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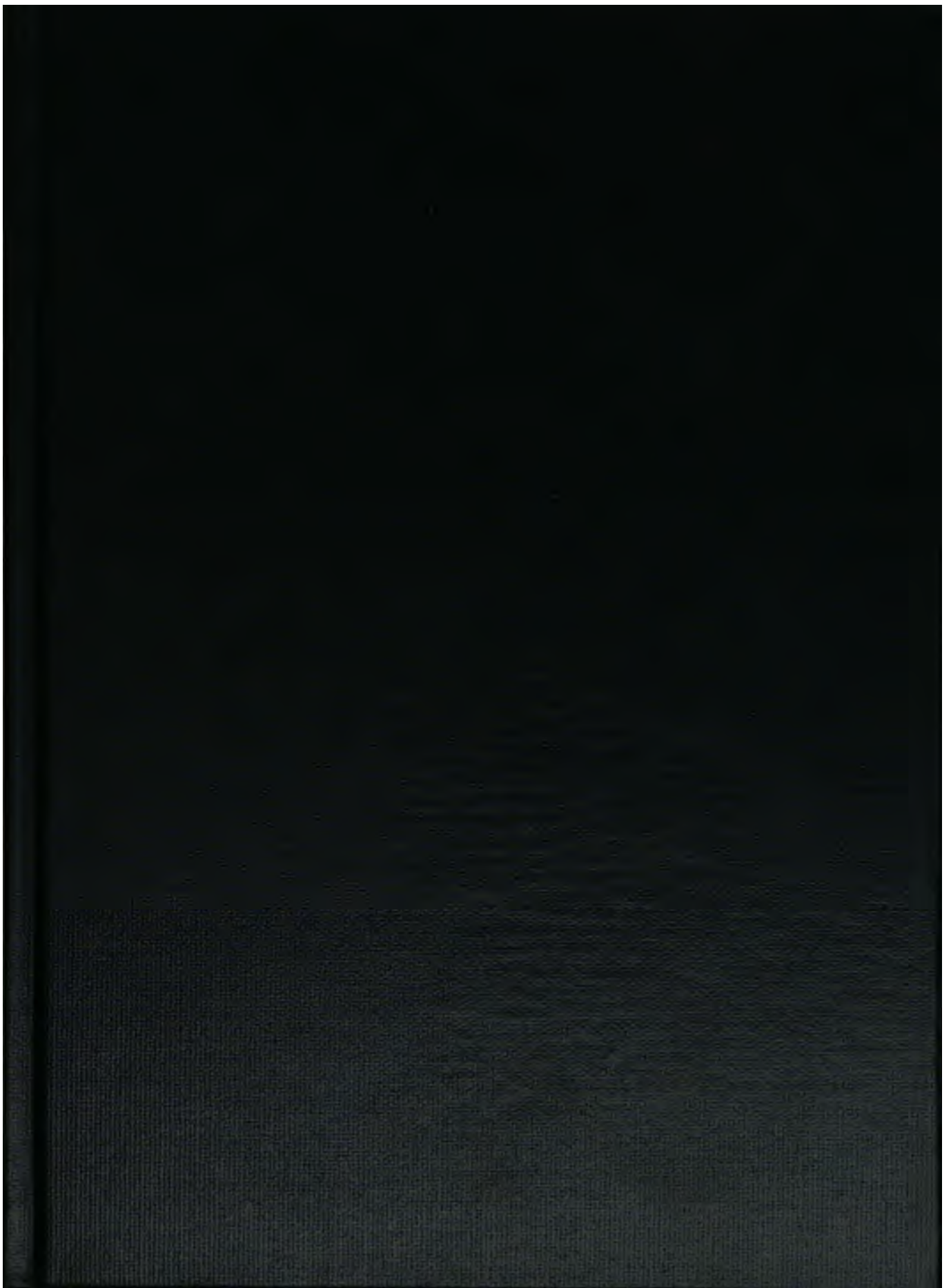
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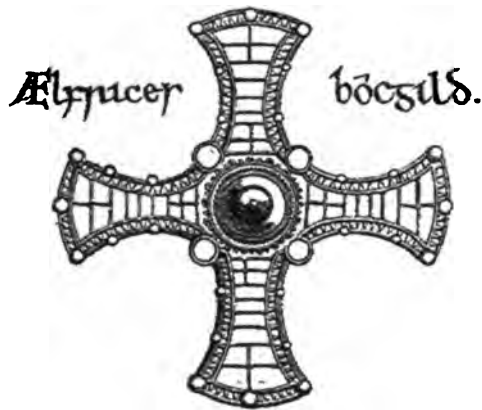


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THE POETRY
OF THE
CODEX VERCELLENIS,

WITH AN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

BY
J. M. KEMBLE, M.A.



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE ÆLFRIC SOCIETY.
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PREFACE.

IN the year 1832 a German man of letters, Dr. Blum, in the course of his inquiries into the contents of the Italian libraries, discovered at Vercelli, in the Milanese, a thick volume of Anglosaxon homilies. The interest which this very unexpected piece of good fortune excited both in England and Germany, was soon increased to the very utmost by the announcement that the Manuscript contained, in addition to and interspersed with the homilies, a collection of sacred poems, hitherto unknown and of great beauty. In the hope of bringing these valuable remains to England, and publishing them here, I set out in the summer of 1834 for Vercelli; but having spent some months in traversing Germany, I found myself, at the commencement of winter, still on this side the Alps, and cut off from all hope of crossing them by the storms which had broken up the passes. On returning to England, however, I found that one portion of my plan was already executed. The then existing Record Commission had employed Dr. Blum to copy the Manuscript, and had caused the poems to be extracted and printed under the care of Mr. Thorpe. Circumstances prevented the publication of the book, but a few copies of it found their way into the hands of persons interested in the subject, both here and in Germany. One of them had been placed at my disposal (through the courtesy of Mr. Cooper), and had furnished important aid during the preparation of the second volume of *Beowulf*; but in general the contents remained inaccessible

and unknown. In 1840 James Grimm, feeling that this was a wrong done to the world of letters at large, and apparently under a mistake respecting the number of copies printed by the Commission, and their intention of ultimately publishing their book, extracted from Dr. Lappenberg's copy the two longest poems, which he published at Cassell under the title of "Andreas und Elene," together with an introduction and very copious notes. It would not be fair to institute a comparison between two works composed with very different aims, or to make Thorpe responsible for the meagre form in which his appeared. It was intended as an Appendix, or rather as part of an Appendix, to another and very different composition, and was consequently compressed into the smallest possible space, without introduction, translation or notes of any description. On the other hand, Grimm's edition, expressly intended to supply a want which was loudly complained of in Germany, was executed with all the skill and care that might have been anticipated from the eminent qualifications of its amiable editor, and forms at this moment one of the most valuable monuments for the student of our ancient tongue.

It may be asked, what is then the necessity for a third edition of these poems? The answer is plain: Thorpe's edition is not to be obtained at all, and, even were it accessible, consists of a mere text, without the slightest attempt to assist the reader. Grimm's book contains only a portion of the Vercelli poems, and, did it even contain the whole, would still be inaccessible to those who could not read the German, in which the notes and introduction are written. Neither editor has thought it necessary to give a translation of the text. In commencing a series of publications which, it is to be hoped, will give to the world of scholars every yet inedited remain of Angloeaxon, the Ælfric Society could not close their eyes to the paramount importance of these poems; and knowing that my attention had been long be-

stowed upon them, the Council requested me to prepare them for the press, with a literal translation and such other appliances as might seem requisite for their full comprehension and general utility. This I have now done to the best of my ability, making use, wherever I saw occasion, of the labours of my two learned friends and predecessors.

The poems found in the Vercelli Codex are six in number. The first and longest of them may be called "A Legend of St. Andrew;" it contains 3444 lines, or 1722 according to the German custom of printing each separate couplet as a single line. As the object of the present remarks is general, and applies to the whole collection, I shall now content myself with naming the remaining pieces in the volume, reserving the details till I come to the consideration of the separate poems, each by and for itself. The second may be named "The Fates of the XII. Apostols;" it occupies 190 lines. The third is named "The departed Soul's address to the Body;" it comprises 320 lines, and is found with some variations in the Codex Exoniensis. The fourth is a religious fragment of 92 lines: the fifth is "A Dream of the Holy Rood," and contains 310 lines. The sixth and last, called by Grimm "Elene," and by Thorpe "The invention of the Cross," extends to 2648 lines.

The dialect in which the poems are composed is that which is known as the Westsaxon, and which, from the period of the establishment of Wessex in possession of the supreme power in England, became the language of literature, the court and the pulpit. In this the works attributed to Alfred are written; we find it in *Beowulf* and *Cædmon*, and it still survives in the homilies of Archbishop *Ælfric*. The Vercelli poems present no noticeable deviation from the general form, nor does their language supply any data that can be relied on to settle either the time or the locality to which we owe them. There is, however, one passage which contains matter for consideration, and may possibly one day lead us to a con-

cision on both these points. Towards the close of the poem of "Elene" the author deserts the epic narrative which he has so long pursued, and runs off into a train of lyrical reflections, having himself and his fortunes for their subject. In the course of these lines occur certain runic characters, which when taken together compose the name *Cynewulf*, which recurs more than once in the Exeter Book under precisely similar circumstances. There cannot be a doubt that this *Cynewulf* was the author of the poem of *Elene*, probably of all the rest, and those likewise which occur in the other collection, and it becomes a matter of much interest to decide who he was. Unhappily this is not an easy task: the name itself is extremely common, and, without any evidence leading us to fix upon any particular individual, it would perhaps be hardly justifiable to select as our author some dignified ecclesiastic merely because he bore that name. James Grimm, who seems to me to attribute too great an antiquity to the poems in their present form, hints that there was a bishop of Lindisfarn named *Cynewulf* who died in A.D. 780; but that bishop could neither have written nor read one word of the poems we possess, which would to him have been nearly as unintelligible as new German to an Englishman. No doubt these *may* be only translations from an earlier Northumbrian version, but this hypothesis has no basis whatever save the name *Cynewulf*, and that has been shown to be totally inadequate. Still less ground is there for another supposition of Grimm's, that *Aldhelm* (who died in 705) may have been their author, and which appears to me to rest upon nothing more than the fact that *Aldhelm* was a poet; for the philological ground, viz. that the author at one period addresses two persons (using the dual *gif* vos duo), will certainly not show that *Aldhelm* was that author, even if we admit—which I do not—that *gif* in this passage is the dual pronoun in question. There was however a *Cynewulf* who may possibly have a better claim to the honour: he was an abbat of Peter-

borough or Medehamstede, in which capacity he is mentioned with praise by Hugo Candidus, the historian of that abbey, as a man of extensive and various learning, and of great reputation among his contemporaries. He died in 1014, and, according to my view, is more likely to have composed these poems than an earlier author.

For, from internal evidence, it seems to me that the Vercelli poems are not referable to the old and purely epic period. There occurs from time to time something of the poet's own personality, and there is also a more lavish use of ornaments than was required in the truly national epos. To this, probably, similes were originally unknown, being replaced by metaphors: *Beowulf* has but two, and the much later *Nibelunge Nôt* but two or three: in the Vercelli poems there are several, and one or two which have a smack of abstraction about them strongly indicative of an advanced (and corrupt) state of civilization. A fresh and lively nature, which does not analyse the processes of thought, but trusts itself and its own feeling, can venture, for example, to call a ship a "sea-bird" without checking itself, and saying that "it goes along *like* a sea-bird." Grimm's opinion respecting the antiquity of our poems rests apparently upon the old epic words and phrases which abound in them beyond the common measure, and render them so extremely valuable to the Teutonic scholar. But this seems an insufficient ground for the assumption; since it is probable that these peculiarities belong to the poetical language of the Anglosaxons in contradistinction to their prose, and were kept up by tradition among their scôpas or poets. To this is owing the retention, even in Christian works, of modes of expression which must have had their origin in the heathen feeling, and which, in order to fit them for their new application, are gradually softened down and gain less personal and more abstract significations. The language of poetry is as distinct from that of prose among the Anglosaxons as any two different dialects, and it is not

too much to say, that a scholar who might be well able to read the Gospels, the Homilies or the Chronicle, might not be able to construe ten consecutive lines of *Beowulf* or *Cædmon*. It is in fact in their poems that the stubborn nationality of our forefathers shows itself most thoroughly: their prose works are almost always literal translations, and even if original, are deeply imbued with tramontane feelings, derived from the models most in vogue. But the epic forms maintained themselves despite of the book-learning which was so overprized; and even translations became originals, from the all-pervading Teutonic spirit which was unconsciously preserved in the forms and phrases of heathen poetry. In the use of these, far more than in the alliterative measure, consists the poetical element, and, without these, the alliteration cannot save a saint's legend from assuming the guise of a dull homily, and being read as such in the churches.

It will well repay the pains to read Grimm's excellent remarks upon this class of words in the introduction to "*Andreas und Elene*;" he has collected together from all the Anglo-Saxon poems the principal expressions for the occurrences of warfare and seafaring, and the superstitious veneration for certain natural phenomena, such as day and night, sunrise, sunset, storms, dreams and death. He has himself shown the heathen character of these expressions, and the epic nature of others which continually occur in some of the poems. Into this long subject I will not now follow him, but earnestly recommend this and all his works to all who wish to study Anglo-Saxon in earnest; my business will be to embody in the glossarial notes to this volume the more important of his results, as the occasion arises to notice them, too proud and happy

*Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos,*

and caring very little for the repute of originality, if I can deserve the far more satisfactory praise of usefulness.

THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

THIS is the first and longest of the Vercelli poems; it describes the conversion of the heathen Mermedonians by the apostol whose name we have assigned to it, his call to that work while in Achaia, his martyrdom among the pagan cannibals, and his safe return after the completion of his mission. After the death of Christ the Apostols had divided the whole world among themselves, as scenes of missionary exertion. Matthew had visited the Mermedonians, a race of sorcerers and anthropophagi, who devoured every stranger that landed on their shores. The saint had, like all their victims, been cast into prison together with a multitude of men and women, who appear to belong to his company. According to their custom they had put out his eyes, and given him to drink a potion which reduces man to the level of the beasts, and causes him to feed on grass and hay like the cattle of the field. But from this fate his faith appears to have saved him: he prays to God that he may not lose the intellect by which he is enabled to glorify his Creator; and he receives by a voice from heaven the gracious assurance that his prayer is heard, and that St. Andrew shall be sent to release him from his misery. To this saint a command is now delivered to set out for Mermedonia, which dangerous undertaking he at first attempts to decline; but being rebuked by God, he manfully addresses himself to his journey with a number of selected comrades. At the sea-shore he sees a boat with three rowers, who being interrogated as to their country reply that they are from Mermedonia, whither they are about to return. Andrew requests a passage, which they are willing to give, on condition of payment. On hearing however that the saint and his companions have no gold and silver, and are servants of Jesus Christ, the strangers agree to take them gratuitously to Mermedonia. The three rowers are in fact Almighty God, and two of his angels. During the voyage Andrew is in-

duced to relate various events in the life of his master, for the instruction of the supposed steersman and the edification of his own comrades. One of these episodes is of importance to the history of the poem. According to St. Andrew, the Jews having demanded a sign of the Saviour and a proof of his divine descent, Jesus performed a great miracle to confound them. On the walls of the temple, to left and right, were carved two images of the Seraphim*: these the Saviour caused to descend from their places, and endowed them with speech; he then sent them over the desert to the plain of Mamre, where Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were buried, commanding them to call the patriarchs from their graves, that they might bear witness to him. This is done, and the re-animated remains are not dismissed to their repose till they have testified that Jesus is indeed the Christ, the Son of the Living God.

A deep sleep falls upon St. Andrew and his comrades; during which they are laid upon the shore of Mermedonia, when it is first revealed to them who has been the guide of their journey. Invisible to all eyes, the saint advances to the prison where St. Matthew and his companions languish. On his arrival the guards fall down dead; sight is restored to the blind apostol, who departs with his whole company, praising God. The next day is the one on which, according to their custom, the cannibals assemble to slaughter and eat some of their captives; they find the prison open, the jailers dead and their prey escaped. Horror and despair seize upon them: they are reduced to the necessity of choosing a victim from among themselves by lot. The heavy doom falls upon an old man, a principal councillor among them, who to redeem his own life offers his young son for sacrifice. But this awakens the compassion of St. Andrew, who miraculously blunts the weapons that are directed against the youth, and rescues him from death. While the confusion and terror

* Teraphim ?

of the Mermedonians are at the highest, a fiend, watchful for opportunities to molest the servants of God, calls attention to the apostol, whom he denounces as the rescuer of St. Matthew and the cause of their present trouble. On this the saint is seized and imprisoned, and for several days grievously tormented by being dragged over the rough ways, till the flesh is torn from the bones: in his prison, devils revile and scoff him, but he defeats them by a steadfast faith, and drives them from him in confusion. At length his patience gives way under the intensity of torture; he remonstrates with God, praying for speedy death, and is told that his martyrdom is accomplished. He now calls a mighty flood, which sweeps away the most active of his tormentors. The rest, stricken with terror, are converted, instructed and baptized; and after remaining with them for a season, St. Andrew sets sail and returns to Achaia. Grimm was at once struck with the probability of this poem being founded upon some apocryphal gospel or legend current in the early church, and endeavoured to discover it. In this he was for a while unsuccessful: hints indeed and allusions to the story there were, but not such a detailed resemblance as would prove the recovery of the original work from which the poem was translated. Two of these passages are cited by Grimm, one from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the other from the *Pseudo-Abdias* (Fabricius, Cod. Apoc. N. T. p. 457); but I do not copy them, because, though they prove a knowledge of a story similar in its general outlines to our own, they show no acquaintance whatever with some of the most remarkable points of the legend: for example, they are silent as to the Mermedonians being cannibals, the personal convoy which the Almighty vouchsafes to his servant, the story of the statues and the raising of the patriarchs, and the mode by which the conversion of the heathen was effected. Farther inquiry was necessary, and on application to Thilo, the learned editor of the Cod. Apoc. N. T., the wished-for in-

formation was obtained. In the Royal Library at Paris are several MSS. containing the *Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ματθαίου*, and two of these, Cod. Bibl. Reg. 808, fol. 348–359, and Cod. 1556, fol. 1–11, are cited from Thilo's unpublished collections. In these we find the details in question. Thus, the Mermedonians are cannibals: *κατὰ κλήρον οὖν ἔλαχε τὸν Ματθαῖον πορευθῆναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*. Again, it is God himself who steers the ship: *ὁ γὰρ κύριος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει καὶ ἰσχύϊ κατεσκεύασε πλοῖον, καὶ αὐτός ἦν ὡσπερ πρωρεὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ἐνέγκας δύο ἀγγέλους ἐμόρφωσεν αὐτούς*. The adventure of the statues is thus told: *Καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ ναοῦ ἶδε γλυφὰς (i. γλυπτὰς) σφίγγας δύο, μίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μίαν ἐξ εὐωνύμων καὶ στραφείς ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶπε· θεωρήσατε τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμοιά εἰσι τοῦ Χερουβιμ καὶ τοῦ Σεραφίμ, τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ. Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας ἐκ δεξιῶν, οὗ ἦν ἡ σφίγγξ, εἶπεν αὐτῇ· σοὶ λέγω, τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τὸ (i. τοῦ) ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὃ ἐγλυψαν τεχνιτῶν χεῖρες, ἀποκολλήθητι ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου σου, καὶ ἔλθῃ κάτω, καὶ ἀποκρίθητι, καὶ ἔλεγξον τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὑπόδειξον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐγὼ θεὸς εἰμι ἢ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ εὐθέως ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἡ σφίγγξ, καὶ ἀναλαβούσα φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, εἶπεν. etc. etc.*

Now such coincidences as these are more than accidental, and I think they justify the conclusion that, mediately or immediately, the *πράξεις Ἀνδρέου* are the original of our Anglosaxon poem. Perhaps it is more consonant with probability that a literal Latin translation should have supplied the Anglosaxon monk with his materials, than that he should have been competent to adapt a Greek legend. In the North of England, at an early period, some knowledge of Greek seems to have been found, and the companions of Theodor of Tarsus may have left scholars in the cloisters south of the Humber: but with the close of the eighth, or beginning of the ninth century, the last traces of this knowledge perished away in England, nor was even a word of Greek intelligible in the

eleventh, save perhaps here and there a title or an epithet borrowed from the pompous pedantry of Byzantium. From the time of Lucius Charinus (the Manichean of the sixth century, to whom Thilo attributes the original legend) till that of Cynewulf, Abbat of Peterborough, nearly five centuries elapsed; and a work so well known as the *Περίοδοι* could hardly fail to find translators in the West. I feel little hesitation in avowing my belief that this was the case, rather than in supposing a Northumbrian or early Southern (Kentish for instance) version to have been directly made from the Greek, and this again retranslated into Westsaxon at the end of the tenth century.

This is not the only instance of similar processes: "Salomon and Saturn" appears to have arisen in the same manner; and so in all probability did "Elene," the most valuable of the poems contained in this volume. The service which Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492-496) did the church, by eliminating a multitude of apocryphal Gospels from the Canon, may have been somewhat diminished by his recognition of them as works tending to edification; but the student of our national antiquities will acknowledge with gratitude, that to such modified recognition we owe the preservation of many monuments of thought and language which would otherwise have been sought in vain. It is true that they are of little interest in their Latin or Greek forms, except inasfar as they may have influenced the universal mind of Europe at the commencement of our modern civilization: in the early German translations, however, they have remained to supply the most important materials for the history of the thoughts, feelings and mind of the Teutonic races. For, partly, through the strong nationality of the Anglosaxons, partly through the existence of a peculiar language, devoted to a particular use, the classical original becomes an equally original Germanic poem, in all but the subject; and having so become, bears in very many of its details the strong impress of early and even

heathen tradition. Devoted only to the elucidation of heathen themes, their heathen element would have been compelled to an unequal struggle with the power of the Christian priesthood, in which it must ultimately have succumbed : but once saved from this fate, adopted, and as it were Christianized by the priesthood itself, it became the surest guarantee of the national development, helping to ensure the failure of every attempt to introduce the elements of a foreign civilization, or the usurpation of a foreign authority in matters of civil or ecclesiastical polity.

THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

HWÆT we gefrunon
on fyrndagum
twelfe under tunglum
tīreádige hæleð,
þeódnes þegnas :
nó hira þrym álæg,
camprædenne,
þonne cumbol hneoton ;
siððan hie gedældon,
swá him dryhten sylf,
heofona heáhcýning,
hlyt getæhte.
þæt wæron mære
men ofer eorðan,
frome folctogan,
and fyrðhwate,
rófe rincas,
þonne rond and hand
on herefelda
helm ealgodon,
on meotudwange.
Wæs hira Matheus sum,
se mid Iudéum ongan
godspell ærest
wordum writan,

VERC.

LO! We have learned
in days of yore
of twelve beneath the stars
heroes gloriously blessed,
5 servants of the Lord :
their glory failed not,
of their warfare,
when ensigns clashed ; [tion,
after they had made distribu-
10 as God himself to them,
high king of heaven,
had a lot assigned.
Those were famous
men throughout the earth,
15 pious leaders,
and bold in warfare,
celebrated warriors,
when shield and hand
on the battle-field
20 the helmet guarded,
on the fatal plain.
Matthew was one of them,
who amongst the Jews began
the gospel first
25 in words to write,

B

wundorcraefte.		with miraculous power.
þam hālig god		To him holy God
hlyt geteóde		assigned a lot
út on þæt igland,		out on that island,
þær ænig þa git	30	where yet not any one
ellþeódigra		of strangers
éðles ne mihte		might a home
blædes brúcán.		or prosperity enjoy. [terers
Oft him bonena hand		Oft had the hand of slaughter-
on herefelda	35	on the battle-field
hearde gesceód.		hardly decided for him.
Eal wæs þæt mearcland		That border-land was all
morðre bewunden,		wound round with slaughter,
feóndes fācne,		with the treachery of the foe,
folcstede gumena,	40	the metropolis of men,
hæleða éðel.		the dwelling of heroes.
Næs þær hlāfes wist		There was no supply of bread
werum on þam wonge,		for men in that country,
nē wæteres drync		nor drink of water
tó brúcanne.	45	to enjoy.
Ah hie blóð and fel,		But they the blood and skin,
fira flæschoman		the flesh of men
feorran cumenra,		comers from afar,
þægón geond þa þeóde :		partook of among the people :
swelc wæs þeáw hira,	50	such was their custom
þæt hie æghwylcne		that they every one
ellþeódigra		of strangers
dydon him tó móse		made to them for food,
meteþearfendum,		wanting meat,
þára þe þæt eáland	55	of those who that island
útan sóhte.		visited from without.
Swylc wæs þæs folces		Such was the people's
freoðoleás tácen,		peaceless token,
unlædra eafod,		the suffering of the wretched,
þæt hie eágena gesihð,	60	that they the eye-sight,

<p> hettend heorogrimme, héafodgimme ágoton gealgmóde gâra ordum : siððan him geblendon bitere tósomne drýas þurh dwolcræft drync unheórne, se onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc heortan hrêðre ; hyge wæs oncyrrred þæt hie ne murndon æfter mandreáme, hæleð heorogrædige, ac hie hīg and gærs, for meteleáste mêðe, gedrêhte. þá wæs Matheus tó þære mæran byrig cumen, in þá ceastre. þær wæs cirm micel geond Mermedonia, mânfulra hlóð, fordénera gedræg, siððan deóflæs þegn * * * * * * * * * * * * geáscodon, æðelinges síð. Eódon him þá tógênes gárum gehyrsted lungre under linde, nalæs late wæron </p>	<p> sword-grim enemies, the gem of the head gallows-minded poured out with javelin points : 65 afterwards mixed for them bitter together these wizards through magic a fatal drink, which turned away the wit, 70 the intellect of men, the heart within the breast ; the mind was turned so that they cared not for the joys of human life, 75 the men fatally greedy, but them hay and grass, for want of food weary, oppressed. Then was Matthew 80 to the famous burgh come, to the city. There was much outcry throughout Mermedonia, the sinful tribe, 85 a tumult of undone men, since the devil's servant * * * * * * * * * * * learnt the noble's journey. Towards him they went 90 with javelins adorned swiftly under linden-shield, not slow were </p>
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eorre æsberend		the fierce spear-bearers
to þam orlege.		to the onset.
Hie þam hālgan þær	95	They for the holy one there
handa gebundon		his hands bound,
and fæstnodon		and fastened them
feōndes cræfte,		with hostile craft,
hæleð hellfūse,		men hell-prone,
and his heáfdes segl	100	and the gem of his head
ābruton mid billes ecge.		broke with the bill's edge.
Hwæðre he in breóstum þā git		Nevertheless he still in his
herede in heortan		in his heart honored [breast
heofonríces weard,		the ward of heaven's kingdom,
þeáh þe he átres drync	105	though he the drink of poison
atulne onfēnge ;		the terrible had tasted ;
eádig and ánmód		blessed and steadfast
he mid elne forð		he courageously continued
wyrðode wordum		to glorify with his words
wuldres aldor,	110	the prince of glory,
heofonríces weard,		the ward of heaven's kingdom,
hālgan stefne		with holy voice,
of carcerne.		from out his prison.
Him wæs Cristes lof		To him was Christ's praise
on fyrhðlocan	115	within his breast
fæste bewunden ;		steadfastly wound about ;
he þā wēpende		he then weeping
wēregum tearum,		with weary tears,
his sigedryhten		his victorious Lord
sārgan reorde	120	with sorrowful speech
grētte, gumena brego,		addressed, the prince of men,
geómran stefne		with mournful voice
weoruda wilgeofan,		the benefactor of hosts,
and þus wordum cwæð :		and thus in words <i>he</i> spake :
Hú me elpeóddige	125	" How for me <i>these</i> strangers
inwitwrasne,		a chain of mischief,
searonet, seowað.		a net of snares, are sewing !

<p> ā ic sinles wæs on wega gehwām, willan þīnes georn on mōde ; nū þurh geohða sceal dæda fremman swā þā dumban neát. þū āna canst ealra gehygdo, meotud mancynnes mōd in hrēðre. Gif þīn willa sie, wuldres aldor, þæt me wærlogan wæpna ecgum, sweordum āswebban, ic beó sōna gearu tō ādreóganne þæt þū, dryhten mīn, engla eádgifa, ēðelleásum, dugeða dædfruma, dēman wille. Forgif me tō āre, ælmihtig god, leóht on þīssum līfe ; þý læs ic lungre scyle, āblended in burgum, æfter billhete, þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra, lāðra leódsceaðena, leng þrōwian edwitspræce. Ic tō ānum þe </p>	<p> I was evermore in every way, of thy will desirous in my mind ; now with sorrow must I deeds do such as the dumb cattle. Thou alone knowest the thoughts of all men, thou Lord of mankind, the mind within the breast. If it be thy will, Prince of glory, that me the perfidious men with edge of weapons, with swords shall set to sleep, I shall be soon ready to endure whatsoever thou, my Lord, bliss-giver of angels, to me an exile, thou origin of virtuous deeds, art willing to adjudge. Grant me as a boon, Almighty God, light in this life ; lest I shall forthwith, [ings, blinded as I am in these dwell- after the hate of swords, through the abuse of savage greedy men, of hostile malefactors, longer suffer contemptuous speech. I to thee only, </p>
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middangeardes weard,		Guardian of the world,
môd staðolige,		keep my mind firmly fixed,
fæste fyrhðlufan :	165	the steadfast love of my soul :
and þe, fæder engla,		and thee, Father of angels,
beorht blædgifa,		bright giver of prosperity,
biddan wille		will pray
þæt þû me ne gescyrige		that thou appoint me not
mid scyldhetum,	170	among these guilty ones,
wérigum wróhtsmiðum,		these base artificers of crime,
on þone wyrrestan,		the worst,—
dugoða dêmend,		Ruler of dignities !—
deáð ofer eorðan.		death on the earth.”
Æfter þyssum wordum com		After these words came
wuldres tácen		a token of glory
hálig of heofenum,		holy from heaven,
swylce hádre sægl,		like a serene star,
tô þám carcerne.		to the prison.
þær gecfðed wearð	180	There was manifested
þæt hálig god		that Holy God
helpe gefremede.		gave help.
Ðá wearð gehýred		Then was heard
heofoncyniges stefn		the voice of heaven's king
wrætlíc under wolcnum,	185	wondrous under the welkin,
wordhleóðres swég		the sound of the oracular word
mæres þeodnes ;		of the great King ;
he his maguþegne,		he to his servant,
under hearmlocan,		in the bonds of evil,
hælo and frófre	190	safety and comfort
beadurófum ábeád,		to the bold in war did offer,
beorhtan stefne :		with a clear voice :
Ic þe, Matheus,		“ I to thee, Matthew,
míne sylle		grant my [not thou
sibbe under swegle. Ne beó þû		peace under the firmament. Be
on sefan tô forht,		too fearful in mind,
né on môde ne murn.		nor mourn in mind.

Ic þe mid wunige		I will dwell with thee
and þe álýse of þyssum		and release thee from these
leoðubendum,	200	limb-bonds,
and ealle þa menigo		and all the multitude
þe þe mid wuniað		that abideth with thee
on nearonêdum.		in strait need.
þe is neorxna wang,		To thee is Paradise,
blêda beorhtôst,	205	brightest of glories,
boldwela fægrôst,		fairest of dwellings,
hâma hyhtlicôst,		pleasantest of homes,
hâlegum mihtum		by holy powers
torht ontýned ;		brightly opened ;
þær þû tîres môst,	210	where thou glory mayest,
tô wîdan feore,		to all eternity,
willan brûcan.		at will enjoy. [people ;
Gepola þeôða þreá ;		Endure the oppression of this
nis seô þrah micel,		the period is not long,
þæt þe wêrlogan	215	that for thee the perfidious ones
witebendum,		with bonds of punishment,
synne þurh searocræft		sinfully through insidious craft
swencan môton.		may afflict.
Ic þe Andreas		I to thee, Andrew,
ædre onsende	220	will speedily send
tô bleó and tô hrôðre,		for protection and comfort,
in þâs hæðenan burg :		into this heathen city :
he þe álýseð		he will release thee
of þissum leoðhete :		from this vast hatred :
is tô þære tide	225	up to that time is
tælmet hwîle,		a calculable interval,
emne mid sôðe		even in sooth
seofon and twentig		seven and twenty
nihtgerîmes,		nights by number,
þæt þû of nêde môst,	230	when thou shalt from this need,
sorgum geswenced,		afflicted with sorrows,
sigore gewyrðod,		glorified with victory,

hweorfest of henðum in gehyld godes.		thou shalt go from miseries into God's grace."
Gewát him þá se hálga helm ælwihta, engla scippend, tô þám uplitan éðelríce, he is on riht cyning, staðolfæst stýrend in stowa gehwám. Ðá wæs Matheus miclum onbryrðed niwan stefne ; nihthelm tóglád, lungre leorde, leóht æfter com, dægrédwóma. Duguð sammade, hæðne hildfreca, heápum þrunon : gúðsearo gullon, gâras hrysedon bolgenmóde under bordhreóðan. Woldon cunnian hwæðer twice lifdon þa þe on carcerne clomnum fæste hleóleásan wíc hwíle wunedon ; hwylcne hie tó æte ærest mihton æfter firstmearce feores berædan ? Hæfdon hie on rúne	235 240 245 250 255 260 265	Departed then the holy protector of all beings, creator of angels, to the supernal realm, He is justly King, a firm ruler in every plæe ! Then was Matthew much moved by the new summons ; the night-helm glode away, rapidly it departed, light came after, the rushing noise of dawn. The powerful collected, heathens battle-savage, in heaps they thronged : their war-trappings sung, they brandished their javelins angry of mood under the wall of shields. They would prove whether yet quick lived those who in prison fast in bonds, a comfortless dwelling awhile had occupied ; which of them they for food might first after the appointed interval deprive of life ? They had in rune

and on rimcræfte		and in rimecraft	
āwriten, wælgrādige,		written, greedy of slaughter,	
wera endestæf :	270	the end of the men :	
hwænne hie tō mōse		when they for food	
meteþearfendum		to the hungry	
on þære werþeóde		in that tribe	
weorðan sceoldon ;		should become ;	
cirmdon caldheorte,	275	the coldhearted noisily shouted,	
corder óðrum getang,		troop thronged on troop,	
rēðe ræsboran ;		savage onset-bringers ;	
rihtes ne gýmdon		for right they cared not	
meotudes mildse ;		the mercy of the Lord ;	
oft hira mōd onwōd	280	oft their mind went	
under dimscūtan		under dim shadow	
deóflæs larum,		by the devil's lore,	
þonne hie unlædra		when they of savage spirits	
eafeðum gelyfdon.		believed in the might.	
Hie þā gemétton	285	They then found	
módes gleáwne,		the prudent of mind,	
háligne hæle		the holy man,	
under heólstorlocan		in his dark den	
bídan beadúrōfne		warlike-bold abiding [king,	
hwæs him beorht cyning,		whatsoever to him the bright	
engla ordfruma,		the prince of angels,	
unnan wolde.		should grant.	
Ða wæs first ágān		Then was the space expired	
frumrædenne,		of the predestined time,	
þinggemearces,	295	the fixed period,	
bútan þrim nihtum,		except three nights,	
swā hit wælwulfas		as it the wolves of slaughter	
āwriten hæfdon,		had written down,	
þæt hie bānhringas		that they the bone-rings	
ābreccan þohton,	300	thought to break,	
lungre tólýsan		forthwith to divide	
lic and sáwle		body and soul,	

and þonne tóðælan		and then to distribute
duguðe and geógoðe,		to old and young,
werum tó wiste	305	to the men for food
and tó wilþege,		and acceptable feast,
fæges flæschoman.		the flesh of the slain.
Feorh ne bemurndon		For the soul cared not
grædige gúðrincas,		the greedy warriors,
hú þæs gâstes sfð	310	how the spirit's journey
æfter swyltcwale		after death
geseted wurde.		might be appointed.
Swa hie simble ymb þritig		Thus they ever about thirty
þing gehégdon		nights by number
nihtgerfmes :	315	held their public meeting :
wæs him neód micel,		great was their need,
þæt hie tóbrugdon		that they must touch
blódigum ceafum		with bloody jaws
fira flæschoman		the flesh of men
him tó fóddorþege.	320	for their food.
Þá wæs gemyndig		Then was mindful
se þe middangeard		He who the earth
gestaðelode		established
strangum mihtum,		by his strong might,
hú he in ellþeodigum	325	how he among strangers
yrmðum wunade,		miserably dwelt,
belocen leoðubendum,		locked up in limb-bonds,
þe of his lufan adreág		who for his sake had suffered
for Ebréum		before Hebrews
and Israhelum,	330	and Israelites,
swylce he Judéa		also of the Jews
galdorcraeftum		the magical powers
wiðstóð stranglice.		had strongly withstood.
Þá sió stefn gewearð		Then the voice was
gehéred of heofenum,	335	heard out of heaven,
þær se halga wer		where the holy man
in Achæa		in Achæa

Andreas wæs.		Andrew was.
Leóde lærde		The people he instructed
on lifes weg.	340	in the way of life.
Þá him cirebaldum		There to him royally bold
cyninga wuldor,		the glory of kings,
meotud mancynnes,		the lord of mankind,
móðhord onleác,		unlocked the treasure of words,
weoruda dryhten	345	the Lord of hosts,
and þus wordum cwæð :		and thus in words he spake :
Ðú scealt féran		“ Thou shalt go
and frið lædan,		and bear my peace,
siðe gesécan		in journey seek
þær sylfætán	350	where the anthropophagi
eard weardigað,		defend the land,
éðel healdað		hold the possession
morðorcraeftum ;		by murderous power ;
swá is þære menigo þeáw,		such is the custom of that
		multitude,
þæt hie uncûðra	355	that they of strangers
ængum ne willað		to no one will
on þám folcstede		in that country
feóres geunnan :		spare the life :
siððan mánfulle		when the guilty ones
on Mermedonia	360	in Mermedonia
onfindað feáscaftne,		find a wretch,
þær sceal feorhgedál,		then must life-parting,
earmlíc ylda cwealm,		miserable slaughter of men,
æfter wyrðan.		afterwards take place.
þær ic seómian wát	365	There I know to languish
þinne sigebroðor		thy brother in glory
mid þám burgwarum		among the citizens
bendum fæstne :		fast in bonds :
nú bið fore þreo niht,		now is it three nights before,
þæt he on þære þeóde sceal	370	that he shall among that people
fore hæðenra		through the heathens’

handgewinne,		hand-warfare,	
þurh gâres gripe		through gripe of javelin	
gâst onsendan		send forth his spirit	
ellorfûsne,	375	ready to depart,	[earlier.]
bûtan þû âr cyme.		unless thou come thither	
Ædre him Andreas		At once to him Andrew	
âgef andsware :		returned answer :	
Hû mæg ic, dryhten mîn,		“How may I, my Lord,	
ofer deóp gelâd	380	over the deep sea	
fôre gefremman		accomplish the journey	
on feorne weg		on so far a way	
swâ hrædlîce,		so speedily,	
heofona scippend,		creator of the heavens,	
wuldres waldend,	385	ruler of glory,	
swâ þû wordê becwîst?		as thou in words sayest?	
Þæt mæg engel þîn		That may thine angel	
eáð gefêran,		more easily travel,	
of heofenum con him		from the heavens he knows	
holma begang,	390	the passages of the deeps,	
sealte sæstreámas		the salt sea-streams	
and swanrâde,		and the swan's road,	
waroðfaruða gewinn		the contest of the sea-waves	
and wæterbrôgan,		and the terror of waters,	
wegas ofer wîd land.	395	ways over wide land.	
Ne sint me winas cûðe		To me are no known friends	
eorlas elpeódige		the strange men,	
nê þær âniges wât		nor do I in anything know	
hæleða gehygdo,		the disposition of the people,	
nê me herestrêta	400	nor are to me the high-roads	
ofer cald wæter		over the cold water	
cûðe sindon.		known.”	
Him þâ ondswarude		Him then answered	
êce dryhten :		eternal God :	
Eála Andreas	405	“Alas! Andrew,	
þæt þû â woldest		that ever thou wouldst	

þæs siðfætēs		to this journey
sæne weorðan !		be slow !
Nis þæt unecǣðe		It is not difficult
ealwealdan Gode	410	for Almighty God
tô gefremmanne		to accomplish
on foldwege,		in this place,
þæt sió ceaster hider		that the city hither
on þæs cneórisse		in this tribe
under swegles gang	415	beneath the sun's path
áseted wyrðe,		should be transported,
breogostól brême		the proud metropolis
mid þám burgwarum,		together with the burghers, [it
gif hit wordé becwið		if with a word should command
wuldres ágend.	420	the Lord of glory !
Ne meaht þú þæs siðfætēs		Thou mayest not to this journey
sæne weorðan,		be slow,
né on gewitte tô wác,		nor too weak in wit,
gif þú wel þencest		if thou desirest well
wið þínne wealdend	425	towards thy prince
wære gehealdan,		covenant to hold,
treówe tácen.		true token !
Beó þú on tíð gearu :		Be thou at the time ready :
ne mæg þæs árendes		of this errand there may
ylding wyrðan :	430	be no delay :
þú scealt þá fore geféran,		thou shalt then set forward,
and þín feorh beran		and bear thy life
in gramra gripe ;		into the grasp of foes ;
þær þe gúðgewinn		where warlike contest to thee,
þurh hæðenra	435	through the heathens'
hildewóman,		battle rush,
beorna beaducræft,		the war-craft of heroes,
geboden wyrðeð.		shall be proclaimed.
Scealtu æninga		Thou shalt certainly
mid ærdæge,	440	at early dawn,
emne tô morgene,		even tomorrow,

æt meres ende,		at the sea's end,
ceól gestigan,		mount a ship,
and on cold wæter		and on the cold water
brecan ofer bæðweg.	445	break over the bathway.
Hafa bletsunge		Have my blessing
ofer middangeard		throughout the earth
mīne þær þú fēre.		whithersoever thou go !”
Gewāt him þā se hālgā		Then departed the holy
healdend and wealdend,	450	upholder and wielder,
upengla fruma,		the prince of archangels,
ēðel sécan,		to seek his home,
middangeardes weard,		the warder of earth,
þone mæran hām		the famous dwelling
þær sóðfæstra	455	where of the pious
sāwla mōton		the souls may
æfter līces hryre		after the body's fall
līfes brūcan.		enjoy life.
þā wæs ærende		Then was the errand
æðelum cempa	460	to the noble champion
āboden in burgum :		proclaimed in the town :
ne wæs him bléað hyge,		his mind was not slack,
ah he wæs ānræð		but he was steadfast
ellenweorces,		in his great work,
heard and hygeróf,	465	hard and noble-minded,
nalæs hildlata,		no skulker from battle,
gearo gūðe fram		ready for war, stout
tó Godes compe.		for God's battle.
Gewāt him þā on uhtan,		He went then at dawn,
mid ærdæge,	470	with break of day,
ofer sandhleoðu		over the sand-hills
tó sæs faruðe,		to the sea-shore,
þriste on geþance,		bold in thought,
and his þegnas mid,		and his thanes with him,
gāngan on greóte.	475	going on the sand.
Gārsecg hlýnede		The ocean sounded

beóton brimstreámas :		the sea-streams dashed :
se beorn wæs on hyhte		the man was full of hope
siððan he on waruðe		after he on the strand
wiðfæðme scip	480	a wide-bosomed ship
módig gemette.		courageous found.
þá com morgen torht,		Then came splendid morning,
beácna bearhtost,		brightest of beacons,
ofer breomo sneówan ;		hastening over the waves ;
hálig of heólstre	488	holy from out the darkness
heofoncandel blác		heaven's candle shone
ofer lagoflódas ;		over the lake-floods ;
he þær lidweardas		he there ship-keepers
þrymlíce þry		glorious three
þegnas (gesceawode),	490	thanes beheld,
módiglice menn		courageous men
on merebáte		in the sea-boat
sittan siððfome,		sitting bold to journey,
swylce hie ofer sæ comon :		even as they had come over sea :
þæt wæs dryhten sylf,	495	that was the Lord himself,
dugeða wealdend,		the prince of dignities,
éce ælmihtig		the eternal Almighty God
mid his englum twám.		with his two angels.
Wæron hie on gescirplan		They were in habit <i>like</i>
scipfêrendum,	500	unto seafarers,
eorlas onlice		the men like
eálðendum,		sailors over the wave, [flood
þonne hie on flódes fæðm		when they on the bosom of the
ofer feorne weg		far away
on cald wæter	505	on the cold water
ceólum lácað.		with ships play.
Hie þá gegrêtte		Them then addressed
se þe on greóte stóð		he who on the strand stood
fús on faroðe,		ready on the beach,
frægn, reordade :	510	he inquired and said :
hwanon comon ge		“ Whence come ye

<p> ceólum lřđan, mácræftige menn, on mereřissan, áne ægflotan ? hwanon eágorstreám ofer řđa gewealc eówic brohte ? Him řá andswarode ælmihlig god, swá řæt ne wiste, se řæs wordes bád, hwæt se manna wæs međelhêgendra, řa he řær on warođe wiđřingode : We of Marmedonia mægđe sindon feorran gefêrede : ús mid flóde bær on hránrade heáhstefn naca, snellíc sáemearh, snúde bewunden ; ođđæt we řissa leóda land gesóhton wære bewrecene, swá us wind fordráf. Him řá Andreas eáđmóđ oncwæđ : Wolde ic ře biddan řeah ic ře beága lyt sincweorđunga syllan meahte, řæt řú ús gebrohte branté ceólé, </p>	<p> sailing in ships, men powerful on the sea, upon the water-beater, 515 solitary floaters over the wave ? whence hath the ocean-stream over the rolling of the waters brought you ?” Him then answered 520 Almighty God,— so that he might not know, <i>he namely</i> who awaited his word, what man it was of men conversing, 525 whom he there upon the strand communed with : “ We from Mermedonia our country are far travelled : 530 us with the flood bare on the whale’s path the high-stemmed boat, the swift sea-horse, twisted about with speed ; 535 until we of this people the land sought afflicted with the sea, [about.” so hath the wind driven us Him then Andrew 540 humbly addressed : “ I would beg thee— though I to thee few rings or treasure-offerings may give, 545 that thou wouldst bring us with the foaming keel, </p>
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heá hornscipe		the high pinnaced ship
ofer hwæles éðel,		over the whale's home,
on þære mægðe :		to that tribe :
býð þe meorð wið god,	550	thou wilt have reward with God,
þæt þú us on láde		for that thou touse on our journey
lífde weorðe.		gentle wouldst be."
Eft him andswarode		Again him answered
æðelinga helm		the Lord of nobles
of ýðlide,	555	from the ship,
engla scippend :		the creator of angels :
Ne magon þær gewunian		"There may not dwell
widférende,		wide wandering men,
né þær elþeódige		nor there do strangers
eardes brúcað ;	560	enjoy the land ;
ah in þære ceastre		but in that city
cwealm þrowiað,		torment suffer,
þá þe feorran þiðer		they who thither from afar
feorh gelædað ;		lead their life ;
and þú wilnast nú,	565	and now thou desirest,
ofer wíðne mere,		over the wide sea,
þæt þú on þa fægðe		that thou in that hostility
þíné feoré spilde !		thy life shouldst lose !"
Him þá Andreas		To him then Andrew
ágef ondsware :	570	gave answer :
Usic lust hwæteð		"Desire impels us
on þá leódmearce,		to that country,
micel módes hyht,		the great hope of our mind,
tó þærre mæran byrig,		to that famous city,
þeóden leófesta,	575	dearest Lord,
gif þú us þíne wilt		if thou to us wilt
on merefaroðe		on the sea-shore
miltse gecýðan.		thy favor show."
Him ondswarode		Him answered
engla þeóden,	580	the king of angels,
neregend fira,		saviour of men,

of nacan stefne :		from the boat's stem :
We þe éstlice		“ We thee gladly
mid us willað		will with us
ferigan freóllice	585	freely convey
ofer fisces bæð,		over the fishes' bath,
efne tó þám lande		even to the land
þær þe lust myneð		which desire urges thee
tó gesécanne,		to seek,
siððan ge eówre	590	after ye your
gafulrædenne		payment
ágifen habbað,		have given,
sceattas gescrifene,		the appointed sum,
swá eów scipweardas		according as the ship-warders
áras ofer fýðbord	595	the men over the sea-board
unnan willað.		will grant to you.”
Him þá ófstlice		Him then quickly
Andreas wið,		Andrew,
wine þearfende,		the needy man,
wordum mælde :	600	addressed with words :
Næbbe ic fætedgold		“ I have no solid gold
né feohgestreón,		nor store of silver,
welan né wiste,		wealth nor abundance,
né wíra gespann,		nor the joints of wires,
landes né locenra beága,	605	land, nor locked rings,
þæt ic þe mæge lust áhwettan,		that I may excite thy desire,
willan in worulde,		thy will in the world,
swá þú wordé becwist.		as thou with word sayest.”
Him þá beorna breogo		Him then the king of men
þær he on bolcan sæt,	610	when he sat upon the beam,
ofer waroða geweorp,		over the dashing of the waves,
wiðþingode :		addressed again :
Hú gewearð þe þæs,		“ How doth this befall thee,
wine leófesta,		dearest friend,
þæt þú sæbeorgas	615	that thou the sea-hills
sécan woldes,		wouldst seek,

<p>merestreáma gemet, máðmum bedæled, ofer cald cleofu ceóles neósan ? Nafast þe tó frófre on faroðstræte hláfes wiste, nê hlutterne drync tó dūgóðe : is se drohtað strang þám þe lagoláde lange cunnað. Ðá him Andreas þurh andsware, wis on gewitte, wordhord onleác : Ne gedafenað þe nú þe dryhten geaf welan and wiste and woruldspéde, þæt þú andsware mid oferhygdum, séce sârcwide ; sêlre býð æghwám þæt he eáðmédum ellorfúsne oncnáwe cūðlice, swá þæt Crist bebeád þeóden þrýmfast. We his þegnas sind gecoren to cempum. He is cyning on riht wealdend and wyrhta wuldorþrymmes ; án éce god</p>	<p>the boundary of the sea-streams, devoid of treasures, over the cold cliffs 620 a ship wouldst visit ? Thou hast not for thy comfort on the sea-street the subsistence of bread, nor bright 625 drink for thy support : severe is the way of life for him who a sea-journey long trieth.” Then to him Andrew 630 through his answer, wise in wit, unlocked the treasure of words : “ It befitteth thee not since to thee the Lord hath given 635 wealth and abundance and worldly prosperity, that thou an answer with arrogance, [ous words ; shouldst seek, with contumeli- 640 better is it for everyone that he with modesty the ready to depart should openly acknowledge, as that Christ commanded 645 the glorious king. We are his thanes chosen to battle. He is rightly king wielder and creator 650 of glorious majesty : one eternal God</p>
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eallra gesceafta,		of all creatures,
swá he ealle beféhð		even as he comprehendeth all
ânes cræfte,		by his sole power,
heofon and eorðan	655	heaven and earth
hâlgum mihtum,		by his holy might,
sigora sêlôst ;		most excellent of Lords ;
he þæt sylfa cwæð,		He himself said that,
fæder folca gehwæs,		the father of every nation,
and us fêran hêt	660	and bid us depart
geond ginne grund		beyond the abysmal deep
gâsta streónan :		to save souls :
Farað nú geond ealle		“ Go now throughout all
eorðan sceatas		the quarters of the earth
emne swá wide	665	even as far
swá wæter bebûgeð,		as water encircleth,
oððe stedewangas		or the fixed plains
strâte gelicgað ;		lie on the way ;
bodiað æfter burgum		preach through the cities
beorhtne geleáfan	670	the bright faith [earth :
ofer foldan fæðm :		throughout the bosom of the
ic eow freoðo healde.		I will hold peace with you.
Ne durfon ge on þá fóre		Ye must not on that journey
frætwe lædan,		take treasure,
gold nê seolfor ;	675	gold or silver ;
ic eow gôda gehwæs,		I to you of every good,
on eowerne âgenne dóm,		in your own decision,
êst âhwette.		the love excite.
Nû þu seolfa miht		Now thou thyself mayst
sðð úserne	680	our journey
gehýran, hygeþancol :		hear, reflecting :
ic sceal hraðe cunnan		I shall soon know
hwæt þu us tó duguðum		what favour thou us
gedón wille.		wilt do.”
Him þa ondswarode	685	Him then answered
êce dryhten :		eternal God :

<p>Gif ge sindon þegnas þæs þe þrym áhóf ofer middangeard, swá ge me secgað, and ge gebeóldon þæt eów se hálga beád, þonne ic eów mid gefean ferian wille ofer brimstreámas, swá ge bēnan sint. Þá in ceól stigon collenfyrhðe, ellenrófe ; æghwilcum wearð on merefaroðe mód geblissod. Ðá ofer ýða geswing Andreas ongann merelfðendum miltsa biddan wuldres aldor, and þús wordum cwæð : Forgife þe dryhten dómweorðunga, willan on worulde, and in wuldre blæd, meotud manncynnes, swá þú me hafast on þissum stðfæte sibbe gecýðed ! Gesæt him þá se hálga holmwearde neáh, æðele be æðelum : Æfre ic ne hýrde þon cymlicor</p>	<p>690 as ye say to me, and ye have observed [you, that the holy one commanded then I you with joy will convey 695 over the sea-streams, as ye petition.” Then stept into the ship the bold of spirit, the famed for valour ; 700 of each one was on the sea-beach the spirit blessed. Then over the swing of waves Andrew began 705 for the sea-sailors mercy to beg the Lord of glory, and thus spake in words : “ The Lord grant thee 710 the honour of dignity, thy will in this world, and increase in glory, —the Creator of mankind,— as thou hast to me 715 upon this journey friendship manifested ! ” Then sat himself the holy one near the sea-warder, noble by the noble : 720 Never heard I that in a comelier</p>
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ceól gehlādenne		ship laden
heahgestreónum		with lofty treasures
hæleð insætton,		men sat,
þeódnas þrymfulle,	725	glorious kings,
þegnas wltige.		beauteous thanes!
Ðá reordode		Then spake
rice þeóden,		the powerful king,
éce ælmihtig héht		the eternal, almighty, bade
his engel gān,	730	his angel go,
mārne maguþegn		his glorious attendant
and mete syllan,		and give food,
fréfran feascaftne		comfort the wretched men
ofer flódes wylm,		over the flood's gush,
þæt hie þe eáð mihton	735	that they the easier might
ofer ýða geþring		over the clash of waves
drohtað adreógan.		their way of life endure.
Ðá gedréfed wearð,		Then was vexed,
onhréred hwælmere,		excited the whale-lake,
hornfisc plegode,	740	the horn-fish plaid,
glád geond gārsecg,		glode through the ocean,
and se græga mæw		and the gray mew
wælgifre wand :		[ter :
wedercandel swearc,		circled round greedy of slaugh-
windas weóxon,		the weather-candle darkened,
wægas grundon,	745	the winds waxed,
streámas styredon,		the waves ground together,
strengas gurron,		the streams stirred,
wædo gewætte ;		the ropes creaked,
wæteregsa stód		wet with the waters ;
þreáta þryðum.	750	water-terror stood
þegnas wurdon		with the might of troops.
acolmóde,		The thanes were
ænig ne wēnde		with terror chilled,
þæt he lifgende		none thought
land begete,	755	that he alive
		should reach land,

þara þe mid Andreas		of those who with Andrew
on eágorstreám		on the ocean-stream
ceól gesóhte :		sought the ship :
næs him cūð þá gyt	760	as yet they knew not
hwá þám sæflotan		who the sea-floater's
sund wísode.		swimming directed.
Him þá se hálga		To him then the holy man
on holmwege		upon the ocean-way
ofer árgeblond	765	over the sea
Andreas þá git,		Andrew yet,
þegn þeódne hold,		the thane faithful to his Lord,
þanc gesægde,		said thanks,
ricum ræsboran,		to the powerful chieftain,
þá he gereordod wæs.	770	when he was satisfied with food.
Ðe þissa swæsenda		“To thee for this reflection
sóðfæst meotud,		may soothfast God,
lifes leóhtfruma,		the giver of the light of life,
leán forgilde,		grant reward,
weoruda waldend,	775	the Lord of hosts,
and þe wist gife		and grant to thee the food
heofonlicne hláf,		of heavenly bread,
swá þú hylde wið me		even as thou grace to me
ofer firigenstreám,		over the mighty stream,
freode gecfóðdest !	780	and peace hast manifested !
Nú sint geþreáde		Now are rebuked
þegnas míne,		my thanes,
geónge gúðrincas ;		my young warriors ;
gársecg hlymmeð,		the ocean roareth,
geofon geótende :	785	the pouring sea :
grund is onhrêred,		the abyss is excited,
deópe gedréfed ;		deeply vexed ;
duguð is geswenced,		their strength is oppressed,
módigra mægen,		the main of the valiant,
miclum gebysgod.	790	much troubled !
Him of holme oncwæð		“ Him over the sea addressed

hæleða scippend :		the creator of men :
Læt nû geferian		“ Let now go
flôtan úserne		our ship
lid tó lande	795	our vessel to land
ofer lagufæsten,		over the sea-fortress,
and þonne gebidan		and then await
beornas þíne,		thy men
áras on earde		thy messengers on land
hwænne þú eft cyme.	800	when thou comest back again.”
Edre him þa eorlas		Immediately to him the earls
ágefon ondsware,		gave answer,
þegnas þrohthearde,		the thanes exceeding bold,
þafigan ne woldon		they would not consent
þæt hie forlêton	805	that they should desert
æt lides stefnan		at the prow of the ship
leófne láreow		their dear teacher
and him land curon :		and choose land for themselves :
Hwider hweorfað we		“ Whither can we go
hláfordleáse,	810	without our lord,
geómormóde,		mournful of mood,
góde orfeorne,		of good devoid,
synnum wunde,		wounded with sins,
gif we swícað þe ?		if we should shrink from thee ?
We bioð láðe	815	We shall be odious
on landa gehwám,		in every land,
folcum fracóðe,		hateful to the people,
þonne fira bearn		when the sons of men
ellenrófe		famed for courage
æht besittað,	820	sit in council,
hwylc hira sélást		which of them best
simle gelæste		ever performed
hláforde æt hilde,		towards his lord in battle,
þonne hand and rond		when hand and shield
on beaduwange,	825	on the battle-plain,
billum forgrunden		ground down with bills

æt niðplegan,		in the hostile play,
nearu þrowedon.		suffered straits."
þá reordade		Then spake
rice þeóden,	830	the powerful prince,
wærfæst cyning		the truthful king
word stunde áhóf :		his word at once upraised :
Gif þú þegn sie		" If thou be the servant
þrymsittendes,		of him that sitteth in majesty,
wuldorcyninges,	835	the king of glory,
swá þú wordé becwist,		as thou in words assertest,
rece þá gerýnu,		expound the mysteries,
hú he reordberend		how he the bearers of speech
lærde under lyfte.		taught under the sky.
Lang is þeos siðfæt	840	Long is this journey
ofer fealuwne flód :		over the fallow flood :
fréfra þine		comfort thy
mæcgas on móde,		young men in mood,
micel is nú gëna		great is now still
lád ofer lagustreám,	845	our voyage over the lake-stream,
land swiðe feor		very far is the land
tó gesécanne ;		to seek ;
sand is geblonden,		the sand is mixed together,
grund wið greóte.		the abyss with the strand.
God eáðe mæg	850	God may easily
heaðolfðendum		to them that sail the deep
helpe gefremman.		give help !
Ongan þá gleáwlíce		Then intelligently began he
gingran síne,		his disciples,
wuldorspédige weras,	855	men gloriously blest,
wordum trymman :		with words confirm :
Ge þæt gehogodon,		" Ye meditated that,
þá ge on holm stigon,		when ye embarked on the deep
		sea,
þæt ge on fára folc		that ye among a hostile people
feorh gelæddon,	860	would lead your life,

<p>and for dryhtnes lufan deað þrōwodon, on Ælmyrcna ēðelrice, sawle gesealdon. Ic þæt sylfa wāt, þæt us gescildeð scippend engla, weoruda dryhten. Wæteregeasa sceal, geþýd and geþreátod þurh þryðcýning, lagu lácende, litðra wyrðan. Swa gesælde iú þat we on sæbáte ofer waruðgewinn wada cunnedon, faroðridende : frécne þúhton egle eáláda ; eágorstreámas beóton bordstæðu ; brim eft oncwæð, ýð óðerre : hwílum uppástóð of brimes bósmes on bátes fæðm egeasa ofer ýðlid. Ælmihtig þær, meotud mancýnnes, on mereþýssan beorht basnode. Beornas wurdon forhte on móde ;</p>	<p>and for the love of God would suffer death, in the <i>Ælmyrcan</i> realm, 865 your soul would offer up. I myself know that, that us will shield the creator of angels, the Lord of Hosts ! 870 The terror of the water shall, being rebuked and threatened through the Lord of power, the dancing wave, become more gentle. 875 So of yore it befell that we on the seaboat over the strife of the waves tried the fords, riding over the waters : 880 terrible appeared the fearful seaways ; the ocean-streams beat the boundary-shores ; the sea made answer again, 885 one wave to the other : by whiles uprose from the bosom of the sea on the lap of the boat terror over our waveship. 890 The Almighty there, the creator of mankind, upon the sea-beater bright awaited. The men were 895 fearful of mood ;</p>
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friðes wilnedon, miltsa tō mærum. Þā seó menigo ongan clypian on ceóle :		peace they desired, mercy from the mighty one. Then the multitude began to call in the ship :
cyning sóna Árás, engla eádgifa :	900	soon arose the king, glory-giver of angels :
ýðum stilde, wæteres wælmum ; windas þreáde ; sæ sessade,		he stilled the waves, the boiling of the waters ; he rebuked the winds ;
smylte wurdon merestreáma gemeotu. Þā úre móð áhlóh, siððan we geségon	905	the sea subsided, smooth became the clashing of the sea-streams. Then laughed our mood,
under swegles gang windas and wægas and wæterbrógan forhte gewordne for freán egesan.	910	after we saw [ment beneath the path of the firma- the winds and waves and the terror of the water become terrified themselves for fear of the Lord.
Forþan ic eów sóðe secgan wille, þæt næfre forlæteð lifgende god eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen deáh.	915	Therefore I in sooth to you will say, that never will desert the living God a man on earth,
Swá hleóðrode hálig cempa, þeáwum geþancul þegnas lærde, eádig oreta	920	if his courage avail.” Thus spake the holy champion, wisely thoughtful he admonished his thanes,
eorlas trymede : oððæt hie semninga slæp ofereóde, méðe be mæste. Mere sweoðerade,	925	the blessed warrior confirmed the men : until them all at once sleep invaded, weary beside the mast.
	930	The sea calmed itself,

ŷða ongin		the struggle of the waves
eft oncyrde,		turned back again,
hreóh holmþracu.		the fierce ocean-power.
Þá þám hálgan wearð,		Then was for the holy one,
æfter grýrehwíle,	935	after a period of terror,
gást geblissod.		his spirit blest.
Ongan þá reordigan		Then began to speak
rædum snottor,		the prudent of council,
wís on gewitte		wise of wit
wordlocan onspeónn :	940	he unlocked the locks of words :
Næfre ic sælidan		“ Never I a sailor
selran mätte,		better met with,
mácræftigran		more powerful
þæs þe me þynceð,		as me thinks,
rórend rófran,	945	a more famous rower,
rædsnotterran,		one more prudent of council,
wordes wísrán :		one wiser of word :
ic wille þe,		I will of thee,
eorl unforctúð,		O man well reputed,
anre nú géna	950	one more
béne biddan ;		boon require ;
þeáh ic þe beága lyt,		though I to thee few rings,
sincweorðunga,		few compliments of treasure,
syllan mihte,		may give,
fætedsinces,	955	of solid treasure,
wolde ic freóndscipe,		I would thy friendship,
þeóden þrymfæst,		powerful chief,
þínne, gif ic mihte,		if I might,
begitan góдне.		thy good friendship obtain.
Ðæs þú gife hleótest,	960	Thus mayst thou have grace to
háligne hyht		holy hope [thy lot,
on heofouþrymme,		in heaven’s glory,
gif þú lidwérigum		if thou to us sea-weary,
lárna þínra		of thy instruction
ést wyrðest.	965	be gracious !

<p> Wolde ic ánes tó þe, cyneróð hæleð, cræftes neósan ; þæt þú me getæhte, nú þe tir cyning and miht forgef, manna scippend, hú þú wægflotan wære bestémdan, sæhengeste sund wæige. Ic wæs on gifede iú and nú, sixtyne síðum on sæbáte merehréndum, mundum freórig, eágorstreámas : is þys áne má : swá ic æfre ne geseah ænigne mann, þryðbearn hæleð, þe gellcne, steóran ofer stæfnan. Streámwelm hwileð, beátað brim stæðo, is þeós bát fulscrýd, fareð fámigheals, fugole gellcóst glideð on geofene. Ic georne wát þæt ic æfre ne geseah ofer ýðláfes, on sæ læðan syllicran cræft. </p>	<p> I would of one from thee, famous noble hero, craft enquire ; that thou teach me, 970 since now to thee the King glory and power hath given, the Creator of men, how thou to the wave-floater stained with the salt-sea, 975 to the sea-stallion its swimming directest. I was by hap, now and then, sixteen times 980 on a seaboat stirring the wave, the ocean-streams, freezing as to my hands : this is once more : 985 yet never beheld I any man, powerful hero, like unto thee, steer over prow. 990 The stream-bubbling delayeth, the sea beateth the shores, this boat is full clothed, foamy-necked it fareth, likest unto a bird 995 it glideth over ocean ! Well I know that I never beheld over the leavings of the waves, upon the sea to lead 1000 a more wondrous craft. </p>
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Is þon gelicost		Most like then it is
swá he on landsceape		as if it on a landskip
stille stande,		stilly stood,
þær hine storm ne mæg		where him the storm may not
wind áwecgan,	1005	or the wind move,
ne wæterflódas		nor the waterfloods
brecan brondstæfne ;		break him the foamy-prowed ;
hwæðere on brim sneóweð		but over the sea he hasteneth
snel under segle.		swift under sail !
Ðú eart seolfa geóng,	1010	Thou art thyself young,
wígendra hleó,		O refuge of warriors,
nalas wintrum fród :		not old in years :
hafast þe on fyrhðe		thou hast in spirit for thyself
faroðlácendes		a sea-playing
eorles ondsware :	1015	man's answer :
æghwylces canst		in every matter thou art knowing
worda for worulde,		of words for worldly converse,
wislic andgít.		thou hast an intelligent under-
Him ondswarode		Him answered [standing."]
éce dryhten :	1020	the eternal Lord :
Oft þæt gesæleð,		" That often befalleth,
þæt we on sælåde,		that we on a seajourney,
scipum under scealcum,		in ships among our men,
þonne sceór cymeð,		when the storm cometh,
brecað ofer bæðweg	1025	break over the bathway
brimhengestum.		with our ocean-stallions.
Hwílum ús on fðum		Bywhiles to us upon the waves
earfoðlice		miserably
gesæleð, on sæwe,		it befalleth, on the sea,
þéh we sið nesen,	1030	though we live through our
frécne geféran ;		bold comrades ; [journey,
flódwylm ne mæg		the fury of the flood may not
manna ænigne,		any one of men,
ofer meotudes est,		against the Lord's will,
lungre gelettan :	1035	at once let :

áh him lífes geweald		He hath power over life
se þe brimu bindeð,		who bindeth the seas,
brúne ýða		the brown waves
þýð and þreátað.		restraineth and threateneth.
He þeódum sceal	1040	He the nations shall
rædan mid rihte,		justly rule,
se þe rodor áhóf,		who uplifted the firmament,
and gefæstnode		and set it fast
folmum sínum ;		with his own hands ;
worhte and wréðede,	1045	wrought it and established it,
wuldres fylde		with glory filled
beorhtne boldwelan.		the bright dwelling of wealth.
Swá gebledsod wearð		So blessed was
engla éðel		the dwelling of the angels
þurh his ánes miht.	1050	through his might alone.
Forþan is gesýne,		Therefore is it seen,
sóð orgete,		truly intelligible,
cúð oncnáwen,		certainly acknowledged,
þæt þú cyninges eart		that thou art the king's
þegen gefungen,	1055	dignified servant,
þrymsittendes.		that sitteth in glory.
Forþan þe sóna		Therefore thee straightway
sæholm oncneów,		the deep sea recognised,
garsecges begang,		the circuit of ocean,
þæt þú gife hæfdes	1060	that thou hadst grace
háliges gástes.		of the Holy Ghost.
Hærn eft onwand,		The tide turned back,
ár ýða geblond ;		the blending of the waves ;
egesa gestilde		terror stilled
wídfæðme wæg ;	1065	the wide-bosomed wave ;
wædu swæðorodon		the fords subsided
seoððan hie ongéton		when they perceived
þæt þe god hæfde		that thee God had
wære bewunden,		with his covenant invested,
se þe wuldres blæd	1070	he who the increase of glory

gestaðolade		established
strangum mihtum.		by his strong might!"
þá hleoðrade		Then spake
hālgan stefne		with holy voice
cempa collenferhð,	1075	the bold-hearted warrior,
cyning wyrðude		he praised the King
wuldres wealdend,		the Lord of Glory,
and þús wordum cwæð:		and thus spake with words:
Wes þú gebledsod,		"Be thou blessed,
breġo maucynnes,	1080	prince of human kind,
dryhten hælend.		Lord the Saviour!
A þīn dōm lifað,		For ever liveth thine honour,
ge neh ge feor		near and far
is þīn nama hālig,		is thy name holy,
wuldre gewlīteġad	1085	beautified with glory
ofer werþeōda,		throughout the tribes of men,
miltsum ġemærsod.		magnified with mercies!
Nænig manna is		There is none of men
under heofonhwealfe,		under the vault of heaven,
hæleða cynnes,	1090	none of the race of men,
þætte areccan mæg,		that may relate,
oððe rīm wīte,		or know the number,
hū þrymlīce		how gloriously thou
þeōda baldor,		king of men,
ġāsta ġeōcend,	1095	saviour of spirits,
þīne ġife dæleſt.		dost thy grace distribute.
Hūru is ġesýne,		It at least is seen,
sāwla nergend,		saviour of souls,
þæt þú þīssum hysse		that thou to this man
hold ġewurde,	1100	hast been gracious,
and hine ġeōngne		and him young as he is
ġeofum wyrðodeſt;		with ġifts hast dignified;
wīſ on ġewitte		wise is he in wit
and wordcwīdum.		and sayings of words.
Ic æt efenealdum	1105	I from one of his age

æfre ne mētte		never met
on mōdsefan		in mind
māran snyttro.		with greater prudence!"
Him þā of ceōle oncwæð		Him then from the ship an-
cyninga wuldor,	1110	the glory of kings, [swered
frægn fromlice		prudently he asked
fruman and ende :		the beginning and the end :
Saga þances gleaw,		" Say, wise of thought,
þegn, gif þū cunne,		man, if thou know,
hū þæt gewurde,	1115	how that came to pass,
be werum tweónum,		between two men,
þæt þa árleásan,		that the impious men,
inwidþancum,		with hostile intentions,
Iudæa cynn		the race of Jews
wið godes bearne	1120	against God's son
áhóf hearmcwide.		set up an accusation.
Hæleð unsælige		The hapless men
nó þær gelyfdon		believed not there
in hira liffruman,		in their Prince of Life,
grome gealgmóde,	1125	fierce and gallows-minded,
þæt he gód wære :		that he was God :
þeah þe he wundra fela		although he many miracles
weorodum gecýððe,		to their tribes exhibited,
sweotulra and gesýnra :		evident and visible :
synnige ne mihton	1130	they sinful might not
oncnáwan þæt cynebearn		acknowledge the royal child
se þe ácenned wearð		that was born
tó hleo and tó hróðre		for a refuge and comfort
hæleða cynne,		to the race of men,
eallum eorðwarum ;	1135	for all earth's dwellers ;
æðelinge weóx		in the prince grew
word and wísdóm :		word and wisdom :
ah he þara wundra á,		but he of miracles ever,
dóm ágende,		the lord of power,
dæl ænigne	1140	some portion

frætre þeóde		before the proud people
beforan cýðde.		manifested."
Him þá Andreas		To him then Andrew
ágef andsware :		returned answer :
Hú mihte þæt gewyrðan	1145	" How might that happen
in werþeóde,		in the world,
þæt þú ne gehýrde		that thou hast not heard of
hælandes miht,		the Saviour's power,
gumena leófóst,		O dearest of men,
hú he his gif cýðde	1150	how he showed his grace
geond woruld wide,		throughout the wide world,
wealdendes bearn ?		he the son of the ruler ?
sealde he dumbum gesprec ;		He gave speech to the dumb ;
deáfe gehýrdon ;		the deaf heard ;
healtum and hreófum	1155	to the halt and the leper
hýge blissode,		their spirit was filled with joy,
þa þe limseóce		who sick of limb
lange wæron,		long had been,
wérige, wanhále,		wearry, wretched,
witum gebundene ;	1160	bound with sins ;
æfter burhstedum		through the cities
blinde geségon ;		the blind saw ;
swá he on grundwæge		so he on the solid plain
gumena cynnes		of mankind
manige missenlīce	1165	many in various ways,
men of deáðe		men from death
wordé áwehte ;		woke with his word ;
swylce he eac wundra feala		so he also many miracles
cýneróf cýðde,		royally glorious showed,
þurh his cræftes miht.	1170	through the might of his power.
He gehálgode		He hallowed
for heremægene		before the multitude
wín of wætere,		wine from water,
and wendan hêt,		and bade it change,
beornum tó blisse,	1175	for the joy of men,

on þa beteran gecynd.		into the better nature.
Swylce he afēdde		Also he fed
of fixum twām		from two fishes
and of fif hlāfum,		and from five loaves,
fira cynnes	1180	of the race of men
fif þūsendo :		five thousand :
feðan sæton		the troops sat down
reómigmóde		weary of mood,
reste gefēgon		in rest they rejoiced
wérige æfter wæðe :	1185	weary after wandering :
wiste þēgon		the feast they received
menn on moldan,		the men upon the earth,
swá him geméðost wæs.		as was most commodious for
Nú þú miht gehýran,		Now thou mayst hear, [them.
hyse leófesta,	1190	dearest man,
hú us wuldres weard,		how us the Lord of glory,
wordum and dædum,		with words and deeds,
lufode in life,		loved during life,
and þurh lāre speón		and by his teaching drew us
tó þām fægeran gefeán,	1195	to the fair joy,
þær freó móton,		where free they might,
eádiges mid englum,		blessed among the angels,
eard weardigan,		rule the earth,
þa þe æfter deáðe		those namely who after death
dryhten sēcað.	1200	seek the Lord !”
Ðá gen weges weard		Again the ruler of the wave
word hord onleác,		unlocked the treasure of speech,
beorn ofer bolcan		the man over the balks
beald reordade :		spake boldly :
Miht þú me gesecgan,	1205	“ Thou mightest say,
þæt ic sóð wíte,		that I may truly know,
hwæðer wealdend þín		whether thy lord
wundor on eorðan		miracles on earth
þá he gefremede,		when he performed,
nalas feám stðum	1210	no few times

folcum tó frófre,		for the benefit of the people,
beforan cýðde		revealed them openly
þær biscopas		where bishops
and bóceras		and scribes
and ealdormen	1215	and princes
sæht besæton,		sat in council,
mæðelhegende.		interchanging speech.
Me þæt þynceð		It seemeth to me
þæt hie for æfstum		that they through jealousy
inwit syredon,	1220	conspired mischief,
þurh deópne gedwolan,		through deep error,
deóflæs lárum,		by the devil's lore,
hæleð hinfúse		the men death-devoted
hýrdon tó georne		too readily listened to
wraðum wærlogan ;	1225	the furious warlock ;
hie seó wyrd beswác,		them fate deceived,
ferleólc and forlærde.		seduced and taught ill.
Nú hie lungre sceolon,		Now shall they immediately,
wêrige mid wêrigum,		wearry among the weary,
wrace þrówian,	1230	suffer vengeance,
biterne bryne		bitter burning
on banan fæðme.		in the embrace of foes."
Him þá Andreas		To him then Andrew
ágef andsware :		returned answer :
Sage ic þe tó sóðe	1235	" I say to thee in sooth
þæt he swiðe oft		that he very often
beforan fremede		performed before
folces ræsnum		the princes of the people
wundor æfter wundre,		miracle after miracle,
on wera gesiehðe :	1240	in the sight of men :
swylce deogollíce		also privately
Dryhten gumena		the Lord of men
folcræd fremede,		did public benefits,
swá he tó friðe hogode.		as he for their good devised."
Him andswarode	1245	Him answered

æðelinga helm :		the defence of nobles :
Miht þú, wis hæleð,		“ Might thou, O wise man,
wordum geseccgan,		say in words,
maga môde rôf,		O young man, famous of mood,
mægen þá he cýðde,	1250	how he revealed his power,
deórmôd on digle,		the beloved one in secret,
þá mid dryhten oft,		when often with the Lord,
rodera ræðend,		the ruler of the firmament
rúne besæton ?		ye sat in council ? ”
Him þá Andreas	1255	To him then Andrew
andsware ágef :		returned answer :
Hwæt frinest þú me		“ What askest thou of me,
freá leófesta,		best beloved lord,
wordum wrætlicum ?		with cunning words ?
and þe wyrda gehwære	1260	and thou every hap
þurh snyttru cræft		through power of wisdom
sóð oncnáwest ?		thyself truly knowest ! ”
Ðá git him wæges weard		Again with him the guardian of
wiðþingode :		conversed : [the wave
Ne frine ic þe for tæle,	1265	“ I ask thee not for blame,
ne þurh teóncwide,		nor for abuse,
on hránráde :		or the whale’s path :
ac mîn hygé blissað,		but my mind rejoiceth,
wynnum wridað,		buddeth with joys,
þurh þíne wordlæde	1270	through thy discourse
æðelum écne.		with virtues great.
Ne eom ic ána þæt,		Nor am I that only,
ac manna gehwám		but for every man
môd bið on hyhte,		the mind is in expectation,
fyrhð áfréfred,	1275	the spirit comforted,
þám þe feor oððe neáh		who either far or near
on môde geman,		remembereth in mood,
hú se maga fremede,		how the young man acted,
god-bearn on grundum :		the divine child on earth :
gâstas hwurfon,	1280	souls departed,

sohton siðfreme		they sought rejoicing in their
swegles dreámas,		the joys of heaven, [journey
engla éðel,		the home of angels,
þurh þa æðelan miht.		through his noble might !”
Edre him Andreas	1285	At once Andrew
ágef andsware :		returned him answer :
Nú ic on þe sylfum		“ Now I in thee thyself
sóð oncnáwe		truly acknowledge
wisdómes gewit		wit of wisdom
wundorcrafte,	1290	in wondrous power,
sigespéd geseald :		success in glory given :
snytttrum blóweð		wisely bloweth
beorhtre blisse		in bright bliss
breóst innanweard.		the breast within.
Nú ic þe sylfum	1295	Now to thyself I
secgan wille		will say
ðr and ende,		the beginning and the end,
swá ic þæs æðelinges		as I the noble's
word and wisdóm		word and wisdom
on wera gemóte,	1300	in the concourse of men,
þurh his sylfes múð,		through his own mouth,
symle gehýrde.		ever heard.
Oft gesamnodon		Often collected
side herigeas		the wide troops
folc unsmáte,	1305	uncounted crowds,
tó freán dóme ;		to the lord's doom ;
þær hie hýrcnodon		there they hearkened to
háliges láre ;		the lore of the holy one ;
þonne eft gewát		then again departed
æðelinga helm,	1310	the defence of men,
beorht blædgifa,		the bright giver of glory,
in bold óðer,		into another building,
þær him tógenes		where to meet him
God herigende,		praising God,
tó þám meðelstede	1315	unto the place of converse

manige eðmon	many came
snottere sele-ræðend :	prudent, wise in council :
symble gefégon	ever rejoiced
beornas blifðheorte	the blithe-hearted men
burhweardes cyme.	1320 in the coming of the prince.
Swá gesælde iú,	So it once befell
þæt se sigedema,	that the ruler of victory,
férde freá mihtig :	the mighty lord went :
næs þær folces mā	there was no greater company
on stöfæte	1325 on that journey
sinra leóða	of his own people
nemne elleffne	than eleven
orettmæcgas,	champions,
geteled ttreáðige ;	numbered glorious ;
he wæs twelfta sylf.	1330 he was himself the twelfth.
Ða we becðmon	When we came
to þām cynestóle,	to the royal throne,
þær getimbred wæs	where was built
tempel dryhtnes,	the temple of the lord,
heáh and horngeáp,	1335 lofty and arched with pinnacles,
hæleðum gefrége,	famous among men,
wuldre gewlitedod,	beautified with glory,
husworde ongan	with words of insult began
þurh inwitþanc	through malicious purpose
ealdorsacerd	1340 the high priest
herme hyspan,	mischievously to revile him,
hordlocan onspeón,	he opened the treasure-locks,
wróht webbade :	malice he wove :
he on gewitte oncneów	he in spirit knew
þæt we sóðfæstes	1345 that we the true one's
swaðe folgodon,	track followed,
læston larcwide :	obeyed his doctrine :
he lungre áhof,	he raised at once,
woðe wiðerhydig,	in language hostile,
weán onblonden :	1350 evil unmixed :

Hwæt ge sindon earme		' Lo ye are wretched
ofer ealle menn,		above all men,
wadað widlāstas,		ye tread wide ways,
weorn gefērað		many ye travel
earfoðsiða :	1355	of laborious journeys :
ellþeodiges nū		a stranger's now—
būtan leodrihte		against the law of the land—
lārum hýrað ;		doctrine ye obey :
eádiges orhlytte		deprived of blessing
æðeling cýðað ;	1360	ye announce a prince ;
secgað sōðlice		ye say for truth
þæt mid suna meotudes		that with the son of God
drohtigen dæghwamlice :		ye converse daily :
þæt is duguðum cūð		it is well known to men
hwanon þām ordfruman	1365	whence your prince's
æðelu onwōcon.		nobility arose.
He wæs áfēded		He was brought up
on þisse folcsceare,		in this district,
cildgeóng ácenned		child-young born
mid his cneomagum :	1370	with his near relatives :
þús sindon háten		thus are called
hámsittende,		the home-dwellers,
fæder and módur,		his father and mother,
þæs we gefrægen habbað		as we have learned
þurh módgemynd,	1375	by remembrance of mood,
Maria and Joseph ;		Mary and Joseph ;
sindon him æðelum		to him in his family
oðere twegen		are other twain
beornas geborene		men born
brōðorsibbum,	1380	in brotherly love,
suna Josephes,		the sons of Joseph,
Simon and Jacob.		Simon and James.'
Swá hleoðrodon		Thus spake
hæleða ræswan,		the leaders of the people,
dugoð dómgeorne,	1385	the ambitious rulers,

dyrnan þohton		they thought to hide
meotudes mihte :		the might of God :
mân eft gehwearf,		their sin returned,
yfel endeleás,		endless evil,
þær hit ær áras.	1390	thither, where it first arose.
Þá se þeóden gewát		Then the king departed
þegna hearra,		the lord of men,
fram þám meðelstede,		from the place of converse,
mihtum geswíðed,		with power made strong,
dugeða dryhten,	1395	the lord of princes,
sécan digol land :		to seek a secret land :
he þurh wundra feala		he through many miracles
on þám wéstenne		in the desert
cræfta gecyðde,		through his power revealed,
þæt he wæs cyning on riht	1400	that he was justly king
ofer middangeard,		over the world,
mægene geswíðed,		with might strengthened,
waldend and wyrhta		the ruler and creator
wuldorþrymmes,		of glorious majesty,
án éce god	1405	one eternal God
eallra gesceafta :		of all creatures :
swylce he óðerra		also he other
unrim cýðde		wondrous works
wundorworca		innumerable revealed
on wera gesýhðe.	1410	in the sight of men.
Siððan eft gewát		Afterwards he returned
óðrê síðé,		a second time,
getrume miclê,		with a great crowd,
þæt he in temple gestód,		until he stood in the temple,
wuldres aldor :	1415	the prince of glory :
wordhleóðor ástág		the sound of words arose
geond heáhreced,		through the high house,
háliges lâre ;		of the holy one's lore ;
synnige ne swulgon,		the sinful
þeáh he.sóðra swá feala	1420	though he so many true

tācna gecyðde,		tokens exhibited,
þær hie tōsēgon.		while they looked on.
Swylce he wrætlice		Also he a cunningly
wundorāgræfene		wondrously carved
anlīcnesse	1425	image
engla sīnra		of his angels,
geseh, sigora frēa		beheld, the lord of victories,
on seles wage,		on the wall of the room,
on twā healfe		on both sides
torhte gefrætwed,	1430	brightly adorned,
wlitige geworhte.		beauteously wrought.
he wordē cwæð :		He spake with words :
Ðis is anlīcnes		‘ This is the image
engelcynna		of the races of angels
þæs bremestan	1435	of the most celebrated
mid þām burgwarum		amongst the inhabitants,
in þære ceastre is ;		in the town that is ;
Cheruphim and Seraphim		Cherubim and Seraphim
þa on swegeldreāmum		they in the joys of heaven
sindon nemned ;	1440	are named ;
fore onsýne		before the face
écan dryhtnes		of the eternal lord
standað stíðferhðe,		the stout-hearted stand,
stefnum herigað,		with their voices they praise,
hālgum hleoðrum,	1445	with their holy songs,
heofoncyniges þrym,		the glory of heaven’s king,
meotudes mundbyrd.		the protection of God.
Her amearcod is		Here is depicted
hāligra hīw,		the form of the holy ones,
þurh handmægen	1450	through might of hand
awriten on wealle		upon the wall are carved
wuldres þegnas.		the ministers of glory.’
Ðā gen wordē cwæð		Again spake with words
weoruda dryhten,		the Lord of hosts,
heofonhālig gāst,	1455	the heaven holy-spirit,

fore þam heremægene :		before the multitude :
Nû ic bebeóde		‘ Now I command
beácen ætýwan,		a sign to be shown,
wundor geweorðan,		a miracle to be done,
on wera gemange :	1460	in the midst of men :
þæt þeós onlicnes		that this image
eorðan sêce,		shall seek the earth,
wlitig of wage,		beauteous from the wall,
and word sprece,		and speak words,
secge sóðcwidum ;	1465	say in phrases of truth ;
þý sceolon gelyfan		thereby shall believe
eorlas on cyððe		men in this country
hwæt mîn æðelo sien.		what my nobility is.’
Ne dorste þá forhylman,		Then dared it not conceal
hælendes bebod,	1470	the Saviour’s command,
wundor fore weorodum,		the miracle before the multi-
		tudes,
ac of wealle áhleóp		but from the wall leapt down
fród fyrngeweorc		the venerable antique work
þæt he on foldan stóð,		so that it stood upon the ground,
stán fram stáne ;	1475	stone from the stone ;
stefn æfter cwom		after came a voice
hlúd þurh heardne,		loud through the hard one,
hleóðor dynede ;		the noise resounded ;
wordum wemde :		with words it blamed them :
wrætlic þúhte	1480	wondrous seemed
stíðhycgendum		unto the proud of heart
stânes ongin.		the undertaking of the stone.
Sewte saverdas		It taught the priests
sweotolum tácnun ;		with manifest signs ;
witig werede,	1485	wittily it rebuked them,
and wordé cwæð :		and said with words :
Ge sind unlæde,		“ Ye are rude,
earma gepochta,		of poor thoughts,
searowum beswicene,		with snares deceived,

oððe sêl nyton,	1490	or ye know no better,
môde gemyrde.		marred in mind !
Ge monetigað		ye rebuke
godes êce bearn, and þone		God's eternal child, and him
þe grund and sund,		who land and sea,
heofon and eorðan	1495	heaven and earth,
and hreó wægás,		and the rough waves,
salte sæstreámas		the salt sea streams,
and swegl uppe,		and firmament aloft,
ámearcode		marked out
mundum sínum.	1500	with his own hands.
Ðis is se ilca		This is the same
ealwalda god,		all-ruling God,
þone on fyrndagum		whom in days of old
fæderas cūðon :		your fathers knew :
he Abrahame	1505	he to Abraham
and Isace		and Isaac
and Jacobe		and Jacob
gife bryttode,		gave grace,
welum weorðode,		with wealth he dignified them,
wordum sægde,	1510	with words he said to them,
ærest Habrahame		first unto Abraham
æðeles geþingu,		the compact of his race,
þæt of his cynne		that of his kin
cenned sceolde		born should
weorðan wuldres god :	1515	be the God of glory :
is seó wyrd mid eow		this wierd is among you
open orgete ;		openly intelligible ;
magan eágum nú		now may you with your eyes
geseón sigores god,		see the God of victory,
swegles ágend.	1520	the lord of the firmament.'
Æfer þissum wordum		After these words
weorud hlosnode		the multitude were astonished
geond þæt síde sel,		through the wide hall,
swigodon ealle.		they all were silent.

þá þá yldestan	1525	Then the eldest
eft ongunnon		again began
secgan synfulle,		sinful to say, [not)
sóð ne oncneówon,		(the truth they acknowledged
þæt hit dr̥fcræftum		that it by magic arts
gedón wære,	1530	was done,
scingelâcum,		by glamour,
þæt se sc̥fna stân		that the bright stone
mælde for mannum.		spake before men.
Mân wr̥dode		Wickedness blossomed
geond beorna breóst,	1535	in the men's breast,
brandhâta n̥ð		brand hot malice
weóll on gewitte,		boiled in their mind,
weorm blædum fæ̥g		grew hot the varicoloured
áttor alfæle.		poison, all yellow.
þær orcnawe (wearð)	1540	There was evident
þurh teóncwide		through their injurious word
tweógende móð,		the faithless mood,
mæcga misgehyd		the ill thought of the men
morðre bewunden.		with murder wound about.
þá se þeóden bebeád	1545	Then the king commanded
þryðweorc faran		the strong work to go
stân (on) stræte,		the stone on the street,
of stedewange,		from the solid plain,
and forðgân,		and go forward,
foldweg tredan	1550	tread the earthway
grêne grundas,		the green plains,
godes árendu		God's errand
lârum lædan		in doctrines to lead
on þá leodmearce		into the district
tô Channaneum,	1555	of Canaan,
cyninges worde;		by the king's word ;
beóðan Habrahame		to command Abraham
mid his eaforum twæm,		with his two descendants,
of eorðscræfe		from the earth cavern

ærist fremman,	1560	to make resurrection,
lætan landreste,		to leave their land-rest,
leuðo gadrigean,		limbs to gather up,
gāste onfōn,		spirit to take,
and geógoðhádes		and of youth
edniwinge ;	1565	the renewal ;
andweard cuman,		present to come
fróde fynweotan,		(the pious ancient sages)
folce gecýðan		to the people announce
hwylcne hie god mihtum		whom they as God in might
ongiten hæfdon.	1570	had understood.
Gewát he þá fêran		Then set he out to go
swá him freá mihtig		as him the mighty Lord
scippend wera		the creator of men
geacrifen hæfde,		had appointed,
ofer mearcwaðu,	1575	over the boundary paths,
þæt he on Membre becom		till he came over Mamre
beorhte blīcan,		brightly to shine,
swá him bebeád meotud,		as him the lord commanded,
þær þa lichoman		where the bodies
lange þrage,	1580	for a long while,
heáhfædera hrá		the corpses of the patriarchs
beheled wæron.		had been concealed.
Hét þá ófslice		He bade then quickly
upástandan		arise
Habraham and Isaac,	1585	Abraham and Isaac,
æðeling þridan		and third the prince
Jacob of greóte,		Jacob from the sand,
tó godes geþinge,		to commune with God,
sneóme of slæpe þæm fæstan.		speedily from their deep sleep.
Hét hie tò þám síðe gyrwan,		He bid them make ready for
		the journey,
faran tò freán dóme,		go at the Lord's command,
sceoldon hie þám folcegecýðan,		they were to announce to the
hwá æt frumsceaft		who in the beginning [people,

furðum teóde		first produced
eorðan ealgréne	1595	the earth all green
and upheofon,		and lofty heaven,
hwær se wealdend wære		who the ruler were
þe þæt weorc staðolade.		that that work established.
Ne dorston þá gelettan		Then dared they not delay
leng ówihte	1600	any longer
wuldorceyninges word :		the word of the glorious king :
geweoton þá þa witigan þrý		then went the three prophets
móðige mearcland tredan,		boldly to tread the march-land,
forlæton moldern		leaving the house of earth
wunigean open eorðscræfu :		the grave stand open :
woldon hie ædre gecýðan		they would at once proclaim
frumweorca fæder.		the father of creation's works.
þá þæt folc gewearð		Then was the people
egesan geáclod,		terrified with fear,
þær þa æðelingas	1610	when the nobles
wordum weorðodon		glorified with words
wuldres aldor.		the prince of glory.
Hie þá ricene hêt		Them then quickly commanded
rices hirde,		the shepherd of power,
tó eáðwelan,	1615	to their wealth of joy,
óðre stðe		a second time
sécan mid sibbe		in peace to seek
swegles dreámas,		the joys of heaven,
and þær tó wídan feore		and there for ever
willum neótan.	1620	at will to enjoy them.
Nú þú miht gehýran,		Now mayst thou hear,
hyse leófesta,		dearest of men,
hú he wundra worn		how he a multitude of miracles
wordum cýðde,		in words proclaimed,
swá þeáh ne gelyfdon	1625	yet believed not
lârum sínum		in his lore
móðblinde men.		the men blind of mood.
Ic wát manig nú gyt		I know yet many

micel mære spell,		a great and mighty tale,
þe se maga fremede,	1630	that the man performed,
rodera rædend,		the ruler of the heavens,
þa þú áræfnan ne miht,		which thou canst not equal,
hréðre behabban,		in thy breast comprehend,
hygeþances gleáw.		wise of thought, as thou art."
Þús Andreas	1635	Thus Andrew
ondlangne dæg		the whole day long
herede hleoðorcwidum		praised in his discourse
háliges láre,		the doctrine of the holy one,
oððæt hine semninga		until him suddenly
slæp ofereóde,	1640	sleep invaded,
on hrónræde,		on the whale's path,
heofoncynige neh.		nigh to the king of heaven.
Þá gelædan hét		Then commanded to lead
lifes brytta,		the giver of life,
ofer ýða geþræc	1645	over the tumult of the waves
englas sine,		his angels,
fæðmum ferigean,		in their bosoms to bear,
on fæder wære,		in the protection of the father,
leófne mid lissum		the dear one peacefully
ofer lagufæsten,	1650	over the stronghold of the waves,
oððæt sæwérige		until the sea-weary
slæp ofereóde.		sleep invaded.
Þurh lyftgelác		Through motion through the air
on land becwom		to land he came
tó þære ceastre,	1655	unto the city,
þe him cuning engla		which him the king of angels
* * *		* * *
* * *		* * *
þa þa áras stðigean		then the messengers departed
eádige on upweg,		joyfully on their upward way,
éðles neósan.	1660	to visit their home.
Læton þone hálgan		They left the saint
be herestræte		by the highway

swefan on sibbe,		sleeping in peace,
under swegles hleó,		under the vault of heaven,
blíðne bīdan,	1665	joyfully abiding,
burhwealle nēh,		near the city wall,
his nīðhetum,		his foes,
nihlangne fyrst :		a whole night long :
oððæt dryhten forlēt		until that the Lord permitted
dæg-candelle	1670	the day-torch
scīre scīnan :		bright to shine :
sceadu sweðerodon		darkness subsided
wonn under wolcnum,		wan under the welkin,
þā com wederes blæst,		then came the storm-blast,
hādor heofonleóma	1675	the serene heaven-light
ofer hofu blīcan.		shining over the dwellings.
Onwóc þā wīges heard,		Then awoke the bold in war,
wang sceáwode		he observed the plain
fore burggeatum,		before the city gates,
beorgas steápe	1680	the steep hills
hleóðum hlifodon		loftily impended
ymbe hárne stán,		about the hoary stone,
tigelfágan trafu,		dwellings bright with tiles,
torras stódon,		towers stood,
windige weallas.	1685	windy walls.
þā se wīs oncneów		Then the wise man knew
þæt he Marmedonia		that he of Mermedonia
mægðe hæfde		had the land
stðe gesóhte,		in journey reached,
swá him sylf bebeád,	1690	as he himself had commanded
þám him foregescráf,		who had predestined him,—
fæder mancynnes.		the father of mankind.
Geseh he þā on greóte		Then saw he on the sand
gingran stne,		his disciples—
beornas beadurófe,	1695	men famous in war—
birihthe him		before him
swefan on slæpe.		slumbering in sleep.

He sōna ongann wigend weccean, and wordé cwæð :		He soon began to wake the warriors, and in words he said :
Ic eow secgan mæg, sōð orgete, þæt us gistran dæge on geofones streám, ofer árvelan, æðeling ferede.	1700	“ I may say to you, a recognizable truth, that us yesterday on the ocean-stream— over the realm of oars— a noble one conducted !
In þám ceóle wæs cyninga wuldor, waldend weorðode ; ic his word oncneow, þéh he his mægwlite bemiðen hæfde.	1705	In the ship was the glory of kings, the ruler honored us ; I recognized his words, though he his beauty had concealed.”
Him þa æðelingas ondsweorodon, geonge gencwidum, gástgerfnum :	1710	Him the noble ones answered, the young men with response, in the mysteries of spirit :
We þe Andreas eáde gecýðað sið úserne, þæt þú sylfa miht ongitan gleawlice gástgehygdum.	1715	“ We to thee Andrew joyfully proclaim our adventure, that thou mayst thyself prudently understand it in the thoughts of thy spirit.
Us sâwérige slâp ofereóde ; þá cōmon earnas ofer ýða wylm on flyhte, feðerum hrémige, ús of slâpendum sâwle ábrugdon, mid gefeán feredon flyhte on lyfte,	1720	Us weary with the sea sleep invaded ; then came eagles over the fervor of the waves in flight, exulting in their wings, from us asleep
	1725	our soul they parted, with joy they conveyed it in flight through the sky,
	1730	

brehtum blifðe, beorhte and liðe, lissum lufodon ; and hi lofe wunedon þær wæs singal sang and swegles gong, wlitig weoroda heáp and wuldres þreat : utan ymbe æðelne englas stódon, þegnas ymb þeóden þusendmælum : heredon on hēhðo hālgan stefne dryhtna dryhten ; dreám wæs on hyhte ; we þær heáfæderas hālige oncneówon, and martyra mægen unlytel : sungon sigedryhtne sóðfæstlic lof, dugoð dómgeorne. Ðær wæs David mid, eádig oretta, Essages sunu, for Crist cumen, cyning Israhéla ; swylce we gesêgon for suna meotudes, æðelum écne, eówic standan twelfe getealde, ttreádig hæleð ; eów þegnodon	joyous with clamor, bright and gentle, 1735 kindly they caressed it ; and they in glory abode where was eternal song [ment, and the motion of the firma- a beauteous throng of multi- 1740 and glorious troop : [tudes without, around the noble one angels stood, thanes around their prince by thousands at a time : 1745 they glorified on high with holy voice the Lord of lords ; there was joy in hope ; there we the patriarchs 1750 holy recognized, and of the martyrs no little power : to the Lord of Victory they sung soothfast praise, 1755 they, noble lovers of justice. There was David with them, the blessed champion, the son of Jesse, come before Christ, 1760 the king of Israel ; also we beheld before the Son of God, eternal in nobility, you to stand 1765 twelve in number, heroes blessed with glory ; holy archangels
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þrymsittende		served you
hálige heáhenglas :		sitting in glory :
þám bið hæleða well	1770	well is it for those men
þe þára blissa		who those blisses
brúcan móton.		may enjoy !
Ðær wæs wuldres wynn,		There was the pleasure of glory,
wígendra þrym,		the majesty of warriors,
æðelíc onginn,	1775	noble beginning,
næs þær ænigum gewinn.		nor there had any one toil.
Ðám bið wræcstð witod,		Misery shall be his lot,
wíte geopenad,		punishment revealed,
þe þára (gefeána) seal		who to those joys shal
fremde weorðan,	1780	be a stranger,
heán hwearfian,		shall depart humiliated,
þonne heonon gangað.		when from hence he goes.”
þá wæs móðsefa		Then was the mind
miclum geblissod		greatly pleased
háliges on hréðre,	1785	of the saint in his breast,
siððan hleóðorcwide		after the discourse
gingran gehýrde,		of his disciples he heard,
þæt hie god wolde		in that God would them
onmunan swá micles		so much regard
ofer menn ealle,	1790	above all men,
and þæt word gecwæð		and this word spake
wígendra hleó :		the refuge of warriors :
Nú ic, god dryhten,		“ Now I, Lord God,
ongiten hæbbe		have understood
þæt þú on faroðstræte	1795	that thou upon the sea-street
feor ne wære,		wert not far from us,
cýninga wuldor,		Glory of kings,
þá ic on ceól gestáh ;		when I mounted the ship ;
þéh ic on ýðfare		though I on the sea-journey
engla þeóden,	1800	the Prince of angels,
gásta geóccend		the Saviour of souls
ongitan ne cûðe.		could not recognize.

Weórf me nú milde		Be now merciful to me
meotud ælmihtig,		O Almighty God,
bliðe beorht cyning.	1805	blithe, bright king.
Ic on brimstreáme		I on the ocean-stream
spræc worda worn ;		spake many words ;
wát æfter nú,		now afterwards I know,
hwá me wyrðmyndum		who me with honor
on wudubáte	1810	on the wood-boat
ferede ofer flódas :		conveyed over the floods :
þæt is frófre gâst		that is the spirit of consolation
hæleða cynne ;		to the race of men ;
þær is help gearu		there is help ready [one,
milts æt mærum,	1815	mercy at the hand of the mighty
manna gehwylcum		to every man
sigorspéd geseald,		speed of victory given,
þám þe sêceð tó him.		who seeketh it from him !”
Ðá him fore eágum		Then before his eyes
onsýne wearð	1820	became visible
æðeling oðfýwed		a noble one revealed
in þá ilcan tíð,		in that same time,
cyning cwtcera gehwæs		the king of all things living
þurh cnihtes háð.		in the form of a youth.
Ðá he wordê cwæð,	1825	Then he spake in words,
wuldres aldor :		the Prince of Glory :
Wes þú Andreas hál,		“ Hail to thee Andrew,
mid þás willgedryht,		with this dear band,
ferðgefeonde ;		rejoicing in spirit ;
ic þe friðe healde,	1830	I will hold covenant with thee,
þæt þe ne móton		that for thee may not
mângeniðlan,		the wicked enemies,
grame grynsmiðas,		the fierce snare-makers,
gâste gesceððan.		thy soul oppress.”
Feóll þá tó foldan,	1835	He fell then to earth,
freoðo wilnode		peace implored
wordum wis hæleð ;		the wise man with words ;

winedryhten frægn :		his dear lord he asked :
Hû geworhte ic þæt,		“ How could I do that,
waldend fira,	1840	Ruler of men,
synnig wið seolfne		sinning against the very
sāwla nergend,		Saviour of souls,
þæt ic þe, swā gódne,		that I thee, so good,
ongitan ne meahte		could not recognize
on wægfære,	1845	on our sea-journey,
þær ic worda gespræc		where I of my words
mīnra for meótude		spake before God
mā þonne ic sceólde.		more than I ought ? ”
Him andswarode		Him answered
ealwalda god :	1850	Almighty God :
No þú swā swiðe		“ Thou didst not
synne gefremedest,		so great a sin,
swā þú in Achaia		as when thou in Achæa
ondsæc dydest,		madest denial;
þæt þú on feor wegas	1855	that thou on distant ways
fêran ne cūðe,		knewest not to go,
nê in þā ceastre		nor into the city
becuman meahte,		mightest come,
þing gehêgan,		to hold the council,
þreora nihta	1860	of three nights
fyrstgемearces,		of the appointed time,
swā ic þe fêran hêt		as I bid thee go
ofer wêga gewinn ;		over the dash of waves ;
wāst nû þe gearwor		now thou the better knowest
þæt ic eāðe mæg	1865	that I may easily
ānra gehwylcne		advance and further
fremman and fyrðran		every one
fréonda mīnra,		of my friends,
on landa gehwylc		on any land
þær me leófst bið ;	1870	that may best please me ;
āris nû hrædlīce,		arise now quickly,
ræd ædre ongit,		at once understand my counsel,

beorn gebledsod,		blessed man,
swā þe beorht fæder		so thee the bright Father
geweorðað wuldorgifum	1875	may dignify with glorious gifts
tô wídan aldre,		to all eternity,
cræfte and mihte.		with craft and might.
Ðú in þa ceastre gong,		Thou go into the city,
under burglocan,		under the burgh-locks,
þær þín bróðor is.	1880	where thy brother is.
Wát ic Matheus		I know Matthew
þurh mænra hand		through the hands of sinful men
hrínan heorudolgum		to be touched with sword-
heáfodmagan		thy dear relative [wounds,
searonettum beseted ;	1885	beset with nets of snares ;
þú hine sêcan scealt,		thou shalt seek him,
leófne álýsan		release the beloved one
of láðra hete,		from the hate of foes,
and eal þæt manegu		and all that multitude
be him mid wunige	1890	that dwells with him
ælpeódigra		of strangers
inwitwrasnum,		in hostile chains,
bealuwe gebundene,		miserably bound,
him sceal bót hraðe		to them shall reparation soon
weorðan in worulde,	1895	be made in the world
and in wuldre leán,		and reward in glory,
swā ic him sylfum ær		as I before to himself
secgende wæs.		was saying.
Nú þú Andreas scealt		Now shalt thou Andrew
edre genéðan	1900	forthwith venture
in gramra gripe,		into the grasp of foes,
is þe gúð weotod		to thee is war predestined
heardum heoruswengum,		with hard sword-blows,
sceal þín hrá dælan,		thy body shall part,
wundum weorðan	1905	through wounds it shall become
wættre gelicost,		likeliest unto water,
faran flóde blóð ;		thy blood shall flow in streams ;

hie þīn feorh ne magon		they thy life may not
deáðe gedælan,		deal to death,
þēh þū drype þolie,	1910	though thou suffer stripes,
synnigra slage.		the blows of the guilty.
Ðū þæt sār áber,		Do thou endure that sorrow,
ne læt þe áhweorfan		let not turn thee away
hæðenra þrym		the power of the heathen
grim gárgewinn,	1915	their grim javelin-clashing,
þæt þū gode swíce		that thou shrink from God
dryhtne þīnum.		thy Lord.
Wes á dômes georn,		Be ever emulous of glory,
læt þe on gemyndum		keep in thy remembrance
hū þæt manegum wearð	1920	how that was among many
fira gefrege		men well-known
geond feala landa,		throughout many lands,
þæt me bysmredon,		that me reviled,
bennum fæstne,		bound fast with wounds,
weras wansælige ;	1925	unblest men ;
wordum tyrgdon,		with words they abused me,
slógon and swungon ;		they struck and scourged me ;
synnige ue mihton		sinful they might not
þurh sárcwide		through injurious speech
sóð gecýðan,	1930	the truth make known,
þá ic mid Iudéum		when I among the Jews
gealgan þēhte :		the cross covered :
ród wæs áræred,		the rood was reared,
þær rinca sum		then a certain man
of mīnre sídan	1935	from my side
swát út forlét,		let out the blood,
dreór tó foldan.		the gore upon the ground.
Ic ádreáh feala		I suffered many
yrnða ofer eorðan ;		miseries on earth ;
wolde ic eow on þon,	1940	it was my will for you thus,
þurh blifðne hyge,		through my merciful mind,
bysne onstellan,		to set up an example,

swā on ellþeode		as on this foreign land
ƿwed wyrðeð.		shall be made manifest.
Manige sindon	1945	Many are there
in þisse mæran byrig		in this famous city
þāra þe þū gehweorfest		whom thou shalt turn
tō heofonleóhte,		to the light of heaven,
þurh mīnne naman,		through my name,
þeáh hie morðres feala	1950	though they much slaughter
in fyrndagum		in days of old
gefremed habben.		have done."
Gewāt him þā se halga		Then departed the holy one
heofonas sēcan,		to seek the skies,
eallra cyninga cyning,	1955	the King of all kings, to seek
þone clēnan hām		the pure home
eáðmēdum upp,		with happiness aloft,
þær is ár gelang		where bliss is along
fira gehwylcum		of every man
þām þe hie findan cann.	1960	who can find it.
Ðā wæs gemyndig,		Then was mindful,
mōdgeþyldig,		patient of mood,
beorn beaduwe heard ;		the man stout in battle ;
eóde in burh hraðe		quickly went into the burgh
ánræd oretta	1965	the stedfast champion
elne gefyrðred ;		advanced with valour ;
maga móde rôf,		the man famous of mood,
meotude getreówe,		faithful to his lord,
stôp on stræte ;		stepped on the street ;
stīg wisode :	1970	the road directed him :
swā him nænig gumena		so him none of men
ongitan ne mihte,		might recognize,
synfulra geseón ;		none of the sinful see ;
hæfde sigora weard		the lord of triumphs had
on þām wangstede	1975	upon the plain
wære betolden		fenced with protection
leófne leódfuman,		the dear chieftain,

mid lofe snum.		with his praise.
Hæfde þa se æðeling		Then had the noble
ingeþrunge,	1980	pressed in,
Cristes cempa,		Christ's champion,
carcerne neh.		nigh unto the dungeon.
Geseh he hæðenra		He beheld of the heathen
hlóð ætgædere,		a troop together,
fore hlindura	1985	before the doors
hyrdas standan,		watchmen standing,
seofone ætsomne :		seven together :
ealle swyft fornam,		death tore them all away,
druron dómleáse,		hapless they fell,
deáðræs forfeng,	1990	the death-rush clutched them,
hæleð heorodreórig.		a hero dropping blood !
Ða se hálga gebæd		Then the saint implored
bilwítne fæder,		the pious father,
breóstgehygdum		in the thoughts of his breast
herede on hêhðo	1995	he praised on high
heofoncyniges		of heaven's king,
god dryhten dóm.		of God the lord the glory.
Dura sóna onarn		Soon he attacked the door
þurh handhríne		through hand-touch
háliges gástes,	2000	of the holy ghost,
ond þær in eóde		and entered there
elnes gemyndig,		mindful of valour,
hæle hildedeór.		the man a beast of battle.
Hæðene swæfon		The heathen slept
dreóre druncne,	2005	drunken with blood,
deáðwang ridon.		the death-plain they rode.
Geseh he Matheus		He saw Matthew
in þám morðorcófan,		in the den of death,
hæleð hygerófn		the hero famous of mind
under heólstorlocan	2010	within the gloomy locks
secgan dryhtne lof,		singing praise to the Lord,
dómweorðinga		glory

engla þeódne.		to the King of angels.
He þær ána sæt		He sat there alone
geoðum geomor	2015	sad of mind
im þám gnornhofe.		in the cave of malice. [mament
Geseh þær under swegle		He saw there beneath the fir-
swæsne gefêran,		his dear comrade,
hálig háligne ;		holy the holy one ;
hyht wæs geniwad.	2020	hope was renewed.
Arás þá tógenes,		He arose then to meet him,
gode þancade		he thanked God
þæt þe hie onsunde		that they each other in safety
æfre môston		ever might
geseón under sunnan ;	2025	behold beneath the sun ;
sib wæs gemæne		peace was between
bám þám gebróðrum,		both the brethren,
blis edniwe ;		joy renewed ;
æghwæðer úðerne		each the other
earme beþehte,	2030	with his arm embraced,
cyston hie and clypton ;		they kissed and clipped each
Criste wæron begen		to Christ were both [other ;
leófe on móde.		dear in mood.
Hie leóht ymbscán		The light shone round them
hálig and heofontorht,	2035	holy and heaven-bright,
hréðer innan wæs		the breast within
wynnum áwelled.		bubbled with joy.
Ðá wordé ongan		Then with words began
ærest Andreas		Andrew first
æðelne gefêran,	2040	his noble comrade,
on clustorcleofan		in the prison-house
mid cwide snum,		with his word,
grétan godfyrhtne ;		to greet, the fearer of God ;
sæde him gúðgeðingu,		he told him the compact of war,
feohtan fâra monna :	2045	the battle of the foes :
Nú is þín folc on luste		“ Now doth thy people desire
hæleð hider on * *		the heroes hither * *

* * gewyrht	* * *
* * * *	* * *
eardes neósan.	2050 their native land to seek."
Æfter þissum wordum	After these words
wuldres þegnas,	the servants of glory,
begen þá gebróðor	the two brethren
tó gebede hyldon,	bent down to prayer,
sendon hira bêne	2065 they sent their petition
fore bearn godes,	before the Son of God,
swylce se hálga	also the holy one
in þám hearmlocan	in the place of torment
his god grétte,	addressed his God,
and him geóce bæd,	2060 and prayed to him for aid,
hælend helpe	his Saviour for help
ærþon hrá crunge	before his body should fall
fore hæðenra	before the heathens'
hildeþrymme ;	warlike prowess ;
ond þá gelædde	2065 and then led forth
of leoðobendum,	from the fetters,
frám þám fæstenne	from the prison
on frið dryhtnes,	into the Lord's protection,
tú and hundteontig	two and a hundred
geteled ríme,	2070 told by number,
swylce feowertig	also forty
* * *	* * *
generede fram nīðe.	saved from malice.
Ðær he nænige forlet	There he left not one
under burglocan	2075 under the city-locks
bendum fæstne,	fast in bonds,
nē þær wifa þá gyt,	nor yet of the women,
weorodes tó-eácan,	the increase of the troop,
ânes wana	wanting one
* * *	2080 * * *
* * * *	* * *
* * þe fiftig	* * fifty

forhte gefreoðode ;		from terror freed ;
fægen wæron siðes,		glad were they of their journey,
lungre leordon,	2085	quickly they departed,
nalas leng bidon		not longer did they await
in þam gnornhufe		in the house of sorrow
gûðgeþingo.		the settlement of war.
Gewát þá Matheus		Then Matthew went
menigo lædan	2090	to lead the multitude
on gehyld godes,		into God's protection,
swá him se hálga bebeád,		as the holy one commanded,
weorod on wilstð		his troop on their welcome
wolcnum beþehte,		concealed by a cloud, [journey
þe læs him scyldhátan	2095	lest him the accusers
scyððan cōmon		might come to injure
mid earhfare,		with sending round of the arrow,
ealdgentðlan.		their old foes. [gether
Ðær þá mōdigan mid him		There the courageous ones to-
mæðel gehēdon,	2100	held converse,
treówgeþoftan,		the true comrades, [another.
ær hie on tu hweorfon.		ere they departed from one
Ægðer þara eorla		Each of the men
ððrum trymede		confirmed in the others
heofonrices hyht,	2105	the hope of heaven's kingdom,
helle witu		the pains of hell
wordum werede.		with words kept off.
Swá þá wīgend mid him,		So the warriors with them,
hæleð hygerðfe,		the men noble of mood,
hālgum stefnum	2110	with holy voices,
cempan coste		the choice champions
cyuing weorðodon		glorified the king
wyrda waldend,		the ruler of fates,
þæs wuldres ne bið		of whose glory shall not
æfre mid eldum	2115	ever in the ages
ende befangen.		the end be comprised.
Gewát him þá Andreas		Then went Andrew

inn on ceastre		into the city
glædmôd gangan,		glad of mood, [cruel ones,
tô þæs þe he gramra gemôt,		thitherwhere he a meeting of the
fâra folcmægen,	2121	a general assembly of the foes,
gefrægen hæfde ;		had heard of ;
oððæt he gemette		until he found
be nearcpaðe		by a border-path
standan stræte neáh	2125	standing near the road
stapul ærenne.		a brazen pillar.
Gesæt him þa be healfe,		He sat him there beside,
hæfde hluttre lufan,		pure love had he,
éce upgemynd		eternal remembrance of heaven
engla blisse ;	2130	the bliss of angels ;
þanon basnode		thence he awaited
under burhlocan		within the city's enclosure
hwæt him guðweorca		what deed of warfare
gifeðe wurde.		should befall him.
þa gesamnedon	2135	Then collected
stide hêrigeas		their wide bands
folces frumgâras		the leaders of the people
tô þam fæstenne,		unto the fortress,
wærleásra werod ;		the troop of false ones ;
wæpnum cōmon	2140	with weapons came
hæðne hildfreca,		the heathen warriors, [fore
tô þæs þe hæftas ær		because their captives there be-
under hlinscūwan		in the dark shadow
hearm þrōwedon.		had suffered anguish.
Wêndon and woldon,	2145	They thought and would,
wiðerhygende,		apostates as they were,
þæt hie on elpeódigum		upon the strangers
æt geworhton,		make their meal,
weotude wiste ;		their appointed feast ;
him seó wên geleáh,	2150	their hope deceived them !
siððan mid corðre		since with their troop
carcernes dura		the prison-doors

eorre æsberend		the fierce spear-bearers
opene fundon,		found open,
onhliden hamera geweorc		undone the work of hammers,
hirdas deáde.	2166	dead the keepers.
Hie þá unhydiges		They then sad-minded
eft gecyrdon		back returned
luste belorene,		deprived of their desire,
láðspell beran ;	2160	to bear sad tidings ;
sægdon þám folce		they told the people
þæt þær feorrcundra,		that of the strangers there,
ellreordigra,		the foreigners,
ænigne tó láfe		not one remaining
in carcerne	2165	in the prison
cwicne ne méttan ;		alive they found ;
ac þær heorodreórige		but there bloody
hirdas lægon		the keepers lay
gæsne on greóte,		pale on the sand,
gáste berofene	2170	of life deprived
fægra flæschaman.		the carcasses of the slain.
þa wearð forht manig		Then was terrified many
for þám færspelle		a leader of the people
folces ræswa,		at the sudden news,
heán hygegeómor,	2175	shamed, sad of mood,
hungres on wenum		in expectation of hunger
blátes beódgæstes ;		a pale guest at the table ;
nyston beteran ráed		they knew no better counsel
þonne hie þá behlidenan		than the dead
him to lífnere	2180	for the support of their own lives
gefeormedon ;		to feed on ;
durubegnum wearð		for the doorkeepers was
in áne tíð		in one hour
eallum ætsomne		for all at once
þurh heard gelác	2185	through hard fortune
hildbedd stýfed.		the deathbed spread.
Ðá ic lungre gefrægn		Then I learned at once

leóde tósomne		that the people together
burgwaru bannan ;		the citizens were summoned ;
beornas cōmon,	2190	the men came,
wiggendra þreát,		a troop of warriors,
wiggum gengan		riding on horses
on mearum mōdige,		proudly on steeds,
mæðelhegende,		counselling together,
æscum dealle.	2195	proud with their spears.
þā wæs eall geador		Then was together
tō þām þingstede		in the public place
þeód gesamnod ;		the people collected ;
létan him þā betweonum		they let between them
tān wisian	2200	the lot decide
hwylcne hira ærest		which of them first
ððrum sceolde		should to the rest
tō fōddurþege		for food
feores ongildan ;		his life give up ;
hluton hellcræftum	2205	they cast lots with hellish power
hæðengildum,		before the heathen gods,
teledon betwinum.		they counted between them.
Ðā se tān gehwearf		Then went the lot
efne ofer ænne		even over one
ealdgestða,	2210	of the old comrades,
se wæs uðweota		who was a councillor
eorla dugoðe,		to the princes of the nobles,
heriges on ðre ;		a leader of the host ;
hraðe siððan wearð		soon was he
fetorwrasnum fæst	2215	fast bound in fetters
feores orwēna.		without hope of life.
Cleopode þā collenferhð		Then called out the fierce-
cearegan reorde,		with sad speech, [minded man
cwæð he his sylfes suna		said he his own son
syllan wolde	2220	would give
on æhtgeweald,		into the general power,
eaforan geóngne,		his young offspring,

lifes tó lisse.		to redeem his own life.
Hie þa lác hraðe		They the offer soon
þégon tó þance ;	2225	thankfully accepted ; [sious,
þeód wæs oflysted,		the people were earnestly de-
metes móðgeómre,		mourning for meat,
næs him tó máðme wynn		no joy had they in treasure
hyht tó hordgestreónum,		no hope in hoarded wealth,
hungre wæron	2230	with hunger were they
þearle gepreatod,		fiercely oppressed,
swá se þeódsceaða		so the mighty plague
hreów ricsode.		fiercely ruled.
þá wæs rinc manig,		Then was many a warrior,
guðfrec guma,	2235	man fierce in war,
ymb þæs geongan feorh		about the young man's life
breóstum onbryrðed		in breast excited
tó þám beaduláce ;		to the battle play ;
wæs þæt weátácen		the fatal token was
wíde gefrege,	2240	widely famous,
geond þa burh bodad		throughout the town proclaimed
beorne manegum,		to many a man,
þæt hie þæs cnihtes cwealm		that they the young man's death
corðre gesóhton		in troops should seek
duguðe and eógoðe,	2245	with young and old,
dæl onfengon		should take their part
lifes tó leofne.		for the support of life.
Hie lungre tó þæs,		They therefore at once,
hæðene heargweardas,		the heathen idolators,
here samnodon	2250	collected a troop
ceasterwarena ;		of the citizens ;
cym upp ástáh.		their noise went up.
þá se geónga ongann		Then the youth began
geómran stefne,		with voice of lamentation,
gehafted for herige,	2255	chained before the troop,
hearmléóð galan,		a song of anguish to sing,
freónda feásceaft		deprived of friends

friðes wilnian ;		to beg for mercy ;
né mihte earmsceapen		nor might the poor wretch
Are findan	2260	find pity [people,
freoðe æt þām folce,		or peace at the hands of the
þe him feores wolde		which would life
ealdres geunnan ;		or existence grant him ;
hæfdon æglæcan		the wretches had
sæcce gesóhte,	2265	chosen hostility,
sceolde sweordes ecg,		the sword's edge should,
scerp and scúrheard,		sharp and hard with scouring,
of sceaðan folme,		in the hands of the foe,
fýrmælum fâg,		variegated with marks of fire,
feorh âcsigan.	2270	seek out the life.
Ða þæt Andrea		Then that to Andrew
earmlíc þáhte,		seemed pitiful,
þeóðbealo þearlíc		a general evil hard
tô geþolianne,		to bear,
þæt he swâ unscyldig	2275	that he so innocent
ealdre sceolde		from life should
lungre linnan.		so soon depart.
Wæs se leóðhete		The general hate was
þrôthheard		savage
þrymman sceócon	2280	heavy shook
móðige maguþegnas		moody warriors
morðres on luste,		lusting for murder,
woldon æninga		they would at once
ellenrófe,		famous for valour,
on þām hysebeorðre	2285	on the caul
heafolan gescénan,		the skin wound,
garúm ágeótan ;		with javelins pour out ;
hine god forstóð		him God defended
hálig of héhðo		holy from above
háðenum folce ;	2290	against the heathen people ;
hêt wæpen werá,		he commanded the weapons of
wexe gelícóst,		likest unto wax, [the men,

on þam orlege		in the onset
eall formeltan,		all to melt away,
þý læs scyldhatan	2295	lest the foes
sceaðan mihton,		might injure him,
egle ondsacan		the terrible apostates
ecga þryðum.		with the edges of swords.
Swá wearð álýsed		Thus was rescued
of leódhete	2300	from the popular hate
geóng of gyrne ;		the youth from his misery ;
gode ealles þanc		all thanks be to God
dryhtna dryhtne,		the Lord of lords,
þæs þe he dóm gifeð		because he giveth justice
gumena gehwylcum	2305	to every man
þara þe geóce to him		that aid from him
séceð mid snytrum ;		wisely seeketh ;
þær bið symle gearu		there will be ever ready
freónd unhwílen		an eternal friend
þam þe hie findan eann.	2310	for him who can find him.
þá wæs wóp hæfen		Then was weeping uplifted
in wera burgum,		in the towns of men,
hlúd heriges cyrm,		the loud outcry of the host,
hreópon friccan,		heralds shouted,
mændon meteleáste,	2315	they moaned the famine,
méðe stódon		weary they stood
hungre gehæfte.		with hunger bound.
Hornsalu wunedon		The spired halls remained
wéste wínræced,		the winehouses empty,
welan ne benohton	2320	wealth needed not
beornas tó brúcanne		the men to enjoy
on þa bítran tíð ;		in that bitter tide ;
gesæton searuþancle		the wise of thought sat
sundor tó rúne		apart in council
ermðu eahtigan,	2325	their misery to investigate,
næs him tó éðle wynn ;		they had no pleasure in the
fregn þá gelóme		then often asked [land ;

freca ððerne ;		one warrior the other ;
Ne hele se þe hæbbe		“Let him not hide it who hath
holde lāre,	2330	a beneficial counsel,
on sefan snyttro.		wisdom in mind !
Nū is sæl cumen,		Now is the occasion come,
þreá ormæte ;		an immeasurable plague ;
is nū þearf micel		now is it very needful
þæt we wísfæstra	2335	that we of the wise
wordum hýran.		the words should obey !”
þá for þære dūgoðe		Then before the chiefs
deóful ætýwde,		a devil appeared,
wann and wíteleás		wan and colourless
hæfde wériges htw.	2340	he had the look of one accursed.
Ongan þá meldigan		Then began to point out
morþres brytta		the prince of murder,
helle hinca,		the hate of hell,
þone halgan wer,		the holy man,
wíðerhygende	2345	with hostile thought
and þæt word gecwæð :		and these words said :
Hér is geféred		“ Hither is come
ofer feorne weg		from a long way off
æðelinga sum		a noble
innan ceastre,	2350	into the city,
ellþeódigra,		a stranger,
þone ic Andreas		whom I Andrew
nemnan hérde ;		heard call ;
he eów neón gesceód,		he has given you
þá he áfêrede	2355	when he bore away
of fæstenne		from your fortress
manncynnes má		more of men
þonne gemét wære ;		than was right ;
nū ge magon eáðe		now may you readily
oncýðdæda	2360	the strange deeds
wrecan on gewyrhtum ;		avenge upon the doer ;
lætað . . . spor		let . . . the spur

iren ecgheard,		iron hard of edge,
ealdorgeard sceoran,		raze the dwelling of life,
fāges feorhhord ;	2365	the soul-hoard of the mortal ;
gāð fromlice		go boldly
þæt ge wiðerfehtend		that ye your adversary
wiges gehnāgan.		from his war may subdue.”
Him þā Andreas		To him then Andrew
āgef andsware :	2370	gave answer :
Hwæt þū þristlice		“ Lo thou impudently
þeóde lārest,		teachest the people,
bealdeſt tó beadowe,		encouragest them to strife,
wāſt þe bāles cwealm		knowest that thy death of fire
hātne in helle,	2375	is hot in hell,
and þū here fýseſt,		and yet leadeſt a hoſt,
fēðan tó gefeohte ;		a troop to battle ;
eart þū fāg wið god		thou art a foe to God
dugoða dēmend.		the Lord of glories.
Hwæt þū deóſles ſtræl	2380	Lo ! thou ſhaft of the devil
ýceſt þīne yrmðo,		increaſeſt thy miſery,
þe ſe ælmihtiga		wherein thee the Almighty
heānne gehnāgde,		humble bent down,
and heolſtor beſceáf		and created the darkneſs
þær ſe cyninga cyning	2385	where the King of kings
clamme belegde,		with chains did load thee,
and þe ſiððan ā		and thee ever ſince
Sāta nemndon		Satan have called
þa þe dryhtnes ā		they who the Lord’s law
dēman cūðon.	2390	could judge.”
Ðā git ſe wiðermēda		Yet the adverſary
wordum lārde		taught with words
folc tó gefeohte,		the people to the conteſt,
feóndes cræfte :		with hoſtile craft :
Nū ge gehýrað	2395	“ Now ye hear
hæleða gewinnan,		the foe of your people,
ſe þiſſum herige mæſt		who to this hoſt the greateſt

hearma gefremede.		harm hath done.
þæt is Andreas		That is Andrew
se me onfliteð	2400	who railleth on me
wordum wrætlicum		with cunning words
for wera menigo.		before the multitude of men !”
Ða wæs beácen boden		Then was the signal given
burhsittendum ;		to the inhabitants ;
áhleoþon hildfrome	2405	bold in war they leaped forth
hêriges brehtme,		with the clamour of a host,
ond tó weallgeatum		and to the wall-gates
wígend þrunгон,		the warriors thronged,
cêne under cumblum		strong beneath their ensigns
corðré miclé	2410	with a mighty troop
tó þám orlege,		to the onset,
ordum and bordum.		with points and shields.
þá wordé cwæð		Then spake with words
weoroda dryhten,		the Lord of hosts,
meotud mihtum swið	2415	God strong in might
sægde his magoþegne :		said unto his servant :
scealt þú Andreas		“ Thou shalt Andrew
ellen fremman,		accomplish a deed of valour,
ne mīð þú for menigo		shrink not thou from the mul-
ah þinne módsefan	2420	but thy mind [titude
staðola wið strangum :		strengthen against the strong :
nis seó stund latu,		the time is at hand
þæt þe wæ reówe		when thee the savages
witum belecgað,		with torments will afflict,
cealdan clommm ;	2425	with cold bonds ;
cýð þe sylfne,		manifest thyself,
herd hyge þinne,		harden thy mind,
heortan staðola,		confirm thy heart,
þæt hie mīn on þe		that they in thee my
mægen oncnáwan ;	2430	power may recognize ;
ne magon hie and ne móton		they may not and must not
ofer míne ést		against my will

þinne lfchoman,		thy body,	
lehtum scyldige,		guilty sinners,	
deáðe gedálan,	2435	deal to death,	[wounds
þeah þu drype þolige		though thou mayst suffer	
myrce manslaga		dark of the slaughterers	
ic þe mid wunige.		I abide with thee !”	
Æfter þam wordum com		After these words came	
werod unmæte,	2440	a measureless multitude,	
lyswe lársmeoðas		criminal lore-smiths	
mid lindgecróde,		with the ensign of shields,	
bolgenmóde		angry of mood	
bæron út hræðe		they quickly bore out	
and þam hálgan þær	2445	and then the holy man’s	
handa gebundon.		hands they bound.	
Siððon geyped wæs		Then was revealed	
æðelinga wynn,		the joy of princes,	
and hie andweardne		and they him present	
eágum meahton	2450	with their eyes might	
gesión sigerófne.		behold victorious.	
þær wæs sec manig		There was many a man	
on þam wælwange		upon the fatal plain	
wiges ofysted,		lusting for war,	
leóða duguðe ;	2455	among the leaders of the people ;	
lyt sorgodon		little cared they	
hwylc him þæt edleán		what their reward	
æfter wurde.		should after be.	
Héton þá lædan		Then bid they lead him	
ofer landsceare,	2460	over the country,	
þrægmælum teón,		to drag him bit by bit,	
torngeniðlan,		the angry foes,	
swá hie hit frécnost,		as they most furiously	
findan meahton ;		could devise ;	
drôgon deórmóde	2465	savagely they dragged him	
æfter dûnscræfum		through mountain-caverns	
ymb stánhleoðo,		about the stone-hills,	

stearcedferðe,		hardened of mind,
efne swá wide swá		even as far as
wegas tólægon,	2470	the roads lay before them,
enta ærgeweorc,		the antique work of giants,
innan burgum,		within the towns [stones.
stræte stánfáge.		the street variegated with
Storm upp áras		The storm uprose
æfter ceasterhofum,	2475	above the city dwellings,
cirm unlytel		no little uproar
hæðnes heriges ;		of the heathen band ;
wæs þæs hálgan lic		the body of the saint was
sárbennum soden,		with sore wounds sodden,
swáte bestémed,	2480	with blood steamed,
bánhús ábrocen,		the bone-house was broken,
blód yðum weóll		blood flowed in waves
hát of heolfre,		hot from the gore,
hæfde him on innan		yet had he within
ellen untweódne ;	2485	a courage unwavering ;
wæs þæt æðele mód		the noble mind
ásundrad fram synnum,		was sundered from sin,
þeáh he sáres swá feala		although he so much pain
deópum dolgslegum		through deep and wounding
dreógan sceolde.	2490	was doomed to bear. [blows
Swá wæs ealne dæg		Thus was the whole day long
oððæt æfen côm		until the evening came
sigeltorht swungen ;		the star-bright one beaten ;
sár eft gewôd		pain went backwards and for- wards
ymb þæs beornes breóst,	2495	about the breast of the man,
oðþæt beorht gewât		until that bright departed
sunne swegeltorht		the sun splendid in the firma-
tô sete glídan.		to glide to its setting. [ment
Læddon þá leóde		Then people led
læðne gewinnan	2500	their hated foe
tô carcerne,		unto the prison,

he wæs Criste swā þeáh		yet was he to Christ
leóf on móde ;		dear in mood ;
him wæs leóht sefa		light was his thought
hálig heortan néh	2505	holy near his heart
hyge untyddre.		a mind unbroken.
Ðá se hálgá wæs		Then was the saint
under heólstorscúwan,		in the shadow of darkness,
eorl ellenheard,		warrior hard of courage,
ondlange niht	2510	the whole night long
searþancum beseted ;		with various thoughts beset ;
snáw eorðan band		snow bound the earth
wintergeworpum,		with winter-casts,
weder cóledon		cold grew the storms
heardum hægelscúrum	2515	with hard hail-showers,
swylce hrím and forst,		and rime and frost,
háre hildstapan,		the hoary warriors,
hæleða eðel		locked up the dwellings of men
lucon leóda gesetu ;		the settlements of the people ;
land wæron fréorig	2520	frozen were the lands,
cealdum cýlegicelum		with cold icicles
clang wæteres þrym,		shrunk the water's might,
ofer eástreámas		over the river-streams
ís brycgade		the ice made a bridge
bláce brimráde.	2525	a pale water-road.
Blíðheort wunode		Blithe of heart abode
eorl unforcúð		the steadfast man
elnes gemyndig,		mindful of valour,
þrist and þróhtheard		bold and heard of courage
in þreánêdum	2530	in his misery [night ;
wintercealdan niht ;		throughout the cold winter
nó on gewitte blon,		never in his mind ceased he,
ácól for þý egesan,		in fear for the terror,
þæs þe he ær ongann,		as he before began,
þæt he á dômlícóst	2535	ever in the worthiest manner
dryhten herede,		to praise the Lord,

weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim heofontorht onhlád.		to glorify him in words, until the gem of glory bright in the heaven impended.
Ða cóm hæleða preát tó þære dimman ding duguð unlytel, wadan wælgifre weorodes brehtme.	2540	Then came the troop of heroes to the dim cave no little power, greedy of slaughter to go with the tumult of a host.
Héton út hræðe æðeling lædan in wráðra geweald, wærfæstne hæleð.	2545	They commanded quickly to lead out the noble into the power of foes, the stedfast hero.
Ðá wæs eft swá ær andlangne dæg swungen sárslegum ; swát ýðum weóll þurh bāncofan, blóð lifrum swealg hátan heolfre ;	2550	Then was he as before the long day through beaten with wounding blows ; the blood bubbled in waves through the bone-chest, the blood in the liver swelled
hrá weorces ne sann wundum wérig. Ðá cwom wópes hring þurh þæs beornes breóst blát út faran,	2555	with hot gore ; the body thought not of work weary with wounds. Then came the ring of weeping through the man's breast faint to proceed,
weóll waðuman streám, and he wordé cwæð : Geseoh nú, dryhten god, drohtað mínne, weoruda willgeofa.	2560	the stream bubbled in waves, and he said in words : “ Behold now, God my Lord, my condition, O joy-giver of hosts !
Ðú wást and const ánra gehwylces earfeðstíðas. Ic gelýfe tó þe, mín liffruma,	2565	[est Thou knowest and understand- of every man the sorrowful times ! I believe in thee,
þæt þú mildheort me,	2570	Lord of my life, that thou mild-hearted,

for þinum mægenspédum,		for thy great power,
nerigend fira		saviour of men
næfre wille,		never wilt,
éce ælmihtig,	2575	eternal almighty God,
ánforlætan ;		desert me ;
swá ic þæt gefremme,		so will I accomplish that,
þenden feorh leofað		as long as my life endureth
mín on moldan,		on earth,
þæt ic, meotud, þinum	2580	that I, O God, thy
larum leófwendum		dear doctrines
lyt geswice ;		will not shrink from ;
þú eart gescyldend		thou art a defence
wið sceaðan wæpnum,		against the weapons of foes,
éce eáðfruma,	2585	eternal prince of joy,
eallum þinum.		for all thy servants !
Ne læt nú bysmrian		Now let not revile
banan mancynnes,		the murderers of men,
fácnes frumbearn,		first-born of crime,
þurh feóndes cræft	2590	through hostile craft,
leahtrum belegcan		with crimes oppress
þa þín lof berað.		them that bear thy praise !”
Ðá þær ætýwde		Then there appeared
se atola gást,		the foul spirit,
wráð wærloga ;	2595	the fierce warlock ;
wigend lárde		he guided the warriors
for þám heremægene,		before the hostile force,
helle dióful		hell's devil
áwérged in wítum,		cursed in torments,
and þæt word gecwæð :	2600	and spake the word :
Sleað synnigne		“ Smite the sinner
ofer seolfes mûð,		over his own mouth,
folces gewinnan,		the people's foe,
nú tó feala reordað.		now he speaketh too much !”
Þá wæs orlege	2605	Then was the onset
eft onhræred		again commenced

niwan stefne,		with a new voice,
nīð upp ārās		malice again arose
óþðæt sunne gewát		until the sun went
tó sete glīdan,	2610	gliding to its setting,
under nifian næs ;		under the dark promontory ;
nibt helmade,		night covered over,
brūn wann oferbræd		brown, wan, it overspread
beorgas steápe,		the steep mountains,
and se hálga wæs	2615	and the holy one was
tó hofe læded,		led to the house,
deór and dómgeorn		dear and virtuous
in þæt dimme ræced ;		to the dim dwelling ;
sceal þonne in neádcofan		there he must in misery's bonds
nihtlangne fyrst	2620	the whole night long
wærfæst wunian		steadfast inhabit
wíc unsýfre.		a foul dwelling.
þá côm seofona sun		Then came with seven more
tó sele geongan		unto the hall
atol æglæca,	2625	the foul wretch,
yfela gemyndig,		mindful of mischief,
morðres mánfreá		murderous lord of crime
myrce gescyrded,		with darkness surrounded,
deóful deáðreów		a savage devil
duguðum bereáfod.	2630	bereft of virtue.
Ongan tó þám hálgan		He began to the holy one
hospword spreca :		to speak words of reviling :
Hwæt hogodest þu, Andreas,		“ What thinkest thou, Andrew,
hidercyme þinne		of thy coming hither
on wráðra geweald.	2635	into the power of thy foes ?
Hwæt is wuldor þín		What is thy glory
þe þú oferhygdum		that in thy pride
upp árærddest,		thou liftedst up,
þá þú goda ussa		when thou of our gods
gilp gehnægdest ;	2640	the glory wouldst humble ;
hafast nú þe ánum		now hast thou on thyself

eall getihhad		brought all
land and leóde,		the land and people,
swá dyde lāreow þín,		as thy teacher did,
cyneþrym áhóf,	2645	he set up kingly pretensions,
þám wæs Crist nama,		who was named Christ,
ofer middangeard		over all the earth
þynden hit meahthe swá ;		as long as it was allowed him ;
þone Herodes		him did Herod
ealdre besnyðede,	2650	deprive of life,
forcóm æt campe		he overcame in war
cýning Iudéa,		the king of the Jews,
rices berædde,		deprived him of his realm,
and hine róde befealg,		and fastened him on a rood,
þæt he on gealgan his	2655	that he upon a gallows
gást onsende.		his spirit gave up.
Swá ic nú bebeóde		So do I now command
bearnun mīnum		my sons
þegnum þryðfullum		my strong thanes
þæt hie þe hnægon	2660	to humble thee
gingran æt gúðe.		his disciple in war.
Lætað gāres ord,		Let the javelin-point,
earh ættre gemæþ,		the arrow stained with poison,
ingedúfan		dig into
in fæges ferð ;	2665	the life of the doomed one ;
gáð fromlice		go boldly
þæt ge gúðfreán		that ye the warrior's
gylp forbēgan !		pride may bow !”
Hie wæron reówe		They were fierce,
ræsdon on sóna	2670	soon they rushed on
gifrum grápum ;		with greedy grapplings ;
hine god forstóð		God stood before him
staðulfæst steórend		steadfastly guiding him
þurh his strangan miht.		through his mighty power.
Siððan hie oncneówon	2675	After they recognized
Cristes róde		of Christ's rood

mære tæcen		the mighty token
wurdon hie þā acle,		terrified they became,
on þām onfenge forhte,		afraid of the contest,
and on fleám numen.	2680	and thrown into flight.
Ongan eft swá ær		Then again began as before
ealdgentōla,		the old fiend,
helle hæftling,		hell's captive,
hearmleóð galan :		to sing a mournful song :
Hwæt wearð eow swa rôfum,		“ How befell it you so bold,
rincas mīne,	2686	my warriors,
lindgesteallan,		my shield-comrades, [little ?”
þæt eow swá lyt gespeow ?		that your success has been so
Earmsceapen		One wretched one
ágef andsware,	2690	made answer,
fáh fyrensceaða,		a variegated fiend,
and his fæder oncwæð :		and thus addressed his father :
Ne magon we him lungre		“ We cannot him at all
láð ætfæstan,		afflict with pain,
swylt þurh searwe ;	2695	with death by our snares ;
gá þe sylfa tó,		go thither thyself,
þær þú gegninga		there wilt thou before thee
gúðe findest,		find war,
frécne feohtan,		a savage contest,
gif þú furður dearst	2700	if at all thou dardest
tó þām ánhagan		against the solitary
aldre genêðan.		wager thy life !
We þe magon eáðe		We may easily
eorla leófóst,		dearest of earls,
æt þām secgplegan	2705	at the play of men
sélre gelæran,		teach thee better,
ær þú geninga		before thou again
gúðe fremme,		attempt war,
wíges wóman ;		the rush of battle ;
weald þú þe sæle	2710	guard thyself the better
æt þām gegnslege.		in the change of blows.

Uton gangan eft		Let us go again
þæt we bysmrigen		and revile
bendum fæstne,		him fast in bonds,
oðwiton him his wræcstð;		let us twit him with his misery;
habbað word gearu	2716	we have words ready
wið þam æglæcan		against the wretch
eall getrahtod !		all arranged !”
þa hleoðrade		Then called
hlûdan stefne	2720	with a loud voice
witum bewæled,		the stained with torments,
and þæt word gecwæð :		and these words spake :
þu ðe Andreas		“Thou Andrew
aclæccræftum		with juggling craft
lange fêredes ;	2725	hast long been conversant ;
hwæt þu leóda feala		lo thou many people
forleólce and forlêrdest.		hast deceived and seduced !
Nû leng ne miht		Now mayst thou no longer
gewealdan þý weorcê,		have power over thy work,
þe sind witu þæs grim	2730	to thee such grim torments
wetud be gewyrhtum ;		are adjudged according to thy
		acts ;
þu scealt wêrigmód,		thou shalt, weary of mood,
heán hroðra leás,		degraded and hopeless,
hearum þrowigan,		suffer wretchedness,
sâre swyltcwale ;	2735	sore death ;
secgas mine		my warriors
tô þam gûðplegan		for the battle-play
gearwe sindon,		are ready,
þa þe æninga		who thee altogether
ellenweorcum	2740	in deeds of valour
unfyrn fâca		will in little time
feorh ætþringan ;		of life deprive ;
hwylc is þæs mihtig		who is so mighty
ofer midlangedard		throughout the earth
þæt he þe alýse	2745	as to release thee

of leoðubendum,		from thy fetters,
manna cynnes		of the race of men
ofer mine est ?		against my will ?”
Him þa Andreas		Him then Andrew
ágef andsware :	2750	an answer gave :
Hwæt me eáðe		“ Lo easily may save me
æلميhtig god		Almighty God
niða neregend,		the saviour of men, [yore
se þe in niedum iú		who thee in wretchedness of
gefæstnode	2755	fastened
fýrnum clommum,		with fiery fetters,
þær þú siððan á		where thou ever since
susle gebunden,		bound down in torment,
in wræc wunne,		hast dwelt in misery,
wuldres blunne ;	2760	hast been deprived of glory ;
siððan þú forhogodes		since thou despisedst
heofoncyninges word,		the word of Heaven’s King,
þær wæs yfles ór,		(there was the beginning of evil,
ende næfre		never the end
þines wræces weorþeð,	2765	of thy misery shall be !)
þú scealt wíðan feorh		thou shalt for ever
écan þine yrmðu ;		increase thy wretchedness ;
þe bið á symble		to all eternity
of dæge on dæg		from day to day
drohtað strengra.	2770	harder shall be thy condition !”
Ða wearð on fleáme		Then was driven to flight
se þe þa fæðo iú		he who the feud of yore
wið god geara		readily against God
grimme gefremede.		had grimly undertaken.
Cóm þa on uhtan	2775	Then at twilight came
mid ærdæge		with early day
hæðenra hloð		a troop of heathens
háliges neósan		to visit the holy one
leóða weorude ;		with a host of men ;
hétan lædan út	2780	they bid lead out

þrohheardne þegn		the courageous thane
þridan stðe ;		for the third time ;
woldon áninga		they would entirely
ellenrófes		the bold man's
mód gemiltan ;	2786	mood subdue ;
hit ne mihte swá.		so it might not be !
Ða wæs neówinga		Then was anew
níð onhrêred		malice excited
heard on hete,		hard in hatred,
grim wæs se hálga wer	2790	fierce was the holy man
sáre geswungen,		with wounds smitten,
searwum gebunden,		with fetters bound,
dolgbennum þurhdrifen,		with wounds pierced through,
þenden dæg lýhte.		as long as day gave light.
Ongan þá geómormód	2795	Then sad of mood he began
tó gode cleopian		to cry to God
heard of hæfte,		hard from his captivity,
hálgan stefne ;		with holy voice ;
weóp wêrigferð		weary of his life he wept
and þæt word gecwæð :	2800	and spake the word :
Næfre ic geférde		“ Never did I experience
mid freán willan,		by the Lord's will,
under heofonhwealfe,		under the vault of heaven,
heardran drohtnoð,		a harder treatment,
þær ic dryhtnes æ	2805	where I the law of the Lord
dêman sceolde ;		should judge ;
sint me leoð tólocen,		my limbs are loosed,
líc sáre gebrocen,		my body broken with pain,
bánhús blódfág,		my bone-house stained with
benna weallað,	2810	my wounds bubble, [blood,
seono dolgswátige.		my sinews sweating blood !
Hwæt þu sigora weard,		Lo ! thou Lord of victory,
dryhten hælend,		Lord Saviour,
on dæges tíde		in the day-time
mid Iudéum	2815	amongst the Jews

geómor wurde,		wert sorrowful,
þá þú of gealgan,		when thou from the cross,
god lifigende		thou living God
fyrnweorca freá,		Lord of creation,
tó fæder cleopodest,	2920	calledst to the Father,
cyninga wuldor,		glory of kings,
and cwæde þus :		and thus didst say :
Ic þe, fæder engla		Father of angels I thee
frignan wille,		will ask,
lifes leóhtfruma,	2925	O Prince of life,
hwæt forlætest þu me ?		why hast thou forsaken me ?
and ic nú þrý dagas		and now for three days I
þolian sceolde		must suffer
wælgrim witu ?		savage torments ?
bidde ic weoroda god	2930	I pray thee God of hosts
þæt ic gâst minne		that I my life
âgifan môte,		may yield up,
sáwla symbelgifa,		O joy-giver of souls,
on þines sylfes hand !		into thine own hand !
þú þæt gehête	2935	Thou didst promise that,
þurh þín hálig word		by thy holy word,
þá þú ús twelfe		when thou us twelve
trymman ongunne,		beganst to confirm,
þæt us heterófra		that us our enemy's
hild ne gesceóde,	2940	war should not injure,
né líces dæl		nor divorce from life
lungre oððeóded,		ever affect us,
né sinu ne bân		nor sinew nor bone
on swaðe lagon,		on swathe should lie,
né loc of heáfde	2945	nor lock from our heads
tó forlore wurde,		be lost,
gif we þíne láre		if we thy lore
læstan woldon.		would perform.
Nú sint sionwe tóslowen,		Now are my sinews cramp't,
is mín swát áðroven,	2950	now is my blood sprinkled,

licgað æfter lande		throughout the land there lie
loccas tódrifene		my driven locks
fex on foldan ;		my hair upon the ground ;
is me feorhgedál		to me is death itself
leófre miclé	2855	much dearer
þonne þeós lifcearo.		than this life-care !”
Him þá stefn oncwæð		Him then a voice addressed
stíðhycgendum,		proudly thinking,
wuldor cyninges		the King of glory’s
word hleóðrode :	2860	word resounded :
Ne wép þone wræcstíð		“ Weep not thy wretchedness,
wine leófesta		dearest friend,
nis þe tó frécne ;		too hard it is not for thee ;
ic þe friðe healde		I hold thee in peace
mínre mundbyrde,	2865	in my protection,
mægene besette ;		with strength set thee about ;
me is miht ofer eall		to me is power over all
* * *		* * *
sigorspéd geseald !		and glory of victory given !
Sóð þæt gecýðeð		Truly that shall exhibit
mænig æt meðle	2870	the multitude in our reckoning
on þám niclan dæge,		on the great day,
þæt þæt geweorðeð		that it shall happen
þæt þeós wlitige gesceaft,		that this beauteous creation,
heofon and eorðe		this heaven and earth
hreoðað tó gadore,	2875	shall fall together,
ær awæged sie		ere be removed
worda ænig		any word
þe ic þurh mínne múð		which I through my mouth
meðlan onginne.		have once spoken.
Geseoh nú seolfes swæðe,	2880	Behold now thine own track,
swá þin swát ágeát		where thy blood poured forth
þurh bangebrec		through the breaking of bones
blóðige stlge,		a bloody path,
lícclálan,		the body’s spots,

nó þe láðes má	2885	nothing worse to thee
þurh daroða gedrep		through stroke of darts
gedón móton,		may do
þa þe heardra mæst		they who the worst of hard
hearma gefremedon.		harms inflicted on thee!"
Þá on last beseah	2890	Then looked behind him
leóflíc cempa,		the dear champion,
æfter wordcwíðum		after these words
wuldor cyninges ;		of the King of glory ;
geseh he geblówene		he saw blowing
bearwas standan,	2895	bowers stand,
blæðum gehrodene		laden with blossoms [spilled.
swá he ær his blóð ágeát.		where he before his blood had
Ða wordé cwæð		Then spake with words
wigendra hleo :		the refuge of warriors :
Sie þe þanc and lof,	2900	" Thanks be to thee and praise
þeóða waldend		Ruler of nations
tó wíðan feore		for ever and ever
wuldor on heófonum,		glory in the heavens,
þæs þú me on sære,		that thou me in anguish,
sígedryhten mīn,	2905	my glorious Lord,
ellþeóðigne		like a stranger
án ne forlète.		hast not deserted!"
Swá se dædfruma		Thus the prince
dryhten herede		praised the Lord
hálgan stefne,	2910	with holy voice,
oððæt hádor sægl		till the serene constellation
wuldortorht gewát		wondrous bright departed
under scríðan.		again to set.
Þá þa folctogan		Then the leaders of the people
feorðan síðe,	2915	for the fourth time,
egle ondsacan,		fierce apostates,
æðeling læddon		led the noble
tó þám carcerne ;		to the dungeon ; [power,
woldon cræfta gehygd		they would the thought of

magorædendes	2920	the councillor's
môd oncyrran		mood turn back
on þære deorcan niht.		in the dark night.
þâ com dryhten		Then came the Lord
in þæt hlinræced		into that cavern-house
hæleða wuldor,	2925	glory of men,
and þâ wine sinne		and there his friend
wordum grêtte,		with words he greeted,
and frôfre gecwæð ;		and promised comfort ;
fæder mancynnes,		the Father of mankind,
lifes lâreow,	2930	teacher of life,
hêht his lichoman		commanded his body
hâles brûcan : Ne scealt þû		to enjoy safety : [hands
in hendum â leng		“ Thou shalt no longer in the
searohæbbendra		of these armed men
sâr þrôwian.	2935	sorrow suffer !”
Arâs þâ mægene rôf, sægde		Then rose the famed for
		strength, he said
meotude þanc,		thanks to God,
hâl of hæfte,		whole from his captivity,
heardra wita ;		of the savage torments ;
næs him gewemmed wlite	2940	neither was his beauty injured,
né wlôh of hrægle		nor a fringe of his garment
lungre âlÿsed,		even loosened,
né loc of heáfde,		nor a lock of his head,
né bân gebrocen,		nor a bone broken,
né blódig wund	2945	nor bloody wound
lîcgelenge,		belonging to his body,
né lâðes dâel		nor any evil
þurh dolgslege		through wounding-blow
dreóre bestémed ;		with blood bestained ;
ac wæs eft swâ ær	2950	but he was again as before
þurh þâ æðelan miht		through that noble might
lof lædende,		giving praise,
and on his lîce trum.		and in his body whole.

Hwæt ic hwile nû		Lo! I now awhile
hâliges lâre	2955	the lore of the saint
leóðgiddinga lof		the praise of songs
þæs þe worhte		because I wrought
wordum wemde,		in words have spoiled,
wyrd undyrne,		an evident fortune!
ofer mîn gemêt.	2960	beyond my power.
Micel is tó secganne,		Much is it to say,
langsum leornung,		a tedious task,
þæt he in lîfe ádreág		what he endured in life
eall æfter orde ;		all in succession ;
þæt scell ægleáwra	2965	that must a more learned
mann on moldan		man on earth
þonne ic me tælige		than I repute myself
findan on ferðe,		invent in spirit, [knoweth
þæt fram fruman cunne		who from the beginning
eall þa earfeðo	2970	all the sufferings
þe he mid elnê ádreáh,		that he courageously endured,
grimra gúða.		of fierce wars.
Hwæðre git sceal		Yet will I still
on lytlum sticcum		in little fragments
leóðworda dæl	2975	words of song
furður reccan.		further relate.
Ðæt is fyrn sægen		It was said before
hû he weorna feala		how he a multitude
wíta geþolode		of torments endured
heardra hilda	2980	of hard onsets
in þære hæðenan byrig.		in the heathen town.
He be wealle geseah		He saw by the wall
wundrum fæste		wondrous fast
under sælwange		upon the plain
sweras unlytle	2985	mighty pillars
stapulas standan,		columns standing,
storme bedrifene,		driven by the storm,
eald enta geweorc.		the antique work of giants.

He wið ænne þæra		He with one of them
mihtig and mōdrōf	2990	mighty and strong of mood
mæðel gehēde,		held converse,
wis wundrum gleáw		wise and wondrous prudent
word stunde áhóf :		he raised at once the word :
Gehēr þú marmanstán,		“ Hear thou marble stone,
meotudes rædum,	2995	by the command of God,
fore þæs onsýne		before whose face
ealle gesceafte		all creatures
forhte gweorðað,		shall tremble,
þonne hie fæder geseoð,		when they behold the Father,
heofonas and eorðan,	3000	the heavens and the earth,
herigea mæste		with the greatest of hosts
on middangeard		upon the earth
mancynn sēcan !		visit the race of men !
Læt nú of þinum staðole		Now let from thy foundation
streámas weallan,	3005	streams bubble out,
eá in fléde ;		a river in flood ;
nú þe ælmihtig		now thee the Almighty
háteð heofona cyning		King of Heaven commandeth
þæt þu hrædlice		that thou at once
on þis fræte folc	3010	upon this obstinate people
forð onsende		send forth
wæter wídrincg		a rushing stream of water
tó wera cwealme,		for the destruction of the men,
geofon geótene.		a gushing ocean.
Hwæt þú golde eart	3015	Lo thou art than gold [cious ;
sincgife sylla ;		or gift of treasure more pre-
on þe sylf cyning		on thee the King himself
wrát wuldres god,		the God of glory carved,
wordum cýðde		in words made known
recene gerýno,	3020	at once his mysteries,
and rihte æ		and his true law
getácnode		tokened
on tyn wordum ;		in ten sentences ;

meotud mihtum swið		the Lord mighty of power
Moyse sealde ;	3025	gave thee to Moses ;
swá hit sóðfæste		as it the soothfast
siððan heoldon		since maintained
móðige magoþegnas,		the bold servants,
magas sine,		his own tribe,
godfyrhte guman,	3030	god-fearing men,
Iosua and Tobias.		Joshua and Tobias.
Nú þú miht gecnāwan		Now mayst thou acknowledge
þæt þe cyning engla		that thee the King of angels
gefrætwode		adorned
furður miclê	3035	much more
giofum geárdagum		with gifts in days of yore
þonne eall gimma cynn		than all the kinds of gems
þurh his hālige hæ̅s.		through his holy command.
þú scealt hræðe cýðan,		Thou shalt speedily show
gif þú his ondgitan	3040	if thou understanding of him
æ̅nige hæbbe.		have any."
Næs þá wordlatu		There was no delay
wihte þon mære		more than
þæt se stān tógān,		that the stone split open,
streām út āweoll,	3045	the stream bubbled forth,
fleów ofer foldan,		it flowed over the ground,
fāmige walcan		the foaming billows
mid æ̅rdæge		at break of day
eorðan þehton ;		covered the earth ;
miclade mereflōd,	3050	the sea-flood increased,
meodu scerpen wearð		the mead was spilled
æ̅fter symbeldæge ;		after the day of feasting ;
slæpe tōbrugdon		from sleep burst up
searuhæbbende ;		the warriors ;
sund grunde onfēng	3055	the sea seized on the earth
deópe gedréfed ;		deeply convulsed ;
duguð wearð áfyrhted		terrified were the leaders [flood ;
þurh þæs flōdes fæ̅r ;		thro' the sudden onset of the

fæge swulton		the destined perished
geonge on geofene,	3060	young in the ocean,
gúðræs fornam		the war-rush carried them away
þurh scealtes swég ;		through the tumult of the salt
		wave ;
þæt wæs sorgbyrðen		that was a sorry burthen,
biter beorþegn ;		a bitter service of beer ;
byrlas ne gældon,	3065	the butlers delayed not,
ombiht þegnas,		the attendant thanes,
þær wæs ælcum genóg		there was for each enough
fram dæges orde		from break of day
drync sôna gearu !		of drink prepared !
Weóx wæteres þrym,	3070	Waxed the water's power,
weras cwânedon,		the men lamented,
ealde æsçberend,		the old warriors,
wæs him útmyne		they desired to escape
fleón fealone streám,		to fly from the yellow stream,
woldon feore beorgan,	3075	they would save their lives,
tô dunsçræfum		in mountain caverns
drohtoð sêcan		seek a refuge
eorðan andwist ;		the support of the earth ;
him þæt engel forstôð		them an angel withstood
se þa burh oferbrægd	3080	who spread abroad over the
blâcan lýge		pale fire [town
hâtan heaðowealme ;		hot warlike floods ;
hreôh wæs þærinne		fierce was therein
beátende brim,		the beating sea,
ne mihte beorna hlóð	3085	nor might the troop of men
of þâm fæstenne		from their fastness
fleáme spôwan ;		succeed in flight ;
wêgas weóxon,		the waves waxed,
wadu hlynsodon,		the torrents roared,
flugon fýrgnâstas,	3090	fire-sparks flew aloft,
flóð ýðum weóll ;		the flood boiled with its waves ;
þær wæs ýðfynde		there might easily be found
innan burgum		within the dwellings

geó morgidd wrecen,		a song of sorrow sung,
gehōo mēnan,	3095	misery bemoaned,
forhtferð manig,		many a spirit terrified,
fūsleōð galen !		the death-song sung !
Egeslic æled		The terrible fire
eágsýne wearð,		was visible to the eye,
heardlic hereteám,	3100	the fierce war-offspring,
hleōðor gryneltc !		the horrible noise !
Þurh lyftgelác		Flying through the air
leges blæstas		the blasts of fire
weallas ymbwurpon ;		overwhelmed the walls ;
wæter mi cladon.	3105	the waters increased.
Ðær wæs wōp wera		Then was the cry of men
wide gehýred,		heard afar off,
earnlic ylða gedræg ;		the wretched tumult of mor- tals ;
þá þær an ongann		there then began one
feásceaft hæleð	3110	a wretched man
folc gadorigean,		to gather the people,
heán hygeómor		humble, sad of mind
heófende spræc :		weeping he spake :
Nú ge magon sylfe		“ Now ye yourselves
sōð gecnāwan,	3115	the truth may acknowledge,
þæt we mid unrihte		that we unjustly
ellþeódigne		the stranger
on carcerne		in the prison
clommum belegdon,		loaded with chains,
witebendum ;	3120	with bonds of torment ;
ús seó wyrd scýðeð		us doth fate pursue
heard and hetegrim.		hard and grim in hate.
* * þæt is swā cūð,		* * that is so known,
is hit mícle sēlre,		is it much better,
þæs þe ic sōð talige,	3125	as I the truth repute,
þæt we hine alýsan		that we release him
of leoðobendum,		from his limb-bonds,
calle ánmóde,		all unanimously,

ðfost is sêlôst,		the sooner the better,
and ùs þone hâlgan	3130	and for us from the saint
helpe biddan		implore help
geóce and frófre ;		aid and comfort ;
ùs bífð gearu sóna		soon ready for us will be
sibb æfter sorge		peace after our sorrow
gif we sêcað tó him.	3135	if we seek it at his hands."
Þá þær Andrea		There then to Andrew
ongete wearð		became known
on fyrhðlocan		in his heart
folces gebæro,		the bearing of the people,
þær wæs mðdigra	3140	that there was of the haughty
mægen forbéged,		the power bent,
wigendra þrym ;		the glory of the warriors ;
wæter fæðmedon,		the waters enveloped them,
fleów firgendstreám,		the mountain-torrent flowed,
flóð wæs on luste	3145	the flood had its pleasure
oð þæt breóst oferstág,		until it overtopped the breast,
brim weallende,		the boiling sea,
eorlum oð exle ;		above men's shoulders ;
þa se æðeling hét		then the noble commanded
streámfare stillan,	3150	the water-course to be still,
stormas restan		the storms to rest
ymb stánhleoðu ;		about the hills of stone ;
stóp út hræðe		out quickly stepped he
céne collenferð,		bold and firm of mind,
carcerne ágeaf,	3155	his prison he relinquished,
gleáwmóð gode leóf.		prudent and dear to God.
Him gearu sóna		For him was soon
þurh streámræce		through the stream's course
stræt wæs gerýmed ;		a passage made ;
smeolt wæs se sigewang,	3160	serene was the plain of victory,
symble wæs dryge		at once was dry
folde fram flóde,		the earth from the flood,
swá his fót gestóp.		where his foot stepped.

Wurdon burgware		The inhabitants were
blifde on mōde,	3165	blithe of mood,
ferhðgefeōnde.		in spirit rejoicing.
þā wæs forðcumen		Then was come forth
geōc æfter gyrne,		comfort after sorrow,
geofon swaðrode		the ocean subsided
þurh hāliges hæðs,	3170	through the saint's command,
hlyst yst forgeaf,		the storm gave up its rage,
brimrād gebād,		the sea-road stopped,
þā se beorg tōhlād		then clove the hill
eorðscræf egeslic		a fearful cavern
and þær in forlēt	3175	and there let in
flōd fæðmian,		the flood to be embraced,
fealewe wāgas		the yellow waves
geōtende gegrind		the pouring commotion
grund eall forswalg ;		the abyss swallowed up ;
nalas he þær fðe	3180	yet not the wave
āne bisencte,		alone he plunged beneath,
ah þæs weorudes eac		but also of the host
þā wyrrestan,		the worst,
fā folcsceaðan		the eminent villains,
feowertýne	3185	fourteen
gewiton mid þý wægē		departed with the wave
in forwyrð sceacan		into destruction
under eorðgrund.		under the abyss.
Ðā wearð acolmōd		Then was terrified
forht ferð manig	3190	and afraid many a spirit
folces on lāste,		among the people,
wēndon hie and * *		they thought and * *
wera cwealmes		the slaughter of the men
þearlra geþinga,		of severer conditions,
þræge hnāgran,	3195	a gentler period,
siððan māne fā		since the stained with crime
morðorscyldige,		the guilty of murder,
gūðgelācan,		the war-players,

under grund hruron.		rested under the ground.
Hie þá ánmóde	3200	They then unanimously
ealle cwædon :		all said :
Nú is gesýne		“ Now is it visible
þæt þe sóð meotud		that a true God
cyning eallwihta		King of all creatures
cræftum wealdeð,	3205	powerfully governeth,
se þisne ár		who this messenger
hider onsende		hither hath sent
þeódum tó helpe.		for a help to these nations.
Is nú þearf micel		Now is it very needful
þæt we gumcystum	3210	that we this excellent man
georne hýran.		should gladly hear !”
þá se hálga ongann		Then the saint began
hæleð blissigean		the man to bless
wígendra þreát,		the troop of warriors,
wordum rétan :	3215	with words to comfort :
Ne beoð ge tó forhte		“ Be not ye too terrified
þéh þe fell curen		although death chose
synnigra cynn,		the race of sinners,
swylt þrówode,		death hath suffered, [deeds ;
witu be gewyrtum ;	3220	punishment according to their
eów is wuldres leóht		to you the light of glory
torht ontýned		bright is opened
gíf ge teala hycgað.		if ye think well.”
Sende þa his béne		Then sent he up his prayer
fore bearn godes,	3225	before the Son of God,
bæd háligne		he bade him holy
helpe gefremman		to give help
gumena geógoðe,		to the young men of the people,
þe on geofene ær		who in the ocean before
þurh flódes fæðm	3230	through the flood’s embrace
feorh gesealdon ;		had life given up ;
þæt þá gástas		that their spirits
góde orfeorme,		by God deserted,

and se flōd onsprang.		and the flood departed.
þā gesamnadon	3270	Then collected together
secga þreáte,		in a host of men, [city
weras geond þa winburg		the men throughout the war-
wīde and stīde,		far and wide,
eorlas ānumōde,		the earls with one accord,
and hira idesa mid;	3275	and their wives with them;
cwædon, holdlice		they said obediently
hýran woldon		they would hear
onfón fromlice		and piously receive
fullwihtes bæð		the bath of baptism
dryhtne to willan,	3280	to please the Lord,
and diófolgild,		and their idolatry,
ealde ealhstedeas		their old temples
āforlætan.		would desert.
Ðā wæs mid þý folcē		Then was among the people
fulwiht hæfen	3285	baptism raised
æðele mid eorlum,		noble among the men,
and æ godes		and God's law
riht āræred,		right set up,
ræd on lande		counsel on the land
mid þām ceasterwarum,	3290	among the inhabitants,
cirice gehālgod;		a church consecrated;
þær se ár godes		there God's messenger
āne gesette		placed one
wisfæstne wer		wise man
wordes gleáwne	3295	prudent of speech
in þære beorhtan byrig,		in the bright town,
bisceop þām leódum,		a bishop over the people,
and gehālgode		and hallowed him
fore þam heremægene,		before the host,
þurh apostolhād,	3300	through apostolic power,
Platan nemned,		Plato named,
þeódum on þearfe;		for the people's need;
and þriste bebeád		and boldly commanded

þæt hie his lāre		that they his teaching
læston georne,	3305	should zealously follow,
feorhræd fremedon ;		should do what would benefit their souls ;
sægde his fūsne hyge,		he said his mind was to depart,
þæt he þa goldburg		that he the metropolis
ofgifan wolde,		would desert,
secga seledreám	3310	the joy of halls to the men
and sincgestreón,		and hoarded treasure,
beorht beágselu,		the bright ring-halls,
and him brimpisan		and for himself a ship
æt sæs faroðe		on the sea-shore
sécan wolde.	3315	would seek.
Ðæt wæs þám weorode		That was for the host
weor tó gēpoligenne		miserable to bear
þæt hie se leodfruma		that with them the prince
leng ne wolde		no longer would
wihte gewunian.	3320	at all abide.
Ðá him wuldres god		Then to him the God of glory
on ðám stōfæte		on his journey
sylfum ætýwde		appeared
and þæt word gecwæð		and this word spake
weoroda dryhten :	3325	the Lord of hosts :
* * *		* * *
* * *		* * *
folc of firenum ;		people from their crimes ;
is him fūs hyge,		their mind is ready for death,
gáð geomriende,		sorrowing they go about,
geohðo mánað		their grief lament
weras wif samod.	3330	men and women together."
Him þá wóp becom,		To him the weeping came,
murnende móð		the mourning mood
* * *		* * *
* * *		* * *
fore sneówan.		hasten forth.

Ne scealt þú þæt eowde		Thou shalt not the flock
ánforlætan	3335	desert
on swá niówan gefeán,		in so new a joy,
ah him naman mínne		but in them my name
on ferhðlocan		within their hearts
fæste getimbre ;		fast build up ;
wuna in þære wtnbyrig,	3340	remain in this metropolis,
wigendra hleó,		refuge of warriors,
salu sinchroden,		the halls adorned with treasure,
seofon nihta fyrst,		a space of seven nights,
siððan þú mid mildse		then mayst thou depart
mínre fêrest.	3345	with my grace."
þá eft gewát		Then again departed
óðré siðé		a second time [power
módig mægene róf		the courageous one famed for
Marmedonia		Mermedonia
ceastre sécan.	3360	the city to visit.
Cristenra weóð		Of the Christians waxed
word and wisdóm,		the word and wisdom,
siððan wuldres þegn,		after they the thane of glory,
æðelcyninges Ár,		the messenger of the noble
		King,
eáguni sáwon.	3355	with their eyes beheld.
Lærde þá þa leóde		There he taught the people
on geleáfan weg,		in the way of faith,
trymede torhtlice ;		brightly he confirmed them ;
tíreádigra		of very blessed men
wenede tó wuldre	3360	he gained for glory
weorod unmæte,		an immeasurable multitude,
tó þám hálgan háam,		to the holy home,
heofona ríces,		of heaven's realm,
þær fæder and sunu		where Father and Son
and frófre gast	3365	and Spirit of comfort
in þrínnesse		in trinity
þrymme wealdeð		gloriously rule

in woruld worulda		to all eternity
wuldorgestealda.		the mansions of glory.
Swylce se hálga	3370	Also the saint
herigeas þreáde,		rebuked the multitudes,
deófulgild tódráf		their idolatry he banished
and gedwolan fýlde ;		and their error put down ;
þæt wæs Satane		that was for Satan
sár tó gepolienne,	3375	hard to bear,
micel modes sorg,		a mighty sorrow of mind,
þæt he þá menigeo geseah		when he beheld the many
hweorfan hygeblíðe		turn aside blithe of mood
fram helltrafum		from hell's dwellings
þurh Andreas	3380	through Andrew's
éste lare,		gentle lore,
tó fægeran gefeán ;		unto a fairer joy ;
þær næfre feóndes ne blíð		where never shall be fiend's
gástes gramhydiges		or savage spirit's
gang on lande.	3385	walk upon the land.
Ðá wæron gefylde		Then were fulfilled
æfter freán dóme		according to the Lord's behest
dagas on ríme		the days in number
swá him dryhten bebeád,		as the Lord commanded,
þæt he þá wederburg	3390	that he the city of storms
wunian sceolde ;		should inhabit ;
ongan hine þá fýsan		then began he to prepare
and tó flóte gyrwan,		and to get ready for sailing,
blissum hrémig		rejoicing in bliss
wolde on brimpisan	3395	he would in a ship
Achaie		Achaia
óðré stíðe		a second time
sylfa gesécan,		himself revisit, [soul,
þær he sawulgedál,		when he the separation of the
beaducwealm gebád ;	3400	war-death awaited ;
þæt þám banan ne wearð		that to his murderer was not
hleafre behworfen,		with laughter accompanied,

aþ in helle ceafi		but in the jaws of hell
sið alette,		his journey he placed,
and sið nô,	3405	and never since,
fâh freonda leás,		hostile friendless,
frófre benóhte.		comfort he enjoyed.
Ða ic lædan gefrægn		Then heard I that conducted
leóda weorode		with a troop of men
leófne lâreow	3410	the dear teacher
tô lides stefnan		to the prow of the ship
mæcgas módgeómre ;		the men sad of mood ;
þær manegum wæs		there was it to many a oue
hât æt heortan,		hot at heart,
hyge weallende.	3415	the mind boiling.
Hie þa gebrohton		Then brought they
æt brimes næsse		at the sea-cliffs
on wægþele		into his wave-house
wigan unsláwne ;		the active champion ;
stódon him þa on ófre	3420	they stood there on the shore
æfter reótan		shouting after him
þendon hie on ýðum		as long as they upon the waves
æðelinga wunn		the joy of princes
ofer seolhwáðu		over the seal's paths
geseon mihton ;	3425	could see ;
and þa weorðodon		and there they worshipped
wuldres ágend,		the Lord of glory,
cleopodon on corðre,		they called in companies,
and cwædon þus :		and thus said :
An is éce god	3430	“ One is the eternal God
eallra gesceafta,		of all creatures,
is his miht and his æht		is his might and power
ofer middangeard		throughout the earth
breme gebledsod,		gloriously blessed,
and his blæd ofer eall	3435	and his joy over all
in heofonþrymme		in heaven's majesty
hâlgum scneð,		shineth on his saints,

wl̥tīge on wuldre,		beauteous in glory
tō wīdan ealdre		for ever and ever
ēce mid englum ;	3440	eternally among angels ;
þæt is æðele cyning !		that is a noble king !”

END OF THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

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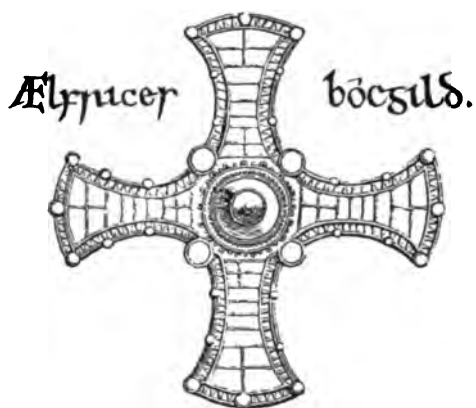
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THE POETRY
OF THE
CODEX VERCELLENIS,

WITH AN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

PART II.

BY
J. M. KEMBLE, M.A.



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INTRODUCTION.

ELENE AND MINOR POEMS.

THE poem of "Elene," the next in extent to that of "Andreas," is, like that, a paraphrase only of an apocryphal legend, which must have been widely current in the Middle Ages. Its real subject is the discovery of the Cross, upon which the Saviour suffered, which was supposed to have been accomplished by the agency of Constantine's mother. This fable was the occasion of a festival celebrated all over Europe, and it is probable that some account of the transaction was in general circulation at a very early period. The source of the poem itself appears to be the Latin Life of Quiriacus or Cyriacus, bishop of Jerusalem, which will be found in the Acta Sanctorum of the 5th May. It is probable that this was itself indebted to a Greek original; a version in that language exists in the Vatican; but it is difficult to say whether the Greek or the Latin was in truth the earlier. As this still remains unpublished, I have been unable to compare more than a few lines of it with the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase; but a close collation of the poem with the Latin legend leaves no doubt as to the origin of the former. Even the gross chronological error which places Constantine's accession early in the third century, is duly copied from the Life of Cyriacus, and every detail is throughout borrowed from it. The following passages, which are all extremely characteristic, deserve parti-

cular attention: the apocryphal *Life*, like the poem, opens thus:—

“Anno ducentesimo tricessimo tertio, post passionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, regnante venerabili Dei cultore magno viro Constantino, in sexto anno regni ejus, gens multa barbarorum congregata est super Danubium, parati ad bellum contra Romaniam,” etc.

There is, however, this distinction, that the *Life* dates from the passion, the poem from the incarnation of our Lord; but the number of years is the same; and this of itself seems proof enough that the Anglo-Saxon was indebted to this original, but wandered from it, in consequence of the author being unacquainted with the era of the passion.

Still more striking is the correspondence, in a dialogue between Judas (Cyriacus) and Elene, in which the queen refers to the History of the Trojan war, and which stands thus in the *Life*: “Judas dixit, Quemadmodum habetur in gestis, sunt jam anni ducenti plus minusve, et nos, cum simus juniores, quomodo possumus haec nosse? Beata Helena dixit: Quomodo ante tantas generationes in Ilio et Troade factum est bellum, et omnes nunc commemorantur, qui ibi sunt mortui; et monumenta eorum et loca scriptura tradit? Judas dixit: Vere, Domina, quia conscripta sunt: nos autem non habemus haec conscripta.”

The author of the poem, who of himself would assuredly never have thought about the Trojan war, carefully reproduces the Empress's argument:—*Hú is ðæt geworden,—on ðisse werþeóde,—ðæt ge swá monigfeald—on gemynd witon—alra tǎcna gehwylc,—swá Troiana—þurh gefeoht fremedon;— . . . ge ðæt geare cunnou—edre gereccan,—hwæt ðær eallra wæs—on manríme,—morðorslehtes,—dareðlácendra,—deádra gefeallen—under bordhagan;—ge ða byrgenna,—under stánhleóðum,—and ða stówe swá some,—and ða wintergerim,—on gewritu setton.*

When Judas has agreed to reveal the place where the cross

is hid, and proves its genuineness by raising with it a man from the dead, the Devil, enraged at this further attack upon his rights, is made to interfere in person. The Life says :—
 “ Sed omnium bonorum semper avidus Diabolus cum furore vociferabatur in aëre, dicens: Quis iterum hic est, qui non permittit me suscipere animas meorum ? ” etc.

The poem follows this, word for word. Ðá ðær ligesynnig—on lyft ástáh—lácende feónd ;—ongan ðá hleoðrian—helle deófol,—eatol aclæca,—yfela gemyndig :—Hwæt is ðis lá manna, etc.

A difficult passage, with respect to the disposal of the nails, with which the Saviour was fastened to the cross, is explained by the Latin original : it contains, in fact, a quotation from the prophet Zacharias, xiv. 20 :—“ Ut id quod dictum est per Prophetam impleatur, Et erit in illo die quod est in freno equi Sanctum Domini vocabitur.” The lines in the poem are 2384 and the following.

Finally, the Life concludes with this passage :—“ Beata autem Helena dona multa derelinquens sancto episcopo Cyriaco ad ministerium pauperum, dormivit in pace, septimo decimo Kalendas Maii ; demandans omnibus qui Christum diligunt, viris ac mulieribus, celebrare commemorationem diei, in qua inventa est sancta Crux quinto nonarum Majorum. Quicumque vero memoriam faciunt sanctæ Crucis, accipiant partem cum Dei genitrice Sancta Maria, et cum Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum.”

This is also the real conclusion of the poem ; the fifteenth canto of which is a mere personal adjunct of the author, claiming in fact, for himself, the benefits thus attached by Elene to the celebration of the Cross. It is in this portion of the work that a kind of *Rebus* is introduced in Anglo-Saxon Runes, revealing to us the name of the author, and leading us also to identify him with the writer of some poems (if not all) of the Codex Exoniensis.

There is nothing at all unusual either in the manner in which this subject is here treated, or in the language. It appears to be of the eleventh century, or at earliest, very late in the tenth; and this answers very well to Dr. Pauli's assertion, that the MS. was carried to Vercelli at a period very much later than the Norman conquest. The remains of heathendom, which are found in very many expressions, applied to Christian ideas, seem merely to belong to the traditional language of Anglo-Saxon poetry. They are, however, very numerous in this composition; and on this account, the Vercelli poems are of very high value for philological purposes.

Before I proceed to say a few words of the Minor Poems, I may be allowed to call attention to an interesting variation of Elene's legend, which I have found in one of the many MSS. of the Cursor Mundi, and which is not met with in any other version of that poem which I have seen. The MS. to which I allude is in the University Library of Göttingen: it is of the thirteenth century, and contains a copy of the Cursor, very remarkable for the strong Northern dialect in which it is written. The episode to which I more particularly allude, connects the Recovery of the Cross with the celebrated tale of the Merchant and the Pound of Flesh. It will not be thought out of place here, especially as it is an interesting monument of one phase of our English tongue:—

HELEN AND THE CROSS.

þis leuedi had þat time hir wid
 a cristen man was god goldsmith,
 Quatkin thing als scho wald muth
 make till hir ful well he cutht;
 bot pouer he was and hard ð dett
 till a iuu, and terme had sett
 a sume of mone for to amunt,
 þat askid him ful hard acunt.
 It was wele sene þat it wa^s hard,

for he hī asked wid sli forward
 if he his mone moght noght gete,
 þat he suld ʒeild hī for his dett
 þat ilke wegt þat þar war less
 he suld ʒeild of his aun fless.
 Þe dai es gan þat dett vnq̄itt,
 þe bodi most bileue nu for itt ;
 þe cristen dred ful sare for pine,
 bot þe iuu wald neuer fine ;
 bath to þe quene curt þai come ;
 þe iuu thral bad giue him dome,
 scharp knif in hand he bar,
 þe cristen man stod nakid þar ;
 þai all wald has agaī hī boght,
 bot gant of iuu ne gat þai noght ;
 of ransun na mare þan a rish
 wald he of here, bot of his fless.

þan said Benciras and Ansiers :
 þu sal haue broþ⁹ all þat þe fers ;
 þe quene has bidden vs to deme
 to þe all þat to right is queme.
 Sai me hu þu wile him dight
 if þat he be dempt to þe wid right ?
 Hu said þe iuu bot bi mi lay
 þe werist þat euer i can or may ;
 his eien frist putt vte i sall
 and his hend þ^t he werkis wid all,
 tung and nese and siþen þe lau
 till þat i mi couenand haue.
 þe messengeris hin gaue ansuere :
 þan semis naght þu wil hī spare ;
 take þan þe fless þat grantes he
 sua þat þe blod may saued be ;
 a drope of blod if þat he tine
 we giue vr dome þe wrang es þine ;
 quat sum his fless was sald or boght
 his blod to sell he neu¹ thoght :
 ʒeld ʒe þe fless he es wele vnknaun,

sauue hī þe blod þat es his aun.
 þan said þat iuu, bi sāt drightin,
 me þinc þe wers part es min ;
 fordon ʒe haue me wid ʒour dome
 þat ʒe remains broght fra Rome :
 mauger þarfor mot þai haue
 all þat suilk a dome me gaue.
 Bensiras þan said, parfay
 all has þis curt þe herd missay
 me and mi laūd sir Ansire,
 þu has missaid vs in þin ire ;
 and we will missay þe na wight
 bot ellis of þe we will haf right ;
 þe quene has sent vs hider to
 þis curt rightwisnes for to do,
 and soþfastnes haue we þe said,
 þarfor has þu nu vs missaid.
 þe quene bad widvten lett
 þe iugement þai suld þā sett,
 for sekir was scho þan of site
 þat þe cristen man was quite.
 þe iuu was dempt sua þat þe quene
 suld haue his catel al bidene,
 in her merci his tung to take
 þat in her curt sli missau make.
 þe iuu him thocht selcuthli tene
 at þis dome þat was sua kene,
 and said on, hij all might here :
 me war leuer ʒou for to lere
 quar lijs ʒour laūd rode tre
 þan dampned sua sone to be.
 Godd wate nu freind, þan said Eline,
 þu sal be quitt of alkin pine,
 if þu will do als i þe bidd
 to scheu vs quar þat crois es hid.—fol. 286.

Of the Minor Poems, the only one that seems to call for any particular notice is that entitled "The Holy Rood." It

is in some respects the most striking of all the Anglo-Saxon remains, inasmuch as a departure from the mere conventional style of such compositions is very perceptible in it. It contains some passages of real poetical beauty, and a good deal of fancy. Indeed were anything still wanting to convince me of the comparatively late date of these compositions, I should find the proof of it in the tone and character of this very poem. But what gives it its principal interest is, that it contains several passages which answer in the closest manner to the Runic inscription upon the Cross at Ruthwell, which I, with more or less accuracy, deciphered many years ago, and of which an account was given in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxviii. pp. 327-372. I am happy to say, that, through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Haigh, I have received better and fuller readings of this inscription than were accessible sixteen years ago, and I trust that I shall yet find a time to make use of them in a complete treatise upon the use of Runes in this country. Suffice it here to say, that Mr. Haigh's additions render the correspondence between the poem of the Vercelli Codex and the Ruthwell inscription still more clear and extensive than was previously known to us.

The poem entitled "The Departed Soul's Address to the Body," is found with some variations also in the Codex Exoniensis. It is remarkable that the fragment breaks off in both Codices with the same word; an argument perhaps, that both collections of poems are by the same person, namely that Cynewulf, who has recorded his name in both by means of Runes.

In the formation of the Anglo-Saxon text, I have made no more alteration of the MS. reading than was necessary to restore the grammatical forms, where they appeared to have suffered from the carelessness of transcribers. This license, which must be allowed to every editor, is absolutely necessary, if a true reading is to be attained.

It is much to be feared that little more of our oldest poetical literature will henceforth be discovered, unless indeed some treasure should still lurk in the crypts of the Vatican. The greater part of the European libraries have of late years been so carefully investigated, that no reasonable expectation can be entertained of any great *find* in them, for the future. Still the amount which we possess is very great; no other Teutonic race, except the Scandinavian, has anything comparable to it in extent, to show, from so early a period. The activity with which in this country our ancient remains have been brought to light, is now worthily emulated in Germany, where several sound and industrious scholars are busying themselves with the study of Anglo-Saxon. Bouterwek and Ettmüller are particularly entitled to our thanks for the pains which they have devoted to the illustration of this fine old tongue. May the publication of this little volume bring them a few more aids to their labours!

ELENE,

OR

THE RECOVERY OF THE CROSS.

I.

ÐÂ wæs âgangen
geara hwyrftum
tû hund and þreô
geteled rîmes
swylce þrittig eác
þinggemearces,
wintra for worulde,
ðæs ðe wealdend god
âcenned wearð,
cýninga wuldor,
in middangeard
þurh mennisc heô,
sôðfæstra leóht.
Ðâ wæs syxte gear
Constantînes
câserdômes,
ðæt he Rômwara
in rîce wearð
âhæfen hildfruma
tô heretêman.
Wæs se leóðhwate,
VERC.

I.

THERE were passed
in the circuits of years
two hundred and three
of counted number
5 and thirty more
of appointed time,
of years in the world,
since mighty God
was born,
10 the glory of kings,
into the earth
in shape of man,
the light of the faithful.
Then was the sixth year
15 of Constantine's
imperial power,
that he in the empire
of the Romans was
a warlike prince elected
20 as their general.
The very brave man,
B

<p> lindgeborga eorlum árfæst ; æðelinges weóx ríce under roderum : he wæs riht cyning, gúðweard gumena. Hine god trymede mærdum and mihtum ðæt he manegum wearð geond middangeard mannum tó hróðre, werþeódum tó wræce stíððan wæpen áhóf wið hetendum. Him wæs hild boden wíges womá ; werod samnodon Húna leóde, and Hreðgotan fóron fyndhwate, Francan and Húnas ; wæron hwate weras gearwe tó gúðe : gáras lixton, wriðene wæhlencan, wordum and bordum hófon herecombol. Ðá wæron hearingas sweotole gesamnod and eal swéot geador. Fór folca gedryht, fyrdleóð ágól wulf on walde, wælrúne ne máð ; </p>	<p> the chieftain was faithful to the men ; the noble's power waxed under the heavens : he was a just king, a warlike guardian of men. Him God confirmed in glory and might so that he became to many men throughout the earth a support, a chastisement to the nations when he raised his arms against his foes. To him was war proclaimed the rushing sound of battle ; their force collected the people of the Huns, and the Hreðgoths marched bold to fight, Franks and Huns ; brave were the men ready to the war : their javelins lightened, the twisted chains of slaughter, with words and shields they raised the warlike ensign. Then were the heroes openly collected and all the multitude together. The troop of people went, a war-song sung the wolf in the wood, he shrank not from the <i>rune</i> [of slaughter ; </p>
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<p> ūrigfeðera earn sang áhóf láðum on láste ; lungre scýnde ofer burg enta beadupreáta mæst, hergum tó hilde, swylce Hūna cyning ymb sittendra áhwer meahte ábannan tó beadwe, burgwígendra. Fór fyrda mæst fêðan trymedan eóred cestum, ðæt on ælfylce deareðlácende, on Danúbie, stearcedfyrhðe, stæðe wicedon ymb ðæs wæteres wylm. Werodes breahhtme woldon Rómwara rice geþringan, hergum áhýðan. Ðær wearð Hūna cyme cūð ceasterwarum. Ðá se cásere hêht ongean gramum gúð gelæcan under earhfære, ófstum miclum bannan tó beadwe, beran út þræce rincas under roderum. </p>	<p> dewy-feathered the eagle raised his song upon the track of the foe ; 60 quickly went over the city of giants the greatest of war-troops, with armies to battle, whomsoever the king of Huns 65 of the surrounding people anywhere could summon to the fight, of warriors. The greatest of armies marched 70 the infantry were strong in chosen bands, until in a foreign land the dart-players, upon the Danube, 75 strong of courage, bivouacked on the shore about the bubbling water. With the furious noise of their they would the Romans' [host 80 power oppress, and with their armies lay waste. Then was the coming of the known to the citizens. [Huns Then commanded the emperor 85 against the foe war to move under the passage of the arrow, with great haste to summon to battle, 90 to bear out their power men under heaven. </p>
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<p> Wæron Romware, secgas sigerófe, sóna gegearwod wæpnum tó wigge, ðeáh hie werod læsse hæfdon tó hilde ðonne Húna cyning, ridon ymb rófne, ðonne rand dynede, campwudu clynede, cyning þreáte fór herge tó hilde. Hræfen uppe gól wan and wæfel, werod wæs on tyhte, hleówon hornboran, hreópon friccan, mearh moldan træd, mægen samnode cafe tó ceáse. Cyning wæs áfyrhted eguan geaclad, siððan elþeódige Húna and Hreða here sceáwedon, ðæt he on Romwara ríces ende, ymb ðæs wæteres stæð werod samnode, mægen unríme. Módsorge wæg Romwara cyning, ríces ne wénde for werodlſate, hæfde wígena tó lýt, </p>	<p> The Romans were, men glorious with victory, soon prepared 95 with weapons for the fight, though they a lesser force had to the war than the king of Huns, they rode about the famous one, 100 then rang the shield, the war-wood sounded, the king went with his company his army to battle. The raven sang aloud 105 dusky and greedy of slaughter, the army was on the march, the trumpeters sounded, the heralds shouted, the horse trod the ground, 110 his strength he collected actively for the fight. The king was affrighted sickened with terror, after the strangers 115 of the Huns and Hreths beheld the army, how on the Roman empire's end, upon the water's shore 120 a host collected, an innumerable power. Mind-sorrow weighed the king of Romans, success he expected not 125 for want of troops, he had too few warriors, </p>
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eaxlgestealna,		comrades,
wið ofermægene,		against superior power,
hróra tó hilde.		active to battle.
Here wicode	130	The army halted
eorlas ymb æðeling		the warriors round the noble
ægstreáme neáh,		near the ocean-stream,
on neáweste,		in presence,
nihhtlangne first,		a whole night long,
ðæs ðe hie feónða gefær	135	when they the enemies march
fyrrest gesægon.		first saw.
Þá wearð on slæpe		Then was in sleep
sylfum ætýwed		revealed
ðám cásere		unto the emperor himself
ðær he on corðre swæf,	140	where he slept among his troop,
sigerófum gesegen		by the victorious one was seen
swefnes wóma.		the rush of the dream.
Þáhte him wlitescýne		To him appeared, beauteous
on weres háde		in the form of a man
hwít and hîwbeorht,	145	white and bright of hue,
hæleða náthwylc		I know not what hero
ge-ýwed, ænlícra		revealed, more fair
ðonne he ær oððe stð		than he before or since
gesege under swegle :		had seen beneath the firmament:
he of slæpe onbrægd	150	he woke up from sleep [helm.
eofurcumble beþeaht.		covered with his boar-shaped
Him se ár hraðe,		Him soon the messenger,
wlitig wuldres boda,		the bright messenger of glory,
wiðþingode,		addressed,
and be naman nemde,	155	and named him by his name,
nihthelm tóglád :		the helm of night departed :
Constantinus,		“ Constantinus, [me,
héht ðe cyning engla,		to thee the king of angels bids
wyrda wealdend,		the wielder of fate,
wære beóðan,	160	his covenant offer,
duguða dryhten ;		the lord of dignities ;

ne ondræd ðú ðe		dread not thou
ðeáh ðe elþeóðige		though thee the strangers
egesan hwópan,		terribly threaten,
heardre hilde.	165	with hard war.
Ðá to heofenum beseoh		Look thou to heaven
on wuldres weard,		on the ward of glory,
ðær ðú wraðe findest		there shalt thou find my track
sigores tácen.		token of triumph."
He wæs soná gearu	170	He was soon ready
þurh ðæs hálgan hæð,		by the holy one's command,
hreðerlocan onspeón,		he opened his thought-locks,
úþ locade		he looked up [him,
swá him se ár ábeád,		as the messenger commanded
fæle friðowebba.	175	the gentle weaver of peace.
Geseah he frætwwum beorht		He saw, bright with ornaments
wlitig wuldres treó		the beauteous tree of glory
ofer wolcna hróf		above the roof of heaven
golde geglenged ;		adorned with gold ;
gimmas lixton.	180	the gems lightened.
Wæs se bláca beám		The pale beam
bócstafum áwriten,		was inscribed with letters,
beorhte and leóhte :		bright and light :
Mid ðýs beácné ðú		" With this sign thou
on ðám frécnan fære	185	in the fierce journey
feónd oferswiððest,		thy foe shalt overcome,
geletest láð werod !		shalt stop the hostile force !"
Ðá ðæt leóht gewát,		Then vanished the light,
úþ stðode,		up it departed,
and se ár somed	190	and with it the messenger
on cláenra gemang.		into the company of the pure.
Cyning wæs ðý blitðra		The king was the blither
and ðe sorgleásra,		and the freer from sorrow,
secga aldor,		prince of men,
on fyrhðsefan,	195	in his mind,
þurh ða fægeran gesihð.		through the fair vision.

II.

Héht ðá onlice,
 æðelinga hleo
 beorna beággifa,
 swá he ðæt beácen geseah, 200
 herna hildfruma,
 ðæt him on heofonum ær
 ge-ŷwed wearð,
 ófstum miclum,
 Constantínus, 205
 Cristes rôde,
 ttreádig cyning,
 tácen gewyrca.
 Héht ðá on uhtan,
 mid ærdæge
 wigend weccan,
 and wæpenþræce,
 heorucumbul,
 and ðæt hálige treó
 him beforan fèrian 215
 on feónða gemang,
 beran beácen godes.
 Býman sungon
 hlúde for hergum :
 hræfn weorces gefeáh, 220
 úrig feðra
 earn stð beheóld,
 wælhreówra wig :
 wulf sang áhof,
 holtes gehléða ;
 hildegesa stód :
 ðær wæs borda gebrec
 and beorna geprec,
 heard handgeswing,

II.

Then commanded one like,
 the refuge of warriors
 the ring-giver of men,
 as he the beacon had seen,
 warrior chief of proud ones,
 which to him in heaven before
 was shown,
 with great speed,
 205 Constantine,
 Christ's cross,
 the glorious king,
 a token to work. [twilight,
 Then commanded he in the
 210 with early dawn
 the warriors to wake,
 and the power of weapons,
 the warlike ensigns,
 and the holy tree
 215 to carry before him
 into the midst of the foes,
 God's beacon to bear.
 The trumpets sung
 loud before the hosts :
 220 the raven rejoiced in the work,
 dewy-feathered
 the eagle watched their march,
 the war of the fierce men :
 the wolf uplifted his song,
 225 the denizen of the forest ;
 the terror of war stood :
 there was clash of shields
 and crush of men,
 hard hand-swing,

<p>and herga gring, siððan heó earhfære ærest mætton ; on ðæt fæge folc flána scuras, gâras ofer geolorand, on gramra gemang, hetend heorugrimme, hilde nædran þurh fingra geweald forð onsendon : stópoð stóhydige, stundum wræcon, bræcon bordhreoðan, bil indufon ; þrungon þræchearde. Ðá wæs þuf hafen, segen for sweótum, sigeleóð galen, gylden gríma, gâras lixton on herefelda, háðene grungon, feóllon friðeleáse ; flugon instæpes Húna leóde swá ðæt hálige treó áráran héht Rómwara cyning, heaðofremmende : wurdon hearingas wíde tówrecene, sume wíg fornam, sume unsófte aldor generedon</p>	<p>230 and crash of armies, after the arrows' course they first encountered ; on the fated band the showers of arrows, 235 javelins over the yellow shield, into the midst of their foes, the fierce adversaries, snakes of war [fingers through the power of their 240 sent forth : intent on their course they went, from time to time they drove, they broke the wall of shields, they plunged the bill ; 245 the bold in battle thronged. Then was the banner upheared, an ensign before the crowds, the song of triumph sung, a golden helmet, 250 the javelins flashed upon the battle-field, the heathen stormed, joyless they fell ; fled at once 255 the people of the Huns as the holy tree commanded to uplift the king of Romans, doing deeds of war : 260 then were the warriors wide dispersed, some war ravished away, some with difficulty rescued their lives</p>
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on ðám herestðe :	265	in the expedition :
sune healfwice		some half alive
flugon on fæsten		fled to the fastness
and feore burgon		and their lives preserved
after stánclifum,		among the stone cliffs,
stede weardedon	270	they kept the place
ymb Danúbie :		about the Danube :
sune drenc fornam		some drowning seized
on lagostreáme		in the lake-stream
lifes æt ende.		at their lives' end.
Ðá wæs módigra	275	Then was the might
mægen on luste,		of the fierce ones rejoiced,
ehton elpeóða		they pursued the strangers
oð ðæt æfen forð		until evening forth
fram dægese orde,		from break of day,
darodæsc flugon,	280	the ashen darts flew,
hilde nædran :		snakes of battle :
heáp wæs gescyrted,		the crowd was diminished,
láðra lindvered,		the shielded troop of foes,
lythwon becwom		few returned
Hûna herges	285	of the Hunnish army
hám eft ðanon.		home from thence.
Ðá wæs gesýne		There was seen
ðæt sige forgeaf		that victory gave
Constantine,		to Constantine,
cyning ælmihtig,	290	the almighty king,
æt ðám dægweorce		at that day's work
dómweorðunga,		dignity,
rice under rodérum		power under heaven
þurh his róde treó.		through his cross. [hosts
Gewát ðá heriga helm	295	Then went the protector of
hám eft ðanon		home again thence
húðe hrémig,		exulting in the spoil,
hild wæs gesceáden,		the war was decided,
wigge geweorðod.		glorified in battle.

<p>com ða wígena hleo þegna þreáte, þryðbord scénan, beadurðf cyning burga neósan. Héht þá wígena weard, ða wisestan snúde tó sionoðe, ða ðe snyttrocraeft þurh fyrngewrito gefrigen hæfdon, heóldon hygeþancum hæleða ráðas. Ða ðæs fricggan ongan folces aldor, sigerðf cyning, ofer sid weorod : wære ðær ænig yldra oððe gingra ðe him tó sóðe secggan meahste, galdrum cýðan, hwæt se god wære, boldes brytta, ðe ðis his beácon wæs : ðe me swá leóht oðýwde and míne leóde generede, tákna torhtóst, and me tír forgeaf, wígsþéd wið wráðum, þurh ðæt wlitige treó ? Hió him andsware ænige ne meahston ágifan tó gènes, ne ful geare cūðon</p>	<p>300 Then came the refuge of war- with a troop of thanes, [riors to crush the strong shield, the king famous in war to visit his towns. 305 Then called the lord of warriors, the wisest quickly to a synod, they who wisdom through ancient writings 310 had learned, held in their thoughts the counsels of men. Then began to enquire the prince of the people, 315 the victorious king, throughout his wide host : “ were there any old or young who him for sooth 320 might tell, might by divination inform, what were the god, the lord of the house, whose this beacon was : which seemed to me so light and saved my people, of signs the brightest, and gave me glory, success in war against my foes, through that beauteous tree ? ” 330 But they him answer any could not give again, nor fully knew</p>
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sweótole gesecggan	335	clearly to tell
be ðám sigbeácne.		about the victorious sign.
Ðá ða wísestan		Then the wisest
wordum cwædon		spake with words
for ðám heremægene,		before the host,
ðæt hit heofoncyniges	340	that it heaven-king's
tácen wære,		token were,
and ðæs tweó náere.		and no doubt about it.
Ðá ðæt gefrugnon,		They had learnt that,
ða þurh fulwihte		who through baptism
lærde wæron :	345	were taught :
him wæs leóht sefa,		light was their mind,
ferhð gefeðnde,		their spirit rejoicing,
þeáh hira feá wæron,		though few they were,
ðæt hie for ðám cásere		that they before the emperor
cýðan móston	350	were allowed to proclaim
godspelles gife,		the grace of the gospel,
hú se gásta helm,		how the lord of spirits,
in þrínese		in Trinity
þrymme geweorðad,		powerfully glorified,
ácenned wearð,	355	was born,
cyniga wuldor,		glory of kings,
and hú on galgan wearð		and how upon the cross
godes ágen bearn		was God's own son
áhangen for hergum		hung up before the hosts
heardum wítum :	360	with cruel pains :
álýsde leóða bearn		released the sons of men
of locan deófla,		from the locks of devils,
geómre gástas,		sorrowing spirits,
and him gife sealde		and gave them grace
þurh ða ilcan gesceaft,	365	through the same creature,
ðe him ge-ýwed wearð		that had been shown
sylfum on gesihðe,		unto himself in vision,
sigores táce		with the token of victory
wið þeóða þræce ;		against the power of men ;

<p>and hū ðý þridan dæge 370 of byrgenne beorna wuldor of deáðe áras, dryhten ealra hæleða cynnes, and tó hefonum ástáh. Ðús gleáwlíce gástgerýnum sægdon sigerófum, swá fram Siluestre lærde wæron, æt ðám se leódfuma fulwihte onfeng and ðæt forð geheóld on his dagana tíð dryhtne tó willan.</p>	<p>and how on the third day from out the sepulchre the glory of heroes arose from death, the Lord of all 375 the race of men, and ascended into heaven. Thus prudently in spiritual mysteries they told the glorious victor, 380 as by Silvester they had been taught, from whom the prince received baptism and held it thenceforth 385 all his days at the Lord's good pleasure.</p>
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III.

Ðá wæs on sálum
sinces brytta,
nřðheard cyning,
wæs him niwe gefeá
befolen in fyrhðe,
wæs him frófra mæst,
and lyht nihst
heofonríces weard.
Ongan ðá dryhtnes æ
dæges and nihtes,
þurh gástes gife
georne cýðan,
and hine sóðlice
sylfne getengde,
goldwine gumena,

III.

Then rejoiced
the lord of treasure,
the stern king,
390 new joy to him
was given in his spirit,
his was greatest of comfort,
and hope nearest
the ward of heaven's kingdom.
395 He began then the Lord's law
day and night,
through spiritual grace
gladly to proclaim,
and truly
400 himself compelled,
prince of men,

<p>in godes þeowdom, æscróf, unslaw. þā se æðeling fand, leódgebyrga, þurh lārsmiðas, gúðheard, gárþrist, on godes bōcum, hwær āhangen wæs, heriges beorhtme, on rōde treow rodera waldend, æfstum þurh inwit : swā se ealda feond forlærde lygesearwum, leode fortyhte Judæa cyn, ðæt hie gód sylfne āhengon herga fruman, ðæs hie in hynðum sculon to wīdan feore wergðu dreógan. þā wæs Cristes lof ðām cāsere on firhðsefan forð gemyndig, ymb ðæt mære treó ; and ðā his mōdor hét fēran foldwege folca þreáte tō Judeum, georne sēcan wīgena þreáte, hwær se wuldres beám hālig under hrusan hýded wære,</p>	<p>into God's service, active, spear-renowned. Then the noble found, 405 the protector of his people, through lore-smiths, [lins, the warlike, bold among jave- in God's books, where was hanged, 410 by the tumult of a host, upon the cross the lord of glory, enviously through guilt : so the old fiend 415 seduced with lying snares, and led astray the people the race of Jews, that they God himself hung up, the prince of hosts, wherefore shall they in misery for ever and ever suffer damnation. Then was Christ's praise by the emperor 425 in his spirit still borne in mind, concerning the mighty tree ; and then he commanded his to journey by land [mother 430 with a troop of people to the Jews, diligently to seek with a troop of warriors, where the tree of glory 435 holy under the earth was hidden,</p>
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æðelcyninges rōd.		the cross of the noble king.
Elene ne wolde		Elene would not
ðæs stōfates		about that journey.
sæne weorðan,	440	be slow,
ne ðæs wilgifan		nor her dear prince's
word gehyrwan,		word despise,
hiere sylfne suna ;		her own son's ;
ac wæs sōna gearu		but soon was ready
wif on wilstō,	445	the woman for her glad journey,
swā hire weoruda helm		as her the prince of armies
byrnwiggendra		of mailed warriors
beboden hæfde.		had commanded.
Ongan ðā ðfstlice		Quickly then began
eorla mengu	450	the multitude of warriors
tō flote fýsan ;		to the fleet to hasten ;
fearoðhengestas		the sea-stallions
ymb geofenes stæð		about the ocean-shore
gearwe stódon,		stood ready,
sælde sāmearas	455	bridled sea-horses
sunde getenge.		close to the wave.
Ðā wæs oncnæwe		Then was declared
idese stōfæt,		the lady's expedition,
siððan wæges holm		when the deep sea-wave
werode gesóhte ;	460	with her troop she sought ;
ðær wlanc manig		there many a proud one
æt Wendelsæ		at the Wendelsea
on stæðe stódon,		stood on the shore,
stundum wræcon		sometimes they wandered
ofer mearcwaðu	465	through the march-paths
mægen æfter oðrum,		troop after troop,
and ðā gehlódon		and there they loaded
hilde sercum,		with war-shirts,
bordum and ordum,		with shields and swords,
byrnwīgendum,	470	with mailed warriors,
werum and wífum,		with men and women,

wæghengestas.		the ocean-stallions. [wave
Læton ða ofer fifelwæg		They let then over the ocean-
fæmige scrīðan		foamy go
bronte brimpisan.	475	the bubbling seabaters.
Bord oft onfēng		Oft the bord received
ofer earhgeblond,		over the mingling of ears,
ƿða swengas :		the blows of the waves :
sæ swinsade.		the sea murmured.
Ne hȳrde ic sið nē ær	480	Never heard I before or since
on ēgstreāme		that on the ocean-stream
idese lædan		a lady led
on meres stræte		upon the sea-street
mægen fægerre.		a fairer power.
Ðær meahte gesiōn,	485	There might he see,
se ðone sið beheōld,		who beheld the journey,
brecan ofer bæðweg,		break over the bathway,
brimwudu myrgan		the sea-wood rejoice
under swellingum,		under the swelling waves,
sæmearh plegau,	490	the sea-horse play,
wadan wægflotan.		the wave-float wade.
Wīgan wæron bliðe		Blithe were the warriors
collenferhðe,		bold of spirit, [ney,
cwen siðes gefeah,		the queen rejoiced in her jour-
siððau tō hȳðe	495	when to the shore
hringedstefnan		the ringed-prowed barks
ofer lagofæsten		over the lake-fortress
geliden hæfdon,		had sailed,
on Crēca land.		upon the land of Greece.
Ceōlas læton	500	They let the keels
æt sæfearoðe		at the sea-shore
sande bewrecene,		covered with sand,
ald ƿðhōfu		their old wave-dwellings
oncrum fæste		fast at anchor
on brime bīdan	505	by the sea abide
beorna gepīnges,		the conference of warriors,

hwone heoð sið gúðcwen gumena þreáte ofer eástwegas eft gesóhte. þær wæs on eorle eð gesýne brogden byrne and billgécóst, geatolic gúðscrúð, grímhelm manig, ænlíc eoforcumbul ; wæron æscwýgan, secggas ymb sigecwen, stóðes gefýsde, fyrdrincas frome fóron on luste on Créca land, cáseres bodan, hilde ríncas hyrstum gewerede. þær wæs gesýne sincgim locen on ðám hereþreáte, hláfordes gifu. Wæs seó eáðhrédige Elene gemyndig, þriste on geþance, þeóðnes willan, georn on móde ðæt hió Judéas ofer herefeldas, heápe gecóste lindwígendra, land gesóhte secga þreáte :	when she the warrior-queen with her troop of men over the eastern ways again should seek them. 510 There was on the man easy to be seen the twisted mail-shirt and the chosen bill, 515 the ready war-dress, many a helmet, beauteous boar-shaped ensign ; the spearmen were, [queen, the men about the victorious 520 intent upon the march, bold soldiers joyously advanced upon the Grecian land, the emperor's messengers, 525 heroes in war furnished with ornaments. There was seen the locked treasure-gem in the warlike company, 530 the lord's gift. The generous Elene was mindful, bold of thought, of her prince's will, 535 ready of mood the Jews over the battle-fields, with a chosen company of shielded warriors, 540 their land to seek with a troop of men :
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swá hit siððan gelamp		so it afterwards befel
ymb lytel fæc		after a little time
þæt ðæt leódmægen,		that the power of the people,
gûðrófe hæleð,	545	warriors famous in war,
tō Hierusalém		to Hierusalem
cwómon, in ðá ceastre,		came, to the city,
corðra mæste,		with the greatest of companies,
eorlas æscrófe,		men famous with the spear,
mid ðá æðelan cwen.	550	together with the noble queen.

IV.

Héht þá gebeóðan
 bursittendum,
 ðám snóterestum
 side and wide
 geond Judéas,
 gumena gehwylcum,
 méðelhegende
 on gemót cuman,
 ðá ðe deóplícóst
 dryhtnes gerýno
 þurh rihte æ
 reccan cūðon.
 Ðá wæs gesamnod
 of sídwegum
 mægen unlytel
 ða ðe Moyses æ
 reccan cūðon :
 þær on ríme wæs
 þreó þúsend
 ðæra leóða
 álesen tō láre.
 Ongan ðá leóflíc wif
 weras Ebréa

VERC.

IV.

Then bad she summon
 the inhabitants,
 the wisest
 far and wide
 555 throughout Judea,
 every man,
 forming a parliament
 to the gemót to come,
 those who deepest
 560 the Lord's secrets
 through right law
 could relate.
 Then was collected
 from afar
 565 no little power of men
 who Moses' law
 could relate :
 there were in number
 three thousand
 570 of the people
 collected to lore.
 Then began the dear woman
 the Hebrews

c

wordum negan :		with words to approach :
Ic ðæt gearolice	575	“ I have already
ongiten hæbbe,		understood that,
þurg witgena		through the mysterious words
wordgerfno		of prophets
on godes bócum,		in God's books,
ðæt ge geárdagum	580	that ye of yore
wyrðe wæron		were held in estimation
wuldorcyninge,		by the king of glory,
dryhtne dýre		dear to the Lord
and dæðhwæte.		and bold of deeds.
Hwæt ge ðære [swicon]	585	Lo ye fell off
snyttro unwislice,		unwisely from that wisdom, . . .
wrãðe wiðweorpon		foolishly ye rejected it
ða ge wergdon ðane		when ye tormented him
ðe eow of wergðe		whom you from torment
þurh his wuldres miht,	590	through his glorious might,
fram ligcwale		from fiery death
lýsan þohte,		thought to release,
of hæftnéde :		from captivity :
ge mid horu speowdon		ye with shame spewed
on ðæs andwlitan	595	on his face
ðe eow eágena leóht		who the light of your eyes
fram blindnesse		from blindness
bóte gefremede		healed
edniówunga þurh		anew through
ðæt æðele spadl,	600	his noble spittle,
and fram unclænum		and from unclean
oft generede		spirits of devils
deofla gástum :		often healed you :
ge deáðe ðone		you to death
déman ongunnon	605	began to doom him
se ðe of deáðe sylf		who himself from death
woruld áwehte		awoke the world
on wera corðre,		in the company of men,

in ðæt ærre lif		into that earlier life
eðwres cynnes.		of your race.
Swà ge môðblinde	610	Thus ye blind of mood
mengan ongunnon		begun to mingle
lyge wið sóðe,		falsehood with truth,
leóht wið þýstrum,		light with darkness,
æfst wið áre,	615	envy with honour,
inwitþancum		in your malicious thoughts
wróht webbedon.		mischief ye wove.
Eów seó wergðu forðan		Therefore you the curse
sceððeð scyldfullum,		oppresseth sinful as ye are,
ge ðá scíran miht	620	ye the bright might
déman ongunnon,		began to judge,
and gedwolan lifdon		and lived in error
þeóstrum geþancum		in your dark thoughts
óð ðysne dæg.		unto this day.
Gangað nú snúde,	625	Go now quickly,
snyttro geþencað		remember prudence
weras wísfæste,		oh ye wise men,
wordes cræftige,		powerful of speech,
ða ðe eówre æ,		those who your law,
æðelum cræftige,	630	nobly powerful,
on ferhðsefan		in their minds
fyrrest hæbben,		foremost have,
ða me sóðlice		who to me truly
secgan cunnon,		may say,
andsware cýðan	635	may give an answer
for eów forð		forth for you
tácna gehwylces		of every sign
ðe ic him tó séce.		which I demand of them."
Eódon ðá on gerúm		Then went apart
reónigmóde	640	sorrowing in mind
eorlas áglewe,		the men learned in the law,
egesan gepreáde,		oppressed with terror,
gehðum geómre		sad in spirits

georne sôhton		anxiously they sought
ðā wisestan	645	the wisest
wordgerfno,		mysteries,
ðæt hió ðære cwene		that they the queen
oncwidan meahton		might tell
swā tiles swā trages		both of good and ill
swā hió him tó sóhte.	650	what she sought from them.
Hió ðā on þreáte		They then in the company
þúsenda manna		of a thousand men
fundon ferhðgleáwra,		prudent of mind found,
ðā ðe fyrngemynd		they who the old traditions
mid Judéum	655	among the Jews
gearwast cūðon.		best knew.
Þrungon ðā on þreáte		They thronged in troops
ðær on þrymme bād		where in her glory abode
in cynestóle		upon her throne
cáseres mæg,	660	the emperor's kinswoman,
geatolic gūðcwen		the active warrior-queen
golde gehyrsted.		adorned with gold.
Elene maðelode		Elene spake
and for eorlum spræc :		and said before the men :
Gehýrað hygegleáwe	665	“ Hear ye prudent-minded
hálige rûne,		the holy secret,
word and wísdóm !		word and wisdom !
Hwæt ge witgena		Lo ! ye the prophets'
lære onfêngon,		lore received,
hû se liffruma	670	how the lord of life
in cildes hād		in the likeness of a child
cenned wurde,		was to be born,
mihta wealdend,		the ruler of powers,
be ðām Moyses sang,		of whom Moses sang,
and ðæt gecwæð	675	and that said
weard Israhéla,		the ruler of the Israelites,
Eów ácenned bið		‘ Unto you shall be born
cniht on dēgle		a child in secret

mihtum mære,		famous of might,
swá ðæs módor ne bið	680	whose mother shall not be
wæstmum geácnod		increased with offspring
þurh weres frige.		through the seed of man.'
Be ðám Daid cyning		Of him king David
dryhtleóð ágól,		sang a lordly song,
fród fynweota,	685	the prudent prophet,
fæder Salomónes,		father of Salomón,
and ðæt word gecwæð		and this word said
wigena baldor :		the prince of warriors :
Ic frumða god		' I the eternal God
foresceáwode,	690	saw face to face,
sigora dryhten,		the lord of victories,
he on gesyhðe wæs		he was in my sight
mægena wealdend,		the ruler of powers,
mín on ðá swiðran		on my right hand
þrymmes hirde,	695	the shepherd of majesty,
ðanon ic ne wénde		thence will I not avert
æfre tó aldre		for ever
onsiôn míne.		my countenance.'
Swá hit eft be eow		So again of you
Essaias witga	700	the prophet Esaias
for weorodum		before the multitudes
wordum mælde		spake with words
deóphycggende		deeply thinking
þurh dryhtnes gást :		through the spirit of God :
Ic úp áhóf	705	' I raised up
eaforan gingne,		a young posterity,
and bearn cende		and begot a child
ðám ic blæd forgeaf		to whom I gave glory
háliges hygefrófre,		holy comfort of mind,
ac hie hyrwdon ðe	710	but they despised thee
feódon þurh feóndscipe		they hated thee with enmity
náhton foreþances		they had not through foresight
wisdómes gewitt,		wit of wisdom,

and ða wéregan neát		and the brute animals
ðe man daga gehwám	715	whom men every day
drifeð and þirsceð		drive and thrash
ongitað hira góddénd,		understand their benefactors,
nales gnyrnwræcum		nor with enmity
feógað frýnd hiera		hate their friends
ðe him fódder gifeð ;	720	who give them food ;
and me Israhéla		and me the people of Israel
æfre ne woldon		would never
folc oncnáwan,		acknowledge,
ðeah ic fela for him		though I for them have many
æfter woruldstundum	725	miracles performed
wundra gefremede.		in the course of time.'

V.

Hwæt we ðæt gehýrdon
þurh hálige béc
ðæt eow dryhten
geaf dóm unscyndne,
730 meotod mihta spéd,
Moyses sægde
hú ge heofoncynige
hýran sceöldon,
lære læstan ;
735 eow wæs lungre ápreát,
and ge ðám rihte
wiðroten hæfdon,
onscunedon ðone
scítran scippend,
740 earlra dryhten,
and gedwolan fylgdon
ofer riht godes.
Nú ge hraðe gangað
and findað gën,

V.

Lo, we have heard
through holy books
that to you the Lord
gave unshaken glory, [power,
730 the Lord gave the speed of
Moses said
how ye the king of heaven
should obey,
735 his lore fulfil ;
soon had ye disgust at this,
and ye the right
resisted,
ye avoided
740 the bright creator,
the lord of all,
and followed error
against God's law.
Now ye quickly go
745 and let them find again,

<p> ðá ðe fyrngewritu þurh snyttro cræft sélest cunnen, færiht eower, ðæt me andsware þurh sídne sefan secgan cunnen. Eódon ðá mid mengo módcwánige, collenferhðe, swá him síó cwen beád, fundon ðá fifhund forðsnóttterra, álesen leódmæga, ðá ðe leornungcræft þurh módgemynd mæste hæfdon, on sefan snyttro. Heó tó salore eft ymb lytel fæc laðode wæron, ceastreweardas. Hió síó cwen ongan wordum genegan, wlát ofer ealle : Oft ge dyslice dæd gefremedon, wêrge wræcmæcgas, and gewritu herwdon, fædera lāre ; næfre furður ðonne nú ðá ge blindnesse bóte forségon, and ge wiðsócon sóðe and rihte, </p>	<p> who the old writings through power of wisdom best know, your own law, 760 that ye to me an answer prudently may return.” Together went [rits, the multitude with broken spi- 765 the bold ones, as the queen commanded them, then found they five hundred of the particularly wise, people collected, 760 who learning-craft through their intelligence the most possessed, prudence in their minds. They to the palace again 765 after a little while were invited, city guardians. Them the queen began with words to address, 770 she looked all around : “ Often ye a foolish deed have done, weary sons of misery, and despised the scriptures, 775 the lore of your fathers ; never more than now when ye of blindness the remedy renounced, and ye rejected 780 truth and right, </p>
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ðæt in Bethlême		that in Bethlem	
bearn wealdendes,		the son of the ruler,	
cyning anboren		the only-begotten king	
cenned wære,		was born,	
æðelinga ord ;	795	the origin of nobles ;	
ðeah ge ða æ cûðon,		although ye knew the law,	
witgena word		the word of the prophets	
ge ne woldon ða,		yet would ye not,	
synwyrcente,		workers of sin,	
sôð oncnâwan !	790	the truth acknowledge !”	
Hie ða anmôde		They then fearful in mind	
andsweredan :		made answer :	
Hwæt we ebrêisce		“ Lo ! we Hebrews	
æ leornedon		learnt the law	
ða on fyrndagum	795	which of yore	
fæderas cûðon		our fathers knew	
æt godes earce,		at God’s ark,	
nē we gearc cunnun		nor do we well know	
þurh hwæt ðû ðus hearde,		why thou thus hardly,	
hlæfdige, ús	800	lady, against us	
eorre wurde.		art enraged. [offence	
We ðæt æbylgð nyton		We know not what cause of	
ðæt we gefremedon		we have committed	
on ðisse folcscere,		in this country,	
þeódon bealwa	805	what evil we have ever	
wið ðec æfre.		done against thee.”	
Elene maðelade		Elene spake	
and for eorlum spræc ;		and said before the men ;	
undearnunga		openly	
ides reordode	810	the lady addressed them	
hlûde for herigum :		loudly before the crowd :	
Ge nú hraðe gangað,		“ Ye now go quickly,	
sundor ásécað		enquire apart	
ða ðe snyttro mid eow		those who among you wisdom	
mægn and módcræft	815	power and craft of mind	

mæste hæbben,		the most possess,
ðæt me þinga gehwylc		that everything to me
þriste gecyðan		they may boldly reveal
untraflīce,		without delay,
ðe ic him tō sēce !	820	which I seek from them !”
Eódon ðá fram rúne		They went then from the coun-
swá him sió rice cwen,		as the powerful queen, [cil
bald in burgum,		bold in the city,
beboden hæfde,		had commanded,
geómormóde ;	825	sorrowful of mood ;
georne smeádon,		earnestly they considered,
sóhton searþancum		in various thoughts they sought
hwæt sió syn wære		what might be the crime
ðe hie on ðám folce		which they among the people
gefremed hæfdon	830	had committed
wið ðam cásere,		against the emperor, [charge.
ðe him seó cwen wíte.		which the queen laid to their
þá ðær for eorlum		Then there before the people
án reordode,		one spake,
gidda gearo snotor,	835	well wise in songs,
ðám wæs Iudas nama,		whose name was Judas,
wordes cræftig :		crafty of word :
Ic wát geare		“ I well know
ðæt hió wile sēcan		that she will seek
be ðám sigebeáme,	840	concerning the tree of victory,
on ðám þrówode		on which suffered
þeóða waldend,		the lord of nations,
eallra gnyrura leás,		free of all sins,
godes ágen bearn,		God’s own son,
ðone unscyldigne	845	whom guiltless
eofota gehwylces		of every crime
þurb hete hēngon		through hate hung up
on heáne beám		on a high tree
in fyrndagum		in days of yore
fæderas ússe ;	850	our fathers ;

ðæt wæs þreállc gepoht.		that was a guilty thought.
Nu is þearf micel		Now is it very needful .
ðæt we fæstlice		that we firmly
ferhð staðelien,		compose our minds,
ðæt we ðæs mórðres	865	that we of the murder
meldan ne weorðen,		be not the betrayers,
hwær ðæt hálige treó		where the holy tree
beheled wurde		was hid
æfter wigþræce,		after the crush of war,
ðýlæs tóworpen sien	860	lest should be overturned
fród fyrngewritu		the wise old scriptures
and ða fæderlican		and our ancestral
lære forleten.		lore deserted.
Ne bið lang ofer ðæt		It will not be long after that
ðæt Israhéla	865	that Israel's
æðelu móten		nobles may
ofer middangeard		over the earth
má ricsian,		any more bear sway,
æcraeft eorla,		the lawcraft of men,
gif ðis yppe bið.	870	if this be detected.
Swá ðá ðæt ilce gió		As then the same of old
mín yldra fæder		my grandfather
sigeróf sægde,		glorious in victory said,
ðám wæs Sacheus nama,		whose name was Zacheus,
fród fyrnwiota,	875	a wise old counsellor,
fæder snum eaferan,		the father to his children,
wende hine of worulde,		he departed from the world,
and ðæt word gecwæð :		and spake this word :
Gif ðe ðæt gelimpe		' If that ever befall thee
on lifdagum	880	in thy life
ðæt ðú gehýre ymb		that thou hear about
ðæt hálige treó		the holy tree
fróde frignan,		the wise enquire,
and geflitu ræran		and contests raise
be ðám sigebeáme,	885	about the tree of victory,

<p>on ðam sóð cyning áhangen wæs, heofonríces weard, eallre sibbe bearn, ðonne ðú snúde gecýð, 890 mín swæs sunu ær ðec swylt nime, ne mæg æfre ofer ðæt Ebréa þeód ráðþeáhtende, 895 ríce healdan, duguðum wealdan, ac ðára dóm leofað and hira dryhtscipe * * * * 900 in woruld weorulda willum gefylled, ðe ðone áhangen cyning heriað and lofiað.</p>	<p>on which the true king was suspended, the ward of heaven's kingdom, child of all peace, then do thou quickly proclaim, my dear son before thou diest, never after that may the people of the Hebrews taking counsel, hold power, wield dignities, but their dignity shall live and their lordship * * * * for ever and ever to their will fulfilled, who the hanged king honour and praise.'</p>
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VI.

VI.

<p>þá ic fromlice fæder mínum ealdum æwítan ágeaf andsware : Hú wolde ðæt geweorðan on woruldríce, 905 ðæt on ðone hálgan handa sendan tó feorhlege, fæderas ússe, þurh wráð gewitt, gif hie wíston ær ðæt he Crist wære,</p>	<p>905 Then I humbly unto my father the old councillor gave answer : ' How could that be in the world, that on the holy one their hands should lay unto death, our fathers, through hostile thought, 915 if they before knew that he was Christ,</p>
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<p> cyning on roderum, sôð sunu meotudes, sawla nergend ? Ða me yldra mīn āgeaf andsware, frôd on fyrhðe, fæder reordode : Ongit, guma geonga, godes heáhmægen, nergendes naman, se is niða gehwām unāsecgendlic, ðone sylf ne mæg on moldwege man āspyrigean. Næfre ic ða geþeahhte ðe ðeôs þeod ongau sēcan wolde, ac ic simla mec āscéd ðara scylda, nales sceame worhte gāste mīnum. Ic him georne oft ðæs unrihtes andsæc fremede, ðonue uðweotan æht besæton, on sefan sóhton, hū hie sunu meotudes āhengon, helm wera, hlāford eallra engla and elda, æðelust beorna ; ne meahton hie swā disige deaðe oðfæstan, </p>	<p> the king of heaven, true son of God, the saviour of souls ?' Then to me my elder returned answer, prudent in spirit, my father spoke : ' Understand, young man, God's mighty power, the name of the Saviour, which is to every man ineffable, which himself may not on earth a man investigate. Never I the counsel which this nation began would seek, but ever myself separated from the guilt, nor wrought shame to my spirit. I often earnestly to their injustice gave denial, when our counsellors sat in council, sought in their mind, how they the son of God might hang, the protector of the lord of all [men, angels and men, noblest of heroes ; [not foolish as they were they could in death confine him, </p>
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<p>weras wonsælige, swá hie wêndon ær sárum settan, þeáh he sume hwile on galgan his gást onsende, sigebearn godes : ðá siððan wæs of rôd áhæfen rodera wealdend, eallra þrimma þrym, þreó niht siððan in byrgenne bíðende wæs under þeósterlocan ; and ðá ðý þridðan dæg ealles leóhtes leóht lifgende áras, þeóden engla, and his þegnum sōð sigora freá seolfne geýwde beorht on blæde ; ðonne bróðor ðin onfeng æfter fyrste fulwihtes bæð leóhtne geleáfan ; ðá for lufan dryhtnes Stephanus wæs stánum worpod ; ne geald he yfel yfelé ac his ealdfeóndum þingode þrohtheard, bæd þrymcýning ðæt he him ða weádæd</p>	<p>wretched men, as they before believed 965 with pains possess him, though he for some while upon the cross his spirit sent forth, victorious son of God : 970 then was afterwards raised up from the cross the ruler of the skies, the glory of all glories, three nights afterwards 985 in a sepulchre he was abiding under locks of darkness ; and then on the third day the light of all light 970 living arose, the king of angels, and to his disciples the true lord of victory himself revealed 975 bright in glory ; then thy brother after a time received the bath of baptism the light belief ; 980 then for the love of the Lord was Stephen stoned ; he repaid not evil with evil but for his old enemies 985 he courageously interceded, he prayed the King of glory that he their wicked deed</p>
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tō wræce ne sette,		would not revenge,
ðæt hie for æfstum		that they for envy
unscyldigne,	990	him guiltless,
synna leásue		free from sins
Sawles lārum		by the advice of Saul
feore beræddon,		of his life deprived,
swā he þurh feónðscipe		as he through enmity
tō cwale monige	995	many to torment
Cristes folces		of Christ's people
dēmdē tō deaðe ;		doomed to death ;
swāðeáh him dryhten eft		yet to him the Lord afterwards
miltse gefremede,		showed mercy,
ðæt he manegum [wearð]	1000	so that he became to many
folca tō frófre,		people a comfort,
siððan him frymða god,		afterwards eternal God,
niða nergend,		the Saviour of men,
naman oncyrde,		changed his name,
and he siððan wæs	1005	and he afterwards
sanctus Paulus		was Saint Paul
be naman háten,		called by name,
and him nēnig wæs		and than him was
ælcērenðra,		of the teachers of the law,
ōðer betera	1010	no other better
under swegles hleo		under the roof the firmament
siðþan æfre,		ever since,
ðāra ðe wif oððe wer		whom woman or man
on woruld cendon,		have begotten into the world,
ðeáh he Stephanus	1015	although he Stephen
stānum hēhte		with stones commanded
ābreótan on beorge,		to destroy upon the mount,
bróðor ðinne.		thy brother.
Nū ðū meah̄t gehýran,		Now mayst thou hear,
hæleð mīn se leófa,	1020	my dear man,
hū árfæst is		how true is
ealles wealdend,		the lord of all,

ðeah we æbylgð		although we offence
wið hine oft gewyrren,		against him often work,
synna wunde,	1025	wounded with sins,
gif we sôna eft		if we soon again
ðara bealudæda		of the ill deeds
bôte gefremmað,		make compensation,
and ðæs unrihtes		and from unright
eft geswicað ;	1030	again refrain ;
forðan ic sôðlice		therefore I in truth
and mîn swæs fæder		and my own father
* * * *		* * * *
siðþan gelyfdon,		afterwards believed,
ðæt geþrôwade	1035	that suffered
eallra þrymma god,		the God of all glory,
lifes lâtteow,		the leader of life,
lâðlic wite,		a loathly punishment,
for oferþearfe		for the extreme need
ilda cynnes ;	1040	of the human race ;
forðan ic ðe lære		therefore I teach thee
þurh leóðorúne,		through my song,
hyse leófesta,		dearest man,
ðæt ðú hospcwide,		that thou contemptuous words,
æfst né eofulsæc	1045	malice or accusation
æfre ne fremme		never make
grimme geagncwide		with grim response
wið godes bearne,		against God's son,
ðonne ðú gearnast		if thou desirest
ðæt ðe bið éce lif,	1050	that to thee eternal life,
sêlust sigeleána		the best reward of victory
seald in heofonum.		be given in heaven.'
Ðús me fæder mîn		Thus my father
on fyrndagum		in days of yore
unweaxenne	1055	me a child
wordum lærde,		with words instructed,
sewde sôðcwidum		taught with true sayings

<p> ðám wæs Symon nama, guma gehðum fród. Nû ge geare cunnon 1060 hwæt eow ðæs on sefan sêlest þynce tó gecýðanne, gif ðeós cwen úsic frigneð ymb ðæt treó, 1065 nû ge fyrhðsefan and modgeþanc mînne cunnon. Him ðá tógenes ðá gleawestan 1070 on wera þreáte wordum mældon : Næfre we hýrdon hæleð ænigne on ðisse þeóde 1075 ðislic cýðan, ymb swá digle wyrd. Dó swá ðe þynce, fyrngidda fród, gif ðú frygnen sie 1080 on wera corðre. Wîsdómes beþearf, worda wærlícra, and witan snyttro se ðære æðelan sceal 1085 andwyrde ágifan for ðyslicre þreát on meðle. </p>	<p> whose name was Simon, a man prudent of spirit. Now ye know well what to your own minds seems best about this matter to state, if this queen of us enquireth about the tree, now ye my mind and thought know.” Against him the most knowing in the company of men spake with words : “ We never heard any one in this nation make such a revelation as this, about so secret a fate. Do as seems best to thee, prudent in old traditions, if thou be asked 1080 in the assemblage of men. Wisdom he requires, wary words, and a councillor’s prudence who shall to the noble lady an answer give for such a multitude, in the council.” </p>
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VII.

Weðxon wordcwidum, 1090 They waxed with words,
 weras þeahtedon the men took counsel
 on healfa gehwær, on every side,
 sume hider sume þiðer some hither some thither
 þrydedon and þohton. deliberated and thought.
 Ðá cwom þegna heáp 1095 Then came a troop of thanes
 tó ðám heremeðle, to the warlike council,
 hreópon friccan, heralds made proclamation,
 cáseres bodan : the emperor's messengers :
 Eów ðeos cwen laðað, " You this queen inviteth,
 secgas tó salore, 1100 men, to her palace,
 ðæt ge seonoðdómas that ye the synodal decree
 rihte reccen, may rightly give,
 is eów rædes þearf need have you of council
 on meðelstede, in the place of parliament,
 módes snyttro. 1105 prudence of mind."
 Heó wæron gearwe, They were ready,
 geómormóde sad of mood,
 leóðgebyrgan, the citizens,
 ðá hie laðod wæron where they were invited
 þurh heard gebann, 1110 by hard summons,
 tó hofe eódon, to the court they went,
 cýððon cræftes miht. they showed the power of craft.
 Ðá seó cwen ougan Then began the queen
 weras ébresce the Hebrew men
 wordum negan, 1115 with words to address,
 fricggan fyrhðwénige, to ask them, low of spirit,
 ymb fyrngewritu, concerning the old scriptures,
 hû on worulde ær how anciently in the world
 witgan sungon, prophets sung,
 gásthálige guman, 1120 men holy of spirit,
 be godes bearne ; of the son of God ;

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 of the son of God ;

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hwær se þeoden		where the king
geþrōwade,		suffered,
sōð sunu meotudes		the true son of the Creator
for sáwla lufan.	1125	for the sake of souls.
Heó wæron stearce,		They were obstinate,
stáne heardran,		harder than stone,
noldon ðæt gerfne		they would not the mystery
rihte cƿðan,		rightly tell,
ne hire andsware	1130	nor say to her
ænigne secgan,		any answer,
torngeniðlan,		workers of rage,
ðæs heó him tó sóhte,		of what she sought from them,
ac heó worda gehwæs		but they of every word
wiðersæc fremedon,	1135	made denial,
fæste on fyrhðe,		obstinate in spirit,
ðæt heó frignan ongan :		which she began to ask :
cwædon ðæt heó on aldre		they said that in their lives
áwiht awylces		anything of the kind
ne ær ne sið	1140	neither before nor since
æfre hƿrdon.		had they ever heard.
Elene maðelade,		Elene spake,
and him yrre oncwæð :		and angrily addressed them :
Ic eow tó sóðe		“ I will tell you
secgan wille,	1145	truly,
and ðæs in life		and never shall this
lyge ne wyrðeð,		be made false,
gif ge ðisum leáse		if ye this falsehood
leng gefylgað		longer pursue
mid fæcne gefice,	1150	with fraudulent deceit,
ðe me forestandað,		who now stand before me,
ðæt eow in beorge		that you upon the hill
bæl fornineð		fire shall consume
háttóst heaðowelma,		hottest of war-waves,
and eower hrá bryttað	1155	and your carcase shall disperse
lácende lig,		exulting fire,

<p>ðæt eow sceal ðæs leás áwundrad weorðan tō woruldgedále, ne magon ge ða word geséðan, ðe ge hwile nū on unriht wrigon under womma sceálum, ne magon ge þá wyrd bemíðan, bedyrnan þá deoþpan mihte. Ðá wurdon hie deaðes on wēnan,</p>	<p>that for you this falsehood shall be made a wonder of even unto death, ye cannot make good the words which ye but now unjustly hid under folds of falsehood, ye cannot hide that fate, conceal the deep might." Then were they in expectation of death,</p>
<p>ádes and endelifes, and ðær ðá ænne betæhton, giddum gearusnottorne, ðám wæs Judas nama cenned for cneomagum, 1170 ðone hie ðære cwene ágéfon, sægdon hine sundorwísne : He ðe mæg sōð gecýðan, onwreón wyrda gerýno, swá ðú hine wordum frignest, æriht from orde oð ende forð : he is for eorðan æðeles cynnes, wordcræftes wís, 1180 and witgan sunu, bald on meðle, him gebyrde is ðæt he géncwidas gleawe hæbbe, 1185 cræft in breóstum. He gecýðeð ðe for wera men go wísdomes gife, þurh ða miclan miht, 1190</p>	<p>the funeral pile and end of life, and there then they gave up well prudent in songs, [one, to whom the name of Judas was given by his kindred, him they gave up to the queen, they called him wondrous wise: " He may tell thee the truth, reveal the mysteries of fate, as thou askest him in words, the law from the beginning forth unto the end : he is, in earthly matters, of a noble race, wise of word-craft, and a prophet's son, bold in conference, to him it belongs to have prudent replies, craft in his breast. He will show thee before the multitude of men the gift of wisdom, through the great might,</p>

swá ðín móð lufað.		as thy mood loveth."
Hió on sibbe forlét		She dismissed in peace
sécan gehwylcne		each one to seek
ágenne eard,		his own dwelling,
and ðone éanne genam	1195	and took the one,
Judas tó gísle,		Judas, as a hostage,
and ðá georne bæd		and then earnestly entreated
ðæt hé be ðære róde		that he about the cross
riht getéhte,		the truth should tell,
ðe éar in legere wæs	1200	which was before in its place
lange bedyrned,		long concealed,
and hine seolfne		and himself
sundor áctigde.		she called apart.
Elene maðelode		Elene spake
tó ðám ánhagan,	1205	to the solitary man,
ftreádig cwen :		the glorious queen :
Ðe sint tú gearu,		"For thee are both prepared,
swá lif swá deað,		either life or death,
swá ðe leófre bið		as best thee pleaseth
tó geceósanne.	1210	to choose.
Cýð ricene nú		Tell me at once
hwæt ðú ðæs tó þinge		what composition in this matter
þasian wille.		thou art willing to make!"
Judas hire ongén þingode,		Judas treated in turn with her,
nemeahte he ða gehðu bebúgan,		he could not avoid the sorrow,
oncyrran rex geniðlan, [dum :		avert the rage of hunger,
he wæs on ðære cwene geweal-		he was in the queen's power :
Hú mæg ðám geweorðan		"How may it be with him
ðe on wéstenne		who in the desert
méðe and mete léas	1220	weary and foodless
mórlanð trydeð,		treads the moorland,
hungre gehæfted,		fettered with hunger,
and him hláf and stán		and bread and a stone
on gesihðe . . .		before his sight . . .
bú geweorðað,	1225	both are,

<p>streac and hnesce, ðæt he ðonne stân nime wið hungres hleó, hláfes ne gýme, gewende tó wædle and ða wiste wiðsæce, beteran wiðhycce, ðonne he bega beneah.</p>	<p>1230</p>	<p>the hard and the soft, that he should take the stone as a protection against hunger, and neglect the bread, turn to poverty and refuse abundance, reject the better thing, when he requires both ?”</p>
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VIII.

Him ða seó eádige
andwyrde ágeaf,
Elene for eorlum,
undearnunga :
Gif ðú in heofonrice
habban wille
eard mid englum,
and on eorðan lif,
sigorleán in swegle,
saga ricene me
hwær seó rôd wunige
radorcyninges,
hálig under hrusan,
ðe ge hwile nû
þurh morðres mán
mannum dyrndun.
Judas maðelade,
him wæs geómor sefa,
hât set heortan,
and gehwæðres wá,
ge he heofonrices . . .
. . . swá móde,
and ðis andwearde
ánforlête

VIII.

To him then the blessed one
gave answer,
Elene before the men,
openly :
“ If thou in heaven’s realm
wilt have
a dwelling with angels,
and life on earth, [firmament,
a reward of victory in the
tell me at once
where remains the cross
of the king of heaven,
holy under the earth,
which for a long while now
through murderous malice
ye have hidden from men.”
Judas spake,
sad was his mind,
hot at heart,
and on both sides woe,
whether he heaven kingdom’s
. . . so in his mind,
and should renounce
this present

riçe under roderum, ge he ða rôde ne tâhte :		power under heaven, or whether he should not give up the cross :
Hû mæg ic ðæt findan ðæt swá fyren gewearð wintra gangum. is nú worn sceacen, twá hund oððe má geteled ríme, ic ne mæg áreccan nú ic ðæt rim ne can ; is nú feale siððan forðgewitenra, fróðra and góðra ðe us fore wæron, gleawra gumena. Ic on geóguðe wearð, on síðdagum siððan ácenned, cnihtgeóng hæleð, ic ne can ðæt ic nât findan on fyrhðe, ðæt swá fyren gewearð. Elene maðelade him on ondsware : Hû is ðæt geworden on ðisse werþeóde, ðæt we swá monigfeald on gemynd witon, alra tákna gehylc swá Trojana þurh gefeoht fremedon, ðæt wæs fyr miclê, open ealdgewinn, ðonne ðeós æðele gewyrd,	1260 1265 1270 1275 1280 1285 1290	“ How may I find that which happened so far off in the courses of years ? a multitude have past, two hundred or more numbered in tale, I cannot relate since I know not their number ; since then have many men passed away, wise and good men, that before us were, men full of understanding. I in my youth, in the latter days was after born, a child, I can not what I know not find in my mind, what happened so far back.” Elene spake to him in answer : “ How does it happen in this country, that we so manifold things know in remembrance, every notable act which the Trojans did in battle, that was far more remote, an open old contest, than this noble fate,

geara gongum :		in the courses of years ?
ge ðæt geara cunnon		ye know well enough
ēðre gereccan,		more readily to narrate that,
hwæt þær callra wæs,	1295	what there was of all,
on manrīme,		in the number of men,
morðorslehtes,		the death-blows,
dareðlācendra,		the gaveline players,
deádra gefeallen		the dead fallen
under bordhagan,	1300	under the wall of shields,
ge ðá byrgenna		yea, their sepulchres
under stānhleóðum,		under mounds of stone,
and ðá stowe swá some,		and the place also
and ðá wintergerīm		and the number of years
on gewritu setton.	1305	in writing ye have set.”
Judas maðelade,		Judas spake,
gnornsorge wæg :		sorrow of mind he bore :
We ðæs hereweorces		“ We this warlike deed,
hlæfdige mīn,		O my lady,
for nýðþearfe	1310	for great need
neár myndgīað,		have kept in near remembrance,
and ðá wiggþræce		and the crush of battle
on gewritu setton,		have set in writing,
þeóða gebæru :		the conduct of the people :
and ðis næfre þurh	1315	and this we have never
ſānges mannes		through any one’s
múð gehýrdon		mouth heard
hæleðum cýðan,		declared to men,
būtan hēr nū ðá.		but now here.”
Him seó æðele cwen	1320	To him the noble queen
ágeaf andsware :		returned answer :
Wiðsæcest ðú tó swíðe		“ Thou deniest too strongly
sóðe and rīhte		the truth and right
ymb ðæt lifes treow,		about the tree of life,
and nū lytlé ær	1325	and yet but a little before
sægdest sóðlice		thou spakest truly

be ðám sigebeáme		of the victorious beam
leóðum ðinum,		to thy own people,
and nú on lyge cyrrest.		and now turnest on lying."
Judas hire ongen þingode		Judas spake to her again and
cwæð	1330	said
ðæt he ðæt on gehðu gespræce		that he spoke that in trouble
and tweón swiðóæt.		and much in doubt. [while;
Wende him þrage hnágre;		He humbled himself for a
him oncwæð hraðe		soon him addressed
cáseres mæg :	1335	the emperor's kinswoman :
Hwæt we ðæt hýrdon		" Lo we have heard that
þurh hálige béc		through holy books
hæleðum cýðan,		revealed to men,
ðæt áhangen wæs		namely that on Calvary
on Caluarie	1340	was hanged up
cyninges freobearn,		the free child of the king,
godes gástsunu.		the spiritual son of God.
Ðú scealt geagninga		Thou shalt in turn
wísdóm onwréon,		wisdom display,
swá gewritu secgað	1345	as scriptures tell
after stedewange,		respecting the place,
hwær seó stow sie		where is the spot
Caluarie,		Calvary,
ær ðec ewealm nime,		ere death seize on thee,
swylt for synnum,	1350	destruction for sins,
ðæt ic hie siððan mæge		that I may afterwards
geclánsian		purify it
Criste tó willan,		for Christ's sake,
hæleðum tó helpe,		for the help of men,
ðæt me hálig god	1355	so that holy God
gefylle freá mihtig		mighty Lord may fulfil
feores ingeþanc,		the thought of my mind,
weoruda wuldorgeofa,		glory-giver of hosts,
willan minne,		my will,
gásta geóccend.	1360	the saviour of spirits."

<p>Hire Judas oncwæð stíðhycgende : Ic ðá stowe ne can, nē ðæs wanges wiht, nē ða wisan cann. Elene maðelode þurh eorne hyge : Ic ðæt geswerige þurh sunu meotudes, ðone áhangnan god, ðæt ðú hungre scealt for cneówmægum cwlmed weorðan, bútan ðú forlæte ða leásunga, and me sweotollfice sóð gecýðe. Héht ðá swá cwicne corðre læðan, scúfan scyldigne, scealcas ne gældon, in drigan seáð, ðær he dūguða leás siomode in sorgum seofon nihta fyrst under hearmlocan, hungre gepreatod, clommum beclungen : and ðá cleopigan ongan, sárum besýled, on ðone seofeðan dæg, mēðe and meteleás, mægen wæs geswīðrod : Ic eów halsie þurh heofona god</p>	<p>Her Judas addressed stubborn of thought : “ I know not the place, nor anything of the plain, nor do I know the manner !” Elene spake through angry mind : “ This I swear by the son of the Creator, the crucified God, that thou with hunger shalt for thy family be put to death, unless thou desert thy lies, and clearly unto me the truth reveal !” Then she bade him all alive with a troop to be led, guilty to be cast, (the servants delayed not) into a dry pit, where he deprived of honour loured in sorrow seven nights long under the locks of trouble, threatened with hunger, clung with bonds : then began he to cry, soiled with pains, upon the seventh day, weary and meatless, his strength was overcome : “ I implore you through the God of heaven</p>	<p>1366 1370 1375 1380 1385 1390 1395</p>
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ðæt ge me of ðissum ear-	that ye release me
ûpforlæten,	[feðum from this misery, ment,
heánnefram hungres geniðlan,	humbled from hunger's tor-
ic ðæt hálige treó	I the holy tree
lustum cýðe,	1400 will gladly reveal,
nú ic hit leng ne mæg	since I no longer may
helan for hungre ;	conceal it for hunger ;
is ðes hæft tó ðan strang,	my bond is so strong,
þreánýd ðes þearl	the compulsion so severe
and ðes þroht tó ðæs heard	and the suffering so hard
dógorrimum ;	in the days of my life ;
ic ádreógan ne mæg,	I cannot endure it,
né leng helan	nor longer conceal
be ðám lifes treó,	respecting the tree of life,
ðeáh ic ær mid dysigé	1410 though I before with folly
þurhdrifen wære,	was thoroughly penetrated,
and ðæt sóð tó late	and the truth too late
seolf gecneówe.	myself admit."

IX.

Ðá ðæt gehýrde
 sió ðær hæleðum sceód, 1415
 beornes gebæro,
 hió bebeád hraðe,
 ðæt hine man of nearwe
 and of nýdcleofan,
 fram ðám engan hofe 1420
 úpforlæte.
 Hie ðat ófetlice
 efnedon sóna,
 and hine mid árum
 úpgelæddon 1425
 of carcerne,
 swá him seó cwen bebeád.

IX.

When she heard
 who commanded the warriors,
 the conduct of the man,
 she gave quick command,
 that from his close
 and painful prison,
 from the narrow place,
 they should let him up.
 They with speed
 that soon performed,
 and him with care
 led up
 from prison,
 as the queen commanded.

Stópon ða tó ðære stowe		Then went the stout-hearted
stíðhycgeude		unto the place
on ða dūne ūp,	1430	aloft upon the hill,
ðe dryhten ær		where the lord of old
āhangen wæs,		was crucified,
heofanríces weard,		the guardian of heaven's realm,
godbearn on galgan ;		the divine son upon the cross ;
and hwæðre geare nyste	1435	and yet thoroughly knew not
hungre gehýned,		the hunger-tamed,
hwær sió hálig ród		where the holy rood
þurb searu * *		through crafty * *
* * * *		* * * *
* * * *	1440	* * * *
foldan getýned,		hidden in earth,
lange legere fæst,		long fast in its place,
leóðum dyrne		concealed from the people
wunode wælreste.		abode in deadly rest.
Word stunde āhóf	1445	His word at once uplifted
elnes oncyðig,		the man conscious of power,
and on ēbrisc spræc :		and in Hebrew spake : [hast
Dryhten hælend ðú ðe āht		“ Lord the Saviour thou that
dóma geweald		power of dignities
and ðú geworhtest þurb	1450	and wroughtest through
ðines wuldres miht		the might of thy glory
heofon and eorðan		heaven and earth
and holmþræce,		and ocean's power,
sæes stidne fæðm		the sea's wide bosom,
samod ealle gesceaft ;	1455	and every creature ;
and ðú āmæte		thou that measurest
mundum ðinum		with thy hands
ealne ymbhwyrft		the whole circumference
and ūprador,		and the firmament aloft,
and ðú sylf sitest,	1460	and thyself sittest,
sigora waldend,		lord of victories,
ofer ðām æðelestan		above the noblest

engelcynne,		race of angels,
ðe geond lyft farað		which through the heaven go
leóhté bewundene,	1465	with light surrounded,
miclé mægenþrymmé ;		with mighty majesty ;
ne mæg ðær manna gecynd		there may not kind of man
of eorðwegum		from the earthly ways
úþgeféran		go up
in lichoman	1470	in the body
mid ðám leohtan gedryht.		with the bright troop.
Wuldres áras		Messengers of glory
ðu geworhtest ðá,		thou wroughtest there,
and tó þegnunge		and to thy service
ðinre gesettest	1475	didst appoint
hálig and heofonlic,		holy and heavenly,
ðára on háde sint		of whom in their condition are
in sindreáme		in joy eternal
six genemned,		six named,
ða ymbsealde sint	1480	who surrounded are
mid sixum eác,		also with six,
fiðrum gefrætwad,		wings adorned,
fægere scínað ;		brightly they shine ;
ðára sint feower		four of them there are
ðe on flyhte á	1485	who ever flying
ða þegnunge		their service
þrymme beweotigað		mightily perform
fore onsýne		before the face
éces déman,		of the eternal judge,
singallíce	1490	eternally
singað in wuldre		they sing in glory
hædrum stefnum		with serene voices
heofoncyninges lof,		the praise of heaven's king,
wóða wlitegaste,		the most beautiful of songs,
and ðás word cweðap	1495	and these words speak
clænum stefnum,		with pure voices,
ðám is Ceraphin nama :		whose name is Cherubim : ²

Hālig is se hālg		‘ Holy is the holy
heáhengla god,		God of archangels,
weoroda wealdend.	1500	the Lord of hosts !
Is ðæs wuldres ful		Of his glory are full
heofun and eorðe,		heaven and earth,
and eall heáhmægen		and all the lofty power
tíre getácnod.		with glory marked !’
Sindon tú on ðám	1505	Two more besides there are
sigorcynn on swegle,		victorious beings in heaven,
ðe man Seraphin		whom we Seraphim
be naman háteð,		call by name,
he sceal neorxna wang		whose duty it is paradise
and lífes treó	1510	and the tree of life
legené sweordé		with fiery sword
hālig healdan :		holy to hold :
heardecg cwacað,		the hard edge shaketh,
beofað brogden mæl,		the twisted mail trembleth,
and bleóm wrixleð	1515	and with colours varies
grápum grýrefæst ;		terribly fast in their grasp ;
ðæs ðú god dryhten		since thou Lord God
wealdest wídanfyrhð,		rulest for ever,
and ða womfulle		and the defiled
scyldwyrcende,	1520	workers of sin,
sceaðan of radorum		the guilty ones from heaven
áwurpe wonhydige,		drovest in despair,
ðá sió wêrge sceolu		when the wretched crew
under heolstorhofu		beneath dwellings of darkness
hreósan sceolde	1525	were compelled to fall
in wíta forwyrð,		into the ruin of punishment,
ðær hie in wylme nú		where they now in flame
dreógað deaðcweale		suffer deadly pains
in dracan fæðme,		in the embrace of serpents,
þeóstrum forþylmed.	1530	overwhelmed with darkness.
He ðinum wiðsóc		He thy supremacy
aldordóme,		withstood,

ðæs he in ermðum sceal		wherefore in misery shall he,
ealra fūla fūl,		foul of all foul things,
fāh þrówian,	1535	stained suffer,
þeównéd þolian,		a slavish need endure,
ðær he ðin ne mæg		where he may not
word áweorpan ;		thy word cast aside ;
is in wítum fæst		fast in punishments is
ealre synne fruma	1540	the origin of all sin
susle gebunden.		in torment bound.
Gif ðin willa sie,		If it be thy will,
wealdend engla,		ruler of angels,
ðæt ricsie		that He shall reign
seðe on róde wæs,	1545	who was upon the cross,
and þurh Marian		and through Mary
in middangearde		into the world
ácenned wearð		was born
in cildes háð,		in form of a child,
þeóden engla,	1550	(O king of angels,
gif he ðin nære		had he not been
sunu synna léas,		thy guiltless son,
næfre he sōðra swá feala		never in the world could he
in woruldríce		so many true
wundra gefremede	1555	miracles have performed
dógorgertmum ;		during his life ; [death
nō ðú of deáðe hine		never wouldst thou him from
swá þrymlice,		so gloriously,
þeóða wealdend,		O lord of hosts,
áweahite for weorodum,	1560	have raised up before men,
gif he in wuldre ðinum		if he in thy glory
þurh ðá beorhtan		through the bright maid
bearn ne wære.		thy son had not been !)
Gedó nú, fæder engla,		Do now, O father of angels,
forðbeácen ðin,	1565	thy conspicuous sign,
swá ðú gehýrdest		as thou heardest
ðone hálgan wer		the holy man

<p> Moyses on meðle, ðá ðú, mihta god, gehýwdest ðám eorle, 1570 on ðá æðelan tíð, under beorhhliðe bân Josephes ; swá ic ðe, weoroda wealdend, gif hit sie willa ðín, 1575 þurh ðæt beorhte gesceap biddan wille, ðæt me ðæt goldhord, gásta scippend, geopenie, 1580 ðæt yldum wæs lange behýded. Forlæt nú, lifes fruma, of ðám wangstede wynsumne úp 1585 under radores ryne réc ástígan, lyftlácende. Ic gelyfe ðe sél, and ðý fæstlicor 1590 ferhð staðelige, hyht untweóndne on ðone áhangnan Crist, ðæt he sie sóðlice sáwla nergend, 1595 éce, ælmihtig, Israhela cyning ; walde wídanferhð wuldres on heofenum, á butan ende, 1600 écra gestealda. </p>	<p> Moses in discourse, when thou, O God of power, shewedst the man, in that noble hour, under the rocky ledge the bones of Joseph ; so I thee, Lord of hosts, if it be thy will, through that bright creature will implore, that to me the treasure, creator of spirits, thou wilt open, which was among men long concealed. Let now, lord of life, up from the plain, sweet under the course of heaven a vapour ascend, playing through the air. All the better shall I believe, and all the firmer fix my mind, my undoubting hope on Christ the crucified, that he is verily the saviour of souls, eternal, almighty, the king of Israel ; that he shall rule for ever glory in heaven, world without end, the eternal mansions !” </p>
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X.

Ðá of ðære stowe
 steám úpárás
 swylce réc under radorum.
 Ðær áræred wearð 1606
 beornes breōstsefa.
 He mid bæm handum
 eádig and ægleáw
 upweard plegade.
 Judas maðelode 1610
 gleáw in geþance :
 Nú ic þurh sóð hafu
 seolf gecnāwen
 on heardum hyge,
 ðæt ðú hælend eart 1615
 middangeardes.
 Sie ðe, mægena God,
 þrymsittendum,
 þanc būtan ende,
 ðæs ðú me swá mēðum 1620
 and swá mánweorcum,
 þurh ðín wuldor inwrigē
 wyrda gerýno.
 Nú ic ðe, bearn godes
 biddan wille, 1625
 weoroda willgifa,
 nú ic wát, ðæt ðú eart
 gecfðed and ácenned
 allra cyninga þrym,
 ðæt ðú mǎ ne sie 1630
 mīnra gylta,
 ðára ðe ic gefremede
 nales feám síðum,

X.

Then from the place
 a steam rose up
 like smoke under the sky.
 Then was uplifted
 the spirit of the man.
 He with both hands
 blessed and prudent
 waved aloft.
 Judas spake
 wise of thought :
 " Now have I in truth
 myself acknowledged
 in my hard heart,
 that thou art the saviour
 of the world !
 Be to thee, God of power,
 sitting in glory,
 thanks without end,
 for that thou to me so weary
 and so evil of deeds, [vealed
 through thy miracle hast re-
 the mysteries of fate !
 Now, Son of God,
 will I implore thee,
 giver of blessings to men,
 now I know that thou art
 proclaimed and born
 the glory of all kings,
 that thou be no longer
 of my sins,
 which I have committed
 no few times,

metud, gemyndig.		mindful, O God !
Læt mec, mihta God,	1635	Let me, God of might,
on rímtale		among the number
ríces ðines,		of thy kingdom,
mid hálígra		with the lot
hlyte wunigan		of thy saints abide
in ðære beorhtan byrig,	1640	in the bright dwelling,
ðær is bróðor mín		where my brother is
geweorðod in wuldre,		advanced in glory,
ðæs he wære wið ðec,		because he covenant with thee,
Stephanus heold,		(he Stephen) held,
ðeáh he stángreótum	1645	though he with stones
worpod wære ;		was cast at ;
he hafað wíggas leán,		he hath the reward of his war-
blæd bútan blinne ;		glory without cessation ;
sint in bôcum his		in books are his
wundor ða he worhte	1650	wonders that he wrought
on gewritum cýðed.		declared in writing."
Ongan ðá wilfægen		Then began he well pleased
æfter ðám wuldres treó,		after the tree of glory,
elnes ánhýdig,		intent on power,
eorðan delfan	1655	the earth to delve
under turfhagan,		under the circuit of turf,
ðæt he on twentigum		until he twenty
fôtmæflum feor		foot measures deep
funde behelede,		found it concealed,
under neólum niðer	1660	low beneath the downward
næsse gehýdde		promontory hidden
in þeóstorcofan.		in chests of darkness.
He ðær þreó métte		There found he three
in ðám reonian hófe		in the dank dwelling
róða ætsomne,	1665	crosses together,
greóte begrauene,		buried in the sand,
swá hió geardagum		as them in days of yore
árleásra sceolu		the impious band

eorðan bepeahton		of Jews
Judea ;	1670	with earth had covered ;
hie wið Godes bearne		they against God's Son
nifð ahófon,		malice reared up,
swá hie no sceoldon,		as they should not have done,
ðær hie leahtra fruman		when they of the Lord of bliss
lārum ne hýrdon.	1675	the doctrine obeyed not.
Ða wæs módgemynd		Then was his mind
miclum geblissod,		greatly rejoiced,
hyge onhyrded		his spirit confirmed
þurh ðæt hālige treó,		by the holy tree,
imbryrded breóstsefa,	1680	the mind exalted,
siððan beácenige		after the sign
hāligne under hrusan		holy beneath the earth
he mid handum befēng,		with hands he seized,
wuldres wynbeám,		the joyful tree of glory,
and mid weorode ahóf	1685	and raised it with a host
of foldgræfe.		from its earthly grave.
Fēðe gestas		The active men,
eódon, æðelingas,		the nobles went
in on ða ceastre ;		into the city ;
ásetton ða on gesyhðe	1690	there they placed in sight
sigebeámas þrý,		the three victorious trees,
eorlas ánhýdige,		the steadfast men,
for Elenan cneó,		before the knee of Elene,
collenferhðe.		bold of mind.
Cwen weorces gefeah	1695	The queen rejoiced in the work
on ferhðsefan,		in her mind,
and ða frignan ongan,		and then began to ask,
on hwylcum ðára beáma		upon which of the trees
bearn wealdendes,		the Son of God,
hæleða hyhtgifa,	1700	the hope-giver of men,
hangen wære.		were crucified ?
Hwæt we ðæt hýrdon		" Lo we have heard that,
þurh hālige bec		through holy books

tácnun cýðan,		with tokens to have been shown,
ðæt twêgen mid him	1705	that two with him
geþrôwedon,		suffered,
and he wæs þrida sylf		and he was himself the third
on rôdetreó.		upon the cross.
Rodor eal geswearc		The heaven all darkened
on ða slfðan tíð.	1710	at the fatal time.
Saga, gif ðú cunne,		Say, if thou know,
on hwylcre ðissa þreóra,		on which of these three,
þeóden engla		the King of angels
geþrôwode,		suffered,
þrymmes hyrde.	1715	the master of glory."
Ne meahte hire Judas,		Judas could not to her,
né ful gere wiste,		nor did he thoroughly know,
sweotole gecýðan		clearly tell
be ðám sigebeáme,		concerning the victorious tree,
on hwylcre se hælend	1720	on which the Saviour
âhafen wære,		were uplifted,
sigebearn Godes ;		the conquering Son of God ;
ær he âsettan héht		until he commanded to be
on ðone middel		in the middle [placed
ðære mæran byrig	1725	of the mighty city
beámas mid bearhtme,		the trees with clamour,
and gebídan ðær,		and there abide,
óððæt him gecfðde		until to them should reveal
cýning ælmihtig		the Almighty King
wundor for weorodum,	1730	some miracle before the people,
be ðám wuldres treó.		concerning the tree of glory.
Gesæton sigerófe,		The victorious men sat,
sang âhófon		the song there raised
ræðþeahtende		the counsellors
ymb ða rôða þreó,	1735	about the three crosses,
óð ða nigoðan tíð,		until the ninth hour,
hæfdon neowne gefeán		they had new joy
mærðum geméted.		wondrously met with.

gāste gegearwad,		furnished with spirit,
geador bû samod	1775	both together
lic and sâwl.		body and soul.
Ðær wæs lof hafen		There was praise uplifted
fæger mid ðý folcé ;		fair among the people ;
Fæder weorðodon,		the Father they worshiped,
and ðone sōðan	1780	and the true
Sunu wealdendes		Son of the ruler
wordum heredon.		with words they glorified.
Sie him wuldor and þanc		To him be glory and thanks
â bûtan ende		world without end
eallra gesceafta.	1785	from all creatures.

XI.

Ðâ wæs ðâm folce
on ferhðsefan
ingemynde,
swâ him â scyle,
wundor ða ðe worhte 1790
weoroda dryhten
tó feornere
fira cynne,
lifes lâtteow.
Ðâ ðær lygesynnig 1795
on lyft astâh
lâcende feond.
Ongan ðâ hleóðrian
helledeófol,
eatol æclæca 1800
yfela gemyndig :
Hwæt is ðis lâ manna
ðe mînne eft
þurh fyrngeflit
folgað wyrdeð, 1805

XI.

Then did the people
in their minds
remember,
as they ever ought,
the miracles which wrought 1790
the Lord of Hosts
for the salvation
of the race of men,
the guide of life.
Then there devising lies 1795
in air arose
the flying fiend.
Then there began to cry
the devil of hell,
the foul wretch 1800
mindful of evil :
“ Lo ! what man is this
who again
through the old conflict
injureth my state, 1805

ƿceð ealdne nŕð,		increaseth the old feud,
æhta strûdeð.		destroyeth my possession !
Ðis is singal sacu,		This is an endless grievance,
sáwla ne móton		souls may not
mánfremmende	1910	though workers of evil
in mīnum leng		any longer in my
æbtum wunigan.		possession abide.
Nú cwom elpeódig		Now hath come a stranger
ðone ic ær on firenum		whom I of old in guilt
fæstne talde,	1915	fast reckoned,
hafað mec bereáfod		and hath bereaved me
rihta gehwylces,		of every right,
feohgestreóna,		of my treasures,
nis ðæt fæger sīð.		this is no fair play.
Feala me se hælend	1920	Many the Saviour
hearma gefremede,		of harms did me,
nīða nearolīcra,		of close mischiefs,
se ðe in Nazareð		he who in Nazareth
áféded wæs,		was born,
siððan furðum weóx	1925	after he first grew up
of cildhåde,		from childhood,
symle cyrde tó him		ever he turned to himself
æhte mīne,		my possessions,
ne mót ænige nū		nor can I now any
rihte spówan.	1930	right enjoy.
Is his rīce brād		Broad is his kingdom
ofer middangeard,		over all the earth,
mīn is geswīðrod		violated is my
ræd under roderum ;		counsel under heaven ;
ic ða rôde ne þearf	1935	I need not praise
hleahtre herigean.		the cross with joy.
Hwæt se hælend me		Lo, me the Saviour
in ðām engan hām		in the narrow dwelling
oft getŷnde,		often shut up,
geomrum tó sorge.	1940	mournfully to my sorrow.

ic þurh Judas ær hyhtful gewearð, and nū gehýned eom, gôða gæsen, þurh Judas eft, fáh and freóndleás ; gên ic findan ne can þurh wróhtstafas wiðercyr wið ðan. Of ðám wearhtreatfum, ic áwecce wið ðe óðerne cyning se ehteð ðín, and he forlæteð lære ðíne, and mânþeáwum mínum folgað, and ðec ðonne sendeð in ða sweartestan and ða wyrrestan witebrógan ; ðæt ðú, sárum forsóht, wiðsæcest fæste ðone áhangnan cyning ðám ðú hýrdest ær. Him ðá gleáwhydig Judas oncwæð, hæleð, hildedeór ; him wæs hálig gást befolen fæste, fýrhát lufu weallende gewilt þurh wígan snyttro, and ðæt word gecwæð wisdómes ful :	1845 1850 1855 1860 1865 1870 1875	I formerly through Judas was made hopeful, and now am shamed, made void of good, again through Judas, hostile and friendless ; and yet I cannot find through hostile devices a refuge against it. From the abodes of the cursed, I will raise up against thee another king who shall persecute thee, and he shall desert thy doctrine, and my evil customs follow, and then shall send thee into the blackest and the worst terrors of torture ; [sorrows, so that thou, sought home with shalt altogether deny the crucified king whom thou before obeyedst.” Him prudent of mind Judas addressed, a hero, a beast of battle ; to him was the holy spirit thoroughly granted, a love as hot as fire bubbling boiled through the warrior’s prudence, and these words he spake filled with wisdom :
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<p>ðone hellesceaðan oferswīðende, synna bryttan, and ðā wundrade ymb ðæs weres snyttro, hū he swā geleāful on swā lytlum fæce, and swā uncŷðig æfre wurde gleāwnysse þurhgoten : Gode þancode, wuldorcyninge, ðæs hire se willa gelamp þurh bearn Godes bega gehwæðres, ge æt ðære gesŷhðe ðæs sigbeāmes, ge ðæs geleāfan ðe hið swā leðhte oncneðw wuldorfæste in ðæs weres breōstum.</p>	<p>1915 1920 1925 1930</p>	<p>the fiend of hell subduing, the lord of sins, and then she wondered at the man's wisdom, how he so strong in belief in so short a space, and so strangely ever could be saturated with prudence : God she thanked, the King of glory, that her will was accomplished through the Son of God in both respects, both as to the sight of the tree of victory, and the belief which she acknowledged so clearly wondrous firm in the man's breast.</p>
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XII.

Ðā wæs gefrēge
in ðære folcsceare,
geond ða werþeóde
wīde læded
mære morgenspel,
manigum on andan
ðára ðe dryhtnes æ
dyrnan woldon,
boden æfter burgum
swā brimo fæðmeð,
in ceastra gehwære,

1935

1940

XII.

Then was bruted abroad
in that district,
throughout the men was
widely dispersed
a mighty report,
to the disgust of many
who the Lord's law
would hide, [nesses
proclaimed throughout the fast-
as far as the sea surrounded
in every city, [them,

<p>ðæt Cristes [rôd], fyrn foldan begræfen, funden wære ; sêlest sigbeácna, ðára ðe síð oððe ær hálig under heofenum áhafen wurde. Ond wæs Iudeum, gnornsorga mæst, werum wansæligum wyrda láðost, ðær hie hit for worulde wendan [ne] meahton cristenra gefean. Ðá síó cwen bebeád ofer eorlmægen áras fýsan, ricene tó ráde, sceóldon Rómwarena ofer heanne holm hláford sécean, ond ðám wiggende wilspella mæst seolfum gesecgan, ðe ðæt sigorbeácen þurh meotodes ést méted wære, funden in foldan : ðæt ær feala mæla behýded wæs hálgum tó teónan, cristenum folce. Ðá ðám cininge wearð þurh ða mæran word mód geblissod,</p>	<p>1945</p> <p>1960</p> <p>1965</p> <p>1960</p> <p>1965</p> <p>1970</p> <p>1975</p>	<p>that Christ's cross, of yore in earth buried, had been found ; the best of victorious signs, which before or after holy under the heavens was ever reared aloft. Anger fell upon the Jews, the greatest of indignant sor- upon the hapless men [rows, the fortune that was most hate- since they before the world [ful, could not turn back the joy of the Christians. Then proclaimed the queen throughout the mass of the peo- messengers to prepare, [ple swift to ride, they should of the Romans over the deep sea the lord seek out, and to the warrior the most welcome tidings in person tell, how the banner of victory through grace of God had been met with, found in the ground : which for many seasons had been hidden to the sorrow of saints, the christian people. Then was to the king through the great tidings the spirit blessed,</p>
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eác gebeóðan		proclaim to her
Constantinus,		(Constantine namely)
ðæt hió cirican ðær		that she a church there
on ðám beorhhlíðe,	2015	on the mountain-slope,
bégra rædum,		as they had both agreed,
getimbrede ;		should build ;
tempel dryhtnes		a temple of the Lord
on Caluarie,		on Calvary,
Criste tó willan,	2020	in honour of Christ,
hæleðum tó helpe,		and for the benefit of mankind,
ðær sió hálige ród		there, where the holy cross
geméted wæs,		had been discovered,
mærost beáma,		the mightiest of trees,
ðára ðe gefrugnen	2025	of which have ever heard
foldbuende		the dwellers upon earth
on eorðwege.		in this world.
Hió geefnde swá,		She did it so,
siððan winemagas		after the dear friends
westan bróhton	2030	brought from the west
ofer lagufæsten		over the wave-journey
leófspell manig.		many a pleasant message.
Ðá seó cwen bebeád,		Then commanded the queen,
cræftum getýde		men learned in crafts
sundor ásécean,	2035	separately to seek out,
ða sélestan,		the best,
ða ðe wrætlícost		those who most splendidly
wyrcean cúðon		could work
stángefógum,		in stone buildings,
on ðám stedewange	2040	upon the spot
girwan Godes tempel,		to make a temple to God,
swá hire gásta weard		where to her the ruler of spirits
reord of roderum ;		spake from heaven ;
and ða róde héht		and commanded the cross itself
golde beweorcean	2045	with gold to work up
and gimcynnum,		and with kind of gems,

mid ðám æðelestum		with the noblest
eorcnanstánum		jewels
besetton searocræftum,		to set, with art,
and ðá in seolfren fæt	2050	and it in a silver vessel
locum belúcan,		with locks to shut,
ðær ðæt lifes treó,		wherein the tree of life,
sélest sigbeáma,		best of victorious beams,
siððan wunode,		since hath remained,
æðelu anbroce ;	2055	a noble fragment ;
ðær bið á gearu		there shall ever be
wraðu wannhálum,		comfort for the wretched,
wíta gehwylces		of every infliction
sæce and sorge.		distress and sorrow.
Hié sona ðær	2060	Soon will they there
purh ða hálgan gesceaft		through the Holy Being
helpe findað,		find help,
godcunde gife,		the grace of God,
swylce Judas onfeng		even as Judas received it
æfter fyrstmearce,	2065	after the lapse of time,
fulwihtes bæð,		the bath of baptism,
and geclænsod wearð,		and became cleansed,
Criste getrywe,		faithful unto Christ,
lifwearde leóf ;		dear to the Lord of life ;
his geleáfa wearð	2070	his faith became
fæst on ferhðe		firm in his spirit
siððan frófre gást		after the Spirit of Consolation
wíc gewunode		had taken up his dwelling
in ðæs weres breóstum,		in the man's breast,
bylde tó bóte.	2075	to the bettering of the house.
He ðæt betere geceás,		He made the better choice,
wuldres wynne,		the joy of glory,
and ðám wýrsan wiðsóc,		and forsook the worse,
deófulgildum,		idolatry,
and gedwolan fýlde,	2080	and put down error,
unrihte æ ;		the unjust Law ;

him wearð éce rex,
meotud milde,
God mihta wealdend.

To him was the eternal King,
the Creator gracious,
God, the ruler of might.

XIII.

Ðá wæs gefulwæd
se ðe ær feala tída
leóht gearu *
* * *
inbryrðed breóstsefa
on ðæt betere lif,
gewended tó wuldre.
Huru wyrd gescraef,
ðæt he swá geleáffull
and swá leóf Gode,
in worldríce
weorðan sceólde,
Criste gecweme.
Ðæt gecýðed wearð
siððan Elene héht
Eusebium
on rædgeþeaht,
Róme bisceop,
gefetian on fultum,
forðsnoterne
hæleða gerædum,
tó ðære hálgan byrig,
ðæt he gesette
on sacerdhád,
in Ierusalem
Judas ðám folce
tó bisceope,
burgum on innan,
purh gástes gife

XIII.

2085 Then was baptized he
who oft before
the light had gladly *
* * *
the mind compunct
2090 unto the better life,
turned to glory.
At least fortune so ordained,
that he so full of faith
and so dear to God,
2095 in this world
should become,
accepted of Christ.
That was made manifest
when Elene bad
2100 Eusebius
to the council of men,
the bishop of Rome,
be fetched to her aid,
the very wise
2105 in the councils of men,
unto the holy city,
that he might set
in the ordination of priest,
in Jerusalem
2110 Judas over the people
as their bishop,
within the towers,
through grace of the Spirit

on ðám áhangen wæs		on which was hanged
hæðenum folmum	2150	by heathen hands
gásta geóccend,		the strengthener of spirits,
Godes ágen bearn,		God's own son,
nerigend fira.		the supporter of men.
Mec ðára nægla gen		Still about the nails
on fyrhðséfan	2155	in my mind
fyrwet myngað :		anxiety warneth me :
wolde ic ðæt ðú funde		I would that thou wouldst find
ða ðe in foldan gen		them, that besides in earth
deópe bedolfen		deeply buried
dierne sindon,	2160	lie hidden,
heólstrę behýded.		covered with darkness.
A' mín hige sorgað,		Ever sorroweth my mind,
reónig reóteð,		sadly mourneth,
and geresteð nó,		and resteth never,
ærðan me gefylle	2165	until for me shall fulfill
fæder ælmihtig,		the Almighty Father,
wereda wealdend,		the Ruler of Hosts,
willan mínne,		my will,
niða nergend,		the Saviour of men,
þurh ðára nægla cyme,	2170	through the advent of the nails,
hálig of híehða.		the Holy One from above.
Nú ðú hrædlice		Now do thou speedily
eallum eádmédum,		in all humility,
ár selesta,		blessed messenger,
ðíne béne onsend	2175	send up thy prayer [heaven),
in ða beorhtan gesceaft,		into the bright creation (i. e. to
on wuldres wealdend,		pray of the Lord of glory,
bide wigena þrym,		the support of warriors,
ðæt ðe gecýðe,		that he show thee,
cyning ælmihtig,	2180	the Almighty King,
hord under hrúsan ;		the treasure beneath the earth ;
ðæt gehýded gen,		that long hidden,
dúguðum dyrne		concealed from men

deógol bídeð.		abideth in secret."
Ðá se hálga ongan	2185	Then began the holy man
hyge staðolian,		to confirm his courage,
breóstum onbryrded,		compunct in his breast,
bisceop ðæs folces		the bishop of the people
glædmód eóde,		went in gladness,
gumena þreáte	2190	with a troop of men
God hergendra ;		that honoured the Lord ;
and ðá geornlice		and there willingly
Cyriacus		Cyriacus
on Caluarie		upon Calvary
hleor onhýlde,	2195	his cheeks bent down,
hygerúne ne máð ;		he avoided not mental speech ;
gástes mihtum,		in the power of the spirit,
tó Gode cleopode		to God he called
eallum eáðmédum ;		in all humility ;
bæd him engla weard	2200	he prayed the Keeper of the
ge-openigean		would reveal to him
uncúðe wyrd,		the unknown fate,
niwan on nearwe,		new, and difficult,
hwær he ðára nægla swíðost		where he most readily the nails
on ðám wangstede	2205	upon the spot
wénan þorfte.		might expect.
Leort ðá tácen forð		Then let a token forth
ðær hie tósægon,		while all looked on,
Fæder, frófre gást,		the Father, Spirit of Comfort,
ðurh fýres bleó	2210	through colour of fire
úp éðigean,		breathe up,
ðær ða æðelestan		where the most noble things
hæleða geráðum		by council of men
hýdde wærou,		were hidden,
þurh nearu searwe,	2215	through narrow device,
nægla on eorðan.		the nails in the earth.
Ðá cwom semninga		There came suddenly
sunnan beorhtra		brighter than the sun

lácende lig.		a dancing fire.
Leóde gesáwon	2220	The people saw
hira willgifan		their Lord of grace
wundor cýðan ;		perform a miracle ;
ðá ðær of heólstre		when there out of the darkness
swylce heofonsteorran		like stars of heaven
oððe gódgimmas,	2225	or jewels,
grunde getenge,		close to the ground, [prison
næglas of nearwe		the nails from out of their
neóðan scínende		shining below
leóhte lixton.		flashed with light.
Leóde gefrægon,	2230	The people learnt it,
weorud willhréðig,		a troop gentle-minded,
sægdon wuldor Gode,		they said glory to God,
ealle ánmóde,		all with one mind,
þeáh hie ær wæron		though they before had been
ðurh deóflæs spild	2235	through craft of the devil
in gedwolan lange,		long in error,
ácyrrad fram Criste.		turned away from Christ.
Hie cwædon ðús :		Thus they spoke :
Nú we seolfe geseóð		“ Now we see ourselves
sigores tácen,	2240	the sign of victory,
sóð wundor Godes.		the true wonder of God !
Ðeáh we wiðsócun ær		Though we before rejected
mid leásingum.		with lying thoughts.
Nú is in leóht cymen,		Now is the light come,
onwripen wyrda bigang ;	2245	the march of fate revealed ;
wuldor ðæs áge		glory be for this
on heánnesse		in the highest
heofonríces God.		to the God of Heaven !”
Ðá wæs geblíssod,		Then was blessed,
seðe tó bóte gehwearf	2250	he who to the better had turned
ðurh bearn Godes,		through the Son of God,
bisceop ðára leóda,		the bishop of the people,
niwan stefne.		at the new tone.

He ðán næglan onfeng, egesan geáclod, and ðære arwyrðan cwene brohte. Hæfde Ciriacus eall gefylled, swa him seó æðele bebeád, wifes willan. Ðá wæs wópes hring, hát heáfodwylm ofer hleor goten ; nalles for torne tearas feóllon ofer wíra gespon. Wuldres gefylled cwene willa. Heó on cneów sette leohte geleáfan, lác weorðade, blissum hrémig, ðe hire brungen wæs, gnyrna tó geóce. Gode þancode, sigora dryhtne, ðæs ðe hió sóð gecneów andweardlice, ðæt wæs oft bodod feor ær beforan fram fruman worulde, folcum tó frófre. Heó gefylled wæs wisdómes gife, and ða wíc beheóld. Hálig heofonlic gást hréðer weardode,	<p>2255</p> <p>2265</p> <p>2270</p> <p>2275</p> <p>2280</p> <p>2285</p>	<p>He took the nails, sickening with fear, and to the venerable queen he brought them. Cyriacus had all fulfilled, [inanded, which the noble one had com- the will of the woman. Then was the ring of weeping, the hot head-fountain poured over the cheeks ; but not for anger fell the tears over the complex of wires. With glory was filled the queen's desire. She knelt down in bright belief, the treasure she honoured, exulting in bliss, which was brought unto her, for a consolation of sorrows. She thanked God, the Lord of victories, for that she now acknowledged present to her, that which was oft foretold long, long before [world, from the beginning of the for the comfort of the people. She was filled with the grace of wisdom, and beheld the town. The holy heavenly Spirit guarded her breast,</p>
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æðelne innoð.
Swa hie ælmihtig
sigebearn Godes
sioððan freoðode.

her noble womb.
2200 Even as the almighty
victorious Son of God
ever after protected her.

XIV.

Ongan ðá geornlice
gástgerýnum
on sefan sécean
sôðfæstnesse,
weg tó wuldre.
Huru weoruda God
gefulláste,
fæder on roderum,
cining ælmihtig,
ðæt seó cwen begeat
willan in worulde.
Wæs se witedóm
ðurh fyrnwitan
beforan sungen,
eall æfter orde
swá hit eft gelamp
ðinga gehwylces.
þeódcwen ongan
ðurh gástes gife
georne sécan
nearwe geneáhhe,
tó hwán hió ða næglas
selost and deórlícost
gedón meahte,
dúgoðum tó hróðer :
hwæt ðæs wære dryhtnes willa.
Héht ðá gefetigean
forðsnotterne

XIV.

Then began she
in the secrets of her spirit
2205 in her mind to seek
in soothfastness,
the way to glory.
At least the Lord of Hosts
gave aid,
2300 the Father in heaven,
the Almighty King,
that the queen obtained
her will in this world.
The prophecy was
2305 by old seers
sung long before,
all from the very beginning
as it afterwards fell out
in every thing.
2310 The great queen began
through grace of the Spirit
earnestly to enquire
anxiously enough,
to what she the nails
2315 might best and most worthily
employ,
for the benefit of mankind :
Lo ! that was the will of God !
She caused to fetch
2320 the very wise man

ricene tó rúne,		quickly to speak with her,
ðone, ðe rædþeáht,		him, who good counsel
ðurh gleawe miht		through prudent might
georne cúðe,		gladly knew,
fróðne on ferhðe ;	2325	the prudent in mind ;
and hine frignan ongan,		and began to enquire of him,
hwæt him ðæs on sefan		what in this matter to his mind
selost þúhte		appeared the best
tó gelæstenne,		to do,
and his láre geceás	2330	and chose his advice
ðurh þeóðscipe.		through meekness.
He hire oncwæð :		He said unto her :
Ðæt is gedafenlic,		“ That is fitting,
ðæt ðú dryhtnes word		that thou the word of the Lord
on hyge healde,	2335	shouldst keep in mind,
hálige rúne,		the holy speech,
cwen selest,		O best queen,
and ðæs cininges bebod		and the King’s command
georne begange.		gladly perform.
Nú ðe God sealde	2340	Now hath God given thee
sáwle sigespéd,		victorious success of thy soul,
and snyttro cræft,		and power of prudence,
nerigend fira.		the Saviour of men !
Ðú ðás næglas hát		Command thou the nails—
ðám æðelestan	2345	for the noblest
eorðcýninga,		of earthly kings,
burgágendra,		of palace-owners,—
on his brídels dón,		on his bridle to set,
meare tó midlum ;		the bit of the steed ;
ðæt manigum sceall	2350	that shall to many
geond middangeard		throughout the world
mære weorðan,		become famous,
ðonne æt sæcce mid ðý		when in the fight with them
oferswíðan mæge		he shall overcome
feónða gehwylcne,	2355	every one of his foes,

ðonne fyrdhwate		when the brave of heart
on twá healfē		on both sides
tohtan sécað,		seek the battle,
sweordgeniðlan,		the swordbearers,
ðær hīe ymb willað,	2360	when they swarm about him,
wráð wið wráðum,		wroth with the wroth,
heáh æt wigge spéd,		high success in war,
sigor æt sæcce,		victory in the contest,
and sybbe gehwær,		and peace everywhere,
æt gefeohte frið,	2365	a protection in fight,
seðe foran lædeð		whoso leadeth forward
bridels on blancan,		the bridle on the steed,
ðonne beadurófe,		when men brave in war,
æt gárfræce,		in the press of javelins,
guman gecoste,	2370	the chosen among men,
berað hord and ord ;		bear shield and spear ;
ðis bið beorna gehwám		this shall be for every man
wið æglece,		against his foe,
unoferswiðed		an unsubdued
wæpen æt wigge.	2375	weapon in war.
Be ðám se witga sang,		Of this the prophet sang,
snottor searuþancum,		wise in his cunning thoughts,
sefa deóp gewód,		deep went his mind,
wisdónes gewitt ;		his wit of wisdom ;
he ðæt word gecwæð :	2380	he spoke the word :
Cúð ðæt gewyrðeð		It shall be known
ðæt ðæs cyninges sceal		that the king's horse shall (go)
mearh under módegum,		under the proud one,
midlum geweorðod,		adorned with bits,
bridelshringum.	2385	with bridle rings.
Bið ðæt beácen góde		That good beacon shall be
hálig nemned,		called holy,
and se hwæteádlig		and the brave-minded one
wiggeweorðod		honoured in war
se [ðe] ðæt wicg byrð.	2390	whom that horse heareth."

<p> Ðá ðæt ófstlice eall gelæste Elene, for eorlum ; æðelinges héht, beorna beággifan brídels frætwan, hire selfre suna. Sende tó láce ofer geofenes streám, gife unscynde. Héht ðá tósomne ðá heó selest mid Judeum gumena wiste, hæleða cynnes, tó ðære hálgan hyrig, cuman in ða ceastre. Ðá seó cwen ongan læran leófra heáp, ðæt hie lufan dryhtnes and sybbe swá same sylfra betweónum, freóndrædenne, fæste gelæston leáhtorleáse, in hira lifes tíd : ond ðæs latteówes lárur hýrdon crístenur þeáwum, ðe him Cyriacus bude boca gleáw. Wæs se bisceophád fægere befæsted. Oft him feorran tó lamian liomseóce </p>	<p> 2395 2400 2405 2410 2415 2420 2425 </p>	<p> Then that speedily all performed Elene, before the men ; shecommanded the noble one's, the ring-giver of men's, bridle to deck, her own son's. She sent it as a present over the ocean stream, a blameless gift. Then called she together all whom she the best among the Jews of men knew, of the race of men, unto the holy city, to come into the city. Then began the queen to teach the dear company, that they love of the Lord and peace together between themselves, friendship, should fast maintain without deceit, for all their lives : and their leader's lore obey in christian morals, which Cyriacus [them. learned in books should teach The bishopric was fair established. Oft from afar to him the lame and limb-sick </p>
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lefe cwomon,		the infirm came,
healte heorudreórige,		the halt sad of mind,
hreófe and blinde,		the leper and the blind,
heáne hygegeomre :		the poor sorrowful of spirit :
symle hælo ðær	2430	all together heal there
æt ðám bisceope,		at the bishop's hands,
bóte fundon		and aid they found
éce tó aldre.		for ever.
Ðá gen him Elene forgeaf		Then further Elene gave him
sincweorðunga,	2435	treasure, [journey
ðá hió wæs síðes fús		when she was prepared for the
eft tó éðle :		back to her home :
and ðá eallum bebeád		and there commanded all
on ðám gumríce		in that country
God hergendum,	2440	who served God,
werum and wífum,		both man and woman,
ðæt hie weorðeden		that they should honour
móde and mægene		with might and main
ðone mæran dæg,		the glorious day,
heortan gehigdum,	2445	in the thoughts of their hearts,
in ðá síó hálige ród		in which the Holy Cross
geméted wæs,		was found,
mærost beáma,		greatest of trees,
ðára ðe of eorðan		of those which from earth
úpáweoxe	2450	have waxed aloft
geloden under leáfum.		grown under leaves.
Wæs ðá lencten ágán		The spring was gone
bútan vi. nihtum		all but six days
ær sumeres cyme,		before the coming of summer,
on Maias k̅t.	2455	in May's calends.
Sie ðára manna gehwám		May for every man
behliden helle duru,		hell's doors be closed,
heofones ontýned,		heaven's unclosed,
éce geopenad,		opened for ever,
engla ríce	2460	the kingdom of angels

<p>dreám unhwílen, and hira dæl scíred mid Marian, ðe on gemynd nime ðære deórestan dægweorðunga róde under roderum, ða se rícesta, ealles oferwealdend earme beþeáhte. Finit.</p>	<p>and unfailing joy, and may his lot be cast with Mary, who beareth in remembrance 2466 the honouring of the day of the most precious cross under the firmament, which the most mighty One, the great Ruler of all 2470 covered with his arm! Finit.</p>
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XV.

Ðús ic fród and fús,
þurh ðæt fæcne hús,
wordcræft wæf,
and wundrum læs,
þragum þreodude
and geþanc reo(r)dode,
nihtes nearwe,
nisse ic gearwe
be ðære riht ærme
rúmran geþeáht;
þurh ða mæran miht
on módes þeáht,
wísdóm onwreah.
Ic wæs weorcum fáh,
synnum ásæled,
sorgum gewæled,
bitrum gebunden,
bisgum beþrunge,
ær me láre onlag,
þurh leóhtne hád,
gamelum tó geóce;
gife unscynde,

XV.

Thus I prudent and ready of
within myself, [mind,
wove power of words,
and wondrously collected,
2475 at times reflected,
and spoke out my thought,
in the narrowness of night,
I knew not well
* * *
2480 a better counsel;
through the great might
in the thought of my mind,
I revealed wisdom.
I was stained with my deeds,
2485 bound by my sins,
buffeted with sorrows,
bitterly bound,
with misery encompassed,
till He laid knowledge on me,
2490 through the bright ordination,
for a comfort to me in my age;
a blameless grace,

mægencyning árnæt,		the powerful King <i>bestowed</i> (measured out to me),
and on gemynd begeat,		and in my memory begot,
torht ontýnde,	2498	bright laid open,
tídum gerýnde,		at times made wide,
bancofan onband,		unloosed my fleshly bonds,
breóstlocan onwand,		opened my breast-chest,
leóðucræft onleác,		unlocked the power of song,
ðæs ic lustum breác	2500	that I with pleasure enjoyed
willum in worlde.		my will in the world.
Ic ðæs wuldres treówes		I the tree of glory
oft, nales éne,		often, not once alone,
hæfde in gemynd,		had in remembrance,
ær ic ðæt wundor	2508	before I the miracle
onwripen hæfde		had revealed
ymb ðone beorhtan beám,		about the bright tree,
swá ic on bócum fand		as I found in books
wyrda gangum,		in the courses of events,
on gewritum cýðan	2510	announced in writings
be ðám sigebeácne.		concerning the tree of victory.
A' wæs sæc oððæt,		Ever was contest till then,
cnysseð cearwelnum		with waves of sorrow tossed
þ drúsende;		C (the torch) sinking,
ðeah he in meoðhealle	2518	though he in meadhall
máðmas þege		treasures handled
æplede gold,		dappled gold,
þ gnornode,		Y (sorrow) he mourned,
þ gefere,		N (need) his consort,
nearu sorge dreáh,	2520	narrow sorrow he suffered,
enge rúne,		a close rune,
ðær him M fore		where E (the horse) before him
milpaðas mæt,		measured the mile-paths,
móðig þrægde		proudly hastened
wírum gewlenced.	2525	with wires adorned.

<p>Ʒ is geswiðrad, gomen æfter gearum, geógoð is gecyrred ald onmedla.</p> <p>Ð wæs geara geógoðhádes glæm, nú synt geardagas æfter fyrstmeorce forðgewitene, lifwynne geliden, swá Ʒ. tóglídæð, flódas gefýsde.</p> <p>F æghwam bið læne under lyfte, landes frætwe gewítaþ under wolcnum, winde gelícost ðonne he for hæleðum hlúdast igeð, wæðeð be wolcnum, wédende færeð, and eft semninga swíge gewyrðeð, in nédcleofan nearwe geheáðrod, preám forþrycced. Swá ðeos world eall gewíteð, and eac swá some ðe hire on wurdon átydrede tiónleg nimeð, ðonne dryhten sylf dóm geséceð, engla weorude. Sceall æghwylc ðær</p>	<p>2530</p> <p>2535</p> <p>2540</p> <p>2545</p> <p>2550</p> <p>2555</p> <p>2560</p>	<p>W (My hope) is overpowered, my joy in my old age, youth is turned back my old pride.</p> <p>U (I was of old) a gleam of youth, now are the days of my life after the appointed space departed, the joy of life flowed away, as L (lake or water) glideth, the floods that hasten.</p> <p>F (wealth) will be for every man failing under the heaven, the ornament of the land will depart under the welkin, most like to the wind when it over men loudest swelleth, rusheth through the clouds, storming goeth, and eft suddenly becometh silent, in its close bed narrowly compressed, with chastisements restrained. So shall all this world depart, and also together those who on it were created the destructive fire shall take, when the Lord himself shall come to judgment, with a troop of angels. There shall every one</p>
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reordberendra		of articulate men
riht gehýran		hear the right
dæda gehwylcra,		of all his deeds,
þurh ðæs déman múð;		through the Judge's mouth;
and worda swá same	2565	and of his words also
wed gesyllan,		give the account,
eallra unsnyttro		all the follies
ærgesprecenra,		he before hath spoken,
þristra geþonca;		his bold thoughts;
ðonne on þreó dæleð	2570	when into three shall separate
in fyres feng		in the grasp of fire
folc ánra gehwylc,		every one of the people,
ðára ðe gewurdon		of those that were
on wídan feore		for ever and ever
ofer sídne grund.	2575	on the wide earth.
Sóðfæste bioð		The righteous shall be
yfemest in ðám áde,		uppermost in the fire,
eádigra gedryht,		the troop of the blessed,
dúguð dómgeorne,		the dignified company rejoicing
		in the judgment,
swá hie ádreógan magon,	2580	as they may bear it,
and bútan earfeðum		and without suffering
eáðe geþólian,		easily endure it,
módigra mægen;		the might of the courageous;
him gemetgað eall		to them shall everything moderate
éðles leóma,	2585	the bright light of their home,
swá him éðost bið,		as for them may be easiest,
sylfum geséftost.		to themselves softest.
Synfulle beóð		The sinful shall be
máne gemengde		mixed up with crime
in ðám midle þread,	2590	in the midst thrust,
hæleð higegeomre,		men sad of mood,
in hátne wylm,		into the hot fire,
þrosme beþehte.		covered with foulness.

Bið se þridda dæl, áwyrgeðe womsceaðan, 2595 in ðæs wylmes grund, leáse leódhatan, lige befæsted, þurh sêrgewyrht, árleásra sceolu, 2600 in gléda gripe. Gode nó syððan of ðám morðorhófe in gemynd cumað, wuldorcyninge : 2605 ac hie worpene beoð of ðám heaðuwylme in helle grund, torngeniðlan. Bið ðám twám dælum 2610 ungelíce ; móton engla frean, geseón sigora God. Hie ásodene beoð ásendrod fram synnum, 2615 swa smæte gold, ðæt in wylme bið woman gehwylces þurh ofnes fýr eall geclænsod, 2620 ámered and gemylted. Swá bið ðára manna ælc áscyred and ásceaden scylda gehwylcre, deópra firena, 2625 þurh ðæs dómesfyr. Móton ðonne siððan sybbe brúcan,	The third portion shall be, cursed sinners, upon the abyss of the fire false atrocious criminals, made fast in flames, through their old deeds, the troop of reprobates, into the gripe of flames. Never afterwards to God from out the place of death will their thought return, the King of glory : but they will be cast out of the deadly fire into the abyss of hell, fierce adversaries. With the other two parts it will be different ; [angels, they may behold the Lord of the Lord of victory. [will be They being purified (<i>sodden</i>) separated from their sins, like beaten gold, which in the fire is from every stain through the fire of the furnace entirely cleansed, purified and melted. So will be each of those men sundered and set apart from every sin, of the deeper crimes, through the fire of doom. Afterwards they may enjoy peace,
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éces eádwelan ;		eternal bliss ;
him bið engla weard	2630	to them will the Lord of angels
milde and bliðe,		mild and blithe, [be
ðæs ðe hie mána gehwylc,		because they every sin,
forsawon synna weorc,		every work of sin rejected,
and tó suna metudes		and to the Son of God
wordum cleopodon :	2635	cried in words :
forðan hie nu on wlite scínað,		wherefore they shall shine in
		their countenance,
englum gelíce,		like unto angels,
yrfes brúcað		shall enjoy the inheritance
wuldorcyninges,		of the King of Glory,
tó wídan feore. Amen.	2640	world without end. Amen.

END OF ELENE.

A FRAGMENT,
MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

* * *

* * *

* * *

* sorh cymeð,

manig and mislic,
in manna dreám ;
eorl óðerne
mid æþancum
and mid teónwordum
tæleð behindan,
spreceð fægere beforan,
and ðæt fácen swá ðeáh
hafað in his heortan,
hord unclænne.
Byð ðonne ðæs wommes ge-
wita.

Forðan se witiga cwæð :
Ne syle ðú me ætsomne
mid ðám synfullum
in wíta forwyrd,
weoruda dryhten,
né me on life forleós

* * *

* * *

* * *

* sorrow cometh,

many and various,
into the joy of men ;
one man another
5 with envy
and with despiteful words
blameth behind his back,
speaks him fair before his face,
and nevertheless the evil
10 hath in his heart,
an unclean hoard.
But conscious of the guilt he is.

Because the prophet saith :
“ Give not thou me together
15 with the sinful [ment,
into the perdition of punish-
O Lord of Hosts,
nor desert me in life

mid ðám ligewyrhtum,		with the workers of lies,
ðám ðe ful sméðe	20	those that full smooth
spræce habbað,		speech have,
and in gástcofan		and in the chests of their spirit
grimme gepochtas :		grim thoughts :
gehátað holdlice		who promise kindly
swá hyra hyht ne gæð,	25	as their hope goeth not,
wære mid welerum.		their pledge with the lips."
Wea bið in móde		Evil is in mood
siofa synnum fáh,		the mind defiled with sins,
sáre geblonden,		mixed up with evil,
gefylled mid fácne,	30	filled with treachery,
ðeáh he fæger word		although it fair words
útan ætýwe.		outwardly show.
Ænlíce beóð		Like are they
swá ða beón berað		as the bees bear
butu ætsomne	35	both together
árlícne ánleofan,		an excellent food,
and ætterne tægel		and a poisonous tail
hafað on hindan,		they have behind them,
hunig on múðe,		honey in the mouth,
wynsume wist,	40	a pleasant food,
hwílum wundiað		and sometimes wound
sáre mid * *		sore with (their sting)
ðonne se sæl cymeð.		when the time cometh.
Swá beóð gelíce		Such resemble
ða leásan men	45	false men
ða ðe mid tungan		who with the tongue
treówa gehátað		promise fidelity
fægerum wordum,		in fair words,
fácenlice þencað,		but treacherously think,
ðonne hie æt nehstan	50	when they as soon as possible
nearwe beswícað ;		narrowly betray ;
hafað on gehátum		have in their promises
hunigsmæccas,		the taste of honey,

sméðne sybcwide,		the smooth speech of peace,
and in siofan innan,	55	and within their mind,
ðurh deóflæs cræft,		through the devil's craft,
dyrne wunde.		a secret wound.
Swá is nú ðes middangeard		Thus now is this earth
máne geblonden ;		mixed up with wickedness ;
wanað and weaxeð ;	60	it waneth and waxeth ;
wacað se ealda,		the old one waketh,
dweleð and dréfeð		deceiveth and oppresseth
dægæs and nihtes,		by day and night,
miltse mid máne,		mercy with crime,
mægene getryweð,	65	it trusteth on its strength,
ehteð æfestræ,		it persecuteth the just,
inwit sáweð,		it soweth evil,
nið mid geneáhe.		mischief in abundance.
Nænig óðerne		No one his neighbour
freóð in fyrhðe,	70	so loveth in spirit,
nimðe færa hwylc,		save very few,
ðæt he sóðlice		that he truly
sybbe healde,		holdeth peace,
gástlice lufe,		spiritual love,
swá him God bebeád ;	75	as God commanded him ;
forðan eallunga		because altogether
hyht geceóseð,		hope he chooseth,
woruld wynsume,		a pleasant world,
seðe wís ne bið,		who is not wise,
snottor searocræftig	80	prudent and skilled
sáwle rædes.		in the wisdom of the soul.
Uton tó ðám beteran.		Let us now turn to the better !
Nú we cunnon hycgan,		Now we can think,
and hyhtan		and hope
ðæt we heofones leóht,	85	that we the light of heaven,
uppe mid englum		above with the angels
ágan móton,		may possess,
gástum tó geóce,		for the comfort of our spirits,

ðonne God wile
eorðan lifes
ende gewyrcean.

90 when God will
of our earthly life
make an end.

END OF A FRAGMENT, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

THE HOLY ROOD;

A DREAM.

HWÆT ic swefna cyst
secgan wylle,
ðæt me gemætte
tô midre nihte,
syððan reordberend
reste wunedon.
þúhte me ðæt ic gesawe
sýllícra treów
on lyft læðan
leóhte bewunden,
beáma beorhtost :
eall ðæt beácen wæs
begoten mid golde ;
gimmas stódon fægere
æt foldan sceátum,
swylce ðær fife wæron
uppe on ðám eazlegespanne :
beheóldon ðær engel dryhtnes
ealle
fægere þurh forðgesceaft.
Ne wæs ðær huru fracóðes
gealga,
ac hine ðær beheóldon
háliges gástas,

LO! I the costliest of dreams
will relate,
that met me
in the middle of the night,
5 after articulate speaking men
dwelt in rest.
It seemed to me that I saw
a wondrous tree
led through the sky
10 enveloped in light,
brightest of beams :
all that beacon was
surrounded with gold ;
gems stood fair
15 at the extremities of the earth,
five also there were
aloft on the axle-span :
all the angels of the Lord be-
held it
fair through the firmament..
That was no malefactor's
20 gibbet indeed,
but it there beheld
holy spirits,

<p>men ofer moldan, and eall ðeós mære gesceaft. Syllic wæs se sigebeám, 25 and ic synnum fáh, forwunded mid wommum, geseah ic wuldres treow wædum geworðode wynnum scinan, 30 gegyred mid golde. Gimmas hæfdon bewrigen weorðlice wealdes treow. Hwæðre ic þurh ðæt gold 35 ongytan meahte earnra ærgewinn, ðæt hit ærest ongan swætan on ða swiðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sargum ge- dréfed, 40 forht ic wæs for ðære fægran gesýhðe; geseah ic ðæt fúse beácen wenden wædum and bleóm; hwílum hit wæs mid wætan bestémed, beswýled mid swátes gänge; hwílum mid since gegýrwed. Hwæðre ic ðær licgende lange hwíle beheold hreowcearig Hælandes treow, 50 oððæt ic gehýrde ðæt hit hleoðrode. Ongan ða word spreca</p>	<p>men upon the earth, and all this mighty creation. Strange was the tree of victory, and I stained with sins, wounded with my guilt, saw the tree of glory adorned with hangings pleasantly shine, ornamented with gold. Jewels had worthily encircled the forest tree. Yet could I through the gold understand [ferers, the ancient struggle of the suf- ferers, when it first began to bleed on the right side. I was all oppressed with sor- row, terrified I was at the fair sight; I saw the hastening beacon change both in hangings and colours; at times it was damped with wet, soiled with running of blood; at times adorned with treasure. But I lying there a long while sad of mind beheld the Saviour's tree, until I heard that it gave a sound. These words to speak began</p>
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wudu selesta :		the best of trees :
Ðæt wæs geara iú,	65	“ It was long ago,
ic ðæt gyta geman,		yet I remember it,
ðæt ic wæs áheáwen		that I was cut down
holtes on ende,		at the end of a wood,
ástyred of swefne mínum :		stirred from my sleep :
genamon me ðær strange eo		strong enemies took me there,
feóndas,		
geworhton him ðær tó wæfer-		they made of me a spectacle for
sýne,		themselves,
héton me heora wergas heb-		they bade me lift up their cri-
ban :		minals :
béron me ðær beornas on		then men bore me on their
eaxlum		shoulders
oððæt hie me on beorg áset-		until they set me up on a
ton :		mountain :
gefæstnodon me ðær feóndas		enemies enough fastened me
genoge.	68	there.
Geseah ic ðá freán man-		There saw I the Lord of man-
cynnes		kind
éfstan elne mycle,		hasten with mighty power,
ðæt he me wolde ongestígan.		that he might mount upon me.
Ðær ic ðá ne dorste,		I then dared not there,
ofer dryhtnes word,	70	against the Lord's command,
búgan oððe berstan,		bow down or break in sunder,
ðá ic bifian geseah		when I saw tremble
eorðan sceátas :		the territories of earth :
ealle ic mihte		I might all
feóndas gefyllan,	75	his foes have felled,
hwæðre ic fæste stóð.		nevertheless I stood fast.
Ongyrede hine ðá geóng		Then the young hero made
hæleð,		ready,—
ðæt wæs God ælmihtig,		that was Almighty God,—
strang and stíðmód		firm and steadfast of mind
gestáh he on gealgan heánne,		he went up upon the lofty cross,

módig on manigra gesýhðe,		courageous in the sight of many,
ðá he wólde mancyn lýsan.		since there he would redeem mankind.
Bifode ic ðá me se beorn	I trembled there when the	
ymbclypte,	champion embraced me,	
ne dorste ic hwæðre búgan	but I dared not bow down to	
tó eorðan,	earth,	
feallan tó foldan sceátum, 88	fall on the ground, [fast ;	
ac ic sceólde fæste standan ;	but I was compelled to stand	
ród wæs ic áræred,	a cross was I reared,	
áhof ic rícne cyning,	I uplifted the mighty King,	
heofona hláford ;	the Lord of the heavens ;	
hyldan me ne dorste. 90	fall down I dared not.	
Þurhdrifon hi me mid	They pierced me with dark	
deorcan næglum,	nails,	
on me syndon ða dolg gesífene,	the wounds are visible upon me,	
opene inwidhlemmas,	open sounds of woe*,	
ne dorste ic hira nænigum	nor dared I injure any of	
sceððan :	them :	
bysmeredon hie butu æt- 95	they reviled us both together :	
gædere :		
eall ic wæs mid blóde bestemed	I was all wet with blood	
begoten of ðæs guman sídan,	poured from the man's side,	
siððan he hæfde his gást on-	after he had sent forth his	
sended ;	spirit ;	
feala ic on ðam beorge	much on that mountain	
gebiden hæbbe 100	have I endured	
wráðra wyrda.	of angry fortunes.	
Geseah ic weruda God	I saw the Lord of hosts	
pearle þenian :	hardly serve :	
þýstro hæfdon	darkness had	
bewrigen mid wolcnum 105	covered with clouds	
wealdendes hræw,	the corpse of the ruler,	

* There is no doubt something wrong here; probably a line or two missing.

scírne sciman		the bright splendour
sceadu forðeóde,		shadow invaded,
wann under wolcnum ;		wan under the welkin ;
weóp eal gesceaft,	110	all creation wept, [king :
cwíðdon cynninges fyll :		they lamented the fall of their
Crist wæs on róde,		Christ was on the cross,
hwæðere ð 'r fúse		but thither hastening
feorran cwomon		men came from afar
tó ðám æðelinge :	115	to the noble one :
ic ðæt eall beheóld ;		I beheld it all ;
sáre ic wæs mid gedréfed,		I was oppressed with sorrow,
hnág ic hwæðre ðám secgum		yet I bowed me down to the
tó handa,		hand of the men,
eáðmod elne mycle.		humbly with great power.
Genamon hie ðær æl-	120	There they took Almighty
mihtigne God,		God,
áhofon hine of ðám hefian		they lifted him off the heavy
wíte ;		torment ;
forleton me ðá hilderincas		the heroes left me there
standan steáme bedrifenne,		standing covered with steam,
eall ic wæs mid strælum		I was all wounded with shafts.
forwundod.		
Áledon hie ðær limwérigne,		They laid him down limb-weary,
gestódon him æt his líces		they stood at the head of his
heáfðum,		corpse,
beheóldon hie ðær heofenes		there they beheld the Lord of
dryhten,		heaven,
and he hine ðær hwíle reste,		and there awhile he rested,
méðe æfter ðám miclan ge-		weary after his mighty contest.
winne.		
Ongunnon him ða moldern		Then began the men a grave
wyrcau	130	to make for him
beornas on banan gesýhðe,		in the sight of his foes,
curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan		they hewed it out of bright
stáne ;		stone ;

gesetton hie ðæron sigora wealdend.		in it they placed the Lord of victory.
Ongunnon him ðá sorhleoð galan, earme on ða æfentide, 135 ðá hie wóldon eftsiðian, méðe fram ðám mæran þeodne, reste he ðær mæte weorode.		Then began they to sing over him a mournful song, the poor people at eventide, since they must return back, weary from the great King, there he rested with a small company.
Hwæðere we ðær geótende góde hwíle 140 stódon on staðole, siððan up gewát hilde rinca [sum]; hræw cólode, fæger feorgbold. 145 Ðá ús man fyllan ongan ealle tó eorðan, ðæt wæs egeslic wyrð : [seaðe. bedealf ús man on deópan Hwæðre me ðær dryhtnes þegnas 150 freóndas gefrunon * * * * * * gyredon me golde and seolfre. Nú ðú miht gehýran, hæleð mín se leófa, ðæt ic bealuwara weorc 155 gebiden hæbbe, sárra sorga : is nú sæl cumen ðæt me weorðiað wíde and síde 160 menn ofer moldan,		But we there dripping (blood) for a good while stood in our place, afterwards there went up a warrior ; the corpse grew cold, the fair dwelling of life. Then they began to fell us all to the ground, that was a terrible fortune : they buried us in a deep pit. But me the servants of the Lord discovered there * * * [silver. they adorned me with gold and Now mayst thou hear, my dear man, that I the work of criminals have endured, of sore sorrows : but now the time is come that men on earth far and wide honour me,

and eall ðeos mære gesceaft		and all this great creation
gebiddað him tó ðysum beácne.		prays to this sign.
On me bearn Godes		On me the Son of God
þrówode hwhíle,	165	suffered awhile,
forþan ic þrymfæst nú		therefore I firmly now
hlifige under heofenum,		tower under heaven,
and ic hælan mæg		and I can heal
æghwylcne ánra		each one of those
ðára ðe him bið egesa tó me.		who hath fear for me.
Iu ic wæs geworden		Formerly I was become
wíta heardost,		hardest of punishments,
leóðum láðost,		most hateful to men,
ær ðan ic him lifes weg		ere I to them the way of life
rihtne gerýmde,	175	the right one made open,
reordberendum.		to articulate men.
Hwæt me ðá geweorðode		Lo! then honoured me
wuldres ealdor,		the Prince of glory,
ofer holtwudu,		above forest wood,
heofonríces weard,	180	the Lord of heaven's kingdom,
swylce swá he his modor eác		even as he his mother also
Marian sylfe,		Mary herself,
æelmihtig God,		Almighty God,
for ealle menn		before all men
geweorðode,	185	honoured,
ofer eall wífa cynn.		above all womankind.
Nú ic ðe háte,		Now I command thee,
hæleð mín se leofa,		man, the dear to me,
ðæt ðú ðás gesýhðe		that thou this vision
secge mannum,	190	say to men,
onwreoh wordum,		reveal with words,
ðæt hit is wuldres beám		that it is the tree of glory
se ðe æelmihtig God		on which Almighty God
on þrówode		suffered
for mancynnes	195	for mankind's
manegum synnum,		many sins,

and Adames		and Adam's
ealdgewyrhtum :		old transgression :
deáð he ðær byrigde ;		death he tasted there ;
hwæðere eft dryhten áráš	200	but again the Lord arose
mid his miclan mihte		with his great might
mannum tó helpe :		to help men :
he ðá on heofenas ástág,		he there ascended into heaven,
hider eft fundað		and will come hither again
on ðysne middangeard,	205	upon this earth,
mancyn sécan,		to seek mankind,
on dómdæge,		on doomsday,
dryhten sylfa,		the Lord himself,
ælmihhtig God,		Almighty God,
and his englas mid :	210	and his angels with him :
ðæt he ðonne wile déman,		for then will He judge,
se áh dómes geweald,		that hath the power of doom,
ánra gehwylcum		to every man
swá he him sérur, her		as he for himself before, here
on ðyssum lænum	215	in this miserable
life, gearnað.		life, hath earned.
Ne mæg ðær ænig		There may not any one
unforht wesan,		be free from fear,
for ðám worde		for the word
ðe se wealdend cwyð :	220	which the Lord shall speak :
frineð he for ðære mænige		he will ask before the multitude
hwær se man sie,		who the man is,
seðe for dryhtnes naman		who for the Lord's name
deáðes wólde		would taste
biteres onbyrigan,	225	of bitter death,
swá he ær on ðám beáme dyde.		as he did himself on the cross.
Ac hie ðonne forhtiað,		But they then will dread,
and fea þencað		and few will think
hwæt hie tó Criste		what they to Christ
cweðan onginnen.	230	shall begin to say.
Ne þearf ðær ðonne ænig		There then may not any

unforht wesan,		be without terror, [breast
ðe him ár in breóstum bereð		who before that, beareth in his
beácna selest ;		the best of signs ;
ac ðurh ða róde sceal	235	but through the cross shall
ríce gesécan,		the kingdom seek,
of eorðwege,		away from earth,
æghwylc sawl		every soul
seó ðe mid wealdende		which with the Lord
wunian þenceð.	240	desires to dwell."
Gebæd ic me ðá tó ðám beáme		I prayed then to the cross
blíðe móde		blithe of mood
elne mycle,		with much power,
ðær ic ána wæs		where I was alone
mæte werede ;	245	with a small company ;
wæs módsefa		my mind was
afýsed on forðwege :		eager for my departure :
feala ealra gebád		all too much had I endured
langunghwíla.		of longing times.
Is me nú lifes hyht,	250	Now have I hope of life,
ðæt ic ðone sigebeám		that I the victorious tree
sécan móte,		may seek,
ána oftor		alone oftener
ðonne ealle men,		than all other men,
well weorðian :	255	well honour :
me is willa tó ðám,		my will is set on that,
mycel on móde,		strong in my mind,
and min mundbyrd is		and my protection is
geriht tó ðære róde.		directed to the Rood.
Náh ic rícra feala	260	I have not many powerful
freónða on foldan,		friends on earth,
ac hie forð heonon gewiton		but they have departed hence
of worulde dreámum,		from the world's joys,
sóhton him wuldres cyning,		have sought the King of glory,
lífað nú on heofenum,	265	and now live in heaven,
mid heáhfædere		with their High Father

wuniað on wuldre.		dwell in glory.
And ic wéne me		And I remain in expectation
daga gehwylce		every day
hwænne me dryhtnes ród, 270		when the Lord's cross,
ðe ic her on eorðan		which I here on earth
ær sceawode,		before beheld,
on ðyssan lænan		in this poor
life gefetige,		life shall fetch me,
and me ðonne gebringe 275		and bring me then
ðær is blis mycel,		where there is great bliss,
dreám on heofonum :		joy in heaven :
ðær is dryhtnes folc		there is the Lord's people
geseted tó symle,		set to the feast,
ðær is singal blis ; 280		there is eternal bliss ;
and he ðonne ásette		and he will then appoint me
ðær ic syððan mót		where I henceforth may
wunian on wuldre,		dwell in glory,
well mid ðám hálgum		well with the saints
dreámes brúcan. 285		enjoy happiness.
Si me dryhten freónd,		May the Lord befriend me,
seðe on eorðan		who upon earth
ær þrówode		formerly suffered
on ðám gealgtreówe,		on the gallows-tree,
for guman synnum. 290		for the sins of men !
He ús onlýsde		He released us
and ús lif forgeaf,		and gave us life,
heofonlicne hám.		the heavenly home.
Hiht wæs geniwad,		Hope was renewed,
mid blédun and mid blisse,		with increase and with joy, [fire:
ðám ðe ðær bryne þólodon :		for those who there suffered by
se sunu wæs sigorfæst		the Son was victorious
on ðám siðfate,		on that journey,
mihtig and spédig,		mighty and successful,
ðá he mid manigeo com, 300		when he came with a multitude,
gásta weorode,		a troop of spirits,

on Godes rice,		into God's kingdom,
ánwealda ælmihtig,		Almighty King,
englum tó blisse		to the joy of angels
and eallum ðám hálgum	308	and all the saints
ðám ðe on heofonum ær		who before that in heaven
wunedon on wuldre,		abode in glory,
ðá heora wealdend cwom,		when their Ruler came,
ælmihtig God,		Almighty God,
ðær his éðel wæs.	310	back to his heritage!

END OF THE HOLY ROOD.

THE

FATES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES;

A FRAGMENT.

HWÆT ic ðysne sang
sifðgeómor fand,
on seócum sefan
samnode wíde,
hú ða æðelingas
ellen cýðdon.
Torhte and tireádige
twelfe wæron,
dædum dómfæste,
dryhtne gecorene,
leófe on life.
Lof wíde sprang,
miht and mærdø
ofer middangeard,
þeóðnes þegna,
þrym unlytel.
Hálgan heápe
hlyt wísode,
ðær hie dryhtnes æ
déman sceóldon,
reccan fore rincum.

LO! I this song
found sad of mood,
in my sick mind
widely collected,
5 how the noble ones
gave proof of valour.
Bright and blessed with glory
were the twelve,
upright in deeds,
10 chosen unto the Lord,
dear to him in life.
Wide spread the praise,
the might and glory
over all the earth,
15 of the King's thanes,
no little power.
To the holy troop
their lot assigned,
where they the Lord's law
20 should judge, [riors.
should relate before the war-

<p>Sume on Romebyrig, frame fyrdhwate, feorh ofgefon, þurg Nerones neawe searwe, Petrus and Paulus. Is se apostolhád wíde geweorðod ofer werþeóda. Swylce Andreas, in Achagia, for Egias aldre genéðde. Ne þreodode he fore þrymme ðeódcyninges æniges on eorðan, ac him éce geceás, langsumre lif, leóht unhwílen : syððan hilde heard heriges byrhtme, æfter gúðplegan, gealgan þehte. Hwæt we eác gehýrdon be Iohanne, ægleáwe menn, æðelo reccan, se manna wæs, míne gefrege, þurh cneorisse Criste leófast on weres háde ; syððan wuldres cyning, engla ordfruma eorðan sóhte</p>	<p>25 30 40 45 50 55</p>	<p>Some in the city of Rome, pious and brave, gave up their lives, through Nero's cruel treachery, viz. Peter and Paul. Their apostlehood is widely honoured over the world. Also Andreas in Achaia, before Hegias struggled for life. He feared not for the power of the great King any on earth, [nal, but chose for himself the eter- the more enduring life, a light that is not transitory : after he, bold in war, amid the noise of the multitude, after his contest, covered the cross. So we have also heard concerning John, the man wise in the law, his nobility related, who of all men was, as I have heard, through his generation dearest to Christ in the form of man ; after the King of glory, the Lord of the angels sought the earth</p>
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þurh fæmnan hrif,
 fæder manncynnes.
 He in Effessia
 ealle þrage
 leóde lærde ;
 þanon lifes weg
 síðe gesóhte
 swegledreámas,
 beorhtne boldwelan.
 Næs his bróðor læt,
 síðes sæne,
 ac ðurh sweordes bite,
 mid Iudeum,
 Iacob sceólde
 fore Herode
 ealdre gedælan,
 feorh wið flæscce.
 Philipus wæs
 mid Asseum :
 ðanon éce lif,
 þurh ródecwealm,
 ricene gesóhte,
 syððan on galgan
 in Gearapolim
 áhangen wæs
 hilde corðre.
 Huru wíde weard
 wyrd undyrne,
 ðæt tó Indeum
 aldre gelæððe
 beaducræftig beorn
 Bartholameus,
 ðone héht Astrias
 in Albano,
 hæðen and hygeblind,

through a woman's womb,
 the father of mankind.
 He in Ephesia
 60 the whole time
 taught the people ;
 thence the way of life
 journeying he sought
 the joys of heaven,
 65 the bright dwelling.
 Nor was his brother tardy,
 or a laggard on the journey,
 but through the bite of the
 among the Jews, [sword,
 70 was James fated
 before Herod
 to part from life,
 the life from the flesh.
 Philip was
 75 with the Asseans :
 thence the eternal life,
 through death upon the cross,
 he quickly sought,
 after on a gallows
 80 in Gearapolis
 he was hanged
 by a warlike troop.
 Widely indeed became
 the fate revealed,
 85 that among the Indians
 from life must part
 the valiant champion
 Bartholomeus,
 whom Astrias commanded
 90 in Albania,
 heathen and blind of mind,

heáfd e beneósan,		to be deprived of his head,
forðan he ða hæðengild		because he the idols
hýran ne wolde,		would not obey,
wig weorðian,	95	worship idols,
him wæs wuldres dreám,		to him was the joy of glory,
lifwela leófra		the good of life, more dear
ðonne ðás leásan godu.		than these false gods.
Swylce Thomas eác		So Thomas also
þriste genéðde	100	boldly adventured
on Indea,		in India,
óðre dælas,		on the other hand,
ðær manegum wearð		where to many a one was
mód onlihted,		the mind enlightened,
hige onhyrded,	105	the thought confirmed,
þurh his hálig word,		through his holy word,
syððan collenferð		after he, bold of heart,
cyninges bróðor		the king's brother
áwehte for weorodum		raised up before the multitude
wundorcraefte	110	with miraculous power
þurh dryhtnes miht,		through the might of God,
ðæt he of deáðe árás		so that he arose from death
geóng and gúðhwæt,		young and valiant,
and him wæs Gad nama ;		and his name was Gad ;
and ðá ðæm folce	115	and then for the people
feorg gesealde,		he gave his life,
sín æt sæcce		at the contest
sweordræs fornam,		he endured the sword-rush,
þurh hæðene hand ;		through the heathen hand ;
ðær se hálga gecrang	120	there the holy one sunk down
wund for weorudum,		wounded before the host,
þonon wuldres leóht		from whence the light of glory
sáwle gesóhte		with his soul he sought
sigores tó leáne.		for the reward of his victory.
Hwæt we ðæt gehýrdon	125	Lo we have heard that
þurg hálige béc,		through holy books,

<p> ðæt mid sigelwarum sôð yppe wearð dryhtlic dóm Godes, dæges or onwóc leóhtes geleáfan, land wæs gefælsod, þurh Matheus mære láre, ðone hét Irtacus ðurh yrne hyge, wælreow cyning, wæpnum áswebban. Hýrde we ðæt Iacob, in Ierusalem, fore sacerdum, swilt þrowode ðurg stenges sweng ; stíðmód gecrang, eádig for áfestum, hafað nú éce lif mid wuldorcining wiges tó leáne. Næron ða twegen tohtan sæne, lindgeláces, land Persea sóhton síðfrome Simon and Thaddeus, beornas beadorófe ; him wearð bám samod án endedæg ; æðele sceóldon, ðurh wæpeuhete, weorc þrowigan sigeleán sécan, </p>	<p> that among the Ethiopians true was revealed the lordly doom of God, the dayspring awoke of light belief, the land was purified, through Matthew's mighty lore, whom Hirtacus commanded through erring mind, the tyrannical king, with weapons to slay. We have heard that James, in Jerusalem, before the priests, suffered death through the swing of a club ; firm of mind he died, blessed for his faith, he hath now eternal life with the King of glory for the reward of his contest. The two were not laggards to battle, the play of shields, the land of the Persians valiantly sought Simon and Thaddeus, the warriors noble in battle ; they both together had one ending day ; the noble ones were, through hate of weapons, the work to suffer to seek the reward of victory, </p>
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<p>and ðone sóðan gefean, dreám æfter deáðe, ðá gedæled wearð lif wið líce, and ðas lænan gestreón íðle æhtwelan ealne forhogodon. Ðys ða æðelingas ende gesealdon, xii. tilmóðige, tír unbræcne wásgon on gewitte, wuldres þegnas. Nú ic ðonne bidde beorn se ðe lufige þysses giddes begang, ðæt he geómrum me, ðone hálgan heáp helpe bidde friðes and fultomes ; nú ic freónða beþearf liðra on láde, ðonne ic sceal langne hám, eardwíc uncúð, ána gesecan, læt me on laste lic eorðan dæð wælreáf wunigean weormum tó hróðre.</p>	<p>165 170 175 180 185 190</p>	<p>and the true joy, glory after death, where divided was the life from the body, and this poor treasure empty wealth they all despised. Thus the nobles gave their end, the high-minded twelve, unbroken glory wielded in their minds, the servants of glory. Now then I pray the man who loveth the progress of this song, that he for me a wretch, the holy troop for help implore for peace and support ; now I am in need of friends favourable on my course, when I must the long home, an unknown land, seek alone, leave behind me my body, a portion of earth, my spoils remain for a possession to the worm.</p>
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THE
DEPARTED SOUL'S ADDRESS TO
THE BODY.

PART I.—THE CONDEMNED SOUL.

HURU ðæs behófað
hæleða æghwylc,
ðæt he his sáwle sfð
sylfa geþence,
hú ðæt bið deóþlic,
ðonne se deað cymeð,
ásyndreð ða sybbe
ðe ær samod wæron,
lic and sáwle ;
lang bið syððan
ðæt se gást nimeð
æt Gode sylfum
swá wíte swá wuldor ;
swá him on worulde ær,
efne ðæt eorðfæt
ær geworhte.
Sceal se gást cuman
geohðum hrémig,
symble ymbe seofon niht,
sáwle findan

THIS it at least behoves
every man,
that he his soul's journey
himself reflect upon,
5 how awful it will be,
when death comes,
sunders the kindred
that were before together,
body and soul ;
10 long will it then be
ere the spirit takes
from God himself
either punishment or glory ;
as for him in the world before,
15 even the earth-vessel (body)
may have wrought.
The spirit shall come
sad in spirit,
always after seven nights,
20 the soul to find

ðone lichoman		the body.
ðe hie ær lange wæg,		that it long before had wielded,
ðreó hund wintra ;		for three hundred years ;
bútan ær þeódcyning,		unless earlier the great King,
æلميhtig God,	25	Almighty God,
ende worulde		the end of the world
wyrcan wille,		will work,
weoruda dryhten.		the Lord of Hosts.
Cleopað ðonne swá cearful		Then shall it call so sadly
cealdan reorde,	30	with cold voice,
spreceð grimlice		shall sternly speak
se gást tó ðám duste :		the spirit to the dust :
Hwæt ðruh ðu dreórega,		“ Lo ! thou gory dust, [me,
tó hwán dréhtest ðú me,		wherefore didst thou torture
eorðan fúlness	35	foulness of earth
eal forwisnad,		all corrupted,
lámnes gelícnas.		likeness of clay ?
Lyt ðú gemundest		Little thou thoughtest
tó hwán ðínre sáwle þing		to what thy soul's condition
siððan wurde,	40	after would be,
syððan of lichoman		after it from the body
læded wære.		were led. [accursed ?
Hwæt wíte ðú me wériga.		Why dost thou torture me
Hwæt ðú huru wyrma gyfl		Lo ! thou at best food for worms
lyt geþohrest,	45	didst little think, [lust
ðá ðú lustgryrum eallum		when thou with all sins of thy
fúl geódest,		wentest about defiled,
hú ðú on eorðan scealt		how thou on earth shouldst be
wyrmum tó wiste.		the food of worms !
Hwæt ðú on worulde ær	50	Lo ! thou formerly in the world
lyt geþohrest,		didst little think,
hú ðis is ðús lang hider.		how this is long hither.
Hwæt ðe lá engel		Lo ! thee an angel
úfan of roderum		from heaven above
sáwle onsende,	55	sent a soul,

<p> þurh his sylfes hand, meotod ælmihtig of his mægenþrymme ; and ðe gebohte blóde ðý hálgan : 60 and ðú me mid ðý heardan hungre gebunde, and gehæftneðest helle wítum. Eardode ic ðe on innan, 65 ne meahste ic ðe ofcuman, flæscce befangen, and me fyrenlustas ðíne geþrungeon, ðæt me þúhte ful oft 70 ðæt hit wære [þrittig] þúsend wintra tó ðinum deaðdæge. A' ic uncres gedáles onbád earfoðlice, 75 nis nú huru se ende tógód. Wære ðú ðe wíste wlanc, and wínes sæd ; þrymful ðunedest and ofþyrsted wæs 80 Godes lichoman, gástes drynces, forðán ðú ne hogodeð her on life, syððan ic ðe on worulde 85 wunian sceólde, ðæt ðú wære þurh flæsc, and þurh fyrenlustas strange gestrýned, and gestaðolod þurh me ; 90 </p>	<p> through his own hand, the Lord Almighty from his majesty ; and purchased thee with his holy blood : and thou me with the hard hunger didst bind, and didst hold captive with hell-torments. I dwelt within thee, I might not go from thee, hung round with flesh, and me thy sinful lusts oppressed, so that to me full oft it seemeð that it were thirty thousand years to thy death-day. Ever our parting I awaited in sorrow, [good. now at least is not the end too Thou wert in food luxurious, and sated with wine ; in splendour thou wert proud and I was thirsty for God's body, the drink of the spirit, [mind because thou didst not bear in here in life, after I thee in the world must inhabit, that thou wert through flesh, and through sinful lusts strongly born, and through me confirmed ; </p>
---	---

and ic wæs gást on ðe fram Gode sended.		and I was a spirit into thee sent from God.
Næfre ðú me mid swá heardum hellewítum ne generedest,		Never thou me with such hard hell-torments wouldst have saved.
þurh ðínra nïeda lust scealt ðú mínra gesynta sceame þrowian on ðám myclan dæge,		Through thy need's lust thou shalt for my happiness shame endure in that great day,
ðonne eall manna cynn se áncenneda ealle gesamnað ; ne eart ðú ðon leófra nænigum lifigendra,	95	when all the race of men the Only-begotten one all shall gather ; thou art now no dearer to any living man,
men tó gemæccan, né méder ne fæder, né nænigum gesybban, ðonne se swearta hrefn, syððan ic ána of ðe útsíðode	100	to any one as a comrade, neither to mother nor father, nor any kindred, than the swart raven, after that I alone from thee pass'd out
þurh ðæs sylfes hand ðe ic áar onsended wæs.	105	through the same One's hand through which I was first sent in. [hence
Ne mæg ðe nú heonon ádon hyrsta ðý reádan, ne gold ne seolfor, né ðínra góda nán, né ðínre brydebeág, né ðín boldwela, né nán ðara goda ðe ðú íu ahtest ; ac her sceólon onbídan bán bereáfod, besliten synum ; and ðe ðín sawl sceal,	110	Thou mayst not now take thee the red ornaments, nor gold nor silver, nor any of thy goods, nor thy bridal crown, nor thy dwelling, nor any of the goods which thou before didst own ; but here shall remain the naked bones, slit with thy sins ; and thee shall thy soul,
	120	

mínum unwillum,	125	to my sorrow,
oft gesécan,		often seek,
nemnan ðe mid wordum,		name to thee with words,
swá ðú worhtest tó me.		as thou didst unto me.
Eart ðú nú dumb and deáf,		Now art thou dumb and deaf,
ne synt ðíne dreámas áwiht;		now are thy joys nothing ;
sceal ic ðe nihtes swá ðeáh		nevertheless shall I by night
néde gesécan,		enforced revisit thee,
synnum gesárgod ;		made sad with sins ;
and eft sona fram ðe		and return again from thee
hweorfan on hancrod,	135	at cock-crow,
ðonne hálige men		when holy men
lifiendum Gode		unto the living God
lofsang dóð,		raise the song of praise,
sécan ða háunas		to seek the dwellings [here,
ðe ðú me her scrífe,	140	which thou preparedst for me
and ða árleásan		and the dishonoured
eardungstowe ;		abiding-place ;
and ðe sculon her moldwyrmas		and thee shall here earthworms
maníge ceówan,		many chew,
slítan sárlíce,	145	shall grievously tear thee,
swearte wihta,		black creatures,
gífre and gráðige.		grasping and greedy.
Ne synt ðíne æhta áwiht		Thy wealth is nothing
ðe ðú her on moldan		which thou here on earth
mannum eówdest :	150	didst display to men :
forðan ðe wære selre		because it would have been
		better for thee
swíðe mycle,		very much,
ðonne ðe wæron ealle		than could be for thee all
eorðan spéda,		the wealth of earth,
bútan ðu híe gedáelde	155	unless thou hadst distributed it
dryhtne sylfum,		for the Lord himself, [bird,
ðæt ðú wurde æt frymðe fugel,		that thou hadst been created a
oððe fisc on sæ,		or a fish in the sea,

oððe on eorðan neát		or like an ox upon the earth
sétes tilode	160	hadst found thy nurture
feldgange,		going in the field,
feoh butan snyttro ;		a brute without understanding;
oððe on wéstenne		or in the desert
wilddeóra [sum]		of wild beasts
ðæt wyrreste ;	165	the worst ; [serpents
ge ðeáh ðú wære wyrmcynna		yea, though thou hadst been of
ðæt grimmete,		the fiercest,
ðær swá God wolde,		there as God willed it,
ðonne ðú æfre on moldan		than that thou ever on earth
man gewurde,	170	shouldst become a man,
oððe æfre fulwihte		or ever baptism
onfón sceólde :		shouldst receive :
ðonne ðú for unc bæm		when thou for both of us
andwyrðan scealt,		must answer,
on ðám myclan dæge,	175	in the great day,
ðonne mannum beoð		when shall be man's
wunda onwrigene,		wounds revealed,
ða ðe on worulde ær		which before in this world
fyrenfulle men		wicked men
fyrn geworhton.	180	from of old have wrought.
Donne wyle dryhten sylf		Then will the Lord himself
dæda gehýran		hear the deeds
hæleða gehwylces,		of every man,
heofena scippend,		the Creator of the heavens,
æt ealra manna gehwæs	185	at each man's own
múðes reorde,		mouth's speech,
wunde wiðerleán.		the reward of sin.
Ac hwæt wylt ðú ðær		But what wilt thou there
on ðám dómdæge		in the day of doom
dryhtne secgan.	190	say unto the Lord ?
Donne ne bið nán tó ðæs		Then shall there be no member
lytel lið		so small
on lime áweaxen,		grown on limb,

ðæt ðú ne scyle for ánra ge-		that thou shalt not for each
hwylcum		
on sundrum		apart
riht ágildan.	198	give just account.
Donne réðe bið		Then will be fierce
dryhten æt ðám dóme.		the Lord at the doom.
Ac hwæt dó wyt unc.		But what shall we two do ?
Sculon wit ðonne eft ætsomne		Then shall we two together
siððan brúcan	200	afterwards suffer
swylcra yrmða		such miseries [before."]
swa ðú unc her sér scrífe.		as thou preparedst here for us
Fyrnað ðús ðæt flæschord,		Thus shall it revile the flesh,
sceall ðonne feran onweg		then shall it depart away
sécan helle grund,	205	to seek the abyss of hell,
nallæs heofondreámas,		and not the joys of heaven,
dædum gedréfed.		oppressed with its deeds.
Ligeð dust ðær hit wæs,		The dust shall lie where it was,
ne mæg him andsware		nor can answer
énige gehátan	210	any give
geómrum gáste,		to the sad spirit,
geóce oððe frófre.		consolation or comfort.
Bið ðæt heáfod tóhliiden,		The head shall be split open,
handa tóliðode,		the hands dislocated,
geaglas tóginene,	215	the jaws distended,
goman tóslitene,		the gums slit,
sina beoð ásocene,		the sinews shall be sucked,
ewyra becowen,		the neck chewed,
fingras tóhrorene ;		the fingers fallen away ;
rib reáfiað	220	the ribs shall plunder
réðe wyrmas.		fierce worms. [asunder
Beoð hira tungan tótogenne		Their tongues shall be drawn
on tyn healfa		into ten parts [(worms),
hungregum tó frófre,		for the comfort of the hungry
forþan hie ne magon hux-		therefore they may not with
licum	225	wise

wordum wrixlian	words converse
wið ðone wérian gást.	with the accursed spirit.
Gifer hátte se wyrm,	“Greedy” shall the worm be
ðe ða geáglas beóð	whose jaws are [called,
nædle sceanpran,	230 sharper than the needle,
se genýlde tó me	that attacketh me
árest eallra	first of all
on ðám eorðacræfe ;	in that earth-cavern; [asunder,
ðæt he ða tungan tótyhð,	so that he tears the tongue
and ða téð þurhsmýhð,	235 and the teeth pierces through,
and ða eágan þurheteð,	and the eyes eats through,
úfan on ðæt heáfod,	in the head above,
and tó sétwelan	and for a repast
óðrum gerýmeð	makes room for other
wyrmum tó wiste :	240 worms to the banquet :
ðonne ðæt wérie	then shall the cursed
lic ácolod bið,	carcase turn cold,
ðæt lange áer	that long before
werede mid wædum :	(he) protected with garments :
bið ðonne wyrma gifel,	245 then shall it be a feast for the
ét on eorðan.	food upon earth. [worm,
Ðæt mæg æghwylcum	That may be to every
men tó gemynde,	man a remembrance,
módsnotra gehwám.	to every one that is wise of mood.

- PART II.—THE BLESSED SOUL.

Ðonne bið hyhtlicre,	250 Then will it be more hopeful,
ðæt sió hálige sáwl	that the holy soul
færeð tó ðám flæsce,	shall go unto the flesh,
frófre bewunden ;	surrounded with comfort ;
bið ðæt árende	that errand will be
eádiglicre	255 more blessed found
funden on ferhðe ;	in the spirit ;

mid gefean séceð,		with joy it will seek,
lustum ðæt lámfæt,		with pleasure, the vessel of clay,
ðæt hie ær lange wæg.		which it before long bore.
Ðonne ða gástas	260	Then shall the spirits
góde word sprecað,		speak good words,
snottre sigfæste,		prudent and triumphant,
and ðús sóðlice		and thus truly
ðone lichoman		the body :
lustum grétað.	265	pleasantly will address :
Wine leófesta,		“ Most beloved friend,
ðeah ðe wyrmas gyt		though thee the worms yet
gifre grétað,		greedily attack,
nú is ðin gást cumen,		now is thy spirit come,
fægere gefrætewod,	270	fairly adorned,
of mínes fæder ríce,		from my father's realm,
árum bewunden.		surrounded with honours.
Eala mín dryhten,		Lo ! my lord,
ðæt ic ðe móste		that I might only
mid me lædan,	275	lead thee with me,
ðæt wyt englas		that we two the angels
ealle gesáwon,		all might see,
heofona wuldor, swylc,		the glory of the heavens,
swá ðú me ær her scrífe ;		even as thou preparedst for me ;
fæstest ðú on foldan,	280	thou didst fast on earth,
and gefyldest me		and filledst me
Godes lichoman,		with the body of God,
gástes drynces ;		with spiritual drink ;
wære ðú on wædle,		thou wert in poverty,
sældest me wílna geniht ;	285	and gavest me the fullness of
		my desire ;
forðan ðú ne þearft sceamian		therefore thou needest not be
		ashamed
ðonne sceadene beóð		when shall be sundered
ða synfullan		the sinful
and ða sóðfæstan,		and the just,

<p> on ðám mæran dæge, ðæs ðú me geafe ; né ðe hreówan þearft her on life ealles swa mycles swá ðú me sealdest, on gemótstede manna and engla. Bygdest ðú ðe for hæleðum and áhófe me on écne dreám. Forþan me á langað, leófast manna, on mínum hige hearde, ðæs ðe ic ðe on ðyssum hýnðum wát wyrnum tó wiste. Ac ðæt wolde God, ðæt ðú æfre ðús láðlic legerbed cure ; wólde ic ðe ðonne secgan ðæt ðú ne sorgode, forðán wyt beóð gegæderode æt Godes dóme. Móton wyt ðonne ætsomne syððan brúcan, and unc on heofonum heáhþungene beón ; ne þurfon wyt beón cearie æt cyme dryhtnes, né ðære andsware yfele habban sorge in hreðre. Ac wyt sylfe magon æt ðám dóme ðær </p>	<p> 290 on the great day, for what thou gavest me ; nor repent thee here on life of all so much 295 as thou gavest me, in the meeting-place of men and angels. [men Thou humbledst thyself before and raisedst me to eternal joy. 300 Therefore I sorrow ever, dearest of men, heavily in my thought, that I know thee in this hu- miliation the food of worms. 305 But that was God's will, that thou even thus loathly a couch shouldst choose ; yet would I tell thee that thou shouldst not sorrow, because we shall be gathered together at God's judgment-day. Then may we together afterwards enjoy, and in heaven both 315 be exalted ; we need not be anxious for the coming of the Lord, nor for an answer have an evil 320 sorrow in spirit. But we ourselves may there at the judgment </p>
---	---

dædum ágilpan,
 hwylce earnunga
 uncre wáron.

Wát ic ðæt ðú wáre
 on woruldríce
 geþungen þrymlíce
 ðysses * * *
 * * *

take pride in our deeds,
 what earnings
 325 ours were.

I know that thou wert
 in this world
 exalted nobly."
 * * *

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THE DIALOGUE
OF
SALOMON AND SATURNUS,

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY

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**MICROFILMED
AT HARVARD**

PREFACE.



IF a strict application of the Horatian maxim could ensure the excellence of a book, there would be no cause to doubt the success of this one: it has lain by me not *nine*, but fifteen years, having been first commenced at Cambridge in the year 1833, partly with a desire to distract my mind and obtain some relief from severer studies.

But it had at the same time another motive. In the course of a laborious inquiry into the progress of the Reformation in Germany, it was impossible not to become aware of the extraordinary character of the literature generally prevalent in the fifteenth century: the merciless ridicule with which Ulrich von Hutten and his friends had assailed the defenders of the old and now crumbling system, appeared to me to have formed no unimportant element in the strength of the Reforming party,—an opinion which has since been expressed by Ranke in his History of the Reformation. The “*Literæ Obscurorum Virorum*,” so humorous in themselves and so full of wit and *fun*, I had before rather devoured than read, for the sake of the amusement they supplied: they now presented themselves under a totally new aspect,—namely, as

a weapon which had been wielded with fatal effect against the vast and obscene sect of *Obscurants* who had overlaid the mind of Europe. My first desire was to republish them—no very good edition of the book being known to me—with copious illustrations and additions, which it was hoped might still be supplied by the German libraries. But circumstances prevented me from returning at that time to the Continent, and deprived me of the means of executing the plan upon a scale which alone would have been worthy of it. In the course of my reading however I had found a series of tales, all of which, in my opinion, had some connection with the Reforming movement, and which, if not at first caused by it, had at least been turned to account for its advancement. Among these was the *Salomon and Marcolf*, the wide dispersion and popularity of which were proved by the frequent editions which immediately, upon the invention of printing, issued from the press.

The illustration of this tale seemed worthy of being undertaken, especially as it was obvious that it might be made subservient to another end,—the development of the History of Fiction. Whatever the form it had assumed in the fifteenth century, it was certain that it dated from very much earlier periods, and had its remote origin in very different states of feeling; its connexion also with the popular literature even of our own day offered some grounds of interest.

This then is the history of the present work, in its earlier form. It will be readily imagined that fifteen years have not passed without bringing great changes in the mode in which

PREFACE.

I myself view such collections. Much that in 1833 had been heaped up by way of illustration, and whose introduction could only have been justified by such an object, has now been cancelled in deference to the demands of delicacy. Much too that would then have appeared for the first time, has since been made accessible through other collections. Accordingly many things have been omitted entirely, while short extracts have in other cases been relied upon to put the reader in possession of the general argument.

On the formation of the Ælfric Society it was remembered that such a book was in being. The remarkable poem of Salomon and Saturn was selected for publication, and the materials previously collected formed a not uninteresting introduction to it. The reader is thus put in possession of the principal facts connected with this publication. I shall be only too happy if he laughs over it as I have laughed, or derives from its perusal some of the relief which I sometimes have derived when wearied with inquiries of a more severe and serious character.

J. M. KEMBLE.

Common Wood, near Rickmersworth,
March, 1848.



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SALOMON AND SATURN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE story whose earliest Teutonic form is now for the first time printed, has long been a favourite in various parts of Europe. Although it makes its appearance at different times, under titles, and with characteristics which differ according to the habits and circumstances of each people that adopted it into their literature, it still gives throughout the most convincing evidence of being "one form of many names." There are few nations, of modern Europe at least, which do not possess a version of the story; and as we continue our inquiry, we shall soon find that it was well known and widely spread among our forefathers also.

In the course of this Introduction I shall have occasion to show the original identity of Marcolfus and Saturnus, Salomon's competitors in all the known forms of the legend; and consequently to prove that, however variously treated at various times, the legend is the same throughout. Under these circumstances it must attract our attention, though it can hardly excite our surprise, when we find at one time a most solemn and serious piece of mystical theosophy re-appearing at another in the form of a coarse but humorous parody; nay, even passing into the degraded shape of a dialogue *de Meretricibus*, as it speedily did among the French. All that the inquirer here finds necessary is to show histori-

cally when and where such change took place, and to furnish at least plausible reasons for its existence.

Of all the forms of the story yet preserved, the Anglo-Saxon are undoubtedly the oldest. There is no longer any trace of the original from which they were taken; and we are driven to the imperfect hypothesis of an Eastern source for at least some portion of what the Anglo-Saxon poems contain, without being able to show how or when the legend migrated to Europe. With the sole exception of one French version, they are the only forms of the story remaining in which the subject is seriously and earnestly treated; and, monstrous as the absurdities found in them are, we may be well assured that the authors were quite unconscious of their existence.

That which is with us either blasphemy or nonsense, was with them religious wonder and knowledge; they loved mystery, and mysticism still more, and to their views (exaggerated Anthropomorphic views) of the form and nature of God the most chaotic mass of description seemed endurable, if it were only gigantic enough: one of the old Greek poets and philosophers has said*,

If Bulls made Gods, their God would be a Bull!

and so in general it is true, that when men make Gods, their God must be a Man: civilized nations prefer indeed a God who is a Man, possessing all the attributes of Man in the negative; uncivilized peoples do not get so far as this; they generally content themselves with a being possessing every one of their own powers and passions in a geometrical progression of which the common ratio is infinity, or at least

* ——— ἀλλ' εἰ χείρας ἔχον βόες, ἢ λίοντες
ἢ γράψαι χείρεσσι, καὶ ἔργα τίλειν ἄπειρ ἄνδρες
Ἴπποι μὲνδ' Ἴπποισι, βόες δὲ τε βουβῶν ὅμοιοι
καὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραψον, καὶ σώματ' ἰποῖον
τοιαῦθ' οἶον περ καὶ τοὶ δέμας εἶχον ὅμοιον.

Xenophanes in Euseb. Pref. Evangel. xiii. 13.

Yet this hater of Anthropomorphic, Boomorphic, Hippomorphic Gods was railed at for atheism.

what they believe infinity to be. The Anglo-Saxon, in his description of the Pater Noster, has given at once a lamentable yet very instructive picture of what he required in his supreme Being. Yet it is only such because it is intended to be read and contemplated most solemnly: no doubt, no fear of ridicule or disbelief ever crossed his mind: whether he translated only, or was indebted to his own fancy for his description, it was for him a serious, grave and earnest enunciation of what he believed, or wished to believe. The story was for knowledge, and he that was acquainted with its contents may have once been looked upon as a sage. We are now, however, to view it in another and very different light. The transition from seriousness to joke is natural: the formal, solemn *Spruchmeister* and the licensed jester are necessary inmates of the same court; they are counterparts only, and representatives, of two necessary modes of human thought. They act and react upon one another; they mutually set off one another, and the vocation of the one draws its life and import from the presence of the other. In bad natures, the prudential and, as it most properly should be considered, common-sense judgement converts its companion the spirit of laughter, joke and light-heartedness into a malignant japer and jiber, the original Mephistophiles*, who in the moments of Faust's highest moral feeling

humbles him before himself,

and, as he is even still more strongly described, "Ever nice with *nay* †!"

But it is a great and merciful provision that neither the most nor the least serious of man's powers should alone constitute the staple of man's nature: the first alone would press him down into the dust; the second alone would ren-

* Cornelius has in this feeling (which must have been Göthe's also) actually represented his Mephistophiles in a jester's cap and bells.—*III. of Faust.*

† I use a good old English phrase. Nothing can translate the horror of the original—"Der Geist der stets verneint."

der him incapable of ever rising from it. Good men know that in them the gravest spirit is supported, strengthened and purified by the lightest. Good or bad, both spirits must be there together, and whether they shall be there for happiness or for misery depends upon something beyond the sphere of either. Shakspeare, when he introduced into one mighty scene the real madness of Lear, the assumed madness of Edgar and the thoughtlessness of the jester, which, though it approaches, does not quite reach one form of idiotcy, had assuredly something deeper at heart than the mere exhibition of a contrast: he had to bring at once into play the two opposite but coexisting feelings which he knew lay close within the breasts of his hearers. The pompous hero of Spanish Tragedy must be accompanied by the Grazioso or fool, who parodies his speeches and interferes with the course of his magnificent and grandiloquent master assuredly for a better purpose than the mere disarming, by forestalling, the ridicule of the audience. The melancholy and, though mad, most serious, earnest and noble Don Quixote would have been too painful, too conscience-smiting an object of contemplation, had not Sancho been introduced to light up the picture and, as I believe, give us a new key to the character of the hero.

The early times of a nation possess few men who reflect upon themselves or their own powers. Nature is felt, not reasoned upon. Everything is symbolic, everything brings a visual image with it, a part or the whole of an object. The very language which men speak announces this to us as a fact. Literature is the resort of few, and the very existence of a literature is the first step towards "treading the downward path of thought." Its subjects are serious; for even the heroic ballads which constitute the Epic, are to peoples at such times serious and important records. Yet the character of the Epic speaks for itself; it has no reflective philosophy; it describes facts and feelings, and feelings by facts;

it relates everything and analyses nothing. When among early peoples such sources of enjoyment as their poems become influenced by the introduction of a new and most important interest, namely that of religion, the character of literature becomes yet more serious. The lighter feeling then finds its support in action, in the occurrences of society and the various accidents of the hunting party or the camp. The weightier visits the monk in the cloister, accompanies him through the ponderous pages of Hierome and Augustine, and perpetually reminds him that while he reads, he must read for the benefit of himself and of his kind. He that did not read, could not read, and indeed had no business to read, must find support for this feeling in the important daily interests of worldly life, in the family relations of father or lord, in the court of justice and the council-chamber, in the house or on the battle-field. As warrior and lawgiver, there was little lack to him of serious occupation; and where he found serious occupation, there might he also find amusement and gaiety. The priest or the monk was not so fortunately situated: amidst a half-converted people, he had all the labour, all the danger which threaten, and not a tithe of the support which strengthens the missionary of our times: he was debarred by strict enactment from the amusements of the laity; he might neither sing over his ale, nor play an innocent game at draughts with his neighbour; and very soon indeed, both in England and elsewhere, the holy charities of domestic life were torn from him, and he was forbidden to become a husband or a father. In this state of mental castration, what was left for him? True indeed, if fortunate, he might even aspire to the honour of working miracles after his death, and to a consequent canonization; but in the meantime he starved upon seriousness; by good means or bad he must laugh, and, as he was a writer and reader, he wrote and read off his melancholy. It is an undoubted fact, that the earliest essays of a humorous nature, be they verse or prose,

are the productions of the cloister. How this spread it is quite unnecessary to inquire; for it is obvious that, when once reading and study become generally diffused, food for every demand of the mind will be supplied; and even where books are wanting, there is the wandering singer ready to bear from castle to castle, or from tavern to tavern, literary ware of every class for every class of hearer. Although, therefore, the earliest literature of a people shows but little of a light and humorous nature (since *life* is then the field where the laughing spirit is to try its power and find its full development), yet the next step is of directly the opposite kind, and parody, which is one of the last and perhaps the meanest, is also the second point of advance in the recorded development of a people's mind.

Although these remarks are, as I believe, generally true, they are more particularly so for England; and rude, coarse even as many of the compositions of our forefathers are, we may be proud to think that little of that disgusting profligacy which from the earliest times characterizes the literature of other races is to be found among ourselves.

In pursuance of this spirit, we may find a great many very coarse and homely matters in the German versions of Salomon and Marcolf, but nothing morally offensive: the French version, on the contrary, is far more polished, but distinguished throughout by a pernicious spirit, which clings to too many of the productions of that highly civilized, and little civil, race.

One cause has been already assigned for the alteration in the nature of the legend: another yet remains, which depends very closely upon what I consider as by far the most interesting matter connected with the subject. It will hereafter be seen that I assign a Northern origin to one portion of the story, while I admit the admixture of an Oriental element. I propose to show that this Northern portion is an echo from the days of German heathenism, and to restore Saturnus or Marcolfus *the God* to his place in the pagan Pantheon of our

ancestors. The ludicrous or hateful character which in Marcolfus gradually replaces the solemn and grave dignity of Saturnus, confirms my view: Christianity never succeeded in rooting out the ancient creed; it only changed many of its objects, which maintained, and do still to this day maintain, their place among us. What had been religious observance subsists as popular superstition: the cross of the Saviour only replaced the hammer of Thórr; and the spells which had once contained the names of heathen Gods were still used as effective, having been *christened* by the addition of a little holy water, and the substitution of the names of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Tobit, St. Peter and St. Paul. We did little more or less than the Popes, under whose judicious management the festival of Pan Lupercus became that of the Purification, the temple of the Roman Gods became a Church of the Blessed Virgin, and the statues of its ancient occupants, tolerable representatives of the twelve Apostles. But this toleration extended only to what could be made use of; that which was too essentially heathen to be christianized by any process, was by some means or other to be got rid of. The progress of opinion on this subject is curious: at first the half-converted heathens believed their own Gods still to be Gods, though inferior in power and holiness to the new one, from whose presence they were compelled to fly: next, upon a hint from Jerome or Augustine, Wóden, Thunor and Frey became demons who had seduced mankind; at a still later period they were men who had arrogated to themselves divine honours: and lastly, the once dreaded titles of the inmates of Os-giard were degraded to trivial and ridiculous uses. Even as Odinn is in the Norse *sögur* frequently represented in a poor and contemptible condition, or as Fricge in Saxo Grammaticus appears in the light most dishonourable to a lady, so does Saturnus or Marcolfus the God, and representative of the old heathen power and wisdom, finally dwindle down into the foul, deformed but

witty jester of the German legend, or the profligate and dirty carper of the French.

To determine where, and at what period, this occurred, belongs to the subject to which I now proceed, namely the History of the Legend. The Northern portion of the story will be treated of when I come to the examination of the names Saturnus and Marcolfus; at present my business is with the foreign element, introduced in the person and under the character of Salomon.

Many circumstances conspire to render it probable that among the Jewish traditions, whether in the Talmud or not, the first germ of it is to be found*, from whence it probably found its way into the East, and through some early religious

* In the Catalogue of the Bodleian I find entered "Libellus dictus משלי שלמך i. e. Proverbia Salomonis, quæ sunt historiæ seu fabellæ. 4º. Constant. 1517," a work not noticed by d'Herbelot, *vid. in voc.* Amthal and Messilah. Can any of the contents of this book have reference to our story? It is not altogether unimportant, that in the Latin version Marcolf is represented as coming from the East: "vidit quendam hominem, Marcolfum nomine, qui ab Oriente nuper venerat." Von der Hagen, in his Introduction (*Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, xxi. vol. ii.) mentions having read an oriental tale, whose contents resembled those of the Salomon and Morolf printed by him. He states that the names differed, and that the scene of the tale was laid in Bassorah. Though the book was modern, it might have been drawn from ancient Oriental sources.

Another work, with the same title of *Miscel Scelomó*, משלי שלמך, *Proverbia Salomonis*, is mentioned in Bartoloccio, *Biblioth. Magna Rabbinica*, i. 708. The author says, "Intentio mea in eo est dare interpretationem omnibus insomniorum speciebus. Incepi illum Imolæ, et filio meo R. Salomoni dicavi, anno 317. Christi 1557." Perhaps this work is of the same character as that above mentioned, though from the dates it is scarcely possible that it should be the same book. In *Docen. N. Lit. Anzeige*. 1807. Sp. 757, it is stated that a Persian copy of this dialogue exists in the Bodleian at Oxford, and a general reference is given to Uri's Catalogue. I have carefully consulted this catalogue, and I find no trace of the dialogue, or, to speak more strictly, no trace of the names. In a review of Von der Hagen's *German Salomon and Marcolf*, by James Grimm, in the *Heidelb. Jahrb.* 1809. Pt. 45. p. 249-253, the Oriental character of the story is argued from a comparison of Salomon's Proverbs, and the remark that in Hebrew Marcolf is a name of scorn. Now here, unless I err greatly, James Grimm has been deceived by a resemblance of names; the word *Markolis* has an application

book into the West also. Josephus, himself a Jew deeply versed in the traditions of his country, is the earliest profane author with whom I am acquainted who notices the story; at the same time he derives his information from still older authorities, namely Dius and Menander of Ephesus. The Saturn or Marcolf of our legend is with him Abdimus the son of Abdæmon of Tyre, and the allusion to him is as follows:—

ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμονος καὶ νεώτερος, ὃς δὲ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα ἃ ἐπέτασε Σολομῶν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς. μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δίος, λέγων οὕτως· “Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴραμος ἐβασίλευσεν τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἴραμον αἰνίγματα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιούντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυναθέντα διακρίναι τῶν λύσαιτι χρήματα

of the kind, no doubt, but a secondary application only, and one that does not warrant the inference drawn from it. Buxtorf, in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, gives an account of this *Markolis* מַרְקוֹלִים which he most absurdly would make out to be *Mercurius*, “commutatis pro more ל et ר.” That the word denoted an idol of some sort, though certainly not the God Mercury, is possible, and בית קוליס *Beth Kolis* appears to denote a heathen temple. But Rabbi Tam, author of the *Additiones Talmudicæ*, denies the conclusion, “inquiens non esse idoli nomen, et *Markolis* idem esse quod קוליס הילוף *Hilof Kolis, Permutatio laudis, i. e. ignominia, Idolum ignominiosum*. Nam מַר commutatio a מִר unde הַמִּיר *permutare, mutare*, et קוליס idem quod קילוס, quod in contrarium sensum a Rabinis tractum est לענן *ludificatio, illusio*. Idem probat R. Bechaj in Deut. vii. 26.” It is asserted that this *Markolis* was worshiped by the casting of stones, whence the Hebrew proverb, to cast stones at *Markolis*, that is, to commit idolatry. In *Medrasch* upon Prov. xxvi. 8. we have כָּל מִי שֶׁחֹלֵק כְּבוֹד לְכַסִּיל כְּזוֹרֵק אֶבֶן לְמַרְקוֹלִים, “*Quicumque impertitur honorem stulto, similis est projicienti lapidem ad Markolis*.” A good deal more of the same sort is found in Buxtorf under the word *Markolis*. I cannot admit the probability of our *Marcolf* having directly any such origin: in the first place, *Marcolf* is not the original name of *Salomon*’s competitor; and even if it were, the whole tone of the earlier versions being solemn and serious, and the humorous character having been gradually superinduced, I must reject all immediate dependence upon the Hebrew *Markolis*. It is in the latest times only that *Marcolf* is spoken of as a fool. Throughout the earlier humorous versions he is more than a match for *Salomon*. On this subject, however, I shall have a few more remarks to make when I come to the names *Saturnus* and *Marcolfus*.

ἀποτίνειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴραμον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα, πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλώσει. εἶτα δι' Ἀβδήμονα τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα, πολλὰ τῷ Εἰράμῳ προσποτίσαι χρήματα." καὶ Δίος μὲν οὕτως εἶρηκεν.

Jos. Antiq. viii. 5. (Oxon. fol. 1720. vol. i. p. 353.)

The same transaction, though with a different result, is alluded to in another passage, immediately preceding the quotations from Menander and Dios :—

καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζηουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν, οὐδὲν τούτων παρήλθεν· ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφότισε.

Again, in his treatise against Appion, lib. i., he repeats this assertion from Menander of Ephesus (vol. ii. 1341) in very much the same words as above, and in p. 1340 from Dios, with the slight but proper variation, *εἶτα δὲ, Ἀβδήμονά τινα*, etc.

It seems to me, however, that the germ of the story is to be found in the Old Testament itself. The facility of working out the hints there given is obvious, and that such traditional dialogues should have sprung from them, extremely natural. The visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings, ch. x.) was expressly made to prove the wisdom of Salomon : "And when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Salomon, concerning the name of the Lord, *she came to prove him with hard questions* . . . And Salomon told her all her questions : there was not anything hid from the king which he told her not." There are in the Talmud accounts of some of these questions and answers, and of the king's devices, whereby he outwitted this adventurous inquirer after hidden things. But the commendation given by Hiram of Tyre to Hiram the artist whom he sent to Salomon seems yet more in point, and serves to suggest that Abdimus, the son of Abdæmon,

and Hiram, the son of the woman of the daughters of Dan, are in character very nearly connected. Hiram, in his letter, says (2 Chron. ii. 13), "And now I have sent a cunning man (endued with understanding) of Hiram my father's; the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre: skilful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put unto him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of David thy father."

Now, whatever relation may be supposed to exist between Hiram and Abdimus, it is quite clear that as early as the twelfth century a very close one was recognised between Abdimus and Marcolf; for William of Tyre (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. ii. p. 834) says, "Ex hac nihilominus urbe (viz. Tyre) fuit Abdimus adolescens, Abdæmonis filius, qui Salomonis omnia sophismata, et verba parabolorum ænigmatica, quæ Hiram regi Tyriorum solvenda mittebat, mirâ solvebat subtilitate, De quo ita legitur in Josepho. Ant. lib. 8, etc. etc.....Et hic fortasse est quem fabulosæ popularium narrationes *Marcolfum* vocant, de quo dicitur, quod Salomonis solvebat ænigmata, et ei respondebat, æquipollenter iterum solvenda proponens." It is important here that William speaks of the story as popular at this period among his countrymen; whether by *populares* we understand Europeans or Asiatics, a point as yet unsettled. But supposing us to adopt the most unfavourable supposition, viz. that William was an Asiatic, we must not admit that the story was not current in Europe till spread there by the Crusaders. It was, on the contrary, well known at a much earlier period: it is even probable that some wild tale, founded on the circumstance, was once received by Christians among the books of the Old Testament; for in the fifth century we find Pope Gelasius expelling from the Canon, among other spurious

compositions, a certain "Contradictio Salomonis" (A.D. 494, Concil. x. p. 214). That this "Contradictio Salomonis" was the ground-work of our Anglo-Saxon poems seems very possible: that it was at any rate, in some respects, the dialogue which remains to us, and which is alluded to in the twelfth century by William of Tyre, is rendered probable by the following words of Notker, who wrote at St. Gall in the eleventh:

"Solliche habent misseliche professiones; Judeorum literæ so gescribene heizzent *deuterosis*, an dien milia fabularum sint, ane den canonem divinarum scripturarum. Sameliche habent hæretici an iro vana loquacitate. Habent ouh soliche sæculares literæ. Unaz ist ioh anders, daz man *Marcolphum* saget sih ellenon uuider proverbii Salamonis? An dien allen sint uuort sconi uane uuarheit." (*Schilter*. i. 228.)

"Talia habent variæ professiones; Judæorum literæ sic scriptæ vocantur *deuterosis*, in quibus millia fabularum sunt, extra canonem divinarum scripturarum. Similia habent hæretici in eorum vana loquacitate. Habent etiam talia sæculares literæ. Quid est enim aliud, quum dicant *Marcolphum* contra proverbia Salomonis certasse? In quibus omnibus, verba pulchra sunt, sine veritate."

However absurd and fantastical the Salomon and Marcolf thus alluded to may have been (and, if the supposition be allowed that the Anglo-Saxon poetical dialogue is a more or less close translation from it, Gelasius must be admitted to have exercised a very sound discretion), it is still quite clear that it was a dialogue of a very different kind from those which have since existed under that name.

There is necessarily great difficulty in determining where and when the change in its nature was completed, and less perhaps with regard to the period than the place, because one nation would not long remain behind another in a case of this kind. I am however inclined to suspect that it was in Germany, and certainly before the thirteenth century, probably during the latter part of the twelfth. There is reason for supposing that in the Frankish territory, on the left bank

of the Rhine and below the Moselle, this, in common with other and similar traditions, was well known, and that from thence they found their way into France on the one hand, and into Upper Germany on the other. Into England, as far as I know, the altered form of the legend never found its way at all; for such allusions to it as occur in comparatively modern MSS. may be safely referred to the influence of the French or Latin versions. The reasons for assigning the twelfth century as the limit between the two forms of the legend are these:—

1. The word *ellinón* made use of by Notker means merely to *contend with* or *rival*. To contend with ribaldry and ridicule against wisdom, and with absurdity against sense, would hardly have been expressed by this grave churchman by the word *ellinón*: just as little would he have introduced the subject-matter at all into a grave work, had it not been itself a serious, though uncanonical production. But above all, he praises the contents of the Salomon and Marcolf, which he knew, saying that the words are beautiful, though there is no truth (that is, canonical authority) in them: *scóniu uuort* would not apply to anything of the nature of the modern German versions, though Notker would certainly have used that expression to denote something more nearly resembling the contents of the Anglo-Saxon poem.

2. William of Tyre seems expressly to exclude anything like parody from the Salomon and Marcolf that he knew: he says most distinctly, “de quo (Marcolfo) dicitur quod Salomonis solvebat ænigmata, et ei respondebat, *æquipollenter* iterum solvenda proponens.” This is not the description of such a version as the modern German, but is consonant to what he had read of Abdimus in his Josephus.

3. Rambaut d’Aurenga, a Provençal poet who died in 1173, and was therefore a contemporary of William of Tyre, notices the legend in the following words:—

Cil que m'a vout trist alegre
 sab mais, qui vol sos dits segre,
 que Salamos ni Marcols,
 de faig rics ab ditz entendre ;
 e cai leu d'aut en la pols
 qui s pliu en aitals bretols.

(Cited by *M. de Rochegude* in his *Essai d'un Glossaire Occitanien*. Thoul, 1819 in voc. *Bretols**)

Now in this passage the words "knows more than Salomon or Marcolf," seem to imply a serious version of the story, in which a real struggle for the palm of knowledge was maintained; consequently one resembling the Anglo-Saxon versions, and those known to Notker and William of Tyre; and, on the other hand, different from the German, Latin and French forms, which will be noticed hereafter.

4. Another passage to the same effect, and probably of the same period, occurs in a French poem against the luxury of priests. MS. Arund. 507. fol. 81.

Mès de tant soit chescun certayn
 ken le monde nad si bon escriueyn
 si fieust à tant com *Salomon* sage
 e com *Marcus* de bon langage,
 e mill anz uesquid per age,
 le male ne cuntireit nel damage
 ne la peyne que le prestre auera
 qi tiel peiché hantera.

The coarse jests of the French Marcon, or the Latin and German Marcolf, could hardly have justified the *bon langage* of this allusion.

* Although Rambaut mentions this legend, it may be doubted whether it was ever very commonly known in Provence. I have hitherto never met with any other allusion to it; for the line,

Com Salamos saup pres tenir,

seems too vague, although occurring in the enumeration of *histories* which must be known to the professional minstrel. See Diez. *Poesie der Troubadours*, p. 199. Generally the expression is, as wise as *Cato*, or, from the famous fox, as clever as *Reynard*. Diez. *Poes.* p. 132. The life of Rambaut, third Count of Orange, may be read in Diez. *Leben d. Tr.* p. 62.

5. In an article by Dom Brial in the fifteenth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, p. 10, there is noticed, among other works of Bishop Serlon contained in the MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 3718, a copy of satirical verses addressed to an Abbot Robert, who had written a rhythmical comment upon this tale : the words of the author are, “ La quatorzième pièce est adressée à un nommé Robert, à qui l’auteur fait honneur d’un travail sur les *formules de Marculfe*, et de commentaires sur les *livres de Salomon*, mais qu’il persifle et tourne en ridicule, pour s’être avisé de faire des vers avec le style de Marculfe. Voici ce qu’il en dit :—

Dum speculor versum dum carmen tam bene versum,
 Illic perversum nihil invenio nisi versum;
 Fas testor juris ac cætera numina ruris,
 Spem de futuris præsentant illa lituris,
 Quod versu quæris, versu placuisse mereris,
 Sic Maro semper eris, si nunquam versifeceris.

So far Dom Brial : but the learned Benedictine seems to have fallen into an extraordinary error ; I have no doubt that he found from Serlon’s verses that Robert had written a serious comment upon Salomon and Marcolf ; but he was entirely indebted to his own ingenuity for the conclusion that it was on *the books* of Salomon, and the *formularies* of Marculf. That these were the only works known to him with such titles will easily explain his error, though, when their nature is considered, one wonders that he was not led to doubt his own accuracy. The *Formularies* of Marculf are a complete system of conveyancing, with blanks for the names of parties contracting : in the twelfth century, when Serlon lived, they were already obsolete ; and although we have heard of Justinian having been put into hexameters, yet the notion of Marculf’s appearing in verse is no whit more reasonable than that of clothing a set of *Nisi Prius* declarations in the same dress. The only books of Salomon which Dom Brial thought of were those of the canon ; yet had any of these

been intended, it would probably have been named. Lastly, a man who wrote a commentary on the formularies of Marculf could be no other than an antiquarian lawyer, and what he should have to do with the books of Salomon is not very clear : or, to put the case the other way, the man who wrote a comment on the books of Salomon must have been a clergyman, and what he could have to do with the formularies of Marculf is equally obscure ; for, acute as clerical legists were in the middle ages, in the invention of Trusts, Uses and the like, it does not appear that they ever wasted their learning or ingenuity upon obsolete systems of Law ; and though Marculf's formularies were excellent for the times of the Merovingians, they were of no great use in those of Serlon. Under these circumstances, I conclude that Robert had taken our story of Salomon and Marculf for his subject ; and if this opinion be correct, it will appear that in the twelfth century one man could still write a serious comment upon it, while another could turn it into ridicule : in other words, that the twelfth century may be considered as the limit between the two feelings, and the period of transition from one to the other.

But in the very beginning of the next century we have the clearest evidence that a complete change had taken place, both in Germany and France. Freidank, about 1213, says :—

Salmón witze lerte
 Marolt daz verkerte,
 den site hânt noch hiute
 leider gnuoge liute* :

that is, "Salomon taught wisdom, Marolt parodied it ; unhappily people enough have the same habit at the present

* I quote from W. Grimm's edition, p. 81, but as this may not be generally accessible, it will be desirable to give other references to the passage. It is found in Müller's Sammlung, vol. ii. v. 1281, and is quoted from thence in Von der Hagen's Introduction to his edition of the German Salomon and Morolf. Deut. Gedichte des Mittelalters, vol. ii. The only important variation is in the fourth line, where Müller's MS. reads *iunge*, young, for *gnuoge*, enough.

day." The word *verkéren* precisely describes the answers which Salomon receives from Marcolf in the German and Latin versions. That the same thing had taken place in France, at the same period, will be seen when I come to treat of the French versions. The only forms which remain in German, Latin or French, are of the second or altered nature, with one exception, which I will dispose of immediately. And as the two first-named are closely connected together, not only by their internal resemblance, but by an express acknowledgment, that *the German was taken from a Latin original*, it will be better not to separate them in what I have to say.

There are two German legends bearing the title Salomon and Morolt, or Morolf: both of these are printed by Von der Hagen in the second volume of the *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, from a MS. of the fifteenth century; and although it may be doubted whether either of them in its present form is as old as Freidank, and consequently whether the allusion which he makes is to the poem which yet survives, it is quite certain that both are of much older date than the MS. which contains them. The first, and certainly the younger of these, is the exception alluded to; it has little but the name in common with the other forms of the legend; it is, in short, a romance of chivalry, and with other names might have been any one of the knightly legends, as will be seen by a short analysis of its contents:—

Salomon, emperor of all Christendom, and, as appears from many passages in the poem, a Teutonic emperor, has a beautiful wife Salomé, who, after living happily three years with him, partly from the influence of magical arts, and partly from natural disposition, becomes worthless. A certain king named Faro, dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean, hearing of her beauty, challenges Salomon to do battle for her, and being with his

whole host defeated, and made prisoner, is rashly spared by Salomon, and committed to the safe keeping of the empress. Here Morolf, Salomon's brother, first comes before us; he warns the emperor against throwing temptation in the empress's way, but gets nothing for his pains but rebukes from the uxorious prince, and hatred from his wife. His warnings are nevertheless justified by the event: the *heathen*, by means of a magical ring*, made for him by Elias the sorcerer†, wins the love of the lady, and is not only released by her from his bonds, but persuades her to leave her husband and fly to him. At the expiration of half a year, he sends her, by a heathen minstrel, a root, which she places under her tongue, and becomes to all appearance dead, save that her beautiful colour remains unchanged. Salomon is inconsolable; Morolf however, who will not trust a woman even when dead‡, twits him with weakness, declares the queen still to be alive, but, being foiled by the magical root in an attempt to wake her by pouring molten gold into her hand, is compelled to trust to time, and in the meanwhile bear the blame of being an incorrigible reviler of women. The empress is buried, but within a few hours awakened by the minstrel, and carried off to Faro. Morolf sets out to seek her; after seven years' wandering he discovers where she is, and enters her palace, where he is recognised by her, and condemned to death. He obtains a respite of some hours, and having

* Rings endowed with the power of inspiring, destroying or changing affection are not uncommon. The affection borne by Charlemagne for Aix-la-Chapelle arose from such a ring. A lady had first possessed it, and then the emperor loved the lady: a bishop took it from her, and the emperor doted on the bishop; he, however, flung it into a lake, and on its banks the emperor built a palace, which he made his favourite residence when alive, and away from which he could not rest when dead. See also *Wilkina Sag.* ch. 222.

† Probably Elymas the sorcerer. Acts xiii. 8.

‡ Compare the second Morolf, No. 7.

intoxicated his guards, clips the hair both of them and of the king, puts Faro to bed with one of his pages, and the empress with Faro's chaplain: after these feats he escapes to Jerusalem under water, by means of a long leathern tube, which permits of his breathing from the surface. Salomon, Morolf, and a large host, including two knights of the Temple (l. 2575)*, set out to recover the empress, by whom Salomon, entering Faro's city alone, is recognised: he attempts, but in vain, to recall her to her duty. A graceful episode is introduced, in which Faro's sister, smitten with uncontrollable love for the young and beautiful pilgrim, advises him to conciliate the heathen. Salomon however, betrayed by his wife, and asked by Faro what he would do with *him* were they in Jerusalem, answers like an emperor, that he would hang him on a new gallows, with all the court for witnesses. This doom the king then assures him he has pronounced against himself; but, after the most urgent intercession on the part of the king's sister, he is spared till morning and committed to her custody. She urges him to avail himself of this liberty and make his escape; but Salomon is too loyal to do so, when he must leave her behind to meet the rage of her brother. At day-break, after having spent the night royally in supping with the beautiful heathen and listening to the lays of a famous minstrel, he is led out to execution. Under the gallows he asks, as a last favour, permission to blow his horn thrice†, pretexting that when emperors die this ceremony takes place, that the angels may have notice.

* Templars would hardly have been introduced, had the poem been written after the downfall of their order. This would at any rate give us a date not later than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

† See Southey's *Don Ramiro and Queen Aldouza*. The character and history of this lady so closely resemble those of *Salomé*, that one can hardly help believing Southey's author to have known some Spanish story very closely resembling that under our consideration. Faro says, "Let

The empress objects, but is overruled by Faro; the horn being sounded, Morolf and his host burst from their ambush, slay the host of the heathen, and having again taken Faro, hang him upon his own gallows. Salomon returns with the empress and Faro's sister to Jerusalem, where the latter is baptized by the name of Afra or Affrica (l. 3192 and l. 4212), being principally moved to this apostacy by the hope of becoming Salomon's wife, as soon as death or another infidelity on the part of Salomé shall create a vacancy in his household. The latter contingency is not long in occurring: the empress runs away with another heathen, King Princian, but is again discovered by Morolf, who however does not set out upon this new quest before he has compelled Salomon to swear that, in the event of his recovering the runaway, he shall deal with her at his pleasure. Salomon, Morolf, and a great host invade King Princian's land, and, aided by the supernatural powers of his kinsfolk*, a merman and mermaid, Morolf slays the king, carries the empress back to Jerusalem, and there puts her to death in a bath. Salomon consoles himself with Afra.

It will hardly be suspected from this sketch what beauty there is in some portions of this poem; the character of Afra, for example, is drawn with some feminine traits which are not often found in romances of this class. Salomon appears much after the received account, as very wise, but no match whatever for the wiles of women. Princian and Faro

him blow, if he will, till his eyes drop out of his head;" and so says the curtal friar to a similar request of Robin Hood (Ritson, ii. 66):—

That I will do, said the curtal fryer,
Of thy blasts I have no doubt;
I hope thou 'lt blow so passing well,
Till both thy eyes fall out.

So in the Appendix to the same volume, p. 197, which see.

* Although a supernatural character belongs to Marcolf or Morolf, I cannot agree with Mone in connecting his name with *Alf*, *Elf*.

are knightly heathens of Saladin's order, worthy to rank with the Almohadis and Abencerrages of Granada; but Morolf is the protagonist, and his character, differing entirely from those which are usually found in a chivalrous romance, will bear a little more investigation. There are two points in which he agrees with the Marcolf of our other versions, viz. his cunning and his extreme scepticism as to the goodness and steadiness of women. The whole poem turns upon his successful sleights, which it is therefore unnecessary to pursue further; a general expression of them may be quoted from a speech of the empress to Faro: when, having determined to do a bad act, she begins to be sharp-witted as to what persons she need fear, she remarks (l. 533):—

Konig, lass din rede stan,
ess wart nye gebarn eyu man
der Morolffen mit listen
das czehende deil glichen kan:
er siecht an der farben mÿn
sprach die edele konigin—
wan sich mÿn gemude verkéret hát:

that is, "King, let be thy rede; there was never born a man who could be a tenth part compared to Morolf for cunning: he would see by my very complexion, quoth the noble queen, if my mind were changed." His no-trust in woman comes continually before us, though usually with an especial application to the empress: when he first hears that Faro is to be entrusted to her keeping, he remarks (l. 432):—

das duncket mich nit gut;
wer stroe noe czu dem fure dut*,
licht czundet es sich an;
alsó beschieht dir mit künig Pharo,
wiltu dîn frauwe sin hude lân.

* A good old Teutonic proverb: it stands thus, Conrad von Würzburg. Troj. Krieg, 117. a.

Ein strò, daz bl dem fiure lit,
daz wird enzündet lihter an
denne ob ez dort hin dan
von im gelegin wære.

Again,

“Methinks that is not good ; whoso doth straw near unto the fire, it catcheth light easily ; so will it befall thee with king Faro, if thou wilt leave his keeping to thy wife.” Again, he expresses his own opinion generally in these words :—

wer ich also wise als dû, Salomon,
und were also schöne als Absolon,
und sunge also woll als Horant*,
möchte ich mÿn frouw nft beschloffen,
ich hede eyn laster an der hant. (L. 800.)

It is, then, in these two points that the Morolf of this romance is identified with the Morolf, or rather Marcolf, of our legend. This romance is throughout expressly stated to be taken from a German book. The *second* Salomon and Morolf had however another source.

At the end of the poem last mentioned stands this line, “Hie hait Morolff’s rede eyn ende, vnd vahet an der ander Morolff,” that is, “Here hath the tale of Morolf an end, and beginneth the second Morolf.” It is this poem, which is the German representative of the legend, with which we shall henceforth have to do. In the very first lines, the poet describes himself and his authority thus :—

Er hânt dick woll verstanden
wie man findet in allen landen
die wÿsen by den doren :
wer nû gerne will horen,
dem wolde ich fremde mÿere sagen,
die nÿmant obel mag behagen.

Again, Wolfram’s Titurel (Grimm, Freidank, ci.) :—

wan sich ein strô
bî fiure gerne enbrennet.

Freidank, p. 121 :—

swâ viur ist bî dem strô,
daz brinnet lihte, kumt ez sô.

Chaucer, Wife of B. (Urry, p. 77) :—

Perill is for fire and tow to assemble,
Ye know what this ensample may resemble.

* For Horant consult W. Grimm’s *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 326, etc., where several passages relating to this celebrated bard are collected.

Ich sass in der czellen myn,
 vnd fant eyn buch das was Latin ;
 in dem selben buche fant ich
 vil wort die nft hoffelich
 lûten in Dutsche czungen.
 Ich bede alde vnde jungen,
 die dâ lesent, als hie geschriben steit,
 dass mich ir aller hubscheit
 intschuldigen vmb das,
 wan ich nft czu Dutsche bas
 mochte gewenden das Latin,
 dass ess behilde das daden sîn.

“ Ye have often well understood how, in every land, one finds the wise man by the side of the fool : he now that would willingly hear, to him will I relate a strange tale, which no man can take ill. I sat within my cell, and found a book that was [written in] Latin : in the same book I found many words which do not sound polite in the German tongue. I pray old and young that read [the story] as it stands here written, that of their courtesy they will excuse me, for that I could not turn the Latin into German better, so that it should still preserve its force*.” I think it hardly deserves a

* Various readings from the Heid. MSS. No. 154. (15th cent. fol. paper.) Wilk. p. 364 [fol. 125]. “Dys ist Salomon und Marolffen sprüche die sie myt eyn ander hatten mit mangan cluogen Worten.

Incip.—Ich han dicke horē sagen
 Wie man fant in allen dagen
 Die wisen bij den toren
 Wer nu wille gerne horen
 Dem wille ich fremde mere sagē
 Die nyemā vbel mag behagē
 Ich sass in eyner zellen myn
 Vnd want eyn buch daz was laty
 In demselben buch fant ich
 Viel wort die mich so hubschlich
 Enludetē in dutscher zügen
 Her vmb so byttē ich die alten vnd die jügen
 Die da lesen als hie geschrebē stett
 Daz mich ere aller hubschheit

[Entschuldigē]

question whether *Latin* here be really the language of the Romans, or generally *any* foreign tongue*; it is no doubt *Latin* in the modern sense of the term. Whether we yet possess the Latin from which this German version was taken, is a point which must be discussed hereafter. At present it is necessary to explain that the *second* Morolf consists of two utterly inconsistent portions, to the first of which 1604 lines are devoted, to the second, 272; and as I have stated it to be my opinion, that the *first* or romantic Morolf is in spirit, feeling and date, younger than the *second* Morolf, (that is, than the first 1604 lines of that poem) so am I bound to state, that the last 272 lines are a modern, vulgar

Entschuldigē wolle vmb daz
 Wan̄ ich mich zu tutsche bas
 Enmochte bewēden daz latyn
 Daz iss behilde dutschen syen, etc.

Explic.—In latyn waz geschriben disse rede
 Die ich dorch schymp vnd dorch bede
 In tusche han gewant
 Vff daz sie uch wol werde bekannt
 Ich han vnkuscher wortte vile
 Vnd morolff's affenspiele
 Geschriben in diss buchelyn
 Dorch lust vnd shymp den frunden myn
 Is sy frauwe oder man
 Die dyss buch horen lesen oder lesen kan
 Die sollen myr vergeben
 Obe ich ycht geschriben han vneben
 Wann ich enbin nicht so behende
 Daz ich iss kunde bringen zu eym andern ende
 Dann daz mich daz latyn bescheyden hatt
 Hudent vch vor rustery daz ist myn rat
 Hie hat Marolfes buch eyn ende
 Got vns tzu dem besten wende.

* See an excellent dissertation of James Grimm in the Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeige, on the force of the words Latein, Leden, etc. etc.; he shows its wide dispersion through Southern and Northern Europe, and throws out some remarkable observations respecting Welsh, Walahisc, Wyls Welsh, etc.

and most ill-placed imitation of the *first* Morolf, in which the part played by the emperor's brother is transferred to the jester or clown, his namesake, or, to speak more truly, his unromantic counterpart and predecessor, from whom alone he drew the possibility of his own being.

As a Latin version is asserted by the author of the *second* Morolf to have been his authority, so did it also give rise to another German poetical version by Gregor Hayden. This was made about the middle of the fifteenth century, and dedicated to Frederick, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, in the Palatinate. The author expressly states that he took the story from a Latin original; he says,

Lateynisch ich die hystory han
funden vnd in Teutsch gerichtet,

“I found the story in Latin, and have arranged it in German.”

Both these German versions, as well as the Latin, correspond accurately with one another in the general outline, and indeed in many details also of the story. A short analysis of it, insofar as all the versions agree, becomes necessary.

Salomon, sitting in all his glory upon the throne of David his father, sees a misshapen, coarse and clownish man come into his presence, accompanied by a foul slut-tish wife, every way answering to himself. This is Marcolf, who, on mentioning his name, is recognised by the king as a person famous for his shrewdness and wit, and immediately challenged to a trial of wisdom, with a promise of great rewards should he prove victorious. Salomon then begins this amœbean contest by certain moral commonplaces, or by some of his own biblical proverbs, which are immediately paralleled, or contradicted by Marcolf, and always ridiculed in the very coarsest terms. The contest long continues, Marcolf always drawing his illustrations from the commonest events of homely life,

and for the most part expressing himself in *popular proverbs*. The king is at last completely exhausted, and proposes to discontinue the trial, but Marcolf declares himself ready to go on, and calls upon the king to confess himself beaten and give the promised rewards. The councillors of Salomon, stirred with envy, are for driving Marcolf out of the court ; but the king interposes, performs his promise, and dismisses his adversary with gifts. Marcolf leaves the court, according to one version, with the noble remark, "Ubi non est Lex, ibi non est Rex."

Here ends, both in the German and Latin, what may be called the first subdivision of the legend ; it is that with which hereafter we shall have most to do, and is in fact all that answers to the Anglo-Saxon Dialogues on the one hand, and the French on the other. What follows contains a story, found only in the German and Latin versions, and such others as may be reasonably supposed to have sprung up through their influence.

Salomon, being out hunting, comes suddenly upon Marcolf's hut, and calling upon him, receives a number of riddling answers which completely foil him, and for a solution of which he is compelled to have recourse to the proposer. He departs however in good humour, desiring Marcolf to come the next day to court, and bring with him a pail of fresh milk and curds from the cow. This Marcolf does, but falling hungry on the road, eats the curds and covers up the milk with cow-dung. The king in a rage asks him where are the curds, and receives for answer the truth ; Marcolf adding, that what he had used to cover the milk was also "curd from the cow." The king condemns him to sit up all night in his company, threatening him with death in the morning should he fall asleep. This Marcolf of course immedi-

ately does, and snores aloud. Salomon asks, "Sleepest thou?" and Marcolf replies, "No, I think." "What thinkest thou?" "That there are as many vertebræ in the hare's tail as in his back-bone." The king, assured that he has now entrapped his adversary, replies, "If thou proveest not this, thou diest in the morning." Over and over again Marcolf snores and is awakened by Salomon, but he is always *thinking*, and in the course of the night gives the following answers, which he is to prove true on pain of death:—There are as many white as black feathers in the magpie*.—There is nothing whiter than daylight; daylight is whiter than milk.—Nothing can safely be entrusted to a woman.—Nature is stronger than education.

Salomon becoming sleepy, Marcolf leaves him, and runs to his sister Fudasa, to whom, under seal of secrecy, he confesses that the king has so ill-used him, that he intends to kill him with a knife, which, in her presence, he conceals in his bosom. She swears fidelity to him, and he returns so as to be present at the king's waking. A hare and magpie being brought, Marcolf is proved to be in the right. Meanwhile he places a

* It is hard to say whether this assertion rests upon a popular proverb, or whether the passage I am about to cite is derived from our story: the tone of natural philosophy during the middle ages is in favour of the former of the two suppositions. In the MS. Harl. 3362, fol. 3, is found the following, at first sight, unintelligible hexameter:—

Al pi pen ca bas tot habet ni nas quot habet gras.

When these absurd syllables are reduced to order, they amount to nothing more profound than the assertion in the text, viz.—

Albas pica pennas tot habet quot habet nigras.

The MS., though only of the fourteenth century, comprises far more ancient matter, and the collection of proverbs contained in it, and in which this line occurs, is one of the most valuable I am acquainted with. The above Latin line is accompanied by the five English words, "þe pye hath as many," which gave me the clue to its meaning.

pan of milk in a dark closet, and suddenly calls the king to him. On entering, Salomon steps into the milk, splashes his clothes, and very nearly falls on his face. "Son of Perdition! what does this mean?" roars the monarch. "May it please your majesty," says Marcolf, "merely to show you that milk is not whiter than daylight." Salomon now sits upon his throne, and Marcolf cites Fudasa before him, accusing her of incontinency and various other crimes. She retorts immediately by discovering his secret communication to her respecting the murder of the king, and thus affords him a fresh triumph by proving the justice of his remarks respecting woman's secrecy. Salomon now, amidst the laughter of the whole court, requests Marcolf to show that nature is stronger than education*: Marcolf says that it shall be proved at supper-time. Now it so befell, that Salomon had a cat trained to sit upon the table, and hold a lighted candle in its front paws during the king's supper: but when all are seated and the cat is at her post, Marcolf throws a mouse at her feet; a second is thrown, and the cat's resolution wavers, till a third being let loose before her, she throws down the taper and commences the chase. Salomon most unfairly commands him to be thrust out at door, and directs that the dogs should be let loose upon him should he return. The next day however Marcolf, having provided himself with a live hare, throws it to the dogs, and passes unhurt into the presence†. Salomon is contented to warn

* This is a *questio versata*; perhaps as many tales and proverbs can be found taking the one side as the other, though, unless I am mistaken, the Southerners generally incline to the belief that custom is stronger than nature. "Nodritura passa Natura," *Grüter*, p. 167. "Nourriture passe Nature," *id.* p. 227. But, "Art last von Art nit: die katz lasst ihres mausens nich," *id.* p. 6. *Conf. Gartn. Dict. Prov.* 76, b.

† See a similar device of Thorkil, Sax. Gramm. lib. viii. (Steph. ed. p. 162.)

him against committing any impropriety in the hall of audience, and more particularly recommends him not to spit, except on some bare spot. This bare spot, unhappily the only one in the room, is the bald head of one of the nobles. While the courtiers are murmuring that such a villain should immediately be kicked out of the court, the two harlots arrive, and the famous judgment is given*. At this Marcolf sneers, and taking from it occasion to abuse womankind in general, an altercation ensues between him and the king, which he winds up by saying, "You praise them now, but I shall live to hear you abuse them with all your heart." Salomon orders him out of his sight, and Marcolf immediately sets about finding the harlots: he tells them that the king has decreed that every man shall have seven wives, descanting at some length upon the mischiefs which are like to ensue from such an arrangement. The news flies like wildfire, and all the women of Jerusalem are speedily congregated under the windows of the palace, upbraiding Salomon in no measured terms. The king, not understanding the cause of their complaints, ventures a joke, but is assailed with such a tempest of abuse, that he loses all patience, and breaks out into a furious diatribe against women, to the great delight of Marcolf, who stands by and thanks the king for taking so much pains to prove the truth of all his assertions. Salomon perceiving the trick appeases the women, but orders Marcolf to be turned out of the court, saying, "Never let me look upon your ugly face again." Marcolf however is determined not to part thus: on a snowy night he contrives to make an extraordinary track, which in the morning allures the king and his

* This is strange, because it is alluded to as a past circumstance in the beginning of the dialogue.

courtiers to follow him into the forest; the king pursues this till it leads into a hollow tree, wherein Marcolf has so disposed his person that Salomon is quite secure from looking into his face*. The king immediately orders him to be hanged, but, being adjured for the love of ladies to allow of his choosing his own tree, grants the request: it will readily be conjectured that Marcolf is difficult to please†; he leads his guards backwards and forwards half over Palestine, and finds never a tree to his liking, till at length he so thoroughly wearies them, that, upon his promising to forswear the court, they dismiss him with life.

Such is the famous story contained in the Latin and German versions, and in them only. It occupies 1604 lines of the *second* Morolf, and is in that poem followed by the abridgement of the *first* Morolf already mentioned, and which requires no further notice whatever. Both the German versions are expressly referred to Latin originals, which it is therefore expedient now to take into consideration. Of these I have as yet never had the fortune to find any in MSS., so that any attempt at ascertaining their antiquity by the ordinary means must be relinquished. Dom Brial, in the paper already alluded to, quotes a MS. of the Vatican for a Salomon and Micoll which begins, "Nemo potens est," etc.‡.

* This is (singularly, but still very interestingly for those who care for *mythic* tradition) given successively to George Buchanan, for the nonce transferred into the jester of James the First; to Rochester in connexion with Charles the Second; and, I believe, to M. de Roquelaure, the French embodier of all these notions.

† Perhaps to some tradition of this story we owe the proverb found in Ray, p. 57, "If I be hanged, I'll choose my gallows." So Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 16.

‡ I suppose that this is nothing else than the Latin *Certamen*, which I have printed under the title "Traces of the story in England." There is no doubt that "Nemo potens est" and "Nemo potest" might be very easily confounded in copying.

Unhappily he gives no further account of the contents, and, what is still more careless, does not even note the No. of the MS. Micoll is no doubt only a false reading of a common contraction in MSS., and may be at once and unhesitatingly corrected into Marcol. From the few words given by Dom Brial, one can hardly tell whether the version is in prose or not; and, at any rate, it appears not to have resembled the German and Latin versions yet remaining, which begin with the account of Salomon sitting in all his glory. Haenel, in his Catalogue of the European MSS., p. 422, mentions at Strasbourg an "Altercatio Salomonis et Marculphi"; but, with a negligence which too often renders his laborious work worse than useless, he has given no sort of clue by which it may be guessed whether this version be in prose or verse, even whether it really be in Latin or in some other language. I believe however that it is a copy of the German poem, but have been able to meet with no specimen of it. In this dearth of MSS. we must have recourse, as far as we can, to the printed copies, some of which date from the fifteenth century, and are consequently contemporary at least with Hayden's version; but though only appearing in print about this period, they may have existed in MS. far earlier, and probably were well-known and favourite works, being found among the earliest productions of the press.

The first of these is, I believe, a quarto, without printer's name, place or year, but which appeared in all probability about 1493; it bore the title "Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi." Of this there was a copy in the library of M. de Brienne, which is thus described in Le Père Laire's Catalogue of Books printed before 1500: "Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi. 4°. Pagina prima viticulis ornatur, cum una figura ligno incisa: signatur ab *a* ad *b* iij. Character Gothicus, circa annum 1483."

The next is perhaps that printed at Antwerp by Ger. Leeu

in quarto, but this is also undated. Panzer seems, indeed, to speak vaguely of an edition of the year 1482*, but this is probably only the edition mentioned by Lairé.

The next is a quarto printed at Antwerp (by Ger. Leeu?) in 1487, with the title "Salomonis et Marcolphi Dialogus."

The next is of the year 1488, and was found by Nyerup in the library at Copenhagen. It consists of twelve leaves in quarto, with the following title: "Collationes, quas dicuntur fecisse mutus [mutuo] Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus, facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur eloquentissimus;" and with the colophon, "Finit Dialogus ut fertur inter Salomonem Regem et Marcolphum Rusticum, impressus A.D. 1488, vicesima Novembris."

Another edition, consisting of ten leaves in quarto, without date or place, was discovered by him in the same library; it bore the title, "Collationes (quas dicuntur fecisse mutus [mutuo] Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur eloquentissimus) sequuntur." Of these Nyerup gave an account in Bragur, iii. 358. -

Another edition, reading *mutuo*, and consisting of eight leaves with signatures, in Gothic type and anterior to 1500, is mentioned by Ebert.

Another, consisting of twelve leaves, undated, and with the signatures *a* and *b*, appears, from the same bibliographer, to be found in the library at Dresden.

A copy in the British Museum with the title "Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfi," consists of eleven quarto leaves; without date, place, name, or signatures. The initials are coloured red and yellow. "Expl. Sit laus Deo. Amen." This is evidently anterior to 1500, and is probably one of the oldest copies in existence.

An undated copy, quarto, Argentiniæ; reprinted by Sir Alex-

* Given also by Ebert, without place or printer's name,—probably from Panzer.

ander Boswell in his 'Fronde Caducæ,' 1816, with the following title: "Fronde Caducæ. Dialogi dvo Rerum. Verborum qve Lepore, et Copia insignes: qvorum prior, continet colloquium inter Deum et Euam (vt ferunt) eiusque liberos, posterior Salomonis et Marcolphi iucundissimam decertationem proponit. *Argentinae, s. a.* 4°. 1816." In this edition the dialogue bears the title "Disputationes," etc., which see below.

In the 'Iris and Hebe,' 1796, Nyerup gave an account of two more editions: the first without year or place, but probably about 1483, with red initials (vid. Nyerup, Spicileg. Bibliog. p. 54); the second printed at Nürnberg, by John Weyssenburger, about 1487.

In the library of Halle there is a copy consisting of twelve leaves in small folio. The first leaf is empty, and there is neither title, year, nor place. The initials and capitals are red.

Another edition in Von der Hagen's possession agrees page for page with the last-named, but its form and type are somewhat smaller. The spaces are left for initials, and the red capitals are wanting. It has a rude woodcut of Salomon and Marcolf, and bears the following title: "Incipiunt collationes quas dicuntur fecisse munrex salomon sapientissimus et marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen vt fertur eloquentissimus, feliciter."

A fine copy in the Göttingen University Library differs from all those above mentioned: it has neither year, place, nor printer's name: it consists of twelve quarto leaves, with signatures to *b* iii. The capitals and initials are red; but the first initial of the whole is wanting, and a space is left. On the title-page is a coloured woodcut of Salomon and Marcolf, surmounted by the following title: "Incipiunt collationes quas dicuntur fecisse mutuo Rex salomon sapientissimus et marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus tamen vt fertur eloquentissimus foeliciter."

There are two other editions, both anterior to 1500, one of which Panzer mentions as consisting of eleven leaves in quarto, without name, place or date (See Brunet, Manuel, etc.); but this is perhaps the version quoted by Ebert under the title "Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfj" (Eustadtii, Reuser). Of this last there is another undated quarto in Gothic type, consisting of twelve leaves, and furnished with woodcuts.

In the supplement to Brunet, an edition without name, place or date is quoted under the title, "Salomon et Marcolphus collocutores," quarto, and a reference is given to the Catalogue Boutourlin, No. 778.

In the year 1585 appeared at Frankfort, "Dicta Proverbia, etc. cum versione Germanica Andreæ Gartneri Marie-montani," to which was appended the Marcolphus, with, if I remember rightly, the same title which it bore in the later editions, viz. "Marcolphus. Disputationes, quas dicuntur habuisse inter se mutuo Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur, eloquentissimus: latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum animi et *salsi* leporis gratia, editæ."

Another edition of this book, 8vo, Frankfort 1598, with this dialogue appended under the same title, is found in the library at Wolfenbüttel, where Eschenburg saw it, and noticed it in Bragur, ii. 457. It was afterwards appended by Gartner to the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' Frankf. 1643 (but not to the edition of 1599), with a slight but important change in the title, the conclusion of which now stands, "latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum, animi et *falsi* leporis gratia, editæ."

The question at once arises, Is any one of these Latin versions the original of Hayden's translation, and of the second Morolf? Von der Hagen, who scarcely seems aware of the existence of the earlier Latin copies, assumes that *Gartner's* version is the source of the German poems, and fortifies his opinion by a long comparison of this Morolf with *Gartner's*

Latin. Upon this point I differ from him entirely : the same comparison convinces me that the German had other sources ; even Gartner's express words in the title to the edition of 1585 import that his Latin was a translation, then for the first time made, of something or other, probably of one of the German prose copies hereafter to be mentioned : this at least seems to me to be the meaning of his "latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum editæ." A far more important evidence, however, is to be found in a comparison of the proverbial answers given by Morolf with those of Marcolphus ; and on this account, as well as for the better illustration of the part of the story which is of most interest and importance to its history, viz. that which contains these proverbial answers, I now print them from a MS. hitherto inedited, adding the various readings of Von der Hagen and Büsching's text, to which the numbers here refer.

A.

Dyss ist Salomon vnd Marolffen Sprüche, die sie myt eynander hatten mit mangen cluogen Worten. Bibl. Palat. (Heidelb.) No. 154. fol. 125. (15n. Jahrh. fol. papier, Wilk. Catalog. p. 364.)

1 SALOMON zu dem man sprach
 dá er sie beyde wole besach
 dú bist só recht von wortten rich
 mich duncket gut daz dú vnd ich
 mit wortten zusammen disputieren
 kanstú myn wort soluieren
 ich wil dich rich machen
 mit mancher hande sachen.

VARIOUS READINGS.

1. Czu. manne. die beide woll. rechte warterich. warten mit eyn disputieren. kanstu myn frage dan falsiferen. riche.

- M. is gleibet mancher an vnderscheit
 daz doch in syner gewalt nicht enstet
 der vbel synget der synget alleziit an
 also duo dá vnder kom dar van.
- 2 S. ich fant eyn orteil daz zwei wíp
 kriegeten vmb eyns kyndes líbe
 daz eyn waz blieben tód
 syner mutter wart daz geben als ich bó(d)
 M. dá vil kúwe synt dá ist kese vil
 glícher wise ich sprechen wil
 die wíber klaffent ússer mássen
 wo sie myt eynander gent úff der strassen.
- 3 S. got hát myr wissheit geben
 oben allen mentschen die nuo leben
 M. wer bóse nachgebúre hát
 der lobe sich selber daz ist myn rát.
- 4 S. der schuldige dicke fuhet
 als daz gericht na ym zuhet
 M. wer sich beschisset al mit alle
 der forchtet die lude riechent daz alle.
- 5 6 S. eyn gut wíp zuchtig vnd schoen
 die ist yres mannes krón.
 M. welches wíp sich mit dyr wil schelten
 die soltú loben selten.
- 7 S. eyne bósen wíbe enmag nicht glíchen
 mit bóssheit in allen richen.
 M. eyne bósen wíbe zubreich schier die beyn
 vnd lege darúff eynen gróssen steyn

M. gelobet. gesondikeit. das an siner gewelde nit in steit. der singe an.
 also du auch du vnd singe an. 2. S. das vrteil da. czwey wypp. kriegten.
 kindes lypp. das ander was da blieben dot. der muder ich das czu geben
 bot. M. ist. will. das wíbe claffen. gent mit eyn. 3. S. Got der hat mir
 wisheit. vor allen luden die da. M. nochgeburen. das. 4. S. so ymant
 iagende noch yme czuhet. M. mit schalle. vor den luden sie richent ess.
 5. Eyn gut wypp vnd schone. Die ist yres mannes krone. M. Eyn dup-
 pen mit milch foll. Sal man huden vor den katzen woll. 6. S. Eyn gut
 wypp sanfte gemut. Die ist gut uber alles gut. M. Begynnet sie dich
 schelden. Du salt sie laben selden. 7. S. wíbe mag nit. M. Stirbet sie
 so bl.che ir die bein. uff sie. steyn.

- noch dan soltú sorge hân
sie solle balde wieder úff irstan.
- 8 S. daz wise wîp búwet alde hûser wíedder
daz dorecht wîp brichet nûwe hûser nyeder.
M. der kauff enwart noch nye glich
úff erden vnd in hymmelrich.
- 9 S. eyn schön wîp wol gecleydet
irme mane dicke fraude bereydet.
M. die katzen die schöne belcze tragen
des belczeners hercze sie dicke erwegen.
- 10 S. geselle dû solt myr sagen
des daz ich dich in ernste fragen.
wo vindet man eyn wîp starke vnd stede
die vmb keyn gut missedete?
M. weres daz myr eyn katz gelubde tède
sie enwolde frû oder spède
der miliche nicht beruren
gleubete ich ir es were verloren.
- 11 S. wiltú mit éren blîben
so kère dÿn syen von bôsen schelden wÿben.
M. die fetten wîbe die fistent sère
dÿne nasen von irme locher kère.
- 12 S. welchen man die bôssheit snÿdet
von rechten der alle bôssheit mÿdet.
M. welich man drischet mich dan kabe
dem wirt nicht danne gestuppe darabe.
- 13 S. wer hôhe stÿget der sehe vor sich wol
daz er icht nyeder falle zu tâle.

Dannach magstu. Sie sulde wieder uffstan. 8. S. Das wyse wypp buwet huse weder. Die dorecht ist die worffet sie neder. M. en wart nye. noch yn. 9. schones wypp geleidet. Dick erme manne. bereidet. M. Eyn katze die schones fel dreit. Des belczers hercze darnach streit. 10. Solmon sprach. salt mir. Geselle das ich hint fragen. M. wo findet man eyn wypp starg vnd stede? Obe mir eyn katze vil eide dede. Sie in wolde der milch nit bekorn. Gleubet ich er iss wer verlorn. 11. S. by eren verliben. din fliss von schellenden wiben. M. wibe fisten. Die nase von irme loche. 12. S. Wer da bossheit sewet. Mit recht er alle bossheit mewet. M. Wo eyn man sebet kese [kebe]. Der yne mewet nit dan besteppe darabe. 13. S. Wer da steht der hude sich woll. Das er nit falle czu dall.

- M. man besluset zu spåde den hoff
wann der wolffe hát erworget die schaff.
- 14 S. bii wilén wyr(t) der hunt gealagen
vmb daz die frauwe hát gethân.
- M. wanne dem wibe eyn fiste engétt
iren hunt sie darumme sleget
vnd sprichet wol hyn daz dû sis verwassin
wie vbel hastû hinden abe gelassen.
- 15 S. lérungé vnd wissheit
in dýnem munde sy alleztid bereit.
- M. als geboren wirt das rê
so wyrt ym dar ars wiss als der snê.
- 16 S. wer sich selber lobet
des lob nicht wol enhobet.
- M. wolde ich mich selber schelden
so lobete mich eyn ander selden.
- 17 S. wýn brynget vnkusheit
der trunckene macht dicke herzeleit.
- M. den armen machet rich der wýn
des sol er allecziit truncken sýn.
- 18 S. dem manne gerne wieder ferct
der lange beydet des er begert.
- M. wer beydet daz ym eyn katze brynget eyn kalp
der verlúset sýn beyden mê danne halp.
- 19 S. vyl hungen gessen ist alleziit nicht gut
darvon so kêre dýnen mud.
- M. wer von den beynen lecken kan
den lecken auch sinen dûmen darvon.
- 20 S. man sprichet sunder hale
die wissheit schúwet dy bôsen quale.

M. Man beset czu spade das kloss. So der fuss gewinnet den stoss.
14. S. Der hunt wirt czu wilén geslan. Vmb das der lebe hat gedan.
M. wan. fist inget. Ir hundelin sie darvmb slet. spricht woll hin du
sist. Du hast hinden offen gelassen. 15. S. In dyme monde sie gereit.
M. So gebarn. der reb. Eme wesset der ars. 16. S. labet. sin lopp nit
woll in habet. M. Mych sulde ymant laben selden. 17. S. brenget. Wer
druncken ist der stiftet leit. M. win. Sulde er. druncken sin. 18. S. Dem
man gern wiederfert. Der woll beidet das er gert. M. Der da beidet bit
sin katze brenget. Sin beiden. dan. 19. S. Vil honiges gessen en ist nit.
Dan abe kere. mut. M. Der die figen bisßen kan. Synen dumen lecket
der selbe man. 20. S. spricht. hele. Dem vngetruwen nicht befele.

- M. er ist in guden wiczen lass
der luegen die warheit treget hass.
- 21 S. is ist böse widder stocke streben
dem tragen esel sol man streiche geben.
M. gut vnd böse fullet daz hüss
die nicht dan eyn loch hât daz ist eyn arm müss.
- 22 S. is ist besser eyn cleyen schazunge heymlich zwâr
dann grössen schâden gelitten offenbâre.
M. wer vor den ars kuset den hunt
licht wyrnt ym sÿn fisten kont.
- 22* S. almusse vnd êre der begeit
der frumden luden bii besteit
vnd hubischeit deme fremden tûd
ymb got oder ymb sÿn gud.
M. nyemant dy frommen schelten sol
er mochte es anders engelten wol.
man ist manches gastes frô
der hynden nâch schisset in daz strô.
- 23 S. der milden frôliche gebère
ist got vnd den luden mære.
M. sÿnen dienern gibet er cleyne
der sÿn müss isset alleyne.
- 24 S. lerne dÿne kynder in der iugent
got vorchten vnd mynnen togent.
M. wer sÿner kue daz futter vor beslusset
der milich er selten genuset.
- 25 S. wer zu geweltig zuhet sÿnen knecht
der dût ym selbis gar vnrecht.
M. zyhestû dÿnen esel zu fet in allen ziden
er wirffet dich abe wanne dû yen wilt riden.

M. an. witzten. Der golt wirffet in das salczfass. 21. S. Es. weder stücke. Dregen. sal man czwefeldige siege. M. das. Nit. das. bose muss. 22. S. Es ist besser heimlich schande czwar. Dan schande liden uffenbar. M. arss. Dem wirt lichte sin fisten kunt. 22*. S. Gross vnere er begeit. Der die frunde leret vnhubscheit. Das mag woll din kopp ingelden..... 23. S. Der da hat frolich. M. Syme diener gyt er cleine. Der sin messer lecket. 24. S. Lere dynen sons in siner jogent. Got forchtyn sine dogent. M. siner kuwe das fuder slusset. Der milch er da nymmer. 25. S. Wer sinen knecht czu selpuldig czuget. Sich selber er bedruget. M. Czuhestu din esel czu fette czu allen czuden. Worffet. so du wcnest ryden.

- 26 S. vernym vnd höre daz gar wirt sûre
alle dyngge zu thunde wieder nature.
M. daz ist war ich wene eyn nuwe bercke
daz man darüss gude beseme wircke.
- 27 S. waz der richter sol sprechen
daran ensal nicht rechtes ane gebrechen.
M. by wilen yrret der oss den wagen
daz er nicht recht enkan gegayn.
- 28 S. eyn wol gemachte schwarze krön
uff eynen wissen schilde zieret schön.
M. zwischen zweyen wissen beynen zieret bass
eyn schwarze rûwe kunte wisset daas.
- 29 S. durch kunste sol man die meyster êren
uff daz sich die jungen dest lieber lassen lêren.
M. war sich der esel welczert daz ist wâr
da horet man forcze alle vffenbâr.
- 30 S. dorch nôd keynerley
mit dem mechtigen dich nicht enzwey.
M. es ist böse eynen lebendigen beren schynden
von dem heybet biss zu den henden.
- 31 S. mit keyner rede saltû liegen
vnd dÿnen frunt auch nicht betriegen.
M. wer mit ossen klaffet
mit ossen er sich affet.
- 32 S. geselle dû solt gern mÿden
alle die gerne fechten vnd striden.
M. wer sich menget vnder die klygen
de essent die sÿwe glich den brygen.

26. S. Ich sagen fernt vnd hure. Alle ding ubent ir nature. M. das ist ware eyn nuwe birck. Das man dan uss besem wirck. 27. S. Das eyn. sal. Daran sal rechtes nit. M. Czurwilen foret der osse den wan. Das nit rechte. gegan. 28. S. Eynen wissen schilt czeret woll schon. Eyn woll gemachte wisse kron. M. Czwey wisse dicke czerent bass. Eyn ruwe kunt wisse das. 29. S. Dorch kunst sal man den meister. Das die jungen das da gerner leren. M. Wo. welczelt dass. Da bluwet furcze ader har. 30. S. node. Den frunden nit enczwey. M. Ess. den bern czu schinden. Heubt an bit hinden. 31. S. Mit keynen reden nit in bedrug. Din frunt noch nit in lug. M. Wer mit dem essenden cleffet. Mit essen er sich effet. 32. S. du salt miden. Alle die da gerne striden. M. clyen. Swyne mit den bryen.

- 33 S. dû ensche nye hôher berge drij
dâ weren auch dâle bij.
M. die rede weiss ich selber wol
so hôher berge so dieffer tâle
daz vorsuchen duchte mich vnutze
des scheiss ich in die tieffen putze.
- 34 S. is ist mir von herczen leyt
daz dem galgen eyniger diep engêtt.
M. solde man die diebe alle hân
is wer muoschlich wie es dyr solde gân.
- 35 S. die rede duncket mich fremde
daz mancher lebet sunder schemede.
M. die rede ist mir wol kont
eyn hunt lebet alss eyn hunt.
- 36 S. der êren er gar vorgisset
der daz bôse vor daz gûde misset.
M. als der hunt wil schlossen
stosset man yen so wil er bissen.
- 37 S. nôde hette ich der frunde
der myr keynes gûten gunde.
M. kalbes dreg verûchet balde
ûff der erden vor dem walde
- 38 S. kleyn fruntschaft er dâ sûchet
wer sÿner frunde nicht enrûchet.
M. an dem arss die maget grundig is
alse sie sich nicht lesset ruren des synt gewiss
- 39 S. eynes koniges wort sicherlich
ensol nymmer mê verwandelen sich.
M. wer mit bôsen wil eren
der muss zÿtliche wiederkêren.

33. S. Du yn gesehe nye berge dry. Dan en were ye grunde by. M. woll. Berg. dall. Das versuchen. nutze. Da. ynne die phutze. 34. S. Es. leit. Dass. manch diep entgeit. M. sie alle gehenckt han. Ees ist miselich wie iss vmb dich solde stan. 35. S. Diese. frômde. Wie. ane schemde. M. Dir woll kunt. als. 36. S. er gar. Wer bose vmb gut wieder myssset. M. So. will. Drauwestu yme er will dich bissen. 37. S. Node ich den czu frunde hede. Der fruntschaft mir nach nie gedede. M. verruchet gerne balde. Der heide. 38. S. Cleyne occasie er suchet. Siner. nit me in. M. An dem arsse grindet die mat. Wan sie sich nit roren lat. 39. S. wart. Sal nummer me gewandeln sich. M. fusen will. Czÿtlich.

- 40 S. knobelauch ist in der wyrtschafft guot
mit vnråde he schelden thûd.
M. wer knobelauch yaset tzu allen stunden
der fistet voben vnd vnden.
- 42 S. wer gern beraubet die armen
got enhôret nicht sÿn karmen.
M. siner treue der wrcziget
der einen bösen richter schriget.
- 42* S. sant snê regen vnd wynt
des frauwet sich blumen vnd kynt.
M. alas lange snê vnd kolunge wert
so seichent die wibe bij dem hert.
- 43 S. armot vnd schande sol man helen
men sal den frunden daz beuellen.
M. den drecke enkan nyemant so wol bewynden
die sÿwe mogent yen woole fynden.
- 44 S. wie solde der thûn eyne andern guot.
der ym alleyn vnrât tût.
M. wer sÿnen ars wischet mit kabe
der wyrt ym wênig reyne darabe.
- 45 S. wer da vorchtet den riffen sêre
der mocht wollen daz keyn snee nicht enwêr.
M. wer vorchtet daz der helmer ende bitten
der ensol nicht in die stopeln schlissen.
- 46 S. sÿn wissheit er gar verlûset
der ym selber daz ergeste kûset.
M. glich borden enbrechent nyeman den rucke
dar zu enslage danne gröss vnglücke.

40. S. Knobelauch. wirtschaft gut. In dem rade er schaden dut. M. Clo-
belauch. czu stunden. Oben. 41. S. Das horen gerne verdirbet. Wo nit
der synne mit in wirbet. M. Es ist bese harppen in der molen. Da lecte
synen arss eyn esels folen. 42. S. Wer da keret die oren von ruffe der
armen. In horet nit sin. M. Sin drehen yme nit verczijt. Wer eynen.
schryt. 43. S. Armut vnd suchte sal nyman helen. Man sal. die befelen.
M. dreg kan nyman bewinden. In konden in woll finden. 44. S. Wie
solt mir der vmmer wesen gut. Der eme selber keynes dut. M. arss
woschet. quade. Wirt wenig. 45. S. Wer da fochtet den riffen. Den
sal der sne snyffen. M. Fochtet das yne die helmer bitten. Der in sal nit
in das stro schlissen. 46. S. Sine wisheit er verliuse. Wer eme selbe das
boste. M. Gliche burde brichet nyman den ruck. Darczu in slage dan
vngluck.

- 47 Salomon sprucht. alle lugenere
sol man schuwen sere.
Marolff sprucht. der mit der warheit nit kan bestân
der muss sich mit der lügen begân.
- 48 S. den frunt vnd den arczet prube
wanne den man in der nôde prubet.
M. wan man den keller beslusset
mit truncken he des genuset.
- 49 S. die gerne claffent vnde strÿden
die soltû in geseleschaft myden.
M. eyn rynnende hûss eyn bôsse wip
kortzent dem goden man sÿnen lip.
- 50 S. weme versmahet eyn gâbe kleyn
dem ensol der grôssen werden keyn.
M. eyn versmahet kint eyn hungerck hunt
gênt trûrig slaffen manche stunt.
- 51 S. nicht enstraffe zu vil den spotlere
he wirt dich anders hassen sere.
M. so du mê berubest den quat
ye bôsern geroch daz is dan hât.
- 52 S. mancher begeret zu lebende riche
der doch muss leben vuendelich.
M. wer hart brôt hat vnd keyn zêne
des zunge wendet sich dicke also ich wên.
- 69 S. man sol mit den affen
tôrlichen claffen.
M. die merkatzyn duncket yr wissheit grôss
noch dan ist sie vor den ars bloss.

47. S. Ich sprechen, alle logenere. Sulde. M. Wer nit mit warheit. Der muss mit logen sich. 48. S. arczet man bedrubet. So die not den man bedrubet. M. Wer den. Drincken. er. 49. S. claffen vnd striden. Sal man yn gesellschaft. M. dach vnd eyn czornig wypp. Die kurczen dem guden man sin lypp. 50. S. Wer. Dem sal man grosser geben keyn. M. Eyn versmehte kunt eyn hûngerger hunt. Gent drurig slaffen czu mancher stunt. 51. S. Nyt in beschilt den spottere. Anders er wort dich. M. czudribest. quadt. So er bosen gesmack hat. 52. S. begert czu leben rich. Ermiglich. M. vnd nit czende. Ich wende sin czunge ess dicke wende. From this point the order of the questions and answers becomes altered. The next in A is the 69th in Von der Hagen's copy, whence it goes regularly on to the 100th, and then returns to the 53rd. 69. S. sal. Dorlich. M. merkatze. ir wisheit. Doch ist sie vor dem arss bloss.

- 70 S. uff dich ansprichet dýnes fýandes munt
die warheit zu keyner stunt.
M. der liegen wil der mag wunder sagen
des muss eyn esel seck dragen.
- 71 S. wiltú in éren alden
waz dû globest daz soltú halden.
M. gross vnderscheit sunder liegen
ist zuschen swalben vnd fliegen.
- 72 S. dû salt zu gúden mássen slaffen
darvmb mag dich nyeman straffen.
M. mich weckent dicke die müse
mich bíssent auch die flóhe vnd die lúse.
- 73 S. als wir wol gedrynken vnd gessen
daz gratzias sollen wir nyt uergessen.
M. sie syngen vngeliche
der sade vnd des hungers rích.
- 73* S. gibet dyr dýn arme frunt cleyn gabe
die nym mit vollenkommenlichen lobe.
M. brecht myr eyner eynen drecke
ich aluge yne ymme wieder in sínen beck.
- 74 S. mit eyne der vil scheldens kan
saltú dich nummer scheldens nemen an.
M. laddes dû den wolff zu hûse
sunder schâden kummet he nicht darúss.
- 75 S. nieman ist so vollenkommen
daz he schaffe alle sýnen frommen.
M. wer nicht zu rýdene hát
der gée zu fusse daz ist mýn rátt.
- 77 S. gütlich antwert brichet zorn
des seldom fruntschafft wirt verlorn.

70. in dyns findes. Czu. M. Wer. will. wonder. Mussen. 71. S. mit eren. Wastu gelabest das saltu. M. Veder schwalben vnd vnder müschen. Da ist eyn gross vnderscheit czwischen. 72. S. in guder masse. Inmag dich nymant. M. müse. Mit kratzen vnd auch die lúse. 73. S. Wan wir woll gedruncken. Der graciens. nit. M. Der sade singet vngliche. Vnd auch der hungers riche. 74. S. Du salt dich verbinden seldom. Mit eyne der da kan schelden. M. Ledestu. heim czu huss. Er in kommet nit an schaden daruss. 75. Eyn gut barmhertzig man. Eyner selen bestes gewerben kan. M. Er lebet mit bosen synnen. Der sich selber nit will erkennen. 76. S. Nyman. follen. Das er alle czijt schaffe. M. nit czu riden enhat. Czu fuss das ist min radt. 77. S. Czorn. Mit schelden.

- M. wanne sich zwey böse wiber schelden
alle yr vntâd sie danne melden.
- 78 S. eyne vngetruwen mann sîn böss siedde
volget ym gerne myde.
M. wem stelen begundet lieben
der ist gern bij den dieben.
- 79 S. wer was hât dem sal man geben
die wîle daz he mag geleben.
M. wer wênig hât der hât vnglucket vil
daz machet der tuffel mit sÿme gauckelspiel.
- 80 S. wan man den wis geschyndet
nymmê phande men dâ vindet.
M. waz man furtze kan gelâssen
daz versteht wênig in vistens mâssin.
- 82 S. man sprichet sicherlich
eyn igliches sucht sÿnen glich.
M. der ûff dem heybt ist kale
dem ist bij den plachechtigen wole.
- 83 S. mancher wênet den wolff schûwen
dem doch begeynet der lewe in trûwen.
M. mancher wênet sÿnen ars wischen
der doch sÿnen dûmen beschisset darzuschen.
- 84 S. eyn kynt von hundert jâren
ist böee zu lëren zwâren.
M. zwynges dû den alden hunt in bende
so mustû hûden dÿner hende.

M. Wan sich czwey alde wypp scheldent. Alle ir vndat sie da meldent.
78. S. Eyn vndedig man sinboser sede. yme vil. myde. M. Wem da begin-
net stelen czu lieben. Der ist alle czyt gerne by dieben. 79. S. Dem ha-
benden sal. daz. M. Der wenig hat den sal man plücken. Vnd den ha-
benden czuschicken. 80. S. So man den fuss geschyndet. Nit me. findet.
M. The answer is lost here, but given in 81.—81. S. Wer da antwort ee
er gehore. Der glichet sich eym doren. M. Was man forcze kan gelassen.
Die verstet eyn dauber in fistens massen. 82. S. sicherlichen. Iglicher
suchet sinen glichen. M. Wer. heubt. kal. mit den pleckechten woll.
83. S. Dem begeynet. lebe. druwen. M. sin arsluch woschen. Er beschis-
set den dûmen darzuschen. 84. S. kint. is. czu. czwaren. M. Czwin-
gestu. bant. magstu. diner hant. 85. S. Eyn hercze mit uberessigkeit
geschaffen. Dat den menschen dicke claffen. M. Des buches uberessig-
keit. Den arss czu wilten farczen dreit.

- 86 S. von dem gealichte Juda bin ich geboren
vber Israhel eyn furste yrkoren.
M. vnder den blynden des synt gewiss
eyn eyneygiger eyn konnig ist.
- 87 S. durch noit der gerechte man
by wilen sundigen began.
M. in buschen vnd in felden
dût dicke nôt den alden essel zelden.
- 88 S. eyn iglich wip die dâ hasset yrn man
die mag wol vil Sorge hân.
M. der wolffe plieget mit flissen
vnder die weiche heide zu schissen.
- 89 S. er enmag nicht sicher geleben
dem eyn böse wip wirt gegeben.
M. man sol den essel blûwen
so er den guoten weg wil achûwen.
- 90 S. es enzymmet nyt wol den affen
wise wort zu klaffen.
M. vor fremde mere des gewage
ob eyn luis die secke drage.
- 91 S. wer der ruden schonet
sÿnes selbes kynt er dar mit honet.
M. wer dâ kuseet das bockelîn
der mag der geisse frunt wol sÿn.
- 92 S. wie vil der kleynen wege synt
sic wÿsent eyn grossen dar bie hien.
M. wiltû dass versûchen
vil eyger machen grösse kûchen.
- 93 S. von mynnen leidet mancher noit
das lidet er bis in den dôt.

86. S. geslichte. geborn. vnd *del.* erkorn. M. in den blinden lande. syst. eineugiger. konig. 87. S. Dorch not. by wilen. M. Dut not den alden eseln czelden. 88. S. Mir were mit der ere woll. Gebe mir Got gudes sonder czall. M. Man in gibt den hunden nit also vil. Als sie heiscent mit des czagels spil. 89. S. Wo eyn wypp hasset eren man. der. vil woll. M. wolff pleget. flyssen. Hinter den feich hirtten woll czu. 90. S. inmag nit selber. wypp. M. sol. esel. guden. will. 91. S. inczemet nit den. Vil wÿsser wart czu claffen. M. man das wuge. abe. hunt. druge. 92. S. ein selbes kint er honet. M. buckelin. frunt sin. 93. S. Wie vil der cleynen pheide si. eynen grossen weg daby. M. eyer machent. 94. S. mynne lidet. not. Das er lyt krank bit in sinen dot.

- M. eyn schöne wip úff der ziechen
hat balde genért den von mynnen siechen.
- 95 S. als der hymmel sich bedrubet
den regen man dá bij prubet.
M. alss der hunt wil schissen gân
so siehet man yen gekrymmet stân.
- 96 S. wo der konig lyn fert
vor ym zieret wol eyn schöne swert.
M. eyn grösser dreck bij den zúne styncket sêre
eswo alden lersen sin dem her alden gar vnmêre.
- 97 S. du enhast dýner schalckheit keyne másse
des machtú herhangen werden bij die strasse.
M. hynge man die diebe alle noch hûre
die galgen wuorden daz ander járe zu túre.
- 98 S. der wise son sýnen fatter erfrauwet
der dorechte son sýner mutter drauwet.
M. der esel vnd die nachtegalle
hânt gar vnglichen schal.
- 99 S. dústú dem guoten wole
er lobet dich sunder zale.
M. er hat den dag verwischet
der dem bösen drischet.
- 100 S. é der selige von sýme bette sy gessen
so hát der vnselige sýn brôt gessen.
M. é der hunt geschisset gedeweiss
so hat der wolffe zu busche die geiss.
- 53 S. als man geschrieben sijt
so hát alle zijt yr zijt.
M. zu summer ysset man die kersbêre
zu wynter brúchet man die opfele sêre.

M. lip wypp. czichen. gedodet den siechen. 95. S. Wan. hymmel druffet. reigen. daran pruffet. M. Wan. will. sieht. ene gekromppen. 96. S. eyn. hin. ene czeret woll. schones swert. M. eyn grosser dreg czeret woll den czün. Als czwo lederhasen eym yrtzgebuern. 97. S. Du wil tdin vnkuscheit beherden. Des mustu noch erhangen werden. M. hinge. huer. Die galgen worden duer. 98. S. sin vatter. darecht siner muder. M. sie singen vnglich. Der drurig vnd der freudenrich. 99. S. guden woll. lonet dirs sonder czal. M. wer dem bösen drischet. Den hat der dag verwoschet. 100. S. sie von dem bette gesessen. hat der vnselig ain. M. eynen scheiss. der wolff in dem buche. 53. S. also beschriben steet. Alle czijt hat yr czijt. M. Czu somer ysset man die kirsner. Dan schisset man die kerne.

- 54 S. vorwar ich dir kunde
lugene brynget gróss unde.
M. wer sich sins kauffes sol begân
der muss bi willen sÿn warsagen lân.
- 55 S. wann der trege knecht keldene mercket
bij dem pluge er wênig wercket.
M. wer da wil der kost schönen
der endarff den anÿdern nicht lónen.
- 56 S. nyeman sal des keyn schâden hân
wie er sich mit êren kan begân.
M. der voss der sich sines mussens schemen wil
der muss von hunger dicke liden vil.
- 57 S. Marolff also du kummes zu habe
so tû also daz man dich labe.
M. nyeman also recht tûd
daz es die lude alle duncke guot.
- 59 S. ich vorchte ich verliese daran
waz ich dich güttes gelêren kan.
M. vorchtestû daz dû dich beschisest doch
so striche eyn wische in dÿn arssloch.
- 60 S. senffte wort brichent zorn
daz fruntschafft selden wyrt verlorn.
M. zorn machet grâ hâre
der arss fartzet daz ist wâre.
- 61 S. die amass samet in dem summer gâre
daz sie des wynters wol gefâre.
M. wer mussig get in der êrn
den biss nit die lûse des wynters gerne

54. S. In warheit ich. liegen brenget grosse. M. claffens sal began. bi wilen *del.* sin. 55. S. Wan der drege die felde fuchtit. Wenig er mit dem plüge wircket. M. da will er die koste schonen. Dass er den snedern nit dorffe lonen. 56. S. Nyeman. des schaden. was er mit. mag. M. fusse. sich müssens schamet. Von hunger er yrgramet. 57. S. Wer sich nit. woll kan generen. Der sal keyner duerde begeren. M. Eynen man hungerte manche stunt. Der ginge vnd kaufte eynen hunt. 58. S. Morolf als. kommest czu. du also als man. M. nyemant. dut. iss alle lude. gut. 59. S. fochte. Das ich dich nit geczuchten kan. M. fochtestu dich beschissen doch. so steck. wosche. loch. 60. S. brechent czorn. die. wirt. M. czorn. grae. das ist. 61. S. emesse. in *del.* gare. das. den winter woll gefar. M. mussig get czu eren. bissent die. czu winter geren.

- 62 S. wann der diep gêt stelen
daz kan sÿn wip wol helen.
M. wie sich der wolff kan begân
daz duncket die wolffyn wol getân.
- 63 S. wiltú dñen lip in selickeit enden
alle dyngē soltú zu den besten wenden.
M. sehe ich eyn den ars blecken
wie kan ich yme den gedecken.
- 64 S. dÿme wibe in werden nicht versage
als sie dyr yre nôt heymeliche clage.
M. frauwen nôt zu stopfen schiere
enkunden nicht gethûn drij oder vier.
- 65 S. den slaffenden hunt ensol nyeman wecken
alle vnfalt sol man decken.
M. du sagest al war ich tēde auch also
ich hube úff daz bette vnd scheisse in daz strô.
- 66 S. volgestú der lēre mÿn
dú solte des besten hoffen sÿn.
M. hude vbel monn wole
daz ist alles verlorne zale.
- 67 S. an gûden wyllen* vindet man truwe
zu allen zÿden nuwe.
M. eyn lûss vil truwe hát
sie enlisset den man nicht wie is ym gât.
sie lesset sich mit ym hencken
oder in eym sacke erdrencken.
- 68 S. eyme frumen man mag nicht glîchen
keyn bôse wip in allen rîchen.
M. falken fledermûsse vnd fliegen
synt vnglîch man wolle dan liegen.

62. S. Wan. diepp. das. sin wypp woll gehellen. M. was der wolff mag. das. wolffin. woll gedan. 63. S. wiltu seliglichen enden. so saltu alle ding czum bestem. M. sehe. eyn. sal ich das bedecken. 64. S. wart nit versaget. so sie die heymliche not claget. M. ir not gestuppen. inkonden nit myner fiere. 65. S. sal nymant. all vndat sal. bedecken. M. al del. det. hub vff das. scheiss. das. 66. S. Folge du. min. du salt. sin. M. wer ubel dut der hoffet woll. das duncket mich eyn verlorn czall. 67. S. wiben findet. druwe. czu. geczijden. M. me druwe. inlet. nit. iss yme. sie lesset sich mit. ach wie solde eyn wyp wencken. 68. S. der man mag an synnen rasen. wer gude wibe glichet bosen. M. fledermüss. wolde.

* Leg. wiben.

- S. ich enkan dyr nicht gesagen
 daz du von bössheit wollest län.
 des enwil ich nymmê mit dyr claffen
 ich befelle dich den toren vnd den affen.
- M. des enmag nicht gesÿn als ferre ich lebe
 dû salt dich vorwunnen geben
 vnd bezale mich zu disser stunt
 daz myr entheissen hât dîn munt.

We have here then one hundred propositions with their answers, exclusive of the eight lines of conclusion. The sayings of Marcolf are like those of Salomon, twofold in character. Salomon either gives Biblical proverbs found in his own books, or moral commonplaces derived from the observation of life. Marcolf either confirms the saying, at the same time ridiculing it, by adducing an absurd and very often, dirty application of it, or he contradicts it by showing a case in which it fails. The greater proportion of his answers are *popular proverbs*. Now of these, comparatively speaking, a very small number are found in the Latin version of Gartner; and as there is nothing in the German proverbs which are omitted, or in the Latin proverbs which are added by him, to distinguish them from the rest, and account for his alteration of the story, I conclude that he drew from a source different from that of the poem, and above all, reject the notion that the Latin printed by Gartner was the original from which the author of the poem translated. I proceed to give the corresponding portion of the Latin version printed by Gartner in 1585.

Conclusion. S. kan dir das nit gesan. du dyn vnhubscheit. inwill. nit. dir. befel dich den affen. M. in mag nit sin muss ich leben. uberwonden. bezale mir czu dieser. was mir gelobet. dyn.

B.*

1. *Salomon* dixit audivi te esse verbum et callidum quamvis sis rusticus et turpis Quamobrem inter nos habeamus altricationem Ego vero te interrogabo tu vero subsequens responde mihi. *Marcolphus* respondit qui male cantat primo incipiat. 2. *Sal.* si per omnia poteris respondere sermonibus meis te ditabo magnis opibus et nominatissimus eris in regno meo. *Mar.* promittit medicus sanitatam cum non habet potestatem. 3. *Sal.* bene iudicavi inter duas meretrices quae in vna domo opprimerant infantem. *Mar.* vbi sunt auce ibi sunt cause Ubi mulieres ibi parabole. 4. *Sal.* dominus dedit sapientiam in ore meo cum nullus sit mihi similis in cunctis finibus terre. *Mar.* qui malos vicinos habet seipsum laudat. 5. *Sal.* fugit impius nemine subsequente. *Mar.* quando fugit capriolus albescit eius culus. 6. *Sal.* bona mulier et pulchra ornamentum est viro suo. *Mar.* olla plena cum lacte bene debet a catto custodiri. 7. *Sal.* mulier sapiens edificat sibi domum Insapiens constructam destruit manibus. *Mar.* olla bene cocta melius durat et qui mundam distemperet mundam bibit. 8. *Sal.* mulier timens deum ipsa laudabitur. *Mar.* cattus cum bona pelle ipse excoreabitur. 9. *Sal.* mulier pudica est multum amanda. *Mar.* lacticia sunt pauperi retinenda. 10. *Sal.* mulierem fortem quis invenit. *Mar.* cattum fidelem super lac quis inuenit. *Sal.* nullus. *Mar.* et mulierem raro. 11. *Sal.* mulier formosa et honesta retinenda est super omnia desiderabilia bona. *Mar.* mulier pinguis et grossa est largior in dando visa†. 12. *Sal.* bene populum album in capite mulieris. *Mar.* scriptum est enim non sunt talia manice quales pellitia sub albo populo sepe latet tinea. 13. *Sal.* qui seminat iniquitatem metet mala. *Mar.* qui seminat paleas metet miseras. 14. *Sal.* doctrina et sapientia debet in ore sanctorum consistere. *Mar.* asellus semper debet esse vbi se pascit ibi crescit Ubi caccat ibi fimat Ubi mingit ibi rigat Ubi se voluat frangit glebas. 15. *Sal.* laudit te alienus. *Mar.* se meipsum vitupavero nulli vnquam placebo. 16. *Sal.* multum mel ne comedas. *Mar.* qui apes castrat digitum suum lingit. 17. *Sal.* in maliuolam animam non intrabit spiritus sapientie. *Mar.* in lignum durum dum mittis cuneum cave ne incidat in oculum. 18. *Sal.* durum est tibi

* From the copy in the University Library of Göttingen compared with that in the British Museum.

† Leg. *visia*.

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contra stimulum recalcitrare. *Mar.* bos recalcitrosus pungi debet vicibus binis. 19. *Sal.* erudi filium tuum et ab infantia doce eum bene facere. *Mar.* qui suam nutrit vaccam de lacte sepe manducat. 20. *Sal.* omne genus ad suam naturam reuertitur. *Mar.* mappa digesta reuertitur ad stuppam. 21. *Sal.* quicquid nouerit loquitur iudex iustitie et veritatis. *Mar.* episcopus tacens efficitur hostiarius. 22. *Sal.* honor exhibendus est magistro et virga timenda. *Mar.* qui suo iudici solet vngere buccam solet macerare suam asellam. 23. *Sal.* contra hominem fortem et potentem aquam currentem noli contendere. *Mar.* vultur scoriat duram volucrem plumatque pellem. 24. *Sal.* emendemus in melius quod ignoranter peccauimus. *Mar.* quando culum tergis nihil aliud agis. 25. *Sal.* blaudis persuasionebus noli decipere quenquam. *Mar.* per ingenium manducat qui manducantem salutatur. 26. *Sal.* cum homine litigioso non habeas societatem. *Mar.* merito hunc manducant sues qui se miscet inter furfures. 27. *Sal.* multi sunt qui verecundiam habere nesciunt. *Mar.* vivunt cum hominibus qui similes sunt canibus. 28. *Sal.* multi sunt qui beneficientibus reddunt mala pro bonis. *Mar.* qui alieno cani panem suum dederit mercedem non habebit. 29. *Sal.* non est amicus qui non durat in amicitia. *Mar.* merda de vitulo non diu fumatur. 30. *Sal.* occasiones multas querit qui ab amico recedere vult. *Mar.* mulier que non vult consentire dicit se scabiosum culum habere. 31. *Sal.* sermo regis debet esse immutabilis. *Mar.* cito tedium habet qui cum lupo arat. 32. *Sal.* radices raphani bone sunt in conuiuio fetent in consilio. *Mar.* qui raphanum manducat ex vtraque parte tussit. 33. *Sal.* perit auditus vbi non vigilat sensus. *Mar.* perdit suam sagittam qui tripum sagittat. 34. *Sal.* qui auertit aurem suam a clamore pauperum ipse clamabit et dominus deus non exaudiet vocem suam. *Mar.* perdit lachrimas suas qui coram iudice plorat. 35. *Sal.* surge Aquilo et veni auster perfla ortum meum et fluent aromata illius. *Mar.* quando pluit aquilo ruit alta domus et qui habet hirniam non est bene sanus. 36. *Sal.* mortem et paupertatem celare noli. *Mar.* qui celat hirniam crescunt ibi maiori. 37. *Sal.* cum sederis ad mensam diuitis diligenter inspicere que opponantur tibi. *Mar.* vniuersa ministratio per ventrem dirigitur et in ventrem vadit. 38. *Sal.* quando ad mensam sederis caue ne prius comedas. *Mar.* qui in altiori sella sederit ipse primum locum tenet. 39. *Sal.* si fortis superfecerit imbecillum vniuersam substantiam aufert eius domus. *Mar.* bene videt cattus cui barbam

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lingit voluntariam. 40. *Sal.* quod timet impius veniet super eum. *Mar.* qui male facit et bene sperat totum se fallit. 41. *Sal.* propter frigus piger arare noluit mendicabit autem estate et nil dabitur ei. *Mar.* culum nudum nulla spoliabit. 42. *Sal.* studium reddit magistrum benevolum. *Mar.* asuete manus currunt ad caldarium. 43. *Sal.* proiciendi sunt a consortio bonorum litigiosi et garruli. *Mar.* domina irata fumus ad ratta patella perforata damnus sunt in casa. 44. *Sal.* pro amore dei omnis dilectio est adhibenda. *Mar.* si amas illum qui te non amat perdes amorem tuum. 45. *Sal.* ne dicas amico tuo vade cras dabo tibi cum statim possis sibi dare. *Mar.* ad tempus faciam dicit qui non habet aptum utensile. 46. *Sal.* crapulatus a vino non seruat tempus in eloquio. *Mar.* culus confractus non habet dominum. 47. *Sal.* multi concupiscunt diuicias habere cum sint in paupertate detenti. *Mar.* prande quod habes et vide quid remaneat. 48. *Sal.* Multi sunt qui famem sustinent et tamen sustinent uxores. *Mar.* miser homo panem non habebat et tamen canem sibi comparabat. 49. *Sal.* stulto respondit secundum suam stultitiam ne videatur sapiens. *Mar.* petra quid audiuit cui respondit quercus. 50. *Sal.* ira non habet misericordiam et ideo qui per iram loquitur comperat malum seu perpetrat. *Mar.* ne dicas amico tuo malum iratus ne postea penitearis placatus. 51. *Sal.* os inimica non loquitur veritatem nec verum labia eius personabunt. *Mar.* qui te non amat ipse te diffamat. 52. *Sal.* quod satis est dormi. *Mar.* cui licet et non dormit pigritia nocet illi. 53. *Sal.* sacietate repleti sumus referamus deo gratias. *Mar.* iubilat merulus respondit graculus non equaliter cantant saturatus et ieiunus. 54. *Sal.* manducemus et bibamus omnes enim moriemur. *Mar.* sic moritur famelicus sicut et reffectus. 55. *Sal.* quando homo harpat non potest paralogisare. *Mar.* quando canis caccat non potest latrare. 56. *Sal.* saciata est iniquitas ventris nunc eamus dormitum. *Mar.* tornat retornat male dormit qui non manducat. 57. *Sal.* exiguum munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus noli despiciere. *Mar.* quod habet castratus dat vicine sue. 58. *Sal.* ne gradieris cum homine malo vel litigioso ne forte sentiens malum propter eum vel periculum. *Mar.* apis mortua non caccat mel. 59. *Sal.* si cum homine callido vel maliuolo amicitiam firmaueris magis tibi aduersabitur quam auxilium prestet. *Mar.* quod lupus facit lupe placet. 60. *Sal.* qui ante respondit quam audiat stultum se demonstrat. *Mar.* quando te aliquis pungit subtrahe pedem tuum. 61. *Sal.* omne animal simile sibi elegit. *Mar.*

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vbi fuerit caballus scabiosus parem sibi querit et vtrique se scabiunt. 62. *Sal.* bene facit anime sue vbi est homo misericors. *Mar.* magnum donum despicit qui seipsum non cognoscit. 63. *Sal.* qui fugit lupo obuiat leoni. *Mar.* de malo in malum de coco ad pistorem. 64. *Sal.* caue ne quis faciat tibi malum si autem fecerit noli et facere. *Mar.* aque non currenti et homini tacenti credere noli. 65. *Sal.* non omnes omnia possunt. *Mar.* scriptum est in casibus qui non habet equum vadat pedibus. 66. *Sal.* puer centum annorum maledictus erit. *Mar.* tarde est veterem canem mittere in ligamen. 67. *Sal.* multum habenti dabitur et habundabit. *Mar.* ve homini qui non habet panes et habet parentes. 68. *Sal.* ve viro duplici corde et duabus viis incedenti. *Mar.* qui duas vias vult ire aut culum aut bracam debet rumpere. 69. *Sal.* ex habundantia cordis os loquitur. *Mar.* ex saturitate ventris triumphat culus. 70. *Sal.* duo boues equaliter trahunt ad vnum iugum. *Mar.* due vene equaliter vadunt ad vnum culum. 71. *Sal.* mulier pulcra est a viro suo amanda. *Mar.* in collo est alba vt columba in culo nigra et hirsuta vt talpa. 72. *Sal.* in tribu iuda nimia est cogitatio mea et deus patris mei principem me constituit populi sui. *Mar.* cognosco mappam quia de stuppa facta est. 73. *Sal.* necessitas facit hominem iustum peccare. *Mar.* lupus apprehensus et in custodia positus aut caccat aut mordet. 74. *Sal.* sufficeret mihi temperaneus honor si tantum modo deus vniuersum orbem mee dictioni subiugasset. *Mar.* non tantum datur catulo quantum blanditur sua cauda. 75. *Sal.* qui tardus venit ad mensam suspensus est a cibo. *Mar.* gluto non currit per totum. 76. *Sal.* cum molesta tibi vxor tua ne timeas. *Mar.* molli bergario lupus non caccat lanam. 77. *Sal.* non decet stulto verba composita. *Mar.* non decet canem sellam portare. 78. *Sal.* tunde latera filii tui dum tenera sint. *Mar.* qui osculatur agnum amat et ariem. 79. *Sal.* omnes vie ad vnam viam tendunt. *Mar.* ad culum vnum omnes tendunt vene. 80. *Sal.* a bono homine bona fit mulier. *Mar.* a bono conuiuio bona fit merda quæ calcatur pedibus sic et bestiales mulieres debent calcari. 81. *Sal.* bene decet mulier pulcra iuxta virum suum. *Mar.* bene decet olla plena vino iuxta sicientem. 82. *Sal.* bene decet gladius honestus iuxta latus meum. *Mar.* bene decet strues iuxta sepem meum. 83. *Sal.* quanto magnus es tanto humilis sis in omnibus. *Mar.* bene equitat qui cum paribus equitat. 84. *Sal.* filius sapiens letificat patrem suum insipiens vero mesticia est matris sue. *Mar.* non equaliter cantant

B.

tristis et letus. 85. *Sal.* qui parce seminat parce et metet. *Mar.* quanto plus gelat tanto plus stringit. 86. *Sal.* omnia fac cum consilio et post factum non penitebis. *Mar.* satis est infirmus qui infirmum trahit. 87. *Sal.* omnia tempora tempus habent. *Mar.* diem hodie diem cras dicit bos qui leporem sequitur. *Sal.* iam fessus loquendo requiescamus ergo. *Mar.* non obmittam loquelam meam. *Sal.* non possum amplius. *Mar.* si non potes humiliter confitere te victum et da quod promisisti.

Of the hundred divisions in A, and the eighty-seven in B, there are but thirty-two common to both, that is, but thirty-two in which the same answers are given by Marcolf; for as many of Salomon's propositions are found either in the Old or New Testament, there is rather more coincidence between them in the Dialogues. The common element stands thus:—

[C.]

¹ A. 1; B. 1.—² A. 1.; B. 2.—³ A. 2; B. 3.—⁴ A. 3; B. 4.—⁵ A. 5; B. 6.—⁶ A. 9; B. 8.—⁷ A. 10; B. 10.—⁸ A. 11; B. 11.—⁹ A. 12; B. 13.—¹⁰ A. 15; B. 5.—¹¹ A. 16; B. 15.—¹² A. 19; B. 16.—¹³ A. 32; B. 26.—¹⁴ A. 37; B. 29.—¹⁵ A. 38; B. 30.—¹⁶ A. 39; B. 31.—¹⁷ A. 40; B. 32.—¹⁸ A. 42; B. 34.—¹⁹ A. 49; B. 43.—²⁰ A. 57; B. 48.—²¹ A. 62; B. 59.—²² A. 66; B. 40.—²³ A. 73; B. 53.—²⁴ A. 76; B. 65.—²⁵ A. 84; B. 66.—²⁶ A. 85; B. 69.—²⁷ A. 88; B. 74.—²⁸ A. 89; B. 76.—²⁹ A. 91; B. 77.—³⁰ A. 92; B. 78.—³¹ A. 96; B. 82.—³² A. 98; B. 84.

There are then sixty-eight of Marcolf's answers in the German which are not found in the Latin, and that out of one hundred; while out of eighty-seven in the Latin, there are fifty-five not found in the German.

I cannot therefore agree with Von der Hagen that the German poem, full two-thirds of which is not found in the Latin version, was taken from this. There are other reasons which make it quite certain that it was not; in the first place, its comparative length, it being so much more full and com-

plete than the Latin, which, from the habits of translators before the fifteenth century, it would assuredly not have been, had its source been the same Latin; but most of all the fact, that among the answers found only in the German, are a large proportion of those very passages which the poet expressly states that he took from his Latin original, and for the coarse appearance of which in German he commences by begging pardon.

Whatever be the case, I cannot but attribute the whole composition to an original strictly Teutonic, and this whether it chanced to be written down in German or in Latin. Assuredly, whatever may be thought of the general outline of the story, it borrowed none of its details from the East: its whole character bears the stamp of the free, rough and humorous Westerns; but beyond this, the proverbial answers made by Marcolf are essentially Teutonic, and so essentially Teutonic, that they frequently appear to great disadvantage in the Latin garb which has been huddled upon them. A sufficient number of them may be quoted from works of the highest antiquity, to show from what far-off springs the popular wisdom, represented by Marcolf, flowed; and the appearance of others as living proverbs among the Teutonic peoples even till a late period, serves to prove how deeply rooted they were in our feeling, and how consonant to our habits of thought. The list of the proverbs, which I now proceed to note as corresponding with those of the second Morolf, might easily have been made much longer, but it was unnecessary to heap up examples. I have given more than were absolutely required, because the literature of proverbs has a value of its own.

[A.]*

13. Wherein the simple fellow was like to that noddie, who when the steed was stolne, shut the stable doore.

A World of Wonders, 91.

Nachriuvv ist selten guot,
mich dunkt der hab ein tumben muot
der, nach der rossen diepstal,
allerest will bealiessen den stal.

Fabeln aus der Zeit der Min. Säng. Zürich, 1757.

14. *Smelling*. "Mine is Smelling, I am my Lady's huntsman, and keep some lesser beagles for her chamber use, to excuse the freeness of her necessity's eruptions." On this there is the following note: So in the old Black letter Booke of Huntynge, &c. "Smal ladi popies that bare awai the fleas and *divers smal fautes*." In allusion to the proverbial sayings upon this subject, lap-dogs are constantly in the Old Plays called *My Lady's foisting-hounds*.

Microcosmus, Act 3. Dodaley's O. P. ix. p. 107.

21. I holde a mousis wit not worth a leke
that hath but one hole for to stertin to.

Chaucer, Wife of Bath, l. 572.

Mus miser est antro qui tantum clauditur vno.

Eine arme Mauss ist die nicht mehr als ein loch weiss.

Es müst ein arme mauss seyn die nicht mehr als ein loch wüste.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 16, b. 24.

Mefle yr llygoden dyn twll.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 21.

Dolente la souris qui ne seit c' un pertuis.

Collection of French Proverbs, thirteenth century, MS.

Al raton que no tiene mas que un agujero, pronto le cogen.

Collins' Dictionary of Spanish Proverbs, p. 36.—See also MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 40; Gräter, Florilegium Ethico-politicum, p. 32; G. Herbert, Jacula Prudentum, p. 67; MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C., No. 450; MSS. Harl. 1800. fol. 37, b.

23. What should he yeve that licketh his knife?

Chaucer, Rom. Rose, l. 6502.

Quando el Abad lame el cuchillo, mal para el monacillo.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 280.

* This letter refers to such proverbs as are found solely in the German poem; B. to those found solely in the Latin prose version; C. to those which are common to both.

- Peu peut bailler à son escuyer, qui son couteau lesche.
Grüter, p. 234, Prov. Gall.
26. Der niuwe beseme keret wol.
Freidank, thirteenth century, Grimm's ed. p. 50.
New broome swepeth cleane, which is thus, vnderstand ;
New brome sweepeth cleane, in the cleane sweepers hand.
Heywood, Three hundred Epigrams, Epig. 67.
Some thereto said, the greene new brome sweepeth cleene.
Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. i.
Scobat scoba bene noua singula cunctaque plene.
Neuwe besem kehren wol.
Gartner, Dict. Prov. 79, b.—See also Ray, p. 280, Scottiah Proverbs ; Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 61 ; Prov. Belg. p. 117 ; Howell, Engl. Prov., p. 3.
29. According to the common proverbe, Where the horse lieth down,
there some hairs will be found.
Fuller's Worthies, p. 193, and Ray, p. 121.
Qubair the deer is slain, some bloud will lie.
Ray, p. 302.
Lle'r ymgreynior March, y gedu beth oi flew.
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.
33. Si mons sublimis, profundior est tibi vallis.
Je höher berg, je tieffer thal.
Gartner, Dict. Prov. ii. 50.—See also Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39 ;
Prov. Belg. p. 108 ; Prov. Ital. p. 148 ; Prov. Gall. p. 193 ;
p. 228.
35. Swie man vert den hunden mite.
so hânt doch iemer hundes site.
Freidank, p. 138.
Lauetz chen, peignez chen,
toute vois nest chien qe chen.
MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.
Ablue, pecte canem, canis est quia permanet idem.
MS. Proverbs, MSS. Trin. O. 2, 45.
A cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown.
Burton, Anat. Mel. Pt. 2. Sec. 3. Mem. 3.
41. Mich dunket niht daz ieman süle
ze lange harpfen in der müle.
Freidank, p. 126, with which compare Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 65 ; vid. Grimm. Freid. cxxiii., cxxiv. Frib. Trist. 16, c. Grimm. Freid. xcvi., xcvi.

- Swaz ich ir gesinge, deist geherpfet in der mül.
Nithart, xxiv. 2. (Benecke, Beiträge, p. 366.)
- In der boke molen is quad harpen,
wente dar wart sere over geboldert.
Reineke's Koker. 4^o. 1711, p. 336.
45. He that feareth everie grasse, must not pisse in a meadow.
Chi ha paura di ogni urtica, non pisci in herba.
Adagia in Latin and English, &c., 1622.
Let not him that fears feathers come among wild fowl.
G. Herbert, Jacul. Prud. p. 4.
46. Gleiche bürd bricht niemandt den rücken.
Grüter, p. 44.
51. The more we stur a turd, the worse it will stinke.
Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 6.
Qi plus enmeut la merde e ele plus pust.
MS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.
Llettaf fydd y byswelyn o' i sathru.
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.—See also Grüter, Prov. Gall., p. 234 ;
p. 108, Prov. Belg.; Ray, p. 211.
56. Nieman alsô rehte tuot,
daz ez alle liute dunke guot.
Freidank, p. 106.
multum deliro, si cuique placere requiro.
allen menschen gefallen ist nicht möglich.
Gartner, Dict. Prov. 9, b.
70. Os hostis raro loquitur bona non sibi charo.
Feindes mundt redt selten auss gutem grundt.
Gartner, Dict. Prov. 54, b.
74. Æde lupum quicumque foveat, nutrire putatur
Prædonem proprio, perniciemque lari.
Saxo Grammaticus, Bk. 5 (p. 74, ed. Steph.)—therefore an old
Norse proverb.
77. When theeves fall out, true men come to their good.
Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2, c. 8.
Schülte ein diep den andern diep,
daz wære ir nächgebüren liep.
Freidank, p. 47.
Fures in lite pandunt abscondita vitæ.
Mone, Quellen und Forschungen, p. 192.

als de deve kyvet, so kumpt dat verholen wt.

MS. Maastricht, fifteenth century.

Als hoeren en boeven kyven, zo komt schennys uyt.

Grüter, p. 92. (Belgica.)

Pelean los ladrones, y descubrense los hurtos.

Riñen las comadres, y dicense las verdades.

Collins, Span. Prov. pp. 257, 332.—See also Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 10; Brit. Prov. p. 30.

79. How Scogin greased a fat sow on the arse. I doe as Kings and Lords, and every man else doth; for he that hath enough, shall have more, and he that hath nothing shall go without, and this sow needeth no basting nor greasing, for she is fat enough, yet shall shee have more then enough.

First and best part of Scogin's Jestes, 1626, p. 47.

He that hath plenty of goodes shall have more :

he that hath but a little, he shall have lesse :

he that hath right nought, right nought shall possess.

Heywood. Dial. Pt. 1. c. ii. and Howell. Eng. Prov. p. 8.

86. Unter blinden ist der einäugig könig.

Grüter. p. 70. Prov. Alem.

En tierra de ciegos, el tuerto es rey.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 148.

In terra di ciechi, beato chi hann occhio.

Grüter, p. 157. Prov. Ital.

Au royaume des aveugles, le borgne est roy.

Grüter, p. 186. Prov. Gall.

Un-llygeidiog fydd Brenin yngwlad y deillaíd. *Monoculus may be king in Cacus country.*

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 83.

93. Wer viel aier hat, machet viel dutten.

Grüter, p. 83.

100. Mentre che il can caca, il lupo fugge.

Grüter, p. 162. Prov. Ital.

Tandis que le chien chie, le loup s'en va.

Grüter, p. 253. Prov. Gall.

[B.]

21. An ander leut kinden, vnd an frembden hunden, hat man das
brot verlohren.
Grüter, p. 5.
It is a thanklesse thing to feede another man's dogge.
Adagia, &c.
39. Wel wot hure cat whas berd he lickat.
Murilegus bene scit cui barbam lambere suescit.
MS. Collection of proverbs. Trin. Coll.
Chat conoit bien qi barbe il lesche.
MS. Proverbs. C. C. C. No. 450.
41. It's very hard to shave an egg.
Ray, p. 101.—See also p. 179, p. 296.
Who goes to bed supperless, all night tumbles and tosses.
56. Chi va à letto senza cena
tutta notte si dimena.
Ray, p. 29.
58. A dead bee maketh no honey.
G. Herbert, *Jacula Prudentum*, p. 65.
When bees are old they yield no honey.
Ray, p. 71.
Ny 'tr mangi náss, nemo fructum capit ex mortuo.
Hava mál. st. 71. Edd. Sæm. iii. p. 100.
Er heddwch nac er rhyfel gweynnen farw ni chasgl fél.
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 3.
60. Pan bwyser arnad, tynn dy draed attad. When one treads upon
thee, draw thy foot to thee.
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 30.
68. Wer zwen weg wil gân
der muos zwai langi bain hân.
Dintiska, vol. i. p. 325. Collection of Proverbs (14th century).
Swer zwene wege welle gân,
der muos lange schenkel hân.
Freid. p. 129.
72. Wie das garn, also das tuch.
Grüter, p. 84.

87. Eu son Arnautz qu'amas l'aura,
 e catz la lebr' ab lo bueu,
 e nadi contra suberna.
 Arnaut, Daniel. (Parnasse Occitanica. 257.)
 Ein ochs ist ein gross thir, noch kan er kein hasen erlauffen.
 Grüter, p. 27.
 Set a cow to catch a hare!
 A cow may catch a hare.
 Ray, p. 277. but Howell reverses the proverb. Eng. Prov. p. 18.

[C.]

3. Like so of women in feild and town,
 assembled where that many be,
 a man may hear them by the sown
 farther then them ye may see ;
 wherfore men say most commonly,
 wher many geese be, be many toords,
 where be women, are many woords.
 Schole house of Women, l. 476.—See also Howell, Eng. Prov.
 p. 11.
4. He hath ill neighbours that 's fain to praise himself.
 Ray, p. 139.
 Who commendeth himself, wanteth good neighbours.
 Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 16.
 Sese uicinos iactans habet undique prauos.
 MS. Harl. 3831.
Beatr. There's not one wise man among twenty that will praise
 himself.
Bened. An old, an old instance, Beatrice, that lived in the time
 of good neighbours !
 Shakespeare, Much Ado.
11. Der sich selbst schend, lobt niemant.
 11. Grüter, p. 17. Prov. Alem.
12. Chi maneggia mele, si lecca le dita.
 Grüter, p. 136. Prov. Ital.
13. Wer sich under die skligen mischet, den essent die swîn.
 Diutiska, I. 325.—See also Grüter, p. 83. Prov. Alem.
 De syck menget manket den scy
 den fretet gerne de swyne.
 Reineke's Koker, p. 376.

15. Swâ vriunt von vriunde scheiden wil,
der suochet ûf in schulde vil.
Freidank, p. 97.
19. Thou saist that dropping housis, and eke smoke,
and chiding wivis makin men to fle
out of their house.
Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, *Wife of Bath*, l. 278.
Sir, these wordes ben understonde of women that ben janglers
and wicked, of whiche women men sain, that thre thinges
driven a manne out of his hous, that is to saie, smoke, drop-
ping of rain, and wicked wives.
Tale of Melibœus, Urry, p. 119, b.—See also Parson's Tale,
p. 202, Pier's Plowman's Vision, Robt. Crowley, 1550, fol. 96;
Collins, *Span. Prov.* p. 179; Grüter, p. 153, *Prov. Ital.*; p. 157,
b. *Prov. Ital.*; p. 206, *Prov. Gall.*; Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* p. 34, b.
20. Who hath no more bread than need, must not keep a dog.
G. Herbert, *Jac. Prud.* p. 8.
A quien no le sobra pan, no crie can.
Collins' *Spanish Proverbs*.
21. Lo que la loba haze al lobo plaze.
Grüter, p. 312, *Prov. Hisp.*
22. Him dare not wenen well that evil doth,
a guilor shall himself begyled be.
Chaucer, *Reeve's T. I.* 1212.
Who thinkith ill, no gode maie him befall.
Belle Dame sans mercy. l. 399.
He that evil does never good weines.
Ray, p. 288.
24. Qi ne ad cheual ayle au pee.
MS. *Proverbs. C. C. C. No. 450.*
25. Swer alten hunt an lannen leit
der vliuset michel arebeit.
Freidank, p. 109.
But it is hard to make an old dog stoup lo.
Heywood, *Dial. Pt. II. c. 7.*—See also Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 24.
b. 101. b.; Grüter, p. 4, *Prov. Alem.*; MS. *Proverbs, C. C. C.*
No. 450; MS. *Harl. 1800.*
28. A mol pasteur lou lui chie laine.
MS. *Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.*
Undir a shepherde softe, and negligent
the wolf hath many a shepe and lambe to rent.
Chaucer, *Doc. Ph.* 1615.

29. as mete as a sow

to beare a saddle.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. II. c. 1.—See also Ray, p. 220, 297; Howell,
Eng. Prov. pp. 3, 15; Brit. Prov. p. 22.

30. Osculor hunc ore natum nutricis amore.

MS. Prov. Trin. Coll.

Many kisse the child for the nurses sake.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 7.—See also Gräter, p. 57; Ray, p. 206,
Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 9; Brit. Prov. p. 29.

Now, a careful study of these proverbs cannot fail to satisfy us that they are originally Teutonic, both in spirit and in form: even when they appear in a Latin garb, it is evident that they are translations from something already existing among ourselves. From this I am justified in concluding that the Latin original of the second *Morolf* and of *Hayden's* version, was itself founded on a German version; this may have been also translated and retranslated; gathering its wealth of proverbs from the national treasury as it went on. We may be well assured that in the serious *Salomon* and *Marcolf*, whether the *Contradictio* or not, these proverbs were not found; but they were precisely the stuff to be taken the moment a parody was intended; for proverbs are the representatives, and generally speaking the laughing representatives, of all the common sense and experience, all the hived and hoarded prudence of a people, as the embodiments of which *Marcolf* and *Sancho* stand side by side.

Having dealt thus largely with the sayings of *Morolf* and *Marcolfus*, it is expedient to bestow a little inquiry upon those of his competitor: these have been already distributed under two heads, and classed either as Biblical proverbs (or such as are founded upon Biblical expressions), and miscellaneous gnomes derived from the observation of life and manners, but not found in the Canonical Scriptures. The sayings of *Salomon*, derived from the books of the Bible, are the following:—

A.

4.—Prov. xxviii. 1. 5.—Prov. xii. 4. 8.—Prov. xiv. 1. 16.—Prov. xxvii. 2. 19.—Prov. xxv. 16 and 27. 24.—Prov. xxii. 6. 25.—Prov. xxix. 21. 42.—Prov. xxi. 13. 53.—Prov. vi. 6. Eccles. iii. 1. 60. and 77.—Prov. xv. 1. 61.—Prov. xxx. 25. 81.—Prov. xviii. 13. 92.—Prov. xiii. 24. 98.—Prov. x. 1. xv. 20.

Upon this calculation, out of one hundred of Salomon's sayings, we have but fifteen derived from his own books, as found in the Canon ; the wisdom of Salomon, and Ecclesiasticus furnishing none. It appears however that the Marcolfus puts a larger number of Biblical Proverbs into the mouth of the King than the Morolf ; no less than twenty-four out of eighty-seven being of this character.

B.

5. A. 4.—6. A. 5.—7. A. 8.—13. A. 12. Job vi. 8. Galat. vi. 7. Prov. xxii. 8. Freidank. p. 5.—15. A. 16.—16. A. 19.—18. A. 21. Acts ix. 5.—19. A. 24.—20. A. 26.—26. Prov. xxii. 24.—33. A. 41.—34. A. 42.—35. Cant. Cant. iv. 6.—39. Mat. xii. 29.—40. Prov. x. 24.—41. Prov. xx. 4.—45. Prov. iii. 28.—49. Prov. xxvi. 5. 54. Eccles. v. 18.—60. A. 81.—69. Mat. xii. 34.—77. Prov. xvii. 7.—87. A. 53.

It is moreover expedient to note that many of the sayings of Salomon are coupled with different answers of Marcolf in the two versions. This takes place in one of two ways ; either Salomon is made to say the same thing in both versions, and Marcolf to give different answers altogether, or the answers are only transferred from one place to the other. The first of these cases comprehends the following examples :

A. 41. B. 33.—A. 43. B. 36.—A. 50. B. 57.—A. 53. B. 87.—A. 70. B. 51.—A. 72. B. 52.—A. 79. B. 67.—A. 82. B. 61.—A. 83. B. 63.—A. 86. B. 72.—A. 87. B. 73.

The second consists of one only, A. 15. B. 5. And even, as many of Salomon's sayings which correspond in A and B, are met by very different replies in these dialogues, so are

many of Marcolf's sayings which correspond in the two, replied to very different sayings of Salomon : the following are the examples in the two dialogues :

A. 9. B. 8.—A. 11. B. 11.—A. 37. B. 29.—A. 62. B. 59.—A. 66. B. 40.—A. 76. B. 65.—A. 89. B. 76.

When now we consider that out of one hundred German, and eighty-seven Latin sayings and replies, only fifty-two of Salomon's sayings correspond in both, and but thirty-one of Marcolf's replies ; moreover, that of these thirty-one replies, eight are made to sayings of Salomon, which differ in the two versions, leaving a complete coincidence in twenty-three cases only, and a difference in a hundred and sixty-four, we shall, I think, be justified in at once rejecting any immediate dependence of one version upon the other, and in concluding that they are altogether unconnected forms of one common and traditional material.

Before I quit the subject of the second Morolf and the Marcolfus, I will add the very few lines of Gregor Hayden's version, which are printed by Docen and Von der Hagen, from the proverbial portion of the poem.

- S. Ein frumme frawe wolgethan
ist ein êre irem man.
- M. Einen hafem milich vol
sol man vor katzen luten wol.
- S. Man sol die schamigen frawen
lieb haben vnd geren schawen.
- M. Der arme billich lieb hât
ein kue, die mit kalbe stât.
- S. Alle ding vnd creatur
kumen wider zu ir ersten natur.
- M. Ein ding ist je vnd je gewesen :
es komen zusammen kot vnd besen.

Now of these three, which unhappily are all that I possess of Hayden's version, the first is alone found either in the

Morolf or the Marcolfus [A. 5. B. 6.] ; the second bears no resemblance to any thing in these two dialogues ; and the third but a most distant resemblance to A. 26, which is not found in Gartner's version at all. I conclude therefore, here again, that Von der Hagen was mistaken in assuming that version as the foundation of Hayden's. But the second Morolf and Hayden's translation are taken from the Latin, and that Latin is obviously not the text which we possess. What then, and whence, was this Latin version ? We can give no answer to this question.

The suggestion has been already ventured, that the Latin may have been taken from a German prose version of this favourite tale. Whether this be a fortunate conjecture or not, cannot be decided, till we obtain sight of one of the old German copies, which are now, I believe, of the utmost rarity. Even Von der Hagen, from whom I borrow much of what follows, seems never to have seen one of them, but takes his information from the scanty notices found in the books of others.

Panzer, in his *Annalen der älteren Deut. Lit.* pp. 168, 187, and 447, mentions three printed copies, two of which belong to the fifteenth century. The earlier of these, ornamented with woodcuts, was printed at Nürnberg, 1487, by Mark Ayrer ; and Panzer had himself a copy of it : *Bibl. Panzer. Pt. I. No. 833.* It bore the title, "Frag vnd Antwort Salomonis vnd Marcolfj." A second edition, with the title "Red vnd Widerred," was printed at Augsburg in 1490, by Schobsser. A third, probably with the first title, appeared at Nürnberg in 1520 : *vid. Bragur. 457. iii. 359.* Görres had seen a fourth, with the title "Frag vnd Antwort König Salomonis und Marcolphi," printed with woodcuts at Nürnberg by W. Newber, probably in 1560. It is likely that Agricola refers to one of these printed editions, when, in the preface to his collection of Proverbs, he says, "Es ist gerühmt Frey-

danck ; Ritter von Thurn, *Marcolphus*, die Sieben Meister," etc. And in fol. j. ii. of the "Sieben weisen in Grecia," (Frankfort. Egenolf, probably about 1530), is found the passage, "Sein [*Æsop's*] fabeln seint noch vorhanden, griechisch, teutsch vnd latein. Ein solcher kunstreicher abenteürer soll auch *Marcolphus* sein gewesen, zur zeit Salomonis ; von dem auch ein büchlin nit gar vngesaltzen vmbfleügt." Portions of these various editions have been printed by Eschenburg in *Bragur*. iii. 380-382, 392-394 ; and in his own *Denkmäler*, p. 146, and 172, 173 ; as also by Görres, "Ueber die Deutschen Volksbücher," pp. 189-191.

Leaving for a while Gartner's and the other German versions, it becomes expedient to notice such references to the legend as we find in Germany. Adolf Rosen von Kreutzheim, in the preface to his poem called *Esel-König*, printed in 1617, says thus :—

Allein vmb einiger ergetzung vnd Kurtzweil willen viel nützlicher zu lesen, als die ärgerlichen, schandbaren, vnd schädlichen bücher, vom Eulenspiegel, *Marcolpho*, Katzipori, Pfaffen von Kalenberg, vnd dergleichen, wie auch Schand vnd Schmachkarten welche mehr zu zerrittung dann zu ergetzlichkeit dienen.

At the same time that this passage abuses *Marcolf* and similar books, as dangerous and shameful, it bears testimony to their general dispersion. In *Von der Hagen's Narrenbuch*, there are some valuable additional notes, filling up lacunæ in the Introduction to the same legend contained in the "Deutsche Gedichte." Among the new matter contained in these notes are several allusions to the legend collected from German books : *Fischart* in his *Geschicht-klitterung*, *Ein und Ver Ritt*, bl. 5. 6, says,—

Ein Scheisshauss ist ein Scheisshauss wann man es schon wie ein Altar bawet, vnd ein Schatzkammer bleibt ein Schatzkammer, wann man sie schon vnder die Erd welbet. Es kan sich im *Marcolfischen Esopo* auch ein Salomo verbergen.

Again, bl. 8. a.

Da lass mich thun ein guten suff,
Marcolfe sieh, der gilt dir druf.
 Hehem das heiss ein guter tranck,
 Jetz bin ich gesund, vor war ich kranck.

Again, bl. 11. a.

O wie würd der Flegel-beschiltete *Marcolfus* so stolz mit seim *Rustinco Rustibaldo* werden?

In c. iv. bl. 45. b. it appears as if a wine had been named after him.

Da war Ehrwein,—Kirschwein, Bastart, Brud' *Morolff*, Weichselwein, Trupffwein.

And again, c. 10. bl. 100. b.

Noch *Marckhulff* von wegen dess *Salomonischen Marcolphi*, (welcher Nam demselbigen Marcolffdichter, auch Grell in den Ohren gethan), Noch *Morolf* von wegen Bruder *Morolfs* dess Holtzvogels aber von wegen dess guten weins.

In c. 13. bl. 118. a.

Ist aber der Tag nicht weiss, so mus *Marcolfi* rechnung mit der Milch fälen, darüber *Salomon* fiel.

Again, c. 36. bl. 224. b.

Als er nun eins Morgens frü im Bett lag, vnd dichtet wie *Marcolfus*, bawet Schlösser in Spanien, vnd Städt in die Luft.

In the preface to the first part of the Grillenvertreiber, bl. 5. a. we have the following passage:—

Solches hat gnugsam verstanden der *Marcolfsche Esopus* dann als er als ein Leibeygener, sampt zweien andern, auff dem Marck feyl gebotten.

Doctor Luther was well acquainted with *Marcolfs* story, and cited it to good effect at Leipzig in 1545. In the edition of his Table-Talk (Leipz. 1621.) bl. 409, a. it is said:—

Doctor Martinus Lutherus ist einmal zu Leipzig, Anno 1545, in einem Convivio gewesen, da hatte man ihm für geworfen einer hohen Person Fall vnd Ergerniss, vnd ihn damit sehr vexiret vnd geplagt. Da hat er zu Antwort geben : Ihr lieben Junkern von Leipzig, Ich, Philippus, vnd andere, wir haben viel schöner, nützlicher Bücher geschrieben, vnd euch lange genug das rothe Mündlein gewiesen, da habt ihrs nicht gewolt. Nun leset euch der N. in Arsch sehen, ihr habt das gute nicht wollen annehmen, so möget ihr nun das böse sehen. Und erzehlete darauff die Fabel vom *Marcolpho* vnd könig Salomon, vnd sprach : Es kam einmal Marcolphus beym König Salomo in Vngnade, also, dass er ihm seinen Hoff verboten hett, vnd sollt dem König nicht mehr für die Augen kommen. Nun gieng Marcolphus in ein Holtz oder Wald, vnd als es geschneyet hatte, vnd ein tieffer Schnee lag, da nahm er einen Fuss von einem wilden Thier in die Hand, vnd in die ander Hand ein Sieb, vnd kroch also mit den beyden Füßen, auch mit dem Sieb vnd Fuss, gleich als ein wild Thier im Schnee umbher, bis er zu einer Hölen kam, darein verkroch er sich. Als nu König Salomons Jäger im Schnee Wildpret auspüret, kam er auf die Spur, vnd sahe, dass so ein wunderlich Thier in dieselbige Höle gekrochen were. Derhalben eilet er an den Hoff, vnd zeigt solchs dem Könige an. Da war Salomon eilends auff, vnd mit seinen Jagdhunden für die Hölen, vnd wolt sehen, was für ein Wildpret drinnen were, da steckt Marcolphus im Loch. Als ihn nun der König hiess heraus kriechen, da deckt er den Arsch auff, vnd kroch also rucklings heraus. Da wurde das gantze Hofgesinde zornig auff Marcolphum, vnd sprach der König zu ihm : Du Schalk, warumb hastu mir diese Schalkheit gethan ? Da antwortete Marcolphus ; Ihr wollt mir nicht mehr unter Augen sehen, so müsst ihr mir in den Hintern sehen. Vnd sagte der Doctor darauf : Also gehets auch hier zu. Was an uns zu tadeln ist, das Klaubet ihr heraus, Aber was wir guts thun, das wollet ihr nicht haben.

In spite of the excellent application made thus by Luther, Staugwald in the preface to the edition of the Table-Talk (1591), bl. 2. b. says :—

Wie viel findet man deren wol, die lieber *Marcolphum*, Eulenspiegel, vnd dergleichen vnnütze Charten, lesen und lesen hören, denn diese *Colloquia Lutheri* ?

In the little treatise de Fide Concubinarum, which is ap-

pended to the *De generibus ebriosorum*, 1565, 12. bl. 13. a. (both which tracts are printed with some of the editions of Gartner's *Dicteria*, and added together with the *Marcolfus* to the 32mo. edition of the *Epist. Obsc. Viror.* already mentioned), we find :—

et vt impleantur Scripturæ *Marcolphi*, Auff einem vollen Bauch, steht ein frolich Haupt.

In Rollenhagen's *Froschmäuseler*, which, though written about 1566, was not printed till 1595, another reference to the story occurs :—

Wie auch Salomon's katz nicht wolt,
das Liecht mehr halten wie sie solt
sondern der Mauss nach sprang zuletzt
die *Markolff* aus dem Ermel setzt.

(Ed. 1683. p. 102.)

A work of B. Rauscher, bearing date from 1652-65, notices the tale among others which seem at this time to have been very generally classed together. The title of this book is : "Zwey hundert Papistische Lügen, welche aller Narrenlegend, als des Eulenspiegels, *Marcolphi*, des Pfaffen von Kalenberg, Fortunati, Rollwagens, etc. weit übertreffen."

In Hommel's *Litteratura Juris*, p. 163, a book with the following title is mentioned : "Salomo et Marcolphus Justiniano-Gregoriani. h. e. sapida et insipida, nimirum Theologica, Juridica, Paradoxa, Historica, Politica, Poetica, Musica, Prouerbia, Solæcismi Grammatici, etc. ex vtroque iure collecta, autore Δ. χ. Δ." Frankfort and Dresden, 1678. 8vo. Christian Rhebold is supposed to be the author of this book, which is probably a collection of absurdities to be found in the Civil and Canon Laws, or of absurd conclusions drawn from their provisions : a few specimens are given by Hommel.

It is unnecessary to cite more than a few lines of the German prose version still current, which may serve to show the

dependence of this upon the Latin already referred to, from which it is a bad translation, with many very coarse interpolations. There are various German reprints for the use of the curious. What follows is taken from a copy of the year 1670, in the University Library of Göttingen.

FRAG UND ANTWORT

DES KÖNIGES SALOMONIS UND MARCOLPHI.

1. *Salomon sprach.* Ich habe gehöret, dass du gar kläffrig seyst und listig, wiewol du ein Bauer und schnöde bist, darum haben wir Rede miteinander, und ich will dich fragen, so solt du mir antworten.

Marcolphus. Der übel redet hebe an.

2. *Salomon sprach.* Magstu mir in allen Sachen antworten, so will ich dich mit grossen Ehren und Reichthum begaben.

Marcolphus sprach. Der Priester verheist die Gesundheit, der er keine Gewalt hat.

3. *Salomon sprach.* Ich habe weislich gerichtet zwischen zweyen Weibern, die in einem Hause haben erdrückt ein Kind.

Marcolphus. Wo Gänse sind, da sind auch Bäche: Wo Frauen sind, da sind auch viel Mehre.

4. *Salomon sprach.* Got hat mir geben die Kunst, das keiner meines gleichen.

Marcolphus. Wer böse Nachbarn hat, der lobet sich selbst.

5. *Salomon.* Der Ungerechte fliehet, so man seinen Namen verfolget*.

Marcolphus. Wenn die Ganss fleugt, so raget ihr der Arsch.

* * * * *

84. *Da sprach Salomon.* Ich bin müde zu reden, ich will ruhen.

Marcolphus. Ich höre nicht auf mit reden.

84. *Salomon sprach.* Ich mag nimmer reden.

Marcolphus. So gib dich gefangen, und gib mir das, das du mir verheissen hast.

* Properly *nemine*, but here misread *nomine*.

FRENCH VERSIONS.

There are three distinct versions of this legend in French, two of which are of great antiquity, dating very nearly from the twelfth century, during which I assume the alteration to have taken place in the spirit of the dialogue. Two of these versions only are known to me : they are very different in spirit from one another, and from the German or Latin copies : while in all probability the third resembled these. They have no story, but consist merely of a dialogue in verse, in which alternately Salomon and Marcolf make assertions, and in which, generally speaking, a spirit of parody is found, as in the other versions of the same period.

The first of these is a collection of proverbial sayings under the title "Proverbes de Marcoul et de Salemon." It is found in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1830. fol. 116. It is the production of Pierre, surnamed Mauclerc, Count of Bretagne, and was probably written between 1216 and 1220. It is entirely free from that pernicious ribaldry which characterizes the second French version. It has been printed entire by M. Crapelet in his "Proverbes et Dictons, etc.," and it is therefore necessary only to give a few verses as a specimen of the fifty-nine which complete the poem.

*Ci coumence de Marcoul et de Salemon que li quens de
Bretagne fist.*

1. SEUR tote l'autre hennor
est proesce la flor,
ce dit Salemons ;
Ge n'aim pas la valour
dont l'en muert à doulour
Marcoul li respont.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

2. En cortoisie a paine,
 mais bien fait qui la meine,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Mais et jor et semaine,
 travail est dure paine,
 Marcol li respont.
3. Por largement doner
 puet-l'en enprès monter,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 De povreté user,
 se fait-l'en fol clamer,
 Marcol li respont.
4. Qui saiges hom sera,
 jà trop ne parlera,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Qui jà mot ne dira,
 grant noise ne fera,
 Marcol li respont.
- * * *
57. Mort a la seignorie
 sor tote riens en vie,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Riens n'a si grant baillie,
 a meins de cortoisie,
 Marcol li respont.
58. Qui si haut l'apoya
 grant pooir li dona,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Cil ne s'i oblia,
 n'autre n'espargnera,
 Marcol li respont.
59. Por ce het chascun mort,
 que nus n'i a déport,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Qui se sent vil et ort
 de voloir vivre a tort,
 Marcol li respont.

Such is the Salomon and Marcolf of this learned nobleman, whose surname was owing to the opposition which he offered to an ambitious and licentious priesthood; and who, for his knowledge, deserved far more that of Beauclerc, given with no great reason to a nearly contemporary sovereign. It strikes one at once, although enough of opposition appears between Salomon's and Marcolf's sayings to render it fitting to compare them with the German versions, that the lively feeling of humour, the joyous parody which are found in the last-named forms of the story, are utterly wanting here. It does not very often happen that Marcolf's answer has any very close connexion with Salomon's assertion: probably very few of the gnomic sayings of either were popular proverbs; very few indeed can be considered proverbs at all: everything leads to the conclusion that the Count threw his own shrewd remarks upon life and manners into a form popular in his time, and consequently justifies the corollary that about 1216 the humorous version of Salomon and Marcolf's legend was already current in France. The author of this version has left a still larger collection, called *Les Proverbes au Quens de Bretagne*, which seem to deserve the title of proverbs just as little as the majority of those printed above: in spite of his attributing these sayings *au vilain*, it is certain that very few were ever at all popular among the lower classes, the depositaries of proverbs and quaint wise sayings in all periods when their betters think they mend themselves and their dependants by attending to nothing save a foreign literature. But in spite of the want of such national characteristics, the Salomon and Marcolf of Pierre Mauclerc is especially interesting: it shows the purer form of the French legend; and from its spirit and character, from the method of its versification, as well as from more direct and external evidence, I have no hesitation in asserting it to be older than the *second* version to which I now come.

There exists a most striking contrast between this and the German version: there is no story whatever; scarcely any proverbs are quoted; and the whole of Marcolf's answers are derived from the habits of depraved women: the dialogue stands by itself, without introduction or conclusion, and is utterly devoid of the wit and humour which are found in the German and Latin. The character of Marcolf, as a reviler of women, is worked out in this dialogue to the fullest extent; but he wants all that real good sense which distinguishes the Morolf and Marcolfus, and which is clearly seen through the coarseness of their answers. The Marcol of this dialogue is really a japer, and jiber, a maker of parodies for parody sake; his replies, generally speaking, do not affect his opponent's propositions in the slightest degree, and in many cases the answers might have been shuffled together, and dealt out as chance determined, without losing their correspondence to Salomon's sayings, were not their places ascertained by the rhyme. From this alone arose the character which was borne by Marcolf in England. Morolf and Marcolfus are really wise; it will even admit of a doubt, whether Salomon himself is their match in either of the dialogues; the popular feeling clearly has decided against him, for not only in the first contest does it crown Marcolf with victory, but in every subsequent trial he comes off with honour, and Salomon with defeat; till at length, as in the first Morolf, the king is indebted to him for the recovery of his wife and the safety of his kingdom. The popular feeling took another turn with Marcol, and dubbed him deservedly *Marcol le foole*.

This poem is not uncommon in MS. The copies of whose existence I am myself aware are the following:—

1. *α*. MS. Bibl. Royale. Fonds de l'église. No. 2. 1. which I should ascribe to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is imperfect at the end, but has the following rubrick:—

Ci commence de Salemon
 et de Marcol son compaignon
 si orrez la desputoison
 quentrax font par quel occoison.

This dialogue consists of 35 propositions and answers, or of 210 lines.

2. β . MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 7218. From this, I believe, (for M. Meon says nothing about his MSS.) was taken a part at least of the long version published in the *Nouveau Recueil de Contes et Fabliaux*.
3. γ . MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19. This was written in England, about the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. and has the following epigraph:—"Veez cy une desputacoun entre Salamon ly saage, et Marcoulf le foole," and in addition the following running title, "Salamon pe wyse, and Marcolf pe more foole." In this there are but 27 propositions and replies, or 162 lines: nothing is however lost in the MS. The order of the various assertions differs entirely from that of the MS. No. 1.
4. There is a fourth MS. in the library at Geneva, which is mentioned in Senebier's catalogue under the title:—"Discours entre Marcoux et Salmon, sur le caractere des femmes des mauvaises vies et les dangers de leur frequentation." The third volume of Siner's catalogue mentions a fifth MS. in the library at Bern.
5. δ . A copy of this version, printed in black letter, is found in the British Museum. It has the following title:—"Les dictz de Salomon auecques les responces de Marcon fort ioyeuses." Beneath this title there is a woodcut. It has neither date, place, nor printer's name, but was undoubtedly printed before 1500. It consists of 4 leaves, 12°, with signatures to A. 111, and

contains 23 of the double stanzas. Of this there was another copy in a private library at Paris, from which a lithographic reprint was made in 1832 by M. Michel, but the edition consisted of no more than the perverse number of 15 copies. Another edition, previous to 1500, but undated, and consisting of 7 leaves, 16°, is cited by Brunet, and Ebert, under the title, "Dits de Salamon, et aussi ceux de Marcon, contenant plusieurs joyeusetés mises en rimes françois."

I now proceed to give part of the text γ , as a fully sufficient specimen of this composition.

[γ .]

*Veez cy une desputacoun entre Salamon ly saage, et
Marcoulf le foole.*

Salamon dit.

1. Mortalite et guerre
sonnt exil de terre,
et destruizement.

Marcoulf responnt.

2. De putayne sonnd maulx,
et guerres mortaulx,
et perils des gens.

Salamon dit*.

3. Moult sceit de la muse
qui veult faire escluse
par retenir lois.

Marcoulf responnt.

4. Putains comunaulx,
ne serfs naturaulx
ne sonnt pas à croyre.

* The MS. has faultily placed Salamon's saying No. 3. as the answer to this. The order in the MS. is, Sal. 2 and Sal. 3, as the answer. Marc. 3, as Salomon's saying, and Mar. 2, as the answer.

Salamon dit.

5. Qui en sa maysonn
avance larron,
domage cy rescoit.

Marcoulf responnt.

6. Qui putayne honneure,
à la fin en pleure,
quant il s'aperesoit.

Salamon dit.

7. Et la chenyllette
mengue l'erbette,
et la fueil de chol.

Marcoulf responnt.

8. La putayne se vest,
et nourrist et pest,
de l'avoir au fool.

Salamon dit.

9. Quant chevaux est neez,
de voir le sauez
qu'il a le cueil blanc.

Marcoulf responnt.

10. Quant home dit, tenez,
putayne dit, venez,
si seez en banc.

Salamon dit.

11. Moulit fait menue ourne,
et souuent se tourne,
qui chace goupille.

Marcoulf responnt.

12. Maint pas fait en vaine,
qui trace putaine
quant elle gandille.

Salamon dit.

13. Qui langour ara,
bien espletera,
se vif en eschape.

Marcoulf responnt.

14. Qui putayne croira,
ne lui demourra
ne serrot, ne chape.

* * *

Salamon dit.

43. Jetes en plunçon
et verge et baston,
et tant plus se moille.

Marcoulf responnt.

44. Donnez au putain
et huy et demain,
et tant plus s'ourgueille.

* * *

Salamon dit.

53. Qui veult mesurer
les gouttes de la mer,
moult est plain du rage.

Marcoulf responnt.

54. Qui tient en sa main
la foy du putain,
moult a mauvais gage.

It is quite impossible to place any limits to the length which this sort of contest might be carried to. The general relation which exists between the contents of the MSS. which I have consulted will be best explained by a tabular arrangement. There are in all seventy double stanzas: α has 35. β 68. γ 27. and δ 22; but one in γ and one in δ are all that are wanting in β . The result may be stated thus:—

γ . 27.	α . 16.	β . 26.	δ . 10.
	α . 19.	β . 19.	δ . 5.
		β . 23.	δ . 6.
			δ . 1.
γ . 27.	α . 35.	β . 68.	δ . 22.

and the manner in which the details correspond, thus:—

γ .	α .	β .	δ .	γ .	α .	β .	δ .	γ .	α .	β .	δ .
1.	—	1.	20.	47.	—	101.	—	—	—	7.	—
3.	1.	63.	—	49.	—	—	—	—	—	9.	—
5.	2.	59.	—	51.	—	27.	—	—	—	17.	—
7.	3.	65.	—	53.	—	129.	1.	—	—	19.	—
9.	4.	67.	—	—	7.	71.	—	—	—	23.	—
11.	5.	11.	22.	—	8.	75.	—	—	—	25.	23.
13.	6.	69.	4.	—	13.	81.	19.	—	—	29.	—
15.	32.	109.	—	—	15.	49.	—	—	—	31.	—
17.	9.	77.	11.	—	16.	55.	9.	—	—	33.	8.
19.	10.	13.	—	—	17.	85.	—	—	—	39.	—
21.	11.	79.	—	—	19.	15.	—	—	—	41.	—
23.	12.	93.	6.	—	20.	115.	—	—	—	43.	—
25.	14.	83.	—	—	21.	73.	16.	—	—	45.	—
27.	18.	87.	12.	—	22.	89.	15.	—	—	47.	—
29.	24.	103.	—	—	23.	117.	—	—	—	51.	—
31.	25.	105.	5.	—	26.	95.	—	—	—	61.	—
33.	—	35.	—	—	27.	119.	—	—	—	97.	—
35.	—	113.	—	—	28.	121.	—	—	—	99.	—
37.	—	53.	—	—	29.	123.	—	—	—	107.	7.
39.	—	3.	—	—	30.	125.	—	—	—	111.	—
41.	—	37.	—	—	33.	127.	—	—	—	133.	13.
43.	31.	21.	2.	—	34.	91.	3.	—	—	135.	18.
45.	—	57.	—	—	35.	5.	—	—	—	—	21.

A third version of the dialogue, probably from the Latin, was made by Jean Divery, of whom Duverdier says in his "*Bibliothèques Françaises*," "Jean Divery, medecin de Mante, natif de Hiencourt en Beauvoisin, a translaté en rime, le Dialogue de Salomon et de Marcolphus, avec les dits des Sept Sages, et autres philosophes de Grece; imprimé à Paris, par Guillaume Eustace, 1509." What the character of this book was, I cannot say, though its being accompanied by the Dicts of the philosophers seems to vouch for its having been less profligate than the earlier version: in all probability it followed pretty accurately the Latin Dialogus, which we yet have, and which is so generally met with in the same company.

It was not to be imagined that Rabelais, who is King and Kayser throughout all the realms of parody, should be unacquainted with a composition, which was so popular in

Europe, about the time when he wrote : accordingly we find him quoting it, and in such a manner as to convince us that he nothing doubted every one's immediately understanding him. In Bk. i. ch. 33, he says :—

“ O ! dist Spadassin, par dieu voicy ung bon resveux ; mais allons nous cacher au coing de la cheminee : et la passons avec les dames nostre vie et nostre temps a enfler des perles, ou a filer comme Sardanapalus. *Qui ne s'aventure, n'a cheval ny mule, ce dict Salomon.* *Qui trop,* dist Echephron, *s'aventure, perd cheval et mule, respondit Malcon.* Baste, dist Picrochole, passons oultre*.” Edition of MM. Esmengard et Eloi Johanneau. 1823. vol. ii. p. 140. Or Urquhart's Translation, vol. i. p. 101.

The proverb itself is not found in any of the portions printed in this introduction ; but that it was common in France is probable from the first part of it being quoted by itself, and without remark, in Howel's “ Proverbes d'elite, et Dictons communs ou vieux Quolibets en la langue Françoise.” He gives it thus at p. 2 :—

Qui ne s'avanture n'a cheval ni mule.

And it is found in M. de Montluc's Comedie de Proverbes, Act ii. sc. 3. (p. 46) :—

Lidias. On dit bien vray, quand on dit qu'il ne faut pas vendre sa bonne fortune, et que jamais honteux n'eut belle amie, car qui ne s'aventure n'a ny cheual ny mule.

* The nonsense to which this passage has given rise, may be seen in the following note upon it, printed by the editors above named :—“ ‘ Le premier proverbe n'est point de Salomon,’ dit l'abbé de Marsy. ‘ Pour ce Malcon, à qui on attribue ici le second proverbe, c'est un personnage supposé. Echéphron paie Spadassin en même monnoie, il lui rend proverbe pour proverbe, et citation pour citation.’ Rabelais aura formé le nom de *Malcon*, du Grec *μαλακός*, mou, effeminé, ou de *μαλκίω*, être contracté par le froid, être engourdi de froid, avoir les mains gourdes. Mais le nom de ce *Malcon*, qui est un personnage inconnu, pourroit bien être le nom altéré de *Malcolm*, roi d'Ecosse, au douzième siècle, ou celui de *Saint Malch*, célèbre solitaire du quatrième siècle, dont La Fontaine, dans un accès de repentir, mit la vie en vers françois, vie qui n'est connue de personne, tandis que tout le monde a lu et lira éternellement ses Contes.”

The general strictness of rhyme observed by the French, seems to make against the probability of there having been a poetical version from which these two proverbs are taken; but I do not on that account assume that there ever was a French version in prose: it seems very natural that, the Dialogue being popular, Rabelais should have made use of the names of the interlocutors, without intending to quote anything really found in any existing copy.

In addition to the evidence afforded by the version of the Comte de Bretagne, of the early dispersion and popularity of the story in France, we have the following facts from an old history:—"Arnold de Guines, who died 1220, was in the habit of hearing recitations of romances of chivalry, and similar works; his biographer says of him:—

Ubi cum militibus et familiaribus ludicris et iocis, prout juvenilia exijebat setas, indulisit; unde et juvenes et coævos cum eo conversantes diligebat. Senes autem et decrepitos eo quod veterum eventuras et fabulas et historias ei narrarent, et moralitatis seria narrationi suæ continuarent, et annecterent, venerabatur et secum detinebat. Proinde militem quendam veteranum Robertum dictum Constantinensem, qui de *Romanis Imperatoribus*, et de *Carolomanno*, de *Rolando et Olivero* et de *Arthuro* Britanniae rege eum instruebat, et aures ejus demulcebat; et Philippum de Monardinio, qui de terra *Ierosolymorum* et de obsidione *Antiochiæ* et de *Arabicis et Babilonicis*, et de *ultramaritarum partium* gestis ad aurium delectationem ei referebat; et cognatum suum Walterum de Clusa nominatum, qui de *Anglorum gestis* et fabulis, de *Gormundo et Isembardo*, de *Tristranno et Hisolda*, de *Merlino et Merchulfo*, et de *Ardentium* gestis et de prima *Ardeæ* constructione: eo quod ipse Arnoldus de Ghisnis, de cujus cognatione et familiaritate erat idem Walterus, ab Ardensibus sicuti jam superius diximus, in parte originem traxit, diligenter edocebat, familiares sibi et domesticos secum retinebat, et libenter eos audiebat."—*Lamberti Hist. Com. Ardensium et Guisnensium*, Bk. i. c. 96.

The same passage occurs in the *Histoire Généalogique des maisons de Guines, De Ardres, de Gand et de Coucy*, etc. By André du Chesne Tourangeau.

TRACES OF THE STORY IN ENGLAND.

THE earliest forms of the story in this country are those which follow hereafter, as the proper subject of this book ; they are at the same time the earliest forms which survive in Europe. Leaving them aside for the present, we may attend to what I believe is the sole remaining reference from the Saxon period. It is contained in a dialogue between the devil and a holy recluse of the Thebaid ; and which, from its general bearing upon the subject-matter of these legends, I print at full length.—Cott. MS. Tib. A. iii. fol. 85, etc.

Hit gelamp hwýlan set suman cyrre ꝥ an ancra gefing áne deófol þurh Godes mihte, 7 he wæs se ancra on Ðebeigdan lande, swiþe lifes man hálig geworden þurh Godes mihte. Ðá se ancra angan preáþian swiþe ðone deófol, ꝥ him ásæde eal helle wites brógan, and eac heofona rices fegernesse. Ðá cwæð se deófol tó ðám acran ðús : ðeah ðæt lengeste triðw ðe an middangearde is, 7 hit stóde ðonne on úfon ðám héhstan stánclife, ðe an middangearde is hégest, 7 mon ðonne gebunde ðæs monnes fýt tó úfanweardan ðam treðwe ðe wære sér áne niht an helle mid us, 7 him mon ðonne lete hangian ꝥ heáfod an dúne niðer ðæt him sige ꝥ blóð on ælcere healfe út þurh ðane múð 7 þurh ða nós-þyrle, 7 hine ðær óhtan ðonne ealle ða yfela 7 ealle ða brogan ðe æfre eorðwara fram ænginne gehýrdan secgan. 7 hine ealle sé-ýðan nioðan cnyssende wæron mid eallan sáebrógan, ðe he forð brinð, ðonne wile se man eal lustlice æfre má þolian, 7 ðeah he scure ðonne gyt þusend wintra þartó 7 ð þusend ðe se dómesdæg scel on geweorðan, wið ðan ðe he yft ne þurfe næfre má ða helle gesécan. Ðá git cwæð se deófol tó ðám háligan lifes men, wá bið ðám mannum, ðe sculan habban heora eardungstówe ón helle mid ús, ðær bið wóp bútan frófre, 7 ðær bið þeódwóm bútan freowdóme, 7 unrotnes bútan gefean ; ðær bið fúlmys bútan áwendednyssse, 7 biternes bútan swétnesse, 7 ðær bið hungor 7 þurst an helle suslum, 7 geómerung 7 þoterung, 7 ðæt wyrste wyrmcyncg eal byrnende, 7 dracan kin ðe næfre ne sweortað ; ðær bið swefe fýr, sweart 7 unádwæscedlic, 7 ðær bið cèle 7 brene 7 bróga, áttor 7 ofergeþyld,

gránung 7 gnornung, wroht 7 wóp, mán 7 morðor, sár 7 sual ; 7 ðær nán man ne mæg ðóran næfre gehilpan. Nis ðær cyniges weorðung ne caldormannes werðnes ; ðær nán man ne mæg his wáldend gemunan mid nánum lofsange, for ðám sáre ðe hiom ansittað. He cwæð ðá git se deófol tó ðám hálgan ancran ðús, 7 sæde tó him. Ðiós eorðe nære mid eallum hire wæstmum, ðæs ðe wæter on ne gesig, 7 ðeah nære ná máre on hire brádnese seð eorðe ðonne seð bráde hel is, ðonne is se micela garsæg ðy ðás eorðan útan ymbliged ormetlice micel, þ nis eal ðiós eorðe be him ðe máre ðe án price bið, ðe bið on ánum weax-bryde gepricod. Ðá cwæð se deófol ðá git tó ðám ancran ðús : ðeah mon ðane garsicg mid isenan wæalle útan betýne 7 hine man þám nyfelle fýres of heofones hrof, 7 hine mon ðonne útan besitte æall mid smiðbelgum, swá picce þ hiora sælc ðórum anhrine, 7 si ðonne tó éghwylcum belge man gesitted, 7 se hebbe Samsones strengðe, se ðe ealle Filisteisan peðe ámyrde 7 hyra dūgeða áfelde, 7 he hæfde xii loccas se ilca Samson 7 on elcan locce wæs xii manna mægen, 7 mon ðonne gesette isern þel ofer ðæs fýres hrof, 7 þ sie eal mid mannum ðonne áfýlled, 7 hiora hebbe æghwylc hamor on handa, 7 hit ðonne anginne eal ætgidre brastligan, 7 ða hameras beátan 7 ðeahhwæðer for eallum ðysan gedene ne mæg sið sáwle hi gerestan inne of ðám egesan ðe he sér geseh tó þ heð ða yrmðe æfre má forgitan mage, áne helpe tid dæges, ðe sér wæs áne niht an helle. Ongitan we nú hú se deófol sæde tó ðám hálgan ancran hyllewite, swá he him eác sæde heofena rices wuldres wlite ; 7 he cúðe swiðe wel, 7 he mihte eáðe hit secgan, forðon he wæs hwilan scinende engel on heofenum rice, ac hine áwærp Dryhten of heofenum for his ofermettum, 7 ðonne móðigan feònd on helle wite, forðon he dyde hine efenheáhne Gode, 7 get hégran wólde dón ; 7 he ðá forðan gewearð tó deðfe áwend, 7 ealle his geferan, 7 eác ealle ða ðe æt his ræde wæron oððe æfter besawon, ealle hi wurdon of ðám engelicum hiwe tó deðfum áwende, 7 gefeðllon ða heom an helle diðpnisse, besuncon ealle tó gædere ; 7 forðon is æghwylcum deðfe swiðe cúð hwylc hit is on heofenum rice, mid Criste on ðære écan myrhðe : wel is ðám æfre tó worulde ðe on ðære stówe wunian mót ! And ðá cwæð se Deófol tó ðám ancran ðá git ðús ; ðeah ðe sie sum smetegelden dún eal mid gim-mum ásett æt sunnan upgange on neorxna wonge, 7 sie ðonne ofer-hlifige ealle eorðan brádnese, 7 ðær sitte ðonne sum cynebearn an úfan ðære gyldenán dúne, 7 he sie eác an middan his fere fegernisse 7 his life, 7 he móte ðær sittan á oð ende his lifes, 7 he hæbbe ðonne

Samoses wite 7 his wisdóm, 7 him sie eal middangeard on gewæld geseald, mid eallum ðám welum 7 ðám weoruldgestreðnum ðe heofen behweolfeð abútan, 7 him Saturnas dóhtor, 7 ðeah ðe him ealle streámas hunige fleðwan, 7 him ðanne an eorðan næfre næfre sénig wiferbresta on þisum life, ðeah ðe him sæðn ealle wynsumnesse 7 ealle swétnessa tó gehriordum forðgeborene, 7 him ðonne sie singal sumor 7 lytel winter, 7 he ðonne sie lange tó life gescapen, bútan wrace 7 bútan sære, 7 he ðonne ðeahhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum ðæt he on eallum þysum wuldre wunige, gef he ér wére áne niht on heofonum, 7 eft ðider móte 7 sceáwigan ðar ðæs heofon-cyninges ansiðne 7 ða wynsumnesse ðe on heofonum biðð. Ðá ðæt deðfol ðis eal hæfde ásegd ðám háligan ancran, ðá forlæt he hine ; 7 se deðfal gewát ðá tó helle tó his eardungstówe. Ac utan we nú, men ða leðfestan, gecearnigan intó góðan dædum ðæt we tó úran Dryhtne becuman mótan 7 him ðanne mid beón 7 mid wunigan, á bútan ende. In écnesse ðám Dryhtne sie symle wuldar 7 werdmend in ealra weorulda weoruld. Amen.

TRANSLATION.

It befell once on some occasion that an anchoret captured a devil through the might of God, and this was an anchoret of the Thebaid, who had become a man of very holy life through the might of God. Then began the anchoret to urge the devil greatly, that he should tell him all the terror of hell-pains, and also the fairness of the kingdom of heaven. Then said the devil to the anchoret thus : Though there were the tallest tree that grows on earth, and though it stood upon the loftiest cliff that is highest in the world, and then ye should bind at its top the feet of a man who had been before that but one night in hell with us, and ye should then let his head hang down so that the blood gushed on all sides out of his mouth and nostrils ; and all the evils and the terrors which the inhabitants of earth have ever heard tell of from the beginning, were to persecute him ; and all the sea-waves were clashing beneath him, with all the terrors which the sea brings forth ; yet will the man continue to bear it all with pleasure, even though ye add thereto a thousand years, and that thousand in which the day of judgement shall be, on condition that he shall never visit hell again. Yet quoth the devil to the holy man :

Woe to them that shall have their dwelling-place with us in hell, where is weeping without comfort, slavery without freedom, sorrow without joy! There is foulness without change, bitterness without sweetness, and there are hunger and thirst in hell-pains, and mourning and lamentation, and the worst race of snakes all burning, and the race of dragons that never die : there is fire of sulphur, black and quenchless, and there is cold and burning heat, and terror, poison and impatience, groaning and yearning, revenge and weeping, crime and murder, sorrow and torment, and there may no man help other. There hath the king no dignity, the prince no worship ; nor there can any man sing songs of praise in remembrance of his god, for the sorrow that oppreseth him. Yet quoth the devil to the holy anchorite thus, and said : Were the earth with all its extension, no greater than what is not covered with the sea, and were the earth of no greater breadth than the broad hell is, mighty as the ocean is that surrounds this earth, yet were it in comparison but as a dot which is pricked on a wax-tablet. Then yet spake the devil to the anchorite thus : Though one should enclose the ocean with an iron wall, all round about, and fill it with fire from the roof of heaven, and one should then surround it all with smiths' bellows, so thick that each one should touch the other, and to each bellows a man were set, who should have the strength of Sampson that destroyed the people of Filistia and slew their nobles, (and the same Sampson had twelve locks of hair, and in each lock was the strength of twelve men,) and one should set an iron floor over the roof of the fire, and that should all be filled with men, and each of them should have a hammer in his hand, and then altogether they should begin to crash and beat with their hammers, yet nevertheless for all this din could not the soul that had been but for one night in hell, rest within so far as to forget its misery but for one half hour of the day. Understand we now how the devil told the holy anchorite hell-pains, so he told him also the glorious beauty of heaven's kingdom ; and well he knew it and easily might he tell it, for he was whilome a shining angel in the kingdom of heaven, but God expelled him from heaven for his presumption and [drove] the haughty fiend into hell-pain, because he made himself equal with God, and yet higher would have made himself ; therefore was he changed into a devil with all his comrades, and all of them also who were at his council or who looked after it, they were turned from their angelic beauty into devils, and fell into the deepness of hell, plunged all together. And therefore

every devil well knows how it is in the kingdom of heaven, with Christ in the eternal joy; well for ever and ever is it with him who may dwell in that place! And then spake the devil to the anchoret yet thus: Although there were some hill of worked gold, all set with gems, at sunrise on paradise, and this should overhang the whole breadth of the earth, and on the golden hill should sit some royal child, in the midst of his fairness and his life, and there might sit till life was ended, and though he had *Sampson's* beauty and his wisdom, and the whole world were delivered into his power, with all the wealth and the treasures that heaven whelveth about, and to him *Saturn's* daughter. . . . and though for him all streams flowed honey, and no annoyance should ever befall him in his life on earth, though all things delicate and sweet were produced for his sustenance, though for him the summer were continued and the winter short, and he were to a long life destined without grief or pain, yet could he not [endure] for the sorrow which would dwell in all this glory*, had he been before but for one night in heaven, and might thither again and see the face of the heavenly king and the happiness which is in heaven. When the devil had said all this to the holy anchoret, he dismissed him, and the devil departed to hell, his dwelling-place. But come now, dearest men, let us deserve by our good deeds that we may come to our Lord, and there be and dwell with him for ever and ever. To all eternity be for ever honour and worship to the Lord, world without end! Amen.

Now, in looking carefully at this passage, we see clearly that for "*Samsones* wite and his wisdom," we ought to read *Salomones*. Sampson's name slipped in from a previous passage, where he is mentioned in connexion with his proper attribute of strength: while Salomon is here, as constantly at this period, looked upon as the true representative of *beauty and wisdom*. It is also clear that some legend of *Saturn's daughter* is lost to us, from the passage in which those words occur being defective.

After the Anglo-Saxon period, the traces of the story in

* More probably, "ðeahhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum on eallum ðysum wuldre wunigan;" he might not for sorrow dwell in all this glory.

England are very few: the earliest with which I am acquainted is the *Certamen Salamonis et Marcolfi*, already alluded to, and which has been with little probability attributed to Walter Mapes. The copy which immediately follows is found in the Harl. MS. No. 2851. I believe it also to be that alluded to by Dom Brial as existing in the Vatican. The reason for considering it as an English composition rests upon the fact that the MS. is filled with matters relating to England and Scotland.

De certamine Salomonis et Marcolfi.

1. *S.* Nemo potest colubri passus sine cede notare.
M. Thaida nemo potest, nisi sit deprensa, probare.
2. *S.* Cum sequitur leporem testudo laborat inane.
M. Thaida nosce parans fraudatur vespere, mane.
3. *S.* Pane canem jacto seducunt furta parantes.
M. Blanditur Thais dum rebus privat amantes.
4. *S.* Plurima spe segetis cultor sapiens arat arva.
M. Thais amat multos qui dant non munera parva.
5. *S.* Non pudor id prohibet capto, se stercore mergit.
M. Effrons ad monachum Thais pro munere pergit.
6. *S.* Sus ceno tutius quam pulcra sede cubabit.
M. Turpem plus pulcro, lucri spe, Thais amabit.

1. Here and throughout, the MS. reads Tais Taida, etc. 3. MS. seducit. 10. MS. haut. 13. MS. incesta.

5. Among the Germans, the coward was punished by being sunk in a marsh with hurdles thrown over him, Tac. M. G. xii. This became proverbial in the middle ages. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 695, quotes the two following passages:—

man spricht wer von vorhten stirbet,
daz der im selber daz erwirbet,
daz man in sol in mel begraben. *Bon.* 32, 27.
dann welcher stirbet gleich von schrecken,
den soll man mit kukat bedecken. *Fischer, Flohhatz*, 36. a.

So the Italian Proverb, *Chi muor di paura, se sepellische de vesce*. Grüter, p. 136; and our own far more humorous but coarse saying, Ray, p. 21. There is a similar British proverb in Howell, p. 5. *Afo marw er ei fygwth à i faw y cymmuner*. Again, Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 68. b.

7. *S.* Tempore quo fructus domino parit, arbor amatur.
M. Dum pretium sperat cupidis Thais famulatur.
8. *S.* Mollit iter cuivis volucrum coetu comitante.
M. Multiplicat censum non uno Thais amante.
9. *S.* Est grave per speculum faciem pernoscere posse.
M. Pergravius tamen est bene Thais intima nosse.
10. *S.* Haud cane confido qui vult omnes comitari.
M. Quis Thaide fidet? Solet omnibus equiparari.
11. *S.* Quo magis effertur lampas, lux pejor habetur.
M. Thaida si cures bene, velle minus patietur.
12. *S.* Cum moritur dominus asino servit minus ille.
M. Cum perit unus amans patiuntur Thaida mille.
13. *S.* Non valet a furtis furem depellere mucro.
M. Non vult incepto Thais desistere lucro.

The author follows the spirit of the French version throughout, for his Thais is merely a name for *meretrix*. On looking at these verses, which are hexametric couplets having final rhyme, it strikes one that Serlon's have the same peculiarity; and that this is the reason why the bishop adopted that form of verse; he ridiculed Robert for having made a commentary in rhyming Latin hexameters, in the style of Marcolf, that is, in the same measure as his original; and to ridicule him more completely, adopted the same measure himself. Nevertheless, had Robert's verses not contained a *serious* version or comment, there would have been little sense or wit in Serlon's satire; and therefore, as the *Certamen* may perhaps also be referred to the end of the twelfth, or at latest the beginning of the thirteenth century, I still conclude that

9. It is one peculiarity of this in common with the French version, to whose influence I attribute it, that no popular proverbs, and nothing of the popular humour, are to be discerned in it: this solitary gnome of Salomon's is found in Freidank, p. 122.

nû sehet in spiegel tûsent stunt,
 ir werdet in selben niemer kunt;

and besides the names, this shabby link is all this version has to connect it with the humorous German spirit!

about that period the subject was alternately treated as a serious composition, and as a parody, just as it happened to strike the imagination of individual writers: two centuries later, it could only have been treated seriously by a madman.

Next in point of time is a passage from Lydgate's poem of the "Horse, goose, and sheep," and is contained in a MS. of that composition, Bibl. Publ. Cantab. H. h. 4. 12. It is as follows:—

Ffals supplantyng, clymyng vp of folys
vnto chayers of worldly dignite,
lak of discreoun sett jobbards vpon stolys
which hath destroyed many a commonte,
Marcolff to sitt in *Salamonys* see,
what folowith aftir, ne resoun ne iustice,
vniust promocoun and parcialite,
by fals prerogatyf ther neighburre to despise.

These lines, which are found in the author's own moral reflections upon his poem, are not in the printed edition by W. de Worde, of which a copy is preserved in the Bibl. Publ. A. b. 4. 34. The copy of the same by Caxton, Bibl. Publ. A. b. 5. 17. is imperfect at the end. The next is a passage from the opening of a poem in the Cott. MS. Nero. A. vi. and runs thus:—

The order of folys ful ghore begonne,
newly professyd, encresith the couente;
Bacus and Juno hath set abroch a tonne,
brouth the braynys vnto exigente;
Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, and presidente;
noubre of thys frary iii score and iii;
echone registered be grete avysement,
endoyed theyre patente that they shal neuer the.

Pynson printed a very close translation of the Dictz de Salamon et Marcon, under the following title:—"The say-inges or prouerbes of King Salomon, with the answers of Marcolphus, translated out of frenche into englyshe. In-

printed at London, in flete strete by Rycharde Pynson," etc. This has a wood-cut of Salomon and of Marcolf, and is without date. (Dibdin, Typ. Ant. 2. 567. The only copy known was in Mr. Heber's sale.) The following stanzas are given by Dibdin:—

Salomon.

He that will mesure
of the seas the water,
is not very sage.

Marcolphus.

He that holdeth in his honde
the faythe of an hoore as a goode bonde,
he is full of rage.

Salomon.

Cast a stone at an ape
or a staffe, if that he scape
the more wyll he mowe and moyle.

Marcolphus.

Gyue to a hoore her askynge
outher late or in the mornynge,
the more she wyll you dispoyle.

Salomon.

A house that in euery cornere
letteth in winde, sone burneth clere
whan fyre there taketh.

Marcolphus.

A hoore that is gay
is redy now and alway
whan that she money seth.

Salomon.

Who so euer hath syckneese
is uery ioyfull I gesse
whan he with lyfe doth scape.

Marcolphus.

He that a hoore byleueth
nothyng with hym abydeth,
nouter mantell nor cape.

This English version appears to have been reprinted by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp (4° without date), under the title, "This is the Dyalogus or Comunyng betwixt the wyse king Salomon and Marcolphus."

Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, shows that he was not unacquainted with the legend: in the third part, sec. 2. mem. 6. subs. 3. he says, as a remedy against love of woman:—

Follow my counsell; see her undrest; see her, if it be possible, out of her attires; *furtivis nudatam coloribus*; it may be she is like Æsop's jay or Plinies cantharides; she will be loathsom, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight: or suppose thou saw'st her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *cujus erat gratissimus amplexus*, as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus*;

non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

As a posie she smels sweet, is most fresh and faire one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another. Beautifull Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed than Thersites; and Salomon deceased, as ugly as *Marcolphus*: thy lovely mistress that was erst

charis charior ocellis,

dearer to thee than thine eyes, once sick or departed, is

vili vilior æstimata cœno,

worse than any dirt or dunghill. Her embraces were not so acceptable as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgon's head than Helenas carkass.

This awful passage is a convincing proof that Burton had read—and what had he not read—the Latin version of the story; for there is no evidence that he understood German, and the French copies have no description of Marcolf's ugliness.

In the First and Best part of Scogins Jests, etc. 1626, many of Marcolf's devices are attributed to the hero: thus, p. 60, he escapes the hounds by letting loose a hare before them*; but the final scene of Marcolf's knavery, with its consequences, is given entire to Scogin at p. 84.

How Scogin came to the Court like a monstrous beast, and should have been hanged.

Scogin was weary of Cambridge, and could not tell how to doe, because the King had commanded him to looke him no more in the face. At last he got him a Beares foot, and an Oxe foot, and tyed them vnder his feet, then he tooke a horse foot in one of his hands, and his other hand served for another foot, and Scogin lay about the Court, and on a certaine night there fell a snow. Scogin within halfe a mile of the Kings place, went with his aforesaid three feet, and his hand which serued for the fourth foot, and when hee had set a circuit, he went into an old house, where there was an ouen, and hee crept into it, and set out his arse. In the morning the trace of this monstrous beast was found, and well was he that might first come to the Court to tell the King what a monstrous beast this should bee, that the one foot was like a Beares foot, and the other like an Oxe foot, and the other foot like a horse foot, and the other like a mans hand. As soone as the King heard of this, he called his hunters to goe with him to find out the trace of this monstrous beast. And that found, there was a great yelping of hounds and blowing of hornes, and at last the hounds came to a bay. The King and the Lords pricked forth their geldings, and rode to the old house, and looked into the ouen, and [Scogin] set out his bare arse. What knaue is this, said the King? I sir, said Scogin, whom your [Grace] charged not to looke you in the face, wherefore I must needs turne mine arse to you. Well knaue, said the King, thou shalt bee hanged for this pranke doing. Scogin leapt out of the ouen, and pulled up his breech, and said; I desire your Grace, if I shall be hanged; let me chuse the tree I shall be hanged on. I am content, sayd the Kyng. Foure men were appointed to hang Scogin, Scogin had prouided a bottle of wine, and sucket, and marmalade, and greene ginger, and said to them that should hang him, Masters, the Kings

* Vide p. 28, Note.

Grace hath giuen me licence (as you know) to choose what manner of Tree I shall hang on, and in the Forrest of Windsor be goodly trees, and thither will I goe. Scogin went before them, and euer looked vpon many okes, and trees, and euer was eating of his sucket, and marmalade, and greene ginger, and dranke still on his bottle, saying, God knoweth the pangs of death are dry. When night was come, and the men being all day without meate and drinke, fainted, and said, Good Scogin, the night draweth on, and we have eaten no meat to day, and where we shall lye to night we cannot tell: chuse one tree or other to bee hanged on. O Masters, said Scogin, make no haste for my hanging, for it would grieve the best of you all to bee hanged. Scogin wandred about here and there untill it was a good while within night. Then said Scogin, here is a faire tree, let vs goe lye vnder it all night. The men said, we are so faint that we cannot tell what to doe. Well, said Scogin, you seeme to bee honest men, goe to your King, aud haue me commended to him, and tell him that I will neuer chuse a tree to be hanged on: and so fare you well. Hee is a mad man that may saue his owne life, and will kill himselfe.

It is probable that these stories of Scogin and Henry VIII. gave rise to those of James I. and Buchanan, whom the "Penny History" transforms from the Tutor into the Jester of the King. At the same time it must not be forgotten that these summary *hangings* neither belong to the periods nor the places in which they are supposed to be ordered, and that this point also goes to prove the antiquity and the foreign origin of the tradition.

OTHER VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND.

It now remains that I should say a few words respecting the more modern versions of the Salomon and Marcolf, and such as are found in other tongues besides German and French. It has been already seen, that before the year 1500 its popularity was such as to cause it to be several times printed in Latin, in German prose, and in French verse: but the stage also took hold of it as fair material, and towards the end of the fifteenth century Hans Folz wrote a farce on the subject, which was printed at Nürnberg, in 8vo, 1521, under the title, "Von dem künig Salomon vnd Marckollfo, vnd einem narnn, ein hübsch fastnachtspiel neu gemacht." Panzer, *Annal.* Pt. 2. p. 51. The far more famous Hans Sachs, however, composed a comedy, named, "Das Judicium Salomonis," in which Marcolf figures as a principal character, and repeats some of the tricks described in the "Dialogus;" more especially that by which he gets Salomon into disgrace with all the women of Jerusalem (2nd Mor. l. 1338, etc.), and which is, by the way, neither more nor less than the old Latin tale of Papirius, related by Aulus Gellius. A copy of this is found in the edition of Hans Sachs's works, published at Nürnberg, 1591, Bk. 2, pt. 1. fol. 16. b. The same author wrote also a farce, in which again Salomon and Marcolf are the principal personages, and which repeats some of the proverbs of the "Dialogus." This farce is found in the printed edition, Bk. 3. pt. 3. fol. 22. b.

To one or other of these dramatic pieces, or to a similar composition, reference is made in Melander's *Jocoseria*, Frankf. 1626, p. 813, in the following words:—

Annis abhinc ni fallor, decem, Casparus Crato quidam Marpurgensis, quem, quod *Marcolphi* aliquando personam in comœdia Salo-

monis,—magno cum applausu et approbatione omnium Hermanno Kirchnero, Poeta Cæsareo, et I. V. D. clarissimo, amico meo summo, magnifice admodum et festive lusa actaque,—tum facie, tum moribus, tum gestibus, idque asino vectus, ad vivum expressisset, *Marcolphum* vulgo appellitabant, Magister creari a Professoribus ejus Academia anxie postulabat,*" etc.

Whatever may have been its source, it appears that a version of the story was also current in Lowdutch. Nyerup found a copy of this in the Library at Copenhagen; it consisted of 16 leaves in 4to., without printer's name, place or date, and is given by him merely with the title, "*Marcolphus myt synem wive*;" but on the back of the title there stood, "*Hie heuet sick an eyne To hope redhinghe des alderwysesten Koninges Salomonis vnde eynes Wanschapen geheten Marcolphus de doch klook was in sinen reden.*" Nyerup, giving an account of this in *Bragur*. iii. 358, 359, states that the same work had been printed in Danish in the year 1711, and frequently since. Nyerup appears however not to know whether there was any old Danish version or not.

A version in Danish, of the year 1699 (or at least the same version with another title), is mentioned by Hjelmstjerne, in his *Catalogue*, ii. 733, "*Marcolfus, eller en lystig Samtale imellem kong Salomon ok Marcolfum.*" *Kiöb*. 1699.

But amongst Ayscough's MSS. in the *Brit. Mus.* No. 4857, fol. 89-96, is an Icelandic version, which, though itself modern, is probably copied from an old source. Its title is, "*Lyfsaga Markolfs og Samtal þeirra Salomons Köngs ens*

* A *Comædia Salomonis*, perhaps the same here alluded to, seems to have been known at this time in England also; at least, some such piece is mentioned by Sir T. More, in a MS. letter (*Arund.* 249, fol. 85. b.) to Holt, which begins thus:—

"*Thomas Morus Johanni Holto, Salutem. Misimus ad te quæ volebas omnia, præter eas partes quas in comedia illa de Salomone ist, adjecimus: illas ad te modo non potui mittere, quippe quæ apud me non sunt. Dabo operam ut ebdomada proxima accipias et quicquid aliud ex meis rebus volueris,*" etc.

wijsa." It begins thus :—"A dagum þeim er Salomon Kongr sat i hoissæte syns födr Davidz, fullur vitsku og vysdoms," etc., and winds up with, "Komst so Marcolfus vr höndum Salomons kongs ens vijsa, og reijstr sydan heim aptur," etc. The postscript follows, "Skrifad og endadt ai Skarde aff þorde Jonsyne. Anno 1670, þan 17, Dag. Januarij." A careful examination of this convinces me that it is a mere translation of the Latin ; almost the whole proverbial portion, and first dialogue between Salomon and Marcolf are omitted : the first two statements and answers are given, and correspond with the Latin ; the rest are at once disposed of, *as being too tedious for relation*. The whole passage is as follows :—

Hier eftur tok Kongr til orde seo seigiande, Sanlega merke eg ad þu ert klokur, og kauptugr, en þott þu siert im kauptugur samt skulum vid kiltast á ins kappmaulge, og skal eg setia þine so sem spurning, en þu skaltt aptur i mot ansvar gieffa. M. svarar. Sa a fyrstur ad byria sem vest quedur. K. svarar. Ef ad þu getur illum uppquodum mijnum giegnt og ansad, þa mun eg gieffa þig völdugan man, og þu skalt vera hin nafnfrægaste i mijnu rijke. M. s. Oft lofar lækner heilzune, en hun er ecke i hins valde. Toku þeir K og M sijdan til ad rædast vid miauglenige, huad hier er oflangt up ad telia edur scriffa, etc.

From Mone's "Quellen und Forschungen," p. 241, I find that our story is by no means confined to the limits of the Teutonic languages ; he mentions a Slavonic version also ; his words are, "I know a Polish version, only through a few extracts in the following book : 'Vocabular z vozmaitych y potrzebnych sentency.' W. Krolewcu, 1602, 12mo. (Vocabulary of various beautiful and needful sentences, Königsberg.) Herein, at fol. 8, stands an extract from the *siting* of Salomon and Marcolf : 'koniec wybrány z Salomoná.' (Extract from the Salomon.) In the Polish version Marcolf is called 'Marcholtow'." The slight comparison given by Mone proves very clearly that this Polish version coincides in con-

duct and in detail with our dialogues. From the transactions of the Cymorodorion, it also appears that there is a Welsh version, of what age I do not know. The title given at p. 201 of that book is as follows :—"Ymddyddan rhwng Selyv ab Davydd Brophwyd a Marcolphus." (Dialogue between Salomon, the son of David the Prophet, and Marcolphus.)

In Spanish I have not been able to find any traces of this story, which is the more remarkable, from the unmeasured wealth of proverbs which that language possesses. That Marcolf and Sancho stand in some degree as corresponding characters, has been already remarked; they are alike the foils to another and higher character, and they are the representatives of that rough wit which is found among the lower classes of a people, and the wisdom which is treasured in their proverbial sayings. The disposition of the Spanish peasants is perhaps more inclined to humour and practical wit, than that of any people in Europe; and it is hardly possible that some version or other of the Salomon and Marcolf should not have found its way among them. True it is, that the communication between Spain and the North of France, or Germany, which seem to have been the nursing-homes of the fable, was not very considerable; and at the Reformation, books published by Gartner and his associates were not likely to be popular in the Peninsula; yet, at an earlier period, Catalonia, as one high temple of the *Gaye science*, which certainly did not refuse to deal with matter of mirth, might have been looked to as a probable place for the preservation of such a composition. Be it as it may, there is no trace of the tale in any catalogue of the Spanish libraries that I have seen. In Italy, however, the case is far otherwise, and there the story, probably transplanted from the South of Germany, is continued through three generations, father, son and grandson.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Giulio Cesare Croce, called *della Lira*, composed in prose the life of

Bertoldo, for so is his Morolf named. This work was entitled :—“*Le sottilissime astutie di Bertoldo doue si scorge un villano accorto e sagace, il quale, doppo varie strani accidenti a lui interuenuti, alla fine per il suo ingegno raro, & acuto vien fatto huomo di Corte, e Regio Consigliero. Opera nuoua di gratissimo gusto. Di Giulio Cesare dalla Croce. In Firenze, & in Pistoia, per il Fortunati. Con Licenza de’ Superiori. No date.*” To this he subsequently added a life of *Bertoldino*, Bertoldo’s son. A further continuation was afterwards composed by Camillo Scaliggeri dalla Fratta, under the name of *Cacasenno*, Bertoldino’s son. Of these, the *Bertoldo* alone has any very close connection with our story, a connection rendered even more apparent by the name *Marcolfa*, borne by Bertoldo’s wife; but the numerous coincidences between the Italian and German versions, prove beyond the possibility of doubt whence *Croce* obtained his materials. That the story, as delivered by him, should not agree in all respects with the German or Latin version, is not unnatural. But still it was clear that one of these was in fact the foundation of the Italian tale: this might be proved by many circumstances, but it may be enough to cite one passage from the Latin, which is reproduced nearly verbatim in the *Bertoldo*. It is that where Salomon visits Marcolf after the first dialogue, which I have printed in the earlier portion of the volume; the passage in the Latin runs thus:—

Sal. Vbi sunt tuus pater, et tua mater, tua soror, et tuus frater?

Marc. Pater meus facit in campo de vno damno duo damna: mater mea facit vicinæ suæ, quod ei amplius non faciet: frater autem meus extra domum sedens, quicquid invenit occidit: soror mea in cubiculo sedens, plorat risum annualem.

Sal. Quid illa significant?

Marc. Pater meus in campo suo est, et semitam per campum transeuntem occupare cupiens, spinas in semitam ponit: et homines venientes duas vias faciunt nociuas ex vna, et sic facit duo damna ex vna. Mater vero mea claudit oculos vicinæ suæ morientis, quod amplius ei non faciet. Frater autem meus extra domum sedens in

sole, et pelliculas ante tenens, pediculos omnes quos inuenit, occidit. Soror autem mea præterito anno quendam iuuenem adamauit, et inter ludicra, risus et molles tactus, et basia (quod tunc risit) modo prægnans plorat.

The Italian paraphrase is as follows :—

Re. Che cosa fa tuo padre, tua madre, tuo fratello?

Bertoldo. Mio padre d' vn danno ne fa dui : mia madre fà alla sua vicina quel che nō gli farà mai piu : mio fratello quanti ne troua, tanti ne amazza : e mia sorella piange di questo, ch' ella ha riso tutto quest' anno.

R. Dichiarami questo imbroglio.

B. Mio padre nel campo desiderando di chiuder vn sentiero, vi pone de i spini òde quei, che soleuano passare per detto sètiero, passano hor di quà, hor di là da i detti spini, a tale, che d' vn solo sètiero, che vi era, ne viene a fare dui. Mia madre serra gli occhi a vna sua vicina, che muore ; cosa che non gli fara mai più. Mio fratello stando al sole, ammazza quanti pedocchi troua nella camicia. Mia sorella tutto quest' año s' è dato trastullo con il suo innamorato, et hora piange nel letto i dolóri del parto.

A still more singular fate, however, was reserved for this story, whose transmigrations were not to cease, till it became reproduced under the appalling title, and with the appalling length, of an *epic* poem, that is *epic—ὁλοὶ γὺν βροτοὶ εἶσι*. The history of this curious occurrence is briefly this. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Jose-Maria Crespi, surnamed the Spaniard, a painter of the school of Bologna and not without some reputation, painted the principal occurrences of the *Bertoldo*, and these were engraved on copper by Mattioli, for an edition of the original work. Instead of this, however, a number of the Italian literati determined upon producing a great *epic*, after Berni's pattern, for the purpose, it is said, of doing a service to Dalla Volpe, the publisher, who was personally connected with many of them. The poem was distributed into twenty cantos, six being dedicated to *Bertoldo*, eight to *Bertoldino*, and the remaining six to *Cacasenno*. Each canto had its own author ; to each canto another author

prefixed a metrical account of the contents ; a third poet appended to each allegories, or morals in prose ; while, to crown all, a fourth composed learned annotations upon the whole poem. Of the three-and-twenty persons thus engaged, all, save one Tuscan, were natives of Bologna, Ferrara, or Lombardy. This extraordinary book, much to the distress of the Academy *della Crusca*, was printed in 4to. at Bologna, in 1736. In 1740 and 1741, it again appeared, together with a translation made by some of the original authors, from the Tuscan into the Bolognese dialect, and accompanied by a glossary of Bolognese words : in like manner in 1747 it was translated into the Venetian dialect, and published with a Venetian glossary attached. So that not only as a popular story-book, under which form the *Bertoldo* in prose is still sold in Italy, but as a satirical *epic*, this story is spread from one end of the land to the other.

From these Italian versions, the story has been transplanted to modern Greece, retaining the names exactly as in Croce's book, from which the Romaic versions are literal translations. At what time this took place, it is unimportant to inquire ; the copies which I have seen are of late date (1804, 1832, etc.), but are reprints of older editions. The *Bertoldo* is thus entitled :—

Πανοῦργιαι ὑψηλόταται Μπερτόλδου, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας φανερώνεται ἕνας χωριάτης πανοῦργος, καὶ δ' ἕνος, ὁ ὁποῖον, ὕστερα ἀπὸ διάφορα παθήματα, διὰ τὸν πολὺν καὶ ὀξύτατόν του νοῦν, γίνεται βυσιδικὸς Σύμβουλος· Ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἡ διαθηκὴ, τὰ γνῶμικα, καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποίημα χαριέστατον, συντεθὲν Ἰταλιστὶ παρα Ἰουλιου Καισαρος δαλλα Krotze. ἐν βενετῶν, παρα Νικολαφ Γλυκει τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννῶν. 1832.

This was followed by Bertoldino, *Μπερτολδίνος*. A very clear proof that the Romaic version is a translation from the Italian, is furnished by the passage which corresponds to that already cited, and a very glaring blunder committed in the rendering. The Romaic version has :—

β. τί κάνει ὁ Πατήρ σου, ἡ Μήτηρ σου, ὁ Ἀδελφός σου, καὶ ἡ Ἀδελφή σου;

Μπ. ὁ Πατέρας μου ἀπὸ μίαν γυναῖκα κάνει δύο. κ.τ.λ. (p. 37.)

Here it is plain that the translator has mistaken the *danno* of the original for *donna*, and construed *d' un danno ne fa due*, by ἀπὸ μίαν γυναῖκα κάνει δύο.

I have now brought, with such limited materials as I possessed, my account of the history of Salomon and Marcolf to an end. Unhappily, a great proportion of the versions and copies mentioned are of the greatest rarity, and only to be met with in distant libraries. Yet enough appears to have been said, to show how extremely popular, and how widely spread this dialogue was among the nations of Europe, and therefore in some respects to justify the attempt to recall it to the notice of my fellow-labourers in the cause of antiquity, both at home and abroad. I have established such a chain of evidence, as to prove that under one form or other, either as a solemn, instructive and religious dialogue, or as a humorous and joyous parody, it has been found in almost every European land, and in almost every stage of our progressive civilization. Moreover, I desired to show that, in its latter character, it drew into its compass many of those proverbs which are the recorded experience and the traditional philosophy of every people. And lastly, I have attempted to establish the independence of the various versions, one of another, and hence the more readily to dispose my reader to contemplate the Anglo-Saxon forms of the legend, which form the text-book of this long introduction, and to prevent the feeling of strangeness and surprise at finding them so like, and yet at the same time so entirely different from, the Latin, German and Italian stories. I am myself hardly a fair judge how far I have succeeded in attaining these objects; but this I can honestly say, that I have spared no pains, and shrunk from no labour in the prosecution of my task: with the advantage of possessing all

that the knowledge which Von der Hagen and Mone, brought to bear upon the subject, had enabled them to collect, I have been fortunately in a situation to give a more complete account of the origin and dispersion of the tale, than is to be found in their remarks upon it ; and, were there no more than this, I should have looked upon such a result as a sufficient justification to myself for the time which I have occupied in my researches, and the labour bestowed upon the collection and arrangement of my materials.

TRADITIONAL CHARACTER AND PROVERBS OF SALOMON.

I HAVE already mentioned all the immediate references to the story which I have hitherto detected in England ; I do not doubt that there are others, which will be observed by those whose objects lead them to a close study of the middle period of our language and literature. With the exception of the quotation from Burton, all the passages seem to show acquaintance merely with the *French* version. But there is another class of passages which deserve notice, inasmuch as they teach us in what light the Protagonist in these dialogues is to be considered. During the middle ages, Salomon was far better known by his traditional reputation, drawn from the East, as the lord of all wisdom, the sovereign of the powers of the invisible world, and the builder of the temple, than by his more strictly Biblical character ; or, to speak more accurately, a traditional character, partly founded upon the Biblical history, was attributed to him. To say that a thing was the *work of Salomon*, was to express its

magnificence, and the great skill with which it was fabricated. The French poems abound in such passages, one or two of which may be cited here from M. Michel's notes to "Weland le forgeron," p. 80.

1. As estriés s'apuis *del œvre Salemon*. (Fierabras. MS. Bibl. Roy. Supp. Fr. 180. fol. 233. b.)
2. En mi la nef trovat un lit
dont li peçun è li limun
furent *al overe Salemon*
taillié's à or et à trifoire
de cifres et de blances ivoire. (Mar. de France. 1. 62.)
3. Quant Godefrois li ber fu entrés el donjon
qui estoit painturés *de l'œuvre Salemon*. (Chev. au Cygne. MS. Bibl. Roy. Sup. Fr. 640. 8. fol. 49. b.)
4. Li dus ot un capel qui nert pas de coton ;
entor avoit un cercle *de l'œuvre Salemon*. (*Ibid.* fol. 56. b.)
5. Et laça un vert elme *de l'œuvre Salemon*. (*Ibid.* fol. 182.)

As all good swords were the work of Weland, so were especially all great buildings the work of Salomon : Lydgate says :—

Where is now Dauid, the most worthy kyng
of Juda and Israel, most famous and notable ;
and where is Salomon most sufferayn of cunnyng,
richest of byldyng, of tresour incomparable :
fface of Absolon most fayre, most ameable ;
reken up echone, ef trewth make no close,
reken up Jonathas of frendshyp immutable :
all stond on change like a midsomer rose.

(MS. Bibl. Publ. Hh. 4. 12. fol. 87.)

In an earlier page I have quoted from the first Morolf a passage, where the wisdom of Salomon and beauty of Absolon are coupled together. Chaucer's minor poems will supply another :—

The retour Tullius, gay of eloquence,
and Ouide, that sheweth craft of love expres,
with habaundance of Salomon's prudence,

and pulcritude of Absolon's fairenesse,
and I wer possessed with Job's gret richesse,
manly as Sampson my persone to avaunce,
yet shuld I submit me in your remembrance.

Urry, p. 553.

To which last a complete parallel may be found in one of the Minnesingers. (Vol. 2. p. 233.)

Hæt ich des küniges Salomónes wisheit ganz,
and Absolónes schoene dá bí sunder schrantz,
und gewalt des ríchen küniges Davídes,
wære ich noch stärker danne sih was Samsón,
künde ich vür bringen als Horant suezen dón,
und wære gewaltig alles goltgeamídes, etc.

W. Grimm. D. H. S. p. 331.

It was not to be supposed that the famous judgement, however sneered at in the German *Marcolf*, should not become a fertile source of traditions. There is an interesting instance of these in *Barbazan's Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. 2. p. 440, with the title, "Le jugement de Salomon." In this, two princes quarrel, after the death of their father, respecting the inheritance: Salomon, being appealed to, orders the father's corse to be fastened to an upright stake, and declares that he of the two who drives his spear furthest into the body, shall be right heir. The elder strikes home, but the younger, detesting the impiety, prefers losing all share in the inheritance, to mangling the corse: he is in consequence, by consent of all the barons, put in possession of the principality. The fact of the test of natural affection being resorted to, to solve the difficulty, no doubt caused this judgement to be attributed to Salomon; for in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. xlv. from which the subject was probably derived, there is no mention of him whatever, and the decision is made by *a certain wise knight*. It is also remarkable that, as in the first *Morolf*, Salomon is in this poem Emperor of Germany, and

the claimants are princes of Saxony, as appears from the opening lines :—

Doctriner doit les autres cui Diex science done :
 au tens que Salemons porta primes corone
 avint une aventure d'un prince de *Saissons*,
 c'on doit bien raconter, quar bel example done.

The most striking evidence, however, of Salomon's character is found in a book printed at Gouda, by Gerard Leen, in 1481, with the title, "Lis Christi et Belial, judicialiter coram Salomone iudice . . . agitata, super spolio et violentia per eundem Christum in Inferno commissis." This was reprinted three years later, with the title, "Jacobi de Therramo compendium perbreve," etc, and has since frequently reappeared under various names.

It is probable that some collection of Proverbs, containing, among other things, a large selection from the Biblical Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, was current among our forefathers ; I imagine this to be the book so often cited in company with Cato, Tully, Plato and Seneca ; and that something of this nature is alluded to in the following lines of Beryn. (Urry, Chaucer, p. 616.)

For he can all langagis, Greek, Hebrew, and Latyne,
 Caldey, Frenash, and Lombard, yee know well fyne ;
 and all maner that men in bokis write ;
 in poyse, and philosophie, also he can endite :
 civile and canoune, and all maner lawis ;
 Seneca, and Sydrack, and *Salamon's sawys* ;
 and the seven sciences, and eke law of armys,
 experimentis, and pompery, and all maner charmys.

It is indeed possible that the Biblical books may alone be alluded to here, though, as I shall shortly show, it is by no means necessary. The author of that noble work, Piers Plowman's Vision, himself a clergyman well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and deeply versed also in such moral

works as his contemporaries had to read, more than once quotes as Salomon's, sayings which will hardly be found in his works : thus (Crowley's 2nd Ed. fol. 13. a. Passus 3.)—

Salomon the sage
a sermon he made,
for [to] amend mayres,
and men that kepe lawes,
and tolde hem this teme
that I tel thinke ;

ignis deuorabit tabernacula eorum qui libenter accipiunt munera.

The theme is no doubt a Biblical one, being found, not in Salomon, but in Job, xv. 34 : what makes it important to us is, that it serves to show how readily any wise saying was fathered upon him, at whom the countries marvelled for his songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.— Again, Piers Plowman, fol. 17. a.

Se what Salomon saith
in Sapientie bokes,
that he that geueth giftes
the victory winneth,
and most worship hath therwith
as holy write telleth.

honorem acquiret qui dat munera.

Chaucer's tale of Melibæus is full of quotations from Salomon, though not always from the Canonical or even Apocryphal books, which go by his name : thus—

Salomon saieth, that right as moughthes in the shepes fleise anoieth the clothes, and the smale wormes the tre, right so anoieth sorrowe the herte of man. (Urry, 148.)

For Salomon saith ; there as thou maist not have audience ; enforce the not to speke. (148.)

For Salomon saieth : that right as the herte of a man deliteth in savoure that is sote, righte so the counsaile of trewe friendes yeveth swetenesse to the soule. (150.)

Salomon saith, take no counsaile of a fole : for he woll counsaile but after his owne lust and his affeccion. (150.)

Salomon saieth, that the wordes of a flatterer is a snare to catch innocentis. (151.)

For Salomon saith, ther n'is no privitye there as reigneth drunkenesse. (151.)

And Salomon saieth : a very fole is he that of all hath drede. (152.)

For Salomon saieth, that the doctrine and witte of a man is knowen by pacience. (155.)

And the same Salomon saith, the angrie and wrothefull man maketh noises, and the pacient man attempreth, and stilleth them. (155.)

And this same Salomon saieth afterwarde : that by the sorrowfull visage of a manne, that is to saye, by the sorie and hevvy countenance of a manne, the fole correcteth and amendeth himselfe. (157.)

It is not at all impossible but that some of these sayings are formed upon proverbs in the books attributed to Salomon ; as the first, for instance, upon Ecclesiasticus, xix. 3 ; the third, upon xxxvii. 8 ; and even the last cited passage of Piers Plowman upon x. 19, as upon xi. 29, the following lines from the Coke's Prologue : (Urry, p. 34.)—

Wel seide Salomon in his language,
ne bring not evry man into thyn hous ;
for herbouring by night is perillouse.

Or again, as in Lydgate. (MS. Bibl. Publ. Hh. 4. 12. fol. 84. b.)—

Greitest of virtues is humilite
as Salomon sayth, son of Sapience.

But to come more decisively to the point, there are proverbs quoted under the name of this prince which are not found in the Bible at all, and which bear no resemblance to anything found there : thus in Tristan, l. 1425. (Michel, Ed. 1. p. 72.)—

Salemon dit, que droicturiers
que ses amis sont ses levriers.

Again, *Tristan*, l. 36. (Vol. i. p. 5.)

Sire, moult dit voir Salemon,
qui de forches traient larron,
jà pus ne l'amero[n]t nul jor.

which though very unbiblical is completely Teutonic, and of wide dispersion : in the *Castoiment*, etc. (*Barbazan*, 2. p. 49,) it occurs thus :—

Quar l'on sielt dire *en reprovier*,
qui le pendu despendera,
desur son col le fais cherra.

And in the same work (2. p. 73) :—

Quar qui le pendu despendra
le fais desur son col cherra.

In the first volume and sixty-fifth page of *Barbazan's* work, it appears thus :—

Raembez de forches larron,
quand il a fait sa mesprison,
jamès jor ne vous amera.

This agrees in feeling and form with the Proverb as found in the MS. C. C. C. fol. 255 :—

Larroun ne amera qi lui reynt de fourches.

In *Graff's Diutiska*, i. p. 323, there are a few poetical Old German Proverbs : among them,—

Wer von dem galgen loset den diep,
dem wert er selten iêmer liep.

The same feeling, though not quite in the same words, is found in *Reinhart Fuchs*, l. 2157. (*Grimm*, Ed. p. 100.) :—

Ez ist ouch noch alsô getân,
swer hilfet ungetriuwem man
daz er sine nôt übrwindet,
daz er doch an im vindet
valschez ; des hân wir gnuoc gesehen,
und muoz ouch dicke alsam geschehen.

Grüter, on the contrary, put it still more strongly, (p. 80, Prov. Alem.)—

Wer einen vom galgen erlöst, der henckt ihn zu lohn gern dran.

In the so-called Prouerbes of Lydgate I find (Ed. W. de Worde. Bibl. Publ. A. b. 4. 58.)—

Who saueth a thefe whan the rope is knet
abovte his necke, as olde clerkes wryte,
with some fals torne þe brybour wyll hym quyte.

To wind up all, Ray, p. 161, gives the proverb as an English one :—

Save a thief from the gallows, and he 'll be the first shall cut your throat.

and adds, *Ital. Gall.*—

Dispiccha l'impicchato, che impiccherà poi te.
Ostez un vilain du gibet, il vous y mettra.

Meidinger, Dict. Compar. p. 581, Prov. Island, has—

Frelsathu thiofinn fra galganum, hann launar ther illu.

Adagia, etc. p. 11 :—

Save a thiefe from the gallowes, and he will helpe to hang thee.

And lastly, Massing. Virg. Mart. Act ii, sc. 3 :—

She saved us from the gallows, and only to keep one proverb from breaking his neck, we 'll hang her.

In Howell's English Proverbs, p. 17, there is the following one, which bears upon the subject of these remarks :—

My friend, keep money in thy purse ; 't is one of Solomon's Proverbs, said one ; another answering that he thought 'twas not there ; if it be not, replied Kitt Lancaster, it should have been, for it is as good as any he hath.

In the *Morolf* as well as the *Marcolfus*, two proverbs are put into Salomon's mouth, which are elsewhere quoted as common proverbial sayings, and are nowise Biblical. The first is A. 57. B. 48. which stands thus in Howell's *British Proverbs*, p. 19 :—

Llawer ūn a ddwg newyn ag er hynny gwraig a fyynn. Many one leads a hungry life, and yet must needs wed a wife.

The second is B. 79, which in the same collection, p. 31. is thus given :—

Pob llwybr mewn Ceunant, yr ūn Fordd a redant. Each path in a dingle, run one way to mingle.

Among other evidences of Salomon's traditional character, may be mentioned the Books of *Magic* current under his name in the fourteenth century, and which are founded upon the stories of his *seal*, so celebrated in the East. But this passed over even to the Alchymists; and the Rosicrucians, not less than the Freemasons of those ages, assisted in spreading the feeling. I shall notice but one more instance of this character attributed to Salomon. It is an early printed collection of Italian proverbs, with the following title :—*Opera nuova di Prouerbii di Salomone, sententiosi, e vtili ad ciascuna persona.*—Nouamente stampata. 12mo, *undated*. The following are extracts :—

1. Hor nota dolce socio
se cerchi fugir locio
cagion dalchun difetto
2. Pero farai concetto
dusar lhumanitade
cha hom prudente acade
saper tenersi in freno
3. El corretto veneno
non fa di molto danno
talhora a seder stanno
color che fan gran fatti

4. E molti si fan matti
che van pellando altrui
ma sauio sia colui
chal suo ceruello a segno
5. Chi stima l'altrui sdegno
non ha poco vedere
assai gioua sapere
vsar i bon costumi
6. Tal fa di molti lumi
che vede poco auanti
o quante sante e santi
si chiamano ai bisogni.
7. Color dan fede a sogni
che studiano in mattheo
el non e in tutto reo
chi pecca e si se menda.
8. Sai chi li a gran facenda
che piglia a molti impacci
chi vol scampar da lacci
si fuga i cacciatori.

* * * *

TRADITIONAL CHARACTER OF MAR- COLFUS.

THE traditional character of Salomon has been established sufficiently in the last chapter, and we can now proceed to that of his competitor: before we do this, however, it may be desirable to say a few words on the nature of the struggle in which he is the protagonist, and its Northern character, which has hitherto been left untouched.

It appears from the poems, sagas and even popular traditions of Scandinavia and other parts of Germanic Europe, that trials of wit and wisdom were scarcely less common than

trials of strength and skill in arms, among our forefathers. Many tales survive from which we may gather that strangers were usually invited to enter into such contests, upon their arrival in foreign courts. Frequently these skirmishes of readiness and knowledge degenerate into mere cases of mutual vituperation; but they often had important results; rarely were they undertaken before a pledge had been deposited on either side, and the victor in the strife of tongues carried off the stake as his prize. So in the story above quoted from Josephus, of Salomon and Abdimus, large sums depended upon the solution of the problems. But in the North, as in the East, life itself is reported to have been sometimes set to wed: the tales of Appollonius of Tyre* and Kalaf are familiar. In the fifth book of Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Dan.* (Ed. Steph. p. 68), we find:—

Uxor Colonis erat Gotwara, quæ eximiæ procacitatis facundiâ quantumlibet disertos et loquaces enervare solebat.

Incensed by the slaughter of her sons, and in hopes of avenging them, she challenges Eric to a struggle of this kind.

Igitur Gotwara consumptæ infeliciter sobolis exitio mœsta, simulque eam ulcisci avida, pronuntiat adversus Ericum altercandi collibitum sibi fore certamen, ita ut ipsa torquem magni ponderis, ille vitam in pignore poneret, aut aurum vincendo, aut lethum succumbendo laturus. (*Sax. Gr.* p. 78.)

The words made use of on either side will not repay perusal. Suffice it that Eric, whom his stepmother had made the wisest of men by giving him magical drinks †, vanquished his

* See Marcus Velsar's Latin, or Mr. Thorpe's Anglo-Saxon, version of this tale, the foundation of Shakspeare's *Pericles*.

† The story of the wizard Michael Scott has familiarized us with the means by which supernatural knowledge was attained. A few remarks upon the belief of our forefathers in this respect will not be useless, inasmuch as they illustrate the following passage in the Latin *Salomon and Marcolf*. The king demands, "Unde tibi versutia hæc venit? Marcolfus respondit: Tempore David patris tui, cum essem infantulus medici patris tui, quodam die pro agendis medicinis unum vulturem acceperunt: et cum singula membra necessitatibus expendissent, Betsabea, mater tua, cor illius

opponent and secured the gold. The *Wafprudnis Mál*, a poem of the earlier Edda, represents Odin, under the name of Gangradr, visiting the wisest, strongest and most dangerous of the giants. Whichever fails in the contest of know-

accepit, et super crustam ponens, in igne assavit, ac tibi comedere dedit, mihi que qui tunc in coquina eram, crustam post caput proiecit. Ego vero crustam [corde] vulturis perfusam comedi, et inde, ut spero, versutia mea venit, sicut et tibi pro cordis comestione sapientia.—SAL. Sic me Deus adjuvet, in Gabbatha mihi apparuit Deus, et replevit me sapientia.—MARC. Talis dicitur esse sapiens, qui seipsum habet pro stulto," etc. The hearts of all birds, serpents and of many animals were supposed capable of communicating this wisdom. In the North, it particularly consisted in understanding the language of birds. When Sigurdr has slain Fafnir, and is roasting his heart for Reginn, he tastes it and becomes endowed with this faculty. The *Edd. Sæm.* vol. i. pp. 180, 181, says, "Sigurdr tók Fafnis hiarta ok steikti a teini. En er han hugdi at fullsteikt veri, ok freyddi sveitinn or hiartano. Þá tók han á fingri sínom ok skynia þi hvart fullsteikt veri. Han brann ok brá svinginom í monn ser, en er hiartblóþ Fafnis kom á tvngo honom skildi han fuglsröd. Han heyrþi at igdor klavkoþo á hrisinom." *Sigurd-qu. Fafn.* ii. β. xxxi. etc. When later still, he cuts off Reginn's head, eats Fafnir's heart, and drinks the blood of both, he again hears the swallows speak; p. 184: "Sigurþr hió havfvþ af Regin: ok þá át han Fafnis hiarta, ok drack blóþ þeirra beggia Regins ok Fafnis, þá heyrþi Sigvrþr hvar igdvr mæltu." Gudrun partook of Fafnir's heart, and she understood the talk of birds: "þat er savgn máanna, at Gudrun hefði etiþ af Fafnis hiarta, ok hoe skildi þvi fugls ravdd." *Gudr.-qu. I. introd.* In the fairy-tale of "The White Serpent" the king gains all his wisdom by feeding on snake-flesh, and when his curious servant tastes it, he obtains the power of understanding the language of animals, birds, etc. *The Fairy Ring*, by J. E. Taylor, 1846. The moment when Odin became inspired with the profound wisdom which enabled him to invent the Hvrgrúnar (Runes which make men dear to their companions), was that in which he drank the blood which fell from Heiddröpnir's head. *Brynh.-qu. i. 13. Edd. Sæm.* vol. i. p. 199.

þær of hvgrdi Hroþr
af þeim legi
er lekij hafdi
or havfi Heiddravpnis
ok or horui Hoddroþnis.

In the fourteenth and following stanzas the cut-off head of the giant Mimer is said to have revealed these runes to Odin, which in some degree reminds us of the head of the physician in the Arabian Nights. It can hardly be doubted, that the tale of the lion whom Reynard cheats of the stag's heart is connected with this superstition. See *Grimm. Reinh. Introd.* 48, 49, 52.

ledge must lose his life : questions upon recondite points of Norse mythology are mutually put and answered, till at length, when desired to say " what were the words that Odin spake in Baldur's ear when he laid him upon the funeral

So again, the fox wishes to eat the cricket, in order that he may obtain the gift of song. *Reinã.* p. 125. The account of Eric, alluded to in the text, is as follows :—" Mittitur deinde Rollerus a patre cognoscendi causâ domi interim acta. Is ut maternum fumare tugurium vidit, foris accedens parvulumque foramen furtiva luminis applicatione trajiciens, introspectâ sede, animadvertit matrem informi cacabo coctilia pulmenta versantem. Suspexit præterea tres colubras superne tenui reste depensas, ex quarum ore profusa tabes guttatim humorem epulo ministrabat. Dux quippe colore piceæ erant, tertia squamis albida videbatur reliquis modico eminentius pensa. Hæc nexum in cauda gestabat, quum cæteræ immisso ventri funiculo tenerentur. Ille rem maleficio consentaneam ratus, silentio quod viderat pressit, ne matrem veneficii ream astruere putaretur. Ignorabat enim innocuam anguivum extitisse naturam, nescius quantum illo vigoris epulo pararetur. Supervenientes deinde Regnerus et Ericus, ut fumidam aspexere casam, ingressi discutitum petivere. Quibus ad mensam sitis Craca privigno filioque unâ cibum capturis, catillum discoloris dapis admovit. Pars quippe picea, sed croceis guttis interlita, pars albida videbatur : quippe pro varia serpentum specie, geminus pulsem color infecerat. Cujus quum solam uterque particulam delibasset, Ericus non ex colorum habitu, sed interni vigoris effectu epulas æstimans, nigrantem dapis partem, sed succo potiore confectam, catino quam celerrime verso, ad se transtulit, albidamque sibi admotam prius Rollero applicans, cœnam feliciter gessit. Et ne mutationis industria notaretur, taliter, inquit, æstuante freto, puppim in proram referri solitam. Nec tenuis viri ingenium fuit, industrii operis dissimulationem a navigii consuetudine mutantis. Ericus itaque, faustâ jam dape refectus, internâ ipsius operâ ad summum humanæ sapientiæ pondus evasit. Quippe epuli vigor, supra quàm credi poterat, omnium illi scientiarum copiam ingeneravit, ita ut etiam ferinarum pecudaliumque vocum interpretatione calleret. Neque enim solum humanarum rerum peritissimus erat, verumetiam sensuales brutorum sonos ad certarum affectionum intelligentiam referebat. Præter ea tam comis atque ornati eloquii erat, ut quicquid disserere cuperet, continuo proverbiorum lepore poliret :"

p. 72. Baldur, Odin's son, owed his strength and beauty to food prepared from the scum of three serpents. Saxo, Bk. iii. (Ed. Steph. p. 43.) But, like many others, this superstition was not confined to the races of the North. Stephanus, in his *Notæ uberioris* in lib. v. Saxon. Grammat. p. 113, says, " Plinius lib. x. nat. hist. c. 49, et lib. xxxix. c. 4, auctor est, tradidisse Democritum, facultatem intelligendi avium voces, comparari esu certi anguivum generis. Philostratus quoque lib. iii. de vita Apollonii Thyanei scribit, incolas Bacaræ, Indorum urbis, jactare, eum qui cor et

pyre," Wafþrudnir recognizes the King of Gods and men, confesses his ignorance and submits to his fate. *Edd. Sæmund.* I. 1. etc. The terms of the contest are thus stated in the seventh stanza :—

Hvat er þat manna	What man is it
er í mínom sal	who in my hall
verpome orþi á ?	addresses me with words ?
Vt þv ne comer	Thou comest not out
orom haulom ofrá	again from our halls [two !
nema þv inn anotrari ser.	unless thou be the wiser of the

Again, in the nineteenth stanza, Wafþrudnir says :—

Fróþer ertv nú gestr,	Wise now art thou, my guest !
far þv á becc iotvns,	Go to the giant's bench,
oc melome í sessi saman.	and sitting together, let us talk.
havþi vepia	We will bet our heads
vip scolom havllo í	in the hall,
gestr, vm gedspeki.	Oh guest, upon our wisdom !

And lastly, in the fifty-fifth stanza, the giant thus alludes to the result which is to be fatal to himself :—

Ey mannz þat veit	No man knoweth that,
hvat þv í árdaga	what thou in days of yore
sagder í eyra syni.	saidst in the ear of thy son !
Feigom mýnni :	I prophesy my death ;
mæltu ic mína forna stafi	I spake my ancient lore
oc vm ragna ravc.	and of the twilight of the Gods !
Nu ec vip Opinn deildac	Now have I shared with Odin
mína orþspeki.	my craft of words.
þv ert é vísastr vera.	Thou art ever the wisest of men !

epar draconis comedisset, omnium animalium conceptus et voces intellecturum. Quod ipsum de Arabibus scribit, l. i. ejusdem operis." To the last of these authorities Panurge probably alludes, when he says, "Why the devil didst thou not counsel me.....to eat of the liver or milt of some dragon ? To the end that by those means I might, at the chanting and chirping of swans and other fowls, understand the substance of my future lot and destiny, as did of old the Arabians in the country of Mesopotamia." *Rabel.* iii. c. 25 (*Urqh.* i. p. 423). In general, our forefathers attributed the utmost power to draughts distilled from various simples and from certain parts of animals. Gudrun's mother gave Sigurdr a drink which had the effect of causing him to forget Brynhildr, and turn his affections to her own beautiful daughter. A Saxon homily against witchcraft especially condemns philtres. *MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. I. i. 1. 33. fol. 393, etc.*

Other poems of the Edda have a similar character. Of these the *Harbarz liop*, or *Fliting* between Odin and Thórr, may particularly be mentioned, as answering, in its abusive nature, to the German and Latin versions of the Salomon and Marcolf. *Edda Sæm. I. p. 91*. Other instances of such contests are to be found in the flyting of Grep and Eric, Saxo, p. 76, Frotho and Eric, p. 77; of Hrimgerþr and Atli, *Helg.-qu.-Had.* 20, etc.; of Sinfjötli and Guþmundr, *Helg.-qu.-Hund. I.* 30, etc.; and lastly, of Hünferð and Beðwulf, l. 996, etc. of the poem.

Since dialogues of this description were common in the North of Europe previously to the introduction of Christianity, it is probable that even a southern or eastern tale, which came well recommended, would meet with a ready reception, and become as it were naturalized among us. The enigmatical struggle of Salomon and Abdimus, or Salomon and Hiram, would soon accommodate itself, at least as far as the form was concerned, to previous dialogues between Wóden and the giants, especially as the subject-matter was alike in both. Still, very considerable difficulty lies in the way of the investigation, when we attempt to account for the identity of Saturnus and Marcolfus, and to give a reasonable explanation of even these names. There cannot, I think, be any doubt of their identity; though the early period at which Marcolfus was adopted instead of Saturnus in every place but England, is remarkable, and adds to the obscurity of the whole subject. Nevertheless the name of Marculf does occur even in the Anglo-Saxon version: Saturn is said to have widely wandered, and visited "the treasure-halls of the Medes, the land of Marculf, the realm of Saul," etc. Now Marculf (*Mearcwulf*, the wolf of the Marches or Boundary-land) is certainly a Teutonic name, and not an eastern one at all; while Saturnus seems as little to be a northern one. There are some peculiar circumstances, however, which serve to show that an eastern element might possibly lurk in the one, and a northern element in the other form.

A passage of some interest occurs in the Cott. MS. Cal. A. iii. fol. 4, to the ensuing effect:—

“Ante diem iudicii soluetur Sathanas de custodia sua, et exhibit ad seducendas nationes quæ sunt in quatuor angulis terræ, Gog et Magog: quorum interpretationem nominum esse comperimus, Gog *tectum*, Magog *detectum*. . . sunt enim xxii regna ad ubera Aquilonis de eadem gente nefandissima. Hethicus uero Cosmographus dicit Gog et Magog pluribus insulis uel litoribus usque Euxinum maris sinum inclusos in Biritheis montibus et Taracontis insulis, contra ubera Aquilonis. Gens est ignominiosa et incognita, monstruosa, idolatra, fornicaria, in cunctis stupris et lupanaribus, truculenta, unde et nomen accepit. Comedunt universa abhominabilia et abortiua, hominum iuuenum carnes, iumentorumque et ursorum, uulturum et coradriorum ac miluorum, bubonum et bisontium, canum et similium. Statura deformi, nunquam loti aquâ; vinum penitus ignorant, sale nunquam utuntur, frumento nullatenus. Diem festum non habent, nisi quod mense Augusto mediante colunt *Saturnum*. . . et in ipso mense Augusto congregauerunt ad unam cateruam generationem cunctam seminis sui, in insula maiori maris oceani Taraconta, feceruntque aceruam lapidum magnum ac bitumine conglutinatum, ædificantes pilas prægrandes miræ magnitudinis, et cloacas subter marmore constructas et pyramidem fortem et glutinatam. *Appellarunt linguâ suâ Morcholon, id est stellam Deorum, quod derivato nomine Saturnum appellant.*”

Through all the inconsistency and confusion of this account, I think I recognize a vague and indistinct description of our Gothic forefathers in their settlements upon the shores of the Black Sea; and if this be so, it is possible that in Saturnus there may lurk some reference to the Gothic word *Stafnô*, a star. In what oriental language *Morcholon* could mean *stellam deorum* passes my means of investigation*, but there seems, as far as mere form goes, some resemblance to the *Markolis* mentioned in pp. 8 and 9.

I have sometimes, but hesitatingly, contemplated the pos-

* The late Dr. F. Rosen, whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration, told me that he could not suggest any oriental tongue in which the meaning here given to *Morcholon* could be justified. He thought that in Syriac it might mean “*Deus omnium*,” the universal God.

sibility of these assertions having sprung out of some ill-read or ill-understood passage of Lactantius, Minucius Felix, or some other ancient theologian ; for in these authors Milcom, Malcol and Moloch are synonyms for Saturn, probably in relation to the sacrifice of infants offered to him ; as Minucius says, “ Merito Saturno in nonnullis Africæ partibus, infantes immolabantur ;” and Lactantius clearly believes the Carthaginian Saturn to be not only this Phœnician Milcol, but even the patriarch Israel himself. See Selden’s *Syntagma de Diis Syris*, and H. More, *Myst. of Godliness*, Bk. iii. c. 15.

Whatever may be the case with respect to this part of the subject, it seems impossible to avoid the admission of some god in the northern mythology, who is represented by the name Saturn, in the “ interpretatio Romana,” by which words Tacitus intends to express the Roman custom of giving such Latin appellations to the German or Gallic deities as seemed most nearly to answer to their peculiar attributes : hence Wōden became Mercury, Þór (Þunor) Jupiter, Tiw Mars, etc. Still Tacitus is perfectly well aware that among the Germans Mercurius is a greater god than Jupiter.

It is true that neither Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, Procopius, nor indeed any classical author mentions Saturnus among the Teutonic gods ; but this cannot be taken as evidence that there was no such god : if non-mention alone sufficed to deprive our ancient deities of their rank, we must unpeople the Teutonic Osguard, and retain four or five only of the principal mythological persons. On the other hand, our native authors have continually named Saturn as one of our gods. Gregory of Tours (ii. 29) states that the objects of Chlodowich’s worship were Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars and Mercurius. An Anglo-Saxon poetical homily, bearing the title “ De Falsis Diis,” contains the following passage :—

Git þá þa hæðenan nōldon	Yet would not the heathen
beón gehealdene	be contented
on swá feawum godum ;	with so few gods ;

<p> ac fengon tó wurðigenne mialſce entas and men him to godum ða ðe mihtige wæron on woruldſcum gepincðum, and egefulle on life, ðeah ðe hf leofodon fúllſce. 10 An man wæs eardigende on ðám iglande Creta, Saturnus geháten, swyðlſc 7 wælhreow, swá ðæt he ábát his suna ða ðá hf geborene wæron, and unfæderlſce macode heora flæsc him tó mæte. He læfde swá ðeah æinne tó life, ðeah ðe he ábste his gebróðra on ær; se wæs Jouis geháten hetol 7 þrymlſc: he áfligde his fæder of ðám foresædan iglande, and wolde hine ácwellan gif he him come tó. Se Jouis wæs swá gál ðæt he on his swuſtor gewífede, 20 seð wæs geháten Juno, swiðe heálſc gyden. Heora gedohtra wæron Diana 7 Uenus*, ða forlæg se fæder fúllſce butu, and manega his magan mánlſce forwemde. Ðás mánfullan men wæron ða mæroſtan godas 40 ðe ða hæðenan wurðodon </p>	<p> but they began to worship various giants, and men for their gods which were mighty in worldly dignity, and terrible in life, although foully they lived. One man was dwelling in the island Crete, named Saturn, powerful and ferocious, so that he eat his children when they were born, and unfatherlike made their flesh his food. He left nevertheless one alive, although he had devoured his brothers before; he was called Jove, hostile and mighty; he expelled his father from the aforesaid island, and would have slain him could he have come to him. This Jove was so lascivious that he married his sister, who was named Juno, a very lofty goddess. Their daughters were Diana and Venus; whom the father debauched both foully, and many of his female relatives criminally defiled. These guilty men were the mightiest gods which the heathen worshiped </p>
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* The MS. reads "Minerua and Uenus," but it is obvious from the alliteration that we must read Diana.

and worhton him to godum,
 ac se sunu was swá ðeah
 swiðor gewurðod
 ðonne se fæder wære
 on heora fýlan biggencge.
 Des Jouis is árwurðost
 ealra ðára goda
 ðe ða hæðenan hæfdon
 on heora gedwylde,
 and he hátte Þór
 betwux sumum þeodum,
 ðane ða Deniscan leóde
 lufað swiðost.
 His sunu hátte Mars
 se macode æfre saca,
 and wrohte and wáwan
 he wolde æfre styrian ;
 ðisne wurðodon ða hæðenan
 for heálcne god,
 and swá oft swá he fyrdodon
 oððe tó gefeohte woldon
 ðonne offrodon hf heora lác
 on ær ðisum gode ;
 hf gelyfdon ðæt he mihte
 micclum him fultumian
 on ðám gefeohte forðan
 ðe he gefeoht lufode.
 Sum man was geháten
 Mercurius on life
 se was swiðe facenful
 and swícol on dædum,
 and lufode eác stala
 and leásbrednysse :
 ðone macodon ða hæðenan
 him tó mæran gode
 and æt wega gelætum
 him lác offrodon
 and tó heálgum beorgum
 him bróhton onsægdnyse.
 Des god was árwurða
 betwux eallum hæðenum

and made unto themselves for gods,
 but the son was nevertheless
 more honoured
 than the father was
 in their foul custom.
 This Jove is the most venerable
 of all the gods
 whom the heathen had
 in their error,
 and he was called Thor
 among certain nations,
 whom the Danish people
 love the most.
 His son was called Mars
 who made ever contests,
 and wrath and mischief
 he would ever stir up ;
 him the heathen honoured
 as a lofty god,
 and as often as they warred
 or would to battle,
 then offered they their sacrifice
 beforehand to this god ;
 they believed that he could
 much aid them
 in battle, since he
 loved battle.
 A man there was
 called Mercury during life
 who was very fraudulent
 and deceitful in deeds,
 and eke loved thefts
 and deception :
 him the heathen made
 a powerful god,
 and by the road-side
 made him offerings,
 and on high hills
 brought him sacrifice.
 This god was honourable
 among all the heathens

and he is Oþon geháten
 oðrum naman on Denisc.
 Sum wíf hátte Uenus,
 seó was Iones dohtor,
 swá fracoð on gálnyse
 ðæt hire fæder hí hæfde,
 and eac hire broðor,
 and oðre gehwylce
 on myltestrena wísan :
 ac hí wurðiað ða hæðenan
 for hálige gydenan,
 swá swá heora godes dohtor.
 Monega oðre godas wæron
 mislice áfundene,
 and eac swylce gydenan
 on swiðlicum wurðmynte
 geond ealne middangeard,
 mancynne tó forwyrde ;
 ac ðás synd ða fyrmestan
 ðeah ðe hí fúllíce leofodon.
 Se syrwigenda deófol
 ðe swícað embe mancynn
 gebróhte ða hæðenan
 on ðæt healice gedwyld,
 ðæt hí swá fúle men
 him fundon tó godum,
 ðe ða leahtras lufodon
 ðe líciað ðám deófle,
 ðæt eac heora biggencgan
 heora bysmor lufodon,
 and ælfremede wurdon
 fram ðám ælmihtigan gode
 seþe leahtras onscunað
 and lufað ða clænnyse.
 Hí gesetton eac ðá
 ðære sunnan and ða mónan
 and ðám oðrum godum,
 ælcum his dæg ;
 ærest ðære sunnan
 ðone sunnan dæg,
 and siððan ðám mónan

and he is called Oþon
 by another name in Danish.
 A woman was named Venus
 she was Jove's daughter,
 so bold in lust
 that her father had her,
 and eke her brother,
 and others besides
 after the fashion of a whore :
 but her the heathen honour
 as a lofty goddess,
 and as the daughter of their god.
 Many other gods there were
 variously invented,
 and goddesses too
 in mighty repute
 throughout the world,
 for the ruin of mankind ;
 but these are the greatest
 though they foully lived.
 The ambushed devil
 that besets mankind with lies
 brought the heathen
 to this deep error,
 that they such foul men
 should invent for gods,
 who loved the sins
 that please the devil,
 and their worshipers also
 loved their shame,
 and became estranged
 from almighty God
 who hateth sins
 and loveth purity.
 They appointed also
 to the sun and moon
 and to the other gods,
 to each his day ;
 first to the sun
 the sunday,
 then to the moon

<p>ðone mōnan dæg, and ðone þridan dæg hī þeowdon Marte heora feohte gode him tō fultume. Done feorðan dæg hī sealdon him tō frōfre þām foresædan Mercurie heora mæran gode ; ðone fiftan dæg hī freolsodon mærlīce Ione tō wurðmynte, ðām mærostan gode ; ðone syxtan dæg hī gesetton ðære sceamleāsan gydenan Uenus gehāten, and Frycg on Denisc. Done seofodan dæg hī sealdon Saturne, ðām ealdan ðæra goda fæder him sylfum tō frōfre, endenexð swā ðeah ðeah ðe he yldest wære. Hī woldon git wurðian arwurðlicor ða godas and forgeafon him steorran swilce hī āhton heora geweald, ða seofon tunglan, sunnan and monan and ða oðre fīf ða farað æfre ongean ðone rodor tō eāstdæle werd, ac hī gebigð seð heofon underbæc æfre. Ac ða steorran swā ðeah scinon on heofonum on frymðe middaneardes ær ða mánfullan godas wurdon ācennede, oððe gecorene tō godum.</p>	<p>180</p> <p>140</p> <p>151</p> <p>160</p>	<p>the monday, and the third day they submitted to Mars their battle god for their support. The fourth day they gave for their advantage to the aforesaid Mercury their great god ; the fifth day they solemnly devoted to Jove's honour, the greatest god ; the sixth day they appointed to the shameless goddess called Venus, and Frig in Danish. The seventh day they gave to Saturn, the grandfather of the gods for their own comfort, yet last of all though he the eldest were. They would yet honour their gods more highly and they gave them stars, to have power over them, the seven constellations, sun and moon and the five others that go for ever against the firmament toward the east, but still the heaven turns them ever back. But yet the stars shone in heaven at the creation of the world before the guilty gods were born, or chosen to be gods.</p>
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Hí worhton efc ánlícnyssa	They made also likenesses
ðám árwurðum godum,	of the venerable gods,
sume of smætum [golde]	some of beaten gold,
* * * *	* * * *

Cætera desunt.

MS. Cott. Jul. E. vii. 237. b. etc.

The first feeling on perusing this passage naturally is, that it contains merely pedantic remembrances of Roman heathendom; but on further investigation references may be detected to our own mythology, which are necessarily different from anything found in the myths of Greece or Rome.

That Saturn is Jupiter's father and Juno his wife, is Roman certainly; but it is not so, that Jupiter was the father of Venus, or that he lay with Diana (Minerva) and Venus. On the other hand it is Teutonic, although some little confusion lies in the statement. According to the "Interpretatio Romana," Jupiter, the thunder-god, is Ðunor or Ðórr; but Ðunor is not the supreme god of the Teutonic, as Jupiter is of the Roman, mythology: following the same interpretation, Venus is Frige, and in the northern system she is Thórr's wife; hence the story unknown to the Romans of Jupiter debauching his own daughter. Again, this poem asserts that Jupiter lay with his daughter Diana, for so we must read instead of Minerva. Here we arrive at another confused blending of traditions.

Originally Wóden, and at a later period Wóden's wife, led that nightly procession which in various parts of Germany is yet known as the superstition of the "Wild Huntsman." Hackelberg, or Hackelberend, (the cloak-wearer) is Wóden himself. But strangely enough, the church early adopted this under the name of *ludus Dianæ**, while in some

* Can it be that Diana, "the dancing virgin," was confounded with Παλλάς, and, by a further confusion, with Minerva, and that in this manner Herodiadis, the dancing virgin of Christian mythology, was introduced into this strange company? Jerome Visconti published a book upon this subject, with the humane conclusion, that those who frequented the Ludus

countries a goddess Habundia, dame Habonde, led the way; in others the daughter of Herodias was the principal personage. It is horrible to think that such a superstition, so involved in darkness and confusion, so unintelligible to the accused, the accuser and the judge, as this primæval Teutonic belief, should have caused the sacrifice of innocent life; but—alas for human fallibility!—so it is; for this Ludus Dianæ, Wóden's procession, wild hunt, or whatever it may be called, is no more or less than the "witches' sabbath," for a fancied participation in which, torture and death have been

Dianæ were relapsed heretics and obnoxious to the punishment of death by fire. The work is rare; its title, "Magistri Hyeronimi Vicecomitis. Lamiarum sive striarum opusculum ad illustrissimum Mediolani ducem franciscum Sfortiam Vicecomitem: Incipit feliciter." The only edition of this tract was printed at Milan by Pachel, in 1490. The author cites a passage from some Council, probably an early one of Aix la Chapelle (or can Acquirense be error for Ancyrense, A. D. 314 ?), in the following words: "Rationes probantes quod realiter non uadant ad ludum. In contrariam partem est auctoritas decreti xxvi. 9. y. c. epi. Ita ibi legitur. Illud non est obmittendum: quod quedam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Sathan conuersæ, demonum illusionibus et fantasmatis seductæ, credunt se et profitentur cum Diana nocturnis horis dea paganorum uel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias et multa terrarum spatia in tempestæ noctis silentio pertransire eius iussionibus obedire ueluti dominæ et certis noctibus ad eius seruitium euocari," etc. In several other passages of this work Visconti speaks of the lady of the game, "domina ludi." The bishop he alludes to is probably Burckhardt of Worms. I hardly know whether this was ever a common superstition in this country. The allusions to it in learned works (as, for example, in John of Salisbury's Polych. ii. 17) may be owing to the studies of their authors rather than the belief of our people. H. More (Myst. of Godl. Bk. iii. c. 18) cites Fr. Picus as an authority for the commerce of men and women with demons, saying, "according to that practice which to this day is confessed by witches, especially in their meetings and joviall revelings in the night, at that solemnity which they call our *Lady's play*, the ancients called it *Ludum Diana*, or *Ludum Herodiadis*; where the witches, as themselves confess, do eat and drink and dance, and doe that with these impure spirits which modesty would forbid to name." Grimm's remarks on the subject should be consulted. Deut. Myth. p. 1008, etc. Ed. 1844. I wish also to call attention to the fact, that instead of Diana, Minerva occasionally appears in this relation, and so presents a similar confusion to that noticed in the text.

the portion of hundreds. According to this view, Diana and the supreme god Wōden's wife are one and the same person; but the author of the poem cited thought Jupiter was the supreme god and Diana his daughter; hence the charge of incest, which, understood in the Teutonic sense, resolves itself into a mere conjugal relation.

I do not think, then, that we must at once reject the name of Saturn as a Teutonic god, merely because the first glance at this poem would induce us to consider it the production of a pedantic monk. The same observation applies to other passages: thus Geoffrey of Monmouth, when introducing Hengest as explaining to Vortigern the religious belief of the Saxons, makes him name Saturn as one of the gods he worshiped (p. 43, Ed. 1587). Matt. Westminster repeats Geoffrey word for word (p. 82, Ed. 1601), and from him was probably taken the following passage of *Lajamon* (MS. Cott. Cal. A. ix. f. 79. Otho C. xiii. f. 65. b.) :—

Dō saide Vortiger	þe soueþe hātte Teruagant,
þat was wīs and swiþe war,	ān hēh god in ūre lond.
and woche beoþ þoure bileue,	ȝet we habbaþ ān leāfdi ;
þat ȝe on bilefeþ ?	þat hēh his and mihti ;
[þō saide Hengest	ȝeō his ihōte Frea,
cniht alre hendest :]	hirdmen hire louieþ.
we habbaþ godes gōde	Tō alle þeōs godes
þe we louieþ in mōde :	we worsipe wercheþ,
þe ān hātte Phebus,	and for hire loue
þe ōþer Saturnus ;	þeōs dajes we heom gefue.
þe þridde hōtte Wōden,	Mone we ȝefue Moneday,
þat was a mihti þing :	Tydea we ȝefue Tisdei,
þe ferrþe hātte Jubiter,	Wōden we ȝefue Wendesdei,
of alle þinges he is war ;	þane þoure we ȝefue þorisdei,
þe fifþe hātte Mercurius,	Freā þane Friday,
þat his þe hēhest ouer us ;	Saturnus þane Sateresdei.
þe sixte hātte Appolin,	Þus saide Hengest
þat his a god of grete win.	cniht alre hendest.

To this must be added, that on their adoption of the Roman seven-day week, the Teutons, as far as they could, attributed

the days to their own national deities, which most nearly represented the Roman: thus Sun and Moon for the first and second days; Tiw or Er for the third, *dies Martis*; Wóden for the fourth, *dies Mercurii*; Ðunor for the fifth, *dies Jovis*; Freya for the sixth, *dies Veneris*; and Sætere for the seventh, *dies Saturni*. Now it is remarkable that the low Germans (Saxons, Westphalians, Frisians) should have retained these names for the fourth and seventh days, while the high Germans replaced them by abstractions; Wednesday being with them Mitwoch or Midweek; Saturday, Sambaztac (Samstag), a corrupt form of *Sabbatum*, Sabado, yet current in Spain, etc., or Sonnabend. It is also very remarkable that the old Norse family should not have preserved the heathen name of the seventh day, but have written, *O. N.* Lavgardagr, *Swed.* Lördag, *Dan.* Löverdag, the washing or bathing day. I attribute, however, some importance to a line cited by Grimm from a Latin poem of the ninth century, on the battle of Fontenay (Bouquet. vii. 304):—

Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolium,

i. e. "It was not a Sabbath, but a Saturn's bath," or, according to a modern German idiom, a *devil's bath*, Teufelsbad*, where there appears to be an allusion to the Norse names, as well as an identification of Saturn with the arch-fiend, the natural opponent of true religious belief and godly wisdom.

A more important fact however is, that names of places and plants are compounded with the name of Sætere. In a charter of Edward the Confessor I find the name Sæteresbyrig, which answers exactly to Wódneshbyrig: again, in the north of England there are two parishes called Satterthwaite, and in Devonshire one called Sattersleigh; while the common crowfoot or *gallicrus* is in Anglo-Saxon Satorláð. Now

* Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 111, etc. Ed. 1844.

it is acknowledged that no signs of ancient divinity are more convincing than the appearance of a name in the appellations of places and plants, and in the days of the week, and all these conditions are fulfilled in this instance. That he should also appear in such a legend as the one under consideration, is another evidence of his divinity. And if it be objected that the places and plants named from him are few in number, I can only answer that they are at least as numerous as those devoted to Ðunor and Tiw, whose godhead has never been doubted.

Considerations such as these seem to have induced Grimm, in the new edition of the *Deutsche Mythologie*, to admit Saturn into the German Pantheon, which was not the case in the first edition*. He recalls the German tradition of the fifteenth century, that such a god was recognized in the Hartz district, that the common people called him Krodo (or in more accurate spelling Hruodo, Chródo, which I should have felt more inclined to compare with the Anglo-Saxon goddess Hrêðe, (*Bed. de Nat. Rerum*, c. xv.), and that they represented him under the figure of a man standing on a large fish, and holding in one hand a vessel of flowers, in the other a wheel. He continues, by offering evidence that the Slavonic nations had also a Saturn, under the name of Sitivrat; that this Sitivrat bears also the name of Kirt, which nearly resembles the German Krodo; that the Slavonic mythologists compare Sitivrat with the Sanskrit Satjawrata, whom Vishnu rescues in a great flood, under the form of a fish†; that on a fish the image of Krodo stands; lastly, that Vishnu is represented as wearing garlands of flowers about his neck, and bearing a wheel in his fourth hand. All these, though not

* *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 226, etc.

† I cannot find any account of this in the *Vishnu Purana*, and Grimm does not notice the authorities on which the Slavonian mythologists rely for their fact.

decisive proofs, are interesting and curious coincidences at least.

No doubt the great difficulty of all is to account for the name Marcolphus, which replaced Saturnus. Its antiquity is obvious from the passage already cited from Notker of St. Gall*. Mone, who considers the whole tale to have originated in the Netherlands, brings forward several arguments to prove that the name Marcolf is a mere Netherlandish expression for a mocker, japer and jiber; that it is originally the name of a kind of crow, and consequently has an immediate reference to the character of Marcolf as a reviler and parodist. I cannot say that I am at all convinced by the professor's reasoning, and I cannot find any trace in Notker's words of the parody: the Anglo-Saxon poems have none, the Anglo-Saxon prose version has none, the earliest French version has none, and other incidental allusions have been cited which prove the original form of the story to have been serious, and therefore not resembling the Latin and German versions in any detail. A passage which bears more strongly on Mone's view than any which he has quoted, occurs in the Latin Salomon and Marcolphus: alluding to Salomon and himself, Marcolf says, "Jubilat merulus, respondet graculus." Nevertheless it seems to me much more likely that the jay obtained his name from the hero of our story, as the fox did from the still more famous Reynard, than that the reverse should have been the case. Again, it is very remarkable that while the Netherlandish is argued to possess the word Markolf, and in that word the origin of Marcolphus, the Netherlandish Reineke Vos should call the jay, not Marcolf, but Marquart†.

* Vide p. 12.

† The passages cited by Mone are as follows:—"Doctissimi viri Joannis Murellii, Ruremundensis, pappae puerorum:" (a Latin and Teutonic vocabulary) Antw. Mich. Hillen. 4to. 1537. In this, under the title *De*

It is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon poem makes Saturnus say he has visited

Meda mæððumselas
 Marculfes eard,

as if he meant to place this land somewhere in the East; and the unusual form of the word, Marculf, (not Mearcwulf,) has something unsatisfactory about it. Is it conceivable that it should stand in any relation to the Weallende Wulf, or *Wandering Wolf*, of Sal. Sat. 2. 423? It is also to be observed that Saturn, the wandering sage, bears a curious resemblance to Wóden, the wandering god; and that even a connection can be observed between Wóden and Marcolphus. I have already called attention to the fact of Wóden's being the "Wild Huntsman;" now it appears that this superstition goes in Denmark by the name of the "flying Marcolf," *den flyvende Markolfus**; by which is probably meant, the flying devil, as Saturni dolium was the *devil's* bath.

Avibus, we find Garrulus, *een mercolf*. In the Dictionarium Triglotton, auct. Petro Dayspodio. Antw. 1567, 4to. sub voce *garrus*, "garrulus, een clapper: item avis nomen, *een mercolf*." Again, in the Opus minus primae partis Alexandri, Antw. 1511, 4to, at fol. 7, we find, "graculus *een markloff*." In the Dictionarium, "quod gemma gemmarum vocatur," Coloniae, 1511, 4to, "graculus, *eyn markloff*, vel *eyn kae*, vel *eyn doyl*." Lastly, in the Vocabularium, s. l. e. a. printed in 4to, about 1490, we have, "graculus est nomen avis, *ein markloff*." In Rollenhagen's Froschmäuseler, the jay is called Marcolff, and in other contemporary works Bruder Morolf. When we consider that all these works appeared at the period of Marcolf's extreme popularity in Europe, it seems to me most probable that the name was borrowed directly from the story.

* Deutsche Myth. p. 530. Ed. 1835.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

THE poetical Salomon and Saturn, if indeed there be not two distinct poems of the name, is taken from two manuscripts, both in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The longer and, although fragmentary, the completer of these copies is found in the MS. No. 422. It consists of twenty-six pages, written in a close, beautiful, and, as it appears, female hand. Of this the first page is, with the exception of a few scattered words, become wholly illegible, from having at some period been pasted down into the binding of the book. The text begins however very clearly at line 60, and so continues to line 340, after which, in the very middle of a page, a long and fragmentary piece of prose is inserted by the same hand. After a lacuna of one or more pages in the manuscript, the couplets recommence, and are continued to the end of the first and beginning of the second part, which also falls in the middle of a page. The second part begins, as, from a few strokes yet visible, it appears that the first did also, with a line of capital letters. There is little that requires remark in the first part, which is entirely devoted to a description of the Pater Noster (a personification of the prayer), its form, stature and powers, except a few heathen superstitions, illustrated in the notes, and the use of several Runic characters, which I have treated of elsewhere*.

The second MS., which is distinguished in the various readings by the letter B, is also a fragment; it is written in a comparatively modern hand (that is, late in the eleventh century), on the margin of a magnificent copy of Ælfred's Bede, MS. No. 41. It consists only of 189 lines; but by great good fortune these are the opening of the poem: the few legible words in the first page of Cod. A. correspond to

* Archæologia, vol. xxviii. On the Runes of the Anglo-Saxons.

those of Cod. B., and we may therefore conclude that we really have here the first lines of the poem. As the only interest of this second codex is derived from the lines which it furnishes to the first, and the various readings, it requires no further remark. The first part of the poetic Salomon and Saturn bears no relation whatever, save in name, to the dialogues which we have examined, and shall hereafter examine. The second part however, inasmuch as it is a series of riddling questions mutually proposed, approaches more nearly to the real type of the whole matter,—the problems of Salomon and Hyram. Still it bears little resemblance to either of the prose dialogues in Saxon, and none whatever to the other versions of the Salomon and Marcolf: its subjects are theological and moral, and in this respect, difference of creed considered, it might be more properly compared to the Waf-prudnis-mal than to any other composition that I know. Thus it sings of the fall of the angels, of heaven and hell, of the good and evil spirits that accompany every man, the one to tempt, the other to warn and strengthen: or it mixes up allegorical and mythic narratives, as where it speaks of *death* by the title of *Uasa mortis*, and under the form of a bird; or where it relates the adventures of the friend and comrade of Nimrod, whose slaughter of several dragons in a certain plain has converted it into a kind of Avernus, over which no bird may fly, and near which no breathing creature can exist. Upon the whole, although its subjects be similar, there is no one question found in the poetic Salomon and Saturn which is repeated either in the prose version or in the Adrian and Ritheus.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Hwæt! Ic iglanda
eallra hæbbe
bóca onbyrged,
þurhgebregd stafas,
lár-cræftas onlocen
Libia and Greca,
swylce eác istoriam
Indea ríces.

Me ða treahteras
tala wísedon
on ðám micelan béc,

* * *
* * *

swylce ic næfre on eallum
ðám fyrngewrýtum
findan ne mihte
sóðe samode.

Ic sóhte ðá git
hwylc wære módes,
oððe mægenþrymmes,
elnes oððe

iehte eorlscipes,
se ge-palmtwígeda
Pater Noster.

Sille ic ðe ealle,
sunu Dauides,
þeóden I[s]raela,
xxx. punda

SATURN spake.

Lo! of all the islands
I the books
have tasted, [the letters,
have thoroughly turned over
5 the lore-craft have unlocked
of Lybia and Greece,
also the history
of the Indian realm.

Me the expounders
10 well directed
in the great books,

* * *
* * *

which I never in all
15 the ancient writings
might find
truly collected.

I sought yet
what were in respect of mood
20 or majesty,
of power or

in any respect of activity,
the palm-twigged
Pater Noster.

25 I will give thee all,
O Son of David,
King of Israel,
thirty pounds

1. From this to line 59 a few words only here and there are discernible in Cod. A.
11. A line erased. 25. MS. Wille.

smætes goldes		of coined gold
and míne suna twelfe,	30	and my twelve sons,
gif ðú mec gebringest		if thou wilt bring me
ðæt ic sí gebrydded,		that I may be touched,
þurh ðæs cantices cwide,		through the word of the canticle,
Cristes linan ;		by Christ's line ;
gesémest mec mid sóðe,	35	if thou truly reconcilest me,
and ic mec gesund fa[re],		and I depart in safety,
wende mec on willan		if I turn at my will
on wæteres hricg,		upon the water's back,
ofer Coferflód		over the Coferflood
Caldeas sécan.	40	to seek Chaldæa.

SALOMON CWÆÐ.

Unlæde bið on eorðan,
 unnyt lífes,
 wéste wísdómes,
 weallað swá nieten
 feldgange, 45
 feoh bútan gewitte,
 se þurh ðone cantic ne can
 Crist geherian :
 warað windes full,
 worpað hine deófol 50
 on dómdæge,
 draca egeslíce,
 bismorlíce
 of blácere liðran
 írenum afelum. 55
 Ealle beoð áweaxen
 of edwittes
 ýða heáfum ;
 ðonne him bið leófre

SALOMON SPAKE.

Wretched is he on earth
 useless in life,
 devoid of wisdom,
 like the neat he wandereth
 that move over the plain, 45
 the witless cattle,
 who through the canticle cannot
 honour Christ. [panse,
 He shall inhabit the void ex-
 the devil shall cast him down 50
 in the day of doom,
 the fearful dragon,
 contemptuously
 from the bright Balance
 with iron strength. 55
 All grown over shall he be
 by the heads of the waves
 of scorn ; [him
 then will it be better liked by

35. gesemesð 43. MS. B. weaðe. 49. A. Warað he. 55. MS. aplum. 59. with the word leófre begins the second page of A., which I follow here, giving the various readings of B.

ðonne eall ðeós leóhte geceaft	than all this bright creation
gegoten fram ðam grunde	filled from the very abyss
goldes and seolfres,	with gold and silver,
feðersceatum full	in all its regions full
feohgestreóna,	of treasure,
gif he æfre ðæs organes	66 if he ever of the organ
ówiht cúðe :	anything had known :
fracoð he bið ðonne and fre-	hostile shall he then be and
mede	strange
freán ælmihtigum,	to Almighty God,
englum ungelíc	unlike the angels
ána hwearfað.	70 he shall wander alone.

SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

SATURN spake.

Ac hwá mæg eáðost	But who may easiest
ealra gesceafta	of all creatures
ða hálgan duru	the holy door
heofona ríces	of heaven's kingdom
torhte ontýnan	75 bright unclose
on getsárlime ?	in succession ?

SALOMON CWÆÐ.

SALOMON spake.

Ðæt ge-palmtwígede	The palm-twigged
Pater Noster	Pater Noster
heofonas ontýneð,	openeth the heavens,
háliges geblissað,	80 blesseth the holy,
metod gemiltsað,	maketh mild the Lord,
morðor gefylleð,	putteth down murder,
ádwæscæð deóflæs fýr	quencheth the devil's fire
Dryhtnes onæleð :	kindleth the Lord's :
swylce ðú miht	85 thus mayst thou
* * *	* * *

62. B. silofres. 63. B. feðerscette. 64. B. fyrngestreóna. 67. B. fremde. 69. B. ungesiðb. 70. B. hwearfað. 71. B. eáðust. 72. B. ealra. 73. B. háligan. 74. B. heofna. 76. B. on getsáles ríme. 77. B. gepalmtwígode. 79. B. heofna. 80. B. hálie. 82. A. gesylleð. B. gefilleð.

mid ðý beorhtan gebede		with the bright prayer
blód onhætan		heat the blood
ðæs deofles drý,		of the devil's wizard, [rise
ðæt him dropan stigað	90	so that in him the drops shall
swáte geswíðed		hurried with blood
sefan intingum,		in the thoughts of his breast,
egesfullícran		more full of terror
ðonne seó ærene gripu		than the brazen cauldron
ðonne heó for xii [f]yra	95	when it for twelve generations
tydernessum		of men
ofer gléda gripe		in the embrace of flames
gifrust wealleð.		most greedily bubbleth.
Forðon hafað se cantic		Therefore hath the canticle
ofer ealle Cristes béc	100	over all Christ's books
wídmærost word :		the greatest repute :
he gewrítu læreð,		it teacheth the scriptures,
stefnum steóreð,		with voice it directeth,
and h[im] stede healdeð,		and its place it holdeth,
heofona ríces	105	heaven-kingdom's
heregeatowa wægeð.		arms it wieldeth.

SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

SATURN spake.

Ac húlíc is se organ		But how like is the organ
in gemýndum		in the mind
tó begonganne,		to be conceived,
ðám ðe his gást wile	110	by him who would his spirit
meltan wið morðre,		melt against murder,
mergan of sorge,		make merry out of sorrow,
ásceadan of scyldum ?		separate from guilt ?
Huru him scippend geaf		No doubt the Creator gave it
wuldorlícne wlíte !	115	wondrous beauty !
Mec ðæs on worulde full oft		About this in the world full oft

87. B. *æel*. ðý. 89. A. *dreám*. B. *dry*. 90. B. *drapan*. 92. A. *seofan*. B. *intingan*.
 93. B. *egesfullícra*. 94. B. *ðane*. *gripo*. 98. B. *gifrost weallað*. 99. B. *forðan*.
 103. B. *stereð*. 105. B. *heofonríces*. 106. B. *heregeatowe wegeð*. A. *wígeð*.
 107. B. *organan*. 109. B. *begangenne*. 110. B. *gæst*. 111. B. *miltan*. 112. B. *merian*.
 113. B. *ásceáden*. A. *scyldigum*. 114. B. *scieppend*. A. *gaf*. 116. A. *worulde*.

fyrwit fríneð,		my curiosity enquireth,
fús gewíteð,		quick it moveth about,
mód gemengeð.		my mind it mingleth.
Nánig manna wát,	120	No man knoweth,
hæleða under heofenum,		hero under the heavens,
hú mín hyge dreóneð		how my spirit sinks
bysig æfter bócum ;		laboring over books ;
hwílum me bryne stígeð,		at times the heat ariseth,
hyge heortan neáh	125	my spirit near the heart
hearde wealleð.		hardly boileth.

SALOMON CWÆÐ.

SALOMON spake.

Gylden is se Godes cwide,		Golden is the word of God,
gimmum ástæned,		stoned with gems,
hafað silfren leáf ;		it hath silver leaves ;
sundor mæg æghwylc	130	each one can
ðurh gastes gife		through spiritual grace
gódspel secgan :		a gospel relate :
he bið sefan snytro		it is wisdom of the breast
and sawle hunig ;		and honey of the soul ;
and módes meolc,	135	milk of the mind,
mæcða geseeligost ;		most blessed of glories ;
he mæg ða sawle		it may the soul
of sinnihte		from eternal night
gefecan under foldan ;		fetch back under the earth ;
næfre hie se feond tó ðæs niðer		never so deep let the fiend
feterum gefæstnað,		with fetters have fastened it,
ðeah he hie mid fiftigum		though he with fifty
clusum beclomme,		bonds enclose it,
he ðone cræft briceð,		yet breaketh it the craft,
and ða orðancas	145	and all the devices

117. B. fyrwet. 119. B. geond mengeð. 121. A. hefenum. 122. B. dreó-
geð. 123. B. bið. 124. hwylum. 125. B. *del* neáh. 126. A. hædre. 129. B.
seolofren. *del* leáf. 131. B. gæstas. 132. gódspellian. 133. A. seofan. B. sny-
tero. 135. This and the following line are wanting in A. 138. A. sien-n.
B. syn-n. 139. B. gefetian. 143. B. clausum. 144. B. ðane.

ealle tósliteð :		teareth asunder :
hungor he áhýðeð,		hunger it despoileth,
helle gestrúdeð,		hell it destroyeth,
wylm tóweorpeð,		fire it casteth asunder,
wuldor getimbreð.	150	glory it buildeth up.
He is módigra		More courageous is it
middangearde,		than this world,
staðole strengra		stronger in its position
ðonne ealra stána gripe.		than the gripe of all the rocks.
Lamena he is læce,	155	It is the leech of the lame,
leóht wincendra,		the light of the blind,
swylce he is deáfra duru		it is also the door of the deaf,
dumbra tunge,		the tongue of the dumb,
scyldigra scyld,		the shield of the guilty,
scyppendes seld ;	160	the dwelling of the Creator ;
flódes ferigend,		the bringer of the flood,
folces nerigend,		the saviour of the people,
ýða yrfeward		the heir of the waves
earmra fisca,		of the poor fishes,
and wyrma helm,	165	and the defence of the worms,
wildeora holt,		the refuge-wood of beasts,
on wéstenne weard,		a guardian in the wilderness,
weorðmynda geard :		the garden of worship :
and seðe wile geornlice		and he that will earnestly
ðone Godes cwíde	170	this God's-word
singan sóðlice,		sing in sooth,
and hine symle wile		and him will ever
lufian bútan leahtrum,		love without crime,
he mæg ðone láðan gást,		he may the hated spirit,
feohtende feónd	175	the fighting fiend
fleónde gebringan,		bring to flight,

147. A. áhieðeð. B. gehídeð. 149. B. tóworpeð. 152. B. middangearde.
 153. B. he is strengra. 154. B. ealle. 155. B. lamana. 156. B. wincendra.
 158. B. deádra. 161. B. feríend. 162. B. neriend. 164. B. fisca. 165. B. *del.*
 and. A. welm. B. wíence. 167. B. *del.* on. westennes. 168. B. weorðmynta.
 171. B. ameálice. 172. B. symle liuan. 173. B. wile bútan. 174. B. láðan
 geafð. 175. B. feohterne. 176. A. gebrengan.

gif ðú him árest on úfan		if thou at first over him
ierne gebringest		earnestly bringest
Prologa prima		Prologa prima
ðam is 𐌺 P nama :	180	whose name is P:
hafað gúðmæcga		the warrior has
gyrde lange,		a long rod,
gyldene gáde,		with a golden goad,
and á ðone g[rím]man feónd		and ever the grim fiend
swíðmóð swípeð ;	185	fierce-minded smiteth ;
and him on swaðe fylgeð		and on his track pursueth
𐌺 A ofer mægene,		A with mighty power,
and hine eác ofslýð.		and him also beateth.
↑ T hine teswað, and hine		T plagueth him, and him
on ða tungan sticað,	190	in the tongue stabbeth,
wræsteð him ðæt woddor,		twisteth his throat for him,
and him ða wongan briceð.		and his cheeks breaketh.
𐌜 E hine yflað,		E afflicteth him,
swá he á wile		as he ever will
ealra feónda gehwone	195	fastly stand against
fæste gestandan ;		every foe ;
ðonne hine on unðanc, R R		then little to his pleasure, R
eoringa geséceð ;		shall angrily seek him ;
bócestafa brego		the prince of letters
bregdeð sona	200	shall soon whirl
feond be ðám feaxe,		the fiend by his hair,
læteð flint brecan		he will let the flint break
scines sconcan ;		the phantasm's shanks ;
he ne besceáwað nó		never shall he witness
his leomena lið,	205	the comfort of his limbs, [him.
ne bið him læce góð.		nor shall any leech be good for
Wendeð he hine ðonne		Then shall he depart under
[under wolcnum		[the welkin,

177. B. *del.* on. 178. B. *yorn* gebringeð. A. gebrengest. 179. B. *prologo primo*. 180. The simple letters stand, without Runes in B. 181. A. after *gúð* a modern hand has written *o*. A. *mæcga*. B. *gúðmaga*. 182. A. *gierde*. 184. B. *grymman*. 185. A. *sweopað*. 186. B. *del.* him. *læteð*, over which is written *flgið*. 188. B. *ofalehð*. 189. with T ends the MS. B. 207. MS. *hiene*.

wigsteall séceð	his fortress seek
heolstre behelmed,	covered with darkness, [heart,
huru him biðætheortanwá, 210	at any rate he will be sad at
ðonne [h]e hangiende	when he hanging
helle wisceð,	hell shall wish for,
ðæs engestan	the narrowest
éðel-ríces ;	of realms ;
ðonne hine forcinnað	215 when him shall repudiate
ða cyrican ge túnas.	both churches and houses.
Ð I [som]od	N and O together,
æghwæðer bringeð	either bringeth
sweópan of síðe ;	a sweep from his journey ;
sárgiað hwíle	220 by times they shall afflict
fremdne flæschoman,	the strange body,
feorh ne bemurneð ;	his life they shall not care for ;
ðonne 4 S cymeð,	then cometh S,
engla geræswa,	the prince of angels,
wuldores stæf,	225 the staff of glory,
wráðne gegripeð	he shall clutch the angry
feónd be ðám fótum,	fiend by the feet,
læteð foreweard hleor	shall dash his forward cheek
on strangue stán,	on the strong stone,
and stregdað tóðas	230 and scatter his teeth
geond helle heáp :	around the crowds of hell :
hýdeð hine æghwyle	each one shall hide himself
æfter sceades sciman ;	in the indistinctness of shadow ;
sceaða bið gebysigod,	the fiend shall he trouble,
Satanes ðegn	235 Satan's thane
swíðe gestilled.	made very still.
Swylce hine X Q and Ð V	Also him Q and U
cwealme gehnægeð,	with death shall approach,
frome folctogan	the prudent leaders
farað him tógegnes,	240 shall advance against him,

habbað leóht speru,		they have light spears,
lange sceaftas,		long shafts,
swíðmóde sweópan ;		sweeps strong of mood ;
swenga ne wyrnað		blows they spare not,
deórra dynta ;	245	dear dints ;
him bið ðæt deófol láð.		loathly to them is the Devil.
Ðonne hine ʒ L		Then L
and se yrra ʒ C		and augry C
gúðe begyrdað ;		shall gird him about with war ;
geáp stæf wígeð	250	the crooked letter wageth
biterne brógan :		bitter terror :
býgað sona		soon shall shrink
helle hæftling,		hell's captive,
ðæt he on hinder gæð :		so that he goeth backward.
ðonne hine ʒ F and ʒ M		then shall F and M
útan ymbðringað		throng from without
scyldigne sceaðan ;		about the guilty wretch ;
habbað scearp speru,		sharp spears have they,
atole earhfare ;		the terrible flight of arrows :
æled lætað	260	they shall let fire
on ðæs feóndes feax		upon the fiend's hair
flána stregdan,		strew its shafts,
biterne brógan ;		a bitter terror ;
banan heardlice		the mischief fiercely
grimme ongildað,	265	with rage they shall repay,
ðæs hie oft gilp brecað.		that often pride breaketh them.
Ðonne hine æt nichstan		Then him at last
nearwe stilleð		narrowly shall still
ƿ G se geápa,		G the crooked,
ðone God sendeð	270	whom God sendeth
freóndum on fultum ;		a support to his friends ;
fareð æfter ƿ D,		D fareth after,
fífmægnum full :		full of five virtues :

fýr bið se ðridda ;		five is the third ;
stæf stræte neáh	275	the letter near the street
stille bídeð.		shall abide still.
H onetteð,		H shall hasten,
engel hine scirpeð,		the angel shall clothe him,
Cristes ceman,		Christ's warrior,
on cwícum wædum	280	in the quick weeds
Godes spyrigendes,		of enquiring God,
geónges hrægles.		in a new garment.
Ðonne hine on lyfte		Then him in the lift,
lífgetwinnan,		the twins of life,
under tungla getrumum,	285	beneath the masses of the stars,
twigena ordum,		with points of twigs,
sweópum seolfrenum,		with silver sweeps,
swiðe weallað,		shall mightily vex,
oððæt him bán blícað,		until the bone appear,
blédað ædran ;	290	the veins shall bleed : [pour
gártorn geótað		the rage of shafts they shall
gifrum deófle.		on the greedy devil.
Mæg symle se Godes cwide		Ever may the God's word,
gumena gehwylcum,		for every man,
ealra feónða gehwone	295	every fiend
fleónde gebringan,		put to flight,
ðurh mannes múð,		through mouth of man,
mánfulra heáp		the troop of evil ones
swearne geswencan ;		the black troop oppress ;
nefre hie ðæs sellíce	300	let them never so strangely
bleóum bregdað		change with colours
æfter báncofan,		in their body,
feðerhoman onfóð.		or assume plumage.
Hwílum flotan grípað,		Sometimes they seize the sailor,
hwílum hie gewendað	305	sometimes they turn
on wyrmes líc		into the body of a snake

278. scierpeð. 286. tuigena. 287. seolfrynum. 293. simle. 295. gehwane.
296. gebrengan. 298. manfullra. 300. syllice.

[scearpes] and stícoles,		sharp and piercing,
stingað nýten		they sting the neat
feldgongende,		going about the fields,
feoh gestrúdað ;	310	they destroy the cattle ;
hwílum híc on wætere		sometimes in the water
wicg gehnægað,		they bow the horse,
hornum ge-heáwað		with their horns they hew him
oððæt him heortan blóð,		until his heart's blood,
fámig flódes bæð,	315	a foaming bath of flood,
foldan geséceð.		falls to the earth.
Hwílum híc gefeterað		Sometimes they fetter
fæges monnes handa ;		the hands of the doomed ;
gehefegað ðonne he		they make them heavy when he
æt hilde sceall	320	is called upon in war
wið láðwerud		against a hostile troop
lifes tiligan :		to provide for his life :
áwritað híc on his wæpne		they cut upon his weapon
wælnota heáp,		a heap of fatal marks,

308. stingeð nieten. 310. gestruðeð. 311. he. 312. gehnægeð. 313. geheaweð.
317. he. 323. awriteð he. 324. wælnota.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hú moniges bleós bið ðæt deófol and
se Pater Noster ðonne híc betwih him gewinnað ?

Saloman cwæð. Ðritiges bleós.

Saturnus cwæð. Hwæt sindon ða árestan ?

Saloman cwæð. Ðæt deófol bið árest on geógoðháde, on
cildes onlícnisse : ðonne bið se Pater Noster on háliges
gástes onlícnisse. Ðriddan síðe bið ðæt deófol on dracan
onlícnisse : feorðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on stræles ou-
lícnisse ðe *Brachia Dei* hátte. Fiftan síðe bið ðæt deófol
on ðýstres onlícnisse : sixtan síðe bið se Pater Noster on
leóhtes onlícnisse. Seofodan síðe bið ðonne ðæt deófol on

bealwe bōcstafas ;	325	baleful letters ;
bill forscrifað,		they write away the bill,
meces mærfō.		the glory of the sword.
Forðon nænig man		Therefore should no man
scile oft orðances		often without a cause
útábredan	330	draw forth
wæpnes ecgge,		the weapon's edge,
ðeah ðe him se wlite cweme ;		although its beauty please him ;
ac symle he sceal singan,		but ever let him sing,
ðonne he his sweord geteó,		when he his sword draweth,
Pater Noster,	335	the Pater Noster,
and ðæt Palmtreow		and the palm-tree
biddan mid blisse,		joyfully pray,
ðæt him bú gife		that it will give him both
feorh and folme,		life and hand,
ðonne his feond cyme.	340	when his foe cometh.

[*At this point the couplets cease, and the following prose fragment is inserted, but without any break in the MS.*]

326. forscrifeð.

Saturnus quoth. But how many shapes will the devil and the Pater Noster take when they contend together ?

Salomon quoth. Thirty shapes.

Saturnus quoth. What are the first ?

Salomon quoth. The devil will be first in the shape of youth, in the likeness of a child : then will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a holy spirit. The third time will the devil be in the likeness of a dragon : the fourth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of the shaft that is called *Brachia Dei*. Fifthly will the devil be in the likeness of gloom : sixthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of light. Seventhly then will the devil be in the likeness of a

wildeóres onlícniſſe : eahteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on ðæs hwæles onlícniſſe ðe *Leuiathan* hátte. Nigoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on atoles swefnes onlícniſſe : teoðan síðe bið ðonne se Pater Noster on heofonlícne geſihðe onlícniſſe. Endleftan síðe bið ðæt deófol on yfles wífes onlícniſſe : twelftan síðe bið se Pater Noster on heofonlícne byrnan onlícniſſe. Dreoteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on sweordes onlícniſſe : feowerteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre byrnan onlícniſſe. Fífteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on bremlas onlícniſſe : ſixteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on ſeolfrenes earnes onlícniſſe. Seofonteoðan síðe bið ðonne ðæt deófol on ſleges onlícniſſe : eahtateoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on ſeolfrenes earnes onlícniſſe. Nigonteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on fylles onlícniſſe : xx síðe bið [se] Pater Noster on Criſtes onlícniſſe. On xxi síðe bið ðæt deófol on átrenes fugeles onlícniſſe : on xxii síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenes earnes onlícniſſe. On xxiii síðe bið ðæt deófol on wulfes onlícniſſe : on xxiiii síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre racenteage onlícniſſe. On xxv síðe bið ðæt deófol on wrohte onlícniſſe : on xxvi síðe bið se Pater Noster on ſibbe onlícniſſe. On xxvii síðe bið ðæt deófol on yfeles geþohtes onlícniſſe : on xxviii síðe bið se Pater Noster on árfæſtes gáſtes onlícniſſe. On xxviiii síðe bið deóplícne gehwyrfed ðæt deófol on deáðes onlícniſſe.

Salomon cwæð. Dómlícne bið ðonne se Pater Noster gehwyrfed on Dryhtnes onlícniſſe.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hwá áſpyreð ðæt deófol of geofones holte, and hine geþringeð on ðára Criſtes cempena fæðmum ðe ðus hátton, Cherubin and Seraphin ?

[Salomon cwæð.] Uriel and Rumiæl.

wild-beast: eighthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of the whale that is called *Leuiathan*. Ninthly will the devil be in the likeness of a foul dream: then tenthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a heavenly vision. The eleventh time will the devil be in the likeness of a bad woman: the twelfth will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a heavenly breastplate. The thirteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a sword: the fourteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a golden breastplate. The fifteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a bramble: the sixteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a silver eagle. Then the seventeenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a hammer: the eighteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a silver eagle. The nineteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a fall: the twentieth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of Christ. At the twenty-first time the devil will be in the likeness of a poisonous bird: on the twenty-second time the Pater Noster will be in the likeness of a golden eagle. On the twenty-third time will the devil be in the likeness of a wolf: on the twenty-fourth time the Pater Noster will be in the likeness of a golden chain. On the twenty-fifth time will the devil be in the likeness of wrath: on the twenty-sixth will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of Peace. On the twenty-seventh time will the devil be in the likeness of an evil thought: on the twenty-eighth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a pure spirit. On the twenty-ninth time will the devil be still more deeply changed into the likeness of death.

Salomon quoth. Then will the Pater Noster be more gloriously changed into the likeness of the Lord.

Saturnus quoth. But who shall track the devil from the covert of ocean, and bring him to the hands of Christ's champions, who are thus named, Cherubim and Seraphim?

Salomon quoth. Uriel and Rumiël.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hwá sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum ?

Saloman cwæð. Se Pater Noster sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum ; and seó liget hit bærneð and táčnað, and se regn hit [on] úfan wyrðeð, and ða genipu hit dweliað, and se ðunor hit ðrysceð mid ðære fýrenan æcxe, and hit drifeð tó ðære írenan racenteage ðe his fæder on eardað, Satan and Sathiel. And ðonne ðæt deófol swíðe wérgað hit séceð scyldiges mannes nýten, oððe uncláne treow ; oððe gif hit méteð ungesenodes mannes múð and líchoman, and hit ðonne on forgítenan mannes innelfe gewíteð, and ðurh his fel and ðurh his flæsc on ða eorðan gewíteð, and ðanon helle wésten gespýrreð.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc heáfod hafað se Pater Noster ?

Saloman cwæð. Pater Noster hafað gylden heáfod and silfren feax ; and ðeáh ðe ealle eorðan wæter sýn gemenged wið ðám heofonlicum wætrum uppe on áne ædran, and hit samlice rinan onginne eal middangeard mid eallum his gesceaftum, he mæg under ðæs Pater Nosters feaxe ánum locce drige gestandan : and his eágan sindon xxi ðusendum síða beorhtran ðonne ealles middangeardes eorðe, ðeáh ðe heó sý mid ðæra beorhtestan lilian blostmum ofbræded, and æghwylc blostman leáf hæbbe xii sunnan, and æghwylc blostma hæbbe xii monan, and æghwylc mona sý synderlice xii ðusendum síða beorhtra ðonne he geó wæs ær Abeles slege.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc is ðæs Pater Nosters seó wlitige heorte ?

Saloman cwæð. His heorte is xii ðusendum síða beorhtre ðonne ealle ðas seofon heofonas ðe ús sindon ofergesette, ðeáh ðe hie sýn ealle mid ðý dómiscan fýre onæled, and ðeáh ðe eal ðeós eorðe him neoðan tógegnes birne, and heó hæbbe fýrene tungan, and gyldenne hracan, and leóhtne múð inne-wardne. And ðeáh ðe eal middangeard sý fram Adames

Saturnus quoth. But who will shoot the devil with boiling shafts ?

Salomon quoth. The Pater Noster will shoot the devil with boiling shafts ; and the lightning will burn and mark him, and the rain will be shed over him, and the thick darkness confuse him, and the thunder thrash him with the fiery axe, and drive him to the iron chain wherein his father dwelleth, Satan and Sathiel. And when the devil is very weary he seeketh the cattle of some sinful man, or an unclean tree ; or if he meeteth the mouth and body of a man that hath not been blessed, then goeth he into the bowels of the man who has so forgotten, and through his skin and through his flesh departeth into the earth, and from thence findeth his way into hell-desert.

Saturnus quoth. But what kind of head hath the Pater Noster ?

Salomon quoth. The Pater Noster hath a golden head and silver hair ; and although all the waters of the earth should be mingled with the waters of heaven above into one channel, and it should begin to rain them together upon the earth and all its creatures, yet might it stand dry under a single lock of the Pater Noster's hair : and his eyes are twelve thousand times brighter than all the earth, though it should be overspread with the brightest lily-blossoms, and the leaf of every blossom should have twelve suns, and every blossom twelve moons, and every individual moon should be twelve thousand times brighter than it was ere Abel's murder.

Saturnus quoth. But what is the Pater Noster's beauteous heart like ?

Salomon quoth. His heart is twelve thousand times brighter than the seven heavens that are set over us, though they should all be kindled with the doomsday fire, and though all this earth should burn up from beneath them, and it should have a fiery tongue, and golden throat, and a light mouth from within. And although all the world should be-

frymðe edniówe geworden, and ána gehwylc hæbbe ða xii snyttro Habrahames and Isaces and Jacobes, and ána gehwylc móte lifigan ðreo hund wintra, ne magon hý ðære tungan gerecnisse, ne hire mæignes swiðmódnisse áspyrrian. And his earmas sindon xii ðusendum síða lengran ðonne calles middangeardes eorðe, oððe beámas, ðeáh ðe hý sýn mid ðý beorhtestan wyrhtan folmum tósomne geféged, and ána gehwylc ende sý fram óðrum tó ðám midle mid ðý gulliscan seolfre oferworht, and mid ðám neorxnawonges compgimmum ástæned; and his handa twá, hý sint brádran ðonne xii middangeardas ðeáh hý sýn ealle tósomne gesette. And se hálga cantic he hafað gyldene fingras, and ðára is ána gehwylc synderlice xxxtigum ðusendum dála lengra ðonne eal middangeard oððe eorðe; and on ðæs Pater Nosters ðære swiðran handa is gyldenes sweordes onlicnis, ðæt is eallum óðrum wæpnum ungelic; his leóma he is blutra and beorhtra ðonne ealra heofona tunglu, oððe on ealre eorðan sýn goldes and seolfres frætwednissa and fægernissa: and ðæs dryhtenlican wæpnes seó swiðre ecglast he is mildra and gemetfæstra ðonne calles middangeardes swétnissa, oððe his stencas; and seó winstre ecglast ðæs ilcan wæpnes, he is réðra and scearpra ðonne eal middangeard, ðeáh he sý binuan his feower hwommum fulgedrifen wildeóra, and ána gehwylc deór hæbbe synderlice xii hornas írene, and ána gehwylc horn hæbbe xii tindas írene, and ána gehwylc tind hæbbe synderlice xii ordas, and ána gehwylc [ord] sý xii ðusendum síða scearpra ðonne seó án flán ðe sý fram hundtwelftigum hyrdenna geondhyrded. And ðeáh ðe seofon middangeardas sýn ealle on efn ábrædde on þisses ánes onlicnisse, and ðær sý eal gesomned ðætte heofon oððe hel oððe eorðe æfre ácende, ne magon hý ða lífes linan on middan ymbfæðmian. And se Pater Noster he mæg ána ealla gescafta on his ðære swiðran hand on ánes weaxæpples onlicnisse geðýn and gewringan. And his geðoht he is springdra and swiftra ðonne xii ðusendu hálgra gásta, ðeáh ðe ána

come renewed from Adam's creation, and each man should have the twelve wisdoms of Habraham and Isaac and Jacob, and each might live three hundred years, yet could not they discover the relation of his tongue, nor the highmindedness of his might. And his arms are twelve thousand times longer than all this earth, or its trees, though they should all be compacted together with the brightest workmen's hands, and each end from the other should be overwrought to the middle with gilded silver, and stoned with the gems of paradise; and his two hands are broader than twelve worlds, though they should all be set together. And the holy song hath golden fingers, and each of them is individually thirty thousand times longer than all the world or the earth; and in the Pater Noster's right hand is the likeness of a golden sword, unlike all other weapons; its gleam is clearer and brighter than all the constellations of the heavens, than there are ornaments and fairness of gold and silver in all the earth: and the right edge of the lordly weapon is milder and more moderate than all the sweetness or the perfumes of the world; and the left edge of the same weapon is fiercer and sharper than all the world, though between its four pinnacles it should be driven full of wild-beasts, and every individual beast should have twelve horns, and every horn twelve tines of iron, and every single tine twelve points, and every point should be twelve thousand times sharper than an arrow which has been tempered by a hundred and twenty hardeners. And though seven worlds should be all spread abroad together in the likeness of this one, and therein should be collected all that heaven or hell or earth ever gave birth to, yet could they not embrace the line of life round the middle. And the Pater Noster alone might twist and wring all creatures in his right hand into the likeness of a wax-apple. And his thought is more active and quicker than twelve thousand holy spirits, though each single

gehwylc gást hæbbe synderlice xii feðerhoman, and ána gehwylc feðerhoma hæbbe xii windas, and ána gehwylc wind twelf sigefæstnissa synderlice. And his stefen heó is hlúdre ðonne eal mancyn oððe eal wildeóra cyn, ðeáh ðe hý sýn ealle on ðone munt gessæmnod, ðe sý in ðære lengoðe seó line ðe wile xxxiii síða ealne eorðan ymbewyrft útan ymblicgan. And ðeáh ðe ðæron gesomnod sý eal ðætte heofon oððe hel oððe eorðe æfre ácende, and ána gehwylc ge ðæra cweðendra ge ðæra uncweðendra, hæbbe gyldene býman on múðe, and ealra býmena gehwylc hæbbe xii hleoðor, and hleoðra gehwylc sý heofone heárre and helle deópre, ðonne gena ðæs hálgan cantices se gyldena organ he hý ealle oferhleóðrað, and ealle ða óðre he ádyfeð.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc is ðæs [Pater Nosters seó wlitige scrúd?

Salomon cwæð.] Pater Noster hafað gyldene fonan, and seó fone is mid xii góðwebbum útan ymbhangen, and ána gehwylc góðweb hangað on hundtwelftigum hringa gyldenra. And ðæt æreste góðweb is hátén Aurum cæleste, ðam ðióstro ne magon cxxtigum mila neáh gehleónian: ðonne nemnað englas ðæt æftere góðweb, Spiritum Paraclitum; in ðám góðwebcynne bið Sanctus Mihhael gescyrped on dómes dæg: ðonne nemnað englas ðæt ðridde góðweb Pastoralices; ðæt góðweb wæs on ðæs góðwebbes onlícnisse ðe geó ymb mínes fæder Dauides columban hangode on ðissum ilcan temple: ðonne is ðæt feorðe góðweb hátén Solacitum; ðæt góðweb wæs on ðæs góðwebbes onlícnisse ðe geó Abimelech se góða cyning bróhte Criste tó lácum and tó ansægdnisse: ðonne is ðæt fifte góðweb hátén Uita perpetua; ðæt góðweb is ðonne ðære hálgan ðrinnisse: ðonne is ðæt sixte góðweb hátén Sacrificium Dei; ðæt is ðonne on ealra deóra anlícnisse: ðonne is ðæt seofoðe * * * *

[*A leaf of the MS. has been here cut out.*]

spirit should have twelve coats of plumes, and every coat of plumes twelve winds, and every individual wind twelve victoriousnesses. And his voice is louder than all the human race or race of beasts, though they should all be gathered on a mountain, whose length should be the line which would thirty-three times encompass the whole circuit of the earth. And though thereon were collected all that heaven or hell or earth ever gave birth to, and every one either of those that speak or those that do not speak, had a golden trumpet to its mouth, and every trumpet had twelve sounds, and every sound was higher than heaven and deeper than hell, yet would the golden organ of the holy canticle outsound them all, and deafen all the rest.

Saturnus quoth. But what [is the Pater Noster's beauteous garment like ?

Salomon quoth.] The Pater Noster hath a golden banner, and the banner is hung around with twelve palls, and each pall hangeth on a hundred and twenty golden rings. And the first pall is named *Aurum caeleste*, which darkness may not approach within a hundred and twenty miles : then the angels call the second pall *Spiritum Paraclitum* ; in that kind of pall will Saint Michael be clothed at Doomsday : then the angels call the third pall *Pastoralices* ; in the likeness of this pall was that which hung of old about my father David's pillars in this very temple : then the fourth pall is called *Solacitum* ; in likeness of this pall was that which the good king Abimelech brought of yore as an offering and a sacrifice to Christ : and the fifth pall is called *Vita perpetua* ; that then is the pall of the holy Trinity : then the sixth pall is called *Sacrificium Dei* ; it is in the likeness of all animals : then the seventh * * * *

. . . . swice	 desist,
ær he sóð wíte,		ere he truly know,
ðæt ða synfullan		that the sinful
sáwla sticien,		souls shall stick,
mid hettendum	345	with the enemies
helle tó middes ;		in the midst of hell ; [mand
háteð ðonne heáhcyning		then shall the mighty king com-
helle betýnan		to close hell
fýres fulle,		full of fire,
and ða feondas mid.	350	and the fiends with it.
Hæfde ðá se snotra		Then had the wise
sunu Dauides		son of David [knowledge
forcumen and forcýðed		overcome and surpassed in
Caldea eorl :		the earl of the Chaldæans :
hwæðre wæs on sælum,	365	yet was he satisfied,
sæðe of síðe cwom		who on his journey had come
feorran gefered ;		dispatched from afar ;
næfre ær his ferhð áhlóg.		never before had his spirit
		laughed.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

PART THE SECOND.

Hwæt ! Ic flítan gefrægn		Lo ! I have learnt that there
on fyrndagum	360	in days of yore [contended
móðgleáwe men,		men wise of mood,
middangeardes ræswan,		princes of the earth,
gewesan ymbe hyra wísdóm ;		struggled about their wisdom ;
wyrs déð sæðe lýhð,		ill doth he that lieth,
oððe ðæs sóðes ansaceð. 365		or the truth rejecteth !
Salomon wæs bremra,		Salomon was the more famous,
ðeáh ðe Saturnus		although Saturnus,

sumra hæfde,		the bold chief,
bald breóst-toga,		had of some
bóca c[æga],	370	books the keys,
[leorn]inga locan.		the locks of learning.
Land eal geondhwearf,		All the land he circled,
[Indea eard,]		[the realm of Indians,]
[ea]st Corsias,		east Corsias,
Persea ríce,	375	the kingdom of the Persians,
Palestinion,		Palestinion,
Niniuen ceastre,		Nineveh the city,
and Norðpredan ;		and Northpredan ;
Meda máððunselas,		the treasure-halls of Medes,
Marculfes eard ;	380	the land of Marculf ;
Saulus ríce		the realm of Saul
swá hit súð licgeð		as it lieth southward
ymbe Gealboe,		about Gilboa,
and ymb Geador ;		and about Geador ; [listines,
Norðfilistina flet,	385	the palace of the north-Phi-
fæsten Creca,		the fastness of the Greeks,
wudu Egipta,		the wood of the Egyptians,
wæter Mathea,		the waters of the Matheans,
Claudas, Coreffes,		Claudas, Coreffes,
Caldea ríce,	390	the realm of the Chaldees,
Creca cræftas,		the crafts of Greeks,
cyn Arabia,		the kin of Arabians,
lære Libia,		the lore of Lybians,
lond Siria,		the land of Syrians,
Pitðinia, Buðanasan,	395	Bythinia, Buthanasan,
Pamphilia Pores gemære :		Pamphilia Pores boundary :
Macedonia,		Macedonia,
Mesopotamie,		Mesopotamia,
Cappadocia,		Cappadocia,
Cristes Hierycho,	400	Christ's Hiericho,
Hierusa		Jerusalem

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<p>oððe ic stígie, nýttes bicge, ðeáh wát ic ðonne gif ðú gewíttest on Wendelsæ, ofer Coforflód cýððe sécean, ðæt ðú wile gilpan ena bearn forcumen and forcýðed ; wát ic ðæt wæron Caldeas gúðe ðæs gilpne, and ðæs goldwlonce, mærdæ ðæs móðige, ðær tó ðám monig gelomp súð ymbe Sanere feld. Saga me from ðám lande ðær nænig fira ne mæg fótum gestæppan.</p>	<p>[hæbbe. to seek thy country, that thou wilt boast thou hast . . . children [knowledge; overcome and surpassed in I know that the Chaldeans were thus boastful in war, thus proud of gold, thus moody of their glory, since news of that was brought south about Sanere field. Tell me of the land where no man may step with feet.</p>
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SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

Se mæra wæs háten
sælfðende
Weallende Wulf,
werþeódum cúð
Filistina,
freónd Nebrondes.
He on ðám felde geslóg
xxv
dracena on dægred,
and hine ðá of deáð offeóll ;
forðan ðas foldan ne mæg
fira énig,
ðone mearcstede
mon gesécan,

SATURNUS QUOTH.

The sailor over the sea,
the noble one was named
Wandering Wolf,
well known unto the tribes
of the Philistines,
the friend of Nebrond.
He slew upon the plain
five and twenty
dragons at daybreak, [dead ;
and himself fell down there
therefore that land may not
any man,
that boundary place
any one visit,

fugol gefleógan,	435	nor bird fly over it,	[field.
ne ðon má foldan neát.		or any more, the cattle of the	
Ðánon átorcyn		Thence the poisonous race	
árest gewurdon		first of all	
wíde onwæcned,		widely arose,	
ða ðe nú weallende	440	which now bubbling	
ðurh áttres orað		through breath of poison	
ingang rýmað.		force their way.	
Git his sweord scínað		Yet shines his sword	
swíðe gescæned,		mightily sheathed,	
and ofer ða byrgena	445	and over his burial-place	
blícað ða hiltas.		glimmer the hilts.	

SALOMON cwæð.

Dol bið seðe gæð
on deóp wæter,
seðe sund nafað,
né gesegled scip, 450
né fugles flyht,
né him mid fótum ne mæg
grund geræcan :
huru se Godes cunnað
ful dyslíce, 455
dryhtnes meahta.

SALOMON quoth.

Foolish is he that goeth
on deep water,
who hath not skill of swimming,
nor a ship furnished with sails, 450
nor flight of bird,
and cannot with his feet
reach to the bottom :
truly he tempteth God
very foolishly, 455
the Lord's might.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac hwæt is se dumba seðe
on sumre dene resteð,
swíðe snyttrað ;
hafað seofon tungan, 460
hafað tungena gehwylc
xx orða,
hafað orða gehwylc
engles snytro ;
ðára ðe wile áhra hwylc 465

SATURNUS quoth.

But who is the dumb one who
in some den resteth,
is very wise ;
hath seven tongues, 460
and each tongue hath
twenty points,
and each point hath
an angel's wisdom ;
each of which will

uppe bringan,		so bring it up,
ðæt ðú ðære gyldnan gesiht		that thou mayst see
Hierusalem		of the golden Hierusalem
weallas blícan,		the walls glitter,
and hyra wynród lixan,	470	and her dear cross shine,
sóðfæstra segn ?		the ensign of the faithful ?
Saga hwæt ic mæne.		Say what I mean.

SALOMON cwæð.

Béc syndon breme,
 bodiað geneahhe
 weotedne willan 475
 ðám ðe wiht hycgeð ;
 gestrangað hý and gestaðeliað
 staðolfæstne geðoht,
 ámyrgað módsesan
 manna gehwylces 480
 of ðreánydian
 ðisses lifes.

SALOMON quoth.

Books are famous,
 they announce sufficiently
 the counselled will
 for him that thinketh aught ;
 they strengthen and confirm
 the steadfast thought,
 they purify the mind
 of every one
 from the enforced need
 of this life.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Beald bið seðe onbyrigeð
 bóca cræftes ;
 symle bið ðe wísra 485
 ðe hira geweald hæbbe.

SATURNUS quoth.

Bold is he that tasteth
 of book-craft ;
 ever is the wiser
 he that hath power over them.

SALOMON cwæð.

Sige hý onsendað
 sóðfæstra gehwám,
 hælo hýðe
 ðám ðe hý lufað. 490

SALOMON quoth.

Victory they send
 to every steadfast man,
 the refuge of heal
 to him that loveth them.

SATURNUS cwæð.

A'n wísa is
 on woruldríce

SATURNUS quoth.

A wise one is there
 in the world,

<p>ymb ða me fyrwet bræc L wintra, dæges and nihtes, 495 ðurh deóp gesceaft : geómrende gást déð iugena swá, ær ðon me ge-unne éce dryhten 500 ðæt me geséme snoterra mon.</p>	<p>concerning whom curiosity fifty years, [plagued me day and night, through the deep creation : my mourning spirit doth so ever, from of old, until to me shall grant the eternal Lord, that me shall reconcile, some wiser man.</p>
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SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

<p>Sóð is ðæt ðu sagast. Seme ic ðe recene ymb ða wrætlican wiht. 505 Wilt ðu ðæt ic ðe secge ? án fugel siteð on Filistina middelgemærum, munt is hine ymbutan, 510 geáp gylden weal ; georne hine healdað witan Filistina * * * * * * * * 515 * * * * wæpna ecgum, hý ðæs wære cunnon, healdað hine nihta gehwylce, norðan and súðan 520 on twá healfa twá hund wearda. Se fugel hafað IIII heáfdu medumra manna, 525</p>	<p>True is what thou sayest. I will reconcile thee forthwith about the wondrous wight. Wilt thou that I tell thee ? A bird sitteth in the Philistine's middle district, a mountain is about him, a lofty golden wall ; him gladly hold the councillors of the Philistines * * * * * * * * * * * * with the edges of weapons, they therefore try cunning, every night, on the north and south, on both sides [him. two hundred warders guard The bird hath four heads of ordinary men,</p>
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and he is on middan		and he is in the midst	
hwælan hiwes ;		of a whale's shape ;	
he hafað fiðeru		he hath wings	
and griffus fét.		and griffin's feet.	
* * * *	530	* * * *	
Licgeð lonnum fæst,		He lieth fast in bonds,	
locað unhióre,		he looketh monstrous,	
swiðe swingeð,		fiercely he swingeth,	
and his searo hringeð ;		and his mail ringeth ;	
gilleð geómorlice	535	sadly he yelleth	
and his gyrn sefað ;		and breathes out his rage ;	
wylleð hine on ðám wíte,		he bubbles in his pain,	
wunað unlustum,		he lives in sorrow,	
singeð syllice,		strangely he singeth,	
seldum æfre	540	seldom ever	
his leóma licgað ;		his light abates ;	
lengað hine hearde,		hard is his longing,	
ðynceð him ðæt sý ðriá		troublesome seem	
xxx ðusend wintra		the thirty thousand years	
ær he dómdæges	545	before he doomsday's	
dyn gehýre.		din shall hear.	
Nyste hine on ðære foldan		Him knew not upon earth	
fira éinig,		any of men,	
eorðan cynnes, ær ðon		of human race, until	
ic hine ána onfand,	550	I alone found him, [in bonds	
and hine ðá gebændan hét		and commanded him to be put	
ofer brád wæter,		over the broad water,	
[oð]ðæt hine se modiga héht		till him the haughty	
Melotes bearn,		child of Melote commanded,	
Filistina fruma,	555	prince of the Philistines,	
fæste gebindan,		fast to bind,	
lonnum belúcan,		and lock with chains,	
wið leómgrýre.		against the mighty terror.	
Ðone fugel hátað		That bird	
foldbúende,	560	the inhabitants of earth,	

Filistina fruman,
Uasa mortis.

the princes of the Philistines
Vasa Mortis. [call,

SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

SATURNUS QUOTH.

Ac hwæt is ðæt wundor
ðæt geond ðás woruld fareð,
stýrnenga gæð, 565
staðolas beáteð,
áweccað wópdropan,
winneð oft hider;
ne mæg hit steorra né stán,
né se steápa gim, 570
wæter né wildeór
wihte beswícan :
ac him on hand gæð
heardes and hnæsces,
mycles metes ; 575
him tó móse sceal
gegangan geara gehwylce,
grundbúendra,
lyftfleógendra,
laguswimmendra, 580
ðria ðreoteno
ðúsend gerímes.

But what is the wonder
that fareth throughout the
fiercely goeth, [world,
beateth the foundations,
wakeneth drops of sorrow,
often struggleth hither ;
neither star nor stone,
nor the lofty gem,
water or wild beast,
may aught escape it :
but into its power goeth
hard and soft,
much meat ;
for its food
every year shall go,
of those that till the ground,
of those that fly the air,
of those that swim the water,
thrice thirteen
thousand in number ?

SALOMON CWÆÐ.

SALOMON QUOTH.

Ylðo beoð on eorðan
æghwæs cræftig,
mid hýðendre 585
hildewræsne,
rúmre racenteage
ræceð wíde ;
langre linan
lisseð eal ðæt heó wile ; 590
beám heó ábreóteð,

Age is on earth
powerful over every thing,
with its capturing
chain of war,
with its vast fetter
wide it reacheth ;
with its long line
it haltereth all it will ;
the tree it crusheth,

<p>and bebriceð telgum ; ástyreð stándene stefn on sife, afylleð hine on foldan ; 595 friteð æfter ðám wildne fugol ; heó oferwigeð wulf, heó oferbideð stánas, heó oferstigeð stýle 600 hió ábíteð íren mid óme, déð úsic swá.</p>	<p>and breaketh with its twigs ; in the stony nest it stirreth the prow on its journey, and felleth it on the ground ; besides that it eateth the wild bird ; it subdues the wolf in fight, it abideth longer than the stones, it overtops the mountain path, it consumeth iron with rust, it doth us so too.</p>
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SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

Ac forhwon fealleð se snáw,
foldan behýdeð,
bewrihð wyrta cíð, 605
wæstmas getigeð,
geðýð hý and geðreátað,
ðæt hý ðráge beóð
cealde geclungene :
ful oft he gecostað eác 610
wildeóra worn,
wætum he oferhrægeð ;
gebryceð burga geátu,
bealdlice fereð,
reáfað swíðor mycle, 615
ðonne se swíðra nið
se hine gelædeð
on ða láðan wíc,
mid ðám fæcnan
feónde tó willan. 620

SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

Niht bið wedera þeóstrost,
nýd bið wyrda heardost,

SATURNUS QUOTH.

But why falleth the snow,
and hideth the earth, [herbs,
covereth the young shoots of
weigheth down the fruits,
twisteth and oppresseth them,
so that at times they are
clung with cold :
often it tryeth too
the multitude of beasts,
with wet it covereth them ;
it breaketh the gates of towns,
it boldly goeth,
it plundereth much more
than the strong man,
who leadeth his people
into the hostile dwelling,
with his treacherous
foe at his will ?

SATURNUS QUOTH.

Night is the darkest of weathers,
need is the hardest of destinies,

sorh bið swærost byrðen,
slæp bið deaðe gelicost.

sorrow is the heaviest burthen,
sleep is likest unto death.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Lytle hwile
leáf beoð gréne,
ðonne hý eft fealewiað,
feallað on eorðan,
and forweorniað,
weorðað tó duste :
swá ðonne gefeallað
ða ðe firena sér
lange læstað,
lifiað him in máne ;
hýðað heáhgestreón,
healdað georne
on fæstenne,
feóndum tó willan ;
and wénað wanhogan
ðæt hý wile wuldorcýning
ælmihstig God,
éce gehýran.

628 A little while
the leaf is green, -
then falloweth again,
falleth to the earth,
and drieth away,
630 turneth to dust :
so then shall fall
they who crimes before
have long committed,
have lived in guilt ;
632 hide lofty treasures,
guard them earnestly
in the fastness,
to the delight of fiends ;
and ween in their folly
that the king of glory,
almighty God,
will ever hear them.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Sona bið gesýne,
siððan flówan mót
ýð ofer eal lond ;
ne wile heó áwa
ðæs síðes geswícan,
siððan hire se sæl cymeð
ðæt heó dónes dæges
dyn gehýre.

645 Soon will it be seen,
when the wave is permitted
to flow over all the land ;
nor will it ever
desist from its course,
when the time is come
when it heareth the dín
of doomsday.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Wábið ðonne ðissum mógdum Woe then to those proud men
monnum

ðám ðe her nú mid máne who now here longest in
lengest wickedness

lífað on ðisse lænan gesceafte ; live in this perishable creation !
iú ðæt ðíne leóde gecýðdon, that thy people published of
yore,

wunnon hý wið dryhtnes they warred against the might
mihtum, 655 of God,

forðon hý ðæt weorc ne ge- therefore they perfected not
dígdon. their work.

Ne sceal ic ðe hwæðre, bró- Yet would I not vex thee, my
ðor, ábelgan ; brother ;

ðú eart swiðe bittres cynnes, thou art of a very bitter race,
eorre eormenstrýnde, an angry heathen family ;

ne be-irn ðú on ða inwit- run not thou into their guilty
gecyndo. 660 nature.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Saga ðú me, Salomon cyning, Tell thou me, king Salomon,
sunu Dauides, Son of David,

hwæt beóð ða feowere what are the four
fæges rápas. ropes of the doomed man ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Gewurdene 665 Accomplished
wyrda, ðá beóð Fates, these are
ða feowere the four
fæges rápas. ropes of the doomed man.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwá démeð ðonne But who then shall judge
dryhtne Criste, 670 Christ the lord,

wóp and hleahtor. Ful oft	weeping and laughter ?	Full oft
hý weorðgeornra	they of the ambitious	
sætða tóalitað.	the happiness destroy.	
Hú geasleð ðæt.	How doth that happen ?	

SALOMON cwæð.

Unlæde bið and ormód
 sæðe á wile 700
 geómrian on gihða ;
 se bið Gode fracðest.

SALOMON quoth.

Wild is he and mindless
 who for ever will
 mourn in spirit ;
 he is most rebellious to God.

SATURNUS cwæð.

For hwám ne móton we ðonne	Why then may not we
calle mid onmedlan	all with exultation
gegnum gangan 705	go forward
in Godes ríce.	into God's kingdom ?

SATURNUS quoth.

SALOMON cwæð.

Ne mæg fýres feng
 né forstes cyle,
 snáw né sunne 710
 somod eardian,
 ealdor geefnan ;
 ac hira sceal ánra gehwylc
 onlútan and onlíðigan,
 ðe hafað læsse mægen.

SALOMON quoth.

The grasp of fire
 and chill of frost,
 the snow and sun
 cannot dwell together,
 and spend their life ;
 but each of them
 shall bow and yield,
 that hath the lesser force.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac for hwám ðonne lifað 715
 se wyrsa leng.
 Se wyrsa ne wát
 in woruldríce,
 on his mægwinum
 máran áre. 720

SATURNUS quoth.

But why then liveth
 the worse man longer ?
 The worse man knoweth not
 in this world's realm,
 among his kindred
 greater honour.

SALOMON cwæð.

Ne mæg mon foryldan
 ænige hwile
 ðone deóran síð,
 ac he hine ádreógan sceal.

SALOMON quoth.

No one may put off
 for any time
 the dear journey,
 but he must endure it.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac hú gegangeð ðæt, 725
 góde oððe yfle,
 ðonne hý beoð ðurh áne
 idese ácende
 twegen getwinnas,
 ne bið hira tír gelíc. 730
 Oðer bið unlæde on eorðan,
 óðer bið eádig,
 swiðe leóftæle
 mid leóda dúguðum :
 óðer lifað 735
 lytle hwile ;
 swíceð on ðisse sídan gesceafte
 and ðonne eft mid sorgum
 and then again departeth with
 gewíteð.

SATURNUS quoth.

But how then is it,
 for good or evil,
 when are through one
 woman born
 two twin brothers,
 their glory is not alike ?
 The one is miserable on earth,
 the other fortunate,
 very well reputed
 with public dignities :
 the other liveth
 but a little while ; [tion,
 he shrinketh on this wide crea-
 and then again departeth with
 sorrow.

Fricge ic ðe, hláford Salomon, I ask thee, Lord Salomon,
 hwæðres bið hira folgoð betra. of which is the condition better?

SALOMON cwæð.

Módor ne rædað
 ðonne heó magan cenneð,
 hú him weorðe geond woruld
 wídsíð sceapen.
 Oft heó tó bealwe 745
 bearn áfédeð,
 selfre tó sorge,
 siððan dreógeð
 his earfoðu,

SALOMON quoth.

A mother considereth not
 when she beareth a son,
 how throughout the world
 his pilgrimage shall be shaped.
 Oft she to mischief
 nourisheth her child,
 to her own sorrow,
 after she must bear
 his griefs,

orlegstunde ;	750	his fatal hour ;
heó ðæs eaforan sceal		she therefore over her child
oft and gelome		shall oft and frequently
grimme greótan,		grievously weep,
ðonne he geóung fareð,		when young he goeth about,
hafað wilde móð,	755	hath a wild disposition,
wérige heortan,		a weary heart,
sefan sorhfulne,		a sorrowful spirit,
slídeð geneahhe		he slippeth oft enough,
wérig, wilna léas,		weary, joyless,
wuldres bedæled ;	760	deprived of honour ;
hwílum hygegeónior		sometimes sad of mood
healle weardað,		the hall he guardeth,
lifað leóðum feor ;		liveth far from men ;
locað geneahhe		shutteth himself enough
fram ðám unlædan	765	from his ungentle
ængan hláford.		own lord. [power
Forðannáhseó módor geweald		Therefore hath no mother
ðonne heó magan cenneð,		when she beareth a son,
bearnnes blædes ;		over her child's happiness ;
ac sceal on gebyrd faran	770	but in succession shall go
án æfter ánum :		one after the other :
ðæt is eald geceaft.		that is the ancient fate !

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac for hwám nele mon him		But why will not man in youth
on giógoðe		
georne gewyrca		zealously work for himself
deóres dryhtscipes,	775	dear worship,
and dæd fremman ;		and accomplish virtuous deeds ;
wadan on wísdóm,		walk in wisdom,
winnan æfter snytro.		struggle after prudence ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Hwæt. Him mæg eádig eorl		Lo ! a wealthy noble
eáðe geceósan,	780	may easily choose himself,

on his módsefan,	in his mind,
mildne hláford,	a mild lord,
ánne æðeling. Ne mæg dón	a prince of noble birth.
unlæde swá.	The poor cannot do so.

SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

SATURNUS QUOTH.

Acforhwám winneð ðis wæter	But why struggleth this water
geond woruldríce,	around the world,
dreógeð deóp gesceaft,	the deep creation suffereth,
ne mót on dæg	and may not by day
restan [né] nihtes,	rest or by night,
nýðað cræfte tíð ;	790 the tide forceth it with power ;
cristnað and clænsað	it cristeneth and cleanseth
cwicra menigo,	a multitude of men,
wuldre gewlítaða.	with glory it beautifieth them.
Ic wihte ne can	I know not at all
forhwám se streám ne mót	why the stream cannot
stillan nihtes.	rest at night.

[A leaf, or more, has here been cut out.]

his lifes fæðme ; symle	his life's embrace ; ever
hit bið his láreowum hýrsum ;	it is obedient to its teachers ;
ful oft hit eác ðæs deóflas	often also it the devil's
dúgoðe gemætgeð,	800 power subdues,
ðær witena bið	where of counsellors are
worn gesamnod ;	a multitude assembled ;
ðonne snottrum men	then to a wise man
snæd oðglídeð,	the mouthful glideth away,
ða he ða leóhte gesihð	805 where he the light appearance
lúteð æfter,	boweth after,
gesegnað and gesyfleð,	blesseth and leaveneth,
and him self friteð :	and himself eateth :
swylc bið seó áu snæd	so is that one mouthful
æghwylcum men	810 for every man
sélre mycle,	much better,
gif heó gesegnod bið,	if it hath been blessed,
tó picganne,	to receive,

<p>gif he hit geðencan can, ðonne him sýn seofon daga symbelgereordu. Leóht hafað hiw and hád háliges gástes, Cristes gecyndo, hit ðæt gecýðeð. 820 Ful oft gif hit unwitan érnige hwíle healdað bútan hæftum, hit ðurh hróf wádeð, briceð and bærneð 825 boldgetimbru ; seómað steáp and geáp, stfgeð on lenge, clymmað on gecyndo ; cunnað hwænne móte 830 fýr on his frumsceaft on fæder geardas, eft tó his éðle ðaunon hit æror cwom. Hit bið eallinga 835 eorlum gesihðe, ðám ðe gedælan can dryhtnes ðecelan ; forðon nis nænigū gecynd cwiclifigende, 840 né fugol né fisc, né foldan stán, né wæteres wylm, né wudutelga, né munt né mór, 845 né ðes middangeard, ðæt he forð ne sý fýres cynnes.</p>	<p>if he can think it, than would be seven days' feasting for him. Light hath shape and form of the holy spirit, the nature of Christ, that it proclaims. Often if the imprudent for any while hold it without bonds, it goeth through the roof, it breaketh and burneth 825 the timbers of the house ; steep and high it lours, aloft it rises, it climbeth in its nature ; fire when it can 830 striveth towards its origin in the dwellings of the Father, back to the home from whence at first it came. It is in all things 835 a sight for men, who can penetrate the Lord's concealment ; for there is no kind of thing that lives, 840 nor bird nor fish, nor stone of the earth, nor water's wave, nor twig of wood, nor mount nor moor, 845 nor even this earth, but what it cometh forth from kind of fire.</p>
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SATURNUS CWÆÐ.

Ful oft ic fróde men
 fyn gehýrde 850
 secgan and swerian
 ymb sume wísan,
 hwæðer wære twegra
 bútan tweón strengra,
 wyrd ðe warnung, 855
 ðonne hý winnað oft
 mid hira ðreánýdlan
 hwæðer ne áðreóteð.
 Ær ic tó sóðum wát
 sægdon me geara 860
 Filistina witan,
 ðonne we on geflitum sæton,
 bóca tóbræddon
 and on bearm lægdon,
 meðelcwidas mengdon, 865
 moniges fengon,
 ðæt nære nænig manna
 middangeardes
 ðæt mihte ðæra twegra
 tweón áspyrian. 870

SALOMON CWÆÐ.

Wyrd bið wended hearde,
 wealleð swíðe geneahhe,
 heó wóp wecceð,
 heó weán hládeð,
 heó gást scýt, 875
 heó gár bireð.
 And hwæðre him mæg wísefa
 wyrda gehwylce
 gemetigian,

SATURNUS QUOTH.

Oft I prudent men
 of old have heard
 say and swear
 about some matter,
 whether of the two
 were undoubtedly the stronger,
 fate or warning, 855
 when oft they struggle
 with their compulsion,
 which succumbeth not?
 I well know that heretofore
 at once told me [tines,
 the counsellors of the Philis-
 when we sat in discussion,
 opened books
 and laid them on our bosoms,
 mingled our conversation, 865
 and received information,
 that there was none
 of men on earth
 that could detect
 the difference of the two. 870

SALOMON QUOTH.

Fate is hardly turned,
 it wandereth very nigh,
 it waketh grief,
 it loadeth sorrow,
 it shooteth the spirit,
 it beareth the javelin.
 And yet may the wise-minded
 every fate
 moderate for himself,

gif he bið módes gleáw, 880 and tó his freóndum wile fultum sécan, ðeáhhwæðre godcundes gástes brúcan.	if he be prudent of mood, and from his friends seek for aid, but nevertheless the divine spirit employ.
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SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwæt wíteð úa wyrd seó swíðe, ealra firena fruma, fáhðo módor, weána wyrtwela wópes heáfod, 880 frumscylda gehwæs fæder and módor, deáðes dohtor, ac tó hwám drohtað heó mid Hwæt. Heó wile lifigende late áðreótan, ðæt heó ðurh firena geflitu fáhðo ne tydre.	But why tormenteth us fate the powerful, origin of all crimes, mother of feuds, root of sorrows, head of weeping, 880 of every original sin father and mother, [ús. daughter of death, but why dwelleth she with us ? Lo ! she will the living slowly oppress, [crimes that she through conflict of feud engender not !
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SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Nolde gæd geador in Godes ríce, 900 eádiges engles and ðæs ofermódan : óðer his dryhtne hýrde, ðurh dyrne cræftas óðer him ongan wyrcan 905 * * * * segn and síde byrnan ; cwæð ðæt he mid his gesíðum wolde hýðan eal heofona ríce,	There could be no consort in God's realm, of the holy angel and the proud together : the one obeyed his lord, through secret power the other began to make * * * * an ensign and wide breastplate ; he said that with his comrades he would plunder all heaven's kingdom,
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and him *ðær* on healfum [sittan and there on one side sit,
cyrran] him mid *ðý* teoðan would turn with the tenth part,
dæle,

oððæt he his [ágenne *cúðe* until he learnt his own
ende] *ðurh* [metod]scafte; end through death;
ða wearð seó æðele gedryht then was the noble band
gedréfed *ðurh* *ðæs* deóflæs ruined through the devil's
gehygdo; 915 counsel;

forlet hine *ða* of *dúne* ge- then he let him fall down,
afýlde hine *ða* under [hreoðsan, he felled him then under
foldan sceatas, the quarters of the earth,
héht hine *ðær* fæste gebindan; he commanded him there to be
bound fast;

ðæt syndon *ða* úsicfehtað on; these are they that fight upon us;
forðon is wítana gehwám and therefore hath every man
wópes eáca. increase of weeping.

Ðá *ðæt* eádig onfand When the blessed lord
engla dryhten, of angels found,
ðæt *hý* leng mid him 925 that they no longer with him
láre ne namou, lore would take,
áwearp hine *ða* of *ðám* wuldre he flung him there from glory,
and wíde tódráf, and drove them afar,
and bebeád him and commanded them
bearn heofonwara, 930 children of the dwellers in
ðæt *hý* eác sceóldou that they should also [heaven,
á *ðenden* *hý* lifdon for all their life
wunian in wylme, dwell in flame,
wóp ðrówian, weeping endure,
heáf under heofonum: 935 lamentation under the heavens:
and him helle gescóp, and for them he made hell,
wælcealde wíc, a dwelling deadly cold,
wintre beðeahte: with winter covered:
wæter insende water he sent in
and wyrmgearðas, 940 and snake-dwellings,
atol deór monig many a foul beast

frenum hornum ,		with horns of iron ;
blóðige earnas		bloody eagles
and bláce nædran ;		and pale adders ;
ðirst and hungor	945	thirst and hunger
and ðearle gewin,		and fierce conflict,
eácne egesan,		mighty terror,
unrótnisse ;		joylessness ;
and æghwylc him ðissa earfoða		and all these sufferings
éce standeð,	960	are eternal for them,
bútan edwende,		without relief,
á ðenden hý lifigað.		as long as they live.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Is ðonne on ðisse foldan		Is thou on this earth
fira énnig		any man
eorðan cynnes,	965	of human race,
ðára ðe * * an man áge,		of those who have * *
deáð ábæde		can take a pledge of death
æf se dæg cyme,		before the day come,
ðæt sý his calend		when of his calendar
cwide árunnen,	960	the word is run out,
and hine mon ánunga		and him once for all
út ábanne.		they summon away ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

* * * * *		* * * * * *
* * * onsendeð		* * * sendeth forth
dryhten he * * *	965	the lord he * * *
* * * * *		* * * * *
se sceal behealdan		he shall behold
hú his hyge * * *		how his mind * * *
* * * dig grówan		* * * grow
in Godes sibbe,	970	in God's peace,
murnan metodes ðrym,		mourn the lord's majesty,
and ðý ðe hit dæg bið.		while it yet is day.

Donne hine ymbegangað		For about him go
gástas twegen ;		two spirits ;
óðer bið golde glædra,	975	one more glad than gold,
óðer bið grundum sweatra ;		one darker than the abyss ;
óðer cymeð ofer [súsle]		one cometh over the torment
ðære stylenan helle,		of steely hell,
óðer hine læreð		the other teacheth him
ðæt he lufan healde,	980	to hold love,
metodes miltse,		the mercy of God,
and his mæga ræd ;		and the advice of friends ;
óðer hine tyhteð		the other accuseth him
and on tæso læreð,		and teacheth him astray,
ýweð him and yppeð	985	showeth him and revealeth
earinra manna		of wretched men
misgemynda,		the evil memory,
and ðurh ðæt his mód hweteð ;		and thus exciteth his pride ;
læleð hine and læceð		leadeth him and seduceth
and hine geond land spáneð,		and attracteth throughout the
oððæt his eáge bið		until his eye is [land,
æfðancum ful,		full of evil thoughts,
ðurh earnra scyld		through poor men's sins
yrre geworden ;		made to err ;
swá ðonne feóhteð se feónd		so then fighteth the fiend
on feower gecynd,		in four kinds,
oððæt he gewendeð		until he turneth
on ða wyrсан hand		to the worser side
deóflies dædum,		by devil's deeds,
dæglongne fyrst,	1000	a whole day long,
and his willan wirceð		and worketh the will of him
ðe hine on woh spáneð.		who seduceth him to evil.
Gewíteð ðonne wépende		Then weeping departeth
on weg faran		to go upon his way
engel tó his earde,	1005	the angel to his home,
and ðæt eal secgað :		and all that sayeth :
Ne mihte ic of ðære heortan		I could not from his heart

heardne áðringan drive out the hard
 stýlenne stán, and steely stone,
 sticað him tó middes 1010 it sticketh in the midst of him
 [*The remainder has either been cut out or erased, and then
 overwritten.*]

NOTES.

Page 135, line 49. Windes full—*poculum venti*. So in *Alvismál* the Vanes call the sky Windflot:—

Scý heitir með mönnum
 en scúrwan með goðom,
 kalla Windflot Vanir, etc. (§ xviii.)

Again in § xii it is said that the Vanes call heaven Windofni:—

Kalla Windofni Vanir.

And in § xxii the tranquil air (*logn*) is called Windflot by them:—

Kalla Windflot Vanir.

Windofnir, *the weaver of the wind*, is not so near our expression as Windflot. This can mean nothing but *venti navigium*, the ship of the wind. But here the ideas of cup and ship mingle singularly together in the Old Norse expressions: thus in *Hymisquida*, § xxxiii, a large drinking vessel or cup is called *Öl-Kiöl*, *navigium cerevisiae*:

þat er til costar	That may be tried
ef coma mættip	if ye can carry
ut or oro	out of our
ölkiöl hofi.	dwelling, the <i>beership</i> .

And in *Háconarquida* it appears that *Wínfar*, or *vini navis*, also denotes a cup. I therefore take windesful and windflot to be nearly identical, and look upon this fact as an additional point of resemblance between the Saxon and Norse heathendom.

It seems however as if the idea of a ship took deeper hold, for Grimm (*D. Myth.* pp. 605, 606) cites a *Nebelschiff* or *cloudship*, which would extend the resemblance to Germany also.

Page 144, line 317. This appears to allude to a superstition well known in the north of Europe, viz. that some warriors were pos-

sessed of spells capable of blunting the weapons and weakening the sinews of their opponents. Saxo says of Gunholm, that he was "hostile ferrum carminibus obtundere solitus." Fridlevus therefore slew him with the hilt of his sword (p. 67).

Page 146, line 20. The twenty-third change transforms the devil into a wolf, to counteract which the Paternoster becomes a golden chain: in this there is probably some lurking remembrance of the wolf Fenris, and the chain which he will only break in the Ragna-ravk, or Twilight of the Gods.

Page 148, line 6. This is an extraordinary, but very welcome allusion to the heathen attributes of the god Ðunor, whom we best know under the Norse name of Thórr, and whose celebrated hammer is here represented as the axe of fire, that is, the battleaxe; Thórr's hammer was a war-maul. This Christian fighting of the devil and the Paternoster is what we may call a companion-piece to the Ragna-ravk.

Page 148, line 20. It was believed that before the Fall the sun was seven times brighter than it now is, and the moon had the brightness of our sun. The Saxon Menology (MSS. Corp. Ch. Coll. Cantab. No. 179) says, under date of the 21st of March:—"On ðone án 7 twentigoðan dæg ðæs monðes byð se feorða worulde dæg: on ðám dæge God gesette on heofenes rodor sunnan 7 mónan, 7 ðá wæs seó sunne seofon sýðum beorhtre ðonne heó nú ys, 7 se móna hæfde ðá ða byrhtnisse ðe seó sunne nú hæfð. Ac ðá Adam 7 Eua on neorxna wange gesingodon, ðá wæs ðám tunglum heora beorhtnys gewanod, 7 hig næfdon ná syððan búton ðone þriddan dæl hyra leóhtes. Ac on dómes dæge, ðonne úre dryhten ednýwað ealle gesceafta, 7 eall mennisc cynn eft áriseð, 7 hig næfre má ne singiað, ðonne scíneð seó sunne seofon sýðon beorhtor ðonne heó nú dó, 7 heó næfre on setl ne gangeð, 7 se móna scíneð swá seó sunne nú déð; 7 he ná ne wanað né ne weaxeð, ac he standað á on his endebyrðnysse." This belief is undoubtedly a surviving part of our old heathenism: it formed an integral part of that of Scandinavia, and was probably recognised in Germany, for Freydank says,

Got himel und erde lát zergán

unt wil dernách ein schoenerz hán.—*Page 8.*

Page 156, line 418. Is not this the superstition alluded to in the legend told by Procopius? Bell. Got. iv. 20.

SALOMON AND SATURNUS.

THE prose Salomon and Saturn is a fragment also. It is found only in the Cotton MS. Vitel. A. xv., from which it was printed by Thorpe in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, and is only repeated here by me for the sake of rendering my work complete, as far as our present materials will allow

HER cyð hū Saturnus and Saloman fettodon ymbe heora wīsdóm. Ða cwæð Saturnus tó Salomane :

1 Saga me hwær God sæte ðá he geworhte heofonas and eorðan.

Ic ðe secge, he sæt ofer [winda] feðerum.

2 Saga me hwylc word ærest forðeode of Godes múðe ?

Ic ðe secge, *Fiat Lux ; et facta Lux.*

3 Saga me for hwylcum þingum heofon sý geháten heofon ?

Ic ðe secge, forðon he behelað eal ðæt him be úfan bið.

4 Saga me, hwæt is God ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is God ðe ealle ðing on his gewealdum hafað.

5 Saga me, on hū fela daga God geworhte ealle gesceafta ?

Ic ðe secge, on vi dagum God gesceóp ealle gesceafta : on ðám ærostan dæge he gesceóp leóht ; on ðám æfteran dæge he gesceóp ða gesceapu, ðe ðisne heofon healdað ; on ðám þriddan dæge he gesceóp sæ, and eorðan ; on ðám feorðan dæge he gesceóp heofones tunglu ; and on ðám v dæge he gesceóp fixas and fugelas ; and on ðám vi dæge he gesceóp deór, and nytenu, and Adám, ðone ærostan man.

6 Saga me, hwanon wæs Adámes nama gesceapen ?

Ic ðe secge, fram iiii steorrum.

us to make it so. The beginning of this dialogue is perfect, but some portion of it is lost, at the end ; and to what extent we have been deprived, we cannot even guess. The character and nature of this dialogue is solemn and serious, like that of the one last described ; but it deals far more widely with matters both of biblical and physical science. The details of its questions and answers will be more clearly understood if read in comparison with those of the next following dialogue.

THIS showeth how Saturnus and Salomon contended about their wisdom. Then quoth Saturnus to Salomon :

1 Tell me where God sate when he wrought the heavens and the earth.

I tell thee, He sat on the wings of the wind.

2 Tell me, what word first proceeded from the mouth of God?

I tell thee, Let there be light, and there was light.

3 Tell me, on what account is heaven called *heaven* ?

I tell thee, because it concealeth all that is above it.

4 Tell me, what is God ?

I tell thee, that is God, that hath everything in its own power.

5 Tell me, in how many days did God create all creatures ?

I tell thee, in six days God created all creatures : on the first day he created light ; on the second day he created the creatures that uphold this heaven ; on the third day he created the sea and the earth ; on the fourth day he created the constellations of heaven ; and on the fifth day he created the fishes and the birds ; and on the sixth day he created the wild beasts and cattle, and Adam, the first man.

6 Tell me, whence was the name of Adam formed ?

I tell thee, of four stars.

7 Saga me, hwæ[t] háttan ðage ?

Ic ðe secge, *Arthor, Dux, Arótholem, Minsymbrie.*

8 Saga me ðæt andworc ðe Adám wæs of geworht, se ærusta man ?

Ic ðe secge, of viii punda gewiht.

9 Saga me, hwæt háttan ðage ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt æroste wæs foldan pund, of ðám him wæs flæsc geworht ; óðer wæs fýres pund, ðanon him wæs ðæt blóð reád and hát ; ðridde wæs windes pund, ðanon him wæs seó æðung geseald ; feorðe wæs wolcnes pund, ðanon him wæs his módes unstaðelfæstnes geseald ; fife wæs gyfe pund, ðanon him wæs geseald se fæt and gepang ; sixte wæs blostmæna pund, ðanon him wæs eágena missenlicnes geseald ; seofoðe wæs deáwes pund, ðanon him becom swát ; eahtoðe wæs sealtas pund, ðanon him wæron ða tearas sealte.

10 Saga me, on hwylcere ylde wæs Adám, ðá he gesceapen wæs ?

Ic ðe secge, he wæs on xxx wintra ylde.

11 Saga me, hú lang wæs Adám on lenge gesceapen ?

Ic ðe secge, he wæs vi and cx ynca lang.

12 Saga me hú fela wintra leofode Adám on ðissere worulde ?

Ic ðe secge, he leofode ix hund wintra, and xxx wintra, on geswince, and on yrmðe ; and syððan tó helle ferde, and ðær grimme wítu þolode v ðúsens wintra, and twá hund wintra, and viii and xx wintra.

13 Saga me, hú fela wintra hæfde Adám ær he bearn strýnde ?

Ic ðe secge, án hund wintra, and xxx wintra, ær he bearn strýnde ; and ðá gestrýnde he bearn on his cnihtáde, se hátte Seth, and he ðá leofode ealles nigon hundred wintra, and xxx on ðissere worulde. Ða lifde Seth his sunu án hund wintra and v wintra, ær he bearn gestrýnde, and ðá gestrýnde he bearn, on his cnihtáde,

7 Tell me, how are they called ?

I tell thee, Arthox, Dux, Arotholem, Minsymbrie.

8 Tell me the substance of which Adam, the first man, was made ?

I tell thee, of eight pounds by weight.

9 Tell me, what are they called ?

I tell thee, the first was a pound of earth, of which his flesh was made ; the second was a pound of fire, hence his blood came red and hot ; the third was a pound of wind, and thence his breathing was given him ; the fourth was a pound of the welkin, thence was his unsteadiness of mood given him ; the fifth was a pound of grace, whence were given him his fat and growth ; the sixth was a pound of blossoms, whence was given him the variety of his eyes ; the seventh was a pound of dew, whence he got his sweat ; the eighth was a pound of salt, and thence were his tears salt.

10 Tell me, how old was Adam when he was created ?

I tell thee, he was thirty years old.

11 Tell me, how tall was Adam created, in height ?

I tell thee, he was six, and one hundred and ten inches, high.

12 Tell me, how many years lived Adam in this world ?

I tell thee, he lived nine hundred years and thirty, in toil and in misery ; and afterwards he went to hell, and there grim punishments he endured five thousand years, and two hundred years, and eight and twenty years.

13 Tell me, how many years old was Adam ere he begat a son ?

I tell thee, a hundred years and thirty ere he begat a son ; then begat he a son in his boyhood, who was called Seth ; and in all he lived nine hundred years and thirty in this world. Then lived Seth his son a hundred years and five ere he begat a son ; then begat he a son in his youthhood, who was called Enos ; then he himself lived

se hátte Enos, and ƿá lifde he him sil[f] ealles nigon hund wintra, and xii wintra. Ðá hæfde Enos án hund wintra, ƿá gestrynde he Chanan, and ƿá lifde he Enos ealles nigon hund wintra, and v wintra. And ƿá hæfde Chanan lxx wintra, ƿá gestrynde he Malaleh, and Chanan lifde ƿá ealles nigon hund wintra, and x wintra. Ðá hæfde Malaleh v and lx wintra, ƿá gestrynde he Jared; und Malaleh, he lifde ealles nigon hund wintra, and v wintra. Ðá hæfde Jared ii and lx wintra, and án hund wintra, ƿá gestrynde he Enoh; and Jared his fæder lifde ealles eahta hund wintra, and ii and lx wintra. Ðá hæfde Enoh v and lx wintra; ƿá gestrynde he Matusalem; and Enoh lifde ealles ccc wintra, and v and lx wintra; ƿá genam hine God mid sáwle, and mid líchaman, up in ƿoue beofon. Ðá hæfde Mathusalem vii and lxxx wintra, and án hund wintra, ƿá gestrynde he Lamec; and Matusalem his fæder lifde ealles nigon hund wintra, and ix and lx wintra. Ðá hæfde Lamec án hund wintra, and lxxxii wintra, ƿá gestrynde he Noe; and Lamec lifde ealles vii hund wintra, and lxxvii wintra. Ðá hæfde Noe, d wintra, ƿá gestrynde he bearn, Sem, Cham, Jafet; and Noe lifde ealles on ƿissere worulde dccc wintra, and l wintra.

14 Saga me, hú fela ƿeóða áwócon of his iii bearnum ?

Ic ƿe secge, lxxii ƿeóða sindon; and of Seme, his yldestan suna, áwócon xxx, and of Cham, xxx, and of Jafeƿe, xii.

15 Saga me, hwæt wæs seƿe ácenned næs, and eft bebirged wæs on his móder innoƿe, and æfter ƿám deáƿe gefullod wæs ?

Ic ƿe secge, ƿæt wæs Adám.

16 Saga me, hú lang lifde Adám on neorxnawange ?

Ic ƿe secge, [ƿrittine wintra], and on ƿám [feowerteoƿan] he ábyrgde ƿa forbodenan fíctreówes bláda, and ƿæt on Frigedæg, and ƿurh ƿæt he wæs on helle v ƿusend wintra, and ii c wintra, and viii and xx wintra.

in all nine hundred years and twelve. Then Enos was a hundred years old when he begat Chanan ; and Enos lived in all nine hundred years and five. Then was Chanan seventy years old when he begat Malaleh ; and Chanan lived in all nine hundred years and ten. Then had Malaleh five and sixty years when he begat Jared ; and Malaleh lived in all nine hundred years and five. Then had Jared two and sixty years and a hundred years, and he begat Enoh ; and Jared his father lived in all eight hundred years, and two and sixty years. Then had Enoh five and sixty years ; then gat he Matusalem. And Enoh lived in all three hundred years, and five and sixty years ; then God took him up into heaven, with soul and with body. Then had Mathusalem seven and eighty years and a hundred years, and he begat Lamec ; and Matusalem his father lived in all nine hundred years, and nine and sixty years. Then had Lamec a hundred years and eighty-two ; then gat he Noe ; and Lamec lived in all seven hundred years and seventy-seven. And when Noe had five hundred years he begat sons, Sem, Cham, Jafet ; and Noe lived altogether in this world eight hundred years and fifty.

14 Tell me, how many nations sprung from his sons ?

I tell thee, seventy-two nations are they ; and from Sem, his eldest son, sprung thirty, and from Cham thirty, and from Jafeš twelve.

15 Tell me, who was he that was never born, was then buried in his mother's womb, and after death was baptized ?

I tell thee, that was Adam.

16 Tell me, how long lived Adam in paradise ?

I tell thee, thirteen years, and on the fourteenth he tasted the forbidden fig-tree's fruit, and that was on a Friday ; and through that he was in hell five thousand years, and two hundred years, and eight and twenty years.

17 Saga me of Sca̅ Maria ylde.

Ic ðe secge, heó wæs iii and sixtig geara eald, ðá heó be-
lyfen wæs; and heó wæs xiiii wintra, ðá heó Crist
cende, and heó wæs mid him xxxiii geara on middan-
gearde, and heó wæs xvi geara æfter him on worulde.
And fram Adáme, and of frymðe middangeardes, wæs
on getál gerimes, oð ðone mycelan Noes flód, ii þúsend
wintra, and ii c wintra, and ii and lx wintra; and fram
ðám flóde wæs oð Abrahames gebyrdtide ix c wintra,
and ii, and lx wintra; and fram Abrahame wæs ðá forð
oð Moises tîde, and Israela oferfær út of Egyptum, v c
wintra, and viii wintra; and fram frymðe middangeardes
oð Cristes þrowunge, wæron vi þúsend wintra, and hund
wintra, and viii and l wintra.

18 Saga me, hú lange worhte man Noes earce?

Ic ðe secge, lxxx wintra, of ðám treówcynne ðe is ge-
nemned Sem.

19 Saga me, hwæt hátte Noes wíf?

Ic ðe secge, heó hátte Dálila.

20 And hwæt hátte Chames wíf?

Jaftarecta heó hátte.

21 And hwæt hátte Jafeðes wíf?

Ic ðe secge, Catafluuia heó hátte; and óðrum naman híg
sindon genemuede, Olla, and Ollína, and Ollibana; swá
híg þreo hátton.

22 Saga me, hú lange wæs Noes flód ofer eorðan?

Ic ðe secge, xl daga, and nihta.

23 Saga me, hú lang wæs Noes earc on lenge?

Ic ðe secge, heó wæs ccc fæðmena lang, and l fæðmena
wíd, and xxx fæðmena heáh.

24 Saga me, hwæt suna hæfde Adám?

Ic ðe secge, xxx sunena, and xxx dohtra.

25 Saga me, hwylc man átimbrode ærust ceastre?

Ic ðe secge, Knos hátte, and wæs Niniuem seó burh; and

17 Tell me of St. Mary's age.

I tell thee, she was three and sixty years old when she died ; and she was fourteen years old when she bore Christ, and she was with him thirty-three years on earth, and she was sixteen years in the world after him. And from Adam and the creation of the world, in measured number, until the great flood of Noe, were two thousand years and two hundred and two and sixty ; and from the flood until the birth of Abraham were nine hundred years and two and sixty ; and thenceforth until the time of Moses and the departure of Israel from Egypt were five hundred years and eight ; and from the beginning of the world to Christ's passion were six thousand years, and a hundred years and eight and fifty years.

18 Tell me, how long were they making Noe's ark ?

I tell thee, eighty years, of the wood that is called Sem.

19 Tell me, how was Noe's wife called ?

I tell thee, she was called Dalila.

20 And what was Cham's wife called ?

Jaitarecta she was called.

21 And what was Jafeð's wife called ?

I tell thee, Catafluvia was she called ; and by other names are they named, Olla, Ollina and Ollibana : thus were these three called.

22 Tell me, how long was Noe's flood upon the earth ?

I tell thee, forty days and nights.

23 Tell me, what was the length of Noe's ark ?

I tell thee, it was three hundred fathoms long, fifty fathoms wide and thirty fathoms high.

24 Tell me, what sons had Adam ?

I tell thee, thirty sons and thirty daughters.

25 Tell me, what man first built a city ?

I tell thee, Knos was he called, and Ninevem was the city ;

wæron ðærin gemanna hund twelftig ðúsenda, and xx
 ðúsenda ; and Hierusalem seó burh heó wæs árest æfter
 ðám Noes flód getimbrod.

25 And hwæt hátte seó burh, ðær sunne úp on morgen gáð ?

Ic ðe secge, Iaiaca hátte seó burh.

27 Saga me, hwær gáð seó sunne on æfen tó setle ?

Ic ðe secge, Garita hátte seó burh.

28 Saga me, hwylc wurt is betst and sélust ?

Ic ðe secge, Lilige hátte seó wurt, forðám ðe heó getácnað
 Crist.

29 Saga me, hwylc fugel is sélust ?

Ic ðe secge, culfre is sélust, heó getácnað ðone Háligan
 Gást.

30 Saga me, hwanon cymð ligetu ?

Ic [ðe] secge, heo cymð fram winde and fram wætere.

31 Saga me, hwylc wæter is sélust ?

Ic ðe secge, Jordanem seó ea is sélust, forðám ðe Crist
 wæs on hire gefullod.

32 Saga me, hwyder gewiton ða englas ðe Gode wiðsócon on
 heofona ríce ?

Ic ðe secge, [God] híg tódælde on þri dælas : áne dæl he
 ásette on ðæs lyftes gedríf, óðerne dæl on ðæs wæteres
 gedríf, þridan dæl on helle neówelnisse.

33 Saga me, hú fela is woruldwætra ?

Ic ðe secge, twá sindon sealte sáe, and twá fersce.

34 Saga me, hwylc man árest wære wið hund sprecede ?

Ic ðe secge, Scs. Petrus.

35 Saga me, hwylc man áþóhte árest mid sul tó erianne ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Cham, Noes sunu.

36 Saga me, forhwám stánas ne sint berende ?

Ic ðe secge, forðám ðe Abeles blód gefeól ofer stán, ða
 hine Chain his bróðer ofslóh mid ánes esoles cinbáne.

and therein were of men a hundred and twenty thousand,
and twenty thousand ; and Hierusalem the city, that was
the first built after Noe's flood.

26 And what is the name of the city where the sun rises in
the morning ?

I tell thee, Jaiaca is the city called.

27 Tell me, where sets the sun of an evening ?

I tell thee, Garita is the city called.

28 Tell me, which is the best and happiest of herbs ?

I tell thee, the lily is that herb, for it denoteth Christ.

29 Tell me, which is the blessedest bird ?

I tell thee, the dove is the blessedest, it betokeneth the
Holy Ghost.

30 Tell me, whence come the lightnings ?

I tell thee, they come from wind and from water.

31 Tell me, what is the blessedest water ?

I tell thee, Jordan the river is blessedest, for in it was
Christ baptized.

32 Tell me, whither departed the angels that apostatized from
God in heaven ?

I tell thee, God divided them into three portions : one
portion he placed in the drift of the sky ; the second
portion in the drift of the water ; the third portion in the
abyss of hell.

33 Tell me, how many are the waters of the world ?

I tell thee, two seas are there salt, and two fresh.

34 Tell me, who was the first man that spake with a dog ?

I tell thee, St. Petrus.

35 Tell me, what man first thought of ploughing with a
coulter ?

I tell thee, that was Cham, Noe's son.

36 Tell me why stones are not fruitful ?

I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone when
Chain, his brother, slew him with the jawbone of an ass.

- 37 Saga me, hwæt is betst and wyrst betwinan mannum ?
Ic ðe secge, word is betst and wyrst betwix mannum.
- 38 Saga me, hwæt is cūðost mannum on eorðan tó witanne ?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt nis nánigum men nánwiht swá cūð swá
he sceal deáð þrówian.
- 39 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða þreo þing ðe nán man búton lifian
ne mæg ?
Ic ðe secge, án is fýr, óðer is wæter, þridde is isen.
- 40 Saga me, hwylc treów is ealra treówa betst ?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt is wintreów.
- 41 Saga me, hwær restað ðæs mannes sáwul ðonne se líchama
slépð ?
Ic ðe secge, on þrim stówum heó bið ; on ðám brægene,
oððe on ðære heortan, oððe on ðám blóde.
- 42 Saga me, forhwám wæs seó sá sealt geworden ?
Ic ðe secge, of ðám x wordum ðe Moises gesomnode in
ðære ealdan á, Godes bebodu ; and he áwearp ða x word
in ða sá, and his tearas ágeát in ða sá ; forðám wearð
seó sá sealt.
- 43 Saga me, hwæt wæron ða word ?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt forme word wæs, *Non habeas Deos
alienos* ; ðæt is, ne lufa ðú óðerne God ofer me. Ðæt
óðer word wæs, *Non adsumes nomen Domini in vanum* ;
ðæt is, ne cig ðú Godes naman on ídel. Ðæt þrid[de
word wæs], Healdað ðone háligan restedæg. Ðæt
[feorðe word] wæs, A'ra ðinum fæder, and ðínre meder.
[Ðæt v] word wæs, *Non occides* ; ne sleh ðú man . . .
dine. Ðæt vi word wæs, *Non mechaberis* ; on unriht
ne háem ðú. Ðæt vii word wæs, Ne stala ðú. Ðæt viii
word wæs, *Ne concupiscas uxorem proximi tui* ; ne gewilna
ðú óðres mannes wífes on unriht.
- 44 Saga me, hwær is Moyses byrgen ðæs cyninges ?
Ic ðe secge, heó is be ðám húse ðe Fegor hátte, and nán
man nis ðe hig wíte áer ðám myclan dóme.

- 37 Tell me, what is the best and worst thing among men?
I tell thee, *word* is the best and worst thing among men.
- 38 Tell me, what is the thing best known to man on earth?
I tell thee, that to no man is any thing so well known as that he shall suffer death.
- 39 Tell me, what are the three things without which man cannot live?
I tell thee, one is fire, the second is water, the third iron.
- 40 Tell me, what tree is the best of all trees?
I tell thee, it is the vine.
- 41 Tell me, where resteth the soul of man while the body sleepeth?
I tell thee, in three places it is; in the brain, or in the heart, or in the blood.
- 42 Tell me, why became the sea salt?
I tell thee, from the ten words that Moses collected in the old law, God's commandments; and he flung the ten words into the sea, and poured his tears out into the sea; therefore became the sea salt.
- 43 Tell me, what were those words?
I tell thee, the first word was, *Non habeas Deos alienos*; that is, Love thou no God more than me. The second word was, *Non adsumes nomen Domini in vanum*; that is, Take not thou God's name in vain. The third word was, Keep the holy sabbath. The fourth word was, Honour thy father and thy mother. The fifth word was, *Non occides*; Thou shalt do no murder. The sixth word was, *Non mæchaberis*; Thou shalt not commit adultery. The seventh word was, Thou shalt not steal. The eighth word was, Thou shalt not bear false witness. The ninth word was, *Ne concupiscas uxorem proximi tui*; Thou shalt not desire another man's wife to wrong.
- 44 Tell me, where is the tomb of Moses the king?
I tell thee, it is by the house called Fegor, and there is no man that shall know it until the great day of doom.

- 45 Saga me for hwylcum þingum ðeós eorðe áwyrged wære,
oððe eft gebletsod ?
Ic ðe secge, þurh Adám heó wæs áwyrged, and þurh Abeles
blóð, and eft heó wæs gebletsod þurh Noe, and
and þurh fulluhte.
- 46 Saga me, hw[á] wíngæard árost plantode ?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt [wæs Noe] se heáfæder.
- 47 Saga me, hwá nemde árost Godes naman ?
Ic ðe secge, se deóful nemde árost Godes naman.
- 48 Saga me, hwæt is hefigost tó beranne on eorðan ?
Ic ðe secge, mannes synna, and his hláfordes irre.
- 49 Saga me, hwæt is ðæt óðrum lícige, and óðrum mislícige ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is dóm.
- 50 Saga me, hwæt syndon ða iiii þing ðe næfre fulle uáron, ne
næfre ne beoð ?
Ic ðe secge, án is eorðe, óðer is fýr, þridde is hell, feorðe
is se gitsienda man worulde welena.
- 51 Saga me, hú fela is fleógendra fugelcynna ?
Ic ðe secge, iiii [and] fiftig.
- 52 Saga me, hú fela is fiscsynna on wætere ?
Ic ðe secge, vi and xx.
- 53 Saga me, hwylc man árost mynster getimbrode ?
Ic ðe secge, Elias and Eliseus ða witegan, and æfter ful-
luhte, Paulus and Antonius, ða árostan ancran.
- 54 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða streámas, and ða [burn]an, ðe
on neorxna wange fleótað ?
Ic ðe secge, hiora sindon iiii ; seó ároste hátte Fison, seó
óðer hátte Geon, and seó iii hátte Tygres, seó feorðe
Eufraten, ðæt is meolc, and hunig, and ele, and wín.
- 55 Saga me, forhwám bið seó sunne reád on æfen ?
Ic ðe secge, forðám heó locað on helle.
- 56 Saga me, hwý scíneð heó swá reáde on morgene ?

45 Tell me, for what things was the earth once accursed and afterwards blessed ?

I tell thee, through Adam was it accursed, and through Abel's blood ; and it was blessed again through Noe, and and through baptism.

46 Tell me, who first planted a vineyard ?

I tell thee, it was the patriarch Noe.

47 Tell me, who first named the name of God ?

I tell thee, the devil first named the name of God.

48 Tell me, what is the heaviest thing on earth to bear ?

I tell thee, a man's sins and his Lord's anger.

49 Tell me, what is that which pleaseth one man and displeaseth another ?

I tell thee, judgement.

50 Tell me, what are the four things that never were and never will be full ?

I tell thee, one is earth, the second is fire, the third is hell, the fourth is the man that is avaricious of worldly wealth.

51 Tell me, how many are the kinds of birds that fly ?

I tell thee, four and fifty.

52 Tell me, how many are the kinds of fishes in the waters ?

I tell thee, six and twenty.

53 Tell me, what man first constructed a minster ?

I tell thee, Elias and Eliseus the prophets, and after baptism, Paulus and Antonius, the first anchorets.

54 Tell me, what are the streams and brooks that flow on Paradise ?

I tell thee, they are four ; the first is named Fison, the second Geon, and the third is Tygres, the fourth Eufra-ten : that is, milk and honey, and oil and wine.

55 Tell me, why is the sun red at evening ?

I tell thee, because it looketh down on hell.

56 Tell me, why shineth it so red at morning ?

Ic ðe secge, forðám hire twýnað hwæðer heoð mæg, ðe ne mæg, ðisne middangeard geondscínan, swá hire beboden is.

57 Saga me ðas iiii wæteru ðe ðas eorðan fédað?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is snáw, and wæter, and hagol, and deáw.

58 Saga me, hwá ærost bócestafas sette?

Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gygand.

59 Saga me, hwæt bóccynna, and hú fela sindon.

Ic ðe secge, Canones béc sindon ealra twá and hundseofontig, eal swá fela þeó[da] sindon on geríme, and eal swá fela leorningcnihta, bútan ðám xii Apostolum. Mannes bán sindon on geríme ealra cc and xviii : mannes æddran [sindon] ealra ccc and v and lx : mannes tóða beóð on eallum his lífe, ii and xxx. On xii monðum beóð ii [and fiftig] wucena, and ccc daga and v, and lx daga : on xii monðum beóð eahta þúsenda tída, and [lx tída] and vii hund tída. On xii monðum ðú scealt sillan ðínum þeówan men vii hund hláfa, and xx hláfa, búton morgemetum, and nónmetum.

NOTES.

1 The same answer is given to the question in the dialogue of Sydracke and Boccus. This was a composition of somewhat similar character to those which form the subject of this book, in which Boccus the king demands, and Sydracke the philosopher imparts, information on a vast variety of abstruse points of divinity, ethics and natural philosophy. There are many beautiful MSS. of this dialogue in the British Museum, in various languages; M. Monmerqué's library contains one in Provençal, and the Cambridge University Library possesses a prose MS. version in French, of the fourteenth century (Gg. i. 1). There are also many printed editions :

I tell thee, because it doubteth whether it can or cannot shine over the whole world, as hath been commanded it.

87 Tell me the four waters that feed this earth.

I tell thee, they are snow, water, hail and dew.

88 Tell me, who first set letters ?

I tell thee, Mercurius the giant.

89 Tell me, what kind of books and how many are there ?

I tell thee, the Books of Canons are in all seventy and two ; so many are the nations by number, and so many were the disciples, besides the twelve apostles. The bones of a man are in all two hundred and eighteen in number : the veins of a man are in all three hundred, five and sixty : his teeth are throughout his life two and thirty. In twelve months are two and fifty weeks, and three hundred and sixty-five days : in twelve months are eight thousand, seven hundred and sixty hours. In twelve months thou shalt give thy slave-men seven hundred and twenty loaves, besides morning meals and noon meals.

Verard published it at Paris, in 8vo, in the years 1486, 1496, 1531, and twice in 4to, without dates. About 1510, Thomas Godfray printed an English metrical version, from a perfect copy of which, in the Cambridge University Library (Case A. b.), the quotations in these notes are taken. A second and prose translation was printed by Wyer, of which a description is given by Dibdin, *Typ. Ant.* iii. 201. Heber had copies of both these editions. A good deal of the philosophy of this dialogue is taken from the varying copies of the *Ymage du Mounde*, manuscripts and old printed editions of which, in verse and prose, French and English, are common in our libraries.

s That is, *Cælum*, from *Celare*, an etymology worthy of Isidor or Hierome.

6 and 7 Anathole dedit A, disis D, contulit Arctos,
Et Mesembrios M; collige, fiet ADAM.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 7.

8 and 9 This was a favourite subject of speculation, because men thought that in the materials of which bodies were wrought, they could detect the origin of their various qualities. Speaking of man, who, as the Microcosm, must needs be made up of the elements, Lydgate says:—

Of the erth man hath both flesche and bonys,
of the water he hath hys moyst humorys,
ayer in his artarys ys disposyd for y^a nonys,
ffyer geffyth hete, by record of auctors;
now hevye, now glad, now mery, now morny[n]g,
how shold man be stable in hys liffyng?

MS. Bib. Pub. Cantab. Hh. iv. 12.

In the MS. Bibl. Royale, 7595, fol. 284, there is a prose treatise *De Adam et Eve feme*, which contains various disquisitions on the subject; among them, two with the following rubrics: *De quantes choses Adam fu fais* (fol. 184), *Comment li nons Adam fu trouves* (fol. 285), which last is an answer to the sixth and seventh questions in this dialogue.

10 The opinion that Adam was created of the full and perfect age of thirty years, was long current. Sydracke thus refines upon it (Question cclxi.):—

Of what age made God Adam
whan he into this world came?

Adam God made and his fere
at his licknes, for they are to him dere,
and yong, ryght as aungels wyse,
for the love that he and his
shuld the ordres of aungels fulfyl
that Lucyfer began to spyl.
But whan they mysded at the last,
and of paradyse ware out cast,
theyr here began to wax and sprede,
and to theyr heles doune it yede,
and after, theyr here on to se,
them semed of thyrti yeeres to be.

The Cursor Mundi gives another account. All agree that they were created in the likeness of angels: "wæron englum gelice:" Cædm. p. 12. l. 15.

¹² According to an old and wide-spread belief, Adam remained in hell until our Saviour's descent thither. When our Lord harrowed hell, he carried Adam, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and just men under the old law, to paradise with him. *Evangel. Nicod. ch. 18. in Thilo. Cod. Apochr. N. T. vol. i. pp. 675, 727, 749.* According to this answer and to No. 17, the passion of our Lord falls in 6158; but this differs from the gospel of Nichodemus, in which the archangel Michael prophesies to Seth that the birth of Christ will be *A. M. 5050.*

¹³ This differs from the account given by the Paris manuscript (note 8): we there find the following curious passage, where the death of Abel is placed in Adam's hundred and thirtieth year (fol. 284):—"En après chou que Moyses trespasa, Mechodius, ki martyres fu, connut par la révélation dou Saint-Espir dou commenche-ment, et de la fin dou monde, et laissa son escrit ouquel il dist que Adans et Eve estoient virge quand il furent hors mis de paradys, et ou xvme. an après chou que Adans fu formès, Chaym et Calmana sa suer furent né, et en l'an que Adans ot c et xxx ans, Chaym ocist Abel son frère, et c ans apriès Joseth (Seth) fu nés. Tout chou tiesmoignent li maistre ki la Bible translàtèrent de Latin en Roumanch." On this M. Michel has the following note: "Saint Methodius, surnommé *Eubulius*, florissoit au commencement du ivme siècle. Entre autres ouvrages, il a composé un commentaire sur la Genèse, qu'on croit perdu. Voyez la *Sylloge Historica* du P. Henschenius, dans le recueil des Bollandistes, t. vi de Juin, p. 5." That this lost *Commentary on Genesis* furnished the matter of many of these answers, is most probable. It is observable that the French MS. states Cain to have been born in Adam's fifteenth year, and that Adam and Eve *estoyent virge* when they were put out of paradise: this, therefore, supposes them to have fallen in the fourteenth year, as stated in No. 16. See Adrian and Ritheus, No. 1, *note.*

¹⁴ See No. 59. Seventy-two countries are the whole world:—

Nu sage mir, meister Tragemunt,
Zwei und sübenzig lant die sint dir kunt, etc.
Wackernagel, *Altdeut. Lesebuch*, p. 641.

that is, *all the world is known to thee.*

¹⁵ This is, in all varieties of shape, a very popular mediæval saying. In the *Demaundes Joyous*, which will be found in the Appendix, we have the question, "Who was Adam's mother?" the reply

to which is, "The earth." In the *Parçival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, we have (*Lachm.* p. 223)—

Diu erde Adámes muoter was ;

and in two passages to be cited at length hereafter, the earth is called Abel's grandmother.

17 This is taken from the Apochryphal Gospel of the Life of Joseph, ch. iv. *Thilo. Cod. Apochr. N. T.* vol. i. p. 13.

24 "Than as Marcell saythe Symon went to the house of Marcell, and bounde there a great dog blacke at the dore of the house. And sayd, now I shall se yf Peter whiche is accustomed to come hyther shal come, and yf he come this dogge shall strangle hym. And a lytell after that Peter and Poule went thyder. And anone Peter made the sygne of the crosse, and vnbounde the hounde, and the hounde was as tame and meke as a lambe. And pursued none but Symon. And wente to hym, and toke and caste hym to y^e grounde vnder him and wolde have estrangled hym. And than ranne Peter to hym and cryed vpon the hounde y^t he shold not do hym ony harme. And anone y^e hounde lefte and touched not his body, but he all to rent and tare his gowne in suche wyse y^t he was almost naked. Than all the people and specyally chyldren ranne w^t the hounde vpon hym and hunted and chased hym out of the towne as he had ben a wolfe. And than for reprefe and shame he durste not come ynto y^e towne of all an hole yere."

Legenda Aurea, fol. clv. (*Jul. Notary*, 1503.)

47 That is, revealed the ineffable name of God.

20 *Proverbs*, xxvii. 20. xxx. 15, 16. The same passage is repeated in *Freidank*, but with a much closer resemblance to the *Vulgate* translation (*Grimm's Ed.* p. 69):—

Driu dinc niht gesaten kan,
die helle, fur unt gíegen man ;
daz vierde sprach noch nie 'genuoc,'
swie vil man im zuo getruoc.

So in the MS. collection of proverbs in Trinity College Library, fol. 364:—

Quatuor, ut fantur, sunt quæ nunquam satiantur ;
Ignis et os uulvæ, pelagus, baratrique uorago.

In the translation of Stevens's *Apologie d'Herodote*, the same thing occurs, with a different application: "There is also another prouerbe which saith, that *three things are unsatiable, Priests, Monks, and the Sea*: where of *Barelete* puts me in mind when he saith,

Presbyteri, et fratres, et mare nunquam satiantur. Howbeit I haue heard old folkes name these three, *Priests, women, and the sea.* And verily Monkes may well be comprised vnder priests."

ss To this Freidank appears to allude (p. 14) :—

Diu sunne schínt den tiuvel'an,
unt scheidet si doch reine dan.

ss That is, Wóden, who is Mercurius in the Roman interpretation. This is consonant with the Norse tradition. Vide Adrian and Ritheus, note 16.

ADRIAN AND RITHEUS.

A DIALOGUE with this title is contained in the Cotton MS. Julius A. 2. It differs from the prose Salomon and Saturn

Adrianus cwæð tó Ritheus.

1 Saga me, hú lange wæs Adam on Neorxna wange?

Ic ðe secge he wæs þrittine geara.

2 Saga me on hwylcne dæg he gesyngode.

Ic ðe secge, on Frigedæg, and on ðone dæg he wæs ær gesceapen, and on ða dæge he eft áswealt, and for ðám Crist eft þrowode on ðám dæge.

3 Saga me, on hwæðere Adames sídan nam úre Dryhten ðæt rib ðe he ðæt wíf of geworhte?

Ic ðe secge, on ðære winstran.

4 Saga me, hwær sæt úre Dryhten ðá he geworhte heofenan and eorðan, and ealle gesceafta?

Ic ðe secge, ofer winda fíðerum.

5 Saga me, hwær is seó eorðe ðe næfre sunne on ne sceán né mona, né næfre wind on ne bleów náne tíð dæges, né ær né æfter?

Ic ðe secge, seó eorðe is in ðære reádan sæ, ofer ðære eóde Israela folc of Egipta hæftnoðe.

6 Saga me hwær scíne seó sunne on niht.

Ic ðe secge, on þrím stówum : árest on ðæs hwæles innoðe ðe is cweden Leuiathan, and on óðre tíð heó scínð on helle, and ða þridde tíð heó scínð on ðám ealonde ðæt is Glið nemned, and ðær restað háligra manna sáwla oð dómes dæg.

7 Saga me for hwám scíne seó sunne swá reáde on ærne morgen.

Ic ðe secge, for ðám ðe heó cymð úp of ðære sæ.

in little more than the names of the interlocutors, several of the questions and answers being the same in both compositions. As nearly one-third is common to the two, it is not unreasonable to believe that both are fragmentary portions of one original.

Adrian spake to Ritheus.

1 Tell me, how long was Adam in Paradise ?

I tell thee, he was thirteen years.

2 Tell me on what day he sinned.

I tell thee, on Friday ; and on that day he was previously created, and on that day again he died, and therefore Christ afterwards suffered on that day.

3 Tell me, from which of Adam's sides did our Lord take the rib whereof he made woman ?

I tell thee, from the left.

4 Tell me, where sat our Lord when he created heaven and earth and all creatures ?

I tell thee, on the wings of the winds.

5 Tell me, where is the earth that never sun shone on nor moon, nor the wind blew upon, at no hour of the day, either before or after ?

I tell thee, that earth is in the red sea, over which the people of Israel marched from their Egyptian bondage.

6 Tell me where the sun shineth by night.

I tell thee, in three places : first in the belly of the whale that is called Leniathan ; and the second season it shineth in hell ; and the third season it shineth upon that island that is called Glið, and there rest the souls of holy men till doomsday.

7 Tell me why the sun shineth so red at early morning.

I tell thee, because it cometh up out of the sea.

- 8 Saga me, for hwám bið seó sunne swá reád on æfen?
Ic ðe secge, for ðám ðe heó locað úfan on helle.
- 9 Saga me hú mycel seó sunne sý.
Ic ðe secge, heó is mære ðonne eorðe, for ðám ðe heó bið
on ælcum lande hát.
- 10 Saga me hwylc sý seó sunne.
Ic ðe secge, Astriges se dry sæde ðæt hit wære birnende
stán.
- 11 Saga me hwæt ðæs lifigendan mannes gleng sý.
Ic ðe secge, ðæs deádan swát.
- 12 Saga me hwylc sunu wræce ærest his fæder on his móder
innorðe.
Ic ðe secge, ðære næddran sunu; for ðám ðe seó móder
ofslóh ærest ðone fæder, and ðonne ofsleað ða bearn eft
ða móder.
- 13 Saga me, hwylc bisceop wære ærest on ðære ealdan æ, ær
Cristes tócyne.
Ic ðe secge, Melchisedec, and Aaron.
- 14 Saga me hwylc bisceop wære [ærest] on ðære niwan æ.
Ic ðe secge, Petrus, and Jacobus.
- 15 Saga me, hwylc man witegode ærest?
Ic ðe secge, Samuel.
- 16 Saga me, hwa wrát bécstafas ærest?
Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gigant.
- 17 Saga me, hwa sette ærest wíngeardas, oððe hwá dranc
ærest wín?
Ic ðe secge, Noe.
- 18 Saga me hwa wære ærest læce.
Ic ðe secge, Asterius se wæs cweden.
- 19 Saga me, hwæt synt ða twegen men on Neorxna-wange,
and ðás gelomlice wépað, and beóð unróte.
Ic ðe secge, Enoc and Helias; hí wépað forðám ðe hí
sceólon cuman on ðisne middangeard, and beón deáde,
ðeah hý ær ðonne deáð longe yldon.
- 20 Saga me, hwær wuniað hý?

- 8 Tell me, why is the sun so red at evening ?
I tell thee, because it looketh down on hell.
- 9 Tell me how large the sun may be.
I tell thee, larger than the earth, for it giveth heat in every land.
- 10 Tell me what the sun is.
I tell thee, Astriges the magician said that it was a burning stone.
- 11 Tell me what is the glory of the living man.
I tell thee, the blood of the dead one.
- 12 Tell me what son first avenged his father in his mother's womb.
I tell thee, the son of the serpent ; for first the mother slew the father, and afterwards the young slay the mother.
- 13 Tell me who was the first bishop in the old Law, before Christ's advent.
I tell thee, Melchisedek and Aaron.
- 14 Tell me who was first a bishop under the new Law.
I tell thee, Petrus and Jacobus.
- 15 Tell me, what man first prophesied ?
I tell thee, Samuel.
- 16 Tell me, who first wrote letters ?
I tell thee, Mercurius the giant.
- 17 Tell me, who first planted vineyards, or who first drank wine ?
I tell thee, Noe.
- 18 Tell me who was first a physician.
I tell thee, Asterius he was called.
- 19 Tell me, what two men are they in Paradise who ever weep and are sad ?
I tell thee Enoch and Helias : they weep because they shall return into this earth and suffer death, though heretofore they have delayed death long.
- 20 Tell me, where dwell they ?

- Ic ðe secge, Malifica and Intimphonis, ðæt is, on sunfelda,
and on sceanfelda.
- 21 Saga me for hwám sí se hrefen swá sweart, ðe ær wæs hwit.
Ic ðe secge, for ðý ðe he eft ne hwirfde tó Noe in tó ðære
arce, ðe he ær of gesend wæs.
- 22 Saga me for hwám se hrefen ðurh gehyrsumnisse geþingode
ðæt he ær þurh móðignisse ágilte.
Ic ðe secge, ðá he fédde Heliam, ðám eóde he tó ðám
wésterne, and him þenode.
- 23 Saga me, hwær bið mannes móð?
Ic ðe secge, on ðám heáfde, and gæð út þurh ðone múð.
- 24 Saga me, hwylce wihta beoð óðre tíð wífycynnes, and óðre
tíð wæpnedcynnes?
Ic ðe secge, Belda se fisc on sæ, and Viperus seó næddre,
and Corvus se fugel, ðæt is se hrefen.
- 25 Saga me for hwám seó sæ sí sealt.
Ic ðe secge, forðám ðe Moyses wearp on sæ ða tin word
ðære ealdan æ, ðá ðá he worhte ða breða, for ðám ðe
Israela folc wurðedon deófolgild.
- 26 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða twegen fét ða seó sáwul habban
seal?
Ic ðe secge, Godes lufu and manna; and gif heó ðæra náðer
nafað, ðonne byð heó healt.
- 27 Saga me, on hú manegum fiðerum seál seó sáwul fleógan,
gif heó seál tó heofenum fleógan?
Ic ðe secge, feower; gleáwnisse, geþwærnisse, strengðe,
and rihtwísnisse.
- 28 Saga me hwylc man wære deáð, and nære ácenned, and
æfter ðám deáðe wære eft bebiriged in his móder innoðe?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Adam, se æresta man; for ðám eorðe
wæs his móder, and he wæs bibiriged eft in ðære eorðan.
- 29 Saga me ðære burge naman ðær sunne upgæð.
Ic ðe secge, Jaiaca heó hátte.
- 30 Saga me, hwæt hátte ðæt ðær heó on setel gæð?
Ic ðe secge, Janita heó hátte.

I tell thee, Malifica and Intimphonis, that is, in Sunfield and Shinefield.

21 Tell me why the raven is so black, that before was white.

I tell thee, because he returned not again to the ark from which he was dispatched.

22 Tell me how the raven by obedience atoned for his previous sin of disobedience.

I tell thee, when he fed Helias, unto whom he went into the wilderness, and served him.

23 Tell me, where is man's mood ?

I tell thee, in the head, and it goeth out through the mouth.

24 Tell me, what creature is at one time female, at another male ?

I tell thee, Belda the fish in the sea, and Viperus the snake, and Corvus the bird, that is the raven.

25 Tell me why the sea is salt.

I tell thee, because Moyses threw into the sea the ten words of the old Law, when he made the tables, because the people of Israel paid honour to idols.

26 Tell me, what are the two feet that the soul must have ?

I tell thee, the love of God and man ; and if it hath neither of them, then is it halt.

27 Tell me, on how many wings must the soul fly, in order to reach heaven ?

I tell thee, four ; Prudence, Humility, Strength and Righteousness.

28 Tell me what man died and never was born, and afterwards was buried in his mother's womb.

I tell thee, that was Adam, the first man ; for the earth was his mother, and in the earth was he buried again.

29 Tell me the name of the city where the sun riseth.

I tell thee, it is called Jaiaca.

30 Tell me, what is that called where it setteth ?

I tell thee, it is called Janita.

- 31 Saga me, hwylc word wæs árest?
Ic ðe secge, Dryhten cwæð, Geweorðe leoht.
- 32 Saga me, hwæt is hefigost mannum on eorðan?
Ic ðe secge, hláfordes irre.
- 33 Saga me hú fela sí fleógendra fugela cynna.
Ic ðe secge, twá and fiftig.
- 34 Saga me hwæt næddercynna sí on eorðan.
Ic ðe secge, feower and þrittig.
- 35 Saga me hwæt fiscsynna sí on wætere.
Ic ðe secge, six and þrittig.
- 36 Saga me hwa gesceópe ealra fisca naman.
Ic ðe secge, Adam se áresta man.
- 37 Saga me, hú fela wæs ðára cempena ðe Cristes hrægel
dældon?
Ic ðe secge, seofon heora wæron.
- 38 Saga me feower stafas dumbe.
Ic ðe secge, án is móð; óðer geþanc; þridde is swefn;
feorðe is egesa.
- 39 Saga me, hwæt sint ða þreo þing ðe nan man butan ne mæg-
beón?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt is wæter, and fýr, and isen.
- 40 Saga me, hwa Godes naman nemnede árest?
Ic ðe secge, Deófol.
- 41 Saga me, hú wæs Crist ácenned of Marian his móder?
Ic ðe secge, þurh þæt swiðre breóst.
- 42 Saga me, hwa dyde ðæt sunne stóð áne tíð dægés?

Ic ðe secge, Josue hit gedyde in Moyses gefeohte; seó dún
hátte Gabaon, ðe heó on stóð.
- 43 Saga me, hwæt bið betst and wyrst?
Ic ðe secge, mannes word.
- 44 Saga me, hwæt ðám men sí leoðust on his life, and láðost
æfter his deáðe.
Ic ðe secge, his willa.
- 45 Saga me, hwæt déð ðæt swéte word?

- 31 Tell me, what was the first word ?
I tell thee, God said, " Let there be light."
- 32 Tell me, what is heaviest to men on earth ?
I tell thee, the Lord's anger.
- 33 Tell me how many kinds there be of flying things.
I tell thee, two and fifty.
- 34 Tell me what kinds of snakes there be on earth.
I tell thee, four and thirty.
- 35 Tell me what kinds of fishes there be in water.
I tell thee, six and thirty.
- 36 Tell me who created the names of all fishes.
I tell thee, Adam the first man.
- 37 Tell me, how many were there of the soldiers who divided
Christ's raiment ?
I tell thee, there were seven of them.
- 38 Tell me four dumb letters.
I tell thee, one is Mood ; another Thought ; the third is
Dream ; the fourth Terror.
- 39 Tell me, what are the three things which no man can be
without ?
I tell thee, they are water, fire and iron.
- 40 Tell me, who first named the name of God ?
I tell thee, the Devil.
- 41 Tell me, how was Christ born of his mother Mary ?
I tell thee, through the right breast.
- 42 Tell me, who caused the sun to stand still for an hour of
the day ?
I tell thee, Josue caused it in Moyses battle : the hill was
called Gabaon whereon it stood.
- 43 Tell me, what is the best and worst thing ?
I tell thee, man's word.
- 44 Tell me what is dearest to a man during his life, and loath-
liest after his death.
I tell thee, his own will.
- 45 Tell me, what doth the soft word ?

Ic ðe secge, hit gemanigfealdað mannes freondscipe, and stilleð mannes feond.

46 Saga me, hwylc bið se leása freond?

Ic ðe secge, he bið mannes gefera tó beóde, and ná tó neóðþearfe.

47 Saga me, hwæt onscunað se seóca man ðe he ær gesund lufode?

Ic ðe secge, ðám seócum men bið mete láð ðe him ær wæs leóf, and his eágum bið leóht láð, ðe him æror wæs leóf.

48 Saga me, on hwám mæg man geseón mannes deað?

Ic ðe secge, twegen manlican beoð on mannes eágum; gif ðú ða ne gesiht, ðonne swilt se man, and bið gewiten ær þrim dagum.

NOTES.

THE character of the Emperor Hadrian as sophist or philosopher pointed him out as a fitting interlocutor in such a dialogue as this. There are others in which he is represented as taking part, of somewhat similar import. The most celebrated are perhaps the series of questions he is stated to have put to the sophist Secundus, who replied to them in writing. Vincent de Beauvais (13th century) tells the story thus:—Secundus had bound himself by a vow of silence: Hadrian sent a soldier to take him and threaten his life, holding out the breach of his vow as the condition of his release: Secundus however, remaining firm, was directed to prepare for instant execution, which he did in solemn silence. According to orders previously received, he was then taken before the Emperor, who questioned the philosopher and received answers in writing (*Vinc. Bellou. Speculum Historiale*, lib. x. cap. 70, 71. *Bibliotheca Mundi*, vol. iv. p. 392). Chapter 70 contains these questions and answers in Latin: other versions, and among them the Greek, are found in Gale's *Opuscula Mythologica, Ethica et Physica* (Cantab. 1671, and Wetstein, Amstelod. 1688). That Hadrian was ambitious of passing for an accomplished sophist (he would have called it philosopher)

I tell thee, it maketh manifold men's friendships, and still-
eth man's foe.

46 Tell me, who is the false friend?

I tell thee, he is man's comrade at table, and not in his
need.

47 Tell me, what shunneth the sick man, that he loved while
in health?

I tell thee, to the sick man is the meat hateful that he
loved before, and to his eyes is the light hateful, which
to him before was dear.

48 Tell me, by what may one foresee a man's death?

I tell thee, there are two images in a man's eyes; if thou
seest not those, then will the man die, and depart ere
three days be past.

is well known, and the questions and answers in the Greek version are much what might have been expected from the Emperor and the Pythagorean: a similar disputation between Hadrian and Epictetus is printed at the close of the last-named philosopher's works by Berkeley (Lugd. Bat. 1670), under the title, *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti*. The dialogue with Secundus, though apparently unknown to Philostratus (see his notice of Secundus, *Vit. Viror. illustr.* Basil. fol. 1563, p. 645, where he merely remarks, "Secundus igitur sophista, exuberantis scientiæ compos, et in dicendo parcus"), was undoubtedly popular at an early period, and long continued so. Manuscripts of it in many languages are common, and as Vincent names a *Gesta Secundi Philosophi* as his authority, we may presume that some of those MSS. give us the tale in its original purity. The character of this Saxon dialogue is essentially different from either of those here mentioned: in short, it is merely Salomon and Saturn under another name; it seems then that in this, as in so many other cases, a subject having once become popular, was given from time to time, first to one then to another hero, as the knowledge or caprice of various periods dictated.

But if Hadrian in this dialogue appears merely as a traditional questioner, we may be sure that Ritheus has as little real founda-

tion : it is indeed very difficult to suggest any satisfactory explanation of the name. I was at first disposed to think it might be only a mistake, easily fallen into in copying, for Pittheus, a traditional riddler of no mean fame (see Eurip. Med. l. 60). Before Euripides, however, Hesiod had mentioned him, and we find the same tradition subsisting in the time of Plutarch (*ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ σοφώτατος*, Theseus, c. iii.) and of Pausanias, who says he had seen a book bearing his name, *καὶ τι βιβλίον, Πιθθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα, ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην* (lib. ii. cap. 31). It is possible then that even at a much later period the traditional fame of Pittheus may have survived in the Greek empire, and that his name might have found its way to the West of Europe, and been adopted in such a case as the one under consideration. It is however very possible that nothing more than Epictetus, or Epictus as he is called, was meant, a dialogue under which title will be printed hereafter; and after all it is not a matter of much interest what explanation we give of the name.

1 The opinion on this subject has been already alluded to : a very different answer may here be added from Sydracke. The French MS. says, "A la tierce heure si donna Adā nous a toutes bestes, e la siste heure si manga la femme la poume e en dona a sun baroun e il en manga pur lamur de li, e a heure de noune si furent gette hors de paradis," fol. 512, 6. The English metrical account follows this : (Question x.)—

And in paradyse they wore
seuen howers and no more
the thynde hower after his makyng
gaue Adam name to all thyng
the sith hower ete his wyfe
the appull that made all the stryfe
the seuenth hower Adam dyd of yt ete
and was chasyd and streyth out bete.

Andrew of Wyntoun (14th century) seems to adopt this view in the dialogue between St. Serf and the devil, though he attempts to rationalize, and misunderstands the tradition :—

De devil askyd, how long he bade
in paradyce eftyr hys syne.
Sevyn howris, Serf sayd, he bad þare in.

(Cronykil of Scotland, ch. xii. Macpherson's Ed. 1795. vol. i. p. 131.)

2 This question, with the answer, is also found in Sydracke.

4 This is one of the first questions put in the Arabic dialogue,

Beshír and Shádán, of Imám Ghazali, but with a different answer. See the review of Von Hammer's translation of the dialogue in *Class. Journal*, vol. xxx. p. 349. So also St. Serf:—

pe dewyl sayd, þis questyowne
I ask in oure collatyowne;
Sa, quhare wes God, wat þow oucht,
befor þat hewyn and erd wes wroucht?
Saynct Serf said, In himself stedles,
his Godhed hampryd nevyr wes.

¹² This was a popular superstition, and is found in many of the Bestiaries current in different parts of Europe. The following explanation of it is found in two MSS. of the Physiologus at Vienna, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is printed in Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, p. 16, etc.: "[E]in sclahda naderôn ist, hêizzét uipera, fône déro zélet phisiologus, so siu suanger uuérdán sóule, daz er sinén mânt dûoge in dén iro, so uerslindet siu daz semen unde uuir so gér, daz siu ímo ábebizét sine gimâht, und er sa tód liget. So danne div iungíde giuuáhssent in iro uuanbe, so durch bizzent síe sí unde gant so uz" (p. 21). And again: "Vns zellit phisiologus uon den uipperun: So diu uipperra gehien seol zuo zir machide, so ist zuo ime so liebe, daz si giuet so wite, unt stozzet er sin houbet in ire munt; so bizzit si ime daz houbet abe, so stirbet er. Da mag man ane vernemen, waz huorren minne machet! So denne diu iungin gewahsint in der uipperun, so durch bizzent si ir die situn. unt uarent uz ir muoter, so instirbet ouch siu." (p. 28). See this question noted by Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, iii. 16.

¹³ Tacitus mentions Mercurius as the supreme god of our forefathers: "Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt." Germ. IX. The identity of Wóden (O. Nor. Opinn) and Mercury is well ascertained: we have translated *dies Mercurii* by *Wódnedag, Wednesday*. "Illi ajunt: deo suo wodano, quem Mercurium uocant alii, se uelle litare." Jonas. Bobbiensis *vita Columbani* (7th century. Mabill. Act. Bened. ii. 26). "Wodan sane. . . ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur." Paul. Diacon. i. 9. On this subject compare Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*. In this passage the invention of letters, i. e. Runes, is attributed to Wóden, or Mercury the giant: in the *Runa Capitule* (appended by Resenius to his edition of the *Havamâl*. Havn. 1665), Odin is made to say, "Nam ek vp Runar," *I invented Runes*.

²¹ The classical mythus corresponds with our own as to the fact of the raven having changed colour, but not as to the reason of the

change. Coronis became black because she indiscreetly revealed an amour of Apollo's. Ovid, *Metam.* lib. ii. l. 536. Our legend is, that the raven was punished for not returning to the ark: he stopped to feed upon the carcasses of the drowned. *Cædmon* says (p. 87, l. 2):—

Noe tealde
 ƿæt he on neóð hine
 * * * *
 * * * *
 ofer áid wæter
 sécan wolde,
 on wægbele eft;
 him seó wén geleáð.
 Ac se feónd gespear
 fleótende hreáw,
 salwigfeðera
 sécan nolde.

This notion long survived: in the fourteenth century, the *Cursor Mundi* thus notices it:—

þan opin Noe his windou
 lete vte a rauin and forþ he flou,
 dune and vp soght here and þare
 a stede to sett apon sumquar;
 apon þe water sone he fand
 a drinkled best þar flotand:
 of þat fless was he so fain
 to schip cam he neuer egain:
 þarfor þat messenger, men say,
 þat duellis lang in his iornay,
 he may be cald wid resun clere,
 an of þe rauyns messagere.—MS. Göttingen, fol. 26, a.

24 *Oppian* would have furnished another, the *Hysæna*. The *Physiologus* already quoted, in *Hoffmann's Fundgruben*, says, "Ein tier heizzit igena, un ist uuilon unfb, uuilon man," etc., p. 19.

25 Here the dialogues differ entirely. *Comp. Sal. Sat.* 51, etc. *Sydracke* gives a very indefinite answer to the question (clvi):—

Whiche are the most of beast or man
 or fowle, or fysshe that swyme can?
 Beastes are mo than men,
 and fowles mo than beastes such ten,
 and for ech a fowle also
 a thowsand fysshes are and mo,
 for therof is the most plente
 of al creatures that be;

God made man of erth and slyme,
 and best, of hets he made hym,
 Fysshes of water, fowle of ayre,
 and al that he made is fayre :
 and yf God them al had wrought
 of erth lyke, as he dyd nought,
 they should haue rysen al also
 at domesday, as man shall do ;
 but for erthe is in them none,
 wherfore to nought they turne ech one.

From this the French version differs (fol. 545, b. col. 1):—" Les genz ad Deus fet meins assez qe les bestes ; car les bestes sunt mult plus qe les genz ; car pur chescune persone du mounde, ad plus de c bestes, fauz les vermines : e pur chescune beste qest au mounde, ad M oyseauz ; et pur chescune oysel au monde, volaunt et alaunt, e pur chescune beste, e pur chescune persone qe seit au mounde, il iad C M pessons en la mer, entre grant e petit ; e sunt cil qi Deus ad fet plus de mils creatures mouables, et tut ceo est a sun comandement, e a sa volunte." The Saxon Menology, already quoted, supplies curious information upon this point, on March 22nd:—" On ðone twá 7 twentigoðan dæg ðæs monðes byð se fifta worulde dæg ; on ðám dæge God gesceóp of wætere eall fleótendra fisca cyn, 7 fleógendra fugla cyn ; 7 woruldsnotere men secgað ðæt ða fiscas sýn on sá hundteontiges cynna, 7 þreo 7 fiftiges : 7 nis ænig man ðæt he wíte hwæt ðæra fugelcynna síg ofer eorðan : 7 hwæðre æghwylc fugel wunað on ðám ðe he ofgesceapen wæs : ða swymmað nú á on sealtum ýðum, ða ðe of ðám gesceapene wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on mérum 7 on flóðum ða ðe of ferscum wæterum gesceapene wæron, 7 ða syttað on felda 7 ne magon swymman, ða ðe of ðæs græses deáwe geworhte wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on wudu ða ðe of ðæra treówa dropum gehywode wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on fenne ða ðe gewurdon of ðæs fennes wætan." Beda however says that none but God can tell the number of men or beasts: "Arena maris, pluuiarum guttae, dies saeculi, altitudo coeli, multitudo stellarum, profunditas terrae, et imum abyssi, et capilli capitis, siue plebs hominum uel iumentum ; haec non nisi a Deo solo numeranda sunt." *Collectanea*. Ed. Colon. iii. 482.

43 It is certain that this was a popular question : as late as 1617 some one thought it worth while to write a treatise upon it : " Question notable décidée, s'il nest rien de meilleur, ou pire que la langue." 12mo. This was reprinted at Maastricht in octavo, 1713, by Delesart. The question has given rise to proverbs in various languages.

ADRIAN AND EPICTUS.

IN the Arundel MS. No. 351, fol. 39, I find the following dialogue, which is interesting in many points of view. I have numbered the questions and answers, and corrected the errors of the scribe, placing my own additions between brackets.

Juvenis homo commendau[i]t se ad vtilem uirum, ipse Epictus nomine. Vtilis homo commendauit illum comiti. Comes commendauit illum episcopo. Episcopus commendauit illum regi. Rex commendauit illum Imperatori. Imperator commendauit illum Duci, qui est super milites multos, prudentes, orientales. Qui [cum] uenisset in illam ciuitatem, nolebat venire ad eum. Tunc perrexerunt, et dixerunt ei. Interrogatio:—

1 J[u]uenis, vnde es, aut de qua prouincia uenisti?—Responsio: Et ille dixit, Ex patre et matre, et ex Dei iussu creatus sum.

2 Illi dixerunt, Vbi est regio tua?—Vbi uxorem, ibi et habeo regionem.

3 Quid hic quesiuisti?—Veni mores hominum corrigere.

4 Sapiens es tu?—Sapiens est ille qui seipsum scit corrigere.

5 Dic nobis puer, quomodo factum est celum.—Si factum fuisset, iam diu cecidisset.

6 Ergo natum est?—Si natum esset, iam diu mortuum fuisset.

7 Quid inde facturi sumus?—Vt quemadmodum illud inuenimus, ut sic dimittamus.

Tunc nuntiatum est Adriano Imperatori, et iussit eum venire ad se. Et cum uenisset ante eum, dixit Adrianus.

8 Quid est celum?—Epictus respondit, Sicut pellis extensa.

9 Quid primum processit de ore Dei?—Verbum de Principio.

- 10 Quid in secundo locutus fuit?—Fiat lux.
- 11 Quis fuit mortuus, et non fuit natus?—Adam.
- 12 Quot annis uixit Adam?—Nonagentis triginta.
- 13 Qua hora comedit Adam de fructu?—Hora tertia, et ad horam nonam eiectus est de paradiso.
- 14 Quot filios habuit Adam?—Triginta filios et triginta filias, excepto Cayn et Habel.
- 15 Quis primum obtulit olocaustum?—Abel, agnum.
- 16 Quis primum plantauit uineam post diluuium?—Noe.
- 17 Quis conceptus fuit sine conceptione carnali?—Dominus noster Jesus Christus.
- 18 Quis fuit natus, et non fuit mortuus?—Enoch et Elyas.
- 19 Quis fuit primus presbiter?—Melchisedech.
- 20 Quis fuit primus diaconus?—Stephanus.
- 21 Quis fuit primus subdiaconus?—Lupus.
- 22 Quis fuit primus lector?—Abraham.
- 23 Quis fuit primus ostiarius?—Trouulfus.
- 24 Quæ ciuitas primum facta est?—Niniuen.
- 25 Quis primum monasterium constituit?—Paulus heremita et Antonius Abba[s].
- 26 In quo monte non pluit usque in hodiernum diem?—In Gelboe.
- 27 Quis cum asina locutus est?—Balam.
- 28 Quot sunt prouincie terre?—Centum uiginti duo.
- 29 Quot sunt genera serpentum?—xxiiii.
- 30 Quis ipsis nomina inposuit?—Adam.
- 31 Vnde sunt serui?—De Cam.
- 32 Quis fuit bis mortuus et semel natus?—Lazarus.
- 33 Q[ua]nti uel quot milites diuiserunt uestimenta Christi?
—Q[ua]tuor.
- 34 Quot sunt qui cum eo crucifixi sunt?—Duo latrones, Jonathas et Gomatras.
- 35 Cuius sepulcrum non est inventum?—Moysi.
- 36 Quot sunt genera uolucrum?—Quinquaginta xx.
- 37 Quid grauissimum est ferre?—Cor hominis.

- 38 Quid tangitur et non uidetur?—Anima.
- 39 Quid uidetur et non tangitur?—Nubes uel celum.
- 40 Quid est sol?—Splendor est diei.
- 41 Quid est dilectabile et odiosum?—Nox.
- 42 Quid est, ab vno uadit, et ad alium redit?—Pluuia.
- 43 Quid est luna?—Splendor in tenebris, et doctrina maiorum.
- 44 Quis tres horas solem in celo fecit stare?—Josue, minister Moysi, in pugna.
- 45 Quid sustinet celum?—Terra.
- 46 Quid sustinet terram?—Aqua.
- 47 Quid sustinet aquam?—Petra.
- 48 Quid sustinet petram?—Quatuor animalia.
- 49 Quæ sunt illa quatuor animalia?—Lucas, Marcus, Matheus, Johannes.
- 50 Quid sustinet illa iiii animalia?—Ignis.
- 51 Quid sustinet ignem?—Abissus.
- 52 Quid sustinet abissum?—Arbor quæ ab initio posita est, ipse est Dominus Jesus Christus.
- 53 Quid est, pondus sustinet, et pondus mouet, et non sentitur?—Capud hominis capillos non sentit, nec numerum scit.
- 54 Quis tres dies et tres noctes ieiunauit, nec celum uidit, nec terram tetigit?—Jonas in uentre ceti.
- 55 Quid est quod ramos mittit, et nec florent folia, nec profertur fructus?—Caput cerui cornua habet, nec florent, nec fructum afferunt.
- 56 Quid est domus eradicata?—Nauis in pelago.
- 57 Quid est, ad se trahit, et alii ingerit mortem?—Arcus.
- 58 Quid est acutum, et nunquam fuit acutum?—Spina.
- 59 Quid est uidua desolata?—Ciuitas sine gente.
- 60 Quid est uirgo in mundo?—Littera in ewangelio.
- 61 Quis dedit quod non accepit?—Eua, lac.
- 62 Quid mulier meretrix?—Sicut uia lutosa.
- 63 Quid est, duo bibunt, et duo litigant, et quatuor stantes ad celum respiciunt?

64 Quis primus inchoavit arare?—Ante diluuium Neptare, post diluuium Noe.

65 Quis primus fecit litteras?—Scith.

66 Quid est homo nimis?—Lucerna posita.

67 Quis leonem sine gladio et sine fuste interfecit?—Samson.

68 Quid est somnus?—Imago [mortis.]

69 [Quid est] tristitia?—Sine damno gaudium.

70 Quot anni fuerunt, quod terra fuit, quod fructum non dedit?—Annos tres, et menses vi.

71 Quis pugnaturus est in consummatione seculi, cum Antichristo?—Enoch et Elias.

72 Vbi erit consummatio seculi?—In ualle Josaphat.

73 Quibus modis fit oratio ad Deum?—Tribus, quos adeo accepimus; gratias agere, a Deo hoc quod cupimus, deposcimus, aut Dominum pro aliis rogamus.

74 Quibus modis mittit dyabolus securitatem in hominem?—Tribus: primum suggerit ut non det confessionem, quia iuuenis est; secundo dicit quod alii grauius peccauerunt quam tu; . . . peccata, qui[a] magna est misericordia Dei, indulges tibi peccata tua; et per hanc securitatem, deducit animam in infernum.

75 Quot res sunt quæ ducunt hominem ad regnum celorum?—Tres: Cogitatio sancta, uerbum bonum, opus perfectum.

76 Quot res sunt quæ ducunt hominem ad infernum?—Tres: Cogitatio inmunda, opus prauum, uerbum alienum.

77 Quot res sunt quæ nec remittuntur hic, nec in futuro?—Tres: Qui blasphemat Deum, et qui desperat de misericordia Dei, et qui non credit resurrectionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

78 Quot res sunt quas diligit Deus?—Tres: Continenciam in seueritate, largitatem in paupertate, abstinenciam in diuitiis.

Expliciunt questiones pulchre: hoc est uerum.

On examining this dialogue, it is impossible not to be struck with the close resemblance it bears to the prose Salomon and Saturn, and to the Adrian and Ritheus. Not only are the questions very generally of the same nature, but in some cases they are word for word the same. Like Salomon and Marcolf, this also found its way into the literature of Wales, as I judge from the title given in the transactions of the Cymrodorion, viz. Ymddyddan Adrian ac Eppig.

THE MASTER OF OXFORD'S CATECHISM.

THE following dialogue, entituled "Questions bitwene the Maister of Oxinford and his Scoler," (MS. Lands. No. 762) is a verbatim translation of one of the preceding dialogues, and serves to bring down the series to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Clerkys question. Say me where was God whan he made heven and erthe?

The Maisters answer. I saye, in the ferther ende of the wynde.

C. Tell me what worde God first spake.

M. Be thowe made light, and light was made.

C. Whate is God?

M. He is God, that all thinge made, and all thinge hath in his power.

C. In how many dayes made God all thingis?

M. In six dayes. The first daye he made light; the second daye he made all thinge that helden heven; the thirde daye he made water and erthe; the fourth daye he made the firmament of heven; the vth daye he made sterrys; the vjth

day he made almaner bestis, fowlis, and the see, and Adam, the firste man.

C. Whereof was Adam made ?

M. Of viij. thingis : the first of erthe, the second of fire, the iij^{de} of wynde, the iiijth of clowdys, the vth of aire wherethorough he speketh and thinketh, the vjth of dewe wherby he sweteth, the vijth of flowres, wherof Adam hath his ien, the viijth is salte wherof Adam hath salt teres.

C. Wherof was founde the name of Adam ?

M. Of fowre sterres, this been the namys, Artax, Dux, Arostolym, and Momfumbres.

C. Of whate state was Adam whan he was made ?

M. A man of xxx. wynter of age.

C. And of whate length was Adam ?

M. Of iiij. score and vj. enchys.

C. How longe lived Adam in this worlde ?

M. ix. c. and xxx^{ty} wynter, and afterwarde in hell tyll the passion of our lord God.

C. Of whate age was Adam when he begat his first childe ?

M. An c. and xxx. wynter, and had a son that hight Seth, and that Seth had a son that hight Enos, and the forsaid Seth lived ix. c. and x. wynter, and Enos his son lived ix. c. and v. wynter. And that Enos had a son that hight Canaan, and that Canaan lived ix. c. x. wynter. And that Canaan had a son than hight Malek, and that Malek lived ix. c. and v. wynter, and that Malek had a son that hight Jared, and that Jared lived ix. c. xlij. wynter, and that Jared had a son that hight Matusidall, and that Matusidall lived ix. c. and xlix. wynter, and that Matusidall had a son that hight Lanek, and that Lanek lived vij. c. and xlvij. wynter, and that Lanek had a son that hight Noe, and that Noe had iij. sonnys, the which forsaid Noe lived ix. c. xl. wynter, and his iij. sonnys hight Sem, Cam, and Japheth. And Sem had xxx. children, and Cam had xxx. children, and Japheth had xij. children.

C. Whate was he that never was borne, and was buried in his mothers wombe, and sens was cristen and saved ?

M. That was our father Adam.

C. How longe was Adam in Paradise ?

M. vij. yere, and at vij. yeres ende he trespassed ayenst God for the apple that he hete on a Fridaye, and an angell drove him owte.

C. Howe many wynter was Adam whan our Lorde was doon on the crosse ?

M. That was v. m^l. cc. and xxxij. yere.

C. What hicht Noes wyf ?

M. Dalida ; and the wif of Sem, Cateslinna ; and the wif of Cam, Laterecta ; and the wif of Japheth, Aurca. And other iij. names, Ollia, Olina, and Olybana.

C. Wherof was made Noes ship ?

M. Of a tre that was clepyd Chy.

C. And whate length was Noes ship ?

M. Fifty fadem of bredeth, and cc. fadem of length, and xxx. fadem of hith.

C. Howe many wynter was Noes ship in making ?

M. iij. score yeres.

C. How longe dured Noes flodde ?

M. xl. dayes and xl. nightys.

C. Howe many children had Adam and Eve ?

M. xxx. men children and xxx. wymen children.

C. Whate citie is there the son goth to reste ?

M. A citie that is called Sarica.

C. Whate be the beste erbes that God loved ?

M. The rose and the lillie.

C. Whate fowle loved God best ?

M. The dove, for God sent his spiret from heven in likenes of a dove.

C. Which is the best water that ever was ?

M. Flom Jurdan, for God was baptised therein.

C. Where be the anjelles that God put out of heven and bycam devilles ?

M. Som into hell, and som reyned in the skye, and som in the erth, and som in waters and in wodys.

- C.* How many waters been there?
M. ij. salte waters, and ij. fresshe waters.
C. Who made first ploughis?
M. Cam, that was Noes son.
C. Why bereth not stonys froyt as trees?
M. For Cayme slough his brother Abell with the bone of an asse cheke.
C. Whate is the best thinge and the worste amonge men?
M. Worde is beste and warste.
C. Of whate thinge be men most ferde?
M. Men be moste ferde of deth.
C. Whate are the iiij. thinges that men may not live without?
[M.] Wynde, fire, water, and erth.
C. Where resteth a manys soule, whan he shall slepe?
M. In the brayne, or in the blode, or in the harte.
C. Where lieth Moises body?
M. Beside the howce that hight Enfegor.
C. Why is the erth cursed, and the see blisshed?
M. For Noe and Abraham, and for cristenyng that God commaunded.
C. Who sat first vines?
M. Noe set the first vines.
C. Who cleped first God?
M. The devyll.
C. Which is the heviest thinge bering?
M. Syn is the heviest.
C. Which thinge is it that som loveth, and som hateth?
M. That is jugement.
C. Which be the iiij. thingis that never was full nor never shalbe?
M. The first is erth, the second is fire, the thirde is hell, the fourth is a covitous man.
C. How many maner of birdis been there, and howe many of fisshes?
M. liij. of fowles, and xxxvj. of fisshes.

C. Which was the first clerke that ever was?

M. Elias was the firste.

C. Whate hight the iiij. waters that renneth through paradise?

M. The one hight Fyson, the other Egeon, the iij^{de} hight Tygrys, and the iiijth Efraton. Thise been milke, hony, oyll, and wyne.

C. Wherefore is the son rede at even?

M. For he gothe toward hell.

C. Who made first cities?

M. Marcurius the gyaunt.

C. How many langagis been there?

M. lxij., and so many discipules had God without his appostoles.

APPENDIX.

THE general tendency of the remarks which I have had occasion heretofore to make, and of the mode of illustration which I have adopted, has been to show the tradition and gradual dispersion of any favourite tale during the middle ages, and the natural vicissitudes of its fortunes. In the ensuing pages I propose to carry out this view to a farther extent, by pointing out other compositions similar to that we have been considering, which are in some degree illustrative either of its general history or its details. It is often surprising how much vitality lurks in such details: cut them to pieces how you will, disjoin them as you will from the main stem, yet, polypus-like, every fragment will vindicate a life of its own, and a place in some order or other.

I do not think that any reader, who has attentively considered the introduction to the poem of Salomon and Saturn, or the notes to the prose versions of the tale, will be at any loss for the reasons which have determined the selection of the contents of the Appendix. No doubt much more matter of the same description might have been heaped together, and, some years ago, with considerable advantage; but there has been sufficient activity of late in this useful department of antiquarian inquiry, and there are various collections easily accessible to those who desire farther to pursue the subject. I have therefore confined myself as much as possible to such compositions as had a more immediate bearing upon the different forms of the Salomon and Saturn, or Salomon and

Marcolf. For their rudeness or coarseness I cannot hold myself responsible: parody in the middle ages is essentially rude and coarse, and those who will study mediæval literature must be prepared for much that shocks our more fastidious sense of propriety. But I would also express my firm conviction, that in a state of morals and education such as that which preceded the Reformation, society could only be acted upon by means very different from those which suit more generally instructed and more decorous periods. The mediæval church could sometimes be gentle with those who seriously complained of, but never with those who laughed at, her corruptions; and she was right, for beyond a doubt Ulrich v. Hutten's "*Litterae obscurorum uirorum*" gave heavier blows to the Papacy than all the polished sneers of the indifferent Erasmus, or all the noble reveries of Franz von Sickingen; they brought the mischief home to every man's door, who could laugh over a jolly tale, in whatever phrase it might be told. Moreover they reduced the dreaded adversary from a state of assumed sublimity to one of very genuine ridicule and contempt. Such is their justification. I believe a good deal of what follows, here and there, to have arisen in this manner and for this purpose; and if this be true, we shall perhaps think that it is not to be judged over-hastily.

Before proceeding to the lighter subjects which naturally find their place in this Appendix, I must slightly notice one or two dialogues current in the middle ages, and which show that this form of composition was a favourite mode of imparting information. The first is called

"*Disputatio Pippini, regalis et nobilissimi juvenis, cum Albino scholastico.*" That this dialogue was ever held is of course extremely doubtful; but Alcuin's verses, moral distichs, and the like, addressed to Charlemagne, were favourite subjects with our ancient scribes, and this, though less authentic, shared their fortune. Still I never met with this in an Anglo-Saxon MS., frequent as the distichs are, in com-

pany with Aratus, Sedulius, or Juvenecus or Aldhelm. This is printed by A. Berkeley at the close of his *Epictetus*, and its history may be read in *Fabricius*.

There is another dialogue upon moral subjects between Alcuin and Charlemagne, a MS. copy of which is found in the library at Chartres. (*Hänel*, p. 130.)

A somewhat similar dialogue is that of *Æðelheard* of Bath and his nephew, of which there is a MS. copy, *Cott. Galb. E. iv. fol. 214*, and which was printed very early in the sixteenth century, in 4to, but without a date.

There is a dialogue, on philosophical points, I believe, between *Johannes Erigena* and *Charles the Bald*. It is found in the edition of *Scotus's* works published by *Gale*, the only copy of which in existence is said to be in the *Bodleian*.

To these must be added the dialogues of *Hadrian* and *Secundus*, *Hadrian* and *Epictetus*, already noticed, pp. 206, 207. Many such are of Eastern origin: the *Beshír* and *Shádán* already cited, p. 209, is a favourable specimen.

"*Riote du Monde*." This and the following composition bear a closer relation to the *Second Morolf* than to the serious *Saxon Dialogues*. Its title may be translated, "The world turned topsy-turvy:" it is a dialogue between a king and a wandering jongleur, who answers all the king's questions in such a manner as to turn everything into ridicule. There are two complete MSS. of this composition, both of the thirteenth century. The first of these is contained in the MS. *Bibl. Royale*, No. 7595. fol. 519; the second, in the library of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, O. 2. 45. fol. 331, differs slightly in arrangement and dialect from the *Paris* copy. I give here the commencement of both copies:—

MS. Par.—Chi commenche li Riote del Monde.—Je me chevaçoie d'Amiens à Corbie; s'encontrai le roi et sa maisnie. A cui es-tu? dist-il.—Sire, je suis à mon signor.—Qui est tes sires?—Li barons me dame.—Qui est ta dame?—La feme mon signor.—Comment as-tu à non?—Ansi comme mes parrins.—Comment a non tes

parrins?—Ansi com jou.—U vas-tu?—Je vois chà.—Dont viens-tu?
—Je vieng de là.—Dont iea-tu?—Je sui de no vile.—U est te vile?
—Entor le moustier.—U est li moustiers?—En l'atre.—U est li
atres?—Sor terre.—U siet cele terre?—Sar l'iaue.—Comment apiel-
on l'iaue?—On ne l'apièle nient; ele vient bien sans apieler.—Chou
savoie-jou bien, dist li rois, etc. . . .

Espl.—Vous estes bien el chemin, errés tos jours. Alés le fons
del val, portés del pain, mangiés matin, herbegiés-vous de jours, ne
vous annuitiés mie.

MS. Tris.—Jeo cheuachioie l'autrer de Amiens à Corbie; si en-
contreis li reis et sa meisnée. Beaus amis, dist li rei, dunt uien-
tu?—Sire, ieo uiene de chà, ou uas-tu? etc. . . .

Espl.—Errez tuz iurz. Alez les funz de ual, portez del pain,
mangiez matin, herbegez-vous de iur, ne vous ennuiez mie.

It is probable that these compositions were once metrical, even as many of the Saxon legendary poems in honour of particular saints became excellent sermons by the addition of introductions and doxologies. In fact, we find one version really existing as a poem. This, which was published by Sir F. Palgrave in 1818, from a Harl. MS. 2253. fol. 107, has since been reprinted by M. Michel, under the title of "Le Roi d'Angleterre et le Jongleur d'Ely." From this I extract the passage corresponding to those quoted above :

Seygnours, escotez un petit,
Si orrez un très bon desduit
De un menestrel que passa la terre
Pur merveille e aventure quere;
Si vint de sà Loundres, en un préé
Encountra le Roy e sa meisnée;
Entour son col porta soun tabour
Depeynt de or e riche atour;
Le roi demaund par amour:
Ou qy etes-vus, sire Joglour?
E il respount sauntz pour;
Sire, je su ou mon seignour.
Quy est toun seignour? fet le Roy.
Le baroun ma dame, par ma foy.
Quy est ta dame, par amour?
Sire, la femme mon seignour.

Comment estes-vus apellée ?
 Sire come cely qe m'ad levée,
 Cesti qe te leva quel noun aveit ?
 Itel come je, Sire, tot dreit.
 Oû va-tu ? Je vois delà.
 Dont vien-tu ? Je vienk de sà.
 Dont estes-vus ? ditez saunz gyle.
 Sire, je su de nostre vile.
 Oû est vostre vile, daunz Jogler ?
 Sire, entour le moster.
 Oû est le moster, bel amy ?
 Sire, en la vile de Ely.
 Oû est Ely qy siet ?
 Sire, sur l'ewe estiet.
 Quei est le eve apelé par amours* ?
 L'em ne l'apele pas, eynz vient tous jours
 Volonters par son eynderé,
 Qe jà n'estovera estre apelée.
 Tot ce savoi-je bien avaunt.
 Don qe demandez com enfaunt ;
 A quei fere me demaundez
 Chose que vous-meismes bien savez ? etc. . . .

There is a fragment of another poetical "Ruihote du Monde" in the MS. Bibl. Roy. 7609. 2. fol. 1, and a small portion of one in prose, Arund. MSS. No. 220. fol. 303.

A curious poem, which once seems to have been a favourite in England, in which Ælfred, England's darling, sustains the principal character, though not a dialogue, is on many accounts worthy of insertion here. It is a collection of wise sayings which that prince delivered to his Witena gemót at Seaford. There was a MS. of this in the Cotton collection, Galba. A. xix, which is now lost; a copy of it, however, exists in the Bodleian; a third is found in the library of Lincoln College, Oxford; and a fourth in Trin. Coll. Camb.

* In John Taylor's 'Wit and Mirth' there is the following *clinch* (No. 99), Ed. 1630, p. 176: "A countryman being demanded how such a river was called that ranne through their country, he answered, that they never had need to call the river, for it alwayes came without calling."

B. 5. 39, which is so curious a specimen of the language in the thirteenth century, that I take the following copy of it in preference to any other. It is partly alliterative, partly in final rhyme, the couplets being thrown together in nearly the same careless manner as in *Lazamon*. It will be seen that this poem also contains some of that treasure of popular wisdom which is found in the proverbial sayings of a people; and such correspondence as I have observed between these and the proverbs of other lands I have pointed out in the notes which follow it. I have added a rough translation of it, without which it would be scarcely intelligible.

PROVERBS OF ALFRED.

I.

At Siforde
 setin kinhis monie,
 fele biscopis
 and fele booclerede,
 herles prude
 and cnites egleche.
 þer was erl Alfred,
 of þe lawe suiþe wis,
 and heke Alfred,
 Englene herde,
 Englene derling,
 in Enkelonde he was king.
 Hein he gon lerin,
 so we mugen iherin,
 whu we gure lif
 lede sulin.

[king, should lead.

Alfred he was in Enkelonde a Alfred was in England king,

I.

At Seaford
 sat many thanes,
 many bishops
 and many book-learned men,
 earls proud
 and knights the like.
 There was earl Alfred,
 of the law most wise,
 and also Alfred
 England's herd,
 England's darling,
 in England he was king.
 Them he gan to teach,
 as we may hear,
 how we our lives

wel swiþe strong and lussum	a very strong and lovesome
he was king and cleric, [þing;	he was king and clerk, [thing ;
ful wel he louede Godes werc ;	full well he loved God's work ;
he was wis on his word	he was wise in his word,
and war on his werke ;	and wary in his work ;
he was þe wisiste mon	he was the wisest man
þad was in Engelonde on.	that was in England.

II.

þus quad Alfred
 Englene frowere :
 Wolde we, mi leden,
 lustin gure louird,
 and he gu wolde wissen
 of wi[s]liche þinges,
 gu we mistin in werelde
 wrsipe weldin,
 and heke gure salle
 samne to Criste. [Alfred.
 þis weren þe sawen of kinc
 Arme and edie ledin *
 * * * *
 of lifis dom,
 þad we alle dredin
 gure dristin Crist,
 lovin him and likin,
 for he is louird ouir lif.
 He is one god
 ouer alle godnesse,
 and he is gleu
 ouer alle glade þinhes.
 He is one blisse
 ouer alle blitnesse ;

II.

Thus quoth Alfred
 England's comforter :
 Would you, my people,
 listen to your lord,
 he would make you know
 wise things,
 how ye might in the world
 attain worship,
 and also your souls
 unite to Christ. [Alfred.
 These were the saws of king
 Poor and rich people
 * * * *
 of life's honour,
 that we all dread
 our lord Christ,
 love and please him,
 for he is lord over life.
 He is the only good
 above all goodness,
 and he is wise
 above all glad things.
 He is the only bliss
 above all bliss ;

* Something appears wanting between this and the following line, but there is no lacuna in the MS.

he is one mon
 mildist maister ;
 he is one folkes
 fadir and frowere ;
 he is one ristewis,
 and suo riche king
 nat him sal ben wone
 no þing of is wille,
 wo him her on worolde
 wrþin þenket.

III.

þus quad Alfred
 Englene frouere :
 May no riche king
 ben onder Crist selues,
 bote þif he be booclerid
 and he writes wel kenne,
 and bote he cunne letteris ;
 lokin him seluen
 wu he sule his lond
 laweliche holden.

IV.

þus quad Helfred :
 þe herl and þe heþeling,
 þo ben vnder þe king
 þe lond to leden
 mid lauelichi dedin ;
 boþe þe clerc and þe cnit
 demen euenliche rict ;
 for aftir þat man souit
 al suiwich sal he mouin,
 and eueriches monnes dom
 to his oge dure cherried.

he only is of man
 the mildest master ;
 of the people he only is
 father and comforter ;
 he only is righteous,
 and so powerful a king
 that the man shall want
 nothing of his will,
 who here in the world
 desires to do him honour.

III.

Thus quoth Alfred,
 England's comforter :
 There may no powerful king
 be under Christ himself,
 unless he be book-learned
 and well skilled in writings,
 and unless he know letters ;
 look for himself
 how he shall his land
 lawfully hold.

IV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 The earl and the æþeling,
 these are under the king
 the land to lead
 with lawful deed ;
 both the clerk and the knight
 to deem evenly right ;
 for after what men sow
 the same shall they mow,
 and every man's doom
 to his own door returneth.

V.

þus quad Alfred :
 þe cnith biouit
 kenliche to cnouen
 for to weriin þe lond of here
 and of heregong,
 þat þe riche habbe gryt
 and þe cherril be in frit
 his sedis to souin,
 his medis to mowen,
 his plouis to driuin,
 to ure alre bilif ;
 þis is þe cnichs lage,
 loke þat hit wel fare.

V.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 The knight it behoveth
 boldly to know [force
 to guard the land against a
 and hostile invasion,
 that the rich may have peace
 and the churl be in quiet
 his seed to sow,
 his meads to mow,
 his ploughs to drive,
 for the nourishment of us all ;
 this is the knight's law,
 look that it fare well.

VI.

þus quad Helfred :
 Wid widutin wisdom
 is wele ful unwrd ;
 for þau o man h[æue]de
 huntseuinti acreis,
 and he al heged * * sagin
 mid rede golde,
 and þe golde grue
 so gres deit on þe reiþe,
 ne were hi * * wele
 nout þe wrþere,
 bote he him fremede
 frend ywerche ;
 for wad is g[old] bute ston,
 bute it habbe wis mon ?

VI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Wit without wisdom
 is but little worth ;
 for though a man had
 seventy acres,
 and had it all sown
 with red gold,
 and the gold grew
 as grass doth on the soil,
 he were not for his wealth
 a whit the worthier,
 except he strange
 friends provided for himself ;
 for what is gold but a stone,
 unless a wise man have it ?

VII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Sulde nefere gise mon
 giuen him to huuele,
 þoch he his gise
 wel ne like * *
 ne þech he ne welde
 al þad he wolde ;
 for God may giuen wanne he
 goed after yuil,
 wele after wrake ;
 ge wel him þet mot scapen.

[wele
 Thus quoth Alfred :
 Should never wise man
 give himself to evil,
 though he his state
 like not well,
 nor though he command not
 all that he would ;
 for God may give when he will
 good after evil,
 weal after misery ;
 yea, well for him may so do.

VII.

VIII.

þus quad Alfred :
 [Sor]ge it his to rogen
 agen þe seflod,
 so it his to sginkin
 again heni selþe,
 * * ch wel is him agueþe
 þe sunich was
 wanen her on werlde
 welþe to winnen,
 * * he muge on helde
 hednesse holdin,
 * * mist his welþe
 werchin Godis wille ;
 [þ]enne his his guewe
 swiþe wel bitogen.

VIII.
 Thus quoth Alfred :
 Sorrow it is to row
 against the sea-flood,
 so it is to labour
 against any chance,
 * * * *
 * * * *
 hope here in the world
 wealth to win,
 that he may in age
 ease enjoy,
 * * with his wealth
 work God's will ;
 then is his trouble
 very well bestowed.

IX.

þus quad Alfred :
 Gif þu hauest welþe
 awold i þis gerlde,

IX.
 Thus quoth Alfred :
 If thou hast wealth
 in this world acquired,

ne þin wil neure for þi
al to wlonc wurþen ;
acte nis non eldere stren,

ac it is Godis loue ;
wanne hit is his wille
þer fro we sullen wenden,
and ure ogene lif
mid sorw letin ;
þanne scullen ure fon
to ure fe gripen,
welden ure madmes,
and lutil us bimenen.

X.

þus quad Alfred :
Moni mon wenit,
þat he wenen ne þarf,
longere liuis ;
ac him scal legen þat wrench ;
for wanne he is lif alre beste
trowen,
þeune sal he letin lif his ogene.
Nis no wurt woxen on woode
ne on felde
þer euure muge þe lif uphelden ;
wot no mon þe time
wanne he sal henne rimen,
ne no mon þen hende,
wen he sal henne wenden.
Drittin hit one wot
donis louird,
wenne we ure lif
letin scullen.

let not thy will for this
become too proud ;
consider it is no acquisition
of thy forefathers,
but it is God's love ;
when it is his will
therefrom we must depart,
and our own life
leave with sorrow ;
then shall our foes
seize on our property,
dispose of our treasures,
and lament us but little !

X.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Many a man expects,
what he ought not to expect,
length of life ; [lie ;
but that deceit shall prove a
for when he best trusts in his
life,
then shall he lose his own life.
No herb is grown in wood or
field [life ;
which can for ever uphold the
no man knoweth the time
when he must depart hence,
nor any man the end, [wend.
when he from hence shall
God alone knoweth
the lord of judgment,
when we our lives
shall relinquish.

XI.

þus quad Alfred :
 Leue þu þe nout to swiþe
 up þe seflod ;
 gif þu hawest madmes monie
 and moch gold and siluir,
 it sollen wurþen to nout,
 to duste it sullen driuen ;
 Dristin sal liuin eure.
 Moni mon for is gold
 hauid Godis eire ;
 and þuruch is siluer
 is saulle he forlesed ;
 betere him were
 iborin þat he nere.

XII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Lustlike lustnie,
 lef dere,
 and ich her gu wille leren
 wenes mine,
 wit and wisdom.
 þe alle welþe on ure God*,
 * * * *
 siker he may [sitten],
 and hwo hem mite senden ;
 for þoch his weleþe him atgo
 is wid ne wen him newere fro ;
 ne may he newir forfarin
 hwo him to fere haueþ,

XI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Trust not thou too much
 upon the sea-flood ;
 if thou hast many treasures
 and much gold and silver,
 it shall turn to nought,
 to dust it shall drive ;
 the Lord shall live for ever !
 Many a one for his gold
 hath God's anger ;
 and through his silver
 his soul casteth away ;
 better were it for him
 he never had been born !

XII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Joyfully listen,
 my dear friends,
 and I will teach you here
 my expectation,
 wit and wisdom. [our God,
 He who all his wealth upon
 * * * *
 safely may he sit,
 and they who are with him ;
 for though his wealth desert
 him
 his wit will never go from him ;
 nor may that man ever go
 astray
 who hath him for his comrade,

* A line appears missing.

hwilis þat is lif
lesten may.

while that his life
may last.

XIII.

XIII.

Þus quad Alfred :
Gif þu hauist sorwe,
ne say þu hit þin arege ;
seit þin sadilbowe
and rid þe singende ;
þanne sait þe mon
þat ti wise ne can,
þad þe þine wise
wel þe likit.
Sorege gif þu hauist
and ten arege hit sed,
biforen he þe bimenid,
bihindin he þe scarned.
Þu hit mist seien swich mon
þad it þe fulwel on ;
swich men þu maist seien þi
sor,
he wolde þad þu heuedest mor.
Forþi hit in þin hirte one
forhele hit wid þin arege,
let þu neuere þin arege witin
al þer þin herte þenket.

Thus quoth Alfred :
If thou hast sorrow,
tell it not thy foe ;
sit thy saddle-bow
and ride thee singing ;
then saith the man
that knoweth not thy state,
that thy state
pleaseth thee well.
Sorrow if thou hast
and tellest it thy foe, [thee,
before thy face he will bemoan
behind thy back will scorn thee.
Thou mayst tell it to such a one
that grants it thee with pleasure ;
to such a one thou mayst tell
thy grief
as would wish thou hadst more.
Therefore in thy secret heart
conceal it from thy foe,
let never thy foe know
all thy heart thinketh.

XIV.

XIV.

Þus quad Alfred :
Wis child is fadiris blisse.
Gif it so bitidit
þat þu chil weldest,
þe wile þat hit is litil
þu lere him monnis þewis ;
þanne hit is woxin
he sal wenne þer to ;

Thus quoth Alfred :
Wise child is father's bliss.
If it so betide
that thou hast a child,
while it is little
teach it man's good habits ;
when it is grown up
it shall become used to them ;

þanne sal þe child
 þas þe bet wurþen.
 Ac gif þu les him welden
 al his owene wille,
 þanne he comit to helde
 sore it sal him rewen,
 and he sal banne þat widt
 þat him first tagte.
 Þanne sal þi child
 þi forbod ouergangin.
 Beter þe were child
 þat þu ne hauedest,
 for betere is child vnborn
 þenne vnbeten.

XV.

þus quad Alfred :
 Drunken and vndrunkin,
 eþer is wisdom wel god,
 þarf no mon drinkin þe lasse,
 þan he be wid ale wis ;
 ac [ef] he drinkit
 and desiet þere amorge,
 so þat he for drunken
 desiende werchet,
 he sal ligen long anicht,
 lital sal he sclepen ;
 him sugh sorege to,
 so deð þe salit on fles,
 sukut þuru is liche,
 so dot liche blod ;
 and his morge sclep
 sal ben muchil lestin ;
 werse þe swo on euen
 yuele haued ydronken.

then shall the child
 be all the better for it.
 But if thou let him have
 all his own will,
 when he cometh to age
 sore shall he rue it,
 and he shall curse the creature
 that first taught him.
 Then shall thy child
 thy command set at nought.
 Better were it for thee
 that thou hadst no child,
 for better is child unborn
 than unbeaten.

XV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 To drink and not to drink,
 either is with wisdom good,
 no man need drink the less,
 so he be with all wise ;
 but if he drinketh
 and sots of a morning,
 so that he for drunkenness
 sottishly acteth,
 he shall lie long anight,
 little shall he sleep ;
 sorrow he sucketh in,
 as doth the salt in flesh,
 sucked through his body,
 as doth the body blood ;
 and his morning sleep
 shall be long lasting ;
 worse whoso at evening
 hath evil drunk.

XVI.

þus quad Alfred :
 Ne sal þu þi wif
 bi hire wlite chesen,
 ne for non athte to þine bury
 bringen her þu ;
 hire costes cuþe*
 * * * *
 for moui mon for athte
 iuele ihasted,
 and ofte mon on faire
 fokel chesed ;
 wo is him þat iuel wif
 brinhit to is cotlif ;
 so his o liue
 þat iuele wiued,
 for he sal him often
 dreri maken.

XVII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Wurþu neuere
 swo wod ne so drunken
 þat euere sai þu þi wif
 al þat þi wille be ;
 for hif hue sege þe biforen
 þine fomen alle,
 and þu hire mit worde
 wraged hauedest,
 he ne sold it letin
 for þinke liuihinde,

XVI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Thou shalt not thy wife
 choose for her beauty, [home
 nor for her property to thy
 bring her ;
 learn thou her worth
 * * * *
 for many a one for money
 hasteth but ill,
 and for her fairness
 a fickle one chooseth ;
 wo is him that an ill woman
 bringeth to his home ;
 so is he in life
 who hath wived ill,
 for she shall often
 make him dreary.

XVII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Be thou never
 so mad or so drunk
 as ever to tell thy wife
 all that thou willest ;
 for should she see before thee
 all thy foemen,
 and thou with words
 hadst exasperated her,
 she would not let
 for living thing,

* A line is apparently wanting.

<p>þat he ne solde þe upbreidin of þine balesipes. Wimon is wordwod and hauit tunke to swist, þauc he hire selue wel wolde, ne mai he it nowit welden.</p>	<p>that she would not upbraid thee with thy ill doings. Woman is word-mad and hath a tongue too strong, though she herself would well, she can it nowhit govern.</p>
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XVIII.

þus quad Alured :
Wurþu neuere so wod,
ne so desi of þi mod,
þad euere sige þi frend
al þat þe likit,
ne alle þe þonches
þat þu þoch hauist ;
for ofte sibbie men
foken hem bituenen,
and ef it so bilimpit
lo[op]e þat ge wurþen,
þanne wot þi fend
þad her wiste þi frend.
Betere þe bicome
þi word were helden,
for þanne mud mamelit
more þanne hit solde
þanne sculen his heren
ef it iheren.

XIX.

þus quad Alured :
Mani man wenit,
þat he wenin ne þarf,
frend þad he habbe,
þer mon him faire bilait,
seiet him faire biforen,

XVIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Be thou never so mad,
nor so foolish of mood,
as ever to tell thy friend
all that pleases thee,
nor all the thoughts
that nevertheless thou hast ;
for often relatives
quarrel together,
and if so befall
that ye become enemies,
then knoweth thy foe
what thy friend knew before.
Better were it for thee
thy words had been held back,
for when the mouth gossips
more than it should
then will the ears
hear of it.

XIX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Many a one weens,
what he ought not to ween,
that he hath a friend, [mises,
when they make him fair pro-
seems fair before his face,

<p>fokel athenden. So mon mai welþe lengest helden, giu þu neuere leuen alle monnis spechen, ne alle þe þinke þat þu herest sinken ; for moni mon huit fikil mod, and he is monne cuð ; ne saltu neuere knewen wanne he þe wole bipechen.</p>	<p>fickle behind his back. So may one wealth longest hold, if thou uever believest all that people say, nor all the things thou hearest them sing ; for many a man hath fickle mood, and he is familiar with a man ; thou canst never know when he will deceive thee.</p>
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XX.

þus quad Alured :
 Moni appel is widuten grene,
 brit on leme,
 and bittere widinnen ;
 so his moni wimmon
 in hire faire bure,
 schene under schete,
 and þocke hie is [schendful]
 in an stondes wile ;
 swo is moni gadeling
 godelike on horse,
 wlanc on werge*,
 and unwurþ on wike.

XX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Many an apple is green without
 bright in its look,
 and bitter within ;
 so is many a woman
 in her fair bower,
 beauteous under sheet,
 and yet she is shameful
 in an hour's time ;
 so is many a comrade
 goodly on horseback,
 proud on his steed,
 and worthless in war.

XXI.

þus quad Alured :
 Idilscipe
 and orgul-prude,
 þat lerit gung wif

XXI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Idleness
 and pride,
 these teach a young woman

* merge ?

leþere þewes,
 and often to þenchen
 don þat he ne scolde,
 gif he for swuken
 swoti wuere,
 swo hie ne þochte ;
 ac þoch hit is iuel
 to beuen þat ter tre
 ben ne ville ;
 for ofte mused þe catt
 after þe moder.
 Wose lat is wif
 his maister wurþen, [louerd ;
 sal he neuer ben his wordes
 al he sal him rere dreige
 and moni tene
 selliche hawen,
 selden sal he ben on sele.

XXII.

þus quad Alfreuerd :
 Gif þu frend bigete
 mid þi fre bigete,
 loke þat þu him þeine
 mid alle þeuues þines ;
 loke þat he þe be mide
 biforen and bihinden,
 þe bet he sal þe reden
 at alle þine neden ;
 and on him þu maist þe tresten
 þif is trogþe degh.
 Ac gif þu hauist a frend to day
 and to moreuin driuist him auei,
 þenne bes þu one
 al so þu her were

evil habits,
 and often to devise
 how to do what she should not,
 * * * *
 * * * *
 as she expected not ;
 yet it is evil
 to cultivate that which a tree
 will not become ;
 for oft mouseth the cat
 after its mother.
 Whoso letteth his wife
 become his master,
 shall never be lord of his word ;
 but he shall rear him sorrow
 and many losses have
 of various kind,
 seldom shall he be happy.

XXII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 If thou gain a friend
 with thy free gains,
 look that thou serve him
 with all thy means ;
 look that he be with thee
 before and behind,
 the better shall he counsel thee
 at all thy need ;
 and thou mayst rely on him
 if his truth be sound.
 But if thou hast a friend today
 and tomorrow drivest him away,
 then wilt thou be alone
 as thou wert before,

and þanne is þi fe forloren
and þi frend boþen ;
betere þe bicome
frend þat þu newedest.

and then are thy substance
and thy friend both lost ;
better would it be for thee
that friend thou hadst not.

XXIII.

<p>þus quad Alfred : þurh sage mon is wis, and þurh selþe mon is gleu, þurh lesin mon is loð, þuruhluþere wrenches unwurþ ; and hokede honden make þen is hewit to lesen. [mon Ler þu þe neuer ouer mukil to leþen ; ac loke þinne nexte, he is ate nede god ; and frendschipe owerlde fairest to wurchen, wid pouere and wid riche, wid alle men iliche ; þanne maist þu sikerliche seli sittin and faren ouer londe hwar so bet þi wille.</p>	<p>Thus quoth Alfred : Through saws man is wise and through fortune prudent, through falsehood is he hateful, through vile deceit unworthy ; and hooked hands make the his head to lose. [man Teach not thyself over far to go ; but look to thy neighbour, he is good at need ; and friendship in the world fairest to work, with poor and with rich with all men alike ; then mayst thou securely sit in comfort and fare ever the land whither it be thy will.</p>
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XXIII.

XXIV.

þus quad Alured :
Gif þu hauist duge,
and drichen þe senden,
ne þeng þu neuere þi lif
to narruliche leden,
ne þine faires
to faste holden ;
for wer hachte is hid,

XXIV.
Thus quoth Alfred :
If thou hast wealth
and riches are thine,
think thou never thy life
too closely to lead,
nor thy feres
too fast to hold ;
for where aught is hid

þer is armþe inoch ;
 and siker ich it te saige,
 letet gif þe licket,
 swich mon mai after þe
 þi god welden,
 oft binnen þine burie
 bliþe wenden,
 þad he ne wele heren
 mid muþe monegen ;
 ac euere him ofþinket
 þen he þe þenced.

XXV.

þus quad Alured :
 Uretu noth to swiþe
 þe word of þine wiue ;
 for þanne hue bed iwarþed
 mid wordes oþer mid dedes,
 wimmon weped for mod
 ofter þanne fro eni god,
 and ofte lude and stille
 for to wurchen hire wille,
 hue weped oþer wile
 þen hue þe wille biwilen.
 Salamon hid hawit isait,
 hue can moni yuel reid ;
 hue ne mai hit non oþir don
 for wel herliche hue hit bigan.
 þe mon þad hire red folewip
 he bringeþ him to soruge,
 for hit is said in lede,
 cold red is quene red.
 Hi ne sawe hit nocht bi þan

there is poverty enough ;
 and surely I say to thee,
 let it alone if thou wilt,
 such a one after thee
 may rule thy wealth,
 often within thy dwelling
 may make merry,
 as will not hear thee
 mentioned by mouth ;
 but ever 't will disgust him
 when he thinketh of thee.

XXV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Trust not thou too much
 the words of thy wife ;
 for when she is angered
 by word or by deed,
 a woman weeps for passion
 more than for any good,
 and often loud and still
 for to work her own will,
 she will weep some time or
 other
 then will she beguile thee.
 Salomon hath it said,
 she knoweth many an ill rede ;
 she cannot do otherwise
 for right nobly she began it !
 The man who followeth her
 rede,
 it bringeth him to sorrow,
 for it is said in lede
 cold rede is quean's rede !
 I do not mean to say

and þu in þine helde
werldes welþe weldest,
þi dugeþe gin þu delen

þine dere frend,
hwile þine dages dugen,
and þu þe selwen liue mowe.
Haue þu none leue to þe
þad after þe bileued,
to sone ne to douter,
ne to none of þine foster ;
for fewe frend we sculen finden
þanne we henne funden ;
for he þat is ute biloken
he is inne sone forgotten.

XXVIII.

Þus quad Alured :
Gif þu i þin helde best
welþes bidelid,
and þu ne cunne þe leden
mid none cunnes listis,
ne þu ne moge mid strenghe
þe selwen steren,
þanne þanke þi louerd
of alle is loue,
and of alle þine owene liue,
and of þe dagis licht,
and of alle murþe
þad he for mon makede ;
and hweder so þu hwendes,
sei þu at en ende,
Wrþe þad iwrþe,
iwurþe Godes wille.

and thou in thine age
hast power of worldly wealth,
begin thou to divide thy sub-
stance

among thy dear friends,
while thy days last
and thou thyself mayst live.
Have thou no faith in them
that after thee remain,
neither in son nor daughter,
nor none whom thou hast fed ;
for few friends shall we find
when we depart hence ;
for he that is shut out
is soon forgot within.

XXVIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
If thou in thine age art
deprived of wealth,
and thou canst not guide thee
with any device,
nor mayst with strength
govern thyself,
then thank thy Lord
for all his love,
and for all thine own life,
and for the day's light,
and for all the mirth
which he made for man ;
and whitherso thou goest,
say thou after all,
Let be what may be,
God's will be done.

XXIX.

þus quad Alured :
 Werldes welþe
 to wurmes scal wurþien,
 and alle cunne madmes
 to nocht sulen melten,
 and þure lif sal
 lutel lasten.
 For þu mon weldest
 al þis middelert,
 and alle þe welþe
 þad þe inne wonit,
 ne mist þu þi lif lengen
 none wile,
 bote al þu it salt leten
 one lutele stunde,
 and al þi blisse
 to bale sal iwurþen,
 bote þif þu wurche
 wille to Criste. [selwen
 For þiþengþe we mus us
 to leden ure lif,
 so God us ginnid leten ;
 þenne muge we wenen
 þad he us wile wurþen ;
 for swo saide Salomon,
 þe wise Salomon,
 wis is þad wel doþ
 hwile he is in þis werld boþ,
 euere at þen ende he comid
 þer he hit findit.

XXIX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 World's wealth
 to worms shall turn,
 and all kinds of treasure
 shall melt away to nought,
 and our life
 shall little last. [rule
 For though, man, thou shouldst
 all this earth,
 and all the wealth
 that in it dwelleth,
 thou canst not lengthen thy life
 a single hour,
 but thou must leave it all
 one little moment,
 and all thy bliss
 to bale shall turn,
 except thou work
 the will of Christ.
 For we must bethiuk ourselves
 to lead our lives,
 as God permitteth ;
 then may we hope
 that he will do us honour ;
 for so said Salomon,
 the wise Salomon,
 wise is he that doth well
 while he is in this world,
 ever at length he cometh
 where he will find it.

XXX.

þus quad Alured :
 Sone min swo leue,
 site me nu bisides,
 and hich þe wile sagen
 soþe þewes.
 Sone min ich fele
 þad min hert falewidþ,
 and min wlite is wan,
 and min herte woc,
 mine dagis arren nei done,
 and we sulen unc todelen ;
 wenden ich me sal
 to þis oþir werlde,
 and þu salt bileuen
 in alle mine welþe.
 Sone mine ich þe bidde,
 þu ard mi barin dere,
 þad þu þi folck be
 fader and for louerd ;
 fader be þu wid child,
 and be þu wuidewis frend ;
 þe arme gume þu froueren,
 and þe woke gume þu coueren ;
 þe wronke gume þu ristin
 mid alle þine mistin ;
 and let þe sune mid lawe,
 and lowien þe sulen drigtin,
 and ower alle oþir þinke
 God be þe ful minde ;
 and bide þad he þe rede
 at alle þine dedis ;
 þe bet sal he þe filsten
 to don al þine wille.

XXX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear,
 sit now beside me,
 and I will tell thee
 true manners.
 Son of mine, I feel
 that my heart falloweth,
 and my beauty is wan,
 and my heart weak,
 my days are uigh done,
 and we must part from one
 I shall depart [another ;
 unto this other world,
 and thou shalt remain
 in all my wealth.
 Son of mine, I bid thee,
 thou art my dear child,
 that thou be to thy people
 a father and a lord ;
 be thou a father to the child,
 and a friend to the widow ;
 the poor man do thou comfort,
 and the weak man defend ;
 the wrong man bring to right
 with all thy might ;
 and guide thee, son, by law,
 and the Lord shall love thee,
 and above all other thoughts
 remember well thy God,
 and pray that he counsel thee
 in all thy deeds ;
 the better shall he aid thee
 to do all thy will.

XXXI.

þus quad Alured :
 Sone min so dere,
 do so ich þe lere ;
 be þu wis on þi word,
 and war oþine speche,
 þenne sullen þe lowien
 leden alle.
 þe gunge men do þu lawe,
 þad helde lat is lond hawen.
 Drunken mon þif þu mestes
 in weis oþer in stretes,
 þu gef him þe weie reme
 and let him ford gliden ;
 þenne mist þu þi lond
 mid frendchipe helden.
 Sone þu best bus þe
 sot of bismare word
 and bet him siwen þer mide,
 þad him ginne to smerten.
 And baren ich þe bidde
 þif þu on benche sitthest,
 and þu þen beuir hore sixst
 þe biforen stonden,
 buch þe from þi sette
 and bide him sone þer to,
 þanne welle he sawin
 sone one his worde,
 Wel worþe þe wid,
 þad þe first taite.
 Sete þanne seiþin
 bisiden hem seluen,
 for of him þu mist leren
 listis and fele þeues,

XXXI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear,
 do as I teach thee ;
 be thou wise of thy word,
 and wary of thy speech,
 then shall all people
 love thee.
 To the young give thou law,
 let the old have his land.
 Drunken man if thou meet
 by way or by street,
 give him plenty room
 and let him slip by thee ;
 then mayst thou thy land
 with friendship hold.
 Son, * * *
 fool of abusive words,
 and better be silent thereby,
 that it begin to plague him.
 And child, I command thee
 if thou sittest on bench,
 and seest the hoary head
 before thee stand,
 bow from thy seat
 and invite him soon thereto,
 then will he say
 soon on his word,
 Well be with thee,
 who first taught thee.
 Sit then afterwards
 beside himself,
 for of him thou mayst learn
 list and many manners,

þe baldure þu mist ben ;	the bolder thou mayst be ;
[ne] forlere þu his reides ;	forget not his counsels ;
for þe helder man me mai	for the old man we may out-
ofriden	ride
betere þenne ofreden.	better than out-counsel.

XXXII.

Þus quad Alured :
 Sone min so dere,
 ches þu neuere to fere
 þen lufere lusninde mon,
 fore he þe wile wrake don.
 From the wode þu mitht te
 faren
 wid wilis and wid armes,
 ac þanne þu hid lest wenest
 þe lufere þe biswiket ;
 þe bicche bitit ille
 þan he berke stille ;
 so deit þe lusninde lufere mon,
 ofte þen he dar it don.
 þan he be wiþuten stille,
 he bit wiþinen hille,
 and al he bifulit his frend
 þen he him vnfoldit.

XXXIII.

Þus quad Alured :
 Lewe sone dere,
 ne ches þe neuere to fere
 þen hokerfule lese mon,
 for he þe wole gile don ;
 he wole stelin þin haite and
 keren,
 and listeliche onsuerren ;

XXXII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear, [rade
 choose thou never for a com-
 the false, deceitful man,
 for he will do thee mischief.
 From the wild one thou mayst
 escape
 with wiles and with arms,
 but when thou least expectest
 the false one will betray thee ;
 the bitch biteth ill
 when she barketh still ;
 so doth the false, deceitful man
 oft when he dareth.
 When he is quiet outwardly,
 he is ill within,
 and all befouls his friend
 when he unfolds himself.

XXXIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Dear son of mine,
 choose never for thy comrade
 the deceitful, false man,
 for he will do thee guile ;
 he will steal thy goods and
 turn,
 and cunningly deny ;

so longe he uole be bi	so long he will be by
he uole brinhin on and tuenti	he will bring one and twenty
to nout, for sothe ich tellit þe,	to nought, for sooth I tell thee,
and oþer he wole liþen and	and else he will be slippery and
hokerful ben ; [aloped	false ; [hate thee
þuru hoker and lesing þe	through treachery and lies shall
alle men þat hen ycnowed.	all men that know him.
Ac nim þe to þe a stable mon	But take to thee a stable man
þat word and dede bisette con,	that word and deed establish
	can,
and multiplien heure god ;	and multiply your good ;
a sug fere þe his help in mod.	a safe fere is he that helps at
	need.

XXXIV.

þus quad Alured :
 Leue sone dere,
 ne ches þu neuere to fere
 littele mon ne long ne red,
 þif þu wld don after mi red.

XXXIV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Dear son of mine,
 choose never for thy mate
 a little man, or long, or red,
 if thou wilt do after my rede.

XXXV.

þe luttele mon he his so rei,	The little man is so conceited,
ne mai non him wonin nei ;	no one can dwell near him ;
so word he wole him seluen	so valuable he counts himself
teir, [beir ;	[master ;
þat is louird maister he wolde	that he will be his own lord's
butehemote himseluen pruden,	unless he can advance himself,
he wole maken fule luden ;	he will make foul company ;
he wole grennen cocken and	he will grin, swagger and chide
chide [den ;	
and hewere faren mid vnlu-	and ever fare with ill manners ;
þif þu me wld ileuen,	if thou wilt believe me,
ne mai me neuer him quemen.	one can never satisfy him.

XXXVI.

þe lonke mon is leþe bei,
 selde comid is herte rei;
 he hauit stoni herte,
 noþing him ne smertep;
 biford dages he is aferd
 of sticke and ston in huge
 þif he fallit in þe fen [werd;
 he þewit ut after men;
 þif he slite into a dige
 he is ded witerliche.

XXXVI.

The long man is ill to be with,
 seldom is his heart brave;
 he hath a stony heart,
 nothing can make him smart;
 before day he is afeard
 of stick and stone hugely;
 if he falls in the mud
 he shouts out after men;
 if he slip into a ditch
 he is dead utterly.

XXXVII.

þe rede mon he is a quet,
 for he wole þe þin iwil red;
 he is cocker, þef and horeling,
 [king. whoreling,
 scolde, of wrechedome he is a scold, of mischief he is king.
 Hic ne sige uout bi þan I do not say for all that
 þat moni ne ben gentile man. that many are not gentlemen.
 Þuru þis lere and genteleri Through this lore and gentility
 he amendit huge companie. he amended a great company.

XXXVII.

The extreme corruptness and obscurity of the language in which this poem is written do not interfere with its interest. A portion of it appeared in Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, which was taken from a MS. at Oxford; and Hearne, Spelman's editor, gave various readings from the portion preserved in Wanley's catalogue.

It is probable that this is derived from a Saxon original, and Ælfred here appears in the traditional character of a teacher; for that there ever was a meeting at Seaford, in which he really delivered the counsels here attributed to him, appears quite out of the question. What is most interesting

is the situation held by Ælfred, and this shows the estimate of his character, which long survived in this land.

Convincing evidence upon this point, however, is found in the dispute between the Owl and the Nightingale, MS. Cott. Cal. A. ix. fol. 230, etc. In the course of their dialogue a number of proverbs are quoted with Ælfred's name, and generally in terms of high compliment to himself.

1. Thu fliztt anizt and nozt adai
tharof ich wndir, and wel mai,
vor eurich thing that shuniet rizt*
hit luuet thuster, and hatiet lizt;
And eurich thing that is lof misdede,
hit luueth thuster to his dede:
a wis word, they hit be unclene,
is fele manne amuthe imene,
for *Alured* king hit seide and wrot;
he shunet that hine wl wot;
ich wene that thu dost also
for thu flizst niztes euermo†.

2. At sume sithe herde i telle
hu *Alured* sede on his spelle;
loke that thu ne be thare
thar chauling beth, and cheste zare,
lat sottes chide, and uorth thu go:
and ich am wis and do al so.
And zet *Alured* seide an other side,
a word that is asprung wide;
that wit the fule haueth imene
ne cumeth he neuer from him cleine†.

3. Vor hit is soth, *Alured* hit seidde,
and me hit mai in boke rede;

* "De quât deit, de schuwet gêrn dat licht."—*Rein. Vos*, l. 25.

† Hule and Night, l. 227.

‡ *Ibid*, l. 293.

eurich thing mai losen his godhede
 mid unmethe, and mid ouerdede :
 mid este thu the miȝt overquatie,
 and ouerfulle maketh wlatie :
 an eurich mureȝth mai agon,
 ȝif me hit halt eure forth in on,
 bute one, that is Godes riche,
 that eure is svete, and eure iliche ;
 theȝ thu nime euere oththan lepe,
 hit is eure ful bihepe ;
 wunder hit is of Godes riche,
 that eure speneth, and eure is iliche*.

4. *Alured* sede, that was wis,
 he mite wel, for soth hit is ;
 nis no man for his bare songe
 lof, ne wrth noȝt suthe longe :
 vor that is a forworthe man
 that bute singe noȝt ne can †.
5. For *Alured* seide, of olde quide,
 and ȝit hit nis of horte iglide ;
 wone the bale is alrehecst,
 thone is the bote alrehecst ‡.
6. Vor *Alurd* seide, that wel kuthe,
 eure he spac mid sothe muthe ;
 wone the bale is alrehecst
 thanne is the bote alrehecst §.
7. Vor soth hit is, that seide *Alured* ;
 ne mai no strengthe aȝen red ||.
8. For hit seide the King *Alfred* ;
 sele endeth wel the lothe,
 and selde plaideth wel the wrothe**.

* Hule and Night, l. 349.

† *Ibid.*, l. 569.‡ *Ibid.*, l. 685.§ *Ibid.*, l. 697.|| *Ibid.*, l. 761.** *Ibid.*, l. 930.

9. Wel fiȝt that wel specth, seide *Alured**.

10. For *Alfred* seide a this word,
euch mon hit schulde legge on hord;
ȝef thu isehst he beo icunne
his strenthe is him wel neȝ berunne †.

11. For thi seide *Alfred*, swithe wel,
and his worde was godspel;
there euer euch man the bet him beo,
euer the bet he hine beseo ‡.

It is undoubtedly true, that all the proverbs here quoted are not found in the lines printed from the Trinity MS.; this however only goes to prove that there was once a larger collection current under Alfred's name, or else that his traditional reputation was of such a nature as to make it justifiable to attribute any wise saying to him.

The proverbs which are thus put into Alfred's mouth are important from their antiquity, and of the more value to us because some of them correspond to proverbs already alluded to in this introduction. Such of these as I have observed I shall now proceed to note; others of them, again, are found at a later period in other languages of Europe.

8. l. 2. Men rehersen in theire sawe
hard it is to stryue wyth wynde or wawe,
whether it doo ebbe or els fflowe.

Piers of Fulham (Ancient Met. Tales, p. 131.)

He is nat wise agayne the stream that striueth.

Skelton, Pithy, Pleas. and Prof. Workes, p. 54.

Eu son Arnautz qu'amas l'aura,
e catz la lebr'ab lo bueu,
e nadi contra suberna.

Arnaut Daniel. (Parnasse. Occitanien, 257).—See also Grüter, p. 120; Howell, Eng. Prov. pp. 9, 11; Adagia, p. 30; Gartner, Dict. 28, 36 ð.

* Hule and Night, l. 1062. † *Ibid.*, l. 1211. ‡ *Ibid.*, l. 1257.

10. 1. 8. Es wechat kein kraut für den todt im garten.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39.

Fyrir dauthans makt, er engin urt vaxin.

Meidinger, Dict. Prov. Island, p. 581.

Wäre nun für den Tod ein Kraut gewachsen, so würde es sehr theuer seyn, und die reichen würden es allein kaufen und bekommen können, und es vor den Armen verbergen, daher den ein Ungleichheit unter den Menschen entstehen würde. Gott aber ist ein gerechter Richter, der dem einen wie dem andern thut, dem Reichen wie dem Armen, und alle Menschen auf Erden sterben, auch kein Kraut, dem Tode zu wehren, wachsen lässt.

Baumann, Remarks on Reinke Vos. (Gotsched ed. fol. 1752, fol. 261.)—See also Gartner, p. 72.

14. 1. 1 and 20. Better unborn than untaught.

Howell, Engl. Prov. p. 4.

Non reputes aurum totum quod splendet ut aurum

Nec pulchrum pomum quodlibet esse bonum.

Es ist nicht alles goldt was glintzet.

Ist der apffel rosenfarb der wurm ist darinn.

Two Biblical Proverbs.

20. 1. 2. Schön öpfel seyn auch wohl sauer.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 64.

But al thing, which that shinith as the gold,

ne is not golde, as I have herde ytolde,

ne evry appell, that is faire at iye,

ne is not gode, whatso men clappe or crie.

Chancer, Ch. Ch. Y. 983 (Ur. 123).

Auri natura non sunt splendentia pura.

Es ist nicht alles Golt das da glentzt.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 19, 51 b.

21. 1. 14. Wann die Katz jungen hat so wirdt sie wohl lernen mausen.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 72.

t'wil al muyzen wat van katten komt.

Grüter, Prov. Belg. p. 123.

As the old cock crows so crows the young.

Chi di gallina nasce convien che rozole.

Ray, p. 142.

That that comes of a cat will catch mice.

Chi di gatta nasce sorici piglia.

Ray, p. 85.

Som di gamla sjunga, soa quittera de unga.

Meidinger, Prov. Succ. p. 504.

Prendere maternam bene discit cattula predam.

MS. Bibl. Imp. Vienna, No. 413 (XII Cent.).

The young cocke croweth after the olde.

Adagia, p. 21.

26. 1. 12. A fool's bolt is soon shot.

Heywood, Dial. Taylor, p. 25; Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 7;

Ray, pp. 108, 278.

Vt dicunt multi, cito transit lancea stulti.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 4.

Sottes bolt is sone shote.

Hendynge, 10.

Duke. S. By my faith, he is very swift and sententious.

Touchst. According to the fool's bolt, sir, and such dulcet diseases.

As you like it, act v. sc. 4.

31. 1. 36. Men may the wise outrenne, and not outrede.

Chaucer, Troil. Crea. iv. 1456.

And sothe is seide, Eld hath grete avauntage,

in elde is bothe wysedom and usage;

men may the old outren, but not outrede.

Chaucer, Kn. Tale, 2449. (Ur. p. 19.)

Man mach doude ontlopen, maar niet outraden.

Grüter, Prov. Belg. p. 114.

Man mag den alten vor lauffen, aber nit vorrathen.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 57.

Prudens consilio uetus est vir, tardus eundo.

Entlauffen mag man den alten wol

nicht leicht man ihn entrathen sol.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. p. 102.

32. 1. 10. Perro ladrador, nunca buen mordedor.

Collins, Span. Prov. 258.

Barking dogs bite not the sorest.

George a Greene, *Old Plays*, iii. 37; Ray, p. 76.

Great barkers are no biters.

Howell, *Eng. Prov.* p. 8; *Adagia*, p. 27.

Sinon morderis, cane, quid latrante vereris.

wias schadt dess Hundts bellen der nicht beiss.

Hunde die viel bellen beissen nicht.

Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 68 b.

34, 35, 36, 37. The advice of Alfred to his son, to take neither a short man, a tall man, nor a red-haired man for his friend, because the first will be ambitious and proud, the second without wit or courage, and the third a traitor, is paralleled by a passage in Freidank, p. 85 :

Kurzer man dêmuete
unt roter mit gûete,
unt langer man wise,
der lop sol man prise.

In p. 29 he has another fling at the ambition of short men, when he says,

Hôchvart twinget kurzen man
daz er muoz ûf den zêhen gân.

The same assertion, with additional circumstances, is made in the MS. Harl. 3362, fol. 33 :

þe longe man ys ȝeld wys, þe schort myld ȝeld ys,
Raro breves humiles, longos vidi sapientes.

þe whyth ys ful of cowardys, þe red ful of feloun ys,
Albos audaces, rufos sine prodicione.

to þe blak draw þy knyf, with þe brown led þy lyf.
Cum fusco stabis, cum nigro tela parabis.

In Howell's *English Proverbs*, p. 10, there is a similar saying applied to women,

Long and lazy, little and loud,
Fat and fulsome, pretty and proud ;

which rejoices in the alliteration that popular proverbs love, and which has more than once created and perpetuated them. The faithlessness of red-haired men is known to have been a widely prevailing belief, and to have passed into the proverbs of many European countries: Judas, *in the painted cloth*, has red hair, allusions to which in the works of all our old dramatic writers are far too numerous to require specific reference. I shall content myself with calling attention to a few notices less commonly accessible in this country.

In rufa pelle vix est animus sine felle.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 15.

Raro breves humiles uidi, longos sapientes,
albos audaces, nigros rufosque fideles.

Die Kleinen Leuth haben hohen muth,
ein lang mann selten wunder thut,
ein bleicher mann hat weiber art,
hüt dich vor schwartz vnd rot bart.

Rot bart nie gut ward, sprach Moses.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 25.

Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam,
Multi non rubram sed habent cum crimine nigram.

Man spricht, Roterbart
selten gut ward.

Aber thue sie nicht allein so schelten,
schwarze Bärt gerathen auch selten.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 77, b. 78.

Des nemen bispiel dar an :
und hüete sich ein islich man,
daz niemen ze vil trûwen sol
dem rôten friunt, daz rât ich wol.

Reinh. F. p. 357.

In the later, altered and sectarian form of Norse Mythology the god Thor was red-haired. In the Wilkina Saga, c. 167, the traitor Sibich (Sifeca) has red hair. See a number of examples of this in the preface to Grimm's Reinhart

Fuchs, pp. xxviii. xxix. So among the proverbs which we have already quoted from the Trin. MS. we find,

Rufus habet speciem post Sathanæ faciem.
 Xts plasmanit rufum Sathanamque vocavit,
 Sic laus hic dixit seruus per secula sic sit.
 Im was der bart und daz har
 beidiu rot und viurvar ;
 von den selben horich sagen
 das si valschiu herze tragen.

Wigalois (Benecke. Ed. p. 107, l. 2841).

Quia rufus esset, quæ species malignam naturam designaret,
 iuxta hunc versum,
 Raro breues humiles uidi, rufos que fideles.
 Bebelius, Facet. l. p. 12. b.

Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam.
 Multi non rubram sed habent cum crimine nigram.
 So. MS. Harl. No. 3831.

Raro breues humiles vidi, longos sapientes,
 Albos audaces, rufoque colore fideles.
 MS. Ayc. Brit. Mus. 1640. fol. 48.

The Spaniards have a proverb to the same effect :

Asno coxo, y hombre roxo, y el demonio, todo es uno.

The latter portion of the composition which I have thus attempted to illustrate bears a remarkable resemblance to three didactic poems in three several languages, viz. in English, *Peter Idle Esqre of Kent* ; in French, *Le Castoient d'un pere à son fils* (Barbazan, vol. ii.) ; and in German, *Der Winsbeke* (Benecke. Beiträge, p. 455). All three are moral instructions, delivered by a father to his son, with regard to his conduct in the world. Of these, the Castoient is probably the oldest, being taken from the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, who, himself an apostate Jew, had drawn largely from the *Calila ve Dimna*, and, through this Arabic version, from the *Hitopadesa*, *Pantscha Tantra*, and other

oriental sources. This work however is distinguished by containing a number of charming tales, illustrative of the moral instructions given; and these, which are comparatively rare in the English, are altogether wanting in the German book. In return, the instructions of Peter Idle are remarkable for their religious tone, and *Der Winsbeke* for the beautiful and noble feeling of Christian chivalry, the only deep and solid ground of manly character.

Whether there was ever a Saxon collection attributed to Alfred I cannot say, but think it most probable that there was, since even in the thirteenth century he is mentioned as a great master in that kind of lore*; and yet proverbs, strictly so called, are very rare in Saxon books, their authors being for the most part more occupied with reproducing in England the wisdom of the Latins, than in recording the deep but humorous philosophy of our own people. There is however a collection of moral Apothegms, which sometimes approach the form of proverbs, and are at all events worth attention. They are found in a MS. at Trin. Coll. Camb., and in a Cott. MS. Jul. A. ii. fol. 141, and it is most probable that there are other copies in existence. The text which follows is corrected from the Cotton MS. It is probably to be looked upon as a free paraphrase of the well-known distichs of Cato.

* “Ælfred in prouerbiis ita enituit ut nemo post illum amplius.”—*Ann. Min. Winton. Anglia Sacra*, i. 289.

ANGLO-SAXON APOTHEGMS.

- 1 Ne beo þú tó slæpor, né tó idelgeorn, forþán þe slep 7 þæt ydel fet unþeawas, 7 unhælo þæs lichoman.
- 2 Ðæt we cweðað ðæt sí best after Gode þ̅ man sí gesceadwís, 7 gemetigian cunne ge his sprece, ge his swígan, 7 wíte hwonne he gesprece hæbbe, 7 hwanne him ge-an-swaræd sí.
- 3 Ðonne ðú óðerne man tæle, ðonne geþenc ðú ðæt nán man ne býð leahterleás.
- 4 Ðeáh ðín wíf ðe hwane tówrege, ne geþafa ðú, né ne gelyf ðú ná tó hraðe; forðám hý weorðað manegum tó fínd, forðám he býð ðám hláforde holdra ðonne hyre; forðám hý oft hatiað ðæt se hláford lufað.
- 5 Ne flyt ðú ná wið ánwilne man, ne wið ofersprecenne; manegum is forgifen ðæt he sprecaþ mæig, 7 swíðe feáwum ðæt he sý gesceadwís.
- 6 Wíte ðæs máran þanc ðæs ðe ðú hæbbe, ðane ðas ðe ðe man geháte.
- 7 Ne hopa ðú tó swíðe tó ðám ðe ðe man geháte; ðær lyt geháta bíð, ðær bíð lyt lýgena.
- 8 Ne beo ðú tó ánwille; forðám ðe is gerísenlícre ðæt ðú sí mid rihte ofersteled, ðone ðú oferstele óðerne man mid woge.
- 9 Ðæt býð se mæsta wurðscipe, ðæt mon cunne riht gecnáwan, 7 hit ðonne wylle geþafian.
- 10 Sprecað ofter ymb óðres monnes weldæda, ðonne ymb ðíne ágene, 7 cýð ða manegum monnum.
- 11 Ðonne ðú eald sý, and monige ealde cwidas geáhsod be, dó hi ðonne ðám geóngum tó wítanne.
- 12 Ðeáh ðe mon hwylces hlihge, 7 ðú ðe unscyldigne wíte, ne rehst ðú hwæt hý rædon, oððe rúnion; hý teóð ðe ðæs ðe hý sylfe habbað.

ANGLO-SAXON APOTHEGMS.

- 1 Be not too fond of sleep and idleness, for sleep and idleness bring evil habits, and illness of the body.
- 2 We say that the best thing after God is, that a man be discreet, and understand how to moderate both his speech and his silence, and know both when he has to speak, and when he has got his answer.
- 3 When thou blamest another man, bear thou in mind that no one is altogether free from sin.
- 4 If thy wife accuse any one to thee, permit it not, nor believe thou too soon; for often a wife dislikes many persons, because they love their lord better than her; because she often hates what her lord loveth.
- 5 Contend thou not with a self-willed man, or one of many words; many a man has the gift of speaking, but very few that of discretion.
- 6 Be more thankful for what thou hast, than for what men promise thee.
- 7 Hope not too keenly for what men promise thee; where are few promises, there are few lies.
- 8 Be not thou too self-willed; better it befits thee to be overruled with right, than to overrule another with wrong.
- 9 The best worship is, first to know what is right, next to perform it.
- 10 Speak oftener of other men's good deeds than of thine own, and publish them abroad.
- 11 When thou art old, and many old saws are asked after, do thou communicate them to the young.
- 12 If thou be accused of aught, and know thyself guiltless, heed not what men say or whisper; they blame thee for what they have themselves.

- 13 Ðonne ðú gesæligost sý, geþenc ðonne ðæt ðú mæge un-
sælða geþolian, gif hý ðe on becumað, for ðám ne bið se
ende ealne weg gelíce.
- 14 Ne hopa ðú tó swíðe tó óðres monnes áhtum, oððe tó
óðres monnes deáðe; uncúð hwá lengest libbe.
- 15 Gif ðú earm gewurðe, geþenc ðú ðæt ðín móder ðe nacodne
gebær.
- 16 Ne ondræd ðú ðe deáð tó swíðe; ne geleofað man náht
miriges, ða hwíle ðe mon deáð ondræt.
- 17 Ne forgit ðú hine ðeáh ealne weg, ðý læs ðú þolie ðæs
écan lifes.
- 18 Gif ðe mon mid yfele leánige ðæt ðú tó góde dó, ne wít ðú
hit ná Gode, ac warna ðe silfne ðé ofter; man gehylt ðæt
he hæfð, gif he him ondræt ðæt hit him oðsceóte.
- 19 Ðý mon dæld spærlice, ðe mon nele ðæt hit forberste.
- 20 Gif ðú bearn hæbbe, lær ðá cræftas ðæt hí mægen be ðám
lihban; uncúð hú him æt áhtum gesæle: cræft bið betere
ðonne áhta.
- 21 Ne gehát ðú nán þing tuwa; hwæt sceal hit ðe eft geháten,
búton hit wære ér álogen?
- 22 Ne cýþ ðú witod on wén ðin; wíte máran þanc ðæs ðe ðú
hæbbe, ðonne ðæs ðe ðú wéne.
- 23 Ne beó ðú tó ceastful; of irsunge wyxt seófung, and of
ðære geþwærnesse lufu.
- 24 Ðær ðær ðú neóde irsian scýle, gemetiga ðæt ðeáh.
- 25 Forber oft ðæt ðú wrecan mæge; geþyld bið middes eádes.
- 26 Help ægðer ge cúðes ge uncúðes, ðær ðær ðú mæge; un-
cúð hwár hwá óðres beþurfe.
- 27 Ne wilna ðú ofer ðinne mæd tó wítanne ymbe ða heofon-
lican þing; forðám ðú eart eorðlic man, ácsa ðe æfter
ðám.
- 28 Ne beó ðú on ðinum irre tó ánwille; forðám ðæt irre
oft ánirreð monnes mód, ðæt he ne mæg ðæt riht tó-
cnáwan.

- 13 When thou art most fortunate, bethink thee how thou wilt endure misfortune, if it come upon thee, for the end is not always alike.
- 14 Put not too much hope in another man's goods, or in another man's death; it is unknown who will live longest.
- 15 If thou art poor, remember that thy mother bare thee naked.
- 16 Dread not death too much; there is no mirth in life, when there is dread of death.
- 17 Yet be not ever forgetful of death, lest thou forfeit eternal life.
- 18 If men reward thee with ill, for what thou hast done of good, blame thou not God, but be thyself the better warned; a man takes care of what he has, if he fear to lose it.
- 19 Sparely a man spends, if he wishes his property to last.
- 20 If thou have children, teach them crafts whereby to live; unknown is it how fortune may betide them: better is craft than wealth.
- 21 Promise not a thing twice; what should a second promise be, if the first were not a lie?
- 22 Tell not thy expectation for certainty; give more thanks for what thou hast, than for what thou expectest.
- 23 Be not too quarrelsome; out of anger cometh sighing, but out of gentleness love.
- 24 There where thou must needs show anger, be yet moderate.
- 25 Where thou mayst have revenge, yet often forbear; patience is half happiness.
- 26 Help both the known and the unknown when thou canst; no man knoweth when he may need another.
- 27 Desire not above thy measure to know heavenly things; thou art a man of this earth, therefore enquire respecting it.
- 28 Be not too self-willed in thine anger; for anger often marreth a man's mind so that he cannot distinguish what is just.

- 29 Beó gehalde on ðám ðe ðú hæbbe; unpleolice hit bið on
lytlum scipe and on lytlum wætere, ðonne on miclum scipe
and on miclum wætre.
- 30 Ne wén ðú ðæt se yfela áuht gódes gestreóne mid his yfle;
forðám ðeáh hit sume hwíle forholen wurðe, hit bið æt
sumum cyrre open.
- 31 ðonne ðú geseó geóugran man ðonne ðú sý, 7 unwísran,
and unspédigran, ðonne geþenc ðú hú oft se ofercymð
óðerne, ðe hine ær ofercom; swá mon on ealdum big-
spellum cwyð, ðæt hwílum beó esnes tíð, hwílum óðres.
- 32 Ne séc ðú þurh hlytas hú ðe geweorðan scýle, ac dó swá
ðú betst mæge; eáðe gerædað God ðæt he wile be ðe and
ðine þearfe, ðeáh he hit ðe ær ne secge.
- 33 Forlæt ðæt ðú næbbe tó óðres mannes góde andan; for ðám
ðú swencst ðe silfne swíðor ðonne hine.
- 34 Ne beó ðú tó ormód ðeáh ðe sí on unriht gedémed; lyt
monna weorð lange fægen ðæs ðe he óðerne bewrencð.
- 35 Gif ðú wið hwane sace hæbbe, 7 git ðonne gesemede
weorðan, ne wrec þú ná ða ærran yflu, búton hí mon eft
niwige.
- 36 Ne dó ðú ðe náðer, né ðe silfne ne hera, né ðe silfne ne
leáh; ægðer ðára is dysigra manna þeáw, ðe swincað æfter
leásun gilpe.
- 37 ðæt is wísdóm, ðæt wís man licette dysig; and ðæt is ðæt
mæste dysig, ðæt dysig man licette wísdóm.
- 38 Swá man máre sprycð, swá him læs manna gelýfeð.
- 39 Gif ðú hwæt on druncen misdó, ne wít ðú hit ðám ealoðe;
forðám ðú his weólde ðe silf.
- 40 Nafa ðú tó yfel ellen, ðeáh ðe sum unwilla on becume; oft
brincð se woruld ðone willan ðe bið eft.
- 41 Ne weorðe ðe næfre tó þæs wá, ðæt ðú ne wéne betran
audergilde; forðám ðe se wéna ðe næfre ne læt forweorðan.
- 42 Ne ceós ðú nánne man be his æhtum, né ðine ágene . . .

- 29 Be content with what thou hast ; less danger is there in a little ship on a little water, than in a great ship on a great water.
- 30 Think not that the evil man obtains any good with his evil ; for though at some time it be hidden, at some time it will be revealed.
- 31 When thou seest a younger, a less wise, or a less fortunate man than thyself, remember how often he that was before surpassed surpasseth another ; even as in old proverbs men say, Whilome is the serf's time, whilome another's.
- 32 Seek not by divination what shall befall thee, but do thy best ; God will easily decide according to his will respecting thee and thy need, although he tell thee not beforehand.
- 33 Beware that thou envy not another man's good fortune ; for thou troublest thyself more than him.
- 34 Be not too indignant, though thou receive unjust judgment ; few men rejoice long in what they have got by deceiving others.
- 35 If thou have a quarrel with another, and ye be reconciled, avenge not the old wrong, unless it be renewed.
- 36 Do thou neither of these things, praise not thyself, nor yet belie thyself ; either is a fool's custom, that laboureth after vain-glory.
- 37 That is wisdom, that a wise man should pretend folly ; and that is the greatest folly, that a fool should pretend wisdom.
- 38 The more a man speaks, the less men believe him.
- 39 If thou have misdones in drunkenness, blame not the drink ; for thou thyself hadst it in thy power.
- 40 Have no desire to evil, though some annoyance come on thee ; often the world brings back the thing thou desirest.
- 41 Be never so sorrowful as not to hope for better retribution ; for that hope will let thee never perish.
- 42 Choose thou no man for his wealth, nor thine own . . .

- yr ; monig man hæfð micel feax on foran heáfde, and weorð
færlíce caluw.
- 43 Bysiga ðe be sumum men ; forðon bið ælces mannes lif
sumes mannes lár.
- 44 Ne forsuwa ðú ná ðæt unteala gedón sý, ðý læs men wénon
ðæt hit ðe lícige.
- 45 Gif ðe mon for rihtre scylde brocie, geþola hit wel, and beó
his wel gepafa.
- 46 Wrec ðe gemetlice, and eác swá gebær, ðý læs ðe men
leásunga teó, ðæt ðú ðíne cysta cýðe.
- 47 Ne hlyst ðú ná ungesceadwises monnes worda ; forðon
monig mon hæfð ðone unþeáw, ðæt he ne can nyt sprecan,
né ne can geswígian.
- 48 Ne rece ðú ná weámódes wifes worda, forðám heó wile oft
mid wópe geswígian.
- 49 Ne ondræd ðú ðe deáð tó swíðe for nánnum wíte, ðeáh he
ðe ful góð ne þynce ; he bið ælces yfeles ende, 7 né cyrð
he næfre má.
- 50 Forseó ðysse worulde wlenco, gif ðú wille beón welig on
ðínum móde ; forðám ða ðe ðæs welan gitsiað, hí bið
symle wædlan and earmingas on hyra móde ; ac beó ge-
healden on ðínum gecynde, ðonne hæfst ðú genoh.
- 51 Gif ðú ðín ágen myrre, ne wít ðú hit ná Gode, ac warna
ðe silfue.
- 52 Brúc ðínra æhta, ða hwíle ðe ðú hál sý ; se unl . . . la
gitsere áh ðæt feoh, and náh hine silfne.
- 53 Gepola ðínes hláfordes irre 7 ðínes láreowes, ðeáh ðe he . . .
- 54 Gif ðe þynce ðæt ðú tó wræne sý, wít ðat ðíure ceólen for
ðám unnyttan lustan.
- 55 Dysig mon ondræt nytenu, and ne ondræt ðone mon ðe
hine teala lære.
- 56 Gif ðú strengðe hæbbe, brúc ðære tó nytte.
- 57 Leorna hwæthwæge cræftas ; ðeáh ðe ðíne sælða forlæton,
ne forlæt ðú ðíne cræft.

- many a man has plenty hair on his forehead and becomes bald of a sudden.
- 43 Busy thyself with some man ; for every man's life is some man's lore.
- 44 Conceal not the wrong thou knowest to be done, lest some men think it pleased thee.
- 45 If thou art blamed for a just cause, bear it well, and be satisfied therewith.
- 46 Revenge thyself moderately, and so also bear, lest men accuse thee of falsehood, that thou mayst show thy virtues.
- 47 List not the indiscreet man's words ; for many a man hath the bad habit, that he can say nothing to the purpose, nor yet hold his peace.
- 48 Heed not an angry woman's words, for she will often be silent with weeping.
- 49 Dread not death too much for any cause, though thou like it not well ; death is the end of every ill, and never will return.
- 50 Despise this world's wealth, if thou wilt be wealthy in thy mind ; for they who covet this wealth are ever poor and wretched in their minds ; but be satisfied in thy kind, then hast thou enough.
- 51 If thou mar thine own fortune, blame not God, but warn thyself.
- 52 Enjoy thy fortune while thou art whole ; the . . . avaricious man has his wealth, but has not himself.
- 53 Bear thy lord's anger and thy teacher's, though . . .
- 54 If thou think that thou art too lascivious, blame thy belly for thy mischievous lusts.
- 55 Many a one dreads the beasts, but dreads not the man who teacheth him well.
- 56 If thou have strength, put it to a good use.
- 57 Learn any sort of craft ; though thy wealth desert thee, desert not thou thy craft.

- 58 Ne beo ðú tó ofersprece, ac hlyst ælces monnes worda swiðe georne; forðám word ge-openað ælces monnes geþanc and his þeawas, ðeah hí hwílum behelie.
- 59 Gif ðú hwilcne cræft cunne, begá ðone georne; swá swá sorge and ymbhogan ge-ýceð monnes mót, swá ge-ýcð se cræft his áre.
- 60 Leorna hwæthwego æt ðám wisan, ðæt ðú mæge læran ðone unwisan; ægðer ðára is swiðe nyt weorc 7 gerisenlic.
- 61 Gif ðú wile hál beón, drinc ðe gedestlice; ælc oferfyl and ælc ydel fet unhælo.
- 62 Ne læt ðú unlofod ðæt ðú swutele ongite ðæt licwyrðe sý; ðær ðe áuht tweóge, lofa ðæt gemetlice, ðý læs ðe mon leásunga teó.
- 63 Ne truwa ðú smyllum wedere, né bilewitum men; oft stille wæter staðo brecað.
- 64 ðe tó onhagie; treówlícre hit is be staðe tó [swim-] manne ðonne út on sæ tó seglanne.
- 65 um sælðum tósæle, áhsa ðone láre hit ðý éð gepolian.
- 66 Ne flit ðú ná wið rihtwísne man 7 wið unscyldigne, forðon ðe God wyrð rihte dómas.
- 67 Era mid ðinum oxan, and offra mid ðinum récelse; dysige bið ða men ðe wénað ðæt hí cweman Gode ðonne hí cwellað hyra oxan.
- 68 Ælce dæge ðú bíst unnyt, gif ðú nelt Gode þancian ðines lifes.
- 69 ðeah ðe monig mon herige, ne gelýf ðú him tó wel; ac ðæs hlisan þenc ðe silf hwæt ðæs sóðes sý, læs ðe scamion.
- 70 Gif ðe mon onleóge, fægena ðæs; gif ðe mon sóð onsecge, 7 ðeah gemetlice.
- 71 Meng ða bliasse wið ða unrótnesse, forðám hyra náðer ne bið nóht longe bútan óðrum, gif his ne bið tó fela, 7 ðú miht ðe eáð on ðæs ðe ðe on becymð; forðám hyra náðer

- 58 Be not too talkative, but hear all men's words sedulously ;
for words open every man's thoughts and manners, though
for a while he conceal them.
- 59 If thou know any craft, pursue it zealously ; even as sorrow
and reflection increase man's intellect, so craft increaseth
his honour.
- 60 Learn something from the wise, that thou mayst teach the
unwise ; either is a very useful and befitting work.
- 61 If thou wilt be whole, drink in moderation ; all excess and
idleness bring illness.
- 62 Leave not that unpraised which thou well knowest to be
praiseworthy ; where thou hast any doubt, praise mode-
rately, lest men accuse thee of falsehood.
- 63 Trust not thou smooth weather, nor a plausible man ; oft
doth still water break the shore.
- 64 . . . please thee ; safer is it to swim by the shore than
to sail out on the sea.
- 65 . . . befall in prosperity . . . ask the teacher . . .
the easier bear.
- 66 Contend not with a righteous man or a guiltless, for God
worketh just judgments.
- 67 Plough with thine ox, and offer with thine incense ; foolish
are the men who think they can please God by slaughtering
their oxen.
- 68 Every day thou art useless, if thou thank not God for thy
life.
- 69 Though many men praise thee, believe them not too readily ;
but think thyself of this reputation, how much of it is true,
lest they bring thee to shame.
- 70 If men lie against thee, be glad of it ; if they charge thee
with truth, and yet this moderately.
- 71 Mix joy with sorrow, for neither of them can long be with-
out the other, if there be not too much of it, and thou
mayst the easier [bear] what cometh upon thee ; for neither

ne mæg beón æltewe bútan óðrum, ðon má ðe se wæta
mæg beón bútan drigum, oððe wearm bútan cealdum, oððe
leóht bútan þýstrum.

- 72 Leorna monige béc, and gehýr monig spel, wíte ðeah
hwylcum ðú gelyfan scýle; feala writað men untela.
- 73 Ne myr ðú eal ðæt hú hæbbe, ðýlæs ðe geþearfe tó óðres
mannes æhtum.
- 74 Ne recst ðú ná tó swiðe hú seó weoruld fullíce ðás
woruld forsiht, ne ondr[æt he him tó] swiðe.
- 75 ðonne hit æfre geþwærust sý, ondræt ðe ðonne ungeþwær-
nisse; 7 ðonne hit ðe fræcnost þynce, wén ðe ðonne frófre,
and áre, and gesélða.
- 76 Beó á getreówra ðonne ðe mon tó wéne, ðýlæs men wénan
ðæt ðú náne næbbe búton wið hlísan.
- 77 Se ðe hiu ealne weg ondræt, se bíð swylce he sý ealne weg
cwellende.
- 78 Gif ðú ðe wyle dón moniges betran, ðonne dó ðú ðe ánes
wyrsan.
- 79 Gif ðú wille ðæt ðe monige olæcan, ðonne olæce ðú ánum
swiðe georne.
- 80 Gif ðú nelle ánum olæcan, forlæt ðonne eal ðæt ðú age,
búton wiste and wæda, and tó swylcum weorcum tól swylce
ðú cunne; olæce ðonne Gode ánum, and ne wilna nánes
monnes olæcunga.
- 81 Gif ðú wylt habban æt monigum men ðæt ðe lícað

of them may be complete without the other, any more than wet can be without dry, or warm without cold, or light without darkness.

- 72 Learn many books, and hear many relations, yet be careful what thou art to believe ; many things men write ill.
- 73 Mar not all thou hast, lest thou have need of other men's good.
- 74 Reck not too much how the world . . . fully despises the world, dreads not too much.
- 75 Whenever thou art best off, dread misfortune ; and when things seem at the worst, then hope for comfort, and honour and prosperity.
- 76 Be ever more trusty than men expect from thee, lest they believe thou hast no truth but for show.
- 77 He that is ever in dread is like a man that is always dying.
- 78 If thou wilt make thyself better than many, make thyself worse than one.
- 79 If thou desirest that many should flatter thee, do thou sedulously flatter one.
- 80 If thou wilt not flatter one, desert all thou hast, save food and raiment, and tools to such work as thou knowest ; flatter then God only, and desire no man's flattering.
- 81 If thou wilt have from many men what thou desirest . . .

PROVERBS OF HENDING.

A COMPOSITION similar in its object and form to those mentioned above is known as the Proverbs of Hending; but it is a more genuine English composition, and contains some of the very best of our national proverbs. There are various copies of it in manuscript: the following is taken from the Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 125, which is of the fourteenth century; I take it, as the nearest at hand.

1.

Mon þat wol of wysdam heren
 at wyse Hendyng he may lernen,
 þat wes Marcolues sone,
 gode þonkes and monie þewes
 for te teche fele schrewes,
 for þat wes euer is wone.
 Ihu. Crist, al folkes red,
 þat for vs alle þolede ded,
 vpon þe rode tre,
 lene vs alle to ben wys,
 ant to ende in his seruys :
 Amen pour charite.
 God biginning makeþ god endyng, quop Hendyng.

2.

Wyt ant wysdom lurneþ 3erne,
 and loke þat non oþer werne
 to be wys ant hende ;
 ffor betere were to bue wis,
 þen for te where feh and grys,
 wher so mon shal ende.
 Wyt ant wysdom is god warysoun, quop Hendyng.

3.

Ne may no mon þat is in londe,
 ffor noþyng þat he con fonde,
 wonen at home ant spede
 so fele þewes for te leorne,
 as he þat haþ ysoþt ʒeorne
 in wel fele þeode.
 Ase fele þede, ase fele þewes, quop Hendyng.

4.

Ne bue þi child neuer so duere,
 ant hit wolle vnþewes lerne,
 bet hit oþer whyle;
 mote hit al habben is wille
 woltou, nultou, hit wol spille,
 ant bicom a fule.
 Luef child lore byhoueþ, quop Hendyng.

5.

Such lores ase þou lernest,
 after þat þou sist and herest,
 mon in þyue ʒouþe,
 shule þe on elde folewe
 boþe an eue ant amorewe,
 and bue þe fol couþe.
 Whose ʒong lerneþ, olt he ne leseþ, quop Hendyng.

6.

ʒef þe luste a sunne don,
 ant þy þoht bue al þeron,
 ʒet is god to blynne;
 for when þe hete is ouercome,
 ant þou haue þy wyt ynome,
 hit shal þe lyke wynne.
 Let lust ouergon, eft hit shal þe lyke, quop Hendyng.

7.

3ef þou art of þohtes lyt,
 ant þou falle for vumyþt
 in a wycked synne,
 loke þat þou do hit so selde
 in þat sunne þat þou ne elde,
 þat þou ne deʒe þerinne.
 Betere is eyesor þen al blynd, quoþ Hendyng.

8.

Me may lere a sely fode
 þat is euer toward gode,
 wiþ a lutel lore ;
 ʒef me nul him forþer teche,
 þen is herte wol areche
 for te lerne more.
 Sely chyld is sone ylered, quoþ Hendyng.

9.

ʒef þou wolt fleysh lust ouercome,
 þou most fist and fle ylome
 wiþ eye ant wiþ huerte ;
 of fleysh lust comeþ shame,
 þaþ hit þunche þe body game
 hit doþ þe soule smerte.
 Wel fyþt þat wel flyþ, quoþ Hendyng.

10.

Wis mon halt is wordes ynne,
 for he nul no gle bygynne
 er he haue tempred is pype ;
 sot is sot, and þat is sene,
 ffor he wol speke wordes grene
 er þen hue buen rype.
 Sottes bolt is sone shote, quoþ Hendyng.

11.

Tel þou neuer þy fomon
 Shome ne teone þat þe is on,
 þi care ne þy wo ;
 for he wol fonde ʒef he may,
 boþe by nyhtes ant by day,
 of on to make two.

Tel þou neuer þy fo þat þy fot akeþ, quop Hendyng.

12.

ʒef þou hauest bred ant ale
 ne put þou nout al in þy male,
 þou del hit sum aboute ;
 be þou fre of þy meeles,
 wher so me eny mete deles
 gest þou nout wiþoute.

Betere is appel yʒeue þen y-ete, quop Hendyng.

13.

Alle whyle ich wes on erþe
 neuer lykede me my werþe
 ffor none wynes fylle,
 bote myn and myn owen won,
 wyn ant water, stok and ston,
 al goþ to my wille.

Este bueþ oune brondes, quop Hendyng.

14.

ʒef þe lackeþ mete oper cloþt,
 ne make þe nout for þy to wroþt,
 þaþ þou byde borewe ;
 for he þat haueþ is god ploþ
 ant of worldes wele ynoh,
 ne wot he of no sorewe.

Gredy is þe godles, quop Hendyng.

15.

3ef þou art riche, ant wel ytold,
 ne be þou noþt þarefore to bold,
 ne wax þou nout to wilde ;
 ah bere þe feyre in al þyng,
 ant þou miht habbe blessyng,
 ant be meke ant mylde.

When þe coppe is follest, þenne ber hire feyrest, quop Hendyng.

16.

3ef þou art an old mon,
 tac þou þe no 3ong wommon
 for te be þi spouse ;
 for loue þou hire ner so muche
 hue wol telle to þe lute
 in þin oune house.
 Moni mon synges
 when he hom bringes
 is 3onge wyf ;
 wyste wat he brohte,
 wepen he mohte,
 er his lyf syþ——quop Hendyng.

17.

þah þou muche þenche
 ne spek þou nout al ;
 Bynde þine tonge
 wiþ bonene wal ;
 Let hit don synke
 þer hit vp swal ;
 Denne myþt þou fynde
 frend oueral.

Tonge brekes bon, and nad hire selue non, quop Hendyng.

18.

Hit is mony gedelyng
 When me him ʒeueþ a lutel þyng,
 waxen wol vnsaft ;
 hy telle he deþ wel by me
 þat me ʒeueþ a lutel fe,
 ant oweþ me riht nāht.
 þat me lutel ʒeueþ, he my lyfis on, quop Hendyng.

19.

Mon þat is luef don ylle,
 when þe world goþ after is wille,
 sore may him drede ;
 ffor gef hit tyde so þat he falle,
 men shal of is owen galle
 shenchen him at nede.
 þe bet þe be, þe bet þe by-se, quop Hendyng.

20.

þah þe wolde wel bycome
 for te make houses roume,
 þou most nede abyde,
 ant in a lutel hous wone,
 force þou fele þat þou mowe,
 wiþouten euel pryde.
 Vnder boske shal men weder abide, quop Hendyng.

21.

Holde ich no mon for vnsele
 oþer whyle þah he fele
 sum þyng þat him smerte ;
 for when mon is in treye and tene
 þenne hereþ God ys bene
 þat he byd myd herte.
 When þe balé is hest, þenne is þe bote nest, quop Hendyng.

22.

Draþ þyn hond sone aȝeyn
 ȝef men þe doþ a wycke þayn,
 þer þyn ahte ys lend ;
 so þat child wiþdraweþ is hond
 from þe fur ant þe brond,
 þat haþ byfore bue brend.
 Brend child fur dredeþ, quop Hendyng.

23.

Such mon haue ich lend my claþ
 þat haþ maked me fol wroþ
 er hit come aȝeyn :
 ah he þat me ene serueþ so,
 ant he eft bidde mo
 he shal me fynde vnfeyn.
 Selde comeþ lone lahynde hom, quop Hendyng.

24.

ȝef þou trost to borewyng,
 þe shal fayle mony þyng
 loþ when þe ware ;
 ȝef þou haue þin oune won,
 þenne is þy treye ouergon
 al wyþoute care.
 Owen ys owen, and oþer mennes edueþ, quop Hendyng.

25.

þis worldes loue ys a wrecche,
 whose hit here me ne recche
 þah y speke heye,
 for y se þat on broþer
 lutel recche of þat oþer,
 be he out of ys eȝe.
 Fer from eȝe, fer from herte, quop Hendyng.

26.

þah vch mon byswyke me,
 þat of my god makeþ him fre
 for te gete word,
 ant himself is þe meste qued
 þat may breke eny bred
 at ys oune boord.

Of vnboht hude men kerueþ brod þong, quop Hendyng.

27.

Moni mon seiþ, were he ryche
 ne shulde non be me ylyche
 to be god ant fre,
 for when he haþ oht bygeten
 al þe fredome is forþeten,
 ant leyd vnder kne.

He is fre of hors þat ner nade non, quop Hendyng.

28.

Moni mon mid a lutel ahte
 ʒeueþ is dohter an vnmahte
 ant lutel is þe bettere ;
 ant myhte wiþ oute fere
 wis mon ʒe(f) he were
 wel hire haue bysette.

Lyht chep luþere ʒeldes, quop Hendyng.

29.

Strong ys ahte for te gete,
 and wicke when me hit shal lete,
 wys mon, tak þou ʒeme ;
 al to dere is boþt þat ware
 þat ne may wyþoute care
 monnes herte queme.

Dere is boþt þe hony þat is licked of þe þorne, quop Hendyng.

30.

Mon þat munteþ ouer flod,
 whiles þat þe wynd ys wod
 abyde fayre ant stille;
 abyd stille 3ef þat þou may
 and þou shalt haue anoþer day
 weder after wille.

Wel abit þat wel may þolye, [quop Hendyng.]

31.

þat y telle an euel lype
 mon þat doþ him in to shype
 whil þe weder is wod;
 for be he come to þe depe
 he mai wrynge hond, ant wepe,
 and be of drery mod.

Ofte rap reweþ, quop Hendyng.

32.

Mihte þe luþer mon
 don al þe wonder þat he con,
 al þe world forferde,
 he fareþ so doþ þe luþer grom
 þat men euer beteþ on
 wiþ one smerte 3erde.

Of alle mester men mest me hongep þeues, quop Hendyng.

33.

Wicke mon, ant wicke wyf,
 when hue ledeþ wicke lyf
 and buen in wicked synne,
 hue ne shule hit so wende,
 þat hit ne shal atte ende
 show himself wyþ ynne.

Euer out comeþ euel sponne web, quop Hendyng.

34.

Betere were a riche mon
 for te spouse a god womon,
 þaþ hue be sumdel pore,
 þen to brynge into his hous
 a proud quene ant daungerous,
 þat is sumdel hore.

Moni mon for londe wyueþ to shonde, quop Hendyng.

35.

Ne leue no mon child ne wyf,
 when he shal wende of þis lyf,
 ant drawe to þe deþe ;
 for mowe he þe bones bydelue,
 and þe ahte welde hemselue,
 of þi soule huem ys eþe.

Ffrendles ys þe dede, quop Hendyng.

36.

The glotoun þer he fynt god ale
 he put so mucche in ys male,
 ne leteþ he for non eye ;
 so longe he doþ vch mon ryþt,
 þat he wendeþ hom by nyþt,
 ant lyþ ded by þe weye.

Drynke eft lasse, and go by lyhte hom, quop Hendyng.

37.

Riche ant pore, 3onge ant olde,
 whil 3e habbeþ wyt at wolde,
 secheþ ore soule bote ;
 ffor when 3e weneþ alrebest
 ffor te haue ro and rest,
 þe ax ys at þe rote.

Hope of long lyf gyleþ mony god wyf, quop Hendyng.

Hendyng seiþ soþ of mony þyng :
 Ihu. Crist, heuene kyng,
 vs to blisse brynge :
 ffor his sweet moder loue,
 þat sit in heuene vs aboue,
 3eue vs god endyng. Amen.

What Alfred was in a composition already printed, Hending is in this. He and Marcolf, his father, are traditional alike*; his name denotes *artificiosus, callidus, habilis*, and is a good description of his character. He appears to have enjoyed an extended reputation. Andrew of Wyntoun quotes him for a proverb which nearly resembles the first in our collection :—

Al þe law gud, and sua gud fyne,
 makis al þo sowm gud, said Endyne :

that is, God biginning maketh god endyng, quoth Hending. It is probable that various collections of proverbs, at various times, passed under this name as well as Alfred's, whose traditional successor he was in the popular creed. Indeed some of Hending's proverbs, which are no longer found in Alfred's, are yet referred to that prince in the Owl and Nightingale; such are the 19th and 21st, which are severally quoted in passages already printed. In the twelfth century then, "England's darling" was still the popular representative of the popular wisdom; in the fourteenth, when Alfred was forgotten, a new personage was to be introduced: but tradition is a strange and uncertain thing, and has instincts which rarely err: in all probability Hending, Marcolf's son—that is, Marcolf himself—only resumed rights of which the king's reputation had dispossessed him.

The proverbs themselves are all thoroughly Teutonic, some

* I have unaccountably omitted this passage in the chapter which treats of the traces of the story in England.

of them thoroughly English; some are in alliterative verse, others in rhyme: I subjoin parallels to one or two of them only, thinking little more illustration of this sort necessary.

3. Ase fele þede, ase fele þewes.
 For thus men sain, Eche countre hath its lawes.
 Troil. and Cress. 2, 42.
 Ländlich sittlich.
 Germ. Prov.
5. Whose 3ong lerneþ, olt he ne leseþ.
 Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
 Testa diu.
 Huad man ung nemmer, det man gammel icke forglemmrr.
 Not. Uber. in Saxon. Gramm. p. 68.
 Quod puer adsuescit, leviter dimittere nescit.
 Gartner, Dicteria, p. 24 b.
7. Betere es eye-sor þen al blynd.
 Luscus præfertur cæco, sic undique fertur.
 Es ist viel besser scheel dann blindt.
 Gartner, Dict. Prov. p. 93.
 En tierra de ciegos el tuerto es rey.
 Span. Prov.
9. Wel fypt þat wel flyp.
 Wel fi3t þat wel fi3t, seip þe wise.
 Owl and Nightingale.
13. Este bueþ oune brondes.
 Scintillæ proprie sunt michi delicie.
 MS. Trin. Coll. f. 365.
15. When þe coppe is follest, þenne ber hire feyrest.
 Man sol vollen becher tragen
 ebene, hoerich dicke sagen.
 Freydank, p. 114.
 Vas plenum recto qui tenet orbe ferat.
 Reinard. Vulp. 4. 300.

Ich hain ducke horen sagen
 vollen kopp sal men euen dragen,
 so we in doch vol schenckt zo maissen,
 hic sal sich debas dragen raissen.
 Cöln. Reim-chron. 3740.

18. Me vult vitalem qui dat mihi rem modicalem.
 MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 39.

22. Brannyn cat dredith feir.
 Beryn. ProL Urry. p. 595.

25. Quod raro cernit oculi lux, cor cito spernit.
 MS. Trin. Col. f. 365.

Qui procul est oculis, procul est a lumine cordis.
 Gartner, Dict. 8. b.

Out of sight, out of mind.
 Eng. Proverb.

26. De cute non propria maxima corrigia.
 MS. Trin. Coll. f. 365.

Dótire quir large curreie.
 MS. C. C. C. p. 253.—Vid. also Heywood, Dial. pt. 2.
 ch. 5 ; Collins's Span. Prov. p. 98 ; Garta. Dict. p. 10. b*.

SAINT SERF AND THE DEVIL.

IN Andrew of Wyntoun's "Cronykil of Scotland," (written probably about the end of the fourteenth century) there is a dialogue of some interest between the celebrated Saint Serf and the Devil, which, after continuing for some time upon cabalistic and biblical points, ends in the eminent triumph

* The 10th, 11th, 17th, 19th and 21st stanzas have been already illustrated.

of the Saint and confusion of his adversary. I quote it from Macpherson's edition (Lond. 1795), ch. 12, vol. i. p. 131.

Qubil Saynt Serfe intil a stede l. 1238
 Lay eftyre maytynis in hys bede,
 þe Devil come, in ful intent
 For til fand hym wytht argument,
 And sayd, Saynt Serfe, be þi werk
 I ken þow art a connand clerk :
 Saynt Serf sayd, Gyve I swa be,
 Foule wreche, quhat is þat for þe ?
 Þe dewyl sayd, þis questyowne
 I ask in oure collatyowne ;
 Sa, quhare wes God, wat þow oucht,
 befor þat hewyn and erd wes wroucht ?
 Saynct Serf said, In himself stedles,
 his Godhed hampryd nevyr wes.
 Þe devel þan askyd, Quhat caus he hade
 to mak þe creaturis þat he made.
 To þat Saynt Serf answeyrd þare,
 of creature mad he wes makare ;
 a makare mycht he nevyr be,
 b(u)t gyve creaturis mad had he.
 Þe dewyl askyd hym, Quhy God of noucht
 his werkis all full gud had wroucht.
 Saynt Serf answeyrd, þat Goddis will
 wes nevyr to mak hys werkis ill :
 and als inwyus he had bene sene
 gyf noucht bot he full gud had bene.
 Saynt Serfe þe dewil askyd þan,
 quhare mad God Adam þe fyrst man.
 In Ebron Adam fowrynd was,
 Saynt Serf sayd. And til hym þan Sathanas
 sayd, Quhare wes he, eft þat for his wyce
 he wes put owt of paradice.

Saynt Serf sayd, Quhare he wes mad.
 þe devil askyd, how long he bade
 in paradyce eftyr hys syne.
 Sevyn howris, Serf sayd, he bad þare in.
 Quhare wes Eve mad, sayd Sathanas :
 in paradyse mad, Serf sayd, scho was.
 At Saynt Serfe þe devil askyd þan,
 quhy God let Adam þe fyrst man
 and Eve syne in paradyce.
 Saynt Serfe sayd, þat mony wys
 God wyst wele, and wndyrstude
 þat þare of suld cum mykil gud :
 for Cryst tuk fleysch mankynde to wyne
 þat wes to payne put for þat syne.
 þe devil askyd quhy mycht noucht be
 all mankynd delyveryd fre
 be þame self, set God had noucht
 þame wyth hys pretyows passyowne boucht.
 Saynt Serfe sayd, þai fell noucht in
 be þame self into þaire syne,
 bot be fals suggestyowne
 of þe devil, þare fa fellowne :
 for þi he chesyd to be borne
 to sauf mankynd þat wes forlorne.
 þe devil askyd at hym þan
 quhy wald noucht God mak a new man,
 mankynd to delyver fre :
 Saynt Serf sayd, þat suld nocht be :
 it suffycyt well þat mankynd
 anys suld cum of Adamys strynd.
 þe devile askyd, quhy þat yhe
 men ar qwyte delyveryd fre,
 throwch Crystis passyowne pretyows boucht,
 and we devilyls swa ar noucht.

Saynt Serfe sayd, for þat yhe
 fell throwch youre awyne inyqwYTE,
 and throwch oure self we nevyr fell,
 bot throwch youre fellowne fals conseil;
 and for yhe devilys war noucht wroucht
 of brukyl kynd, yhe wald nocht
 wyth rewth of hart forthynk youre syn,
 þat throwch yhoure self yhe war fallyn in;
 þarefor Crystis passyowne
 suld nocht be yhoure redemptyowne.
 þan sawe þe dewyl þat he cowde noucht
 wyth all þe wylis þat he sowcht,
 oure cum Saynct Serf, he sayd þan,
 he kend hym for a wys man;
 for þi he þare gave hym gwyte,
 for he wan at hym na profyte.
 Saynct Serf sayd, þow wrech, ga
 fra þis stede, and noy na ma
 into þis stede, I byd þe.
 Suddanly þayne passyd he,
 fra þat stede he held hym away,
 and nevyr was sene þare til þis day. l. 1325.

DEMAUNDES JOYOUS.

THE next composition is reprinted here, in spite of its coarseness, not only for the sake of some curious notions of our fathers which are found therein, but also for the real humour which distinguishes many of the questions and answers. It is a little tract which was printed in 1511, by W. de Worde, with the title, "Demaundes Joyous," and is of extreme rarity, the only copy I ever heard of being the one from which the following pages are taken, and which is preserved in the

Cambridge University Library, A. b. 4. 58. It is a translation from a French book, and a very discreet abridgement of it. The original bears the title, "Demaundes Joyeuses en maniere de quodlibetz," and a copy of it, in black letter, but without date, is found in the British Museum; this was printed before 1500. Apparently another edition of it existed in the Duc de la Vaillère's library, in the catalogue of which (*Belles Lettres*, No. 10,921. vol. iii. p. 324) it is thus noticed: "Les demandes d'Amours, avecque les responses—S'ensuyvent plusieurs Demandes Joyeuses en forme de quolibet. (vers. 1490.) 4^o. Got." It is not without reason that the "en forme de Quodlibets" was added; for this version really contains some of the famous questions which were once held of high theological importance; and by the ridicule with which it surrounds them, even this collection of coarse and profligate jests may have had its effect in accelerating the march of the reformation. In the English version reprinted here the 41st question is of this character*:

Dem.—Which was first, the hen or the egg?

Ans.—The hen *when God made her*.

But this is not the only interest which belongs to this strange collection. Some of the questions and answers are found in the Salomon and Saturn, or Adrian and Ritheus, and consequently form part of that stock of traditional sayings which prevailed with living power among us from the tenth till the sixteenth century, and may perhaps even yet survive unobserved in some parts of Europe.

With these coincidences, which I cannot but look upon as of great importance, before my eyes, I did not think myself justified in withholding this dialogue merely on account of its coarseness, for immorality there is none; especially when this book is not one that can ever be generally circulated, or that is likely to fall under the eyes of those, to bring any

* I have numbered the questions for the sake of reference.

impurity before whom, I hold to be the gravest and least pardonable of sins.

THE DEMAUNDES JOYOUS.

- 1 *DEMAUNDE.* who bare y^e best burden that euer was borne.
—*R.* That bare y^e asse whā our lady fled with our lorde into egypte.
- 2 *Demaunde.* where became y^e asse that our lady rode vpon.
—*R.* Adams moder dede ete her.
- 3 *Demaunde.* who was Adams moder.—*R.* The erthe.
- 4 *Demaunde.* what space is from y^e hiest space of the se to the depest.—*R.* But a stoness cast.
- 5 *Demaunde.* Whā antecryst is come in to this worlde what thyng shall be hardest to hym to knowe.—*R.* A hande barowe, for of that he shall not knowe whiche ende shall goo before.
- 6 *Demaunde.* How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye.—*R.* No more but one and it be longe ynough.
- 7 *Demaunde.* How many holy dayes be there in the yere y^t neuer fall on the sondayes.—*R.* There be eyght, that is to wete y^e thre holy dayes after Eester, iiii after Whytsondaye, the holy ascencyon daye, and corpus crysty daye.
- 8 *Demaunde.* whiche ben y^e trulyst tolde thynges in the worlde.—*R.* Those be y^e steyres of chambres and houses.
- 9 *Demaunde.* Whiche parte of a sergeaūte loue ye best towarde you.—*His* heles.
- 10 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the best wood and leest breute.—*R.* Vynes.
- 11 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the moost profytable beest and that men eteth leest of.—*R.* This is bees.
- 12 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the brodest water and leest Jeopardye to pass ouer.—*R.* The dewe.
- 13 *Demaunde.* What thynges is it that the more that one drynketh y^e lesse he shall pysse.—*R.* It is fartes and

fyestes, for who that drynketh a hondreth thousande they shall neuer pysse a droppe.

- 14 *Demaunde.* What thyng is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be.—*R.* Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattes ere.
- 15 *Demaunde.* Why dryue men dogges out of the chyrche.—*R.* Bycause they come not vp and offre.
- 16 *Demaunde.* Why come dogges so often to the chyrche.—*R.* Bycause whan they se the aulters couered they wene theyr maysters goo thyder to dyner.
- 17 *Demaunde.* Why dooth a dogge tourne hym thryes aboute or y^t he lyeth hym downe.—*R.* Bycause he knoweth not his beddes hede frome the fete.
- 18 *Demaunde.* Why doo men make an ouen in the towne.—*R.* for bycause they can not make the towne in the ouen.
- 19 *Demaunde.* What beest is it that hath her tayle bytwene her eyen.—*R.* it is a catte when she lycketh her arse.
- 20 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the moost cleynlyest lefe amonge all other leues.—*R.* it is holly leues, for noo body wyll not wype his arse with them.
- 21 *Demaunde.* Who was he that lete the fyrst farte at rome.—*R.* That was the arse.
- 22 *Demaunde.* How may a man knowe or perceyue a cowe in a flocke of shepe.—*R.* By syghte.
- 23 *Demaunde.* What thyng is it that hathe hornes at the arse.—*R.* It is a sacke.
- 24 *Demaunde.* What almes is worst bestowed that men gyue.—*R.* That is to a blynde man, for as he hathe ony thyng gyuen hym, he wolde with good wyll se hym hanged by the necke that gaue it hym.
- 25 *Demaunde.* Wherfore set they vpon chyrche steples more a cocke than a henne.—*R.* yf men sholde sette there a henne she wolde laye egges, and they wolde fall vpon mennes hedes.
- 26 *Demaunde.* what thyng is it that hathe none ende.—*R.* A bowle.

- 27 *Demaunde.* What wode is it that neuer flies reste vpon.—
R. The claper of a lazars dysshe.
- 28 *Demaunde.* how wolde ye saye two paternosters for your
 frendes soule, and god neuer made but one paternoster.—
R. Saye one two tymes.
- 29 *Demaunde.* whiche ben the moost profytable sayntes in
 the chyrche.—*R.* They that stonde in y^e glasse wyndowes,
 for they kepe out the wynde for wastynge of the lyght.
- 30 *Demaunde.* what people be they y^t neuer go a processyon.
 —*R.* They be those that ryng y^e belles ein y^e meane
 season.
- 31 *Demaunde.* what is it that freseth neuer.—*R.* That is hote
 water.
- 32 *Demaunde.* What thyge is that, y^t is moost lykest vnto a
 hors.—*R.* That is a mare.
- 33 *Demaunde.* wherfore be there not as many women con-
 teyned in y^e daunce of poules as there be men.—*R.* By-
 cause a women is so scerefull of herte that she had leuer
 daunce amonge quycke folke than deed.
- 34 *Demaunde.* whiche is the clenlyest occupacyon that is.—
 That is a dauber, for he may neyther shyte nor ete tyll he
 hath washed his handes.
- 35 *Demaunde.* what daye in the yere ben the flies moost
 aferde.—*R.* That is on palme sonday, whā they se euery
 body haue an handeful of palme in theyr hande, they wene
 it is to kyll theym w^t.
- 36 *Demaunde.* what tyme of the yere may maydens moost
 with theyr honeste fyest in the chyrche.—*R.* In lent season,
 for than euery sayntes nose and face is couered so that they
 smell nothyng.
- 37 *Demaunde.* what thyng is it the lesse it is the more it is
 dredde.—*R.* A brydge.
- 38 *Demaunde.* wherfore is it that yonge chyldren wepe as
 soone as euer they ben borne.—*R.* Bycause theyr moder is
 noo more mayden.

- 39 *Demaunde.* wherfore is it that an asse hathe so grete eres.
—*R.* Bycause her moder put no begyn on her heed in her
yought.
- 40 *Demaude.* what is it that is a wryte and is no man, and he
dothe that no man can, and yet it serueth bothe god and
man.—*R.* That is a be.
- 41 *Demaude.* whiche was fyrst y^e henne or y^e egge.—*R.* The
henne whā god made her.
- 42 *Demaunde.* why dothe an oxe or a cowe lye.—*R.* Bycause
she can not sytte.
- 43 *Demaude.* what people be they that loue not in no wyse
to be prayed for.—*R.* They be beggers and poore people
whā men say god helpe them whan they aske almes.
- 44 *Demaude.* How many strawes go to a gose nest.—*R.* None
for lacke of fete.
- 45 *Demaunde.* what tyme in the yere bereth a gose moost
feders.—*R.* Whan the gander is vpon her backe.
- 46 *Demaunde.* What was he that slewe the fourth parte of
the worlde.—*R.* Cayne whan that he slewe his broder abell
in the whiche tyme was but foure persones in the worlde.
- 47 *Demaunde.* what was he that was begoten of his fader,
and borne of his moder, and had the maydenhede of his
beldame.—*R.* That was Abell.
- 48 *Demaunde.* what thre thynges be they that the worlde is
moost mayntened by.—*R.* That is to wete by wordes, erbes
and stones. Why with wordes man worshyppeth god, and
as of erbes that is all maner of corne that man is fedde
with, and as stones one is that gryndeth the corne and the
other increaseth the worlde.
- 49 *De.* what is y^e aegge of a felde mous.—*R.* a yere. And a
hedge may stand thre mous lyues, and the lyfe of a dogge
is the terme of thre hedges standynge, and the lyfe of a
hors is thre dogges lyues, and the lyfe of a man is thre hors
lyues, and the lyfe of a gose is thre mennes lyues and y^e
lyfe of a swanne thre gose lyues, and the lyfe of a swalowe

is thre swanne lyues and the lyfe of an egle is thre swallowes lyues, and the lyfe of a serpent is thre egles lyues, and the lyfe of a rauens lyues, and the lyfe of a harte is thre rauens lyues, and an oke groweth v hondreth yere, and it standeth in one state fyue hondreth yere, and it fadeth fyue hondreth yere besyde the rote whyche doubleth thre tymes eueryche of the thre aeges aforesayd.

50 *Demaunde.* A man had thre doughters of thre aeges, whiche doughters he delyuered to sell certayne apples, and he toke to the eldest doughter L apples, and to the seconde xxx apples, and to the yongest ten apples, and all these thre solde in lyke many for a peny, and brought home in lyke moche money now how many solde eche of them for a peny.—*R.* The yongest solde fyrst seuen for a peny, and the other two syster solde after the same pryce, than y^e eldest syster had one odde apple lefte, and the seconde syster two, and the yongest thre apples, now these apples lyked the byer soo well that in contynent he came agayne to the yongest syster and bought of her thre apples after thre pens a pece, than had she ten pens, and the seconde thoughte she wolde kepe the same pryce, and solde her two apples for thre pens a pece, and than she had ten pens, and y^e eldest solde her one apple for thre pens, and than had she ten pens, thus solde they in lyke many apples for a peny and broughte home in lyke moche money.

51 *Demaunde.* what man is he that geteth his lyuyng backward.—*R.* That is rope maker.

52 *Demaunde.* what people be tho that geteth theyr lyuyng most merylyest.—*R.* Tho be prestes and fullers, for one syngeth, and the other daunceth.

53 *Demaunde.* what is he that made all and solde all, and he y^t bought all and loste all.—*R.* A smyth made an alle, and solde it, and the shomaker y^t bought it lost it.

54 *Demaunde.* whether is it bett to lyue by theft or by almes

dedes.—*R.* The rewarde of thefte is to be hanged, and yf thou lyue by almes dedes, that is by beggers tordes.

¶ Thus endeth y^e Demaundes Joyous

Enprynted at London in Fletestre

te at the sygne of the sonne by

me Wynkyn de worde

In the yere of our

lorde a M

c c c c c

and xi

..

It is not without interest to show how far the coincidence between this version and the French original extends. The questions and answers common to both are the following: 1, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 51, 52. Only one half therefore of the English version is taken from the French. The remainder of the questions and answers in our own copy are in general more Teutonic in their character, while the far more numerous details for which they have been substituted, are in the original, of the most uncompromising and undisguised nature,—true *French* of the happy period of Henri III!

We may now proceed to examine rather more in detail the various questions and answers in this dialogue, and to illustrate them from other works which may throw light upon their traditional character, and tend to place before us the nature and direction not less of the philosophy than the humour of our forefathers.

³ The *earth* was Adam's mother: Wolfram von Eschenbach says in his *Parçival* (Lachmann, p. 223),

Diu erde Adâmes muoter was;

and so say the prose *Sal. Sat.* 15; *Ad. Rith.* 28.

¹⁰ *Sal. Sat.* prose, 40.

- 14 Howell, *British Proverbs*, p. 24. Ni wna'r Uygoden ei nyth yn Uosgwyrne y gâth. The mouse will not nestle in the cat's ear.
- 30 This is illustrated by a Spanish proverb (Collins, p. 234). No se puede repicar, y andar en la procesion.
- 38 Far more beautiful is the Spanish reason, which has become a proverb with them; it is thus given by G. Herbert, in his *Jacula prudentum*, p. 12: I wept when I was born, every day shows why. See Collins, p. 105. Desde que naci llorè, y cada dia nace porque.
- 39 Panurge resolved the problem very neatly, saying, "That which makes asses to have such great ears, is that their dams did put no biggins on their heads, as *Alliaco* mentioneth in his *Suppositions*," etc. Rabel. bk. ii. c. 16. (Urqh. i. p. 250).
- 40 This appears to be in rhyme, and so far tends to confirm the opinion that most of these were old, well-known and traditional sayings. To this we must look for the explanation of a metrical proverb in Ray's collection, p. 258,

The little smith of Nottingham,
who doeth the work that no man can!

Ray, quoting from Fuller, adopts the very absurd rationalizing explanation given by his author; yet Fuller himself quotes from another work, whose very title one might think would have set him right, and spared the moralizing nonsense that he has lavished upon this simple saying. The book quoted by Fuller in his *Worthies* for the origin of the proverb is Butler on *bees*.

- 41 It has been said already that this is a joke directed against the famous question, Whether in the nature of things is the egg or the bird first? Sir Thomas Browne, in the fifth book and fifth chapter of his treatise on *Vulgar Errors*, says thus: "And if we be led in to conclusions that *Adam* had

also this part (i. e. the navel), because we behold the same in ourselves, the inference is not reasonable; for if we conceive, the way of his formation, or of the first animals, did carry in all points a strict conformity unto succeeding productions, we might fall into imaginations that *Adam* was made without teeth; or that he ran through those notable alterations in the vessels of the heart, which the infant suffereth after birth: *we need not dispute whether the egg or bird was first*; and might conceive that dogs were created blind, because we observe they are littered so with us. Which to affirm, is to confound, at least to regulate, creation into generation, the first acts of God unto the second nature; which were determined in that general indulgence, *Encrease and multiply*, produce or propagate each other; that is, not answerably in all points, but in a prolonged method according to seminal progression. For the formation of things at first was different from their generation after, and, although it had nothing to precede it, was aptly contrived for that which should succeed it."

46 This is given by Howell in his collection of English Proverbs, p. 12, though it hardly deserves that name.

46 Freidank, p. 109, says,

ein man sluoc, daz was unheil,
aller werlde 'z vierde teil.

So Marner (Min. Säug. 2. 169. a.),

ez sluoc der werlte vierden teil.

In Grimm's Freidank, p. 365, there are other sayings of the same kind, for popular sayings they were; thus,

an einer stat ein hunt erbal,
dazz über al die werlt erschal;

which I believe is still current under the form, "Where did the cock crow, which was heard over the whole world?" and to which the answer is, "In Noah's ark."

Again,

Zeiner zît ein esel luote,
daz ez all de werlt muote;

and this probably refers to the ass that bare our Lady into Egypt, as in the first question of this dialogue.

- 47 This is an allusion to a mode of speaking singularly common from the eleventh century downwards: Adam was from his *mother* the earth, and never born; so Eve, taken from Adam's side, was not born; and the earth, as Adam's mother, was Abel's grandmother. Freidank, p. 19, says,

Drier slahte menschen wâren ê,
der wirt noch wart nie mensche mê.
daz eine mensch was ein man
der vater noch muoter nie gewan.
daz ander vater nie gewan
noch muotr, unt quam doch von dem man.

The third is our Saviour. A riddle of Reinmar von Zweter (Min. Säng. 2. 149, a.), quoted by Grimm (Freid. p. 366), runs thus:

ein bruoder sinen bruoder sluoc
ê daz ir beider vater wart geboren.

The *earth's maidenhead* constantly recurs: in a very old German metrical version of the book of Genesis, which probably falls in the eleventh century, I find (Diutiska, iii. 58, etc.):

dus erbalch sith sin sêre
unser aller hêrre;
er chod, waz hâst dû getân,
ne hortest dû mich ruoffen an*,
dînes pruoderes pluot,
deme dû hâst getân den tôt.
Diu erde ist verflûchet,
diu ê was rein unt maget,
diu none dînen hanten
dînes pruoderes pluot hât uersluten.

* In the original—ane ruoffen.

Freidank, p. 9, speaking of the time of Adam and Eve, adds,

diu erde was dô maget gar.

In Wolfram's Parzival, l. 13,832, we have the following lines (Lachmann, p. 223) :

Dô Lucifer fuor die hellevart,
mit schâr ein mensche nach im wart.
Got worhte uz der erden
Adâmen den werden :
von Adâmes verhe er Even brach,
diu uns gap an daz ungemach,
daz ir schepfære über hôrte
unt unser freude stôrte.
Von in zwein kom gebürte frucht :
einem riet sin ungenuht
daz er durch giteclichen ruom
siner anen nam den magetuom.

In the fine MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*, preserved in the Univ. Lib. of Göttingen, fol. 16, is this passage :

Quen Adam Abel bodi fand,
for soru on fote miht he noht stand ;
to birijing þai his bodi bare,
Adam and Eue widuten mare :
pis es þat man, men sais, was born
bath his faper and moþer biforn,
he had his eldemoderis maidenhed,
and at his birijing all maner lede*.

The last passage I shall quote is from a poem of Conrad of Würzburg, portions of which from the only known MS. are printed in the second volume of the *Diutiska*. It is the legend of Saint Silvester. After the conversion of Constantine, Silvester disputes in his presence with twelve of the most learned Rabbis concerning the Saviour. To

* I have preferred quoting from this MS. on account of the peculiarities of the language, though there is nearer at hand a good copy of the same poem. Bibl. Trin. Coll. MSS. R. 3. 8.

the question, "How can a man be born of a maid?" he replies by alleging this tradition of the maiden earth, from which Adam was born, and so confutes his opponent. (Diut. 2. p. 24.)

Sprich an, haster des iht vernomen
Vnd ander schrift gelesen,
Das Got den ersten menschen
von erden schuof in aller wis,
vnd in das vrône paradis
gewaltencliche in sazte ;
vnd wie der slange in lazte
mit sinime valschen rate,
das er darûs vil drate
ze grôser swêre mvoste komen ?

Ia dis han ich vernomen,
sprach der Jude sa ze stunt.
Der babist sprach, nv tvo mir kunt,
vnde sage mir offenliche,
weder was das ertriche
dan ûs Adâm vart gebert,
verwandelt oder vnverwert,
oder was es *magt* oder niht ?

Ine weis, sprach er, was div geschit
vnde diese vrage meine.
Do sprach der babist reine :
Son hastû lihte niht vernomen
vnde bist niht vf ein ende komen,
wie got der ûserwelte sprach,
dô das erste mort geschach
das kayn sluoch den bruoder sîn,
dô got vnser lieber trehtin
sprach, als mir div warheit swert,
div erde *magt* vnde vnverwert
alos vf ir mont vnde dranc in sich
dins bruoder blout vil clagelich.
Dis las ich ouch, sprach Chusi,
vnd erkenne wol dabî,
das vnverwert div erde was
dô si des menschen erst genas,

vnd drús Adám gebildet wart.
 Der babist guot von kivacher art
 sprach aber zim ; Div réde ist war :
 dû seizt die warheit offenbar :
si was ein magit dannoch
 wan kein schrunde noch kein loch
 dar in von starkem buowe gie,
 vnde was darús kein dorn mie,
 gewáhsen noch gegangen ;
 ouch was si dem slangen
 dannoch zeinim essen niht gegeben,
 der sit ir gnaden muoste leben,
 vnd mit ir wart gesplset hie :
 ouch was darin begrabet nie
 Kein dôder mensche dennoch,
davon si was ein magt noch,
vnd ane wandelunge stuont
als alle kosche megde tuont :
 Chusi der sprach, Es ist also :
 davon der babist aber dô
 leit im dise rede abir fiur ;
 er sprach, Sit das dín herze spiur
 das ich dir habe div wahrheit
 gar lüterlichen hie geseit,
 sô merke was ich mein gar,
 vnd nim bescheidenleche war
 was dise wort ze divte sint :
 rehte als Adám, der erden kint,
 von einer *megte* wart geborn,
 vnd dur des divels rât verlorn,
 alsô muoste ús der erden
 vnde von der megde werden
 ein nuwer Adám ouch gemaht,
 der hie den tufel vngeslaht
 viberwinde sâ ze hant,
 also er den menschen vbirwant
 dort in dem paradyse :
 reht in der selben wise
 als er im wune dort benam,
 sús braht in hie der nuwe Adám
 wider úf der vrouden hort.

48 Freidank, p. 111, says,

Krût, steine, unde wort
hânt an kreften grôzen hort :

and this is repeated, probably from him, by Conrad of Würzburg (*Troj. Krieg*, 79. c.) :

kein dinc hât uf der erden
an kreften alsô rîchen hort,
sô steine, krinter, unde wort.

In the Hundred merry Tales from which Beatrice "had all her wit," and which were printed by Berthelet under the title, "Tales and quicke answeres, very mery, and pleasant to rede," and reprinted at Chiswick in 1814, there is a tale which alludes to the virtues of words, herbs and stones. It is found at p. 86 of the reprint.

Of the olde man that quengered the boy oute of the apletre with stones. lxxx.

As an olde man walked on a tyme in his orcherd, he loked vp, and sawe a boye sytte in a tree stealyng his apples: whom he entreated with fayre words to come downe, and let his apples alone. And whan the olde man sawe that the boye cared nat for him, by cause of his age, and set noughte by his wordes, he sayde: I have harde saye, that nat onlye in wordes, but also in herbes shulde be greatte vertue: wherfore he plucked vp herbes, and beganne to throwe them at the boye, wherat the boye laughed hartelye, and thought that the olde man hadde ben mad to thynke to driue hym out of the tree with castinge of herbes. Than the olde man sayde: Well, seyng that nother wordes nor herbes haue no vertue agaynste the stealer of my goodes; I wyll proue what stones wyll do, in whiche I haue harde men saye, is great vertue; and so he gathered his lappe full of stones, and threwe them at the boye, and compelled hym to come downe, and renne awaye.

Graff Chuonrat von Kilchberg, one of the Minnesingers, says,

Steine, krût, sint an tugenden rîche,
Wort wil ich darobe an kreften prîsen.

MS. 1. 12. b.

49 In Grimm's *Reinhart Fuchs*. Berl. 1834, p. 4, "Wesen der

Thierfabel," there is the following note: "A middle High Dutch proverb.....defines the life of man thus. A hedge lasts three years, a dog reaches thrice the age of a hedge, a horse thrice the age of a dog, a man thrice the age of a horse [=81]." I give the continuation from an unprinted MS. "The ass attains to thrice the age of a man, the swan to thrice the age of an ass, the crow to thrice the age of a swan, the stag to thrice the age of the crow, the oak to thrice the age of the stag, the elephant to thrice the age of the oak [=59,049 years]. Agricola in his Proverbs, p. 61, agrees up to the two last numbers." Grüter in his Proverbs, p. 28, gives the age of the hedge. Sir T. Browne, *Vulg. Err.* iii. 9, notices and refutes the opinion of the stag's great longevity. The superstitious belief in the enormous age of the elephant is here carried to the very utmost: in an old English poem of the twelfth century, on the subject of the Macchabees, I find it stated at three hundred years:

Sumum men wile þincan
 sellic ðis tó gehýrenne,
 forðám ðe ylþas ne comon næfre
 on Engla lande.
 Ylþ is ormæte nýten
 máre ðonne sum hús,
 eall mid bánum befangen
 binnan ðám felle
 bútan æt ðám nafelan,
 and he næfre ne litt.
 Feower and twentig mónða
 gæð seó módor mid folan,
 and þreo hund geara hí libbað
 gif hí álefede ne beóð,
 and hí man mæg wænian
 wundorlice tó gefeohte.
 Hwæl is ealra fixa mæst
 and ylþ is ealra nýtena mæst,
 ac swá ðeáh mannes gescead
 hí mæg gewyldan.

MS. Bibl. Publ. I. i. l. 33. Macch. l. 490.

“To some one this will appear strange to hear, because elephants never have come to England. The elephant is an enormous beast, larger than a house, all set about with bones within his skin, except at the navel, and he never lieth down. Four and twenty months goeth the mother with young, and if they be not cut off, they live three hundred years; and one may tame them wonderfully to battle. The whale is the largest of all fishes, and the elephant the largest of all beasts, and yet the wit of man can master them both.” The elephant did not come into Europe till 802. Ann. Laureshamenses. Pertz. Mon. Germ. i. 89. Ann. Einhardi. *ibid.* i. 190. “Ipsius anni mense Julio, 13. Kalend. Augusti, venit Isaac cum elefanto et cæteris muneribus, quæ a rege Persarum missa sunt, et Aquisgrani omnia imperatori detulit.” The inperator is Charlemagne. This elephant died in 810, as we learn from Einhard. Pertz. i. 197, “ubi dum aliquot dies moraretur, elefans ille, quem ei Aaron rex Saracenorum miserat, subita morte periit.” Vid. also Pertz. i. 354. It is therefore wonderful that the Saxon was so moderate in his description of this strange animal; but he gathered his information no doubt from one of the *Bestiaria*, or a similar book. In a beautiful Latin Bestiary of the twelfth century, Bibl. Pub. Cantab. ii. 4. 26. fol. 6, there is not only an admirable drawing of the elephant with a war-tower on his back, but the following words also: “Biennio autem parturiunt, nec amplius quam semel gignunt, nec plures, sed tantum unum. Uiuunt autem annos trecentos.” Vid. Sir T. Browne’s *Vulg. Err.* with respect to the elephant’s not lying down.

DER PHAFFE AMIS.

To the dialogues last quoted may be added a portion of the German tale bearing the above title, and which is one of the most amusing compositions of the middle ages: it is the history of an English priest who goes to seek his fortune in foreign lands, becomes a most expert swindler, plunders high and low from Paris to Constantinople, till, finally returning home with great wealth thus ill-gotten, he repents of his sins, turns monk, becomes abbot of his convent, and dies in the odour of sanctity. Among the devices by which he contrives to prey upon his neighbour, some are singularly humorous: for instance, on one occasion he pretends to be the bearer of precious reliques, and after his sermon, calls upon the people, especially the women, to offer, but forbids any woman who has broken her marriage vow from approaching the shrine. As he had calculated, there was not a woman in the city who did not immediately rush up and offer, and some, says the tale, offered *thrice* over, that there might be no doubt about the matter. After complimenting the husbands of the place, he departs with his pockets full of gold, for the court of the king of France. Here he introduces himself as a *wise master*, and promises the king to paint a chamber, so that no illegitimate person shall be able to see anything on the walls, the pictures being only visible to the lawfully begotten. At the end of six weeks the whole court come to see the work, and the king entering first, discovers much to his disgust that *for him* the walls are white; he puts however a good face upon the matter, pretends to be curious as to the legends depicted, and is openly and publicly told by Amis that he sees the history of David, Salomon, Absolon and others. The courtiers when admitted keep their own secret, for the king had sworn that whoever proved illegitimate should lose his fief: the ladies of the court have their

turn also, and are all equally mortified: in the meantime Amis, having been presented with store of gold, makes off, and it is not till some weeks after his departure that an explanation takes place, to the delight and amusement of the French court. It is quite needless to continue the analysis of this poem, as the only portion of it with which we are concerned is the early part, which describes some of the adventures of the priest and his bishop before he leaves England. The latter calling upon him finds him keeping his house royally, and after complaining that he himself cannot afford such state, begs gifts, which Amis refuses. The bishop becoming enraged, declares that he will try Amis's learning, and if he finds it scant will eject him from his living. Hereupon begins the dialogue, which in some of its details bears a good deal of resemblance to the *Demaundes Joyous*. The priest is of course victorious, but the bishop unreasonably enough says, "As thou canst measure heaven and the road that leads thither, and earth and sea, I am determined to be assured whether anything can withstand thee: thou shalt teach an ass to read." Amis, declaring that it will take at least thirty years to do it, accepts the task: he ties an ass's colt in the stable, and gives him oats placed between the leaves of a book: the beast in time learns to turn over the leaves in order to find his food. After a time the bishop returns to see what progress is making: Amis receives him fearlessly, says that there is hope of his pupil, who takes to his book kindly, and has learnt already to turn the leaves. The colt being introduced and the book placed before him, turns leaf by leaf with the utmost gravity, in search of oats, till at last, finding none, he expresses his disappointment by a loud bray. The bishop requests an explanation of the noise, and is told that in learning the vowels the ass had not yet got beyond A, and that that was his way of pronouncing it. With this answer he is satisfied, and dying soon after, leaves Amis in peace: the priest now gives up his pupil, and con-

tinues his spendthrift way of life, till he is obliged to go abroad and recruit his fortunes, as has before been said.

The following lines are extracted from the tale as edited by Benecke, in his *Beyträge zur Kenntniss der Altdeutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Gött. 1810, 1832. It is found at p. 493, and the portion which I reprint extends from l. 39 to l. 198, to which I have ventured to add a very free translation, or rather paraphrase.

Nu saget uns <i>der Strickære</i>	
Wer der erste man wære	40
der liegen unt triegen ane vienc,	
unt wie stn wille vür sich gienc	
daz er niht widersatzes vant.	
Er het hûs in Engellant	
in einer stat ze Trânis,	45
unt hiez der phaffe Amis.	
Er was der buoche ein wise man,	
unt vergap sô gar swaz er gewan,	
beidiu durch êre unt durch got,	
daz er der milte gebot	50
ze keiner zît übergie.	
Er lie die geste unde enphie	
baz denne ieman tæte,	
wand er es state hæte.	
Stn miltekeit was alsô grôz	55
daz es den bischof verdôz	
dem er was gehôrsam.	
Daz er des sô vil von im vernam	
daz liez er niht âne nît.	
Er kom zum phaffen zeiner zît.	60
Zuo dem sprach der bischof,	
Herre, ir habet grœzern hof	
zallen zîten denne ich ;	
daz ist harte unbillich.	

Ir habet überigez guot 66
 daz ir mir höfscheit vertuot ;
 des sült ir mir ein teil geben.
 Ir endürfet dâ niht wider streben ;
 ich enwils von iu niht enbern ;
 ze wære, ir müezet michs gewern. 70
 Dô sprach der phaffe Amis,
 Mîn muot der stêt ze solher wîs
 daz ich mîn guot vit wol verzer,
 unt mich des vil gar gewer
 des mir übel weren sol : 75
 wæren mære, ich bedörfst sîn wol.
 Ich engibe in anders niht :
 geruocht ir mîner spîse iht,
 sô rîtet in daz hûs mîn,
 unt lât mich iuern wirt sîn 80
 swie dicke ez iwer wille st,
 unt lât mich dirre gâbe vrf.
 Ich engibiu umbe disiu dinc
 nimmer einen phenninc.
 Daz wart dem bischove zorn. 85
 So ist diu kirche verlorn,
 sprach er, die ir von mir hât,
 umbe die selben missetât.
 Er sprach, Des sorgich kleine,
 âne diz dinc alterseine 90
 ich was iu gehôrsam ie ;
 dar an versûmet ich mich nie.
 Ouch heizet mich versuochen
 mit worten, an den buochen.
 Kunne ich mîn amte alsô wol 95
 sô ich ze rehte kunnen sol,
 des lât ouch geniesen mich.
 Der bischof sprach, Daz tuon ich.

Stt ich iuch versuochen sol,
 só kan ich iuch versuochen wol 100
 mit kurzen Worten hie zehant :
 vi habet den habec an gerant.
 Saget mir, wie vil des meres st ;
 der rede enlázich iuch niht vrt ;
 unde bedenket iuch vil eben ê : 105
 saget ir mir minner oder mé,
 ich tuon in solhen zorn schfn
 daz diu kirche muoz verloren stn.
 Des ist ein vuoder, sprach er.
 Der bischof sprach, Nu saget, wer 110
 gestét iu des ? den zeigtet mir.
 Der phaffe sprach, Daz müezet ir.
 Ichn liugiu niht als umbe ein hâr.
 Endunket ez iuch niht vil wâr,
 so machet ir mir stille stên 115
 diu wazzer diu dar in gân,
 so mizzichz, unde láze iuch sehen,
 daz ir mir nach müezet jehen.
 Der bischof sprach zem phaffen
 Stt irz also wellet schaffen, 120
 só lát diu wasser vür sich gân ;
 ich wil iuch des mezzens erlân,
 stt ichs niht verendern mac.
 Nûr saget mir, wie manec tac
 ist von Adam unze her ? 125
 Der sint siben, sprach er.
 Als die ende hânt genomen,
 só siht man aber siben komen,
 swie lange disiu werlt stê,
 vin wirt doch minner noch mé. 130
 Daz was dem bischove ungemach.
 Zorniltche er zu dem phaffen sprach,

Nu saget mir aber dâ bî,
 welhez rehte enmitten sî
 ûf disem ertrîche. 135
 Teilt irz niht vil geltche,
 ir wert der kirchen âne.
 Des sagt mir niht nâch wâne.
 Der phaffe sprach, Daz sî getân.
 Diu kirche, die ich von iu hân, 140
 diu stêt enmitten rehte.
 Daz heizet iwer knehte
 mezzen mit einem seile ;
 reich ez an deheinem teile
 eines halmes freit vûrbaz, 145
 sô nemt die kirchen umbe daz.
 Der bischof sprach, Ir lieget.
 Swie harte ir mich betrieget,
 doch muoz ich iu gelouben ê
 dann ich daz mezzen ane gê. 150
 Nu saget mir, wie verre
 (ir sît ein wîser herre)
 von der erde unz an den himmel st.
 Der phaffe sprach, Ob ez sô bî,
 dar ruofet samfte ein man. 155
 Herre, zwîvelt ir iht dran,
 sô stîget hin ûf : so ruofe ich,
 unt hoerter niht vil greite mich,
 sô stîget vil balde her nider,
 unt habet iu die kirchen wider. 160
 Daz was dem bischove leit.
 Er sprach, Iwer wîsheit
 diu müet mich sô sêre.
 Nuo sagt mir aber mêre,
 wie breit der himel müge sîn, 165
 oder diu kirche ist mîn.

Dó sprach der phaffe Amts,
 Des mach ich iuch vil schiere gewis.
 Als mir mîn kumst hât geseit,
 sô ist er tûsent klafter breit 170
 un dar zuo tûsent eln.
 Welt ir si rehte zeln,
 (des wil ich iu wol gunnen),
 sô sult ir die sunnen
 und ouch den mânen nemen abe 175
 unt swaz der himel sterren habe,
 unt rûcket in danne über al
 zesamen ; er wirt alsô smal,
 swenne ir in gemezzen hât
 daz ir mir mîne kirchen lât. 180
 Der bischof sprach, Ir kunnet vil :
 dâ von ich niht enberen wil,
 ir müezet mich da mite êren
 und einen esel diu buoch lêren.
 Sit ir den himel gemezzen hât, 185
 unt den wec der hin unz dar gât,
 unt dar zuo mer unde erden,
 nu wil ich innen werden
 ob iu iht kunne widerstân.
 Habt ir diz allez getân 190
 daz ir mir hie uore zelt,
 sô tuot ir ouch wol swaz ir welt.
 Nuo wil ich schouwen hie bî
 ob daz ander allez wâr si.
 Gelêrt ir nu den esel wol, 195
 sô nim ich allez daz vûr vol
 daz ir mir habt gesagt,
 unt weiz wol, daz ir rehte jagt.

PARAPHRASE OF 'DER PHAFFE AMIS.'

The *Stricker* tells us of the man
Who fraud and swindling first began,
What stratagems his brain invented,
And how he all men circumvented :
This parson Amis, such his name,
In England lived, a man of fame :
Much skill he had in bookish knowledge,
Enough to stock a modern college ;
And free of hand and heart was he,
And full of goodly charity ;
Whate'er he got he straight divided,
And none like him a guest provided :
How strange so e'er, the priest would bed him,
And with the best he had, he fed him ;
While cellar flow'd or larder lasted,
No living creature need have fasted ;
Round, sleek and smooth, and ripe and mellow,
The parson was a jovial fellow.
His fame so great for generous living
Caused in his bishop much misgiving :
Whether the surly old curmudgeon
Had hospitality in dudgeon,
Or that perhaps the general praise
Some envy in his breast might raise,
I cannot tell, I know but this,
He took the matter much amiss !
So on a time, my tale declares,
All unexpected, unawares,
My lord unto the parson hies him,
And thus begins to sermonize him :
Upon my life, a cosy dwelling,
Snug, warm, in everything excelling !
Why you've a better house than mine,
And, as they tell me, better wine,
Give better eating, sir, and drinking,
And that's a precious shame, I'm thinking.
I know you'll call this doing good,
But I would have it understood

That it's high treason to the church
 To leave a bishop in the lurch.
 Your benefice must be a fat one ;
 I wonder how you ever gat one,
 For if the truth I hear, your reading
 Bears no proportion to your feeding.
 Yet still to hurt you I am loth,
 And as we're brothers of one cloth,
 (You know I'm in the church commission)
 I'll let you go on one condition,
 And that's one hundred pounds per annum
 By you paid to my reverend grannum.
 I'm told you're not so prime a scholar
 But what you've cause to dread my choler,
 Supposing on examination
 I find you unfit for your station.
 Whereto the astonish'd priest replies :
 Why, bless my heart, you quite surprize !
 I grant it suits my turn of mind
 To be to others frank and kind,
 Do good to all I can, and try
 If that won't serve me by and by.
 For my preferment, I confess
 It is a good one and no less ;
 But how it chanced to me to fall
 Is no concern of yours at all :
 Perhaps I was a viscount's tutor,
 Or birch'd the premier's daughter's suitor ;
 You need not have the least misgiving
 As to the way I got the living :
 And were it just three times as fat
 I should not break my heart for that ;
 Let it but please the Lord to mend it,
 I warrant I'll find means to spend it.
 As for your grannum, she, my lord,
 Gets not a sixpence from my hoard,
 Howe'er you think to make me rue it ;
 I'll eat my gaiters ere I do it !
 But come, now, hear a little reason ;
 I've got a famous buck in season,
 The haunch just to a turn is basted,
 My port's as good as e'er you tasted,

Three inches deep the fat I've measured,
 For thirty years the wine I've treasured ;
 A pair of alippers I can lend you,
 A buxom wench too to attend you,
 And if you 'll stop, as I 'm a sinner.
 I 'll stand for once a jolly dinner ;
 But as for giving up the mammon—
 'Twixt you, me and the post, that 's gammon !
 I know your lordship likes your jest,
 But, if you please, we 'll let this rest.

O carnal priest, the bishop bellows,
 You most impertinent of fellows !
 Perhaps you think your tone is funny,
 But rot your wit, I want your money.
 I 'm dull myself, and hate a joker,
 Especially a roaring soaker,
 Or gluttonous Fillguts who entrenches
 On canon law with buxom wenches !
 I scorn your haunch and scorn your liquor,
 And shall not stoop with you to bicker,
 But for your insubordination,
 Give doom at once of sequestration.

Come, come, my lord, the parson says,
 That 's not the way the wind to raise :
 Though all your powers you 'gainst me muster,
 You cannot fright me with your bluster.
 I know my duty, and I do it,
 And if you choose to put me to it,
 In books or things you 're free to try me,
 And if you beat me you may fry me !
 If scant of knowledge you can prove me,
 Why then you 're welcome to remove me.

Says t'other, At your word I take you,
 Look to your tackle, or I 'll make you :
 Into a corner if I drive you,
 By Gog and Magog, I 'll deprive you.
 And since you are so deep discerning,
 Upon the spot I 'll test your learning.
 Come, get your wits together well,
 And first of all this question tell,

What water is there in the sea,
How much ?

One quart, my lord ! quoth he.

A quart ! the bishop cries. And who
In this goes surety, sir, for you ?
Show me the man who proves this true.
Quoth Amis, You, my lord, will do.
I plainly here the truth declare,
Without evasion to a hair ;
And if you will not take my word,
Try it yourself, my worthy lord !
You 've only got to stop the waters
That run into it from all quarters,
The rivers, brooks and rains and dews
From every hill and shore that ooze,
And measure then, I bet you 'll find
A quart, one just quart, left behind.

Stop, stop ! the bishop cried, I see
This measuring job 's too much for me :
Bate me the measuring, and I
Bate you in turn the quantity.
But answer me this second one :
How many days are past and gone
From Adam even to this day ?
Look sharp, and mind what 't is you say.

Well then, they're seven ; neither more
Nor less, howe'er you tell them o'er.
As soon as ever seven are run,
Another seven are begun :
And calculate them as you please,
You 'll never make out more than these :
There 's Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wed...

Halt, halt ! enraged the bishop said :
I know the lot as well as you.
Now my next question answer true,
Or, by the gentleman below,
Out of your benefice you go !
From north to south the world extends,
From east to west the measure wends,
And I demand without delay
The exact middle-point you say.

The middle-point ? That's quickly done :
 The spot my church is built upon.
 Perhaps my measurement you doubt ?
 If so, just turn yourself about,
 And with a rope, and I'll supply it,
 Your servants and yourself may try it.
 If to a mere hair's breadth I blunder,
 I'm very ready to knock under.

The bishop said, I know you're lying,
 And laughing at me, and defying ;
 But such a business won't pay me,
 So to your measure I agree.
 I see you're wiser than I thought you ;
 I wonder who the dickens taught you !
 But here's another ; answer truly,
 Or from your church I oust you duly.
 How far is 't from the earth we rove
 Up to the sky we see above ?

O, quoth the priest, not far : a word
 In a low whisper can be heard.
 Perhaps you doubt this too ? Then go
 Aloft and try if 'tis not so :
 I'll halloo, and if you don't hear me,
 Come down ; you've my free leave to shear me !

In fury did the bishop bellow,
 I think the devil's in the fellow !
 I've done my very best to catch him ;
 I doubt Old Scratch himself can't match him.
 One question more, and that's a poser :
 I am desirous to know, sir,
 How broad the heaven is that's o'er you :
 If you can't answer that, I floor you.

Why that is easier than the others,
 Nor for a single moment bothers ;
 All this my skill at once discloses,
 And not the least your question poses.
 Twelve miles, two roods—my skill ne'er finches—
 One perch, four yards, two feet, three inches ;
 Which if yourself you wish to prove,
 You've my good will to go above :

Take out the sun, the constellations,
 The planets in their several stations,
 The nebulae, the milky way,
 The double stars, the rainbows gay,
 And when you've taken all these from its
 Expanse—and don't forget the comets—
 Press altogether as you find it,
 You'll find my count not much behind it!
 Confusion! then the bishop mutter'd,
 No word of truth the scamp has utter'd,
 But by his cunning and his wit
 I'm most unmercifully bit.
 Well, since you've measured earth and skies,
 And all the road that 'twixt them lies,
 And all the waters of the sea,
 I'll try if anything can be
 Too hard for such a clerk to do:
 I'll find a pupil, priest, for you,
 A donkey foal; and 'tis decreed
 That you shall teach the ass to read.
 If this you compass, I'll believe
 In all the rest you don't deceive,
 But if you fail, why I shall see
 You've all this while been doing me!

The lines which I have printed here are valuable for something more than their humour: they contain some of the devices which are found elsewhere repeated, and serve to carry on the tradition from point to point. The first question and answer, and the manner by which Amis foils his antagonist, from line 103 to 123, is neither more nor less than the device by which Geffray saves Beryn in the Merchant's second tale, line 2784, etc. (Urry's Chaucer, p. 622, etc.) But it is far older either than Amis or Beryn, for it is found in the 'Dictes and sayings of the Philosophers,' at the very beginning of the tale of Legmon. The third question and answer with the justification, from line 133 to 150, is of precisely the same character, and seems imitated from the first; the angry answer of the bishop in line 148 rests upon a tradition well known in

the middle ages : when Amis declares his own church to be the exact centre of the world, and defies the bishop to disprove it by measurement, he gives an answer which could not well be controverted, but which differs widely from that expected by his superior ; for it was taught that a column which stood in Jerusalem was the exact centre. Beda states it to have been a general belief in his time : in his *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, ch. 2, he says :

In medio autem Hierusalem, ubi cruce domini superposita, mortuus revixit, columna celsa stat, quæ æstivo solstitio umbram non facit; unde putant ibi mediam esse terram, et historice dictum, "Deus ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ." Qua ductus opinione, Victorinus Pictaviensis antistes ecclesiæ, de Golgotha scribens, ita inchoat :

Est locus ex omni medium quem credimus orbem,
Golgotha Judæi patrio cognomine dicunt.

Smith Ed. p. 317.

This belief still subsists, and the central column is represented to this day in the church of the Holy Sepulchre by a man seated with a lighted candle in his hand, and called by the Mahommedans, El nuss el dunja, i. e. *the centre of the world*.

When Amis assures the bishop that the distance from heaven to earth is no more than the space through which a low whisper may be heard, we have an answer of the same kind as that in the *Demaundes Joyous*, which states the depth of the sea from the surface to be "no more than a stone's cast." But here again the answer expected was to be found in Beda, whose calculation is thus given in the *Cursor Mundi* (MS. Trin. Coll. fol. 4.) :

but Bede seip fro erþe to heuen
is seuen þousande ȝeer and hundrides seuen
be iornees who so go hit may
ffourty myle eueryche day.

The teaching of the ass's colt to read was a traditional

joke; it is made use of by Lafontaine in his tale of the *Charlatan*, is also found in 'The Hundred Merry Tales' already noticed, and is humorous enough to have been popular. That Amis, in common with the great majority of narrative poems among our forefathers, is less distinguished for invention than the skill of the author in working up traditional materials, is rendered probable by other parts of the narrative. The story of his raising the wind upon the head of Saint Brandane may be paralleled with a passage from Henri Estienne, *Apologie pour Herodote*, book i. ch. 39. (in the English translation, entitled *A World of Wonders*, p. 349):

“Voici donc premièrement comme ie l'ai oui raconter : vn porteur de rogatons qui auoit engagé ses reliques en la tauerne, et ne pouuoit rendre l'argent qu'il auoit emprunté dessus, pour les retirer, s'auiisa de ce tour : C'est que ayant pris vn charbon en presence de l'hostesse à laquelle il deuoit l'argent, il l'enueloppa dedans vn beau linge blanc : dequoi elle se moqua. Vous moquez vous de mon charbon ? (dit il) si est-ce que ie le vous ferai baiser auant qu'il soit nuict. Elle voulant gager qu'il n'estoit en sa puissance de le lui faire baiser, Eh bien donc, dit il, gageons la somme que ie vous doi : à la charge que vous me rendrez mes reliques si ie gagne. La gageure faite, ce gentil moine, qui n'estoit despourüeu d'esprit, quelques heures apres vint à l'église, où il dit au peuple qu'il ne leur monstreroit pas les reliques qu'il auoit accoustumé de leur monstrier, mais vne bien plus pretieuse. Alors desployant ce beau linge, monstra ledit charbon, disant, Voyez-vous bien ce charbon ? C'est un des charbons sur lesquels le glorieux S. Laurent fut rosti : mais il y a bien vn point, c'est que toutes les filles qui ont perdu leur pucelage, et toutes les femmes qui ont rompu la foy à leurs maris, n'en doiuent approcher : autrement, elles seroient en grand danger. Lui ayant dit cela, il y auoit grand presse a baiser ce charbon, les poures femmes et les filles voulans monstrier qu'elles sentoient leurs consciences nettes. L'hostesse, d'vn costé voyant bien qu'en l'allant baiser elle perdoit la gageure : d'autre costé, qu'en n'y allant point, elle se rendoit suspecte d'auoir ioué vn mauuais tour à son mari, et qu'elle ne seroit creue si elle racontoit sa gageure, alla baiser le babouin apres tous et toutes les autres. Ainsi ce bon frère desgagea ses reliques, sans

rien desbourser, et aïousta cette nouvelle relique aux anciennes. Menot Cordelier (duquel le tesmoignage ne nous doit estre suspect, veu qu'il estoit du mesme bois dont estoient faits les porteurs de rogatons,) ne touche ceste histoire qu'en passant, mais s'accordant, toutes fois, avec moi, quant à ceste circonstance que les reliques estoient demeurées en la tauerne. Voici ses paroles, au fueill. 41. col. 4. *Dic de illis qui reliquias suas in taberna perdidērunt, et stipitem inuentum in sudario, loco reliquiarum suarum, dixerunt esse quo beatus Laurentius combustus fuerat.*"

Boccaccio's version of this part of the story is well known (Decam. vi. 10.), and indeed the whole device appears to bear an Italian character. It is not improbable that it was a well-known and favourite joke against the friars in the middle ages.

Another of the swindling devices of a friar, corresponding at least in all its conclusion with one of the feats of Amis, is related in ch. 39 of the same book; but this, for the sake of its noble and nervous English, I shall take leave to quote from the translation. (World of Wonders, fol. ed. 1608, p. 345.)

"He, [i. e. John Menard] in his book intituled *A declaration of the order and state of the Franciscans*, further adds a very notable story recorded by many, of another of *S. Anthonies* treasurers, who burnt a poor woman's peece of cloth, making the world beleue that it came by *S. Anthonies* meanes, who did it to the end that he might be revenged of her; which hapned (as he saith) in the country of *Vaux*, but as others affirme in *Calabria*. The story is told thus: One of *S. Anthonies* treasurers traueiling through the country (with a good fellow who led the Asse which carried the wallet) passed by a butcher's house, where, as soone as his man had rung the bell, the goodwife forthwith opened the doore, and hauing let them in, went to fetch them a peece of flesh: in the meane while this false Frier hauing marked two faire swine playing together vpon the dunghill, turning him at her returne toward his knauish companion, said, Is it not great pitie that these two swine should die so suddenly? The poore woman listening to his speech, questioned further with him thereof. Wherupon the ghostly father said vnto her, My good sister, I can say nothing, but that I am very sorry that these two

swine should die so suddenly, and there is no man liuing that can perceiue it, except it be in the fauour of blessed *S. Anthony*: howbeit there were some hope, if I had but two of the acornes which our Priour halloweth euery yeare. The woman holding vp her hands, besought him to giue her some of them, promising not to be vnmindfull of that good turne. He then casting his eie vpon his seruant (who attended vpon this trash and gaine of the wallet) asked him if he had any of the acornes left, which he gaue at the village whence they came last? The fellow hauing sought a good while, answered that he could find but two, which he said he kept for their Asse which was often sicke: Though our Asse should die (quoth he) yet must we pleasure this good woman, whom I know to be well affected to our order. Meane while looking with a couetous leering eye at a peece of cloth which lay hard by, (continuing his speech) he said, My good sister, I am so perswaded of your liberalitie, that you will not deny me a peece of linnen cloth for the poore sicke folke of our Couent. She forthwith offered him linnen cloth or what he would demaund, so he would speedily remedy that euill. Then taking these two acornes in his hand, he called for a vessell full of water, and cast therein a little salt; and putting off his cowle, began to patter ouer a number of short prayers (his man still answering Amen, and the goodwife with her children being solemnly all the while vpon their knees,) and hauing ended his deuotions, he beat the acorns to powder, and cast them into the water, and stirring them together like a mash, gave them the swine to drinke, making many crosses, and pronouncing as many blessings ouer their backes, euer calling vpon the good Baron *S. Anthony* for assistance in this miracle. This done, he told her that her swine were in no danger. She therefore to make good her promise, changed her peece of cloth for the grandmercies of this ghostly father. But the goodman of the house (her husband) coming home shortly after, and hearing of all this pageant, as also how his cloth was an actor therein, taking two or three of his gossips with him, ranne after them. The Frier seing them comming a farre off, with stauces vpon their necks, was amazed like a cutpurse taken in the fact: howbeit he thought it his best course to take an house (which was somewhat neare) into which his man ran, and secretly conueyed thence two quicke coals, which he folded vp in the cloth: and hauing so done, they passed on their way, as though they mistrusted nothing. Anone the butcher ouertooke him, and laying hold of his hood (after a rude and rough manner) asked him for his cloth, calling him theefe, with many other

threatening words. Sir, quoth the Frier (very mildly), You shall have it with all my heart; and God forgie you this wrong you offer me, in taking that from mee which was given me in recompence of a great good turne done at your house: it griueth me not that you take away my cloth, yet I trust the glorious Baron Saint *Anthony* will worke some wonder, and that shortly, to teach you how you intreat the faithful seruants and friends of God. The butcher nothing regarding vaine wordes, returned backe, very iocund that he had gotten his cloth againe. Howbeit he was not gone a bowshoote from the Frier, but he smelt the burning of some thing, and saw a smoke round about him; whereat he and his fellowes were so amazed, that they cast downe the cloth, and cried aloud, *S. Anthony* the hermite, *S. Anthony of Padua*. Which when the Frier and his varlet heard, they came running to them like slie merchants with demure countenances; his man presently putting out the fire, and the Frier discharging a number of blessings ouer the heads of these simple suppliants (being on ther knees) instantly crying him and the good Saint mercy, till they were euen hoarse withall. These things thus passed ouer, he carried them to the parish Church to Masse, where the cloth being vnfolded and well viewed (for so the story saith) it was solemnly auowed for a miracle. And it was inioyned the poore butcher in way of penance, to accompany the Frier throughout all *Calabria* to witnesse this wonder; who by this meanes did not onely recouer his cloth againe, but gathered a round summe of money (euery man thinking himselfe happie that gaue him any thing :) whereas the poore butcher lost not only his cloth, but was further endomaged as well with the expence of his iourney as the intermission of his trade."

This story of the cloth is also related in *Amis*, l. 1029-1164. But to return for a while to the questions and answers of the dialogue. The *Gesta Romanorum*, whose tales are so constantly reproduced in the middle ages, and in all lands, will furnish us here also with a probable source of most of *Amis's* replies. In a Harleian MS. of what Mr. Douce calls the *second* *Gesta Romanorum*, the twenty-fifth story relates that a knight being tried with difficult questions by a Roman emperor, and compelled to answer on pain of death, saves

himself by the ingenuity of his replies. I give the whole story from a MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. Ss. 6. 1. fol. 144, in which MS., containing thirty-nine stories, it stands as the thirty-fifth. [MS. A.D. 1449.]

Andronicus in civitate Romana regnavit potens valde in potentia, qui habebat militem sub se, nomine Senicium, qui ex invidia grauiter vexatus et coram imperatore accusatus, verumptamen iustus erat. Quando cum imperator legitimam causam contra eum inuenire non posset, hoc cum vidisset, cogitabat, quomodo eum grauare poterat; vocauit eum et ait ei, karissime, volo ut mihi respondeas ad quasdam questiones sub pena vite tue. At ille, Domine, in quantum scio et potero, vestram voluntatem adimplebo. Ait Imperator; Quantum distat celum ab inferno? hec est prima questio. Ait ille, Quantum suspirium distat a corde. Secunda questio: Quanta est profunditas maris? At ille, Quantum est lapidis iactus. Tercia questio: Quot lagene aque salse sunt in mari? Ait ille, Obturentur omnes exitus aque recentis, et tunc dicam tibi. Quarta questio: De quo ministerio sunt plures homines? At ille, De medicina. Quinta questio: De quo sunt plures et pauciores? At ille, Papparum. Ait imperator, Confundet eum sexta questio: Quot diete sunt in circuitu mundi? At ille, Tantum vna. Septima: Que est deferentia inter pauperem et diuitem? At ille, Tantum diuitie. Imperator cum hec audisset, ait: ad primam questionem respondisti, quod tantum distat celum ab inferno sicut suspirium a corde; dic mihi quomodo poterit hoc esse? At ille, Quia in ictu oculi suspirium procedit a corde, sic anima beata a carne exuta statim celum penetrat, anima dampnata statim ad infernum descendit. Ait Imperator; Quomodo est profunditas maris sicut iactus lapidis? At ille, omne ponderosum naturaliter descendit, et quia lapis est ponderosus, idcirco ad profunditates maris descendit; si lapis essem, ad profunditatem maris descenderem, et tunc nudam veritatem vobis denunciarem. Ait Imperator quomodo si omnes aque exitus recentis obturarentur? At ille, si hoc faceres, dicam quot lagene aque salse sunt in mari. At ille, Hoc michi est impossibile. At ille, Et mihi simili modo diuinare. Ait Imperator; Et quomodo Medicina? At ille, non est homo super terram qui aliquando est infirmus, et quibus* attemptat medicinam.

* So the MS., but may it not be *qui non*?

Ait Imperator; Et quid de Papa? At ille, Deus vnus est, et idcirco vnum vicarum constituit. [Ait Imperator*:] Et de dieta, quis facit eam? Respondit miles; Sol, qui circuit vniversum mundum omni die. Ait Imperator; Vade in pace: responsiones te a morte liberauerunt†.

Here then we have, as in Amfs, Beryn and the 'Dictes,' the device of requiring the rivers to be stopped that the salt waters of the sea may be fairly measured. The distance of heaven from hell answers to the question in Amfs as to the height of heaven above the earth, though the answer varies. The depth of the sea, and the answer, are the fourth number of the Demaundes Joyous; and the sixth question, which was to be quite unanswerable, is found in the well-known ballad of the King and the Abbot of Canterbury [Percy Rel. vol. i. p. 347]:

Now secondly tell me, without any doubt,
 how soone I may ride this whole world about.
 You must rise with the sun, and ride with the same,
 until the next morning he riseth againe;
 and then your grace need not make any doubt,
 but in twenty-four hours you'll ride it about.
 The King he laughed, and swore by St. Jone,
 I did not think it could be gone so soone!

But it is found also in the somewhat less known ballad of King Olfrey and the Abbot, printed in the "Collection of Old Ballads," 1723, three little volumes of great rarity:

Then touching how to go the world about:
 in twice twelve hours, as you may see,
 the sun doth take its speedy course about,
 so speedy as it may be;
 if you about the world would go,
 in twice twelve hours you may do so;
 and this is the second riddle you know.

Vol. ii. p. 38.

* The words in brackets are wanting in the MS.

† I find that a small portion of this is printed in the Rev. C. Swan's Ed. of the Gesta, Intr. lxxv.

Before I dismiss *Amis*, and the stories connected therewith, I would call attention to the resemblance existing between them and some portions of a book which was once very popular in the north of Europe; I mean *Eulenspiegel*, translations from which were current in various lands*. The curing the sick, the swindling trick by means of the unpainted wall, and the adventure of the relique, are common to both *Amis* and this book. But what is perhaps more interesting is the fact, that in the English copy, and in the second chapter of the French version (ed. Troyes, 1714), the answers given by *Eulenspiegel* to a traveller agree letter for letter with those given by *Marcolf* to *Salomon*, when visited in his hut by the latter. The German version however knew well enough that these questions and answers belonged of right to another tale, and they are therefore not admitted into it.

BEDÆ COLLECTANEA ET FLORES.

The following strange collection, which appeared in the folio edition of *Beda* (Colon. Agrip. 1612, 8 vols. fol. vol. 3) under the title of "*Bedæ Collectanea et Flores*," is connected with the subject of the foregoing remarks.

Dic mihi quæso, quæ est illa mulier, quæ innumeris filiis vbera porrigit, quæ quantum sucta fuerit tantum inundat?—
Mulier ista est Sapientia.

Dic mihi vbi sit anima hominis, quando dormiunt homines?—
In tribus locis: aut in corde, aut in sanguine, aut in cerebro.

* One of the earliest books printed was this *Eulenspiegel*, both in France, and in England under the title of *Howleglas*. (W. Copeland.) It appeared in Danish (no date, etc.) by the name of *Ugelspegel*.

Dic mihi quis primus finxit literam ?—Mercurius gigas.

Quid primùm à Deo processit ?—Verbum hoc, Fiat lux.

Qui sunt nati, et non sunt mortui ?—Enoch et Elias.

Dic mihi quis primus obtulit holocaustum Deo ?—Abel agnum.

Dic mihi quæ prima fuit alma ?—Maria soror Aaron.

Vel quæ prima vidua ?—Dina filia Jacob.

Dic mihi quis primus excogitavit aratrum ?—Cham, filius Noe.

Vel quis plantavit uineam*?—Melchisedech.

In novo?—Petrus et Jacobus frater Domini.

Quis primus fuit diaconus ?—Stephanus.

Dic mihi, qui sunt filii, qui uindicauerunt patrem in vtero matris suæ ?—Filii viperæ.

Dic mihi quæ est terra, quam non vidit sol neque ventus, nisi vna hora diei; nec antea, nec postea ?—Terra per quam exiit populus Israel in mari rubro.

Dic mihi quis primus prophetauit ?—Adam quando dixit : Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea.

Dic mihi quæ est illa res, quæ cum augetur, minor erit; et dum minuitur, augmentum accipit ?

* * * * *

Dic quot annos vixit primus parens Adam ?—Noningentos triginta.

Qui sunt tres amici et inimici, sine quibus vivere nemo potest ?—Ignis, aqua et ferrum.

Quid est malum ?—Corruptio boni.

Quid est mors ?—Absentia uitæ.

Dic mihi nomina duorum latronum qui cum Jesu simul crucifixi sunt ?—Matha et Joca. Matha credidit, Joca negavit vitam, mortem elegit.

Dic mihi nomen illius divitis, qui loquitur ad Abraham ex profunditate inferni ?—Dico tibi, Tantalus est.

* An obvious omission : [Noe. Quis primus fuit presbyter?]

Dic mihi nomen illius militis, qui punxit latus Domini nostri Jesu Christi?—Dico tibi, Leorrius dictus est.

Dic mihi quot patres sunt in hoc seculo?—Dico tibi, tres: pater cœlestis, pater terrenus, pater in doctrina.

Dic mihi quot sensus hominis sunt?—Dico tibi, decem: visus, auditus, gustus, tactus, odor, sapor, amor, tremor, mutatio et locutio.

Dic mihi quot vitæ sanctis leguntur?—Tres: vita præsens, vita in bonis operibus, et vita æterna futura.

Dic mihi quot mortes peccatoribus reputantur?—Mors in peccato, et separatio animæ et corporis, et mors pœnæ.

Dic mihi quæ genera sunt baptismi?—Tria: primum, baptismus est quo sordes peccatorum per regenerationis lauacrum abluuntur: secundum, quo quisque sanguine suo per martyrium baptizatur: tertium, baptismus lachrymarum.

Dic mihi quæ est illa res quæ cœlum totamque terram repleuit, sylvas et surculos confringit, omniaque fundamenta conculcit; sed nec oculis uideri aut manibus tangi potest?—

* * * * *

Dic mihi tres victorias ignis.—Prima victoria, in qua apparuit spiritus sanctus: secunda, quæ eleuauit Eliam: tertia, quæ comburit peccatores et terram in die iudicii.

Dic mihi tres victorias venti.—Prima victoria, inflat et non videtur: secunda, sanctificauit mundum post diluuium: tertia, non comburetur in die iudicii.

Dic mihi, vtrum altius cœlum quam terra?—Altior terra, qui in coelo est, Elias et Enoch.

Dic mihi quæ prima interrogatio fuit: in corpore ne, an in spiritu, vel in quo loco?—In callida suggestionem serpentis ad mulierem, quando dixit in paradiso, Quare præcepit vobis Deus, vt non comederetis de ligno hoc?

Dic mihi, vnde fugit dies ante noctem, et nox vbi currit, et in quo loco vterque requiescit?—In sole requiescit dies et nube nox.

Dic mihi, vbi sedit Deus, quando creauit cœlum et terram?
—Super pennas ventorum.

Quot sunt flumina Paradysi?—Quatuor: Phison, Geon,
Tigris, Euphrates. Lac, mel, uinum et oleum.

Aquæ mundi quot sunt?—Duæ. Sal et aqua.

Ubi est memoria?—In sensu.

Vbi est sensus?—In cerebro. Cui non datur sensus non
datur et cerebrum.

Dic tres dies inuestigales.—Lex in vtero Moysi: et Jo-
hannes in vtero Elizabeth: et Christus in vtero Mariæ.

Quis lapis pulchrior et durior sole?—Lapis quem repro-
bauerunt ædificantes, id est, Christus.

* * * * *

Duo prophetæ, quorum alter prophetauit post mortem,
alter uero ante natiuitatem, sunt Samuel et Johannes.

Quid est, quod mater me genuit, et mox eadem gignetur a
me?

* * * * *

Dic mihi quis homo qui non natus est et mortuus est, at-
que in vtero matris suæ post mortem baptizatus est?—Adam.

Quis vir mortuus bis et semel natus est?—Lazarus quem
suscitauit Jesus.

Quis bis natus et bis mortuus?

* * * * *

Quis homo qui mortuus est, nec sepultus, nec putredinem
habuit carnis?

* * * * *

Quot filios habuit Adam?—Triginta filios et triginta filias.
Aliter. Filiorum Adam computatio, vt alii dicunt, sexaginta
duo: et filiarum computatio quinquaginta tres sunt.

Quot annos vixit Abraham?—Centum octoginta quinque.

Quis primus mortuum suscitauit?—Helias.

Vbi eum suscitauit?—In Galgala.

Quot genera volucrum pennata sunt?—Triginta septem.

Quot genera serpentum?—Triginta sex.

Quis primus princeps factus est?—Ninus filius Beli.

Quæ prima ciuitas?—Niniue.

Quis eam ædificauit?—Ninus.

Quis primus Imperator factus est?—Saul.

Quot sunt prouinciæ?—Centum et triginta.

* * * * *

Septuaginta duæ.

Dic quid est aurum?—Mancipium mortis.

Quid est argentum?—Inuidiæ locus.

Quid est ferrum?—Omnis artis instrumentum.

Qui sunt qui sania potant?—Qui sua negotia curant.

Dic a qua ratione homo lassus non fit.—Lucrum faciendo.

Dic quid est longissimum?—Spes vel cogitatio.

Quid est regi et misero commune?—Nasci et mori.

Quid est optimum et pessimum?—Verbum.

Quid est quod alii placet, alii displicet?—Vita.

Dic mihi quot modis dicitur omne quod dicitur.—Quatuor :
aut bonum bene, aut malum male, aut bonum male, aut malum
bene.

Cur homo nouissime factus est?—Quia maioris honoris est.

Quæ sunt tria muta quæ vocant sapientiam in corde homi-
nis?—Est mens, oculus et litera.

Vidi filium inter quatuor fontes nutritum. Uiuus si fuit
disrupit montes. Si mortuus fuit signauit uiuos.

Vidi bipedem super tripodem sedentem. Cecidit bipes,
corruiit tripes.

Adam uixit xv annos in paradiso, Eua xiv, alii dicunt vii,
sine uxore xi dies. Die sexto manducauit Adam de ligno
scientiæ boni et mali xii^o anno ætatis suæ.

FINIS.

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