȝt. 314) Ms. wet st. went. 316) Ms. see. 326) Ms. ofter = after, wie 836; schent st. sent. 334) sede st. shede. 350) sclowe = slowe; das Ms. schreibt öfter sc st. s, so sclayn, sclo, sclake 401, scley 401, sclepe 699, poscte 351, auch sch in schlön 666, scheche 528. 529. 531, schent 326. 358) Ms. ynow st. anone, falscher Reim zu 356. 361) woder = oder.

At tyme at none wen men schuld ete,  
To þe town þay gan goe.  
 75 Per men (herde) gruntyng grete —  
Hyt ware not chylder þat fered soe.  
»Wer was þou þat schuldyst hem kepe?«  
»Y com not a fote ham froe,  
Styll y sate yn þat stede.«  
 80 »Cam any man by þe þo?«  
»Jhesu askyd wat was þer yinne,  
y onsweryd & sayd: swyne.  
He tornyd away þat tyme  
& myordes, he sayd, y schulde not  
lyyne.«

85 Grete sowrow was among ham alle,  
Wen þay þys swyne myȝt see.  
»Adonay ys come«, þay calle,  
»Kynge of ywys! wat may þys be?  
Swche sowrow was neuer vythyn þys  
· walle.«  
 90 Mary & Yosep were ful mylde,  
Mercy to Jhesu þay gan calle  
& prayd hym helpe for cheryte.  
Jhesu toke þe swyne euerychone  
& blesyd them alle wyth hys holy honde :  
 95 & wen þay had hys blesynge take,  
As þay were frust, vp gan þay stonde.

For Osep hys sone ys sake  
Yn þe myddyl of þe fyld he mad a towre,  
Osep hys sone he gan take  
 00 & loke hym fast yn þat bowre:  
»Of þi solas þou schal sclake,  
Jhesu schal not be þy socowre.«  
& yet for þe chyld ys sake  
Jhesu cam to þe bowre.  
 05 Jhesu ganne walke þe towre abow(t)e:  
»Osep, y am come þe fore.  
Put owt þi lytyl fynger!« & þerwyth  
he plucked hym out  
Euen at a newgarus hole.

V. 375) herde fehlt. 382) Ms. & st. y. 389) Ms. byth yn st. wythyn. 395) take st. tone. 397) Hier fehlt die Bezeichnung des Vaters. 405) Ms. abowe st. abowte. 407) Ms. but put owt. 408) hole st. bore. newgar = navegar, auger. 409) mayd = mad, ebenso 456. 459. 491, vgl. deyd 471, askeyd 438. 417—20 ebenso 237—40. 425) strye = distrye. 430) Der Vers im Ms. doppelt: to naȝaret was Jhesu went — ye to naȝareth he was went. 444) hym st. hy?

Pe Jewys mayd a grete gaderynge,  
Jhesu ys myracles þer þay sowth. 410  
»Ys þy fader heue kynge?«  
He sayd ful wyse: »wete ye noȝth?  
Alle þat þe fende to helle can bryngē  
Wyth my blode hyt schal be bowth;  
For Adam ys synnys & Eue ys cown- 415  
selynge

Many sowlys to pyne were broth.«  
Pay sayd: »þou gabyst, & þat ys þe  
schame,  
Þat may neuermore bee:  
Gode had neuer chylde name,  
Þat euer eny erlyche man myȝt se.« 420

Jhesu myȝt not þe Juys queme,  
Alle to hym þay gan say :  
»To be a wycche hyt may þe seme,  
Þou ert abowte to strye our lay.«  
Alle þe Juys Jhesu gan deme, 425  
Pen sayd on: ys good, anoder sayd nay,  
H(al)ely þay gan hym fleme & wyld hym  
hent  
Wythout harnys þat ylke day.  
To Naȝaret was Jhesu went  
By þe gates þat were fulle gayn. 430  
Per hadde Yosep ful meniy a frende:  
Of Jhesu ys comyng þay were ful fayn.

WYth chyldern of þe towne Jhesu kame  
yfere  
And wyth ham alle to schole he went.  
Mayster Juby sayd: »wylte þou lere?« 435  
He tok hym a boke wyth good entent.  
Jhesu askeyd, þat he myȝt hyre,  
A. b. c, & wat hyt menyde.  
Pen þe mayster chongyt chere  
& for schame held hym schent. 440

Mayster Jube had hys lesson fulfylled  
As Dauyd þe profyt told yn hys lore:

To a maydyn meke & mylde  
 Pe holy gost fro hym schuld fare,  
 445 Of hyre body to bere a chylde,  
 & for alle þat clene mayde as sche was  
 zare (!).

»Zyf noȝt were þy werkys wylde,  
 Y wylle say þat þou þylke were  
 As Dauyd þe profyt told byfore«.

450 »Redelyche hyt am y ;  
 For Adam ys synnys þat was forlore,  
 Wyth my deth y sehal hym bye«.

Sythyn apon a noder daye  
 Wyth chylderne Jhesu ganne mete,  
 455 Sum wold play & sum sayd naye.  
 On þe sunne-beme Jhesu mayd hys sete.  
 As he dede, so wend þay :  
 Pay fylle adown, & neuer þe bet (!).  
 Jhesu lawe & mayd hys play.  
 460 Pay þat lefyd, sore þay gan grytte.  
 Summe brake legge & sum þe þye,  
 Sum þe hed & summe þe arme,  
 Sum þe hypys & summe þe knee :  
 Per schapyd non wythoutyn harme.

465 A nolde wyfe come by þe strete :  
 For drede to þe town sche ranne.  
 Wyth syre Melchy sche ganne mete.  
 »þy sone ys dede, syr Lyuyan.  
 Y sawe Jhesu on þe sunne bem sytte ;  
 470 Alle þe Jwys may Jhesu banne :  
 Per þay lyen deyd vnder hys fete  
 More chyldern þan y telle kan..  
 The ywys rongyn hyr comyn belle  
 & gaderyd them togedere euery-chone,  
 475 & þay sayd : þay wolde Jhesu quelle,  
 Sum wyth stafe & sum wyth stone,

Pay sayd : þay wlde Jhesu sloe,  
 But he here chyldern wyld safe.  
 Per myzth no ywe on fote goe,  
 480 Euery-chone to towne þay gan drawe.

Pat Mary lekyd ful ylle :  
 »Leue sone, let þys sowrow sesse !  
 For my lofe, yf hyt be þy wylle,  
 Lette ows be sunware yn pese !«

Pat Mary for þe chyldern made hyre pray(er)  
 Pat þay schulde ryse & gone,  
 Jhesu blessyd þem alle þat there were :  
 And wen þay had hys beneson,  
 Pay rose vp alle hole & fere.  
 Seche mode was neuer none :  
 Pay hopyd & sungyn & mayd good chere  
 Pat were byhaymyd (!) alle byforne.  
 Wen þay were dede, Jhesu bade ham ryse  
 & zafe ham both speche & lyfe.  
 »We schuld hym lofe, & we were wyse,  
 Euery chylde, man & wyfes.

Sythyne apon a noder morow  
 Mary sayd : »my sone, þou rewe !  
 Pay folkys neire for honger byn lore«.  
 Josepf hys powyr welle knew.  
 Jhesu toke a barly corne,  
 Yn' mydde þe felde he hyt sewe,  
 & bade þe pynder blow hys horne :  
 & euer(i)che man made harwyst newe.  
 Pay repyd & bunde schefys grete,  
 Of þat corne þay were ful fayn.  
 »He þat send ows al þat mete,  
 We ofte to lofe hym, soth to sayne«.

Sadrac was a man of grete power  
 & enperour of þat syte :  
 »Here ys Sydrac, my doftor dere,  
 Pe fayrst woman of þys contre.  
 Jhesu, wult þou here? hyre!  
 A weddyt man yf þou wylt be,  
 Ouer alle my lond y make þe pere.  
 Vff þou wulite, þan mayst þou þea.  
 Melchy sayd : »þou fayr knafe,  
 My doftor ys cortes & fyne ;  
 Yf þou wylt my doftor hafe,  
 Many yeftys y wulle þe yefe.

V. 458) Ms. neu mit liegendem d als Abbrev. 461) legge ist über durchstrichenem nekke übergescchr. 465) a nolde = an olde. 468) Ms. lyuy ā. 485) Ms. prayr st. prayere. 489) Ms. hold' st. hole. 491) hopyd = hoppyd. 499) byn übergescchr.; folkys st. folk ys? s. 781. 504) Ms. euer che. 513) vor hyre ist hafe durchgestr.

Y wle þe yefe oxyn & plowe,  
Downys & dalys, fyldes & fenne,  
& my wodys euery bowe,  
Pat ys myne, euery delle».

25 »Go way«, sayd Jhesu, »y am woe,  
Y wend þat ye had be wolde men.  
My modyr ys fayr ynowe(!)  
Pan þy doftur, & scheche tenne.  
Ye may yefe me no scheche myde,  
30 For yowre yftys wolde not gayne.  
Werto scheche þyngewulde ye me be(de)?  
Alle þe worle hyt ys myne».

(Alle the Juis Jhesu rad  
For to take that hym was bede:  
35 »(Or thorȝ) the law thow shalt be lad  
Among vs alle & stennyd to deth,  
Thow shalt ches whether thow wolt wed.  
Jhesu, trou the note in the lore.  
From the Juis faste he fled,  
40 They fond nothinge ther he was ere;  
To Gerico was Jhesu went,  
Thei fond nothinge ther Jhesu stode,  
Thei wote not whether he is went:  
For hym thei mornid mayne and mode.)

45 A dyer yn hys dore he stode,  
Jhesu cam walkyn by þe strete:  
So fayr a chyld of flaysce & blodde  
Hym þouȝt he sowe neuer ȝete.  
Ayenst Jhesu fast he ede  
50 & wyth þe chyld he gan mete:  
»Pou ert welcome, freely fode!  
Ware were þou borne & bygete?«  
»Yn þe borow of Bethelem  
Of a may y was borne:  
55 Y am þe same, as me may sen;  
My fader stondyth me byforne».

V. 524) delle = dele, unrichtiges Reimwort. 529) myde = mede. 531) Ms. mebe oder meve?, st. me bede. 533—44) von and. Hand. 534) Ms. that þt, doppelt. 535) Die ersten 2 Buchst sind unleserlich, vr oder ve? Ms. ther st. thorȝ (l. wether?) 536) Ms. I st. &, deth st. ded. 547) Ms. flayste st. flaysce. 549) ede st. ȝode. 562) vynter mit v st. w, wie vulvus 647. 567) Ms. haū = hauē, wie 575 serū = serue. Die neue Hand verräth sich in den häufigen Abbrev. ñ ū ð' (der Strich bezeichnet e); sie schreibt ferner can kan st. gan: 588. 593. 647. 758. 762, u. liebt o und u in den Endsilben, z. B. bei chyldron 593 chyldrun 729 (chyldrym 680. 716 — die erste Hand schrieb chyldern, chylder), scholon 766, sython 716, wekod 609 u. a. 583) cloþe plur. 588) Ms. blowe, st. bow? 589) Das Reimwort fehlt (schede?). 592) do st. done.

»Lefe sone, wylt þou me say  
A lytyl þyng for cheryte:  
Of a sterre þat rose byforne þe daye,  
Pat many erthely men myȝth se? 560  
Men sayd yn Bethelem hyt lay,  
Now ys XII vynter & þree».  
»Hyt lad þre kyngys þe ryȝth way  
For to seke my moder & mee;  
My fadur lente hym þat lyȝth  
For þey schulde noȝth go ylle,  
Pat Erowde schuld haue no myȝth,  
For he þouȝt hym to spylle».

Þe dexter on Jhesu dede calle:  
»Knowst þou owte of mystere?« 570  
»Ze, syre, I kan craftus alle,  
I haue no meystere for to lere«.  
»Go we home to me halle!  
Þou mayst so serue to be my pere.  
»Dame, þys chylde schalle serue walle. 575  
For my son make hym gode chere!  
He may so serue to bene my eyre.  
Leue dame, be hym mylde!«  
Þe wyfe vnsweryde hym ful feyre:  
»Þou art welcome, my chylde!« 580

Maystur Abakor Iweddude schulde be,  
»Pat ys buschop of oure lawe,  
Thys cloþe haþ gewe to me;  
To lyte hym, I wolle þe schewe.  
Do hem in lomus þre!« 585  
»Euerychon, syre, þat ze myȝth know«.  
»Make gode for cherite!«  
& Jhesu fast he can blow(!).  
»To oure behouȝt me . . . .  
Do now wel, my swete sone!« 590  
»Maystur, þe dar haue no drede,  
Lo how sone hyt schallē be do». —

- Chyldron of þe towne Jhesu can calle,  
As þey pleyde yn þe strete.
- 595 Jhesu toke þe cloþus alle,  
As þey leyen at hys fetē,  
In on lede he lete hem falle  
Þat schulde haue on sundur mete,  
Ande seþen to pley hym at þe balle
- 600 Wyth hys felouse he wulde not lete.  
Þat wyfe seyde to syre Gurgeye :  
»I wend, we haue a wekyde hyne.  
But we þe sunnere home vs hye,  
All owre cloþys we schullyn tyn.«
- 605 Home þey wente, as þey were rede,  
Tyllie here howse þe comme sone.  
Styl þey stode, as þey were madde :  
»He schalle aby, by sunne & mon !  
Kalle vs in þat wekod ladde !«
- 610 »Were hast þou þys cloþys don ?«  
»In þat lede, syre, þey buþ staddde,  
Pey may byle, hyt is no none.«  
Þe dexter toke vp a fyre-brond  
Ande þouȝt to smyte Jhesu sare : —
- 615 In mydde þe flowre hyt gan stonde,  
Flowryde fayre & fruyt hyt bare.
- Cloþys out of þe lede he hyt drew,  
Sum blew, grene & eke (rede),  
(&) oþer hewys fayre ynowe —
- 620 Come neuer soche in þat stede.  
Jhesu stode, at hem lowe :  
»Mayster, þe darde haue no drede,  
I haue don welle ynow ;  
To make sorow hyt ys no nede.«
- 625 Pan askede he Jhesu mercy.  
Jhesu sayde not onys nay,  
He furzyfe hys maystur syk(er)ly.  
And sethen he wen(t) to hys play.

- Was a chylde þat het Ernald,  
Hys fader of Jowys was rychyste ;  
Jhesu forþe by name hym callyd.  
»Go we forþe to that forest !  
We chyldron wul togedere holde,  
For wylde bestys in here neste.«
- 63 Jhesu sayde wyth hym he walde :  
»Go we, lete hym do here best.«  
»Sorow«, quoþe Arnalde, »at hyt fle  
Ar for eny be adredde !« —  
For the furst best þat he may se  
Away fro Jhesu he fledde.
- 64 Owere a water þat was so depe  
A tre þer lay ouer a croke :  
Alle þe chyldron on a hepe  
In to þe tre-croppe he(m) toke ;  
Styllie þey sate & euur wepte,  
Myȝt no for scham on oþer loke.  
Vuluus in to þe tre kan crepe  
And alle þe chyldron out of schoke.  
Pey were falle bysydys þe tre,  
Drownyd were þey euerychon.  
»Vengit« seyd Jhesu, »schall I be,  
Þe weld bestus I wyl alle sclon.«
- Mary come in þat cuntre,  
To seche here sone was alle here þouȝt,  
He askede euery man in þat cyte  
Zefe soche man say þay owthe.  
Pan askede a man : »wat ys he ?«  
»Hit ys my sone, þat y haue ofe.«  
»Sertes, dame, dede ys he.  
Hys fete to wode hym browthe :  
I saw wylde wuluus þere  
Scley Arnalde & hys ferus alle,  
Leonus on hem, so mot y þe.  
Zef þe were alyfe, hyt myȝth not be.«

V. 605) red, Orig. rad = afraid. 608) Ms. non st. mon. 612) byle = bele, boyl.  
613) Ms. a fayre y brond st. a fyre brond. 614) Ms. sure st. sare. 615) Ms. gam  
st. gan. 617) vor cloþys (Ms. cloþs) fehlt þe. hyt ist zu tilgen. 618) Ms. &  
eke drōū d. i. drouȝ, falscher Reim zu ynowe; das Reimwort ist offenbar rede.  
619) & fehlt im Ms. 627) furzyfe praet. Ms. sykly st. sykerly. 628) Ms. wen st.  
wēnt. 630) Ms. urspr. Jows, dieses ist von and. Hand in yowyn corr. 631) hym st.  
he ? Ms. nañ st. name. callyd st. cald. 636) Ms. urspr. to, in do corr.; vor best  
ist nest durchgestr. 637) hyt st. hym ? 638) Ms. ar = or, oder st. at = þat.  
644) Ms. he st. hem. 645) wepte st. wepe. 651) vengit, in vengyt corr. 655) Ms.  
urspr. he, v. a. H. in she corr. 658) ofte = auzte, oder st. softe = sozze. 660) hys  
v. a. H. 662) ferus v. a. H. in felas corr. 663) es fehlt ein Verb ? 664) Ms. ye st. þe.

665 Pe amperowre grete sorow haþ hente  
 For hys son þat was so schlön,  
 In to þe wode he haþ ysende  
 Of hys folke wel gode wone.  
 In to þe wode þey were lente,  
 670 Sum wyt stafes & summe wyt ston.  
 Jhesu to lyonus haþ yhente,  
 Bytwene hym to þan wold he gone,  
 The formes fote on hys schuldur lente  
 And þe hendy zede hym byte(?).  
 675 Pey alle drust noȝt come hem hende,  
 Bote of þys seyte þay were sory.

»Wy wepe ze now? Ben ze madde?  
 Zef he wolle noȝt come me nere,  
 Tel my wy ze ben vngladde?«  
 80 »We wete noȝt were oure chyldryn ere«.  
 »Arnalde, þy sone, hydur (ows) ladde.  
 Pat schulde haue ben myn balduste fere,  
 He lefte me alon bestadde  
 Wyth wylde bestys fyzyngē here,  
 85 He lefte me alon in þys stede.  
 Drownyde be þay euerychon —  
 Pys I haue done by my rede.  
 The wylde bestus I wylle alle sclon.«.

The emp(er)owre sorely frede  
 90 And sayde þan: »þys ys my þouȝt:  
 Go we swyþe in to þe stede  
 Per they were to deȝt ybroȝth.«.  
 So Jhesu wyth hem sone zede,  
 Of here mon rofte he noȝth.  
 95 Wylde bestus þey saw hem bledē,  
 Ande fonde þe chyldron þat þey soȝte.  
 In to vaynus þay haue hem caste,  
 Towarde þe cyte kon þey schake.

V. 665) amperoure wird auch sonst von den Vornehmsten gebraucht, s. 630. 666) schlön v. a. H. in schlbyn corr. 671) to = two. 674) Das Reimwort ist unrichtig, st. by. 676) seyte = siȝte. þys u. þay sind v. a. H. ergänzt. 679) Ms. my wy by ze ben. 680) ere = are, sonst ben, byn. 681) vor ladde sind einige Buchst. verwischt, wahrscheinl. ows. 682) Ms. ham st. haue. Ms. scheinbar balenste. 690) Ms. þouȝt st. þouȝt. 692) deȝt = deth. 694) Ms. urspr. mō, v. a. H. ist y (mōy d. i. mony?) angesetzt. Ms. hēst. he. 698) Ms. korst. kon. 700) fyle = fyll, fell. Ms. schulde e wake. 705) rene st. ryne, to ruin. Nach 706 fehlen mehrere Verse. 709) Ms. he st. hem. forde = forthe. drewe st. drow, wie 617. 711) hee fem., wie 729 38. 655. lawe st. lowe. 712) Ms. þey st. she (oder he?). 712) woow = wrong, sin. 718) Ms. gerede st. gedere oder gedrede. 721) von lyue ist nur 1 sichtbar. 723) in lef ist ef v. a. H. eingeschr., die auch über mi in woman einen m bezeichnenden Strich gesetzt hat (: woman). 726) & = an = on. 729) vor hee ist v. a. H. s (: shee) gesetzt. 730) Ms. oþur st. þour (burgh)?.

Nedus behouyde hym to reste,  
 They fyle on sclepe þat schulde wake. 700

Pe folke sclepe & myȝt noȝt blyne,  
 Ne to wake þey hade no mayne.  
 Jhesu bleȝsyde þat was þer Inne  
 And keuerede hyt wyth cloþys agayn.  
 Jhesu fast to þe wode gan rene,  
 Hys felouse folouydde hym folle fayne. 705

Among hem alle was sorow ynow,  
 Wane euery burgeyse brout a bere.  
 »Wylde bestus forde he(m) drewe;  
 Were byn oure chyldryn þat schulde be 710  
 here?«

Mary stode & at hem hee lawe.  
 Pey askede wy she made seche chere :  
 »Woman«, þey sayde, þou hast grete woow.  
 Oure chyldrun were þe noȝyngē dere.«.  
 »Syre, hyt is not longe gon 715  
 Sython y myȝt yowre chyldryn see  
 Vndur a hasul euery-chon,  
 Gedere notes vndur a tre.«.

Pe emperoure sekede sore  
 For hys sone þat was hym holde :  
 »Zef he on l(yu)e ware  
 Me were lyuer þan alle my golde.  
 Lef woman, zef þy wylle ware,  
 Brynge vs þore zef þat ze wolde,  
 I gefe þe a hundurede ponde & more, 725  
 Zef he lyue man & molde.«.  
 »Of þy golde kepe I none.  
 Go wyth me, I woll zow wysse.  
 Hee lade hem to here chyldrun euery-  
 chon —  
 Myȝt noman speke oþur blysse. 730

IN to Anfryte hade Jhesu tyȝth,  
Per to dwelle hade he þouȝth.  
Josep was a scle wryȝth,  
Alle hys bolys wit hym hy browte.

735 Syre Schallyn þe ryche kynge hyth.  
»Seche a man lange haue I souȝth;  
I wolde haue a laddur dyȝth  
Of þese II treys, fey(r) Iwroute.  
Do now wel, as y þe sey,  
740 Ande loke no longer be hit leuud,  
Or I þe swere by my laye:  
Olde man, I wolle haue þy hedee.

Joseph hem felde & hadde þe wow:  
þe on tre berst fer fro þe rote;  
745 Hit is schortor fer now  
Pan þe oder by fyue fote.  
Josep to þe wode hym drew:  
He dirst not abyde þe Jewys mote.  
Jhesu sthode vndur a bow:  
750 »Abyte, Joseph, y be þy bote.  
Hold þe þare, & I schalle here!«  
Bytwene hym to þey drew hyt oute.  
»Comfort, Joseph, here þou mayste lere;  
Of þe Jewys haue þou no dowte.«

755 Wythout Amfreke þre myle & more  
Men fet water at a welle,  
A ryche man þat wonty þare  
To þe pore he kan hit sylle.  
Jhesu wende wyth hym þare.

760 Sykerly, as y yow telle,  
Þe water in hys lappe awey he bore,  
On a hye montene he kan hyt hefe,

He leyde hyt in a stondyng stone:  
And to stremus to Amfreke rene:  
7 Pat on hed Yor, þe odur: dan,  
Pat neuer scholon of renyng blyne.

Pay askyde Jhesu, as he sate:  
»Wat kynnus man calle þey þe?«  
»Jhesu, Dauyde sone, y hatte,  
Lord of alle poste.«  
»Adonay, ert þou þat,  
Kynge of Jewys þat schalle be?  
Zef þou be lorde of alle þat.  
We pray þe helpe for cheryte!«  
»For to water þat I haue browt(!)  
For to sette here wythout swynges,  
Hyt schalle to me deþ be browth  
Galle & eyselle to me drynke.«

(To) Galy(l)ee was Jhesu wente:  
Pere was weddud archet(r)eclyn;  
Mikul folke þer was lente.  
In medde þe feste he lakede wyne.  
Þe boteler seyd: »Icham schent!  
Allas, my seruyse I schalle tyne!«  
Wyth carful herte hys mone he ment.  
And Mary had pyte of þat hyne:  
»Go to my sone ande aske hym grace:  
Zef þat hys swet wylle be,  
To alle þys folke in þys plase  
He sende þe wyn gode plenty.«

Þe boteler on hys kneys hym sette  
And prayde hym help pur cherite,  
Grete terys þer he grette..  
And Jhesu of hym toke grete pyte:

V. 731) Ms. Anfryte st. Aufryke; Amfreke 755. 764. Vor hade steht unnützes a. 734) in bolys ist bol v. a. H. eingeschr., das urspr. Wort ist nicht mehr erkennbar; bole = the round stem of a tree, so in Troy Book 4960 u. Allit. Poems ed. Morris, B 662. 735) in Schallyn ist llyn v. a. H., das urspr. Wort scheint schar zu sein. 738) Ms. fey, der Strich v. a. H., st. feyr. 740) Ms. be hā st. be hit? 742) hed st. heuid. 747) drew st. drow. 749) Ms. schode oder sthode? 750) Ms. a byte st. abyde; vor be ist v. a. H. schall übergescr.; Orig. wohl bes mit Bed. des Fut. 752) to = two, wie 764. 757) on in wonty v. a. H. 759) Ms. urspr. sende, v. a. H. in wende corr. 760) y v. a. H. übergescr. 761) bore st. bare, u. 755 more st. mare. 764) rene praet., Orig. ryne. 765) yor u. dan v. a. H. eingeschr. 766) Ms. blym st. blyne. 775) Ms. for to water; for st. fro, to st. þe, oder = tone, the one? 776) Ms. swynges st. swynke. 777 u. 8) me = my. 779) To fehlt im Ms. 781) folke v. a. H. in folkes corr. 782) Die a. H. corr. in: In þe medde of þe feste the l. w. 786) über of ist v. a. H. at übergescr. 787) Ms. asked st. aske. 794) toke v. a. H. übergescr.,

795 Syx fesselus forþe þey fette  
 As ful of water as þey myȝt be ;  
 To blesse hym wolde Jhesu not lete : —  
 Com neuer no soche wyn in þat contray :  
 Syx wessulus ful of wyne,

800 Sum wytte & summe rede,  
 Summe clerat gode & fyn,  
 Kom neuer soche yn þat stede.

Þe boteler fylde & to þe kyng bare,  
 And he dranke to þe quone hym by  
 805 And bade þe boteler feche more :  
 »Sertes, þou seruyst ows wykely !  
 Ware was þys gode wyn lenger ayre ?«  
 »Alle gon, syre, sothefastly.  
 Zef Jhesu, Mary sone, ne were,  
 810 We hauid had grete welonye :  
 Oure wyn was alle gon,  
 Store was vs left noȝt,  
 Of water in þe stondynge stone  
 Jhesu gode wyn haþ made & wrowt.«

15 He hade þe botelere, as he hede,  
 Brynge god wyn fyrist to honde :  
 »Wen þey ben gladde in mayn & mode,  
 Lete no wyket wyne byfore hym stonde !«  
 He askede wy þe wyne was so god.  
 20 »My fadur hyt blesdyde wyl hys hande.  
 That schalle by delyd, my fleyche & blode,  
 Among crystynmen yn lande,

Hyt schalle alleway be the more  
 And neuer more þe lesse.«  
 825 Þys þey trowyde on hys lore  
 And leuyd astur yn hys professye.

Nyne & twenty zere olde  
 Was Jhesu Cryst : at hys tryste  
 In a monteyn wonyde a man bold,  
 Men clepyd hym Jhōn þe baptyste :  
 Ledde hym to flym Jordayne,  
 Baptysyd hym & callyde hym Cryst.  
 Lorde, yf þy wylle be don,  
 Len vs to be at zowrie vprys(t)e !  
 Po was hys chyldehode alle agon  
 And hys manhod com ofter ay.  
 After more loke ze none :  
 Forzet þys not, I wold zow rede.

Fader & sone & holy gost  
 And Mary moder, I blesyd ze be  
 For youre holy myȝtus most !  
 Grante vs your blys par cheryte !

AMEN. — —

830

835

840

Quod dominus Joh(an)nes architenens ca-  
 no(ni)cus bodminie et natus in illa. deo  
 gracias \*).

Et sic finitur pueritia domini nostri Jesu  
 Cristi.

V. 795) Ms. scheinbar sette st. fette. 796) Ms. of a water. 799) wessulus mit w st. v. wie welonye 810; 795 fesselus. 800) wytte = white. 804) quone ist v. a. H. in queyne corr. 805) more st. mare. 806) wykely st. wykedly. 807) Ms. scheinbar syre, der Reim erforderst are. 809) were st. ware. 810) Ms. hauū oder hauid? 815) hede st. yode. 816) honde st. hande. 824) Ms. mtore st. more. 826) Ms. leuyf st. leuyd. 827) Ms. Tyne st. nyne. 834) Ms. to len (= grant) oder leu; to ist zu tilgen. Ms. vpryse, Orig. vpryste. 835) Ms. po was hys chyldehode was. 836—8) sind durch Correctur der andern Hand verderbt; in 836 ist com v. d. a. H. eingeschrieben; 837—8 lauten urspr.: after more loke ze none: for zet þs(?) know I wold zow . . , in 837 ist none durchgestr. u. euer a too ergänzt, in 838 hat die a. H. know durchgestr. u. not übergeschr., u. hinter zow rede (st. say?) ergänzt. 841) your blys v. a. H.

\*) Derselbe Name ist fol. 47 am Schlusse eines der K. J. vorangehenden Gedichtes unterzeichnet mit den Worten: Explicit contemplationem bonam. Quod dominus Joh(an)nes arcarius Canonicus Bodmine, deo gracias; bei arcarius ist dann von and. Hand übergeschrieben: arcarius Bowyer. Am Rande von fol. 48 steht in grossen Buchst. : J. bow . . scrip. . hoc ue(rsum), und links auf der gegenüberstehenden Seite: Si uis veritatem scire: ff.; beide Randnoten stehen offenbar im Zusammenhang; jenes J bow ist unvollständig statt J(ohannes) Bow(yer), lat. Arcitenens. Bowyer ist also der Name des Unterzeichners.

## 2. Canticum de Creatione\*).

a) aus Ms. Trin. Coll. Oxf. 57, fol. 156 (gedichtet 1375).

Jhesu Crist, heuene kyng,  
And his moder, þat swete þyng,  
Grante hem þe blesse of heuene  
Þat willen in pes a whyle be stille  
5 And wiþ guod herte and wille  
Lesteny to my steuene :

And y shel telle zow beforne  
How Adam & Eue paradys lorn  
Þorugh þe fendif wyle,  
10 And also of þe rode treo  
Þat god on deyde for zow & meo,  
Zif ze wille dwelle a whyle.

15 And zif ze wille zeue lestyng,  
Ze shollen here riȝt guod þyng,  
Er ze hannes wende :  
Pardoun ze mowe þerwiþ wynne  
And þe betere zow kepe fram dedly synne,  
Zif ze wille haue it in mende.

Alle ze haue herd told & rad  
20 How & whanne god þis world mad,  
And Adam, as was his wille ;  
Eue he made to his make ;  
Al paradys he gan hem take,  
His wille to fulfille,

And bad hem boþe wiþoute stryf  
Nazt eten of þe tre of lyf.  
Bote whanne he was hem fro,  
Þe deuel hem þoȝte to begyle :  
And cam þuder wiþynne a whyle  
And tysede Eue þerto,

And seyde : »eteþ an appell tyth,  
And beþ as wyse as god almyth«.  
Þus he tariede hem þere,  
And dude furst Eue, & suþþe þe man,  
Taken an appell & byten þeran.  
Anon boþe naked þez were.

Þer cam an angel anon riȝt,  
In his hond a swerd briȝt,  
And bad hem fro paradys go,  
Into þis worlde to leue wiþ care,  
And alle here offspring for eueremare,  
For synne þat þez hadde do.

Þus out of paradys he hem þrest.  
And þez zeden forþ in to þe west  
And maden here dwellynge þare.  
Pere dwellede þez sore waymantende  
Sixe dayes fulle to þe ende,  
Boþe in sorwe & in care.

\*) Diese Version ist bereits edirt in Wülfker's Anglia Bd. I, Heft 2.

And whanne hem hongrede, for faute of  
mete,  
Pe; zeden and souȝten somwhat to ete.

Bote whanne þez founde non,

Eue þo spak wiþ pyte :

»Lord, me hongreþ sore«, quad she,

»Why, wile ze nowhyþer gon

To seken somwhat to oure fode,

Til þat god, þe lord of gode,

Wile on vs take mercy

And zeuen vs aȝen þat place

Þat we werȝ ynne, porgh his grace«.

Anon forþ wenten hy

And eyȝte dayes soȝten aboute,

Bote mete founde þez non saundoute

Such as hy hadden byfore,

Anon to Adam Eue gan seye :

»Sire, for honger y neȝ deye,

Wolde god ded y wore !

Al þat god is wroþ wiþ þe,

Wel y wot it is for me«.

Adam answerde þere :

»His creature is gret, & ay shel be ;

Whaþer it be for þe or me,

Sertis, y wot neucre«.

Eft seyde Eue wiþ ruful chere :

»Lord, y praye ȝow sle me here,

Þat god me namore se

Ne non angel in heuene aboue,

And þat god for my loue

Namore be wroþ wiþ þe !«

Panne seyde Adam wiþ ruful ble :

»Eue, let swiche wordis be,

Þat god vs eft noȝt werye !

Eue, þow were mad of me,

Perfore in no wyse how it be

Þe wile y noȝt derye.

Bote rys, & go we eft wiþ mod

For to seken vs sum fod,

Þat we ne deye for mys !«

Þez souȝten aboute wiþ sory mynde,  
Bote swich myzte þez nowher fynde  
As hy hadden in paradys,

90

Bote þer þez founden such mete  
As bestis and briddes etc.

Adam tolde Eue his þozte :

»Pis mete god ȝaf bestis to.

Go we sorwen & nomen also

95

In his siȝt þat ys wroȝte,

And for oure trespass do penaunce,  
Fourty dayes wiþouten distaunce,

And praye god, kyng of riȝt,  
ȝif he vs wolde forzeuen his mod  
And granten vs som lyues fod,

Wherwiþ we lyuen myzt«.

100

Pus to Adam þo seide Eue :

»Tel me, lord, at wordis breue,

What is penaunce to say ?

And how mowe we penaunce do ?

Þat we namore byhoten him to

Pan we fulfelle may :

105

In auunter ȝif oure god dere

Wile noȝt heren oure preyere

Bote turne his face fro vs,

For þat we oure penaunce breke«.

Pan anon gan Adam speke

And seide to Eue riȝt þus :

110

»Fourty dayes þow myzt do,

And y rede þow do so,

For oure synnes sake,

And y fourty & seuene wile fulfelle,

ȝif god wile of his guod wille

On vs eny mercy take :

115

For on þe seuende day god made ende,  
Of his work guod and hende

He restyde him þat day.

Perfore rys and tak a ston,

To Tygre flod gynne þow gon,

And do as y þe say :

120

Vppon þat ston loke þat þow stonde,  
Vp to þe nekke in þe stronde,

Til fourty dayes don be,

130 Of þy mouth let no word reke —  
We be noȝt worþy to god to speke :  
Oure lippes vnclene be,

For þez byten þe appell aȝens his steuene.  
And y shel fourty dayes & seuene

135 Be in þe fflom Jordon,  
Zif zit oure lord aboue þe sky  
On vs wile haue eny mercy  
For oure mochel mon».

Eue ȝede forþ to Tygre flod,

140 To don here penaunce wiþ carful mod,  
As Adam hadde here tauth ;  
And he him dede to Jordon,  
And þerynne stod oppon a ston,  
Þe water his nekke rauth.

145 Þe her of here heuedis þat was long  
Spradde abrod on þe water strong —  
Ruthe hadde ben to se.

Panne seyde Adam to Jordon :  
»Water, come & make þy mon

150 And waymente here wiþ me !

Gadere alle þe fisches þat in þe be,  
And do hem come aboute me,

To helpen me make mone —

Noȝt for ȝow, bote al for me :

155 For neuere ȝut senyzede ȝe  
Ne wraþpede ȝoure god one,

Ne þorgh no synne loste ȝoure fode ;  
Bote y sennede aȝens god in mode

And wrathede my lord so fre.

160 Perfore y bydde ȝow alle in route  
Pat ȝe gaderen me aboute,  
And sorwiþ alle for me !

Þorgh synne y loste my lyues fode».  
Po alle þe fisches in þe flode

165 Gadreden himi aboute.

And þe flod noȝt ne ran,  
Bote stod stille þat tyme þan,  
Sertis wiþouten doute.

Þus stod Adam in al þat drede,  
Al hid in water, sauë his hede,

And longe to god gan calle :  
His voys wax hors, his cheke sor.  
And alle þe bestis þat weren þor  
For him sorweden alle.

Þus seuentene dayes and more

Alle þe fisches sorweden þore

And waymentide wiþ Adam.

Þe deuel þerwiþ hadde enuye,  
And as an angel forþ gan flye,  
To Tygre flod he cam

Per Eue stod in water depe.

And whanne þe deuel seq̄ here wepe,

Po gan he wepen sore,

And seide to Eue anon riȝt :

»Kom out of þe water tyt

And sese, & sorwe namore !

For god haþ herd ȝoure sorwe ywis,  
And wiþ ȝow acorded is

For ȝoure penaunces sake.

Opere angelis & y preyede for ȝow so  
Pat god me bad to ȝow go,  
ȝow out of þe water to take

And ȝeuen ȝow, þat ȝe hadde beforne,  
ȝoure fode þat ȝe þorgh synne lorn :

Pus bad me god of myȝt.

Perfore com out and go wiþ me,  
And to þat place y lede þe  
Pere ȝoure fode is dyȝt.

Eue wende wel it hadde ben so.

Out of þe water she wente po —

As gras hire body was grene.

For cold of þe water broun  
Anon to þe erthe she fel adoun,  
As ded she hadde bene.

So al a day she lay al mast.

Þe deuel op tok here atte last.

To Adam she gan go,

And þe deuel wiþ here riȝt.

Whanne Adam of hem hadde a syȝt,  
Al wepynge criede he po :

A, Eue, what is þy chaunce?  
Why hastow broken þy penaunce?  
Why lete þow him gyle þe so  
Pat made vs lese paradys  
And also alle þe ioyes & blys  
Pat ay longeþ þerto?«

Whanne þat Eue þo vnderstod  
Pat it was þe deuel wod  
Pat here fro þe water gan calle  
And hadde here gyled eft þat stounde,  
Doun she flat here face to grounde.  
Po nywede here sorwes alle,

Wepynges & cares þo nywede hy.  
Adam þo spak ful pitously:  
»A, deuel, wo þe be!  
What eyleþ þe so agayn vs meue,  
And hast so twyes deseyued Eue,  
Hire penaunce dedest here fle?

What euel haue we don þe to  
Pat þow vs dest so mochel wo,  
Or what trespasede we ouȝt  
Aȝens þe in word or dede,  
Oþer dede þe eny euel or quede  
Or wiȝt dede oþer þouȝt?

What eyleþ þe aȝens vs?«  
Pan þe deuel answerde þus:  
»Adam, y þe telle.  
Po y was in heuene wiȝt angles route,  
For þe fro ioye y was put oute,  
In to þe pyne of helle,

And loste al my ioye and blis,  
And in to þe pyne of helle ywis!  
And al it was þorugh þe?«  
»Þorugh me?« quod Adam, »how myȝte it so?  
Sertis, y knew þe noȝt þo,  
How myȝte it þanne þorugh me be?«

Or what dede y þat sholde þe dere?«  
»Nauȝt«, seide þe deuel þere,  
»Bote þorugh þe þus it is:  
Pat same day god made þe,  
After his owene liknesse to be,  
I loste al my blis:

Po god hadde ȝeue þe lyf & grace  
And made þe lich his owene face,  
Mizhel þo ledde þe  
Beforen þe face of god almyȝt,  
For þow sholdest worschepen him ryȝt.  
And þo anon seide he:

Lo, y haue mad Adam  
Lich me, and ȝeuen him nam.  
Po wente Michel ful glad  
And bad vs come, boþe ȝonge & age,  
For to honuren godis ymage,  
As god him selue bad.

Mizhel ȝede him selue þere  
And worschypede þe wiȝt glade chere.  
And þanne me he bysouȝt  
To gon & worschipen godis ymage.  
And y answerde as man in rage:  
Nay, þat owe y nouȝt.

Michel me wolde haue compelled þerto.  
I sayde to him: »what wiltow do?«  
Wiȝt wordis grete & grym,  
»He is wors þan am y,  
Perfore y owe noȝt, sikerly!  
For to worscipen him:

I was þe ferste creature of gras,  
And longe, er he, mad y was: —  
Þus answerde y Mizhel —  
Perfore he owiȝt wiȝt leme & lym  
Worschipen me, and y noȝt hym,  
ȝif it sholde be wel.«

Po alle þe angelis herden þis  
Pat fallen wiȝt me out of blis,  
Peȝt wolde noȝt worschipen þe.  
ȝut bad me Michel wiȝt word od  
Worschipen þe, or elles god  
Wolde wrathen me.

Panne seide y wiȝtouten oht:  
What, þez god be wiȝt me wroht,  
What fors shel it be?  
I shel sette my place euene  
Aboue þe sterres of þe heuene,  
And ben as guod as he.

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295 God wax wroht wiþ me in hast  
And dede me, & myne angles, fast  
Fro heuene to fallen þo.  
Pus þorghe þe we lorn oure blis  
And oure mery dwellynge, ywis,  
300 And fallen douȝ in to wo.

Whanne we were þus fro blesse rut  
And þow in þat blisse put,  
Þo hadde y to þe enuye  
Pat þow sholdest in þat blisse byde  
305 Pat we losten for oure prude.  
Py womman þo temptide y

To taken þe appell on þe treo  
And þerwiþ to gylen þeo —  
Pus þorghe here y dede  
310 Pat þow fro blisse were put out,  
As y aforhand was saun dout  
Fro þat mery stede.

Whanne Adam hadde herd þe deuel þus  
told,  
He wepte teres manyfold,  
315 And loude þus cride he:  
»Al my ioye and my blis,  
Lord god, in þyn hond is:  
Help, zif þy wille be,

Pat þis deuel, myn aduersarie,  
320 Hane power no lenger me to tarie;  
Pat blisse azen zif me  
And teche me somwhat me to were,  
Pat þis fend namore me dere,  
Lord, y praye þe!

325 For he is abouten me to traye.  
Anon þe deuel vanschede awaye.  
An angel þo cam fro heuene  
And seide: »Adam«, as god gan sende:  
»Zif þow wilt fro þe deuel þe fende,  
330 Worsche after my steuene:

God bit þe wiþ glade mod  
Taken þe tende part of þy guod  
Pat þe nyweþ by zere —

Loke his wille þat þow fulfil!

Bere it to an heȝ hil,

And do it setten a fere

And lete it brenne wiþoute gref,  
In to gret spyt and repref  
Of þe deueles alle —  
As þez þe tende ordre were  
In heuene wiþ oure lord dere,  
Til synne made hem to falle.

Zif þow wilt þus tyden wel,  
Þow myȝt þe kepen fro þe deuel.  
Þe angel þo wente him fro.  
Adam stod stille in his penaunce  
Fourty dayes, wiþouten destaunce,  
And seuene dayes zut mo,

Al wey in þe water Jordon.  
Panne seide Eue to him anon:  
»Adam, leue now ze!  
For noþer þe ferste tyme ne now  
Þe deuel myȝte noȝt gylen zow,  
Bote ay deseyuede me;

In herte y was noȝt stedefast,  
Noþer ferste tyme ne last,  
Bote brak my godis lore.  
I am wel worþy for to deye:  
Sle me, Adam, y zow preye,  
Pat god se me namore!

Or hyde me fro godis siȝt!  
I am noȝt worþy wiþ riȝt  
To dwellen here, y seye.  
Bote in þe west y wil go wone  
At þe goyngre douȝ of þe sonne,  
Alone, til y deye.

Sche dede hire forþ in to þe west,  
Euere sorwyngre wiþouten rest,  
Wepyne euen & morn  
In here dwellynge þat was wyld,  
And hadde in here wombe conseuyed a  
child  
Bote þre monthes aforn.

And in here herte þo þoȝte hy  
þe deuel hadde here gyled twy —  
So badde was here grace —  
And wax ashamed, as seiþ þis rym,  
þat she dorste neuere after þat tym  
Loken Adam in þe face.

And for hy ne dorste his face yse,  
A whyt veyl þo tok she  
And heng aforn hire eye. —  
Þis was þe skele wiþoute dred  
þat wymen keuercheres on here hed  
Weren, wiþoute lye. —

Whanne tyme kom of here peynes smerte,  
She cride loude wiþ voys and herte :  
»God, to þe y mone,  
Dere lord, haue mercy on me !  
Help, god, ȝif þy wille be,  
Me þat am alone !«

Evere she cride wiþ ruly chere.  
Bote god nolde here yhere  
Ne sente hire non helpe.  
»Allas, she sayde in here þouȝt,  
I se þat it avayleþ me nouȝt  
Al þat y crie & ȝelpe.

»Lord ! þoȝte she in herte and word,  
Who shel tellen Adam, my lord,  
Of my sorwe and care ?  
I praye ȝow, liȝt of firmament,  
Sonne & mone, wiþ quod entent,  
To þe eastward whanne ȝe fare,

Telleþ Adam, my lord dere,  
How y am stad in sorwes here !«  
Þe eyr bar it forþ anon,  
þat sorwe þat she þere gan mene,  
þat Adam in þe east, y wene,  
Herde al here mochel mon,

And seide þus wiþoute wrake :  
»Al þe sorwe þat Eue gynneþ make  
Me ȝenkeþ þat y wel here.  
In hap þat þe deuel dere hire nouȝt,  
For to drawen fro god hire þouȝt,  
I wil go visiten hire þere.«

HORSTMANN, Legendensammlung.

Adam ȝede to hire þat stouȝde 415  
And fond hire liggyng on þe grounde,  
Makynge sorwe & del.  
Whanne hy him herde, þus seide sche :  
»Sythen Adam, my lord, say me,  
Myn herte is refresched wel. 420

»Lord Adam, quad sche, for loue  
Prey for me to god aboue  
He helpe me of my wo !«  
So Adam preyede for hire him selue,  
þat þer kome angeles twelue 425  
And stoden aboute hire þo,

Some on þe left halue, some on riȝt.  
And Michel þe archangel in þat siȝt  
On here riȝt side stod he,  
And touchede here face to þe brest,  
And to here he seide ful prest : 430  
»Now, Eue, yblessed þow be,

For loue of Adam, þy lord :  
For god of heuene herde his word —  
His preyere to god was mylde. 435  
Porghe his preyere we ben her kome,  
Angeles, to helpe þe, alle and some.  
Rys & greyþe þe to chylde !«

Eue dizte here to childyng.  
And þo þe child, wiþoute lesyng, 440  
Anon was fallen here fro,  
Op he sterte in þat stouȝde  
And ȝede & gaderede floures on grounde  
And bar his moder þo —

Þus he pleyde wiþ his dame. 445  
Þeȝ callede him Kaym to his name —  
Bote sethen he wroȝte care.  
Adam þo ledde wiþouten stryf  
Boþe his sone & his wyf  
To þe east, to dwellen þare. 450

Þe sente god Michel  
To techen Adam to labouren wel,  
Boþe to diche and delue  
And sowe sedes on erthe to growe,  
For to fynden hem mete ynowe, 455  
His children & him selue ;

He tauȝte hem trauayle for here mete,  
How þeȝ myȝte hem frutes gete  
Wiþ swet & swynkyng sore —  
460 Pus bad þe angel to Adam,  
And al þe frut þat after him cam  
So sholde þeȝ euermore.

Eft trauaylede Eue — and ferde wel ;  
And þat child þeȝ namede Abel  
465 To his riȝte name.  
Pus in writ y haue it sayn  
Pat Abel and his broþer Kaym  
Dwellede togydere in same.

To Adam þanne þus seyde Eue :  
470 »Sire, she seyde, ze mowe me leue,  
Slepynge y say a syȝt :  
Me þoȝte Kaym tok Abellis blod  
And sop it op as he were woda.  
Þanne seide Adam ful ryȝt :

475 »I drede me he shel him sle.  
Perfore sondred shel þeȝ be  
For drede of after clap«.  
Þeȝ maden Kaym a tylman,  
And Abel a schepherde þan.  
480 Bote such zut was here hap  
  
Pat Kaym for his false tidyng —  
For he tyþede of þe worste þyng,  
And Abel of his beste —  
For wræthe þo Kaym wax ner wod,  
485 For to spillen his broþeres blod,  
To deþe Abel he þreste.

And whanne he deyde, he ȝede to helle,  
Euermore þer to dwelle,  
For his false tyþyng. —  
490 Perfore wel to tenden buþ lef,  
Or elles ȝow falleþ a gret myschef  
In ȝoure laste endyng. —

And þanne Adam, ze mowe me leue,  
An hondred wynter knew noȝt Eue  
495 Flesliche for þis stryf.  
Tyl an angel kom fro heuene  
And bad Adam in his steuene  
Eft gon knownen his wyf.

Þanne ȝede Adam and knew his wyf :  
Anoþer child þeȝ broȝte forþ blyf.  
Þanne Adam to Eue gan sayn :  
»He shel hote Seth, so wile we ;  
In stede of Abel shel he be  
Pat Kaym, his broþer, haþ slayn«.  
  
Zut after he gat þretty sones mo,  
And þretty douȝtres and two,  
Pus in writ fynde y.  
Many a zer þus leuede he þo,  
And hem þeȝ norscheden & broȝten for  
mo,  
Pe worlde to multiply.

Aȝens þe tyme Adam sholde deye,  
He spak to Eue, as y ȝow seye,  
Meke wordis and bonere :  
»Let gaderen alle myne children hider,  
My sones & douȝtres alle togyder,  
Pat y mowe se hem here !

I shel sone deye, as y gesse,  
Perfore ferst y wolde hem blesse :  
Pe betere myȝte þeȝ be.  
Sonè þeȝ come alle þyder riȝt,  
Alle byfore here faderes siȝt,  
In þre partyes stoden he,  
  
Byform þere Adam began to preye  
To god þat sit in heuene heye.  
Pe criden alle in þat stede :  
»Fader«, þeȝ seyden, »what eyleþ þe ?  
Why hastow called vs þe to se ?  
Why lystow in þy bede ?«

Adam answerde to hem þo :  
»A, children, me is ful wo  
Of siknesse þat y haue«.  
Anon þeȝ alle, as y gesse,  
For to wyten what was siknesse  
Faste on him gonне craue.

»Fader«, quad Seth, »y trowe wel  
Þow desyre to ete sum del  
Of þe frut of paradys  
Pat þow of ete som tyme : for soth,  
Perfore y leue wiþouten oth  
Sike here þat þow lys.

Tel me þerfore wiþouten mo  
Zif þow wilt y þuder go  
And preye god wiþ wille;  
Pus y wile do, zif þow rede,  
And casten doust on myn hede,  
And at þe ȝatis lyn stille

Til þat god of his myȝt  
Wil me by his angel bryȝt  
Senden þerof, y gesse.«  
»I desyre it noȝt«, quad Adam þo,  
»Bote in my body frō top to to  
I haue gret siknesse.«

Panne seide Seth wiþouten lye:  
»I not what siknesse is, sikerlye!  
Why, wile ȝe vs noȝt telle?«  
Panne seide Adam: »my children dere,  
Lesteneþ alle, and y shel here  
Tellen wiþoute dwelle.

Whanne god made ȝoure moder & me  
And putte vs in paradys for to be,  
And bad vs wiþ word & þoȝt  
Of alle þe frutes taken oure fille:  
Of þe tre of wit of guod and ille  
He bad vs taken riȝt noȝt.

Pat in myddes of paradys stod —  
Pus he bad vs for oure guod,  
Zif we hadden had gras —  
And ȝaf me myȝt of norþ and est,  
And ȝoure moder, wiþ south & west,  
To don what oure wille was,

And, vs to kepen, angeles two.  
Bote, whanne þe tyme was komen þo  
Fro vs þat þeȝ moste wende,  
For to honuren here god of myȝt:  
Po þe deuel anon ryȝt  
Kam þuder vs to schende,

And ȝoure moder so temptide he  
To taken an appell of þe tre.  
And faste þeron sche gnew,

And cam & broȝte anoþer mete.  
And whanne y hadde þerof also eten,  
Sone changede oure hew.

God wax wroþ wiþ vs wel tyt,  
And seide to me anon ryt:  
Adam, for þy trespass,  
Pat þow hast don þat y forbed  
And wroȝt after þy wyues red,  
Þis ioye lost þow has,

And to þy body also y dresse  
Sixty and two dyuerse siknesse  
For þy trespassynge,  
Pe to greuen wiþ sorwe and wo,  
Fro þe top to þe to,  
And after alle þyne ospringe,

In to alle þyne membres y hem prest,  
Hed and armes, body and brest.  
Þus seide oure lord on hy.«  
Whanne Adam hadde þus told hem alle,  
Loude he gan to crie and calle  
For his grete malady,

And seide: »a, what shel y do?  
So mochel siknesse comeþ me to,  
Al my body to dere!«  
Whanne Eue herde him so cry,  
Sore sche wepte, sikerly,  
And seide to god riȝt þere:

»Lord god of riȝtwysnesse,  
Let me al þis siknesse,  
For þe trespass was myn!  
»Adam, sche seide, y praye þe  
Of þy siknesse parte wiþ me,  
Let me haue sum of þy pyn!

For þorghē me þow hast þis ille.  
Panne seide Adam Eue tille:  
»Rys, & tak Seth wiþ þe!  
Pouderē on ȝoure heuedes ȝe do —  
Signe of melknesse it longeþ to —  
To paradys gatis go ȝe!«

And, Seth, sone wiþoute drede  
 620 A grene wey shel þe þuder lede,  
     And steppes sere of hew —  
     For whanne we breken godis komande-  
         ment,  
     Oure synne was so gret, þat, þer we went,  
         Neuere after gras ne grew.

625 Sorwiþ þere wiþ herte and word,  
     Zif þat in aunder god, oure lord,  
         For ruthe of zow haue mynde  
         And to þe tre of mercy blyf,  
         Where out renneþ oyle of lyf,  
 630 His angel wil douȝ sende  
     And of oyle taken zow som del,  
     Wherwiþ ȝe mowen oynten me wel,  
         Þat my siknesse mow slake  
         Wherynne y am now sore ybounde».

635 Boþe Eue and Seth þat stounde  
     Zeden forþ for his sake.  
     And as þez zeden to paradys ward,  
         By þe weye it fel hem hard:  
         An addre to hem gan lepe  
 640 And al to-bot Seth in þe face.  
     For sorwe Eue waylede hire grace  
         And pytously gan wepe :

»Wo is me wrecche in þis sel!  
     I am corsed, y wot wel,  
 645 And alle þat breken godis heste ;  
     Ful y am of kare and wo».  
     To þe addre seide she þo :  
         »Sey, þow cursede beste !

How were þow so hardy here,  
 650 Or how were þow of such powere,  
     Godis liknesse to dere,  
     For to byten him such a wounde ?»  
     Pe addere þus in þat stounde  
         To Eue answerde þere :

655 »Wenestow noȝt», he seide, »Eue,  
     Þat god þerto ȝaf vs leue  
         To noyen zow fable,

And alle oure malis he sterede to zow?  
     Bote o þyng, Eue, telle me now :  
         How myȝte þy mouth be able  
         To eten of þe frut of þe tre  
         Þat god forbed Adam and þe  
             Vp peryl for to spille ?  
         Þo hadde we no powere  
         To deren zow for neuere.  
         Sethe ȝe broken his wille

And aȝen his biddynge fre  
     Eten þe appell of þe tre :  
         Riȝt þo, as y gesse,  
         Whanne ȝe hadde þus eten ȝou're ban,  
         Zow to deren oure power gan  
         And oure hardynesse».

Panne seide Seth to þat qued :  
     »God blame þe for þat ded  
         Þat þow hast þus byten me !  
         Parte awey out of oure siȝt,  
         Fro me, ymage of god almyȝt,  
         Zerne y bidde þe fle !

Schet þy mouth & spek namore  
     And gref his liknesse noȝt so sore,  
         Til god eft grante it þe !»  
     Panne spak þe addre as a qued :  
         »I wil don as þow me bed :  
         Fro þe now gynne y te«

And vanschede out of here siȝt.  
     And Eue and Seth zeden riȝt  
         Forþ to paradys zate :  
         And fallen on here knees bare  
         And syȝheden and wepten sare,  
         Whanne þez come þerate,

And preyden god, heizest of nam,  
     To haue mercy on Adam,  
         Sik in leme and lyth,  
         And hem senden his angel fro hy  
         To ȝeuuen hem of þe tre of mercy  
         Oyle, to helen him wyth,

As god byhet him longe er þat.

And as þez in herz prayeres sat,

Mizhel aperede þan

And seide: »Seth, what sechest þow here?

I am Michel, þe angel dere,

Ordeyned abouen man.

Wep namore, þus rede y,  
For oyle of þe tre of mercy,

To anoyntent þy fader Adam

For þe siknesse þat he is in,

For þerof shelt þow noȝt wyn —

Þus þe to tellen y kam;

For ȝow þerof god wil non sende  
Til in þe laste dayes ende

Þat fyue þousand ȝer ben past

And fyue hondred zut þerto.

Bote to paradys ȝate þow go

And loke in þer in hast!«

Seth þo ȝede to paradis ȝate

And putte in his heued þerate:

And sez merthis ynowe:

Of alle manere men myȝte descrie

Penken wiþ herte, sen wiþ eye,

And briddes syngynge on bowe.

And zut more, as y ȝow telle:

In myddes of paradys a welle,

Foure stremes rennynge þer fro —

Of þo foure stremes clere

Komeþ al þe water þat is here.

More zut sez he þo:

Vp by þe welle stonden he sez

A mochel treo and an heȝ;

Wiþ bowes grete & stark;

Þo in þouȝt wondrede he

For þer was oppon þat tre

Noþer leues ne bark.

As he stod & wondrede þere,

He þozte on þe steppis sere:

Anon he sikede sare,

And to him þis þoȝt kam

Þat for Eue synne, & Adam,

Þat tre was so bare,

And þozte þeron wiþoute wane

Adam and Eue eten here bane.

740

Aȝen he wente þe angel to;

Al þat he had seȝe in siȝt,

Wiþ his tonge anon riȝt

He tolde þe angel þo.

Þe angel him bad wiþouten lye

745

Eft gon loken what he seye.

Po ȝede he & lokede more:

Aboute þe bare tre he sez wounde

An hydous addre in þat stounde —

Perof he dradde him sore.

750

And al þe angel he gan tel.

þe angel þo bad him wiþoute dwel

Þe þridde tyme ful ryue

At þe ȝatis in to loke.

And forþ he wente, as seiþ þis boke,

755

And lokede in ful blyue:

Pat same bare tre he sez

Woxsen, him þozte, to heuene an heȝ —

He wondrede of þat syȝt —

And in þe heyȝeste crop of þat tre

760

A ȝong ȝchild lyn sez he,

As it hadde be bore þat nyȝt

In þe swaȝyng cloutis wounde;

Þo lokede he douȝward to þe grounde:

And sez þe rote ful riȝt

765

Lasten douȝ, as y ȝow telle,

In to þe depe put of helle,

And þere he sez ful tyth

His broþeres soule, Abel.

Þo wente he aȝen in þat sel

770

And tolde Mizhel his cas,

What he sez aboue and douȝ.

þe angel anon gan it expoun

And tolde him what it was:

»Pat child þow seȝe in þe crop of þe tre, 775

Godis sone of heuene is he

Pat weþep & makeþ gret mon

For þe synne — wiltow leue? —

Pat Adam & þy moder Eue

Aȝens him hauen don,

780

And he shel wypen awey þat gelt,  
Whanne þat tyme is fulfelt  
    þat y beform tolde here:  
He is þat oyle of mercy  
785 Pat god byhot sikerly  
    Adam, þy fader dere,

For he is þat best louede godis sone,  
    þat shel kome on erthe to wone  
    And, baptyzed in ffлом Jordon,  
790 Alle þat ben cristene, sikerly,  
    He shel wiþ oyle of mercy  
    Anoynten hem euerychon;  
  
He shel fordон þe fendis myȝt  
    And leden þy fader to blesse briȝt,  
795 Whanne tyme comeþ þerto«.  
    Whanne þe angel hadde þus told byfore,  
    He tok his leue wiþouten more,  
    Azen to his fader to go.

Bote ferst þat angel zaf him þre  
800 Karmelis of þat appell-tre  
    Pat his fader hadde of byte,  
    And seyde : »wiþynne þis þridde day  
    Þy fader shel deyen wiþouten nay,  
    As þow shelt wel wyte.

805 Whanne he is ded and buried shel be,  
    Tak þese karmelis alle þre  
    And in his mouþ do hem lay!  
    And sone after þow shelt se  
    How þez sholle springen alle þre.  
810 And zut y can þe say:

Þe frut þat shel hongen on þat tre  
    Zoure alder leche shel he be  
    And hele zoure fader fro wo,  
    And shel delyuere fro siknesse  
815 Him and many mo, y gesse,  
    To ioye wiþ him to go.

And whanne zoure fader deyth, saunfayle,  
    Ze shollen se gret meruaille  
    Of þe liȝtis of þe firmament.  
820 Whanne he hadde told him þus wordes  
    breue,  
    Po he and his moder Eue  
    Homward faste þez went.

Whanne þez were to Adam kome,  
    Eue þo tolde him al & some  
    How þe addere hadde Seth byte.  
Panne seide Adam to his wyf:  
»Lo, Eue, what sorwe and stryf  
    Porgh þe to vs is smyte,  
  
To vs & to alle oure ospringe!  
Perfore, Eue, oppon alle þyng  
    Tel alle þy children tille,  
Whanne y am ded, what sorwe & kare  
We haue had & zut shel mare  
    For oure dedis ille.  
  
And hy þat comen after vs, y wene,  
Shullen haue mochel anger & tene  
    For synne þat we haue do,  
And willen vs curse, whanne hem gynneþ  
    greue,  
And seyn : Adam, oure fader, and Eue  
    Al þis shopen vs to«.  
  
Whanne Eue herde Adam þus telle,  
She wep sore wiþouten dwelle,  
    For care hire herte wax cold.  
Po Seth aforn his fader gan cum  
And tolde Adam alle and sum  
    Pat þe angel hadde him told.  
  
Whanne Adam hadde it herd al sayn,  
He laweþ lowde : so he was fayn,  
    For alle his grete mones,  
And seyde : »lord, y þanke þe  
    Pat y may fynden glad to be  
    In al my lyf tyme ones!  
  
Now is my lyf long ynouȝ :  
God, take my soule to zow,  
    Pat art of myȝt most,  
For y haue leued in þis world here  
Neghe hondred & þretty zere«.  
    Po zaf he op his gost :  
  
And þus deyde he anon riȝt.  
    Pe mone & þe sonne losten here liȝt,  
    And seuene dayes shone namore.  
Po Eue and Seth his body beclepte,  
And for him faste þez wepte  
    And waymenteden riȝt sore.

And as þez þus maden here mon,  
An angel perede to hem anon  
At Adames heued ful riȝt,  
And seyde : »rys, Seth, y bidde þe,  
And kome hider & stond by me  
And se what god of myȝt

Ordeyneþ wiȝ þy fader to do !«  
And (Seth) anon op ros þo,  
To don as he bad :  
And sez manye angelis make gret sere,  
Syngynge & trompynge wiȝ glad chere —  
Þo gan Seth wexen glad.

Þe angelis alle criden wiȝ o steuene :  
»Blessed be þow, lord of heuene,  
For loue of Adam, þy man,  
Pat þow on him wilt haue mercy !«  
Seth sez god þo, sikerly,  
His faderes soule take þan

And tok Mīhel, þe angel briȝt,  
And seyde : »kep me þis soule riȝt  
In peynes, wiȝouten mys,  
Til þe laste dayes ben falle  
Pat y shel his sorwes alle  
Turnen in to blys :

Panne shel he sitten wiȝ herte glad  
In his trone þat him mad«.  
Seth tok his faderes body  
And beriede it in þe vale of Ebron,  
And putte þo þre karnel(is) anon  
In his mouth witterly,

Vnder his tonge he hem frauth,  
As þe angel hadde him tauth.  
Þo sixe dayes were gon,  
Eue to Seth þus gan seye :  
»Tak & make tables tweye  
Of al oure lyf anon,  
Tweye of erthe & tweye of ston,  
Writ þeron oure lyf anon  
Pat we haue had here !

For longe er domesday falle  
Þis worlde shel ben fordun alle,

By water or by fere ;

Zif it be by water fordon,  
Panne shollen þe tables of ston  
Lasten, wiȝouten lye ;  
Zif it þorȝhe fer be broȝt to nouȝt,  
Panne sholle þe tables of erthe wroȝt  
Lasten sikerlye.«

Whanne she hadde al þus told,  
Doun she knelede wiȝ herte cold  
And op here hondis hild,  
And þus to god cride she :  
»Lord, haue mercy on me !«  
Anon here gost she zild.

Þo, as here sones & douȝtres echon  
For here sorwede & makede mon,  
Mīhel to hem kam þore,  
And seide : »loke no lengere, Seth,  
Pan sixe dayes for hire deth  
Pat ze sorwe namore !

For þe seuende day, wiȝoute lesyngē,  
Is tokne of aȝen risyngē,  
On þe seuende day also  
God restide wiȝ body and þoȝt  
Of alle workes þat he wroȝt ;  
Perfore y bidde þow so do.«

Þo wroȝte Seth his moderes wil :  
And þe tables gan fulfil  
Wiȝ dede & wiȝ þonȝt.  
Salamon, þe wyse man,  
Fond þe tables longe after þan.  
As he god bysonȝt

To schewen him wiȝouten mys  
What bytokneþ þe tablys,  
Or who þat hem souȝt :  
God þo sente him his angel  
And tolde him al fayre & wel  
How þat þez were wroȝt,

- And what tokne þat it was.  
And þo archilaykas
- 945 Salomon dede hem calle —  
Pat is to sayn: *wiþoute trauaylle*  
And *wiþouten* wit saunfayle  
Seth wrot hem alle:
- For an angel held his hond riȝt.  
950 Of godis komynge þus spak he tyt:  
»Lo, god shel come, *quad* he,  
In his wonderful dremes of drede,  
And shel redressen mannes nede  
In riȝt and in leute.
- 955 Of þis matere now lete we be,  
And of þe karnelis speke we  
In Adames mouth þat were set.  
Þeȝ woxen alle þre *wiþouten* wrong  
Ech of an elne long
- 960 Sone *wiþouten* let;
- As þeȝ stoden in erthe þere  
Al most two þousand ȝere,  
And woxen noþer more ne les,  
Bote al wey stoden liche grene.
- 965 Whanne Moyses fond hem þer bydene,  
Þus seide he, as y ges:
- »Pese ȝerdis alle þre  
Tokneþ þe holy trenite«  
Þus propheciede he his steuene.
- 970 And whanne þeȝ sholden hem drawen out,  
It wax so swete hem about:  
Þeȝ wende þeȝ hadde ben in heuene.
- Þo was Moyses glad, y wene,  
And wond hem in a cloþ ful clene,
- 975 And *wiþ* him forþ were broȝt.  
And *wiþ* þe ȝerdes, whyle he wonede þere,  
In wildernesse foure & fourty ȝere  
Many meracles he wroȝt:
- Who so were sik, as seyþ þis geste,  
980 Or venympd *wiþ* eny wikked beste,  
Þe ȝerdis he moste kis:  
And þanne he wax hol anon.  
And sethen out of þe flynt-ston  
Moyses dede ywis
- Water out rennen þorghe here vertew.  
And whanne Moyses, y telle ȝow,  
Wiste þorghe godis sonde  
Þat he sholde deye, þo wente he  
To Thabor helle, and þe ȝerdis þre  
He sette in erthe to stonde,
- And made þere his graue in grounde,  
And wente þuder & deyde þat stounde.  
So stoden þe ȝerdis stille  
A þousand ȝer, til Dauid kyng  
Reynede in Jude *wiþoute* lesyng:  
As it was godis wille,
- An angel him bad *wiþoute* lye:  
»Dauid, go to Arabye  
To þe mount Thabor blyue  
And bringe to Jer(usa)lem *wiþoute* les  
Þo þre ȝerdes þat Moyses  
Sette þere by his lyue!
- For þorghe hem god wile help sende,  
Þorghe a crois, to mankende«.  
Dauid þo dwelde nouȝt,  
Þat on þe neghende day þere was he,  
And drow op þe ȝerdis þre,  
As þe angel hadde him touȝt.
- Swich swete sauour þo gonne þeȝ fele:  
Þat þe ȝerdis were holy þeȝ wisten wele.  
Po cride Dauid *wiþ* voys,  
And þorghe prophecie saȝt riȝt þus:  
»Pis day is helthe ȝeuen to vs  
Þorgh vertew of þe crois«.
- Þo wente he hom *wiþouten* let  
And þozte where he myȝte hem set.  
In a cisterne he let hem reste  
For to ben fresch al þat nyȝt,  
þat he myȝte on morwe tyt  
Setten hem where him leste.
- On þe morwen he ros erly,  
To þe cisterne he gan him ly:  
And fond hem alle þre  
Woxen in to on þat stounde  
And rote fast in þe grounde;  
And þerof meruaylede he.

And for þe meracle þat þer was wrouȝt  
He wolde hem remeuye nouȝt,  
For god bad rotен hem þere.  
Bote þere it stod and wax op riȝt  
Gret & long, þorugh godis myȝt,  
Riȝt ful þretty ȝere.

For Dauid wolde wyte wiȝ herte triwe  
How mochel eny ȝer it grewe,  
A ryng of seluer rounde  
He dude make and don on þe tre :  
þerby eche ȝer wyten wolde he  
How mochel it wax þat stounde.

And þus he sez by þat ryngē  
þat euery ȝer, wiȝpoute lesynge,  
Liche mochel it grew,  
þorugh þe grace þat god gan sende,  
Til þe þretty ȝeres ende —  
Euere it was of on hew.

Whanne þe þretty wynter was do,  
þe tre wax no lenger þo —  
Bote al wey held his colour.  
After vnder þat tre wiȝ herte & þoȝt  
Dauid for synne þat he hadde wroȝt  
Wep teres riȝt sour,

And wiȝ sorwe & herte vnglad  
Pis salme : Miserere he mad.  
And whanne þe sauter was do,  
In þe worschipe of god almyȝt  
In Jer(usa)lem cite ful riȝt  
A temple gan he þo,

And þeron wiȝ glade chere  
Dede worchen fourē & twenty ȝere.  
An angel þo tolde him ryȝt :  
»þow shelt noȝt enden þis work of wynne,  
For þow hast don so mochel synne  
Aȝen þe kyng of myȝt ;

Bote Salomon, þy sone ȝyngē,  
After þe shel ben kynge  
And þis work fulfelle«.  
Sone after deyde Dauid þere.  
And Salomon, his sone dere,  
Held þe kyngdom at wille

And parformede þat work also,  
Fulle þretty wynter and two.  
A bem þo failede hem on.  
þeq̄ senten to seche, sauȝ doute,  
In forestis & wodes al aboute,  
Bote þeq̄ myȝte fynde non

þat to þat work myȝte be broȝt —  
And þat work was neȝ al wroȝt.  
Salamon þeron gan rewe.  
And as he stod as him ne rouȝt,  
Of þat tre he him byþouȝt  
þat in þe cisterne grewe.

þeq̄ felden it doun, and gonue it werche,  
And maden a bem to þe cherche  
Of lengþe þretty cubitis & on,  
A cubyte lengere þan þe make.  
Whanne it was wroȝt, þeq̄ gonue it take  
And drownen it op anon.

And whanne þeq̄ hadde it op left  
And gonne for to marken eft,  
þeq̄ failede a fote of lengthe ;  
And eft þeq̄ markeden, as y gesse,  
þote to þat work it wolde noȝt dresse.  
þo toke þeq̄ it wiȝ strengthe

And, as Salamon to hem sayd,  
In þe cherche þeq̄ it layd ;  
Anoþer bem souȝten he  
And maden op þat work of wen.  
þo bad Salamon þat alle men  
Sholde honuren þat tre.

It was custom of contre þere  
Dyuerse tymes in þe ȝere  
To komen þat temple to  
And worschipen god þerynne þat stounde  
And þat tre þat lay on grounde.  
Bote ones befel it so :

As þeq̄ were alle in þe temple boun,  
A woman on þat tre sette hire doun,  
Her name was Maximille :  
Anon here clothes woxen a fere.  
And she anon wiȝ rusful chere  
Cride loude & schylle :

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»A, my lord god, Crist Jhesus!«  
 Wharne þe gewes hire herde crye þus,  
 Skolde þez gonне hire calle  
 And, for she cride Jhesu Crist in soun,  
 1115 Anon wiþ stones wiþoute þe touȝt  
 To deþe þez stanede hire alle —  
 Sche was þe ferste wiþoute blame  
 Pat martrid was for Cristis name.  
 Pe gewes þo token þat tre  
 1120 And beren it out wiþoute þe touȝt  
 And in a dep dich adoun  
 Perynne þrewe it he.  
 Bote god, þat wot of alle dede,  
 Honurede þat tre for mannes nede :  
 1125 Betwixe ondren & non  
 God sente eche day an angel briȝt,  
 And to þat tre he wente riȝt,  
 Pe water þanne sterede ful son.  
 And who so myȝte in þat water tiȝt  
 1130 Bathen him after þat angelis flieht,  
 What siknesse þat he had,  
 Sone he wax hol ywis.  
 Whanñe þe gewes wisten þis,  
 Anon þez token here rad  
 1135 And drowen op þat tre riche,  
 And sone after ouer a diche  
 þat tre þez deden leye,  
 And þerouer leten it ligge  
 For to ben a fot-brigge  
 1140 To men þat zeden þat weye,  
 And þouȝten þus, y telle þe,  
 Pe holynesse of þat tre  
 Sholde be fordo  
 Porghë þe stappes of synful men  
 1145 Pat þeron sholde gon and ren —  
 Bote zut was it noȝt so.  
 Sone after þat, verrayment,  
 Po Sibile sage to Jer(usa)lem went,  
 To heren of Salamones wit,  
 1150 And kam by þat ilche tre :  
 Anon she fel doun on þat tre  
 And faire worschiped hit,  
 And þeron wolde she noȝt go  
 Bote in þe water wente þo,  
 1155 And so honurede she þat tre,

And seide : »þe tyme is comynge riȝt  
 Pat it shel beren þe kyng of myȝt«  
 Pus þerof propheticiede she.  
 Stille þer lay þis tre of gode,  
 Til god were dampned to deye on rode  
 Among þe gewes felle.  
 Zif þow wilt wite what tyme it is  
 Fro tyme þat god made paradys  
 And man, þerynne to dwelle :  
 Til þat Nowelis flod were  
 Two þousand two hondred & twelf zere —  
 Pus we fynden vs selue ;  
 And fro þe flod to Abraham,  
 As oure bok witnesseþ ham,  
 Neghene hondred zer & twelue ;  
 And fro Abraham to Moysen,  
 As clerkes don vs to ken,  
 Foure hondred zer & þretty ;  
 And fro Moyses to Dauid kyng  
 Fyue hondred & two, wiþoute lesyng,  
 To kouȝten riȝt trewely ;  
 And forþ fro Dauid þe kyng  
 To Babiloyne þe delyuering  
 Fyue hondred zer were þo ;  
 And fro þat deliueringe, we sayn zow,  
 To þe incarnacioun of Jhesu  
 Fyue hondred zer & mo.  
 And fro þe incarnacioun of Jhesu  
 Til þis rym y telle zow  
 Were turned in to englisch,  
 A þousand þre hondred & seuenty  
 And fyue zere witterly.  
 Pus in bok fouȝden it is.  
 Ferst þis was mad in Ebraw,  
 And sethen turned to latyn new,  
 And now to englisch speche.  
 Praye we for him þat haþ it wroȝt,  
 Pat god, as he him dere abouȝt,  
 Be his soule leche ;  
 And to mede of his makynge,  
 And vs alle, for oure heryng,  
 Praye we wiþ one steuene  
 Pat Jhesu Crist, oure sauour,  
 And his moder, þat swete flour,  
 Grante vs þe blesse of heuene.

b) aus Ms. Auchinl. Edinb. Advoc. Libr.\*).

Lizbern, þat angel briȝt,  
Answerd anon riȝt :  
»Ich was ar þe wORLD bigan,  
Er euer god maked man ;  
Perfore«, he seyd, »so mot yt be :  
He schal first anoure me«.  
Pan seyd þe messanger  
To Lizbern, þat is now Lucifer :  
»Bot þou do godes comandment,  
Þou art inobedient  
And wreþþest god almiȝti þefore,  
And so miȝt þi mirþe be forlore«.  
Lizbern answerd anon riȝt,  
Purch pride þat in his word was liȝt :  
»He schal comen al to late  
Mi mirþe for to abate.  
Ichil go sitten in my see  
And be more master þan he«.  
And anon riȝt wiþ þat . . .  
He sett him in his owen . . .  
And þo Lizbern hade seyd so,  
Mani þousend angels and mo  
Sayd : þai nold in non manere  
Anour Adam no Eue, his fere.  
Þus in heuen pride bigan  
While god in erþe made man.

Po swete Jhesus, þat was wiis,  
Was comen out of paradis  
To heuen, þer he . . . . .  
And hadde maked men of mold, 30  
He seyze where Lizbern set,  
And bad him loke to his fet.  
And Lizbern anon riȝt  
For pride þat in him was liȝt,  
In holy writ we heren telle : 35  
He sanke adoun in to helle ;  
Per he þoled michel schame —  
Satanas is now his name.  
And alle angels in heuen þat wer,  
Pat him ani witnesse bere 40  
Pat he was worþi to sitten in se  
Per swete Jhesu was won to be :  
Purch þe pouwer of godes miȝt  
Seuen days and seuen niȝt  
Angels fallen adoun in to helle : 45  
In holy writ we heren it telle,  
For pride þat was in hem liȝt,  
Of heuen blis þai lorn þe siȝt.  
And as we finden in lectrure —  
Y not wheþer it be in holy scripture — : 50  
Po Lizbern sat in his se  
And seyd he was worþier þan he :  
For þe mone bar him witnesse,  
It waxeþ and wanieþ more and lesse ;

\*) Diese Version des Ms. Auchinl. ist in 2 Bruchstücken erhalten : das erste, 2 foll. (v. 1—352) ist jetzt in Mr. David Laing's Privatbesitz, nachdem diese 2 Blätter früher als Deckel von blank paper books gedient hatten, welche vor 1750 von einem Professor von S. Andrews als »note books« angekauft wurden. Der andere Theil findet sich fol. 14—16 in Ms. Auch., als 8 tes Stück dieser Sammlung (die ersten 5 sind ausgefallen, das Ms. beginnt jetzt mit 6: Gregorius). Beide Fragmente sind von David Laing in: A Penniworth of witte: Florice and Blauncflore: &c other pieces of ancient Engl. poetry selected from the Auch. Ms. Printed at Edinburgh for the Abbotsford Club 1857 herausgegeben. — Die Ausgabe dieser Fragm. folgt hier mit Erlaubniss Furnivall's nach einer auf meine Bitte von Miss Toulmin Smith für die Early Engl. Text Soc. angefertigten Abschrift des Ms. für das 2. Fragm., während das erste auf Laing's Augs. basirt.

- 55 Pe se þurch vertu of godes miȝt  
 Ebbeþ and flouweþ day and niȝt ;  
 Pis tway no habbe neuer rest,  
 Naþer bi est no bi west.  
 In heuen Pride first bigan
- 60 In angels, ar it cam in man ;  
 And for it com out of heuen  
 And was þe form sinne of seuen,  
 Perfore, wiþouten lesing,  
 Of alle sinnes Pride is king.
- 65 Lete we now Pride be,  
 And to Adam wende we,  
 And loke we hou him spet  
 Pat þurch his wiues abet  
 And þurch þe fenes entisement
- 70 He brak godes comandment.  
 God — yblisced mat he be ! —  
 He forbede Adam an appell-tre,  
 Pat he ne schuld of liif no lim  
 No frout þerof nim.
- 75 þe fene in licknesse of an adder  
 Clombe opon þe tre wiþouten ladder  
 And cleped to him Adames wiif,  
 For to apair Adames liif.  
 And Eue to þe nadder cam.
- 80 And at þe nadder an appell nam :  
 þe fene gat alle þat he fond,  
 And tok it Eue in hir hond  
 And seyd : »ete þou, and Adam, of þis,  
 And ze schul ben al so wiis
- 85 As god, þat sitt in . . . ,  
 And witten alle his . . .  
 . . . ze no schuld nouȝt se no here  
 Which godes . . . . ere :  
 Perfore he it zou forbede
- 90 Ite schuld nouȝt comen in zour hede«.  
 Eue of þe nadder þe appell nam,  
 And to Adam anon him cam  
 And seyd : »do as Ich þe rede :  
 And it schal be þe best dede
- 95 Pat euer zete þou dest ywis :  
 Ete of þe appell þat here is,  
 And þou schalt be, wiþouten lesing,  
 Also wise of alle þing  
 As he þat it forbede
- 100 It schuld nouȝt comen in þine hed«.  
 Purch þe fenes comberment
- And þurch his wiues enticement  
 Godes comandment he breke :  
 þat he and his wiif eke  
 Seþpen hem rewe boþe ful sore,  
 Pat þai leueden þe fenes lore.  
 In þe boke it is ywrite :  
 Po þai hadde of þe appell bite,  
 Aþer of oþer aschamed was  
 And hiled her kinde wiþ more and gras.  
 Adam was of god aþiȝt,  
 And went and hidde him anon riȝt.  
 And god out of heuen cam  
 And cleped anon after Adam.  
 Pan seyd swete Jesus :  
 »Adam, Adam, why destow þus ?  
 Pou hast ybrouȝt þi selue in wo  
 And Eue, þi gode wiif, al so ;  
 For þou hast min hest ybroke,  
 For soþe, Adam, ichil be wroke ;  
 Ze haue ydon a sori dede,  
 For soþe, ze schul haue zour mede«.
- Po Jesu hadde to hem speke  
 And told hem þat he wald ben awreke —  
 Yblisced be his nam seuen ! —  
 He steyze of him in to heuen.  
 And þer after anon riȝt  
 He sent to hem an angel briȝt  
 Wiþ a brenand swerd,  
 And drof hem in to miduerd,  
 Adam and Eue, his wiif,  
 In care þer to ledien her liif.  
 Gret pite it was to here  
 Of Adam and of Eue, his fere,  
 Hou þai wepen and grad allas,  
 Po þai schulden for her trespass  
 Out of paradys ygon —  
 It was pite to heren her mon.
- Po Adam in to erþe cam,  
 Bowes leues and gras he nam :  
 A loȝe he þouȝt to beginne,  
 He and his wiif to crepen inne.  
 And þo þe loȝe was ymaked,  
 Pai lay þe[r]in all star naked,  
 Sex days and sex niȝt,  
 For hunger wel iuel ydiȝt :  
 Euerich day þai souȝten mete,  
 Bot nowhar þai no couþe it gete.

Po sex days weren agon  
 And þai no founde mete non,  
 Eue bigan for to crie :  
 »Allas, Adam, for hunger we dye !  
 Alle þe sorwe þat þou art inne,  
 Certes, alle it is for mi sinne.  
 Adam, ich beseke þe,  
 Sle me, zif þi wille be :  
 For, wer ich out of godes sïzt,  
 Par auentour, Adam, þan þou miȝt  
 Oȝein in to paradyss wende  
 And haue þe blis wiþouten ende«.  
 »A, woman«, quaþ Adam þo,  
 »Allas, why seydestow so ?  
 Wostow make me so wode  
 To sle min owhen flesche and blode?  
 Boþe in flesche and in bon  
 Jesus Crist haþ made ous on :  
 He made þe of mi ribbe —  
 þou miȝtest be me no ner sibbe.  
 Zif þou þenkest more so,  
 þou wilt bring ous in more wo :  
 Zif god sende on ous his curs,  
 Pan schul we fare þe wors.  
 Bot go we forþ and seche mete,  
 Wher þat we may ani gete  
 And for fauȝt dye we nouȝt,  
 Zif we mow finden ouȝt«.  
 Pai went forþ and mete souȝten,  
 And of hem seluen litel rouȝten.  
 Astay went to seche mete,  
 Pai seyzen bestes stonden and ete ;  
 Ac þai no couþe finde non,  
 As wide as þai couþe gon.  
 Pan seyd Adam þus :  
 »No hadde wretþed swete Jhesus,  
 He wald haue sent ous mete anouȝt,  
 Hongend opon ich bouȝt,  
 As he doþ þis wilde bestes,  
 And whe hadden holden his hestes ;  
 Bot for we haue his hest ybroke,  
 Perfore he wil ben awroke.  
 Perfore, Eue, mi rede it is :  
 For whe han don amis,  
 Go we out of þis wode schwawes  
 And liue we in penaunce fourti dawes :  
 And at þe fourti dawes ende

God almiȝti, þat is so hende,  
 And we miȝten his loue gete,  
 Pan wolde he send ous mete«.  
 »Sir«, quaþ Eue to Adam þo,  
 »þat wold bring me more wo,  
 So long penaunce for to take,  
 Bot ich it miȝt an ending make ;  
 Zif mi penaunce weren ybroke,  
 Pan wold god ben awroke  
 And be wroþer þan he is,  
 And ich dede eft amis«.  
 »Eue«, quaþ Adam anon riȝt,  
 »Nouȝt bot do þan what þou miȝt !  
 Wende to þe water of Tiges anon  
 And step in opon a ston ;  
 And whan þou art comen in,  
 Wad in vp to þi chin  
 And fond to stand þerin all stille  
 Fourti days to fulfille.  
 And Jchil in to þe flom go  
 And stand þerin fourti days and also  
 Sex days mo and sex niȝt,  
 Purch þe help of godes miȝt :  
 For in sex dayes and seuen niȝt  
 Alle þe warlid was maked and diȝt,  
 And fulfilid on þe seuen day ;  
 þefore, as forþ as y may,  
 Jchil fond to helden stille  
 Sex days more to fulfille.  
 þat ich rede we beginne  
 And do penaunce for our sinne.  
 And for þe penaunce wil be so hard,  
 Par auentour þan afterward  
 God, þat haþ zeuen ous liif so,  
 Wald sende ous sustenance þerto«.  
 Eue vnderstode his rede  
 And dede as Adam hir bede.  
 As it telleþ in þe boke,  
 Aiper at oþer leue tok ;  
 Eue in to Tiges wode  
 And vp to þe chin sche stode,  
 And in to þe flum wode Adam  
 And his penaunce vndernam.  
 Po þai hadde stonden þare  
 In miche wo and miche care,  
 Twenti days stonden inne  
 In þo to waters in pine :

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Pe fende pouȝt him to awreke  
And her penaunce for to breke

245 And formast he com to Eue,  
To brengen hir in misbileue —  
For Eue hadde leuen his lore,  
He hoped þat sche wald more —  
And seyd : »Eue, wele is þe !

250 Pi lord sent þe word bi me  
    Pat þi trespass is forzeue,  
    Pat þou dost ozains his leue.  
    Com out of þat water anon!  
    And as so swiþe astow miȝt gon

255 Go and sigge Adam so,  
And bring him out of his wo!  
And Ichil go þider wiþ þe  
And say him as Ichaeue don to be.«

Of þat tiding Eue was glad

260 And dede as pe fende hir bad :  
Out of þe water sche com anon  
And wiþ þe fende dedde hir to gon.  
þo Adam hadde of Eue a sȝt,  
He wist wele anon rȝt

265 Pat þe fende hir hadde ouercomen  
And out of hir penance ynomen ;  
And ful gode ȝeme he nam  
It was þe fende þat wiþ hir cam.  
And seyd : »Eue, allas allas,

270 Now is wers þan it was!  
He þat comeþ in þi compeynie,  
Now he haþ ygiled þe tvie:  
For soþe, Eve, þat is he  
þat giled be to be appell-tre

275 And made þe wiþ his enticement  
To breke godes comandment.  
þo Eue wist it was Satanas.

For sorwe pat in hir hert was  
Sche swoned and fel to grounde,

280 And lay stille a ful gode stounde;  
And anon as sche awoke,  
For drede of god sche lay and qwoke,  
And seyd: »allas — ȝif god it wold —  
Pat euer was ich maked of mold!«

285 Adam was in gret care  
Patseyze his wiif so iuel fare,  
And seyd to þe fende of helle:  
»Ich wald þat þou wost me telle  
Whi þou inwest me and mi wiif

And art about to pair our liif?

And we [did] þe neuer no dede  
stede«.

þe fende answerd þo  
And seyd : »Adam, þou art mi fo.  
Sone after þe warld bigan  
And god hadde fourmed þe to man,  
Bi an angel he sent to me  
Pat y schuld anoure þe ;  
And (y) seyd : þat y nold,  
For, ar þou wer maked of mold,  
Ich was in heuen an angel briȝt,  
Of grete pouwer and grete miȝt ;  
And for y nold anour þe nouȝt,  
In þis sorwe Icham ybrouȝt,  
In to helle for to wende  
And won þer wiþouten ende.  
And alle þat were to mi consent,  
Alle þai liuen to helle ywent,  
Euer to liue [in pine] and wo.  
Perfore þou art our alder fo«.

Adam, þer he stode vp riȝt,  
Bisouȝt god ful of miȝt,  
Deliuer out of his compeynie  
Pe fende þat hadde swiche envie  
To him and to his wiue Eue,  
Þat fonded so her soules to greue.  
Adam, þer he stode al naked,  
þo he hadde his preyer maked :  
Purch þe pouwer of godes miȝt  
þe fende went out of hir siȝt

Po be sex and fourti days wer go  
Pat Adam hadde yþoled þat wo,  
Out of he water ho he cam

Pan seyd Eue to Adam :  
»Adam, Adam, wele is te,

And Adam, Adam, wo is me!  
Pou hast þi penaunce to þend

Pou miȝt be ful glad in þouȝt;  
And ich may sing allas allas,  
Icham wers þan ich was,  
For now Ichauȝ eft agilt,  
Seþpen we were out of paradis pilt.  
Perfore Ichil now biginne  
Oȝain penaunce for to winne,  
And wende and won in þisternesse,  
Out of alle liznesse;

& anon in þat ich stounde	
Sche kneled adoun on þe grounde	380
& bad a bone to swete Jhesus,	
Sore wepende, & seyd þus :	
»Lord, ich biseche þe,	
Adames sorwe put in me !	
For al þe sorwe þat he is inne,	385
Is for mi gilt & for mi sinne«.	
Adam hadde rewþe of his wiif,	
& was al ful of his liif,	
& seyd : »Eue, lat be þi fare,	
& fond to bring me out of care !	390
Take Seþ in þi compeynie,	
& lok þat þou fast heyze,	
Lade him to paradise to þe ȝate,	
& lat him abide þer ate	
& let him stonden in þe sizt :	395
& god, þat is ful of miȝt,	
For he haþ nouȝt trespass so miche	
As hane we, sikerliche,	
Perfore he may þe balder be	
To speke wiþ Jhesu Crist, þan we«.	400
Eue toke Seþ anon,	
& dede hem in þe way, to gon.	
Toward paradis anon þai go.	
& þe fende, þat was her fo,	
Com & mett wiþ hem tvaye	405
Riȝt amid in þe waye,	
& bot Seþ in þe visage :	
& afterward a gret stage	
In his visage it was ysene,	
Where stoden his teþ kene.	410
»Allas allas«, quaþ Eue þo,	
»What icham curssed, & oþer mo,	
þat breken godes comandment !	
Now is mi sones visage schent.	
Hadde we holden his hest arиȝt,	415
Þan hadde þe fende hadde no miȝt	
For to touche nouȝt of our blod,	
No hadde ydon hem nouȝt bot gode«.	
To þe fende þo seyd Eue :	
»Hou artow so hardi to greue	420
Godes creatour þat þurc his grace	
Is fourmed after his owhen face ?	
Me þenke þat þou dost nouȝt riȝt	
To wretþe wiþ þe king of miȝt.	
Why artow so malicious	425

- Toward god & toward ous ?«  
 ¶ fende answerd anon þis :  
 »Nóuȝt toward god our malice nis,  
 Bot toward þe & al þe brod  
 430 Pat euer comeþ of ȝour blod :  
 For þurch ȝou we ben ybrouȝt  
 ¶ Per wo & sinne is euer wrouȝt.  
 &, Eue, ichil þat ȝou it wite :  
 Seþþen ȝou & Adam of þe appell bite,  
 435 We hauwe hadde pouwer & miȝt  
 To dere ȝou boþe day & niȝt «.  
 »A, foule þing!« quaþ Sep,  
 »Fro mi moder þat here geþ,  
 & fro me, þurch godes miȝt  
 440 Passe oway out of our siȝt ! «  
 & þe fende, þe foule þing,  
 Purch miȝt of þe heuen king  
 Out of her siȝt oway he nam,  
 þai nist neuer whar he bicam.  
 445 Eue haþ Sep yladde  
 To paradys, as Adam badde.  
 & Eue drouȝ hir fram þe gate,  
 Sche no durst nouȝt loke in þerate,  
 Sche durst nouȝt schewe god hir face,  
 450 Bot lete Sep abide grace.  
 & Sep in þilke stede,  
 Sore wepeand, in holy bede  
 He abod þer alle stille  
 Godes merci & godes wille.  
 455 þurch þe vertu of godes miȝt  
 þer com adoun an angel briȝt,  
 & seyd to Sep in þis maner,  
 Pat he miȝt wiþ eren here :  
 »God, þat al þe warld haþ wrouȝt,  
 460 Sent þe word : ȝou biddest for nouȝt,  
 Er þe term be ygon  
 Of fwe ȝousende winter & on  
 & fwe & tenti winter & mo,  
 Er þat terme be ago  
 465 & god, þat is ful of miȝt,  
 Be in to erþe ylizt  
 & hauwe ynomen kind of man  
 & baþed in þe flom Jordan :  
 þan schal Adam & Eue, his wiif,  
 470 Be anoint wiþ oyle of liif,

& alle þo þat after hem comen  
 Pat hauwe ciristendom ynomen.  
 Go tel Adam, þi fader, þis  
 þat no noþer grace þer nis.  
 & to grayþe him, bid him heyȝe :  
 His terme neizeþ þat he schal dye.  
 & when þe bodi, þat haþ don sinne,  
 & þe soule schal parten atvinne,  
 Riȝt whan þat time schal be :  
 Miche meruayl ȝe schullen yse —  
 So seyt mi lord, þat alle haþ wrouȝt,  
 & biddeþ þat ȝe no drede nouȝt  
 For nouȝt þat ȝe schul here no se.  
 So he sent ȝou word bi me «.  
 Eue & Sep her way nome  
 & went oȝain, as þai come,  
 & told Adam þe tiding  
 Pat him sent þe heuen king.  
 & Adam held vp boþe his hond  
 & þonked god of alle his sond.  
 Adam his eiȝen vnfled :  
 & seþþen his sone he biheld  
 & seyd : »merci, swete Jhesus !  
 Who haþ wounded mi sone þus ? «  
 »Bi god ! Adam !« quaþ Eue,  
 »He þat is about to greue  
 Oure soules, boþe niȝt & day,  
 As michel as euer he may ;  
 Pat is þe fende, þat is our fo,  
 Pat haþ ous brouȝt in to þis wo :  
 He com & mett wiþ ous tway,  
 As we ȝeden in þe way  
 & went toward paradys :  
 Pus he bot him in þe viis.  
 »Owe, Eue !« quaþ Adam ȝo,  
 »ȝou hast ywrouȝt michel wo !  
 Alle þat after ous be bore,  
 Alle schal curssen ous þer fore,  
 & alle þat after ous liuen  
 Boþe amorwe & eke aneuuen  
 Schul be bisy to bere þe wo  
 Pat is ywakened of ous two.  
 Perfore, Eue, telle alle þine childer,  
 Boþe þe ȝonger & þe elder :  
 Pat þai be filed of our sinne ;

V. 431) Ms. þurh st. þurch, wie 421, 439, 442, 455 u. ö.; Laing liest þurch. 438) L. 1. heren.

& bid hem ichon beginne  
 Niȝt & day merci to crie.  
 Mi time is comen, y schal dye.  
 Pus Adam bad Eue, his wiif,  
 Techen his childer after his liif,  
 Hou þai schuld anon beginne  
 To crien merci for her sinne.  
 & þo he hadde ytaȝt hem þus,  
 As þe boke telleþ ous :  
 He kneled adoun in his bede,  
 & dyed anon in þat stede.  
 & as þe angel hadde yseyd :  
 Alle þe liȝtnisse was aleyd,  
 Sonne & mone lorn her liȝt,  
 Sex days & sex niȝt.  
 Eue bigan to wepe & crie,  
 Po he seyȝe Adam dye ;  
 & Seþ made reweli mon  
 & fel doun on his fader anon,  
 &, as it telleþ in þe boke,  
 In his armes his fader he tok,  
 & ful bitterliche he wepe.  
 & god almiȝti þerof toke kepe,  
 & sent adoun an angel briȝt,  
 Pat seyð to Seþ anon riȝt :  
 »Arise, & lete þi sorwe be !  
 & wiþ þine eyzen þou schalt se,  
 God, þat al þe wairld schal glade,  
 What he wil do wiþ þat he made«.  
 God, þat sit in heuen heyȝe,  
 Tok Adam soule, þat Seþ it seiȝe,  
 & bitok it seyn Mizhel  
 & seyð : »haue, loke þis soule wel,  
 & put it in sorwe & þesternisse,  
 Out of ioie & alle liȝtnisse,  
 Til fiue þousend winter ben ago,  
 Two hundred & eiȝte & tventi mo,  
 Fro þe time þat he ete  
 Of þat appell him þouȝt so swete :  
 So long for his gilt  
 In his ward he schal be pilt  
 Pat maked him min hest breke ;  
 So long ich wil ben awreke,  
 On him, & alle his blod eke,  
 Mi comandment for he breke.  
 & whan þat terme is ago,  
 To ioie schal turn al his wo :

& afterward þan schal he  
 Sitten in þilke selue se  
 þat Liȝtbern sat, min angel briȝt, 565  
 Er pride was in his hert aliȝt«.  
 Pus seyð Jhesus, þat sitt an heyȝe,  
 & seþþen in to heuen he steiȝe.  
 Fram þe time þat cas fel  
 Pat curssed Kaim slouȝ Abel 570  
 Til Adam dyed opon mold,  
 As swete Jhesus Crist wold,  
 Zete lay Abel aboue erþe :  
 Til Jhesu Crist — herd mot he werþe —  
 Bad his angels þat þai scholde 575  
 Biry þe bodis vnder molde.  
 Pe angels al wiþouten chest  
 Dede anon godes hest,  
 I(n)to cloþes þe bodi þai feld.  
 Eue & hir children stode & biheld 580  
 Riȝt in þilke selue stede,  
 & hadde wonder what þai dede :  
 For þai no hadde ar þan  
 Neuer sen biry no man.  
 Pan seyð an angel, þer he stode, 585  
 To Eue & to al hir brode :  
 »Take zeme hou we do !  
 & her afterward do so :  
 Birieþ alle so þat dyen  
 As ze se wiþ zour eyzen 590  
 Pat we don þis bodis here —  
 Doþ ze in þe selue manere !  
 Po þe angels had seyð þus,  
 Þai wenten ozain to swete Jhesus,  
 To heuen þer þai formast were, 595  
 & leued Eue & hir children þere.  
 Sex days after Adam was dede,  
 God almiȝti an angel bede  
 Go tellen Eue, Adames wiif :  
 Pe terme was comen of hir liif. 600  
 Po Eue wist sche schuld dye,  
 Sche cleped forþ hir progenie,  
 Boþe þe zonger & þe eldre,  
 Hir childer & hir childer childre,  
 & sayd, þat alle miȝten here :  
 »Po ich & Adam, mi fere,  
 Breken godes comandment,  
 Anon his wretþe was ysent  
 On ous, & on our progenie :

- 610 & þerfore merci þe schul crie,  
 & boþe bi day & eke bi niȝt  
 Dōþ penance bi al ȝour miȝt!  
 & þou, Seþ, for ani þing  
 Ich comand þe on mi blisceing
- 615 Pat þi fader liif be write,  
 & min also, eueri smite,  
 Fro þe bigining of his liif  
 Pat he was maked, & ich, his wiif,  
 & hou we were filed wiþ sinne,
- 620 & what sorwe whe han liued inne,  
 & in whiche maner þat þou seye  
 Rediliche wiþ þine eize  
 Pi fader soule to pine sent,  
 For he brak godes comandment.
- 625 Alle þis loke þat þou write,  
 As wele as þou kanst it dite,  
 Pat þo þat be now ȝong childre  
 Mai it see, & her elder,  
 & oþer þat here after be bore,
- 630 Hou we han wrouȝt here bifore,  
 Pat þai mowe taken ensaumple of ous  
 & amenden oȝain Jhesus.  
 Po Eue hadde þus yseyd  
 & hir erand on Seþ yleyd,
- 635 Sche kneled adoun & bad hir bede,  
 & riȝt in þilke selue stede  
 Pat alle her kin stoden & seyze  
 Where, sche dyed biforn her eyze.  
 Anon riȝt as Eue was dede;
- 640 Her children token hem to rede  
 & beren hir þilke selue day  
 Vnto þe stede þer Adam lay,  
 & biried hir in þilke stede  
 Riȝt as þe angels dede
- 645 Pat biried Adam & Abel:  
 Perof þai token hede ful wel.  
 & þo sche was in erþe ybrouȝt,  
 Pat were sori in her þouȝt  
 & wopen & made miche wo,
- 650 Po Adam & Eue was ago,  
 Boþe an euen & a morwe  
 Pat wopen & made miche sorwe.  
 & at þe four dayes ende  
 Jhesu made an angel wende,

& seyd, þer þai wepen sore :  
 »Doleþ sex days, & na more,  
 Pe seuen day rest of ȝour sorwe,  
 Boþe aneuен & a morwe!  
 For god þat alle þe warld haþ wrouȝt  
 & alle þe warld made of nouȝt,  
 As him þouȝt it wald be best,  
 Pe seuen day he toke rest.  
 & anoþer þing witterly :  
 It bitokneþ þe day of merci :  
 þe seuenday was sononday,  
 & þat day schal be domesday  
 & alle þe soules þat wele haue wrouȝt  
 Pat day schul to rest be brouȝt.«

Po þe angel hadde his erand seyd  
 Pat god almiȝten hadde on him leyd,  
 In to heuen þe way he nam —  
 Pai wist neuer whar he bicam.  
 Seþ anon riȝt bigan,  
 Of Adam, þat was þe forme man,  
 Al to gider he wrot his liif,  
 As Eue hade beden, Adames wiif.  
 As telleþ þe boke, þat wele wot,  
 In ston alle þe letters he wrot,  
 For fir no water opon mold  
 Neuer greuen it no schold.

Po Seþ hadde writhen Adames liif,  
 & Eues, þat was Adames wiif :  
 Riȝt in þilke selue stede  
 Per Adam was won to bide his bede,  
 In þilke stede þe bok he leyd —  
 As wisemen er þis han yseyd —  
 Per Adam was won to biden his bede,  
 & leued it in þilke stede.  
 & þer it lay alle Noes flode  
 & no hadde nouȝt bot gode.  
 Long after N[o]es flod was go,  
 Salamon þe king com þo,  
 Pat was air of Dauid lond :  
 & Adames liif þer he fond,  
 & al in ston writhen it was,  
 & damaghed non letter þer nas.  
 For alle þat euer Salamon couþe  
 Pink in hert or speke wiþ mouþe,  
 On word he no couþe wite

Of alle þat euer was þer write,  
 He no couþe o word vnderstond  
 Pat Seþ hadde writen wiþ his hond.  
 & Salamon, þat was wiis,  
 Bisouȝt þe king of paradys  
 Pat he schuld for his miȝt  
 Sende him grace fram heuen liȝt  
 Pat he miȝt haue grace to wite  
 What þing weren þere ywrite.  
 God — yblisced mot he werþe! —  
 He sent an angel in to erþe,  
 Pat tauȝt Salomon eueri smite  
 Alle Adames liif ywrite,  
 & seyd to Salomon ywis:  
 »Here, þer þis writeing is,  
 Rȝt in þis selue stede  
 Adam was wont to bid his bede.  
 & here þou schalt a temple wirche,  
 Pat schal be cleped holi chirche;  
 Per men schal bid holy bede,  
 As Adam dede in þis stede.  
 & Salamon þe king anon  
 Lete rerен a temple of lime & ston:  
 Pe first chirche vnder sonne  
 Pat euer in warld was bigonne.  
 Now haue ze herd of Adames liif  
 & of Eue, þat was his wiif,  
 Whiche liif þai ladden here on mold  
 & seþþen diden, as god wold.  
 & þo Adam in erþe was ded,  
 For sinne þat com of her sed  
 God sent Noes flog  
 & adrenched al þe blod —  
 Swich wreche god nam  
 Of alle þat of Adam cam —  
 Saue Noee & his wiif,  
 Pat god hadde graunted liif,  
 & his children þat he hadde,  
 To schip wiþ him þat he ladde.  
 Of Noee seþþen & of his childer  
 We beþ ycomen alto gider.

V. 732) blod st. brod?

& seþþen þai leued in swiche sinne  
 Pat for þe liif þai liueden inne  
 Sodom & Gomore, þat wer þo  
 Swiþe noble cites two,  
 Boþe sonken in to helle,  
 As we here clerkes telle. 745  
 & anoþer noble cite,  
 Pat was yhoten Niniue,  
 Was in þilke selue cas;  
 Bot as þe prophete Jonas  
 Bad for hem day & niȝt  
 To swete Jhesu ful of miȝt,  
 & made boþe king & quene  
 & alle þat oþer pople bidene  
 In her bedes he made hem wake 755  
 & hard penaunce he dede hem take:  
 & þo þai were to penaunce pilt,  
 God forȝaf hem her gilt;  
 Pus Niniue sauued was  
 Purch bisekeing of Jonas. 760  
 Zete after Noes flog  
 Al þat com of Noees blod,  
 Weren he neuer so holy man,  
 For þe sinne þat Adam bigan  
 Per most non in heuen com, 765  
 Er god hadde his conseyl nome  
 To liȝten in þe virgine Marie  
 & on þe rode wald dye,  
 For to biggen ous alle fre —  
 Yherd & heyed mot he be! 770  
 Now haue ze herd of swete Jhesus,  
 As þe bok telleþ ous,  
 Of þe warld hou it bigan  
 & hou he made of mold man.  
 Jhesu þat was nomen wiþ wrong 775  
 & þoled mani paines strong  
 Among þe Jewes, þat wer felle,  
 To bring Adam out of helle:  
 Zif ous grace for to winne  
 Pe ioie þat Adam now isinne. 780

### 3. Magdalena.

a) aus Ms. Laud 108, fol. 190.

SLeize men and egleche, : and of redes wise and bolde,  
Lustniez nouþe to mi speche, : wise and vnwise, zongue and olde:  
No þing ich eov nelle rede ne teche : of none wiche ne of none scolde,  
Bote of a lif þat may beo leche : to sunfule men of herte colde.  
5 Ich nelle eov noþer rede ne rime : of kyng ne of eorl, of knyzht ne of swein,  
Ake of a womman ichchulle ov telle : þat was sunful and forlein :  
A swyþe fol wumman heo bicam, : and þoruȝ godes grace heo was ibrouȝht azeyn,  
And nouþe heo is to Crist icome, : þe fayre Marie Maudeleyn.  
Of hire ichulle zeou telle nouþe : al hou and zware heo was ibore,  
10 Zif ze to me wullez iheore : and habben of god þonk þare fore.  
Pis word Marie so is brizh(t)nesse : and bitokne þe steorre of þe se,  
And soruwe also and biturnesse, : ase þe bok tellez me ;  
For zwanen a man fielez in is heorte : þat he hauez muche misdo,  
And him þare fore biguynnez to smeorte, : þat is to him bitur and wo,  
15 He mournez and he sikez ofte : : Pis ilke Marie fierde also,  
Pat þing þat was hire leof and softe : was sethþe hire fulle fo.  
In þe Castel of Magdale : þis faire wumman was ibore :  
Heo was icleoped in propre name : þe Maudeleyne riȝt þarefore.  
To speken of hire ich am wel fous, : and it likez me ful murie.  
20 Ire fader was hoten Sire Titus, : and hire moder Dame Euchirie,  
Hire broþur was cleoped Lazarus, : and Martha was hire soster :  
Heo was debonere and pitiuous : and heo was a seli foster.  
Heore fader and heore moder boþe : comen of riche kunne,  
Of bolde kyngus and of quienes, : men of muchele wunne :  
25 Of castles and of tounes, : of londes and of þeodes,  
Of halles and of boures, : of palefreizes and of stedes ;  
Large huy weren of heore metes : to heom þat hadden neode,  
To men goinde and eke sittinde, : þat heore bonene wolden heom beode.  
Wyse men and sleyz : oueral huy weren itolde.  
30 Po þat huy scholden deize, : and so huy weren iholde :  
Heore londes and heore leodes : huy delden alle a-þreo,

V. 11) Ms. brizhnesse. bitokne st. bitokneth. 19) fous, 189, 457 vouse, = ready.  
20) Ms. Ire st. hire. 24) wunne winne = wealth.

Tounes and heore þeodes, : heore guod and heore feo,  
 To feoffen heore children : þarewiz echon,  
 For huy ne scholden nouȝt striue : ȝwane huy heom weren atgon.  
 Wel sone þere aftur, : þo huy nede scholde,  
 Deiden fader and moder, : ase Jesu Crist it wolde.

Bi heom men duden sone : ase huy ouȝten to done:  
 And to heore longue home : brouȝten heom ful sone.  
 Jesu Crist of heouene : of heom habbe merci  
 And for is names seouene : fram helle heom waraunti !  
 Huy diȝten heore londes : among heom alle þreo,  
 And with heore hondene delden : heore gold and heore feo :

To Marie bilefde : þe castel Magdale,  
 Parefore Maudeleyne : formest icleoped was heo ;  
 Lazarus hadde þat haluendel : of al Jerusalem,  
 Of wodes and fieldes and of sart (!) : al mest to Bedlehem ;  
 Martha was ifeoффed : with þe Betanie  
 And also with Genezarez, : bote þe bok us lie.

Marie heo ne tolde nouȝt : bote al of hire pruyde,  
 Ake þaron was al hire þouȝht, : and faire hire to schrudyde,  
 And sethþe for to walke aboute : to don hire flechses wille,  
 To gon and eorne feor and neor, : boþe loude and stille ;  
 For soþe, heo was riche inouȝh, : and so heo moste nede :  
 Manie riche men hire leizen bi : and zeuen hire gret mede.

Lazarus spendede al is þouȝht : opon his chiualerie,  
 Of oþur þingus ne tok he no ȝeme, : ne to housebondrie.  
 Þe selie Martha, þat oþur suster, : heo was of redes guode,  
 Ase þei heo and hire soster : nerent nouȝt of one blode.

Martha nam hire broþur lond : and hire sustres also,  
 And dude heom teolien wel inouȝ, : ase wys man scholde do ;  
 Parewith heo fedde alle heore men, : and cloþede heom also,  
 Pouere men and wummen, : þat weren neodfole and in wo.

So fair womman nas þare non : in none kunnes londe  
 Ase Marie was of bodie, : and of fote and honde ;  
 So more fairore þat heo bicam, : þe more of hire was prys :  
 Þe more fol womman heo wax : and sunful and unwys.

Hire riȝhte name Marie : oueral heo les þarefore,  
 Sunfole wumman men cleopeden hire : bihinde hire and bifore.  
 Po þis wumman hadde iheord : þat hire name was ilore,  
 Pat heo was so bigyled and bicherd, : wo was hire þarefore ;  
 Po men hire cleopeden sunfule : and lieten hire riȝhte name,  
 Heo wax kareful and dreori of þouȝht : and gan sore to schame.  
 Po nolde heo nomore : bifore þe riche men come ;  
 In to hire castel for sorewe : heo hauez hire inome,

V. 33) wiz = with, z für th ist häufig im Ms. Laud 108. V. 44 steht im Ms. hinter dem vorigen Verse, wie 269. 65) Ms. pris mit übergeschr. y. 70) bicherd, auch 440, = deceived. 71) e in lieten übergeschr.

- For to ore louerd cam and prechede : oueral in þat londe.
- 75 Martha hire suster ofte bifore opbraid : hire schame and hire schonnde  
And chidde hire ful ofte : for hire lecherie,  
Boþe fastinde and eke ful, : þat vnneþe he mizhte it drie.  
A man of þat contreye : þat heizhte Symond leperous,  
Also þe bok us tellez, : bad ore louerd to is hous,
- 80 And is deciples tweolue : with him, to þe mete,  
For he ne mizhte nouȝht him sulf : fram heom alle ete.  
Marie þis iheorde : and þarof was ful glad,  
A smeorieles to greipi : þarto he was ful rad,  
Heo wende to Symundes hous, : þat noman hire ne bad,
- 85 To ore louerd Jesu Crist ; : and ful sore heo was of-drad,  
For þat he was so sunful, : bifore ore louerd to come,  
Careful heo was and sore aferd : forto beon inome,  
Heo ne dorste ore louerd repie nouȝht : bihinde ne bifore,  
Ne noman hire nolde cleopie, : and þat hire grefde sore.
- 90 Po ore louerd was isete : in Symundes house þere  
And his apostles to þe mete, : þat with him þo were,  
Ore louerd sat and þouȝhte muche, : ake bote luyte he ne eet.  
Marie þat was so sunful : heo crep doun to is fiet,  
Heo custe is fiet and wusch also : with hire wete teres,
- 95 And wipede heom asturward : with hire ȝeoluwe heres,  
Out of hire boxe heo nam : oynement ful guod  
And smeorede ore louerdes heued : with ful blisful mod.
- Judas was þare biside and smulde hit, : and þarefore he was neizh wod,  
Þat swote smul him culde neizh : and gremede is sorie blod,
- 100 And bad don up þat riche þing : þat heo ore louerd gan with smeore ;  
To spene it so in wasting, : he seide, it was gret lure,  
And seide : »it mai beon isold ful deore, : to bugge with muchel mete,  
Pouere men þarewith to freueri : of drunch and of mete«.
- Po saide ore louerd to Judas : : »lat þou þis wumman beo !
- 105 Ful guod weork it was and is : þat heo wurchez in me ;  
For ai schulle ȝe pouere with eov habbe, : and so ne worth eov me.  
Þi toungue moste bien ischaue, : to speche heo is to freo«.
- Symund leprous iheorde þis ; : he þouȝhte wel manifold  
Þat, zif þes profete were also wys : ase he is fore itold,
- 110 He nolde soffri þis sole wumman : his bodi enes to reppe,  
For no weork þat heo can do : toward him enes steppe.
- Ore louerd wuste is luþere þouȝht, : ake þarof stod him non eyze :  
»Symund, þou þenchest muche for nouȝht. : sumþing ichulle þe seize«.  
»Maister, seye«, seide Symound, : »ich it bidde þe !
- 115 For þou noldest for no þing : segge onright to me«.  
»An vsurer was ȝwilene : þat hadde dettores tweyne,

V. 77) he = heo, wie 86, 158, 542. 88) repie, 110 reppe, = touch. 92) eet aus eat corrig. 103) st. of drunch and of mete ist am Rande nebengeschr. : to drinke and to ete, um den identischen Reim zu vermeiden.

Pat swyþe longue ȝwyle : dette him scholden beyne :

Pat on him scholde fifti panes : and twenti þarto,

Pat oþur him scholde of dette : fifti panewes also.

And noþur of heom nadde : ȝwareof þe dette forto ȝelde.

Huy ȝolden, þo he it creuede, : ase þe bok us telde(!).

ȝweþur of heom tweine : cudde him more loue þo?«

»Maister, he þat more ȝaf, : me þinche, so mote i go«.

»For soþe, Symund leperous, : þou hauest idemed arizt.

For sethþe ich cam into þin hous, : þou ne custest me no-wizht,

Ne þou ne wusche nouȝt mine fiet : with watur ne with teres,

Ne þou ne wypedest heom nouȝht ȝynt : with cloþe no with heres,

Min heued on none halue : with no manere oynement

Ne smeordest, with none salue : ne with no piement;

Sethþe ich cam in to þin hous, : þis wumman nolde blinne

Mine fiet to wasche and cusse : withouten and withinne,

And to wipen heom sethþe afturward : with hire faire here,

Min heued also to smeorian : with riche oynement and dere.

»Op aris, þou wumman, : þine sunnes þe beoth forȝyue !

Also ich nouȝte can and may, : of me þou art ischriue«.

Marie þe Maudeleyne : ore swete louerd hire schrof,

Swete Jesu Crist out of hire : seue deuelene he drof.

Ore louerd makede hire is procuratour, : his leof and is hostesse ;

Heo louede him with gret honour : in pays and in destresse.

Martha hire suster was ful sik, : and so heo hadde ibeo ful ȝore,

At hire bi hinde heo hadde ibled : seuen ȝer and more ;

Heo ne miȝhte for noþing : no leche-craft afongue,

Are ore louerd, heouene king, : among heom þare gan ȝongue,

And ȝaf hire is swete blessingue : and helde hire of hire sore

And bad hire beon hol and sound; : and so heo was euerest-more.

Heore beire broþur Lazarus : was swyþe sikel a man.

Jesus hereborewede at heore hous, : ȝwane he bi heom cam,

And his apostles alle, : ȝwane huy þare forth come :

Heore in huy gonne cleopie : an ase heore owene it nome ;

Al swuch ase þare inne was : huy eten and huy drounke —

Men habbez ofte note of þing : þat luytel it habbut swounke.

Þo Jesus hadde þare ibeo : ase longue ase he wolde,

He wente to an oþur contreye, : for men iseon him scholde.

Marie he ȝaf is blessingue : and Martha and Lazarus,

Muchele and luttle, elde and ȝongue, : þat woneden in heore hous.

Aftur þat he was iwend, : Marie was egleche :

Crist hire hauede aboute isent : to sarmoni and to preche ;

To sunfole men he was ful rad : to wissi and to teche,

And to sike men heo wa(s) ful glad : to beon heore soule leche,

V. 117) n in beyne übergeschr. 127) s in heres ist von and. Hand angesetzt. 129) Ms. smeredest smeordest, doppelt. 130) Ms. wumnan. 142) craft ist am Rande zugesetzt. 146) a übergeschr. 149) an = and. 159) Ms. wa st. was.

- 160 Mani on to cristinedom : heo brouȝhte, and out of sunne,  
 Fram lecherie and horedom, : þoru schrift, to joye and alle wunne.  
 Aftur ore louerdes passione : in þe þrittenþe zere  
 Giwes weren proute and grimme, : olme and of luþere chere :  
 Seint Steuene to deþe huy stenden, : þat was ore louerd ful deore,
- 165 And manie men huy flemden : þat Cristes limes were.  
 Non apostle ne mooste liue : in giwene londe,  
 Alle huy weren of londe idriue : with wrathþe and nyþe and onde.  
 Seint Maximus was þo : with godes apostles bicome;  
 Sixti ant ten deciples : togadere heom hadden inome;
- 170 Marie þe Maudeleyne : and hire broþur Lazarus  
 And heore suster Martha : and þe bischop Maximus,  
 Mani mo of cristine men, : wel mo þane i can nemne,  
 Weren ihote fleme, : and some to quelle and brenne.  
 Huy weren in a schip ipult : withouten ster and ore,
- 175 Pat huy scholden beon furfare : and ne libben nomore ;  
 Pare nas noþur ido with heom : noþur watur ne bred,  
 For huy scholden of-hongrede beon : and sone þare-afturward ded.  
 Huy schypeden in þe salte se, : ase Jesu Crist it wolde,  
 Forto þat tyme scholde beo : þat huy ariui Scholde.
- 180 To Marcile þe wynd heom drof, : a gret name-couth cite.  
 Euerech of heom oþur schrof, : are huy comen out of þe se.  
 Huy ne founden þare no freond : þat wolde heom hereboruwe,  
 Cristine man ne no giv, : an eue noþur a moruwe,  
 Ne zyuen heom mete ne drinke noþur : ne lissen heore soruwe,
- 185 Ne noman, for loue ne for swunch : þat huy miȝhten of bugge ne borewe.  
 In one olde porche : huy stunter al þat nyȝht,  
 Withoute liȝt of torche, : withoute fuyr and candle brȝht :  
 Pe porche was an old hous, : of olde weorke iwrouȝt ;  
 Pudere in huy weren alle wel vouse : þat of þe se weren ibrouȝht,
- 190 For huy nusten elle-zware : þat huy stunte miȝhte,  
 Bote huy hadde gre(t) schame and teone, : and giwes with heom to fizhte.  
 Pare huy duelden al þat nyȝht : forto it was day a moruwe.  
 Pe sarasins heom boden fizht, : to echen heore soruwe.  
 Alle þe men þat fram þe se : þuder weren icome,
- 195 Huy nusten ȝwodere huy miȝhte fleo ; : forþi huy weren inome.  
 Huy weren ihote ope lyf and lime : Jesu Crist fursake,  
 And, with þretingue and with strif, : to heore false godus take.  
 Pe Marie Maudeleine : heo saiz þat folk arise,  
 Riche and pouere, knyȝht and sweyn, : to don þat sacrefise :
- 200 Heo was anuyd and of-drad, : þat hire bigan to grise ;  
 To speken of god heo was ful rad, : and so dude on hire wise.  
 Op heo stod with wordes bolde, : with brȝht neb and glade chere,  
 And seide : »herkniez to me, ȝunge and elde, : þat wullez beon Cristes :

V. 163) olme, altn. ȝlms = furious. 175) furfare st. spilt. 188) Ms. hold mit wegpunktirtem h. 190) elle st. elles. 191) Ms. gre st. gret. 203) Das Reimwort fehlt.

Ne bilieuez nouȝht opon Mahun, : ne on Teruagaunt, is fere,  
 For huy beoth boþe deue and doumbe : and huy ne mouwen iseo ne ihere,  
     Ne huy ne mouwen eov helpe nouȝht : of none kunnes þingue,  
 Pei men of heom zelpen ouȝt, : ne no guod to eu bringue :  
 For huy bez doumbe and deue, : crokede and eke blinde,  
 Heore miȝhte is fallen to grunde : biforen and bihindre.  
 Ake ze schulle lieuen on Jesu Crist, : oure heiȝe heouene kyng,  
 Pat al þis worldes maister is, : withoute ani ending,  
 For he may don is wille : of euereche cunnes þing  
 Pat ze wilniez with rizhte : and withouten suneguyng ;  
     He is withoute þe biguynningue : and he is withouten ende,  
 Withoute fuylþe and sunegyng, : so corteyns and so hende  
 Pat al þing þat man with skile him biddez : he wole him ȝyue and sende,  
 To man þat goth and eke rit, : þat wole to him wende ;  
     He is wuryte of alle þing, : he makede heouene and helle,  
 Ne may no kayser ne no kyng : his vertues alle telle ;  
 Pe man þat him seruez wel : ne may him no feond cwelle,  
 Ake huy þat wullez agein him fizhte : to grunde he wole heom felle ;  
     He makede day and eke nyȝht, : steorrone and sonne and mone ;  
 Pe man þat trewe is and louez him arizt : he wole graunti him is bone,  
 And þat he biddez him with treouþe : he it grauntez him ful sone,  
 He helpez boþe king and knyzht, : þe pouere alle mididone«.  
     A riche prince of sarazins : þudere was icome,  
 With him is wyf and his mayne : þat with him he hadde inome.  
 To Maries prechingue : he lustnede ful sone ;  
 For þat heo was so fair a þing, : to hire huy token guod gome.  
     Pe sarazins onvele : weren fulle of nyȝe and hete.  
 Po it was time of mele, : huy wenden to heore mete ;  
 Po huy comen hom vnsele : and þarto weren isete,  
 Cristes men to delen guod : ful clene huy hadden forȝete.  
     Pare weren of cristine men : mo þane sixti and tene ;  
 Noman nadde reuþe of heom, : and þat was pare isene :  
 Huy weren witoute mete and drunch, : in gret honjur and in teone,  
 Ne huy ne duden no weork ne swunch, : ne noþing men nolde heom lene.  
     Hit was in one nyȝhte : aftur þe þridde day,  
 Pat þis riche princes wif : in hire bedde lay :  
 Pare cam Marie Maudeleyne : and biforen hire heo stod :  
 »Dame, me þinchez þou art vnhende ; : for þou hast muche guod,  
     Of þe ich habbe gret feorlich : and muche me þinchez wunder  
 þat þou last Jesu Cristes folk : þus steorue for hungur ;  
 Bote ȝif þou oþur þi louerd : lissi heore kare,  
 Wite ze midiwisso : sorewe eou schal beon ful ȝare :  
     Swuch a fierd schal opon eov come : þat schal eov so furfare  
 And aquellen eou and eouwer folk, : huy nellez eov noþing spared«.

V. 216) biddez st. bit. 218) Ms. wuryte st. wuyrte. 220) Ms. urspr. dwelle, in cwelle corrig.

- Pis riche princes wif þis word : nolde hire louerd nouȝt telle —  
 For soþe, heo was puyrliche vnewys, : in sawe and in spelle.
- 250 þe oþur nyȝht þe Maudeleyne : eftsonē zeode hire to  
 And spak to hire wel stuyrneliche, : and þe þridde nyht also ;  
 And gȝyt heo nolde hire erinde : to hire louerd do.
- Marie cam þe feorþe nyȝht : and bifore þe prince heo stod :  
 »Slepestou, tyraunt, þou deueles knyȝht, : of Sathanasses blod ?
- 255 Pi wif, þe naddre, heo is amad, : ich holde hire puyr wod :  
 Heo nolde þe telle þat ich bad, : for vuele ne for guod.
- Þou hauest mete and drunch inovȝ : and luytel oþur care,  
 And soffrest Cristes men with wouȝh : for hungur þus furfare !
- Bote þou amendi heore stat sone, : þe is sorewe al ȝare :  
 260 Pare schal so strong folk come þe aȝein : þat wollez þe luytel spare,  
 With swoord and spere huy schullen þe sle : and al þi folk furfare«.
- Þe Maudeleyne zeode fram him : and liet him ligge þare.  
 Þe quiene awok and sȝizhte sore : and tolde hire louerd so ;  
 Po þouȝhte him þat he iwarned was : þreo nyȝhtes and mo.
- 265 Heo tolde him þat hire was iseid : and also ihote to do  
 Feden Jesu Cristes men : and lissi heom of heore wo,  
 Oþur heom scholde sorewe inovȝ : and kare comen heom to.  
 Po seide þe prince : »Dame, ȝwat schulle we do  
 Of þisse opene warningue : þat is icome us to ?«
- 270 »Betere is þat we Cristes men : swyþe wel heom fiede and schruyde,  
 Pene we tellen luyte of heom : in vilte oþur in pruyde«.
- Huy token Jesu Cristes men : and ladden hom to heore inne ;  
 Al þat heom was neod huy founden heom : with loue and alle wunne.  
 Þe Maudeleyne heom radde wel : to witien heom fram sunne,
- 275 So þat heom ne porte neuere drede : of Sathanases kunne.  
 Opon a day heo bigan : godes word forto preche  
 And of godes lawe, with gret wit, : ase heo þar mȝizhte a-reche ;  
 To lednen heore lyf in guod fey : alle heo gan heom teche,  
 And forto louie god and don awey : wrathþe and onde and wreche.
- 280 Þe prince saide po to hire : with egleche wordes and bolde :  
 »Mȝizht þou proui with treuþe, : þat þou prechest may beo wel iholde ?«  
 Þe Maudeleyne seide: »ze, : ich am redi eov to teche,  
 Bi ore maistres conseile : and mid is holie speche  
 þat is seinte Petre of Rome, : hov ȝe schullen on take
- 285 Þe blisse of heouene for to afongue : and þe feondes lore forsake«.  
 Po seide þe prince anon : and is wyf also :  
 »We beoz boþe redie anon : þine wille forto do,  
 So ase þi louerd is : of so muchel mȝizhte  
 þat he may, ȝwane he wole, : at is wille alle þingus diȝhte :  
 290 Bide þine louerd, heoue king, : þat is us alle aboue,  
 So ase he may don alle þing, : and also for is moder loue,

V. 260) Ms. stronk st. strong. 265) Ms. said in seid corr., wie 281. V. 268 u. 9 sind im Ms. ein Vers. 272) hom st. heom. 290) heoue, auch 437. 575.

And for þine bisechingue, : þat he ȝyue a child þat beo a sone:  
 And at þane forewarde : we wollez with eov won,  
 Ore kinedom also forth with us : his owene we wollez bicome,  
 And we wollez ȝelden aȝein to is men : þat we heom habbez binome«.

Þo seide Marie þe Maudeleine : »þat nelle ich nouȝht bileue,  
 A preiere to mi louerd to make : nele me noȝting greue.  
 »Ich bidde þe, swete Jesu Crist, : þat makedest sonne and mone,  
 Þat þou þis prince siende a child, : and þat it beo a sone«.  
 Heo bad with guode heorte and milde. : heo was iheord ful sone :  
 Þat ilke nyȝht huy geten a child, : ase god heom ȝaf grace to done.

Þo þe prince wuste : þat is quiene was with childe,  
 Anon riȝt toward Jesu Crist : he wax meoke and milde.  
 Huy leten heore vuele dedes : þat weren so wikke and wilde,  
 And aftur godes dedes : huy wrouȝhten a gonre buylde.

Þo swor þe prince and seide : »bi heued min, : wiende ichulle to Rome  
 And bicome a pilegrim : and don aftur þe holie dome,  
 And with seint Petur ichulle speke : and don aftur is redes,  
 Zif it is so ase Marie seiz : of Jesu Cristes dedes;  
 And zif þat ich him finde : at þe court of Rome,  
 Of him ichulle vnderfongue : fulloutht and cristindome«.

Þo seide þe lauedi : »ichulle wiende with þe,  
 And, þare þou art icristned, : ichulle also beo ;  
 And ȝwane þou comest hidere aȝein, : ich may come with þe«.  
 Þo seide þe prince leizinde : to is wif agame :  
 »And beo nouȝte ase þou seist, : mi leoue swete dame,

Bote in schipe wexez ofte soruve, : peril and teone and grame ;  
 And þou art nouȝte with childe, : couth is þat guode fame :  
 In þe se þou mizhest : ful sone hente schame —  
 Zuyt hadde ich leouere ich were ihuld, : and euere to ligge lame.  
 Ake bilef þou athom and reste þe wel, : and zem alle ore þingues !  
 At mine aȝein-come god siende me : of þe guode tipingues !«

Þo spak þe lauedi, þe quiene, : and feol adoun to is fote :  
 »Leue louerd, þou let beo þat, : and graunte me þat ich mote !  
 Þis ilke sorewe wole me aslen, : bote þou do me bote«.

Zeot seide þe leuedi, : and weop wel swiȝe sore,  
 Deolful and dreori heo ful adoun, : and seide ofte : »sire, þin ore !  
 Hov mizhte ich libbe and beon glad : bote we to gadere wore ?  
 We loueden us so ȝoungue, : and nouȝte we beoth sumdel hore«.

So longue and ȝeorne þis lauedi bad : hire louerd þat was so hende  
 Þat he hire graunte, and was ful glad, : with him forto wiende.  
 For neodfole bisokne : of heom and heore men  
 Þe holie blessingue with hire hond : Marie makede on heom,  
 For no wickede gost : bi þe weye ne scholde hem derie,  
 Þe holie rode tokningue : fram seoruwe heom scholde werie.

þe Marie heo mauden wardein : of heom and of heore schipe,  
 Pe swete holie Maudeleyne, : in Cristes wurthschipe,  
 For heo was þe kingue of heouene : leof and deore and queme,  
 And bitoken hire ech-del : to witien and to zeme.

340 Huy nomen with heom into heore schip : bred inovȝ and wyn,  
 Venesun of heort and hynd : and of wilde swyn,  
 Huy nomen with heom in heore schip : al þat hem was leof,  
 Gies and hennes, crannes and swannes, : and porc, motoun and beof;  
 For huy scholden passi : þe grickische se,

345 And for þat huy nusten hou longue : huy scholden þare-inne be.

Huy drowen op seil and ore : and schipeden anon riȝht,

Alle, þe lasse and þe more, : eorl, baroun and knyȝht.

Huy nadden bote seue nyȝht : iseiled in þat flod,

Þat huy neren sore of-dradde : : þe se wax stuyrne and wod.

350 Pe se bigan to flowen, : and þe wawes forto arise :

Some bigonne to swounen, : and heore heortene sore agrise.

Pe se bigan to ebbi, : and þe wynd ful stuyrne to blowe.

Ase þe quiene on hire bedde lay, : hire token ful strongue þrowes,

Heo swounede ful ilomeliche : and harde pinede þarefore,

355 So forto þat hire zoungue sone : were of hure ibore.

Po þat child ibore was, : þe moder bigan to deye.

Þat folk gradde allas allas, : and weopen with heore eye.

Po þe leuedi was ded, : aftur þat þet child was ibore,

Huy ne miȝtten it bileue : to make deol þare fore.

360 Þat child wolde souke, : and it nuste zwam,

Þare nas no milk aboute, : ne no mielch wumman.

»Allas«, quath þe prince, : »þat ich euere was ibore !

Wo is me for þis zunge child, : and for mi quién þat ich habbe ilore !

And nouþe it mot nedē deye, : for souke ne hath i(t) non,

365 Ne i not in none halue : zwat me is best to don«.

Pe schipmen hieten with stuyrne mod : þat men ne schulden nouȝht spare

Pe dede quién to casten in þat flod, : oþur elles huy mosten furfare :

»Pe zwyle þat bodi is here with us, : þe stormes beoth so kete,

To quellen us huy þenchez, : and þat huy nellez lete.«

370 Huy nomen up þad dede bodi, : in to þe se forto caste.

»Abidez zuyte and herkniez me !« : þe prince gradde faste,

»Zif ze nellez for mi loue it lete, : ne for loue of mi wif,

Spariez for mi luytel sone, : so þat he mouwe habbe is lyf :

For zif is moder mouwe zuyt : of hire suoweningue awake,

375 Panne may mi luytel sone : to hire tete take«.

Huy lokeden heom biside : and seïzen an heiȝh hurst

Swiþe feor in þe se, : and þe prince it isaiz furst.

Him þouȝte þat wel more wisdom : to þe bodie it were

To burien it opon þet heiȝe hurst, : þane fisches it eten þere.

380 Po huy comen þudere, : huy ne miȝtten make no put :

Pe hurst was al of harde stone, : ech faste in oþur iknut.

V. 364) Ms. i non st. it non. 370) þad st. þat.

Huy nomen þe quiene and hire child : and wounden in a mantel,  
And leide opon þe heize hurste : in a grene cantel;  
Huy leiden þat childe's mouth : to þe moder tete.

Þo þe prince þat isaigh, : with wepingue is neb he gan wete.  
With gret deol þe quiene and hire child : þare huy gonnewe lette  
Opon þet hurst þat was so heigh : and hard and wilde and kete.

Þe prince wep and wende forth : with his schip in þe se.

»Marie Maudeleyne«, quath þe prince, »alas, : þat euere kneu ich þe!

To don þis pelrimage : ȝwy raddest þou me?

Pov bede þi god a bone : þat mi wif with childe scholde be :

And nouþe is ded þus sone : boþe hire child and heo.

Al mi lond and al mi þing : ich habbe itake þe

To witen and to wardi; : ȝwi schal it þanne þus be ?

Mi wif and mi ȝungue child, : Marie, ich bitake

To Jhesu Crist, þi owene louerd, : þat alle þing of nouȝht gan make,

Þat, zif he is so corteys and miȝthful : ase þou seidest to me,

He sauë mi wif and mi child, : furfare þat ich ne be«.

To his schyp he wende, : and so forz in þe se.

God hem to Rome sende, : for þudere wolden he.

Seinte Petur wuste wel : þat þe prince cam;

With milde mod and fair compaygnie : azeines him he nam.

Petur axede him fram ȝwanne he cam, : and ȝwodere he wiende wolde.

»To Rome« he seide, »þen wey ich take : and speke with þe ischolde«.

He tolde of Marie Maudeleyne, : hou he to hire cam,

And hou he Cristus sixti men : and tene to him nam,

He tolde him of is child, : he tolde him of is wif,

Hov he with milde heorte : for heom þolede strif.

Seinte Petur creoysede him : opon is riȝt scholder,

Of þat Marie hauede iseid : he hauede game and wonder,

And seide : »prince, welcome þou be, : and þine kniȝhtes alle !

Pays and grace with þe beo, : and joye þe mote on falle

In bour and in halle, : in field and in toun also,

In castel noþur in boure : ne worþe þe neuere wo,

In watur and in londe : and in alle stude

God þe fram harme schilde, : and þat ich habbe i bede.

Pey wif slepe nouþe : and þi sone him reste ;

Loke þat þou ne weope nouȝt for hem : ne make deol ne cheste !

Mi louerd is swiþe miȝthful, : he wole don is wille,

And he is also quoynge and sley : boþe loude and stille,

He can ȝyuen and binimen, : borewi and eke zielde

Zwane he is wroth, he doth wreche, : ake þat fallez ful sielde ;

Ake of(te) gret fuyr and eke stuyrne : wext of a luytel spielde«.

Petur ladde þene riche man : azein to Jerusalem,

And fro þannes þene wey he man : with him to Bedlehem,

V. 387) t in þet übergeschr. 388) with = to. 404) Ms. icholde mit übergeschr. s. 406) vgl. 169, 234. 417) þey st. þy. 424) Ms. of st. ofte.

Fram þannes to þe flym Jordan, : an long bi þe strem —  
I segge it ase ich ov telle can, : in boke and nouȝt in drem.  
He schewede him Caluarie, : þare god was don on rode,  
430 His fiet and is hondene : al hou huy ronnen on blode,  
He tolde him of þe þornes : þat on his heued stode,  
And of þe nailes þat in is fiet : and in his hondene wode,  
And ȝet he tolde him of þe spere : þat to þe heorte him stong,  
And hou he an heigh opon þe rode : deide with muche wrong,  
435 Hou he into helle cam : with Sathanas to fizhte,  
And is folk þat þare-inne was : hou he it gan out dizhte,  
Hou he aros, and to heoue steuȝ : to is fader sete  
And sat him þare-inne, for he was gleuz, : and was him swyþe imete.  
Þo þe prince hadde iheord : seint Peteres lore,  
440 He carede laste he were bicherd, : for he hadde ibeo þare so ȝore ;  
He hadde ileorned swiþe wel : al clanliche his bileue,  
His oures and is sauter ech-del. : þo seide he : »god it zeue  
Þat ich were sone : in mine owene contreye,  
And al mi folk with flechs and blod, : right ase ich wolde, seize !«  
445 Seint Petur he bad par charite : cristni him anon  
And al is oþur mayne, : and laten heom wende hom  
And þanne habben guod day, : »and ȝif us þine blessingue !  
We wollez so blyue so we mouwen : don us to schipijngue«.  
»Pou schalt withouten cristindom : wienden into þine londe —  
450 Ne drede þe nouȝth, for pou miȝht it don : withoute schame and schonde !  
Þe Maudeleyne schal beon with þe : and to þe heo schal fongue,  
Lazarus and Martha, al þre : bi þe huy schullen stonde ;  
Þare þou schalt icristned beo : þoru Jesu Cristes sonde,  
And muche folk also of þine contreye — : ne þinche þe nouȝt to longue !  
455 An holi man schal cristni eov, : þe bischop Maximus,  
þat can is mester don swiþe wel : in Jesu Cristus hous,  
He wole beo ȝep and eke rad, : slay and eke vous,  
To cristni manie he wole beo glad : to is louerd Jesous —  
He were a fol and unwis : þat ne were of glad and bliþe«.  
460 Þe prince tok leue of seint Petur : and þonkede him fale sipe.  
Þe prince saide : »holie fader, : haue nov wel guod day !  
Ichulle wienden hamward : so blyue so ich may«.  
He dude him into þe salte flod. : his schip bigan to go,  
So blyue, for þe wind was guod, : a(s) swalwe swift oþur flo.  
465 Withinne þe seuennizghte : þudere he was icome  
Þare he azein is wille bilefde : is wif and is sone.  
Huy iseizen bi þe stronde : a luytel child gon pleye  
With publes on is honde : bifore hem in þe weye.  
Þe prince stap out of þe schipe, : of hem alle he was þe furste,  
470 Opon þe stronde he ȝaf a lupe, : he hizede him to þe hurste.  
Þat child was swiþe sore of-drad, : þo þe prince cam,  
To his moder he was wel rad : and aboute þe necke hire nam.

Pe leuedi lai wel stille and slep : opon a grene cantel,  
Pat child for fere orn to hire : and crep under hire mantel.  
5 Po saide þat child : »hiderward : a þing, me þouȝhte, i saiȝ come,  
Of him ich am ful sore adrad : laste we beon inome«.  
»Beo stille, mi sone, mi leoue child! : he is mi worldes fiere.  
For gladnesse wepe he wole : þat us findez here«.

Pe prince cam and fond hire þer : ligginde on þe hurste,  
o Pare ase he bilefde hire er, : and þat chil sek hire breste.  
For joye he weop and sat on is knen : and heold up his honde :  
»Pat ich euere moste þis iseо, : ich þonki ore louerdes sonde.  
A, swete Marie Maudeleine, : þat me wolde nou rȝht þinche murie  
Mizhte þis wumman quikie aȝein : and liuen and hire storie«.

5 Po he hadde þat word iseid, : his wif bigan to wake,  
Of a swume heo schok and braid, : and sone bigan awake ;  
And (seide) : »þe hende Marie Maudeleyne : heo hath iȝiue me space,  
Fram deþe to liue heo hauez me ibrouȝt : þoru hire louerdes grace,  
Heo hauez ifed me and mi sone : and idon us alle guode ;  
o To seggen it þe zwi scholde ich schone? : þat zelde hire þe rode !  
Heo hauez ibeon min hou(s)wif, : mi mayde and mi norice,  
And bote ich þe (seide) hou heo heold mi lif, : for soþe, ich were nice.

Al þat seint Petur hath : sethþe ischewed þe  
Pe swete Marie Maudeleyne : it hauez ischewed me :  
5 Heo me hauez on hire hond ilad : ouer þe salte strem  
And setþe forþere-more : to Jerusalem,  
And setþe heo me ladde : Bedlehem for to seo,  
Þudere ase seint Petur : bifore ladde þe,  
And sethþe to þe flum Jordan : heo ladde me ful raþe,  
o Withoute harme and sizȝt of man : and withoute schame and scape,  
And oueral heo me ladde, : mi louerd, þare þou were ;  
And, for þou scholdest joyful beo, : nouþe rȝht heo brouȝhte me here«.

Quath þe prince : »ich þonki god almizhti : þat ich eov habbe aliuie.  
Arisez boþe, zif ze mouwen, : and go we to schipe ful blive !«

5 Huy duden heom to þe watere : and schipeden alle anon,  
Pe wynd was blowinde swiþe wel, : and heore schip bigan to gon.  
Huy gonue to seili swiþe : in þat salte fom,  
And hizeden heom ful blive, : þat huy weren at hom.  
Withinne a quartron of þe zere : huy comen to Marcilie.

o Mani men of feor and ner : of heom gonue speke and spilie,  
Manie hem hadden togadere inome, : eorl, baron, knyȝht and swein,  
Are huy weren to londe icomen, : for to wenden heom aȝein,  
Sarazins and þe giwes some, : and þe Marie Maudeleyn.

Martha cam and Lazarus, : of heom huy weren ful glad,  
15 And þe holie bischop Maximus, : to heom he was ful rad,  
And manie of cristine men, : huy nerent noþing of-drad

V. 478) nach þat fehlt he? 480) chil st. child. 486) nach and fehlt seide, oder and ist zu tilgen. 491) Ms. hou wyf. 492) nach þe fehlt seide.

To comen and gon aȝeinst him : and don þat he heom bad.  
 Po þe prince and is wyf : weren icome to londe,  
 520 Pe Maudeleyne withoute strif : ireuested þare huy founde ;  
 And þo huy comen fram schipes bord, : Marie huy founden stonde  
 Forto prechen godes word : to heom þat were on londe.  
 Pe prince tok is wif and is sone : with heorte guod and swete,  
 To þe Maudeleyne huy comen : and fellen doun to hire fete,  
 525 And tolden hire al heore lijf : þat heom bifeol in þat weye,  
 Pays and loue, harm and strif, : al huy gonre hire seize.  
 Huy lieten þane bischop Maximus : cristni heom anon,  
 Marie and Martha and Lazarus : huy brouȝhten heom þaron.  
 Pe children and þe wummen alle : þat weren in þe londe,  
 530 Alle huy nomen cristindom, : and þat was þoru godes sonde.  
 Ich wot, huy nomen heore false godes : and casten heom þare dounre,  
 And brenden al to poudre : feor fram euerech toune ;  
 Huy duden arere churches : ouer al þe contreies,  
 And priories wurche, : and manie guode abbeies,  
 535 And preostes huy gonre makien : oueral in þe londe,  
 Sudecknes and oþur clerkus, : to serui heom to honde.  
 Huy mauden Lazarus bischop, : þe Maudeleynes broþer ;  
 Pe holie bischop Maximus : maude also mani anoþur.  
 Po al þat lond cristine was : and al þat folc þare-inne,  
 540 Marie biþouȝhte a wonder cas : : and stal awey fram hire kunne,  
 In to wildernes he wende, : al forto wonien þere.  
 Swuch grace god hire sende, : heo was þare þriddi ȝeres.  
 Pare nas no watur aboute, : ne þare ne wax no treo  
 Pat ani best mizhte onder at-route : þe betere an ayse to beo.  
 545 For soþe ichulle ȝeov telle : of a ferliche wonder :  
 Aungles comen euereche day : riȝht abouten ondern,  
 And nomen swiþe softeliche : þe Marie Maudelein  
 And beren hire op in to þe lofte, : and brouȝhten hire eft aȝein.  
 Men nusten hou heo leouede, : for noman ne saiȝh hire ete ;  
 550 Ake some huy onderstoden : þat heo liuede bi aungelene mete.  
 A preost þare was in Marcilie : þat wilned swiþe muche  
 For to leden elinge lif, . þe betere fram sunne him wite :  
 He maude him a wonijngue : in þat wildernes  
 Pare Marie, þe swete Maudeleine, : wonede in clennesse ;  
 555 He ne bulde nouȝht fram Marie : bote a wel luyte mile ;  
 For to quemen god he it dude, : and he zeld wel is ȝwile.  
 He hadde wunder for þat he saiȝh : þat þe aungles comen ofte  
 Aboute onderne eche daye, : ase he stod in is crofte,  
 And hou huy beren þe Maudeleyne : an hei op on lofte,  
 560 And also hou huy brouȝhten hire aȝein : and setten hire adoun wel softe.

V. 523) Ms. tok tok. 532) hinter poudre ist im Ms. fram toune durchgestrichen.  
 541) he st. heo. 546) Ms. onden mit übergeschr. r über n. 545) telle st. say.  
 547) softeliche st. softe. 552) vor wite fehlt to.

þe preost aros opon a day : and wende neor þe stude :  
 He wolde iwite ȝwat he isaizh, : and þarefore he it dȳde ;  
 To þulke stude he cam so neizh : al bote a stones caste :  
 þo bigonne hise þeon to schrinke : and to croki swiþe faste ;  
 Adrad he was, and turnde aȝein, : and so he moste nede ;  
 Ne knev he nouȝt þe Maudeleyne : ne hire guode dedes.  
 Eftstone he ȝeode him þudeward : : is fiet bigonne folde,  
 His heorte and his inneward : him gonnen al to cōlde ;  
 He þouȝhte it was sum derne þing : oþur som holi priuete,  
 Icomen fram þe heuene king, : þat he ne scholde it nouȝt iseo.

He sat adoun opon is kneon : and bad ore louerd þere  
 þat he moste iwite and seon : ȝwat þat feorlich were ;  
 He gradde on eornest and on game : »þou best in þine celle,  
 Ich halsni þe a godes name : of þi stat þat þou me telle!»  
 Heo bigan to tellen : wordes him aȝein :  
 »I segge it þe for ȝoþe, : ich am Marie Maudeleyn  
 þat to þe kingue of heoue : of mine sunnes ich me schrof,  
 And foule deuelene seouene : out of me he drof.  
 Ich habbe iwoned nouȝte here : fulle þriddi ȝer,  
 Ake i ne saizh neuere noman þus neizh : bote þe nouȝte her.

Of no þing þat ani man : of þe eorþe euere biswonk,  
 I ne et, sethþe ich hidere cam, : no mete, ne no drunch ne dronk ;  
 Godes aungles euerech day : habbe me here inome  
 An ibore me alnewey, : ȝwane ischolde come,  
 An heizh to heouene lofte, : euere ȝwane i ete scholde,  
 And hidere aȝein wel softe, : ȝwane ich mi sulf wolde.  
 Ich halsni þe a godes name : þat þou wende to Marcilie,  
 And with mine freond withoute blame : loke wel þat þou spilie :  
 þou gret wel Martha, mi soster, ofte, : and mi broþer Lazarus,  
 And also gret ofte swiþe wel : þene bischop Maximus,  
 And seie hem wel ichulle comen : a sonenday at eue,  
 With heom for to wonie : and euere with heom bileue —  
 For ischal to paradis : newene fram heom fare,  
 Ake mi bodi, for ȝoþe iwis, : bileue schal with heom þare ;  
 Seize heom þat huy kepen me : astur þe midniȝhte,  
 For þare ich hopie for to beo : þoru godes swete mizhte«.

Þis holie preost him wende forth : and dude hire herinde anon  
 To þe bischop Maximus, : ase heo bad him don.  
 Þe holie bischop Maximus : was glad of þat sonde,  
 And for þat tiþingue he þonkede god : and to him heold up is honde.  
 Hire soster and hire broþer : weren þarof wel fayn :  
 »Nou comez oure maister sone, : þe Marie Maudeleyn«.  
 Of þisilke tyþingues : huy weren swiþe glad  
 þat huy hadden iheord, : ake some weren of-drad

V. 567) Ms. þudeward st. þuderward. 577) Ms. heone. 582) ne übergeschr.  
 584) an st. and. 585) Ms. it st. i. 595) Ms. mid rizhte. 597) herinde mit unorg. h.

- 605 Pat huy bitrayde weren ; : ake þe bischop Maximus  
Wuste wel þat hit was sothz ; : to seon hire he was joyous,  
And to witen hire stat euerechdel : he was wel corajous.  
For to seon þane messager : þene sonenneyzht he wakede  
And al nyȝht was in heore queor, : and his oresones he makede :  
610 Bifore þe heize auter ore louerd he bad : þat he moste iseo  
Þe Maudeleynes face, : þat he þe gladdore miȝhte beo.  
Sone aftur þe midnight, : are ani koc him crev,  
Pare cam a wonder muche lȝht, : ake no wynd þare ne blev :  
Þe aungles comen fram heouene : and brouȝtien þe Marie,  
615 Huy seiden þe salmus seoene : and þe letanie ;  
Fram þe eorþe huy gonne hire holden : swiȝe longue stounde,  
Þe ȝwyle heo makede hire preyere, : and sethþe lieten hire to grunde.  
Po cam wit hire swuch a smul : among heom euerechon,  
In churche, in halle and in bour, : þat swuch ne smulden huy neuer er non.  
620 Þe bischop for þe muchele liȝht : and for þat swote smullingue  
Sumdel þarefore he was aferd, : and a luyte him drovȝ bihinde.  
Marie turnede, of wordes freo : and of vilenie quiȝt and sker,  
And seide : »fader, ȝwy woltpou þi douȝter fleo ? : abid, and cum me ner !«  
He saȝh hire neb, and turnde aȝein, : so brizht so sonne-bem,  
625 Of þat swete Maudeleine, : so liȝht so ani leom.  
Heo saide : »fader Maximus, : par seinte charite,  
Schrift and hosel ich zuyrne, : sone þou graunte it me !«  
Huy cleopeden alle þe preostes : and þe clerkus euerechon  
And alle þe oþur ministres, : and duden hire wille anon.  
630 Heo it aueng wepinde : with guod deuocion,  
And wel sore sichinde : heo lay hire sulf adoun  
And seide : »Jhesu, þat deidest opon þe treo, : al mi stat þou wost ;  
Into þine hondene ich bitake þe : mi liȝf and mi gost.«  
Anon riȝht heo ȝaf up hire liȝf : and hire gost iwis.  
635 Heo was ilad withouten strif : anon riȝht to paradys.  
Þo bischope þouȝhte murie : and þe clerkes echon,  
And anon riȝht gonne hire burien : in a marbreston.  
Seue niȝht þare-afturward, : þat day þat heo ibured was,  
Niȝht and day þat smul was þare — : it was a wonder cas.  
640 Þe bischop þouȝhte murie, : and bad, ȝwane he ded were,  
Pat men him scholden burien : bisiden hire riȝht þere.  
Of þe Maudeleine : þis is þe riȝhte endingue.  
God us schilde fram peyne : and to heouene us bringue ! AMEN.

b) aus Ms. Auchinl. Edinb. Advoc. Libr., fol. 62—65 \*).

.....  
.....  
& Martha keped swiþe wel  
Hir londes euerich a del;  
Sche ȝaf hir al to almose-dede,  
Pe pouer to cloþe & to fede.  
5 & þe Maudelein Marie  
Sche hir ȝaue al to folie,  
To wille of bodi sche hir ches,  
Pat hir kinde name sche les  
& was ycleped, as swiche schul,  
10 Mari þe sinful.  
Bot as Jhesu preached þere  
Our bileue, & elles-where,  
& Marie it vnderstode,  
Perfore sche wex dreri of mode;  
15 Sche souȝt Jhesu for hir misdede  
& þere he was, to him sche ȝede,  
In halle wiþ Simound leprous,  
Where sche fond him in an hous,  
& his deciples, þer þai sete,  
20 Wiþ Simound leprous, atte mete.  
Bot for hir sinne & hir misgong,  
& for men were hem among,  
Sche no durst hir nouȝt forþ pilt —  
For euer he schoneþ pat haþ misgilt.  
25 Bot þat sche durst do, sche it dede:  
An oinement sche brouȝt hir mide,  
Tofore Jhesu at his fete  
Sche kneled adoun, & sore wepe,

Sche wesche his fet wiþ hir tere,  
& seþþen wiped hem wiþ hir here,  
& wiþ oinement hem smerd.  
When Simounde þat yseize & herd,  
Anon in heit he þouȝt þere:  
30 »ȝif þat he godes sone were  
And a prophete witterlie,  
Pan wist he wele sikerlie  
What þis woman were, & who:  
He suffred hir nouȝt touche him so«.  
Þo gan Jhesu Simon vpbreyd  
Of his þouȝt, & to him seyd:  
»Simounde, seþen ich com to þe,  
Þou nere so curteise to ȝiue me  
No water to mi sore fete;  
& seþþen sche com, nouȝt sche lete  
For to wasche hem wiþ hir tere,  
& seþþen wiped hem wiþ hir here:  
40 No þou ne ȝeue me no lent  
To min fet non oinement,  
& sche wiþ oinement wel riche  
Hem haþ yheled wel softliche«.  
Pus gan Jhesu Simond vpbreyd,  
& þo to þe Maudelein seyd:  
»Woman, for þe loue þou hast to me  
Alle þine sinnes forȝiue y þe«. —  
Sinful man, haue þis in þouȝt,  
& loke þat þou forȝete it nouȝt:  
50 Hou sche loued god in hert miche  
& he it hir zald wel sweteliche;

V. 8) Ms. nanre st. name. 38) Ms. go oder so? 55) Ms. in in, doppelt.

\*) Diese Version ist bereits editirt in »Legendae Catholicae«, ed. Turnbull 1840 (nur in wenigen Exemplaren vorhanden). Der Text folgt hier nach einer neuen Abschrift des Ms. von Miss Toulmin Smith; Mr. Furnivall hatte die Güte, deren Aufnahme in diese Sammlung zu gestatten. Ausserdem ist eine Abschrift E. Kölbing's zu Rathe gezogen.

- So dere nis þing to god aboue  
 60 As of maznes hert trewe loue;  
     To euerich sinne his loue is salue,  
     Astow miȝt sen on ich halue.—  
     In graue sche souȝt him, þer he lay,  
     When his deciples weren oway;
- 65 Perfore Jhesu schewed him first  
     To hir after his vprist.  
     Anoþer honour Jhesu hir dede  
     Toforn þe iewes in a stede:  
     For þat sche wepe, Jhesu gan wepe,  
 70 & he þat four dayes depe  
     Ded smelland had lain in graue,  
     God made him eft his liif to haue:  
     Þat was Lazar, hir broþer.  
     Martha, hir soster, he dede anoþer:  
 75 Martha hadde an iuel strong,  
     Þat hir hadde holden seuen zer long:  
     & god hir made hole & fere  
     For Maris loue & hir preiere.  
     After zeres tviis seuen  
 80 Þat Jhesu Crist steize in to heuen,  
     Þat pined was opon þe rode  
     Purch þe iewes fals & wode:  
     Alle þe deciples þat Jhesu hadde  
     In wide londes þan weren yspradde;  
 85 Bot euer þai gun for to preche,  
     Pe riȝt bileue þe folk to teche.  
     Among þe apostles þer was þan  
     Maximin, a wel gode man,  
     To whom Petre bitauȝt hadde  
 90 Pe Maudeleine & to him badde  
     Þat þai schuld togider go,  
     For doute of þe iewes, euermo:  
     Pe Maudelein & Maximin,  
     Lazar, Martha & Martin,  
 95 Wiþ hem þer was Martinian,  
     & so þer was anoþer man  
     Pat euer seþþen þat he was born  
     His eize-siȝt he hadde forlorn  
     & for his godenissee god almiȝt  
 100 Him ȝaf þere his eize-siȝt.  
     Pe iewes gun hem togider calle,  
     & her conseil token alle  
     In an eld schippe to don hem þore,
- Wiþouten seil, wiþouten ore.  
 Wel fast wepe þat compeinie  
 Þat weren in þe schippe wiþ Marie.  
 In to þe see þai weren yplift,  
 To be boþe dreynt & spilt.  
 Bot god, þat al þing may se,  
 In lond, in water, were þai be,  
 He made hem alle to ben olius,  
 & at Marsil for to ariue.
- Bot þai founde þer no wiȝt  
 Þat hem wold herberwe þat niȝt  
 No hem help wiþ non almose-dede.  
 Into an old porche þai ȝede,  
 Þat stode toforn a mannes hous.  
 Purch þe grace of swete Jhesus  
 Þai lay þer, what þe day gun dawe,  
 & of þat rist þai were ful fawe.
- When it was day, þai token hede  
 Hou þe folk to toun ȝede  
 & in to her temple þai gun gon  
 To anour her maumettes of tre & ston.  
 Pe Maudeleine þo & hir fere  
 Wenten in to þe temple þere.  
 Anon þe Maudelein gan preche,  
 Þat folk þe riȝt bileue to teche,  
 Of Jhesus in Carnacduin,  
 & hou he suffred passioune  
 For hir & ous and al mankind—  
 Of dedely sinne god ous vnbinde,  
 Zif ani of ous þer-in be.  
 Amen, seyt alle þar charite.
- Pe folk of hir gret wonder hadde,  
 Of hir bileue þai held hir madde;  
 Wonder þai hadde more & lesse  
 Of hir faucoun & hir fairnissee.  
 No wonder, þei in hir mouþe  
 More swetnissee were couþe  
 Pan in ani oþer miȝt be:  
 For Jhesu, þat dyed on þe tre,  
 Wiþ derworþi kisse & wiþ wepe  
 Lete hir kisse his fair fet.  
 Of þat lond þe prince þo,  
 He & his wiif, bigun to go  
 Her maumettes to honour,  
 Þat þai miȝt gete a child in bouri.

& þo þis herd þe Maudelain,  
Fast sche preached þer-ozain.  
O niȝt to bed zede þai to,  
Pe prince & his wiif also ;  
Wel fair in arms togider þai lain :  
& þider com þe Maudelain  
In meteing to hem tvay alon,  
& to þe wiif sche made hir mon  
& seyd : »seþþen þat ze so riche be,  
Godes men whi suffre ze  
To die for hunger & for chele,  
& ze haue plente of alle wele ?«  
Sche bad þe wiif hir lord say,  
& so him bidden & so him pray,  
Pat þe gode men þat were þere  
Schuld be holpen þurch her praiere.  
Pe wiif drad in hir þouȝt,  
Pat sche no durst say him nouȝt.  
þerfore þe Mari Maudelein  
Pat oþer niȝt com ogain  
& seyd as ze han yherd.  
Pat wiif was sore aferd,  
Sche no durst nouȝt to hir lord sain  
No for þe pouer bid no pain.  
Pe Maudelain hir gan to hize  
& cam ozain þe þridde sipe  
& schewed her to hem boþe  
Wiþ grim loke & wiþ wroþe,  
Riȝt wiþ a brenand chere,  
As al þe house were afere ;  
Sche seyd to him : »awake, tirran !  
Remembre þe of þi fader Satan !  
Þi wiif, þat is þere bi þe brouȝt,  
þat neuer nold telle þe nouȝt  
Of þinges þat ichir seyd & badde.  
Ze ligge in glotonie al sadde  
In zour palais white so milk,  
Honged wiþ riche cloþes of silk ;  
& godes men þat lin in wo,  
Wiþouten herberwe ze leten hem go !  
Y warn þe now, þou wreche vnkinde,  
Anoþer answere þou miȝt finde  
Pe pouer what þou hast zeuen & lent«.  
Þus sche seyd, & oway went.

Pe prince þo of his slepe woke,  
His wiif in his armes toke,  
& seyd : »wostow, dame, what ich herd ?« 195  
Pe wiif ozain answerd :  
»Sir, so grete drede is to me comen  
Pat neiȝe mi liif is me binomen.  
Me þenkeþ, sir, þat better is it  
Pat we do as sche ous bit,  
Pan god, of whom sche ginnep to preche,  
Take on ous hard wreche«.  
A morwe þo þe prince aros,  
Of his sweuen sore him agros ;  
Pe Maudelain & alle her feren 205  
He ladde hem hom, as ze may heren,  
Wiþ mete & drink he hem fedde  
& wiþ riche cloþes hem schredde.  
Among þat pople þurch vertu  
Sche gan preche of Jhesu,  
His passiou & his vprist,  
Pat mani man þerof agrist ;  
Mani man to hir þer come  
& vnderfenge cristendome.  
Pe wiif zede to þe Maudelain 215  
& anon sche gan hir frain  
Zif þat sche hadde power & miȝt  
Fortho avowe her lawe arizt  
Pat sche of preached niȝt & day.  
Sche seyd : »za, dame, par ma fay !  
Perto ich am redi ywis,  
For our lawe oft proued is  
Wiþ fele miracles þat god wil schewe,  
þat stable is our lay & trewe,  
Riȝt as seint Peter ous techeþ, 225  
Our maister, in Rome, þer he precheþ«.  
Pe prince & his wiif gun seyn :  
»Zif þou miȝt þi lord so prein  
Of whom þat þou so precheþ ous,  
A child þat he wald sende ous,  
Pan wold we leuen sikerly  
Pat he is god almíȝti«.  
Pe Maudelain answerd oȝen :  
»Leten þerfore schal it nouȝt ben«.  
To Jhesu Crist sche bad a bone :  
Pe wiif a child conseiued sone. 235

& þe prince þat gan se,  
To Rome sore longed he  
Riȝt as a pilgrim for to go,  
240 To wite of Peter ȝif it wer so,  
ȝif it of Jhesu were þe lawe,  
To wite þe soþe he was ful fawe.  
Þe princes wiif gan to say :  
»Sir, ȝif ze schul wende þat way,  
245 To passe þider wiþouten me  
No wold neuer god it schuld so be ;  
When þat ze go, þan wil y go,  
& when ze ride, ichil also,  
When ze duellen, þan wil y —  
250 No noþer schal it be, sikerly«.  
Þe prince seyd : »dame, nay,  
Wiþ me wenden þou ne may.  
No were þe se neuer so milde,  
& a woman were wiþ childe  
255 In schippe wiþ traueil bistadde,  
Alle we miȝt be sore adradde :  
Men wold siggen in a while  
Þat þai weren in gret perile :  
Bot ȝif sche soner were vnbounde,  
260 Sche miȝt dye in a stounde  
In schippe bifor ous euerichon.  
Perfore þou may nouȝt wiþ me gon ;  
At hom nedes y mot þe leten,  
Our godes for to kepen«.  
265 »For al loue, leman«, sche seyd,  
Lete now þat wille be doun aleyd ! «  
Sche wepe & crid & prayd him so  
Þat he graunt hir wiþ him to go.  
A schippe þai gun to puruayan,  
270 & richelich wiþin to laien  
Of al þing þat hem nede stode ;  
& seþþen al her oþer gode  
Þai bitauȝten þe Maudelain  
To kepen, what þai com oȝain.  
275 & in to schippe þai deden hem þo  
So swiþe so þai miȝten go.  
No haue þai nouȝt sailed arȝt  
Bot a day & on niȝt,  
Þat þe se wel hard bigan  
280 To ȝellen & to belien þan.

Þe schippemen þo gun fast rowen,  
& þe wawes oȝain to þrownen,  
Pat of hem alle þer was non  
Pat times among hem euerichon  
Pat he ne wende haue forgon his liif ;  
& namelicke þe princes wiif :  
What for drede & what for wo,  
Hard sche gan to trauail þo.  
A fair knaue-child þer was born ;  
Ac þe moder liif it was forlorn.  
Grete pite men miȝt þer sen  
Hou þat child no miȝt nouȝt ben  
Yholpen certes in maner non,  
Seþþen þe moder liif it hadde forgon,  
& hou it seke þe moder tete,  
Kinde sustenaunce for to gete.  
& when it no milk gete miȝt,  
Þe fader þan wel sore he siȝt,  
He seyd : »allas, hir fode is wane ;  
Pis grom is his moders bane.  
Seþþen it may no lenger no fode haue,  
Dye nedes most þe knaue«.  
Wel sore wepe þo þe pilgrim —  
Ha, god almiȝti ! wo was him :  
He seiȝe his wiif dede him biforn,  
& his sones help was forlorn.  
He wepe we[ll] sore & seyd : »allas !  
So michel as mi wille was  
Bi mi wiif to han a knaue,  
Her boþer liues now lorn ich haue ! «  
Wiþ þat þe schippemen gun to crien  
& to þat ded bodi heiȝen,  
Swiþe anon þai gun it kippe,  
To slinge it out of þe schippe,  
& swore : þai schuld neuer more  
Haue miri weder whiles it war þore.  
Sum nomen þe heued & sum þe fete.  
»Ha, leue lordinges, abideþ zete ! «  
Þe pilgrim þan seyd so —  
Ha, Jhesu Crist ! what him was wo ! —  
»Suffreþ, ȝif it be ȝour wille,  
Hir bodi awhile to ligge stille !  
So michel pain is in hir yclue,  
Zete ich wene wele þat sche liue«

5 Pe prince seyd, & sore wepe.  
 Of a grete roche he tok gode kepe,  
 & þouȝt þat it better were  
 þat his wiif were birid þere,  
 þan in þe se-grounde to lizen.  
 o To þe schippemen he gan crien,  
 Grete tresore he ȝaf hem to mede,  
 þat þai schuld hir þider lede.  
 Whèn sche was to þat roche ybrouȝt,  
 þan miȝt þai for hard nouȝt  
 5 On non wise graue maken,  
 Hir bodi in for to taken.  
 þan souȝt þai on ich side  
 Where þai miȝt hir best hide.  
 Pe pilgrim his wiif adoun he leyd,  
 o Wiþ his sone, & seþpen seyd,  
 Wel sore wepeand wiþ his eize :  
 »Allas & walawo, Marie !  
 In iuel time & sori while  
 Com þou into mi lond Marsile.  
 5 Mi wiif a child conceiued þurh þe :  
 Ȣus ded for þat sche schuld be.  
 Seþpen al mi godes, þat ich auȝt,  
 Ȣi god & þe ich it bitauȝt :  
 Zif þat he be god almiȝti,  
 o Now on hir soule haue merci,  
 & þis child he kepe fram care  
 & lete it neuer nouȝt forfare !«  
 His mantel riche of he dede  
 & leyd it on hem in þat stede.  
 5 Pe child vnder þe [mantel]lappe  
 Lay & seke þe moders pappe.  
 Seþpen to schippe he gan to gon —  
 A sori man was he on !  
 Rizt so to Rome he tok þe way.  
 o Seint Peter oȝain him com þat day ;  
 When þat he seize þe croice on him,  
 He gan to aske þe pilgrim  
 Whennes he com, & whider he wold.  
 Pe pilgrim al þe soþe him told,  
 5 Alle his anoye he gan him telle  
 Pat in þe se him bifelle.  
 When seint Peter þe soþe yherd  
 Of þe pilgrim hou it ferd,

He seyd: »pes be now wiþ þe,  
 & ful welcome artow to me !  
 370 Loke atow no more wepe,  
 For þi wiif liþ stille on slepe,  
 & also doþ þi sone hir by.  
 Perof be þou trust sikerly  
 375 þat god, þat is so ful of miȝt —  
 Alle þing he may dele & diȝt,  
 God of heuen he may ȝeuen  
 & alle his ȝiftes he may binimen —  
 He may þe wele do oȝain comen  
 Al þat he haþ þe binomen ;  
 Al þi sorwe schal þe ȝete  
 Turn þe to blis & to swete«.  
 Seint Peter þe pilgrim ledde  
 Into þat plas þer Jhesu bledde,  
 & where he was don on þe tre,  
 & his sepu(l)cre he lete him se.  
 380 Seint Peter þer he gan preche,  
 Pe sike he heled & was her leche ;  
 Mani fair miracle he gan don,  
 As he wiþ þe pilgrim gan gon  
 & schewed him þat stede ywis  
 Where Jhesu steize to heuen blis.  
 In fay when he was stedefast,  
 At Peter he tok his leue in hast,  
 For to wende homward oȝain,  
 385 þere he lete þe Maudelain.  
 To schippe anon he is ywent.  
 Gode winde on hast god haþ hem sent.  
 Opon a day sone after þat  
 Pe prince in þe schippe sat  
 390 & loked forþ þurh godes gras :  
 Anon he was war of þe plas  
 Per þat he hadde ben at ere  
 & his tvay leue leten þere.  
 When he gan þat roche sen,  
 395 Wel sore him longed þer to ben ;  
 Florines he gan þe schippemen bede  
 For þai schuld him þider lede.  
 & what for mede & praying,  
 To þat roche þai gan him bring.  
 400 & when þai neize þat roche were,  
 A litel child þai seȝen þere

- Adoun at þe fot of þe hille :  
 Pe se it was comen tille,  
 415 Perwiþ it made michel gale  
 Wiþ gret stones & wiþ smale,  
 & playd wiþ burbels of þe water.  
 Wel ioieful þan was þe fader :  
 As it is euer childes wone,  
 420 Per playd his litel sone.  
 When þat þe child of hem was war  
 & of þe schippe þat hem bar,  
 It ran oway sore aferd,  
 As he þat neuer seiȝe man in erd ;  
 425 He crepe for drede, & hidde him þo,  
 Bitvix his moder tetes to.  
 For ioie þe pilgrim wepe sore,  
 & þouȝt he wald wite more :  
 Vnto þat stede he gan to gon  
 430 Per he hadde his wiif ydon  
 & his ȝong sone also,  
 Per-bifore ȝeres two.  
 Als he lete hem, he fond hem boþe,  
 Yhiled vnder his mantel-cloþe.  
 435 He drouȝ þe mantel bi þe lappe :  
 Pe child lay, seke þe moders pappe.  
 Vp in his armes he hir toke  
 Wiþ gode wille, so seyt þe boke,  
 & seyd : »Marie, wele were me,  
 440 & it so miȝt now be  
 Pat ich miȝt now haue þe liif,  
 Wiþ mi sone, here of mi wiif!  
 Bot to þe gode hope ich haue :  
 Pou þat sentest me þis knaue,  
 445 Pat now al þis to zere  
 Haþ now boþe kept hem here,  
 Pat þou miȝt now wiþ þi preiing  
 Mi wiif ogain to liue bring«.  
 As he bigan swiche mone to make,  
 450 His wiif bigan þo to awake.  
 Vp sche aros & gan to seyn :  
 »Yblisced be þe Maudelain !  
 Rizt swete & ioieful is þi mede  
 To helpen hem þat haue nede.  
 455 When ich in schippe trauaild sore,  
 A swete midwiif þou were me þore«.  
 Pe pilgrim at hir asked þan :
- »Artow aliue, mi leman ?«  
 »Za, sir«, sche seyd, »sikerly«.  
 Riztes now þan com y  
 Fram þe stedes euerichon  
 Pat ze & Peter han ygon«.  
 Wel radiliche sche gan to say  
 Alle toknes bi þe way,  
 & him reckned eueri stede  
 & þe miracles þat Peter dede.  
 Wiþ ioie & blis, gamen & gle,  
 To schippe þai wenten al þre,  
 & after in a litel while  
 Pai ariued in Marcile,  
 Opon her owen lond oȝain.  
 & þer þai founde þe Maudelain,  
 Rizt wiþ hir deciples alle.  
 Vnto hir fet þai gun to falle,  
 & alle þe soþe he gan hir telle  
 Bi þe way what hem bifelle ;  
 He & his wiif & his grom,  
 Pai gun hir aske cristendom.  
 Maximin þer water toke,  
 Oile & crisme & a boke,  
 & cristned hem þat ich day.  
 & so þai liued in godes lay.  
 Pan bigun þai forto falle  
 In her temple þe maumetes alle,  
 Chirche þai gun forto arere.  
 Lazar, hir broþer, was bischop þere.  
 Po saint Mari þe Maudelain  
 & þe holi man Maximin,  
 Also it was our lordes wille,  
 Anoþer lond þai wenten tillie,  
 Ac þere no founde þai no wiȝt  
 Pat hem wold herberwe day no niȝt ;  
 Bot þurch miracles mani on  
 Pe pople gun fast to hem gon ;  
 Cristendom þai gun taken,  
 & chirches fast þai gun maken.  
 Pai made Maximin to be  
 Bischop ouer hem in þat cite.  
 Pe Maudelein biþouȝt hir þo,  
 Oway fram him sche gan to go ;  
 In godes loue sche wold ben  
 & þouȝt þat neuer sche schuld sen

After þat time non erþeliche man.  
In to a wildernisse sche went þan.  
5 A stede was þo þer-oȝain —  
& þider went þe Maudelain —  
Þat godes angels hadde ywrouȝt.  
In þat stede no grewe riȝt nouȝt,  
Gras, water, frout, corn no tre;  
o Perbi men miȝt it wite & se  
Pat Jhesu, þat sche loued so michie,  
He fedde hir þere gostliche,  
Nouȝt flescheliche, as we ben here.  
Sche was to & þriddi zere,  
5 Pat hir neuer man seiȝe no herd.  
Listneþ now al hou sche ferd!  
Euerich day times seuen  
Per com angels douȝ fram heuen  
& bar hir vp vnto þe sky,  
o Þe Maudelain Marie, on hy;  
& when sche was so heiȝe yborn,  
Ysett sche was Jhesu biforn;  
Alle maner ioie & blis sche seiȝe þer;  
Efsones adoun þai hir bere.  
5 Pus was Marie born & fedde  
& in to heuen blisse yledde  
Euerich day riȝt seuen siȝe;  
Perfore sche was riȝt glad & bliȝe;  
To erþelich mete hadde sche no nede:  
o Wiþ so gret ioie sche com & zede.  
    Per neize-hond þer woned a prest  
    Pat gode wille hadde in his brest  
    Holy liue al forto liuen,  
    As men þat hem to penaunce zeuen;  
5 A celle he lete make him þo,  
    Þe Maudelain a litel fro;  
& when his celle was ywrouȝt,  
    Of þe Maudelain no wist he nouȝt.  
    Bot on a day þurc godes grace,  
o As he biheld vnto þat place  
    Per þat þe Maudelain was inne,  
    Pat whilom was so ful of sinne:  
        He seiȝe þe angels adoun comen,  
& þe angels anon hir vp nomen  
5 & bar hir vp swiȝe an heiȝe.  
    When þe prest, þat þer was neize,  
    It hadde wiþ his eȝen sen,  
& hou þai brouȝten hir doun oȝen,  
V. 514) nach was fehlt þo. 569) Ms. kene st. kenne.

Pe soþe wald wite arȝt  
Of þat wonderliche siȝt. 550  
Forþ he zede wiþ holy bede  
Towardes þat ich holi stede  
Þere þe angels comen adoun  
Wiþ ioie & wiþ mirie soun.  
Bot a stones cast he nas þerfro  
Pat he nas þat stede comen to,  
Pat he no miȝt stire lim non  
O fot forþer for to gon.  
    Bot when he turned him oȝain,  
    To go framward þe Maudelain, 560  
    . . . . .  
    . . . . .  
    (Hier fehlen 12 Verse, die mit einem  
    illuminirten Buchstaben der Rückseite  
    ausgeschnitten sind.)  
    Pat non erþelich man liuing  
    Was worþi for to se þat þing.  
    Þo bigan he for to crie:  
    »In þe name of god & Marie  
    Y bid þe, in þe name of Crist:  
    Pou þat þere gost & list,  
    A godes halue zif þat þou be,  
    þat þou speke now to me,  
    What þing þou art þat þou me kenne«.  
    Þe Maudelain answerd þenne:  
    »Mi leue frende, at wordes fewe,  
    Com forþ to me, y schal þe schewe  
    Bitven ous tvay here wel stille!  
    Pou schalt ywiten alle þi wille«. 570  
    Toward þe place he zede.  
    »Com forþ«, sche seyd, »& haue no drede,  
& þou schal wele witen & se  
    So michel so þou wilt on me.  
    Herdestow euer in spelle yminne  
    Of a woman þat was in sinne  
    Pat Cristes fet wesche wiþ hir ter  
& seþþen wiped hem wiþ hir her? 575  
    He forȝaf hir for hir godenissee  
    Alle hir sinnes more & lesse«.  
    Pe prest wel fair hir answerd:  
    »Oftsiþes ich it haue yherd;  
& seþþen þat was, it is now gon  
    To & þriȝti zere euerichon«. 580  
    . . . . .  
    . . . . .

»For soþea«, sche seyd, »þou seyst ariȝt.  
 590 In þis stede boþe day & niȝt  
 Ichauē yben to & þritti ȝere,  
 Pat neuer er man wist me here,  
 Bot as god haþ suffred þe  
 Now for to sén & speke wiþ me ;  
 595 Euerich day icham wel soft  
 Wiþ godes angels born aloft  
 Seuen siȝes atte lest ;  
 Joie ich biheld aldermest,  
 Gret mirþe & blis þer y se ;  
 600 & seþþen adoun þai bring me.  
 Bot now þan schal ich heynnes wende  
 In to þat blis wiþouten ende,  
 As icham warned of lord min.  
 Go to þe bischop Maximin  
 605 & telle him alle astow hast sain  
 & herd here of þe Maudelain,  
 & biseche him fair þat he  
 Pe next sononday þat now schal be  
 In to his chapel stille he go,  
 610 Him self alon wiþouten mo,  
 Pat time þat he is won to arise  
 Vnto his morwen seruise ;  
 Per he schal finde me him biforn  
 Wiþ godes angels þider born —  
 615 A voice þe prest herd þere,  
 Of an angel also it were,  
 Bot man no woman no seiȝe he non.  
 To Maximin riȝt he gan gon  
 & teld him of þe Maudelain  
 620 What he hadde of hir sain.  
 Po he þis tiding herd þan,  
 Maximin, þe holi man,  
 He þonked heizeliche Jhesu Crist  
 Pat he of þat tiding wist  
 625 Pat sche him þe bode sent.  
 In to his chapel þo he went.  
 Amiddes þe quer he seiȝe þo  
 Pe Maudelain wiþ his eiȝen two  
 A ȝerdes lengþe lift an heize,  
 630 & angels fele boþe fer & neiȝe,  
 Abouten hir þai gun s:ond,  
 & sche held vp boþe hir hond,  
 To Jhesus Crist hir bone sche badde,  
 & Maximin was sore aðradde,

H. 625) I. iche tim st. sche him?

Pat he no durst nouȝt to hir gon.  
 & Marie seyd to him anon :  
 »Gostliche fader, þou com me to,  
 No fle þou nouȝt þi doucher so !«  
 Pe way to hir þo he toke.  
 Hir face schon, so seyt þe boke,  
 So fair & wonderlich briȝt  
 Pat vnneþe he it biheld miȝt,  
 Al for þe liȝt & for þe lem  
 Pat schon as þe sonne-bem.  
 Pe bischop þo bigan to calle  
 Pe prestes & þe clerkes alle ;  
 & þere toforn hem euerichon  
 Wiþ salt teres sone anon  
 Of Maximin sche nam hir fode,  
 Pe flesche of Jhesu & his blod.  
 & when sche was yhosled so,  
 Toforn þe auter sche ȝede hir þo  
 & on þe grounde sche hir spradde,  
 & to him þat sche loued hadde  
 Ouer al þinges most,  
 Sche ȝald him þe holy gost.  
 Po ros þer so swete a smal  
 In þat chapel oueral  
 Pat it filled euerich wiȝt,  
 Wel neiȝe al þe seuen niȝt.  
 & seþþen in þat ich stede  
 Per þe Maudelain was dede,  
 Pat holi man Maximin  
 Wiþ michel honour birid hir þerin,  
 & bad, him when þat he ded were  
 þai schuld ligge him bi hir þere.  
 Ich biseche ȝou alle þat han yherd  
 Of þe Maudelain hou it ferd,  
 Pat ze biseche al for him  
 Pat þis stori in Inglisse rim  
 Out of latin haþ ywrouȝt,  
 For alle men latin no conne nouȝt :  
 Pat Jhesu Crist for his holy grace  
 He ȝiue ous al miȝt & space,  
 Purch schrift þat he make ous clene,  
 As was Marie þe Maudelene ;  
 Pat we mot to þat ioie wende  
 Pat euer schal lest wiþouten ende.  
 Amen, amen, sigge al we,  
 God it ous graunt par charite ! AMEN.

#### 4. Marina.

aus Ms. Harl. 2253, fol. 64 b\*).

Herkeþ hideward & beoþ stille,  
Y preie ou, þef hit be or wille :  
& ze shule here of one *virgine*,  
Pat wes ycleped seinte Maryne.  
Hit wes a mon by oldre dawe  
Pat muche louede godes lawe  
& *streinþede* him bi al ys miht  
To serue god bo day & nyht;  
He wes a mon of werkes gode,  
& wel he louede is soule fode.  
He bysohte louerd Jesu  
To sende in him sum vertu,  
Pe fend to shende & is myht,  
& god to seruen, þat is best ryht.  
Hit bifel is wyf wes ded ;  
& he biþohte him such a reed :  
He wolde be monke in alle wyse  
& zelden him to godes seruise.  
& so he dude wiþoute les :  
o Marie milde to wyf he ches,  
& þe ordre dude vnderfonge.  
He wes þerinne swiþe longe,  
Seue zer & sumdel mo :  
Þo warþ þis monke swiþe wo  
For is dohter from him wes ;  
Nyht ne day ne heuede he pes,  
He mournede & wep among  
Ant þohte o day seue zer long  
Pat he ne may is dohter sen ;  
o In more serewe ne may mon ben ;

For duel & serewe he morneþ so  
Pat al is murþe is turnd to wo.  
Gret duel to him forsoþe he nom.  
Pe abbot þat seh, & to him com  
& bed him telle for whet þing  
He wes in so muche mournyng.  
»Pah y þe telle, hit helpeþ noht,  
Y ne may hit leten of my þoht«.  
»Why hit be, þou telle hit me,  
Ant y wol fonde to helpe þe«.  
»Pe to telle nully spare  
For why hit is þat y care.  
Po my wyf wes to god ygon,  
Ant alle myn children, boten on,  
Zore is þat ich þat on seh,  
Alas þat hit nere me neh«.  
»Parefore doute þe noht !  
Pat child shal hider ben ybroht  
Ant sustened in þis abbe,  
Sone, for þe loue of þe.  
Weþer his hit grom oþer mayde ?«  
»Sire, a grom«, forsoþe he sayde —  
He nolde be knowe for no þyng  
Pat hit wes a mayde zyng.  
»Nou wend & seh wher hit be,  
Ant bring hit bifore me !«  
»God þe zelde, þat best may.  
»Sire, haue wel godneday !«  
Nou is þis monke forþ ywend,  
& glad is of þe auauncement

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\*) Die, meist lyrischen, Gedichte dieser Hs. gehören nicht alle demselben Verfasser an; so zeigt Marina (mehr südlichen Dial.) andere sprachliche Eigenthümlichkeiten als z. B. Harrowing of Hell dess. Ms. — Eine andere Leg. der Marina enthält die nördl. Evangelien Sammlung des Ms. Vernon (ed. in Herrig's Archiv LVII, p. 259); eine Prosaversion die altengl. Uebertragung der Leg. Aur. (Ms. Egert. 876, fol. 124)

Pat þis child shal vnderfonge;  
 He hyȝede blyue & nes nou longe.  
 A robe he dude hire apon  
 Ant euesede hire ase a mon.  
 65 Pe maidnes nome wiþoute lees  
 Maryne ycleped wes :  
 Hire fader hire made be cleped Maryn —  
 & nou heo ys don in shryne.  
 Hire fader hire brohte to þat abbe —  
 70 Feir chil it ys forte se.  
 Swyþe wel it wes ytaht;  
 Hit wolde aryse to þe mydnaht  
 Ant go to matines þe monkis yfere,  
 Ant wel leornede huere manere.  
 75 Sone þerafter þe habit he nom,  
 Ant holi monk þis may bicom.  
 Such cas þis child wes byfalle :  
 His fader wes ded — so we shulen alle.  
 Pe abbot & þe couent bo  
 80 Loueþ Maryn, þe ȝonge monk, so,  
 Pat hue him putten to baylye  
 Ant maden him maister of panetrie.  
 He heueden a stude þerbiside,  
 Ant Maryn moste þider ryde ;  
 85 Þider he eode to houses neode,  
 Ant for no shome, god forbeode.  
 Per wes a deye in þat won  
 A döhter heuede, a feyr womon.  
 Þider com a knyht of valour  
 90 Ant louede þis may par amour ;  
 So he speken ant weren at on,  
 Pat wiþ childe wes þat womon.  
 Po seide hire moder wiþ wordes milde :  
 »Leue dohter, þou art mid childe.  
 95 Who is þe fader? tel me anon!«  
 »Pe ȝonge monk, bi saint Jon!«  
 »Wher mette ȝe on yfere?«  
 »Y(n)the berne þer we were,  
 Ant toke me forþ aȝeyn þe pes ;  
 100 Al to soþe so hit wes.«  
 Hit byfel þe child wes bore  
 Ant ybroht þe monk byfore.  
 Pe word spong to al þe couent :  
 Pe tolde þe monk him yshent.

Lutel he speke ant sihte sore,  
 And seide on god, me leh, wel more.  
 Pe abbot lette after þe monk sende,  
 Ant seide : »þou ne dudest nout ase hende  
 To bynymen þat may hire wareisoun,  
 For enykunnes gersoun.  
 Al to soþe y þe sugge  
 Pou hit shalt ful dere abugge,  
 Penaunce þe tid alle gate :  
 Buen yput out at þe ȝate.  
 Pre ȝer þer þou shalt ligge  
 Ant þi gult ful deore abugge.  
 »Bringeþ him out, þat y se,  
 Y preye ou for þe loue of me!«  
 »Ich habbe ysunged : merci y crie.  
 Pou me help, sone Marie !  
 Help me, ȝef þi wille beo,  
 Louerd, þat restest on rode treo!«  
 Pe monk is to þe ȝate ybroht,  
 For al is bone him geyneþ noht ;  
 Po he wes at þe ȝate out þrast,  
 Anon þat child wes on him cast.  
 Per he dreȝede muche wo,  
 Pe chil & þe monk al so,  
 Ant heden dezed for pouerete,  
 Nede help of þe oþere monkis be :  
 Vch day heo him ȝeuuen an hyse bred ;  
 Elles for hunger he heuede be ded.  
 Ant him arewede ful sore  
 Pat he heuede leȝe þer so ȝore.  
 Penne speke þe porter :  
 »Habbeþ reuþe of þis monk her,  
 Ant bitime doh him to deþe!  
 For hunger her he liueþ vnneþe.«  
 Penne speke þe priour —  
 God him ȝeue muchel honour! — :  
 »Tymliche he shal tolyured be  
 Pourh myn help & my pouste.«  
 Pe priour com to þe couent,  
 Ant seide : »sires, verreyment,  
 Deliure we þis prisoun among vs alle ;  
 We nuten wet cas vs may byfalle.«  
 Penne saide þe abbot :  
 »Pat is soht, god hit wot.«

V. 64) euesien = tondere. 85) Ms. honses. 87) deye st. deyer? 98) Ms. ythe  
 st. yn the? 104) Ms. þe = þo. 137) Ms. doh st. doþ. 141) tolyured = delivered  
 (so 145). 148) soht st. soth.

He letten after him sende,  
For he wes boþe god & hende.  
Þo he wes after ysent,  
Þo he tolde him al yshent:  
He wende forte ha ben anhon,  
Oper a worse deþ ydon.  
He com byfore þe abbot.  
»Maryn, þuncheþ þe god  
Such penaunce forte dreye  
For eny cunnes foleye?«  
»Jesu, zef þi wille be,  
Y preye þat þou forzeue me  
Pat ich habbe misdon aȝeynes þe,  
Merci y crie par charite.«  
Ant þah his herte wes ful lyht,  
Pat heuede be so ydyht  
Pourh penaunce þer forte ligge,  
Þe ioie of hyre ne may mon sugge.  
Heo liuede þer inne wiþ muche wo  
Tuo ȝer forsoþe ant namo.  
Nou heo is ded wyterly,  
Hyre soule is wiþ oure leuedy.  
Penne spec a monk to anoþer:  
»Gowe whosshen vr dede broþer!  
For þah he habbe don a synne,  
Zet he is broþer of her ynne.«  
A nome þe body & brohte to baþe!  
Alas þat he wes ded so raþe!  
»Hit is a wommon, seide þat on.  
»Pat is soþ, bi seint Jon!  
»Jesu shilde vs from pyne,  
For we han lowen on Maryne  
Ant penance duden hire on stronge  
Ant letten hire pyne to longe.«  
Letter after þe abbot sende  
Ant tolden him þe ord & ende,  
Ant þe couent eueruchon,  
Ant shouueden hit wes a woman.  
Þe abbot for duel falleþ to grounde,  
& þer he liþ a longe stounde.  
& þo he mihte vp stonde,  
Zerne þonkeþ godes sonde,

He ant þe monkes alle ifere  
& oþer men mo þer were.  
»Nou hit is þus bifalle,  
We moten þenchen among vs alle  
Hire onoure in alle wyse, 195  
For heo is ded in godes seruise;  
& heo mey to hiȝi biseche  
For ous, þat is oure soule leche.«  
Þe wommon þat on Marine þe child ber  
Nuste þat heo wes mayden er, 200  
So sone so Marine wes ded,  
Such shute com in þe womones hed  
Ase þah heo couþe lutel god,  
& þer after wax riht wod;  
& com þider ase ley Marine,  
Wiþ muche shome & muche pine.  
Þer heo lay mid vnsounde  
Fourteniht faste ybounde,  
& soffrede þer muche wo,  
O þat fourteniht were ago. 210  
Þis monkes heden muche care  
Þat heo hire seȝen so fare,  
& bysohten Jesu for loue of Marine  
Delyueren hire of þilke pyne.  
Whil heo þer aboute speke, 215  
Anon riht hire bondes breke,  
& toc to hire womones cunde  
Ant warþ in to hire ryhte munde,  
Ant kneulachede ho hade misdon  
To bere þat child hire apon,  
& tolde opeliche alle byfore  
Hou þat child wes geten & bore,  
& bisohte him forzeuenesse  
Þat is kyng of heuene blisse. 220  
To þilke blisse god vs sende  
Þat lesteþ euer wiþouten ende.  
He þat made & wrot þis vie  
& hyre haþ in memorie,  
From shome Crist him shilde.  
Leuedi, zef þi wille be, 225  
Pou haue merci of me  
For loue of þine childe! AMEN.

## 5. E u f r o s y n e\*).

aus Ms. Vernon, fol. 103.

IN Alisaundre, þat grete citee,  
Þer was a mon of muche pouste,  
Pathnucius forsoþe he hiht;  
He kepte wel þe heste of god almiht.  
5 A wyf he tok of grete blode,  
Þe wȝuche was euere meoke & gode.  
But fruit com non bitwene hem two,  
And þerfore hem was ful wo.  
Þis mon was sori and in gret speir,  
10 For he hedde of his bodi *non* heir  
þat his goodes in toun and feelde  
After his deþ scholde gouerne and welde.  
Vppon a day he him biþouht  
And preyed to god, þat vs haþ bouht,  
15 To seende him a child, as he wel may,  
His good to hauen astur his day.  
And his wyf boþe day and niht  
Dude almesdeede al þat heo miht,  
And preyed to god, heuene kyng,  
20 To graunte hem heore askyng.  
Pen wente þis goode mon feor & nere,  
To witen *zif* he mihte ouzwher here  
Astur sum good holy mon,  
Þat god wolde heere his preyere anon:  
25 Porw hos preyere he hopede wel  
Þat god wolde graunte him eueridel.  
Penne he wente in to an abbey,  
Where was an holy mon, as I ow sey,  
Þat was abbot of þat place —  
30 In him god schewed boþe vertu & grace.

And whon he hedde dwelled þere a  
stounde,  
He tolde þe abbot hol and sounde  
What was his comyng, wherfore & whi.  
Þe abbot of him hedde reuþe forþi  
And hertly to god made his preyere  
To sende him a child, *zif* his wille  
were.  
And Jhesu Crist, maydenes sone,  
Graunted þe abbot al his bone.  
ÞE wyf conseiued & bar a childe,  
A doughtur, þat was meke & mylde.  
And whon he say þe abbotes liuinge,  
He wolde neuer go fro þat wonynge,  
But brouȝte his wyf in to þe abbey,  
Per to dwelle boþe niht & day.  
Þe child þei toke, as I ow say,  
And Eufrosyne þei cleped þat may.  
And whon þat heo was twelf zer olde,  
Heo was cristened in water colde.  
Hire fader & moder weore glad & blyþe  
And þonked god mony a siþe  
Þat hedde graunted to hire such grace,  
Þat was so goodlich & feir of face.  
And whon hit was at twelf zer ende,  
Hir moder dized & to god gan wende.  
Hire fadur liued, & tauȝt hire lettrure,  
Boþe wit & wisdam, beo ze sure.  
Pen wox heo wys & lerned so faste  
Þat hir fader merueiled þeroft atte laste.

V. 6) speire = dispeyre, so auch v. 497.

\*) Diese Legende ist bereits in E. Kölbing's Engl. Stud. Bd. I abgedruckt.

Hire loos sprong þorw al þe cite  
 Pat a wisor creature miȝte non be.  
 And for hir wisdam & hire feirmesse  
 Heo was desyret of more & lesse  
 To wedden hire to heore sones zinge,  
 And sum striuen wiþ hir fader for þat  
 þinge.  
 Pen was þer a noble mon of þat cite  
 Pat passed alle oþure of riches & fee ;  
 He asked Pathnucius douȝter feire  
 His sone to wedden þat was his heire.  
 And hire fader verrament  
 Perof was fayn & to him asent.  
 He tok his douȝter, as ȝe may here,  
 Pat was of elde XVIII ȝere,  
 And brouȝt hire to þe abbeye  
 Per he was wont to bidde & preye,  
 And tok wiþ him muche oþur goode  
 And ȝaf þe monkes, to buggen hem foode.  
 TO þe abbot þen he brouȝte þat maide.  
 »Pe fruit of þi praizers, lo her!« he  
 saide,  
 »Preye for hire to god almiȝt :  
 Forte marien hire I haue Itiȝt.«  
 Pe abbot bad hire to þe hoste be brouȝt :  
 To speke wiþ hire þer haþ he þouȝt.  
 And whon þei þidere Icomen were,  
 He blessed hire wiþ goode chere,  
 And seyde : »douȝtur, I courseyle þe  
 To liue in pacience and humilite,  
 In chastite also, I rede,  
 And ouer alle þing þi god þou drede.«  
 Pen dwelled þei þere þeo dayes stille  
 And herden heore seruise wiþ gode wille.  
 Pathnucius of hire lyuȝge was wel payed  
 And of hir holynesse; he meruayled &  
 sayd :  
 »Peose seruauns of god Iblesset þei beo  
 Pat liuen as angles in heore degré,  
 And aftur þis wiþouten drede  
 Euerlastynge lyf schal ben heore meede.«  
 Pen wax his herte in god studefaste  
 And to his seruise holliche him caste.  
 Pen aftur þeo dayes Pathnucius went  
 To þe abbot wiþ good entent

And seide : »fader, I preie þe,  
 Cum spek wiþ my doucher fre  
 And prey for hire, as I truste on þe,  
 For we wol walken in to þe cite.«  
 And whon þe abbot was comen þat 105  
 stounde,  
 Heo felde at his feet vpon þe grounde  
 And seide : »fader, þou preye for me  
 To þe holy trinite  
 Pat he wolde of his godnes  
 Mi soule wynne to his blis.« 110  
 HE tok his hond & blessed hire þere  
 And seide þeos wordes, as ȝe schul  
 here :  
 »God, þat knowest mon er he weore Ibore,  
 Let þis creature neuere ben forlore  
 And graunt hire felauschipe & part also 115  
 In heuene, whon heo schal heonnes go!«  
 Penne tok þei heore leue of þat holy mon  
 And wente in to þe cite anon.  
 And whon hire fader bi wei or streete  
 Eny of þeose monkes coupe fynden or 120  
 mete,  
 To his hous he wolde hem bringe  
 To preye for his doucher in alle þinge.  
 Penne hit bifelde vpon a day  
 Pat a gret feste scholde ben in þe abbay.  
 Pe abbot a monk to Pathnucius sent 125  
 And bad him cum þider wiþ good entent.  
 And whon þe monk com to his hous,  
 He asket after Pathnucius.  
 His seruauns seiden wiþouten weere  
 He walked forþ riȝt nou heere. 130  
 And Eufrosyne, þat noble may,  
 Asked þe monk wiþoute delay :  
 »Sei me, broþer, for charite  
 How mony monkus atome beo ȝe?«  
 Pe monk hire tolde witterli :  
 »We ben þre hundret & two & fifti.«  
 Pen spac þat mayden to him anon :  
 »What, & þer coome to þou a mon  
 Pat wolde aske þe hous for charite,  
 Wolde not ȝor abbot graunten, ȝe?« 135  
 He onswerde & to hire sayde :  
 »Zus, perof we ben riȝt wel apayde,

- And for peose wordes more and las :  
 Qui venit ad me, non eiciam foras«.
- 145 PE En Eufrosyne, þat mayden good,  
 To þe monk speek þer heo stood  
 And seide : »þou tel me holliche  
 Zif alle þe monkes preien & fasten Iliche«.  
 Pe monk onswerde wiþouten lesynge :
- 150 »In comuyn we prezen boþe olde & zinge,  
 But fastynge is, as hit is skil,  
 To take or leue wheþer we wil«.  
 »To þis lyf«, heo seide anon riht,  
 »I þouȝt to come, zif þat I miht.
- 155 But þe wraþþe of mi fader sore I dredde,  
 For he haþ þouȝt me forte wedde«.  
 Pe monk seide : »suster, for charite !  
 Let neuer mon defoulen þe,  
 Ne þi fairnesse, þat is so briht,
- 160 Soffrun schome bi day nor niht;  
 But wedde þe to Crist þat ziuþ þe may  
 Heuene after þin endyng day,  
 And in to sum abbeye þou do þe gon  
 And chaunge þin abyte sone anon !«
- 165 Pen of his counsel heo was apayd.  
 »But ho may schere me þenne ?« heo said,  
 »For wiþ no lewed mon wolde I dele,  
 For he wolde not my counsel hele«.
- PE monk seide þen to hire anon :
- 170 »Wiþ me to þe abbey þi fader schal gon,  
 Preo dayes wiþ us þer schal he dwelle;  
 Pen sent þou aftur a monk ful snelle  
 Priueliche, wiþoute lettinge,  
 And he schal comen for eny þinge«.
- 175 And as he stod & speek wiþ þat mayde,  
 Hire fader com in & to þe monk sayde :  
 »What is þi wille ? broþur, tel me !«  
 »Vr abbot« he seide, »sent to þe  
 And bad þe comen on his blesynge,
- 180 To eten wiþ him, wiþouten dwellynge«.  
 Pathnucius was glad & wiþ him zode  
 To þe feeste wiþ herte goode.  
 Preo dayes wiþ þe abbot he dwelled þere.  
 Pen Eufrosyne sent hire messagere
- 185 To þe abbeye, as I ow telle,  
 And seide to him þe wordes felle :

»What monk þat þou mayst furst Ise,  
 Prei him þat he wolde come wiþ þe«.  
 Whon he com þider wiþouten lette,  
 Porw grace of god a monk he mette ;  
 Pen he him preyed wiþ herte fyne  
 To come & speke wiþ Eufrosyne.  
 Pe monk him wente wiþ herte meke.  
 And heo him mette & to him speeke :  
 »Blesse me«, heo seide, »fader, apliht !«  
 And he hire blesset, & sat doun riht.  
 Pen Eufrosyne seide to him anon :  
 »Mi fader is a ful good mon,  
 A riche mon, of muche miht,  
 And serueþ god boþe day & niht ;  
 A wyf he hadde, & heo is dede,  
 þat was my mooder, wiþoute drede ;  
 And mi fader for his riches, I wot wele,  
 Wolde take me to þe world þat is so frele,  
 And I nolde for no richesse here  
 Beo defoulet wiþ þe world in non manere.  
 But euere I dredre my fader so  
 þat I not neuure what I schal do.  
 Al niht I lay, & sleep riht nouȝt,  
 And preyed to god, þat us haþ bouȝt,  
 To sende me merci & sum tokenyng ;  
 And so I beþouȝt me in þe morwening  
 To sende to þe abbey aftur sum wiht,  
 To counseile me what best do miht  
 Sum word of soule-hele forte lere.  
 Perfore I preye þe, fader deore,  
 Tech me godes lore wiþ good entent,  
 For þou art holliche fro god Isent«.

PE monk to hire speek wiþ gret wit :  
 »Pus hit is seid in holy writ :  
 Hose wol not for loue of me  
 Forsake his fader & al his fee,  
 His modur, his breþuren his sustren boþe,  
 Mi disciple he may not ben for soþe.  
 I con no more to þe say  
 But, zif þou seo þat þou wel may  
 Temptacion of flesch wiþstonden ariht,  
 Forsake alle þing for god almiht.  
 Pi fader richesses, beo þou bold,  
 Schul fynden eires monyfold :  
 23

Hous of almus þer beoþ Inouwe  
 In þis cuntrye, boþe heize & lowe,  
 Pilgrimus, prisouns, as we knowe wele,  
 Faderles children monie & fele :  
 On heom his richesse he may sette  
 To godes worschupe wiþouten lette.  
 And þou wolt only don after me :  
 Leose not þi soule, I counseile þe«.  
 And heo onswerde wiþ milde chere :  
 »I truste holliche on þi preyere ;  
 Now for soule I schal trauayle,  
 For I truste to god hit wol me auayle«.  
 þat holy mon seide to hire þo :  
 »Let neuer þulke desyr fro þe go,  
 For nou is tyme of penaunce«.  
 And heo onswerde wiþouten distaunce :  
 »For al myn desir to folfille,  
 To trauayle þe hit was my wille.  
 þou blesse me nou & for me pray,  
 And þe her of myn hed þou schere away !«  
 HE ros vp, as heo him beede,  
 And cut þe her of hire hede,  
 And cloþede hire in a cote good,  
 And preyed to him þat dized on rood  
 And seide : »lord god in trinite,  
 Pow saue þi seruaunt þat loueþ þe !«  
 And whon he hedde seid þeos wordes  
 aplizt,  
 He went his wei anon riȝt.  
 PEn Eufrosyne þouȝte : »sikerly,  
 Zif I go to a nonneri,  
 Mi fader wol seche me & fynde me þare,  
 To take me out wol he not spare  
 And make me iweddet also swiþe ;  
 þen schuldi neuere beo glad ne bliþe.  
 Perfore wol I to an abbey gon  
 Per as beoþ men, and wymmen non«.  
 Hire owne aray þer heo forsook,  
 And monnes cloþing to hire heo took.  
 And anon as hit was niht,  
 Heo made hire redi and forþ hire diht,  
 Fiue hundred schilyngs þat were goode,  
 And seide : »tak þis in parti of pay,  
 Al þat oþur schal comen anoþur day,  
 Zif hit beo so in alle manere  
 Pat I may susteyn & dwellen heere«.  
 PE abbot let callen anon riȝt  
 A noble monk, Agapitus he hiht,

As god wolde, to chirche he went. 275  
 And Eufrosyne þe wei to þe abbey hent  
 Per as hire fader was knownen wel.  
 And to þe porter heo spak also snel :  
 »Go prey þe abbot«, heo seide, »anon  
 To speke heere wiþ a straunge mon 280  
 þat fro þe paleys is come nou riȝt !«  
 þe porter wente forþ wiþ al his miht  
 And tolde þe abbot word & ende.  
 Forþ wiþ him þen gon he weende.  
 And whon Eufrosyne saiȝ him þat 285  
 stounde,  
 Heo fel doun flat vpon þe grounde.  
 He tok hire vp & blessed hire furst,  
 And aftur þei talket what so hem lust.  
 þe abbot seide : »sone, what is þi wille ?«  
 And heo onswerde wiþ wordes stille : 290  
 »I haue dwelled at þe palys  
 And liued in joye & muche delys ;  
 And , for me þinkeþ þis world nis nouȝt,  
 To chaunge my liuyng I haue þouȝt :  
 Wherfore I prey ow, fader deere, 295  
 Graunte me to dwelle wiþ ou heere !  
 For I haue riches gret plente,  
 And al schal comen hider to þe,  
 Zif þat god wol ziu me grace  
 Him to seruen here in þis place«. 300  
 þe abbot seide to him riȝt þus :  
 »þou art welcome, dwelle here wiþ vs.  
 What is þi name ?« þen seide he.  
 »Smaragdus« heo seide, »meȝt callen me«.  
 þe abbot seide : »þou art ful zyng, 305  
 þe bihouȝt a maister for eny þing,  
 To teche þe rule & þi seruise  
 And þe lyuyng of monkes in alle wyse«.  
 To þe abbot heo speek riȝt þo :  
 »As þou biddest, so schal I do«. 310  
 And tok to him þer as he stode  
 Fyf hundred schilynges þat were goode,  
 And seide : »tak þis in parti of pay,  
 Al þat oþur schal comen anoþur day,  
 Zif hit beo so in alle manere  
 Pat I may susteyn & dwellen heere«.  
 PE abbot let callen anon riȝt  
 A noble monk, Agapitus he hiht,

Smaragdus to him bitok he þere,  
 His rule to teche him and to lere,  
 And him to gourne in such asyse  
 To passen his mayster in alle wyse.  
 Pen kneled he doun, as hit was skil,  
 And þei him receyued wiþ good wil ;  
 Agapitus, his mayster mylde,  
 In to a celle brouȝte þat noble childe.  
 And for he was so feyr, wiþoute lye,  
 Pe fend to him hedde gret envye ;  
 Whon þat he was in þe chirche,  
 Pe werk of god forte wirche,  
 He tempted þe breþeren þorw his queyn-  
 tyse  
 In idel þouȝt in mony a wyse.  
 Pei wente to þe abbot & tolde him alle  
 What caas among hem was bifalle.  
 335 Pe abbot þis herde & Smaragdus let fette,  
 And seide þeos wordus wiþouten lette :  
 »Sone, þi grete fejrenes  
 Makeþ vr breþuren to þenken amis ;  
 Perfore I comaunde þou sitte alone  
 340 In a celle, nowhoder to gone«  
 And bad his mayster also anon  
 To ordeyne him a place, þerinne beo don.  
 And so he dude, as l ou say,  
 Perin to lyuen boþe niht & day.  
 345 And euur he lyued in so gret penaunce  
 Pat his maister merueiled wiþoute di-  
 staunce  
 And tolde his breþuren of his godnesse,  
 And þei þonked god boþe more & lesse.  
 NOu of þis matere I þenke to stinte ;  
 350 Of Pathnucius to telle I haue Iminte  
 Hou he com hom to his oune place,  
 To seon his douhtur feir of face.  
 And whon he com in, he fond hire nouȝt :  
 Perfore muche serwe was in his þouȝt,  
 355 And asked his seruauns al bideene  
 Wher was his douhtur, þat was so schene.  
 And þei onswerde anon riht :  
 »Forsoþe, we sezen hire to niht,  
 But al þis day wiþouten doute  
 360 We couþe not seon hire walke aboute«.

Pen supposed his fader þat he hedde  
 hire fet  
 Pat scholde hire wedde wiþoute let ;  
 He bad a seruaunt þider to gon ;  
 But word of hire ne herde þei non.  
 And whon his hosebonde hit herde , his 3  
 fader also,  
 Pei woxen sori and weore ful wo,  
 To Pathnucius hous þei comen vchon.  
 Pei wepten & sorwed & made muche  
 mon,  
 And seiden : »sum mon wiþ tresoun  
 Haþ lad hire awey out of þis toun«. 3  
 His men anon heore hors þei hent,  
 To sechen hire forþ beoþ þei went,  
 Boþe bi water and bi londe,  
 In caues & wildernes, I vndurstonde,  
 Hous of nonnes also þei souȝt, 3  
 But word of hire ne herde þei nouȝt.  
 »Alas«, seide Pathnucius, »my douȝter  
 dere,  
 Mi solas, myn ezen-sizt, & al my chere,  
 Ho haþ my tresour Inome me fro ?  
 Allas, my riches awey is go ! 3  
 Allas, my vyne ho haþ Ischent ?  
 Allas, my lanterne ho haþ Iqueynt ?  
 Allas, myn hope ho haþ bigylet ?  
 Allas, my douȝter ho haþ defuilet ?  
 Allas, what wolf my lamb haþ spied ?  
 Allas, what place þat hire haþ wrized ?  
 Allas, for deol I droupe and dare,  
 I clynge as cleyz, Icauȝt in care,  
 I wayle, I wandre, I wake, I walke,  
 I stunte, I stonde, vnstabli I stalke, 39  
 For hire þat was so witti and wys,  
 Of alle gentrise heo bar þe prys.  
 Allas, eorþe, þou dost me pyne,  
 Pou hulest þe blod of Eufrosyne«.  
 Whon Pathnucius hed seid þis wordes 39  
 alle,  
 Pe peple þat þer was in þe halle,  
 And þe citeseyns eueruchone,  
 For hire þei wepten & made muche  
 mone.

V. 342) to fehlt vor beo. 365) Ms. hir st. his. 388) zu I clynge as cleyz vgl. Gregor.  
 Ms. Vern. v. 43 As þou seost cleiz clyngen on clive in someres day abouþe þe none.

PEn Patnucius þis serwe miȝt not drye ;  
 To þe abbey faste þen gon he hyȝe,  
 At þe abbotes fet he fel doun þere  
 And seide : »fader«, wiþ mylde chere,  
 »Ne cece þou not to preye þis stounde  
 Pat Eufrosyne mouȝte ben Ifounde ;  
 5 For I ne con witen in no manere  
 What is bifalle to my doucher dere«.  
 Whon þe abbot herde þis , he made gret  
 mone,  
 And sent after his monkes euerichone  
 And seide : »breþeren, for charite,  
 o Preye we to god for his pite  
 Pat he wold schewen us bi sum tokenyng  
 What caas bifallen is to þat mayden zyng«.  
 Pen al þat wike þei faste and prayden ;  
 But þei herde noþing of þat mayden,  
 15 As þei weore wont bifore to heere  
 Whon þei to god made heore preyere ;  
 For Eufrosyne preyde so day and niȝt  
 Pat god schulde not outen hire to nowiȝt :  
 Perfore to þe abbot verrament  
 20 God wolde not hire schewe , ne to þe  
 couent.

PE abbot to Patnucius þenne he sayd :  
 »Of godes sonde holt þe apayd,  
 And keep his lore in alle wyse,  
 For whom he loueþ, he wol chastise.  
 25 Forþi to þi doucher is nouȝt bifalle  
 Wiþouten his wil þat weldeþ alle ;  
 But, for heo is sumwhere in godes seruise,  
 God wol not outen hire, as I deuyse.  
 In wikked werk zif heo weore tayn,  
 30 God wolde not leten vs trauaylen in  
 vayn.

Such trust in god forsoþe Ichauȝe :  
 Er þen þou dye, þou schalt hire haue«.  
 Pen Pathnucius þonket god almiȝt,  
 And layz in his preyers boþe day & niȝt.  
 35 PEn hit bifel vpon a day  
 To þe abbey Pathnucius tok þe way ;  
 Tofore þe abbot of gret renoun,  
 At his feet he fel adoun  
 And seide : »fader«, in þat stounde,  
 40 I am so harde wiþ serwe Ibounde

For my doucher, þat was so fre,  
 Allas in world þat wo is me !«  
 Pe abbot þo wiþ dreri mood  
 Speek to him, þer he stood :  
 »We han a monk among us here,  
 An holy mon wiþouten peere,  
 Icomen he was fro þe palys ;  
 Go spek wiþ him al þyn deuys !«  
 And he seide : »fayn I wol gon«.  
 After Agapitus þei sende anon :  
 »Tak Pathnucius & þe wey him teche  
 Wiþ þyn disciple to haue a speche !«  
 Pen tok he him anon riȝt  
 And broȝt him þider wiþ al his miȝt.  
 And assone as heo hire fader bihilde,  
 Al wiþ teres heo was folfulde.  
 And whon Pathnucius seiȝ him so don,  
 He þouȝte hit was for deuocion ;  
 He kneuȝ hire not, for soþe to sey,  
 For hire chere was clene Itornd awey :  
 For abstinence hit was not sene,  
 Wiþ wakyng & weping also, I wene.  
 Hire coule toforen hire face heo doþ —  
 To ben Iknowen hire was ful loþ.  
 Heo blessed hem, and seeten doun,  
 And bigon a tale of deuocioun,  
 Hou men scholde kepen hem out of sinne,  
 Pe blisse of heuene for to winne,  
 Wiþ good lyuinge and chastite,  
 Wiþ almesdede and charite ;  
 450 And hou men scholde not heore children  
 loue  
 More þen god, þat sit aboue ;  
 And seide þat holy writ bereþ witnes  
 Hou pacience bi desese Ipreued is.  
 Heo sauh what sorwe hire fader made,  
 And of him compassion heo hade ;  
 Of him to be knownen wolde heo nouȝt,  
 And to cumforȝen him was al hire þouȝt,  
 And seide : »sire, trustne to me,  
 God wol neuere deseyuen þe :  
 For, zif þi douȝter weore ouȝwher amis,  
 God wolde schewe þe of his godnes,  
 Pat nouȝter þe deuel ne no wikked wiȝt  
 Scholde binymen hire soule, & þe þi siȝt;

V. 422) holt st. hold; Vern. hat oft t am ende st. d, so wint, grount, auch im partic. et st. ed. 439) þat st. þis?

485 But I truste in god so wonder wel  
Pat heo haþ taken hire to good cōseil.  
For god almihi seiþ him self:  
Hose loueþ his fader bi eny half  
Oþur his moder in eny degré,  
490 He nis not worþi to come to me;  
And hose wol not his richesse forsake,  
Him to me wol I not take.  
God, he is of such pouwre,  
Zif him lust, to schewen þe here.  
495 Soffre nou, soffre, & hold þe stille,  
And let not serwe þi seluen spille,  
Ne waxe þou noþing in dispeyre,  
But þonk þi god boþe wel and feire!  
Agapitus, mi maister, ofte haþ me tolde  
500 Of Pathnucius tales monyfolde,  
And hou for his douȝtur he made muche  
mone,  
For he hedde no mo but hire alone,  
And sodeynliche awei heo was nome,  
And couþe neuer here wher heo was bi-  
come.  
505 He tolde me þat þe abbot & al þe  
couent  
Hedde preyed to god wiþ on assent;  
To me he speek to don þe same,  
And bad preie for hire a goddes name.  
And þauz þat I vnworþi be,  
510 A synful creature, as þinkeþ me,  
To god I haue preid wiþ herte & þouȝt  
To sende þe soffraunce, as he þe wrouȝt,  
And to folfull al þi desyre;  
As may be best for þe and hire.  
515 To seo þe, ofte desyret Ichauæ,  
Zif eny cūmfort bi me mihtest haue».  
And leste he kneuh hire at þe ende  
Bi hire speche, heo bad him wende.  
And whon Patnucius went & outward  
stepte,  
520 Hire eizen erende and for him wepte;  
Hire face was pale as eny leed,  
For fastynge & penaunce heo was neih  
ded.

V. 494) here accus. fem., aber 514 hire im reim. 520) erende st. ernde, südl. form = ronne. 543) Ms. [cōm st. com in. 560) der Vers scheint fehlerhaft. 562) culle = kill.

65 Penk þat god is of such pouwere  
 And knoweþ alle þing boþe fer & nere!  
 Now of þi serwe þou make an ende!  
 For god, þat is curteis and hende,  
 Schewed to Jacob þorw his graas  
 70 His sone Josep wher þat he was.  
 þerfore hertiliche I preye þe,  
 Peos þeo dayes go not from me!«  
 Pen Pathnucius þouzte in þat tyde:  
 For he bad him þeo dayes abyde,  
 75 Pat god wolde schewen him in sum  
     manere  
 Wher þat his douthur bicomen were.  
 And whon hit was comen þe þridde day,  
 He com to him and bigon to say:  
 »Broþer, Ichauē abiden here wiþ þe  
 80 Preo dayes fulle, as þou beede me!«  
 Pen Eufrosyne wuste wel anon  
 Hire tyme was come þat heo schulde gon;  
 To hire heo called Pathnucius  
 And speek to him and seide þus:  
 85 »Almihti god of his goodnes  
 Haþ disposer for my wrecchednes,  
 Pat þorw his vertu and his miht  
 Mi desyr to an ende is fully diht,  
 And, for Ichauē bore me so monliche,  
 90 I schal haue a croune in heuene-riche.  
 Nou wol I no lengore helen hit wiþ þe:  
 For certes, I am þi doucher fre,  
 And þou mi fader, þat seost me in siht;  
 Nou haue I holden þat I haue hiht.  
 95 Gode fader, let nomon herof wite ne  
     knowe  
 Bote þou þi self, heize ne lowe,  
 Let no mon me wassche ne come me to  
 But þou þi self, fader! I preye þou do.  
 Also I hihte þe abbot of gret honour  
 100 Pat he schulde haue boþe riches & tresour,  
 Zif god almihti wolde leue me grace  
 To sosteynen and dwellen in þis place:  
 Perfore, fader, for charite  
 Folful my wil — and prey for me!«  
 105 And whon heo hedde seid þis wordes  
     ariȝt,

Heo ȝaf þe spirit to god almiht,  
 Aboute þat tyme of þe zere  
 At þe kalendes of Janiuere.  
 Whon Pathnucius hed herd þeos wordes  
     alle,  
 He swouned anon & doun gon falle. 610  
 Pen com Agapitus faste rennyng  
 And fond hire ded, & him swounyng.  
 He cast vpon him watur colde  
 And rered him vp, as god wolde,  
 And seide: »sire, what is come þe to?« 615  
 And he onswerde wiþouten mo:  
 »Nou let me dye & go my way,  
 For I haue seye wondres to day.«  
 He ros vp and on hire face fulle  
 And wept & criȝed as he wolde spille, 620  
 And seide: »allas, my doucher fre,  
 Whi noldestou schewen þe er to me,  
 Pat we mihten boþe in same  
 Haue died togedere in godes name?  
 Allas, from me hou hastou hed? 625  
 Pis wrecched world hou hastou fled?  
 Hou artou þus priueliche gon away  
 In to heuene blisse þat lasteþ ay?«  
 Agapitus herde þeos wordes vchon;  
 He merueiled muche, & to þe abbot is gon 630  
 And told him fro biginnyng to þe ende.  
 And he wiþ him bider gon wende.  
 Pe abbot fel doun wiþouten were  
 And criȝed to hire wiþ wepynge cheere  
 And seide: »Eufrosyne, Cristes spouse, 635  
 Prey for vs and for vr house  
 To god, þat sit in trinite,  
 Pat we mowe come his face to se  
 And to haue part of his blis  
 Wiþ his seyntes, þer as he is!«  
 640 Pe abbot & couent wiþ mylde mood  
 Buried þat bodi þat was so good.  
 And whon alle þe monkes weore comen  
     bider  
 And sezen þat miracle al to gider,  
 Pei þonked god þat in so frele a kynde 645  
 Such vertu & miracle wolde to hem  
     sende.

Per was a monk & hadde but on eize,  
 And he hire custe; wiþoute lye:  
 As sone as he hedde Idon þat dede,  
 650 His eizen weoren boþe in his hede.  
 And whon alle men seiþe þis miracle done,  
 Pei þonked god, þat sit in trone.  
 Pen weore þei cumforted & gladed miche,  
 And buried hire in toumbe riche.  
 655 Pen tok hire fader al his riches  
 And brouȝt hit to chirche wiþouten lees,  
 And in þe worship of god he hit bisette.  
 And dwelled þer his douȝter was,  
 660 He liued & dyed in þat plas.

And after hir deþ folliche ten ȝere  
 Holliche he lyuede in þis world heere;  
 Pen he tok his leue and to god he went.  
 Bi his douȝter þei leyde him, verrement—  
 Vche ȝeer þei don his mynde-day holde  
 Anon to þis day, as hit is tolde.  
 Pe abbot & þe couent wiþ good chere  
 Worschipeden god al Ifeere.  
 And so do we him, þat sit aboue,  
 Pat he wolde for þat maydenes loue  
 Graunten vs heuene wiþouten eende,  
 Wiþ him þerin for to leende.  
 God graunte vs grace þat hit so be!  
 AMEN, AMEN for charite.

V. 661) Ms. his st. hir.

## 6. Cristine,

von Willam Paris\*).

aus Ms. Arundel 168 fol. 2\*\*) (15. Jhdt.).

Seynte Cristyne was a maide bryghte,  
As clerkis in bokes hathe rede & seene,  
Sche seruede gode bothe daye anden nyghte,  
As martyr shulde ande virgyne clene.

5 In Itayle she was borne, y wene,  
Ande come of kynne, were grete of myghte;  
Bute she forsoke theme alle bedene  
And holle hire herte to Criste she highte.

She was so faire, thate maidene mylde,  
10 That euery wighte that ones hire see,  
If it were mane, womane or childe,  
She wane theire lofe with hire beaute.  
Suche grace of gode forsothe hade shee  
To flee alle vice and werkes wilde,  
15 Ande fully purposede hire to be  
Goddes owne seruaunte & maide vnfylde.

Vrbane highte hire fadere ywisse,  
A wykkede tyrande & a wode —  
It was of hym as of moo is :  
20 A shew may gete a childe righte goode;  
Ande so dide Vrbane, be the rode :  
If he were mane that dide amysse,  
Yit gate he Cristyne mylde of mode  
That is with Criste in heuene blysse.

25 Many mene desirede that may  
Ande wolde hafe weddede hire, if þei  
myghte —

Whan thei mighte se hire one a daie,  
Thei ferde þe better a fulle seuennyghe;  
Hir chere was suche in alle mens sighte:  
It made ylke mane to other saye :  
»Truly, this is þe gentileste wighte 30  
That euer we see — this is no naye«.

Hir kynne wolde gife hire to righte none,  
For she shulde lyfe in mawmentrye ;  
But in a toure ofe lyme & stone  
Hyre fader ordeyne hire to lye,  
Ande twelfe maydens to be hire bye,  
Of whiche she myghte triste neuer one :  
For theie were ordeyne for to aspie  
How that she lyuede & made hyr mone.

Goddes of golde & siluer brighte 40  
That may hade with hire in hire toure,  
That she shulde wurchipe daie & nyghte,  
Ande whene hire liste to do theme hon-  
oure.

But sodenly ther come socoure  
Fro gode, that is mooste of myghte :  
He made that maye to haue sauoure  
To brynghe hire soule to heuene lyghte. 45

The holy geste in Cristyne is,  
And he hathe tawghte hire to forsake  
Hire fals goddes ilkone, ywisse,  
That are but stonys & stokkes blake : 50

\*) So nennt sich der Dichter v. 515, Dienstmann des Sir Thomas Brawchaump, dem er mit rührender Treue in den Kerker gefolgt ist, wo er diese Legende dichtet, vgl. V. 497 ff.

\*\*) Dass. Ms. enthält ausser Cristine: Dorothe, Capgrave's Catharine (bereits edirt) u. Lydgate's Marienleben.

Ande fulle purpose now wille she take  
To drede no dede, but thinke of blysse.  
55 Thus gode cane of vncrustyne make  
Right holy martirs to be his.

Thus some haue grace or thei borne be,  
As hade þe baptiste goode saint Johne;  
Ande somme in tendre age, pard,  
60 As Cristyne hadde, that faire womane;  
Ande some in elde whene youghte is gone,  
As in Poules lyfe we may see;  
Ande some whene thei shalle die anone,  
As Barabas thefe, that honge so hye.

65 Encens she hadde, and sho it hyde  
Vp in a wyndowe preuely:  
Ande with goode herte she it dyde,  
For she thoughte neuer to sacrificie  
To no fals goddes of mawmentrie,  
70 For drede of none that wolde hire byde;  
She prayede to Criste þat she myghte dye  
And martire be, or that betyde.

To ite befelle vpone a daie  
That Vrbane wolde his daughter se.  
75 Ande Cristyne maydins alle thei saie:  
»Vrbane sire, we telle the:  
Thi daughter, & oure lady free,  
Dispice oure goddes & þaire ararie  
Ande sais truly þat she wille be  
80 A cristene womane, if þat she maye.«

Vrbane saide: »late me alone,  
For I wille to my dougthire goo:  
With faire wordes y shalle anone  
Make hire to lefe, if she saie soo.  
85 Ande truly, but she sacrifice doo,  
She shalle be wrouthe, or I, þe tone —  
For it wille breke myne herte in too  
To witte my daughter so begoone.«

Vrbane went with sobere schere  
90 To Cristyne chambire alle one hye,  
Ande saide: »Cristyne, my daughter dere!  
Se, I ame comme to sitte the bye,

Ande als, to se the sacrifice  
To alle oure goddes of grete powere:  
That was þe cause, sekyrly,  
My faire daughter, þat I sitte here.«

»Thi daughter, Vrbane, clepe me noghte,  
For fadere wille y neuer clepe the:  
For one Jhesu is alle my thoughte,  
Ande his childe, sire, wille y be.  
Ande þerfore speke nomore to me  
Of maumentrie, of metalle wroughte,  
But speke of gode in mageste,  
For he alone me made & boughte!«

»My faire daughter, Vrbane saide,  
»Wurchupe noghte one gode alone:  
Vnþapphe the oþer be euylle paide,  
For þou wille do theme wurchupe none;  
But gete thank of theme ilkone:  
Thane nedes the noghte be afrayed;  
Ande think how alle thi kinne has done.  
Do þou thus, as I hafe þe prayede!«

»Pou wenes þou speke righte welle ywisse,  
But as a fole þou spekes me to  
That knew no truthe nere thought of  
blysse.

But here, Vrbane, how I wille do:  
The fadire in heuyne, þe sone also,  
The holy goste — the thirde he is —,  
To this y wille, & to no moo,  
With alle myne herte do sacrifice.«

»Sene þou wille wurchipe goddes three,  
Whi wurchups þou noȝt oþer also?«  
Cristyne saide: »fole, I telle it the:  
Thies three are one gode & nomoo.«  
Thus Vrbane wente away hire froo  
Als wrothe as he myghte be;  
Hyme thoughte his hert wilde breke in too  
For Cristyns lofe, his daughter free.

Anone after wene he was gone,  
Seinte Cristyne went þe mawmentes to  
Ande caste theme downe eurylkone,  
Ande byrste þer legges & armys in too;

The plates of siluer & golde also  
 She pekyde alle of, þat was þeme one,  
 5 Ande caste it oute away hire froo  
 To pore goddes-mene that hade righte  
 none.

Vrbane come anoþer daie  
 Ande wolde have wurchupe his goddes alle :  
 He fonde righte none — thei were awaye.  
 o One Cristyns maydyns he dyde calle :  
 »What hathe Cristyne, my daughter smalle,  
 Done with oure goddes? telle me, I saye!«  
 Thei sai : »þi daughter made theme falle,  
 Oute at þe wyndow alle are thei.«

5 Vrbane saide : »so myghte I thee,  
 My daughter is a cursyd wyghte.  
 Maidons, said Vrbane, how durste she  
 Thus breke oure goddes so myche of  
 myghte?«  
 Thei answerde alle with wordes one highte :  
 o »She autredre hire, as ye may see.  
 Now are thei alle in peces dyghte.  
 Sire, make theme hole! late se, cane ye?«

»Have of hire clothes«, quod Vrbane thoo,  
 »Ande bringe hire faste me here before!  
 5 Ande ye twelfe mene shalle to hire goo  
 Ande bete hire, nakyd as she was bore!«  
 Thei bete hire, to thei myghte nomore,  
 Thei stent as mene that myghte noȝt do.  
 It semyde bi hire she felt no sore,  
 o For thus she saide hire fadire to :

»Withoutyne honour & shame, I say,  
 Abhomynabille to gode arte þou!  
 Se, thi mens myghte es alle away,  
 Per strenghte is gone, thei wot noȝt how.  
 5 Aske helpe to theme of thi goddes now!  
 If thei may do owghte, now assay!  
 More betyngre þane þou ordeyne now  
 For my goddes lofe abyde I may.«

Bowndene in cheynes þat maydene  
 swete,  
 o Cristyne, was in depe prisone.

Hire modire herde telle þat, where she  
 sete :  
 She tere hire clothes ande felle in swone,  
 Ande after she hyede to þat dongione —  
 She hade so weppede: hire chekes were  
 wete.

Whane she se Cristyne, she felle downe 175  
 Anone to hire daughter fete.

She saide : »Crystyne, my daughter dere,  
 Of bothe myne yene þou arte the lighte,  
 Alas, that euyre I se the here  
 In suche disease as þou arte dyghte! 180  
 þou wote þou may make vs lighte,  
 Vrbane thi fader, & me in fere :  
 Have mercy one me, gentille wighte,  
 Ande, faire daughter, amende our chere!«

Seinte Cristyne saide hire modere to : 185  
 »Wherto thi daughter clepes þou me?  
 Wote þou note wele þat I hate soo  
 After my gode in magestie?  
 Criste, godes sone, forsothe highte he —  
 For the ande me he suffirde woo : 190  
 Therfore his seruaunte wille I be —  
 Iwisse, I wille none other do.«

Hire moder se she hade no myghte,  
 With no faire speche, to turne hire mode :  
 She wente oute as a sorye wighte, 195  
 That mete ner drynke myght do hire  
 goode.

Thane Vrbane aste hire woo it stode :  
 Ande Cristyne answers she tolde righte ;  
 Therfore he farede as he were wode,  
 Ande for his daughter sore he sighte. 200

»Do feche hire forthe, saide Vrbane,  
 Before þe barre that she were brouth :  
 Ande I shalle assay, ife I cane,  
 To make hire turne hire wikkede thoughte.  
 She saide my daughter was she noghte, 205  
 Thus coppide the kene, one me begane ;  
 She braste my goddes so richely wrouthe :  
 What wondur ife I were wrothe þane?«

- Before þe barre now Cristyne is —  
 210 Gode graunte hire grace righte wele to  
     saie !
- Vrbane bade hire : »do sacrifice  
     To oure goddes, that moste may !  
     For truly, ife þou ous say nay,  
     Grete peyne shalle make þe leue þi mysse.  
 215 Ne clepe þe daughter neuer I may,  
     Ne neuer wille do, but þou do thus.«
- Thane saide Cristyne, þat maydyne  
     bryght,  
     To hire fadire, that sate so hye :  
     »Se, suche grete grace þou has me highte  
 220 The devels daughter nomore to be.  
     What childe commes of þe devele, saide  
         she,  
     The devele may be his name oryght ;  
     Thou arte, fadir, y telle it the,  
     Of Satane fende, þat cursyde wyghte.«
- 225 Vrbane commaundede thane anone :  
     Hire flesche, þat was so white & shene,  
     It sulde be scrapede of bi the bone  
     With hokyde nayles, sharpe & kene ;  
     He bade that alle hire lymmes bedene  
 230 Thei shulde be brokyne, one be one.  
     It was grete pete, wo hade it seene,  
     Of suche a mayde, be seinte Johne !
- Whene seinte Cristyne hire flesche se,  
     She toke a pece that was of kytte,  
 235 And euene she caste at Vrbans eye ;  
     & he hade not blenchyd, she hade hym  
         hitte.  
     Thus saide þe maydyne, fulle of wytte,  
     To hymse þat shulde hire fadir be :  
     »Haue here a morcelle, teraunte ! take ite !  
 240 Of þe flesche was getyne of the.«
- Thane Vrbane fulle of ire so wode  
     Vpone a whele he layd þat maye ;  
     Fulle grete fyre, to chaunge hire mode,  
     He bade make vnder, as she lay ;
- Fulle of oile þe fier powrede thei.  
     Fro hire it wente — she felyde but goode.  
     Ite brent of mene to dede þat day  
     Fyftene hundrithe, aboute þat stode.
- Hire fadire wende þat she had wroughte  
     By wichecrafte or so(r)cerrie ;  
     Therfore had he myche thoughte —  
     He couthe note sytte ner stande ner lye,  
     Bute bade his mene agayne in hye  
     That she shulde be to presone broughte.  
     Now Criste hire help, & our ladie,  
     As he one rode that maydene boughte !
- Whane daie was gone, & comme was  
     nyghte,  
     Aboute hire neke þi honge a stone —  
     It was righte heuy & nothinge lighte,  
     Thai caste hire in þe see anone.  
     Whene þei that dulfull dede hade done,  
     Ther come angels fro heuyn so bryghte  
     Ande helde hire vp þe water anone,  
     Thorough goddes grace & his grete  
         myghte.
- Than Criste come downe hymself Iwyses  
     Ande baptyste Cristyne in the see,  
     Ande in hire lyfe writene is  
     That thies same wordes to hire saide he :  
     »In my fadir, & als in me,  
     Jhesu Criste, goddes sone of blisse,  
     Ande in þe holy goste, vs three,  
     I baptise the in watire this.«
- Criste cristynde Cristyne with his honde —  
     He was godfadir & preste þat nyghte,  
     Ande after Criste, I vnderstonde,  
     Cristyne may be hire name orighte :  
     Thane after hir godfadir so she highte,  
     Criste, that in þe see hire fondre.  
     Hir muste nedis be one holy wighte  
     Thatre Criste thus baptiste in þe stronde. 2
- Criste hire betaughte seint Mighelle to :  
     Ande he to londe broughte hire anone.

Hire fadir herde telle þat ite was soo :  
 He wiste in worlde what he myghte done ;  
 For ire he smote him selfe righte sone  
 In mydis the fronte — he was so woo.  
 Whene he hire se, he lokyde hire one  
 Ande thus he spake þat maydene to :

»What whichecrafte is this þat þou cane,  
 That see ne londe may make þe dye?«  
 She saide : »fulle vnhappy mane!  
 Of Criste þis grace resceyuede haue I«.  
 »Do haue hire vp anone in hye  
 In depe prisone!« quad Vrbane thane,  
 »Hire hede shalle ofe fulle sekyrlly  
 To morne, ife I be lyuand mane.«

Yit ife he saide alle in play,  
 Vite saide he sothe, þat cursyd wighte :  
 For he was dede, or it was daie,  
 Ande Cristyne lyuede, þat maydene  
 brighte.  
 Thus he thrette hire ouer nyghte  
 That she shulde one þe morne alway ;  
 Yit was he dede for alle his myghte,  
 Ande Cristyne lyuede a merye maye.

Than came Dyons with euylle spede  
 Tho make an ende ofe þat virgyne :  
 For he ordeynde as hote as glede  
 A grete vesselle of hyrne fyne  
 Fulle ofe oile, pyche & rosyne —  
 It welde so hote: alle mene myght  
 drede ;  
 And þerin caste thei faire Cristyne.  
 But she lay stille & toke none hede.

Foure mene rokede hire to & froo,  
 To make hire Payne more violente,  
 Ande als, for Cristyne shulde also  
 The soner be to pouder brente.  
 Ther she laye als innocent  
 In credyll rokkede, þat felyde no wo.  
 She thankede gode : she was not shente  
 With tourmentynge that thei couthe  
 doo.

V. 284) he wiste in worlde, auch 482. 306) tho st. to. Ms. anende. 321) Ms. thankyd  
 st. thanke, oder st. thank yt? 323) yonge st. yngye. 344) towne st. tonne. 345) bad  
 fehlt?

She saide : »I thankyt þe, heuyne kyngc,  
 That þou has ordeynde thus for me :  
 As twys borne childe þat were righte  
 yonge,

Twys in credelle rokkede to bee. 325  
 Dyons lokyde one hire & see  
 How that she lay & felt nothinge:  
 For sorow & care so wrothe was he,  
 He thoughte he wolde him selfe hyngc.

Ther saide Dyons to Cristyne thoo :  
 »Sene thies tormentes greues not the, 330  
 Thaie are oure goddes þat help þe soo,  
 For thei wolde þou conuertyde shulde be.  
 Therfore, Cristyne, goo with me,  
 Forthink þat þou has done heme too !  
 For thei wolde have ofe þe pete  
 Ande mercy, ife þou thus wille doo. 335

She saide : »Dyons, þe devels owne sone !  
 Thi tormentes truly drede I noghte.  
 Ande syne þou haue thus begone,  
 Let noghte, to þi malice be wroghte 340  
 Or þou me to dethe haue broughte.  
 Vrbane & þou togedire shalle wone  
 In dyrnesse grete & sorow vnesoughte,  
 Ande bothe togedir to drynke of a towne.«

Thane Dyons : »kytt of hire tresse, 345  
 Let noght if hire here be brighte,  
 Ande shauh hire hede, yit neuer þe lesse  
 Do nakyne hire in alle mene sighte ;  
 Thoroughte oute alle þe cite lede þat  
 wyghte,

To Apolyne, late hym redresse : 350  
 So grete, I wote, is his myghte,  
 He may amendre hire wikkedenesse.«

Thai lede hire forthe in þat araye  
 Thoroughte oute þe cete longe & wyde.  
 Whene wyfs & wemene se that may 355  
 That alle was bare, both wombe & syde —  
 She had no clothe, hire with to hyde :  
 Therfore one Dyons alle criede thei :  
 »Vengeaunce, Dyons, one þe betyde !  
 Thou dos alle womene shame this daie. 360

- Whene she was broughte, that maydyne  
free,  
To Apolyne, sche saide fulle sone :  
»In Cristis name y commaunde the :  
In poudire thou falle downe anone«.
- 365 Apolyne felle þer downe one þe stone  
In poudire, þer alle mene myghte see.  
Thoroughte this miracle, whane it was  
donne,  
Thre thowsande sarzyns conuerted she.
- Whane Dyons herde that ite was soo,  
370 That Cristyne hade Apolyne schente :  
For ferde his herte ite braste in too.  
Thus Dyons diede, & neuer repente.  
Suche grace gode to Cristyne sente  
That she ofe peyne felte no woo ;  
375 Bothe hire enmys now erz thei wente,  
Thei may no more do hire too.
- Vrbane & Dyons are now paste,  
Of Cristyne haue thei no more myghte.  
Thane come þe thirde schrew at þe laste :  
380 Julyane, wele y wote, he highte.  
Thus begane þate curside wighte :  
He bade his mene do ordene faste  
An ovene als hote as fiere so brighte,  
Ande þerin Cristyne shulde thei caste.
- 385 Whene ite was hote — it shone as shene  
As any fiere that euer myghte be —,  
Thane Julyane saide, þat was so keene :  
»Do put hire inne anone, late see !«  
Thei caste hire inne withoute pete.
- 390 Thei wende thei shulde hire neuer haue  
sene ;  
But of that hete no more felte she  
Thane sche in a bathe hade beene.
- Fyve daies togedire, daie be daie,  
Sche welkide þerin to & froo ;  
395 She songe þer as a mery maye,  
Aungels ande she togedire also.  
Alle that Juliane dide hire to  
Ofe grete tormentes & paynes alway,

She feled no greuaunce ne no wo,  
For alle turnyde hire to aungels playe.

Whene Julyane herde ite greuede hire  
noghte,  
But that sche songe with aungels brighte :  
He wende by wychecrafte þat sche hade  
wrouthe —  
He hade no grace to know the righte.  
But sone he callede anoþer wighte —  
To slee Cristyne was his thoughte —  
I haue herde telle : Marces he highte.  
Ande sexte serpens he withe hym  
broughte.

Marces crafte forsothe was this,  
That he couthe charme his serpens so :  
What beste hyme liste to do mys,  
Anone to dethe thei wolde ite do.  
Now are theie put saint Cristyne to.  
She hath no drede ofe theyme Iwysse.  
But leke vpone theme who thei goo :  
Abowte hire neke ther playinge is.

For swette hire neke was wondre wete :  
Too wormes lykkyde ite clene away ;  
Too wente downe vneto hire fete :  
Thai lykkyde theme clene, & þer thei lay ;  
At hire pappis too honge to playe,  
As thei wolde soke that maydyne swete.  
To do hire harme no myghte hade thei.  
This saw Julyane, þer he seete.

Julyane saide to Marces thane :  
»Thou saide þi bestis wolde slee hire sone :  
Make thame to smyte hire, if þou cane !  
Þou wote wille yit thei haue note done«.  
Marces beganne his charme anone,  
To make thame byȝte thate blissede wo-  
mane.  
But thei lefte Cristyne euynchone,  
Ande slow hyme thate the charme beganne.

Seinte Cristyne lokede who Marces lay  
That schulde haue made the wormes to  
byȝte :

She bade the serpens voyde awaye  
In to deserte, nomane to smyte;  
She bade Marces ryse vp tyte:  
Ande he stode vp before that may.  
Thane Juliane hadde so grete dispyte:  
Hyme thought his herte schulde breste þat  
day.

Hire paps were als rounde ywys(s)e  
As an appille, thate growes in felde:  
Thai kitte theme of — þe more dole is,  
Whene she was twelue yere of elde.  
The mylke stremyde oute, alle mene be-  
helde,  
Ande some were sory that se this;  
Bute Juliane wolde hymē neuer yelde  
Ne neuer ones forthinke his mys.

Seint Cristyne saide: »with herte &  
thoughte  
I thanke (the), gode in mageste,  
Ofe alle that þou has for me wroughte,  
To make mene knowe þe myghte ofe the.  
In alle my peynes þou has kepte me,  
That fierne watire greuyde me noȝte.  
Therefor me thinke righte longe to þe,  
To thi faire blisse, thate I were broughte».

Juliane wondrede who she myghte  
In hire grete tormentes jangille so.  
Therefore he bade a wykkyde wighte:  
»Kytte oute hire tongue: it dos me woo«.  
Ande whane hire tongue lay at hire too,  
She spake als wele, þat maydyne brighte,  
As neuer ite hade be kytte hire froo.  
Thei herde ande seye, alle mene, with  
sighte.

She toke hire tongue vpe, where ite lay,  
Ande euene sche caste it at Juliane eye,  
That aftire neuermore alway  
One thate syde myghte he noȝt see.  
For she hymē hite, softly smylide she;  
He for wrethe lyste nothinge playe;  
He saide: »vengeaunce come one the!  
Thou arte a wyche, y dare wele say».

V. 450) vor gode fehlt the. 500) Ms. mañ.

With his one eye he lokyde asyde  
Ande thus he speake þe tonge vneto :  
»Whiles þou waste in hire mouthe so  
wyde,

Thanē withe þi wordes thou wroughte  
me woo;

Thi stroke greues me more þane soo,  
For ite hathe made myne eye out glyde;  
Thi wordis as wynde flyede too & froo,  
Bute strokes are sore ande euylle to byde». 480

Fore ire & wrethe he was so woo :  
He wiste in worlde whate he do myghte;  
Bute thre arraws he shette hire to.  
Ande too ageyne hire herte theiē lyghte,  
The thirde hite in hire syde fulle righte. 485  
Bute whene Cristyne was smytene so,  
Hire soule wente vp to heuene so brighte,  
Where she shalle feele of peynes no mo.

Hire bodye lyethe in stronge castylle —  
Ande Bulstene, seith the boke, it highte — 490  
Where many seke mene haue hade hele  
Ande blynde also haue hade here sighte.  
Truly y trowe: ife any wighte  
Praye hertely to that damesele,  
She wille hymē helpe withe alle hire 495  
myghte,

Ife theire desire be goode & leele.

Seinte Cristyne, helpe thoroughte thi  
prayere  
Thatē we may fare þe better for the  
Thatē hathe bene longe in prisone here,  
The Ile of Mane of þat stronge cuntry. 500  
Sire Thomas Brawchaump, ane erle was he,  
In Warwike-shire was his powere,  
Now is he of so poure degré :  
He hathe no mane sauē one squiere.

Where are his knyghtes þat withe hymē 505  
yede  
Whane he was in prosperite ?  
Where are the squiers now at nede,  
That sumtyme thoughte þei wolde note  
flee ?

Of yomene hadde he grete plente,  
510 That he was wonte to clothe & feede :  
Nowe is þer none of þe mene  
That ous dare se, þer lorde, fore drede.

In prisone site þer lorde alone,  
Ofe his mene he hath no moo —  
**515** Bute Willam Parys, be seint Johne!  
That withe his wille wolle noȝt him fro.  
He made this lyfe in ynglishe soo,  
As he satte in prisone of stone,  
Euer as he myghte tent þerto  
**520** Whane he had his lordes seruice done.

In heuene of the to haue a sighte,  
To se the sitte there in thi blisse  
Withe seint Cristyne, þi maydyne brighte!

Explicit vita sancte Cristine virginis  
AMEN.

## 7. D o r o t h e.

aus Ms. Harl. 5272.

O glorious virgyne and mertir Dorothe,  
Whos fader was called Dorotheus,  
Thy moder was named Theodore :  
Thow vowdest chastite vnto þi spouse  
Jhesus,  
Lyke as thy stori schewith vnto vs,  
And comest of the noble blode of senatours  
Of Rome. but then betyde hit thus  
That there were many persecutours,  
  
Tyrans cruelle that wolde not suffre  
Cristis servantis in pees to be.  
Wherefore thi fader as goddis lovare,  
Dispisyng alle here ydolatrie,  
Lefte Rome for there iniquite  
And alle hiſ londis and grete possessione  
That he had there, and toke the se  
For drede of there persecucione,  
  
With his trewe wife Theodore,  
And dowghtris II, Cristem and Kalixtem,  
And come in to Capadocie,  
A worthy kyngdom, a noble reaume.

When they were passed thorow the  
streme,  
They come to the cite of Cesare ;  
There woned he like a pilgryme,  
And begate the, o blessed Dorothe ! —

25  
Of whos life and conuersacione  
I purpos in Englisch for to write.  
Sche comme of the Romayne generacione,  
And put in Jhesu alle hire delite,  
Sche lefte the customes and the ryȝt  
Of ydoles worschip and of here sacrifice : 30  
Therefore sche was had in grete despite  
For kepynge of the cristen gyse. —

This virgyne, as sone as sche was bore,  
Was baptize fulle prevely  
And enformed in Cristis lore 35  
Of the holy bischop Appol(i)enary,  
That gauē hire to namen one eythire partye,  
Of fader and moder, by composicione :  
So sche was named Dorothe  
Thorow that holy mann is discrecion. 40

27 Ms. cōmen.

Diese Leg. ist eine freie Uebertragung der lat. Leg. de s. Dorothea in d. Leg. Aur. — Eine andere Hs. ders. Leg., Ms. Arund. 168, ist vielfach verderbt, besonders durch Auslassung von Versen, enthält aber den in Ms. Harl. ausgefallenen Schluss (V. 235—244). — Varianten des Ms. Ar.: V. 1) gloriūs. o st. and. martirię.  
4) þou vowede castite to. 5) leke os (= as) the storye. 6) commyste. of vor sen. fehlt.  
7) bane betydede þus. 8) þer. many fehlt. 9) tirandes. suffire. 11) loffere.  
12) desirynge(!). her. 14) landes. 17) true wiffe. 18) Cristiane & Kalixtiane. 19) came  
20) reine. 21) ouer st. thorow. 22) came in to. Cesarie. 24) the fehlt. 26) purpose.  
ynglishe. 27) come. romans. 30) þer st. here. 33) os she. ybore. 34) baptisyde.  
35) of st. in. 36) worthi st. holy. appolionae. 37) gaf. name. of owþer. 38) of  
hire fadire & hire modire bi compassione(!). 39) was she. 40) the st. that. mans.

Sche was replet with goddis grace,  
A vesselle chosen vertuous to holde,  
Fayrest of beawte that in that kyngdom  
was:

Therefore hire name fulle faire was tolde;  
45 Sche was a schepe of Cristis owne folde  
And folowid hire fader is informacione;  
Worldis worschip, tresowre and golde  
Sche had in grete abhominacione.

Sche lyved in devout chastite,  
50 In thowzt and worde and dede also.  
The fende envied at hir virginite,  
That cruelle enemy, that cursed foo :  
Many a sotillte caste he tho  
To haue withdrawn hire purpos trewe;  
55 But sche loved one trewely, and no moo,  
That was hire lord and spouse Jhesu.

This fendis malice myzt not suffre  
This blessid virgyne in pees to be :  
Anone he styred a carnalle luferre  
60 Withe the flamynge darte of lecherie —  
His name was Fabricius, and was bayly  
Of that londe — : whan thardoure of con-  
cupiscence  
Had so ouercome that he sent for Dorothe,  
To haue hire to his obedience.

65 He promysed to wed hir after the lawe  
And to geve hire tresoure infenyte.  
Alle thes profers they were but rawe  
Nor nothyng plesyng to hire delite :  
By ryches and deynte this sche set but lite,  
70 In heuen was hire conuersacion,  
Therefor sche helde but in dispite  
The goodis of worldly dominacione.

V. 42) chosyne vertuse. 44) ferre st. faire. 46) fadirs enf. 47) wurchupe. 48) in grette domynacione(!). 49) lyffede in fulle devote. 50) and vor worde fehlt. 51) In vyede. (Harl. hat hinter virginite noch : bothe two). 53) sotille. thoo. 54) Tho. 56) spouse. 57) The fendes malys. suffire. 58) blissede. V. 59 fehlt. 60) flaumynge. 62) whome pe ardwre (Harl. whan = wham). 64) at st. to. obidience. 66) giffe. 67) there st. thes. 69) be. deyntes she sette bo lyte. 71) helde it. 72) goddis. 74) saide. 76) trenite. 78) shede. precius. 79) law st. loue. 80) for me dyde one. 81) whane. thies wordis harde. 83) thene. farde. 84) pe st. that. 85) fro. 86) ordeynde. oyle fehlt. 87) constans. 88) thoroughte. went. lose for (to) haue. 89) bot. fulle stedfastely. 90) it. easi. 91 und 92 fehlen. 93) baine. loyne. 94) & suche chere (fehlt in Harl.). 95) mirakylle. seene. 98) have wrouthe. 100) shuld nozt skape. 101) But her in a prisoun he then brought (dieser Vers ist später am Rande u. in den Text eingetragen). 103) & st. ne.

Withe stable purpos and trewe entent  
Sche seide : »I haue vowed my virginite,  
And I schalle trewly pay my rent  
To the seconde persone in trinite :  
He is my spouse, and euermore schalle be,  
That for me schedde his precious blode ;  
There is no loue so trewe as he  
That deyde for me vpone the rode.«

When Fabricius this wordes herde,  
That sche was stedefaste in Cristis byleve,  
Lyke a wode mane than he ferde.  
He thowzt that mayden for to greve  
And from hire purpos hire to meve :  
He ordeyned of boylynge oyle a tonne,  
The virgines constaunce for to preve :  
Thorowz drede he wend hire loue haue  
wonne.

But sche abode stedefastly,  
And thowzt hit a fulle esy payne :  
Thorow Cristes helpe that was nye  
Sche felt grete ioy in stede of payne,  
Anoynted in bawme as sche had leyne ;  
Sche made suche contenaunce (& suche  
chere)

That for the myracle that there was seyne  
Many there turned, goddis law to lere.

Fabricius seide that thorow enchauntment  
And wichecraft that sche had wrouzt  
The feruor of the oyle was schent.  
Sche scholde not scape so sone, he thowzt :  
He put here in prison in a voghte ;  
IX dayes and nytzis there sche was stille,  
Of mete ne drynke sche had ryzt nouzt :  
He thowzt that virgine forto spille.

5 But with angels mete fed sche was  
And swetly norysschynge alle that sesone :  
Sche was fulfilled with the fode of grace,  
That, whan sche come oute of prisone,  
Hit semed a verry gostly visione  
To beholde hire face fulle of beaute :  
Sche was moche fairere to loke vppone  
Than euer sche was wonte to be.

The peple mervayled sche was so faire  
And was so longe without fode  
5 And closid in prisone from the eyre.  
But then Fabricius with egre mode  
Bade the virgine, there as sche stode,  
Worschip his goddis, or sche schulde deye.  
But with parfite herte and reson gode  
Alle his ydols sche did defye.

»I schalle worschip« seide Dorothe,  
»God that made alle thynge of nouȝt;  
For alle thi goddis deuelis be,  
Enemys to hym bat alle thynge wrouȝt.  
Jhesu Crist, that with thy precious blode  
me bouȝt,  
Knelynge on grounde y prey to the :  
Turne this ydole in to ryȝt nouȝt  
Thorow power of thy mageste !

Schew that there is no god but one ! «  
Then Fabricius lifte vp on hie  
A pilere of a mawment there vpone,  
So schewid forthe his ydolatrie.  
But angels of heuen were there fulle nye  
And cast (hit) downe in wondire wise.

106) Ms. norysschynge with þe fode of grace. 130) Ms. liften.

Amonge the partees of þe pilere þei found 135  
hit lye ;

Hit had no power to aryse.

The fendis that in that ydole were  
Withe lowde noyse cryed »o Dorothe«  
In diuerse partyes of the eyre,  
»Whate have we displesid the ? 140  
In paynys and turmentis wastethe we be  
Thorow thi prayere that persithe hevene«.  
There were conuertid opynlye  
Many one that hird that stevene ;

And alle they suffred martirdom 145  
That folowid the lore of Dorothe.  
And in a gybbet sche was nome,  
Hire feet hangyng toward the skye,  
And alle to-raced was hire body  
Withe hokys of yren, and with roddis bete, 150  
Withe fleylis brusched fulle cruelly :  
This to here lawes they did hire threte.

Zit wolde they schewe more tyranny :  
Brennyng fagottis ordeyned were,  
Vnto hire pappes they did ham tye — 155  
This to this virgyn they did there.  
After this tormentrie and this fere  
Sche was put in prison, halfe dede and  
more,

Vnto the morow that sche schulde appere  
Openly this tyrans tofore. 160

When that sche come in here presence,  
Sche was alle hole, without infirmyte :  
Alle that were comen to that audience

V. 105) bote. fede. 106) And swetly norysshede. this st. that. 109) Ite semyde.  
very gostely. 111) myche. 112) thene. 114) withoutyne. 115) fro. 116) pane. egure.  
117) Behelde þe. 118) Ande bade hire worshipe. die. 119) hert. 120) dide.  
123) alle fehlt. devyls. 124) enmrys. thingis. 125) Crist fehlt. has boughte, me  
fehlt. 126) one þi grounde. pray. 127) thies ydolls vneto. 128) thorowe. 131) a  
peloure & a. 132) schewede he. 133) heuyne þer were. 134) caste theme. 135) par-  
tis. pilours. fonde it. 136) agayne to ryse. 137) þe ydolls. v. 139 fehlt. 140) tres-  
passede to the. 141) wastede. 142) pershyde. 143) conuertede were oppenly.  
144) harde. 145) suffirde. 147) gebet. wonne st. nome. 148) fete hangyde. v. 149 fehlt.  
150) of hyrne. bette. 151) flailis brysyde. 152) þus to their. trete. 153) yitte.  
schew hire. tyrantrie. 154) brynnynge. 155) pappis. heme. 156) Thus þis, to fehlt.  
dere st. there. 158) Thei pute hire. 159) morne. apere. 160) Openly vneto þe  
tyrandis as sche dide before. 161) came. þer st. here. 162) withoutyne. 163) come into.

Merveyled how that hit myȝt be.

165 Then seide the president: »O fayre mayden Dorothe,

Turne to oure lawes and do honoure  
Vnto oure goddis that myȝti be,  
And ze schalle haue the more favoure.

Thow art chastisede ynow for thyne  
offence

170 And that thow hast oure goddis defyed«.

Sche bowid not for alle his eloquence —  
Hire hert in Criste was trewly tyed.  
And oþer crafte then he aspied:  
And send Cristem and Kalixtem, hire  
sustres bothe,

175 That for fere of dethen hadden denied  
Goddis lawe, thowȝ they were lothe:

For that they schulde revoke the spirite  
Of god that was hire sustere *withynne*.  
But sche was stedefaste and wolde not  
flytte

180 In no wise, to consent to synne.

But mekely then sche did begynne  
To stable hire sustris in goddis lawe  
And put awey the errour that they were  
ynne:

And they consented vnto hire sawe.

185 When Fabricius herd of there conuer-  
sacione,

He comaunded the sustres bothe two  
Bake to bake forto be boundene .  
And than in fyre forto be doo.

They were b(r)ennyd and martird soo,

190 The sustres II, Cristenn and Kalixtem,  
And passid oute of this exile and this woo  
Evene streyȝt to the blisse of heuene.

168) ze st. pou. 187) boundene st. boundon.

V. 164) that fehlt. myghte so be. 165) maide. 166) vneto. 168) ande þou schalte  
169) þi. 170) In þat. 171) noȝt. alle fehlt. 172) god st. Criste. 173) Anoþer  
174) sent for. sisturs. 175) hade. 176) thow. 177) that fehlt. speryte. 178—9: o  
gode þat was stedefaste & wolde not flitte. 182) sistire. 183) and to pute awaie  
184) consentyng to. 185) whane, þer. 186) sistirs. too = two. 188) than fehlt. fier  
190) thies sisters too. 191) exile. 192) Euyne forthe to. 193) vneto. 194) dirisione  
195) socerie. 196) abusione. 199) confucione. 200) or elles lose þi hede. 203) shalle  
206) delice. 207) appuls. swetly. 215) to = till. 216) hire. 217) and also blo  
218) rasyde. to-torne. 221) But fehlt. God st. he. 223) as freche os. 224) hew

Then seide Fabricius to Dorothe :  
»How longe schalle we suffre this dery-  
sione

Withe thi wichecraft and thy sorcery ?  
Hit is to vs a grete abhusione.

Do sacrifice to oure goddis anone,  
Or ellis fulle sone thow schalt be dede;  
For ordeyned is thi confusione :  
Do sacrifice or lees thyne hed«.

Dorothe answerd *with* glad chere :  
»Brynge forthe alle thi turmentrie,  
And thow schalt fynde me redy here  
To suffre alle thi tiranny  
For Jhesu, my spous, whom worschip y :  
For in his gardyn of delycis  
Aples and roses that smelle swetely,  
I schalle plante, *with* oþer spicis :

There schalle y be mery for euermore,  
In his blisse, eternally,  
For trew kepyng of his lore«.  
At hire wordis Fabricius had envie,  
In his wodenesse he seide (sche) schulde  
abye.

Withe staves hire visage they al to-rent,  
Tille they that bete hire were wery.  
This virgyn suffred alle here turment.

Hire face was swellid and alle to-blowe,  
Alle to-raced and alle torne.  
To prison sche was comaunded soo,  
There to abyde vnto the morne.  
But he that was of a wirgyne borne,  
Hire lorde and spous, Criste Jhesu,  
Made hire fresche as rose on thorne,  
Bryȝt of colowre and fayre of hewe.

217) alle to-blowe st. also blo.

5 Vppone the morow sche was forthe browȝt.  
 Then seide Fabricius with egre con-  
 tenaunce:  
 »Thow schalt haue now that thow haste  
 sowȝt,  
 Oure goddis on the schalle take ven-  
 geaunce,  
 Thow schalt do hem no more grevaunce.  
 ○ This day thow schalt lese thyne hed:  
 This is thy jugement and thi penaunce:  
 For blasphem of oure goddis thow schalt  
 be dede.»

As sche was lad vnto hire martirdom  
 Witheout the wallis of the cite,  
 5 Seide to hire in skorne and illusione  
 Theophilus, the prothonotarye  
 Of that reame: »O thow virgyne Dorothe,  
 Of the roses and aples þat in þi spouses  
 gardyn growe  
 I prey the sende some vnto me.»  
 ○ Sche seide: »I schalle sende the inowe.»

Zit this was in the wyntire is sesone  
 Contrarye to nature and to kynde,  
 Nothyng acordynge vnto resone,  
 Frute and floure that tyme to fynde.  
 5 But on hire spous was alle hire mynde,  
 To whom sche felle on kneys to pray:  
 »My lorde, that alle may lose and bynde,  
 Take hede whate thi seruaunt wolle seye!

I prey for alle that with devocione  
 ○ Vnto the prey with trewe entent,  
 That mynde haue one thi seruantis pas-  
 sione,  
 In hirynge or redynge, that take talent

236) Ms. prothonatorye. 253) but to st. vnto? 271) haste st. has. 277) Ms. white st. withe.

V. 225) morne. 226) egire. 228) shalle take on the. 229) theme. 230) daie. shall  
 lose thi hede. 232) blasphemynge. shalle. ded. 233) led to. 235) said. 236) þane  
 sais the prothanarie(!). 237) reine. 238) and of þi appells. spouse. grow. 239) pray.  
 send. to st. vnto. 240) send. ynow. 241) wynter, is fehlt. 242) vneto. 243) frute of  
 floures. 246) knes. 248) wol saie. 249) pray. that fehlt. 250) y pray. 251) of  
 st. on. 252) herynge. that fehlt. 253) Vnto. 254) theme. fro þer disease. 255) fro.  
 comprement. 256) may. 260) theme. þer. 261) Also theme. be. lady presone.  
 262) childis byrth. agreuyd. 263) sone fehlt. byrdene. 265) my fehlt. 266) any.  
 267) noþer fier nor leuyne. one comme. 269) And was(!) herd. 271) has st. haste.  
 272) trulofe. 273) layde. 275) appered. 277) with lokes bothe crispe. 278) gold ster-  
 res. 279) basket. 280) appuls. 281) þe st. that. þat childe. 282) my nowne. 283) &  
 with. 284) to þe phile þe scribe(!). saye.

But to my name: that thou assent  
 To delyuer hem from here diseise,  
 From angre and from combrement,  
 And that they mow the trewly please,

255

From false name and schamefull pouerte,  
 And afore there ende trew contricion,  
 From myschefe that they delyuered be,  
 And graunte hem of here synnes remys- 260  
 sione;

And they that bene in oure ladyes prysone,  
 That with childe-byrthe bene grevid,  
 Graunt hem sone ease of here burdone,  
 Thorow my preyere to be releuyd!

And where the story is of my passione, 265  
 In howse or eny dwellynge place,  
 Neyther fyre ne leven hit ouercome!«  
 And whan hire preyere ended was,  
 A voyce was hirde thorow goddis grace,  
 That seide: »o virgyne Dorothe, 270  
 Alle thi preyere purchased thou haste.  
 Come, swete trewe-loue and spous, to me!«

Then the virgyne leyde downe hire hede,  
 Redy vnto the tormentowre.  
 And sodenly in hire siȝt apperid 275  
 A childe, that clothed was in purpure,  
 Barfote, white loxe crispe and pure,  
 Fulle of goldyn sterrys was his garment;  
 A baskot he helde of swete odowre  
 Withe roses and aples, hire to present. 280

Then seide that virgyne vnto the childe:  
 »Myne owne gode lorde, now I þe pray  
 In the lowlyeste wise with wordis mylde:  
 Bere this to Theophle the scrybe, and seye

285 That I haue kept my promysse and my  
day».

And so sche toke hire martyrdom,  
This virgyne Dorothe, this blessid may,  
Deoclisian and Maximian pene emper-  
ouris of Rome,

Of Fabricius here bayly in that contrey,  
290 That put hire to hire passione

The VIII day from the Idus of Februarij;  
The date from Cristis incarnacione  
IIC IIIIXX VIII yers were gone  
That sche suffred dethe for Crist Jhesu  
295 And alle hire enemys so ouercome,  
This blessid Dorothe that was so trewe.

This childe come vnto Theophile,  
In the president palis as he stode,  
And schewid hym the roses and the aples,  
300 And seide : »Dorothe, my suster good,  
That promysed the, whan that sche yode  
To suffre dethe, after thi desyre,  
Aples and roses, there as thou stode :  
Now hast thou that thou dedest require :

305 From the paradis of hire spous Jhesus  
Sche hathe sende the this present».  
The childe vanyssched, when he had seide  
this.

Then Theophile loued god omnipotent  
That suche comfort to hym had sent,  
310 He seide there was no god but the god of  
Dorothe;

Alle his mysbeleue he did repent,  
And worschippid one god in trenite,

»That in the monthe of Februarie,  
When grete colde congeileth the grownde,  
294) Ms. Jhesus. 315) Ms. savioure.

V. 285) promyse. 288) þe st. þene. emperour. 289) And st. of. þer. cuntry. 291) fro  
Idus of februare. 293) and VIII yers. 294) deth. Criste. 295) enmyse. 297) childe  
fehlt. Theophile. 298) presidente place. as fehlt. 299) hym fehlt. þe appuls and  
roses. 301) that nach whan fehlt. zoode. 303) she st. thow. 304) diddyste.  
305) fro. 306) sent. 307) thus. 310) bot god, the fehlt. 312) worchupe. 313) mo-  
neth. februare. 315) and flowris fehlt. sauerie st. sauioure. 316) wille. be vor  
founde fehlt. 319) has me broughte into. 320) fame. 321) is fehlt. 322) couerten.  
323) tirande saw alle þis couersacione. 326) alle fehlt. þus. 329) at þe laste.  
tiranny. 330) lete hew. smalle. 332) shuld to it. 333) oder foules devowred.  
334) Theophelus.

Sendifthe aples and flowris swete and 3  
savourie,

There as he wolde his grace be founde.  
He may lose alle that is bownde :  
Blessid be his holy name,  
That hath browȝt me in this stownde  
Out of the fendis cursed frame». 3

Then thorow Theophile is predicatione  
Alle that cite conuerted was.

When the tyran see alle theire conuer-  
sione,

He cryed out and seide : »alas !

This is a wondirfulle cas  
That alle owre goddis bene this forsake». 3  
Withe mo peynes the scribe he did deface  
Then Dorothe suffred for Crist is sake ;

At last, to schew his tyranny,  
He leet hewe his body in pecis smale,  
And cast hit in dyuerse partie,  
That wilde bestis to hit schulde falle  
And oþer fowlis devowre hit alle.  
But afore that Theophilus

(Der Schluss fehlt, da ein Blatt im Ms.  
ausgerissen ist; derselbe lautet in Ms.  
Arund. 168 :)

With grete devacione did crie and calle  
To Dorothe spouse, Criste Jhesus,

After cristene feith was baptize,  
And receyued oure lord in fourme of  
brede :

And went, with martirdome glorified,  
To þe prince of martris and þe hede,

That rose vp astir þat he was III daies dede.  
 Pus endith þe storie of blessed Dorothe.  
 Criste graunte vs with hire to fede  
 In presence of þe holy Trinite.

Explicit vita sancte Dorothee.

Darauf folgt in lateinischen Versen :  
 In quacunque domo n(ome)n fuit vel imago  
 Virginis eximie Dorothee virginis alme,  
 Nullus abortiuus infans nascetur in illa  
 Nec domus nec ignis furtique pericula  
 sentit.

Nec quisquam inibi poterit mala morte  
 perire,  
 Celestique pane moriens qui moriatur (!).

Deuota oracio ad sanctam Dorotheam.

Sancta Dorothea virgo & martir , o casti-  
 tate fallerata(!) , humilitate coronata, pa-  
 ciencia ornata , virtutum floribus fulcita,  
 temperancia pollita, o preciosa margarita,  
 sancta virgo Dorothea , cor mundum in  
 nobis crea.

## 8. Erasmus.

a) aus Ms. Harl. 2382.

Allē cristen peple, listeneth ye & here  
Of an holi bisshop and a martere,  
Whos name is cleped seynt Erasmus,  
As þe boke seith & trew men telle vs.  
5 Of an holy man herē may men rede,  
What merite thei may haue & what mede  
That wolle worshippe god & hym deuotely  
Euery day, with thre thynges pryncipally.  
Which bene thes, as ye may here :  
10 With deuote pater noster or other prayere,  
And with an almesdede, lasse other more,  
Of mete or of money yeven to þe pore,  
Or els candel-light more or lasse  
Brennyng at evesong, matynes, or masse.  
15 Who thes thynges doth for þis martires  
sake,  
Thes rewardes folwyng truly shal he take :  
One is : that he shal haue to his levynge  
Resonable substance to his endyng,  
Another is this : that any of his foone  
20 Hyndryng or harme shal thei do hym none,  
Yf his cause be trew — this is certan, —  
Thurgh the prayere of this holy mane,  
And what he wol axe resonably,  
That wolle god hym graunte of his mercy ;  
25 Another is this — that hym shalle plese :  
He shalle be delyuered of al his diseise ;  
Another is this, as the boke seith :  
He shalle dye in rightfull byleve & feithe,  
And sothely, or þe soule fro þe body  
twyne,  
30 He shalle haue contricion & shrift of his  
syn,

And he shalle receyue, or he be ded,  
Cristes owne body in forme of bred,  
And he shalle haue afore his endyng  
The holy sacrament of anoyntyng.  
And he shalle come to thilke ioy & blisse 35  
In the which truly this holy martir ys,  
The verry blisse of heuen þat neuer shal  
haue ende —  
God yeue vs alle grāce theder for to wende.  
AMEN.

SIres, ye shul vnderstond, as we writene  
fynde,  
That this holi man was punyshed & pynde 40  
In þe contre of Champayn, as þe boke  
tellis  
And as men reporte þat in that place  
dwellys.  
Whos day falleth in somer on the thirde  
day  
Of Juynē, the next moneth after May.  
And vpon þe sonday he had most woo — 45  
Of hem y shal telle somewhat, or y go, —  
Vnder two fals tirantes ful vntrewly,  
That were fals traytoures to god almyghty :  
The name of þe firste was Dioclician,  
And the secunde was Maximiane. 50  
Tofore Dioclician this man was broght.  
He spett on hym & sett hym al at noght,  
And put hym in prisone & dede hym mykel  
dere  
And layd on hym yre, as moche as he  
myght bere.

55 And after þat this tray(tur) dud take hym  
oute,  
And his body naked & bare al aboute  
Vnto a strong piler he dud hym fast bynde  
And bete hym al aboute before & eke be-  
hynde,  
And of his bare body!, þat was faire &  
freshe,  
60 With pynchons & pynsons thei rent away  
þe fleshe,  
And buffeted hym, as thei were mad &  
wode,  
That alle his faire body ran alle of blode.  
But in þe mene tyme, as trew men telle,  
Dyoclician deyde, that was fals<sup>1</sup> & felle.  
65 And after shrewe anone cam anothe(r),  
Maximian, in malice which was his bro-  
ther;  
He was a fals shrewe, this Maxymyan,  
Vnto this holy bisshop : he was his bane.  
For he lete ordeyne an hidous gret fornace  
70 With pych & hote leed & brynton in brace  
And vndernethe a fire brennyng fast,  
And theron þis holy man anone he dede  
cast;  
And al his bare body ther in dud bathe,  
But, blessid be god! he had no maner  
scathe.  
75 And than þis fals tyrant, ful of vnsele,  
Toke an hevy haberioune of yre & of stèle  
And leyd it in the fire, til it was glowyng,  
And put it on þis seynt al naked stondyng;  
But thurgh goddes grace he felt no more  
smert  
80 Than doth any man þat wereth a softe  
shert.  
Than was this tyrant as wode as an hare,  
For he coude no craft to bryng þis seynt  
to care.  
And this tirante a newe iette dud aray :  
Apone two trestellis a long bord dud he  
lay  
85 And this holi man he lete bynde to that  
borde,

And to his felle tormentoures this was his  
worde :  
»Kyt ye with a knyf his body round aboute,  
That his guttes & entrailes may comen  
oute,  
And wynde hem vp after þat apon a long  
spete :  
And lete hym than after þat do alle his go-  
profete«.  
And as this tirant bade, anone it was done,  
And his kene tormentours redely & sone.  
And therre this holy man withyn short  
space  
He yeaue vp the gost, as goddes wille  
was.  
Fro þe woo of this world thus dud he 95  
wende  
To ioy & to blisse that neuer shal haue  
ende.  
God of his goodnes & of his gret grace  
Thurgh help of þis seynt bryng vs to þat  
place !

### Oratio ad Erasmus.

Seynt Erasmus, thu holi bisshopp  
And goddes owne martir, as we tristly 100  
hopp :  
As thu on þe sonday offred vp thi good  
For þe loue of oure lord þat dyed on þe  
rood,  
And as þu on þe sonday suffrest þi disese  
For oure lordes loue, whom þu woldest  
plese :  
Thu receyue oure prayer and oure offryng 105  
To the worship of god & his plesyng,  
And sauе vs alle from al maner payne,  
Yf it be goddes wille and also thyne,  
And sauе vs alle fro hem þat ben oure  
foone,  
Both bodily and gostly þat vs disese none, 110  
And thurgh þe mercy of god & also þi  
mede  
Graunte vs repentance for oure mysdede,

- And houslyf to our gostly helthe, or we  
hens wende,  
And þe sacrament of anoyntryng at our  
last ende !
- 115 When we be ded & in peyn for synne,  
In þe fire of purgatorie, when we be there  
ynne :  
Help vs in that woo , be it more or lesse,  
þat we may come to ioye aboue þer al-  
way is blisse !
- Almyghti god in Trinitie,
- 120 One in godhed & persones thre,  
Fader and sone and holy gost,  
That art lord of myghtes most :  
We pray the, lord, that thu here vs  
For þe loue of synt Erasmus !
- 125 Whos good werkes & good lyvynge  
Vnto the, lord, was ful plesyng :  
Worshipp to the he dede alway,  
But pryncipally on the sonday,  
With mattynes, masse and orisone
- 130 And other workes of deuocione.  
On þe sonday euermore thus wold he  
wirke :  
He taught the peple, prechynge in the kyrke,  
And on the sonday he yeauie his good  
To the pore peple for here bodely food —
- 135 Thus he fed hem with goddis worde,  
(&) settynghym honestly at his owne borde ;  
And in the sonday he fond gret light  
Brennyng in þe churche faire & bright  
In worship & honour of god in Trinitie
- 140 And of the seyntes that in heuen be.  
And on the sonday, lord, for thi loue  
He suffred shame and gret reprove  
For many yeris, as many men say ;  
He had gret turmentry on the sonday :
- 145 On the sonday ful evel he was arayd  
Thurgh II tyrantes, aforne as y sayd,  
And thus on the sonday ful paciently  
He suffred most part of his turmentry,  
V. 136) & fehlt. hym = hem.
- And on the sonday forsoth he was slayne  
For the loue of god, this is certayne,  
And on the sonday he went to blisse —  
God bryng vs theder, whan his wille ys.  
GOD, þat of thi goodnes & of þi gret  
grace
- Yeauie to this holiman wil, tyme and space  
To suffre gret peyne, his pacience to prove, 15  
Lord, to thi plesaunce & to his behove,  
Thurgh thyn ordynance dedest make his  
ende,
- Fro this worldes woo to blisse þu dedest  
hym wende :  
Thus, goodnes of god, graunte vs kepe our  
wayes
- To worshipe god euer kepyng his holy 16  
dayes,  
And namely þe sonday to halwe so holy  
As dud this holyman lyvynge here bodely :  
To folwe his techyng & prechynge in good  
wise,  
With deuote prayers heryng dew seruise,  
And other good dedes as dud this holi 16  
man,
- Euery man in his degre as he may & can ;  
To worshipe þe, god, as this goodman  
dede,  
With loue & parfite charite, as oure bokes  
bidde,
- And so to suffre here both wele & woo  
In this wrecched world, or we hens go : 17  
To which ioy and blisse, good god, bryng vs  
Thurgh help of þis holy man seynt Eras-  
mus !
- AMEN !
- Non noceat facinus : mihi, me iuuet almus  
Erasmus.
- O sacer Erasme, : meritis precibusque re-  
gas me !
- Explicit.

b) aus Ms. Bedford, fol. 280.

Allē cristen folke, ze listen and lere  
Of an holy buysshope & a martere,  
Whos name is clepede seynte Erasmus,  
As þe boke says & trewe men telle vs.  
Of an holy man here may men rede  
Whate meritz þey may haue & what mede  
That wille worship god & hym deuoutely  
Euery sonday, withe thre þinges princi-  
paly.  
And þo þinges be þay, as ze shall here :  
Withe a deuoute pater noster or oþer  
praiere,  
And withe som almesdede, lesse or more,  
Of mete or of mony geuyn to þe pore,  
Ande withe som candel-lighte more or lesse  
Brennyngate evynsonge, matens or messe.  
He þat doos þese þre þinges for þis mar-  
tur sake,  
These rewardes folowyng forsoþe shal he  
take : .  
On is þis : þat he shalle haue to his le-  
uyngē  
A resonable fode to his last endyngē ;  
An oþer is þis : þat any of his foone  
Henderynge or harme to hym schalle do  
none,  
Zif his cause be trew — þis is certan, —  
Prouzte þe prayere of þis holy man,  
And what þat he askis resonably,  
God wille ite graunte hym of his mercy ;  
An oþer is þis — þat schall hym plese :  
He shalle be releued of all maner desese ;  
Aud an oþer is þis, as þe boke seyþe :

He shalle dey in þe riȝt beleue & feythe,  
And all so, or þe soule fro þe body twy(n),  
He shall haue shryfte & contricion for his ȝo  
sy(n),  
Moreouer he shalle resceyue, or he be  
dede,  
Cristes owne bodey in þe forme of brede,  
And he shalle reseyue afore his endyng  
The holy blessed sacramente of annoyn-  
tyng.  
And so shalle he come to þat ioye & blys, 35  
In þe whiche as we trow þis holy man is,  
That is þe blys of hevyn þat neuer shalle  
ende —  
God geue vs all grace þedyr for to wende.  
Sers, ze shall vnderstand, as we wretyn  
fynd,  
Þat þis holy man was ponysshed & 40  
pynde  
In þe cuntry of Champayne, as þe boke  
telles  
And as men reporte þat in þe cuntry  
dwelles.  
Whos day falles in þe somer on þe prid  
day  
Of Juyn, next monythe after May.  
And on þe sonday he had his most woo, 45  
Of whiche I shall tell iou, or I hens goo,  
Vnder two fals tyrauntes ful vntreuly,  
Þat were fals traytors to god allmyghty :  
Þe name of þe fyrist was callid Dioclician,  
And þe secund was callid Maximian. 50

These ben þe passions þat þe suffred only on þe sonday for þe loue of god:

Þe first was inprisonyng, tyll tormentours come.

- Þe II was byndyng to a pyler *withe* sharpe cordes.
- III was betyng all naked *withe* scourges of lede.
- IV was betyng *withe* zerdys made of brymbles.
- V was betyng *withe* grete balled battes.
- VI was brennyng *withe* torchys on iche place.
- VII was rakes of yren rendyng his flesshe.
- VIII was tynes brennand prikyng þe flesh.

These passions he suffred vnder Dioclician of þe tormentours of Turry(?) :

- IX was stokkyng, fettryng & manaclid agayn.
- X was dryuand grete nayles in his body.
- XI was drauyng vp *withe* cordes þe body be a poly.
- XII was nyppynge his body *withe* pynsons.
- XIII was dryuand oute his tethe *withe* betylles.
- XIV was persyng his flesshe *withe* fyre forkis.
- XV was pyche, ter, leed, brynstion, & oyle boylyng.
- XVI was bounden to a borde *withe* a grete peys of leede.

These he suffred of þe tormentours of . . (der Name fehlt) :

- XVII was paryng of his nayles of fyngres & toys.
- XVIII was betyng on his body *withe* brennyng malles.
- XIX was drawyng out his tethe *withe* hote pynsons.
- XX was boylyng in a lede ful of oyle.
- XXI was annoynstyng his body *withe* hote pyche & ter.
- XXII was a brennyng helme set on his hede.
- XXIII was hanggyng vp by þe fete & peyses be þe nek.
- XXIV was a fleshoke rendyng his flesshe.
- XXV<sup>ti</sup> was brennyng horse-combes to currey hym *withe*.
- XXVI<sup>ti</sup> was plukkyng his flesshe *withe* fullers combes.
- XXVII<sup>ti</sup> was a brennyng myter set vp on his hede.
- XXVIII was rubbyng his body *withe* fullers tasels.
- XXIX was rubbyng his body *withe* a ba.. prik.
- XXX was sheryng his flesshe with cikels.
- XXXI was castyng hym oftyn on þe tyndes of an harow.
- XXXII was betyng *withe* scourgis fulle of ballis of tree.
- XXXIII was scorgyng hym *withe* cheynnes of yren.
- XXXIII was crownyng him *withe* garlondis of thornis.
- XXXV was turnyng oute his ien *withe* wymbles.
- XXXVI was brennyng eggys bounden to his arme-holys.
- XXXVII was layde on a brennyng stone *withe* fyrr vnder.
- XXXVIII was a brennyng haburjeon cast vpon hym.
- XXXIX was sawyng *withe* sawes of tree.
- XL was a myter brennyng set on his hed ageyne.

28) tasel = teasel, fuller's thistle. 29) Das vorletzte Wort ist unleserlich, scheinbar balst. 43) In brandlet ist die letzte Silbe durch Corr. unleserlich.

- Pe      XLI was brennyngē hym in a hote ouen.  
-      XLII was persyng his body *withe* hote yren spyttes.  
-      XLIII was brennyng on a brandlete(?) bounden þerto.  
-      XLIV was hangyng be þe handis on a Jebet.

(Hier ein Zwischenraum, für eine Ueberschrift).

- XLV was: þey dyd hym gon barefote vpon colis.  
-      XLVI was brennyng platys leyde to his body.  
-      XLVII was hangen on cros like seynt Petir.  
-      LXVIII was cuttyng his flesshe *withe* rasers.  
-      XLIX was liggand on a bedde and fyre þervnder.  
-      LI was wyndyng his gottis out *withe* wyndelas.  
-      LII was beting, bunchyng, & byndyng to a peler.  
-      LIII was putting salt in his body after his guttes were oute. & sithen  
      byryed *withe* angelys in Champayne.

Darunter folgt in roth, aber ausgewischt mit schwarz:

Quicumque hanc antiphonam cum oracione subscripta corde contrito quali die dominica deuote dixerit in honore sancti Erasmi Episcopi & martiris, deus ipsi prouidebit de omnibus sibi nessessarijs, absque eucaristia et sacra vnxcione non morietur, ab omnibus inimicis tutus erit, et decem milia dierum indulgencie pro mercede habebit.

(Das angezeigte Gebet folgt aber nicht, doch ist Lücke von 1½ Spalten dafür gelassen).

## 9. A disputisoun bytwene a cristенemon and a Jew\*).

(Sir Water's wunderbarer Sieg über einen Juden).

aus Ms. Vernon, fol. 301.

Alle bliþe mote þei be  
Pat folyes bleþeliche wole fle.  
How hit bitidde biȝonde séé,  
    Pe soþe I wol ȝow say.  
5 In þe toun of Parys,  
    Pat is a citéé of prys,  
Twey men mette þat weore wys,  
    And wente bi þe way.  
    Pei weore clerkes of diuinité,  
10 Crafti men in heore degré.  
Eiþer maister wolde be,  
    Fondeþ ȝif þei may.  
Pus þei desputed so faste  
    While þe day mihte laste,  
15 Nouþer oþer couþe caste,  
    Beo rihtwys lay.

    Pe ton was of Engelonde,  
A cristene mon, Ich vnderstonde;  
He hedde Isouht ouer þe sonde  
20 Wondres to se:  
He hedde Ilernd of clergys,  
As men doþ þat beoþ wys:  
    Pe mon þat most is of prys  
    Maister moste be.

    Pe toþer was a jeuȝ riht,  
A mon muchel of his miht;  
To his trouþe hedde he tiht  
    Trewe as þe tre:  
    Pat wol I apertly preue:  
    Þulke lay þat he on leeue,  
For no gold þat (me) mihte him zeue  
    Chaunge wolde not he.

    Pe cristene mon seide, as he þouȝt:  
    Lo ȝonde vr god, þat vs bouȝt!  
    Oþer trouwe þou hit nouȝt,  
    Bi daye nor bi niht?  
    Certeynliche, ȝonde is he  
    Pat for vs diȝede on þe tre  
And also bouwed him to be  
    In a buyrde briht,  
As heo wemles was,  
Seþþe cler as þe glas;  
Bitwene oxe and an as  
    Ibore was þat kniht  
At þe ȝol ful ȝare,  
Al for vr welfare.  
Woldest þou leeue on my lare,  
    Pi lykyng were liht».

V. 30) me fehlt vor mihte.

\*) 3 Strophen dieses Gedichts, V. 145—192, sind abgedruckt in Warton's Hist. of Engl. Litt. (ed. Hazlitt III, 181—3). Es ist im Dialekte und wahrscheinlich vom Dichter der Susanna.

Pe jeuz sone seide þare :  
 »Ar we forþere fare —  
 Per is o god, and no mare,  
 Heizly in holde,  
 And, as I trowe, in þe trone,  
 He schop þe sonne and þe moone ;  
 But he hedde neuer no sone

For synful was solde.

Pe grete god calle we —

Pat is semely to se :

Oþer may þer non be,

Zonger ne olde.

Wharto makestou þi mone ?

I trouwe, þi wit beo þe wone ;  
 Al mis artou gone

Heer on þis wolde«.

5 Pe cristien mon stondeþ stille,  
 And seþþen he talkeþ him till  
 And seiþ þat »þi wikked wille  
 Schal worche þe ful wo.

Pou leuest not in þe mes,

o Pat euer god þer in is :

Forþi lyking is þe les

And loren artou so,

And al þi careful kynde

Pat euer bicom of his strende.

5 Men schal in baret þe bynde

And bete þe ful blo.

Whon þou schalt of þis world wende,

Pou schalt be tauȝt to þe fende

And euermore wiþouten ende

o In to þe pyne go«.

Pe jeuz bigon him to greue :

»Pat wol I apertly preue,

Boþe of Adam and of Eue

Of hem we weore alle Iwrouht.

5 And I dar wage wiþ þe

Tonnes of wyn þre

Pat I schal lete þe him se,

Pou seist þat þe bouht,

Boþe þe vuel and þe gode :

o Hou he was don on þe roode ;

And alle þat bi him stooðe  
 Whon he to deþe was brouht.  
 So const þou not do  
 For al þi clergye ; þerto,  
 As haue I reste oþer ro,  
 95      Pi reson is nouȝt«.

Pe cristien mon mildely gon malt :

»I telle þe, truwaunt fortalt :

Men schal in prison þe palt

100      And putte þe to pyne,

But zif þou lete me him se

Pat for vs dyede on þe tre.

Seþþe þe maystrie zeue I þe,

To þe and alle þyne.

Loke þow holde þat we say !

To morwe, set we þat day,

We schal wende on vr way

To winne vs þe wyne.

Pe mon þat fayles of his fare,

Al loren is his lare ;

He may droupe and dare

105      Pat schal his trouþe tyne«.

Pus þei woke al þe niht,

Til on þe morwen at day-liht

Pe cristene mon ros riht,

110      And radly gon say

His matyns in þe mornyng ;

Seþþe his masse gon he syng,

He þonked vr lord in alle þing

As he þat most may.

Soone þei metten, as þei miht.

»Haue I don«, he seide, »artou diht

For to holde þat þou hiht ?

Pis is vr day.

Oþer a nay, or a za ?

Soone tel þou me swa !«

Him grauȝtes forto ga,

120      And went on heore way.

Pe cristien mon seide son,

Whon his masse was don :

»I wol take god me vppon

And bere him wiþ me :  
Boþe in lond and in leode  
Al þe lasse is my drede :  
 135 Pe mon þat to him takeþ hede  
Pe better he may be.  
Pe nis non enemy in helle  
Non so fers ne so felle,  
And he here of vre lord telle,  
 140 Pat on is in þre :  
For al þe gold in þe grunde  
He wolde not byde him a stounde  
Pat he nolde freshly founde  
And awey fle.«.

145 Forþ heo wenten on þe feld  
To an hul þei biheold.  
Pe eorþe cleuet as a scheld  
On þe grunde grene.  
Sone fond þei a stih :  
 150 Pei went þer-on radly ;  
Pe cristene mon hedde ferly  
What hit mihte mene.  
After þat stiȝ lay a strete,  
Clene Ipauet wiþ grete.  
 155 Pei fond a maner þat was meeþe  
Wiþ murþes ful schene,  
Wel coruen and wrouht,  
Wiþ halles heize vppon loft.  
To a place weore þei brought  
 160 As paradys þe clene.

Pei was foulene song,  
Muche murþes among —  
Hose lenge wolde long,  
Ful luitel him pouht.  
 165 On vche a syde of þe halle  
Pourpul, pelure and palle ;  
Wyndouwes I þe walle,  
Was wonderli Iwrouht.  
Pei was dosers on þe dees  
 170 Hose þe cheef wolde ches,  
Pat neuere ricchere wes  
In no sale souht.  
Boþe þe mot and þe molde  
Schon al on red golde.

Pe cristien mon hedde ferli on þat folde 17  
þat þider was brouȝt.  
  
Per was erbes growen grene,  
Spices springyng bitwene —  
»Such hedde I non sene,  
Forsoþe, as I say. 18  
Pe þrestel song ful schille,  
He newed notes at his wille ;  
Feire floures to fille.  
Feire in þat fey.  
And al þe Rounþe table good  
Hou Arthur in eorþe ȝod,  
Sum sat and sum stod  
O þe grunde grey —  
Hit was a wonderful siht :  
As þei weore quik men diht,  
To seo hou þey play. 19  
  
Pe jewȝ sone in þat tyde  
He spak þer a word of pryd —  
Hose wol lenge and abyde  
May lusten and lere.  
Til a nounerie þei came —  
But I knowe not þe name :  
Pei was mony a derworþe dame  
In dyapre dere.  
Squizers in vch a syde 200  
In þe wones so wyde.  
»Heer schul we lenge and abyde,  
Auntres to heere.«.  
Penne swiþe spekeþ he  
Til a ladi so fre  
And biddeþ : þat he welcome be,  
»Sire Water, my feere.«. 205  
  
Pei was bordes Icloþed clene  
Wiþ schire cloþes and schene.  
Seþþe a wasschen, I weene,  
And wente to þe sete.  
Riche metes was forþ brought  
To alle men, þat good pouht —  
Pe cristien mon wolde nouht  
Drynke nor ete. 210  
 V. 167) I = In, wie 306. 183) þat ist zu tilgen? 189) Im Ms. fehlt hier ein Vers. 215

Per was wyn ful clere  
 In mony a feir maseere,  
 And oþer drynkes þat weore dere  
 In coupes ful gret.  
 210 Siþþe was schewed hem bi  
 Murþe and munstralsy,  
 And preyed hem do gladly  
 Wiþ rial rehet.

By þe bordes vp þei stode.  
 215 Or þei forþere zode,  
 So weore þei war of a rode  
 Ful rafe, as I rede,  
 And a bodi þer-vppon  
 Pat woundes hedde mony on;  
 220 Bi him stod Marie and Jon,  
 Wepynde good spedē,  
 Oþur apostles of prys,  
 Poul and Peter þe wys  
 And saint Jon þe Baptys,  
 225 Was douhti of dede.  
 Whon he was schewed to þe siht,  
 Boþe of leom and of liht  
 Pe mon þat most was of miht,  
 His woundes gon blede.

230 Pe jeuz sone seide he :  
 »Holden is þat I hiakte þec«.  
 Pe toþer seide : »þat schal I se,  
 Certeynly, ful sone«.  
 Pe cristen mon hedde a derworþ þinge,  
 235 On his bodi he gon hit brynge :  
 Pat a prest schulde wiþ synge  
 Whon masse schulde be don.  
 »Zif þou be god so fre  
 Pat for me dized on þe tre,  
 240 Here þi sone mai þou see  
 And heold him abouen.  
 Whon he was schewed to þe siht,  
 He barst þe buyldynge so briht.  
 Boþe was derk as þe niht  
 245 Heore sonne and heore mone.  
 Al þe gere þat was gay  
 Was þenne Iwasted away.

Pe cristene mon gon say :  
 »Beon þeos þi godes here?«  
 Pe jeuh onswerde him wiþ nay  
 And ofte merci gon him pray :  
 »I wolþleue my lay  
 And on þi lore lere.  
 Sore I doute me of dred.  
 I haue ilost my wed :  
 250 Po þat are forþ fled  
 Was fendes in feere,  
 Non good, but al illë.  
 No more he tented hem tille.  
 Heo þo stoden ope hulle  
 255 Per þey furst were.

Pus he zeldes him zare,  
 Al for his welfare.  
 He seide : »of blisse I haue be bare  
 Seþþen I was furst born.  
 Now knowe I wel þat hit mai be  
 Pat ofold god is in þre :  
 Whuch þat þou brouȝt wiþ þe  
 260 Pis day at morn.  
 He is vre heuene kyng,  
 Makere of alle þyng,  
 And schop þe fruit for to spryng,  
 Boþe curnel and corn«.  
 Pus he rapes of his res,  
 To vre God he him ches,  
 Let al his luþernes,  
 265 Was poynt to be lorn.

Seþþe þei wente to þe cite,  
 Acordet, as þei scholde be.  
 Who was payed bote he,  
 And eiþer of oþer!  
 He þonked god his swete sonde  
 270 Pat he hedde brouȝt out of bonde,  
 Wel Iwonne to his honde,  
 Bliþely his broþer.  
 Mete and drynke þei hedde at wille,  
 Wiþouten grucchyng or grille  
 275 In trouþe tente þei þer tille,  
 And lafte al þat oþer.  
 Pe mon þat haþ synne Iwrouȝt  
 280

And siþen repentes him ouȝt,  
God is apayed, þat vs bouȝt.  
Leeue we non oþer.

What was þe monnes nome Ilyk  
305 But Sir Water of Berewyk ?  
He was wonynge I þe ryk,  
At Roome was called.  
Þe pope ȝaf him pouste —  
þat mony mon mihte se —

Penitauncer for to be  
Of ȝonge and of olde,  
Seþþe to soyle and to schriue  
Boþe to mon and to wyue,  
Eke to mende heore lyue  
And to þe trouþe holde.  
Penne tok þei þe jeuȝ  
Anon cristen hym neuȝ ;  
Pus to vre god he hym kneuȝ  
And ȝeply him zolde.

V. 313) Ms. two st. to.

## 10. Roberd of Cisyle.

PRinces proude þat beþ in pres,  
I wil þou telle þing nobles.  
In Cisyle was a noble kyng,  
Fair and strong and sumdel zyng.  
5 He hadde a broþer in grete Rome,  
Pope of alle Cristendome ;  
Anoþer broþer in Almayne,  
Emperour, þat Sarzins wrouzte payne.  
Þe kyng was hote Kyng Roberd ;  
o Neuer man wiste him ferd ;  
He was kyng of gret honour,

14) Die MSS. lesen ne st. no.

For þat he was Conquerour ;  
In al þe worlde nas his per,  
Kyng ne prince, fer no ner.  
And for he was of chualrye flour,  
His broþer was mad Emperour,  
His oþer broþer Godes vikere,  
Pope of Rome, as I seide ere.  
Þe pope was hote Pope Vrban :  
He was good to God and man ;  
Þe emperour was hote Valemounde :  
A strengur werreour was non founde

15

20

Diese Legende, die bekanntlich schon von Utterson, Halliwell und Hazlitt nach verschiedenen MSS. edirt ist, folgt hier in einer gereinigten Ausgabe, auf Grundlage der engverwandten MSS. Vernon (V) und Trin. Coll. Oxf. 57 (T), die dem Orig. am nächsten stehen, mit Vergleichung des Ms. Harl. 1701 (H), welches die Verse an mehreren Stellen anders ordnet und Zusätze (es zählt 476 V.) aufweist, und Harl. 525 (Ha), welches noch bedeutendere Abweichungen zeigt und den Text vielfach frei verändert. Das sich an Harl. 525 anschliessende, vom Originale am weitesten entfernende Ms. Cbr. Ff II, 38 (514 V.) ist für die Textkritik fast werthlos und nur hie und da zu gezogen. (Die letzte der bekannten Hss. Cbr. JI IV, 8, habe ich nicht benutzen können). Ich habe geglaubt, auch in graphischer Hinsicht mich von den Hss. nicht entfernen zu dürfen, obwohl das Original wahrscheinlich einige abweichende Formen hatte (z. B. vielleicht ich st. ech, swich st. such, gilt pilt st. gult pult, chirche öfter no st. ne u. a.); doch ist einheitliche Schreibung durchgeführt. Ob das süd-mitteländische Original þei (þai) oder heo (he?) als pron. plur. 3 hatte, ist schwierig zu entscheiden; V hat in der Regel heo (þei nur 175), die and. MSS. þez, þey.

V. 1) T in pes. Ha princis. bene. preesse. 2) VI wol, T ich wille, HI wyl. V ou, not les. T þyng nobles. H of þyng no les. Ha : A thing I wulle yow telle þat is no lees. 3) T Ha Cesile, H Cysylle. 4) H fayre, stronge, sumdelle (H hat oft e am Ende). Ha yonge. 5) V hedde. 6) T Ha of alle, V of al, H ouer al. 7) V he hedde st. broþer, Alemanyne. 8) V An Emperour. H whom st. þat. V sarazins, T sarsynes, H sarysyns. Ha sarysyns wrought ageyn. 9) Ha called. V Ha Robert. 10) V ne wuste, T H Ha wiste. T H Ha aferd, V fert. 11) H grete honoure. Ha of mikelle. 12) H And yclepyd he was, Ha He was cleped a. 13) T wordle. H In alle þe worlde ne was, Ha In noo lond was. H Ha pere. 14) H Forto acounte ; Ha (C) Kyng ne duke. H Ha nere. 15) And fehlt in Ha. V chualrie, T cheualrie, H chyualry. H floure. 16) H made. 17) V godes, T godis, H goddyns. 19) VT was hote, H hyghte. Ha He was cleped. 20) H Ha : he louede boþe, Ha god a man. 21) H Hyghte syre, Ha was cleped sir Valamond. 22) VH strengur, T strengere, Ha stronger. T werrour, H Ha werryoure. V nas, T Ha was, H was neuer

After his brother of Cisyle,  
Of whom þat I schal telle a while.  
  
 25) Pe kyng þouȝte he hadde no per  
In al þe worlde, fer no ner;  
And in his þouȝt he hadde pride,  
For he was nounper in ech a side.

At midsomer, a seynt Jones niȝt  
30) Pe kyng to cherche com ful riȝt,  
Forte heren his euensong.  
  
Him þouȝte he dwelled þer ful long:  
He þouȝte more in worldes honour  
Pan on Crist, oure sauour.

35) In Magnificat he herde a vers:  
He made a clerk hit him rehers  
In langage of his owne tonge —  
In latyn he niste what þei songe.  
  
Pe vers was þis, I telle þe:  
40) Deposuit potentes de sede  
Et exaltauit humiles —  
Þis was þe vers, wiþouten les.  
  
Pe clerk seide anon riȝt:  
»Sire, such is Godes miȝt

Pat he may make heyȝe lowe,  
And lowe heyȝe, in litel þrowe.  
God may do, wiþoute lyȝe,  
His wille in twynklyng of an eize. 4

Pe kyng seide wiþ herte vnstable :  
»Al ȝoure song is fals and fable. 5

What man haþ such pouwer  
Me to bringe lowe in daunger?  
I am flour of chualrye,  
Min enemys I may distrye,  
Noman liueþ in no londe  
Pat me may wiþtonde:  
Pan is þis a song of nouȝt. 5

Pis errorre he hadde in þouȝt.  
And in his þouȝt a slep him tok  
In his pulpit, as seiþ þe bok.

Whan þat euensong was al don,  
A kyng ylich him out gan gon,  
And alle men wiþ him gan wende —  
Kyng Roberd lefte out of mynde. 6

Pe newe kyng was, I ȝou telle,  
Godes angel, his pride to felle. 6

Pe angel in halle joye made,

none. Ha found. V. 23) H: He sente aftyre. 24) T wham. þat fehlt in H Ha. H y shal ȝow, Ha I wulle speke. T shel. 25) Ha That st. þe. H pere. 26) V H no, T Ha ne. Ha ferre. H Ha nere. 27) H In þat, and fehlt. 28) V T nounpeer, H nom pere; Ha hadde no pere in neuer a syde. V vch a, T H eche (Orig. ich?). 29) H Ha: And in (Ha on) a nyȝt of seynt Jone (so auch C.). 30) H: The kyng come to þe cherche anone; Ha: The baptist, þe kynge to cherche wold gone (C: Thys kynge to þe churche come). V churche, al. cherche. 31) V Ha heeren, T H here. T eue-song, H euynsong. 32) H he þoghte hys dwellyng. V Ha dwelled, T dwelde. V H ful, T Ha to. 33) Ha: His þought was more in. H on worldly onoure. T worldis. 34) V þen, al. pan. V Ha in, TH on (C of). Ha Jhesu. V vr, al. oure. 36) T it. H reherce, Ha to rehers. 37) T owe. H tunge. 38) V nuste, T nyste. H: For he wylste nat, Ha: In lateyn he ne west þat. V heo, T þez, H Ha þey. 41) V exultavit. 42) Ha That. T wiþoute. 43) H seyd anone. 44) H Sere. V T such, H swych, Ha soche. 45) T heȝ & lowe. 46) T low heȝ, H þe lowe hyghe, H low hye. T Ha in a. V. luytel. 47) H he st. god. T don wiþouten. V lyȝe, al. lye. 48) V wil. T twyng-lynge, Ha twenkelyng. H ye, Ha a nye. 49) H Ha (C) þoght st. herte. Ha vn-stabill. 50) V T al ȝor (T ȝoure) song, H Thys song. Ha: ye rede and synge false in fable. 51) V mon. Ha þat st. such. 52) H Ha: To bringe me. Ha in soche, lowe fehlt. 53) Ha: My name is. 54) H enmyyss, T myne enemyes. T H destroye, V distrurye. 55) T Ha leueþ. H There ys noman þat lyueþ yn londe, Ha Noman leueth now in londe. 56) H That may aȝen me. Ha me may now. 57) H songe. 58) H yn hys þoȝt. Ha: This is errorre þenne he thought. 59) H slepe, toke. Ha: And in his slepe a þought. 60) V pulput, T pulpette, H pulpyt, Ha pulpitte. H so st. as, boke. 61) V whon, H whan, T Ha whanne. H þe st. þat, Ha þat fehlt. V T al, H Ha alle. H done, Ha Idone. 62) V Ilyk, T ylich, Ha lyke, H hym lyke. H oute, gone. Ha home (st. out) ganne gone. 63) Ha And fehlt. T wiþ him out gan. H gunne wynde, Ha gonue with him wende. 64) V lafte, T H lefte. H out fehlt. T mende. Ha Thenne was þe toder kyng out of mynde. 65) V as I. H þe st. ȝou. 66) Ha Was g. a. V pruyde, T prede, H prude. 67) T in alle(!).

And alle men of him were glade.

¶ Pe kyng waked, þat lay in cherche :

o His men he þouȝte wo to werche

For he was left þer alon

And derk niȝt him fel vpon.

He gan crie after his men :

Þer nas non þat spak aȝen.

5 Bote þe sexteyn atten ende

Of þe cherche to him gan wende,

And seide : »what dost þou nouȝe her,

Þou false þef, þou losenger ?

Þou art her wiþ felonye,

o Holy cherche to robberye«.

He seide : »foule gadelyng,

I nam no þef, I am kyng.

Opene þe cherche-dore anon,

Þat I mowe to mi paleys gon !«

35 Pe sexteyn þouȝte anon wiþ þan

Þat he was sum wod man ,

And wolde þe cherche delyuered were

Of him, for he hadde fere :

And opened þe cherche-dore in haste.

V. 68) Ha all his men. V weore. 69) V T wakede, H awoke, Ha waked. Ha was st. lay. 70) V worche, al. werche. 71) V laft, THa left, H lefte. TH þere. 72) Ha derke. H felle. Ha felle him. V vpon, T opon, H vp one. 73) Ha for st. after. 74) H But þer was none. T þere. Ha spake. 75) Hsaue st. bote (V H but). Vatten, Tat þe, H at þe nende. Ha But þe sexteyn of þe cherche att last. 76) H Oute of. Ha : Swythly to hym he ganne goo fast. V churche, al. cherche. 77) V Ha dost þou, T dostow, H doste þou. V nouȝe, T now, fehlt in H Ha. H Ha here. 78) H fals þefe. Ha þou fehlt beide Male; and theves fere. H losengere. 79) V her, TH Ha here. V felenye. Ha : felonye to werche. 80) V Trobbye, H robbeyp. Ha : To robbe god and holycherche. 81) Ha Thanne s. he. H gadlyng. 82) T I nam, V Ham. VH Ha, a kyng. 83) Ha opyn; cherche fehlt; ryght anone. 84) Ha may ; mi fehlt. H palys. H Ha gone. 85) Ha wend st. þouȝt, ryght soth þen. 86) H hadde be, Ha had benne. H wode. Ha a st. sum. 87—8) fehlen in H, sind in Ha umgestellt: And had of him ryght grete fere, And wold þe cherche of him deleuerid were. 89) V T openede, H opened, Ha opynd. T cherch dore, an st. in. Ha cherche fehlt, ryght in h. 90) V bygon, T H began. H ren faste, out fehlt. Ha : þe k. ranne ought þanne faste. 91) T þas st. þat. Ha were. Ha wode. 92) H And at, palys gate (V T zate); Ha þere st. zate. H he fehlt, stode. 93) V heet, T clepede H clepyd, Ha kalled. Ha false gadelyng. 94) Ha : Opene the yates in hyeng. H badde. 95) T op. Ha to ondooy, vp fehlt. 96) H sey he clepeþ so. Ha seide fehlt. V ho, T Ha who. T clepuþ. 97) V onswerde anon þo. 98) V ar I go, T er y gon, H Ha ar we gone (C or y hens gone). H wete, V witein, T wyten. 99) V þi kyng, T H Ha þy lord. H shal hyt, Ha — wele. 100) T presoun, shelt. Ha lye full lowe. 101—2) fehlen in Ha. 101) V T ben, H be. V anhonged, T honged, H hanged. 102) V T bi, H be. 103) V T wel, fehlt in H Ha C. H wetyn, Ha wete. 104) V open, T H opene, Ha Do opene. H gatys. Ha foule gadelyng. 105) V mot, T H mote. Ha seyde I telle the. 106) H ys now. V mid, T H Ha wyþ. 107) H wote wyþoutyn. 108) V T nis, V not, T noȝt; H Ha ys nat. T now fehlt. 109) H went st. com. Ha þe halle. 110) V T Bifore þe newe kyng, H Before þe aungel; V aknes, H on kne, T adoun. Ha : On knees before the kyng ganne falle (C: And before the kynge can falle). 111) H seyd, at þe. Ha atte þe.

Pe kyng bigan to renne out faste.

90

As a man þat was wod

At his paleys ȝate he stod,

And het þe porter gadelyng,

And bad him come in hizyng

Anon þe ȝates vp to do.

Pe porter seide : »ho clepeþ so?«

95

He answered riȝt anon :

»Pou schalt witen, ar I gon.

Þi lord I am : þou schalt knowe :

100

In prison þou schalt ligge lowe

And ben honged and to-drawe,

As a traytur, bi þe lawe ;

Þou schalt wel wite, I am kyng.

Opene þe ȝates, gadelyng !«

Pe porter seide : »so mot I þe,

105

Pe kyng is mid his meyne ;

Wel I wot wiþoute doute

Pe kyng nis nouȝt now wiþoute«.

Pe porter com in to halle,

110

Bifore þe newe kyng aknes gan falle

And seide : »þer is atte ȝate

- A nyce fol ycome late,  
He seiþ he is lord and kyng,  
And cleped me foule gadelyng.
- 115 Lord, what wile þat I do?  
Lete him in or lete him go?«  
Þe angel seide in haste:  
»Do him come in swiþe faste!  
For mi fol I wile him make,
- 120 Forte he þe name of kyng forsake!«  
Þe porter com to þe zate  
And him called in, to late.  
He smot þe porter, whan he com in,  
Þat blod brast out of mouþ and chin.
- 125 Þe porter ȝeld him his trauayle:  
Him smot aȝen, wiþouten fayle,  
Þat nese and mouþ brast a blod.  
Panne he semed almost wod.
- Þe porter and his men in haste
- 130 Kyng Roberd in a podel caste,  
Vnsemely made his bodi þan,  
Þat he nas lik non oþer man.  
And brouȝt him bifore þe newe kyng  
And seide: »Lord, þis gadelyng
- 135 Me haþ smite wiþoute desert;
- He seiþ he is oure kyng apert.  
Þis harlot ouȝte for his sawe  
Ben yhonged and to-drawe,  
For he seiþ non oþer word  
Bote þat he is boþe kyng and lord. 14
- Þe angel seide to kyng Roberd:  
»Pou art a fol, þat art nouȝt ferd  
Mi men to do such vileyneye;  
Þi gult þou most nede abyе.  
What art þou?« seide þe angel. 14
- Quaþ Roberd: »pou schalt wite wel:  
I am kyng, and kyng wil be;  
Wiþ wronge þou hast mi dignite.  
Þe pope of Rome is mi broþer,  
And þe emperor min oþer; 15
- Þei wil me wreke, for soþ to telle,  
I wot þei nille nouȝt longe dwelle!«  
»Pou art mi fol«, seide þe angel,  
»Pou schalt be schore euerichdel  
Lich a fol, a fol to be —  
Wher is now þi dignite?  
Þi counseyler schal ben an ape,  
And o cloþyng zou worþ yschape:  
I schal him cloþen as þi broþer
- V. 112) Ha is come. 113) Ha seyde. H lorde. 114) V clept, H clepeþ, Ha cleped, T het. 115) V wol, Ha welle. 116) V leten, T Ha lete, H late. H ynne. 117) Ha ryght in. 118) Ha Lete him in come. 119) H fole. 120) V forte, T fort, H Ha tyl. V nome, Ha word st. name. 122) V him he called in, mit Punkt nach in. T callede, H cleped. Ha: And anon he him in ded late. 123) H smote. V T com, H Ha cam. H Ha ynne. 124) V þat, T H þe, Ha That the. V Ha barst, T brast, H braste. Ha at st. of. H mouthe and chynne. 125—8) fehlen in H u. Ha. 125) T zelde, him fehlt. 126) V aȝeyn, T aȝen. 127) V neose, T nose. V barst, T brast. Va, T on. 128) V semed, T semede. 129) T an haste. 130) T dich, al. podel. 131) V heo maden, Ha pey made, T made, H was. 132) he fehlt in H. H Ha was. T lich. Ha mane. 133) H They broghte. 134) T seiden, H seyd lorde. Ha foule g. 135) Ha: He haþ me. H smetyn. V decert. 136) H Ha And st. he. 137—8) und 139—140) sind in H Ha umgestellt. 137) V harlot, al. traytour. Ha Soche a traytour, ouȝte fehlt. H myzte st. ouȝte. 138) H Beyn yhanged. Ha Shuld be hanged and Idrawe. 139) H Ha: To me he seyþ none ouþer (Ha nonoder) worde. 140) T þat fehlt. Ha boþe fehlt. 141) V Robert. 142) V þat, T H þou, Ha and. V fert, T ferd, H Ha aferd. 143) T H do, V don. V vilenye, T velanye, H vylonye, Ha vylony. 144) V gult, T gelt, H gylte, Ha gylt. H moste nedes. 145) T artow. Ha quod st. seide. 146) V qwath, T q(u)a)d, H seyd. Ha Thenne seyd. Ha weten wele. 147) V þat I am. 148) H haste, Ha holdest. 150) T þe emperor is, and fehlt. H emperor of almeyn. 151) V T for soþ (T soþe) to telle, H Ha y þe telle. 152) H wote. V heo nulle, T þeȝ nelle, H pey wyl. H nat, dewelle. 153) H fole seyd. 154) V schal. T ben. V schoren. H euerydel, Ha — delle. 155) V T lych, H Ha lyke. H fole. Ha Lyke a fole for to be. 156) V wher, T where, H For þou haste now no d., Ha For yet hast þou no d. (C: Thy babull schall be thy dygnyte). Nach 156 hat Ha (u. C) 2 V. mehr: Thy crowne shall newe be shore (C schorne), For thy crowne of gold is lore (C lorne). 157) H Thyn. be. 158) H Ha shal be shape. Ha on st. o, for you. 159—160) u. 161—2) sind in Ha (u. C) umgestellt. 159) V cloþen, H cloþyn, T Ha cloþe. Ha þy nowne.

60 Of o cloþyng -- hit nis non oþer;  
 He schal be þin owne fere --  
 Sum wit of him þou miȝt lere.  
 Houndes, how so hit falle,  
 Schulen ete wiþ þe in halle;  
 65 Pou schalt eten on þe ground,  
 Þin assayour schal ben an hound  
 To assaye þi mete bifore þe.  
 Wher is now þi dignite?«  
 He het a barbur him bifore,  
 70 Pat as a fol he schulde be schore  
 Al around lich a frere,  
 An honde brede boue eiþer ere,  
 And on his croune make a crois.

He gan crie and make nois,  
 He swor þei schulde alle abyne  
 175 Pat him duke such vileynde,  
 And euer he seide he was lord;  
 And eche man scorned him for þat word,  
 And eche man seide he was wod  
 Pat proued wel he couþe no good. 180  
 For he wende in none wise  
 Pat God almiȝti couþe deuise  
 Him to bringe to lower stat,  
 Wiþ o drauzt he was chekmat.  
 Wiþ houndes euerich niȝt he lay, 185  
 And ofte he cried welaway  
 Pat he euer was ybore,

V. 160) T cloþynge. V H hit is, T it nys. 161) Ha And he. H beyn. T owene.  
 162) H wytte. 163) Ha houndis. H befall. 164) V schulen, T scholle, H shul.  
 V eten, TH ete, Ha etyn. H Ha yn þe halle. 165) H Ha etyn. T H grounde.  
 166) H þy sayour, Ha tastour. H beyn. T H hounde. 167) H before. 168) H Ha:  
 For (fehlt in Ha) þou haste lore. 169) V T het, H clepyd, Ha comownded. Ha him  
 a barbur. 170) H shulde he. 171) H Ha alle. V H around, T round ylik, Ha rownd  
 as. V lich. 172) T a. H hondbrede. V boue eiþer ere, TH Ha aboue þe ere. 173) V  
 made, T Ha make, H makyn. Ha crosse. 174) T vois. Ha : He made þanne cry and  
 grete noyse. 175) V þei (sonst heo). H And seyd. Ha seyd, sore st. alle. 176) V duke,  
 H ded, T duke him, Ha dyd him. V vileynde, T velanye, H vylonye. 177) T he swor.  
 Ha her lord. 178) T skornede. Ha alle men, hem st. hym. H hys st. pat. 179 u.  
 180 in T umgestellt. 179) And fehlt in Ha T. Ha seyd nay at he was. H wode.  
 180) Ha And wele preved he. V T proued, H preuyd. V T couþe, H coude. H gode.  
 181) H wend, no. 182) almiȝti fehlt in H. Ha: god ne man myght. 183) T into. H  
 logher state, Halower astate. 184) Ha st. o. Ha But with on drawght. T drauzt. H mate.

V. 185—206: Hier zeigen die MSS. in Folge von Versetzung von Versen und Zusätzen grosse Abweichung. 185—8 (in V T) sind in H nach 206 umgestellt und es folgen darauf noch 6 Verse (vgl. V. 387—92): The aungel asked every day: »Foole, art þou kyng? þou me say!« »Ze«, he seyd, »hyt shal be knowe: Y am kyng, þoghe y be lowe.« »Pou art my foole«, seyd þe aungel; »þou art a fole, and þat ys del« (diese 6 V. hat Ha erst nach 220). Ausserdem hat H nach 196 ein Verspaar mehr: For hys grete vnbuxumnesse God put hym yn oþer lykenesse (in Ha erst nach 288); V. 193 lautet in H: To eche man he was vndyrlyng. — Noch abweichender ist Ha: es hat zunächst nach 184 folgende 8 V.: Atte lower Estate myght he not be Thanne be a fole, as þenketh me. For euery man had skornyng Of him þat before was a nobill kyng. Loo, how sone be goddis myght He was made lowe, as it was ryght. He was euer soo hard bestedde That mete ne drynke none he hade. Dann folgt 199—200, darauf der Zusatz: Whanne houndis hadde ete her fille, He myght ete after his wille; dann 201—206, jetzt 189—192, 185—189, dann 193—4 in der Fassung: So low brought was neuer kyng (wie Vern.), To al men he was an onderlyng (wie H); darauf st. 195—6 folg. 6 V.: Had prude ne bene, I vnderstond, A wylier (C wyser) kyng came neuer in lond. For his prude god (Ms. good) ganne him greve: He bought him dere, he wolde not him lese (Ms. lese?); God made him to knowe his chastesyng To be a fole þat ere was kyng. Die angeführten 6 V. des Ms. H lauten dann später nach 220: The aungel asked eueri day: »Fole, art þou kyng? þou me saye.« »Algate, he seyd, þat word I knowe, My bretheryn well the bryng lowe.« »That semeth the well«, sayde þe aungell; »Thow art a fole, and þat is dole. (Ms. C schliesst sich an Ha an).

V. 185) T euerich, V H eueri, Ha on nyght leye. 186) Ha and fehlt; oftyn, welle way. 187) V crizede, T cride, H Ha cryed. T was euere, Ha euer he was. V T

For he was a man forlore.  
 Per nas in court grom ne page  
 190 Pat of þe kyng ne made rage;  
 For noman ne miȝte him knowe:  
 He was defigured in a þrowe.  
 So lowe er þat was neuer kyng —  
 Allas, her was a delful þing  
 195 Pat he scholde for his pride  
 Such hap among his men bitide!  
 Hunger and þurst he hadde grete,  
 For he ne moste no mete ete  
 Bote houndes eten of his disch,  
 200 Wheþer hit were flesch or fischt;  
 He was to deþe neiz ybrouȝt  
 For hunger, ar he miȝt eten ouȝt  
 Wiþ houndes þat beþ in halle —  
 How miȝte him hardere falle? —  
 205 And whan hit nolde non oþer be,  
 He eet wiþ houndes gret plente.  
 Pe angel was kyng him þouȝte long.  
 In his tyme was neuer wrong,  
 Tricherye, falshede ne no gyle,  
 210 Don in þe lond of Cisyle;  
 Alle gode þer was gret plente,  
 Among men loue and charite,

In his tyme was neuer strif  
 Bitwene man and his wif,  
 Eche man loued wel oþer,  
 Beter loue was neuer of broþer.  
 Panne was þat a joyful þing  
 In londe to haue such a kyng!  
 Kyng he was þre zer and more —  
 Roberd ȝede as man forlore.  
 Seþþe hit fel vpon a day,  
 A litel bifore þe moneþ of May:  
 Sire Valemound þe emperor  
 Sente lettres of gret honour  
 To his broþer, of Cisyle kyng,  
 And bad him come wiþoute lettyng,  
 Pat þei miȝt be boþe ysome  
 Wiþ here broþer, pope of Rome:  
 Him þouȝte long þei were atwinne;  
 He bad him lette for no winne  
 Pat he nere of good aray  
 In Rome an holy þorsday.  
 Pe angel welcomed þe messagers,  
 And ȝaf hem cloþes riche of pers,  
 Furred al wiþ ermyne:  
 In Cristendom nas non so fyne,  
 And al was couched mid perre:

ybore, H Ha bore. V. 188) T euener st. a man. Ha For his ryall lyf was. 189) H Ha was.  
 190) H made grete rage. Ha But with him dede grete mokage. 191) H noman shulde.  
 Ha myght ohne ne. T yknowe, Ha knawe. 192) T deserited. Ha in litill þrowe.  
 193) T þat fehlt. Ha so low brought was. H To eche man he was vndyrling.  
 195—6) fehlen in Ha. 197) V þurst, T þrost, H þyste. T gret. 198) T et. H for  
 he muste ete no mete. 200) T whaþer, oþer. H Were hyt flesshe were hyt fyshe.  
 201) H to deþ ny. to fehlt in Ha. H broghte. 202) T ar fehlt, he ne myȝteete nouȝt. Hor,  
 wulde ete. In Ha fehlt for hunger. 203) V beþ, T ben, H were, Ha weryn. Ha But  
 with. 204) T hardere falle, H hardere befalle, V hardore bifalle. 205) H and fehlt,  
 wulde. Ha and whanne he sawe it wold. 206) Ha he hete. — 207) T H longe, Ha to  
 long. 208) T wronge. H neuer done wronge. 209) H Techerye. V ne falshede.  
 Ha no fehlt. 210) V I don, T H don, Ha was done. H londe. 211) T Of alle (of  
 fehlt in V H Ha). 212) T amonges. Ha grete loue. 213—4) u. 215—6) sind in H  
 umgestellt. 213) H neuer no stryfe. Ha: There was neþer wrathe ne stryfe. 214) T  
 betwyxe, al. bitwene. Ha Neþer betwene—ner. 215) H Ha Euery. 216) T betere. V  
 nas, al. was. H wyp st. of. 217) H þys st. þat. Ha That was a full gentil thyngh.  
 218) Ha Forto have soche a gracious kyng. 220) H fole st. man. Ha: And R. as a  
 fole yede. 222) Ha In þe begynnynge of may. 223) V Valemound, al. Valemounde.  
 224) V sende, al. sente. 226) Ha Forto come. V wiþouten. 227) V mihten, T myȝte,  
 H myght. be fehlt in H., Ha bene. H Ha yn some. 228) TH þe pope, VHa ohne þe.  
 229) Ha he st. hym. THlonge. 230) H badde. VHlette, Tlete. 231) H were. Ha grete  
 araye. 232) Ha vpon. V þoresday, T þorsday, H þursday. — 233) T messageres,  
 H messangers, Ha -is. 234) H zaue. V pers, T peres, H pereris, Ha (u. C) pryse.  
 Ha cloþyng. 235) T Ha forred. H alle. Ha it was all. 236) H In alle. V is T nas,  
 Ha was, H were. 237) H alle were. TH couched, V chouched, Ha congetteth. V mid,  
 al. wiþ. V T perre, H perye, Ha perles ryche. 233) V T welcomede, 241) wondrede.

Beter was non in Cristante.

Such cloþ, and hit were to dízþ,

Al Cristendom hit make ne miȝte;

Of þat wondred al þat lond

How þat cloþ was wrouȝt wiþ hond;

Wher such cloþ was to selle,

Ne ho hit made, couþe noman telle.

Pe messagers wente wiþ þe kyng

To grete Rome wiþoute letting.

Pe fol Roberd also went,

Cloþed in loþlich garnement

Wiþ foxes tayles ryuen aboute —

Men miȝt him knowen in þe route.

Pe angel was cloþed al in whit:

Nas neuer seyze such samyt,

And al was couched mid perles riche:

Neuer man seiȝ none hem liche.

Al was whit atyr and stede,

Pe stede was fair þer he zede;

So fair a stede as he on rod

Nas neuer man þat euer bistrod.

V. 238) H: Was neuer bettyr wyþoute lye. Ha : Neuer man sawe none hem leche (= 254 Vern.). 239—40) u. 241—42) sind in H umgestellt; 241—2) fehlen in Ha. 239) H for zyf swyche c. were. 240) Halle, make hyt. Ha hem make. 241) H wundred alle þe. 242) H hande. 243) T was mad to. H cloþe were. 244) T kan, Ha kanne. Ha þem st. hit. Nach 244 hat Ha noch: And all þey were of o cloþyng, Soche before mad neuer kyng. 245) T messenger. 246) T lesyng. 247) Ha with him st. also. 248) T a loþlich, H loþely, V lodly, Ha in a folis. 249) VT Ha foxes, H fox. Treuen, H ryuen, V mony, Ha hongyng. 250) V knowen, H knowyn, T Ha knowe. Ha hem st. him.

251—280) Hier weichen wiederum die MSS. in der Ordnung der Verse ab. Nach 250 in V T folgen in H zunächst 271—2 (272 lautet: So foule rode neuer kyng, vgl. 193), 253—4 (vgl. 237—8) fehlen in H, dafür hat H nach 258 ein Verspaar mehr: And so was alle hys aparayle, Alle men hadde þeroft meruayle; 259—60 fehlen, 261—2 folgen erst nach 276. Ha liest nach 250: A babill a bare ayens his wille, The aungels hest to fullfile, dann folgen die in H ausgelassenen 259—260, dann 261—2, dann erst 251—8 nebst den angeführten hier folgenden 2 Versen in H, dann 263—270, 273—6, während 277—8 erst nach 292 folgen, 279—80 fehlen. (C schliesst sich an Ha an).

251) H rode st. was cloþed, alle yn whyte. 252) H was, Ha There was. V seyze, T yseze, HHa founde. V T samyt, H a myȝte, Ha a wyghte. 253) Ha And fehlt. V myd, T wyth, Ha in. T perlis. 254) V mon seiȝ, T men seze. T none fehlt, here yliche. Ha : Saw neuer man anoder him liche. 255) V Al whit atyr was, THHa Al was whyt. Ha bothe tyre. 256) Ha place st. stede. V H he, T hy Ha þey. 257) T In so. H Ha rode. 258) H Ha was. H kyng. T bestrod H bestrode. 259) Ha To Rome com þe aungell. 260) Ha Ryaly, felle. 261) T Ha a kyng. 262) H Also. V wheþen, T whannes, H whan, Ha fro whenne. 263) T alle st. his. H weryn alle. H Ha rychely. T a dízþ. 264) Ha reches, telle. T seze. 265) V gurdeles, al. gerdeles. 267) V And alle ride, T and rideñ, H and alle were, Ha all þey redyn in. 268) V as I. 269) V gon, T gonne, H gun. Ha keke st. pyke. 270) V al oþer, Ha alle oder men him on like. T oþere. 271) T on st. of. 272) V þat he; in T fehlt þat. H So foule rode neuer kyng. 275) V Ha as for, as fehlt in T H, T for here. 276) H for st. of. 277) H madyn conforte. Ha They st. þese, H þes. 278) H Ha made broþer. H be. 279) V þe pope & e., T þe pope and þe e., in H fehlen beide þe, (l. þemperour?).

Pe angel com to Rome sone,

Real as fel a kyng to done;

So real kyng com neuer in Rome:

Alle men wondred whannes he come.

His men were realliche dízþ —

Here richesse can seye no wiȝt;

Of cloþes, gerdeles and oþer þing

Euerich squyer þouȝt a kyng,

And alle rideñ of riche aray —

Bote kyng Roberd, I zou say:

Alle men on him gon pike,

For he rod oþer vnlike;

An ape rod of his cloþyng,

In tokne þat he was vnderlyng.

Pe pope and þe emperour also

And oþer lordes many mo

Welcomed þe angel as for kyng,

And made joye of his comyng.

Pese þre breþeren made cumfort —

Pe angel was broþer mad bi sort;

Wel was þe pope and þe emperour

260

265

270

275

280 Pat hadden a broþer of such honour.

Forþ com sterte kyng Roberd  
As fol and man þat nas nouȝt ferd,  
And cried wiþ ful egre speche  
To his breþeren to don him wreche

285 Of him þat haþ wiþ queynte gyle  
His coroune and lond of Cisyle.  
þe pope, þe emperor, ne non oþer  
þe fol ne knew nouȝt for here broþer.  
þo was he moche fol yholde,

290 More þan er a þousend folde:

To cleyme such a broþerhede  
Hit was holde a foles dede.  
Kyng Roberd bigan to make care,  
Moche more þan he dude are,

295 Whan his breþeren nolde him knowe:

»Allas«, quaþ he, »now am I lowe!« —  
For he hoped bi eny þing  
His breþeren wolde ha mad him kyng.  
And whan his hope was al ago,

300 He seide allas and welawo,

He seide allas þat he was bore

For he was a man forlore,

He seide allas þat he was mad

For of his lif he was al sad;

Allas, allas, was al his song.

His her he tar, his honde wrong,

And euer he seide: allas, allas.

And þanne he þouȝte on his trespass.

He þouȝte on Nabugodonosor,

A noble kyng, was him bifor,

In al þe worlde nas his per

Forto acounte, fer no ner:

Wiþ him was sire Olyferne,

Prince of kniȝtes stoute and sterne:

Olyferne swor euermor

Bi God Nabugodonosor,

And seide þer nas no God in londe

Bot Nabugodonosor, ich vnderstonde;

Perforo Nabugodonosor was glad

Pat he þe name of God had,

And loued Olyferne þe more;

V. 280) H hadde, onoure. — 281) V sturte, al. sterte. Ha forth þanne came stertyng.  
282) H As a fole noght aferd. Ha was. THa ferd, V fert. 283) Hegur. Ha c. on him with  
eger. 284) him fehlt in Ha. 285) H Ha on st. of. H hadde, al. haþ. 286) V T coroune,  
H crowne. Ha: Crownyd him lord of Cesile. 287) V þe pope ne þe e. nouþer, T þe pope  
þe e. ne non oþer, H Pope e. ne none oþer, Ha The p. ne þe e. ne no noder. 288) H  
Knew nat þe fole, Ha Ne knew kyng Roberd. V H for here, Ha for his, here fehlt in  
T. 289) V þo was he more fol, T Ac moche fol he was, H Moche fole þan was he,  
Ha A mēkell foll he was. V I holde, al. holde. 290) Ha ony oder st. er. THa þouȝt-  
sand. 291) V breþerhede. a fehlt in Ha. 292) H a foole. 293) H gan, al. bigan.  
V maken, H makyn, T Ha make. 294) H moche fehlt, ded euer. Ha ere. 295—6)  
fehlen hier in Ha. 295) H ne wilde. 296) H he seyd. V am I, T ich am, H y am.  
297) H for st. bi, any. Ha wend st. hoped, alle þyng. 298) T broþeren, hauke, VH ha.  
Ha That his brotheryn wold hauke. 299) Ha is st. was, V Ha ago, T ygo, H alle go.  
300) H Allas he seyd, Ha He cryed alas. V weilawo, al. welawo. 301) H Alas seyd  
he þat y was born. 302) H for now I am man forlorn. 303) H Alas he seyde þat y  
was made, 304) for of my lyfe y am alle sadde. T al fehlt. Nach 304 hat H noch folg.  
4 V.: Alas, he seyde, y am on lyue! Sorwen(!), þou art me ful ryue! Alas, he seyd, and  
welawo! Herte, breste and clefe on two. Statt 301—4 liest Ha: Allas, he seyde,  
what may I do? Now is my ioye alle Igoo. Allas, why woll not deth me take? Now  
my brodryn hath me forsake.

Darauf folgt in Ha jetzt schon 377—382, darauf folgende V.: Whenne eche of  
other leve ganne take, The fole grete sorow thanne ganne make. Whenne his brodren  
wold him not knowe, Allas, he seyde, now am I lowe! (Diese 2 V. = 295—6) He  
thought moche of that kas How he was folle, and seyd alas! He thought of Naybe-  
gedefnoser u. s. w. (ähnlich C.)

V. 306) H tere. V his hondes wrong, H hys handys he wrong, T his honde he  
wrong. 309) T Nabugodonosor, V Nabugodonosore. 310) Ha þat was. VH before.  
311) V T al, H alle, Ha In this. V Ha world, T H worlde. H ne was. Ha was  
ohne ne. 312) V forte, al. forto. T abouten. V ne, H no, T and. 313) H Oly-  
uerne. 314) T knyȝtis. V stout, al. stoute. 315) H swore. 317) Ha and swore. H Ha  
was. 320) Ha Whanne he, hadde. 321) V T louede. V Olofern. H moche þe more.

- And seþþe hit greued hem boþe sore :  
Olyferne deyed in dolour :  
He was slaye in hard schour ;  
5 Nabugodonosor liued in desert —  
Dorst he nowher ben apert,  
Fyftene þer he liued þare  
Wiþ rotes, gras, and euel fare,  
And al of mos his cloþyng was —  
o Al com þat bi Godes gras :  
He cried merci wiþ sory chere :  
God him restored as he was ere.  
»Now am ich in such cas,  
And wel worse þan he was.  
5 Whan God ȝaf me such honour  
Þat I was cleped Conquerour,  
In eueri lond of cristendome  
Of me men speke wel ylome  
And seiden nowher nas mi per  
40 In al þe worlde fer no ner :  
For þat name I hadde pride,  
As angles þat gonue from joye glide
- And in twynklyng of an eize  
God binom here maystrye :  
So haþ he min, for mi gult ;  
Now am I wel lowe ypult.  
And þat is riȝt þat I so be.  
Lord, on þi fol þou haue pite !  
I hadde an errour in min herte,  
And þat errour doþ me smerte :  
Lord, I leued nouȝt on þe :  
Lord, on þi fol þou haue pite !  
Holy writ I hadde in dispyt :  
For þat is reued mi delyt,  
For þat is riȝt a fol I be :  
Lord, on þi fol þou haue pite !  
Lord, I am þi creature ;  
Þis wo is riȝt þat I dure  
And wel more, ȝif hit may be :  
Lord, on þi fol þou haue pite !  
Lord, I haue gult þe sore :  
Merci, lord, I nil no more ;  
Euer þi fol, lord, wil I be :  
355  
360

V. 322) H But seþþ. T suthe. Ha And that greuid. 323) V Olofern. Ha in grete d.  
524) V slaye, H slawe, T sleyn. H yn sharpe showre. 325) H was, V lyuede, T le-  
ueude, Ha leved. 326) H nowhere, Ha nouȝt nowhere. 327) T dwelde. Ha wynter  
st. zer, there. 328) V rotes, TH rotis. T euele. Ha : A wyld best as it were. 329) HHa  
cloþys. 330) H And alle hyt come, Ha for it come. Nach 330 liest Ha noch : For  
pryde it was eueridele, There of god lyked nobȝyng wele. 331) T H sory, V delful.  
332) T as ze here. 333) H swych a. 334) Ha And a welle wers. 335) H ȝauie.  
336) T clepud, V clepet. 337) V lond, TH londe, Ha place. Ha cristendam. 338) V  
Of me men speke, T of myne men speke, H folke speke of me, Ha : Men spoken of  
me moche wysdam. H yn lome. 339) V seiden, H seydyn, T seide. V H was,  
T nas. Ha in no place st. nowher. 340) H no, al. ne. Ha : In no lond ferr (ne) nere.  
341) Ha Thorow st. for. 342) þat fehlt in H. T of st. from. H heuene, Ha fro  
him, V T joye. 343) T twynglynge. H ye. Ha with þe st. in. 344) V binom,  
T bynam, H fornom hem, Ha toke from him all þat. 345) T myn fehlt, H me myn.  
Ha So hath he chastised me. T gelt, V gult, H gulte. 346) H ful lowe pulte, T ypelt,  
V Ipult. Ha Now I ought of lond. In Ha folgen nach 346 : 351, 355, 349—50,  
353—4; 347—8, 352, 356 fehlen. 347) and fehlt in T. 348) þou fehlt in T. 349—  
50, in H umgestellt : þat errur haþ made me to smerte þat y hadde yn my herte.  
349) V myn, T H my. 351) T leuede. 352) T H Lord on, in V fehlt lord. T þou  
fehit. 353) H wrytte, despyte. 354) V T for þat, H Ha therefore. H reuyd ys myn,  
Ha is bereaved me my. 355) V T for þat, H þefore. H þat y be. 356) þou fehlt  
in T. —

357—382) Hier gehen die Versionen wieder sehr auseinander; der Text folgt Ms.  
Vernon, dem sich T. anschliesst, nur dass 369—72 fehlen. H hat folgende Ab-  
weichungen: 357—60 fehlen, dafür hat H nach 364 folg. 2 Quatrains: Lorde, þou  
hast me boght and wroght, And zyt or now y knewe hyt noght: þan ys ryȝt a fole  
þat y be: Lorde on þy fole þou haue pyte. Of my kyngedom greueþ me noght:  
Hyt ys forgulte wyþ dede and þoght; At bettyr state kepe y none be: Lorde on þy  
fole þou haue pyte (bemerke den durchgehenden Reim). Darauf folgt noch folg.  
Quatrain: Blysful Marye, þou were yn core, To helpe man þat was forlore: Prey þy

- Lord, on þi fol haue pite !  
 365 Blisful Marie, to þe I crye :  
     As þou art ful of cortesye,  
     Prey þi sone þat deyde for me,  
     On me, his fol, þou haue pite !  
     Blisful Marie, ful of gras,
- 370 To þe I knowe mi trespass :  
     Prey þi sone, for loue of þe  
     On me, his fol, he haue pite !  
     He seide no more allas allas,  
     Bot þanked Crist of his gras ;
- 375 And þus he gan him self stille,  
     And þanked Crist mid good wille.  
     Þe pope, emperour and kyng  
     Fyue wikes made here dwellyng.  
     Whan fyue wikes were agon,
- 380 To here owne lond þei wolde anon,  
     Boþe þe emperour and þe kyng.  
     Per was a fair departyng.  
     Þe angel com to Cisyle,  
     He and his men, in a while.
- 385 Whan he com in to halle,  
     Þe fol he bad forþ calle.
- He seide : »fol, artow kyng ?«  
 »Nay, sire«, quap he, wiþoute lesyng.  
 »What artow ?« seide þe angel.  
 »Sire, a fol, þat wot I wel,  
     And more þan fol, ȝif hit may be :  
     Kep I non oþer dignite«.
- Þe angel in to chaumbre went,  
     After þe fol anon he sent;  
     He bad his men out of chaumbre gon :  
     þer lefte nomo but he alon,  
     And þe fol þat stod him bi.
- To him he seide : »þou hast merci.  
 Penk þou were lowe pult,  
     And al was for þin owne gult :  
     A fol þou were to heuene kyng :  
     Perfore þou art an vnderlyng.
- God haþ forȝiue þi mysdede.  
     Euer herafter þou him dредe !  
     I am an angel of renoun,  
     Sent to kepe þi regiouн.  
     More joye me schal falle
- In heuene among mi feren alle  
     In an oure of a day,

sone þat deyde for me : On hys sole he haue pyte. Dann folgt 365—82. — Ganz abweichend ist Ha: dieses liest st. 357—82 nur folg. 12 Verse: Ryght it is, how so it falle, With howdnes I hete in þe halle, And leue my lyf euermore As thenne dede before Naybegodonosore». To Cryst he gan þus calle, That in swonyng he ganne falle, And euer he seyd with myld mode: »I thanke the, lord, þat art so good. Of my kyndom me greveth nowight, But of my gylt and lyþer bought (vgl. H.). Euer þy sole, lorde, will I be. Lord, on þy sole have pyte. 377—82 waren schon nach 304 vorangegangen. (C schliesst sich an Ha an, hat aber vor 357 10 Verse mehr).

358) V dure, T endure. 360) V þou haue, T þou fehlt. 361) V Igult. 362) VI nul, Ty nelle, H y wyl. T namore. 364) H þou haue, þou fehlt in VT. 365) T blisselful. VH to, T on. 366) H as fehlt. T curtasie. 367) V T preye. V dyed, TH deyde. 368) in H fehlt me. H he st. þou; in T fehlt þou. 370) V knowe, H knowlyche. 371) H Prey þy sone þat deyde for me. 372) me fehlt in H. 374) H god st. Crist. 375) T selue. 376) H god st. Crist. V mid, T H wyþ. 377) V þen, T H þe. H þe emperour. V kyng, H T þe kyng. 378) (Ha sex wekis þere þey). V wikes, T wyke, H wekys. H madyn. 379) H þe fyue. T wokes. H alle gone. (Ha And whanne the wekys were doone). 380) V wolden, H woldyn, T wolde. (Ha retorneid sone). 381) H Ha þe emperoure, in VT fehlt þe. 382) H fayre (Ha There made). —

383) H come. 385) Ha þe halle. 386) V þe fool anon he bad, T þe fol he het, H Ha þe sole he ded. H furþe. 387) V he, al. and. Ha asked. 388) H he seyde, Ha seyd he. 389) Ha þow þen. 390) H: Syre a sole he seyde y wote welle. 391) T Ha y st. hit. 392) V kep, T H kepe. 394) V And after, and fehlt in d. a. MSS. 395) T het. 396) V lafte, T H lefte, Ha leueth. T namo. Ha him st. he. 398) Ha penne st. þou hast. 403—4) stehien in H Ha vor 399.

Nach 400 hat H Ha noch: Þe loweste state þat may be (Ha þat is in lond), ys a sole how þenkeþ me (Ha þat is a sole I vnderstand), vgl. Ha vor 189. 399) Ha out st. lowe. VI pult, al. pult. 400) Ha Of thy kyngdom for. 402) H were, an fehlt; Ha were and (st. an). 403) V forȝiuen, al. forȝyue. H Ha þe þy. 405) Ha of grete. 406) V Isent, al. sent. 407) Ha befalle. 408) H myne feryn. Ha amonges our frendis. 409) V hour,

Pan in erþe, I þe say,  
 In an hundred housend zer,  
 Peiz al þe world fer and ner  
 Were min at mi likyng.  
 I am an angel, þou art kyng.  
 He went in twynklyng of an eze.  
 No more of him þer nas seze.  
 Kyng Roberd com in to halle.  
 His men he bad forþ calle:  
 And alle were at his wille,  
 As to here lord, as hit was skille.  
 He loued God and holicherche,  
 And euer he þouȝte wel to werche.  
 He regned after two zer and more,  
 And loued God and his lore.  
 Pe angel ȝaf him in warnyng  
 Of þe tyme of his deyȝyng.  
 Whan tyme com to deye son,

He let write sone anon  
 How God mid his mochel miȝt  
 Made him lowe, as hit was riȝt. 430  
 Pis storie he sente euerichdel  
 To his breþeren, vnder his sel.  
 And tyme whan he schulde deye,  
 Pat tyme he deyed as he gan seye. —  
 Al þis is write wiþoute lyȝe 435  
 At Rome, to ben in memorye,  
 At seint Petres cherche, I knowe.  
 And þus is Godes miȝt ysowe  
 Pat heyȝe beþ lowe, peiz hit ben ille,  
 And lowe heyȝe, at Godes wille. 440  
 Crist, þat for vs gan deye,  
 In his kyneriche let vs ben heyȝe,  
 Euermore to ben aboue,  
 Per is joye, cumfort and loue. AMEN.

al. oure (T our). V. 410) H here st. in erþe. 411) in Ha fehlt In. 412) H alle.  
 Ha: In all the world. 413) Ha me st. min. 414) Ha and þou. 415) V went, al.  
 wente. 416) T yseize, H þey seye; Ha no fehlt, noman st. þer nas. 417) Ha kyng fehlt.  
 H Robard. Ha þe halle. 418) V bad anon; T het, H badde, Ha dede, ohne anon.  
 419) and fehlt in H Ha, alle þey. 420) Ha To her kyng. H and þat was skylle.  
 421) H loued wel. 422) in H fehlt he. Ha: he þought euer wele. 423) H þre ȝers,  
 Ha to. 424) Ha Crist st. god. H Ha and alle hys. 425) H ȝaue. 427) H come.  
 sone. Ha — time of his deth come. 428) V write hit riȝt anon, hit fehlt in d. a. MSS. TH  
 sone anon, Ha ryght sone. 429) V myd, al. wyp. 430) H and þat was. Ha: Fro  
 foly restored him his ryght. 431) V sende, T sente, H sent. H dele. 432) VH vnder  
 his sel, in Ha fehlt his, T writen wel. 433) V þe tyme, in T fehlt þe, Ha At the tyme,  
 H Whan tyme come he. 434) H soþe to seye. Ha: Lyke as þe angell before had  
 seye. V gon, T gan.

Nach 434 haben H Ha (auch C) 16 Verse mehr: Hys breþryn þoghtyn on þe  
 fole, þat cryde to hem and made dole (Ha with grete dole), And wystyn wel hyt was  
 here broþer: Wyþoute doute hyt was none oþer (Ha And forsothe he was). In Cy-  
 syle wyste hyt many mo (Ha — was not many moo) þat weryn wyþ hym whan hyt was  
 so (Ha That was werre þat it was soo). Pe pope of Rome herof gan preche, Alle  
 crystyn men þeroft to teche (Ha And the pepill he ganne to teche), That þey shulde  
 prydye forsake And gode vertues to hem take (Ha And to g. v. hem take), And seyde  
 hys broþer þat was kyng, How he for prydye was vndyrlyng (Ha How he was an) — (hier  
 schiebt Ha 2 Verse ein: Pryde is fer fro god almyght, It may not come all in his  
 syght) — For prydye wulde, ȝyf hyt myȝt ha be (ha fehlt in Ha), Surmounte Crystys  
 dygnyte (Ha Bereve Cryst of his d.) And ben alle at hys owne wylle (alle fehlt in Ha).  
 Pus þurh prydye man may spyllie.

435) V writen. Tal þis y write. H Ha Thys storye ys wyþoutyn lye. 436) H wry-  
 tyn st. to ben. Ha and is. 437) H petyr. wel y knowe. Ha it is knowe. 438) HCristys st.  
 godes. Ha And þis is goddis ryght lawe. 439) V beop, T ben. H That lowe shul-  
 hyȝe at goddys wylle. Ha Now lowe hiye att is will. 440) T Cristis. H And heyȝe  
 shul low þoght hyt be ylle. Ha And hiye louwe as it is skyll. — 441—4 In Ha lauten  
 die 4 letzten Verse: Prey we god in trinite That hiye in heven mott we be, And þat  
 we now have þat blys That Cryst bought for alle his. — 441) H wuldest st. gan. 442) H  
 þy st. his. V kyneriche, T kyngriche, H kyngdome. H lete, be. 444) H Where ys boþe  
 pes and loue. H schliesst mit: God graunte þat hyt so be. Amen, amen, par charyte.

## Beilage zur Creatio mundi.

### þe lyff of Adam and Eue\*)

aus Ms. Vernon fol. 393.

Pis tretyis is hou þe word was wrouȝt and Adam and Eue , & þe wo þat Adam & Eue  
in heore lyue hedden.

Alle þat bileeuen on Jhesu Crist, lusteneþ and ze mowen heere how muche is  
þe miht of vre heuene kyng! Furst he schop heuene, & siþen þe eorþe, to beren  
treo & gras. Þe eorþe was druyȝe & wiþouten moisture; þer nas no þing þat was  
quik, neiþer more ne lasse. | Þe holigost was euere, wiþouten begin(n)ing, & schal be  
5 wiþouten endyng. | God as his wille was, behihte to make liht. And þo he made  
angelus, of a swiþe fair bleo. | Sachel was þe furste angel þat Crist made, and siþen  
he hihte Lucifer, þat þorw pruide was forloren. | God seih þat hit was good to alle  
goode werkes: wel fayre he departed þe derke from þe liht. | Liht he cleped þe day,  
& þe derknesse þe niht. Of euen & of morewen he made a day. & seþþen oþur  
10 þing, as I wol ȝow tellen. | On þe secunde day he schop þe firmament, þat is  
abouen vs — vr lord bring vs alle þider, zif hit beo his swete wille. Þe watres vndur  
heuene Crist made togeder weende, and alle heore stremes, in a luytel stounde, and  
sende hem forþ, for þat þe druye eorþe schulde bringe forþ fruit; and þo he cleped  
þis water gedering. Crist seih þat hit was good. Of euen & of morwen he made  
15 þe þridde day. | Þe feorþe day þe sonne and þe mone he sette in þe firmament, &  
sterres ful brihte; þe sonne he sette to þe day, þe mone to þe niȝte. | Þe fifþe day  
Crist comaundet fissches in water forto swymme, mony beestes & foules to be vnder þe  
firmament flizt. And þo he maked þe whal, most of alle fissches, and alle maner beestes  
he made þer-myde, & biddeþ hem þat heo schulden waxe & multiplye, & zaf hem  
20 his blessyng. | Þe sixte day wolde god enden his werkes: hors & reþeren he made,  
forte suffren wo, and alle maner beestes þat gon vpon fote.

And þo he made paradys, bizonde þe mount of Asye, in þe Est-londe. Hit is  
wel euene & swiþe round abouten, wiþ a brennyng wal from heuene to þe grounde. |  
Þe murþe þat þer-inne is, non eorþlich may hit telle no seo. Per-inne groweþ þe  
25 treo of lyf, þat stont þer wel faire — hose eteþ of þat fruit, schal he neuer dyȝen.

\*) So der Titel im Index. Abschrift dieser Version danke ich der Güte Furnivall's, nebst der Erlaubniss, dieselbe hier abzudrucken.

Per-inne springeþ a welle, þat was mad wiþ godis hondes; foure stremes þer rennen out of in to diuerse londes: | Fyson hette þat on strem þat comeþ from þat welle; | anoþur hette Gyson, þat is of more prys: he passeþ bi anoþer coost swiþe georne wiþ-alle þat colde is inne Ifounden, and preciouuse stones and zeem-stones þer ben swiþe noble forto staunche blood; | he þridde hette Eufrates: þat watur is swiþe swift; | þe feorþe hette Tygre: þat is briht þorw charbuncle-stones þat liggen per-inne.

þO after he made mon of erþe, in flesch and bon, in þe vale of Ebron. | God reste þe seuenþe day; noþing wolde he worche, for þulke day men schulde herien god of heuene. | Per-aftur god bad foure angelus þat heo schulden seche þulke monnes nome þat he hedde Imaad. | Seint Mihel wente in to þe est: he seih þer a sterre þat was swiþe briht: Anatalim was þat sterre Thote, wiþ þe furste lettre A; and soone he com azeyn. | Gabriel in to þe west-half wente: and he seiȝ in þe firmament a sterre þat hihte was Dysus; þe furste lettre D þer-of soone he brouȝte. | Raphael com to þe north: he say þer a sterre þat is Iclepet Arcis; anon he fleyh aȝein, wiþ þe furste lettre A þat he con wiþ him bringe. | Forþ him wente Vriel, riht in to þe souþ; Messeembrion hihte þe sterre þat he sih þere; wiþ þe furste lettre M he wente swiþe azeyn & brought hit tofore god wiþ þe oþur þeo. God took þeos foure lettres & bad Vriel rede; & he radde: Adam.

Crist maade Adam Ilyk to his owne ymage & bleuz on him þe spirit of lyf wiþ his swete mouþ, and seide: »Lo, Adam is on of vs, connynge boþe good and vuel. I wol þat ze honoure him«. Seynt Mihel was þe furste þat dude him honour; and also þe oþur angelus aftur him. | Po hit com to Sachel þat he schulde honoure him, so muche was his pryme þat he miȝt not lowen him, and seide: »I was er Adam«. Po seide Micael to him: »þou schalt honoure Adam; or god wole reyne wreche on þec. »Ze, zif he beo wroþ wiþ me, I wot where to abyden: I schal sette my seete in þe north-syde, and I wol be lyk þe hexte þat is abouen vs. Perfore I nul not honoure Adam, for eize ne for loue«. And seide: »whuch of zow seih me be maad?«, as þeih he seide: I was er eny of zou weore, I wol be euere to þe hexte. | And a vois seide abouen: »I was er þen þou«. And þo þat ȝaf kepe to þat word, bilasten stille; and þe oþure fallen adoun þat cosented to Lucifer, for heo neoren not stable toforen. And þenne weore þei stabelicet in þat ilke while þat heo hedden þenne, boþe þe goode & vuuel, so þat heo ne mihte neuer out þer-of: and after þat while heo beon pyнет, summe more & summe lasse; and also to þe oþer: in heuene is heore joye. And he and alle his feeren fullen out of heuene; heo fullen out as þikke as þe drift of þe snouh. | Summe astunte in þe eyr, and summe in þe eorþe. | Zif eny mon is elue Inome oþur elue Iblowe, he hit haþ of þe angelus þat fallen out of heuene.

þO paradis was Imaad, god nom Adam bi þe hond and brought him þerinne, and brouhte alle beestes and foules toforen him. And he ȝaf alle nome after heore kuynde. And he seih þat vchon hedde his make & he hedde non. God nolde not þat Adam schulde libbe þer alone: he caste sleep in him, and made Eue of his owne ribbe, for þat he scholde haue al his wille. And to him he ȝaf alle þing þat þo was o lyue, | þe fissches & þe foules he ȝaf to heore hondes, and alle manere of beestes, al but þe appell-tre þat he him forbade. | þo was Adam wel Inouh, & riht wys of witte. — Now is heere a skile whi to asken weore whi þat wymmen ben feirore þen men bi kuynde; herto wol I onswere: for wommon was maad in paradis of Adames ribbe, and mon was maad of eorþe & of soul fen; þerfore is wom-

monnes fel cleror þen monnes. | Al þe blisse of paradys was taken to Adam & to Eue his make, but þe treo of wisdom þat was forboden hem bi þe heste of god.

Adam hedde þe north-syde & þe est of paradys, and Eue hedde to hire dele þe souþ & þe west. Heo hedden two angelus to kepen hem & to wissen hem, þat heo noȝ schulde haue no doute, for no maner drede. | Tipinges coome anon to þe angelus, þat kepten hem, þat heo schulden come anon to worschupe god almihti & him to honoure. Assoone as þe angelus weore went forþ, to seon heore creatour, þo waȝ þe stude empti þer þei hedden Iben. | þe angelus of helle, þat weore maad wiþ Criste hond, hedden gred envy of Adames joye & of his blisse. | Þe fend com as a neddræ forte begylen Eue, and seide to hire: »What haþ god forboden ow?«. And Eue tolde him a long tale, al what god hedde Iseid. And be hire tellyng þe schrewe fond wey of hire frelete. | »Ete nou«, he seide, »of þis fruit, and þou schalt eeuene ben lyl Crist; boþe þou schalt cunne þe goode & þe vuel — bote þou ete þer-of now, I holde þe for wood«. And Eue þorw þe fendes red eet of þis fruit, and Adam for hire loue 15 & þat him rewed ful sore. | As soone as heo hedden þer-of eten, þei knewen wel þa heo weren naket — and þat hedde Sathanas maad þorw his tresun. | Wiþ leues of a fyger heo hudden heore bodies, & hedden muche schome; and þer-of hedde Sathanas muche gle and game. | What god spak to Adam, ze schul wite sone.

Oure lord seide to Adam: »Wher art þou nou? tel me, Adam, whi eet þou oþe tre?« »þe wommon þat þou betoke me, lord, dude me ete þer-of«. God seide þo to Adam: »For þou hast don bi Eues lore, þou schalt hit abugge asturward: þou schal fare in to þesternesse, and from bodilich hele in to serwe & wo«. | And þenne spak god to Eue: »Whi hast þou þus Iwrouht?« And heo onswerd and seide: »Lord, þe eddre haþ bitrayet me«. Po he spac to Eue & seide: »Wommon! for þou art vnwrast 25 in muchel trauayl þou schalt ben, & vnder monnes heste, children þou schalt bere wiþ muchel pyne & wo, & al þat of þe comeþ, & al þin offspring«. | And god aske þe eddre: whi he dude so. And he seide: »for I hedde to hem envy«. And »Neddræ for þou bitrayedest mon wiþ nuy & wiþ oonde, þi breste schal ben þi feet, and eorþe þou schalt eten, and men schal wayte þe to sléé; vppe þi breste þou schalt slyden, 30 feet ne tit þe neuer noone. And whon þou schalt don þi kuynde, þou schalt smite þin hed in to þin makes mouþe, & heo schal byten hit of; wiþ þyne furste kundles þow schalt bersten on-þreo«. | Po seide (god) to Adam: »Go out of paradis! and ze schul come to þat stude þat ze schulle agrysen of«. | Po com þe angel Cherubim wiþ a swerd brennynge & drof hem out of paradys. | Po was Adam & Eue brouȝt ir 35 to þat stude þer he was Imaad. God ȝaf hem curteles tweyne of beestes felles, þa heo hedden vpon, bitokened þat heo & heore offspring schulde dye in eorþe. Pe heo lyueden heore lyf in þe wrecched weopes dale. | Ofte heo weoren a-cold and sore of-hungred; eddren mihte hem styngen, foulcs and beestes hem mihte to-tere; þe watur þat bifore hem bare, hem mihte adrenche.

40 Adam maad him an hous, forto wonen inne; swinke he moste & trauaylen, & Eue moste spynne. Per heo wonden eiȝte dayes, in þulke wonyng, in serwe & in muche teone. þer-aftur he eode al one fourtene niȝt, bi water and bi londe, wiþouȝten eny lyfode. And þer he com to Eue aȝeyn & tolde hire þis tyþinge þat he ne mihte fynde but more & gras, & þat schulde þe beestes of þe lond ete, for god 45 hit haþ ȝeuȝen to hem. | »Weilawey«, quaþ Eue, »Ichaue Iwrouht ful euele, for Ich

19) Ms. me me. 31) kundles = young, s. Bestiary V. 620. 32) god fehlt im Ms.

haue Ibrouht þe in muchel serwe & care. | Adam, I bidde þe, quaþ Eue, þat þou bennym me my lyf, for Ichauue brought þe in muchel serwe & wo. | »Beo stille«, quaþ Adam, »hou miht I so do wiþ my flesch and wiþ my blode? Ac we schul do penaunce & bidde god of merci, zif we mihte eny þing amende. »Such penaunce« quaþ Eue, »wol I haue as I mihte studefastlyche and wel ouer-come. »We schul hope« quaþ Adam, »of forzuienesse. Stond þou in þis water of Tygre, vp to þi chinne þer-inne, XXX dayes; and alle þe while þou art þer-inne, spek þou no word: for vre lippes ben vnworþi to speken eny þing to god, for we eeten of þe fruit þat he us hedde forboden. In þulke manere I wol soffre penaunce in þe flum Jordan fourti dayes. Eue stod in hire penaunce, til eihte dayes weoren ago: þo com þe fend in þe liknesse of an angel to hire. And Eue loked vppon him: & sore heo bigon to siken and wepte wel sore & hire hondes gan to wringen. And þe angel made muche mornynge, & seide þo to Eue: »Cum vp of þe water! for we angelus of heuene han preyed for þe: so þat Jhesu Crist haþ vnderfongen þi penaunce, for þou wold so bleþeliche dwelle þer-in so longe. I am set to bringe zow þer ze schul haue mete, such as ze weore wont to haue & eeten in paradys. | Þe corsud angel nom Eue vp bi þe hond & ladde hire to druye londe; as soone as Eue was comen vp of þe water, hire bodi was grene as eni gras. | Þe angel ladde Eue forþ, forte heo coomen to flum Jordan, þer heo seizen Adam stonde. | Po þat Adam sauh þe angel ledn Eue, he crized to hire wiþ muche serwe & seide to hire: »Eue, Eue, wher is now þi þouȝt? al is for nouȝt þe penaunce þat þou hast Idon. | Anon heo wuste þo þat heo was bigiled. Heo þouȝte þat hire herte wolde to-berste: so sore heo was agreeued; adoun heo fel in a swoune, & bigon to tere hire her — þo was al hire serwe Idoublet, more þen hit was tofore. Adam cursed þe fend & seide to him: »Whi art þou vr aduersarie & vre foo? constou euer siggen þat we benomen þe eny joye oþer eny blisse, or þat we duden þe eny vnriht? | Po þe fend onswerde wiþ wel sori cheer: »Adam, al ich wite hit þe & Eue, þi fere, þe cumpaignye of angelus & heuene -blisse Ichauue forloren. | Furst þo þou was Ischapet and Imaad mon, þo was I comaundet of god þat I schulde honoure þe; and I seide I nolde not honoure þe, for no þing; and þerfore was god wroþ wiþ me: for þulke vnboxumnesse was I put out of my sege of heuene. | Po spak Adam and seide: »What mihte we don þer-to? we ne knewe þe nouȝt.«

Adam heold vp his honden to þe heuene & seide: »Haue merci of me, god omnipotent: in þi swete hondes I betake my soule, & do þis feondes from vs þat don vs al þis wo. | I beseche god almihti to giue me þulke seete þat he haþ forloren. | And þenne at þulke wordus þe fend wente away. And Adam stod stille & abod his penaunce. And þo he hedde don his penaunce, he com vp, & a þunder-blast com, and he and Eue, his wyf, wenten togedere: & þo was Caym bizeten. | Po seide Eue to Adam: »Ich mot fleo, for no lengur in þis sory lyf may I heer dwelle. | Bilef þou her, lord, al one, and ich wol weenden to þe worldes ende, in to þe west. | Eue þo went hire forþ, toward þe west-syde. And þer heo made hire a logge, forte wonen inne, for chele of snouȝ & of forst & for alle maner wikked wederes. Eue was wiþ childe er heo went from Adam. So twelue moneþ heo dwellet þere. And whon þe tymen was comen þat þe child schulde bornen be, heo was so sore adred þer-of þat heo forlees nerhonde hire witte. Oft heo bad merci to god abouen, ac heo nas noþing

herd of hire biddynge. Heo sent hire steuene & hire sonde bi þe heuene to Adam, hire lord, how heo was bistad. | And Adam was strongliche aferd and gretliche abascht, þo he herde hire, leste þe fend weore Icomen hire to bitrayen. | Þo þis tipinges weore come to him þorw þe firmament, he wente to hire sone anon. Þo þat 5 Eue him seih, for blisse heo gon to weopen, | and seide: »Lord, wel is me þat I þe seo on lyue! sone so I þe seze, I ne felede noþing of alle my pyne. | Nou bidde god þat he me wol vnbynde of my serwe — for noþing þat I bidde I may fynde no grace. | Þo bad Adam to god his help & his grace.

PER coomen twelue angelus from heuene & nomen Eue and seiden heo weoren 10 Icome forto helpen hire, for Adames loue; »hize þe blyue, þat þi child weore boren! for þou schalt haue help of vs«. Pat child was soone Ibom: Caym was þe childe nome. | Þo nom Adam Eue, his wif, and his child, & wenten aȝeynard to þe Estlond. Po god ȝaf Adam diuerse seedes, & tauȝte him to tilye & to sowe, so þat he mihte her-afturward boþe repe & gedere; and þat he schuldenym ȝeme to þe tilynge 15 of þe eorþe, for hem and for heore offspring þat aftur hem comen. And bad Adam to ȝeuuen him þe tiþe dole þat coome of þe eorþe. And þen seide Adam: »Lord, nym þe haluendole!« »Nay«, seide vr lord, »hit schal þe tym come þat þe tiþe dole schal beo binomen me for fals couetyse of þe fenes lore. | Adam bizat anoþer child: Abel was his name. Peose two children wonede to gedere, & swonken for 20 heore mete, þorwh þe teching of heore fader. | Eue seide to Adam: »Icham sore agast þat Caym wol sle Abel, his broþer: þerfore hit bihoueþ, zif we wol wel do, to parte hem a-twynne. | Po was Caym maad tilyere, and Abel heerde of scheep and of oþur beestes. | Abel was tiþer good of alle þinges & þonked god swiþe wel; | and Caym tiþed falslich, and brak godes hestes, for he wiþheold alwey þe beste dole & 25 ȝaf god of þeworste. | Crist vnderfong wel fayre þe tiþe of Abel: for þe smoke wente euene vpward, as hit brende; and þe smoke of Caym wente downwart, for he tiþede falsliche. | Þis was þe lawe of þe olde testament forto brenne alle maner tiþe: for þat god schulde ben heried of þat smoke þat coome vpward þe heuene. Abel hedde of god loue and grace, and þerfore Caym was wroþ & bigon to teren his 30 visage. | Per-aftur god asket Caym whi he was so proud & so stout þat he totaar his visage, and seide: »Zif þou wel dost, þou schalt wel fynde; and zif þou eny þing vuel dost, þou schalt beo bounden wiþ sunne. | After þis seide Caym to Abel: »Go we now to þe feelde forto witen vr fader bestes!« | So heo wenten forþ I-feere. And þer Caym slouh Abel: wiþ þe cheke-bon of an asse he smot him on þe hed; and 35 þer he bilafte ded in þe feld of Damasse. | God asket of Caym: »Wher is þi broþur?« And Caym onswerde and seide: »I nam not his keper. | »What hastou Ido?« quær god to Caym, »& wher hastou iþeon? Pe vois of Abels blod crieþ to heuene to me. | God ȝaf Caym þer his curs for he hedde Iculd his broþer & sched his blod, and seide: »þe eorþe crieþ to me on þe for þe sunne þat þou hast don, and wol putte þe 40 awrey from his face, and alle þinges schul ben aȝeynes þe, beestes and foules schul sle þe. | Ben seide Caym: »Nou I wot þat mi sunne is so muche þat I may haue no forzienesse. Nou, lord«, seide Caym, »schal alle þing þat comeþ to me, sle me?« »Nay«, seide vr lord, »I schal sette a token vp on þe, þat alle þat sle Caym, seuenfold schal his synne be more. | And þo sette Crist a marke vp on him: þat he waggede 45 alwey forþ wiþ his heued. Po tok Caym his wyf Calmana, þat was his suster, wiþ him, & al þat he hedde, and anon riht went him awrey from þe face of god, in to þe lond of Edom, wiþ serwe & wiþ wo.

And whon Adam wuste þat Abel was slayn, his herte bigon to waxe cold — nas  
 neuer mon for his child so wo. Adam seide: »þouȝ I þole wo hit is good riht; for  
 þat I nolde not holde godes hestes, I haue forlore paradys, and nou for Abel my  
 sone ne worþ I neuer bliþe. | Per-astur an hundred zeer Adam wiþ Eue engendrede  
 5 no fruit, ac euere he was in serwe & in wepyng. | Po þe hundred zeer weoren passet,  
 him com aleggaunce of his wo: | Crist sent his angel, & brouhte tiþing þat heo  
 schulden a-semble & engendre fruit. | Po heo geeten a child: þat hihte Seth. |  
 Adam hedde XXX sones & moni douȝtres, wiþouten Caym & Abel. Pe children of  
 Adam multiplized swiþe. And Adam comaunded to Seth þat non of his kuynde  
 10 schulde felauschupe wiþ Caymes kuynde ne wedde non wyues in Caymes kuynde —  
 for þo þat coomen of Seþes kuynde ben cleped godes sones, and Caymes kuynde to(!)  
 men sones. | And þenne at þe fiftene hundred winteres ende heo biguȝnen to don  
 heore lecherie priueliche, & asturward openliche. | And þo asturward heo weddeden  
 15 þe to kuynde in to þat oþur, & geeten geauns. And þenne god tok wreche &  
 adreynte al þe world, but eihte soules, at Noe flood — god was agreuet þer-of &  
 seide þat him forþhouȝte þat he hedde Imaad mon; so he nom veniaunce of hem  
 for heore foule synne.

Adam liuede heere in serwe & in wo nyn hundred zer and more. Whon hit comeþ  
 to þe day þat he schulde dye, he let sende astur alle his sones, and seide: »Ich  
 20 wot wel: whon I am ded, to helle mot ich wende. | And whon heo weoren alle Ico-  
 men forto seon heore fader, heo askeden what him eiled. »Me is vuele«, quaf Adam,  
 »for seknesse & for wo: I am biset wiþ vuel in herte & syde and in vche a lime, þat  
 I may not longe liue. | For þo þat I trespaset & agult to god, VII and þritti vueles  
 25 he dude in my bodi. I wrecche, what schal I do?« þo Eue him onswerde, wel sore  
 wepynge: »Lord«, heo seide, »do in me Adames wo, for hit is not for his gult, ac  
 hit is for myn. | Adam bad Eue and Seth weenden to paradis anon, þe whiles he  
 weore on lyue, »and bidde þe angel þat he sende me heleþe; for wel I wot: whon  
 I am ded, to helle me tit to weende. | And þo Seth seide to his fader: »I not what I  
 30 may do: for to paradys I con no way. | »Sone«, seide Adam, »þat gras þe wol techen:  
 for al þe wey as we out eode þe gras is þer vnlikelich, for zit in to þis day nolde  
 hit not arysen for þe sinnen þat we duden in paradys. Go anon forþ, leue sone,  
 & do as I þe teche. | Seth bad his fader his blessing, and went anon his wey. Wel  
 sore wepyng heo eoden in to paradis, for þe wey was long and brod. Per com þe  
 35 fend as a neddre & stynged Seþ wel vuele. Eue weop sore & seide to þe cursede  
 wiþ: »Whi artou so hardi to fihte wiþ godes ymage?« | Seth acursed þe fend & wa-  
 riede him. And heo eoden forþ on heore way, riht to þe zates of paradis. Ac in-  
 nore heo ne miȝte winne. | Ac þere heo seȝen þe blisse of mony maner foules, &  
 muche murþe, & joye inouh: and þat watur schon as brihte as þe sonne-beem, and  
 40 þe blosmes weoren so fayre on vche maner treo þat vneþe he miȝte hem biholde for  
 heor fairnesse, þe stones on þe grunde weoren as brihte as hit weore brenninde  
 laite; | he seiz þere angelus of wondurfol heuh — and al þulke blisse lees Adam  
 þorw þe gilerie of þe feend! & þat we mowe sore rewe. | Pe oyle of merci he asked  
 ful sore wepynge, as his fader him hedde Itauȝt. | And þo þe angel spac to Seþ  
 and bad him weende aȝeyn, »and sei to Adam: whon þat V pouzend zeer and an  
 45 hundred beon Ipasset, þen wol godus sone come in to flum Jordan, forto beo baptised  
 þer-inne, of water & of þe holy gost, for helþe of Adam and of al his osprunch; & er  
 ne tit him none hele. | Pe angel tok an appel and ȝaf hit to Seth and bad him beren

hit to Adam, »and sei him þat he knoweþ hit wel: for heo weoren alle at his comaunderment, til þat he agulte god«. | Preo curnels of an appell þe angel tok to Seth and bad him wite hem wel forte þat Adam weore ded, »and þenne do þat on in his mouþ, and þe oþure in his neose-purles«! Swete spices he ȝaf him, and seide to him: »Weent 5 hom aȝeyn anon: for Adam, þi fader, schal hastiliche dye«. | Seth turnede aȝein, wel sore wepynge and wiþ mournyng chere, for þat he schulde departe from þat grete blisse. And whon he com to his fader, he fel vppon his knes & honoured him, and seide: »Leoue fader, hit ne helpeþ not to þe forte beseche after helpe, in to þat fwe 10 housend zeer & an hundret be gon: þenne wol godes sone ben baptizid in þe flum Jordan, for þe heleþe of þe & of alle þine: of alle maner vueles þou schalt haue boote«. Of þat word was Adam fayn & swiþe glad, and zeorne crizede merci to god of heuene, for he nedde neuere in al his lyue so muche joye as he hedde þo. And þo louh(!) Adam and neuuer aryst.

Adam seide: »Lord, ȝif hit weore þi wille, hit weore tyme now þat myn olde 15 bones mihte ligge stille: for seþþe I com from paradis, Ichauie liued heere in muchel care. And whon Ich am ded, I wot wel þat I schal weende to helle. | I ne recche«, quæþ Adam, »þauh I beo pyned in alle skinnes wo, for Ich hope ȝit to come to þe blisse of paradisc. | Adam eet þat appell þat Seþ heddle Ibrouht him, and of no maner euel þing he nedde no drede. And þeraftur sone dayes, as þe angel hedde told to 20 Seþ, he wente to Adam & fond his limes colde. | Penne seide Adam to his sones þat weoren þo abouten him: »I am IX C zeer old and XXXti. As swiþe as Ich am ded, burie mi bodi in þe vale of Ebron!« þo Adam hedde so iseid, he lay stille & ȝaf vp þe gost. | In þe tyme þat he dyede, þe day turned in to derknesse, and neiper sonne ne mone ne sterre ne ȝaf no liht. | Seþ bicluppet þe bodi of his fader in his armes 25 & leide his hed wel feire in his barme; alle heo wepten & maden serwe, til þat þe angel of god come to hem & beed hem leuen & be stille, & seide to Seþ: | »Lo, what god wol do wiþ Adam, þi fader. Þer comen þe angelus of heuene & herieden god wiþ swete song, for Adames soule, and amonges hem Seþ feled vre lordes hond ouer Adam þer he lay, and seide þo to saint Mihel: »I betake in to þin hond Adam & his 30 osprunch, in serwe & in wo, forte þe day of grace come: | Penne I wol turne al his sorwe in to joye & blisse, and euermore schal laste, þulke selue joie þat Lucifer les þowr his pruide«. | God comaundet tweyn angelus to bringe twey cloþes, of sendel and of bijs: þat on to do vppon Adam, and þat oþer to don vppon Abel, his sone. | Saint Mihel and saint Vriel, Eue & Seþ, buried Adam & Abel in þe eorþe þat heo 35 comen of, in þe vale of Ebron. | Saint Mihel seide to Seth: »þus ze Schul burie men whon þat heo ben dede«. Þer was þe eorþe Ihalewed at þe burieng of Adam, of god and of his angelus. | Seth dude þe greynes of þe appell vnder Adams tonge & in þe neose-purles. | Po longe afturward sprong þeo zerdes of þis greynes, þat weoren holy & gode: on whuch Jhesus schedde his blod vppon for monnes sunne.

40 NOW I haue told þe lyf of Adam. Now herkeneþ of his soule whoder hit was lad! | In þe ouemaste prison of helle his soule was bounden, er þe bodi were cold, and þer-inne he was foure housend zeer VI C and foure, — for þer nas neuere so holy mon þat he ne was brought þider, til Jhesu Crist suffredre deþ vppon þe roode. | Per- 45 aftur eihte dayes þat Adam was ded, Eue feled hire deþ ful neih. Heo comaundet þat al hire children schulde beo brouȝt tofore hire: and tölde hem in what manere heo hedde agult god, and how þat god wolde take wreche of monkuynde wiþ watur & wiþ suir for heore sunne: | »Perfore makeþ tables of stones & of cley and writeþ

þer-inne þe lyf of oure fader and of oure moder & of oure breþeren, þat ȝe han of vs sezen and herd, þat hit may beo sounðen astur þat we ben dede. And ȝif þat fuir comeþ, þe tables of ston schul to-bersten for þe hete of þe fuir; and ȝif heo ben of clay, heo wolen laste longe.

PO Eue hedde þus Itold, heo heef vp hire honden and heried god almihti, and zeld vp þo þe gost. | Hire children wepten for hire al þat seuen-niht: þo com seint Mihel & brouht hem tiþing and beede hem sese of heore wepynge, and seide: »Nou is þe seuenþe day: resteþ, and singeth of þe heriinge of god! for þat bitokeneþ þe reste of þe world þat is comynge; god him seluen sesed of al his werkes on þe sonnday. | Po coome Seth & made tables of ston and of cley & wrot þe lyf of his fader and of his moder and of his moder and of his breþeren þer-vppon, and leyden hem in Adames oratorie: And þer heo weoren Ifounden astur þe deluuie. | In þe tables weoren Iwriten al þe deedes of Adam & of oþere; ac nomon þat heom seiȝe, ne couþe rede hem. And astur feole ȝeres com Salamon þe kyng þider forte seon þe tables, and bisouhte god almiliti þat he moste wite what was þer-inne. And þenne com seint Mihel to Salamon and dude him to vndurstonden what was writen in þe tables, and seide: »Ich heold Seþes finger þe whiles hit weoren a writynge wiþouþen iren or steel in þe harde ston, & so heo duden. Zit liggen þe tables in þat ilke stude in Adames oratorie þer he bad his beodes. | Po þe kyng dude make a temple of gold & of preciouſe stones: in al þe world was non such, for þe stones in þe wal schonen nih as briht as þe sonne-beem. And þat hous was clepet: þe Temple of Jerusalem. For Adames children, þo þe folk haden rif Adames pynen, but soone astur heo hedden sone forzeten hit, for muchel misdoyng of metes & drinkes & heor oþure flessches lustes: | And so heo weoren alle ablent: and þerfore god almihti adreynt al þe world; he dreynte al þat was quik abouen þe eorþe, but onliche eihte soules. Now Ichauē ȝow told al of þe furste world. And to þe world þat euer schal laste, god us þider bringe!<sup>1)</sup>

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1) Eine 2. Prosaversion findet sich in der altenglischen Uebertragung der Leg. Aur.: Ms. Egert. 876 fol. 321 (in der letzten Hälften defect) und Ms. Harl. 4775 (vollständig), vgl. Progr. des Gymnasiums zu Sagan 1877: Barlaam et Josaphat, Einl. Dieselbe Version findet sich vereinzelt in Ms. Bodl. 596. fol. 1: mit einigen Abweichungen. Diese 2. Version schliesst sich an die Creatio Mundi des Ms. Trin. 57 an, mit der sie öfter fast wörtlich übereinstimmt.

## Inhaltsangabe:

### I. Sammlung des Ms. Vernon fol. 89 ff., Bruchstück einer metrischen Uebertragung einzelner Legenden der Legenda Aurea:

	pag.
1) S. Paula . . . . .	3
2) S. Ambrosius . . . . .	8
3) De quadam virgine in Antiochia . . . . .	26
4) S. Theodora . . . . .	35
5) „ Bernard. . . . .	41
6) „ Augustin . . . . .	61
7) „ Savinian und Savina. . . . .	93

### II. Einzellegenden:

1) Kindheit Jesu :	
a) Version des Ms. Harl. 3954 . . . . .	101
b) „ „ „ Harl. 2399 . . . . .	111
2) Canticum de Creatione :	
a) Version des Ms. Trin. Coll. Oxf. 57 . . . . .	124
b) „ „ „ Auchinl. Edinb. Advoc. Libr. . . . .	139
3) S. Magdalena :	
a) Version des Ms. Laud 108 . . . . .	148
b) „ „ „ Auchinl. Edinb. Adv. Libr. . . . .	163
4) „ Marina, aus Ms. Harl. 2253 . . . . .	170
5) „ Eufrosyne, „ Vernon . . . . .	174
6) „ Cristyne, von Willam Paris, aus Ms. Arund. 168. . . . .	183
7) „ Dorothe, aus Ms. Harl. 5272 . . . . .	191
8) „ Erasmus :	
a) aus Version des Ms. Harl. 2382 . . . . .	198
b) „ „ „ „ Bedford . . . . .	201
9) Disputisoun bytwene a Cristenemon and a Jew (Sir Water's wunderbarer Sieg über einen Juden), aus Ms. Vernon,	204
10) Robert of Sicily . . . . .	209
Beitrag zur Creatio Mundi: Prosaversion des Ms. Vernon . . . . .	220

# SAMMLUNG ALTENGLISCHER LEGENDEN,

GRÖSSTENTHEILS

ZUM ERSTEN MALE HERAUSGEGEBEN

von

C. HORSTMANN.



HEILBRONN,  
VERLAG VON GEBR. HENNINGER.

1878.





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WILHELM HERTZBERG

MIT

EINER GESCHICHTLICHEN EINLEITUNG

VON

REINHOLD PAULI

---

LEIPZIG

VERLAG VON S. HIRZEL

1878.



DEM

HANSISCHEN GESCHICHTSVEREIN

GÖTTINGEN

11. Juni 1878.



Die hier zum ersten Mal von bewährter Hand in lesbarem Text hergestellte und zugleich in gebundener Rede wiedergegebene Dichtung aus dem Ende des englischen Mittelalters hat, abgesehen vom philologischen und literarischen Interesse, einen bedeutenden Werth für die Geschichte der Volkswirthschaft und des Handels insbesondere. Sie schlägt den protectionistischen Ton an, der während der folgenden Jahrhunderte die Handelspolitik Englands beherrscht. Als das Büchlein ungefähr ein Menschenalter vor Einführung des Bücherdrucks erschien, wurde es bald in zahlreichen Handschriften, ohne Ausnahme auf Papier, vervielfältigt, indess erst zum ersten Mal gedruckt, nachdem die Engländer bereits transatlantische Entdeckungsfahrten angetreten hatten, bei *Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation I, 187—208 London 1600* fol. Seitdem ist es nur einmal wieder vollständig herausgegeben worden von dem jüngst verstorbenen *Thomas Wright, Political Poems and Songs relating to English History composed during the period from the accession of Edward III to that of Richard III, Vol. II, 157—205, London 1861* in der grossen offiziellen Sammlung der *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores* ohne sonderlichen Gewinn für die Wortkritik und den sachlichen Inhalt des Texts. Immerhin aber war die Schrift der historischen Forschung auch früher schon nicht entgangen. *J. Selden, Mare Clausum, lib. II, c. 25, Lond. fol. 1635 p. 261* stützt

sich auf sie behufs seiner Erklärung der Nobel-Münzen, indem er nach einem Fingerzeige bei *Camden, Remains p. 206 Lond. 1614* aus Ms. Cotton. Vitellius E. X, Wrights Cod. D, die vier ersten Strophen des Prologs und die Verse 998—1001 mittheilt. *Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, 1805. I, 651—653,*<sup>1)</sup> und *Craik, History of British Commerce, 1844, I, 167.* 169. 190 haben sie fleissig benutzt in Bezug auf die von den einzelnen Ländern zu Markt gebrachten Waaren und die darüber im funfzehnten Jahrhundert herrschende Handelseifersucht. Auch in der *Urkundlichen Geschichte der Deutschen Hanse von Sartorius und Lappenberg 1830. I, 289 Note 1* wird ihrer nach der Ausgabe von Hakluyt beiläufig gedacht. Nachdem mich das Werkchen einst als Zeugniß über den Verfall der englischen Seemacht unter Heinrich VI angezogen und ich es dem entsprechend gleichfalls nach Wright's Cod. D. in der *Geschichte von England V 648* hatte benutzen können, bin ich, angeregt durch die Bestrebungen des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins, die für die europäische Geschichte im funfzehnten Jahrhundert unendlich wirksam zu werden versprechen, auf das gerade in internationaler und culturhistorischer Beziehung bedeutsame Document zurückgekommen. Ich hatte neuerdings Gelegenheit einigen früheren Collationen noch weitere hinzuzufügen, von denen ich nur bedauere, dass sie nichts weniger als einen vollständigen kritischen Apparat bieten, und über den Zusammenhang der Dichtung eingehender zu handeln in einer Mittheilung an die Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.<sup>2)</sup> Nachdem der Gedanke *Das Büchlein von englischer Staatsklugheit* dem Hansischen Geschichtsverein bei seiner Jahresversammlung in Göttingen zu Pfingsten

<sup>1)</sup>) Neben Hakluys Ausgabe zog M. bereits Mr. Harl. 4011, Wrights Cod. B, zu Rathe.

<sup>2)</sup>) Göttinger Nachrichten 1876, S. 559 ff.

1878 als Festangebinde darzubringen Beifall gefunden und Freund *Hertzberg* es demzufolge englischen und deutschen Lesern zugänglich gemacht hat, will ich hier kurz die Zeitumstände hervorheben, aus denen die Dichtung entsprang, und zusammenstellen was über den Verfasser, seine Beziehungen und Tendenzen wesentlich kaum anderswoher als aus dem Werke selber zu entnehmen ist.

Wie überall im funfzehnten Jahrhundert eine jähе Umwandlung, Verwirrung und Auflösung früherer Verhältnisse den Uebergang zu Neubildungen staatlicher, wirthschaftlicher und geistiger Natur ankündete, so ganz besonders auch in der Machtstellung der britischen Insel. Nach dem zaubervollen Aufschwung unter dem genialen Heinrich V (1413 bis 1422), der, was seine Vorfahren nur angestrebt, in Wirklichkeit Frankreich zu seinen Füssen sah, der die Christenheit in orthodoxem Sinn zu einigen und über die Alpen und das Mittelmeer hinausschauend die Ungläubigen aus Palästina zu vertreiben gehofft hatte, begann unter dem unmündigen, in der Folge gar blödsinnigen Sohne in kurzem der Zusammensturz. Auf die Dank der Jungfrau am 17. Juli 1429 in Reims vollzogene Krönung Karls VII war es in den Augen des aus unendlicher Agonie zur Besinnung kommenden französischen Volks eine schwächliche Antwort, wenn die Eroberer am 16. December 1431 den zehnjährigen Heinrich VI in Paris krönen liessen. Zwar fehlte es den Engländern keineswegs an hervorragenden Köpfen, denn mit ähnlichem Talent als Staatsmann und Feldherr wie der verstorbene König führte sein Bruder Herzog Johann von Bedford die Regierung in Frankreich und machte, so lange er lebte, dem Andrange der nationalen Rückeroberung Schritt für Schritt den Boden streitig. Allein schon zersetzen Parteibestrebungen auch die Staats-

ordnung daheim, indem seit Ableben Heinrichs V sein jüngster Bruder, der ehrgeizige, nur zu oft Unheil stiftende Herzog Humphrey von Gloucester mit dem die lancaster-sche Hauspolitik vertretenden Oheim Heinrich Beaufort, Bischof von Winchester, von 1424 bis 1426 Lord Kanzler, seit 1427 Cardinal der Römischen Kirche, im Staatsrath um die leitende Gewalt rang. Wohl hatte letzterer etwa seit 1432 die Lords wie die Gemeinen hinter sich, und wurde Gloucester sogar der Titel eines Protectors entzogen. Allein die Reibungen rissen darüber nicht ab, ja, machten sich auch draussen in dem immer bedenklicher werdenden Verlauf des Kriegs geltend, der nicht mehr zu erschwingende Kräfte verschlang, während friedliche Arbeit und Sicherheit des Verkehrs in immer weiteren Kreisen zu stocken begannen.

Mächtig regte sich darüber, von Kaiser und Papst so wie von den Vätern des Concils zu Basel unterstützt, das Verlangen nach allgemeinem Frieden. Allein die Verhandlungen des im August 1435 zu Arras tagenden Congresses mussten scheitern, weil die Engländer nicht von dem Gedanken lassen wollten, dass seit dem Vertrage von Troyes vom 21. Mai 1421 ganz Frankreich ihnen zu Recht gehöre. Gerade dort zu Arras aber erweckten sie sich neue, höchst verderbliche Gegnerschaft, indem wenigstens Herzog Philipp von Burgund, bis ihn der Tod seiner Schwester, der Herzogin von Bedford, entfremdete, der Bundesgenosse Lancasters, den blutigen Zwist mit Valois verglich, und darüber nun auch Krieg zwischen England und den eben burgundisch werdenden Niederlanden ausbrach. Am 14. September starb Bedford, der tapfere Regent, gebrochenen Herzens. Da nicht alsbald ein energischer Nachfolger zur Stelle war, gelang es den Franzosen am 13. April 1436 Paris zurückzugewinnen. Auch als dann der junge Herzog von York den kaum übernommenen Oberbefehl in der Normandie

wieder niederlegte, ersetzte ihn erst nach Jahresfrist der im Felde ergraute Graf von Warwick.

Mittlerweile aber handelte es sich wesentlich um Flandern, wo englische Umrübe, zumal die Absicht Herzog Humphreys auf Grund seiner Ehe mit der Wittelsbachschen Jacobäa von Holland sich gegen seinen persönlichen Widersacher, den Burgunder, in der Grafschaft festzusetzen, diesen, der noch immer schwankte, in die Waffen riefen. Philipp gewann Gent und Flandern durch die Lockung ihm „seine“ Stadt Calais, den für ihre Concurrenz so empfindlichen Stapelort der englischen Wolle, zurückzuerobern. Als sie sich nun aber mit dem Sommer 1436 daran machten, wurde die trefflich befestigte Stadt nicht nur tapfer vertheidigt, sondern zu rechter Zeit durch ein von Gloucester über das Meer herbeigeführtes Geschwader entsetzt. Als dasselbe am 28. Juli eintraf, suchten die Belagerer, die ohne Ordnung und nur von der Landseite angegriffen, mit Hinterlassung ihres Geschützes schimpflich das Weite. Die Sieger, die ihnen eine Strecke nachsetzten, verbrannten Bell und Poperingh. Trotzdem wurden eben damals Englands Absichten Flandern mittelbar oder unmittelbar zu beherrschen, die sich seit Eduards III erstem Aufreten daselbst im Jahre 1338 verfolgen lassen, zu Schanden, wie einst schon gegen Ausgang des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts die wiederholten Versuche des Schwarzen Prinzen, der Herzöge von Lancaster und York von der Gascogne aus in der pyrenäischen Halbinsel festen Fuss zu fassen gescheitert waren. Gerade von diesen beiden Stellen der festländischen Küste aber wurde, während Frankreich aus tiefer Erniedrigung nur langsam zu Kräften kam, bereits den englischen Ansprüchen auf Beherrschung der zwischen liegenden See vernehmlich widersprochen. Zwar waren die Engländer, seit Eduard III 1346 Calais

erobert, die Inhaber der Meerfurth und bezeichneten sich ihre Könige alter Ueberlieferung gemäss als *Domini maris et transmarini passagii.*<sup>1)</sup> Indess in Wahrheit tummelten sich mit Ausnahme der kurzen Siegestage Eduards III und Heinrichs V andere Mächte unbehindert in den Gewässern Nord und Süd des Canals. Im Seekrieg, wie in der Navigation und im Seehandel zeigten sich romanische und germanische Völker noch vielfach gewandter und kühner. Seitdem gleich zu Anfang der Regierung Heinrichs VI die Gemeinen über den Verfall der englischen Schiffahrt bittere Klage geführt,<sup>2)</sup> mussten die nunmehr einreissenden Niederlagen in Frankreich, das immer keckere Auftreten der Spanier und Italiener, der Schotten, der Niederländer, der Hansa von Ost- und Westsee auf den Welthandelsplätzen in Flandern, der allerdings abgeschlagene Angriff auf Calais durch das eben zu grossartiger Consolidation aufsteigende Burgund dem bisher nur langsam auf die eigenen Füsse tretenden Kaufmannsstande in England einen jähnen Schrecken in die Glieder jagen.

Bei solchen drinnen und draussen immer dunkler werdenden Aussichten ist nun unser Büchlein entstanden. Sein Verfasser, ein geschäfts- und geschichtskundiger Mann, ein warmer Patriot, hat das Pamphlet, unter dessen Handschriften sich zwei Recensionen, zwei auf einander folgende Editionen sondern lassen, mit gutem Grund in der leichter fesselnden dichterischen Form rasch hingeworfen und unter die Leute gebracht.

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<sup>1)</sup> Rymer, Foedera II. 953 ed. nova, Dec. II. 1336.

<sup>2)</sup> Statutes of the Realm II, 502 to call to your remembrance of the grete mynishing and decaye that hathe ben now of late tyme to youre navie within this Reame of England and ydelnesse of the mariners within the same, by the whiche this noble Reame within short processe of tyme, without reformacion be had therin, shall not be of habilite and power to defend itself.

Es ist in zwölf Hauptstücke von ungleicher Grösse eingetheilt, in fünffüssigen, paarweise reimenden Jamben verfasst, denen ein Prolog von sieben Strophen in der seit Chaucer allgemein beliebten Stanzenform von sieben Versen vorausgeht und ein Epilog (*Envoy*) von zwei Strophen folgt, von denen die erste acht, die andere sieben Verse zählt. Die ganze Dichtung umfasst 1156 Verse. Den Handschriften sind vielfach abweichende, verschiedene Hände verrathende Capitelüberschriften beigegeben, die überdies wegen ihrer mangelhaften Sprache unmöglich vom Verfasser selber herrühren können. Aehnlich steht es, wie Hertzbergs Untersuchung ergibt, mit den zahlreichen Glossen, welche allermeist ganz werthlos sind. Die lateinisch geschriebenen bezwecken entweder lediglich ein Notabene mittels Auszugs aus dem Text oder umschreiben denselben, was nachweislich sogar mit einem Citat des Verfassers aus einer lateinisch geschriebenen Chronik der Fall ist.<sup>1)</sup> Auch zwei anscheinend selbständige Glossen sind für das Verständniss der betreffenden Stellen ohne irgend welchen Nutzen und bleiben in

<sup>1)</sup> Zu v. 864 und 914 wird zweimal über die Seemacht König Eadgars (959—975) mit einem *Dicit chronica* etc. auf die Vorlage des Verfassers verwiesen. Ich hatte Göttinger Nachrichten 1876 S. 566 Note im Anschluss an Lappenberg, Gesch. v. England I, 411 an den sog. Mattheaeus von Westminster gedacht. Allein in dieser Compilation wird, wie Hertzberg mit Recht erinnert, Eadgars Flotte nicht auf 3600, sondern 4700 Schiffe geschätzt und bleiben die Beispiele aus dem Alterthum von Cyrus bis Karl dem Grossen fort. Beides aber findet sich in der Chronik des Florenz von Worcester († 1118), Mon. Hist. Brit. I, 578 und ed. Thorpe I, 143 so wie in dem aus ihm übernommenen Abschnitt bei Roger von Hoveden, ed. Stubbs I, 64. Ich würde den letzteren als Vorlage des Libellus vorziehen, weil er über anderthalb Jahrhunderte jünger als Florenz, in den Handschriften weit zugänglicher und ein Nordengländer war, wie es nach gewissen dialektischen Eigenheiten, welche Hertzberg aufgestossen, auch unser Verfasser gewesen sein muss.

der gegenwärtigen Ausgabe füglich unberücksichtigt. Und kaum anders steht es mit der Mehrzahl der englisch geschriebenen, die, obwohl ohne Frage von anderen Urhebern als die lateinischen stammend, sich in der Regel als Umschreibung einzelner Verse oder als überflüssiger Ausruf über Noth und Verderben der Zeit zu erkennen geben. Nur an vier Stellen begegnen werthvolle, auf unmittelbarer Information beruhende Notizen, auf welche die Untersuchung über den Verfasser und sein Werk sich stützen darf. Da schliesse ich mich durchaus dem von Hertzberg geführten Beweise an, dass die Glosse über den v. 763 erwähnten irischen Edelmann: *This lord was the erle of Ormond, that told to me this mater, that he wolde undretake it in peyne of lesse (l. losse) of all his lyveloode (l. lyvelihood); but this profere [coude] not by (l. be) admitted; ergo male,* da sie sich in allen Abschriften des Originals findet und Cod. B der zweiten Recension sogar den Namen Ormonds in den Text aufnimmt, vom Verfasser selber herrührt, während die drei übrigen von einem ihm nahestehenden Manne stammen, aber schwerlich der Urschrift beigefügt waren, da sie sich allerdings in Wrights Cod. A, aber keineswegs in der gleichfalls vom Original herzuleitenden Vorlage Hakluysts finden. In Betracht kommen die Glossen: v. 602 *This tyme anno regis H. VI. XIIIIT<sup>0</sup>* (1. Sept. 1435 bis 31. Aug. 1436) *was Hankyne Lyons archerobere<sup>1)</sup> on the see, and afore Pety Pynson. Allas, allas!;* v. 496 die Notiz, dass die vom Verfasser geforderte Ordonnanz wegen Einquartierung fremder Kaufleute seit Abfassung des Libells zwar wirklich erlassen worden, aber vielfach pfiffig umgangen werde: *Nota, here is for to be notyde, that sithene this seyde ordynaunce of writinge there have be ordeynede to go to oste*

<sup>1)</sup> So verbessert Hertzberg glücklich das sinnlose *archebere.*

*in Londone etc. But how this policie is subverted, it is mervelle to knowe, be wyles and gyles, whiche wol be in othere place declarede; und endlich v. 476 a storye of destruccion of Denmarke for destruccion of her merchauntes by presidente (l. precedent) of Master Richarde Barnet shewynge in a rolle,* eine Schrift, die vermutlich als Petition dem Parlament eingereicht wurde.

Die Glosse zu v. 602 lässt nun keinen Zweifel, dass der Libellus unmittelbar unter dem frischen Eindruck des am 28. Juli 1436 von Calais abgeschlagenen Angriffs des Burgunderherzogs, v. 290—305, v. 988—995, noch vor dem 31. August des Jahrs niedergeschrieben wurde. Weitere Bestätigung bieten v. 849 die Erwähnung der Einnahme Harfleurs durch die Franzosen, das in den ersten Tagen des Jahrs 1436 verloren gieng;<sup>1)</sup> und in hohem Grade anziehend der Prolog.

Er verkündet den Text der ganzen Abhandlung, nämlich den Satz, dass England um seinen Handel nach den vier Himmelsgegenden zu schützen mit starker Hand das enge Meer bewachen müsse. Als der grosse Kaiser Sigismund, *welcher noch regiert,*<sup>2)</sup> Heinrichs V Gast war,<sup>3)</sup> habe er die Städte Calais und Dover für die Augen des Königs erklärt, ohne deren Erlaubniss

<sup>1)</sup> Farewel Harflew! lewdly it was ago. Vgl. Gesch. v. England V, 246.

<sup>2)</sup> *Which yet regneth* in der ersten Ausgabe. Nachdem Sigismund am 9. December 1437 gestorben, haben die Handschriften der jüngeren Recension entweder: *Which late regneth* oder: *Of high renowne.*

<sup>3)</sup> Er verweilte in England vom 30. April bis 24. August 1416 und traf mit Heinrich V im September und October noch einmal in Calais zusammen. Ueber Anlass und Ergebniss dieser Begegnung Gesch. v. England V, 131 ff. und Lenz, König Sigismund und Heinrich V von England 89 ff.

„Flemming und Spanier und andre mehr“ den schmalen Sund nicht passieren können. Dass dem Rathe aus kaiserlichem Munde das Meer zu schliessen, dessen v. 829 noch einmal Erwähnung geschieht, und dem stolzen, die Seeherrschaft verherrlichen Bilde auf den seit Eduard III stets neu geprägten Nobel-Stücken die Wirklichkeit so wenig entspricht, ist eben die bittere Klage unserer Schrift.

Nach der Reihe werden nun in derselben die Nebenbuhler, ihre Waaren, ihre England entgegengesetzten maritimen und commerziellen Bestrebungen vorgeführt. Den Spaniern und Flandern, die „zwei Brüdern gleich“ nicht ohne einander leben können, den friedlichen Portugiesen, den Bretonen, deren Seeräuberei nur mit Repressalien wie einst durch Eduard III zu begegnen ist, und den Schotten folgen die Deutschen, wie sie in Flandern verkehren, gegen welches bei dieser Gelegenheit der verhaltene Groll derbe losbricht. Der Verfasser trennt die Hansegenossen bemerkenswerth in Hochdeutsche von Preussen und Osterlinge v. 279. 280, als ob er den Unterschied zwischen der oberdeutschen Herkunft und Sprache des Ordensregiments und dem weiten niederdeutschen Gebiet der Hanse im Auge hätte. Interessant ist bei Aufzählung der baltischen Handelsartikel nicht nur das Bier der Osterlinge, an dem sich die Flander voll trinken, sondern namentlich auch das Silber, das in Geschirr und Barren aus böhmischen und ungrischen Gruben durch die Preussen von der Weichsel nach England gebracht wird, deren Verkehr daher höchst willkommen ist.<sup>1)</sup> Indem aber auch v. 310 von Kölner

<sup>1)</sup> v. 316 ff. Eine ungedruckte Denkschrift Clement Armstrongs an Thomas Cromwell gerichtet, ungefähr um 1535, im Public Record Office zu London, unterscheidet folgendermassen: To understand,

Garn und Gewebe die Rede ist, die von Alters her (*of old time thus it was*) wie Vieles Andere in Landfuhren auf den flandrischen Markt kommen, schimmert nicht nur die alte Gemeinschaft zwischen Westfalen und Preussen, sondern die Auffassung von einer Dreitheilung der Hansa durch, wie sie schon im vierzehnten Jahrhundert gerade in Brügge begegnet.<sup>1)</sup> Wie sehr nun eben dieser Verkehr und die gütliche Entfernung der bestehenden Störungen auf dem Wege von Verhandlungen durch Ausbruch des englisch-burgundischen Kriegs gehemmt werden musste, erhellt jetzt vollends aus der Veröffentlichung der hansisch-niederländischen Correspondenz.<sup>2)</sup>

In den nächsten Abschnitten handelt der Verfasser von den Genuesen, den Venetianern und Florentinern und richtet sich heftig gegen zwei nach seiner Meinung besonders verderbliche Missbräuche, den mittels Wechselzahlung hauptsächlich von den Lombarden getriebenen Wucher und die terminlose Gastfreiheit, deren sich diese Fremdlinge in

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ther are two Haunces of the Esterlyngs. Oon is the olde Haunce of the Sprusyners (Prussians), that owt of the cold contreys in the este parties, wher is frost and snow an eight monthes in the yere. They come but oons in the yere bryngyng ther nedfull comodites for England: pitche, tarre, bowstavis, wex, flesh and such other. And what they hadde nede of ther comodites, therfore they wer wont to bryng gold and silver uncoyned, wherfor the name of sterlyng silver rose. But to understand, that other Haunce is of the Esterlyng merchaunts of the Hansteddes of Almayn. They do England moche hurt, as they be so sufferd, wer wont to bryng most gold and Suasburgh logges of silver (Silberbarren aus Schwaz in Tirol?) into England. They carye owt of England clothes great quantite all the tymes of the yere etc.

<sup>1)</sup> Verhandlungen zu Brügge 1347 Oct. 28, Koppmann, Hanse-recesse I, 75.

<sup>2)</sup> Verhandlungen in Flandern 1436 April bis Juni, von der Ropp, Hanserecesse I, 490 ff.

England zu erfreuen haben. Während die Engländer draussen, wo sie nachweislich mehr als die anderen einkaufen, ins Wirthshaus gehn (*to go to ose*) und an den Messen in Brabant in vierzehn Tagen ausräumen müssen, haben jene, da sie sogar direct die Wolle in den Schaftriften der Cotswolds (Gloucestershire) aufkaufen,<sup>1)</sup> nicht mit je vierzig Tagen zum Löschen und Laden genug und liegen folglich ihren Gastfreunden auf dem Hals. Neben wirksamer Ueberwachung des Meers fordert der Verfasser daher von König und Parlament abwehrend mit neuen Gesetzen gegen solches Treiben der Italiener einzuschreiten, damit es nicht dermaleinst ergehe wie in Dänemark, wo seit Zerstörung des Handelstands auch die Macht des Reichs dahin sei. Dass hierauf die Gesetzgebung wenigstens einzuschreiten versuchte, bezeugt die interessante Glosse zu v. 496, dass die See bewacht wurde, der in den Jahren 1442 und 1443 wiederholte Beschluss des Geheimen Raths wie des Parlaments, wonach 24 bewaffnete Schiffe mit 2,240 Mann im Norden und Süden des Canals kreuzen sollten.<sup>2)</sup>

Sehr lehrreich sind weiterhin die Erörterungen über Irland, seine Producte, seine trefflichen Häfen, den Dominat des Königs von England, die Beziehungen zu den wilden Eingeborenen, die Nothwendigkeit allen steigenden Gefahren zum Trotz den politischen und commerciellen Zusammenhang mit Irland wie mit Wales fest zu halten. Auch auf das ferne Island kommt der Verfasser zu reden,

<sup>1)</sup> März 21. 1438 gestattet Heinrich VI dem englischen Factor des Königs Duarte von Portugal 60 Sack Wolle *de Cotteswold* auszuführen, Rymer, Foedera X, 684.

<sup>2)</sup> Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council ed. Sir Harris Nicolas, V, 190. 193. 196. 198. 204. 302 cf. Preface p. CXXVIII. Zu der p. 302 erwähnten Parlamentsacte stimmt Petition for Sauff keeping of the See, 1442, Rotuli Parl. V, 59.

das von Alters her von Scarborough an der Ostküste, vielleicht der Heimath des Verfassers, und erst seit zwölf Jahren (1424) auch von Bristol aus befahren werde. Endlich ergeht er sich in schwungvollen Ermahnungen an die grosse seemächtige Vergangenheit der Heimath, in Erinnerungen an Eadgar den Angelsachsen, an Eduard III., den Sieger von Crécy und Calais, unter dem 1340 bei Sluys die erste grosse Seeschlacht gewonnen und zuerst das stolze Nobel-Geld geschlagen wurde, während jetzt Philipp von Burgund dessen Gepräge ungestraft nachäffen darf, an den Heldenkönig Heinrich V mit seinen gewaltigen „Dromonen.“ Ja, wäre der am Leben, er hätte dafür gesorgt:

„Dass auf dem Meer sich, ohne dass er's wollte  
Und es erlaubte, Niemand rühren sollte.“

Das Schlusscapitel predigt Eintracht daheim und festen Vorsatz, die auswärtigen Gegner, allen voraus die Flanderer, durch starke Machtentfaltung auf dem Meere und entschlossene Handelssperre zum Nachgeben zu zwingen.

Wer war nun der Verfasser dieses eben so wuchtigen wie inhaltreichen Programms? Alle Forschung nach der Spur seines Namens ist bisher fruchtlos geblieben. Man wird ihn weder unter den Dichterlingen der Zeit, den schwäblichen Epigonen Chaucers, noch ohne weitere Belege gleich diesem an einer Stelle im Zollamt suchen dürfen. Dagegen lässt er es an Andeutungen über seine einflussreichen Beziehungen, über sein Wissen und seine literarische Thätigkeit nicht fehlen. Er zeigt sich in der Landesgeschichte wohl bewandert, wie namentlich aus der Benutzung einer der besten Chroniken des englischen Mittelalters hervorgeht, am vertrautesten aber mit der Geschichte und der gegenwärtigen Lage des nationalen Handels. Hoch feiert er den grossen Richard Whittington, den „Angelstern und die er-

lesene Blume der Kaufmannschaft“ v. 486 ff., der dreimal Lord Mayor von London gewesen und bei seinem Tode dort die reichsten Stiftungen hinterlassen.<sup>1)</sup> Die Mittheilung der Ordonnanz gegen die Bretonen, welche Eduard III als „King in council“ ohne Zuthun des Parlaments erliess, verdankt er einem Mitgliede des letzteren, wie es v. 179 in Cod. D der zweiten Edition dankenswerth heisst, dem Abgeordneten für Hampton d. i. Southampton (that Hampton esquier). Wegen des in Dänemark danieder liegenden Handelstands bezieht er sich auf den Bericht (*rolle*) eines bisher nicht nachweisbaren Richard Barnet, der vermutlich als Agent dort gewesen. Ueber die Handelsbilanz zwischen England und seinen Concurrenten in Brabant, Flandern und Seeland weiss er Bescheid v. 533, „durch den Bericht aus manches Kaufmanns Mund.“ Er ist gewohnt sich in Handelsfragen unmittelbar an die erfahrensten Männer zu wenden, v. 562. Ein Londoner Juwelier hat ihm das reinste in Irland gewonnene Gold vorgezeigt, v. 692. Gerade über Irland aber ist er besonders gut unterrichtet. Nicht nur, dass er sich auf die Belehrung durch einen der vornehmsten Grundherrn daselbst, James Butler, Earl von Ormond, Jahre lang Lord Lieutenant von Irland, beruft, v. 762 mit der Glosse, sondern nach seinen eingehenden Bemerkungen hat er sich die Insel ohne Frage selber angesehen. An drei Stellen v. 712. 755. 776 bezieht er sich auf die kleine Schrift (*another tretis, litel boke*), die er über Irland verfasst hat, die hoffentlich einmal wieder zum Vorschein kommen wird. Weiter unten v. 834 ff. spricht er

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<sup>1)</sup> Namentlich St. Michael, College Hill, nach seinem letzten Willen vom December 1424 bei Strype, Survey of London, book IV, p. 4 und Cunningham, Handbook of London, Past and Present, p. 333.

die Absicht aus ein Pamphlet (*a little scroll, st. scroll*) auch über Calais zu schreiben, wie schon über andere Gegenstände der Handelspolitik. Nach dem theologischen Ton des letzten Hauptstücks, den Anführungen aus dem Briefe an die Epheser, den Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Johannes, den Proverbien könnte man versucht sein in ihm einen Geistlichen zu vermuten, wenn damals solche Bibelkenntniss nicht überhaupt bei jedem gebildeten Laien vorzusetzen wäre, während alle übrigen Abschnitte der Dichtung am Allerwenigsten nach klerikalem Geschmack sein dürften.

Der wichtigste Schlüssel zu der „Verborgenheit“ des Mannes liegt indess wahrscheinlich in seinem Verhältniss zu Lord Hungerford, von dem die Schlussstrophe erster Recension röhmt, dass er die Schrift geprüft und „wie das Evangelium wahr“ befunden habe. Walter Lord Hungerford aber war längere Zeit Gouverneur von Cherbourg und Heinrichs V Seneschall gewesen,<sup>1)</sup> wurde unter Heinrich VI von 1426 bis zu seinem 1449 erfolgten Tode nicht nur regelmässig in das Haus der Lords geladen,<sup>2)</sup> sondern war auch Mitglied des Geheimen Raths, an dessen Sitzungen und Beschlüssen er sich eifrig betheiligte.<sup>3)</sup> Da er im Jahre 1428 als *Thesaurarius Anglie et Camerarius* erscheint, so könnte unter dem Kämmerer des Königs (*the kinges chamberlain*), der v. 1030—1033 unserer Dichtung über die Rettung Harfleurs durch die von dem tapferen Herzog von

<sup>1)</sup> Le sire de Hungerford adonques senechal del hostiel du dit Roy Henry quint. Proceedings IV, 129.

<sup>2)</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas, Historic Peerage of England p. 260 ed. 1857. Er starb im August 1449, Paston Letters ed. James Gairdner I, 94 Note 1.

<sup>3)</sup> Für die Jahre 1436 ff. Proceedings V, 3 ff. fast auf jeder Seite cf. III, 197. IV, 129. VI, 346.

Bedford gewonnene Seeschlacht im Jahre 1416<sup>1)</sup> zu erzählen weiss, allerdings Lord Hungerford zu verstehn sein, obwohl von 1433 bis 1443 Lord Cromwell Schatzmeister und seit 1432 Sir William Philip Kämmerer war. Der Umstand berechtigt wenigstens zu der Vermuthung, dass der Verfasser, dessen staatsmännische Talente sich unschwer erkennen lassen, ein ihm von seinem Patron verliehenes Amt bekleidete, möglicher Weise in der Schatzkammer, deren Commissionen Lord Hungerford auch fernerhin angehört haben wird. Eine solche Verbindung würde denn vollends begreiflich machen, wie der Libellus, der bei seinem Erscheinen die Wirkung in der öffentlichen Meinung nicht verfehlte, sehr bald Parlamentsbeschlüsse wider die Italiener und zur Bewachung der See herbeiführen konnte.

Während nun aber die Originalausgabe sich einfach an das Publicum wandte und nur Befriedigung Lord Hungerfords über die Schrift hervorhob, ist jene letzte Strophe von sieben Versen in zweiter Edition von dem Autor selber durch eine andere in acht Versen ersetzt. In ihr ist nicht nur der Name des Lord Hungerford verschwunden, was freilich nicht zu der Annahme berechtigt, dass dieser Edelmann bereits gestorben sei, sondern diese Edition wird nunmehr geradezu drei Herren des Geheimen Raths, einem Bischof, einem Grafen und einem Baron gewidmet. Nähtere Prüfung nöthigt mich jetzt nun doch von einer früheren Vermuthung,<sup>2)</sup> dass mit dem Prälaten, Haushofmeister und Schatzmeister nur eine und dieselbe Person, nämlich der am 11. April 1447 gestorbene Cardinal Heinrich Beaufort gemeint sein könne, abzustehn. Aber auf welche Personen, und insbesondere zu welcher Zeit passen

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<sup>1)</sup> Gesch. v. England V, 136.

<sup>2)</sup> Göttinger Nachrichten 1876 S. 568.

die drei Aemter? Ich meine, dass man über das Jahr 1444 nicht hinausgehn darf, in welchem wieder ernstlich mit Frankreich verhandelt wurde und die Verlobung des Königs mit Magareta von Anjou zu Stande kam, weil auf dieses Ereigniss so wie auf die ernsten Katastrophen der nächsten Jahre in der zweiten Ausgabe des Libellus nirgends angespielt wird. Sie erscheint vielmehr im Einklang mit jenen Beschlüssen des engeren und weiteren Raths des Reichs in den Jahren 1442 und 1443. Nur annähernd aber wage ich die drei Rollen zu vertheilen. Der grosse Prälat und höchste Beichtiger kann nur der Lord Kanzler sein, als welcher von 1432 bis 1450 John Stafford, bis Mai 1443 Bischof von Bath und Wells, fortan Erzbischof von York, fungierte.<sup>1)</sup> Schwieriger ist es den Majordom, Seneschall, Steward unterzubringen. Das Ehrenamt des Lord High Steward führte Herzog Humphrey von Gloucester. Lord Hungerford war Heinrichs V Steward of the Household gewesen. In dem einen wie in dem anderen Falle würde allein schon der Earl-Titel nicht passen. Möglich, dass William de la Pole, Earl von Suffolk gemeint ist, dessen Ahnherren im vierzehnten Jahrhundert einst Grosshändler in London waren, der jedoch um diese Zeit bereits den grössten Einfluss in der Regierung ausübte, im Jahre 1444 jene Verhandlungen in Frankreich führte und dafür am 14. September zum Marquis erhoben wurde.<sup>2)</sup> Die sehr fragmentarisch überlieferten Acten des Geheimen Raths freilich gedenken seiner nicht als Steward. Der dritte, Schatzmeister und Baron, ist, wenn nicht doch wieder Lord Hungerford dahinter stecken könnte, der im Jahre 1455 verstorbene Ralph Lord Cromwell, der von 1433 bis Juli 1443 als

<sup>1)</sup> Proceedings VI, 364. 365. Foss, Judges of England IV, 218.

<sup>2)</sup> Proceedings VI, Preface X ff. Historic Peerage p. 459.

Thesaurarius erscheint.<sup>1)</sup> Darnach würde die letzte Strophe zweiter Ausgabe wahrscheinlich im Spätjahr 1442 oder im Frühjahr 1443 verfasst sein. Weiterer Aufklärung über den Verfasser selber bin ich leider auch bei dieser Untersuchung nicht begegnet.

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R. P.

<sup>1)</sup> Proceedings VI, 313. 445. Historic Peerage p. 133.

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Die heillose Verwilderung der englischen Orthographie um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts macht nicht nur die Schriften dieser Zeit selbst für den Kenner schwer verständlich, sondern sie entstellt thatsächlich den Sinn, vernichtet in Gedichten den Vers und führt namentlich unter der Feder eines zweiten Abschreibers zu solchen Ungeheuerlichkeiten und kritischen Räthseln, dass der Wiederhersteller eines lesbaren Textes sich überall zum Gebrauch des scharfen Messers genöthigt sieht. Alle Willkürlichkeit, Verkehrtheiten und Dummheiten eines ungebildeten Copisten wiederzugeben kann nur bei dem Facsimile-Druck einer werthvollen Handschrift gerechtfertigt erscheinen. Sobald die Kritik sich selbst auf festen Boden stellen will, ist schon ein solches Verfahren unzulässig. Doppelt verwerflich wäre es in dem vorliegenden Falle, wo es darauf ankam, auch dem gebildeten und des neueren Englisch kundigen Nichtphilologen an der Hand der Uebersetzung einen Eindruck von den Eigenthümlichkeiten des Originals zu verschaffen.

Von einer Modernisirung des Textes konnte natürlich noch weniger die Rede sein. Es blieb also nichts übrig als wenige Decennien zurückzugehen, in eine Zeit wo unter dem Einfluss einer glänzenden Literaturperiode und eines so eminenten Dichters wie Chaucer sich auch eine rationellere Orthographie ausgebildet hatte, deren Tradition bei den ihn überlebenden, z. Th. jüngeren Zeitgenossen Gower,

Occleve und Lydgate sich noch bis zur Abfassungszeit unseres Gedichtes erhalten haben dürfte.

Dadurch wird zugleich der Einwand gegen unser Verfahren fortgeräumt, dass in den 36 Jahren seit Chaucers Tode († 1400) die in starkem Fluss der Entwicklung begriffene englische Sprache sich derartig verändert haben dürfte, dass die frühere Orthographie nicht mehr dafür passte. Dies ist nun augenscheinlich nicht der Fall. Die Aussprache der betonten Silben — Consonanten wie Vocale — ist, wie die Reime lehren, noch wesentlich dieselbe. Der Abschleifungs- oder sage man, der Verstümmelungsprocess, dem die Flexionssilben schon zu Chaucers Zeit unterlagen, ist allerdings sichtlich in seinen verwüstenden Wirkungen fortgeschritten. Aber es handelt sich dabei nur um ein Mehr oder Weniger, also für die Schrift, welche der Aussprache folgt, nur um ein verändertes Zahlenverhältniss in der Anwendung der einen oder andern Schreibweise, nicht um das Wesen der letzteren selbst.

Ich habe daher nicht angestanden als Grundlage zur Orthographie unsers Textes diejenige unter den durch Facsimile-Druck veröffentlichten Handschriften der Canterbury-Tales (Six-Text Print ed. by Fr. Furnivall Lond. 1868) zu wählen, deren Schreibweise die verhältnismässig grösste Consequenz anstrebt. Durch Adoptirung derselben werden wir noch nicht die Grenze des 15. Jahrhundert rückwärts überschreiten, dem auch dieser Codex angehört. Völlig rationell ist seine Orthographie freilich auch nicht und würde schwerlich in allen Stücken den Intentionen des grossen Dichters ganz entsprochen haben, der sich bitter genug über die Verhunzung seiner Verse durch seinen eignen Schreiber Adam beklagt. Aber sie hat doch ein System im Auge gehabt, das sich unschwer herausfinden und weiter anwenden lässt. Es kann hier nicht der Ort

sein, dies im Einzelnen darzuthun. Ich beschränke mich nur auf die Anwendung welche der Leser davon zu machen hat, um die Verse als das was sie sind, fünffüssige Jamben, ohne Anstoss lesen zu können. Sie sind nach den Ansprüchen der Zeit gut gebaut und richtig gemessen. Nur erinnere man sich, dass das ungemeine Schwanken des Wortaccentes, welches vor allem durch die rasch fortschreitende, aber noch keineswegs vollendete Verarbeitung des französischen Laut- und Tonsystemes in das angelsächsische herbeigeführt wurde, das Ohr verhältnissmässig gleichgültig gegen den Tonwerth der Silben gemacht hatte, und dass daher oftmals die letzteren nicht sowohl gemessen als gezählt werden müssen.<sup>1)</sup>

Das für die richtige Lesung der Verse wichtigste und die meisten Schwierigkeiten bietende Element ist der schwankende Gebrauch des unbetonten *e* der Schlusssilbe, das theils noch als Bindevocal der alten Flexion, theils als Rest dieser Flexion selbst, aber auch als anorganische Wucherbildung auftritt, die durch eine Art von Gegenströmung gegen die Tendenz der Wortverkürzung sich (besonders in Eigennamen) in schleppender und das Ohr verletzender Weise geltend macht (Edwarde, Londonne dgl.),

<sup>1)</sup> Gewisse Freiheiten des jambischen Metrums, die sich alle Dichter von Chaucer bis Shakspeare gestattet haben, setzen wir als den Lesern des Letzteren geläufig voraus. So zwei Kürzen in der Senkung, oft durch Synkope zu erklären, wie wenn *ever*, *never*, *laden*, *heven* selbst *iron* (*l. ir'n*, v. 56) einsilbig, *comparison* dreisilbig gebraucht wird, oder durch Krasis, am häufigsten mit dem Artikel (wie v. 6. 591. 1108. 1148, auch vor *h*: 1014) aber auch mit *they* (324. 339: *they aventure*, l. *they 'venture*) der Präpos. *to* (823. 881. 1094) vielleicht auch *by* (s. z. v. 29), *I have* (*l. I've*, 705. 836). Einige auffallendere Fälle der ersten Art habe ich im Text durch Accente verdeutlicht. Als eigenthümliche Synkope zu merken: *this is* einsilbig v. 68. 123. 157. 987.

an der aber die Abschreiber ein ganz besonderes, geschmackloses Wohlgefallen zu finden scheinen. Das erstere Moment ist im Schwinden begriffen, das letztere glücklicherweise niemals zur Herrschaft gekommen. Die Schrift ist in der besseren Zeit der Aussprache zu folgen bemüht gewesen. Ganz ist ihr das nicht gelungen und konnte es ihr nicht gelingen wegen der Mischung der beiden innerlich verschiedenen Lautsysteme, die sich im Englischen begegnen. Indess hat sie es doch zu einem Compromiss gebracht, der dem Gebiet des Zweifelhaften für den Leser ziemlich enge Schranken zieht. Wir haben die Grundsätze, die sich der Schreiber des Ellesmere-Codex zum Ziele gestellt, mit etwas strafferer Consequenz durchgeführt, so dass für eine richtige Lesung der Verse nur Folgendes zu merken ist.

- 1) Im Allgemeinen ist das *Schluss-e* lautbar.
- 2) Es wird jedoch stets elidirt vor einem Wort, das mit einem Vocal anfängt.
- 3) Zweifelhaft ist sein Lautwerth (ob stumm, ob auszusprechen) und kann nur durch den Vers selbst erkannt werden:
  - a) in den Endungen französischer Wörter auf *-ce*, *-ge*, *-gne*, *-aille*, *-be*, *-ve*; also *prince*, *courage*, *regne*, *opposaille*, *receive*.
  - b) in der angelsächsischen Endung — *ve*, also *have*, *love*, *live*, *yeve*.
  - c) nach einer offnen (gedehnten und betonten) Silbe, auf die ein einfacher Consonant folgt, wenn der Vocal des Stammes ein *u* ist: also *mute*, *sure*, *nature*. Diese Wörter sind sämmtlich französisch und das *u* ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach *ü* zu sprechen.
  - d) Derselbe Fall tritt oft ein, wenn der lange Stammvocal *a* oder *i* ist; also *bare* und *wise* können einsilbig sein.
  - e) In der Schlusssilbe der syncopirten Imperfecte: *coude*,

*wolde, shulde, made* (dageg. Particp. *mad* oder *maad*), *sente, mighte, caste, broughte* u. s. w. (woran auch *dide* und *were* sich anschliessen) und vereinzelt in *more, therfore, before*.

4) Zweifelhaft endlich ist auch der Werth des *e* als Bindevocal der consonantischen Flexions-Endungen *-s, -th, -st, -d, -n*. Es kann also nur durch den Vers entschieden werden, ob *hinderest* und *Flemminges* zwei oder dreisilbig, *sheweth* und *frendes* einsilbig oder zweisilbig zu sprechen sind. Derselbe Fall tritt bei Erweiterung des Stammes durch Ableitungssilben ein, so dass z. B. *hinderaunce* (mit Berücksichtigung von 3, a) möglicher Weise zwei- drei- oder viersilbig sein kann.

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Ich habe gesagt, dass die Verse gut gebaut seien. Dass sie sich gut lesen lassen, dies Resultat ist allerdings nicht ausschliesslich durch Adoption einer rationelleren Orthographie erreicht, noch auch durch diejenigen Correcturen, welche der Sinn erforderte. In dreissig Versen (44. 54. 104. 106. 112. 115. 155. 159. 373. 410. 443. 450. 510. 550. 658. 665. 734. 834. 887. 899. 944. 979. 1015. 1020. 1024. 1071. 1095. 1096. 1107. 1132) hat das Metrum durch Ausstossung oder Einschiebung an sich unbedeutender Wörter zurechtgerückt werden müssen. Das wird Niemand als Willkür bezeichnen wollen, der bedenkt, dass ein Autor, der 1120 gut gemessene Verse geschrieben hat, nicht in 30 anderen plötzlich Gehör und Taktgefühl verloren haben, noch um die kleinen Stützen verlegen gewesen sein kann, die ihm nach 400 Jahren ein Fremdling leichtesten Kaufes zu suppeditiren im Stande ist. Ich hoffe, dass nach genauerer Prüfung der Handschriften die Mehrzahl dieser Correcturen ebenso Bestätigung finden wird, wie schon manche andere Vermuthung des Herausgebers an wichtigeren Stellen durch nachträgliche Ver-

gleichung von Paulis Collation und Hakluyts Druck ihm zur Gewissheit geworden ist.

Eine über die Gränzen der Orthographie hinausgehende Aenderung der Wortformen habe ich mir (bis auf einen Fall, wovon s. den Schluss) nicht erlauben zu dürfen geglaubt. So habe ich die Neigung zu einer dunkleren und breiteren Vocalisation, die in Hschr. A unseres Textes (s. Anmerkungen) vielfach hervortritt und die mit der nördlichen Heimath des Verf. zusammenzuhangen scheint, nicht verwischt. Daher ist *mut* und *mutte*, wo es sich als Präsensform statt *moot* und *mote* (cod. Ellesm.) fand, *muste* (Imperfect-form) st. *moste*, *shulde* st. *sholde*, desgleichen *sheres* st. *shires*, *sekerly* st. *sikerly*, *her* st. *hir*, *these* st. *thise* beibehalten.

Ferner habe ich die völlig gleichbedeutenden Diphthongen *ey* und *ay*, die nicht nur in A, sondern auch in cod. Ell. mit einander vertauscht werden, nicht ängstlich auseinander gehalten ausser, der Deutlichkeit wegen in *say*, wiewohl hier cod. Ellesm. mit merkwürdiger aber wohl nur zufälliger Consequenz stets *sy* festhält. Für die Negation hat A die drei Formen *nought*, *nat*, *not*, letztere bei weitem am häufigsten; Ellesm. nur *nat* und *noght*. Ich habe stets *not* geschrieben. Dass ich hier wie in andern Fällen schwankenden Gebrauchs diejenige Form vorgezogen habe (vorausgesetzt, dass dadurch keine Schwierigkeit der Lesung entsprang), welche der heutigen Schreibweise am nächsten kam, wird bei dem Zweck dieser Ausgabe hoffentlich Billigung finden; weniger vielleicht, dass ich die Pronominalformen *them* und *their* dem überwiegenden Gebrauch unsers Autors gemäss stets in *hem* und *her (hir)* verwandelt habe. Die Rechtfertigung dieses Verfahrens würde nicht schwer halten, bedürfte aber einer eingehenderen Betrachtung als der Raum hier gestattet.

W. H.

## The Libell of Englishe Policye.

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H ere beginneth the prologue of the processe of the  
Libell of Englishe Policye, exhortyng alle England to  
keep the see enviroun, and namely the narowe see, shewyng  
what profit cometh therof and also worship and salvacioun  
to England and to alle Englishe men.

The trew Processe of English policye  
Of utterward to keep this regne in rest  
Of our England, that no man may denye,  
Ner say of soth but it is oon the best,  
Is this that, who sayth, south north est and west  
Cherish marchaundyes keep th'amiraltee  
That we be maysteres of the narow see.

For Sigismonde the grete emperour  
Which yet regneth whan he was in this lond  
With King Henry the fifth, prince of honour,  
Heer moche glorye as him thoughte he fond:  
A mighty lond wiche hadde take in hond  
To werre in Fraunce and mak mortalitee  
And ever wel keep round about the see.

And to the king thus he saide: My brother,  
 Whan he perceived two townes Calays and Dover,  
 Of all your townes to chese of one and other,  
 To keep the see and soon for to come over,  
 To werre outwardes and your regne to recover,  
 Keep thees two townes, sire, to your magestee  
 As your twein eyen, to keep the narow see.

20

For if this see be kepte in time of werre,  
 Who can heer pas without daunger and wo?  
 Who may eschap, who may mischef differre?  
 What marchaundye may forby ago?  
 For nedes hem must tak truce every fo,  
 Flaundres and Spayne and other, trust to me,  
 Or els hindered al for this narow see.

Therfore I cast me a litel writyng  
 To shewen att'eye this conclusion  
 For conscience and for mine acquityng  
 Against God and again abusion  
 And cowardise, to our enmyes confusion.  
 For four thinges our noble sheweth to me:  
 King, ship, and swerd, and power of the see.

30

Wher ben our shippes, wher ben our swerdes become?  
 Our enmyes bid for the ship set a sheep.  
 Alas! our reule halteth, it is benome.  
 Who dar wel say that lordship shulde tak keep?  
 I wol assaie, though myn hert gin to weep  
 To do this werk, if we wolle ever thee,  
 For very shame to kepe about the see.

40

Shal any prince, what so be his name,  
 Which hath nobeles moche lich to oures,  
 Be lord of see and Flemynge to our blame  
 Stop us, take us, and so mak fade the floures  
 Of English state and distain our honoures?  
 For cowardise, allas! it shulde so be;  
 Therfore I gin to write now of the see.

### **Of the commoditees of Spayne and of Flaundres.**

#### **The firste chapitle.**

Know wel al men that profites in certaine, 50  
 Commoditees called, coming out of Spayne  
 And marchaundy, who so will weet what that is,  
 Ben figues, raisins, wyn bastard and dates  
 And lycoris, Seville oil and eek graine,  
 White Castel sope and wax is not in vaine  
 Iron, wól, wadmol, gootfel, kidfel also;  
 For point-makers ful needful be the two;  
 Saffron, quiksilver as Spaynes marchandy  
 Is into Flaundres shipped full craftily,  
 Unto Bruges as to her staple faire 60  
 (The haven of Sluse they have for her repaire,  
 Which is yclept of Swyn) tho shippes giding,  
 Wher many vessel and faire arn abiding.  
 But thees marchauntes with her shippes greet  
 And swiche chaffare as they bye and get  
 By the wayes, must nede take on hand  
 By the costes to passe of our England.  
 Betwixt Dover and Calays, this is no dout:  
 Who can wel els such matter bring about?  
 And whan thees said marchauntz discharged be 70

Of marchaundy in Flaundres neer the see  
Than they be charged again with marchaundy  
That to Flaundres longeth ful richely:  
Fine cloth of Ipre, that námed is bet than our is,  
Cloth of Cortryk, fine cloth of all coloures  
Moch fustian and also linen clothe.  
But ye Flemmynges, if ye be not wrothe,  
The greet substaunce of your cloth at the fulle  
Ye wot ye make it of oure English wolle.

Than may it not sinken in mannes braine  
But that it must, this marchaundy of Spayne  
Both out and inne by our costes passe;  
He that saith nay, in witte is lich an asse,  
Thus if this see were kepte, I dare wel sayne,  
We shulde have pese with the groundes tweyne:  
For Spayne and Flaundres is ech other brother  
And nether may wel liven without other.  
They may not live to maintein her degrees  
Without our Englishe commoditees  
Wolle and tinne; for the wolle of England  
Susteineth the common Flemminges, I understand  
Than if England wolde her wol restraine  
From Flaunderes, this followeth in certaine  
Flaundres of nede must with us have pees,  
Or els he is distroyd withouten lees.  
Also if Flaundres thus distroyed be,  
Som marchaundye of Spayn wol never ythee.  
For destroyed it is and, as in chefe,  
The wolle of Spayn it cometh not to prefe,  
But if it be tosed and menged weel  
Amonges English wol the greter deel.  
For Spaynish wolle in Flaundres draped is

And ever has ben, that men have minde of this.  
 And yet wolle is oon the cheef marchaundye  
 That longeth to Spayne, who so wol aspye;  
 It is of litel value, trust to me,  
 With English wol but if it menged be.  
 Thus if the see be kept, than herken hether,  
 If thees two landes comen not together  
 So that the fleet of Flaundres passe nought,      110  
 That in the narow see he be not brought  
 Into Rochelle to fetch the fumous wine  
 Ner into Britones bay for salt so fine,  
 What is than Spayn? What is Flaundres also?  
 As who saith nought, the thrifte is than ago.  
 For the litelle land of Flaundres is  
 But a staple to other landes ywis.  
 And al that groweth in Flaundres grain and sede  
 May not a moneth find hem mete of brede.  
 What hath than Fláundres, be Fléminges leef or lothe,      120  
 But a litel madere and Flemish clothe?  
 By draping of oure wolle in substaunce  
 Liven her comons, this is her governaunce;  
 Withouten which they may not live at ese  
 Thus must hem sterue or with us must have pese.

### **Of the commoditees of Portingale. The II chaptle.**

The marchaundyes also of Portingale  
 To divers landes turnen into sale.  
 Portingalers with us have trouth in hande,  
 Whose marchaundy cometh moch into Englande.  
 They ben our frendes with her commoditees,      130  
 And we English passe into her countrees.

Her land hath oyl, wyn, osey, wex and graine,  
 Figues, raisines, honey and cordewaine,  
 Dates and salt, hides and such marchaundy;  
 And if they wolde to Flaundres pas forth by  
 They shulde not be suffred oons ner twies  
 For supporting of our cruel enmyes.

That is to say Flemminges with her gyle,  
 For chaungeable they are in litel while.

Than I conclude by resonys many mo,

If we suffered nether frend nor fo,

What so enmyes and so supportyng

Pas for-by us in time of werriyng,

Sith oure frendes wol not ben in cause

Of our hindryng, if reson leed this clause,

Than need from Flaundres pees to us be sought,

And other landes shulde seek pees, dout nougnt.

For Flaundres is staple, as men tel me,

To alle nacions of Christiantee.

140

### The commoditees of Pety Britayne, with her rovers of the see.

#### The III capitle.

Forthermore to writen I am faine

150

Somwhat speking of the Litel Britayne;

Commoditee therof ther is and was

Salt and wines, creste-clothe and canvas.

And the land of Flaundres sekerly

Is the staple of this her marchaundy,

Which marchaundy may not passen away

But by the coste of England, this is no nay.

And of this Britayn, who so trouth beleves,

Ar the gretest rovers and gretest theves

That have ben in the see many oon yere; 160  
 That our marchautes haven bought ful dere.  
 For they have tak notable good of oures  
 On this said see thees fals coloured piloures,  
 Called of Saint Malous and elles where,  
 Which to her duc non obeisaunce wol bere.  
 With such coloures we have ben hindred sore,  
 And fained pese is called no wer heerfore.  
 Thus they have ben in divers costes many  
 Of our England mo than reherse can I,  
 In Northfolk costes and other places about, 170  
 And robbed and brent and slayn by many a rout,  
 And they have also ransomed town by town,  
 That to the regnes of heven bost ron her sown;  
 Wich hath ben ruth unto this relm and shame.  
 They that the see shulde kepe ar much to blame.  
 For Britayn is of esy reputation,  
 And Saint Malous turneth hem to reprobation.

**A storie of king Edward the III<sup>d</sup> his ordinaunce for Britayne.**

Heer bring I in a storie to me lente,  
 What a good squiere in time of parlemente  
 Toke unto me wel writen in a scrow, 180  
 That I have commoned both with high and low,  
 Of which al men accorden in to oon  
 That it was doon not mony yeres agon,  
 But whan the noble king Edward the thridde  
 Regned in grace, right thus it betidde.  
 For he hadde a manere jelosye  
 To his marchauntz and loved hem hartilye.  
 He felt the wayes to reule wel the see,

Wherby marchauntz might have prosperitee.  
 Therfore Harflew and Houndflew did he maken  
 And grete werres that time were undertaken  
 Betwix the king and the duc of Britayne;  
 At last to fal to pees both were they faine.  
 Upon the which maad by convencioune  
 Our marchautes maden hem redy boun  
 Toward Britayn to leed her marchaundy,  
 Wenyng hem frendes and wente forth boldily.  
 But sone anone our marchauntz were ytake  
 And we spedde never the better for truce sakē.  
 They loste her good her money and spendyng,  
 But her complainte come unto the king.  
 Than wex he wrooth and to the duc he sente  
 And complained that suche harm was hente  
 By convencioune and pees maad so refused.  
 Which duke sent again and him excused,  
 Rehersing that the mount of Saint Michele  
 And Saint Malouse wolde never a dele  
 Bëen subject unto his governaunce  
 Ner bëen under his obeisaunce.  
 And so they dide withouten him that dede.  
 But whan the king anoon hadde taken hede,  
 He in his herte sette a jugement  
 Without callyng of any parlement  
 Or grete tary to taak long avise.  
 To fortify anoon he dide devise  
 Of English townes three, that is to say,  
 Dertmouth, Plymmouth, the third it is Fowey,  
 And yaf hem help and notable puissaunce,  
 With insistence sette hem in governaunce,  
 Upon Pety Britayne for to werre.  
 That gode see-men wolde no mo deferre,

190

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But bet hem home and made they might not route,  
Took prisoners and lerned hem for to louute.

And eft the duc in his ensamples wyse  
Wroot to the king, as he first dide devise  
Him accusyng; but our menye wode  
With grete pouer passed over the flode,  
And werried forth into the dukes londe,  
And hadde nigh destrued free and bonde.

And whan the duc knew that the townes three      230

Shulde haven lost al her natal contree,  
He undertook by suretee trew not fals  
For Mount Michelle and Sainte Malous als  
And other partes of the Litel Britayne,  
Which to obey, as said was, were not faine;  
The duc himself for al dide undertake,  
With al his herte a ful pees dide he make;  
So that in al the lyf time of the king  
Marchauntz hadde pees withouten werriyng.

He made a statute for Lombardes in this land,      240

That they shulde in no wise take on hand  
Heer to inhabit to charge and discharge  
But forty dayes, no more time hadde they large.  
This gode king by wit of such apprefe  
Kepte his marchauntz and the see fro mischefe.

**Of the commoditees of Scotland and draping of hir wolle  
in Flaundres. The IIII chapitle.**

Moreover of Scotland the commoditees  
Ar felles hides and of wolle the flees.  
And alle thees must pas by us away  
Into Flaundres by England, soth to say.

And al her wol was draped for to selle  
 In the townes of Popering and of Belle,  
 Which mylord of Gloucestere with ire  
 For her falshede set upon a fire.

And yet they of Belle and of Popering  
 Couth never draap her wol for any thing,  
 But if they hadde Englishe wol withal;  
 Our goodly wol that is so general  
 Needful to hem in Spayne and Scotland als  
 And other costes, this sentence is not fals.

Ye worthy marchauntz, I do it upon yow,  
 I have this lerned, you wot wel where and how,  
 Ye wot the staple of that marchaundy  
 Of this Scotland is Flaundres sekerly.

And the Scottes ben charged, knownen at the eye,  
 Out of Flaundres with litel mercerye  
 And greet plentee of haberdasheres ware;  
 And half her shippes with carte wheles bare  
 And with barowes ar laden as in substaunce.  
 Thus most rude waer be in her chevesaunce.  
 So they may not forbeir this Flemmish land.  
 Therfore if we wolde manly take on hand  
 To keep this see fro Flaundres and fro Spayne  
 And fro Scotland lych as fro Pety Britaine  
 We shulde right soon have pees for al her bostes.  
 For they must need pas by our English costes.

250

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270

**Of the commoditees of Pruse and Highe Duch men  
 and Esterlynges. The V chapitle.**

Now go we forth to the commoditees  
 That cometh fro Pruce in two maner degrees.

For two manere peple have such use  
 This is to say Highe Duch men of Pruce,  
 And Esterlinges which mighte not be forborne      280  
 Out of Flaundres but it were verily lorne.  
 For they bringe in the substaunce of the beer  
 That they drink ful to gode cheep, not deer.  
 Ye have herd that two Flemminges together  
 Wol undertake, or they go ony whether,  
 Or they rise ones to drinke a barel fulle  
 Of good berkin; so soor they hale and pulle,  
 Under the boord they pissem as they sitte;  
 This cometh of covenant of a worthy witte.  
 Without Calays in her butter they cakked,      290  
 Whan they flede home and whan they leisure lakked  
 To hold her sege, they went like as a doo;  
 Wel was that Flemming that mighte trusse and go.  
 And her prince turned his bak and hyede fast;  
 My lord of Gloucestre made him so agast  
 With his comyng and soughte him in his land,  
 And brente and slow as he hadde take in hand;  
 So that her duc durste not bide nor stere,  
 He was in mew, he durste no more appere.  
 Than his meynee saiden that he was dede,      300  
 Til we were go; ther was no better rede.  
 Fy cowardy knighthode was aslepe,  
 As deed her duc in mew they dide him kepe.  
 Rebuked soor for ever so shamefully  
 Unto her útter everlásting vilany.  
 Now bere and bacon ben fro Pruce ybrought  
 Into Flaundres, as loved and fere ysought,  
 Osmond, coppre, bow-staffes, steel and wex  
 Peltware and grey, pich, terre, borde and flex  
 And Coloigne threde, fustian and canvas      310

Card, bokram, of old time thus it was.  
 But the Flemmings among thees thinges dere  
 In comen loven best bacon and bere.  
 Thus arn they hogges and drinken wel ataunt;  
 Far wel, Flemming, hay, haro, hay, avaunt.  
 Also Pruce men maken here aventure  
 Of plate of silver, of wedges gode and sure  
 In greet plentee, which they bringen and bye  
 Out of landes of Beame and Hungrye;  
 Wich is encrees ful grete unto this land,  
 As they ben laden again, I understand  
 With wollen clothe al manere of coloures  
 By dyeres craftes ful divers that ben oures.  
 And they aventure ful greetly to the Bay  
 For salt, that is needful withouten nay.  
 Thus if they wolde not our frendes be,  
 We mighte lightly stoppen hem in the see,  
 They shulde not passe our stremes withouten leve,  
 It wolde not be, but if we shulde hem greve.

320

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**Of the commoditees of the Janueys and her grete karekkes.**
**The VI chapitle.**

The Janueys comen in sondre wises  
 Into this land with divers marchaundises  
 In greet karekkes arrayd withouten lak  
 With clothes of gold, silk and peper blak  
 They bring with hem and of waad greet plentee,  
 Wolle-oil, wood-ashen by vessel in the see.  
 Coton, roche-alum, and good gold of Jene.  
 And they be charged with wolle again, I wene,  
 And wollen clothe of oures of coloures alle.

330

And they aventure as oft it doth befalle  
 Into Flaundres with such thing as they by,340  
 That is her chefe staple sekerly;  
 And if they wolde be our fulle ennemis,  
 They shulde not passe our stremes with marchaundies.

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**The commoditees and nicetees of Venecians and Florentines  
 with her galees. The VII chapitle.**

The greet galees of Venice and Florence  
 Be wel laden with thinges of complacence,  
 Al spicerye and of groceries ware  
 With swete wines al manere of chaffare  
 Apes and japes and marmusettes tailed,  
 Nifles, trifles that litel have availed  
 And thinges with which they fetely blere our eye,350  
 With thinges not enduring that we bye.  
 For moche of this chaffar that is wastable  
 Might be forborn for dere and disceivable,  
 And that I wene, as for infirmitees  
 In our England arn such commoditees  
 Withouten help of any other londe  
 Which by witte and practike beth yfonde,  
 That al humoures mighte be voided sure;  
 Which that we gedre with our English cure  
 That we shulde have no need to skamonye360  
 Turbit, euforbe, correct, diagredye,  
 Rubarb, senee, and yet they ben to needful.  
 But there, I know, ben thinges also speedful  
 That growen here, as these thinges said;  
 Let of this mater no man be dismayd,  
 But that a man may voide infirmitee

Without thees drugges fet fro beyond the see.  
 And yif ther shulde except be ony thing  
 It were but sugre, trust to my saying.  
 He that trusteth nót to my sáying and sentence, 370  
 Let him better serchen experience.  
 In this matere I wol not ferther prese;  
 Who so not leveth let him leve and cese.  
 Thus these galees for this liking ware  
 And eting waer beer hens our best chaffare,  
 Cloth wolle and tin, which, as I said beforne.  
 Out of this land werst mighte ben forborne.  
 For eech other land of necessitee  
 Have grete need to by some of the three,  
 And we receive of hem into this coste.  
 Ware and chaffar that lightly wol be loste. 380  
 And wolde Jhesu that our lordes wolde  
 Consideren this wel both yonge and olde;  
 Namely olde, that have experience,  
 That mighte the yonge exhorten to prudence  
 What harme, what hurt and what hinderaunce  
 Is don to us unto our greet grevaunce,  
 Of suche londes and of such nacions?  
 As expert men know by probacions.  
 By writing ar discovered our consailes  
 And fals colour allayes the countertailes 390  
 Of our enmyes that doth us hindering  
 Unto our godes, our relm and to the king  
 As wise men have shewed wel at eye,  
 And al this is coloured by marchandrye.

An ensample of deceite.

Also they beer the golde out of this land  
 And souketh the thrifte away out of our hand,  
 As the waffor souketh hony fro the bee  
 So minisheth oure commoditee.

Now wol ye heer how they in Cotteswolde  
 Were wont to borow or it shulde be solde  
 Her wolle gode, as fro yere to yere  
 Of clothe and tin they dide in lych manere,  
 And in her galees ship this marchandye?  
 Than sone at Vénice of thérm men wol it bye,  
 Than uttern ther the chaffar by the peise  
 And lightly also ther they maak her reise.  
 And whan tho gode ben at Venice solde,  
 Than to carrye her chaunge they ben ful bolde  
 Into Flaundres; whan they this money have,  
 They wil it profre hir soteltee to save  
 To English márchauntz to yéve it out by chaunge,  
 To ben ypaid again they maak not straunge  
 Here in Englond, seming for the better  
 At the receiving and sight of the letter,  
 By four pens losse in the nobele rounde,  
 That is twelf pens losse in the golden pounde.

And if we wol have soner our payment  
 A ful moneth, than muste hem nedes assent  
 To eight pens los, that is shellinges tweyn  
 In the English pound; as eftesones agayn  
 For two monethes twelf pens must we pay  
 In the English pounde. What is that to say  
 But three shellinges? so that in pounde fele  
 For hurt and harm hard is with hem to dele,  
 And than English marchauntes have contente

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Of this eschaunge in England by assente  
 That these said Venecians have in wone  
 And Florentines to beren her gold sone  
 Over the see into Flaundres agayn,  
 And thus they live in Flaundres, soth to sayn  
 And in London with suche chevisaunce  
 That men cal usurye, to our [losse and] hinderaunce.

430

### Another ensample of deceite.

Now listen wel how they made us a baleys,  
 Whan they borowed at the towne of Caleys,  
 As they were wont, her wol that was hem lente.  
 For yere and yeer they shulde maak paymente  
 And som time also two yere and two yere.  
 This was fair lone; but yet wol ye here  
 How they to Bruges wolde her wolles carye  
 And for hem taak payment withouten tarye  
 And sel it fast for redy money in honde?  
 For fifty pounde of los they wolde not wonde  
 In a thousande pounde and live therby  
 Tille the day of payment easily.  
 Some again gaines in exchaunge making  
 Ful like usúrye as mén make undertaking.  
 Than whan this payment of a thousande pounde  
 Was wel content, they shulde have chaffar sounde,  
 If that they wolde fro the staple fulle  
 Receive again her thousande pounde in wolle,  
 And thus they wolden, if we wil beleve  
 Wipen our nose with our owen sleeve;  
 Though this proverb be hoomly and undew  
 Yet by likenesse it is for soth ful trew.

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In Cotteswolde also they ride aboute  
 And al England and byen withouten doute,  
 What hem liste with freedom and fraanchise  
 Mo than we English may gét in any wise.  
 But wolde God that without longer delayes  
 Thees galees were unfraught in forty dayes  
 And in tho forty dayes charged again;  
 And that they mighte be put to certain  
 To go to hoste as we ther with hem do.  
 It were expedient that they dide right so,  
 As we do there; if the kinge wolde it.  
 A! what worship wolde fal to English wit!  
 What profit also to our marchaundye  
 Which wolde of need be cherished hartilye!  
 For I wolde weet, why now our navey faileth,  
 Whan many a fo us at our dore assaileth,  
 Now in thees dayes, that, if ther come a nede,  
 What navey shulde we have it is to drede.  
 In Denmark were ful noble conquerours  
 In time passed, ful worthy werriours,  
 Which whan they hadde her marchauntes destroyde,  
 To povertee they fel, thus were they noyde;  
 And so they stand at mischefe at this day;  
 This lerned I laat, wel writen, this is no nay.  
 Therfor be ware, I can no better wile,  
 If grace ye wol of other mennes perile.  
 For if marchauntz were cherished to her spedē,  
 We were not like to fail in any nede.  
 If they be rich, than in prosperitee  
 Shal be our land, lordes and comonthee.  
 And in whorship now think I on the sonne  
 Of marchaundy, Richard of Whitingdonne,  
 That lode-sterre and chefe chosen flour

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What hath by him our England of honour?  
 And what profite hath ben of his richesse?  
 And yet lasteth daily in worthiness,  
 That penne and paper may not me suffice,  
 Him to describe so high he was of prise,  
 Above marchauntz to set him oon the beste,  
 I can no more, but God have him in reste.

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### **Now the principal matere.**

What reson is it that we shulde go to hoste  
 In her countrees, and in this English coste  
 They shulde not so, but have more libertee  
 Than we ourself? now, al so mote I thee,  
 I wolde men shulde to geftes taak no hede  
 That letteth our thing publik for to sped.  
 For this we see wel every day at eye  
 Geftes and festes stoppen our policye.  
 Now see that fooles ben either they or we,  
 But ever we have the worse in this contree.  
 Therfore let hem unto hoste go here,  
 Or be we free with hem in like manere  
 In her countrees; and if it wol not be,  
 Compel hem unto hoste, and ye shal see  
 Much avaantage and much profite arise  
 Much more than I write can in any wise.

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### **Of our charge and discharge at her martes.**

Conceive wel heer that English men at martes  
 Be discharged for al her craftes and artes

In the Braban of al her marchaundy  
 In fourteen dayes and again hastily  
 In the sam dayes fourteen ar charged eft;  
 And if they bide lenger alle is bereft,  
 Anon they shulde forfeit her godes alle  
 Or marchaundy, it shulde no better falle,  
 And we to martes of Braban charged been  
 With English cloth, ful gode and fair to seen.  
 We ben again charged with mercerye  
 Haberdasher ware and with grocerye.  
 To whiche martes, that English men call faires  
 Ech nacion oft maketh her repaires  
 English and Frensh, Lumbardes, Janueies,  
 Catalones theder they tak her wayes,  
 Scottes, Spaynardes, Irishmen theré abides  
 With greet plentee bringing of salte hides.  
 And I heer say that we in Braban bye  
 Flaundres and Seland more of marchaundye  
 In comon use than doon alle other nacions  
 This have I herd of marchauntes relacions.  
 And if the English bye not in the martes,  
 They ben feble and as nought ben her partes.  
 For they bye more, and fro purse put out,  
 More marchandy than al the other rout.  
 Kept than the see, shippes shulde not bring ne feche,  
 And than the carres wolde not theder streche;  
 And so tho martes wolde ful evel thee,  
 If we manly kept round about the see.

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Of the commoditees of Braban and Seland and Henauld and  
marchaundyses caryed by lande to the martes.

The VIII chapitle.

Yet marchaundyes of Braban and Selande  
 Beth madre and waad that dyers take on hande  
 To dyen with, garleke and onyons  
 And salt fish als for husband and comons.  
 But they of Hóland at Cálays byen our felles  
 And our wolles that English men hem selles,  
 And the chaffar that English men do byen  
 In the martes, that no man may denyen,  
 Is not made in Braban, in that countree,  
 It cometh from out of Henauld not by see  
 But al by land, by carres and from Fraunce,  
 Burgoigne, Coloigne, Camerete, in substaunce.  
 Therfore at martes if ther be a restreinte,  
 Men sayn plainly that list no fables painte,  
 If English men be withdrawen away,  
 Is greet rebuke and los to her affray,  
 As though we sente into the land of Fraunce  
 Ten thousand peple, men of good puissaunce,  
 To werre unto her hindering multifary;  
 So ben our English marchauntes necessary.  
 If it be thus, assay, and ye shal witen  
 Of men expert by whom I have this writen.  
 For said is that this carted marchandy  
 Draweth in value as much verrailly  
 As al the good that cometh in shippes theder  
 Which English men bye moste and bring it heder.  
 For her martes ben feble, shaam to say,  
 But English men theder dressen her way.

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**Conclusion of this depending of keping of the see.**

Than I conclude, if never so much by lande                            570  
 Were by carres ybrought unto her hande,  
 If wel the see were kept in gouvernaunce,  
 They shulde by see have no deliveraunce.  
 We shulde hem stop and we shulde hem destroy  
 As prisoners we shulde hem bring to noy;  
 And so we shulde of our cruel enmyes  
 Maken our frendes for fere of marchaundyes,  
 It they were not suffered for to passe  
 Into Flaundres; but we be fraile as glasse  
 And also bretil, not tough never abiding,                            580  
 But whan grace shineth sone ar we sliding.  
 We wol it not receive in any wise.  
 That maken lust, envye and covetise.  
 Expoun me this, and ye shal soth it finde,  
 Bere it away and kepe it in your minde.

**The naile of this conclusion.**

Then shulde worship unto our noble be  
 In fete and form to lorde and majestee;  
 Liche as the seel, the gretest of this land,  
 On the oon side hath, as I understand,  
 A prince riding with his swerd ydraw                            590  
 In the other side sitting, soth is this saw,  
 Betokening good reule and punishing  
 In verry dede of England by the king.  
 And it is so, God blessed moot he be.  
 So oon lich wise I wolde were on the see.  
 By the noble that swerd shulde have powere

And the shippes on the see about us here.  
 What nedeth a garland which is made of ivy  
 Shew a taverne wynlesse also thrive I?  
 If men were wise, the Frenshmen and Flemmynge 600  
 Shulde bere no state in see by werryngē.

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### Of Hankyn Lyons.

Than Hankyn Lyons shulde not be so bolde  
 To stoppe wine and shippes for to holde  
 Unto our shaam; he hadde be beten thens.  
 Alas! alas! why dide we this offense,  
 Fully to shenden the old English fames  
 And the profites of England and her names?  
 Why is this powd're, called covetise,  
 With fals coloures cast beforne our eyes?  
 That if good men ben called werryours  
 Wolde take in hand for the comon socours,  
 To purge the see unto our greet availe  
 And win hem gode and halen up the saile  
 And on our enemies her lives juparte,  
 So that they mighte her prises wel departe,  
 As reson wolde justice and equitee,  
 To mak this land have lordship of the see:  
 Than shal Lombardes and other feined frendes  
 Mak her chalénges by cōlour false of fendes  
 And say her chaffare in the shippes is,  
 And challenge al, loke if this be amis!  
 For thus may al that men have brought to sore  
 And ben excused and saved by fals coloure.  
 Be war, ye men, they beer the grete on hand,  
 That they destroy the pólity of this land

610

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By gifte and gode and the fyn golden clothes  
 And silk and other, see ye not, this soth is?  
 But if ye hadde verry experience,  
 That they tak meed with privy violence,  
 Carpettes and thinges of price and of plesaunce      630  
 Wherby stopped shulde be good governaunce,  
 And if it were as ye say unto me,  
 Than wolde I say, alas, cupiditee,  
 That they that have her lives put in drede  
 Shal be sone out of winning, al for mede,  
 And lese her costes, and brought to povertee  
 That they shal never have lust to go to see.

**Stering to an ordinaunce against colour mainteiners  
 and excusers.**

For this colour (that muste be said alofte  
 And be declared of the greet ful ofte)  
 That oure seemen wol by many wise      640  
 Spoil our frendes in stede of our enmyes —  
 For which colour and Lombardes maintenaunce  
 The king it nedeth to make an ordinaunce  
 With his counsel, that may not faile, I trowe,  
 That frendes shulde from enmyes wel be knowe,  
 Our enmyes taken and our frendes spared.  
 The remedy of hem muste be declared.  
 Thus may the see be kept in every deel,  
 For if ought be taken, wotte ye weel,  
 We have the strokes and enmyes have the winning      650  
 But mainteners ar parteners of the sinning.  
 We ligge in lust and bide in covetise,  
 This is our reule to maintein marchaundise

And policye that we have on the see;  
And, but God helpe, it wol none other be.

**Of the commoditees of Ireland, and policye and keping  
therof, and conquering of the wilde Irish, with an incident  
of Wales. The IX chapitle.**

I cast to speke of Ireland but a litel,  
Commoditees of it I wol entitel  
Hides and fishe, samon, hake, heryng,  
Irishe wollen, linen cloth, faldyng  
And marternes gode ben for marchaundye, 660  
Hertes hides and other of venerye,  
Skinnes of oter, squerel and Irish hare,  
Of shepe, lambe and fox, is her chaffare,  
Felles of kidde and conyes greet plentee,  
So that if Ireland halp us keep the see,  
Because the king cleped is rex Angliae  
And is dominus als Hiberniae,  
Old possessed by his progenitoures,  
The Irish men have cause like to oures  
Our land and hers togeder to defende 670  
That none enmy shulde hurte ne offendre  
Irelond ne us, but as oon comontee  
Shulde help to kepen wel about the see.  
For they have havenes grete and goodly baies  
Sure, wide, and depe, and eke of gode assaies  
At Waterford and costes many one,  
And as men sayn, in England be ther none  
Better havenes shippes in to ride,  
Ne more sure for enmyes to abide.  
Why speke I thus so much of Irlande? 680

For also muche as I can understande  
 It is fertile for thinges that ther do grow  
 And multiplyen, look who so lust to know!  
 So large, so gode, and so commodious,  
 That to declare is straunge and merveilous.  
 For of silver and gold there is the ore  
 Among the wilde Irish, though they be pore;  
 For they ar rude and can theron no skille,  
 So that, if we hadde ther pese and good wille,  
 To mine and fine and metal for to pure      690  
 In wilde Irishe mighte we find the cure;  
 As in Londone saith a jewellere,  
 Which broughte from thennes gold oor to us here,  
 Wheroft was fined metal gode and clene,  
 That at the touch no better coude be sene.  
 Now heer be ware and hertly take entente,  
 As ye wolde answer at the last jugemente,  
 That but for slouth and for recheleshede  
 Ye remembre, with al your might tak hede  
 To kepen Ireland that it be not lost;      700  
 For it is a boterasse and a post  
 Under England, and Wales is another,  
 God forbede but ech were other brother;  
 Of one ligeaunce dewe unto the king.  
 But I have pitee, in good faith, of this thing.  
 That I shal sayen with avisemente,  
 I am aferd that Ireland wol be shente.  
 It must away, it wol be lost from us,  
 But if thou help, thou Jhesu gracious,  
 And yeve us grace al slouth to leve by side.      710  
 For muche thing in my herte is yhide,  
 Which in another tr  tis I c  st to write  
 Made alle onely for that soil and site

Of ferteile Ireländ, which might not be forborne.  
 But if England were nigh as gode as lorne.  
 God forbeed that a wilde Irish wirlyng  
 Shulde be chosen for to be her king  
 After her conquest of our lost puissaunce  
 And hinder us by other landes alliaunce.  
 Wise men sayen, which folen not ne doten,  
 That wilde Irish so much of grounde have gotten  
 Ther upon us, as likeliness may be,  
 Like as in England sheres two or three:  
 Of this our land is made comparable;  
 So wilde Irish have wonne on us unable  
 It to defenden and of no powere;  
 That oure ground ther is a lítel cornére  
 To all Irelond in trew comparisoun.  
 It nedeth no more this mater to expoun;  
 Which if be lost, as Christ Jhesu forbede,  
 Farwel Wales; than England cometh to drede  
 For alliaunce af Scotland and of Spayne  
 And other mo, as the Pety Britaine,  
 And so enmies environ round about.  
 I beseech God that som prayers devout  
 Mut letten the said apparaunce probable.  
 This is disposed without feyned fable,  
 But alle oonly for peril that I see  
 Thus imminent as likely for to be,  
 And wel I wot that from hennes to Rome  
 And, as men say, in alle Christendome  
 Is no grounde ne lond to Ireland liche,  
 So large, so good, so plentevous, so riche,  
 That to this worde *dominus* doth longe;  
 Than me semeth that right were and not wronge  
 To get that land, and it were pitevous

720

730

740

To us to lees this high naam *dominus*.  
 And al this worde *dominus* of name  
 Shulde have the ground obeisaunt wilde and tame.  
 That name and peple togeder mighte accorded, 750  
 Alle the grounde subject to the lorde.  
 And that is possible to be subject  
 Unto the king, wel shal it be detect  
 In the litelle book that I of spake;  
 I trow reson al this wolle undertake.  
 And I know wel with Ireland how it stant.  
 Alas! Fortune beginneth so to slant  
 Or elles grace, that dede is governaunce.  
 For so minisheth partes of our puissaunce  
 In that land, that we lesen every yere 760  
 More ground and more as well as ye may here.  
 I herde a man speken to me ful late,  
 Which was a lord of fulle grete estate,  
 That expenses of oon yeer don in Fraunce  
 Wared on men wel willed of puissaunce  
 This saide ground of Irelond to conquere;  
 And yet, because England might not forbere  
 Thees saide expenses gedred in oon yere,  
 But in three yere or four gadred up here  
 Mighte winne Ireland to a final conquest 770  
 In oon sool yeer to set us alle in rest.  
 And how soon wolde this be paid agayne!  
 What were it worth yeerly if we not feyne,  
 I will declaren, who so lust to loke,  
 I trow ful plainly, in my litel boke.  
 But covetise and singularitee  
 Of owen profite, envye, crueltee  
 Hath done us harm and do us every day.  
 And mustres maad, that shame it is to say

Our money spent al to litel availe.  
 And our enmyes so greetly do prevaille  
 That what harme may falle and overthwertere,  
 I may unneeth write more for sore of herte.

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### An exhortation to the keping of Wales.

Be ware of Wales, Christ Jhesus mutte it kepe  
 That it maak not our childes child to wepe  
 Ne us also, if so it go his way  
 By unwarnesse; sith that many a day  
 Men have ben ferde of her rebelloun  
 By greet tokenes and ostentacioun.  
 Seek the menyes with a discrete avise  
 And helpe that they rudely not arise  
 For to rebelle, that Christ it forbede,  
 Look wel about, for, God wot, we have ned  
 Unfailingly unfeining and unfeinte,  
 That conscience for slouth you not atteinte.  
 Keep wel that ground for harm that may ben used,  
 Or afor God mutte ye ben accused.

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### Of the commodious stockfishe of Iseland and keping of the see, namely the narow see, with an incident of keping of Caleis. The tenth chapitle.

Of Iseland to write is litel ned  
 Save of stockfishe; yet for soth in dede  
 Out of Bristow and costes many one  
 Men have practised by nedle and by stone

Thider-wardes within a litel while  
 Within twelf yere and withouten perille  
 Gone and comen as men were wont of olde  
 Of Scarborough unto the costes colde;  
 And now so feel shippes this yeer ther were  
 That moche losse for unfraught they bere.  
 Iselond mighte not maken hem to be fraught  
 Unto the havens; thus much harm they caught.  
 Than here I ende of the commoditees

810

For whiche nede is wel to keep the sees;  
 Est and weste, south aud northe they be;  
 And cheefly keep sharply the narow see  
 Between Dover and Caleis and as thus,  
 That foes pas not without good wil of us,  
 And they abide our daunger in the lengthe,  
 What for our costes and Caleis in her strengthe.

### An exhortatioun of keping of Caleis.

And for the love of God and of his blis,  
 Cherish ye Caleis better than it is;  
 See wel therto and heer the greet compleinte

820

That trew men tellen that wol no lyes peinte;  
 And as you know that wrting cometh fron thence  
 Do not to England for slouth so grete offence,  
 But that redressed it be for ony thinge,  
 Lest that a song of sorrowe we singe.  
 For litel weneth the fool who so mighte chese,  
 What harme it were good Caleis for to lese,  
 What woo it were for al this English ground.  
 Which wel conceived the emperor Sigesmound,  
 That of al joyes made it oon the moste,

830

That Caleis was suget unto English coste.  
 Him thoughte it was a jewel moste of alle  
 And so the same in Latin dide it calle.  
 And if ye wolde more of Caleis know,  
 I cast to write within a litel scrow,  
 Like as I have don beforen by and bye  
 In other parties of our policye.  
 Look wel how hard it was at first to get  
 And by my counsel lyghtly not it let.  
 For if we lesen it with shame of face,  
 It is wilfully and for lak of grace.

840

How was the Harflew cryed upon and Rone  
 That it were likely for slouth to be gone!  
 How was it warned and cryed on in England!  
 I mak record with this penne in myn hand,  
 It was warned plainly in Normandye  
 And in England and I theron dide crye.  
 The world was deef and it betidde right so.  
 Farwel Harflew! lewdly it was ago.  
 Now ware Caleis, I can say no better  
 My soul discharge I by this present letter.

850

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After the chapitle of commoditees of diverse landes, sheweth  
 the conclusioun of keping of the see environ by a storye of  
 king Edward the thridde and king Herry the fifth.

### The XI chapitle.

Now see we wel than that this rounde see  
 To our noble by pariformitee  
 Under the ship sweyeth that sheweth her saile,  
 And oure king of royal apparaille  
 With swerde drawnen bryght and eke intente

For to chastise enmyes violente  
 Shulde be lord of the see round about  
 To kepe enmyes fro within, without,  
 To be holden thorough christianitee  
 Master and lord enviroun of the see,  
 Al living men such as a prince to drede  
 Of such a regne to be aferde in dede.  
 Thus prove I wel that it was thus of olde,  
 Which by a chronik anon shal be tolde  
 Right curious; but I wolde interprete  
 It into English, as I dide it gete,  
 Of king Edgar, oo moste merveillous  
 Prince livinge, witty and chevalrous.  
 So good that none of this predecessours  
 Was to him liche in prudence and honours.      860  
 He was fortunat and more gracious  
 Than other before and more glorious.  
 He was beneeth no man in holinesse,  
 He passed alle in vertuous sweetnesse.  
 Of English kinges was noon so commendable  
 To English men, ne less memoriable  
 Than Cyrus was to Perse by puissaunce,  
 And as greet Charles was to hem of Fraunce,  
 And as to Romans was greet Romulus  
 So was to England this worthy Edgarus.      880  
 I may not write more of his worthinesse  
 For lak of time, ne of his holinesse  
 But to my matere I exemplifie  
 Condicions tweyne of his policie.  
 Within his land was oon, this is no dout,  
 And than another in the see without,  
 That in the time of winter and of were,  
 Whan boistous windes put seemen into fere

Within his land about by al provinces  
 He passed thorough perceiving his princes,  
 Lordes and other of the commontee,  
 Who was oppr̄essour and whó to povertee  
 Was drawe and brought, and who was clene in life,  
 And yit wo was by mischeef and by strife  
 With overleding and extorcioun;  
 And gode and bad of eech condicioun  
 He aspied and his ministers als,  
 Who dide trewth and which of hem was fals;  
 And how the right and lawes of his land  
 Were execute, and who durste take in hand  
 To disobey his statutes and decrees,  
 If they were welle ykept in al countrees.  
 Of thees he made subtile investigacioun  
 Of his own spye and other mennes relacioun.  
 Among other was his greet besinesse  
 Wel to ben war that greet men of richesse  
 And men of might in citee nor in toun  
 Shulde to the poor do none oppressioun.  
 Thus was he wonte, as in this winter tide  
 On such enserches besily to abide;  
 This was his labour for the publik thing,  
 Thus occupied a passing holy king.  
 Now to the purpose; in the sommer fair  
 Of lusty seson, whan clered was the air,  
 He hadde redy shippes mad before  
 Grete and huge, not few but many a score,  
 Ful three thousand and six hundred also  
 Statly inough on oure see to go.  
 The chronik sayth thees shippes were ful boisteous;      920  
 Such thinges longen to kinges victorious.  
 In sommer tide wolde he have in wone

And in custom to be ful redy sone.  
With multitude of men of gode array  
And instrumentes of werre of beste assay;  
Who coude hem welle in any wise descriue,  
It were not light for any man on live.  
Thus he and his wolde entre shippes grete  
Habilimentes having and the flete  
Of see werres, that joyful was to see  
Such a navey and lord of majestee  
Ther present in persone hem amonge  
To saile and rowe environ alle alonge  
So regallich about the English ile,  
To al straungeours terrour and eek perile;  
Who soon wente out in al the worlde stout  
Unto greet fere of al that be without  
And exercise to knighthes and his meynhee,  
To him longing of his natal contree.  
For corage muste of need have exercise  
Thus occupied for eschewing of vice.  
This knew the king that policie espied;  
Winter and sommer he was thus occupied  
And thus conclude I by auctoritee  
Of chronicle that enviroun the see  
Shulde ben oures subject to the king,  
And he be lord therof for any thing,  
For greet worship and for profite also  
To defenden his land fro every fo.  
That worthy king I leve, Edgar by name,  
And al the chronik of his worthy fame;  
Save oonly this I may not passe away  
A word of mighty strength yit wolle I say,  
That graunted him God suche worship here  
For his merites, he was withouten pere,

That sometime at his greet festivitee  
 Kinges and yerles of many a contree  
 And princes fele weren ther presente  
 And many lordes com theder by assente  
 To his worship; but in a certain day  
 He bade shippes be redy of array;  
 For to visit Seynt Jones chirch he liste  
 Rowing unto the good holy Baptiste.  
 He assigned to yerles, lordes, knightes  
 Many shippes right godeley to sightes;  
 And for him self and eighte kinges mo  
 Subdite to him, he made kepe one of tho,  
 A gode ship and entred into it  
 With eight kinges and doune dide they sit,  
 And eche of hem an ore toke in hand  
 At ore-holes eight as I understand;  
 And he himself satte at the ship behind  
 As steres man, it him became of kind.  
 Such another rowing, I dare wel say,  
 Was not sene of princes many a day.  
 Lo than how he on waters hadde the price  
 In land, in see, that I may not suffice  
 To telle aright the magnanimitie  
 That that king Edgar hadde upon the see.

960

970

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**An incident of the lord of the see, king Edward the thridde.**

Of king Edward I passe and his prowesse  
 On land, on see ye know his worthinesse.  
 The sege of Cåleys ye wót welle al the mater  
 Round aboute by land and by the water,  
 How it lasted, not yeres many ago

980

After the bataille of Crécy was ydoo;  
 How it was closed enviroun aboute,  
 Old men saw it which liven, this is no doute.  
 Old knightes say that the duke of Burgoigne  
 Late rebuked for al his golden coigne,  
 Of ship and see made no beseging there                          990  
 For want of shippes that durst not com for fere.  
 It was nothing beseged by the see,  
 Thus cal they it no sege for honestee.  
 Gunnes assailed, but assaut was ther none.  
 No sege but fuge, wel was he that mighte gone.  
 This maner carping have knightes ferre in age,  
 Expert of olde this maner langage,  
 But king Edward made a sege royalle  
 And wan the toun and in especiale  
 The see was kepte and therof was he lord,                          1000  
 Thus made he nobles coigned of record.  
 In whoos tym was no navy in the see  
 That might withstanden of his majestee.  
 Bataille of Sluce ye may rede every day  
 How it was done, I leve and go my way;  
 It was so late doon that ye it know  
 In comparison within a litel throw.  
 For which to God yeve we honour and glorie;  
 For lord of see the king was with victorie.

Another incident of keping of the see in the time of the  
 merveillous werriour and victorious prince, king Henry  
 the V<sup>th</sup>, and of his grete shippes.

And if I shulde conclude al by the king                          1010  
 Henry the fifth, what was his purposing,

Whan at Hampton he made the greet dromons  
 Which passed other greet shippes of al the comons  
 The Trinitie, the Grace-Dieu, the Holy-Goste  
 And other moo which as now ben yloste.  
 What hoop ye was the kinges grete entente  
 Of the shippes and what in mind he mente?  
 It was not els but that he caste to be  
 Lord round about environ of the see.  
 And whan that Harflew hadde his sege about  
 Ther cam carikkes horrible grete and stout,  
 In the narow see willing to abide  
 To stoppe us ther with multitude of pride.  
 My lord of Bedford came and hadde the cure;  
 Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.  
 This was after the king Harflew hadde wonne,  
 Whan our enmyes to besiege hadde begonne.  
 That al was slayn or taak by trew relacioun  
 To his worship and of his English nacioun.  
 Ther was present the kinges chamberlain  
 At booth batailles, which knoweth this in certain;  
 He can it tellen other wys than I;  
 Ask him and wite; I pas forth hastely.  
 What hadde this king of high magnificence  
 Of greet corage, of wisdom and prudence,  
 Provision, forewitte, audacitee,  
 Of fortitude, justice, agilitee,  
 Discretioun, subtile avisifnesse,  
 Attemperaunce, noblesse and worthinesse,  
 Science, prowes, devucion, equitee,  
 Of moste estately magnanimitee  
 Liche to Edgar and the saide Edwardre,  
 A braunche of booth, lich hem as in regarde.  
 Wher was on live a man more victorious

1020

1030

1040

And in so short tym prince so merveillous?  
 By land and see so wel he him acquitte,  
 To speke of him I stony in my witte.  
 Thus here I leve the king with his noblesse  
 Henry the fifth with whom al my processe  
 Of this trew boke of pure policye  
 Of see keping entending victorye  
 I leve endly, for about in the see  
 No better was prince of strenuitee.  
 And if he hadde to this tym lived here,  
 He hadde ben prince named withouten pere.  
 His grete shippes shulde have ben put in prefe  
 Unto the end that he mente of in chefe.  
 For dout it not but that he wolde have be  
 Lord and master about the rounde see,  
 And kepte it sure to stoppe our enmies hens  
 And wonne us gode and wisely brought it thens,  
 That no passage shulde be without daungere  
 And his licence on see to meve and stere.

1050

1060

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**Of unitee, shewing of our keping of the see, with one endely  
 processe of pece by auctoritee.**

**The XII chapitle.**

Now than for love of Christ and of his joye  
 Bring yet England out of trouble and noye,  
 Taak herte and witte and set a gouvernaunce,  
 Set many wittes withouten variaunce  
 To one accorde and unanimitee,  
 Put to good wille for to keep the see.  
 Firste for worship and profite also

1070

And to rebuke eche evil witted fo:  
 Thus shal richesse and worship to us longe;  
 Than to the noble shal we do no wronge  
 To beer that coigne in figure and in dede  
 To our corage and our enmyes to drede.  
 For which they muste dres hem to pese in haste  
 Or els her thrift to standen and to waste,  
 As this proces hath proved by and bye  
 Al by reson and expert policye  
 And by stories which preved wel this parte; 1080  
 And els I wol my lyf put in jeparte,  
 But many landes wolde seech her pees for nede  
 The see wel kepte, it muste be don for drede.  
 Thus muste Flaundres for need have unitee  
 And pees with us, it wol none other be,  
 Within short while, and ambassiatours  
 Wolde ben heer soon to treet for her socours.  
 This unitee is to Goddes plesaunce  
 And pese after the werres variaunce.  
 The end of bataille is pees sikerly 1090  
 And povertee causeth pees finally.  
 Keep than the see about in specialle  
 The which of England is the rounde walle;  
 As though England were likened to a citee  
 Of which the walle environ were the see.  
 Keep than the see as the walle of Englonde  
 And than is England kept by Goddes sonde.  
 That is, for any thing that is without  
 England were at ese withouten dout.  
 And thus shulde every land oon with another 1100  
 Entercomon as brother with his brother,  
 And live togeder werreles in unitee  
 Without rancour in verry charitee

In rest and pees, to Christes greet plesaunce  
 Withouten stryf, debate and variaunce.  
 Which pees men shulde enserch with besinesse  
 And knit sadly holding in holiness.  
 Th' apostel sayth, if ye listen to see  
 „Be ye besy for to kepe unitee  
 Of the spirit in the bonde of the pese,“  
 Which is needful to al withouten lese.

1110

The profeet biddeth us pees for to enquire  
 To pursue it, this is holy desire.  
 Our Lord Jhesu sayth „Blessed moot they be  
 „That maken pees that is tranquillitee.“  
 „For pees-makers“ as Matthew writes aright,  
 „Shal be called the sonnes of God almighty.“  
 God yeve us grace the wayes for to kepe  
 Of his preceptes and slugly not to slepe  
 In shame of sinne, that our verry fo

1120

Mow be to us convers and turned to.

For in Proverbes a text is to purpose  
 Plainly ynough withouten any glose.  
 „Whan mennes wayes plese unto our Lord  
 „It shal convert and bringen to accord  
 „Mannes enmyes unto pees verray  
 „In unitee, to live to Goddes pay.“

With unitee, pees, reste and charitee  
 He that was heer cladde in humanitee,

That cam from heven and styed [up] with our nature, 1130  
 Or he ascended, he yaf us to cure  
 And lefte with us pese again debate,  
 Moot yeve us pees so welle irradicate  
 Here in this world that after, at his feste,  
 We mow have pese in the land of beheste,  
 Jerusalem, which of pese is the sight

With his brightnes of eternalle light.  
 Ther glorified in rest with his tuicion  
 The deitee to see with ful fruicion,  
 He, second person in divinenesse,  
 He us assume and bringe us to the blisse.

**Here endeth the trew processe of the libell of English policye,  
 exhorting alle England to kepe the see envirooun, and namely  
 the narow see; shewing what worship, profite and salvacioun  
 cometh therof to the regne of England, &c.**

Go forth, libelle, and meekly shew thy face  
 Appering ever with humble countenaunce,  
 And pray my lordes thee to take in grace  
 In opposaille, and cherishing th'avaunce  
 In hardinesse, if that not variaunce  
 Thou hast fro trouth by ful experience,  
 Autors and reson; if ought faille in substaunce  
 Remit to hem that yaf thee this science;

Sithen that it is soth in verray fayth  
 That the wise lord baron of Hungerforde  
 Hath thee overseen, and verrily he sayth,  
 That thou art trew, and thus he doth recorde,  
 Next the gospel; God wot, it was his worde,  
 Whan he thee redde alle over in a night.  
 Go forth trew boke and Christ defend thy right.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Instead of the last stanza the Harlejan MSS. N. 4011, fol. 120 (B. Wright) has the following lines as conclusion:

To the greet prelat, heighest o confessour,  
 The grete mayster of the gretest house,

Chef tresorere of the grete socour,  
Bishop and yerle and baroun plentivous;  
Of highe wittes lordes three famous,  
To examine thy doubled renditee  
I offer thee hem, to be gracious  
To myn excuse; farwel, my own tretee.

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## Das Büchlein von Englischer Staatsklugheit.

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**H**ier beginnt das Vorwort zu dem Büchlein von der englischen Staatsklugheit, welches ganz England ermahnt, die See ringsum zu bewahren und namentlich die Meerenge, und zeigt, welcherlei Vortheil, Ehre und Heil davon kommt für England und alle Engländer.

Der wahre Weg für Englands Staatsklugheit  
Zum Schirm des Reichs vor Unruh und Gebresten  
Von aussen her, ist ohne Widerstreit  
(Und wer nicht lügt, erklärt ihn für den besten!),  
Dass wir zur See nach Nord, Süd, Ost und Westen  
Den Handel schützen und mit starker Wehr  
Als Herren walten auf dem *engen Meer*.

Der grosse Kaiser Sigmund war einst hier  
(Er herrscht noch heute) zum Besuch im Land  
Beim fünften Heinrich, unsers Thrones Zier,  
Da er denn Vieles hier ruhmwürdig fand:  
Ein mächtig Land, das mit sieghafter Hand  
Frankreich bezwang trotz blut'ger Gegenwehr  
Und stets in fester Haft rings hielt das Meer.

Und sprach zum König, als er die zwei Städte  
 Calais und Dover sah: „Mein Bruder werth,  
 Wenn ich die Wahl von allen Städten hätte  
 Zum Schutz der See, dass drüben auch das Schwert  
 Ihr rasch stets führen mögt für Reich und Herd,  
 Wie Eure beiden Augen rieth' ich sehr                                  20  
 Die zwei zu hüten und durch sie das Meer.“

„Denn wenn dies Meer Ihr schliesst bei Kriegsgefahren,  
 Wer kann hindurch dann ohne Harm und Leid?  
 Wer kann entfliehn und sich vor Unheil wahren?  
 Wo bleibt dem Handel sonst ein Weg bereit?  
 Entsgagen muss dann jeder Feind dem Streit,  
 Flemming und Spanier und andre mehr;  
 Sonst haltet Ihr sie ab vom engen Meer.“

Drum möcht' ich gern Euch durch ein klein Gedicht  
 Allen vor Augen lösen diese Frage    30  
 Aus Gottesfurcht und aus Gewissenspflicht,  
 Dass höhnisch man als feig' uns nicht verklage  
 Und ich des Feindes Neid zu Boden schlage.  
 Sieh unsern Nobel; viererlei zeigt der:  
 Schiff, König, Schwert und Herrschaft übers Meer.

Wohin sind Schiff' und Schwerter uns gekommen?  
 Der Feind sagt: Setzt anstatt des *Schiffs* ein *Schaaf*.  
 Weh, unsre Macht hinkt, sie ist uns genommen.  
 Wohl sagt man: Herrschaft hüte sich vor Schlaf!  
 Wenn es mein Herz gleich bis zum Weinen traf,                                  40  
 Versuch' ich's doch, ob wir denn nimmermehr,  
 Wär's auch aus Scham nur, hüten unser Meer.

Soll je ein Fürst, wie er auch heissen mag,  
 Der Nobel schlägt, die ganz den unsern gleichen,  
 Herr sein des Meers? Der Flemming uns, o Schmach!  
 Halten und greifen, dass die Blüthen bleichen  
 Von Englands Ruhm? all seine Ehren weichen?  
 Das käme, ach! von unsrer Feigheit her;  
 Drum fang' ich an und schreibe von dem Meer.

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### Von den Waaren Spaniens und Flanderns.

#### Erstes Hauptstück.

Ihr, die ihr's wissen wollt, mögt jetzt erfahren,  
 Was aus Hispanien an brauchbaren Waaren  
 Zum Handel kommt. Es sind dem Lande eigen  
 Rosinen, Datteln, Bastardwein und Feigen,  
 Sevilla-Oel, Süssholz zu billgen Preisen  
 Castil'sche weisse Seife, Wachs und Eisen,  
 Korn, Wolle, Fries, Ziegen- und Lammsfell auch,  
 Für Laschen-Macher trefflich zum Gebrauch,  
 Quecksilber, Schwefel. — Diese span'schen Waaren  
 Werden nach Flandern eifrig stets verfahren  
 Zum Hauptmarkt Brügge; doch zu Sluys am Swyn      60  
 — So heisst der Hafen — laufen erst sie ein.  
 Von grossen Schiffen ist an den Gestaden  
 Dort Alles voll. Dort werden sie verladen.  
 Doch all die Kaufherrn, die von See einlaufen  
 Mit Schiffen und mit Waaren, die sie kaufen  
 Auf ihrer Fahrt, sie müssen an dem Strand  
 Nothwendig erst vorbei von Engelland  
 Zwischen Calais und Dover, das ist klar;  
 Kein Mensch bringt anders es zu Stand führwahr.

Haben die Kaufherrn dann an den Gestaden  
Von Flandern ihre Güter ausgeladen,  
So nehmen wieder Waaren sie in Fracht,  
Die dort der Flemming hat zu Markt gebracht:  
Von Ypern Tuch; es steht in besserm Rufe  
Als unsers; Kortrik-Tuch von jeder Stufe  
Der Farben, Barchent, Zeug von feinem Lein.  
Doch, ihr Flemminge mögt es mir verzeihn,  
Ein Jeder von Euch weiss, ob er auch grolle,  
Ihr webt das meiste Tuch aus Englands Wolle.

70

Doch dies muss männlich im Sinn bewahren:  
Es gehen alle diese span'schen Waaren  
Vorbei an unsrer Küste aus und ein;  
Wer das verneinte, müsst' ein Esel sein.  
Drum halten wir dies Meer, so, glaubet mir,  
Behalten aus zwei Gründen Frieden wir.  
Zwei Brüdern gleich sind Spanien und Flandern;  
Der eine kann nur leben mit dem andern,  
Und beider Wohlergehn hat nicht Bestand  
Ohne das Stapelgut von Engelland:  
Wolle nebst Zinn. Denn unsrer Woll' allein  
Verdanken Flanderns Städte ihr Gedeihn.  
Wenn England seine Wolle drum von dort  
Zurückhält, muss der Flemming, auf mein Wort,  
Dies folgt von selbst, um Frieden bei uns werben  
Wo nicht, so müsst' er zweifellos verderben;  
Und würde Flandern erst vernichtet sein,  
So könnte Spaniens Handel nicht gedeihn;  
Er fiele mit, denn was zumeist ihn nährt,  
Die span'sche Wolle, ist an sich nichts werth.  
Man muss sie erst zerkämmen und sie zwischen  
Ein grössres Theil von unsrer Wolle mischen.

80

90

100

So ist und war's; die Flemminge bereiten  
 Die span'sche Wolle seit den frühesten Zeiten.  
 Und doch steht Wolle von den span'schen Waaren  
 Mit obenan; das könnt ihr leicht erfahren,  
 Obschon für sich sie, glaubt mir, wenig taugt  
 Und nur gemischt mit unsrer wird verbraucht.  
 Drum, wenn die See ihr schliesst (habt ihr's vernommen?),  
 Dass die zwei Länder nicht zusammenkommen,  
 Und lasst ihr nicht die fläm'schen Flotten ein      110  
 Durchs enge Meer, dass sie den starken Wein  
 Nicht holen von Rochelle, noch aus der Bai  
 Bretagnes schaffen feines Salz herbei,  
 Wo kommt dann Flandern und Hispanien hin?  
 Nicht wahr, zu nichts? Recht! Fort ist ihr Gewinn!  
 Denn sicherlich dies kleine Ländchen, Flandern,  
 Ist doch ein Stapelplatz nur für die andern,  
 Da, was an Korn und Saat das Land erzeugt,  
 Noch nicht zum Brod für einen Monat reicht.  
 Was hat der Flemming denn (wie er auch fluche!)      120  
 Als etwas wen'ges Krapp und fläm'sche Tuche?  
 Durch unsre Wolle nur, die sie verweben,  
 Können die Städte dort bestehn und leben.  
 Sie müssten sonst von ihrem Wohlstand scheiden,  
 Verhungern — oder Händel mit uns meiden.

### Die Waaren Portugals. Zweites Hauptstück.

Von Portugal die Waaren kommen auch  
 Durch Kauf in vielen Ländern zum Gebrauch.  
 Dem Portugiesen schenken wir Vertraun;  
 Er lässt sich oft am Markt in England schaun.

Mit uns befreundet sind die Handelsherrn,  
Und wir Engländer gehn zu ihnen gern.  
Sie führen Oel, Wachs, Feigen, Korn und Wein,  
Rosinen, Corduan, Honig bei uns ein,  
Salz, Datteln, Felle, derlei Waaren mehr.

130

Doch sollten wir nicht dulden, dass das Meer  
Nach Flandern zu durchziehn sie sich erdreisten,  
Dass unsern Feinden sie nicht Vorschub leisten,  
Den Flemmingen mit ihrer Hinterlist,  
Da dieses Volk sehr wankelmüthig ist.

Aus manchen Gründen hab' ich stets gemeint:  
Wenn wir den Pass verlegten Freund und Feind,  
In Kriegszeit, ob den Krieg sie offen führten,  
Ob sie ihn nur durch Unterstützung schürten  
— Da wahre Freunde doch uns nicht entgegen  
Zu handeln trachten — wenn sie's überlegen —:  
Dann würd' um Frieden Flandern erst für sich  
Uns bitten — und die andern sicherlich.  
Denn Flandern ist der Marktplatz jederzeit  
Für alle Völker in der Christenheit.

140

### **Die Waaren Klein-Britanniens und seine Seeräuber.**

#### **Drittes Hauptstück.**

Jetzt will ich mich zu weiterm Schreiben schicken:  
Lasst uns zuerst auf Klein-Britannien blicken.  
Als Waaren gehn von dort und gingen ein:  
Batist und Segeltuch und Salz und Wein.  
Nun ist es sicher: die Bretonen setzen  
Die Waaren meistens ab auf fläm'schen Plätzen.  
Doch führt kein andrer Weg sie, wie bekannt,  
Dorthin als dicht vorbei an unserm Strand.

150

Wahr aber ist es: die Bretagne enthält  
 Die grössten Dieb' und Räuber in der Welt.  
 Seit Jahren schon durchkreuzen sie das Meer  
 Und mancher unsrer Kaufherrn büsst es schwer. 160  
 Viel Güter haben uns an diesen Küsten  
 Die Plündrer schon geraubt mit bösen Listen,  
 Die alle — von St. Malo sind die meisten —  
 Dem eignen Herzog keine Lehnspflicht leisten.  
 So schäd'gen sie mit Arglist unser Land  
 Und falscher Frieden wird kein Krieg genannt.  
 Sie laufen selber Englands Küsten an,  
 Bald hier bald dort, mehr als ich sagen kann.  
 So haben Norfolk und manch andern Ort 170  
 Sie heimgesucht mit Raub und Brand und Mord,  
 Und Stadt um Stadt verheert die Küst' entlang,  
 Dass laut zum Himmel schon ihr Wehruf drang  
 Zu Schand' und Schmach für uns; der Tadel fällt  
 Auf *sie*, in deren Schutz die See gestellt.  
 Je wen'ger man aus der Bretagne macht,  
 Je mehr hat euch St. Malo Schimpf gebracht.

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### Eine Geschichte von Eduard's III Mandat gegen die Bretagne.

Hier sei denn ein Geschichtchen auch erzählt,  
 Das mir ein Herr, zum Parliament erwählt,  
 Einst mitgetheilt, wie's in der Rolle stand. 180  
 Ich zeigt' es Leuten von verschiednem Stand,  
 Die allesammt derselben Meinung waren,  
 Es sei gescheh'n vor nicht gar vielen Jahren,  
 Als auf dem Thron Edward der Dritte sass,  
 Der Fürst voll hoher Gnaden, da geschah's.

Beinah mit Eifersucht nahm er in Hut  
 Die Kaufmannschaft und war ihr herzlich gut.  
 Er wusste kräftig auf dem Meer zu schalten,  
 Des Kaufmanns Wohlstand blühend zu erhalten.

Harfleur und Honfleur hätt' er fest gemacht  
 Und drohte schon mit grosser Heeresmacht  
 Dem Herzog der Bretagne; doch im Frieden  
 Sind diesmal beide Fürsten noch geschieden.

In aller Form ward ein Vertrag geschlossen  
 Und unsre Kaufherrn führten unverdrossen  
 Schon Waaren aus in der Bretonen Land;  
 Sie wähnten es sich freundlich zugewandt;  
 Doch jene nahmen gleich sie in Beschlag  
 Und kehrten gar nicht sich an den Vertrag.

Geld, Schiffe, Waaren, Alles ging verloren.  
 Dem König kam die Klage drauf zu Ohren;  
 Da ward er wild und sandte Botschaft bald  
 Dem Herzog, klagend, dass er mit Gewalt  
 So schmählich Frieden und Vertrag verletzt.

Der Herzog, sich entschuldigend, versetzt,  
 St. Malo hielte sich seit langer Zeit  
 Gleichwie die Veste St. Michel befreit  
 Von seiner Macht und Oberherrlichkeit,  
 Von Lehenspflicht und Unterthanen-Eid.

So hab' er denn nicht Theil an jener That.

Der König ging darauf mit sich zu Rath  
 Und ist im Herzen zum Beschluss gekommen,  
 Wobei er nicht das Parlament vernommen  
 Noch erst weitschweifigen Bericht gefordert.  
 Vielmehr hat er Werkleute gleich beordert,  
 Drei Städte zu befest'gen an der See:  
 Dartmouth, Plymouth, die dritte heisst Fowey;  
 Hat Beistand ihnen auch und Macht verliehn

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Mit dem Befehl, mit Krieg zu überziehn  
 Die Landschaft Klein-Britannien. Bass erfreute 220  
 Der Auftrag diese seegewohnten Leute.  
 Sie jagten heim sie, dass sie nicht mehr muckten,  
 Und fingen Alle, die nicht gleich sich duckten.  
 Und an den König schrieb der Herzog jetzt,  
 Wie jener einst an ihn, er sei verletzt,  
 Und klagt' ihn an; doch unser Volk voll Wuth  
 Durchzog sofort mit grosser Macht die Flut  
 Und heerte in des Herzogs Land erst recht  
 Und machte Alles nieder, Herrn und Knecht.  
 Da sah der Herzog, die drei Städte sei'n 230  
 Gelöst aus ihrer Heimath Staatsverein  
 Und leistete jetzt sichere Gewähr  
 Für Mont Michel, St. Malo und noch mehr  
 Breton'sche Städte, welche, wie erwähnt,  
 Sich gegen seine Herrschaft aufgelehnt.  
 Der Herzog selbst die Bürgschaft übernahm,  
 So dass es zu aufricht'gem Frieden kam;  
 Und in des Königs ganzer Lebenszeit  
 Geschah dem Kaufmann nie durch Krieg ein Leid.  
 Für die Lombarden liess er auch ergeh'n 240  
 Die Satzung, nicht sich hier zu unterstehn  
 Zu wohnen. Vierzehn Tage mussten reichen,  
 Fordrung und Schuld durch Zahlung auszugleichen.  
 So hielt des Königs kluge Polizei  
 Kaufmann und See von jedem Schaden frei.

**Die Waaren Schottlands und die Verarbeitung der schottischen  
Wolle in Flandern. Viertes Hauptstück.**

Von Schottland ferner werden solche Waaren  
Wie Felle und Schaf-Vliesse ausgefahren.

Auch diese gehn nach Flandern, und daher  
Auf keinem Weg sonst als durch unser Meer.

Die Wolle ward in Bell und Popring drauf  
Verwebt und kam als Tuch dann zum Verkauf.  
Die Städte hat Mylord von Gloucesters Hand  
Aus Grimm ob ihrer Falschheit jüngst verbrannt.  
Doch auch für die von Bell und Popring war  
Die Wolle zum Verweben unbrauchbar,  
Sie mischten denn von unsrer Woll' hinein.

Denn Englands Wolle ist ganz allgemein  
Nothwendig, nicht für die von Spanien nur,  
Nein auch von Schottland und von jeder Schur.  
Hört, werthe Kaufherrn, und vergesst es nie;  
Ich hab's gelernt, ihr wisst wohl, wo und wie —  
Ihr wisst, kein andrer Markt ist ausser Flandern  
Für Schottlands Waaren wie für alle andern.

Der Schotte kauft, das lehrt der Augenschein,  
In Flandern wenig feine Stoffe ein;  
Dafür von kurzen Waaren manche Last.

Die Schiffe sind oft von Schiebkarren fast  
Und Wagenräder voll. Solch grobe Waaren  
Sind es zumeist, die sie von dort verfahren.

Sie können nicht des fläm'schen Lands entbehren.  
Drum sollten mannhaft wir den Eintritt wehren  
In dieses Meer den Flemmingen, Bretonen,  
Spaniern und denen, die in Schottland wohnen;  
Dann wär's bald aus mit ihrer Prahlgerei;  
Sie müssen ja an unserm Strand vorbei.

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**Von den Waaren Preussens, den Oberdeutschen und Osterlingen.**  
**Fünftes Hauptstück.**

Dann kommt die Ausfuhr Preussens in Betracht,  
 Die auf zwei Wegen wird von dort gebracht.  
 Zwei Arten Leute treiben den Versand:  
 Die Oberdeutschen aus dem Preussenland  
 Und Osterlinge; weist man *die* hinaus      280  
 Aus Flandern, dann ist's ganz mit Flandern aus.  
 Als Hauptstoff führen diese ein das Bier,  
 Das trinkt in Massen man und billig hier.  
 Denn sitzt ein Paar von Flemmingen selbander,  
 So gehn sie, hört' ich, oft nicht von einander  
 Noch stehn sie auf, bis sie ein ganzes Fass  
 Verschlungen haben von dem edlen Nass.  
 Sie pissem untern Tisch von ihrem Sitz,  
 Und das gilt dort zu Land' als guter Witz.  
 Sie kackten in die Butter vor Calais,      290  
 Als heim sie flohn; 's war Zeit nicht, ein Privé  
 Zu suchen; Rehen gleich sah man sie fliehn;  
 Wohl ihm, dem's glückt, die Hosen aufzuziehn.  
 Ihr Fürst auch floh; wie *Der* die Beine streckte,  
 Da ihn Mylord von Gloucester bass erschreckte,  
 Der hinterherflog, ihn in seinem Land'  
 Heimsucht' und wüthete mit Mord und Brand,  
 Dass sich der Herzog nicht zu röhren wagte,  
 In einen Stall kroch und vor Angst verzagte.  
 Bis fort wir waren, sagten sie ihn todt;      300  
 So halfen seine Leut' ihm aus der Noth.  
 O Ritterschaft, wie tief kamst du zu Falle!  
 Ihr Herzog liegt als todt versteckt im Stalle,  
 Verhöhnt ob solchen Schimpfs für alle Zeit  
 Zur höchsten Schand' und Schmach in Ewigkeit.



Von Preussen dann wird Bier und Speck gebracht  
 Nach Flandern, als weithin beliebte Fracht,  
 Stahl; Eisen, Kupfer, Bogenstäbe, Wachs,  
 Grauwerk, Pelzwaaren, Pech, Theer, Dielen, Flachs,  
 Pack- und Steifleinen, Barchend, Karden auch                   310  
 Und Garn von Cöln; so war's seit Alters Brauch.  
 Von all den Waaren richtet die Begier  
 Des Flemmings sich zumeist auf Speck und Bier.  
 So schweinisch saufen sie und mörderlich.  
 Fort Flemming, he, hallo, he, packe dich!  
 Bei uns auch führt der Preusse Waaren ein:  
 Silbergeschirr und Barren, echt und fein;  
 In Menge kauft er die in Böhmen auf  
 Und Ungarn und bringt her sie zum Verkauf.  
 Daraus erwächst viel Vortheil unserm Land:                   320  
 Die Preussen nehmen nämlich, wie bekannt,  
 Vielfarb'ges Wollentuch als Fracht zurück,  
 Das hier man färbt mit vielem Kunstgeschick.  
 Meist setzen bis zur Bai die Fahrt sie fort,  
 Und holen ihr nothwend'ges Salz von dort.  
 Drum, träten sie unfreundlich uns entgegen,  
 Könnten wir ihnen leicht den Pass verlegen.  
 Sie dürften nicht vorbei an unsren Flüssen:  
 Sie würden's bitter uns entgelten müssen.

### Von den Waaren der Genuesen und ihren grossen Lastschiffen.

#### Sechstes Hauptstück.

Die Genuesen kommen in dies Land                           330  
 Verschiedentlich, mit Waaren allerhand,  
 Mit grossen Galeonen voller Pracht;  
 Goldstoff und Woll-Oel führen sie als Fracht,

Potasche, schwarzen Pfeffer auch und Seide,  
 Baumwolle, Genueser Goldgeschmeide,  
 In grosser Menge Waid und Steinalaun,  
 Wofür sie hier denn ihre Schiffe stau'n  
 Mit Woll' und Wollentuch von jeder Art  
 Und Farbe; — dann geht oft von hier die Fahrt  
 Nach Flandern mit dem aufgekauften Schatz  
 Der Waaren; denn hier ist ihr Stapelplatz.  
 Und sollten sie als Feinde sich gebahren,  
 So schlössen wir sie aus sammt ihren Waaren.

340

**Die nützlichen und nichtigen Waaren der Venetianer  
 und Florentiner und ihre Galeren.**

Die von Venedig und Florenz verkehren  
 Mit uns auf den gewaltigen Galeren.  
 Sie bringen Luxuswaaren, Specerein,  
 Gewürze aller Art und süßen Wein,  
 Meerkatzen, Fratzen, Tand für Laffen, Affen  
 Und Kinkerlitzchen, die nicht Nutzen schaffen,  
 Dinge womit die Augen sie verblenden  
 Und die nicht werth sind Geld daran zu wenden.  
 Das meiste von dem Zeug geht bald dahin,  
 Ist sehr entbehrlich und bringt nie Gewinn.  
 An Mitteln aber gegen Körperschwächen  
 Wird's auch dahier in England nicht gebrechen.  
 Es thut nicht noth, noch Fremdes zu erkunden;  
 Rath und Erfahrung haben schon gefunden,  
 Wie man recht abführt alle bösen Säfte.  
 Dazu genügen unsrer Heilkunst Kräfte.  
 Und wir bedürfen nicht Scammonium,

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Turbit, Euphorbium, Agrimonium,  
 Rhabarber, Senna; nützlich ist das Alles,  
 Doch kenn' ich Kräuter hier, die jeden Falles  
 Gleich nützlich sind und die bei uns gedeihn;  
 Mag Keiner mir deswegen böse sein.

Man braucht nicht, um Krankheiten zu vertreiben,  
 Sich über's Meer her Kräuter zu verschreiben.  
 Nehmt Eins ihr aus, so dürfte dies allein  
 (Verlässt euch auf mein Wort) der Zucker sein.

Wenn Einer meinem Wort und Spruch nicht traut,      370  
 Such' er sich Rath, auf den er sichrer baut.  
 Ich will nicht weiter drängen ihn noch treiben.  
 Wer mir nicht glaubt, lass' es meintwegen bleiben.  
 So führt dies Volk für Leckerei'n nnd Tand  
 Uns unsre besten Waaren aus dem Land,  
 Die wir am schwersten missen, wie vorhin  
 Ich auch schon sagte: Wolle, Tuch und Zinn.  
 Denn jedes andre Land wird von den drei'n  
 Etwas zu kaufen stets benötigt sein.

Und dafür bringen sie hier Waaren an,      380  
 Die Jedermann gar leicht entbehren kann.  
 Drum möchte Jesus unsre Herren lenken  
 Dass — Jung' und Alte — sie dies recht bedenken;  
 Die Alten namentlich, die, schon erfahren,  
 Das junge Volk vor Thorheit mögen währen.  
 Wie mancherlei Harm, Hinderniss und Plagen  
 Erlitten wir, was höchlich wir beklagen,  
 Bereits von manchem Volk und manchem Land,  
 Wie dies erfahrenen Männern wohl bekannt.  
 Ich mache durch die Schrift klar, was ich meine.      390  
 Nun kommt der Feind und färbt mit falschem Scheine  
 Die Gegenrede, die doch unserm Gut,  
 Dem Reich und König grossen Abbruch thut,

Wie weise Männer dies ins klare stellten;  
Als Vorwand aber muss der Handel gelten.

### **Ein Beispiel von Betrug.**

Auch tragen sie das Gold aus unserm Land  
Und saugen uns den Wohlstand aus der Hand.  
Wie Honig wird den Bienen ausgesogen  
Von Wespen, wird uns der Gewinn entzogen.  
Nun hört, wie sie in Cotteswold verfahren:  
Sie borgen dort, eh' sie bezahlt, die Waaren  
Und nehmen unsre Wolle auch jetzt hin,  
Wie schon seit Jahren unser Tuch und Zinn.  
Sie stapeln es in den Galeren auf  
Und bringen's nach Venedig zum Verkauf  
Nach dem Gewicht; sie machen auf die Weise,  
Bequem in ihre Heimath erst die Reise;  
Und haben sie zu Geld gemacht das Gut,  
Gehn von Venedig sie mit gutem Muth  
Nach Flandern, wo den Wechslern dann das Geld      400  
Zu bessrer Sicherheit wird zugestellt,  
Damit es ohne Weit'rung und Beschwerde  
Durch Wechsel ausgezahlt in England werde,  
Das heisst, zu jedes Nachtheils Hintertreibung  
Nach Prüfung und Empfang der Schuldverschreibung.  
Vier Pfennig gehn vom Nobel ab —: macht rund  
Zwölf Pfennig Abzug auf das goldne Pfund.  
Doch woll'n wir einen Monat früher schon  
Bezahlt sein, rechnen sie dafür zum Lohn  
Acht Pfennig sich, das ist zwei Schilling, an      410  
Auf unser Pfund; so geht es wieder dann:

Für zwei Monat sind als Verlust zu tragen  
 Zwölf Pfennige: das will drei Schilling sagen  
 Auf's Pfund; so dass bei einer Menge Pfunden  
 Uns arger Schaden trifft von solchen Kunden.  
 Soll Englands Kaufmann sich damit begnügen  
 Und sich in solche Wechselkünste fügen,  
 Wie von Venedig und Florenz die Leute  
 Sie treiben, die mit ihrem Gold als Beute  
 Zurück nach Flandern wieder sich begeben  
 Und dort zu Land wie hier in London leben?  
 Und uns durch ihres Wechselspieles Schlingen,  
 Das *Wucher* ist, Verlust und Schaden bringen?

430

### Ein zweites Beispiel von Betrug.

Nun horcht, wie sie uns in Calais zuvor  
 Mit ihrem Borgen hieben über's Ohr,  
 Da, wie gewöhnlich, wir die Wolle lieh'n,  
 Wo dann von Jahr zu Jahr der Zahltermin,  
 Ja, selbst auf's zweite Jahr ward angesetzt —  
 Ein billig Darlehn, nicht? Doch hört mich jetzt.  
 Mit ihrer Wolle sind sie unverweilt  
 Nach Brügge zum Verkaufe fortgeeilt,  
 Schlugen sie los für Münze baar und rund  
 Und scheut den Verlust von funfzig Pfund  
 Auf tausend nicht; sie lebten ganz gemach  
 Mit dem Gewinne bis zum Zahlungstag  
 Und mehrten noch am Geldmarkt ihn nach Kräften  
 Mit sehr dem Wucher ähnlichen Geschäften.  
 Wenn dann die tausend Pfund berichtigt waren,  
 So konnten wieder sie die besten Waaren  
 Erstehn und aus den Speichern ihrer Kunden

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Wolle beziehn zu aber tausend Pfunden.  
 So wischten sie, verzeiht mir diese Phrase,  
 Mit unserm eignen Aermel uns die Nase.  
 Scheint grob der Spruch und feiner Sitte baar,  
 So ist er doch als Gleichniss völlig wahr.  
 Auch trieben sie in Cotswold sich umher  
 Und sonst in England. Was auch ihr Begehr,  
 Es wird erfüllt; sie können freier schalten,  
 Als uns Engländern wird zu gut gehalten.  
 Und wollte Gott nur, dass der Herrn Galeren  
 In vierzig Tagen stets entfrachtet wären,  
 Und auch zur Rückfahrt stets nur vierzig Tage  
 Gestattet würden! — Ohne weitre Frage  
 Ins Wirthshaus sollte man sie gleich verweisen,  
 So wie es uns geschieht auf unsren Reisen.  
 Das wäre gut, wenn das der König wollte.  
 Ihr würdet sehn, ganz andre Ehren zollte  
 Man Englands Klugheit dann; welch anderer Schwung  
 Käm' ins Geschäft durch die Ermunterung!  
 Was ist's, dass unsre Flotte ganz verfällt,  
 Jetzt da der Feind rings unsre Thür umstellt?  
 Denn sagt, wo stünd' uns wohl im Fall der Noth  
 Zur Abwehr eine Flotte zu Gebot?  
 In Dänmark gab's, wie die Geschichten melden,  
 Gar wackre Krieger einst und Siegeshelden.  
 Auch dort, nachdem der Handelsstand zerstört,  
 Riss Armuth ein; die Macht hat aufgehört;  
 Recht kläglich geht es dort, wie ein Bericht,  
 Den jüngst ich las, besagt; sie leugnen's nicht.  
 Nehmt euch in Acht; ich kann nichts bessres lehren,  
 Als dass euch fremder Schaden mag bekehren.  
 Wenn man den Kaufmann schützt, so fürcht' ich nicht,  
 Dass uns die Kraft im Fall der Noth gebracht.

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Denn ist *der* reich, so wird auch unser Land  
Gedeihn, der Herren-, wie der Bürgerstand.  
Hier denkt mein Herz mit Ehrfurcht und mit Wonne  
An Richard Whittington, des Handels Sonne,  
Den Angelstern und die erles'ne Blume  
Der Kaufmannschaft. Was hat zu England's Ruhme  
Und Vortheil nicht sein Reichthum uns gewährt! 490  
Noch heute wird sein Name hoch geehrt.  
Papier und Feder thut mir nicht genüge  
Zu würd'ger Schildrung seiner edlen Züge.  
Des Kaufmanns höchster Ruhm ward ihm zu Theil;  
Mehr sag' ich nicht. Gott geb' ihm Ruh' und Heil.

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### Nun die Hauptsache.

Warum wohl müssen wir ins Wirthshaus gehn  
In ihrem Land, wenn sie sich nicht verstehn  
Bei uns zu Gleichen, sondern mehr sich frei  
Bewegen als wir selbst? Gott steh mir bei!  
Warum lässt man nicht die Geschenke sein, 500  
Die sichtlich hemmen unsers Volks Gedeihn?  
Denn Solches sehn wir klarlich alle Tage:  
Das Volkswohl schäd'gen Gaben und Gelage.  
Nun mögen Narren sein — sie oder wir:  
Am schlechtsten fahren wir doch immer hier.  
Drum lasst sie hier ins Wirthshaus ziehn; wo nicht,  
Befreie man auch uns von dieser Pflicht  
Bei ihnen. Wollen sie's nicht zugestehn,  
So zwingt sie hier dazu; ihr werdet sehn:  
Es kommt davon mehr Vortheil und Gewinn 510  
Als zu beschreiben ich im Stande bin.

### Ueber unsre Lösch- und Ladezeit an ihren Märkten.

Nun wisst, dass auf den Märkten zu Brabant  
 Händler von jeglichem Gewerb und Stand  
 Aus England in zwei Wochen ihre Waaren  
 Ausladen müssen und von dannen fahren  
 Mit neuer Ladung in derselben Frist;  
 Und dass, wer länger bleibt, verlustig ist  
 All seines Guts, das mit den Waaren allen  
 Für immerdar verwirkt ist und verfallen.

Wir bringen zu den Märkten in Brabant  
 Das best' und feinste Tuch aus Engelland  
 Und nehmen Seidenzeug dort wieder ein  
 Nebst Bändern, kurzen Waaren, Spezerei'n.  
 Zu diesen Märkten, Messen auch genannt,  
 Ziehn Handelsleute hin aus jedem Land:  
 Aus Frankreich, Genua, der Lombardei  
 Und Catalonien kommen sie herbei,  
 Engländer, Schotten, Spanier, ir'sche Leute;  
 In Massen bringen *die* gesalzne Häute.

Man sagt, wir kaufen in Brabant und Flandern  
 Und Seeland viel mehr Waaren als die andern  
 Nationen insgesammt; dies ward mir kund  
 Durch den Bericht aus manches Kaufmanns Mund.  
 Wenn wir Engländer nicht zu Markt mehr kommen,  
 Ist ihnen alle Macht und Kraft genommen,  
 Da wir mehr kaufen — und mit baarem Geld —  
 Als all das andre Volk der ganzen Welt.  
 Kein Schiff lasst aus noch ein! Verschliesst das Meer!  
 Dann kommen bald auch keine Kärrner mehr,  
 Und jene Mäkler werden übel fahren,  
 Wenn mannhaft wir das Meer ringsum verwahren.

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**Die Waaren von Brabant, Seeland und Hennegau und die  
Güter, welche über Land zu den Märkten geführt werden.**

**Achtes Hauptstück.**

Der Waaren mehr aus Seeland und Brabant  
Sind Waid und Krapp, den Färbern wohl bekannt,  
Womit sie färben; auch gesalzner Fisch,  
Knoblauch und Zwiebeln, für des Bauern Tisch.  
Doch die von Holland holen über See  
Sich unsre Woll' und Felle von Calais.  
Was wir Engländer aber auf den Messen  
An Waar' erstehn, das — dürft ihr nicht vergessen —  
Ist nicht daheim bereitet in Brabant, 550  
Es kommt auch nicht zur See, vielmehr zu Land  
Durch Hennegau mit Kärrnern namentlich  
Aus Frankreich, Köln, Burgund und Kammerich.  
Drum, wenn man ihren Mäklern Zwang anlegt  
— Dies sagt ein Mann, der nicht zu fabeln pflegt —  
Wenn ihnen England nur entzieht die Kunden,  
Wird das dort als so harter Stoss empfunden,  
Als hätten wir ein Heer ins Frankenland,  
Zehntausend Mann Kerntruppen, ausgesandt  
Und machten uns durch Krieg dort sehr beschwerlich. 560  
So ist dort Englands Kaufmann unentbehrlich.  
Prüft, ob's so ist; die weisen Männer fragt,  
Die mir, was ich hier schreibe, selbst gesagt.  
Sie sagen: Das, was man zu Markte fährt  
Auf Wagen, ist in Wahrheit so viel werth  
Als Alles was zur See wird hingesandt  
Und kommt durch Kauf dann meist in unser Land.  
Sie müssten sich der schwachen Märkte schämen,  
Sobald nicht mehr aus England Käufer kämen.

So schliess' ich: Würden noch so viel zu Land      570  
 Durch Kärrner ihnen Waaren zugesandt,  
 Wenn wir nur recht beherrschten unser Meer,  
 So fänden sie zur See nicht Absatz mehr.  
 Wir hemmten sie und brächen ihre Kraft  
 Und hielten als Gefangne sie in Haft;  
 So würden schliesslich unsre schlimmsten Feinde  
 Aus Furcht für ihren Handel unsre Freunde,  
 Versperrten gründlich ihnen wir den Pass  
 Nach Flandern. Doch wir sind ein sprödes Glas,  
 Gebrechlich, nimmer zäh noch fest im Gleise      580  
 Und tanzen, wenn das Glück scheint, auf dem Eise,  
 Und wir ergreifen es zu keiner Zeit.  
 Das macht Neid, Wollust und Begehrlichkeit.  
 Dies prüft und seht wie es sich wahr erweist;  
 Nehmt es mit heim, bewahrt es wohl im Geist.

### Der Nagel dieses Schlusses.

Dann ehrten wir, was auf dem Nobel steht  
 In Form und That: des Königs Majestät.  
 Das grösste Siegel auch von Engelland  
 Zeigt auf der einen Seite wie bekannt  
 Zu Ross den Fürsten mit gezognem Schwert;      590  
 Die andere zeigt ihn sitzend. Solches lehrt,  
 Dass Strafgewalt und gutes Regiment  
 In England man dem König zuerkennt.  
 So ist es auch; Gott sei dafür die Ehre.  
 Doch wär' es ebenso nur auf dem Meere!  
 Dem Nobel nach soll mit dem Schwert zugleich  
 Das Schiff beherrschen unsers Meers Bereich.

Was hilft ein Kranz von Epheu noch so fein  
Am Schenkenthör, wenn drinnen fehlt der Wein?  
Franzmann und Flemming könnten nicht so schalten 600  
Im Krieg zur See, liesst ihr nur Klugheit walten.

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### Von Hankin Lyons.

Dann würde Hankin Lyons nicht so keck  
Den Wein uns rauben zu der Schiffer Schreck  
Und unsrer Schmach; er wäre bald geschlagen.  
Weh, weh uns, dass wir solchen Schimpf ertragen,  
Dass gänzlich Englands alten Ruhm wir schänden  
Und mit dem Ruf den Vortheil auch verschwenden.  
Wie kommt's, dass man den Sand Begehrlichkeit  
Mit falschem Schein uns in die Augen streut?  
Wenn gute Männer, Krieger sonst genannt,  
Zu Aller Schirm es nähmen in die Hand,  
Die Segel hissend rein das Meer zu fegen,  
Sich Gut gewönnen, uns zu grossem Segen,  
Und gegen unsren Feind ihr Leben wagten  
Den Preis zu theilen, den sie so erjagten,  
Wie Billigkeit es heischt, Recht und Verstand,  
Auf dass die See gehorchte diesem Land:  
Dann würden die Lombarden und derlei  
Verkappte Feinde gleich ein gross Geschrei  
Erheben mit dem Vorwand, all die Waaren 620  
Auf jenen Schiffen hätten *sie* verfahren.  
So können sie die Leut' ins Unglück bringen  
Und sich mit Lug und Trug entziehn den Schlingen.  
Habt Acht, wie sie am Seil die Grossen haben,  
Dass jede Staatsklugheit sie untergraben

Durch Gift und Gaben, goldenes Gewand  
 Und Seidenstoff. Ihr sagt, das ist bekannt?  
 Doch könntet sichres Zeugniss ihr erlangen,  
 Dass für Gewaltthat Gaben sie empfangen,  
 Tapeten, Kostbarkeiten, Luxusdinge,  
 Damit das Recht man aus dem Gleise bringe,  
 Und wär' es wirklich so, wie Ihr uns sagt,  
 Dann rief' ich: Habsucht, weh, Gott sei's geklagt;  
 Dass, die ihr Leben in die Schanze schlagen,  
 Statt des Gewinns Verlust von ihnen tragen  
 Ob der Bestechung, und verarmt sich sehn,  
 Dass sie es nie mehr treibt, zur See zu gehn.

630

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**Forderung eines Mandats gegen die falschen Vorwände zur  
 Entschuldigung und Ermunterung des Seeraubes.**

Solch falschen Vorwand — das muss laut man sagen  
 Und unsre Grossen um Erklärung fragen —  
 Dass mannigfach die Leut' auf unsren Schiffen  
 An Freunden statt an Feinden sich vergriffen,  
 Den Vorwand, drauf stets die Lombarden dringen,  
 Den muss ein Kronbefehl ins Klare bringen.  
 Der König wird mit seinem Rath entscheiden,  
 Wie man den Freund vom Feind soll unterscheiden,  
 Dass *Den* man fangen mag, *Dem* Schutz gewähren;  
 Das muss uns das Gesetz genau erklären.  
 Dann haben wir die See in unsrer Macht.  
 Wenn aber jetzt ein Schiff wird aufgebracht,  
 Trifft uns der Streich, der nur dem Feinde nützt.  
 Doch sündigt der auch, der die Sünde schützt.  
 Der Wollust sind, der Habsucht wir ergeben;  
 Dies ist der Weg, wie wir den Handel heben,

640

650

Und auf der See nachkommen unsrer Pflicht!  
Wenn Gott nicht hilft, so wird es anders nicht.

**Die Waaren Irlands und die Gründe der Staatsklugheit, um  
die Insel zu erhalten und von den wilden Irländern zu erobern  
mit einer Nebenbemerkung über Wales.**

**Neuntes Hauptstück.**

Von Irland wünscht' ich noch in wen'gen Zeilen  
Und seinen Waaren etwas mitzutheilen.  
Es bietet Falken, Fisch, Lachs, Hering euch,  
Fries, Felle, Wollenstoff und Linnenzeug,  
Hirsch- Hasen- Fuchs- Eichhörnchen- Otternhäute      660  
Nebst Marderpelz und sonst'ger Jägerbeute.  
Auch Schafe sind und Lämmer hier zu kaufen,  
Kanin- und Ziegenfell in ganzen Haufen;  
Drum, wenn uns Irland hilft zum Schutz der See,  
Weil unser König heisst *Rex Angliae*  
Und ist auch *Dominus Hiberniae*,  
Und seine Ahnen lange herrschten hier,  
Haben die Iren gleichen Grund wie wir  
So wie ihr Land auch unsers zu vertheidigen,      670  
Dass nie ein Feind mag kränken noch beleidigen  
Sie oder uns; dass fest vereint vielmehr  
Wir wie *ein* Volk beschützen unser Meer.  
Sie haben grosse Häfen, schöne Buchten,  
Tief, sicher, weit, die oft wir schon versuchten,  
Zu Waterford und sonst an manchen Küsten.  
Die Schiffer sagen, dass sie keinen wüssten  
In England, wo man besser ankern könnte,  
Und der vor Feinde bessern Schutz vergönnte.  
Wozu dies Alles von der Iren Land?      680

Weil es, so viel mir selber ist bekannt,  
 Fruchtbar für Manches ist, was dort gedeiht  
 Und rasch sich mehrt; es ist so trefflich, weit  
 (Seht euch nur um!) und an Producten reich,  
 Dass es zu sagen einem Wunder gleich.  
 Denn Gold- und Silbererz ist dort zu heben,  
 Wiewohl die wilden Iren dürftig leben.  
 Denn sie sind roh und haben kein Geschick.  
 Drum, wenn uns Lust und Frieden kehrt zurück,  
 Fänden zum Graben, Schürfen, Raffiniren  
 Genug Metall wir bei den wilden Iren.

690

Es hat in London sich ein Juwelier  
 Golderz von dort geholt; der sagte mir,  
 Als es geklärt war und von Schlacken rein,  
 Nie hab' er bessres Gold geprüft am Stein.  
 Nun schreibt's ins Herz und haltet's im Gesicht  
 — Ihr müsst's vertreten vor dem Weltgericht —,  
 Dass nicht aus Trägheit und Nachlässigkeit  
 Ihr je vergesst, nein, stets gewappnet seid,  
 Dass Irland nimmermehr euch geh' verloren.

700

Zu Englands Strebepfeiler ist's erkoren.  
 Die andre Säul' ist das Waliser Land.  
 Gott, lass sie stets wie Brüder Hand in Hand  
 Im Dienst des Königs gehn als Unterthanen.  
 Doch, wahrlich, es will schmerzlich mich gemahnen,  
 Ich sag', ich glaub' es schon im Geist zu sehn:  
 Irland wird schmachvoll uns verloren gehn.  
 Es reisst sich von uns los und wird geschändet,  
 Wenn Jesus Christus es nicht gnädig wendet  
 Und Kraft uns leih't, der Trägheit zu entsagen.

710

Noch manches, das im Herzen ich getragen,  
 Sag' ich euch wohl in einer andern Schrift,  
 Die ganz allein dies Volk und Land betrifft,

Dies Irland, das wir nie aufgeben sollen,  
 Wenn wir nicht England auch verderben wollen.  
 Gott gebe, dass sie keinen wilden Iren,  
 So einen Störenfried zum König küren,  
 Wenn unsre letzte Macht dahin im Land,  
 Und nicht mit Fremden treten in Verband.

Mir sagen Kenner, Schwärmer nicht, noch Thoren: 720

Wir haben ein Stück Boden schon verloren

An diese wilden Iren, das vielleicht

Mit zwei bis drei Grafschaften sich begleicht

In unserm England; so viel von dem Lande

Ist uns geraubt. Wir waren nicht im Stande

Es zu vertheid'gen, kraft- und mittellos.

Wir haben dort ein kleines Eckchen bloss

Verglichen mit des ganzen Landes Weite

— Was soll's, dass ich darüber mich verbreite? —

Geht das dahin (verhüt' es Christi Macht!) 730

Ade dann, Wales! England nimm dich in Acht,

Dass Schottland nicht und Spanien sich verbinden

Und andre Feinde noch dazu sich finden,

Wie die Bretagner, die uns dreu'n ringsum.

Ich flehe demuthsvoll zu Gott darum

Zu hemmen den wahrscheinlichen Verlauf;

Denn keine Fabel tisch' ich hier euch auf;

Nur desshalb schreib' ich's, weil ganz offenbar

Und dringend mir erschienen die Gefahr.

Doch zwischen hier und Rom ist weit und breit

740

Ja, sagt man, in der ganzen Christenheit

Kein Grund und Boden diesem Irland gleich.

Es ist so gross, so fruchtbar und so reich:

Es steht ihm das Wort *Dominus* nicht schlecht.

Drum scheint, das Land zu nehmen, mir ganz recht,

Und anderseits wär' es ein hartes Muss

Verlören wir den Namen *Dominus*.

Ja, *Dominus*, es bände dieser Name

Mit Recht all die Bewohner, wild' und zahme,

Da nichts des Volks und Namens Einklang störte,

Wenn aller Grund dem Herren angehörte.

Und dass es wohl zu unterwerfen ist

Dem König, sollt ihr selbst in kurzer Frist

In dem von mir besprochnen Büchlein finden;

Ich denk', ihr sollt zustimmen meinen Gründen.

Ich weiss genau, wie es mit Irland steht

Und, ach, bergab mit seiner Wohlfahrt geht

Und seinem Glück. Todt liegt sein Regiment.

Das Land, durch der Parteien Zwist getrennt,

Wird machtlos, dass an Grund wir Jahr für Jahr

Verlieren. Dies mach' ich sogleich euch klar.

Ganz kürzlich erst hat mir ein Herr gesagt,

Der hoch hervor durch Macht und Ansehn ragt,

Dass, was *ein Jahr* in Frankreich wird verwandt,

Hinreiche für ein Heer, das stark von Hand

Besagtes Irland wohl erobern möge.

Doch weil England das Geld nicht gern entzöge

Besagtem Zweck ein Jahr nur, wären schier

Die Kosten schon von zwei, drei Jahren *hier*

Genug um die Erobrung zu vollenden

In einem Jahr und Frieden uns zu senden.

Wie bald die Kosten sich bezahlt gemacht

Und was sie jährlich hätten eingebracht,

Will Jedem ich, der darnach trägt Begehren

Ausführlich in dem kleinen Buch erklären.

Doch uns hat Eifersucht, Begehrlichkeit

Nach eignem Vortheil, Grausamkeit und Neid

Geschädigt einst wie jetzt, zu allen Tagen.

All unser Geld ging, schmählich ist's zu sagen,

750

760

770

Für Musterungen drauf, die uns nichts nützten  
 Und nur der Feinde Pläne unterstützten.  
 Welch Unheil noch wird über uns ergehn,  
 Ich kann's kaum schreiben mehr vor Herzenswehn.

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780

**Ermahnung, Wales zu erhalten.**

Habt Acht auf Wales, dass es (was Christ mag hindern!)  
 Nicht Thränen bringe unsern Kindes-Kindern,  
 Ja, und uns selbst, wenn aus Nachlässigkeit  
 Man es so gehn lässt, da schon manche Zeit  
 Aus manchen Zeichen und des Volks Geschrei  
 Man Aufstand fürchten muss und Meuterei.  
 Sucht Mittel denn zu klüglicher Beschwörung  
 Der drohenden gewaltsamen Empörung.  
 Mag solches Unheil wenden Jesus Christ.  
 Gott weiss, wie sehr uns Vorsicht nöthig ist.  
 Stracks, sonder Hehl und Unaufrichtigkeit,  
 Dass ihr euch selbst nicht einst der Trägheit zeih't,  
 Wahrt fest den Grund, wie auch Gefahren drohn;  
 Sonst werdet ihr verklagt vor Gottes Thron.

790

**Von dem nützlichen Stockfisch Islands und der Bewachung  
 der See, namentlich der Meerenge; nebst einem Zusatz von  
 der Bewahrung Calais. Das zehnte Hauptstück.**

Island giebt weitern Stoff mir nicht zum Schreiben  
 Als von Stockfischen; doch in Wahrheit treiben  
 Von Bristol und manch anderm Küstenort  
 Mit Stein und Nadel Schiffahrt sie nach dort  
 Seit kurzem erst; es ist das zwölfe Jahr.  
 Sie gehn und kommen ohne Seegefahr,

800

Wie die von Scarborough schon der Fahrten pflogen,  
 Die vormals zu den kalten Küsten zogen;  
 Doch jetzt ziehn *so* viel Schiffe hin: sie machten  
 In diesem Jahr Verlust an ihren Frachten.  
 Island bot nicht die Fracht sie vollzuladen  
 Für ihre Häfen, und sie litten Schaden

Und nun bin ich am Schluss mit all den Waaren      81  
 Um die es noth thut unsre See zu wahren.  
 Sie zieht gen Ost, West, Nord und Süd sich her;  
 Am schärfsten aber wahrt das enge Meer  
 Zwischen Calais und Dover, dergestalt,  
 Dass Feinde nie durchdringen mit Gewalt,  
 Dass sie sich fügen unserm Machtgebot,  
 Von unsren Küsten und Calais bedroht.

### **Ermahnung, Calais sicher zu schützen.**

Ist euch an Gottes Lieb' und Huld gelegen,  
 Sollt ihr Calais, mehr als geschehn ist, pflegen.      820  
 Beachtet's wohl und hört die schweren Klagen  
 Der Männer, die euch keine Lügen sagen:  
 Und da ihr wisst, dies Buch schrieb solch ein Mann,  
 Thut England nicht die Schmach aus Trägheit an,  
 Dass ihr's nicht bessern wollt vor allen Dingen  
 Und wir nicht noch ein Klagelied euch singen.  
 Die Thoren ahnen nicht, wenn sie nicht hören,  
 Wie hart der Schlag, wenn wir Calais verlören,  
 Welch Weh' es wäre für ganz Englands Grund,  
 Wie das erkannt der Kaiser Sigismund,  
 Den wir zumeist erfreut darüber sahn,  
 Dass unserm Reich Calais sei unterthan.

Er hielt es für den schönsten Edelstein  
 Und nannt' es mit dem Wort auch auf Latein.  
 Und hörtet von Calais gern Näh'res ihr:  
 Ich setze nächstens etwas zu Papier,  
 Wie ich es schon gethan von Zeit zu Zeit  
 Mit andern Theilen unsrer Staatsklugheit.  
 Wie schwer doch war's, zuerst es zu gewinnen;  
 Folgt meinem Rath, lasst es nicht leicht entrinnen.  
 Geschieht zu unsrer Schmach dies, ist es klar,      840  
 Dass wir dran Schuld sind und der Gnade baar,  
 Wie über Harfleur man und Rouen schrie:  
 „Gebt Acht, durch Lässigkeit verliert ihr sie!“  
 Wie schrie und warnte man in Engelland!  
 Ich schrieb's mit dieser Feder in der Hand,  
 Man warnte laut uns in der Normandie  
 Und in England; ich selber klagt' und schrie.  
 Taub war die Welt; mit Recht musst' es so kommen:  
 Harfleur, fahr wohl, das uns mit Schimpf genommen!  
 Jetzt schützt Calais! dies ist was ich empfehle.      850  
 Durch diese Schrift entlast' ich meine Seele.

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Nach den Capiteln über die Waaren verschiedener Länder  
 thut dieses jetzt den Schluss dar, dass man die See ringsum  
 schützen solle durch eine Erzählung von König Edgar und  
 zwei Geschichten von König Edward III und König Heinrich V.

### Das eilfte Hauptstück.

Nun sehn wir Alle, dass dies Meeresrund,  
 Wie unser Nobel giebt im Bilde kund,  
 Unter dem Schiff wogt, das die Segel schwelt;  
 Drauf ist der König fürstlich dargestellt

Mit blossem blankem Schwert, zum Hieb erhoben  
Zu züchtigen der Feinde wildes Toben.

Der sollt' als Herr rings auf dem Meere walten,  
Im Zaum die Feinde drin und draussen halten  
Und heissen durch die ganze Christenheit  
Des Meeres Herr und Meister weit und breit;  
Gefürchtet und geehrt ob seiner Würde,  
Auf dass sein Reich dann auch gefürchtet würde.  
Ich weiss, dass es im Alterthum so war.

Dies mach' ich euch aus einer Chronik klar  
Von sondrer Art; doch geb' ich nach dem Sinn  
Euch übersetzt hier was ich fand darin  
Vom König *Edgar*, der durch Geisteskraft  
Bewundernswerth war und durch Ritterschaft.

Er war so gut, so klug, so ehrenreich:  
Von seinen Ahnherrn kam ihm keiner gleich.  
Er strahlt' in grösserm Ruhm und Gnadenglanz  
Als alle fröhern Fürsten Engellands;  
Stand keinem nach an Gottergebenheit,  
Ging allen vor in holder Sittlichkeit.

Nie ward vom Volk ein König mehr geehrt  
In England. Mehr ist er erinnungswert  
Als Cyrus, dem ihr Reich die Perser danken;  
Was einst der grosse Karl war bei den Franken  
Und was in Rom der grosse Romulus,

Das war bei uns der würd'ge Edgarus.  
Ich sage weiter nichts (mir fehlt die Zeit)  
Von seiner Würd' und seiner Heiligkeit;  
Doch will zur Sach' ich zwei Beispiele geben  
Um seine Staatsklugheit hervorzuheben.  
Aus einem wird sein Wirken hier im *Land*  
Und aus dem andern das zur *See* erkannt.  
In bösem Wetter, in des Winters Tagen,

860

870

880

Wenn wilder Sturm die Schiffer lässt verzagen,  
 Zog er durch's Land, durch sämmtliche Provinzen      890  
 Und sah sich scharf die Herren an und Prinzen  
 Und andern Glieder jeder Körperschaft:  
 Wer ein Bedrücker war, wer hingerafft  
 Zur Dürftigkeit, wer, der von reinen Sitten,  
 Doch viel von Missgeschick und Noth gelitten  
 Durch Ueberlastung und durch Zwang und Drang;  
 Und Bös' und Gut' in jedem Stand und Rang  
 Erspäht' er, auch die eigne Dienerschaar;  
 Wer treu gesinnt, wer falsch und untreu war;  
 Und wie in diesem Land Gesetz und Recht      900  
 Geübt ward, und wer etwa sich erfrecht  
 Sich aufzulehnen gegen die Gewalten;  
 Und wieder, wo sie wurden gut gehalten:  
 Davon verschafft' er sich genauste Kunde  
 Theils selber, theils aus sichtrer Leute Munde.  
 Doch — als sein Hauptgeschäft — hatt' er drauf Acht,  
 Dass nicht ein reicher Herr von grosser Macht  
 In Stadt und Land den armen Mann berücke  
 Und ihn durch seinen Einfluss unterdrücke.  
 Solcher Erforschung hat zur Winterzeit      910  
 Er Jahr für Jahr mit Eifer sich geweiht.  
 So widmete dem ernsten Staatsgeschäfte  
 Der heiligste der Kön'ge seine Kräfte.

Doch weiter nun: Zur schönsten Zeit im Jahr,  
 Im lust'gen Sommer, wenn die Lüfte klar,  
 Da hielt der König Schiffe schon bereit  
 In grosser Zahl, gewaltig, hoch und breit,  
 Dreitausend und sechshundert, stattlich traun,  
 Wenn durch das Meer sie zogen, anzuschau'n.  
 Die Chronik nennt sie prachtvoll ausgeschmückt,      920

Wie sich's denn für glorreiche Kön'ge schickt.  
 So hielt er, wie gesagt, zur Sommerzeit  
 Alljährlich bald zur Ausfahrt sich bereit.  
 Ein gross Geleite war um ihn geschaart  
 Versehn mit Kriegsgeräth der besten Art.  
 Es wäre schwer dies alles zu beschreiben  
 Für Jedermann; ich lass' es lieber bleiben.  
 So ging zu Schiff er mit der Seinen Schaar,  
 Die wohl zum Seekrieg ausgerüstet war,  
 Mit Kleid und Schiffen. Prächtig war zu sehn  
 Die Flotte. Majestatisch sah man stehn  
 Den König selber in der Seinen Menge,  
 Um unsers Eilands ganze Küstenlänge  
 Mit Segeln und mit Rudern zu umkreisen  
 Und sich den Fremden furchtbar zu erweisen,  
 Der mannhaft auszog in die Welt hinaus  
 Den Völkern ringsumher zum Schreck und Graus,  
 Zur Uebung für sein ritterlich Geleite,  
 Das sich in seiner Heimath um ihn reihte.

Denn Muth muss sich der Uebung unterziehn,  
 Dass er, beschäftigt, lernt das Laster fliehn.  
 Dies hat der König klugen Sinns bekraftigt,  
 Da er Jahr aus Jahr ein sich so beschäftigt.  
 So zieh' ich aus der Chronik denn den Schluss,  
 Dass uns das Meer ringsum gehören muss  
 Und sich dem König unterthänig zeigen,  
 Dass er darüber schalte als sein eigen,  
 Da es zugleich ihm Ehre bringt und nützt,  
 Wenn er sein Land vor jedem Feinde schützt.  
 Genug von ihm, dem Preis des Königthums,  
 Herrn Edgar, und der Chronik seines Ruhms.  
 Nur über eines ging' ich nicht gern fort:  
 Von mächtiger Bedeutung ist das Wort:

930

940

950

Gott wollte für sein Wirken solche Ehren  
(Denn er war sonder Gleichen) ihm gewähren,  
Dass einst zu hohem Fest von vielen Landen  
Kön'ge und Grafen sich zusammenfanden  
Und viele Fürsten und von nah' und fern,  
Um ihm zu huld'gen, manche grosse Herrn.

Da hiess er eines Tages Schiffe fertig  
Sich halten und auf seinen Ruf gewärtig.  
Er wollte gern zur Kirche St. Johann's  
Des Täufers rudern, des gottsel'gen Mann's.  
Er suchte Schiffe stattlich schönen Bau's  
Für all die Grafen, Herrn und Ritter aus.  
Für sich und für acht Kön'ge, die zu Lehn  
Ihm gingen, hatt' *ein* Schiff er ausersehn,  
Ein gutes Schiff; er hiess auf ihren Plätzen  
Sich ihm zur Seite die acht Kön'ge setzen.  
Ein jeder nahm ein Ruder in die Hand:  
Acht Klampen waren in des Schiffes Rand.  
Er selber sass im Hinterschiff und führte  
Das Steuer, wie es seinem Rang gebührte.  
Solch eine Ruderfahrt, darf ich wohl sagen,  
Sah man von Fürsten nicht seit langen Tagen.  
Seht wie zu Wasser er den Preis gewann  
Auf Strom und Meer, dass ich nicht sagen kann  
In würd'ger Art, wie König Edgar's Ehre  
Und hoher Sinn erprobt ward auf dem Meere.

## Ein Ereigniss aus dem Leben des meerbeherrschenden Königs. Edwards III.

Von König Edward schweig' ich; wie zu Land  
Und See er ruhmreich stritt, ist euch bekannt.

Auch wisst ihr wohl, wie lange Zeit Calais  
 Damals belagert ward zu Land und See.  
 Es ward (nicht viele Jahre sind verflossen)  
 Gleich nach der Schlacht von Crecy eingeschlossen  
 Ringsum; noch leben Greise, die es sahn.  
 Mir haben alte Ritter kund gethan,  
 Dass er, der jüngst im Kampf so schlecht bestund,  
 Trotz seiner Nobel, Philipp von Burgund  
 Von seewärts keinen Angriff unternahm,  
 Da ihm aus Furcht kein Schiff zu Hülfe kam;  
 Er liess vom Meer die Stadt gar nicht berennen.  
 Das war Belagruung nicht im Ernst zu nennen.  
 Geschütze krachten: Sturm war nirgendwo;  
 Flucht, nicht Belagruung. Wohl ihm, der entfloß!  
 So ward er von den alten Herrn verhöhnt,  
 Die solcher Sprache noch von sonst gewöhnt.  
 Edward's Belagruung, die war königlich;  
 Er nahm die Stadt, erwarb vor allem sich  
 Die Seeherrschaft, sein königlich Vermächtniss,  
 Und liess die Nobel schlagen zum Gedächtniss.  
 Zu seiner Zeit war keine Flott' im Meere,  
 Die seiner Hoheit widerstanden wäre.  
 Wie man bei Sluys gekämpft, könnt alle Tage  
 Ihr lesen; unnütz ist's, dass mehr ich sage.  
 Ihr kennt die Schlacht. So nahe liegt die Zeit:  
 Wenn man's vergleicht, kaum einen Steinwurf weit.  
 Für solchen Sieg gebt Gott stets Preis und Ehre;  
 Denn glorreich ward der König Herr der Meere.

**Ein andres Beispiel von Beschützung des Meeres zur Zeit  
des wunderbaren Kriegers und siegreichen Fürsten,  
König Heinrichs V; und von seinen grossen Schiffen.**

Soll ich nun schliesslich hier euch machen klar, 1010

Was wohl des fünften Heinrichs Vorsatz war,

Als er zu Hampton grössre Galeonen

Gebaut als alle andern Nationen:

Den „Gott-sei-Dank“ und die „Dreifaltigkeit“

Den „Heil'gen Geist“ und andre, die zur Zeit

Verloren sind? Was er dabei sich dachte?

Zu welchem Zweck er diese Schiffe machte?

Sein einziger Gedanke war nur *der*,

Dass er beherrsche ringsherum das Meer.

Als die Belagrungrung von Harfleur begann, 1020

Da kamen grosse Orlogschiffe an,

Furchtbar und stark, dass sie in Uebermuth

Den Weg uns sperrten durch die enge Flut.

Da zog Lord Bedford her mit seiner Macht

Und schlug zu Trümmern sie in *einer* Schlacht.

Das war, nachdem wir Harfleur erst gewonnen

Und die Belagrungrung nun der Feind begonnen.

Den hat er theils gefangen, theils vernichtet

Und Englands Ruhm und seinen aufgerichtet.

Der Kammerherr des Königs war zugegen 1030

In beiden Schlachten, der kann es belegen

Besser als ich's vermag; drum fragt nur *Den*;

Dann könnt ihr's hören; ich muss weiter gehn.

Das war ein Fürst voll Glanz und hohem Muth;

An Tapferkeit zugleich und kühlem Blut,

An Weisheit, Klugheit und Besonnenheit,

Gewandtheit, Vorsicht und Gerechtigkeit,

An Würde, Mässigkeit und Seelenadel,  
 An Frömmigkeit und Tugend ohne Tadel,  
 An Feinheit, Milde, Sinn für Wissenschaft,  
 Hochherzigkeit und männlich stolzer Kraft  
 Nur Edgar und dem dritten Edward gleich,  
 Von ihrem edlen Stamm ein echter Zweig.  
 Wo lebt ein Fürst, der in so kurzer Zeit  
 So siegreich Wunder that in manchem Streit?  
 Er hat sich so bewährt auf See und Land,  
 Dass, denk' ich dran, mir schwindelt der Verstand.  
 So habt ihr von dem König denn genug,  
 Heinrich dem Fünften. Und so schliesst dies Buch,  
 Drin ich die wahre Staatskunst aufgedeckt:  
1040  
 Den Schutz der See, der Sieg und Macht bezweckt.  
 Denn nie hat über uns ein Fürst gewaltet,  
 Der auf dem Meer so kräftiglich geschaltet;  
 Hätt' er bis heut gelebt in diesen Reichen,  
 So nenne man ihn König sonder Gleichen.  
 Wär' er zum Zweck, den er sich vorgenommen,  
 Mit seinen grossen Schiffen nur gekommen,  
 So zweifl' ich nicht, dass er geworden wäre:  
 Der Herr und Meister ringsum auf dem Meere.  
 Er hätt' es sicher vor dem Feind bewacht,  
 Uns reich gemacht und es dahin gebracht,  
 Dass auf dem Meer sich, ohne dass er's wollte  
 Und es erlaubte, Niemand röhren sollte.  
1050  
1060

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**Von der Einigkeit, die den Schutz der See zur Folge haben  
wird und den schliesslichen Fortgang des Friedens durch  
höchstes Ansehn. Das zwölfe Hauptstück.**

Und nun um Christi Huld und Liebe willen  
Helft unsers Englands Angst und Leiden stillen.  
Fasst euch ein Herz, setzt klug ein Regiment,  
Dass nicht *ein* Kopf sich von dem andern trennt,  
Einstimmig alle und in Eintracht walten,  
Um festen Sinns die See uns zu erhalten.

So schaffen wir uns selbst Ehr' und Gewinn  
Und züchtigen der Feinde bösen Sinn.  
Reichthum und Achtung wird uns so erstehn  
Und unserm Nobel wird kein Schimpf geschehn,  
Dass mit der That er trage sein Gepräge,  
Uns selber Muth, den Feinden Schreck errege.  
Sie müssen rasch zum Frieden sich bequemen,  
Sonst wird ihr Wohlstand bald ein Ende nehmen.

Ihr werdet selbst das hier bewiesen finden  
Aus der Erfahrung und der Staatskunst Gründen  
Und durch Geschichten, die euch Zeugniss geben.

Ich setze unbedingt zum Pfand mein Leben,  
Dass Mancher schon um Frieden fleht aus Noth,  
Sieht er sich durch den Schluss der See bedroht.  
So thut zum Beispiel Flandern Einigkeit  
Und Frieden mit uns noth. In kurzer Zeit  
Wird man hier seine Unterhändler sehn,  
Um uns um Hülf' und Beistand anzugehn.

Ein gottgefällig Ding ist Einigkeit  
Und Frieden nach des Krieges Zwist und Streit.  
Denn Kampf muss sicher doch mit Frieden enden  
Und Armuth sich zuletzt zur Eintracht wenden.

1070

1080

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Wahrt drum die See ringsum in jedem Fall;  
 Denn sie ist Englands rechter Schirm und Wall.  
 Denn England ist vergleichbar einer Stadt,  
 Die rings umher die See als Mauer hat.

Schützt drum die See, den Wall um unser Land,  
 Und England ist geschützt durch Gottes Hand,  
 Dass es vor Allem, was von aussen droht,  
 Gesichert ist und sonder Fahr und Noth,  
 Dass jedes Land geht mit dem andern Land  
 Als Bruder mit dem Bruder Hand in Hand,  
 Dass sie in Eintracht leben, sonder Streit  
 Und Missgunst, und in rechter Freundlichkeit,  
 In Ruh und Frieden, Christ zum Wohlgefallen  
 Und lassen Zwist und Fehd' und Hader fallen.

*Den Frieden* soll sich jeder mühn zu finden  
 Und ihn mit Ernst durch heil'gen Wandel binden.

Wie euch denn der Apostel unterweist:

„Seid fleissig, dass die Einigkeit im Geist  
 Ihr mögt erhalten durch des Friedens Band;“  
 Das thut uns Allen noth aus jedem Stand.

Auch der Prophet heisst uns nach Frieden streben:  
 „Ihn zu verfolgen heiligt unser Leben.“

Unser Herr Jesus spricht: „Gesegnet seid  
 Ihr, die ihr trachtet nach Friedfertigkeit.“

Mit Recht Matthäus die Friedfert'gen preist,  
 Indem er sie die Kinder Gottes heisst.

Gott geb' uns Gnade, dass wir seine Wege  
 Verfolgen, auf des Lasters Pfühl nicht träge  
 Einschlafen; so dass unser ärgster Feind

Sich wieder mit uns aussöhnt und vereint.

Auch in den „Sprüchen“ findet dies Bewährung;  
 Der Text bedarf nicht weiterer Erklärung:

„Wenn eines Menschen Wege Gott dem Herrn

1100

1110

1120

Gefallen, leihst er seine Hülfe gern,  
 Dass seine Feinde sich mit ihm vertragen  
 Und jedem Hader Gott zum Preis entsagen.“  
 Und solche Eintracht, Liebe, Ruh' und Frieden  
 Hat Er, der einst als Mensch gewallt hienieden  
 Und sich, der Himmlische, uns gleich gemacht,  
 Eh' Er hinauffuhr, uns zum Heil vermachts.      1130  
 Er gab uns Frieden nach der Zwietracht Tagen.  
 O lass' Er so in uns ihn Wurzel schlagen,  
 Dass wir von hier zu Seinem Fest entsandt  
 Den Frieden schau'n in der Verheissung Land,  
 Jerusalem, wo uns der Friede glänzt  
 Vom Strahlenschein des ew'gen Lichts umkränzt.  
 Um dort verklärt zu ruhn und mit Entzücken  
 Die Herrlichkeit der Gottheit anzublicken,  
 Gieb Du, der göttlichen Personen zweite,      1140  
 Dahin zu unserm Heil uns das Geleite. Amen.

**Hier endet die wahrhaftige Darlegung des Büchleins von der  
 englischen Staatsklugheit, die ganz England ermahnt, die  
 See ringsum zu verwahren und namentlich die Meerenge;  
 indem sie zeigt, welcherlei Ehre, Vortheil und Heil davon  
 kommt für das Königreich England u. s. w.**

Geh denn, mein Buch, und zeig dein Angesicht  
 Mit höflichen und demuthsvollen Mienen,  
 Und bitte meine Herr'n, dass sie's dir nicht  
 Verübeln, wenn du etwas keck erschienen  
 Im Streit; du wolltest nur der Wahrheit dienen,  
 Für die als Halt du ja Autoren hast,  
 Erfahrung und Vernunft. Scheintdürftig ihnen  
 Der Stoff, leg deinen Lehrern es zur Last.

Denn es ist wirklich wahr, bei meinem Leben:  
 Der weise Herr, der Lord von Hungerford  
 Hat dich geprüft und drauf mir kund gegeben:  
 „Wie's Evangelium fast“ — so sprach der Lord —  
 „So wahr seist du“ — bei Gott, das war sein Wort,  
 Als er gelesen dich in einer Nacht.  
 Geh denn mein Buch, schütze dich Christi Macht.<sup>1)</sup>

1150

<sup>1)</sup> Statt dieser Strophe hat die zweite Recension:  
 Dem höchsten Beicht'ger, würdigen Prälaten,  
 Ihm, dem vertraut des grössten Hauses Gut,  
 Dem ersten Schatzherrn in des Königs Staaten,  
 Dem Bischof, Grafen, Freiherrn reich an Gut,  
 Drei Herrn, so weise wie von edlem Blut,  
 Weih' ich jetzt deine zweite Wiedergabe  
 Zur Prüfung, dass sie mir mit mildem Muth  
 Verzeihn. Leb wohl, ich gebe was ich habe.

Dem vorstehenden Text<sup>1)</sup> musste die Ausgabe von Thom. Wright (*Political poems and songs vol. II*, p. 157—205) zu Grunde gelegt werden. Sie ist in den nachfolgenden Varianten durch *Wr.* bezeichnet. Wright selber hat sich im Wesentlichen an die Ueberlieferung einer Handschrift der ersten Recension angeschlossen und zwar an einen Codex der Bodleyana, Ms. Laud. No. 704 fol. 1, v<sup>o</sup>, von uns wie von ihm durch *A* bezeichnet. Er sagt von demselben, dass es nach der Sorgfalt und dem *Stil* (?), in dem er geschrieben sei, scheine, er sei eine Originalcopie, zum Dedications-Exemplar bestimmt, gewesen. Was es mit dieser Sorgfalt auf sich hat und wie unwahrscheinlich diese Vermuthung ist, zeigt ein Blick auf unsere Varianten, zeigt aber noch entschiedener der Umstand, dass cod. A ganze Verse ausgelassen hat (V. 349. 413; zweite Hälfte von 612 und erste von 613), deren *ursprüngliches* Vorhandensein unwiderleglich durch den correspondirenden Reim und durch den Druck Hakluyt's (*The principal Navigations &c. Lond. 1600*, p. 187—208) bezeugt wird, der sich gleichfalls an die erste Recension anschliesst und wahrscheinlich aus derselben Quelle wie cod. A stammt. Hakluyt's Varianten werden ab und zu in den Anmerkungen von Wright mitgetheilt. Wir haben die Ausgabe noch einmal verglichen und theilen ihre Lesarten unserem Zweck gemäss nur dann (aber auch dann immer) mit, wenn sie einen Einfluss auf unsere Textconstitution geübt haben.

Ausserdem hat Wright noch Ms. Harl. No. 4011, fol. 120, r<sup>o</sup> (durch *B* bezeichnet) Ms. Harl. No. 271 fol. 1, r<sup>o</sup> (*C*) und Ms. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. fol. 192, r<sup>o</sup> (*D*) verglichen, welche die 2. Recension repräsentiren. Aus C theilt er in summa nur 4 Varianten mit. Wie ungenügend aber die Notirungen aus den beiden andern Handschriften einem völlig unconstituirten Text gegenüber sind, der sich wesentlich auf die buchstäbliche Wiedergabe eines äusserst

<sup>1)</sup> Ueber die politische Bedeutung des Libell jetzt auch Stubbr, Const. Hist. of England III, 268. Nr. 1.

nachlässig geschriebenen Codex beschränkt und doch auch wieder kein Facsimile-Abdruck des letztern ist, da Herr Wright verschiedentliche Male ihn aus den andern Handschriften zu corrigiren unternimmt: das erhellt hinlänglich aus der Thatsache, dass die Pauli'sche Collation des cod. D, die sich zusammen auf etwa 100 Verse erstreckt, nicht weniger als *vierzig* zum Theil für den Sinn sehr bedeutende Varianten aufweist, die sich bei Wright *nicht* finden.

Uebrigens hat Wright die von ihm zu Grunde gelegte Fassung der ersten Recension (A und Hakl.) geradezu mit der zweiten an einigen Stellen contaminirt. Hiegegen lässt sich an sich nichts sagen. Die betreffenden Stellen enthalten nämlich theils einen persönlichen Angriff auf den Herzog von Burgund (294—302) theils besonders derbe Redewendungen (314 f. 452—455). Von beiden ist nicht anzunehmen, dass der Verf. sie erst später de industria erfunden und der zweiten Ausgabe eingefügt habe. Vielmehr darf man schliessen, dass sie in der allerersten Fassung da gestanden haben, wo sie stehen, dass der Verf. aber Scheu getragen habe, sie zu veröffentlichen und sie in der ersten Ausgabe gestrichen und verwischt, später durch seinen Erfolg und das Zureden von Freunden dreister geworden, sie wieder hergestellt habe. Dies ist besonders augenfällig an der ersten der angezogenen Stellen. Welches Missgeschick aber gerade hier Hrn. Wright bei seiner Contamination begegnet, darüber s. die Anmerkung a. a. O.

Man darf vielleicht annehmen, dass jenen Stellen auch noch V. 179 hinzuzufügen sei, wo D das Parlamentsmitglied, welches dem Verf. die betreffende Mittheilung gemacht, näher als *that Hampton esquier* bezeichnet, und V. 43, wo dieselbe Handschrift den Herzog von Burgund als denjenigen Fürsten nennt, welcher Nobel nach dem Muster der englischen schlagen lasse und dadurch seine nicht zu duldende Prätension auf die Meeresherrschaft kund gebe.

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v. 4. Nor) D. (nach Pauli) st. Nere Wr. but it is oon the best) D. (nach Pauli). Wright, gegen Metrum und Sinn: but one of the best). Zu dem unserm Verf. eigenthümlichen Gebrauch des one mit Superlativ vgl. v. 104. 494. 830. 868 und im 2. Envoy v. 1.

v. 14. keep) nach D. (kepe), kept W.

v. 18. for to come) nach D. (Pauli). Wr. om. for.

v. 20. to your) B. st. and your Wr.

v. 29. cast me by a) nach Wr. Vielleicht me zu streichen, da cast als reflex. überhaupt sehr selten, in unserm Gedicht niemals vorkommt. D. (nach Pauli) om. by.

v. 33. cowardise to our) D. (nach Pauli) st. cowardise and to our Wr.

v. 44 lich to oures) cj. st. liche oures, Wr.

v. 54. and eek graine) cj. st. and grayne Wr.

v. 61. they have for) D. st. her havene or Wr.

v. 62. yclept of Swyn) cj. st. cleped Swyn Wr.  
das. tho) Hakl. st. thaire Wr.

v. 69. Colon nach dout und Fragezeichen nach about st. doute,  
— aboute Wr.

v. 73. longeth) cj. st. des sinnlosen bougeth Wr. S. v. 105.

v. 79. our) B. st. your Wr.

v. 82. Both out) Hakl. st. But ought Wr.

v. 83. saith — is) B. st. seyde — was Wr.

v. 91. her) Hakl. st. his Wr.

v. 100. tosed) B., D. st. toseed Wr.

v. 104. one the cheef) cj. vgl. zu v. 4. one of the cheffe  
Wr.

v. 106. to me) cj. st. unto me Wr.

v. 112. Into Rochelle) cj. st. Into the R. Wr.

v. 115. saith) B., D. (seith) st. seyde Wr.

is than ago) cj. st. is ago Wr.

v. 125. 126. marchaundies — turnen) cj. st. marchaundy

— torne Wr.

v. 146. peese to us be sought) D. (Pauli) st. pease shulde  
by to us sought Wr.

v. 155. this her) cj. st. there Wr.

v. 158. trouth beleves) B. st. trewth levys Wr.

v. 159. and gretest) cj. st. and the gr. Wr.

v. 173. That to the regnes of heven bost ron her sown)  
st. des sinnlosen: That into the regnes of bost have ronne  
here soune Wr. Den Abschreibern war das alterthümliche adjekt.  
bost (= loud) unverständlich. Vgl. Chaucer C. T. 3999 und  
Robert Brunne: Peter Langtoft 275 nach Tyrwhit.

v. 184 when the noble — thridde) cj. st. when noble —  
therde Wr.

v. 190. Therfor) B. st. That fro Wr.

v. 195. Marchauntes) cj. (Hakl. merchants) st. marchaundys.  
Wr.

v. 208. Be) Hakl. st. By Wr.

v. 224. in his ensamples wise) cj. st. an ensample wysse  
Wr. sehr corrupte Stelle, welche sich die verschiedenen Schreiber  
verschieden zurecht zu legen gesucht haben. Die von uns hier und  
in den folgenden Versen gemachten leisen Aenderungen halten sich  
sehr nahe an A.

v. 226. accusyng) cj. st. excusing Wr.

v. 228. werried) cj. (werred Hakl.) st. verrie Wr.

v. 230. whan) B. st. than Wr.

v. 231. her) cj. st. his Wr.

v. 232. He) Hakl. — Wr. om.

v. 239. Marchauntes) cj. st. marchaundes Wr.

v. 242. enhabit to charge) B, D. st. enhabite here to  
ch. Wr.

Die Capitel-Ueberschrift habe ich stehen lassen, wiewohl sie  
(Pruce and Highe Duch men) einen Widerspruch mit den folgen-  
den Versen (278—280) enthält, da diese in den Hdsch. vielfach  
variirenden Inhaltsanzeigen sicherlich nicht von dem Autor selbst  
herstammen.

v. 277. fro) ej. (D. und Hakl. from) st. to Wr.

v. 294—305. An dieser Stelle hat Wright die Verse 300—303  
aus den Handschr. der 2. Recension aufgenommen, was sich billigen  
lässt; er hat aber vergessen, demgemäß auch die vorhergehenden  
Verse (in denen er nicht einmal die entscheidenden Varianten voll-  
ständig verzeichnet) abzuändern; wodurch dann dass Ganze verwirrt  
und sinnlos wird. Glücklicherweise lag eine genaue Collation  
Pauli's von Hschr. D. vor, wonach wir die folgenden Aenderungen  
geben.

v. 294. And her prince turned his bak) D. st. Ffor fere  
they turned bake Wr.

v. 295. him) D. (hym) st. hem Wr.

v. 296. him in his) D. (nach Pauli) st. hem in here Wr.

v. 298. her duc) nach D. (their duke) st. our enmyse Wr.

v. 299. He was in mew, he) D. (nach Pauli) st. Th̄ey  
flede to mewe they Wr.

Nach 305 die Ueberschrift gestrichen. Hakl.

v. 315. haro) cj. (Vgl. Tyrwh. zu Chaucer's C. T. 3286) st.

harys Wr. Denn es ist nicht zu begreifen, warum die Flemminge, die hier wegen ihrer Völlerei so eben Schweine gescholten sind, nun als Hasen bezeichnet werden sollten, welche letzteren bekanntlich nichts weniger als gefräßige Thiere sind.

v. 321. As they ben laden again) D. (nach Pauli) st. And they bene laden Wr.

v. 334. waad) B. st. wood Wr.

v. 335. Wolle — oyl) cj. Pauli st. wolle, oyle Wr. Wolle, aus Genua nach England eingeführt, ist ein Unding. Hier zumal widerspricht v. 338. Ich hatte wold-oil vermutet (Oliven-Oel vom Italian wold). Aber Pauli belehrt mich, dass wolle oyles als wichtiger Import-Artikel aus den Südländern zum Zweck der Tuchmanufatur in den an Thom. Cromwell um d. J. 1535 eingereichten protectionistischen Denkschriften erwähnt wird. Provencer Oel kommt noch heute bei und nach der Manipulation der Wolle durch den „Reisswolf“ in starken Quantitäten zur Anwendung.

wood-ashen) cj. st. woad ashēn Wr.

vessels) B. st. wesshelle Wr.

v. 359. gedre) cj. st. gledre Wr.

v. 363. But there, I know, ben thinges also speedful) cj. st. But I knowe thinges also spedefulle Wr. But ther ben thynges also sp. B.

v. 367. Without thees drugges) B. st. Withoute degrees Wr.

v. 368. yif) nach B. (yf) und D. (if) st. yett.

v. 373. leveth) cj. st. beleveth Wr.

v. 387. our) B. (oure) st. youre Wr.

v. 391. allayes) cj. st. des sinnlosen alwey Wr. (Hakl. alwayes).

v. 401. it) B. st. they Wr.

v. 402. fro yere to yere) B., D. st. for yere and yere Wr.

v. 406. by the peise) Hakl. st. be the payse Wr.

v. 410. To marchautes) cj. st. To Englishe marchaundis Wr.

v. 417. twelf pens losse in) nach B. losse om. Wr.

v. 418. have sooner our payment) cj. weil der Sinn es nothwendig verlangte st. have of paymente Wr. Vielleicht ergiebt eine genauere Vergleichung der Hdschr. eine den Buchstaben des verdorbenen Verses näher kommende Lesart.

- v. 419. hem) cj. st. him Wr.  
 v. 422. we) cj. st. be Wr. (he Hakl.)  
 v. 424. And than) cj. st. And whenne Wr.  
     marchauntes) B. st. marchaundys Wr.  
 v. 425. Of this eschaunge — by assente) cj. (by bestätig  
 durch B.) st. This esch. — of assente Wr.  
 v. 443. pounde of los) cj. st. pounde of money o  
 losse Wr.  
 v. 446. Some again gaines in exchaunge) cj. st. Some  
 ageyne in exchaunge Wr.  
 v. 450. If that they) cj. st. Yff they Wr.  
 v. 455. by likenesse) cj. st. be liklynnesse.  
 v. 479. this is no nay) cj. (it is no nay B., D.) st. this  
 no nay Wr. this is ist in einer Silbe zu lesen wie v. 68 und 157.  
 v. 481. it) cj. st. ye Wr.  
 v. 483. like) B. st. lykelye Wr.  
 v. 494. oon the beste) cj. st. one of the beste Wr. Vgl. z. v. 4.  
 v. 506. host) B., D., Hakl. (oste) st. coste Wr.  
 v. 509. hoste) B., D. (host), Hakl. (oste) st. coste Wr.  
 v. 514. of al her) cj. st. of her Wr.  
 v. 530. bye) Hakl. st. lye.  
 v. 531. more of marchaundye) Hakl. st. wee bye more  
 marchaundy Wr.  
 v. 534. bye ej. st. be Wr.  
 v. 537. all the) Hakl. st. alle Wr.  
 v. 539. carres) cj. st. carreys Wr.  
 v. 541. kept round about) cj. st. kepte about Wr.  
 v. 543. Beth) B. (Bethe) st. The Wr.  
     waad) B. (wad) st. woode Wr.  
 v. 550. Braban in) cj. st. Braban Wr.  
 v. 551. by see) Hakl. st. be the see Wr.  
 v. 560. ye) B. st. we Wr.  
 v. 571. were) ej. st. werre.  
 v. 580. tough) B. st. thought Wr.  
 v. 591. is this) B., D. st. it is in Wr.  
 v. 600. wise) Hakl. st. wysely Wr.  
 v. 606. powdre) B. st. powere Wr.  
 v. 611. take in hand) Hakl. st. take the see Wr. und  
 v. 612. To purge st. And purge Wr. In cod. A. waren zwei

halbe Verse ausgefallen, die Wr. in der bezeichneten Weise aus B. und D. ergänzt hat, während doch Hakl. die erste Recension repräsentirt.

v. 613. halen) B., D. st. have Wr.

v. 614. lives juparte) cj. st. lives to juparte.

v. 617. Hinter diesem Vers giebt Wr. die Ueberschrift aus B.: A ffalse coloure in excusyng of prises — durch welche der Satz unterbrochen und der erste Theil ganz unverständlich wird.

v. 622. sore) Hakl. st. sorow Wr. (so swore B.).

v. 624. they beer) B. (bere, so auch Hakl.) st. that bare Wr.

v. 639. be) Hakl. st. by Wr.

v. 648. in every deel) So die jüngere Recension (B., D.: dele) die ältere in no selle Wr. in noseill Hakl. Man darf vermuthen: inow in sele (sele = salus, Heil).

v. 652. ligge) B., D. (lige) st. lyfe Wr.

v. 655. of it) Hakl. st. yit Wr.

v. 660. marchaundye) cj. st. marchaundyse Wr.

v. 665. halp us keep) cj. st. h. us to kepe Wr.

v. 667. als) cj. st. also Wr.

v. 668. by his) cj. st. by Wr.

v. 670. hers togedre to) Hakl. (hers together to) st. herres togedre Wr.

v. 675. depe and eke of) cj. st. depe, of Wr.

v. 682. thinges) B., D. st. thinge Wr.

v. 695. That at) cj. st. As Wr. (At B., D.)

v. 998. That but for) cj. st. That for Wr.

recheleshede) B. st. Racheshede Wr.

v. 702. Wales is) cj. st. Wales Wr.

v. 707. by) D. nach Pauli st. be Wr.

v. 711. yhide) cj. st. hide Wr. (I hide B.).

v. 715. her) cj. st. there Wr.

v. 718. of our lost) cj. st. for our laste Wr. (losse st. laste D.).

v. 723. Like as in England sheres) cj. st. Like as England to sherish Wr. Like as England to sheres Hakl. In England unto sheres B.

v. 725. wonne on) Hakl. st. wonne unto Wr.

v. 726. It) cj. st. Yit Wr. (Yet Hakl.).

v. 734. so enmies) cj. st. so have enmyes Wr.

- v. 737. This is) cj. st. Thys Wr.  
 v. 757. slant) cj. st. stant Wr. (scant Hakl.).  
 v. 759. partes) cj. st. partyes Wr.  
 v. 765. wared) B. st. werred Wr.  
 v. 782. overthwerte) Hakl. st. overthwarte Wr.  
 v. 784. it) B., D. (hit) st. us Wr.  
 v. 786. if so it go) cj. st. if it go Wr. (so if it go Hakl.).  
 v. 806. bere) cj. st. bare Wr.  
 v. 809. havens) cj. st. hawys Wr. (die Entstehung des Irrthums ist klar. Das Autograph der A. Recension hat w und v vielfach verwechselt und statt des Ableitungs-e ein y gesetzt. Es handelt sich also nur um einen ausgefallenen Apex für n. Hakl. hält das Wort für ein Nom. propr. und schreibt es mit lat. Lettern und grosser Initiale).  
 v. 813. sharply the) B. st. the sharpe Wr.  
 v. 817. in her strengthe) B. (with her) st. in our str. Wr.  
 v. 825. sorowe) cj. st. sorow that Wr.  
 v. 830. oon the moste) cj. st. one of the moste Wr.  
 Vgl. z. v. 4.  
 v. 834. Caleis know) cj. st. Caleise here and know Wr.  
 v. 838. at firste) cj. st. at the firste Wr.  
 v. 839. lightly not it let) cj. st. lightly let not it leete Wr.  
 v. 841. It is wilfully and for lak) cj. st. Wyfully, it is for lake Wr.  
 v. 848. deef and) B., D. st. defrauded Wr.  
 v. 854. Under the ship sweyeth that sheweth her saile) cj. st. Under the shypp shewyd there the sayle Wr.  
 v. 856. eke intente) cj. st. extente Wr.  
 v. 858. see round about) cj. st. see aboute Wr.  
 v. 862. such as a) D. st. suche a Wr.  
 v. 884. I exemplifie) cj. st. I hym ex. Wr.  
 v. 885. Conditions tweyne of) cj. st. Of condicions tweyne and of Wr.  
 v. 887. And than another) cj. st. And another Wr.  
 v. 888. And in the time) cj. st. And in time Wr.  
 . . . were) cj. werre Wr. (B. veer).  
 v. 895. And yit wo was) cj. st. Any who was Wr.  
 v. 899. And how) cj. st. How Wr.

v. 913. Thus occupied) cj. st. Thus was he occupied Wr.  
(was om. D.).

v. 929. flete) Hakl. st. fete Wr.

v. 933. alonge) B., D., Hakl. st. on londe Wr.

v. 935. and eek perille) cj. st. and perille Wr.

v. 936. Who soon went out) cj. st. Whose sonne went about, Wr. — sonne könnte nach der Orthographie unsers Librarius für sun oder für son stehen (Vgl. v. 486 und 1117). Im ersten Fall, wenn es mit einer für unsren Autor allzu kühnen Metapher als Ruhm gefasst würde, ergäbe v. 938 f. Unsinn, im letzteren stritte es mit den historischen Thatsachen. Aber sone, was die Urschrift gehabt haben wird, kann son und soon bedeuten. Ich habe der von mir recipirten Orthographie gemäss letztere Form gewählt, die also nur eine Interpretation von sone ist. Die Aendernung beschränkt sich auf Weglassung eines s vor einem andern s.  
— out st. about hat auch D.

v. 944. And thus) cj. st. Thus Wr.

v. 953. yit wolle) B. st. till that Wr.

v. 958. princes) Hakl. (preences D.) st. provinces Wr.

v. 972. satte at the) cj. st. atte Wr.

v. 978. telle aright the) cj. st. telle, o right! o Wr.

v. 976. That that king) cj. st. That kynge Wr.

v. 1015. ben yloste) corr. st. be loste Wr.

v. 1020. whan that) cj. st. whan Wr.

v. 1024. came and) cj. st. came one, and Wr.

v. 1034. hie) B. st. his Wr.

v. 1041. estately) cj. estate his Wr.

v. 1071. rebuke eche) cj. st. rebuke of eche Wr.

v. 1088. Goddes) cj. st. God Wr.

v. 1091. poverte) B. st. power Wr.

v. 1092. keep) B., D. (kepe) st. kepte Wr.

v. 1095. Of which the walle) cj. st. And the walle Wr.

v. 1096. the see as the) cj. the see that is the Wr.

v. 1107. knit sadly) cj. st. knitt it sadly Wr.

v. 1123. Plainly) cj. st. Pleyne Wr.

v. 1129. cladde) Hakl. st. claude Wr.

v. 1131. us to) cj. st. to us Wr.

v. 1132. again debate) cj. st. ageyne striffe and debate Wr.

- v. 1134. at his feste) B. st. alle this f. Wr.  
v. 1140. divinenesse) Hakl. st. divinis is Wr.  
v. 1150. Sithen that) cj. st. That sythe Wr.
- 

### Zweites Envoy.

- v. 1. the highest o (i. e. oon, one) cj. st. heyghest so Wr.  
S. z. v. 4.  
v. 4. Bishop and yerle) st. Besschop herle Wr.
-

## Sprachliches.

*Ataunt.* V. 315, kommt meines Wissens nur in Verbindung mit to drink vor, stets mit der Bedeutung eines Uebermasses; so hier und Colyne Blowboll, Ms. Rawl. c. 86. und Lydgate's Minor Poems, p. 167 (nach Halliw. p. 103). Die Erklärung Wr.'s durch so much erscheint daher mehr als zweifelhaft. Will man es nicht lieber vom Verb. to taunt (im Sinn von „herausfordern“) ableiten, so dürfte man *a* vielleicht richtiger für den Artikel nehmen, und taunt als ein bestimmtes den Zechern jener Zeit bekanntes grosses Quantum fassen. Dafür würde die von Halliwell S. 853 citirte Stelle: Doctour Doubble Ale, n. d. sprechen:

Good ale he doth so haunt  
And drynke a due taunt.

*bost* adj. adv. V. 173 = loud, loudly, s. Chaucer C. T. 3999.

Peter of Langtoft 275 (nach Tyrwh. Gloss.).

*cast* verb. vielleicht refl. „sich vornehmen“ v. 29.; in demselben Sinne transitiv an verschiedenen Stellen.

*diagredye*, s. v. 361. Ein mir unbekanntes officinelles Kraut; vielleicht corrumpirt aus agrimonie (*agrimonia eupatoria* Leberklette), was ich in der Uebersetzung substituirt habe.

Ein gelehrter botanischer Freund vermutet scharfsinnig, dass cod. B. *correctid sagardye* der ursprünglichen Fassung näher liege; sagardye dürfte dann eine vielleicht volksthümliche Corruption aus *Σίκυς ἄγριος* (Eselsgurke, ein drastisches Abführungsmitel) sein, corrected aber (da correct selbst an sich unverständlich) der noch jetzt gebräuchliche pharmaceutische Ausdruck für ein durch Beimischung anderer Stoffe gemildertes Medicament.

*crest-clothe* s. v. 153 (D. hat *cresk clothe*, Hakl. *crest cloth*) o. Zw. dasselbe wie *crescloth* = „fine linen cloth“. Halliw.

*dromon* s. v. 1012. Eigentlich ein schnell segelndes Schiff, dann ein Kriegsschiff überhaupt.

*eye* in der Verbindung *at the eye, at eye*, namentlich mit *to know v.* 264. 394: „nach dem Augenschein“.

*greye* s. v. 310. o. Zw. dasselbe was *gris* bei Chaucer C. T. 193. Grauwerk, der hochgeschätzte Pelz des grauen Eichhörnchens (Veh) das noch heute in der Provinz Preussen vorkommt, das franz. *vair*, Menu *Vair* (engl. *Meniver*).

*marchaundye* s. abstract und concret, bald Handel (487. 519) bald *Waare* (262. 343. 468. 514. 531. 537. 542. 564. 577. 660.) aber auch sing. *marchaundise* in beiden Bedeutungen (S. v. 331 vgl. mit 653), dagegen *marchaundrye* allein für Handel, passim.

*narow* see der *Canal*, speciell *Pas de Calais*, passim.

*one (oon, o)*, mit *the best* und andern Superlativen (ohne *of*) wie lat. *unus (omnium) maxime* gebraucht. V. 4. 104. 830. 867. Envoy 2, I.

*osmond* s. v. 308. Nach Bailey Eisenerz, nach Halliw. eine Eisenart, speciell schwedisches Eisen.

*pariformitee* s. v. 853; wie es scheint ein vom Verf. selbst gebildetes Wort: „Analogie“, „Aehnlichkeit“.

*reise* s. v. 407. Reise; hier ohne die sonst gewöhnliche Nebenbedeutung von Kriegszug.

*renditee* s. (2 Envoy, 3) anscheinend vom Verf. selbst gebildetes Wort, in der Verbindung *double renditee*, zweite Ausgabe.

*scrow* s. v. 180. == scroll; dieselbe Verflüchtigung des End-l zeigt sich in Bristow == Bristol v. 800.

*socour* s. (2 Envoy, 3) offenbar Staatsschatz insofern derselbe aus den vom Parlament bewilligten Steuern (subsidies) gebildet ist.

*stied up* impf. v. 1130 = ascended. Die ganze Stelle ist sehr verworren und theilweise corrupt. Die (überflüssige) Präposition *up* verdirbt das Metrum, und die Construction wird durch die leichte und naheliegende Aenderung im folgenden Vers (*us to st. to us*) zwar gebessert aber nicht völlig entwirrt. Dennoch ist an der Aechtheit des Wortes *stied* nicht zu zweifeln. Das Verbum *to stie* (*stye, steye*) kommt zwar bei Chaucer nicht vor, wohl aber sonst vielfach im 14. Jahrhundert (Im Pseudo-Chaucer-schen Test. Lov. I, 315. Urry; Guy of Warw. p. 85 bei Halliw. Dict. II, p. 804 v. *steye*. Ms. Lansd. 793, f. 86. Das. p. 805.) und ist namentlich stehend im altenglischen Credo gerade an der Stelle, die vom Verf. hier ausgedrückt wird. Allerdings tritt dort überall die starke Imperfectform *steg*, *stegh*, *steich*, *astehey*

(ags. *âstâh*) *steog* auf (S. Wright Rel. Ant. I, 23. 57. 282. sec. XIII; I, 35. 42. sec. XIV citirt von Mätzner Altengl. Sprachpr. I, p. 50, 13; und jetzt auch in dess. Wörterbuch p. 125 s. v. *astizen*, wo von den 12 citirten Stellen 10 sich auf die Himmelfahrt Christi beziehen) — aber dass bei Späteren auch die anorganisch gebildete schwache Form sich findet, ist unzweifelhaft:

Befyse lepe up, full lyght he was

And up he steyed, y understande.

Ms. Cantab. Ff. II, 38, f. 108 bei Halliwell a. a. O. p. 804.

Auffallend ist ferner, dass Christus in menschlicher Natur gen Himmel gefahren sein soll und es läge daher sehr nahe, zu vermuthen: *stayed with our nature*, was den Buchstaben nach gegen *steyed* kaum eine Aenderung wäre. Aber schon das up welches Verfasser oder Schreiber der Deutlichkeit wegen und um jede Verwechselung mit dem andern Verbum fern zu halten, hinzugefügt zu haben scheint (selbst zum Schaden des Verses) schliesst diese Conjectur aus. Darum ist denn auch nicht daran zu denken, dass das Verbum im Sinne von *herabsteigen* zu fassen sei (wofür Mätzner's Wörterbuch a. a. O. 2) wirklich drei Stellen aufweist), zumal dann auch die Präposition *with* sich sehr schlecht in die Construction fügen würde. Und nun findet sich zum Ueberfluss und ebenso seltsamer Weise wie hier in dem genannten Credo aus Anf. sec. XIII, Rel. Ant. I, 282 (bei Mätzner a. a. O.): *To hevene he steg in ure manliche* (i. *human shape*). Es scheint in der That, dass diese Stelle dem Gedächtniss unsers Verf. vorgeschwebt hat. Die Ueersetzung konnte hier, ohne undeutsch zu werden, die Fassung des Originals nicht wiedergeben. Wer Wörtlichkeit der Lesbarkeit vorzieht, mag statt der betreffenden Verse diese substituiren:

Hat Er, der wallt' in Menschentracht hienieder,

Und, himmlisch selbst, aufstieg mit unserm Wesen,

Eh' er erhöht ward, uns zum Heil erlesen.

*stony* vb. v. 1047 = astonisch.

*thee* vb. v. 41. gedeihen.

*tose* vb. v. 100 = to tease, in der Bedeutung „krämpeln, karden, kardätschen“.

*utterward* adv. v. 2 = outward.

*waffor* s. v. 398. So Wr. nach A. Die Hdschr. B. und D. und selbst Hakluyt haben *waspe*, anscheinend eine glossirende Inter-

pretation, die aber o. Zw. den Sinn trifft, wie ich ihn denn in der Uebersetzung auch wiedergegeben habe. Wie freilich waffor zu dieser Bedeutung gekommen sein kann, weiss ich nicht. Dass es etymologisch dasselbe Wort ist wie waffer (wafer, norm. wafre, franz. gaufre unser Waffel) und ursprünglich die Wabe (lat. favus), dann der Honigwabe ähnlich gestaltete dünne Kuchen bezeichnet, ist klar genug. Dennoch habe ich nicht gewagt, die Lesart von A. anzurühren und das bekannte und deutliche Wort statt des unbekannten und seltsamen zu setzen. Denkbar freilich ist, dass waffor ursprünglich ein Glossem (für honey fro the bee), dann an falscher Stelle in den Text geschoben, waspe verdrängt hat. Immerhin aber ist dieser Umweg unwahrscheinlich.

*ware* vb. v. 765 nach B. (während Wr. irrthümlich nach A. werred schreibt) = „to lay out money, labour &c. North. archaist.“ Halliw. (Dict. p. 916 s. v. (5)), was der Sinn der Stelle verlangt.

*were* s. v. 888 (Wr. nach A. werre; B. veer) = confusion, turmoil, hier tempest; so häufig bei Chaucer (s. Tyrwh. Gloss. p. 498 s. v.) und sonst (Halliw. p. 923 s. v.) ursprünglich wohl dasselbe wie werre (Gewirr, Wirrwarr mhd. wérre) dem auch afr. guerre in dieser Bedeutung entspricht. S. Tyrwh. a. a. O. Hier spricht aber der Reim (freilich in A. auch entstellt) für die Schreibart *were*.

*who sayth* (v. s. 215) gleich dem modernen as who says, „man möchte sagen, gleichsam, fürwahr“.

*wirlyng* subst. v. 714. ein sonst nicht vorkommendes Wort, dem Zusammenhang nach ein irischer Briganten-Häuptling. Man darf wohl an die Particinalform whirling denken, also ein turbator pacis.

*wolle-oil* subst. v. 338. S. die kritische Anmerkung.



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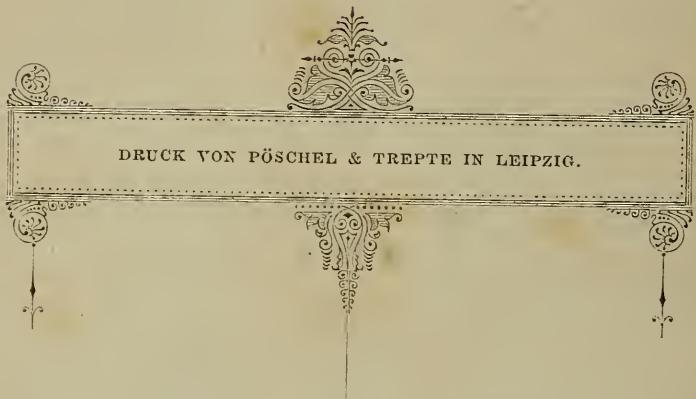
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A N  
ENGLISH-ANGLO-SAXON  
VOCABULARY.

COMPILED BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

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ON the appearance of Mr Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in 1876, it occurred to me that an English index (if I may so call it) to the words contained in the admirable Glossary appended to it would be useful, at any rate to myself. In the course of 1878 I made such an index. On looking it over, I at once observed that some very common and characteristic words were wanting in it, on account of the necessarily limited nature of the selections. It then occurred to me that many of these could be readily supplied by help of the index to Mr Sweet's History of English Sounds. I accordingly went through that index, and so filled up some of the gaps. In a *very* few cases I passed over the words thus indicated, because the word was unimportant or the form a little doubtful.

Hence the present list contains *only* such English words as occur (1) in the explanations of Anglo-Saxon words in Sweet's Glossary to the Reader (first edition); and (2) nearly all the words given in his History of English Sounds. The result is a vocabulary which gives some account of most of the more important words of the language; and shews, on the one hand, what words are still in use nearly unchanged, and on the other, what ideas are expressed by totally different terms in the modern and in the oldest English.

Limited as is the vocabulary, it has at any rate this advantage, viz. that all the Anglo-Saxon words cited are *real* ones, for which actual authority can be adduced. The passages in which they occur can be found by the references in the Glossary to the Reader;

## INTRODUCTION

or else, when the word is but slightly changed, by reference to the dictionaries of Bosworth, Lye and Manning, or Ettmüller. As it is chiefly in the former case that the *construction* of the word may require illustration, it is easy to turn to the passages cited and observe any peculiarity of usage. It will at once be seen that, from the way in which the list has been compiled, it is necessarily scanty and imperfect. It is merely a handy list, intended for my own use and for that of a few friends and students.

CAMBRIDGE,  
*April 14th, 1879.*

N.B. When modern English verbs and substantives are not distinguished as such, the *verbs* may be readily known by the fact that the Anglo-Saxon infinitive mood ends in *-an*. It may also be noted that additional Anglo-Saxon words may often be found under synonymous English ones. Thus *to bid* is *beódan*; and, by looking under *command*, we also find *hátan*.

# VOCABULARY.

## A

*a, án*  
*abandon*, forlætan  
*abbess*, abbudisse  
*abbot*, abbot  
*abject*, heán  
*able, to be*, cunnan  
*abode*, wunung  
*about*, ymbe, ymb, embe, *w. acc.*;—  
 onbútan, ymbútan  
*above*, ofer, ufan, búfan; (*of superiority*) tóforan; *adv.*, uppe;—  
*from above*, ufan  
*abroad*, út, útanbordes, úte  
*abstain from*, wiðbredan, *refl.*  
*abundance*, genyht  
*abuse*, *v.*, hirwan  
*accessible*, gefére  
*accomplish*, æfnan, bewitian, ge-  
 forðian, þurhteón; fullgán, *w. dat.*  
*according to*, be  
*account*, gerád  
*account*, *v.*, tellan  
*accurately*, gewyrdelice  
*accursed*, unlæd  
*accusation*, wróht  
*accuse*, gewrégan, forwrégan;—*ac-  
 cuse of*, gestáelan, *w. dat.*  
*ache*, æce, ece  
*acknowledge*, oncnáwan  
*acorn*, æcern, æcirn  
*acquire*, gewinnan, strínan  
*acre*, æcer  
*act*, *v.*, dón  
*action*, weorc  
*adder*, nædre  
*addition*, eáca  
*adhesive*, clibbor

## AID

*admonish*, gemanian  
*adorn*, besettan, gefrætwian, ge-  
 hlæstan, gerénian, girwan, gleng-  
 an, teón (*weak verb*), weorðian,  
 wurðian  
*adorned*, gehroden, geatolic  
*adulterer*, hóring, æbreca  
*adultery*, hór, forligere, æbryce  
*advance*, wadan  
*advent*, tócymer  
*adversary*, andsaca, wiðersaca  
*advice*, lár, lárcwide, ræd  
*advise*, gerádan, rædan, láran  
*adze*, adesa, adese  
*afflict*, eglan, gebróician, gecwilman,  
 gedreccan, geswencan, gewáegan,  
 genearwian, geþryscan, þryccan  
*afflicted*, gedréfed  
*affliction*, bróc, hearm, weorc  
*aforsaid*, se foresáda; foresprecen  
*afraid*, forht, ofdrédd  
*afraid, to be*, forhtian, ondráedan  
*after*, æfter; (*of time*), ofer; (*of  
 place*) on lást, *w. dat.*;—*after  
 that*, ðæs ðe  
*afterwards*, eft, siððan, ðæs, æfter  
 ðám  
*again*, eft, eft ongeán  
*against*, on, ongeán, ongén, wið,  
*w. acc.*; (*hostilely*), tógeánes  
*age* (*old age*), ildu; (*growing old*),  
 ealdung  
*agitated* (*in mind*), ástyred  
*agree to*, geþwárian, geþwárlácan  
*agreeable*, gecwéme  
*agreement*, treów, wedd, gecwidræ-  
 den  
*aid*, fultum

ail, eglan	answer, <i>v.</i> , andswarian, andwyrdan
air, lyft	answer, <i>s.</i> , andswaru, andwyrde
akin, gesibb	ant, æmette
alas, wá lá wá	anvil, anfilte
alder, alr	any, ænig
alderman, ealdorman	any one, hwá
ale, ealu	anything, wiht, wuht
alight ( <i>from a horse</i> ), líhtan	anywhere, áhwær, hwær
alike, gelice	apart, sundor
alive, cwic, cucu	ape, apa
all, eall;—most of all, ealra mæst;— at all, áwiht, tó áhte	apostate, apostata
allow, álfan, <i>w. dat. of pers. and acc. of thing</i> ; lífan, lætan, geþaf- ian, geþwærian	apostle, apostol
allure, spanan	appear, æteowian; þyncan, impers., <i>w. dat.</i>
almighty, eallmihtig, eallwealdend	apple, æppel
almost, forneáh;—almost all, swíð- ost ealle	apply, áteón;—apply oneself to, befeolan, <i>w. dat.</i>
alms, ælmesse	appoint, settan, dihtan, sceawian;
almsgiving, ælmesgifu	gelagian, genamian, gescirian, geteohhian
alone, án	approach, neálécung, upgang
along, be	approach, <i>v.</i> , geneálécan
alongside of, tóemnes, <i>w. dat.</i>	archangel, heáhengel
also, ealswá, eác, éc; eác swilce, eác swá; swilce, swilce eác	archbishop, arcebiscop
altar, weofod	ardour, inbryrdnis, onbryrdnis
alter, áwendan	are, sind, sindon, beóð ( <i>Northum- brian aron</i> )
although, ðeáh, ðéh, ðeáh ðe	arise, árisan; ( <i>be born</i> ), wacan
always, ealne weg, ealneg; æfre; symble; gehwær	ark, earc
am, eom	arm, earm
ambition, ríctere	arm, <i>v.</i> , girwan, gewápenian
ambush, sætung	armour, reáf, herereáf; firdham, firdhrægl, eorlgewáede
amid, onmidden	army, here, herefolc, folc, fird, sweót
amidst, tómiddes	around, ymbe, ymb, embe; ymbút- an, onbútan
among, ongemang, mid, betweó- num	arouse, weccan
an, án	arrange, fadian, áredian
ancestors, ildran	array ( <i>oneself</i> ), trymian, trymman, refl.
and, and, ond	arrow, flán, stræl; hildenædre; also arewe
angel, engel	art, cræft, searu
angels, race of, engelcynn	art ( <i>2 p. s. pres. of verb</i> ), eart
angelic, engelic	artifice, searu, sirwung
anger, torn, grama, irre	as, swá; ( <i>according as</i> ), ðæs ðe; swilce, <i>w. indic.</i> ; as...as, swá... swá;—as if, swilce, <i>w. subj.</i> ;— as soon as, sóna swá. [as=eal swá]
angle; see hook	ascend, stígan
angrily, torne, irringa	ascension, upástigennis
angry, irre, gram, wráð, ábolgen, gebolgen	ascent, upstige
angry, to be, ábelgan	asccribe, getitelian
animal, neát	ash, æsc
ankle, ankleow	ashamed, to be, scamian, impers. <i>w.</i>
announce, bodian, <i>w. dat.</i> ; ábeód- an	
annul, áfdlian, áwégan; ( <i>annul laws</i> ), forniman	
anon, on án	

acc. of person and gen. of thing ;  
forscamian  
ashes, æscan, axan, ascan (*pl.*)  
ask, áxian, ácsian, áscian ; biddan,  
w. acc. of pers. and gen. of thing ;  
fricgan, frignan  
asking, áxung, ácsung  
aspen (tree), æsp, æps  
ass, assa  
assail, on sittan  
assemble, gegadrian, gesamnian  
assembly, gesamnung, gemót  
assistance, fultum  
associate, s., gegada, eaxlgestealla  
associate with, tó geþeódan  
association, geþeódnis  
astrologer, tungolwítega  
at, æt, tó ;—at all, wiht, wuht,  
wihte ; and see all  
atone for, ongildan  
attempt, onginnan  
attendant, foregenga, geóngra  
aught, áwiht, áht  
aunt, módrige  
authority, onweald  
autumn, hærfest  
avail, dugan  
avarice, gítsung  
avaricious, feóhgífre  
avengé, áwrecan, wrecan  
avenger, wrecend  
avoid, forbúgan, forcirran, forfleón  
await, bídan, w. gen., ábídan, on-  
bídan  
awake (arouse), weccan, áweccan ;  
(to be awake), wacian ; (to become  
awake), onwacan, onwacnan  
away, onweg, aweg, forð, fram,  
ðanon  
awe, ege, egesa  
awl, awel  
axe, eax  
axle ; see shoulder  
aye ; see ever

## B

back, bæc, hrycg  
back again, eft  
backwards, ofer bæc, under bæc  
bad, yfel, earglic, fracod  
bad, to become, yfelian  
badly, yfele, yfle  
bag, fætels  
bailiff, geréfa, túngeréfa ; wícgeféra  
bake, bacan  
bale, bealu

baleful, bealufull, bealu  
balk (ridge of land), balca  
ban (*proclamation*), gebann  
band, bend  
bane, bana  
banish, áflíman  
bank (of river), eá-stæð  
banner, cumbol, þúf  
banquet, symbel  
baptism, fulluht  
baptize, fullian  
bar, grindel  
bare, bær  
bark, v., beorcan  
barley, bere  
barm (yeast), beorma  
barn, bern  
barrenness, unwæstm  
barrow (hill), beorh  
bast, bæst  
bath, bæð  
bathe, baðian ; trans. gebeðian  
bathing, beðung  
battle, gefeoht, hild, orett, here,  
gewinn, getoht, tohte ; beadu,  
beadulác ; æscplega, ecgplega,  
gúðplega, wígplega  
battle-field, wæl, wælstow, mæðel-  
stede  
be, wesan, weorðan, beón  
beacon, beácen  
beam, beám  
bean, beán  
bear, s., bera  
bear, v., beran ;—(a child), geberan  
beard, beard  
bearer of a corpse, lícmann  
beast, deór, neát, níten ; (wild  
beast), wilddieór  
beat, beátan, cnyssan, þerscan  
beautiful, fæger, hiwbeorht, freólic,  
scíne, torht, wlitig  
beauty, fægernis, wlite, beorhtnis  
because, for ðám ðe, for ðý ðe, ðæs  
ðe, ðý  
beckon, bécnan, beácnian  
become, weorðan  
bed, bedd, rest  
beer, beór  
beetle (insect), bétel, bítel  
beetle (rammer), býtel  
befit, gerísan  
before, adv., fore, foran, beforan, ár  
before, prep., for w. dat., beforan;  
(of time), ætforan, w. dat., tófor-  
an, w. dat., onforan, w. acc.  
beforehand, ætforan

beg, bedecian (*Greg. Pastoral*, p. 285)  
 beget, strínan  
 begin, onginnan, beginnan  
 beginning, fruma, frysmað, onginn,  
     ord  
 behave, gebáran, féran  
 behest, hás  
 behind, *adv.*, behindan, æt hindan,  
     on swaðe ;—*from behind*, æftan  
 behind, *prep.*, beæftan  
 behold, behealdan, sceáwian  
 behold ! efne ! lá ! hwæt !  
 behove, gebyrian, behófian  
 being (*creature*), wuht, wiht  
 belch, bealcettan  
 belief, geleáfa  
 believe, gelífan  
 believing, geleáffull, gelífed  
 bell, bella (*or belle*)  
 bellow, bellan  
 belly, wamb, belg  
 belong, gebyrian, belimpan  
 beloved, leóf  
 belt, belt  
 bench, benc  
 bend, bendan ; (*bow down*), lútan  
 beneath, *adv.*, neoðan ; *prep.* beneoð-  
     an, *w. dat.*  
 benefit, *v.*, fremian, *w. dat.*  
 benefit, *s.*, fremsumnis, fremu, þearf  
 benevolent, welwillende  
 bequeath, becweðan  
 bereave, bereáfian  
 berry, berige  
 beset, bestandan  
 besides, *adv.*, git, tóeácan ; *prep.*  
     (*w. dat.*), eác, tóeácan  
 besiege, ymbsittan, besittan  
 besom, besma  
 best, betst, sélest  
 betray, forráédan, beswícan ; (*a city*),  
     becirran  
 betrayal, swicdóm  
 better, *adj.*, betera, sélra ; *adv.*, bet  
 between, betweónum, betwux, be-  
     twix  
 betwixt, betwux, betwix  
 bewail, cwíðan  
 beyond, begeondan  
 bid, bebeódan, beódan  
 bide, bídan  
 bier, báer  
 bill (*weapon*), bill  
 bin, binn  
 bind, bindan, cnyttan, sálan ; (*as*  
     *prisoner*), wélan  
 birch, beorc

bird, fugol  
 birth, ácennednis, gebyrð ; (*time*  
     *of*), gebyrdtíd ;—*of noble birth*,  
     æðelboren  
 birthplace, cennungstow  
 bishop, bycop  
 bishopric, bycopstól  
 bit, *v.*, (*to furnish a horse with a*  
     *bit*), báetan  
 bitch, bicce  
 bite, bítan  
 bitter, biter  
 black, blæc, sweart  
 bladder, blædr  
 blade (*of grass*), blæd  
 slain, blegen  
 blame, *v.*, tælan  
 blast, blæst  
 bleach, blácian  
 bleak (*pale*), bláec, blác  
 bleat, bláetan  
 bleed, blédan ; swátan (*poet.*)  
 blend, blandan  
 bless, geblétsian  
 blessed, gesélig, eádig  
 blessing, blétsung  
 blind, blind  
 blind, *v.*, áblendan  
 blindly, blindlice  
 bliss, bliss  
 blithe, blíðe  
 blood, blód ; also heolfor, swát (*poet.*)  
 bloodshed, blódgyte  
 bloody, blódig ; also dreórig, heol-  
     frig, swátig (*poet.*)  
 bloom, *v.*, geblówan  
 bloom, *s.*, blóma  
 blossom, blóstma  
 blow, *v.*, bláwan ;—*blow upon*, be-  
     wáwan  
 blow (*as a flower*), blówan  
 blow, *s.* (*stroke*), drepe, sweng  
 boar, bár, swín ; (*wild*), eofor  
 board, bord  
 boar-spear, eoforspreót  
 boast, gebeótian  
 boasting, beót, gilp  
 boat, bát  
 bode, bodian  
 bodily, líchamlic  
 body, líc, líchama, flæschama, bodig  
 boil, weallan  
 bold, beald, gebilde, céne, dyrstig,  
     fram, hwæt, snell, strang ; arod, cáf  
 boldly, bealdlice, cénlice, framlice,  
     cáflice  
 boldness, dyrstignis, hwætscipe

bolster, bolster  
 bolt, bolt (?)  
 bond, bend, clamm  
 bone, bán  
 book, bóc  
 boon, bén [*boon* = Icel. bón]  
 boot (*remedy*), bót  
 booty, lác, húð  
 bore, borian  
 borough, burh  
 borrow, borgian  
 bosom, bósí, bearm  
 both, begen ; —both...and, ægðer...  
 ge, ge...ge  
 bottom, botm ; (*of a lake, &c.*),  
 grund  
 bottomless, grundleás  
 bough, telga, bóh  
 boundary, mearc  
 bow, v., gebúgan, búgan ; —bow  
 down, trans., onhildan ; *intrans.*,  
 hnígán, onlútan  
 bow (*for shooting*), boga, flánboga  
 bower, bún  
 bowl, bolla  
 boy, cnapa, cniht  
 braid, bregdan  
 brain, brægen  
 bramble, bremel (*or brémel*)  
 branch (*of a tree*), telga  
 brand, brand  
 brandish (*a sword*), bewindan  
 brass, áér, bræs  
 brave, góð, heard, hwæt, strang,  
 stíðmóð, hrór ; róf (*poet.*) ; un-  
 earg ; and see bold  
 bravehearted, heardmóð, stíðmod  
 bravely, heardlice, þegenlice  
 bravery, hwætscipe ; and see bold-  
 ness  
 breach, bryce ; (*of agreement*),  
 weddbryce ; (*of law*), lahbjryce  
 bread, breád  
 breadh, brædu  
 break, brecan ; (*become broken*),  
 sprengan ; —break to pieces, tó-  
 brecan, forbreótan ; —break asun-  
 der, *intrans.*, tóberstan  
 breast, breóst  
 breastplate, byrne, byrnham  
 breath, bláed, fnáest, bræð  
 breathe, orðian  
 breeches, bréc (*pl. of bróc*)  
 breed, brédan  
 brew, gebreówan  
 bride, brýd  
 bridegroom, brýdguma

bridge, brycg  
 bridle, bridels (*or brídels*)  
 bright, beorht, scír, torht, hádor,  
 leóht, leóhtlic  
 brightly, beorhte, hádre  
 brightness, beorhtnis  
 bring, bringan, ætberan, lédan ; —  
 bring about, gewendan ; —bring  
 forth (*child*), cennan, áccennan,  
 oncennan, tíman, tydran ; —bring  
 up, fédan  
 broad, brád  
 brood, bród (*unauthorized*)  
 brook, v. ; see use  
 brook, s., bróc  
 broom (*plant*), bróm  
 broth, broð  
 brother, bróðor  
 brow, brú  
 brown, brún  
 buck, bucca  
 build, timbrian, timbran, átimbran,  
 bytlan, aráran ; settan ; (*firmly*),  
 trymman  
 building, getimbre, getimbrung, ge-  
 bytla  
 bullock, bulluca  
 bundle, byndel  
 burden, byrðen  
 burn, intr., beornan ; trans., bær-  
 nan, áelan, forswélan ; —burn up,  
 forbærnan (*trans.*), forbeornan  
 (*intrans.*)  
 burning, s, bryne  
 burst, berstan ; —burst forth, bre-  
 can ; —burst out, áberstan  
 bury, byrgan, bebyrgan, bedelfan  
 busy, bysig  
 but, ac  
 butter, butera (*a borrowed word*  
*from Latin*)  
 buy, bycgan, gebycgan ; —buy off,  
 forgildan  
 by, be, bi ; (*by means of*), þurh ;  
 fram, w. *pass. verb*

## C

cable, scipráp  
 calamity, gelimp  
 calf, cealf  
 call, ceallian ; (*to exclaim*), clipian,  
 cleopian ; (*to name*), gecigan ;  
 (*to call out*), hríman  
 callow (*bald*), calu  
 calumny, hól ; (*attack on character*),  
 onscyte

camp, wíc, wícstow, firdwíc  
 campaign, s., fird  
 campaign, v., firdian  
 can (*I*), cann  
 candle, candel (*Latin*)  
 canon, canon (*Lat. and Gk.*)  
 capacity, mægen  
 captivity, hæftníd  
 capture, v., niman, fón  
 care, caru, cearu, heord  
 care, v., hogian; (*to reck*), meornan,  
     récan; (*to care about*), carian,  
     onmunan; (*to take care of*), gím-  
     an, *w. gen.*  
 careful, carfull, smeálic  
 careless, réceleás, gímeleás, orsorh,  
     wanhýdig  
 carelessly, unwærlice  
 carelessness, unwärscline, gímeleást  
 carnal, flæslíc  
 carrion, ás  
 carry, beran, ferian, lædan, wegan;  
     carry off or away, áláédan, offér-  
     ian, áwegan  
 cart, cræt  
 carve, ceorsan  
 castle, castel (*Latin*)  
 cat, catt  
 catch, gelécan  
 cathedral, mynster  
 cattle, ceáp, feoh, feó, neát, níten,  
     orf, hryðer  
 cattle-plague, orfcwealm  
 cause, dóñ, *w. infin.*  
 cause, s., intinga  
 cauterize, fortendan  
 cave, scraef  
 cease, áblinnan, gestillan  
 cease from, geswican, *w. gen.*  
 celebrate, mærsian  
 celebrated, mære  
 certain one, án, sum  
 certain of, gewiss, *w. gen.*  
 certainly, gewisslice, georne  
 chafer (*insect*), ceafor  
 chaff, ceaf  
 chain, clamm, bend, racente  
 chain, v., gehæftan  
 chalk, cealc  
 chamber, bür, cófa, reced  
 chamberlain, bürþegn  
 champion, cempa  
 change, v., áwendan, behwirfan;  
     (*change to the worse*), onwendan  
 change, s., edwenden; (*vicissitude*),  
     gebregd; (*reverse*), edhwirfst  
 chapman, ceápmann

character (*nature*), hád  
 charge, have in, bewitan  
 chariot, cræt  
 charitable, cystig, ælmesgeorn  
 charity, ælmesgifu  
 cheap; see purchase, sb.  
 cheek, ceáce  
 cheer, fréfran, gefréfrian, árétan  
 cheese, cése  
 chew, ceówan  
 chicken, cycen  
 chide, cídan  
 chiblain; see blain  
 child, bearn, cild, eafera  
 childhood, cildhád  
 chill, freórig  
 chill, s., céle  
 chin, cinn  
 choice, dóm  
 choice thing, cyst  
 choke, forþrysmanian  
 choose, ceósan, geceósan  
 chough, ceó  
 church, cirice, circe; (*congregation*),  
     gelaðung  
 cinder, sinder  
 circuit, ymbgang, ymbhwirft, be-  
     gang  
 circumference, ymbgang  
 citizens, burhleóde, burhsittende,  
     burhwaras  
 city, ceaster, burh  
 clamour, hreám, gebære  
 claw, clawu (*or cláwu*)  
 clay, clæg  
 clean, cláne  
 clean, adv., cláne  
 cleanliness, clánnis  
 cleanse, clánsian  
 clear (*evident*), sweótol, swutol;  
     (*used of the voice*), beorht  
 clearly, sweótollice  
 cleave (*adhere*), clifian  
 cleave (*sever*), cleófan  
 cleave asunder, tócleófan  
 clerical, gehádod  
 clew, cliwe  
 cliff, clif  
 climb, climban  
 climb up, stígan  
 cling, clingan  
 clip (*to embrace*), clyppan  
 close, v., lúcan, belúcan; (*close up a*  
     *road*), forwyrcan  
 cloth, cláð  
 clothe, scrýdan  
 clothes, gewæde

cloud, wolcen. [The A. S. clúd = mass of rock].	consenter (consenting person), ge-páfa
clout, clút	consider, beþencan, þencan, hogian, smeágan, smeán, ásmeágan, geondsceáwan, geondþencan
clover, clæfre	consolation, frófor
cluster, clyster	console, fréfran, gefréfrian
coal, col	constancy, ánráednis
coat, tunece, cyrtel, pád	contain, befón
cock, hana, coc	contemplation, smeágung
cockchafer; see chafer	contempt, forsewennis, forhohnis, oferhygd
cock-crow, hancréd	contend, sacan
cockle; see corn-cockle	continual, singal
cold, ceald	continually, singallice
cold, s., céle	continue, wunian, þurhwunian
collect, gegadrian, gesamnian	continuously, ánstreces, on án
colour, hiw	contrary to, ofer
coloured, fáh, fág	contrive, áþencan
colt, colt	control, wealdan
comb, camb	conversion, gecirrednis
combat (single), ánwíg	convert, gehwirfan, behwirfan, ge-bígan
come, cuman, becumān; (to the throne), fón tó ríce	cook, s., cóc ( <i>Latin</i> )
comely, cymlic	cool, cól
comfort, frófor	cool (grow cool), cólian
comfort, v.; see cheer	corn, corn
coming, cyme, tócymer	corn-cockle, coccel
command, v., beódan, hátan, be-beódan	corner, hyrne
command, gebod, bebot, diht, hás, geweald	corporeal, líchamlic
commit, betácan	corpse, hráew, hrá, líc
common, gemáéne; — in common, gemáenelice	correct, geríhtan
companion, gesið, geféra, geneát	cote (cot), cóte
company, geférsçipe	could, cúðe
compel, geneádian, genídan, fornídan	council, ráed, rún
complain, mænan, besprecan	councillor, wita, rúnwita, rædbora
complete, v., fullfremman, fullwyrc-an, þurhteón	counsel, ráed
compose (write), gedíhtan	count, ríman
comrade, wilgehléða	countenance, andwlita
conceal, bedirnan, bediglian, míðan	country, land, eard, molde
conceive (be pregnant), geeácnian	courage, móð, þrymm; ellen ( <i>poet.</i> )
concerning, of	course, ryne
condemn, fordéman	court, hof; ( <i>inclosure</i> ), edor
condition (state), hád	cover, belecgan, þeccan, beþecccán,
conduct, faru, faer, drohtnung	helan, wríhan, bewríhan, bewyrcan;—( <i>cover over</i> ), oferhelman;
confess, andettan	( <i>cover with rime</i> ), behréósan
confine, beclýsan	cow, cú
confirm, áfæstnian, gefæstnian	cowardice, irgðu
congregation, laðung, gelaðung	cowardly, earg, earglic
conquer, álecgan, gehnáégan, gewildan, ofweorpan; ( <i>land</i> ), ge-gán	cowslip, cúsloppé
conscious, gecnáewe, w. gen.	crab (fish), crabba
consecrate, gehálgian	crackle (as flames), brastlian
consent to, geþáfian	cradle, cradol, cildcradol

crave, crafian  
 create, gesettan, gescippan, onstell-  
     an, trymman  
 creation, gesceap, gesceaft, gescap-  
     ennis, frumsceaft  
 Creator, metod, meotod, scippend  
 creature, wiht, wuht, gesceaft  
 creep, creópan, snícan  
 cress, cerse, cærse  
 crib, cribb  
 crime, synn, undáed, morðor, gylt,  
     fácen, firen, leahtor, mán, mán-  
     dáed  
 criminal, s., wearg, sceadha  
 cringe (*bow, fall*), cringan, gecring-  
     an  
 cripple, crépel  
 crooked, wóh  
 crop (*of wheat*), wyrt  
 crop (*of a bird*), cropp  
 cross, ród, gealga  
 cross, sign of the, ródetácn  
 cross oneself, sénian  
 crow, cráwan  
 crowd, gemang, hwearf  
 cruel, wælhreów, réðe, gram, grimm,  
     wráð, unswáéslic  
 cruelly, þearle  
 crumb, cruma  
 crush, tócwýsan  
 crutch, cricc  
 cry (*clamour*), cirm  
 cry aloud, hríman, cirman  
 cultivate, gebúan  
 cunningly, geáplice  
 cup, bune, cuppe  
 curse, s., curs  
 curse, v., cursian  
 cursed, áwirged  
 curtain, fleóhnnett  
 custody, heord  
 custom, þeáw, sidu, gewuna ; (*evil*  
     custom), unsidu  
 cut, ceorfan, heáwan, bítan, sníðan,  
     sceran  
 cut away, áceorfan onweg  
 cut off, beceorfan, w. acc. of pers.  
     and instr. of thing  
 cut through, forceorfan

## D

daily, daeghwámlice  
 daisy, dæges ége  
 dale, dæl  
 dam up (*a river*), forwyrcan

danger, frécdnis ; (*sudden danger*)  
     fær  
 dangerous, frécne  
 dare, durran, néðan ; I dare, i-  
     dearr  
 dark, deorc, mirce, sweart, wann  
     heolstor, þeóstre, þeósterfull  
 darkness, heolstor, þeóstru  
 darling, deórling  
 dart, daroð  
 daughter, dóhþor  
 dawn, uhte, árdæg, dægréd  
 dawn, v., dagian  
 day, dæg ; dógor (*poet.*)  
 day's work, dægweorc  
 dead, déad, forðgewiten, unlifigende  
 deadly, deáðbære, cwealmbær  
 deaf, deáf  
 deal, dæl  
 dear, deóre, dýre, leóf  
 death, deáð, gewitennis, forðför,  
     forðsíð, hinsíð, swilt, hryre, fill,  
     cwealm, cwild  
 death, doomed to, fáge  
 death-day, deáðdæg  
 decay, forrotian, fúlian, brosnian  
 decay, s., brosnung  
 deceit, swicdóm  
 deceitful, swicol  
 deceive, beswícan, bepáécan  
 decide, gescádan, geceósan, rædan,  
     gerædan  
 decline, óðfealla 1, wanian  
 decree, gerædan, rædan, gescirian,  
     déman  
 decree of fate, gesceaft  
 deed, dæd, þing  
 deem; see doom  
 deep, deóp, steáp  
 deeply, deópe  
 deer, deór  
 defeat, v., forsleán  
 defeat, slege  
 defeated, sigeleás  
 defend, werian, bewerian, gebeorg-  
     an, ealgian  
 defender, weriend  
 defile, besylian, besmítan, wemman ;  
     gefýlan  
 defilement, wamm, gewemmednis  
 degenerate, ábroðen  
 delay, ildan, latian, uforian  
 delay, ildlung  
 delve, delfan  
 demand, girnan, w. gen.  
 demon, sceocca, scucca  
 den, denn

deny, áleógan, <i>w. dat. of pers. and acc. of thing</i> ; forsacan	dig, delfan
depart, gewítan	digging, gedelf
departing thence, ȝanonweard	dignity, geþyngðo, geþyncð, weorðfullnis
departure, útgang	diligently, gecneordlice
depending on, gelang æt	dill, dile
deplore, bewépan	dim, dimm
deprive of, beniman, benéman, <i>w. gen. or instr.</i> ; bedálan, belíðan, <i>w. gen.</i> ; besnýðian, <i>w. instr.</i> ; áfirran, <i>w. dat. of pers. and acc. of thing</i> ; bescirian, <i>w. gen. of thing</i> ; óðwendan, <i>w. dat. of pers. and acc. of thing</i>	diminish, trans. and intrans., gewanian
depth, dípe, dýpe	din, to make a, dynian
derision, hócor, hosp	dint (a blow), dynt
derisive, hócorwyrde	dip, dífan; dyppan
descendant, maga	dire, atol, slíðen
desert (waste), wéstén	direct, gerihtlæcan, gewissian, wírian, tæcan
desert, adj., wilde	direction, gewissung
desert (merit), gewyrht	disciple, leornere, leornungniht, géongra
deserve, earnian	discipline, þeódsceipe
design, geþeaht, ráed	discourse, cwide
desire, girnan, <i>w. gen.</i> ; gítsian; willan; wilnian, <i>w. gen. or acc.</i> ; gelystan, <i>impers. w. acc. of person and gen. of thing</i>	discover, áfindan, onfindan
desire, willa, lust, wilnung	discredit, unhlísa
desirous, georn, <i>w. gen.</i>	disease, cóð, ádl, uncóðu
despair, ormódnis	diseased, ádlig
despairing, ormód	diseased, to be, ádlian
despairing of, orwéne, <i>w. gen.</i>	disengage oneself from, geæmtigian; reflex. <i>w. gen.</i>
despise, forhogian, forseón	disgrace, scamu, scand
despiser, oferhoga	disgraceful, scandlic
destroy, fordón, spillan, forspillan, forwyrcan, forniman, forfaran, ámirran, ábreótan, ádilgian, tówearpan	dish, disc
destruction, forwyrd, cwild	dishearten, geirgan
determine, gemearcian	dislike, unþanc
detest, onscunian	disperse, intr., tófaran, tóferan; trans., tósandan
detestable, onscunigendlic	display, gesweótolian, geswutolian, eówan
devastate, hergian	display, s., waefersín
devastation, hergað, hergung, forhergung	displease, mislícian, <i>w. dat.</i>
devil, deófol	dissimulate, lytigian, lfcettan
devil, possessed by a, deófolseóc	distant, firlen
devilish, deófolcund, deófollic	distension, tóbláwennis
devise, ácræftan	distinct, sweótol, swutol
devour, forswelgan, fretan	distinguished, geþungen
dew, deáw	distribute, dælan
die, steorfan, sweltan, cwelan, ácwelan, geendian, gefaran, gewítan, forðafaran	district, sceát, scir
difficult, earfoðe, earfoðlic	district, governor of a, scirmann
difficulty, with, uneáðe, uníðelice	disturbance, unstíllnis
diffidence, unbildo	ditch, díc
	dive, dúfan
	divide, dælan, tóniman, tódælan
	divine, godcund, dryhtenlic
	divinely, godcundlice
	divinity, godcundnis
	division, dæl
	do, dó, gedón
	dock (plant), docce
	doctrine, lár

doe, dá  
 dog, hund  
 doing amiss, miswende  
 dole, gedál, dál  
 dominion, onweald, ríce  
 doom, dóm  
 doom, v., déman  
 door, duru  
 doubt, tweó, tweónung  
 doubt, v., tweógan, tweón, w. gen.;  
     tweónian, impers.  
 doubt, without, untwílice, untweó-  
     gendlice  
 doubtfully, tweólice  
 dough, dáh (?)  
 doughty, dyhtig  
 dove, culfra; dúfe (or dúfa)  
 down (hill), dún  
 downwards, of dúne, neoðan, niðer  
 drag, dragan, teón  
 dragon, draca, wyrm  
 draw, dragan, teón  
 draw (sword), gebregdan, ábreg-  
     dan, teón  
 draw near, getengan  
 dread, v., onþrácian, ondrædan  
 dreadful, onþráece  
 dream, v., gemáetan  
 dream, swefn  
 dreary, dreórig  
 dress, wáed, gewáede, wáfels, hrægl,  
     réaf, scrúd  
 drink, drincan, súpan; (drink up),  
     gedrincan; (give to drink), drenc-  
     an  
 drink, s., drenc  
 drinking, gedrinc  
 drive, drífan, dréfan; (away), áfýs-  
     an, fordrífan, ádrífan  
 drop, dropa  
 dropsy, waeterseócnis  
 drove, dráf  
 drown, trans., ádrençan  
 drunk, druncen  
 dry, dryge  
 dry up, ádruwian  
 due, gerisen  
 dull, dol  
 dumb, dumb  
 dun (brown), dunn  
 during, under, w. dat.  
 durst (I), dorste  
 dust, dust  
 duty, riht  
 dwarf, dweorg  
 dwell, wunian, wícian, eardian, ge-  
     búan, búgian

dwell in, trans., healdan  
 dwelling, hám, wíc; inn, geard  
     hof, eard, geset, gesteald, wunung  
 dwelling-place, eardgeard  
 dyke, díc

## E

each, æghwilc, w. gen.; ælc, ge-  
     hwilc, æghwæðer, ægðer, gehwæð-  
     er  
 each one, gehwá  
 eager, georn, geornfull, geornfullic,  
     fús  
 eagerly, geornfullice, geornlice,  
     georne  
 eagle, earn  
 ear, eáre  
 earl, eorl  
 early morning, ærnemergen  
 earn, gearnian  
 earnest, eornest;—in earnest, on  
     eornest, eornestlice  
 earnestly, eorneste  
 earth, eorðe, grund, folde, molde,  
     hruse, middangeard  
 earthdweller, foldágend, foldbúend,  
     eorðbúend  
 earthly, eorðlic  
 easily, eáðe, sófte  
 east, eást  
 east, from the, eástan  
 east, to the, wið eástan  
 Easter, Eástron (pl.)  
 Easter-day, Eásterdæg  
 eastward, eástewaerd  
 easy, eáðe, éðe  
 eat, etan  
 eaves, efes  
 ebb, s., ebba  
 ebb away, áebbian  
 ecclesiastical, circlic  
 edge, ecg  
 eel, æl  
 egg, æg  
 eight, eahta  
 eighty, hundeahtatig  
 either (of two), áhwæðer, áwðer  
 either...or, oððe...oððe, óðer...óðer  
 eke, v., écan  
 elder, ildra  
 elders, ildran  
 elder-tree, ellen  
 eldest, ildesta  
 eleven, endlufon  
 eleventh, endlyfta  
 elf, ælf

ell, eln  
 elm, elm  
 eloquence, getyngnis  
 else, elles  
 elsewhere, ellor  
 embrace, clippa, ymbclippa  
 embrace, s., fæðm  
 emmet, æmette  
 emperor, cásere  
 employment, notu  
 empty, æmtig, ídel  
 encamp, gewícian, sittan  
 enclosure, haga  
 encourage, trymian, trymman, ge-  
     bildan  
 end, ende, geendung  
 end, v., endian  
 end, bring to an, onwendan  
 endless, ungeendod  
 endure, bídan, w. acc.; þolian  
 enemy, feónd, feónsceaða, sceadha,  
     mánscaða  
 English, Englisc  
 English, the, Engle, Angle  
 English language, Engliscgereord  
 enjoy, brúcan, w. gen.; neótan,  
     w. gen.  
 enjoyment, notu  
 enlighten, onlíhtan  
 enmity, feóung, ofþanca  
 ennoble, gedírsian, gedýrsian  
 enough, genóg  
 enrage, gremian  
 enslave, geþeówian  
 ensnare, besirwan  
 enterprise, onginn  
 entice, spanan, gewéman  
 entirely, mid ealle, ealles, eallunga,  
     áeghwæs  
 entrails, innoð  
 entrance, innangang, instaepa  
 entrust, befæstan, w.dat.; bebeódan  
 equinox, emniht  
 ere, áér  
 erect, áráran  
 err, misférán  
 err, to cause to, dwelian  
 errand, árenda  
 error, gedwild  
 erst, árest  
 escape, ætberstan, óðwindan, losian,  
     berstan;—escape from, ætwindan,  
     w. gen.  
 establish, settan  
 eternal, éce  
 eternally, écelice  
 eternity, écnis

eucharist, húsl  
 evangelical, godspellic  
 evangelist, godspellere  
 even, efen, emn  
 evening, áefen  
 eventide, áefentíd  
 ever, áfre, á, áwa;—for ever, tó  
     ealdre  
 every one, áeghwá  
 everywhere, áeghwáer, gehwáer, ofer  
     eall  
 evident, sweótol, swutol, open  
 evident, to make, geswutolian  
 evil, yfel  
 evil, s., yfel, bealu  
 evil-doer, mánfremmende  
 ewe, eówe  
 examine, ásmeágan  
 example, bigspell, bysen, bysnung  
 example, to give an, bysnian  
 excel, oferstígan  
 excellence, duguð  
 excellent, æðele, ænlic, unforcúð, in-  
     dryhten, geþungen  
 except, búton  
 excessive, ungemetgod, swíðlic  
 excessively, ungemet, ungemetlice,  
     swíðlice, oferlice, ungeföge  
 exchange (barter), s., gewrixle  
 excite, onstyrian  
 exculpate oneself, betellan, reflex.  
 excuse, geládian, forlætan  
 exhalation, steám  
 exhausted, ágoten, w. gen.  
 exhausted, to become, áteorian  
 exhort, gemanian  
 exile, wræcsíð  
 expedition, síð, rád; (military),  
     fird  
 expel, ádráfan  
 expend, áspendan  
 explain, gereccan  
 exploration, sceáwung  
 explore, cunnian  
 expound, áreccan  
 extend, bráðan, gerýman, ástreccan  
 extensive, wídgille  
 external, úteweard, útanweard  
 externally, útane  
 extinguish, ácwencan, ádwéscan  
 extreme, ýtemest  
 eye, eáge

## F

face, andwlita  
 fade away, wanian

*fail*, swícan, geswícan, *w. dat. of person*; álicgan  
*fain*, fægen  
*fair*, fæger, scíne  
*fairness*, fægernis  
*faith*, treów, treówð, getreówð, ge-trýwð, geleáfa  
*faith*, want of, geleáfleást  
*faithful*, getreówe, hold  
*faithfully*, getreówlice  
*fall*, feallan, dreósan, gedreósan, hreósan, áhreósan; (*bow down*), cringan; (*fall away*), áfeallan  
*fall*, s., dryre, hryre, fill  
*fallow*, fealu  
*false*, leás  
*falsehood*, leásung  
*fame*, hlísa  
*familiar*, cúð  
*family*, mægð, cynn, híred  
*family*, member of *a*, híwa  
*famine*, hungor  
*famous*, namcúð, mære, mærlic, bréme, gefráege  
*famous*, to make, mæran, gefráegnian  
*far*, feorr;—from afar, feorran  
*fare*, v., weorðan, *impers. with acc.*; (*to go*), faran  
*farthing*, feorðling  
*fast (fasting)*, fæsten  
*fast*, adj., fæst  
*fasten*, fæstnian  
*fastness*, fæsten  
*fat*, fæt  
*fate*, wyrd, síð; (*decree of fate*), gesceaft  
*father*, fæder  
*fathom*, fæðm, fæðmrím  
*fault*, gylt  
*favour*, ést, liss, hyldo  
*fawn (as a dog)*, onfægnian  
*fear (be afraid)*, onscunian, reflex.; ofdráedan, ondráedan  
*fear*, óga, ege, egesa; (*fright*), syrhto, forhtung; (*sudden danger*), fær  
*fearful*, egesfull, egesclic  
*fearfully*, egeslice  
*fearless*, unforht, unforhtmóð  
*feast*, gebeórsceipe, wist  
*feast*, v., wistfullian  
*feather*, fæder  
*fee (property)*, feoh  
*feed*, fédan, áfédan  
*feel*, félán  
*fell*, áfillan

*fell (skin)*, fell  
*fen*, fenn  
*fern*, fearn  
*furour*, wilm  
*festival*, freólstíd  
*festivity*, plega  
*fetch*, feccan, fetian  
*fetter*, fetor, racente  
*feud*, fáhð  
*fever*, sefor, sefor-ádl  
*fever*, to have *a*, hriðian  
*few*, feá  
*fickle*, ficol  
*fiddler*, fiðelere  
*fideliy*, treówð, trýwð, getreówð, getrýwð  
*field*, feld, æcer, wang; (*field of battle*), wæl  
*fiend*, feónð  
*fierce*, gram, grimm, irre, réðe, hreóh, hreó, stíð, stíðmóð  
*fiercely*, wráðum, irringa, stíðlice  
*fierceness*, réðnis  
*fifteen*, fiftíne  
*fifth*, fifta  
*fifty*, fiftig  
*fight*, feohtan, winnan, sacan  
*fight*, s., gefeoht, feohte, camp, campwíg, tohte  
*fighter*, cempa  
*file (rasp)*, feól  
*fill*, fyllan, áfyllan  
*fill*, s., fyllo  
*film*, filmen  
*fin*, finn  
*find*, findan, métan, begitan; (*find out*), onfindan, áfindan  
*finger*, finger  
*finish*, v., geendian, betýnan, þurh-teón  
*fir*, furh  
*fire*, fýr  
*fire-gleam*, fýrleóht  
*firm*, fæst, trum  
*firmly*, fæstlice, fæste  
*firmness*, fæstnis  
*first*, forma, fyrmost, fyrst  
*first*, adv., árest  
*fish*, fisc  
*fisher*, fiscere  
*fishing*, fiscoð  
*fist*, fýst  
*fitly*, sidelice  
*fitting*, gelimplic  
*five*, fif  
*flame*, bláest, líg  
*flat (applied to land)*, filde

flatter, óleccan  
 flattery, óleccung  
 flax, fleax  
 flea, fleá  
 flee, fleógan, gefleóhan  
 fleece, flýs  
 fleet, adj., fleótig  
 flesh, flæsc  
 fleshly, flæsclic  
 flight, flyht, fleám  
 flight, to put to, áflígan, áflíman,  
     geflíman, fýsan  
 flint, flint  
 fitch, flicce  
 float, fleótan  
 flock, flocc  
 flood, flód  
 flooded, fléde  
 floor, flór, flett, heallwudu  
 flourish, þeón, geþeón, wridian, ge-  
     blówan  
 flourishing, geblówen  
 flow, flówan; (as a river), feallan,  
     irnan  
 flow of the tide, flód; (stream),  
     gang  
 fluctuate, wealcan  
 fly, s., fleóge  
 fly, v., fleógan  
 foal, fola  
 foam, fám  
 fodder, fóðor  
 foe, feónnd  
 fold, fealdan  
 folk, folc  
 follow, folgian, fyligan  
 following, æftera  
 folly, unsnotornis, unwísdom, un-  
     ræd, hygeleast, dysig  
 food, fóda, mete, metsung, ét, nest,  
     feorm, bigleofa  
 food, want of, metelést  
 foolish, dysig, dysiglic, dwæs, dol  
 foolishly, dollice  
 foot, fót  
 foot-measure, fótmál  
 footprint, spor  
 for, for, tó  
 forbid, forbeódan  
 force, níd  
 force, by, níde  
 ford, ford  
 forefather, forðsæder  
 foreign, fremde, welisc, elþeódig  
 foreigner, wealh  
 forest, wudu, holt, weald, wuduholt  
 forge, ásmiðian

forged, geþuren  
 forget, forgitan  
 forgive, forgifan  
 forgiveness (of sins), forgifennis  
 former, árra  
 formerly, géára, geó, giú, iú, gefyrn,  
     ár ðíssum  
 forth; see forwards  
 forthwith, sóna, ædre, ðærrihte  
     ánunga, semninga  
 fortification, geweorc  
 forty, feówertig  
 forwards, forð  
 foster-father, fóstorfæder  
 foul, fúl  
 found (a town), ásettan, settan; (a  
     building), trymman  
 foundation, gesetnis, staðol, weall-  
     steall  
 fountain, willa  
 four, feówer  
 fourfooted, fiðerfête  
 fourteen, feówertíne  
 fourth, feórða  
 fowl; see bird  
 fowler, fuglere  
 fox, fox  
 foxglove, foxes glófa  
 fragment, bryce  
 fragrance, stenc  
 frailty, tydernis, hnescnis  
 frankincense, récelz  
 free, freó  
 free from, leás  
 freeze, freósan  
 fresh, fersc  
 Friday, frigidæg  
 friend, freónd, wine  
 friendless, freóndleás  
 friendly, freóndlíc, hold  
 friendship, freóndscipe  
 fright, fyrhto, forhtung  
 frightened, áfirht  
 frivolity, ídelnis  
 frog, frocga  
 from, fram, of, æt; (to learn from =  
     geliornan æt)  
 frost, forst  
 frosty, hrímig  
 frozen, froren  
 fruit, wæstm, ofet, bléd, blóstma  
 fry, gehirstan  
 frying, hirstung  
 fryingpan, hearstepanne  
 full, full  
 fully, fullice  
 funeral, lícjénung

*funeral pile*, ád, báel  
*furlong*, furhlang  
*furnace*, ofen  
*furrow*, furh  
*further*, furðor  
*further away*, ufor  
*furze*, fyrs  
*future*, tóweard  
*future*, s., forðgesceaft

## G

*gain*, gewinnan, strínan  
*gall*, gealla  
*gallows*, gealga, galga  
*game*, gamen  
*gang*, gangan  
*gannet*, ganet, ganot  
*gape*, geapian  
*garment*, scrúd  
*gate*, geat  
*gatekeeper*, geatweard  
*gather (flowers)*, gadrian; (*collect*),  
   gegadrian  
*gaze*, starian  
*gear*, gearwe  
*gem*, gimm, gimmstán  
*general*, s., folctoga  
*general (common)*, gemáene  
*generally*, gemánelice  
*gentle*, rów, líðe, geswáes, smylte  
*gently*, líðelice  
*gesture*, gebære  
*get*, gitan  
*get at (reach)*, geráecan  
*ghost*, gást  
*giant*, eoten, ent, þyrs, gigant  
*gift*, gifu, lác, leán  
*gigantic*, eotenisc  
*gild*, gyldan  
*girdle*, gyrdel  
*girl*, mægden, mæden, mægð  
*give*, gifan, sellan; (*permit to have*),  
   onlíhan, w. dat. of pers. and gen.  
   of thing; (*grant*), unnan, w. dat.  
   of person and gen. of thing  
*give away*, forgifan, forgildan  
*give up*, ofgifan, oflætan  
*giver*, brytta (*poet*)  
*glad*, glæd, glædmód, fægen, blíðe,  
   rót  
*gladden*, gegladian, árétan  
*gladly*, glædlice, rótlice  
*glass*, glæs  
*gleam*, scíma, gléam  
*glede (hot coal)*, gléd  
*glee*, gliw

*glide*, glídan  
*glitter*, lixan  
*gloaming*, glómung  
*gloom*, glóm  
*gloomy, to become*, gesweorcan  
*glorify*, mæran, mærsian  
*glorious*, þrymmfæst, þrymmfull,  
   þrymmlic, þryðlic, mære, mærlic,  
   bláedfæst, tírfæst, torhtlic  
*gloriously*, hlísfullice, dómlice  
*glory*, wuldor, tír, hréð, dóm, lof,  
   mærðu, bláed, þryðu, þrymm,  
   weorðmynt, wurðmynt  
*glory, eager for*, dómgeorn  
*glove*, glóf  
*gluttony*, oferfyll  
*gnash the teeth*, gristbítian  
*gnashing of teeth*, gristbítung  
*gnat*, gnæt  
*gnaw*, gnagan  
*go*, gán, gengan, cuman, faran, férán,  
   ferian, steppan, wadan, scriðan,  
   teón, wendan (*reflex. or intrans.*)  
*go in a track*, spyrian  
*go without*, forþolian, w. instrum.  
*go wrong with*, mislimpan, impers.  
   w. dat.  
*goad*, gád  
*goat*, gát  
*God*, god  
*god-child*, godbearn  
*goddess*, gyden  
*godfather*, cumpæder  
*God-fearing*, godfyrht  
*godson*, godsunu  
*gold*, gold  
*golden*, gylden  
*goldsmith*, goldsmið  
*good*, góð, góðlic, til, árfæst  
*goodly*, góðlic  
*goodness*, góðnis  
*goods*, góð  
*goose*, gós  
*gore (blood)*, heolfor  
*gorse*, gorst  
*gory*, heolfrig  
*gospel*, godspell  
*gout*, gihða  
*govern*, gewealdan  
*government*, steór  
*grace*, ést; (*of God*), gifu  
*gracious*, hold  
*grandfather*, eald fæder  
*grant*, unnan, getíðian, both w. gen.  
   of thing and dat. of person; (*grant*  
   as a favour), tíðe fremian  
*granted*, gifeðe

grasp, gegrípan, grápian, fón, haf-enian  
 grasp, fæðm, gráp, clamm  
 grass, græs  
 grave, græf  
 gravel, sandceosel, greót  
 gray, græg  
 gray (*of hair*), hár  
 gray-haired, blandenfeax  
 great, greát, micel.  
 greater, mára  
 greatest, mæst  
 greatly, miclum  
 greatness, micelnis  
 greedily, grádiglice  
 greediness, gíernis  
 greedy, grædig, gifre  
 green, gréne  
 greet, grétan  
 grief, weá, sár, hearm  
 grief, *tidings of*, weáspell  
 grieve, sárettan  
 grievous, swár, sár, láð, wráðlic  
 grievously, weorce  
 grim, grimm, grimmlic  
 grind, gegrindan  
 grip, gripe, gráp  
 gripe, gegrípan, grípan  
 groan, gránian  
 groaning, gránung  
 groom, guma  
 groove, grápian  
 ground, grund, flór, folde  
 groundsel, gründeswelge  
 grove, bearu  
 grow, weaxan, grówan; (*grow up*), áweaxan; (*grow over*), beweaxan  
 growth, wæstm  
 grudge, of þanca, inca  
 guard, *v.*, behealdan, healdan, war-ian  
 guardian, weard  
 guardianship, weard  
 guest, gist, flettsittende  
 guidance, gewissung  
 guide, gewissian, wísian  
 guild, gild  
 guilt, gylt, scyld  
 guilty, scyldig, forscyldigod  
 gut, gutt

## H

habit, gewuna, þeáw  
 had, hæfde  
 hail, hagol  
 hailstorm, hagolfaru

hair, hær; *head of*, feax  
 half, healf  
 hall, heall, sele, sael, seld  
 hallow, gehálgian  
 halt (*lame*), healt  
 hammer, hamor  
 hand, hand ; folm (*poet.*)  
 hand over, tó handa láetan, árácan  
 handgrasp, mundgripe  
 handiwork, handgewoorc  
 handle, helf  
 handy (*near*), gehende  
 hang, trans., áhón, gehón ; *intrans.*  
 hangian  
 happen, gelimpan, getímian, weorð-an, wesan  
 happiness, sáél, gesáélð  
 happy, gesálig, eádig  
 harbour, port  
 hard, heard  
 harden, áhirdan  
 hardhearted, heardheort  
 hardheartedness, heardheortnis  
 hardly, uneáðe  
 hardness, heardnis  
 hardship, earfoð, geswinc  
 hare, hara  
 harlot, miltestre  
 harm, hearm, bealu  
 harp, hearpe  
 harp, *v.*, hearpian  
 harper, hearpere  
 harping, hearpung  
 harrow, *s.*, herewe, herwe (?)  
 harrow, *v.*, ettan  
 harry, hergian  
 harrying, hergung, hergað  
 hart, heorot  
 harvest, ríp, ríptíma, hærfest  
 haste, ófost ; —with haste, ófstlice  
 hasten, éfstan, onettan, fundian ;  
 fýsan (*reflex.*)  
 hastily, recene, ricene  
 hat, hæt, hætt  
 hate, hatung, hete  
 hate, *v.*, hatian, láðian, feón  
 hateful, láð, láðlic  
 hater, hata  
 hatred, anda, níð  
 haughty, oferwlenced, ofermód  
 have, habban  
 haven, hæfen  
 hawk, hafoc  
 hay, híg, hégg  
 hazel, hæsel  
 he, hé, se  
 head, heáfod, hafola

<i>headland</i> , næss	<i>hilt</i> , hilt ( <i>often in pl.</i> )
<i>headless</i> , heáfodleás	<i>him</i> , dat., him ; acc., hine
<i>head-man</i> ( <i>leader</i> ), heáfodmann	<i>hinder</i> , gelettan, w. acc. of pers. and gen. of thing; hremman ; ( <i>hinder from or in</i> ), ámirran, w. gen. of thing
<i>heal</i> , hælan	
<i>health</i> , gesundfullnis, hælo	<i>hip</i> ( <i>dog-rose</i> ), heópe, hiópe
<i>healthy</i> , hál, onsun, gesund, gesundfull, hálwende	<i>hip</i> ( <i>thigh</i> ), hype
<i>heap</i> , heáp	<i>hire</i> , hýrian, áhýrian
<i>hearing</i> , gehírnis	<i>his</i> ( <i>own</i> ), sín
<i>hearken</i> , hérnian, hýrcnian	<i>historian</i> , þeódwita, wyrdwritere
<i>heart</i> , heorte, mód, hyge ; sefa, ferhð ( <i>poet.</i> )	<i>historical</i> , gewyrdelic
<i>hearth</i> , heord	<i>history</i> , stær
<i>heat</i> , hæte, hætu	<i>hither</i> , hider
<i>heat</i> , v., onhætan	<i>hoard</i> , hord
<i>heath</i> , hæð	<i>hoard</i> , v. hordian
<i>heathen</i> , hæðen	<i>hoarfrost</i> , hrím
<i>heathendom</i> , hæðenscipe	<i>hoarse</i> , hás
<i>heave</i> , hebban	<i>hoary</i> , hár
<i>heaven</i> , hefon, hefone	<i>hold</i> , healdan
<i>heaven</i> , <i>kingdom of</i> , hefonríce	<i>hold out</i> ( <i>endure</i> ), þolian
<i>heavenly</i> , hefonlic	<i>hole</i> , hol
<i>heavy</i> , hefig, swár	<i>hollow</i> , hwealf
<i>hedge</i> , haga	<i>holly</i> , holegn
<i>heed</i> , gíman, w. gen.; hédan, w. gen.	<i>holy</i> , hálig
<i>heel</i> , hóh, héra	<i>home</i> , hám, eard, cýð, cýððu ;— at home, æt hám
<i>height</i> , héhðu, heáhnis, heánnis	<i>home-coming</i> , hámçyme
<i>hell</i> , hell, hellewíte	<i>homewards</i> , hámweard, hámweardes
<i>hell-fire</i> , hellbryne	
<i>hell-gate</i> , helldor	
<i>helmet</i> , helm	
<i>help</i> , help, fultum, frófor, ár, duguð, ræd	
<i>help</i> , v., helpan, w. dat. or gen.; fylstan, w. dat.; geléstan, w. dat.; forstandan, w. dat.; gefultumian	
<i>helve</i> , helf	
<i>hemp</i> , hanep, hænep	
<i>hen</i> , henne	
<i>hence</i> , heonan	
<i>henceforth</i> , heonan forð	
<i>her</i> , acc. case, hí ; dat., hire	
<i>herdsman</i> , swán, hirde	
<i>here</i> , hér	
<i>heretic</i> , gedwolmann	
<i>heritage</i> , láf, irfe, irfeweardnis	
<i>hesitate</i> , wandian, ildan	
<i>hew</i> , heáwan ; ( <i>hew down</i> ), áheáwan	
<i>hidden</i> , dirne, dígol	
<i>hide</i> , v., gehýdan, behýdan, helan	
<i>hide</i> ( <i>skin</i> ), hýd, fell	
<i>hie</i> , higian	
<i>high</i> , heáh, heálic	
<i>hill</i> , beorg, dún, hláew, hlinc, munt, hyll	
<i>hill-side</i> , hlið	

hostility, fæhð, wiðersac, unfrið  
 hot, hât  
 hotly, hâte  
 hound, hund  
 hour, tîd  
 house, hús, inn, botl  
 household, híred  
 householder, bónða, húsbónða  
 how, hú  
 however, hwæðre, ðeáhhwæðere,  
 swáðeah  
 hue, hiw, bleoh  
 hue, bright of, hiwbeorht  
 human, mennisc  
 humble, eáðmód  
 humble, v., geeáðmédan  
 humbly, eáðmódllice  
 humiliate, gehínan, forbígán  
 hundred, hund, hundteóntig  
 hunger, hungor  
 hunt, huntian  
 hunter, hunta  
 hunting, huntað  
 husband, ceorl, wer  
 husbandry, tilung, teolung  
 hustings, hústing  
 hymn, lofsang

## I

I, ic  
 ice, ís  
 icicle, célegicel, ísgicel  
 idle, ídel  
 idleness, ídelnis  
 idol, deófolgild, hearg  
 idolater, deófolgilda, háðengilda  
 idolatry, háðengild  
 if, gif  
 ignominious, heánlic, huxlic  
 ignominiously, bismerlice  
 ignorance, nytennis  
 ignorant, nyten  
 ill (sick), mettrum, untrum, seóc  
 ill, to make, geuntrumian  
 ill, adv., yfele, yfle  
 illness, untrumnis, mettrumnis  
 illuminate, onlíftan  
 ill-use, gehínan, misbeódan, tucian  
 image, onlícnis  
 immediately, recene, ricene  
 immense, ormáete  
 impel, fýsan  
 impending, onsæge  
 improper, ungerisenlic  
 improve (become better), góðian ;  
 (make better), bétan

imprudence, unwísdom  
 impure, unsífre, wammfull  
 in, in, prep.; on, prep.; inn, adv.  
 in exchange for, wið, w. dat.  
 in front of, tó ðeánes, w. dat.  
 in order that, tó ðæm ðæt  
 in, to get, feolgan  
 incense, récelz  
 inch, ynce  
 incite, áweccan, stihtan, onbryrdan,  
 onbærnan  
 incline, búgan, gebúgan ; (intrans.),  
 onlútan  
 incline oneself (bow down), hildan,  
 reflex.  
 incomparably, unwiðmetenlice  
 increase, weaxan ; (trans.), geícan  
 increase, s., eáca  
 incredible, ungelífedlic, ungelfend-  
 lic  
 incredibly, ungefráglice  
 indeed, witodlice, eornestlice, húru  
 indescribable, unásecgendlic  
 indignation, níð  
 infirm, untrum  
 infirmity, untrumnis, untrymnis  
 inflame, onáelan, onbærnan, onhæt-  
 an  
 inhabit, warian  
 injure, wírdan, wyrdan, sceððan,  
 derian  
 injurious, deriendlic  
 injury, hearm, daru, láð, teóna,  
 byrst  
 injustice, unríht  
 inn, inn  
 inner, innéra  
 innermost, innemest  
 innocence, bilewitnis  
 innocent, bilewit, unscaððig, un-  
 scyldig, unforworht  
 innocently, bilewitlice  
 insignificance, wácnis  
 inside, innan  
 inspect, geháwian  
 inspiration, onbryrdnis  
 institute, gestálan, stáelan, settan  
 instruct, tæcan  
 instruction, láreówdóm  
 insult, v., bismerian, bismrian,  
 scendan  
 insult, s., hosp, hócor, bismer, teóna  
 intelligence, andgit, gewitt  
 intelligent, andgitfull  
 intend, gemyntan, þencan, hogian  
 intense, ormáete  
 intercede for, þingian, w. dat.

*intercept*, offaran  
*internal*, inweard  
*interpret*, gereccan  
*interpreter*, wealhstód  
*into*, intó, in, on, inn on  
*intolerable*, unáberendlic  
*invite*, gelæðian  
*involuntarily*, ungewealdes  
*inward*, inweard  
*inwardly*, inweardlice  
*iron*, fren  
*iron, adj.*, fren, ísern  
*is*, is  
*island*, íglond, icgað, igeoð  
*it*, hit  
*ivy*, ifig

## J

*jaw*, ceafl  
*jeweller*, gímmwyrhta  
*join*, gefégan  
*journey*, síð, síðfæt, fær, faru  
*journey, v.*, síðian  
*joy*, bliss, blíðnis, wynn, hyht, mirgð,  
 dreám, gliw, willa  
*joyfully*, wynnum, hyhtlice  
*joyless*, wynnleás  
*judge*, déma, démend  
*judge, v.*, gedéman  
*judgment*, dóm  
*just*, riht  
*justice*, gerihte

## K

*keel*; *see ship*  
*keen (bold)*, céne  
*keep*, healdan, behealdan; cépan  
*kernel*, cyrnel  
*kettle*, cetel, cytel  
*key*, cág  
*kill*, cwellan, ácwellan, ácwilman,  
 ádídan, áfillan, bewegan, forweg-  
 an, forspillan, héawan, geheáw-  
 an  
*kin*, cynn  
*kind*, hold  
*kind (nature)*, gecynd  
*kindly*, árlice  
*kindness*, mannþwáernis  
*kindred*, cynren  
*king*, cyning, drihten, dryhten, weald-  
 end; freá (*poet.*)  
*kingdom*, cynedóm, cyneríce, ríce  
*kinsman*, mæg  
*kinswoman*, máge  
*kiss*, cyssan

*kiss, s., coss*  
*kitchen*, cycene  
*kith*, cýð  
*knave*; *see boy*  
*knead*, cnedan  
*knee*, cneów  
*knife*, seax  
*knight*; *see boy*  
*knit*, cnyttan  
*knock*, cnucian  
*knock against*, hnítan  
*knoll*, cnoll  
*knot*, cnotta  
*know*, cnáwan, gecnáwan, cunnan,  
 gecunnan, witan; — *I know*, ic  
 wát; — *I know not*, ic nát  
*know, not to*, nytan  
*know assuredly*, tócnáwan  
*knowledge*, cræft  
*known*, cúð, gecnáwen  
*known, to make*, cýðan

## L

*labour*, geswinc  
*lack*, onsín  
*ladder*, hlæder  
*lade*, hladan  
*lady*, hlæfdige  
*lair*, leger  
*lake*, lagu, mere  
*lamb*, lamb  
*lame*, lama  
*lament*, heófian, gnornian, rárian  
*lamentation*, heófung, gnornung  
*lamp*, leóhtfæt  
*land*, land; (*native*), éðel  
*language*, spráec, gereord, geþeoðe  
*lank*, hlanc  
*lap*, bearm  
*larboard*, bæcbord  
*lark*, láwerce  
*last*, ýtemest, latost  
*last (to endure)*, láestan  
*late, adv.*, late, síð  
*Latin*, læden  
*laugh*, hlihhán  
*laughter*, hleahtor  
*law*, gerihte, gesetnis, lagu; (*of  
 God*), æ  
*lawfully*, lahllice  
*lay*, lecgan  
*lay down*, álecgan  
*lay low (make to sink)*, geségan  
*lay waste*, áwéstán, fðan  
*layman*, lay, láewed  
*lead*, lædan

lead (*metal*), leád  
 leader, heretoga, folctoga, healdend,  
     heáfodmann, rásbla (*poet.*)  
 leaf, leáf  
 leaky, hlece  
 lean, adj., hláéne  
 lean, v., hláénan  
 leap, hleápan  
 leap up, áhleápan  
 learn, leornian; —learn by enquiry,  
     gefrignan, geáxian  
 learned, geláred, wís  
 learner, leornere  
 learning, leornung, lár  
 least, læst  
 leather, leðer  
 leave, láefan; (*behind*), láetan  
 leave, s., leáf  
 lee (*shelter*), hleów  
 leech (*physician*), lǽce  
 leek, leác  
 legion, werod  
 lend, líhan, lénan  
 Lent (*spring*), lencten  
 less, læssa, adj.; læs, adv.  
 -less (*suffix*), -leás  
 lessen, trans. and intrans., gelyt-  
     lian  
 lest, ðý læs ðe  
 let, láetan, forlætan; —let us, utoñ,  
     w. inf.  
 letter, ærendgewrit  
 letters (*writings*), stafas, pl.  
 lewd (*ignorant*), lewed  
 lick, liccian  
 lid, hlid  
 lie (*tell lies*), leógan  
 lie (*lie down*), licgan, gelicgan; (*lie*  
     in wait for), sætan  
 lief, leóf  
 life, líf, gást, bláed, feorh, ealdor,  
     sáwul  
 life-days, lífdagas (*pl.*)  
 lifeless, ealdorlæás, sáwulleás, or-  
     sáwle  
 lift, hebban, áhebban  
 light, s., leóht  
 light (*of weight*), leóht  
 light (*of brightness*), leóht  
 lighten (*make lighter*), gelíhtan  
 like, gelíc, w. dat.; onlíf  
 likeness, onlífniſis, gelífniſis  
 likewise, swá same  
 limb, lim, lið, gesceap  
 lime (*for mortar*), lím  
 lime-tree, lind  
 linden-tree or wood, lind

lineage, strenge  
 linen, s., lín; adj., línen  
 link (*ring*), hlence  
 lion, leo  
 lip, lippa  
 list (*edge of cloth*), list  
 listen, gehlystan  
 lithe, líðe  
 little, lytel  
 little, adv., lyt, lythwón  
 little one, lytling  
 live, libban  
 livelihood, bíglofa  
 liver, lifer  
 lo! lá!  
 load, v., hladan, gehlaestan  
 loaf, hláf  
 loam, lám  
 loan, lén  
 loathe, láðian, hatian  
 loathsome, láð  
 lobster, lopystre  
 lock, v., lúcan  
 lock of hair, locc  
 lodge, innian  
 lofty, steáp, uplic  
 long, lang  
 long, adv., langlice  
 long ago, gefirn  
 long-lasting, langsum  
 lock, lócian, wlítan  
 loose (*loosen*), forlætan, álísan, on-  
     windan, onlætan  
 loquacity, oferspráec  
 lord, hláford, helm, onwealda ;  
     hearra, freá (*poet.*); (*the Lord*),  
     dryhten  
 lordly, dryhtlic  
 lore, lár  
 lose, leósan, forleósan, beleósan,  
     w. instr.  
 loss, lyre  
 lost, to be, losian  
 lot, hlot  
 loud, hlúd  
 loudly, hlúde  
 louse, lús  
 lout (*to bow down*), lútan  
 love, lufe, lufu, myne, liss  
 love, v., lufian  
 lover, freónnd  
 low (*as a cow*), hlówan  
 lukewarm, wlæc  
 lurk, lútian  
 lust, lust  
 -ly, -lic, -lice (*for -líc, -lícē*)  
 lying (*act of*), leger

## M

*mad*, wód  
*madness*, wódnis  
*magistrate*, ealdormann  
*maiden*, mægden, mædén  
*mail, coat of*, herebyrne, herenett,  
 heresirce, liðusirce  
*main (strength)*, mægen  
*majority*, heáfodgerím  
*make*, macian, scippán, wyrcan  
*maker*, wyrhta  
*male*, wépnedmann  
*male-child*, hysecild  
*malefactor*, wearg  
*mallow*, mealwe  
*malt*, mealt  
*man*, mann, manna, ceorl, guma,  
 wer, secg, scealc, magu, esne;  
 also, eorl, rinc, æðeling (*poet.*)  
*manhood (state of being a man)*,  
 menniscnis  
*manifold*, manigfeald  
*mankind*, manncyn  
*manner*, wíse  
*manners (morality)*, þeáwas, pl.  
*many*, manig; fela, w. gen.  
*mar (to spoil)*, merran  
*march*, steppan  
*mare*, mere  
*mark*, mircels; (*ornament*), mæl  
*mark out*, gemearcian  
*marriage*, gifta (*pl.*); áé  
*marrow*, mearh  
*marry*, wífian; geáewnian, w. dat.  
*marsh*, mersc  
*marten*, mearð  
*martyr*, martyr  
*martyr, v.*, gemartyrian  
*martyrdom*, martyrdóm  
*marvel*, wundor  
*marvellous*, wundorlic  
*mass (Lat. missa)*, mæsse; *mass-priest*, mæssepreóst  
*massive*, gréat  
*mast (of ship)*, mæst, segelgird  
*mate (companion)*, gemaca  
*maternal*, módotlic  
*matins*, uhtsang  
*mature, to become*, gerípian  
*maw*, maga  
*may (to be able)*, mugan; pres. ic  
 mæg; pret. ic mihte; (*may be allowed*), mótan; pres. ic mót,  
 pret. ic móste  
*me*, mé, mec  
*mead (drink)*, medu, meodu

*meal (repast)*, gereordung, mæl  
*meal (flour)*, melu  
*meal, to take a*, snádan  
*mean (insignificant)*, wác, wáclic;  
 (*disgraceful*), heán  
*mean (to intend)*, mænan  
*meanwhile*, betwux ðisum  
*measure*, gemet  
*measure, v.*, metan  
*meat*, mete  
*mediation*, þingung  
*mediator*, forespreca  
*medicine*, lǽcedóm  
*meditate*, þencan  
*meed (reward)*, méd  
*meet*, gemétan  
*meeting*, gemót  
*melody*, swég, winsung, hleóðor  
*melt*, meltan  
*member*, lim  
*memorable*, þancwirðe  
*memory*, myne, gemynd  
*men*, men; also firas, niðas, ilde  
 (*all poet.*); see *man*  
*mend*, gebétan  
*merciful*, milde, mildheort  
*mercy*, mildheortnis, milts, milts-  
 ung, ár  
*mere (lake)*, mere, lago  
*merit*, earnung, gewyrht  
*mermaid*, merewif  
*merry*, merg, blíðe  
*message*, gebodscipe, áerende  
*messenger*, boda, áerendracá, ár, byd-  
 el  
*methinks*, mé þyncð  
*mid, adj.*, midde  
*middle*, middel  
*midge*, mycg  
*midnight*, middeniht  
*might*, miht, meaht  
*mighty*, mihtig, þearlmód  
*mild*, milde, smylte  
*mile*, mfl, mlfgemearc  
*milk*, meolc  
*mill*, mylen  
*mind*, mód, geþanc, sefa, módsefa,  
 gewittloca, gehyge, hyge, hréðer;  
 ferhð (*poet.*)  
*mindful*, gemyndig, gemun  
*mine*, mín  
*mingle*, mengan  
*ministration*, þegnung, þénung  
*minster*, mynster  
*mint (plant)*, minte  
*mint (for money)*, mynet  
*miracle*, tácen

mirky, myrce, þeóstre  
 mirth, mirgð  
 mischief, anda, yfel, unráed  
 misdeed, misdæd  
 miser, gitsere  
 misery, wracu, wræc, irmðu  
 misfortune, ungelimp, ungesælð, láð  
 mishap, ungelimp  
 mist, mist, genip  
 mistletoe, misteltán  
 misty, grow, genípan  
 mixed, geblanden  
 moderate (small), máete, medmicel  
 moderate, v., gemetgian  
 moderation, gemetgung  
 moisture, wæta, steám  
 mole (a spot), mál  
 moment, in a, bearhtme  
 monastery, mynster  
 monastic, mynsterlic, munuclic  
 monastic orders, munuchád  
 Monday, mónan-dæg  
 money, feoh, feó, sceatt  
 money-changer, mynetere  
 moneyless, feohleás  
 monger (chapman), mangere  
 monk, munuc, mynstermann  
 monster, agláca, elwiht  
 month, mónað  
 mood; see mind  
 moon, móna  
 moor, móra  
 morality, sidu  
 more, mára; adv., má; — much more, micle swíðor  
 morning, morgen, morgentíd; (early) uhte  
 morsel, snáed  
 mortal, deádlic  
 moss, meós  
 most, mæst; — most of all, eallra swíðost  
 moth, moðde  
 mother, móðor  
 motion, sít  
 mould (earth), molde  
 mound, hlæd, hláew  
 mountain, beorg, munt  
 mountain-stream, firgen-streám.  
 [Firgen only occurs in compounds.]  
 mourn, meornan, gnornan  
 mourning, gnornung  
 mouse, mús  
 mouth, múð; (of a river), múða  
 move, styrian, ástyrian, hréran; (intrans.), wagian

movement, power of, fæðe  
 mow, máwan  
 much, unlytel; micle, w. comparatives  
 multitude, menigu, heáp, worn; (host) duguð  
 munificence, gumcyst  
 murder, morð, morðor, morðdæd, cwalu, slege, mannsliht  
 murderer, bana, cwellere, morðor-wyrhta, mannslaga  
 murmur, murcnian; (murmur at), bemurcian  
 must, I, ic sceal; cf. ic móste  
 mutter, clumian  
 my, mín  
 myrrh, myrre  
 mystery, rún

N

nail, nægel  
 nail, v., næglian  
 naked, nacod  
 name, nama  
 name, v., genamian, genemnan; (call by name), hátan  
 nap (to slumber), hnæppian  
 narrate, reccan, áwrítan  
 narrative, racu, spell, gesetnis  
 narrow, nearu, enge, smæl  
 narrowly, nearulice  
 nation, þeód, þeódsceipe, leódsceipe, mægð, dryht, dryhtfolc  
 native, landbúende  
 native land, cýð, cýðdu, édel  
 nature, gecynd  
 naught, náwiht  
 nave (of a wheel), nafu  
 near, neáh, néh; gehende, w. dat.  
 nearly, wel  
 nearly every, gewelhwilc  
 neat (cattle), neát  
 necessary, nídbeþearf  
 necessity, níð, níðþearf  
 neck, heals, sweora; hnecca  
 need, níð, níðþearf, þearf  
 need, v., þurfan, w. gen.  
 need, I, ic þearf, w. gen.  
 needle, nándl  
 needy (in want), þearfende  
 neglect, forlætan, forgíman  
 neigh, hnægan  
 neighbourhood, neáwist, neáwest  
 neither, náhwæðer, nóhwæðer, náwðer; neither...nor; náwðer ne...

*ness (headland)*, næss  
*nest, nest*  
*net, nett*  
*nether; see downwards*  
*nettle, netele, netle*  
*never, náfre*  
*new, niwe*  
*next, adv., æt néhstan*  
*nigh, neáh*  
*night, niht*  
*night, by, nihtes*  
*nightingale, nihtegale*  
*nightly, nihtlic*  
*nine, nigon*  
*ninety, hundnigontig*  
*ninth, nigoða*  
*no, ná, nese;—no one, nán, náenig*  
*nobility, æðelu*  
*noble, s., æðeling*  
*noble, æðele, þryðlic, torht, torhtmód,*  
*indryhten*  
*nobly, weorðlice, wurðlice*  
*noise, gebræc, brahtm*  
*noise, to make a, hlýdan*  
*none (no one), nán*  
*noon, nón*  
*norih, norð, norðdál*  
*north, from the, norðan*  
*north of, be norðan, w. dat.*  
*northern, norðern*  
*northward, norðeaward, norðweard,*  
*norðweardes*  
*nose, nosu*  
*not, ná, ne;—neither...nor, ne...ne;*  
*—not at all, náwiht, nealles,*  
*nálæs, mid nánum þingum; —*  
*not only, ná ðæt án*  
*nothing, náwiht*  
*nourish, fédan*  
*now, nú;—now that, nú*  
*nowhere, náhwær*  
*nun, nunne, mynecen*  
*nut, hnuttu*

## O

*oak, ác*  
*oats, áte*  
*oar, ár*  
*oath, áð*  
*obedience, gehírsumnis*  
*obey, gehírsumian, w. dat.; folgian,*  
*fyligan*  
*obstinacy, þweorhnis*  
*obtain, begitan, gerécan*  
*occasion, cirr, sæl, mál*  
*occupied, pp., ábysgod*

*occupy (a country), gesittan, geríd-an*  
*ocean, brim, holm, geofon, gársegg*  
*odour, stenc*  
*of, of*  
*off, of*  
*offer, gebeódan; (offer sacrifice), offrian*  
*offering, lác*  
*office, ambiht*  
*officer, geréfa*  
*offspring, ofsprung*  
*often, oft, gelóme, gelómlice, geneahhe*  
*oh! eálá*  
*oil, éle*  
*old, eald, unorne; gamol (poet.)*  
*old age, ildu*  
*on, on, uppon, ofer*  
*once, áne síðe;—at once, recene, ricene*  
*one, án; (indef. pron.), man*  
*one of six, sixa sum*  
*only, ánga;—not only, ná ðæt án*  
*onslaught, gúðræs, beaduræs*  
*onwards, gegnum*  
*open, v., openian, ontýnan, onlúcan; (forcibly), tósítan*  
*open, open*  
*openly, openlice*  
*opinion, dóm*  
*opportunity, rúm*  
*opposite to, wið, w. dat.*  
*opposition, wiðersæc*  
*oppress, gehefian, gebryscan*  
*or, oððe*  
*orator, þyle*  
*order, endebyrdnis*  
*ornament, hyrst, geréne, wrætt; (pl.), frætwa*  
*ornamental, wrættlic*  
*other, óðer*  
*otherwise, elles*  
*otter, otor*  
*otter, belonging to an, yteren*  
*ought, v., áhte*  
*our, úre*  
*out, út, úte*  
*out of, út of*  
*outer, útera, úttera*  
*outlaw, útlah*  
*outlawed, fág*  
*outside, út, útan, útane, úte*  
*outside, adj., úteweard, útanweard*  
*outside of, wiðútan, w. dat.; búton*  
*oven, ofen*  
*over, ofer*

*overcome*, ofercuman, oferwinnan,  
oferswiðan  
*overlaid (with gold)*, begoten  
*overrun (a country)*, gefaran, ofer-  
gán  
*overthrow*, ofweorpan  
*overturn*, onwendan  
*owl*, úle  
*own, v.*, ágan  
*own, adj.*, ágen, swáes  
*ox*, oxa

## P

*pain*, weorc, sárnis, oncyð, angsum-  
nis  
*painful*, angsum  
*paint (draw)*, ámáetan, átífran  
*pale*, blác  
*pallor*, blácung  
*palm-twīg*, palmtwig  
*pan*, panne  
*parents*, ildran  
*park*, pearruc  
*part*, dæl  
*partly*, be sumum dæle  
*partner*, hlytta  
*pass (one's life)*, ádreógan  
*passage*, oferfæreld  
*passion*, hátheortnis  
*passionate*, hátheort  
*path*, pæð, stíg, gelád  
*patience*, geþyld  
*patient*, geþyldig  
*patriarch*, heáhfæder  
*pavilion*, geteld, træf  
*pay*, gildan  
*pay for*, gebétan  
*payment*, sceatt  
*peace*, grið, freód, frið, sibb  
*peaceful*, sibbsum, gesibbsum  
*peace-oath*, friðáð  
*pebble*, papolstán  
*peel*, screádian  
*penetrate*, þurhþyrelan, þurhwadan  
*penny*, pening, penig  
*people*, þeód, cneóris, folc; leóda,  
þl.  
*people, belonging to the*, folcisc  
*pepper*, pepor  
*perceive*, ongitan, gefrédan  
*perfect*, fullfremed  
*perfect, v.*, fullfremman  
*perform*, fremian, *w. acc.*, fremman,  
aefnan, ræfnan, geléstán, dreógan,  
begán  
*perhaps*, húru

*peril*, þearf, fér  
*period*, first, stund, ildu  
*perish*, forweorðan, forsíðian, losian  
*perjured*, forsworen, forlogen  
*perjurer*, mánswara  
*perjury*, áðbryce  
*permission*, leáf, geþáfung  
*persecute*, ehtan, oferfolgian  
*persecution*, ehtnis, hete  
*persecutor*, ehtere, hata, cirichata  
*person*, mann  
*persuade*, tyhtan  
*perverse*, wóhlic, þweorh, wiðer-  
weard  
*pervercity*, þweorhnis  
*pestilence*, steorfa  
*philosopher*, úðwita  
*physician*, láce  
*piece*, stycce  
*pierce*, þyrlian, stingan, þurhdrifan  
*pierced*, þyrel  
*piercing*, þyrelung  
*piety*, æfæstnis  
*pine*, v., pínan  
*pious*, æfæst, godfyrht  
*pirate*, wícing, sáemann, sárinç,  
brimmann, brimlíðend  
*pit*, pytt, seáð  
*pitch*, pic  
*pitcher*, orc  
*pith*, piða  
*pity*, v., ofhreówan, miltsian, árian  
*pity*, milts, miltsung, ár  
*place*, v., stellan, ásettan, gelogian  
*place*, steall, stede, stow  
*plain*, wang, mearc  
*plant*, s., plant, wyrt  
*plant*, v., plantian  
*play*, plega  
*play*, v., plegian, lácan  
*pleasant*, wynnlic, wynnsum, heóre,  
getæse  
*please*, lícian, gelícian, *w. dat.*  
*pleased with*, oflyst, *w. gen.*  
*pledge*, wedd  
*plight (danger)*, pliht  
*plot*, v., sirwan  
*plough*, v., erian  
*pluck*, pluccian  
*plunder*, v., berípan, *w. gen.*; rípan,  
réafian  
*plunder*, húð, reáfung  
*plunderer*, reáfere  
*poem*, sang  
*poet*, scóp  
*poetry*, leóðsang; (*art of*), sang-  
cræft

<i>point</i> , ord	
<i>poison</i> , átor, áttor, unlybba	
<i>poisonous</i> , átorbære, ætren, ættren	
<i>pomp</i> , prass	
<i>poor</i> , earm, unspédig, wanspédig, heán	
<i>poor, to be</i> , wædlian	
<i>poor man</i> , wædla, þearfa	
<i>pope</i> , pápa	
<i>port</i> , port	
<i>possess</i> , ágan, geágan, healdan, ge- wealdan, rómigan ( <i>w. gen.</i> )	
<i>possessions</i> , æhta ( <i>pl.</i> ), gestreón	
<i>possessor</i> , weard	
<i>post</i> , post	
<i>pound</i> , pund	
<i>pour out</i> , geótan, ágeótan	
<i>poverty</i> , wædl, irmðu	
<i>power</i> , miht, meaht, geweald, on- weald, cræft	
<i>powerful</i> , ríce, cræftig	
<i>praise</i> , herung, lof	
<i>praise</i> , <i>v.</i> , herian, díran, dýran	
<i>pray</i> , gebiddan, reflex.	
<i>pray for</i> , biddan, <i>w. acc. of pers.</i> <i>and gen. of thing</i>	
<i>prayer</i> , bén, gebed	
<i>preach</i> , bodian, <i>w. dat.</i>	
<i>preaching</i> , bodung	
<i>precious</i> , deóre, dýre	
<i>predict</i> , foresecgan	
<i>prepare</i> , gearcian, gearwian, girwan, ongirwan	
<i>present</i> , <i>adj.</i> , andweard	
<i>preserve</i> , nerian	
<i>press (throng)</i> , þringan	
<i>press hard</i> , genearwian	
<i>pretend</i> , lícettan	
<i>prevail</i> , rícsian, ríxian	
<i>prevent</i> , forwirnan	
<i>price</i> , weord, wurð	
<i>prick</i> , prician	
<i>pride</i> , prýte, mód, mórdignis, hyge, gilp, bælc, gál, gáelsa, gálscipe, oferhygd, oferméde, ofermetto, ofermód	
<i>priest</i> , preóst, sacerd	
<i>prince</i> , æðeling, ealdor, brego; also fengel, þengel, bealdor, leód, þeód- en ( <i>poet.</i> )	
<i>prison</i> , cweartern, clústor	
<i>prisoner</i> , ræpling	
<i>proceed</i> , férán	
<i>proclaim</i> , ácyðan	
<i>produce</i> , forðbringan, tydran	
<i>progeny</i> , tuddor, tudor, teám	
<i>progress</i> , forðgang	

<i>promise</i> , gehát	
<i>promise</i> , <i>v.</i> , behátan	
<i>proof (sign)</i> , béhð	
<i>property</i> , ágen, áht, feoh, feó, ár	
<i>prophecy</i> , wítiegung	
<i>prophesy</i> , wítégian	
<i>prophet</i> , wítega, wítga	
<i>prophetess</i> , wítegestre	
<i>proportion</i> , ondefn, andefn	
<i>prosper</i> , spówan, <i>impers. w. dat.</i>	
<i>prosperity</i> , eád, sáel	
<i>prosperous</i> , eádig	
<i>protect</i> , gebeorgan, mundbyrdan, werian, gescildan, friðian, griðian	
<i>protection</i> , grið, gescildnis, mund, mundbyrd	
<i>protector</i> , helm, mundbora, weriend, geholia	
<i>proud</i> , módlc, módig, ofermód, prút, wlanc, heálic	
<i>proverb</i> , bigspell	
<i>Proverbs</i> , book of, bigspellbóc	
<i>provide</i> , tilian, <i>w. gen. of thing and dat. of person</i>	
<i>provided that</i> , wið ðám ðe	
<i>provisions</i> , nest; ( <i>for a journey</i> ), wegnest	
<i>prudence</i> , snotornis	
<i>prudent</i> , gleáw, gleáwhýdig, ferhð- gleáw, snotor	
<i>psalm</i> , sealm	
<i>psalmist</i> , sealmscóp, sealmwyrhta	
<i>psalter</i> , sealtere	
<i>public</i> , ábere	
<i>publicly</i> , openlice	
<i>pull</i> , teón, bregdan	
<i>punish</i> , wrecan, þráfian	
<i>punishment</i> , wíte, wracu, morðor	
<i>purchase</i> , <i>s.</i> , ceáp	
<i>purchase (obtain)</i> , gewrixlian	
<i>pure</i> , unwemme, cláéne, hlútor, hlútt- or, sífre	
<i>purify</i> , cláénsian, gefálsian	
<i>purity</i> , cláénnis	
<i>purple</i> , <i>adj.</i> , pællen	
<i>push</i> , scúfan, áscúfan, bescúfan	
<i>put on</i> , on dóñ	
<i>put to sleep</i> , áswebban	

## Q

<i>quake</i> , cwacian	
<i>quarrel</i> , <i>v.</i> , flítan	
<i>quarter (direction)</i> , ende	
<i>quean</i> , cwén	
<i>queen</i> , cwén	
<i>quell</i> , cwellan	

quench (*fire*), ácwencan  
 question, *v.*, befrignan  
 quick, arod, snell; (*living, alive*),  
 cwic  
 quicken (*vivify*), gelíffæstan  
 quickly, hraðe, hrædlice, snúde, ard-  
 lice, tímlice  
 quiet, *s.*, stillnis  
 quoth, cwæð

## R

race (*kin*), cynn, mennisc; (*lineage*),  
 strenge; (*progeny*), teám  
 race (as in *mill-race*), rás  
 raid, rád  
 rain, regen  
 rain, *shower of*, regenscúr  
 rain, *v.*, rínan  
 raise, hebban; (*raise up*), áhebban  
 rake, *s.*, raca, race  
 ram, ramm, romm; (*battering-  
 ram*), ramm  
 rampart, weall  
 rank, *s.*, æðelu, gebyrd, hád, ge-  
 þyngðo, geþyncð  
 rank, *of high*, weorð, wirð  
 rank, *adj.*, ranc  
 ransom, álisan  
 rare, seldcúð, sellic  
 rash, wanhýdig  
 rather (*sooner*), hraðor;—*he would*  
*rather*, him leófre wæs  
 ravage, hergian, forhergian, ofer-  
 hergian, íðan  
 ravaging, forhergung  
 raven, hræfn  
 raw, hreáw  
 ray of light, leóma, scíma  
 reach, gerácan  
 read, rædan, árádan  
 reading, rædung  
 ready, gearc, gearo, fús;—*ready to*  
*depart*, síðes fús  
 reap, rípan  
 reaper, rípere  
 rear, áráran  
 receive, onfón, *w. gen., acc., or*  
*instr.*; underfón; (*food*), vicgan  
 reck, récan, meornan  
 reckless, réceleás  
 reckon, recenian, tellan  
 reconcile, geséman  
 record, gemynd  
 recover (*rescue*), hreddan  
 recover (*from disease*), gewirpan,  
 gewyrpan

recovery (*from trouble*), wirpe  
 red, reád  
 redeem, lísan, álisan  
 reed, hreód  
 reek (*vapour*), réc  
 re-establish, geedstaðelian  
 reflect, smeágan, smeán; bejencan,  
 reflex.  
 refuse, forsacan, sceorian  
 refute, álecgan  
 region, landscape  
 reign, rícsian, ríxian  
 reindeer, hrán  
 reject, ácweðan  
 rejoice, fægnian, gefeoðan, gebliß-  
 ian  
 related, gesibb  
 relationship, sibb  
 relative, *s.*, sibbling  
 relax, intr., tóslúpan  
 release, lísan, álisan  
 relinquish, ofgifan, oflætan  
 remain, restan, lífan, belífan, æt-  
 standan  
 remains, láf  
 remedy, bót  
 remember, gemyngian; gemunian  
 (*poet.*)  
 remind, gemyngian  
 remove, áfirran  
 rend, hrendan  
 render, ágifan  
 renew, geniwian, geedniwian  
 reparation, bót  
 repent, hreówsian, behreówsian,  
 dædbétan;—*repent of* (*be sorry*  
*for*), ofþyncan, *impers.*, *w. dat.*  
*of pers. and gen. of thing*  
 repents, it, hreóweð  
 repentance, hreówsung, dædbót  
 represent, getácnian  
 reproach, ætwítan, *w. dat. of pers.*  
 reproach, *s.*, edwít  
 reproval, þréágung, þréáung, þréáp-  
 ung, þréátung  
 reprove, þráfian, þréapian, þréát-  
 ian, þréagan, þréán  
 request, bén  
 requital, wiðerleán  
 requite, gildan, forgildan, geleán-  
 ian  
 rescue, hreddan, áhreddan  
 resist, forstandan; wiðsettan, *w.*  
*dat.*, wiðstandan, *w. dat.*  
 resolute, ánráed  
 resolution, ánráednis  
 resound, hlimman

respite, first	robbery, reáflác, stalu, strúdung
rest, rest	robe, reáf, hrægl, gırla, wæd, gewæde
rest, v., restan	rock, clúd, stán
restless, unstille, wæfre	rocky, clúdig
restore, eft ágífan	rod, gird
restrain oneself, stíran, refl.	roe, rá
resurrection, ærist	roll, wealwian, wealcan ; <i>intrans.</i>
retainer, mann, maguþegn, híred-mann, híremann, geselda, dryht-guma	windan
retainers, body of, folgoð, dryht, duguð	rood, ród
retreat, wiðertrod	roof, hróf
return, eftsíð	rook, hróc
return, v., cirran, reflex.; gehwirfan, <i>intrans.</i>	room, rúm
reveal, onhlídan, geopenian	roomy, rúm
revelation, onwrigennis	roost ( <i>hen-roost</i> ), hróst
revenge, wracu	root, wyrt, wyrtruma
reverence, mæð	root up, áwyrtwalian
revile, leahtrian	rope, ráp, sál
reward, méð, leán, edleán, wiðer-leán	rose, róse
reward, v., geleánian	rot, rotian
rhyme, rím	rough, hreóh, hreó, unsméðe
rib, ribb	round about, ymbútan
rich, ríce, eádig, spédig, welig	row, s. ( <i>order</i> ), ráw
riches, wela ( <i>often in pl. welan</i> ); spéd, blæd	row, v., rówan ;—row round, be-rówan
rid, hreddan	royal, cynelic ;—royal family, cyne-cynn
riddle, rádels	rue, hreówan
ride, rídan	ruin, v., ámirran
rider, ridda	ruined, forloren
ridge, hrycg	rule, rícsian, ríxian, wealdan, ráedan
right ( <i>hand or side</i> ), swiðre	rule ( <i>dominion</i> ), onweald ;—(of conduct), regol
right, riht, adj. and sb.	ruler, ráedend, wealdend
righteous, rihtwís, rihtlic, rihtwíslic	rules, breach of, regolbryce
righteousness, rihtwísniſ	rules, according to, regollice
rightly, rihte, rihtlice	ruminante, eodorcan
rim, rima	run, hleápan, irnan, beirnan, ærn-an ;—run aground ( <i>of ships</i> ), ásittan
rime, hrím	run away, æthleápan
rind, rind	rune, rún
ring, hring, beág	rush, ræs
ripe, rípe	rush, v., ræsan
ripe, to become, gerípian	rust, rust
rise, rísan ;—rise high, hlifian ;—rise as dust, stincan ;—rise up, upástígan ;—raise oneself), áráær-an, reflex.	ruth, hreówð
rising ( <i>of the sun</i> ), upgang	S
risk, genéðan, w. instrum.	sack, sacc, sæcc
river, éa, é, streám	sacrifice, lác
river-bank, eástæð	sacrifice, v., offrian, blótan
road, weg, strát ; see raid	sad, sár, sárig, sárlíc, geómor, hreów,
roar, rárian	hreó, unrót, dreórig
rob, reáfian	saddle, sadol
robber, reafere	sadness, dreórgignis, unrótnis
	safe ( <i>unbetrayed</i> ), unswicen

safety, gebeorg  
 sagacious, gescádwís  
 sagaciously, gescádwísllice  
 sagacity, gescádwísnis  
 sail, segel  
 sail, v., seglian  
 sailor, lidmann, flota, flotmann  
 saint, hálga, sanct  
 sake, intinga;—*for his sake*, for his  
 ðingum; *and see strife*  
 sallow, salu  
 salmon, leax  
 salt, s. and adj., sealt  
 salute, hálettan  
 salve (*to anoint*), sealfan  
 same, self;—*the same*, ilca; *and see*  
*similarly*  
 sanctuary, *place of*, friðstow, hálignis  
 sand, sand  
 sap, sæp  
 Saturday, sæternesdæg  
 save, nerian, áhreddan, gebeorgan  
 saviour, hälend, nergend  
 saw (*a saying*), sagu, cwide  
 say, secgan, cweðan, gecweðan  
 saying, cwide, sagu  
 scarcely, uneáðe, earfoðlice  
 scathe, sceððan  
 scatter abroad, strédan  
 science, lár  
 scrape, scafan  
 scribe, bócere  
 scripture, gewrit  
 sea, sáe, mere, mereflód, flot, holm  
 sea-bird, brimfugol  
 seal (*animal*), seolh, seol  
 seam, séam  
 sear (*to wither up*), forseárian  
 seat, stól, setl  
 second, óðer  
 secret, dirne, dígol  
 secretly, dígollice  
 secular, woruld-cund  
 secure (*fasten*), befæstan  
 secure, fæst  
 security, fæstnung, wær  
 sedge, secg  
 sedition, stric  
 seduce, forspanan  
 see, geseón, sceáwian; (*perceive*),  
 ongitan;—*see over*, oferseón  
 seed, séd  
 seek, sécan, feccan  
 seem, þyncan, *impers.*, w. dat.  
 seethe, seóðan  
 seize, fón, befón, niman, gelácan

seldom, seldon  
 self, self  
 sell, sellan, cípan, cýpan, beceápian  
 send, sendan, ásendan;—*send for*,  
 ofsendan;—*send forth*, onsendan,  
 láetan  
 sense, andgit  
 separate, syndrig  
 separate, v., tótwaéman;—*separate*  
*from*, getwáefan, w. gen.  
 sepulchre, lícrest, moldærn  
 serf, þræl  
 sermon, lárspell  
 serpent, wyrm  
 servant, þegen, þeów, þeówa, cnapa,  
 ambihtscealc  
 servant (*female*), ðínen, ðeówen  
 serve, þrówian, þeówan; þegnian,  
 w. dat.  
 service, þeówotdóm, þegenscipe, þeg-  
 nung, þénung  
 servile, cirlisc  
 serving-man, þegnungmann  
 servitude, þeówot, þeówdóm  
 set, settan;—*set down*, settan;—*set*  
*forth (write)*, gesettan; (*to place*),  
 ástellan  
 settle (*people*), gesettan; (*intrans.*),  
 sittan  
 seven, seofon  
 sevenfold, seofonfeald  
 seventh, seofoða  
 seventy, hundseofontig  
 severe, swið, swiðlic, stíð, stíðlic,  
 þearl, hefig, strang  
 severely, þearle, þearllice, stræclice,  
 unsófte  
 sew, siwian  
 shade, scúa  
 shadow, scadu, sceadu, scúa  
 shaft, sceaf; (*handle*), helf  
 shake, scakan, sceacan, áscacan,  
 cweccan, ácweccan; (*wag*), wag-  
 ian  
 shake off (*sleep*), tóbredan  
 shall, I, ic sceal  
 shame, scamu  
 shamefully, bismerlice  
 shank, sceanc, sceanca, scanca  
 shape, scippan  
 share, scearu  
 sharp, scearp, scearplic, heard  
 sharpness, scearpnis  
 shave, scafan  
 she, heó (*cf. seó*)  
 sheaf, sceáf  
 shear, sceran

sheath, sceáð  
 shed, geótan ;—shed tears, ágeótan ;  
     (separate), sceádan  
 shedding of blood, gyte  
 sheep, sceáp  
 sheep-fold, scépen  
 sheer; see bright  
 sheet, sceát  
 shell, scell  
 shelter, hleó, sceát  
 shepherd, hirde  
 shew, éwan, eówan, æteówan, ge-  
     tácian  
 shield, scild, bord ; (*poet.*), lind,  
     rand  
 shield (*protect*), ymbbeorgan  
 shilling, scilling  
 shin-bone, scinbán  
 shine, scínan, blícan, lixan  
 ship, scip, ceól, aesc, lid, mereheng-  
     est  
 ships, to provide with, gescipian  
 shire, scír  
 shoal (*of fish*), scolu  
 shoe, scó  
 shoot, sceótan ;—shoot through,  
     þurhsceótan  
 shooter, sceótend  
 shooting, scyte  
 shore, stæð, ófer, strand  
 short, sceort  
 shot (*arrow*), gesceot  
 shot (*reckoning*), gesceot  
 should, I, ic sceolde, ic scolde  
 shoulder, eaxl, sculdor  
 shove, scúfan, áscúfan  
 shower, scúr ;—(*of rain*), regenscúr  
 shred, screádian  
 shrew-mouse, screáwa  
 shrift, script  
 shrine, scrín  
 shrink up, forscrincan  
 shrive, scrífan  
 shroud, scrúd  
 shun, onscunian  
 shut, scyttan  
 shuttle (*cf. A.S. scyttel, a bolt, bar*)  
 sick, seóc, mettrum  
 sicken, gesíclian  
 side, side, healf ;—on this side of,  
     beheonian, *w. dat.* ;—on all sides,  
     ághwanon ;—from all sides, ge-  
     hwanon  
 sieve, sife  
 sift, siftan  
 sigh, sícan  
 sighing, sícketung

sight, gesihð  
 sign, tácen, beácen  
 signification, getácnung  
 signify, getácnian, secgan  
 silent, to be, swígian ; sometimes *w.*  
     gen.  
 silk, seolc  
 sill, syll  
 silly (*cf. A.S. gesélig, happy*)  
 silver, seolfor ;—made of, silfren  
 similarly, swá same  
 simple, bilewit  
 simplicity, bilewitnis  
 simply, bilewitlice  
 sin, v., syngian, ágyltan, scyldgian  
 sin, synn, scyld, gylt  
 since, siððan, ðæs ðe, nú  
 sincere, inweard  
 sinful, synfull, forsyngod  
 sing, singan, galan, ásingan, ágalan  
 single, án lípe  
 sink, sígan, ásígan ; (*causal*), senc-  
     an  
 sinner, gyltend  
 sister, sweostor, swustor ; *pl.* ge-  
     sweostor  
 sit, sittan  
 six, six  
 sixth, sixta  
 sixty, sixtig  
 size, micelnis  
 skilful, fród  
 skilfully, listum  
 skill, cræft, list, searu  
 skin, fell  
 sky, swegel ; (*poet.*), rodor  
 slack, sleac  
 slander, hól  
 slaughter, slege, sleah, wæl, wæl-  
     sleaht, wælsliht, fill ;—slaughter,  
     greedy for, wælgífre  
 slave, þeów  
 slay, sleán, ofsleán, fillan  
 slaying, sliht  
 sleep, slép, swefen, swefn  
 sleep, slépan, onslépan, swefan,  
     hnæppian ;—put to sleep, ásweb-  
     ban  
 sleeplessness, slápleást  
 slide, slídan (*Somner*)  
 slight, gehwæde  
 slightly, hwónlice  
 slime, slím  
 sling, liðere  
 slink, slincan  
 slip off, áwindan  
 slippery, slipor

slit, slítan  
 sloe, slá (*Lye*)  
 slope, hlinian  
 sloth, ásolcennis  
 slow, slaw, læt, sáéne  
 slumber, slumerian (*Lye*)  
 small, smael, mæte, medmicel  
 smear, smerian  
 smirk, smercian  
 smite, smítan  
 smith, smið  
 smithy, smiððe  
 smock, smocc  
 smoke, v., smeócan  
 smoke, þrosm, réc  
 smooth, sméðe  
 snail, snægl  
 snake, snaca, nædre  
 snatch, gegripa  
 sneak (*to creep*), snícan  
 snow, snáw  
 so, swá;—so much, tó ðæm, tó ðæs  
 soap, sápe  
 sock, socc  
 sodden, soden; *see seethe*  
 soft, sófte, hnesc  
 soften, gelíðian, gehnescian, onwæc-an  
 softly, sófte, hnesclice  
 softness, hnescnis  
 some, sum, náthwilc;—some one, sum  
 something, hwæthwegu  
 sometimes, hwílum, þragum  
 somewhat, hwæt, hwón, hwéne  
 son, sunu, mæg, maga, magu  
 song, sang, gidd, leoð  
 soon, sóna, hrædlic, lungre;—as  
     soon as, sóna swá  
 sooth (*true, truth*), sóð  
 sooth, in, tó sóðe  
 sore, sár, adj. and sb.  
 sorely, sáre  
 sorrow, sorg, sár  
 sorrow, v., sorgian  
 sorrowful, sorgfull  
 sorry, sárig  
 soul, sáwul  
 sound, s., són, hleóðor, sweg,  
     bearhtm  
 sound (*healthy*), gesund, onsund  
 sound (*unhurt*), gesund, gesundfull  
 sound of the sea, sund  
 soundness (*health*), onsundnis  
 sour, súr  
 south, from the, súðan  
 south of, wið súðan, w. acc.  
 southern, súðerne

south part, súðdæl  
 southward, adj., súðeweard  
 southwards, súð  
 sovereignty, ealdordóm  
 sow, sáwan, sprengan  
 sower, sáwere  
 space, rýmet; (*of time*), fæc, first  
 spacious, rúm, ginn  
 spare, sparian  
 spark, spearca  
 sparrow, spearwa  
 speak, sprecan, specan, cweðan,  
     mælan, maðelian, hleóðrian  
 spear, spere, gár, franca, daroð,  
     wælsteng; (*poet.*), æsc;—spear-point, ord  
 spear-shaft, æscholt  
 special, synderlic  
 specially, synderlice  
 speech, spræc, mæl, cwide, cwide-gidd  
 speechless, cwidleás  
 speed (*success*), spéd  
 spell; *see narrative*  
 spend, forspendan  
 spew, spíwan  
 spill; *see destroy*  
 spin, spinnan  
 spindle, spindel  
 spirit, gást  
 spiritual, gástlic  
 spit, spittan, spytan  
 splendid, wrættlic  
 splendidly, wrættlice  
 sponsor, godsibb  
 sport, v., lácan  
 spread abroad, intrans., áspringan  
 spring (*Lent*), lencten  
 spring, springan  
 spring forth, onspringan  
 spring up, áspringan  
 sprinkle, sprengan  
 sprinkle over, geondsprengan  
 spurn, spurnan (*Somner*), spornettan  
 square, feowerscíté  
 stab, þýdan;—stab to death, ofsting-an  
 staff, stæf  
 stain, wamm  
 stained, fág, fáh  
 stake, staca, stocc, steng  
 stall (*for cattle*), steall, scépen  
 stand, standan; (*up*), ástandan;  
     (still), óðstandan  
 star, steorra, tungol  
 starboard, steóbord  
 stare, starian

stark (*severe, rough*), stearc  
 starve; *see die*  
 state (*condition*), hád  
 stature, wæstm  
 stay (*remain*), wunian  
 stead, stæl, stede  
 steadfast, stedefæst  
 steal, stelan  
 steal along (*move noiselessly*), be-  
     stelan  
 steam, steám  
 steed, stéda  
 steel, stíl  
 steep, steáp  
 steeple, stépel, stýpel  
 steer, stíran  
 stem (*trunk*), stemn  
 stench, stenc  
 step, steppan  
 sterility, unwæstm  
 stern, adj., stirne, stirnmód  
 stick, stocc  
 stiff, stíð  
 stile, stígel  
 still, adj., stille; adv., git, nú git,  
     ðá git, forð  
 stillness, stillnis  
 sting, stingan  
 stink, stincan, reócan  
 stir, styrian, hréran  
 stirrup, stígráp  
 stock (*stick*), stocc  
 stone, stán  
 stone, made of, stánen  
 stone to death, oftorfian  
 stone-wall, stánweall  
 stony, stániht  
 stool; *see seat*  
 storm, storm, unweder, hríð  
 storm, v., styrman  
 story, spell, stær  
 stout-hearted, swíðmód  
 straight on, on gerihte  
 strand, strand  
 strand (*a ship*), beeblean  
 strange, fremde, elfremede, ælfrem-  
     ede, sellic; (*unrelated to*), un-  
     gesibb  
 straw, streáw  
 stream, streám  
 street, strát  
 strength, strengu, mægen, þryðu,  
     þrymm, eafod  
 strengthen, trymian, trymman  
 strengthening, trymmung  
 stretch, strecan, þenian; ástreccan  
     (*reflex.*)

strew, streáwian  
 strife, stríð, gewinn, sacu  
 strike, sleán; (*off*), of ásleán; (*down*),  
     gesleán  
 strip of, bestrípan, w. gen.  
 stroke, sweng, dynt  
 stroke, v., strácian  
 strong, strang, stranglic, strenglic,  
     stíð, trum, swíð, dyhtig, þyhtig,  
     þryðlic; (*poet.*), eácen  
 subject, v., underþeódan  
 subjection, underþeódnis  
 succeed (*prosper*), spówan, impers.  
     w. dat.  
 success, forðgang, spéd  
 successor, æftergenga  
 such, swilc, ðilc  
 such a one, swilc  
 such...as, swilc...hwilc  
 suck, súcan  
 suckle, gesýcan  
 suddenly, fáeringa, fárlice  
 suffer (*endure*), þolian; (*feel pain*),  
     þrowian, cwilmian; (*allow*), ge-  
     þáfan  
 suffering, þrowung  
 suffice, genyhtsumian  
 suffices, it, geneah  
 sufficiency, genyhtsumnis  
 sufficient, genyhtsum  
 suit, v., gedafenian  
 suitable, gerisenlic, gelimplic, déflic  
 sully, besylian  
 sulphur, swefl  
 sulphurous, sweflen  
 summer, sumor  
 summon, bannan, gelangian, gelað-  
     ian, ofséndan, stefnian  
 sun, sunne  
 sunbeam, sunnbeám  
 Sunday, sunnandæg  
 sunder; *see apart*  
 sundry, syndrig  
 sup, súpan  
 supply (*stock*), onsteall; (*material*),  
     feorm  
 support, áberan  
 surface, brerd; (*of the earth*), sceát  
 surge, brimwilm, ýð  
 surround, begán, behringan, be-  
     windan; (*ride round*), berídan;  
     —(*a town*), útan besittan  
 survey, sceáwian  
 surveying, sceáwung  
 sustenance, bigwist, bigleofa, fóstor  
 swain, swán  
 swallow (*bird*), swealwe, swalewe

*swallow, swelgan, w. instrum.*

*swan, swan*

*swarm, swearm*

*swarthy, sweat*

*swear, ásverian*

*sweat, swát*

*sweep away, forswápan*

*sweet, swéte*

*sweetness, swétnis*

*swell, swellan*

*swell greatly, tóswellan*

*swift, swift*

*swim, swimman*

*swimming, sund*

*swine, swín*

*swinge (beat), swingan*

*swoon, swima*

*sword, sweord, swurd, seax, méce,  
heoru, heoruwápen, bill, hilde-  
bill, wígbill; (poet.), brand, beadu-  
léoma*

*sword-stroke, sweordgeswing*

## T

*table, beód, bord*

*tail, steort, tægl*

*take, niman, fón, gefeccan ;—away,  
ániman ; ætbregdan, w. dat.,—  
(a city), ábreca ; (as food), þicgan*

*tale (story), getæl*

*tame, tam*

*taper (candle), tapor*

*tar, teru*

*tart (acrid), teart*

*teach, tæcan, láran*

*teacher, láreów*

*team ; see progeny*

*tear, s., teár*

*tear, v. teran, slítan ;—asunder,  
tóteran*

*tease, tæsan*

*teem, tíman*

*tell, secgan, ásecgan, gecýðan ; see  
reckon*

*temperance, forhæfednis*

*tempest, gewider*

*temple, tempel*

*tempt, fandian*

*temptation, costung*

*tempting, fandung*

*ten, tín, týn*

*tender, tydre*

*tent, geteld, teld, búrgteld, træf*

*tenth, teóða*

*term of military service, stefn,  
stemn*

*terrible, gryrelic, atol*

*territory, éðel*

*terror, gryre, bróga, óga*

*test, cunnian, gecunnian, áfandian*

*testimony, gewitnis*

*than, ðonne, w. comparatives*

*thane, þegen*

*thank, v., þancian*

*thanks, þanc ; (thanks to God),  
Godes þances*

*that, ðæt, ðætte, ðe ;—in order that,  
for ðám ðæt*

*thatch, s., þæc*

*thaw, þáwan*

*the, se (m.), seó (f.), ðæt (n.)*

*the...the (with comparatives), swá...  
swá*

*the greater, ðý mára (correlatively)*

*thee, ðé, ðec*

*thefst, þífð*

*their, hira*

*them, hí, hig (acc.) ; him (dat.)*

*then, ðonne, ðá, ðær*

*thence, ðanon ; (from that cause),  
ðæs*

*there, ðær*

*therefore, ðý, for ðý, for ðám*

*these, ðás*

*they, hí, hig*

*they were...ðæt wáron...*

*thick, þicce*

*thief, þeóf, sceada*

*thigh, þeóh*

*thin, þynne*

*thine, ðín*

*thing, þing, wiht, wuht*

*think, þencan, hyccan, gemyntan ;  
—of, þencan ;—about, hogian*

*third, þridda*

*thirst, v., þyrstan*

*thirst, þurst*

*thirty, þritig, þrittig*

*thirtyfold, þritigfeald*

*this, ðes*

*thisrtle, þistel*

*thither, ðider, ðiderweardes, ðider-*

*weard, ðær*

*thong, þwang*

*thorn, þorn*

*those, ðá*

*thou, ðú*

*though, ðeah, ðeh ; though...yet,  
ðeah ðe...ðeah*

*thought, geþóht, þanc, geþanc, mód-  
geþóht, módgeþanc, inngeþanc,*

*gehygd*

*thoughtful, þancol, þancolmód*

thousand, þúsend  
 thousands, in, þúsendmáelum  
 thrall, þræl  
 thrash, þerscan  
 thread, þráed  
 threat, beót  
 threaten, þréagan, þréán, þréatian  
 threatening, þréágung, þréáung  
 three, þreó, þrí, þry  
 thresh, þerscan  
 thrice, þriwa  
 thrill; see pierce  
 throat, þrotu  
 throne, stól, setl, cynesetl, þrymm-  
     setl  
 throng, geþrang, menigu  
 throng, v., þringan  
 through, þurh  
 throughout, þurh, geond  
 throw, weorpan, wurpan, beweorp-  
     an;—away, áweorpan [þráwan =  
     to twist]  
 thumb, þúma  
 thunder, þunor  
 Thursday, þunresdæg  
 thus, ðus  
 tide; see time  
 tile, tigele  
 till, v., tilian  
 timber; see building  
 time, tíd, tíma, hwíl, mæl, stund,  
     þrag; (occasion), sál, cirr;—  
     time (space of), fæc;—from time  
     to time, stundum;—(how many  
     times), síð;—at no time, náhwær  
 time, wrong (unsuitable season),  
     untíma  
 tin, tinn  
 tinder, tynder  
 tired, méðe, wérig  
 to, tó  
 toad, táde  
 to-day, tó dæg  
 toe, tá  
 together, tógædere, ætgædere, on  
     geador, aetsomne, endemes, sam-  
     od  
 toil, earfoð, geswinc  
 toil, winnan  
 token, tácen, tácn  
 toll, toll  
 tomb, byrgen  
 tongs, tange (pl. tangan)  
 tongue, tunge  
 too, tó  
 tool, tól  
 tooth, tóð

top, topp, copp  
 touch, hrepian, hrínan  
 tough, tóh  
 torment, wíte, susl, tintreg  
 torment, v., wítian, tintregian  
 towards, tóweard, ongeán, ongén;  
     tógeánes, w. dat.; wið, w. dat.,  
     acc., or gen.;—towards heaven,  
     wið ðæs hefones weard  
 tower, stípel  
 town, tún  
 track, spor, gang, lást, swæð, swaðu  
 track, to make a, spyrian  
 traitor, wærloga  
 transform, forscippan  
 transitory, hwílwende, hwílwendlic,  
     láne  
 translate, wendan, áwendan, árecc-  
     an  
 translater, wealhstód  
 trappings, geráede, hyrst  
 travel, faran, áfaran  
 traverse, geondfaran, geondhweorf-  
     an, geondlácán, oferfaran, ofer-  
     gán, þurhfaran, þurhirnan, tredan,  
     metan  
 treacherous, lytig, swicol, fácenfull  
 treacherous, to be, swician  
 treachery, ungetréowð, fácen, searu,  
     searucraeft  
 tread, tredan  
 treason, hláfordswice  
 treasure, goldhord, hord, hordfæt,  
     sinc, máðum, mádm:  
 treaty, wær  
 tree, treów, beám  
 tremble, bifian  
 trespass, forwyrcan, reflex., ágyltan  
 trial, fandung  
 tribe, mægð, cneórís  
 tribute, gafol, sceatt, nídgild  
 trick, wrenc  
 trim (strengthen), trymman  
 trinity, þrínis  
 troop, féða, flocc, gemang, heáp,  
     hlóð, gefylce, getrum, getruma,  
     sweót, þréát, werod, worn;—by  
     troops, floccmáelum  
 trouble, s., gedréfednis, bysgu, ge-  
     winn, weá  
 troubled, gedréfed  
 trough, trog, troh  
 true, sóð, sóðfæst, treówe, riht;  
     (faithful), trywe  
 truly, sóðlice  
 trust (in), treówian, truwian, w. dat.  
 trusty, gecost

*truth*, sóð, sóðfæstnis, treówð  
*try*, fandian, áfandian  
*tub*, cyfu  
*Tuesday*, Tiwes dæg  
*tumult*, gebland, gewinn  
*tun*, tunne  
*tunic*, tunece  
*turbid*, to become, drusian  
*turf*, turf  
*turn*, wendan, áwendan, cirran,  
  gehvirfan, gehweorfan; (*become*),  
  wendan; *intrans.*, windan  
*turn*, in, wrixendlice  
*tusk*, tusc, tóð  
*twain*, twegen (*masc.*)  
*twelfth*, twelfta  
*twelve*, twelf  
*twenty*, twentig  
*twice*, tuwa  
*twig*, twig  
*twin*, getwisa;—*twins*, getwinne  
*twine*, twín  
*twinkle*, twinclian  
*twist*, windan, þráwan  
*twit*, ætwitan, edwítan  
*two*, twegen, *masc.*, twá, *fem.* and  
  *neut.*  
*type*, getácnung

## U

*udder*, úder  
*unallowed*, unálífed  
*unanimous*, ánmód  
*unanimously*, ánmódlice  
*unawares*, on ungearwe  
*unbaptized*, ungefullod  
*unbelief*, ungeleáffulnis  
*unbelieving*, ungeleáffull, geleáfleás  
*unburnt*, unforbærned  
*uncle*, eám  
*unconsciously*, ungewisses  
*uncouth*; see *unknown*  
*uncover*, onwreón, onwríðan; (*unwind*), unwindan  
*undefended*, firdleás  
*undefiled*, ungewemmed, unwemme  
*under*, under, *w. dat. and acc.*  
*understand*, ongitan, oncnáwan, for-  
  standan, understandan  
*understanding*, gewitt  
*unhappiness*, ungesálð  
*unhappy*, ungesélig  
*unhealthy*, wanhl  
*unite* (*draw together*), geánlácan  
*unity*, ánnis  
*unknown*, uncúð

*unlawful*, unálífed  
*unless*, nemne, nefne, búton  
*unlike*, ungelíc  
*unlock*, onlúcan  
*unmindful*, ungemyndig  
*unopposed*, unbefohten  
*unreasoning*, ungewittig  
*unrighteousness*, unrihtwísniſ  
*unsold*, unbebóht  
*unstable*, tealt  
*unsuitable*, ungerisenlic  
*unsuitably*, ungerisenlice  
*until*, óð, usu. *w. acc.*  
*until*, conj., óð ðæt, óð  
*unworthily*, unweorðlice  
*up*, up; *adv.*, uppe  
*upon*, onufan, *w. dat.*, onuppan,  
  *w. dat.*; upon, *w. dat. and acc.*  
*upwards*, up  
*us*, ús  
*use*, notu, nytt  
*use*, v., brúcan, *w. gen.*; neótan,  
  *w. gen.*;—*use up* (*consume*), genot-  
  ian  
*used to*, to be, willan  
*useful*, nyttwirðe  
*useless*, unnytt, ídel  
*usual*, gewunelic  
*utility*, nytt  
*uttermost*, ýtemest

## V

*vaguely*, unfaestlice  
*vain*, ídel;—*in vain*, on ídelnisse  
*vale* (*open broad valley*), slæd  
*valley*, denu, dæl  
*valour*, dryhtscipe  
*vane*, fana  
*vapour*, steám, þrosm  
*variegated*, fáh, fág  
*various*, mislic, mistlic, missenlic,  
  syndrig  
*vat*, fæt  
*venerable*, árweord  
*venture on*, genéðan  
*verily*, sóðlice  
*verse*, fers  
*vertebra*, bánhring  
*very*, swíðe, for, full, þearle;—*very*  
  *old*, oreald  
*vessel*, fæt, fætels, cyfu, cylle  
*vice*, uncyst, unsidu, unþeáw  
*victorious*, sigfæst, sigoreádig  
*victory*, sige, sigor, hréð  
*vigorously*, stranglice  
*vilify*, hirwan, bismerian

*village*, tún, castel  
*vineyard*, wíngéard  
*violate*, tóbrecan  
*violence*, níd  
*violent*, hetelic, hetol, hæst  
*violently*, hetelice  
*virgin*, mægden, mæden, mægð, fámne; (*poet.*), meówle  
*virginity*, mægðhád  
*virtue*, cyst, mægen, árfæstnis  
*virtuous*, cystig, árfæst  
*visible*, gesíne  
*visit*, sécan; neósan, *w. gen.*  
*visitation*, neósung  
*vital*, líflíc  
*vixen*, fyfen  
*voice*, stefn, stemn, gereord  
*voluntarily*, selfwilles

## W

*wade*, wadan  
*wag*, wagian  
*waggon*, wægn  
*wailing*, þoterung  
*wain*; *see waggon*  
*wait*, andbíðian;—*for*, onbídan; bíðan, *w. gen.*;—*upon*, folgian  
*wake*, wacan  
*walk*, wealcan  
*wall*, weall, wah  
*wallow*, wealwian  
*wall-stone*, weallstán  
*walrus*, horshwæl  
*wan*, wann  
*wander*, scríðan, wandrian  
*wandering*, adj., wæfre  
*wane*, wanian  
*wanton*, gálmóð, gálferhð  
*wantonness*, gáelsa  
*war*, wíg, winn, gewinn, gúð, hild, heaðu, sacu, orlege, unfrið: (*poet.*), beadu  
*ward*, weard  
*war-expedition*, heresíð  
*war-horn*, gúðhorn  
*warily*, wærlice  
*warm*, wearm  
*warn*, gewearnian  
*warning*, wearnung  
*warning, to take*, warnian, reflex.  
*warrior*, guma, cempa, wíga, wíg-end, oretta, dreng, freca, hyse, gárberend, sceótend, gúðfreca, gúðrinc, heáðurinc; herewæða, hildedeór, hilderinc, wáépenwíga, beadurinc, firdrinc, lindhæbben-

de, lindwígend, randwíga, randwígend, folcwíga, hagustealdmonn, swordfreca, wælwulf; (*poet.*), byrnwíga, byrnwígend, rinc, hæle, hæleð, beorn, eorl, þegen, secg  
*war-song*, hildeleoð, gúðleoð  
*wary*, wær  
*was*, wæs  
*wash*, þweahan, þweán, áþweán, wacsan  
*wasp*, wæps, wesp  
*waste*, wéstre  
*waste, to lay*, wéstan, áwéstan  
*watch*, s., weard  
*watch*, wæccan; *intrans.*, wacian;—*over*, eahtian  
*watchful*, wæccende  
*water*, wæter, lagu  
*wave*, wæg, waðum, ýð  
*wax*, s., weax  
*wax (to grow)*, weaxan  
*way*, weg  
*way, to clear a*, gerýman  
*wayfaring*, wegfarende  
*we*, wé  
*weak*, wác, untrum, wanhál, unmihlig  
*weak, to become*, wácian  
*weaken*, gelífan  
*weakness*, uncræft, untrunnis;—weakness of mind, wácmódnis  
*weal*; *see wealth*  
*wealth*, wela (*often in pl.* welan).  
*wealthy*, welig  
*wean*, wenian  
*weapon*, wáépen  
*wear*, werian  
*weary*, wérig, méðe  
*weasel*, wesle  
*weather*, weder  
*weave*, wefan  
*web*, webb  
*wed*; *see pledge*  
*wedge*, wecg  
*Wednesday*, Wódnesdæg  
*weed*, weód  
*weeds (garments)*, wáeda, *pl.*  
*week*, wicu, wucu  
*ween*, wénan  
*weep*, wépan, reótan, greótan, gráet an  
*weeping*, wóp  
*weevil*, wifel  
*weigh*, wégan  
*weird*; *see fate*  
*welkin (sky)*, wolcen

well, s., willa	why, hwý, hwæt
well, wel, tela	wicked, lyðre, mánfull, fracod, in-
Welsh, Welsc	widd, árleás
wen, wenn	wickedly, árleáslice, mánfullice
wend; see turn	wickedness, yfel, yfelnis, mán
went, eode	wide, wíd, síd, ginn
were, wáeron	widely, wide, side
west, west	widely known, wídcúð
west, from the, westan	widen, gerýman
west of, be westan, <i>w. dat.</i>	widow, widuwe, wuduwe
west quarter, westdæl	wield ( <i>a weapon</i> ), wealdan
westwards, westlang, westweard,	wife, gebedde, wíf
west	wight, wiht
west wind, westanwind	wild, wilde
wet, wáet	wilderness, wéstén
wet, v., wáetan	wile, wíle
wether, weðer	will, s., willa, gewill ;—of one's own
whale, hwæl	will, selfwilles ;—against his will,
whale-fisher, hwælhunta	his unþances
whale-fishery, hwælhuntað	willingly, georne, geornlice, lustlice
what, hwæt, hwilc	willingness, willsumnis
wheat, hwéte	willow, wilig
wheel, hweðl	win, gewinnan ; ( <i>by fighting</i> ), ge-
wheeze, hwéasan	feohtan
whelk, weolc	wind, s., wind
whelp, hwelp	wind, windan
when, hwanne, hwænne, ðær, tó	windy, windig
ðæs ðe ; ( <i>when that</i> ), ðá ðá, mid	wine, wín
ðám ðe, mid ðý	wing, feðer
when...then, ðonne...ðonne, ðá...ðá	wink, wincian
whence, hwanon	winnow, windwian
where, hwær, hwar, ðær	winsome ( <i>pleasant</i> ), wynnsum
wherefore, for hwý	winter, winter
wherever, swá hwider swá	wire, wír
whet, hwettan	wisdom, wísdóm, snotornis
whether, hwæðer	wise, wís, witig, snotor, fród, ræd-
whether...or, sam...sam	faest, hygeþancol
whey, hwæg	wise, s. ( <i>way</i> ), wíse
which, hwilc	wise man, wita, wítega, wítga
which of the two, hwæðer	wish, willa
whichever, swá hwæðer swá	wish, v., willan, wýscan ;—for, hog-
while, ðenden	ian, <i>w. gen.</i> , gelystan, <i>impers.</i>
while, s., hwíl	<i>w. acc. of pers. and gen. of thing</i>
whilst, ðá hwíle ðe	wish, not to, nyllan
whine, hwínan	wit, s., gewitt
whirlpool, wæl	wit ( <i>to know</i> ), witan
whisper, hwisprian	witch, wicce
whistle, hwistlian	with, mid
whit, wiht	wither, forweornian, forseóðan
white, hwít, blác	withhold, forhealdan ; gestíran, <i>w.</i>
whither, hwider, hwær, ðær	<i>dat. of pers. and gen. of thing</i> ;
whithersoever, swá hwider swá	ofteón, <i>w. instrum.</i> ; wirnan, wyrnan,
who, ðe, se ðe, se ; hwá?	<i>w. gen. (and also w. dat. of person)</i>
whoever, swá hwilc swá	within, oninnan, <i>w. dat.</i> , wiðinnan,
whole, hál, onsund	<i>w. dat.</i> ; adv. ( <i>also as prep. w. dat.</i> ), innan, binnan
whoop, hwópan	
whose, hwás	

*without*, wiðútan, *w. dat.*; búton,  
*w. dat.*  
*witness*, gewitnis, gewita  
*woad*, wád  
*woe*, wá (*exclamation*)  
*woe*, weá  
*woe, sign of*, weátácen  
*woe, tidings of*, weáspell  
*wolf*, wulf  
*woman*, wíf, wífmann; (*poet.*), ides  
*womb*, innoð; (*belly*), wamb  
*wonder*, wundor  
*wonder at*, v., wundrian, *w. gen.*  
*wonderful*, wundorlic  
*wont, to be*, gewunian  
*wanted*, gewunelic  
*woo*, wógian  
*wood*, treów; (*forest*), wudu, holt,  
  holtwudu, weald  
*wool*, wull  
*word*, word  
*work*, weorc  
*work, v.*, wyrcan  
*worker*, wyrhta  
*world*, middangeard, woruld;—*cir-*  
  *cuit of the*, ymbhwirft  
*worldly*, woruldlic  
*worm*, wyrm, maða  
*worse, to become*, wirsian  
*worse, wirsa*  
*worship, s.*, weorðung, wurðung  
*worship*, weorðian, wurðian  
*worst*, wirst  
*wort*, wyrt  
*worth, s.*, weord, wurð; duguð  
*worth, to be*, dugan  
*worthy*, weord, wirð  
*wot, I*, ic wát  
*would, I*, ic wolde  
*wound*, wund, dolg; (*poet.*), benn  
*wound*, forwundian, gesárgian  
*wounded*, dolgwund, wund  
*woven*, gebroden  
*wreak*, wrecan  
*wreath*, wréð  
*wren*, wrénnna  
*wrench*, wrencan  
*wrest*, wréstan  
*wretch, poor*, earming

*wretched*, earm, earmlic, wræcfull  
*wretchedly*, earmlice  
*wright (worker)*, wyrhta  
*wring*, wringan  
*wrist*, wrist  
*write*, wrítan  
*writer*, wrítere  
*writhe*, wríðan  
*writing*, gewrit  
*wrong*, unriht, wrang, unrihtlic,  
  wrangwís  
*wrong, s.*, unriht  
*wroth*, wráð  
*wrought (did work)*, worhte

## Y

*yard (court)*, geard  
*yard (measure)*, gerd  
*yarn*, gearn  
*ye, ge*  
*yea, geá*  
*year, geár, gér*; (*in reckoning time*),  
  winter  
*yearn*, gernan  
*yeast*, gist  
*yell*, gylian  
*yellow*, geolo  
*yelp*, gelpan  
*yes, gese, gise*  
*yesternight*, gistran niht  
*yet, ðeah, ðeh*, ðeahhwæðere, gén;  
  (*w. neg.*), git  
*yew, íw*  
*yield*, sellan;—*up*, linnan, *w. in-*  
  *strum.* [*gildan=to pay*]  
*yoke*, geoc  
*yolk*, geolca  
*yore, of*, geára  
*yore, days of*, firndagas, geárdagas;—  
  former years, firngeár  
*you, eów*  
*young*, geóng, unweaxen  
*your, eower*  
*youth*, geóguð; (*young man*), hyse

## Z

*zeal*, anda, ellen, ellenwóðnis

A N  
ENGLISH-ANGLO-SAXON  
VOCABULARY.

COMPILED BY

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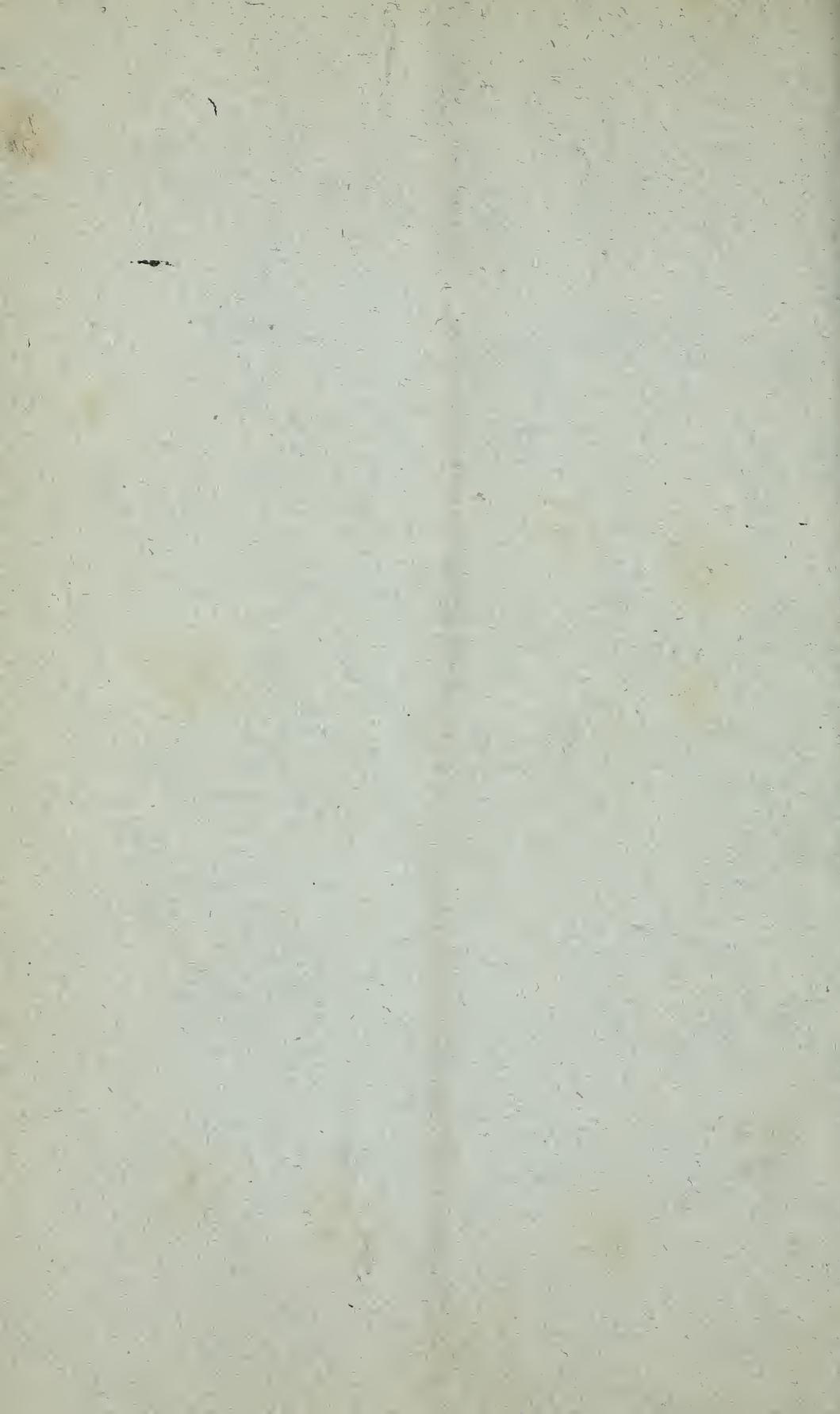
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# Heinrich von Huntingdon.

Von

F. Liebermann.

Herrn Prof. Mayor  
Mit aufrichtigmoller  
Empfehlung der dankbare  
F.



Heinrich von Huntingdon hat für die anglolateinische Literaturgeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts in dreifacher Beziehung hohe Bedeutung: als Dichter, dann als Compilator geschriebener und mündlicher, englischer sowohl als lateinischer Nachrichten zur angelsächsischen Geschichte, endlich als selbständiger Historiker seiner Zeit, des zweiten Viertels des zwölften Jahrhunderts.

Wir kennen seine Lebensgeschichte nur aus seinen Werken. Auch was von letzteren ungedruckt ist, ergiebt nur wenig mehr als seine bisherigen Biographien boten. Der erste derselben, Johannes Capgrave<sup>1</sup>, schrieb schon unter Heinrich VI., der letzte, Sir T. D. Hardy<sup>2</sup>, faßt viele frühere Forschungen zusammen und fügt zuerst einen z. Th. ausführlichen Bericht über 45 noch vorhandene Handschriften bei.

## I.

Heinrichs Geburtsjahr wird nicht vor c. a. 1080 anzusetzen sein (da er noch 1155 literarisch arbeitete, 1094 'puerulus' gewesen sein und seinen 1092 verstorbenen Diözesan-Bischof Remigius „nicht mehr gekannt“ haben will), und nicht später als c. a. 1085, da er 1110 Archidiacon wurde, noch vor 1123 nicht mehr adolescens oder juvenis, sondern schon vir gewesen ist, sich 1135 senex nennt und schon von 1087 an vorgiebt zu erzählen quae vidimus aut audivimus<sup>3</sup>.

Sein Vater hieß Nicolaus<sup>4</sup>. Er wurde von jenem Remigius von Lincoln, der sonst fast ausnahmslos Ausländer<sup>5</sup> anstellte, zum

<sup>1</sup> Liber de illustribus Heinricis (Rolls Ser. 7) c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. rel. to the Hist. of Great-Britain (Rolls Ser. 26) II, S. 269, im Folgenden citirt als H. — Die Londoner, Oxfordner und Cambridger Hdff., etwa 29, habe ich eingesehen. Wo „Arundel“ genannt ist, ist die Sammlung des Britt. Mus., nicht des Herald's Office (Collegium Armorum) gemeint.

<sup>3</sup> Aus Epist. de Cont. mundi, Prol. u. c. 1 und Hist. Anglor. Prol. ad L. VII.

<sup>4</sup> Aus Obigem erhellt, daß er vor der normannischen Eroberung geboren war. Unter den Angelsachsen war der Taufname Nicolaus ungebräuchlich.

<sup>5</sup> S. die Namen im Cont. mundi c. 1: von etwa 30 sind 28 continental.

Archidiacon über drei Grafschaften gesetzt. Beides spricht dafür, daß er diesseits des Canals geboren sein wird. Heinrichs eigenen Vornamen, einige Gallicismen<sup>1</sup> in seinem Latein, die Schwierigkeit, die ihm das Angelsächsische machte, seine Ansicht über die normannische Eroberung wage ich doch nicht, als zwingende Gründe für die Annahme seiner continentalen Abstammung anzusehen. — Aber die Mutter, deren Heinrich als Sohn eines Geistlichen nirgends erwähnt, wird Engländerin gewesen sein: seine Liebe für das englische Volk im Gegensatz zu den Normannen, für dessen Geschichte, Sagen und Gesänge wäre sonst unerklärlich.

In oder nahe Huntingdon wird Heinrich geboren sein: dort war sein Vater schon vor 1092 Archidiacon; die Diöcese Lincoln allein kennt er auffallend genau, besonders den Fen-District, und für sie allein zeigt er Localpatriotismus.

Dort, in der Abtei Ramsey<sup>2</sup>, ist er zwischen 1091 und 1102 erzogen worden. Früh erhielt er, was angehende Cleriker damals allgemein erstrebten, einen Platz im Gefolge eines Prälaten, nämlich des Robert Bloet, der Kanzler des Eroberers<sup>3</sup> und Wilhelms II., dann seit 1094 Bischof von Lincoln und bis kurz vor seinem Tod, 1123, einer der ersten Staatsmänner Heinrichs I. war. Durch den Glanz dieses neuen Patrons wurde unser Heinrich geblendet<sup>4</sup>: ein Beweis, daß er aus keiner großen Familie war. Robert versammelte neben Rittern und vornehmen Jünglingen — ein Bastard des Königs war unter ihnen — auch Gelehrte um sich. Den Albinus Andegavensis, der schon von Remigius am Dome von Lincoln angestellt war, bezeichnet Heinrich als magister meus<sup>5</sup>. Die Lincolner Domherren jener Zeit hat Heinrich oft im Chor gesehen und nennt dem Domdechanten decanus noster<sup>6</sup>. Doch folgt daraus nicht, daß er selbst Domherr gewesen ist.

Noch bevor Nicolaus „der Stern des Lincolner Clerus, schön an Leib und Seele“<sup>7</sup>, wie ihn der Sohn besingt, 1109/10 starb, war Cambridgeshire von der Diöcese Lincoln abgetrennt worden. Für die beiden übrigen Grafschaften Huntingdon und Hertford erbte Heinrich den Erzdiaconat: nicht selten ging damals noch ein kirchliches Amt vom Vater auf den Sohn über. In dieser Eigenschaft bestätigte er als

<sup>1</sup> Servicium magni constamenti (service de grand coût), nachgewiesen von D'Achery, ib. c. 6. — 'Werra', Hist. Angl. s. a. 1111, beweist nichts: auch die ags. Annalen s. a. 1140 brauchen das Wort.

<sup>2</sup> Cont. m. c. 6: Ealdwine 'dominus abbas meus'. Nicht Reginald ist Heinrichs 'preceptor' gewesen oder gar 'friend'. Im Gegentheil. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. c. 2. Sonst nur als Kanzler Wilhelm II. bekannt.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. c. 2. Leland hat diese Nachricht nicht aus Unedirtem!

<sup>6</sup> Ib. c. 1 u. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. c. 1; Histor. A. s. a. 9 Henr. I; Nicolaus unter den zur Translation der h. Etheldreda von Abt Richard nach Ely eingeladenen Prälaten: Hist. Elyensis (ed. Anglia Christiana) S. 289.

quidam litterarum peritissimus, senio atque canitie venerandus', wie ihn der Historiker von Ely rühmt, dem amico carissimo Alexandro priori Elyensi (dieser begegnet, wie es scheint, nicht viel vor 1154), daß Nicolaus der Erzdiacon von Cambridge oder seine Vorgänger niemals von einem Gottesgerichte in Elys Immunitätsbereiche Sporteln bezogen hätten<sup>1</sup>.

Nach seiner Selbstschilderung in den Epigrammen erfreute er sich eines behäbigen Wohlstandes. Auch wurde er von seinen Bischöfen öfters ins Vertrauen gezogen: a. 1122 hörte er Robert bei Tafel bitter über den Verlust der königlichen Gnade klagen. Dessen Nachfolger Alexander hat er 1130 die englische Geschichte gewidmet. Er theilte mit diesem und mit dessen Familie, die das ganze 12. Jahrh. hindurch einen Hauptantheil an der Regierung gehabt hat, die Vorliebe für die Partei der Kaiserin. — Als er den Erzbischof Theobald 1139 auf der Romreise begleitete, die dieser Ende Januar mit mehreren Prälaten zum April-Concil antrat<sup>2</sup>, hat er wahrscheinlich in Alexanders Auftrage gehandelt und Innocenz II. Privileg für Lincoln vom 28. April<sup>3</sup> erwirkt. Möglich, daß Alexander schon damals den Boden am königlichen Hofe wanken fühlte — er ward im Juni mit seinen Verwandten gestürzt — und deshalb in Rom einen Rückhalt suchte: wie denn seine Familie im August offen den Papst gegen den König anrief.

Auf dieser Reise nach Rom begegnete Heinrich in Bec dem Mönche Robert von Torigni<sup>4</sup>, theilte ihm seine englische Geschichte mit und machte sich dagegen einen Auszug aus Gottfried Arthurs (von Monmouth) Historia Britonum.

Auch sonst scheint er nicht immer an seinen Amtssprengel gebunden gewesen zu sein und nicht bloß die Kirchen des östlichen Mittel-Englands, sondern auch York, London, Winchester gesehen zu haben.

Zum Hofe hatte er keine näheren Beziehungen: zwar widmete er Heinrich I. sein 'De serie regum', besingt die Könige und ihre Gemahlinnen kriechend genug; doch die heftigen Angriffe gegen die Unsitthlichkeit des Thronerben Wilhelm und seiner Umgebung, der Spott<sup>5</sup> gegen Cleriker, die nach Magnatengnust buhlen, während sie Weltverachtung predigen, der Mangel an Interesse für politische Actenstücke, endlich das Nicht-Vorkommen seines Namens auf (gedruckten) Urkunden jener Zeit würden sich bei einem clericus regis nicht erklären lassen. — Die Bassett und Ridel, denen er „einst gern

<sup>1</sup> Ib. S. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Johann von Hexham; Contin. des Florenz von Worcester s. a.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffé, Reg. Pontif. 5724. Heinrichs Begleiter, der Bischof von Coventry, erhält seine Bulle auch erst am 18. April, ib. 5711.

<sup>4</sup> Dessen Chronik ed. Delisle (Soc. de l'hist. de Normandie) I, S. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Cont. m. c. 1 und die Satire 'Carmen puerile'. Und doch ärgert er sich, daß die Großen, im Gegensatz zu Harthacnute viermaligem Tafeln, nach 'consuetudo nostri temporis semel in die tantum suis escas anteponant'.

gefällig war"<sup>1</sup>, mag er auf deren Richterreisen kennen gelernt, durch Geschenke sich vor ihren Chicanen geschützt haben.

Heinrich starb in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1155<sup>2</sup>, wenige Monate nach der Krönung des ersten Anjou-Königs, mit welcher das letzte, zehnte Buch der Historia endet. Er beabsichtigte diesem ein neues, elfstes Buch<sup>3</sup> zu widmen, als ihm der Tod die Feder entwand.

## II.

Heinrichs früheste Schriften, deren er doch auch im Alter noch gern gedachte, sind die — seit Yelands Zeiten wie es scheint verlorenen — sechs Bücher 'Epigrammata jocunda'<sup>4</sup>, verschiedenen Metrums und Inhalts, 'ridiculosi, religiosis non adeo utiles', darunter 'In amorem, Proelia Veneris'. Von einem bei Wright (Biogr. Britann. liter. II, 169) 'On herbs' betitelten und ihm zu folge dem Macer — damit ist wohl der Arzt Odo gemeint — nachgeahmten Carmen citirt Yeland zwei Eingangsdistichen, eine Widmung an Phöbus und die Mäuse. Vielleicht bilden einen Theil dieses Gedichts die in MS. Br. Mus. 24061 zwischen Ende der Historia und Explicit eingeschalteten 34 Hexameter über Medicinen, namentlich Kräuter zur Augenheilung<sup>5</sup>.

Denen sechs Büchern folgten einst die wol noch von Heinrich selbst der Historia Anglorum als Buch 11 und 12 angehängten Epigrammata seria. Buch 11<sup>6</sup> enthält einige zwanzig Satiren und Epigramme im Geschmacke des Horaz und Martial. Zum Theil scharf pointirt, verspotten sie den Geizhals, den Verleumder, den Neidischen, warnen vor Liebesleidenschaft und Ruhmsucht, oder erzählen anschaulich, z. Th. nachweislich nach eigenen Erlebnissen, des Tages Thorheit. Die Distichen reimen hier und da; ein Klageruf über Englands Unglück zu Stephans Zeit ist in kurzen modernen Versen. — Ein Epigramm auf Robert Bloet findet sich in der Historia s. a. 1123

<sup>1</sup> Cont. m. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cont. m. erwähnt noch den am 5. Juni 1155 geweihten Robert II. von Exeter; aber im selben Jahre findet sich als Erzdiakon von Huntingdon Nicolaus de Sigillo. Der Vorname ist zwar der von Heinrichs Vater. Doch hält Stubbs (Vorr. zu Radulf de Diceto I, S. XXXV) ihn verwandt mit dem Bischof Robert de Sigillo von London. Und eines Archidiaconus Sohn hätte schwerlich auf des Vaters Stand so gescholten, wie Nicolaus nach Johann von Salisbury Ep. 166 that.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Reg. 13 B. VI u. Coll. Magd. Ox. 36, s. XIV, enden, ähnlich wie Buch VII, 'et jam regi novo novus liber donandus est', und MS. Corp. Chr. Cambr. 280 fügt dem hinzu 'Explicit liber X. Hic incipit liber XI. de Henrico juniori'.

<sup>4</sup> Prol. u. Epil. zu Cont. m.; Prol. zu B. XI; namentlich aber zu B. XII.

<sup>5</sup> Das Drakel der Diana bei Hardy II, S. 270† ist dagegen aus Gottfried von Monmouth.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Wright in Anglo-Latin Satirists (Rolls Ser. 59) nach MS. Lambeth 118. Zahl und Überschriften stimmen mit MS. Coll. Joh. Cambr. G. 16; nur müssen die zwei letzten Verse von De Superbia II, 166 ein sonderliches Epigramm 'De inani curia' bilden.

nochmals. Das ist neben mancher Stylähnlichkeit<sup>1</sup> ein Beweis, daß die anderen zahlreichen Epigramme in der Historia — die übrigens im Ganzen gezwungener und stereotyper sind — ebenfalls von Heinrich selbst herrühren, auch wo er seine Autorschaft nicht deutlich angiebt. Nur einmal nennt er als Verfasser des Epitaphs auf Wilhelm von Flandern den Walo versicator<sup>2</sup>, und in der geographischen Einleitung führt er Verse aus einem Gedicht zum Preise Englands an, von denen die zwei ersten auch in einem an gleicher Stelle bei Thomas Otterbourne eingeschalteten, übrigens anders lautenden Gedichte vorkommen; dieses hat seinerseits wieder einige Verse mit dem im N. Archiv I, 1876, S. 600 gedruckten gemeinsam. Zu dieser Stelle bringt MS. Reg. 13 B. VI die Randnotiz s. XIV. ex. 'Isti sunt versus Alfredi'. — Fälle, in denen Heinrich „aus lateinischen Poeten, die nicht mehr vorhanden sind, citirt“, sind jedenfalls nicht „häufig“. In einigen Sammlungen gleichzeitiger Gedichte (MSS. Cott. Tit. DXXIV, s. XII. ex. und Bodl. Laud. 86) stehen Epigramme aus der Historia neben Hildebert von Le Mans und sind daher diesem irrig zugeschrieben worden.

Das erste Buch ist einem Jugendfreunde, Namens Walter, gewidmet, mit dem er zusammen im Lincolner Dome fungirt hat: laut dem Prolog zu dem ebenfalls an ihn gerichteten aber erst nach Walters Tode vollendeten Briefe De contemptu mundi. Unrichtig hat man diesen Freund mit dem Archidiaconus Walter Calenus von Oxford (von dem Gottfried die keltische Vorlage seiner Historia Britonum bekommen haben will) identifiziert: von letzterem Walter spricht der Brief als 'superlative rhetoricus'<sup>3</sup> entschieden in dritter Person. Und Heinrich würde die gesuchte Britengeschichte doch eher in Oxford bei seinem Freunde als in Bec gefunden haben! Oder man hat an Abt Walter von Ramsej gedacht; dieser starb aber erst 1161, mehrere Jahre nach Abschluß des Briefes De contemptu.

Das zwölftste Buch enthält einen hexametrischen Hymnus auf Gott als Wunderháter im alten Bund, als Christus, als Erlöser; dann eine Ode im dritten asclepiadeischen Metrum auf Christ als Tilger der Erbsünde, dann wieder schwungvolle Hexameter auf Gott in der Natur und auf Christus als im alten Testamente Verheißenen. Hierauf folgt eine Ode<sup>4</sup> auf der Tugend „Duft, schöner denn alle Wohlgerüche“. — An Umfang und Bedeutung ist das Hauptstück

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. das Lob auf Königin Adeliz mit dem auf Heinrich II., das er mit 'sic diximus' einleitet.

<sup>2</sup> Epigramm eines Magister Walo bei Giraldus Cambrensis, De invent. I, 3. Gedicht eines Gualo an Gerbert, der dem Gualo, dem Ohne des Dichters, im Bisthum Paris nachfolgt, in Opp. Hildeberti Cenomannensis ed. Beaugendre, S. 1325. — An Gualo Brito, den Verfasser der Invectiva in monachos zu denken, ist ohne Grund.

<sup>3</sup> Ähnlich Gottfried, Prol. ad Hist. Brit. 'vir in oratoria arte atque exteris historiis eruditus'.

<sup>4</sup> Versmaß:  $\overline{\text{oo}} \overline{\text{oo}} - || - \overline{\text{--}} \text{v} - ..$

dieses Buches: 'De amore virtutis per allegoriam'. Es beginnt und endet mit je drei Strophenpaaren, von denen jede Einzelstrophe aus zwei Distichen besteht. In der Mitte stehen zwei Strophenpaare, jede Einzelstrophe zu acht Distichen; so daß also das Ganze 112 Verse zählt. — Dieses Zwiesgespräch zwischen amicus (dilectus) und amica hat von seinem Original, dem Lied der Lieder, die concrete Plastik so gut bewahrt, daß nur der Titel an eine Allegorie erinnert. Die Bilder sind der Zahl nach vermehrt, aber die lebenswarme Ausführung fehlt; in dem Mittelstück ist die biblische Farbe durch pedantisches Brüten mit seltenen Namen von Naturgegenständen — die dann oft falsch declinirt und gemessen sind — verwischt. Endlich ermüdet die Regelmäßigkeit, womit einer Strophe stets die Gegenstrophe genau gleiche Wendungen und gleiche Zahl von Gedanken folgen läßt<sup>1</sup>.

Schon der ersten<sup>2</sup> Ausgabe der Historia Anglorum folgt eine Betrachtung über Vergänglichkeit alles Irdischen und des Weltende — Heinrich hält es mit dem Bischofe Herbert Lofinge von Norwich, dessen Schriften er auch sonst citirt<sup>3</sup>, noch nicht für nahe bevorstehend. — Dieses Stück giebt sich als 1130<sup>4</sup> verfaßt und bezieht sich auf die Historia. In den späteren Ausgaben leitet es drei zwischen 1130 und 1155 bearbeitete Briefe ein und zählt mit ihnen unter dem Titel De summitatibus<sup>5</sup> rerum als achtes Buch. Doch bringen schon einige alte Handschriften die Geschichte Stephans von der vorhergehenden ungetrennt als achtes Buch und nennen dann die Briefe Buch 10<sup>6</sup>. — Den Schluß jener Einleitung hat Capgrave a. a. D. abgeschrieben: nur da ist er gedruckt. Gesondert erscheint weder das ganze Buch noch ein Theil daraus in alten Handschriften<sup>7</sup>.

Der erste jener Briefe ist die nach 1131<sup>8</sup> an Heinrich I. ge-

<sup>1</sup> In alten Hdff. begegnen diese Gedichte nirgends separat, sondern stets als B. 11 u. 12 s. H. und dazu MS. Coll. Joh. Cambr. G. 16 s. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Hengwrt 101. Coll. Om. Anim. Oxfd. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Cont. m. c. 6. Vale kennt von ihm De fine mundi und De prolixitate temporum.

<sup>4</sup> a. 30 Henr. I. Hengwrt. u. Om. An. Die folgenden Zahlen, nam. a. 1163, mehrmals, auch in MS. Br. Mus. 24061, müssen corruptirt sein: damals waren ja der als lebend angeredeten Alexander und Heinrich selbst todt. Vielleicht sind sie erst hineincorrigirt auf Grund der Erwähnung des Lucius Verus als vor einem Jahrtausend. Denn spätere Ausgaben (H. II, 180), MS. Joh. Camb., Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 5, 42, Sidney Coll. Camb., Vespas. A. XVIII, Bodley. 564 und Capgrave geben consequent a. 35. Henr. I. und a. g. 1135.

<sup>5</sup> d. i. abbreviatio; cf. Hist. Angl. Ende von Buch 5.

<sup>6</sup> So MS. Trin. Camb.; Joh. Camb.; Sidney; Lambeth 118 u. 179; Otho D. VII s. XIII. in.; Br. Mus. 21088; Harley 64.

<sup>7</sup> Lamb. 179 bringt die Einleitung hinter De Cont. m. Sie schließt aber 'Expl. lib. de Summ. Rer.' Hier hat also eine spätere Umordnung und Weglassung der Briefe 1 u. 2 stattgefunden.

<sup>8</sup> (Innocentium II.) tu apud Carnotum opportune (Arund. 48; Reg. 13 B. VI; optime, Br. Mus. 24061) suscepisti.

richtete und wieder angesichts der vergangenen Größe zum Streben nach dem Himmelreiche ermahnende Aufzählung der Patriarchen, Könige und Kaiser mit dürfstigen historischen Notizen. Ursprünglich muß dieser Katalog 'De serie regum' mit Lothar von Sachsen<sup>1</sup> geendet haben, wurde bei seiner Aufnahme in die Historia, zuerst zur Herausgabe von 1139<sup>2</sup> bis Konrad, qui vixit ann. 2, nondum tamen Romam venit, fortgesetzt und blieb allein in dieser Form überhaupt erhalten<sup>3</sup>. — Er ist ungedruckt.

Dasselben 8/10 Buches zweites Stück ist der 1139, etwa im Februar zu Bec gefertigte Auszug aus der Historia Britonum des „Galfridus Arthur“. Der in diesem Briefe als 'vir comis ac facete', am Schlusse 'carissime' angeredete Warinus Brito hatte in der Historia Anglorum die britische Geschichte vermiszt. — Auffallend bleibt immer, daß Heinrich ein Werk in England vergeblich suchte und zu Bec fand, dessen Quelle sein Oxford College geliefert, aus dem der Verfasser ein Stück, die Prophetia Merlini, dem Diözesanbischofe gewidmet, und das einen Engländer zum Autor hatte, der seinerseits Heinrichs historische Arbeit recht wohl kannte. — Den Auszug nahm Robert von Torigni, der bis zum Jahre 1147 die Historia Anglorum vielfach ausschreibt, mit Einschaltung seines eigenen Namens und des Jahres 1139 in seine Chronik s. a. 1100 auf<sup>4</sup>; er besitzt nur litterarischen Werth.

Der letzte Brief des 8/10 Buches ist an jenen Walter gerichtet und De contemptu<sup>5</sup> (al. appetitu)<sup>6</sup> mundi betitelt; er ist 1135<sup>7</sup> verfaßt, aber in dieser ersten Ausgabe nicht erhalten. Zu den Ausgaben von 1139<sup>8</sup>, 1148 und 1155<sup>9</sup> wurde er stellenweise, nicht durchgängig fortgesetzt und interpolirt und zeigt daher im Druck<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dessen Regierungsjahre blieben in mehreren Hds. unausgefüllt: so 24061; Reg. 13 B. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Br. M. 24061; nicht zur Ausgabe von 1130!

<sup>3</sup> In Coll. Trin. Oxfd. 64 s. XIII; in den oben u. bei H. genannten; außer Bibl. Publ. Cambr. Dd. 1. 17 e. a. 1400, einer von einem H. an Heinrich III. gerichteten Königsgenealogie, die gegen Ende den Alred von Rievaulx sinnlos abkürzt.

<sup>4</sup> Bethmanns Ausg. M. G. SS. VI gibt nur Anfang und Ende; bei Delisle steht er vollständig. MS. Bibl. Publ. Cambr. F. f. 1. 31 bringt den Brief separat, ist aber nur Excerpt aus der Historia.

<sup>5</sup> Nicht De viris illustribus. Mit diesen Worten beginnt vielmehr das neunte Buch.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Trin. Camb.; Reg. 13. B. VI.

<sup>7</sup> c. 5, Ende: (Henricus I.) 35 annis jam regnavit . . . jam non per biennum regnaturum vir Dei praedixit, quod si fieri potest, absit!

<sup>8</sup> So MS. Corp. Camb. 280; Br. M. 24061; Domit. A. VIII, s. XIII. in.; letzteres enthält den Brief separat, ist doch aber nur ein aus der Historia gerissen Stück, da es beginnt: Exemplar autem epistolae tertiae.

<sup>9</sup> MS. Reg. 13. B. VI; drei Lambeth MSS.; Joh. Camb.; Trin. Camb.

<sup>10</sup> Nach Jumièges D'Achery Spicileg. 4. VIII, § 178 (wiederholt fol. III, 503 und Bouquet XIV, 265) und aus zwei Lambeth Hds. bei Wharton, An-

nach der letzten Form viele chronologische Widersprüche. Diese möger es verschulden, daß er noch zu wenig benutzt wird. Er enthält das späteste Datum, 5. Juni 1155, dessen Aufzeichnung durch Heinrich wir kennen (vgl. S. 270<sup>2</sup>). — Zeitgenössische Könige, Fürsten, Prälaten, Staatsmänner, litterarische Größen, die Amtsbrüder der Diözese Lincoln ziehen wie in einem Todtentanze vor dem Auge des Greises vorüber. Hier und da nennt er leere Namen, meist fügt er einige bezeichnende Epitheta hinzu, einzeln führt er gelungene Charakteristiken aus, z. Th. ähnlich<sup>1</sup>, meist aber, z. B. betreffend Heinrich I., weit rücksichtsloser, als er in der englischen Geschichte gewagt hatte. — „Eitelkeit der Eitelkeiten!“ ist das stete Grundthema dieser Schrift: im ersten Capitel wird dies am Lincolner Clerus, im zweiten an Jünglingen von glänzenden Anfängen, im dritten an der Weisheit dieser Welt, im vierten am Ruhm, im fünften an der Fürstenhöheit, im sechsten an der Magnatengröße demonstriert.

Das neunte, ursprünglich „vorletzte“ Buch der Sammlung heißt Liber miraculorum und copirt im Zusammenhang die in Bedas Historia Ecclesiastica zerstreut vorkommenden Wundergeschichten, meist im gleichen Wortlaut, nur stark gekürzt. Doch sind auch spätere englische Heilige kurz erwähnt, daher auch der Titel De modernis Sanctis Angliae. — Im dritten und vierten Buche der Historia verweist Heinrich schon auf dieses Werk, indessen sind die Worte ‘in Ely statuti sunt episcopi’<sup>2</sup> wol nicht vor dem Amtsantritt des zweiten Bischofs, 1133, geschrieben; mit der Ausgabe von 1139<sup>3</sup> ist es schon verbunden. — Nur das vorletzte Capitel, enthaltend Namen und Ruhestätten späterer angelsächsischer Heiligen, ist gedruckt: Robert hat es nämlich hinter jenem Briefe an Warin seiner Chronik einverleibt. — — In der Vorrede schilt Heinrich die Mönche, welche aus Gewinnsucht, den Pöbel, der aus Leichtgläubigkeit erlogene und unbewiesene Wundergeschichten von Heiligen verbreitet. Qui enim de veritate non vere loquitur, ipsi veritati — dies wol aus Anslem — quae Deus est, ingratuus et infidus apparet. Unbewiesenen Wundern gegenüber zwar nicht ‘contradixero, nisi aperte frivola sunt’; er selbst erzähle aber meist nur nach Bedae auctoritas firmissima. Doch citirt er zum h. Albanus miracula scripta in Saint Albans — vielleicht eine Vorlage des Wilhelm (H. I, S. 4 ff.) —, zum h. Germanus des ‘Gildas Sapiens historia de rebus gestis hujus provinciae’, womit Nennius gemeint ist, zu den h.h. Eadmund martyr, Dunstan, Aethelwold, Aelfeah u. A. Biographien jedesmal aus ihren Kirchen. — Neue Thatsachen

glia Sacra II, 694. Wichtigste Variante: c. 2. Achery: Gilbertus Universalis dum scholas regeret juvenis; Wharton: Nivernis.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. z. B. den Tod Roberts von Meulant und des Kanzlers Randulf, in Hist. Ang. a. 1118 resp. 1123, mit Cont. m. c. 3 resp. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Leland Collectanea II, 261 (ed. Hearne 1770, III, 304).

<sup>3</sup> Br. M. 24061. — Es steht (außer bei H.) auch Coll. Joh. Camb. G. 16.

lehrt dies Werk wenig: das Stück über die h. Etheldreda, zu deren Translation ja Heinrichs Vater eingeladen war, ist der Historia Eliensis verwandt. — Zu seiner Zeit, die zwar lasterhaft aber nicht von Gott abtrünnig sei, geschähen Wunder allerdings selten; als glänzendes Beispiel aber führt er — am Schlusse des Buches, der auch zur 1155er Ausgabe keine Aenderung erfuhr — den „noch lebenden“ Wlfric Loricatus († 1154) an.

Im dritten Buche seiner Geschichte lässt der Verfasser beim Excerpten des Beda, wie die längeren Wundergeschichten, so auch die ausführlicheren Actenstücke aus. Für das Concil Theodors a. 673 (vgl. Beda IV, 5) ‘decreta in ultimo librorum ponentur’. Sein Plan war also, an den Schluss der Historia Anglorum ein Buch Decrete zu stellen; vielleicht auf dieses spielt er an bei der Fortlassung der Antworten Gregors I. auf Augustins Fragen (L. III, Anfang, vgl. Beda I, 27): rescripta papae quia prolixia sunt, in decretis vel canonibus lector quaerat et inveniet. — Ich finde nur diese einzige Spur eines zweiten verlorenen Werkes oder — was bei der Fülle der Copien der übrigen Bücher der Historia wahrscheinlicher ist — eines unausgeführten Planes. Die Rechtsdenkmäler, die mit der Historia in alten Handschriften verbunden erscheinen, gehören nicht hierher: es sind das Gesetze Enuts, des Beffenners, Wilhelms.

### III.

Während des letzten Vierteljahrhunderts seines Lebens arbeitete Heinrich an seinem Hauptwerke, der ‘Historia Anglorum’<sup>1</sup>. Nach der Widmung an Alexander von Lincoln ist sie durch diesen, der 1123 Bischof wurde, veranlaßt. Bei der Beurtheilung des noch lebenden Heinrichs I. in De Contemptu c. 6 verteidigt sich der Verf. wegen der abweichenden, günstigeren Darstellung in der Historia. Könnte man schon daraus die Annahme einer „ersten Ausgabe vor Heinrichs I. Tode“ beweisen, so folgt mehr noch, ihre Existenz schon 1130, aus der Einleitung zu Buch VIII<sup>2</sup>, die 1130 Alexandern anredet: ad quem historiam praesentem dirigimus.

Hardy entdeckte mit gewohntem Scharfsinne das 1129 endende MS. 101<sup>3</sup> der Hengwrt Sammlung, die jetzt Wm. W. E. Wynne

<sup>1</sup> So citirt der Verf. selbst. Das vor einigen Hdff. erscheinende Verzeichniß des Inhalts der Bücher und der Capitelindex für Buch I sind nicht original. Später wird natürlich der Titel manchmal geändert: um 1200 eitiren ihn Zusatznoten eines Hoveden Exemplars, Arundel 69, aus Bury S. Edmunds als liber chronicorum Henr. a. de Huntenden. Hoveden edit. (Rolls Ser. 51) I, § CIV

<sup>2</sup> Nicht aus dem Briefe De serie! Dieser beweist nur, daß das erste Buch zu Lebzeiten Heinrichs I. geschrieben war.

<sup>3</sup> Mit dankenswertester Bereitwilligkeit sandte der Herr Besitzer diesen Schatz für mich nach London.

Esq. zu Peniarth in der Walliser Grafschaft Merioneth gehört, sei vielleicht diese erste Edition. Folgende Unterscheidungsmerkmale gegenüber der gedruckten Ausgabe von 1147, die bis 1155 fortgesetzt wurde, machen das unzweifelhaft: in der geographischen Einleitung des ersten Buches steht 1) die Zahl der Shires als 33, 2) fehlen die Worte [comitatus tricesimus] quintus illa regio, in qua est [3]) novus episcopatus Carleoli; 4) ist demgemäß die Zahl der Bistümer nur 16; 5) sind die Bemühungen des Bischofs S. Davids um das Pallium unerwähnt. Ferner ist 6) zum Ende der Kreuzzugs geschichte s. a. 1096 die Reihe der Könige von Jerusalem nicht bis zum zweiten Anjou geführt, sondern endet hinter Baldwin II. mit Gaufridus (so auch anderswo und in allen<sup>1</sup> Hdss. statt Fulco). Geschrieben ist dieses MS. kurz<sup>2</sup> vor 1197<sup>3</sup>. Der Text ist schon oft verderbt, und daher scheint mir ein zweites MS. dieser ersten Ausgabe — unter Londoner, Cambridger und Oxfordner Hdss. das einzige<sup>4</sup> — Nr. 31 in All Souls College, Oxford, obwohl erst s. XV, von unabhängiger Bedeutung. Dieses gibt keinen Prolog, und auch auf dem fehlenden ersten Blatt von Hgt. 101 kann kein Platz für einen solchen gewesen sein. Eine Text-Collation des Drucks mit letzterem von a. 1064—1129 gab materiell keine neuen Thatsachen.

Eine zweite Edition der Historia schloß mit Heinrichs I. Tode. Denn Robert von Torigni citirt s. a. 1100 eine solche [wiewohl er später ein bis 1147 fortgesetztes Exemplar (beide sind verloren) benutzte und für Mont St. Michel abschreiben ließ]<sup>5</sup>, und eine handschriftliche Spur derselben ist die Rubrik im MS. Corp. Coll. Camb. 280 ‘contexta 1135’<sup>6</sup>, das nur einen Anjou unter den Jerusalemkönigen und a. 1123 Rogerius qui justiciarius est<sup>7</sup> erwähnt, aber nicht 1135 sondern 1154 endet und die Briefe aus der Form von 1139 bringt.

Schon der Epilog des 7. Buches ‘in tanti regis (sc. Henrici I.) fine finem libro praesenti dicabimus’ verrät den Plan der Fortsetzung. Eine solche liegt vor in der dritten und vierten Edition, die überall mitten im Buche enden. Die dritte schließt 1139<sup>8</sup>, erwähnt, daß S. Davids das Pallium ‘nostro tempore recepit’,

<sup>1</sup> Nur Lamb. 327: Fulco, wos Correctur des Schreibers.

<sup>2</sup> Nach dem Schriftcharakter.

<sup>3</sup> Dies wird in späterer Randnotiz als das laufende berechnet.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Advoc. Edinb. 33. 5. 4 endete nach Hardy ursprünglich an der selben Stelle.

<sup>5</sup> Diese Abschrift ist Bibl. nat. lat. 6042. So Delisle in Rob. Tor. I, S. LIX u. II, S. XV, gegen Hardy

<sup>6</sup> So auch MS. Ashburnham App. 111 (nur B. 1 mit Widmung an Alexander) und Br. M. 24061.

<sup>7</sup> So auch Saviles Variante; Roger wurde 1138 gestürzt.

<sup>8</sup> Br. M. 24061; Coll. Armor. Arund. 30 Fragment. — Im Sidney Coll. Camb. MS. sind einsach später mehrere Blätter ausgerissen; der zweite Anjou ist hier erwähnt.

fügt aber nicht, wie die späteren Ausgaben thun, hinzu: statim tamen amisit. — Als vierte fassen wir die von 1145<sup>1</sup> — dieses Jahr blieb in der Rubrik für alle späteren Fortsetzungen als Abfassungszeit stehen — zusammen mit der eisf. Zeilen später in a. 12 Stephan und der nach a. 13 Stephan<sup>2</sup> schließenden Ausgabe. — Je nachdem jenes Buch der drei Briefe vor oder hinter B. 9 de miraculis gestellt ist, bildet diese Fortsetzung der Historia in den Handschriften das zehnte oder achte Buch; heut heißt sie allgemein B. 8. Dessen Schluß, Englands poetischer Glückwunsch an den neuen König Heinrich II., beendet die letzte, 5. Edition<sup>3</sup>.

Saviles erster Druck der acht Bücher der Historia in Rerum Anglicarum SS. post Bedam praecepui, Lond. 1596 fol., ist selten. Es gibt zwei Nachdrücke: der Wechelsche, Frankf. 1601 (aus dem Bouquet XI u. XIII excerptirt) ist nicht gleich gut; der Mignesche, Patrologiae Latinae Curs. compl. T. CXCV, wimmelt von Druckfehlern in den Eigennamen. Sonst läßt ein Vergleich mit Robert de Monte, Roger Hoveden und frühen Handschriften vermuten, daß der Text dem Originale sehr nahe steht. Nur die ersten 5½ Bücher, bis a. 1066, sind nach MSS. Arundel 48; Grosvenor; Corp. Chr. Camb. 280 (s. o.) und Reg. 13 B. VI, s. XIV in Monumenta hist. Britann. 1848 von Petrie edirt<sup>4</sup>, davon B. 3 nur stückweise.

Die Historia Anglorum ist in acht Bücher getheilt, und zwar so, daß das Ende eines jeden mit einer geschichtlichen Epoche zusammenfällt. Nach einem Prolog beginnt das erste Buch mit der physikalischen, politischen und kirchlichen Geographie und der Ethnographie Britanniens, der nach kurzer Erwähnung keltischer Sagen von Brutus und über Irland ein Abriß der römischen Cäjaren folgt. Das zweite Buch 'de adventu Anglorum' (S. 718 E) bricht den annalistischen 'Tractatus' (S. 722 A) mit a. 686 ab, den dann (nachdem das dritte, mit Ausscheidung der Wunder und Actenstücke (s. o.), 'de conversione Anglorum' (S. 715 B) gehandelt hat) Buch 4

<sup>1</sup> Nur MS. Edinbg. Adv. 33. 5. 2.

<sup>2</sup> So auch Coll. Joh. Cambr. s. XIV; Lamb. 118; Grays Inn.; Bodl. Laud. 565. Nicht 1145! Ebenso Lamb. 179 (s. XIII, läßt den Kreuzzug 1096 aus); Reg. 13 A. XVIII (ohne Prolog). Harl. 64 s. XIV. inc. (Der Rand dieses letztern mit Stellen aus Malmesbury bedeckt; Prolog fehlt; nur B. 9 moderne Abschrift). Dem MS. Coll. Joh. Camb. ist eng verwandt Trin. Camb. R. 5. 42, (liber fratris Roberti de Popultone precii 20. s. Dieser ist vielleicht der Compilator von MS. Paris 4126 (aus Huntingdon und Beverley), das Hardy II, S. 170 beschreibt).

<sup>3</sup> Diese vollständige Geschichte steht in Reg. 13 B. VI (bringt im ersten Kreuzzug zu den Worten 'Ascalon in scelere perseverat' die Note: Nunc Ascalon a christianis inhabitata subditur per omnia Christo); All Souls Oxf. 36 (gibt zur Standartenschlacht 1138 das in den X SS. Engl. ed. Twysden veröffentlichte Bild, das also nicht Phantasie ist!); Arundel 46 (Erster Kreuzzug fehlt, Buch 7 auch sonst stark gekürzt; keine Buchabtheilung); Vatican Christ. 587 und Archiv XII, S. 306) 732 (ohne Buch 10, chart.).

<sup>4</sup> Darauf beziehen sich die nachs. Citate der paginae. — Der spätere Theil ist nach dem Jahre citirt.

bis zur Begründung der englischen Monarchie fortsetzt. Das 5. Buch 'bella Danorum' reicht von a. 837 bis c. a. 1000; das 6. 'de adventu Normannorum' von der „verhängnißvollen“ Ehe Emmas bis zum Tode des Eroberers, das 7. handelt über dessen Söhne, das 8. über Stephan. Besserer Uebersicht halber steht am Ende von B. 2. 4. 5. 6 eine 'Recapitulatio' ('Abbreviatio') der Könige, die also nicht einer selbständigen Regententafel<sup>1</sup> folgt.

Die Jahreszahlen rechnet H. selten nach Christi Geburt, sondern schon seit a. 519 omnium aliorum tempora regnorum ad (Westsexiae) reges applicare libet (cf. 714 C), daneben, soweit Bedas Chronik reicht, nach den Kaisern. Daher ist vielfach arge Verwirrung in seiner Zeitrechnung. Der angelsächsischen Chronologie jedoch hilft es nichts, im Huntingdon Ordnung zu schaffen; es kann nur auf seine Vorlagen, die ja vorhanden sind, ankommen. Wo ihn diese verlassen, ist er nicht etwa geneigt, eine Lücke zu constatiren, sondern setzt das Ereigniß zu einem selbst combinierten Jahre. Offenbar auf diese Art ist z. B. der Untergang Aelfred's hinter den Tod König Hardeknuts verschoben. Für genauere Daten hat er wenig Sinn, und zwischen a. 1075—1085 hat er sogar die Jahre mehrfach bei der Ueersetzung fortgelassen. — Uebrigens bedeutet annus sequens oft nicht das zeitlich, sondern in der Annalen-Ausfüllung nächste Jahr.

Dagegen für das zwölfe Jahrhundert ist die Chronologie gut und, namentlich wo er gleichzeitig arbeitet, sorgfältig nach den Fasten der Reichstage geregelt; sie fühlt sofort deren Aufhören a. 1140. — Er beginnt das Jahr mit Weihnachten.

#### IV.

Man hat lange Zeit geglaubt, im Huntingdon einen reichen Schatz originärer Ueberlieferung zur angelsächsischen Geschichte zu besitzen, und ihm andererseits die Benutzung zahlreicher noch vorhandener Quellen zugetraut. Beides wird noch mehr zu beschränken sein, als in den letzten Jahrzehnten schon geschehen ist.

Für die römische Geschichte schöpft er aus Solin, der Epitome aus Aurelius Victor, die er als Gesta mirabilium virorum S. 701 D citirt, dem Eutrop, der Historia Miscella, die er als Paulus, anderswo Historia Romana citirt. Den Sueton nennt er einmal S. 699 C, wo er den Eutrop benutzt. Diese Schriftstellern entnimmt er die laus authentica eines jeden Kaisers. Der chronologische Faden stammt dagegen aus Bedas Chronik, die er nirgends von der Kirchengeschichte scheidet. Oft finden sich beide in demselben Satze mit den angelsächsischen Annalen verarbeitet. Den Beda verehrt er überaus: regibus ipsis non inferior dignissime regum in ordine quasi rex ponatur (725 E. 726 A). Von ihm nimmt

<sup>1</sup> So auch Theopold, Krit. Unters. über die Quellen zur angell. Gesch. S. 24.

x als lex historiae (727 A) an ‘simpliciter id quod fama vulgante colligitur, scribendo posteris notificare’. Dem Beda folgt er nicht nur von dem ersten Satze an größtentheils wörtlich, nur mit der Tendenz, zu kürzen — er hat auch die Anlage des Buches, die geographische Einleitung von ihm gelernt. Weniger in Buch 2, aber fast ohne Zuthat im 3. beruht Huntingdon auf Beda; manchmal vergisst er beim Copiren, daß er nicht mehr zu Bedas Zeit schreibt; dagegen läßt er bei der Erwähnung der Gesetze Ethelberts von Kent den Zusatz der Hist. eccl. II, 5 ‘haec tenus habentur et observantur’ aus und bemerkt S. 694 C, die Picten seien ausgestorben.

Daneben benutzt er namentlich für geographische Nachrichten und fiktische Sagen von Brutus, Vortigern, Arthur im ersten und zweiten Buche den Nennius. Er kannte diesen Namen nicht, also auch nicht die verdächtigen Prologen, und citirt ihn mit einem seiner Zeit häufigen Irrthume S. 712 C als Gildas. — Er trennt (694 D. 695 D) scharf ‘quod in Beda inveni’ von diesen Walliser Nachrichten und nennt sie (695 E) ‘non certissima’. — Den Gottfried Arthur hat er hier nicht benutzt (s. o.). Vielleicht aber kannte er die Weissagung Merlins in einer früheren<sup>1</sup> Form. Zum Anfang des 6. Buches findet sich nämlich die Prophezeiung, erst die Normannen, dann die so verachteten Scotti würden dereinst den Engländern gebieten, eine Änderung der Kleidung<sup>2</sup> eintreten.

Wo sich Huntingdon von Beda verlassen sieht, will er ‘quae in scriptis veterum (vgl. 728 B. 732 D) diligentis scrutinio colligendo invenire potuimus’ bringen. Uehnlich<sup>3</sup> citirt er 755 D historiae veterum, 745 C Anglii scriptores und meint damit die angelsächsischen Annalen, die er von a. 477 an bis c. a.<sup>4</sup> 1127 benutzt, also vierzig Jahre länger als man vermuthen sollte nach seinen Worten zum Jahre 1087: Hactenus de iis quae vel in libris veteribus legendo reperimus vel fama vulgante perceperimus. Nunc de his quae vel ipsi vidimus vel ab iis qui viderunt audivimus<sup>5</sup> pertractandum est. In Wahrheit bringt er für Wilhelm I. und II. wenig Neues<sup>6</sup>: für den letzten fast nichts als eine Nachricht über Lincoln und zwei Anecdoten über die Großartigkeit des Königs.

Um eine gleichmäßige Geschichte zu erhalten, hat Heinrich zu den

<sup>1</sup> Auch Ordericus Vitalis (ed. Le Prevost) IV, 490 benutzt eine solche.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. San Marte, Sagen von Merlin S. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Aber nirgends wie Malmesbury z. B. als Chronica.

<sup>4</sup> Jedenfalls endet die Benutzung vor a. 1131, dem Beginne der letzten Hand in den Peterborougher Annalen.

<sup>5</sup> Wenn er über die Brictius-Messe 1002 ‘in pueritia nostra quosdam vetustissimos loqui’ gehört hat, so braucht er nicht nothwendig Augenzeugen zu meinen. Solche müßten über hundert Jahr gewesen sein, wenn sie Heinrich noch sprach.

<sup>6</sup> Für die Unsitthlichkeit des Königs braucht er nur schärfere Worte als die Annalen, die wol dasselbe meinen.

früheren Theilen der Annalen, wo diese sehr mager sind, reiche Zusätze gebracht, dagegen im zehnten und elften Jahrhundert stark gekürzt<sup>1</sup>. Manche Missverständnisse, oft nachgewiesen (vgl. auch 711 A), zeigen, wie sehr die angelsächsische Sprache veraltete<sup>2</sup>; besonders die Übertragung<sup>3</sup> des Siegesliedes von Brunanburh, an einigen Stellen überraschend glücklich und sogar den Stabreim nachahmend (*decudum*), lässt doch oft merken, welche Schwierigkeit er fand in der 'extraneis tam verbis quam figuris' (S. 745 C). Andere häufige Fehler entstanden durch Verlesung des angelsächsischen *w* als *p* in den Eigennamen. — Heinrich hält nicht wie Beda dasselbe lateinische Wort für denselben englischen technischen Begriff consequent fest; auch sucht er mehr einen vollklingenden als juristisch genauen<sup>4</sup> Ausdruck, sprich auch ohne Weiteres von barones und justitiarii schon in angelsächsischer Zeit. Wenn er ad a. 755 Siegbert von Wessex durch *proceres et populus*<sup>5</sup> absetzen lässt, so ist daraus eine Theorie der Anwesenheit des Volkes in der Reichsversammlung wahrlich nicht zu folgern: Heinrich übersetzte einfach 'witan'. Ebenso wenig verdient er angeführt zu werden für den Untergang des Cynewulf und Cyneheard (731 A); das ist auch ganz aus den Annalen.

Man hat bisher angenommen, Heinrichs Vorlage sei verlorener und habe den Annalen von S. Augustin (Canterbury), d. i. MS. Cott. Tib. A. VI, bis a. 977 genannt B, oder denen von Abingdon, d. i. Cott. Tib. B 1, bis a. 1066 genannt C, nahe gestanden, sei aber weiter fortgesetzt gewesen.

Aber wenigstens nothwendig ist das nicht. Das sog. MS. E, Bodl. Laud. 636, aus der, Huntingdon nicht fern, Abtei Peterborough, reicht bis a. 1154 und deckt sich für 1087—1100 fast völlig mit der Historia Anglorum. Und nicht bloß diese E eigentümliche Fortsetzung hat Heinrich benutzt. Auch für viele frühere Jahre sind ihm ganze Sätze, einzelne Worte, Schreibfehler, im Gegensatz zu allen übrigen Hdss. der ags. Annalen, mit E gemeinsam: z. B. a. 1079<sup>6</sup> der Name Gerberoi; 1077 Normann.-franz. Vertrag; 1041 Hardecnuts Grab; 1039 Haralds I. Schiffsgeld; 933

<sup>1</sup> Historiarum abbreviationem in unum (codicem) contraxi. B. 8 Ende.

<sup>2</sup> Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel S. LXIII.

<sup>3</sup> Earle S. 113 drückt sie neben dem Original mit Hervorhebung der missverstandenen Stellen.

<sup>4</sup> Ein gegen seinen König jure gentium spredo austrührerischer dux jure Dei occiditur S. 730 B. Wilhelm erbt England secundum jus gentium S. 751 D, Stephan nimmt seinen Vasallen a. 1144 in der curia gefangen gegen jus gentium. Ein klarer Begriff ist damit offenbar nicht verbunden.

<sup>5</sup> Vor der Standartenschlacht a. 1138 werden in einer Anrede 'proceres .. Normannigenae' an die Besiegung Englands erinnert. Darauf jaucht 'omnis populus Anglorum'!

<sup>6</sup> Fahrzahlen E.'s; Lesarten nur in Thorpe, The Anglo-Saxon Chron. (Rolls Ed. 23).

Edwin Aetheling ertrinkt und u. A. drei Fälle, die sehr wahrscheinlich machen, daß Huntingdon das laudsche MS. brauchte: a. 991 Gwic (statt Gippeswick, Ipswich); a. 892 Awldre (statt Apuldre); 692 Nithred (statt Withred). Doch hat Huntingdon neben E noch eine andere der angelsächsischen Chroniken gehabt. Denn er bringt, was nicht in E steht: 1) Genealogien der Könige; 2) a. 891 und 894—920 (die Glanzperiode angelsächsischer Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung, die bei E fast ganz fortgelassen ist; 3) die Annalen der Aethelfleda a. 902—924; 4) das Lied von Brunanburh; 5) die Eroberung der Fünf Burgen a. 942; 6) a. 943; 7) a. 1006 den Namen Cholsey; 8) a. 1011; die Worte 'micel on Hamtunscire' fehlen E, sind aber bei Hunt. übersetzt.

Keiner dieser Zusätze steht im MS. F, das auch wohl jünger ist als Huntingdon selbst. In D, Cott. Tib. B. IV, aus Worcester, stehen die Annalen der Aethelfled bereits verarbeitet mit dem übrigen Text, nicht mehr in dem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang. — Dem MS. B fehlt aus diesen Annalen das Jahr 921; auch endet es schon a. 977. — MS. A, Parker CCCC, CLXXIII wenigstens zuletzt in Canterbury fortgesetzt, hat jene mercischen Annalen gar nicht und von 1005—1017 eine Lücke.

Können ihm also alle diese Hds. weder einzeln noch zusammen jene Hinzufügungen zu E geliefert haben, so muß man an C denken. In der That enthält das MS. aus Abingdon<sup>1</sup> alle obigen 8 Zusätze.

Hat also Huntingdon E und C benutzt, so doch das erstere öfter. Außer den oben erwähnten Fehlern setzt er auch zu a. 1012 das Dänengeld, statt mit C auf 48000 £., mit E auf 8000 £. an.

Daz er sonstige angelsächsische Schriften herangezogen hat, ist unwahrscheinlich — außer etwa die, übrigens auch anderwärts überlieferte Genealogie der Könige von Essex<sup>2</sup>, S. 712 C.

Aber allerdings verdankt er einem anderen hochwichtigen Annalenwerk, das jetzt verloren ist, einige Notizen zur fränkischen Geschichte des achten und zur northumbrischen des neunten und zehnten Jahrhunderts.

Hinde<sup>3</sup>, Stubbs<sup>4</sup> und Pauli<sup>5</sup> haben aus verschiedenen Durhamischen Compilationen des 12. Jahrhunderts, den angelsächsischen Annalen und dem Chronicon von Melrose die Spuren der Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum, einer bis 802 reichenden annalistischen Fortsetzung des Beda, nachgewiesen. Diese Gesten nun wurden, wie ich glaube, stilistisch überarbeitet und nach der normannischen Eroberung wie eine ganze Reihe südenglischer Annalenwerke verbunden mit

<sup>1</sup> Dem northumbr. Schlussätze desselben entnimmt er die Heldenhat des Norwegers zu Stamfordbridge, 1066, nicht einem Liede.

<sup>2</sup> Florent. Wigorn. App. (ed. Thorpe I, 250) mit einer Verschiedenheit. — Alle sonstigen Genealogien bei Huntingdon stehen auch in der Sachsen-Chronik.

<sup>3</sup> Ausg. des Simeon Dunelm. (Surtees Soc. 1868) I. Praef.

<sup>4</sup> Ausg. des Hoveden I. Praef.

<sup>5</sup> Forsch. z. D. Gesch. XII, 137.

den Annalen von Rouen. Diese kann man reconstruiren aus den Cadomenses<sup>1</sup> und den Uticenses<sup>2</sup>; erst um 1100 wurden sie nach England gebracht, denn so weit reichen locale Nachrichten aus Rouen in den ungedruckten Fahrbüchern des 12. Jahrh., z. B. denen von Winchester, Worcester (?), Rochester, Southwark, Bury S. Edmunds, Plympton, Battle, Canterbury<sup>3</sup>.

Ferner wurde jene Ueberarbeitung bis mindestens a. 943 dürftig fortgesetzt, und zwar mit Benutzung der angelsächsischen Annalen, denn a. 886 heißt es: Alfredus Lundoniam obsedit, statt, wie Florenz übersetzt, fundavit; was nur aus einem Missverständnisse des 'gesette' für 'besaet' erklärlich ist. Sie wird dann als Huntingdons und der Melrose Chronik gemeinschaftliche Quelle mindestens in allen jenen Stücken zu betrachten sein, wo diese beiden von einander unabhängigen Werke wörtlich gleichlautend von den ags. Annalen, dem Florenz, der sog. ersten Simeonschen Compilation, der Historia post Bedam (d. i. Hovedens Vorlage) abweichen; s. z. B. a. 737. 740. 744. 839 (= Hunt. B. V, Anf.), 943, sowie die continentalen Notizen a. 768. 769. 775. 799. Zu der letzteren Classe, d. h. den auch in jenen südenglischen Annalen nachweisbaren Rouener Nachrichten, gehören auch die bei Huntingdon, nicht in der Melrose Chronik stehenden Sätze: a. 780. Karolus Romam ivit; a. 786. Apparuit signum crucis in vestibus (nach Heinrich ein Vorzeichen des Kreuzzuges). — Ledigfalls aber darf die Melrose Chronik<sup>4</sup> nicht als bloß aus der Durhamer Compilation und den ags. Annalen entstanden betrachtet werden.

Auch mehrere Missverständnisse, für die Huntingdons Uebersetzung bisher verantwortlich gemacht wurde, erscheinen schon in jener gemeinsamen Vorlage: so kennt auch die Melrose Chronik (a. 766) einen Fridewaldus episcopus 'Cestrensis' statt 'Candidae Casae'. Die Quelle, repräsentirt durch die angelsächsische Chronik D, E, F, hatte nämlich angegeben, er sei zu Geastre (York) geweiht.

Bon geschriebenen Quellen hat Heinrich ferner gehabt: eine französische Regentenreihe, von Antenor bis Ludwig VI., die wohl

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, SS. Norm. 1015.

<sup>2</sup> Le Prévost und Delisles Ausgabe des Ordericus Band V.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Claud. C. IX, wol aus Worcester, zeigt Winchester locale Nachrichten. Es ist vielleicht Quelle für Rochester Reg. 4 B. VII. Aus letzterem oder beiden schöpft Vespas. A. XXII, ebenfalls Rochester. — Southwark, Faustina A. VIII hat nachweislich bis Mitte s. XII solche südengl. Vorlage. — Annal. S. Edm. in Harley 447. — Plympton in Addit. 14250, für 1066—1080 aus Rouen. — Wegen Battle s. Harley III, 23. — Aus Christ Church ist Nero C. VII, aus dem Nero A. VIII nur abgekürzt. — Vollständigkeit ist hier nicht beabsichtigt, ohne sie aber eine zuverlässige Genealogie der Fahrbücher unmöglich.

<sup>4</sup> Ich konnte sie in Göttingen in der seltenen Ausgabe Stevensons (für den Baumathne-Club), benutzen und sage bei dieser Gelegenheit gern der dortigen Universitätsbibliothek für die auch an mir bewährte Liberalität meinen Dank.

schon für De serie regum benutzt war und in das siebente Buch eingeschaltet wird; die Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs, eingefügt zum Jahre 1096 „eine vermutlich abgeleitete Copie der Gesta Francorum ohne alle Bedeutung<sup>1</sup>“, und vielleicht den römischen Brief Enuts, der die einzige Urkunde zu sein scheint, die er je direct benutzt hat. Selbst die reichen Archive der nahen Klöster Ramsey, Ely haben der Historia Anglorum ebensowenig gedient als die localgeschichtlichen Arbeiten dieser Stifter. Die in den Annalen von Peterborough begrenzenden Schenkungs-Urkunden lässt sie bei der Uebersetzung ausnahmslos fort. — Wie sie die kirchlichen Decrete der angelsächsischen Zeit nicht mit aufnahm, wie sie zeitgenössische Concilien kurz übergeht, so zeigt sie auch kein Interesse für Staats-Acten. Kein Zeitgenosse hat die wichtige zweite Krönungs-Charte Stephans so entstellt als Huntingdon: er klagt, die versprochene Abschaffung des Dänengeldes und Forstrechts sei nicht gehalten worden; in Wahrheit war sie nie zugesagt. Namentlich durch diesen Fehler ist er als Geschichtsquelle bei Weitem nicht so ausgiebig als seine beiden sonst so verschiedenen Fortsetzer Hoveden und Newburgh.

Dass Huntingdon, wie behauptet worden, den Florenz von Worcester benutzt hat, habe ich nirgends finden können<sup>2</sup>: auch zur Einnahme von Canterbury 1012 hält sich ersterer wörtlich an die Elegie in E, während letzterer eigene Kunde hat. Ebensowenig wird aus der Characterisirung der Regierung Eadgars 747 B eine gemeinsame lateinische Quelle zu folgern sein. Hier weilt Florenz weit länger bei Dunstan, von dem Hunt. nur die wunderbare Rettung und den Tod, beides aus E, kennt. Und Dunstans Unglücksprophetie für Ethelreds Regierung knüpft Florenz an die Krönung, Heinrich an die Verunreinigung des Taufwassers<sup>3</sup>: letzteres offenbar ein fortgeschrittenes Stadium der Legendenbildung.

Vielmehr hatte Heinrich ein weit beschränkteres Quellenmaterial als die anderen zeitgenössischen Historiker: er kennt nicht einmal den Eadmer, geschweige normannische Historien. Bietet er daher weniger bunt unterhaltenden Stoff als die Mönche von Malmesbury und Duches, so ist er dafür strenger einheitlich beim Thema seiner Geschichte geblieben.

Doch ist nicht Huntingdon der Perch des zwölften Jahrhunderts, der unermüdliche Sammler und Ueberlieferer altangelsächsischer Balladen?

<sup>1</sup> Sybel, Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges S. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Hunt. hätte auch manchen Uebersetzungsfehler nicht machen können, wenn ihm Florenz vorlag, z. B. a. 1010 übersetzt d. Myrranheafod, Mährenhaupt, mit caput formicæ (mira Ameise), fl. caput equæ; a. 920 nennt er Aelfwyn soror Adelfled statt Tochter; 912 den Aethelred pater Edelfled statt Gemahl; 941 den Eadmund I. filius statt Bruder Aethelstans, Fehler, vor denen ihn Florenz Stammtafel hätte bewahren können.

<sup>3</sup> Dasselbe erzählt Matthäus Paris ad a. 1166 von Johann.

Zwischen den J. 617—823 fügt Huntingdon zu sechs<sup>1</sup> kurzen Schlachtnotizen des Beda und der angelsächsischen Annalen ein jedesmal mit ‘unde dicitur’ eingeleitetes Citat von 1—3 Zeilen bei, das in der lateinischen Form deutliche Spuren englischen Stabreims, in Inhalt, der stets an die Dertlichkeit anknüpft, den Charakter alter Poesie erkennen lässt.

Man hat nun angenommen, auch zu jenen anderen 30—40 Schlachterichten, wo H. seine prosaische Vorlage ohne jene Merkmale erweitert, habe er z. Th. Volkslieder benutzt. An eine bereits aufgezeichnete Sammlung hat man dabei kaum gedacht, wohl weil H., der ja sonst seine Gewährsmänner angibt, eine solche doch einmal genannt hätte, ihr spurloses Verschwinden und ihre Benutzung gerade durch einen Autor, der verhältnismäßig wenig Bücher brauchte, auffallen würde. Und die Cäfarschen, die britisch-pictischen Kämpfe finden heute keinen Vertheidiger. Aber verdient denn die für die Taktik der Barbaren auffallende Belagerung von Anderida (a. 490, S. 710 C) mehr Glauben, weil sie anschaulicher ist, weil sie mit ‘locus tantum nobilissimae urbis (destructae) transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus’ schließt? Oder die Schlacht bei Burford a. 752, S. 728 C, weil sie zu den gewohnten antiken Phrasen (securibus Amazonicis!) einmal hinzufügt: (erant) arma pro veste, ossa pro carne: eine Wendung die, vielleicht germanischer Poesie angehörig, leider schon halb verbraucht ist für — eine britisch = pictische Schlacht vor Ankunft der Deutschen! S. 706 A, und weil sie außer den allgemeinen Verhältnissen, die den ags. und north. Annalen entnommen sind, den Ethelhun zum Feldzeichenträger macht, der den feindlichen vexillifer tödtet, worauf erst ‘acies sibi offenderunt’ — ein Zug, der stark an den Beginn des Kampfes von Senlac S. 763 B erinnert?

Im Zusammenhang betrachtet zeigen jene dreißig Huntingdonischen Schilderungen folgende Bedenken:

1. Zu jeder Schlacht der ags. Annalen weiß er Einzelheiten.
2. Er kennt keine einzige Schlacht, die in den Annalen unverwähnt wäre.
3. Keine seiner Einzelheiten widerspricht den Annalen.
4. Und doch fügt er nie a) einen neuen Personen-Namen, b) einen Ort, c) ein Datum (etwa die Jahreszeit!), d) eine Zahl bei.
5. Höchst selten ist eine Einzelthat erwähnt.
6. Nirgends erscheint ein individueller Charakter; natürlich, jene Krieger sind alle kühn, tapfer, wild, blutig.
7. Die Schilderungen sind meist so schablonenhaft wie heutige Schlachtgemälde aus dem Atelier; sie betonen fast nirgends die Dert-

<sup>1</sup> a. 617. 633. 634. 642. 654. 823 resp. S. 715 D. 717 B. 720 D. 721 A. 721 A. 733 B.

lichkeit (s. o.), während Huntingdon diese bei den Kämpfen seiner eigenen Zeit genügend hervorhebt.

8. Dreifache Schlachtordnung, antike Kampfweise spielen eine verdächtige Rolle.

9. Formell sind sie im Gegensatz zu den obigen Liederfragmenten a) nirgends mit 'ut dicitur' eingeleitet, b) neben vereinzelten, nirgends als beabsichtigt nachweisbaren, Alliterationen mit antiken Wendungen<sup>1</sup> gespickt.

10. Sie haben ihn nicht vor grössten Missverständnissen der angelsächsischen Annalen bewahrt, wo z. B. Higbalds Tod im selben Jahre aber ohne Zusammenhang mit Ines Kampf gegen Wales gemeldet wird, fabelt H.: im Anfang der Schlacht fiel Higbald; später wendete sich der Walliserkönig mit den Seinen zur Flucht und ließ Waffen und Spolien den Verfolgern, S. 724 B, zu a. 710.

11. Wo die Annalen unbedingt gelehrt Combination geben, begleitet sie die angebliche Liederquelle dennoch z. B. a. 501, wo Port in Portsmouth (!) landet.

12. Die meisten Stücke gehören nicht etwa der Glanzzeit angelsächsischer Geschichte und Poesie an; im Gegentheil, nur für das 5. bis 6. Jahrhundert fließen sie reichlich.

13. Nirgends sagt Hunt. oder lässt merken, daß ihm die Uebersetzung solcher Poesien Schwierigkeit machte, während er das Lied von Brunanburh, also die Sprache des 10. Jahrh., wie er ausdrücklich hervorhebt, voll von 'extraneis tam verbis quam figuris' findet, deshalb die 'verbo in verbum' übertragen will, dabei aber die wunderbarsten Fehler macht, s. o. S. 280 N. 3.

14. Eben dieses Lied kannte er nicht aus dem Volksmund sondern aus 'Anglici scriptores' (d. h. den Annalen).

15. Wenn er viel derartiges brachte, warum entschuldigt er „hier die Einführung des quasi carmen causa recreandi“ und trennt es von der 'historia'?

Nein! wir haben es mit einem Autor zu thun, der nicht Geschichte fälschen will, aber einen lesbaren Zusammenhang der nackten Wahrheit vorzieht, mit der Thätigkeit eines Hirns, das (für die Kritik glücklicher Weise!) zu wenig Phantasie besitzt, um mit erborgten Phrasen setzen die Dürre des Annalengeripps verhüllen, geschweige ihm Leben einhauchen zu können. Auch gegen solche Ausführungen, bei denen ausnahmsweise nicht alle unsere 15 Bedenken zutreffen, wird Misstrauen daher gerechtfertigt sein (Ueber das wenige Uebrigbleibende s. u. „Tradition“).

Auch daß jene Schilderungen auch nur künstlerisch wahr (ich meine, wenn nicht wirklich, doch für die betreffende Umgebung möglich oder gar bezeichnend) wären, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich: fast nirgends betont H. den einen, von der Culturgeschichte doch nothwendig vor-

<sup>1</sup> Earle l. c. LXI denkt an Orosius.

auszufezgenden Unterschied zwischen der Kampfweise der Barbaren des 6. Jahrh. und der Anglo-Normannen.

Mit unserer Abweisung dieser rhetorischen Bastarde aus spätlateinischem Bombast, theologischer Salbung<sup>1</sup> und germanischer Waffenlust des 12. Jahrh. verliert nur die Einzeldarstellung, nicht die wissenschaftliche Geschichtsbetrachtung: für diese bleibt die Thatsache des heißen Ringens der verschiedenen Räcen um den Boden, der kleinen deutschen Stämme um die Begründung eines mächtigen Einheitsstaats.

Ist somit der selbständige Werth der ersten sechs Bücher der Historia sehr herabgesetzt, so begegnen doch beißufig einige interessante Notizen: so gleich zu Anfang über den rheinischen Silber-Export gegen Englands Fleisch, Fisch und Wolle S. 691 C. Sonst finden sich in dieser geographischen Einleitung: einige in Nennius Anhang fehlende britische Städte S. 697 A, eine Erwähnung von Stonehenge S. 694 A und den Römerstraßen S. 694 B, der Heptarchie und den 35 Shires S. 692 C. Dem Antiquar bietet H. im Ganzen wenig Ausbeute: doch erklärt er zweimal (S. 753 A und a. 1085) das Wort hide, seufzt zur Ansetzung des Dänengeldes<sup>2</sup>: modo persolvimus ex consuetudine S. 749 B, bringt einige Ethymologien von Ortsnamen (Huntingdon<sup>3</sup> S. 753 E, Colchester S. 702 D, Belgien S. 691 E) und Local sagen von London und Colchester S. 703 B. Besonders reich sind die topographischen Nachrichten, mit Angabe über Ruinen<sup>5</sup>, Klostergründungen<sup>4</sup> &c. in H.'s Nachbarschaft. Hierher gehören endlich die Notizen über das Schlachtfeld von Fulford S. 762 A, die Lage von Anderida (s. o.), die domus belli (Belagerungsmaschine Wilhelms I.) in Ely ad a. 1071, das Domesdaybook (ad a. 1085), den Londoner Dombau (ib.).

Heinrich schreibt durchweg Reichs-, nicht Localgeschichte: auf den Streit zwischen Lincoln und York geht er z. B. nicht näher ein; doch bemerkt er Romreisen, Amtsantritt, Todesfälle seiner zeitgenössischen Bischöfe und widmet ihnen einige Verse und eine Characterschilderung. Aus ähnlichem Interesse mag er die zwei Anekdoten (S. 760 A und C) über Earl Siward von Huntingdon und Northumberland eingefügt haben: die eine, daß derselbe bei der Nachricht vom Fall des Sohnes nur fragte, ob er die Todeswunde vorn empfangen, klingt ebenso antik wie einige Erzählungen über die Landung

<sup>1</sup> Fromme Betrachtungen sind hier übergangen; sie finden sich natürlich häufig mit Bibelstellen z. B. 717 B.

<sup>2</sup> Ueber die Ansetzung des Schiffgeldes S. 753 A weiß er nicht mehr als E.

<sup>3</sup> Er erklärt mons venatorum, vgl. Freeman I, 428. Kemble nimmt die Endung als identisch mit tun, Baum.

<sup>4</sup> Ueber Huntingdon S. 692 B.

<sup>5</sup> Ueber die Stifter des Fen-Districts S. 747 E. Ueber Stow S. 760 D. Ueber die Stadt Lincoln S. 720 C. Auch daß der erste Sachsenstieg a. 449 bei Stamford erfolchten sei, könnte Localsage sein.

Wilhelm I.<sup>1</sup>, zeichnet aber doch den spartanischen Geist des Kriegers; und noch charakteristischer ist die andere, der alte Däne habe es beklagt, wie eine Kuh, nicht im Kampfgetöse enden zu sollen, vollgewaffnet habe er den Geist ausgehaucht; — gewiß eine echte Erinnerung germanischen Heidenthums. — Eine naturwüchsige Localsage ist auch die vom Helden von Balsham S. 753 D, der auf den Thurmstufen des Gotteshauses, quod adhuc ibidem stat, sich gegen ein ganzes Dänenheer wehrt. Wie klingt das anders als jene obigen Schlachtberichte! Selbständige Nachrichten über ausländische Geschichte hat H. im Vergleiche zu Wilhelm von Malmesbury, Florenz von Worcester oder gar Orderich äußerst selten<sup>2</sup>. Kaiser Lothar und Friedrich I. werden gar nicht, die gleichzeitigen Päpste nur kurz gelegentlich erwähnt.

Nachdem schon die Nachricht von der Ermordung Wilhelms III. per prodictionem regis Franciae S. 746 B, wo Ea. 942 nur das Factum des Thronwechsels kennt, normannischen Nationalhaß verrathen hat, durchbricht für die Jahre 1000 bis 1067 der Strom zweifellos normannischer<sup>3</sup> Ueberlieferung an etwa sieben bis acht Stellen die auf den angelsächsischen Annalen und englischen Berichten ruhende Erzählung. Hierher gehören: 1) Ethelred II. Hilfgegesuch an Richard den Guten S. 753 A, 2) das Exil der Königin-Wittwe Emma in Flandern, weil ihr Großneffe Wilhelm unmündig<sup>4</sup> und daher 'Normannia fiscus regalis' war — dies ein bezeichnender Irrthum, entstanden aus Uebertragung normannischen Lehrechts, 3) die doppelte Decimation der Gefährten des Alfred Aetheling 759 A, 4) Wilhelms Siege bei Val-ès-Dunes und Mortemer S. 760 C, 5) der Eid Haralds, England für Wilhelm zu erhalten, und die Verlobung mit seiner Tochter S. 760 E, 6) die List des Wilhelm von Bretein, welche die Normannen zum Zuge gegen England bewegt, S. 762 A, 7) Harald II. erfährt zu York beim Bankett Wilhelms Landung, 8) die Schlacht von Hastings<sup>5</sup>.

Die zu Grunde liegenden Thatsachen hat Freeman erschöpfend

<sup>1</sup> Er gleitet aus, ein Soldat ruft 'Tenes Angliam', Malmesbury §. 238; ähnlich Roman de Rou. Hardys Ann. bezweifelt die Anecdote mit vollem Recht; die Verbrennung der Schiffe, die Wace meldet, nimmt auch Freeman III, 407 nicht auf.

<sup>2</sup> In De Cont. M. c. 5 über Magnus den Gebündeten von Norwegen.

<sup>3</sup> Die Gründung von Coutances durch Constantius Chlorus vielleicht aus einer Legende von der h. Helena, da auch bei Ordericus II, 334 mit letzterer in Verbindung. — Der Bericht von Coel, der Colchester gegründet S. 702 D, vgl. 703 B (s. a. Waitz in M. G. SS. XXII, S. 287 zum Gottfried von Biterbo, der von Huntingdon unabhängig Ähnliches weiß) vielleicht aus einer Vita S. Albani (über deren Benutzung s. o. zu B. 9); ein Coel dux Colcestriae und Helena filia ejus kommen in einer solchen vor, laut Hardy I, S. 19. — Die Sage von der Erlösung Trajans aus der Hölle auf Gregor I. Fürbitte, schon von Johann Diaconus II, 5 als specifisch englisch bezeichnet, auch bei Johann v. Salisburgh Polycr. V, c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ausnahmsweise eine glückliche Combination.

<sup>5</sup> Zu Wilhelms Rede vgl. die Anmerk. in Bouquet XI, S. 208.

erörtert. Huntingdon steht für die erste Nachricht allein; materiell unwahrscheinlich ist sie nicht. Für diese und die vierte wird es freilich schwer, bloße Tradition als seine Quelle anzusehen. Alles Uebrige aber konnte er, der bald nach 1100 am normannischen Hofe eines Lincolner Bischofs lebte, vom Hörensagen haben. — Am nächsten steht dem Huntingdon für einige jener Nachrichten, nam. die 6., der Roman de Rou<sup>1</sup>, und doch weicht er anderswo wieder zu sehr ab, als daß ich eine gemeinsame Quelle annehmen möchte. Die siebente ist in dem letzteren nicht so ähnlich mit Huntingdon erzählt als in der Historia von Ramsey c. 120, die mit §. den Yorker Aufenthalt irrig auf den Schlachttag von Stamfordbridge setzt und fast dieselben Worte braucht wie er. Ich glaube, daß sich doch alle jene Nachrichten dadurch als mündliche Tradition zu erkennen geben, daß sich bei nicht zwei der zahlreichen Historiker jener Periode mehrere von ihnen — ja auch nur eine einzige — mit gleicher Jahresangabe, gleichen Einzelheiten, gleicher Vollständigkeit finden. Und nur in diesem Falle wäre eine verlorene Quelle anzunehmen.

Alle nicht unter die bisherigen Rubriken fallenden Nachrichten Huntingdons bis zum Jahre 1100, wo seine eigene Erinnerung beginnen wird, können leicht als mündliche englische Tradition gelten. Es sind dies folgende: a) über König Offa S. 730<sup>2</sup>. b) Aethelwulf sei einst Priester gewesen S. 737 C, eine Sage, hier zuerst erscheinend und aus den clericalen Neigungen des Königs entsprungen<sup>3</sup>. c) das Marthrium Edwards II., mit 'dicitur' eingeleitet S. 748 E; d) die Briccius-Messe s. o. S. 279 N. 5; e) Eadric Streones Berrath an Edmund Eisenseite durch den Ausruf 'Flet Engle, ded is Edmund!' S. 756 B zur Schlacht bei Assandun<sup>4</sup>. Dieselbe Erzählung setzt Florenz zu einer anderen bestimmten kurz vorhergehenden Schlacht, der Ramsey-Historiker c. 72 zu einer ungenannten. Wir haben also vermutlich trotz der englischen Worte kein Lied vor uns, da ein solches die Dertlichkeit bewahrt hätte; f) das Duell zwischen Cnut und Edmund S. 756 C. Unmöglich ist diese Tradition, wie behauptet wird, entstanden, indem dem zweideutigen 'comon togaedere' der angelsächsischen Chronik ein hostiliter irrig unterschoben wurde; denn sie findet sich nicht bloß bei Huntingdon und Aethelred, der ihn benutzt, sondern auch in den Gesta Cnutonis und bei Malmesbury. Die Wahrheit der Tradition will ich damit nicht vertheidigen! g) Eadrics Hinrichtung; Freeman I, 647 verfolgt genau das allmähliche Anwachsen der Ausschmückung; h) Godwins Heldenhat gegen die Wenden S. 757 B; i) zwei Anekdoten von Cnut's Demuth

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Körtling, Quellen zum Roman de Rou S. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Theopold I. c. S. 96 denkt ebenfalls an mündliche Tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Pauli, König Alfred S. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Außer diesem einen Zuge ist darin ebenso wenig echte Ueberlieferung wie in jenen obigen Schlachtschilderungen. Bei Florenz steht Edmund, bei Cnut in dreifacher Schlachtordnung; außer dem in den Annalen Gebotenen haben sie nichts gemein; man darf also nicht combiniren.

gegen Gott S. 757 E, wie es scheint mönchische Erfindungen; j) unter Enuts drei größten Thaten, außer den Kriegen, 'primum est quod filiam suam imperatori Romano cum ineffabilibus divitiis maritavit'. In Wahrheit fand die Heirath erst nach Enuts Tode statt, und war Heinrich III. damals nur rex. — Wenn Huntingdon über Enut ziemlich viel weiß, so mag dies mit des Königs Vorliebe für den Fen-District zusammenhängen, wegen welcher auch die Historien von Ely und Ramsey gern<sup>1</sup> über ihn berichten; k) bei dem Untergange Aelfreds (s. S. 287 Z. 8 v. u.) ist der Heirathsplan Godwins nicht nur falsch, sondern macht sogar den Eindruck der Erfindung durch Huntingdon selbst, sogen wie die Zeitansetzung gelehrt Combination ist; l) aber die Huntingdonsche Anschaung über Godwin und seine Söhne fand sich bereits z. Th. in den ihm ja auch vorliegenden Abingdon=Annalen. Daz sie richtig ist, bestreitet Freeman durchaus. Die einzelnen ihr entsprungenen Anekdoten: m) über Tostigs Streit mit Harald an des Königs Tafel und n) über die Unmenschlichkeit Tostigs S. 761 A sind zweifellos unhistorisch; aber bewußte Fälschungen sind sie doch schwerlich. Mindestens verfolgt Huntingdon keineswegs einen Parteizweck in ihrer Wiedergabe: wie wenig er etwa antigodwinisch war, folgt aus dem Berichte h), s. o. und daraus, daß er bei der Uebersetzung der ags. Erzählung über die Verbannung des Aelfgar S. 760 D, der ein Sohn Leofrics, folglich Haralds Gegner war, die Entlastung von der Schuld des Hochverraths ansläßt. — o) Des Eroberers Fluch gegen den aufrührerischen Sohn ad a. 1079 konnte ebenso leicht combinirt werden als Glauben finden; p) ebenso oft besprochen ist der Tod Wilhelms des Rothen.

Das Bild von Heinrichs Art, Geschichte zu schreiben, wäre unvollständig ohne den Hinweis auf seine oftmaligen Combinationen, die nur meist (wieder für die Kritik glücklicher Weise!) durchsichtig sind. Er kennt z. B. aus den Annalen einen günstigen Charakter von König Cadgar und dessen Verheerung der Insel Tanet: folglich fügt er selbständig hinzu 'quia iura regalia spreverant' S. 748 A. Ähnlich werden S. 723 B aus einem Kentier König zwei, 730 A aus einem Erzbischof von Canterbury ein Yorker. — Zum Jahr 1000 erzählen die Annalen, Ethelred verheerte Cumberland; Huntingdon schreibt S. 750 A als Grund ein, dort sei der Hauptsitz der Dänen gewesen. — Die Annalen melden die Königs-Wahl der Stiefbrüder Harald und Hardienut, Huntingdon hilft sich über die Schwierigkeit fort: Harald sollte dem Bruder 'regnum conservare' (vgl. Freeman I, 540).

Nur zur Hebung des Styls bringt er Citate aus der Aeneis<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> H. verteidigt S. 754 E die Verstümmelung der Geiseln durch Enut damit, er habe das ihm verbündete und von den Engländern verheerte Lindsey rächen wollen. Dagegen bedauern die Annalen diese Provinz als von Enut treulos verlassen.

<sup>2</sup> S. 697 D ist Georgic, II, 25 aus Nennius mitentlehnt.

den Amores, Horaz Satiren, Lucan, Juvenal und — nicht eben viele aus der Bibel. — Die eingeschobenen Panegyriken in hochtrabenden Hexametern auf die Mächtigen seiner und früherer Zeit wollen nicht wörtlich verstanden sein, ebensowenig die rhetorischen Schilderungen (z. B. über die Greuel der Schottenkriege, a. 1138). — Stereotype Einzelphrasen ('Marte et Vulcano comitantibus'; eine Würde, eine Waffe die weniger den Mann zierte als durch den Träger gehoben wird) fehren immer wieder und rauben, dicht neben einfacher Annalsprache stehend, dem im Ganzen gewandten und logisch klaren, wiewohl im Satzbau unklassischen Stile die Einheit. Von eigenthümlicher Schärfe sind einzelne kurze Urtheile, im Gewande einer rein thatfächlichen Meldung: z. B. als Heinrichs I. Leiche geöffnet wird, der Arbeiter vor Gestank stirbt: 'Hic est ultimus e multis quem rex Heinricus occidit'.

Die langen Reden im achten Buche werfen zwar durch Ansplie- lungen mehrere Schlaglichter auf die Personen der Zeit, bieten aber sonst nicht bloß den Worten, auch dem Gedankengange nach nur Huntingdons Erfindung: so bilden z. B. die zwei vor der Schlacht von Lincoln genaue Gegenstücke. Für den einzelnen Fall lernen wir nur die Thatssache, daß und von wem gesprochen wurde, für die Cultur- geschichte vielleicht, daß solche Ansprachen das Heer an seinen und der Väter Ruhm zu mahnen, den Gegner zu verhöhnen pflegten.

Nach ihrem Fortfall aber bleiben auch im achten Buche, das doch allein im strengsten Sinne gleichzeitig, wiewohl auch nicht Jahr für Jahr<sup>1</sup> gearbeitet ist, ziemlich dürftige Annalen, denen es nur zu Gute kam, daß sich die Hauptereignisse jener Zeit gerade um Lincoln abspielten.

Wahrscheinlich einseitig ist der junge Heinrich II. geschildert: unser Verfasser hat mehrfach von lebenden Personen (Heinrich I. z. B.) nur die Lichtseite gezeigt und erst nach ihrem Tode die Schattenstriche aufgesetzt, die das Bild total verändern. Außerdem hegt er, obwohl selbst einmal warnend, man möge die Vergangenheit der schlimmen Gegenwart wegen nicht überschätzen, parteiische Abneigung gegen Stephan, die sich herschreibt aus dessen Verhaftung von Clerikern, und vielleicht aus den harten Forstproessen, die ihm Heinrich gleich zu Anfang der Regierung dicht bei Huntingdon abhalten sah (a. 1135).

## V.

Im übrigen färben sich die Urtheile eines damaligen englischen Historikers je nach dem Hintergrund seiner Anschauung von der normannischen Eroberung, von Kirche und Staat.

Huntingdon hält das Volk der Angelsachsen als staatlich organisiert für untergegangen, aber als Stamm, der Abkunft nach

<sup>1</sup> Gleich der Anfang ist erst nach Stephans Unglück geschrieben.

'Britanniam (adhuc) obtinent', während die 'Daci deperierunt' — eine für Ost-England, wo sich ja Dänenenthum fest eingestellt hatte, merkwürdige Neußerung. Jene Vernichtung habe Gott verhängt zur Strafe der Unzittlichkeit, auch der politischen: die northumbrischen Thronstreitigkeiten, die Parteikämpfe unter Edward III. gehören dazu.

Die 'Dei vindices', die Normannen, beginnen zur Vergeltung ihrer Wildheit, sobald nur die Unterwerfung des Landes vollendet ist — wie in der Normandie, Italien, Antiochia — auch in England einander selbst aufzureiben. 'Impraeſentiarum Anglis dominantur'; da seit Wilhelms I. Ende kein 'princeps (Magnat) de progenie Anglorum' übrig, der Name 'Anglicus' 'opprobrio' geworden ist, fällt Adel und Normannen zusammen. Mit bitterem Haß verfolgt Huntingdon diese 'proceres immo proditores Angliae', diese 'perjuri Normanni', die Bedrücker des englischen Volkes.

Dagegen die Dynastie Cerdic 'usque ad nostra tempora durat', Wilhelm ist nicht ein bloßer Eroberer, sondern 'heres' der 'monarchia' Cadgars durch 'jus gentium, jus cognationis', welches sich auf Aethelreds Heirath<sup>1</sup> mit Emma gründet; er hat drei Klagerechte gegen Godwins Sohn: wegen der Ermordung des Aetheling Alfred, der Austreibung der Normannen-Partei unter dem Befinner, des Treueides, den ihm Harald einst geleistet. Letzterer hat die Thronbesteigung von Edmund Eisenseite's Enkel verhindert, 'diadema invasit', doch heißt er 'rex Angliae', vermutlich wegen der formell unanfechtbaren Krönung, nicht (wie in der normannischen Kanzleisprache) comes<sup>2</sup>.

Vielleicht löst sich so der scheinbare Widerspruch<sup>3</sup> in Huntingdons Ansicht von der normannischen Eroberung: er betrachtet den angelsächsischen Staat als untergegangen, die Dynastie rechtmäßig fortgesetzt, die regierenden Classen als normannisch, das englische Volk, dem er sich angehörig fühlt, als erhalten. — Die heutige Wissenschaft verneint davon wohl nur den zweiten Punkt und beschränkt den ersten.

Sämtliche Schriften Heinrichs durchzieht die Mahnung zur Weltflucht S. 690 E. 707 A. 720 A: Mönch zu werden ist eines Königs ruhnvollste That (S. 723 E. 725 B. 727 B und B. 9 Prol.); auch Gelehrsamkeit sei ohne Verachtung des Irdischen unmöglich. Auch in ihm schlägt leise eine Reformader: er eifert in der Satira communis gegen Ausschweifung, Habgier, Nachlässigkeit des Clerus, auch gegen allgemeine Missbräuche in der Kirche, wie die amtlosen Pfriunden, die Verpachtung der Seelsorge, den Bisthumserwerb durch Kauf, Verwandtschaft, Staatsamt. Er verurtheilt die ehrgeizige

<sup>1</sup> Diese soll (Anfang B. 6) geschlossen sein 'ad tuitionem regni' nach Ausg. MHB, gegen frühere Lesart 'ruitionem'.

<sup>2</sup> Aus S. 692 C. 732 E. 751 D. 761 D.

<sup>3</sup> Freeman nennt H. absolutely without english feeling in (Haralds) great controversy; Earle rühmt ihn: not one of the early chroniclers shews so much of an Englishman.

Politik der Prälaten, die er mit Recht für die unglückliche Thronfolge Stephans verantwortlich macht (a. 1135. 1152). — Man hört den Weltgeistlichen, wenn er, wie auf Zehnt- und Beichtpflicht der Laien, auf die Unverletzlichkeit der Cleriker (a. 1139. 1143), deren Bruch er Stephan nie verzeiht (a. 1152), so auf Schutz der Pfarrreinkünfte gegen Ordensübergriffe dringt. Den Investiturstreit erwähnt er mit keiner Silbe und der von Anselm verfochtene Cölibat (a. 1002) „schien „einigen“ (des Geistlichen Sohn redet) gefährlich“. Er bringt fast Nichts von allgemeiner Kirchengeschichte. Römischer Habßucht (a. 1148), römischen Legaten (a. 1125) und römischen Appellationen (a. 1152) ist er gleich sehr abhold. — Er will die Poesie von den Theologen nicht verachten lassen — das hieße ja die Psalmen kindisch nennen<sup>1</sup>. — Lieber als von Concilsverhandlungen erzählt er, wie Heere ‘terribiliter et pulcherrime’ auf einander stoßen (S. 715 C).

Die Klagen der Geistlichen gegen die Unsittlichkeit bei Hofe finden sich bei Heinrich (a. 1100. 1120) auch, und deutlicher als anderswo; ebenso die allen am Exchequer. Unbeteiligten gemeinsamen Beschwerden gegen das Dänengeld (a. 1135, s. o.) das Forstrecht (a. 1135), die Prozeßkniffe des Fiscus und den gierigen Beamten-Clerus (a. 1123). — Das Rechtssprichwort ‘Regia res scelus est’ (Cont. m. c. 5), d. h. Criminafälle gehören dem königlichen Gericht, deutet er wörtlich, in bitterem Zorn gegen die Regierung. Dennoch hegt er tiefe Ehrfurcht vor dem gesalbten Haupte auch des gefangenen Stephan (a. 1141). Er verlangt eine starke Regierung, mißbilligt die unpolitische Milde gegen adlige Aufrührer (a. 1135) und (wie wir sahen, seinem Temperament nach kein Gegner des Kriegs), die unblutigen Scheingefechte, die faulen Waffenstillstände zwischen Thronprätendenten, die nur die Krone zum Spielball des Raukritterthums machen (a. 1141. 1153). — Englands Heil hofft er von der Person des Herrschers, den er sich regelmäßig von der Curia des hohen Clerus und Adels umgeben vorstellt (a. 1140). Ihre politische Bedeutung ist ihm nicht eingefallen; wenn er auch den Einfluß einiger mächtiger Barone, Bischöfe, Kanzler auf die Entschließung des Königs kennt. — An eine politische Beteiligung des Volkes, eine constitutionelle Beschränkung der Krone denkt er nicht: für die Aufbewahrung alter angelsächsischer Gesetze<sup>2</sup>, neuer normannischer Freiheitscharten mangelt ihm aller Sinn. — So vertritt er eine Periode, die eine starke Centralgewalt auf der Insel gegenüber den auflösenden Tendenzen in der Aristokratie vor Allem brauchte.

Welches auch seine Abstammung und die Quelle seiner hist o-

<sup>1</sup> Epigramm de veritate libri.

<sup>2</sup> Und doch nennt er S. 694 C die vier Römerstraßen ‘sanciti edictis regum, scriptisque verendis legum’. Die vier Namen begegnen nur im französ. Text der Gesetze Wilhelms I. (I, 26) und in den sog. Leges Edwardi Confessoris (12 Pr. §. 7 Gesetze der Angelsachsen ed. Schmid 1858). Vgl. oben S. 279 Z. 9.

rischen Ansichten sein mögen, — für seine Zeit fühlt er vollkommen und nur als englischer Patriot. Mag sein Interesse für alte Lieder ein nur antiquarisches sein; es ist bezeichnend für seine englische Gesinnung, wenn sich seine Urtheile über Miterlebtes (z. B. über Eustach a. 1153) auch da mit denen des letzten angelsächsischen Historikers decken; wo dieser aufgehört hat, seine Quelle zu sein. Trotzdem er die Thronfolge Stephans ungern sieht und es als ‘malum signum’ (a. 1135) politischer Unsitthlichkeit betrachtet, wie ihn ganz England sofort anerkannte, so ist ihm doch der Schottenkönig, der für die Gegenpartei steht, ein bloßer Landesfeind (a. 1138). — Stolz auf die Segnungen seiner Insel, auf die Schönheit seiner Landsleute (693 C) weiß er vom Continent wenig und entschuldigt es, wenn er vom Thema der englischen Geschichte so weit abweicht — den ersten Kreuzzug zu erzählen (a. 1096).

Heinrich hegt eine hohe Meinung vom Werthe der Geschichte: Homers trojanischer Krieg — es ist ein Citat aus Horaz’ Episteln — lehre besser Moral als die Philosophen. Durch die Geschichte erkennt der Mensch die Zukunft aus der Vergangenheit, durch sie erhebt er sich über das Thier; sie gibt unter allen literarischen Studien am meisten Erholung und Trost<sup>1</sup>.

Freilich müssen wir Huntingdon den Namen des Historikers in höherem Sinne versagen — um so mehr bewundern wir an einzelnen Stellen die glückliche Wahl des aufzunehmenden Stoffes (z. B. der Aelfredschén Zeit, des Liedes von Brunanburh), die Heranziehung jener Volksgesänge, die Ausscheidung der Wundergeschichten, den philosophischen Blick für Entwicklungsepochen<sup>2</sup>.

Sieht er auch in den Vorgängen meist nur directe Vergeltung Gottes für moralische<sup>3</sup> Eigenschaften der Menschen, so ist doch das Streben seines Werkes, aus der Annalenform herauszuwachsen, logische Geschichte zu werden, unverkennbar; es ist dies die Fortsetzung der Tendenz schon der späteren angelsächsischen Annalen, die dann von Wilhelm von Newburgh durch Einführung zusammenhängender Capitel vollendet wird. — Huntingdons Interesse für Curialfasten bewahrt die andere Fortführung der Historia: die des Roger von Hoveden.

Huntingdon ist nach Ethelward, Florenz und Simeon der letzte annalistische Uebersetzer der angelsächsischen Jahrbücher; er ist im Gegensatz zu seinen Zeitgenossen Malmesbury und Orderich der erste, der wallisische Ueberlieferung ohne die nöthige Skepsis behandelte. Nur zu bald überfluthete dann deren Strom die echte Geschichte; der kritische Protest Wilhelms von Newburgh half nichts. — Andere

<sup>1</sup> Prolog zur Historia. Die besten Gedanken daraus sind benutzt vom S. Albans Opus Chronicorum.

<sup>2</sup> So die Büchereintheilung; vgl. auch eine meisterhafte Vergleichung der fünf Eroberungen Englands im Prolog zu B. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Die Eroberung von Lissabon gelingt durch das Volk, nicht durch Monarchen, weil Gott die Niederer zu erhöhen liebt. Grundlos ist in dieser Neufassung demokratischer Sinn gewittert worden; sie ist rein geistlich.

Reime Huntingdons, die der Anekdotenbildung, wurden durch Bronton zu üppigen Rauken gezogen; nur die vereinzelten Accorde alter Lieder klingen bei keinem Fortsetzer weiter.

Für die Geschichtswissenschaft der nächsten Zeit hatte Huntingdon eine besondere Bedeutung, die er heut verloren hat: nur durch ihn war der Stoff der angelsächsischen Annalen in der Peterborough Fortsetzung bis 1128 bekannt. Schon Gottfried von Monmouth nennt ihn neben Wilhelm von Malmesbury als Geschichtschreiber der englischen Könige; noch der zeitgenössische Abt von Rievaulx und der Mönch von Durham gebrauchten ihn. Des letzteren Historia post Bedam, vor 1161 verfaßt, schöpft für a. 752—866 und 1121—1148 lediglich aus seiner Edition von 1148. Sie ist dann Hoveden's<sup>1</sup> Grundlage, der neben dem anderen Fortsetzer, Wilhelm von Newburn, die Bibliotheken Nord-Englands beherrschte (Stubbs). Der sog. Benedict entnahm aus Huntingdon nur einige stilistische Wendungen. In Frankreich benützten ihn zunächst Robert von Torigni und Johann von Marmoutier, im südlichen England Gervas von Canterbury, Radulf de Diceto, der Annalist von Waverley und Roger Wendover<sup>2</sup>.

Noch im zwölften Jahrhundert wurden Huntingdons Werke unter dem Namen des Marianus Scotus<sup>3</sup> abgeschrieben: dieser Irrthum hat weniger Grund als bei Marians Fortsetzern Florenz und Johann von Worcester, da Heinrich den Marian nicht benutzt hat, entstand aber z. B. in der Vorlage des Walter von Coventry daraus, daß sein Werk für 1131—1154 als Fortsetzung Johanns verwandt wurde.

Gleichzeitig wurde Heinrichs geographische Einleitung einzeln abgeschrieben, oder mit dem Nennius<sup>4</sup> verbunden, und gilt dann u. d. T. Descriptio Britanniae fälschlich als besonderes<sup>5</sup> Werk. Und manches Epigramm aus seiner Historia wurde excerptirt und geht heut unter Hildeberts<sup>6</sup> Namen. Die Lobverse auf England<sup>7</sup> wurden oft, namentlich auf Einbaudblätter, eingetragen — vieler Excerptsammlungen<sup>8</sup>, und gar derer des 16. bis 19. Jahrh., nicht zu gedenken.

Schließlich finden sich — wie anderwärts im Mittelalter historische Aufzeichnungen in Rechtsbücher — so in Heinrichs Historia

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs Ed. I XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> Vielleicht klingt auch Dialogus de Scaccario I, 11 an den Prolog zu B. 5 an. — Unter späteren ist nur Bartholomaeus Cotton als Benutzer des Huntingdon genau untersucht: von Luard, Corp. zu Rolls Ser. Nr. 16.

<sup>3</sup> So in Bibl. publ. Cambr. Dd. I, 17; Bodl. 521; Coll. Magd. Ox. 36.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Ashburnham Appendix 104 s. XIV und Coll. Arm. Arund. 30 s. XIV in.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Cave, der ein Cambridger Bibl. publ. MS. kennt, wo Mm. V, 29 s. XII.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Bodl. Laud. Latin. 86.

<sup>7</sup> MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxford 256.

<sup>8</sup> MS. Cott. Claud. D. VII s. XII, aus Malmesbury und Huntingdon cf. Hardy III, S. 148 und Pits, De illustribus Angliae SS. S. 212.

Gesetzesammlungen eingefügt. Zur Geschichte Enuts, vor der Erwähnung von seinem Tode 1035, steht in MS. Lambeth 118 von c. 1200 und in zwei Cambridger<sup>1</sup> Hdss. s. XIV, die von einer gemeinsamen Vorlage abgeschrieben sind: 'Incipit lex, que Anglice<sup>2</sup> Danelage est vocata, Latine vero lex Dacorum est interpretata, ab invictissimo et gloriose rege Anglorum<sup>3</sup> Dacorum Noragenorum Suevorum Kannuto<sup>4</sup> instituta et diligenter custodita'. Nach dieser missverständlichen Ueberschrift folgen die geistlichen und weltlichen Gesetze Enuts in einer ungedruckten, der Colbertina am Nächsten verwandten Version<sup>5</sup>, die an einigen Stellen den angelsächsischen Text am Treusten wiedergiebt. Es folgt sodann der sog. Pseudo-Enut, im Text<sup>6</sup> der Colbertina näher, aber an derselben Stelle abbrechend wie Textus Roffensis und Harley 746.

Wichtiger noch sind die ebenfalls unedirten Anhänge zu Christina 587 im Vatican und 118 und 179 Lambeth. Ersteres gibt hinter den 12 Büchern (laut Bethmann<sup>7</sup>) 'Guilelmi regis Angliae leges; catal. ducum ac regum Angliae', was vielleicht identisch ist mit<sup>8</sup> Wilhelms I. 10 Artikeln, denen die „Gesetze des h. Edward, welche sein Erbe Wilhelm bestätigte“ folgen mit der angehängten normannischen Genealogie<sup>9</sup> seit Rollo. Aus<sup>10</sup> einem so vermehrten Exemplar wird wol Roger von Hoveden s. a. 1180 die Artikel und die Leges Confessoris geschöpft haben.

<sup>1</sup> Coll. Joh. G. 16 und Trinity R. 5, 42 = Bernard 158 (21).

<sup>2</sup> Anglie. Tr. und Joh.

<sup>3</sup> ab inv. Ang. re. et glo. Tr.

<sup>4</sup> Kanrico. Tr.

<sup>5</sup> I, c. 12: Scotum ad luminaria, lithigescot; ebenso II, c. 1 eigenthümlich. Vor zwei Jahrhunderten hat ein Antiquar Standnotizen über seine Collation des Coll. Joh. MS. mit dem Textus Roffensis dazu gemacht.

<sup>6</sup> II, c. 12: Hec sunt consuetudines regis quas habet in Westsexe super omnes homines; mundbreece i. e. forisfacturam — hamsocne — forestal — ferder pite — ein verlesenes angelsächsisches w.

<sup>7</sup> Archiv 1872, S. 296.

<sup>8</sup> Decreta Willelmi regis qui Angliam conquisivit (Tr. quesivit), legum mutationes et emendationes, quas in Anglia composuit. Dann wie Hoveden II, 216: Hic intimatur; Variante wie Thorpe: infra 5, nicht 15 in Artikel III.

<sup>9</sup> In Lamb. 118 und 179 bis Stephan, in Lamb. 118 von späterer Hand bis Edward I. fortgesetzt. Eine Hand s. XIV hat hier nochmals die ersten 6 Artikel Wilh. I. zugefügt. Und nur diese stehen auch in Trin. R. 5, 42. — Lamb. 179 enthält auch eine Tafel von englischen Rechts-Ausdrücken, französisch übersetzt „nach Alexander archid. Sarum“ (Salop?, Swereford wird gemeint sein); sie ist von späterer Hand und Abfassung als Hovedens ähnliches Lexicon, mit dem sie sich nur zum kleinen Theil deckt.

<sup>10</sup> Das umgekehrte Verhältniß ist vielleicht aus paläographischen Gründen und jedenfalls deshalb nicht möglich, weil Lambeth Lesarten mehrfach originaler zu sein scheinen.

















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