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An Edition of the Old Testament Section of the Cursor Mundi
from MS College of Arms, Arundel LVII

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Introduction

The purpose of this edition of the Old Testament section of the CM is two-fold. First, it presents the text of part of a manuscript which has hitherto been almost completely unknown.\(^2\) This is especially relevant at a time when scholars are calling for the re-examination of traditional theories of the MS relations of the CM.\(^3\)

The second purpose of this edition has been to study the exegetical background of the Old Testament section of the CM itself. Wherever possible I have compared the text of the poem in the six MSS now in print (C, F, G, T, E and H)\(^4\) with the source which the CM poet was using. I have then tried to indicate generally the exegetical traditions which lie behind the apocryphal additions to, and explanations of, biblical material used by the poet. I have tried to place the CM in the context not only of

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\(^1\) For a table of abbreviations used in this thesis, see below, pp.614ff.


\(^4\) For an explanation of the MS sigla, see below pp.ii-viii.
Latin exegesis, but also of contemporary English and, as far as possible, of French exegesis as well.\textsuperscript{5}

Manuscripts of the CM

H--College of Heralds MS Arundel LVII fols.1r-132v\textsuperscript{6}

This is the manuscript used for the present edition. It is a MS of 175 folios, written in double columns of forty lines each, except for the Passion story, ll.14934ff., fols.88r-100v, which is in single columns. The handwriting throughout is a clear and neat Bastard. Each section of the poem begins with a rubric and/or a decorated capital.

Black's catalogue dated the MS "towards the end of the XIVth century".\textsuperscript{7} Hupe, however, placed it in the mid-fifteenth century,\textsuperscript{8} and this is the date which also appears in Brown's Register.\textsuperscript{9} The latest and most reliable

\textsuperscript{5} The difficulty in studying Old French exegesis is that so few of the texts have been edited. I have been forced to rely mainly on printed extracts.


\textsuperscript{7} Black, Catalogue, p.101.

\textsuperscript{8} Hupe, CM, p.68*.

dating of MS H, that of the MED, agrees with Black that the MS was written between 1375 and 1400.\textsuperscript{10}

Angus McIntosh considers that the MS was probably copied at or near Lichfield.\textsuperscript{11}

Besides the CM, the only other matter in the MS is a partial copy of the Pricke of Conscience, which appears on fols.133r-175v. Five leaves are missing from the MS between fols.132 and 133. These originally contained the first 801 lines of the poem.\textsuperscript{12} The last line on fol. 175v is 1.8278 of the Pricke of Conscience, which is followed by the catchwords "And knowe". A further 1346 lines of this poem are missing. These would fill approximately nine folios after fol.175, and presumably constituted a final gathering which is now lost.

Morris' collation of the MS, the only one published, contains a number of errors.\textsuperscript{13} The true collation is as follows:

flyleaf—a piece of music
a 1—missing
a 2-8—fols.1-7

\textsuperscript{10} This and other MED datings comes from Hans Kurath and Sherman M. Kuhn, eds., Middle English Dictionary: Plan and Bibliography (Ann Arbor, 1954), p.35.


\textsuperscript{12} Cf. the text in Richard Morris, ed., The Pricke of Conscience (Berlin, 1863).

\textsuperscript{13} Morris, CM, p.1663.
The CM ends on fol. 132v.

At the bottom of fol. 132v appears a note in a modern hand "five leaves cut out". This would indicate that gathering s contained only six leaves originally.

If it was a gathering of eight leaves, the last two folios, s 7 and 8, containing unknown material, are missing.

The rest of the collation follows: 14

14 I use the signatures s11 and z11 in order to keep my signatures as similar to Morris' as possible.
A final gathering, perhaps of ten folios, now missing.

T.C. Skeat relates that the Arundel MSS were collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). They were presented to the Royal Society in 1678 "except for MSS on heraldry and genealogy, which were given to the College of Arms, where they still remain."  

C—BM Cotton Vespasian A iii fols.2r-163v  

The MED dates this between 1375 and 1400. The fullest study is by Lamberts, who believes that the MS was copied in or near Durham. The MS was edited in full by Morris.

F—Bodl.3894 (Fairfax 14), fols.4r-123v  

The MED dates this MS between 1375 and 1400. The

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16 Described in A Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum (London, 1802); Hupe, CM, pp.63*-5*; Lamberts, Dialect, p.7.
17 Lamberts, Dialect, p.7.
18 Described in Falconer Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bod-
dialect is that of Lancaster, a West Midland one.\textsuperscript{19} Morris printed the text of this MS.

G—Göttingen Univ. theol. 107, fols.1v-169v\textsuperscript{20}

The MED dates this MS between 1375 and 1400.

Hupe says that the dialect is that of "the North-West of the ancient diocese of Lincolnshire."\textsuperscript{21} Morris printed the text of this MS.

T—Trin. Camb. 588 (R.3.8) fols.1r-142v\textsuperscript{22}

The MED dates this MS between 1375 and 1400.

Hupe says the dialect is of the South West Midlands.\textsuperscript{23}

Angus McIntosh believes that this MS was copied at Lichfield, and that the same scribe is also responsible for several other extant MSS.\textsuperscript{24} Morris printed the text of this MS.

\textsuperscript{18} cont'd


21 Hupe, \textit{CM}, p.132*.

22 Described in Montague Rhodes James, \textit{The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge}, II (Cambridge, 1901); Hupe, \textit{CM}, pp.67*-8*.

23 Hupe, \textit{CM}, 135*.

L—Bodl. 1479 (Laud Misc. 416) fols. 66r-181v

A date in the MS establishes that it was copied in 1459. Hupe places the dialect in "the extremest south of the East-Midland". An ownership inscription, "syster Ann Colville", has enabled scholars to place this MS at the Bridgettine Abbey of St. Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Bridget at Syon, just outside London. Morris prints extracts from MS L to fill up gaps in MS F in his edition. The MS is otherwise unedited.

B—BM Addit. 36983 fols. 1r-117v, 127v-158v

This is also a later MS, bearing the date 1442 on fol. 215v. The dialect is of the South East Midland. This copy of the CM substitutes extracts from two other poems for parts of its original. Ll. 14916-17288 of the CM are replaced by part of the Meditaciones Vitae Christi, formerly attributed to St. Bonaventure. Ll. 22005ff of the CM are replaced by the Fricke of Conscience, ll. 4085-5407. This MS has not yet been edited.

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26 Hupe, CM, p. 103*.
28 Described in Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC-MDCCCCV (London, 1907); Hupe, CM, p. 68*.
29 Hupe, CM, p. 103*.
Two fragments of the CM also exist:

E—MS of the Royal College of Physicians, known as the Edinburgh Fragment, fols. 37v-50v and 16r-36v

The MED dates this 1375-1400. The dialect is "Northumbrian (or Scotch)". The fragment contains 11.18989-24968. Morris printed this MS.

Add—BM Addit. 31042 fols. 3r-32v

The MED dates the MS between 1425 and 1475. It contains only 11.10630-14933 and 11.17111-17188 of the CM. The scribe of the MS was Robert Thornton, who probably flourished in the North Riding of Yorkshire in the mid-fifteenth century. He also copied MS Lincoln Cathedral Library A i 17.

The Book of Penance, which is included in several MSS of the CM, is also copied separately several times.

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30 Described in Hupe, CM, pp. 62*-3*. There is also a study of the MS: Willy Höring, Die Schreibung der Hs. E des Cursor Mundi, Diss. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin, 1906.
31 Hupe, CM, p. 130*.
34 See DNB, "Robert Thornton".
35 See Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, eds., The Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943), item 694.
Hupe also listed two MSS, MS Camb. Univ. Gg.4.27.2 and BM Addit. 10036, containing only the story of the Assumption of the Virgin, as if they contained part of the CM. These are now considered copies of the earliest Middle English poem on the Assumption of the Virgin, a work which the CM poet translated in his own poem.

MS McGill Univ. 142 presents a special case. DeRicci and Wilson state that this fragment of four leaves contains 11.20129-20314 of the CM, written about 1400. In fact, the MS is part of a copy of the southern assumption poem. It has been erroneously labelled as a CM fragment because of Hupe's original inclusion of MSS of the southern assumption in his list of CM manuscripts.

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36 Hupe, CM, pp. 62* and 65*.
Form of the Poem

Morris divided the CM into nineteen parts: an historical section consisting of a prologue and history of the seven ages of the world, followed by four "short poems" and seven "additional poems". The divisions are as follows:

I Chronological History

(a) Prologue 1-270
(b) 1st age: Creation to Noah 271-1626
(c) 2nd age: Noah's Flood to the building of Babel 1627-2314
(d) 3rd age: Abraham to the death of Saul 2315-7860
(e) 4th age: David to the Babylonian captivity 7861-9228
(f) 5th age: birth and early life of the Virgin 9229-12751
(g) 6th age: Baptism of Christ to the finding of the Cross 12752-21846
(h) 7th age: Doomsday 21847-23908

II Short Poems

(i) Prayer to the Blessed Virgin 23909-23944
(j) Sorrows of Mary 23945-24658
(k) Apostrophe to St. John 24659-24730
(l) Festival of the Conception of the Virgin 24731-24970

See Morris, CM, pp.viii-ix. I have not used Morris' exact wording, but the divisions are essentially his.
III Additional Poems

(m) Exposition of the Creed 24971-25102
(n) Exposition of the Pater Noster 25103-25402
(o) Prayer to the Trinity 25403-25486
(p) Prayer for the Hours of the Passion (Matins of the Cross) 25487-25618
(q) Song on the Five Joys of Our Lady (MS G only) 25619-25683
(r) Book of Penance (Prologue and three parts) 25684-29547
(s) Cato's Morals (MS F only) Morris, CM, pp.1669-1674

The CM exists in three different forms:

(1) The oldest appears to have contained only Sections I and II above, ending with item (1). This is the poem described in the Prologue, ll.131-222. The only extant MS which might have had the shape described in the Prologue is the Edinburgh fragment, MS E, which ends at 1.24968. Unfortunately this MS as it survives today begins only with 1.18989. Those scholars who discuss the original shape of the poem on the basis of this Prologue overlook the fact that the list given there also omits to mention the debate of the four daughters of God and the allegory of the Castle of Love, which separate the Old and the New Testament material in the CM. No one could prove from the
Prologue whether these were or were not intended to be in the original version of the poem. If the CM ever did exist in this supposedly original form, no copy of it exists today.

(2) The second form of the CM is found in three northern MSS. These are the MSS which contain Morris' so-called "additions".

MS C contains items a-n, p, o and r.
MS F contains items a-p, r and s.
MS G would have contained items a-r. 40

(3) Some time in the fourteenth century a translation of the poem was made into a southern dialect. Changes were frequently made to avoid the rhyme vowels and Scandinavian vocabulary of the northern versions. This southern version survives in MSS H, T, L and B. These contain only the material of chronological history, ending after the account of Doomsday, although the Prologues in these MSS retain ll. 217-20, which state that the poem will deal with items (k) and (l).

40 See G's table of contents in Morris, CM, V, pp.1a-4a. This account of MSS C, F and G is a considerable oversimplification. In some MSS, passages of the CM were omitted and descriptions of the same event from other sources inserted. See the insertion in C in Morris, CM, pp.985ff., and the substitutions in MS B at ll.14916 and 22005, e.g.
Manuscript Relations

H. Hupe presented two different stemma for the CM MSS. In one, he suggests that the MSS B, L and H all derive from T, which in turn derives from G: 41

Elsewhere, however, he reconsiders the dependence of T upon G, and revises the stemma as follows: 42

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41 Hupe, CM, p.103*.
He thus retains unchanged the relations of the four southern MSS, having the other three derive from T, although he says "I am fully aware that it is not beyond doubt". He maintains the supposition because "There is no doubt that [T] is the oldest, completest, and correctest copy amongst them." Max Kaluza posits a different arrangement:

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43 Hupe, CM, p.116*.
44 Loc. cit.
Lamberts reports that "Kaluza's conclusions are usually considered most reliable." 46

Kaluza is more correct than Hupe in his rearrangement of the southern MSS, as my own investigation shows. MSS H and T clearly have a common origin. T is not the exemplar of H, however, for in the following lines H has a reading which agrees with Morris' other MSS, but does not depend on T: 47

46 Lamberts, *Dialect*, p. 6 n. 17.
47 I have relied on Morris' transcription of MSS T, C, F and G in compiling these lists. I have not yet seen the MSS themselves.
MS T cannot be a copy of MS H either, however, for in the following lines MS T has a reading which agrees with Morris' other MSS, but could not be dependent on MS H:

511/345; rubric after 616/459; 674/508; 1153/979; 1240/1068; 1382/1210; 1675/1707; 2091/1921; 2819/2483; 3251/2917; 3441/3107; 3444/3110; 3654/3314; 3886/3546;
Apparently, more readings are correctly transcribed from the exemplar in MS H than in MS T. Thus Hupe's statement that T is the "correctest" copy among the southern MSS is hardly borne out.

Kaluza's stemma, although seemingly correct in its description of the southern MSS, is open to question elsewhere. Until recently, scholars seem to have assumed, with Hupe, that the southern MSS are "quite useless" for establishing the original text of the CM.48 Even Kaluza puts them four removes away from the original. However, Kari Sajavaara has recently pointed out two lines in MS T which are translated from Grosseteste's Chateau d'amour, but which do not appear either in MSS C, F or G.49 I have found other instances of lines which appear in the source and in MSS H and T, but not in MSS C, F or G.50 To suppose

48 Hupe, CM, p.103*.
49 Sajavaara, "The Use of...Chateau d'amour", p.193.
50 See below, nn. to 11.4231, 5628, 5845, 6697, 8459.
that these lines were dropped out by three independent
scribes, as Kaluza's stemma would demand, is almost
impossible. Furthermore, I have demonstrated the
authenticity of ll.521-2 in MS F, lines which Morris
thought spurious. This also casts doubt on this
stemma, for the lines would have to have been dropped
independently by the scribes of C and of Υ.

51 See also MS F, ll.7137-44 and 7525-6.
Dialect of MS H

Hupe believed that MS H, like MS T, was written in a South West Midland dialect, and Angus McIntosh locates the copying of the MS more precisely at or near Lichfield. The dialect is clearly from the southern rather than the northern half of the Midland region, and the occasional Northern forms in the MS can easily be explained as holdovers from the southern translator's northern exemplar. As Lichfield lies close to the lines which Moore, Meech and Whitehall established as dividing East and West Midlands, the mixture of forms from both areas in MS H is not surprising.

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52 Hupe, CM, p.103*.
53 Dareau and McIntosh, "A Dialect Word...", p.21.

54 The usual ending in the third person, both singular and plural, of the present tense is -e, characteristic of the South and South Midland. The Northern and North Midland ending -es in this position occurs only rarely, as in "shynes" (127), "sayes" (184), "byndes" (187), "fyndes" (188).

55 OE  before a nasal usually remains , but sometimes shows the West Midland development to  as in "mony" (72, 96), "mon" (256, 347), "monnes" (344, 368), etc. OE  usually remain  in this MS, although  is occasionally seen with the West Midland spelling "uy", as in "fuyr" (190, 354), "fuyre" (228). Cf. "fyre" (371).
Sources

It is not possible to document in a short space the CM poet's indebtedness to each of his sources. When composing his poem, he apparently sat with several books open before him, choosing lines from each one to be combined in his own narrative.

The major sources which the poet has used for the Old Testament section of his work are:

(1) the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis 56

(2) the Old French *Bible* of Herman de Valenciennes 57


(3) the Historia Scholastica of Petrus Comestor

(4) the Latin Legende version of the Life of Adam and Eve

(5) an Old French poem on the history of the wood of Christ's cross

(6) De Imagine Mundi formerly attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis

(7) the Vulgate Bible

The poet here and there interjects a few lines from the following additional sources:

(1) Hugh of St. Victor

(2) the Carmen Paschale of Sedulius

(3) the Revelations of the pseudo-Methodius

58 Hist. Schol., PL CXCVIII 1053ff. This was first mentioned as a source by Haenisch, "Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi" in Richard Morris, ed., Cursor Mundi (London, 1893), EETS OS 101, pp.1*-56*.


60 I have used a microfilm of MS BN fr.763, fols.267-273. This source was also first noticed by Napier, loc.cit.

61 DIM, PL CLXXII 165ff. This was first pointed out by Max Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen", p.452.

62 The CM poet seems to use this only occasionally, sometimes to correct his other sources.

63 See below, note to 11.191-204 et passim.

64 See below, note to 11.631-2.

65 See below, note to 11.1293-4 et passim.
(4) the Chateau d'amour of Robert Grosseteste

(5) the Etymologiarum of Isidore of Seville

(6) the Pricke of Conscience

(7) the Speculum Ecclesiae of Honorius Augustodunensis

Date, Provenance and Authorship

The generally accepted date for the composition of the CM is 1275-1325. Among the latest estimates is that of Dickens and Wilson, who place the composition of the CM in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and that of the MED, which places it instead "a.1325", that is between 1300 and 1325.

Similarly, scholars are agreed that, as Morris announced on his title page, the CM is "A Northumbrian Poem". Northumbria takes in all of England north of the

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66 See below, note to 11.535-44.
67 See below, note to 11.1921ff.
68 See below, note to 11.3217-54.
69 See below, note to 11.5067-72, 6225-6.
70 Lamberts, Dialect, pp.3-4 discusses earlier opinions. Hupe, CM, pp.186*-7* dated it 1255-1280, but his evidence is trivial and does not support his conclusions.
Humber and all of Scotland south of the Clyde and Forth.

Discussions about the place of composition of the CM have therefore centered on the question of whether it was written in northern England or southern Scotland.

Linguistic evidence is inconclusive. On the one hand, fifty words in the poem, including demonstrably original rhyme words, are found elsewhere only in Scottish texts. On the other hand, there is a large Scandinavian element in the poet's vocabulary, which is often preserved in MSS C and E. This consists of "unbookish words likely to have been current in speech, and implying an area densely settled by Scandinavian invaders". Except for a small area in the south west, and, of course, the extreme north, Scotland was not settled by Scandinavian invaders.

Kaluza first demonstrated that at least some of the Scottish vocabulary was in the original text of the poem, and he therefore concluded that the CM was composed in Scotland. Otto Strandberg wanted to agree with him,

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75 Max Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen", p.453.
but pointed to a passage in the prologue which he thought prohibited such an assumption: 76

Efter haly kyrc state
Þis ilk bok is [sic] es translate
In to Inglis tong to rede
For the loue of Inglis lede,
Inglis lede of Ingland,
For the commun at understand.
Frankis rimes here I redd,
Communlik in ilk a sted,
Mast es it wroght for frankis man:
Quat is for him na frankis can?
Of Ingland thé nacion,
Es Inglis man þar in commun;
Þe speche þat man wit mast may spede,
Mast þar-wit to speke war nede;
Selden was for ani chance
Praised Inglis tong in france;
Glue we ilkan þare langage,
Me think we do'Jam non outrage.
To laud and Inglis man i spell
Þat understands þat i tell, (MS C 11.231-250)

Because of these lines, Strandberg assigned the composition of the CM to Northumberland, one of the most northern counties of England, rather than to Scotland.

Rolf Kaiser tried to show that the stress on "English" in the lines quoted above was compatible with their having been composed in Scotland. 77 He discusses "English", "French", and "Scottish" primarily as language names. He shows, as other scholars had done before him, that until the end of the fifteenth century, the language spoken in southern Scotland, that is north of the Tweed

77 Kaiser, Zur Geographie, pp.5-14.
and south of the Clyde and Forth, was called "English" and the term "Scottish" referred only to Gaelic. What the poet intends in this passage, he says, is an antithesis between the English language and the French language. So far Kaiser's reasoning is perfectly correct, for "English" was indeed spoken on both sides of the border at the time.

Kaiser then has to prove that all the territory south of the Clyde-Forth line was known as England. He points out that Scotland was feudally subject to England after 1217, and asserts that the English influence was particularly strong after the death of Alexander III in 1286. He asserts that a nationalistic spirit appeared in Scottish literature only in the later fourteenth century with Fordun, Barber, Wyntoun, Wallace and Hector Boethius. He quotes several authorities to show that the Scots themselves made a distinction between the land north of the "scottis se", the Firth of Forth, and the territory south of it. This too is quite correct; modern Scots continue to make the same distinction. Kaiser cannot, however, show any author who actually calls the south of Scotland "England". The best he can offer is Higden's Polychronicon, which asserts that "Scotia" extends from the Clyde-Forth line to the Norwegian Sea. In the end, Kaiser is driven to suggest that "Ingland" may be only a rhyming tag after all.
Kaiser's conclusions have been accepted by Lamberts and Mardon. Mardon points to 1,24,765 as further proof of the Scottish origin of the poem. There William the Conqueror is referred to as "William bastard". An English poet, he implies, would have had to refer to the late monarch in more respectful terms. The title "Bastard" here is a statement of fact, however, and not a value judgment.

Since Kaiser wrote, much careful research has been done in the history of mediaeval Scotland. The boundary between England and Scotland was formally fixed in its present position by the Treaty of York in 1237. G.W.S. Barrow, the leading authority on mediaeval Scotland today, has demonstrated that this border came to be generally accepted in the east in the eleventh century and on the western side of Britain in the mid-twelfth century.

As for the feudal relationship with England, recent interpretations of the documents concerned show that this was much less strong and far less well-established than the English kings claimed.

Furthermore:

78 Lamberts, Dialect, p. 4; Ernest G. Mardon, The Narrative Unity of the Cursor Mundi (Glasgow, 1970), p. 13. In a later work prepared for publication, Lamberts did not reiterate his belief that the poem was composed in Scotland. See J. J. Lamberts, "The Noah Story in Cursor Mundi (vv. 1625-1916)"; Mediaeval Studies, XXIV (1962), 218. For a further discussion of possible Scottish influence, see below, n. to 11.1507-8.


There was something of a conscious revival of things Celtic in the middle of the thirteenth century, which went hand in hand with an attempt to give a distinctive personality to the Scottish kingdom and nation. The name Scotia... was now applied to the whole Scottish kingdom. 81

By the time Edward I invaded Scotland in 1296, already between the English-speaking Scot and the English-speaking Englishman, subjects of different kingdoms, a mental and emotional line of division was fixed which ran as clear as those ancient boundaries the Tweed and the Redden Burn. 82

The idea of a contemporary Scottish poet insisting over and over that he was writing for Englishmen of England begins to seem less likely.

As the author of the CM was undoubtedly a cleric, one must consider the position of the Church in Scotland regarding this new nationalism. The Church in Scotland was nominally subject to York after 1072, but became a filia specialis of the Holy See, directly subject to papal authority, in 1192. From the twelfth century the Scottish Church had had a keen sense of itself as an entity distinct from the English Church, 83 and the Scottish clergy were vitally

concerned in the struggle against English rule in the late thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{84}

In the light of this new research, the reference to England is not so easily explained away. Surely a subject of the king of Scotland would not have stated that he was writing for "Inglis lede of Ingland" (235). And a poet in Kent, for example, would have assumed that the Englishmen he wrote for lived in England. This is rather the phrase of a border dweller who makes perfectly clear that he is not writing primarily for English (-speaking) men of Scotland, but for those on his own side of the border.

On the other hand, the English-Scottish border was not an iron curtain. Families often held land on both sides of it, and, more important, many of the Scottish religious houses were founded from mother houses in England.\textsuperscript{85} The seemingly contradictory linguistic evidence might be resolved by the hypothesis of a man of Durham or Rievaulx who had been sent to Coldingham or Melrose, had there added some Scottish words to his vocabulary, and had returned to the mother house and written his poem. An even more simple

\textsuperscript{84} G.W.S. Barrow, "The Scottish Clergy in the War of Independence", \textit{Scottish Historical Review}, XLI (1962), 1-22.

hypothesis might be put forth: although they are recorded elsewhere only in Scottish texts, Kaiser's fifty "Scottish" words may have formed part of the common vocabulary on either side of the border.

Does the CM itself tell the modern-day investigator anything else about the conditions in which it was composed? The first requisite for the poet of the CM must have been a fairly large library to which he was constantly able to refer. Line by line comparison of the poem with its sources everywhere shows that the poet translated these texts directly, and did not rely on memory. He has the habit of interpolating a quotation from another work into the one he is currently translating, suggesting that he worked with several volumes open before him. 86

The Latin works used by the poet, although numerous, are not especially rare or esoteric. A comparison of the Latin sources of the Old Testament section of the CM with R.M. Wilson's examination of surviving library catalogues indicates that the poet was using works which would have

86 See, e.g., notes to 11.175-242, 535-44, etc. Several scholars have hinted that the CM poet may not deserve credit for compiling his sources. See Bernhard Ten Brink, Early English Literature, trans. Horace M. Kennedy (New York, 1883), p.288; George L. Hamilton, review of Saints' Legends by Gordon Hall Gerould in Modern Language Notes, XXXVI (1921),p.238. Because of the number of sources he used, however, one must still assume that the CM poet had access to a large library.
been found in many libraries of reasonable size.  

French MSS are much less common, and would be much more helpful indicators of provenance. Unfortunately few such MSS survive and fewer still can be traced to specific mediaeval libraries. The one extant MS of the Old French Rood Poem is of unknown provenance, and in any event is not the one used by the CM poet. Several MSS of Herman's Bible can be traced, but none to the north of England or the south of Scotland.

87 R.M. Wilson, "The Contents of the Mediaeval Library" in Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright, eds., The English Library before 1700 (London, 1958). For Elucid. and DIM see p.92 and 108 n.32; for Hist. Schol. see p.100; for Legende see p.93; for Hugh of St. Victor, "undoubtedly the most popular of all the later religious writers", see p.90; for Sedulius see p.98; for Rev. Meth., see p.89; for the Chateau d'amour see p.106; for Isidore see p.89. The Pricke of Conscience would also have been found in many libraries, judging by the number of extant MSS. See Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, eds., The Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943), Appendix V, p.737, which counts 114 surviving MSS of the Pricke of Conscience.

88 See Napier, Rood-Tree, pp.xxiv n.1; xxvi n.2; xxix n.2; xxx n.2.

89 The only interesting discovery concerns MS BM Royal 13 A xxi. This contains a thirteenth century copy of Herman's Bible, which belonged to the Praemonstratensian Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr in Hagnaby, Lincs., according to a fifteenth century inscription in the MS. This work is bound up with a fourteenth century copy of the De Imago Mundi, another work used by the CM poet. See George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, eds., Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection, IV (London, 1921), pp.86-7.
Records of medieval libraries are admittedly incomplete. Several large libraries are known to have existed in the north of England in the Middle Ages. James Westfall Thompson mentions above all Durham Cathedral, whose library "was one of the most notable medieval English establishments"; York Minster school, whose library, however, never really recovered after a fire in 1069; the Augustinian friars at York; the monastic library at Whitby and the Cistercian foundations at Rievaulx and Meaux. Evidence of Scottish libraries is much less full. N.R. Ker points out that only 92 MSS now survive from all the libraries of Scotland put together. No doubt many more have been destroyed through the centuries. G.G. Coulton maintained that the Scottish abbeys were as well-provided with books as their English counterparts, but little evidence remains to establish this beyond doubt.

The conditions of the time in which the CM was composed must be considered in trying to determine its place of composition. Murray tacitly recognized this

91 Ker, Med. Libs., p.xi.
93 The following historical sketch is based on Evan M. Barron, The Scottish War of Independence, 2nd ed. (Inverness, 1934); Barrow, Robert Bruce; Barrow,
when he said the poem was composed "about 1275-1300 (while Alexander III reigned in Scotland)". When Alexander III died in 1286, his only direct heir was his three-year-old granddaughter Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway. In spite of some disturbances in favour of other claimants to the throne, six Guardians were appointed and, by the Treaty of Birgham, in 1290, Margaret was pledged to marry the son of the English king Edward I. On her way to her wedding, the Maid of Norway died at sea, and the struggle for power in Scotland began in earnest. In 1295 the Scots made an alliance with France, and in March, 1296, the period known to Scottish historians as "The War of Independence" began. A Scottish army invaded north-western England and laid waste the northern counties as far as Hexham. Two days later, Edward I marched into eastern Scotland, slaughtered the male inhabitants of Berwick, and went on to subdue, temporarily, all of the country. By spring of 1297, most of Scotland was in revolt. Northumberland and Cumberland were raided again and the Northumberland clergy fled south to County Durham. There was, at this time, fierce hostility to

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English priests and nuns still in Scotland. Many were killed, and the others expelled.

The war continued, with local triumphs on both sides, until the death of Edward I in 1307. From then on, Robert Bruce gradually won control over larger and larger areas of Scotland. In 1311 Edward II's preoccupation with his own troubles in the south gave the Scots a chance once again to raid across the border. The devastation of the northern counties of England at this time was truly appalling. For a time, the Scots could be bought off with money payments, but finally the smaller counties had suffered so much "propter combustionem" that they could no longer raise any revenues at all. The tenantry on many manors simply disappeared. In 1319 the monks of Holmcultram abbey, the richest and most influential religious house north of Durham, were forced to take refuge in other monasteries. Between the years 1311-27, only County Durham was relatively safe, and that only because its inhabitants could afford to buy peace on at least eight separate occasions. The effect of a lapsed truce was made evident in August, 1312,

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95 Jean Scammell, "Robert I and the North of England", English Historical Review, LXXIII (1958), 385-403 has carefully documented the situation.

when Robert Bruce surprised the town of Durham early on a market morning. Most of the town was burned, many inhabitants killed, and the country laid waste for miles around. Only the castle and the abbey, too strong to be taken by force, remained untouched.

The large rich Scottish abbeys were similarly afflicted. The largest and wealthiest houses were in the river valleys of the south, especially vulnerable to English attack. The abbot of Kelso complained in 1305 of the burning of his abbey's charters and muniments, and by 1316 his monks were begging at other houses for food and clothing. Dundrennan sought compensation of £8000 in 1299. Melrose, whose buildings were partially destroyed by the English between 1300 and 1307, was finally completely sacked by the English in 1322. Holyrood too was destroyed in that year, while Scone had been pillaged and destroyed as early as 1298.

What has all this to do with the CM? A poem such as this requires a library which is available to the poet over a period of time. Such a situation must

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98 No one can be sure how long the poet took to write the 25,000 lines which may have been in the original version of the CM. However, the translation of the Dialogues of St. Gregory into 24,000 lines of Anglo-Norman seems to have taken Angier seven years. See M. Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 61-2.
have been very difficult to find in Northumbria at the end of the thirteenth century. The CM must almost certainly have been composed in a large centre with a good library, a centre strong enough to escape the worst effects of the war, which had enough communication across the border to account for both Scandinavian and Scottish elements in the vocabulary.

Although one might tentatively conclude that Durham was the place of composition of the CM from just the above evidence, another approach should be explored first. Little attention has been paid to the possible author of the CM, although any conjectures on the subject might have a bearing on the provenance of the poem. Laurel Braswell argued that the poet was a parish priest, although not necessarily a secular. She based her conclusion partly on the poet's concern with teaching "lewed men" and partly on the poet's description of the ideal priest (ll. 27148ff), the injunction to be shriven by one's own parish priest (ll. 26171-2, MSS C and F), and the poet's reference to himself as a "caitif clerk" (l. 23909). Ernest Mardon rejects her opinion and suggests that the CM was written by a monk in a large institution.


100 Mardon, Narrative Unity, p. 197.
Clearly the poem was written by someone in holy orders. The poet himself describes the shepherds of the Lord's flock and declares:

Amang þæa hirdes am i an,—
Sa wreche vnworthi wat i nan,—(11.2381-2)

Are there any indications from the poem itself of what group of the clergy he belonged to?

First of all, the poem is unlikely to have been written by a friar, although these men were actively engaged in teaching "lewed men". At this period, they seem not to have been writing down their sermons in the vernacular.101 Many of their sermons were short, self-contained and capable of attracting and holding the attention of a new audience for a relatively short period of time.102 This hardly describes the CM. The most telling piece of evidence against their authorship of the CM unfortunately occurs in a section of the poem which may not have belonged to the work in its original form.103 At the end of the thirteenth century, the controversy between friars and seculars over who should hear confessions was at its height.


102 See those of Nicole Bozon, e.g., Les Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith and Paul Meyer (Paris, 1889).

103 See above, pp.xi-xii.
No contemporary friar would have written:

For es na herd set for to kepe
Wit right bot til his aun scepe.
For quen jou o scrupt has nede,
To parichë preist jou be bede, (ll.26170-3, MSS C and F)

Another group which can probably be eliminated as authors of the CM is the Cistercian monks, the most numerous order in Scotland. Ll.24731ff. of the poem tell how the Feast of the Immaculate Conception came to be celebrated. In the western Church, this feast was of English origin and was always popular there, so its presence in the CM is not remarkable. However, several serious theologians and mariologists of the Middle Ages, including St. Bernard of Clairvaux, opposed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Because of the opposition of St. Bernard, the Cistercians did not celebrate this feast. The doctrine was not made acceptable to the whole church until the early fourteenth century. Various Englishmen did accept and defend the doctrine, but on the whole it seems unlikely that a British Cistercian of this period would have included in a work addressed to the common people a passage on the Immaculate Conception such as the one which appears in the CM.

No other large group of priests can be so easily eliminated as authors of the CM. The Dominicans did not accept the doctrine either, for St. Thomas Aquinas opposed it.

104 See Juniper B. Carol, ed., Mariology (Milwaukee, 1955-61), III 24-8, I 286-303. The Dominicans did not accept the doctrine either, for St. Thomas Aquinas opposed it.
eliminated from consideration. Generalizations about secular priests are extremely difficult to make. The ignorance of parish clergy is constantly reiterated in the Middle Ages. The ablest seculars seem usually to have been attracted away from parish work to administrative duties, thus presumably losing their interest in instructing the common people.

If a secular priest wrote the CM, one would have to account for his access to a library. In England, the most northerly secular cathedral was at York, and, although its library was extensive, it is rather too far south to be the place where the CM was composed. Parish churches themselves seem to have had virtually no books. Only one parish priest in the thirteenth century is known to have had a library of his own. According to Margaret Deanesly, no recorded will of a secular priest mentions any English or French devotional books, such as Herman's Bible or the Chateau d'amour, before the time of Wycliffe.

Books were sometimes lent by the libraries of religious houses. However, most records of loans imply

105 Ker, Med. Libs., pp. 219-24. Among extant MSS, Ker has identified only 130 belonging to churches and chapels. Virtually all of these are service books, martyrologies and the like. Only four churches out of 126 had two books. The rest had only one apiece.

106 See Wormald, Eng. Lib., p. 5.

that the borrower had to provide considerable collateral for the loan. This might have been beyond the means of most parish priests of the poorer class. The possibility remains that the secular priest might have borrowed his books, however, for in 1431 the abbot of Easby, a Praemonstratensian house, had to go to law to recover from John Eseby, parson of Fulbeck, Linnc., the 16 books, worth 100 marks, which he had borrowed from the library.

Is the CM the kind of poem one would expect of a secular priest? Laurel Braswell points to William of Shoreham and John Trevisa as two other literary seculars. Trevisa (1326-1412), however, was a private chaplain to Thomas, 4th Baron Berkeley, and his translations were not intended to save the souls of unlearned men, as is the CM. Furthermore, Trevisa was writing 100 years after the composition of the CM. Had the CM poet been a chaplain to a great family writing at the end of the thirteenth century, he would more likely have written in French, as did Robert of Gretham.

109 Braswell, SEL, pp.252-3.
110 See the DNB, LVII, p.212.
The poems of William of Shoreham provide a classic example of what a parish priest might write. His works are on the seven deadly sins, the Virgin and the Trinity. These are exactly the topics upon which thirteenth century bishops constantly enjoined their clergy to preach.\textsuperscript{112} While no one can definitely prove that the CM was not written by a secular priest, the attribution seems unlikely.

The Augustinian canons are somewhat more likely candidates for the authorship of the CM. They were actively engaged in instructing the unlearned in the Middle Ages. Orm, one of the earliest known writers of gospel paraphrases and sermons for humble men in Middle English, was an Augustinian canon.\textsuperscript{113} John Mirk, the author of a Festial and a set of Instructions for Parish Priests, was also an Augustinian canon, as was Walter Hilton, the author of the Ladder of Perfection. Thus the Augustinian canons, more than any other order, have left positive evidence of an established tradition of concern for the instruction of ignorant men and of writing in the vernacular.

Furthermore the canons were well-established in Northumbria. The only Augustinian cathedral priories in


Britain were situated at Carlisle and St. Andrews.
The cathedral at Carlisle, like the CM, was dedicated
to the Blessed Virgin and "the cult of the Virgin was a
devotional instinct of considerable power in the religious
life of the city and diocese of Carlisle which was a
place of pilgrimage because of this." This would seem
to make Carlisle a possible site for the writing of the
CM, except for its frequent harassment by the Scots, and
a great fire which burned the entire city in May, 1292,
destroying the cathedral and presumably its library as
well. Many of the other northern houses of the canons
suffered greatly during the wars as well.

The last group of religious to be considered are
the Benedictines. Their devotion to scholarship is well-
known, and more of their libraries contained Anglo-Norman
works than those of any other order. The standard of
monastic preaching had evidently fallen off in the thir-
teneth century, however, and monks in general were not as

114 VCH Cumberland, pp.136-9.
115 Ibid., p.31.
116 See David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval
under Banburgh, Bolton, Carham, Hexham, Lanercost,
Marton; VCH Cumberland, p.157; William Farrer and J.
Brownbill, eds., Victoria History of the County of
Lancaster, II (London, 1908), pp.141, 145; Easson,
Med. Rel. Houses under Holyrood, Jedburgh, Restennet,
Scone.
117 Legge, A-N in the Cloisters, pp.111-2; cf. p.52.
likely to be engaged in instructing the common people as were canons. One monk who wrote in English is the author of the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, which was composed in the middle of the fourteenth century by a Benedictine monk of Canterbury.

In considering the Benedictine houses of Northumbria, the eye of speculation inevitably rests on Durham Cathedral Priory. Its library was one of the greatest in Britain during the Middle Ages. It would certainly have contained the Latin books needed to compose the CM, and most probably the vernacular works as well. Its facilities for study and writing are documented in the *Rites of Durham*. The abbey seems to have been strong enough to be safe from the Scottish raiders who constantly invaded the bishopric. Durham monks built and served Coldingham priory in Scotland which supported 30 resident Durham monks at the end of the thirteenth century. They were forced to abandon Coldingham briefly during the reign of Edward II. Thus Durham had the Scottish connections which might serve to explain the Scottish elements in the vocabulary of the

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118 Owst, *Preaching*, p.50.
120 See above, p.xl.
Lastly, the Sunday afternoon sermon described in the Rites of Durham would have made a perfect occasion for reading through the CM in weekly installments.\textsuperscript{122}

Such an investigation as this into authorship and provenance must remain inconclusive, purely a matter of probabilities. Any investigation is inevitably influenced by the availability of evidence, and this in itself prejudices the researcher in favour of the most firmly established and therefore more heavily documented establishments. Even with this caveat, however, the available evidence does seem to suggest Durham as the probable place of composition of the CM, and consequently a Benedictine monk as its most probable author.

Genre, Function and Audience

Writers on the subject of Middle English literature seem unsure about the genre of the CM. Wells, for instance, puts it among the "Comprehensive Works of Religious Instruction and Information".\textsuperscript{123} The main criterion for this

\textsuperscript{122} See below, p.lxv.

classification seems to be the length of the works involved.  Similarly the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature puts it in the category of "Moral and Religious Instruction". The group of compositions with which the CM has most in common, however, seems to me to be the biblical paraphrases.

These biblical paraphrases form an important part of the literary production of the Middle Ages. Through centuries of exegesis in Latin, the words of the Bible itself, and the manifold meanings which each sustained, had acquired such a sanctity that direct translation was forbidden. The involvement of heretical sects in the production of a translation, and Innocent III's crusade against the Waldensians, for instance, successfully postponed the production of a full Bible translation for some time to come.

Paraphrases, however, seemed to belong to a different category. They did not attempt to render all the meanings implicit in the sacra pagina, but rather to extract and explain some of them. French paraphrases were written from the late twelfth century on.  Only

124 D.W. Robertson Jr. demonstrates the tradition in which one of these long works really belongs in "The Cultural Tradition of Handlyng Synne", Speculum, XXII (1947), 162-185.

125 For the relation of the words of the Vulgate to their meanings see H.H. Glunz, History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon (Cambridge, 1933).

126 The classic studies of the French paraphrases are still Samuel Berger, La Bible française au moyen Âge (Paris,
slightly later than this, the English clergy began to write paraphrases which would teach people about the contents of the Bible more systematically than sermons had formerly done.

There are several other ME works which cover much the same ground as the Old Testament portion of the CM. These are:

(1) The Middle English Genesis and Exodus

This is extant in a single MS, CCCC 444, which the MED dates between 1300 and 1325. The poem seems to have been composed in the middle of the thirteenth century in the East Midlands. It is largely a translation of the Historia Scholastica of Petrus Comestor, and tells the stories found in Genesis, plus the story of the life of Moses from Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

(2) The Temporale of the South English Legendary

Some ten MSS of the SEL contain a preface, the Temporale, cont'd 1884) and Jean Bonnard, Les Traductions de la Bible au vers français au moyen âge (Paris, 1884). For the paraphrases in other languages, see G.W.H. Lampe, ed., Cambridge History of the Bible, II (Cambridge, 1970), 338-491.


128 SEL Temp. This has not yet been edited. See however the extract printed in F.J. Furnivall, ed., Adam Davy's Five Dreams About Edward II (London, 1878), EETS OS 69, pp.81-98. My quotations are taken from the oldest surviving MS, BM Egerton 1993, fol.1r,ff. Where this MS is illegible, I have used photographs of the Vernon MS, fols.1r,ff.
which summarizes Old Testament history. Minnie E. Wells discusses variant versions of the Temporale. The treatment of incidents is somewhat sketchy, and much of the apocryphal material comes from Petrus Comestor.

(3) The Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament

This poem exists in two MSS, MS Selden Supra 52, and MS Longleat 257, which is imperfect at the beginning. The Met. Para. is a very full treatment of many of the incidents of Old Testament history, including many omitted by the CM poet.

The other group of works which deals extensively with Old Testament material is the mystery cycles. Various scholars have suggested vaguely that the CM and the cycle plays must be somehow related to each other, but no one has ever documented the influence of the one on the

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129 Minnie E. Wells, "The Structural Development of the South English Legendary", JEGP, XLI (1942), 334-343.


131 Robert Reilly, ed., A Middle English Summary of the Bible, Diss. Washington, 1966 covers Old Testament material so briefly that it is of little value for this study.

132 See e.g. York, p.xliv; Dickens and Wilson, Early ME Texts, p.114. Cf. however, E.K. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1947), 27.
other. Such a supposition may be illusory, stemming mainly from the fact that all the works in question are drawing on the same sources.

Old Testament history, often based largely on Petrus Comestor, also appears at the beginning of some chronicles. Exempla from Old Testament history appear in works such as *Cleanness*, and individual episodes may be given separate poetic treatment.

On the other hand, the *CM* is clearly different in some ways from all of the works mentioned above. To understand its uniqueness, one must further enquire into the function of the poem within the genre.

Some scholars have considered the *CM* a romance, a series of loosely connected stories told for the excitement each affords its hearers. Beryl Smalley quotes the poet's famous lines in his introduction:

> Man yhernes rimes for to here,  
> And romans red on Maneres sere,  
> Of Alisaundur þe conquerour;  
> Of Iuly cesar þe emparour;  
> O grece and troy the strang strijf,  
> þere many thosand lesis þer lijf;

[The poet] plans a truly heroic counter-attack in the form of an English poem, presenting the Christian "gestes" as an exciting and romantic story: set a romancer to catch a romancer. The story of salvation in the *Cursor Mundi*

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133 See Wyntoun and Higden.  
134 See, e.g., *I&I*. 
has as much thrill and variety as legend and apocrypha can offer.\textsuperscript{135}

If the CM is intended as a romance, it is a very poor specimen of the genre. Some of its stories are indeed full of adventure, intrigue, marvels and even romantic love. However, the poet, if anything, plays down these elements in his retelling. If he were interested simply in "gestes" surely he would have included such stories as Daniel in the lions' den, or Jonah in the belly of the whale, or Judith and Holofernes. The poet neglects other potential ingredients of romance. He could have portrayed Christ as a knight, as many mediaeval poets did—but he did not.\textsuperscript{136} He could have provided rousing descriptions of his heroes' battles—but he did not.\textsuperscript{137} He could have described the Virgin, or indeed any of the ladies of his narrative, in courtly or romantic terms—but he rarely did so. Even the education of Solomon could have been treated like the education of a romance hero,\textsuperscript{138} but instead Solomon learns the trivium and quadrivium like any mediaeval


\textsuperscript{136} Raymond St.-Jacques, "Langland's Christ-Knight and the Liturgy", \textit{Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa}, XXXVII (1967), 146-158 refers to earlier scholarship on this figure.

\textsuperscript{137} Compare Abraham's heroic battle in the OE\textit{Gen.}, li.1960ff.

undergraduate.

The CM poet also seems supremely indifferent to physical descriptions, although these figure largely in most romances. When confronted with something to describe, he usually says he cannot describe it. 139 Compare his treatment of any biblical event with the short poem of Iacob and Ioseph. There characters, settings and events are vividly presented in mediaeval terms as evocative as any description in romances such as Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.

Clearly the CM poet does not intend to write the kind of rich, patterned descriptions characteristic of romance. Instead, he is writing good serviceable expository verse designed to get his narrative across to his hearers or readers.

Yet the CM is not a disjointed series of individual stories which is given a "slack unity" 140 by its devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Rather the poet has written his paraphrase in the form of a world history. 141 When he

139 See, e.g., l1.247-8, 481-4, 7307-8, 226, 336, 337-8, etc.
141 Of course, its mediaeval readers may not always have been aware of this. Note that MS G calls the poem a "tretis", while MS T refers to it as a "boke of storyes". See Morris, CM, p.9. The CM was copied sometimes as a series of stories, to be included with other romances, and sometimes as a piece of religious instruction to be copied with other edifying works.
says that his poem is to teach by example, he is making a statement about the purpose of history common to historical writers from very early times.¹⁴² His work is essentially a continuous narrative of events embodying certain of the poet's opinions on the nature of history.

The view of history which the CM poet has is one which was current in Latin writings of the twelfth century. Previous writers had regarded the events of Old Testament history as a series of figures, important because of their fulfilment in the events of the New Testament, rather than because of their place in a chronological series of events leading up to the present day.¹⁴³ In the twelfth century the Victorines, and especially Hugh of St. Victor, came to see history not as a group of logical or typological connections, but rather as a linear development. "History follows the order of time; to allegory belongs more the order of knowledge."¹⁴⁴ Hugh insists on the uniqueness of

¹⁴³ See discussions of this view of history in Erich Auerbach, "Figura", in Scenes from the Drama of European Literature (New York, 1959), pp.11-76; Jean Daniélon, From Shadows to Reality, trans. Wulstan Hibberd (London, 1960); V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1966), pp.57-123; Ernest G. Mardon, Narrative Unity, p.211, n.34 attempts to apply Kolve's analysis of the mystery plays to the CM.

The CM poet is not unaware of the figural interpretation of history, however. See the notes to 11.1036, 1593-1630, 2713 below.

each event, and its place in the whole body of history. For him history "was a series, a sequence, and an organized sequence, an articulated continuity whose themes made sense."  

The CM poet is well aware of the shape of his history. He sets out to "tell sum geste principale/For al may no man haue in tale" (T 123-4), but his choice is far from capricious. The central core of the CM is the Virgin Mary, its purpose "to do men knowe hir kyn" (T 113), and the poet chooses many of his materials with this in mind. The biblical books he uses are largely those listed by Hugh of St. Victor as having most to do with history: Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Paralipomenon, the Gospels and Acts. The apocryphal incidents which he adds to these serve to fill up gaps in the narrative line and make his history more continuous. Although the Old Testament section of Herman's Bible is long, the CM's is longer, because the Middle English poet shows the origin in time of the wood of Christ's cross. He greatly expands Herman's narrative of David and Solomon because these

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146 Didascalicon VI iii, p.137.
kings are so important in the genealogy of the Virgin and of Christ. He is not, however, all-inclusive, like the Met. Para., which narrates almost every incident of every king in a wealth of detail. The main artistic virtue of the CM poet's work is its excellence of proportion, and this is nowhere better shown than in his selection of incidents for lengthy description. Thus, the kings and judges of Israel are neither described nor omitted. They are mentioned, to maintain the continuity of events in time, but their wars and intrigues are not described, because they would interfere with the progress of the history toward its culmination in the Virgin and Christ.

The CM poet is also aware of several historical time divisions. He divides the events of world history into seven ages, as did many other mediaeval writers. However, the CM is unique, so far as I am aware, in having two separate ages for the lives of Mary and of Christ.

In his prologue, the CM poet distinguishes between

147 They appear very frequently in pictures of the tree of Jesse. See Arthur Watson, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (London, 1934).

148 See Ten Brink, Early English Literature, p.269; Clara L. Thomson, in A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller, eds., The Cambridge History of English Literature (Cambridge, 1907), II 343; Dickens and Wilson, Early ME Literature, p.114.

149 See above, p.x.
the Old Law and the New, the Old Testament and the New.\textsuperscript{150} I believe that his novel re-arrangement of the seven ages is done to give equal time to Old and New Testament figures. In his scheme, the Old Testament is dealt with in four ages, while the time afterwards seems to be given only three ages. This reckons without Morris' so-called "short poems", however. The balance becomes more evident if one considers another historical scheme, that given in the \textit{Legenda Aurea}:

Universum tempus praesentis vitae in quatuor distinguitur, scilicet in tempus deviationis, renovationis sive revocationis, reconciliationis et peregrinationis.\textsuperscript{151}

In this scheme, the first three divisions deal with historical time chronologically, with readings ranging from \textit{Genesis} to \textit{Apocalypse}. Of the fourth division, Jacobus a Voragine says:

Tempus peregrinationis est tempus praesentis vitae, in quo peregrinamur et in pugna semper sumus.\textsuperscript{152}

This, I suggest, explains the presence of those parts of the \textit{CM} which are not narrative, or are told out of chronological order, sections (i) to (s) above. After the four ages of the Old Law, the poet deals with four ages under the New, the "eighth age" being the present time, the "audience moment" which Kolve notes that the mystery plays

\textsuperscript{150} See \textit{CM}, 11.115-7, 1.120 in MSS C and F.

\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Leg. Aur.}, p.1. Haenisch, \textit{CM}, p.54* says that the \textit{CM} poet used the \textit{Legenda Aurea} as a source in other parts of his work.

\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Loc. cit.}
pass over. After writing descriptive history of what happened in the past and what we are assured will happen on Doomsday, the CM poet turns to writing "prescriptive history", as envisaged in the Legenda Aurea. He begins to write of his own time, and of the things which are necessary for the struggle of each man toward salvation. In this reckoning of time, then, the "short poems" and "additions" of the CM fit beautifully into a chronological-philosophical framework.

The CM poet is also concerned with the general tendencies operating in each historical epoch. From the time of Adam to that of Moses, the "tempus deviationis" of the Legenda Aurea, the poet seeks out passages which show the continuing degeneration of mankind. He is aware of the difference which the new law of Moses brings, and he pauses in his narrative long enough to include much of the very legalistic material found in Exodus, material which most other paraphrases shun. Much of the section of the poem from Moses to the birth of Mary is taken up by the stories of the miracles worked by the three rods which grow to form Christ's cross. Had he

154 See 11.535-44, 1387-8, 1819-32, 2771-80, 3043-6, 3171-4. He seems to seek out passages such as these in his sources. See the note to 11.535-44 below.
155 See his mention of the two kinds of law at 1.1571, MSS C and G.
156 See below, 11.5981ff.
wished to give only the bare bones of the cross legend, the CM poet could have continued translating the Latin Legende which he had used earlier. Instead he switched to the much fuller Old French version, which tells of the miracles performed by the rods. This extended treatment gives a better proportion to this section of the CM, the "tempus renovationis" of the Legenda Aurea's scheme. Also the miracles of the rods, which are thematic in this section, contrast with the emphasis on degeneration characteristic of the earlier epoch. At the same time, the stress on the wood which was to become the cross makes this whole section of the work lead naturally toward the culmination of history in the Incarnation and Passion.

The "tempus reconciliationis", then, occupies the rest of the narrative portion of the CM, sections (f) to (h), while the "tempus peregrinationis" accounts for Morris' "short poems" and "additions", sections (i) to (s).\textsuperscript{157} The four-fold division of history articulated in the prologue to the Legenda Aurea, although it is not specifically mentioned by the CM poet, serves well to elucidate the basis of the excellent proportions which several scholars have seen in the poem.

\textsuperscript{157} Cf. the call to repentance in this "tyme of grace" in Woodburn O. Ross, ed., Middle English Sermons (London, 1940), EETS OS 209, pp.112/29-113/4.
One may well ask on what sort of occasion the CM would be read and to what kind of audience. In spite of a few references to readers, the CM poet usually assumes that people will be hearing his poem read aloud. Owst considers the poem as part of sermon literature, and points specifically to MS E, where parts of the CM are bound up with definite pulpit material. The CM, however, could not have been composed to fill the needs of priests who delivered a sermon every Sunday at mass with the intention of explaining the Bible to their hearers. Robertson describes their kind of sermons:

Except on special occasions, sermons were preached during the course of the Mass, usually following the reading of the Gospel. The essential function of the sermon de tempore was to explain the lesson for the day, which had just been read, or to draw some conclusion from it, not to expati ate on random selections from Scripture.

The narrative parts of the CM are very badly designed for such a use. The selection of incidents bears little relation to the biblical material read during the liturgical

158 See 1.23943 in MSS E, C, F and G. Cf. also 1.26502 in MSS C and F, and 1.26593 in MS C.
159 Owst, Preaching, p.277.
160 D.W. Robertson, Jr., "Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England", Speculum, XXIV (1949), p.377. The Ormulum was obviously designed exactly for this situation. Other types of sermons were:

(a) saints' lives, designed to be read on the appropriate days,
(b) scholastic sermons, as described in Th.M. Charland, Artes Praediciandi (Paris and Ottawa, 1936),
(c) those short works containing simply an exemplum and a corresponding moral,
(d) sermons explaining the elements of the faith, the sacraments, the seven deadly sins, etc.
year. Even the gospel matter is here treated in chronological rather than in liturgical order, and the wealth of apocryphal stories would be useless for strictly liturgical purposes. Owst in fact invents a new category for works like the CM. Once again, the criterion seems to be merely length. He says that works like the CM, Handlyng Synne, the Ayenbite of Inwit and the Pricke of Conscience are "works suitable for reading from the pulpit... blotting out all valid distinctions between treatise and poem and sermon proper." 161

My view of the overall design of the CM as a world history suggests that it was intended primarily to be heard or read from beginning to end, just as the mystery cycles were designed to be performed each time in their entirety. Of course, the poem is too long to be taken in at one sitting. This suggests that it would be read to an audience which would return again and again to the same place to hear more of the poem. Such a situation would occur in a religious house, except that the languages for reading in such establishments seem to have been Latin or French. 162 The situation might arise also in the house

161 Owst, Preaching, p. 277.
162 Legge, A-N in the Cloisters, 31, 48; Wilson, "English and French"; Eileen Power, Medieval English Nunneries (Cambridge, 1922), 246-9. Cf., however, MS C, 11.7971-2. This suggests that this MS may have been copied for an audience who were accustomed to daily devotions, possibly a religious community. See John R.H. Moorman,
of a powerful lord, where reading to a group of his household could be a popular form of recreation. In the south of England, the usual language of such an audience would have been French. Certainly the biblical picture books produced in England for wealthy patrons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had their texts in French. However, English may have been more widely used by this class in the north. But surely no one writing expressly for an aristocratic audience would have insisted on referring to them as "comune folke of engelonde" (83) or as the "lewed men" to whom the poem is especially addressed.

On the other hand, the CM is not expressly intended for the use of priests whose flock need instruction in the very rudiments of Christianity. Priests were constantly urged to instruct people like this in the basics of the faith—

cont'd

Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1945), 73. Lay brothers, or conversi, with their separate routines, might provide a suitable audience for the poem. However, their education, except for the rudiments of the faith, seems to have been universally neglected. See David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England I (Cambridge, 1948), 286-7; Rose Graham, Saint Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901), 159; Louis J. Lekai, The White Monks (Okauchee, Wisc., 1953), 230-1; Moorman, Church Life, 264.

163 See below, n. to 1.1496.
164 Wilson, "English and French", 44, 54-5.
165 Cf. MS G, 11.17099-17110, which may have been copied for a wealthy landowner. This still tells us little about the poem's first audience.
the Creed, the Pater Noster, and the seven sacraments. 166

The CM seems rather intended for groups of people who were neither aristocratic, nor isolated parishioners of poor illiterate priests. These people had already had access to instruction in the basic elements of the faith, and were ready to learn more. And they had occasion to gather in a group from time to time to hear the narrative continued. Exactly such a situation occurred at Durham:

Every sonnday in ye yere there was a sermon preached in ye gallely at after none from one of ye clocke till iij & at xij of ye clock ye great Bell of ye galleley was tolled euery sonndaie iij q3ters of an howre & roung ye forth q3ter till one of ye clock, that all ye people of ye tounge myght have warnyng to come & here ye worde of god preached. 167

The same custom apparently prevailed elsewhere, for MS Vernon says "After Mete loke you go to be prechynge, / jif eny beo in toune--lette for no pynge--". 168 In some places attendance at these sessions seems to have been slack, but in Lincoln officials had trouble controlling the crowd. 169 Whatever may have been the fate of later

166 Cheney, English Synodalra, 38-9; Robertson, "Frequency of Preaching", 376-88.
167 Rites of Durham, p.39; cf. p.46. This and the following references are given by Owst in another context. See Owst, Preaching, pp.145, 156-7.
MSS of the poem, such a setting and such an audience seem to me to provide exactly the appropriate situation needed for the original composition of the CM.
Editorial Principles

MS H is a later copy of a southern translation of a northern poem which had undergone scribal transmission before the southern translator saw it. I have tried to reproduce the MS which the scribe of H wrote, with only the obvious slips of the scribe himself corrected. I have reproduced the capitalization, punctuation and spacing of the MS exactly. Slash marks to the left of the text, which seem to indicate some kind of paragraphing system, are also reproduced exactly as in the MS. Abbreviations are expanded in the text, but the expansions are underlined. Square brackets in the text indicate words or letters supplied by the editor which were accidentally omitted by the scribe of H, but which are necessary to the sense, and are usually present in T. Round brackets denote letters not visible on my microfilm of the MS, usually because of the tightness of the binding.\footnote{I had hoped to check these readings with the MS itself. However, several attempts to see this at the College of Heralds have proved unsuccessful, as has a written request for information.}

Textual notes at the bottom of each page of the MS transcription provide emendations of obvious mis-spellings in H. I have also used the textual notes to indicate where headings and decorated capitals appear. The headings seem to be in a different coloured ink from the rest of the text,
but this is impossible to determine from the microfilm alone. I have designated a capital as large if it occupies the height of four lines of writing and medium if it occupies two lines. A small capital occupies only slightly more than one line of writing, but it is clearly shaped differently from the ordinary capitals which usually begin the lines of the poem.

The lines of MS H are numbered consecutively, taking no account of the lines on the missing folios. For purposes of comparison, corresponding line numbers from Morris' edition are also given, but are always underlined wherever they occur.

All other information will be found in the explanatory notes which begin on p. 349. Many lines in MSS H and T have been deliberately changed by the southern translator to avoid the northern dialect or vocabulary of his exemplar. In addition, some changes occur which are probably the result of scribal corruption in the common exemplar of H and T. These lines are discussed in the explanatory notes. There I have assumed that a scribal error in the exemplar was more likely to occur when the new reading made sense to the scribe. Rather than dismiss the "corrupt" readings, I have tried to understand the meaning of the new lines as well as the reasons for their corruption from the old.\textsuperscript{171} The explanatory
\textsuperscript{171} See, e.g., notes to 11.277-8, 6362-4.
notes also contain suggestions for conjectural emendations for which there is no MS support at all.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{172} See note to 11.1945-6.
Cursor Mundi

(College of Heralds MS Arundel LVII)

The first leaf of the manuscript, containing lines 1-152, is missing.

Si je hit shal be rad jow fanne
Of ioachym and of seynt anne
Of mary also hir douzter mylde
How sheo was born & bare hir chylde
How sheo was bore whenne & whare
How sheo hym to be tempel bare
Of jo kynges pat hym souyte
That pre presents to him brouyte
How pat heroude kyng wi wrong
ffor crystes sake slowe children jong
How pat ihesu to egipte fledde
And how he was jennes ledde
And here shul see here many dede
Pat ihesu dide in his childehede
Sipen of je baptiste Ion
Pat baptized ihesu in flum iurdon
How ihesu aftir his fastynge longe
was temptide wi pe spirit of wronge
Sipen of iones baptizyng
And how hym heuedede heroude pe kinge

Read he for sheo.
How jat ihesu crist hym selue
Chees to hym apostles twelue
And openly bigan to preche
And alle jat seke were to leche
And dide myracles mony & ryfe
Wherfore je iewes bigon to stryfe
Si jpe how god of his my3te
Turned watir into wyn ri3te
Of fyue housande men jat he
Wij fyue looues fedde & fissinghes pre
Of a man shal we jen fynde
Jat god zaf si3te & borne was blynde
And of je spousebriche of o woomon
Jat je iewes demed to stoon
how he heled a man vnfer
Jat seck was ey3te & twenty zere
How mary maudelene wij grete
Coom to wasshe oure lordes fete
Of hir and of martha also
Jat bisy was aboute cryst joo
Of lazar jat deede lay vndir stoon
How he was reised in flesshe & boon
How iewes ihesu ofte bisette
And for his prechyng also him jrette
How jei pyned hym on je rode
And how Jei shedde his blessed blode
And if god wole Jeine shal Itelle
How he sijpen harrewede belle
How iewes wip her wreete vnskille
wende his vprysynge to stille
How he vproos & sijpen vpstay
Mony a man hit herde & say
How pat he of myjtes moost
Sende to erpe pe holy soost
Touchynge pe apostles of her feest
How Jei endede meest and leest
How oure lady endede and zolde
Hir semely soule hit shal be tolde
How pe holy cros was kidde
Longe aftir pat hit was hidde
Of antecristes coome pat shal be kene
And of pe dredeful dayes fiftene
Pat shul come before pe domes day
Sijpen of pe doom wole I say
Pen of oure ladyes mournynge mode
whenne hir sone henge on rode
Pe laste resoun pat I shal spelle
Of hir concepioun wole I telle
These are pe materes red on rowe
Pat in his booke wole I showe
Shortly renynge on pis dede
ffor mony per aren for to spede
Nedeful me pinke hit were to man
To knowe hym self how he bigan
How he bigan in world to brede
How his osprynge began to spede
Bope of je firste and of je las[t]e
In what course pis world is past
Aftir holy chirches astate
pis ilke book is translate
Into englisshe tonge to rede
ffor je loue of englisshe lede
ffor comune folke of engelonde
Shulde je better hit vndirstonde
pat speche pat moost vs may spede
Moost to speke hit were greet nede
Selden hit is for any chaunce
Englisshe tonge preached in fraunce
3yue we vche londe his lang[e]
penne do we noon outrage
To lewed men englisshe I spelle
pat vndirstonde patt what I con telle
And to hem speke I alper moost
pat lede[p] her lyues in pryde & boost
And spenden her lyues in treuandise
And myȝte amenden in mony wyse
Wo shal hem be her lyf so spende
\( \text{pat fynde } \) fer of no fruýt at \( \text{pe ende} \)
Now of \( \text{his} \) prolouge wole we blyonne
In crystes nome oure book bygynne

Cours of \( \text{his} \) world men shul hit calle
ffor almeest hit reheumpyalle
Take we oure bigynnyng \( \text{gan} \)
At hym \( \text{pat al} \) \( \text{his} \) world bigan
Herep now of \( \text{pe} \) trynite dere
And of \( \text{pe} \) makyng of \( \text{his} \) world here
Alle men owe \( \text{pat} \) lord to drede
\( \text{pat} \) made man to haue mede
\( \text{pat} \) euer was \& euer shal be
wipouten ende in trynite

He \( \text{pat} \) lorde bope god an[\( \text{a} \)] man
Al maner jing of hym bigan
\( \text{youze} \) he bigan al oþere jinge
Hym self hadde neuer bigynnyng
Of hym coom al in hym is al

Al holdeþ he vp from doun fal
He holdeþ heuen \& erþe stidfaste

105–6 A heading
107 Large decorated capital A.
Without hym may no thing laste
his lord yet is so mychel of myȝte
Purueyed al in to his sȝte
And yet he ordeyned wip his witt
He multiplied and gouerned hit
Perfore he is þe trynité
Yet is o god & persones þre
And þif þow wenest hit may not be
Byholde þe sonne þenne maist þou se
In þe sonne yet shynes clere
Is o þing & þre seere
A body rounde hoot and liȝte
Þese þre we fynde at a sȝte
Þese þinges þre wip noon art
Mow not be fro oþere depart
For þif þou take þe liȝte away
Þe erþe hap no sonne parfay
And þif þe heete away be goon
Sonne forsoþe hastou noon
But vche maner man wel woote
Þe kynde of sonne is to be hoohte
Þe sonnes body þat I neuene
Bitokeneþ þe fadir god of heuene
And bi þe liȝte þat lastynge is
Hit is þe sone kynge of blis
And bi þe hete vndirstonde hit so 
þe holy goost comëþ of hem two 145
And fadir is he calde for ð
ffor he is welle þat neuer is dry 310
And ouer þis hym self wrouȝte
Alle þinges whenne þei were nouȝte
His sone is wisdome þat al þing wate
ffor al þe world he halt in state 150
Al þing he halt from mysfare
þat þei not turne to sorwe & care
þe holy [goost] is þe godheðe
þat ðye þ lyf to alle we rede
þis lord þat I biforn of seide 155 323
ffirste in his witt he al purueyde
his werkes he doþ as sotele wriþte
And sipen he reisēþ hit in sizte
ffor þis is god as seip scripture 160
Non elder þen is creature
Elder of tymn nys not he
But elles more in dignite 330
þis wriþte þat I speke of here
Is prynce ouer al wiþouten þere
ffor opere wriþtes mot tymber take 165
But he hym self con tymber make
ffor of hym self he took þe euene
Pat he made wip boþe erþe & heuene
But we shul vâdirstonde
Pat he wrouȝte not al his werke wit honde
But seide wip worde & also soone
Al his biddyng hit was doone
Smartlyere þen þe may wynke
Or any maþnes herte may þinke
And as clerkes saye þat are wyse
He wrouȝte hit not bi partyse
But he þat made al þinge of nouȝt
Al þe world to gider he wrouȝt
To be set in lengþe and brede
þe mater firste þerof I rede
þat is þe elementes to say
þat firste shaples to gider lay
He delt hem ful in sixe dayes
In parties as þe scripture sayes
þe elementes firste in dayes þre
þre þinges wipinne hem þer be
þese elementes þat al þing byndes
ffoure þer ben as clerkes fyndes
þe lowest hit is watir and erþe
þe þridde is eyr and fuyr þe þeirþe
And we seye þat he þus bigan
as austyn seîþ þat holy man
As we in his bookes fynde
ffirste he wrouyte aungel kynde
pe world and tyme pese pinges pre
Byfore alle opere ping made he
pe world I calle in myne ententes
pe mater of foure elementes
pat zit was penne of fourme vnshapen
Wherof was sibpe partyes taken
Al shapes was hit not for y
ffor hit of shappe had sum party
But perfore shapes hit was how
ffor hit hadde not as hit haP now
He wrouyte vpon pe opere day
pe firmamente pat is to say
pe sky wip sterres grete & smalle
wip watir shynynge as criystalle
pat is on hyje and pat is vndir
In pis he souned al to wondir
pe bridde day rod dide bi grace
pe watres drawe in to a place
And bad a drye place shulde be
pe watres alle he calde pe see
pe drye he calde erpe pat kynge
And bad hit grisynge fruyt forP brynge
Al ping to be waxinge Pere
And in hem self her seed to bere pe ferpe he bad and was done Bope were made sonne and moone 220 Byper wip his dyuerse liżte To parte pe day fro pe nyżte 390 In tokenynge of tydes to stonde Dayes and zeres bope dwellonde and pe sterres greete and smale 225 Pat we may se wipouten talle In pe hyżest element of alle Per ynne fuyre hap his stalle pe fifte day he failed noużte Of watir foule & fysshe he worūȝte 230 Pe fisshe to watir as we fynde Pe foules he toke to the wynde 400 Alle goynge beestes pe sixte day And adam als he made of clay He was laste made as lārdynge 235 To be maister ouer al pinjing In a dale he worūȝte adame Pat ebron hette in ebreu name Pese sixe dayes he worūȝte his wille Pe seuenpe of werke he helde him stille 240 He vs zaf ensaumpel pore fol.2v col.1 Pat we shulde holde hit euermore 410
Je firste werke as je herde neuen
God wrouȝt je angels of heuen
And sette hem in his hyȝe pales
Wiȝouten pryde to ben in pees
ffor his peleys was so ryche
As myȝtȝy kyng noon ofer lyche
He ordeyned hym two creatures
To serue hym þere wip honures
þat shulde a hool noumber be
Many a þousande to telle and se
þe whiche tale no wey shulde be more
And medeful bihoued hit wore
þis noumberary he ordeyned þon
Shulde be boþe of aungel & mon
ffor he wolde be þat kyng of crafte
worsheped wip two maner shafte
þe ton wip aungel þat is goostly
And als wip mannes body
Of aungels wolde he serued be
þat ordres shulde ha þryes þre
He ches to hym þat lorde hende
þat man þe ordre shulde be tende
But þe aungels he wrouȝte formast
Ouer alle he made her pouste past
pei were bope faire and wyse
Somme of lasse somme of more prise
He 3af on most to knowe & fele
3if pat he couple haue born hym wele
And sette hym beste in his halle
As prync & syre of opere alle
And for he was so wondir lijt
Lucifer to name he hijt
And whenne he hadde perceyued pis
pat he was ouer alle opir in blis
Alas caytif he knewe noujt
pat god him seluen hadde hym wrouzt
fful sorweful sawe he pat tyde
A3eynes god he toke a pryde
Li3tly he lette of alle his fere
To god hym self wolde he be pere
Not pere al one but myche moore
ffor vndir hym he wolde alle wore
And he hym self her commaundour
who herde euer of siche traytour
pat he pat not hadde but of hym
A3eyn his lorde shul[G] waxe so grym
He seide sette my sete I shal

266 For past, read mast.
Aȝeynes hym pat is beste of al

In be norþ syde shal sitte my sete
Seruyse of me shal he noon gete
why Shulde I hym seruyse zelde
Al shal be at myn owne welde
But he was marred of his wille
fful soone he fonde hit ful grille
ffor lenger þen he þouȝte þat pryde
In heuen myȝte he not abyde
ffor in þat court þat is so clene
No filpe may dwelle ne be sene
Seynt mychael for her aller riȝt
Roos aȝeyn hym to fīȝte
Aȝeyn hym zaf he batel grym
Out of þat court caste he hym
Lucifer firste doun he brouȝt
And sijpe þat wip hym held ouȝt
And scoured þat court of hem so clene
þat sijpe her stide was þere not sene
þis was þe fende þat formeste felle
ffor hys pryde from heuen to helle
ffor þenne his name chaunged was
ffro lucifer to sathanas
ffro ful hyȝe he fel ful lawe
Pat of his lorde wolde stonde noon awe
Wipoute koueryng of his soore
ffor mercy getep he neuer more
ffor god owe not jif hym mercy
Pat per aftir wolde not cry
And jus he loste pat hyze tour
There was he not fully an hour
ffor soone aftir pat he was made
He fel wipouten lenger abade
Pe opere aungels pat fel hym wip
Whiche forsoke goddes grip
Aftir pe wille pei to hym bore
ffel pei to helle lasse and moore
Somme in pe erpe somme in pe lifte
Pere pei dryze ful harde drifte
Her peyne pei bere on hem ay
And so shul do to domes day
But po pat lesten wipouten wyte
Were confermed pere as tyte
Pei may neuer assente to ille
No moore jen euel may do good wille
Pe noumber pat out of heuen felle
No tongue in erpe hit con telle
My fro pe trone of pat blis
How fer into helle hit is
But bede seip fro erpe to heuen
Is seuen thousand zeer & hundrides seuen
By iournes who so go hit may
ffourty myle everyche a day
Of bodily substauence for to wite
Monnes soule pat is hite
As I dow telle pe kyng of craft
Wolde be worsheped wit two shaft
Bope wip aungel & wip mon
Adam perfore made was pon
pe tende order to fulfille
pat lucifer hade made to spille
Of erpe only was adam nouȝt
But of foure elementes wrouȝt
Of watir his body is flesshe laire
His heer of fuyr his honde of ayre
His heed wipynne hap yȝen tweyn
pe sky hap sonne & moone certeyn
And as mennes yȝen are sette to siȝt
So serueþ sonne & moone of liȝt
Maister sterres are per seuene
Seuen holes hap mannes heed euene

340 The final s in hundrides is written above the line.
343-4 A heading.
345 Large decorated capital A.
Whiche ȝif þou wolt þe bijynke
þow mayst hem fynde wip litel swynke
his wynde þat we men drawen ofte
Bitokeneþ wynde þat blowþ o loftе
Whiche is þonder & leityng led
As onde wip host in brest is breed
In to þe see al watir synkeþ
And monnes womb al licoures dryneþ
His feet hym bereþ vp fro fal
also þe erþe vpholdeþ al
Thonder fyre ȝyueþ mon his siȝte
Thonder eyer of heryng myȝte
his wondur wynde hym ȝyueþ onde
 þe erþe makeþ hym fele & fonde
þe hardenes þat men han in boones
Hit comeþ of þe kynde of stoones
On erþe as groweþ tres and gres
So myle & here of mannes fleshe
wip beestes doumbe man haþ fele
Of þing hym likeþ euel or wele
Of þeþ þinges I haue herd seide
Was adames body to gider leide
ffor þese resouns þat þe haue herde
Man is calde þe lesse werde
But resoun zitt herde ze nouzte
Wher of mannes soule is wrouzte
Of goostly lijte men seye hit is
\[\text{pat god hap made to his likenes}\]
As preent of seel in wexe \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)rest
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)erynne he hap his likenes fest
He hap hit wrouzte as frend \& fere
No ping to hym is so ãere
His godhede is in trynité
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)e soule hap propur pinges \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)re
Menynge \& pat of pinges to se
\[\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)at is and was and euer shal be
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)ndirstondynge hap hit rijte
Of pinges seyn and oute of sigte
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)isdome also hit hap in wille
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)e goode to do and leue \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)e ille
\[\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)e my\^tes \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)at may be
\[\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)onnen in \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)e hooly trynite
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)lle vertues hap a soule I wis
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)at oute of synne clensed is
\[\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)nd as god \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)at is in oon \& \(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\)
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)ip no manere creature may be
\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger\textdagger}\)ndirgropede ne ouer gone
But he ouertake\(\text{\textdagger\textdagger}\) everychone

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There is a horizontal stroke over the final \(n\) in seyn in the manuscript.
So ye soule wipouten wene
To al ping hit is vnsene
Powze hit of al pinges haue siȝt
To se a soule no man haȝ myȝt
Now haue I shewed zow þus hider
How two pinges holden man togider
Ye soule is goostly ping to telle
Ye body hit is flesshe and felle
Adam was made of mannes elde
As he myȝte hym seluen welde
As austyn seip þat lyȝþ nouȝte
And wipouten paradyȝs wrouȝte
Here now þe resoun of his name
Why he was calde adame
In þis name are foure lettres leide
Þat of þe foure yates be seide
As east . west . norpe . & soupe
So myche is adame for to mouþe
And pow maist aske wipouten blame
Why god hym zaf so greet a name
Ffor soþe þat is liȝte to rede
Hit tokenȝ adame & his sede
Ouer al þe world shul be sprade
And þer of to be lorde made
And as oure lord hadde heuen in honde
So shulde man be lorde of londe
Forfore he yaf hym to bigynne
A lufsome londe to dwellen ynne
A lond of lyf ioyes and delys
Whiche men callen paradys
Into pat lond pat swete place
Was adam brouȝte whenne he made wase
He yaf hit hym as heritage
To yelde forfore no knowlage
But to holde hit wel vnbroken
A forbode bitwene hem spoken
But for pat he helde hit nouȝt
He made vs alle in bale be brouȝt
In care he brouȝte vs & in sore
As I shal telle zow forpermore
Of astate pe world was ynne
Byfore pe tyme of adames synne
Whanne adam was made also soone
In paradise he was done
Pe beestes boþe he & sheo
Adams siȝte were brouȝte to

435
440 For wase read was.
449-50 A heading.
451 Large decorated capital W in Whanne.
ffisshe in watir & foule to flizte
Al was brouȝte in adam sizte
Alle were brouȝte to serue adame
ffor þat he shulde þyue hem name
þis kyng þat con his craftes kepe
Slyly he made adame to slepe
Out of his syde as seip þe booke
Witbouȝten sore a ribbe he toke
Of þat ribbe he made a womman
To adame þat was firste his on
Whenne sheo to adame was brouȝte
Virago hir name he wrouȝte
perfore hette sheo virago
ffor of þe man made was sho
Naked were þei boþe tweyn
Ashamed were þei nouȝt certeyn
God hem blessed & bad hem brede
And multeþyle wip her in sede
Adam he seide how þinkþ þe
In þis place is feire to be
þis is a stede of weleful wone
Of ioye and blisse wanteþ hit none
Here lasteþ lyf witbouȝten ende
Here is no þing to amende
Here is blis þat lasteþ ay
Neuer nyjt bot euer is day
Is no man wip herte to penke
Ne clerke pat may wryte wip enke
pe mychel ioye pat hem is lent
pat done here my commandement
Of trees and fruyt here is good done
Alle shul pei be pyne but one
Of hem alle pei wille to do
But pat o tre come pe not to
pat stondepy amyddes paradise
ffor zif pe do pe be not wise
pis tre haue I done in frippe
ffor I wolde haue hit to my gripp
zif pe hit touche to zow seye yxe
On doubtel de pe shul zy dyxe
Bep war and takep good entent
Brekep not pis commandement
Herby may we alle se
pat he hem zaf a wille fre
pe good to do and leue pe ille
Bope be put in her fre wille
Wit and wisdome he hem zauce
Myte and fairhede for to haue
Of al erpe made adam kynge

403 Read ye for yxe.
To lasten wipouten endyng

Among hem euermore hele

Telle we sumwhat of his welle

Ar he brake pat god for bade

In mychel blisse was he bistade

Of his wyf so faire and fre

Pat myche myrpe was on to se

Pese beestes coom hym alle aboute

As to her lord hym to loute

ffoule in flîhte fisshe on sonde

Alle bowed hym to foot & honde

At his wille þei zeode & cam

As he hadde ben makere of ham

Pese beestes were so meke in dole

Wipouten hirtynge þei zeode hole

Among þe wolues lay þe shepe

Safly myȝte þei togyder slepe

þe hound harmed not þe hare

Ne no beest souȝte oþere to forfare

By þe deer þat now is wilde

As lomb lay þe leoun mylde

þe gryp also bysyde þe bere

No beest wolde to oþere dere

þe scorpioun forbare his tonge

ffro beestes þat he lay amonge
Al maner ping in dyuerse wyse
yalde to Adam her seruyse
be nedder po was not bitter
ffor he was euere wys & witter
ffor as we rede in booke meest
He was more wys pan any beest
be sonne was pat tyme we say
Seuen sipe brijtere pan now a day
be mone was pat tyme also brijt
As sonne now on dayes lijt
Holde no mon pis for no foly
be prophete seip pus ysay
Alle pinges as we may se
Hy je or lowe in world pat be
pei were of gretter strenghe & myjt
Bifore pat adam dide vnrijt
To adam soone was sent a sonde
pat souzte hym selly for to fonde
Whenne sathan sey pat he was chosen
To haue he blis pat he hadde losen
Sory he was pat false file
And pouzte man to bigyle
He pouzte po ioyes for to stynte
Pat god to mankynde hadde mynte
Azejyn god he wexe so grille
His hondewerke he pouȝte to spille
And trowed wij his greet enuy
Of god to wynne þe maystry
Now man is sett betwene two
On eijer syde he hap a foo
Betwene Sathan and his wyf
Adam is sette in mychel stryf
Bope were þei on adame
ffor to brynge hym into blame
Boþe þei ben on o party
To ouercome man wij tricchery
þe wyly fend hym helde on hyȝe
Hym geyned not com adam nyȝe
Namely in his owne shap
To spede he hoped ha non hap
þerfore a messangere he sende
By whom beste to spede he wende
þenne he chees a litel beest
Whiche is not vnwylyeest
þe nedder þat is of siche a shaft
Moost of queyntyse & of craft.
Queyntly tauȝte he hym þe gynne
At þe wyf to bygynne
And þourȝe þe wyf to wynne þe man
þenne goȝ þis neddre & not blan
In his slow satan penne was
Wondur is he entred in pat plas
But of his sufferaunce he hym lete
pat beest wiste how pat bale to bete
ffor mon he made pat he mouȝte
Synne or leue as hym good fouȝte
And by skile of his owne dede
Shulde be merked penne his mede
To bowe and lyue wipouten ende
Or elles to dyȝe and to woo wende
How adam brake goddes commaundement
Wherfore kynde of man was shent
Adam wandride in pat wele
In myche myrȝe ioye & hele
When adam was fro eue a prawe
Je nedder nyȝe to hir gon drawe
And seide womman telle me why
Pat je ete not al comynly
In paradise of eueryche tre
She seide sertes so nowe do we
Of alle trees but of one

589-90 A heading.

591 Large decorated capital A in Adam.

593 The manuscript has a vertical line between fro and eue.
Pat is out take to vs alone
Oure lord in forbode hap hit leide
Wost jow pe why: nay sheo seide
But sheo seide jif we come þer nyȝe
On doubel deþ shul we dyȝe
Þis o tre shulde him seluen haue
And alle þe ðopere to vs he þaue
And trowest þow þat hit so be
As he þow seide sheo seide þe
Nay seide he wip greet tresoun
But þerynne lip suche resoun
But for he wolde not þe were
Paryngal to hym nor pere
þe soþe fro þow wole I not hyde
He woot wel þat what tyme or tyde
þat þe hadde eten of þat tre
As goddes shulde þe boþe be
To knowe boþe good and ille
þe shulde be lordes at þoure wille
Of hit þe ete so rede I þow
And þe shul fynde hit for þoure prow
Þis hetyng was þat tyme ful mykel
But hit was ful false and fikel
Soone so sheo þis fruyt bi helde
Sheo þerned hit to haue in welde
Sheo let not for drede nor blame
But took and ete & yaf adame
What bote is longe pis tale to drawe
Pei ete hit bope in litel prawe
Al for nouȝte pei ete hit bope
Wherfore oure lord god was wroȝte
ffor pat ilke appeles bitte
Her sones teeȝ eggen jitte
And so shal do til domes day
Here aȝeyn may no man say
Whenne eyper sawe oþer naked
ffor shame pei stooode bope & quaked
penne pei sey þat bare pei were
In welpe and ioye þat were clad ere
þei hullud hem I telle hit þe
Wip leues of a fige tre
Whenne þe fend þus hadde hem nome
Wel he wende ha god ouercome
And seide wipynne his sory pouȝt
I haue made hym worche for nouȝt
His heuen shal he haue his one
Of adam part geteȝ he none
To brynge into þat heritage
þat I have lost bi myn outrage

639 For hullud read hulled.
he lyzed fals peef for why
3itt hadde god of adam mercy
4at he were lost god wolde nouzt
ffor he wi8 tricchery was souzt
pe fend was wel moore to blame
4at so falsely gyled adame
God wiste pe fend had adam blent
3itt wolde he not 4at he were shent
But 4ouze he wolde 3yue adam grace
ffirst shulde he by3e dere 4at trespase
Of 4e astate 4e world was Inne
Aftir 4e tyme of adames synne
Als fast as pei had done 4at synne
Oure wo bigan to bigynne
Al manner blis fro hem was went
ffor pei brake 4at commaundement
Soone bigan he vengeaunce kybe
As lord 4at firste was meke & blibe
Al bigan to stire and stryf
Azeyn adam and eue his wyf
Bytwene hem self roos stryf also
pe strenger beest pe weyker slo

659-60 A heading.
661 Large decorated capital A.
Vchone of opere to make his pray
As we may se now vche day
ffro þat tyme firste coom deþ to man
And þat tyme al oure wo bigan
þese wronges þat ben of euel wrake
þere bigynnynge dide þei take
Synne and sake shame & stryf
þat now ouer al þe world is ryfe
Mercy lord strong wickedhede
Made adam do so foule a dede
Hym self hadde lost & al his kyn
But oure lord hadd raunsoumd þe hym
On suche a wise as he hadde þouȝt
Byfore er he þe worlde wrouȝt
But þat was not done al for nede
But þourȝe his owne nobelhede
ffor þif he hadde wolde he myȝte man
Wel better ha made þen he was þan
Wip flesshe þerfore he coom in place
And filled þis world of his grace
His grace hit was & noon opere
þat he wolde become oure broþere
Wip þe fend þerfore he faȝte
And wip his fadir he made vs saȝte
Leue we now of þis spelle
Of oure story furpere to telle
Whenne adam sey he had mysdone
He wente to hyde hym also soone
He wende to hyde hym among je trees
ffro his si3te pat al sees
Al for nou3te hym hidde adame
Oure lord hym called by his name
Lord he seide Whenne I ye herde
ffor I sawe pat I mys ferde
I and my wyf wente vs to hyde
Shame vs pou3te he to abyde
ffor oure bodyes al bare were
Adam he seide so tolde I ye ere
I ye tolde meest and leest
What hit was to breke my heest
But now is his appel eten
And my biddyng is for3eten
And pat you hast yuus done his mys
hi seluen is to wite I wis
Lorde he seide of his gilt here
Is sheo to wyte pat is my fere
pat pou me 3af my wyf to be
ffor principally sheo beeande hit me
Sheo bede hit me wipouten blynne
Sheo hap me fyled wip her synne 720
Al pis may sheo not zeyn sey
Sheo owe to bere pe zilte away
Jhesu seide to hir a noon
Why dudest jou pis dede wommon
Sheo seide pe worme me drowe per tille 725
pat I haue done azeyn pi wille
To pat worm of wrappe & wrake
Oure lord penne ius he spake
 pow worme jou shalt acursedbe be
Moore pen any oper beest to se 730
ffor on pi wombe pow shalt slyde
Moore pen any oper beest in tyde
ffro pis day for shal hate be
ffor solde bitwene womman and pe
Erje shal be pi mete for nede
Bytwene [pin] and wommannes sede
Womman to styngge awaite jou shal
And pyn heed zitt to breke sheo shal 735
pouze jou in hete euer wolde be sted
In colde shal euere be pi bed
And jou wommon for pis dere 740
In sorwe shalt jou pi childer bere
Pow shalt be slayn wip double dede
Harde hit is for to rede
pow shalt be vndir mannnes heeste 745
To hem be buxome meest & leste 910
pow shalt haue euer pi heed hid 909
pi shame shal not be vnkid
And jitt pat pow now hast mys goon
Hit shal be [b]et bi a wommon 750
Of synneles man made I pe
In womman shal jitt my wonyng be
But hit shal not be jitte so nyje
To keuer my loos firste mot I hyje
And pou man pat haast vndirtaken 755
pi wyues rede and myne forsaken
No ping shalt pou per wip wynne
pe world is cursed of pi synne 920
In erpe shalt pow swete & swynke
Wynne pat pou shalt ete & drynke 760
Alle pe dayes of pyn elde fol.5v col.2
Breres and pornos hit shal pe elde
Perof shalt pou ete gressses sere
pow shalt bye pi breed ful dere
Til pow turne a-jeyn & quake 765
To pat erpe pow were of take
ffor pou art now but poudre pleyne

745 For heeste read heste.
755 Read hast for haast.
To powder shalt pow turne aȝeyne
He turnede þenne his wyfes name
And Eue fro þenne hir cald adame
Eue sheo hette fro þat day
þat modir of many is to say
God made hem þo curteles of hyde
þerwip her flesshe for to shryde
Lo he seide Adam how
Likeþ je þis dede now
I made euel and good to þow knownen
But þee were soone ouerprowen
þe trespassed at þe tre of lyf
þerfore þe ben in woo and stryf
He put hem out of þat plase
Into þe world þere þei made wase
Adam dere hit shal be bouȝte
Til hit be bet þat þou hast wrouȝte
Take þi wyf in þi honde
Leue þee shul þis lufsum londe
Into þe wreached world to be
þi lyf shal þinke longe to þe
Longe þeyne þere shalt þou dryþe
And sippe on doubel deep to dyþe
þe shul be flemed fro my face
Til þat I þow sende my grace

782 Read was for wasa
pe oyle of mercy jee mote abyde
I hete to sende hit jow sum tyde
Alas seide adam woo is me 795
pat I trowed not lorde to pe
Lorde my lyf is me ful loop 960
pat I euere made pe wroop
I woot but je I haue no frende
tel me er I fro pe wende
what manere and wiþ whap jinges
May I gete þi saȝtelynge
Adam he seide wel seystou now
Herkene I wole telle þe how
Amonge þine opere werkes hende 800
Of þi wynnyng þyue me þe tende
Of al þi fruyt holde partyes nyne
And I wole þat þe tene þe myne 970
lord he seide þou þyuest al
Why shulde þi part be so smal 810
þe haluendeel or parte þe þridde
We wole þe þyue zif þow bidde 974
þenne was he put out al meste naked 989
Into þe londe þere he was maked

801 In or By should perhaps be supplied at the
beginning of this line. MS T agrees with H
in this reading, however.
Read what for whap.
Per yne he led a longe lyf 815
And gate children bi his wyf
Out is he put adam pe wrecched
ffro paradyse fully fecched
A wal of fyre per is aboute
May noon come yn pat is peroute 820
An aungel hap pe rate to gete
Wip swerde in honde of myche hete
To telle man wip pi lore
What lond is paradise and whore 1000
Sippe we here per of soelle
Good hit were for to telle
Paradys hit is a pryue place
fful of myrpe and of solace
Pe louelyest of alle londes
Towarde pe eest in er pe hit stondes 830
Londe of lyf of roo and reste
Wip blisse and bote broiden beste
Pere euer is day and neuer nynte
And al aboute ful of lynte 1010
Mony vertues pere is sene
Pe herbes euer ylyche grene
Mony ofere blisses elles
ffloures pat ful swete smelles
Trees of fruyt of dyuerse mete
\[\text{Pat dyuerse vertues han to ete} \quad 840\]
\[\text{Pat zif man ete oper while of oon} \quad \text{fol.6r col.2}\]
\[\text{Hunger shal he neuer haue noon} \quad 1020\]
\[\text{Zif he ete of ano>ere tree} \quad 845\]
\[\text{ffursty shal he neuer be} \quad \text{pe pridde whoso ete} \quad \text{moore or les} \quad 850\]
\[\text{Shal he neuer haue werynes} \quad 850\]
\[\text{Of oon who so ete} \quad \text{at pe laste} \quad 1030\]
\[\text{In oon elde shal he euer be faste} \quad 855\]
\[\text{Sekenes shal he neuer noon dryze} \quad \text{Ne neuer shal his body dyze} \quad 1030\]
\[\text{Ne neuer shal his body dyze} \quad 850\]
\[\text{Hit is an orchard of delyces} \quad 1040\]
\[\text{Wip all swettenes of dyuerse spices} \quad 860\]
\[\text{Who so dwellep pere him par not longe} \quad \text{pese stremes pat pus pere bygynne} \quad 860\]
\[\text{Her soun is softe & swete of songe} \quad \text{pourze mony opere londes pei rynne} \quad 860\]
\[\text{Soun of foules pat pere syng} \quad \text{pe firste is tigre wipouten lees} \quad \text{pen iules pigre and eufratees} \quad 860\]
\[\text{I mydde pat londe a welle spryngep} \quad \text{bei bringe stoones fro paradis} \quad 860\]
\[\text{pat rennep oute of foure stremes} \quad \text{So pretiouse nowhere founden is} \quad 1040\]
\[\text{Passynge into dyuerse remes} \quad \text{pe firste is tigre wipouten lees} \quad \text{pen iules pigre and eufratees} \quad 1040\]
His paradis is sette so hye
Myte neuer flode come yer nye
Hit was free of noeus floode
Pat al his world ones ouerzode
How caym he cursed wip wowe
Abel his brofer slowe
Now adam is in erpe bistad
wip gras & leues is he clad
Soore he swanke & eue his wyf
Up on he erpe to wynne her lyf
wip myche swynke was pat bei wan
he firste bei were to sawe bigan
he firste childe pat euer sheo bare
was caym cursed ful of care
And aftir hym I wole yow telle
A blessed childe hyte abelle
his abel was a blessed blode
And caym was he fenes gode
was neuer worse of modir born
Perfore was he aftir for lorn
his abel was an herde of fee
Blessed and holy man was he

869-70 A heading.
871 Large decorated capital N in Now.
Riȝtwis he was goddes frende
And trewely ȝaf to him his tende
ffor his offerynge was riȝtwis
God payed was of his sacrifise
ffor caym ȝaf his wip eucl wille
Oure lord loked not þer tille
ffor þis tîge þat þei delt
Caym þat I tofore of melt
To his broþere yre bare
Alas þat he bouȝte sare
Aȝeyn abel he roos in stryf
wip murþ[e] brouȝte hym of his lyf
wip a cheke boon of an asse
Men seyn abel slayn wasse
Whenne caym hadde his broþer sloon
He wolde haue hidde his cors anoon
But preued was soone his sory pride
þat body myȝte he no weye hyde
ffor undir erþe myȝte hit not reste
þe cley vp þe body keste
His broþer deep he wende stille
But myȝte he not þe body hille
þerfore men say þit to þis tyde
Is noone þat longe murþer may hyde
// whenne he hadde done þis deolful dede
To his fadir hoom he jede
whenne his fadir y ye on him kast
A sikynge of his hert out brast
ffor mys trowynge hadde he soone
bat he sum wickede dede hadde done
ffor by his chere he say hym wroop
So loked he euer breme and loof
Sone he seide to me pow tel
Where hastou done yi broffer abel
He unanswered wordes were vnmylde
whenne was I kepere of yi chylde
Tipinge of hym con I telle noon
To brenne his tiphe he bigon
Vpon ye felde his fadir went
To seche abel wip his entent
ye fadir and ye modir bohe
To blame caym were ful lope
Til bat bei ye sope hadde seene
Of yi wiste not but bi weene
Hem jouzte kynde hym wolde forbede
To haue done so cursed a dede
His dede hadde euer ben hid
Ne hadde ihesu hym self hit kid
Hit to hide yjze he nouz	
ffor ihesu bat al vrouz	

For the first letter in y ye, the scribe originally wrote 3, but immediately corrected it to a y.
He firste flemed Adam
ffor fpat appel fpat he nam
he nolde not hym self fayne
But caymes dede fully atteyne
And he wole fpat men bye fe outrage
fpat murperep so his owne ymage
He wende to haue scaped wip al
ffor any mannnes clepe or cal
But penne coom oure makere
To speke wip fpat traytour yere
Of fpat morth and fpat tresoun
He dide fpat traytour to a resoun

// Caym where is fbi brofer abelle
Certes he seide I comm not telle
Aske his fadir where he be
ffor he was not bitake to me
God seide telle me & not layne
whi hastou fbi brofer slayne
His blood on erpe shedde hit is
And aftir wreche cryep I wis
Hit leuep not wreche to crye
ffor to shewe fbi felonye
ffor fbi synful werke to se
Erpe how shalt now cursed be
fpat so rescuyued fbi brofer blode

fol.7r col.1
wip pyne hit shal pe zelde pi fode
ffor pi mychel felonye
pis whete shal waxe cockul hye
In stide of lyn opere seede
be shal not crowe but porn & wede
ffor pyne euele wrecched hede
how shalt euer lede pi lyf in nede
pi dredeful dede hap no make
Of alle dedes hit is out take
965
970
Sikerly I telle pe here
how shalt hit bye ful selly dere
ffor pouye I wolde foryue hit pe
hit is not worpi foryuen to be
To what cuntre so pow wende
975
Shalt pow no man fynde pi frende
Among what folke pat pow abide
pow and pyne be knowne shal wyde
Wip alle shal pow be knowne vile
Where pow wendes in exile
980
My hondewerke pus egyp me
pat I shal take vengeaunce on pe
ffor how shulde any erpele flesshe
dwelle wip pe in sikernes
Whenne felowshepe & broherhede
985
Myste pe not kepe from foul dede
1150
1160
Caym say his synne was knowed
And pat pe erpe hadde hit showed
He wiste ayeynseiinge was noon
Oure lord he vnswered sone pon
Lord he seide nowe se I wele
My synne hap sette me in vnsele
I am ouertake wip siche tresoun
I am not worpi to haue pardoun
I shal be flemed for my synne
Vnkoupe londe to dwelle wipynne
In vnkoupe londe shal ende my wo
Whenne pei me fynede pei wol me slo
So fer I woot I shal be flede
God wolde nowe I were dede
Nay seide oure lord bep hit not so
Al pat pe seep shal not pe slo
But I shal sette on pe my merke
Alle shul hit se to rede as clerke
Shal noon be so bolde pe to sloo
But pi falsede to wite hem fro
In token of pi lastynge penaunce
pe shal be lent a long meschaunce
Whenne adam abelles body fonde
for sorwe a fote myjt he not stonde

Large but undecorated capital W in Whenne.
To bury þei his body bere
Adam and eue wiþouten fere
þis is þe mon men sayn was born
Boþe his fadir & modir biforn
He hadde his eldermodir maydenhede
And at his burying al maner lede
A hundride wynter fro þis stryf
Adam þenne forbare his wyf
ffor sorwe of abel þat was slayn
Til counfort was sende him aþayn
Boðe word cam hym fro heuene
and bade hym by an aungels steuene
þat he shulde wiþ his wyf mete
ffor oure lorde hadde ordeyned þete
A childe to ryse in his osprynge
þat many shulde out of bale brynge
He þat shulde saue bo folke fro synne
Shulde not be borne of caymes kynne
Her aftir was born an holy childe
Seeth þat was boþe meke & mylde
Of whom cryst hym seluen caam
fful fer to telle fro firste adam
þis childe was goddes frende
And trewely þaf to hym his tende
He þaf hym al þat hym byhoued
His bre[n] as hym self he loued
Eue [ou]zte her of ful feire
bat god wolde sende hem siche an heire
ffor abel was hem woo Inowze
pat caym so his bro[re]e slowze
Of adam tell[eb] his story
bat he sones hadde [pritty]
And douzteres also fele to telle
wipouten caym and abelle
pe sister was zyuen to pe bro[re]
pe lawe wenne my[ze] be noon opere
So wolde god hit moste nede
To do oure kynde for to sprede
Vnsely kaym [bat was in hate]
wip god and man at foul debate
Nou[er] he ne his ospringe
loued oure lord no maner pinge
ffor pei hym greued in her dedes
He hem forsoke in alle her nedes
To do pe euele myche pei souzte
Awe of hym stode pei nouzte
bat bouzte pei aftir wyf & chylde
wip watir were pei drenched wylde
As 3ee shul here how hit bifel
Of noe floode whenne I shal tel
ffor alle were euele & noone gode
pei drenched alle in noeus flode
Of adam endynge telle wolle l
And of pe oyle of mercy
Adam past nyne hundride þere
No wonder þei he wex vnfere
Al forwrouȝte wip his spade
Of his lyf he wex al mate
vpon his spade his breste he leyde
To seeth his son þus he seyde
Sone he seide þow moste co
To paradyse þat I coom fro
To cherubyn þat þate warde
þat kepeþ þo þates swyþe harde
Seeth seide to his fadir þere
How stondeþ hit fadir and where
I shal þe telle he seyde to sey
How þow shalt take þe rîȝte wey
Towarde þe eest ende of þe þonder vale
A grene way fynde þow shalþe
In þat wey shaltou fynde and se
þe steppes of þi modir and me

1063-4 A heading.
1065 Large decorated capital A in Adam.
1068 For mate read made.
fforwelewed in þat gres grene
þat euer siþen hæþ ben sene
þere we comen goynge as vnwyse
Whenne we were put fro paradysye
Into þis ilke wrecchede slade
þere my self firste was made
ffor þe greetnes of oure synne
Mizte siþen no gras growe þerynne
þat same Wolfe þe lede þi gate
ffro hepœn to paradise þate
He sêide fadir say me þi wille
What shal I saye þe aungel tille
þow shalt hym seye I am vnwelde
ffor longe lyued and am in elde
And so in stryf and sorwe stad
þat for wery I waxe al mad
þow him pray som worde me sende
Whenne I shal fro þis worlde wende
Ano þer ernede shal þer be
þat he me sende worde bi þe
Wher þer I shal haue hit ouȝte in hye
þat me was hette þe oyle of mercy
Whenne I was dryuen fro paradis
And leste hit by my foly nys

1106  For leste read loste (as in MSS C and T) or lefte (as in MSS F and G).
Azeyn þe wille of god I wrouȝte
Sumdel I haue hit bouȝte
My sorwe haþ euere siȝt ben newe
Now were hit tyme on me to rew
Seeth wente forþ wiȝouten nay
To paradyse þat same day
He fonde þe steppes hym to wyse
Til he come to paradyse
Whenne he þerof hadde a siȝte
He was aferde of þat liȝte
So greet liȝte he say þere
A brenynge fyre he wende hit we[re]
He blessid hym as his fadir bad
And wente forþ & was not drad
þe aungel at þe zate he fond
He asked him of his erond
Seeth set tale on ende
And tolde whi he was sende
He tolde him of his fadir care
And of his elde & of his fare
But sende him worde whenne he shal dyȝe
Lenger to lyue may he not dyȝe
And whenne god hadde hym diȝte
þe oyle of mercy þat was hiȝt

1120 The catchwords þe aungel are in the lower right corner of fol.7v.
Whene cherubyn his ernde herde
Mekely he hym vnswerde
To zonder zate pou go & loute
\( \pi \) i hede wipynne \( \pi \) i body wifoute
And tente to \( \pi \)ingis wif al \( \pi \) i my\( \pi \)e
\( \pi \)at shul be shewed to \( \pi \) i sizte
Whenne seeth a whyle had loked In
He say so mychel wele & wyn
In er\( \pi \)e is no tunge may telle
Of flouris fruyt & swete smelle
Of ioye & blis so mony a \( \pi \)inge
Amydde \( \pi \)e londe he say a spryngge
Of a welle of honoure
ffro hir renne stremes foure
ffison . gison . tigre & eufrate
Alle er\( \pi \)e \( \pi \)ese witen erly & late
Ouer \( \pi \)at welle \( \pi \)en loked he
And say \( \pi \)ere stonde a mychel tre
Wif braunches fele no bark \( \pi \)at bere
Was \( \pi \)er no lyf in hem \( \pi \)ere
Seeth bigan to \( \pi \)enke whyze
\( \pi \)at \( \pi \)is tre bicoom so dryze
And on \( \pi \)e steppes \( \pi \)ouzte he \( \pi \)on
\( \pi \)at dryze\( \pi \) were for synne of mon
\( \pi \)at ilke skil dude hym to mynne
pe tre was drye for adam synne
He coom po to pat aungel shene
And tolde hym pat he hadde sene
Whenne he hadde hym pus toold
He bad hym efte goo & biholde
He loked in efte & stood peroute
And say pingis pat made him doute
his tre pat I of eer seyde
A nedder hit hadde aboute bileyde
Cherubyn pe aungel briȝte
Bad hym go se pe bridde siȝte
Him pouȝte ñenne pat he seiȝe
his forseyd tre rauȝte ful heiȝe
Vnto pe sky rauȝt pe top
A newe born chylde lay in pe crop
Bounden wip his swapelynge bonde
per ñouiȝte him hit lay squelonde
He was aferde whenne he hit siȝe
And to pe rote he caste his yȝe
Him pouȝte hit rauȝte fro er pe to helle
per he say his broþer abelle
In his soule he say pat siȝte
pat kaym slowȝe forwaryed wizte
He wente aȝeyn for to shawe
To cherubyn al pat he sawe
Cherubyn wip chere mylde
Bigan to telle him of pat chylde
Pat chylde he seide wipouten wene
Is goddis sone pat pou hast sene
Pi fadir synne now wepehe
He shal hit clense be tyme shal be
Whenne be plente shal come of tyme
His is be oyle was hitye to hyme
To hym & to his progenye
Wip pite he shal hem shewe mercye
Whenne seep had vndistonden wel
Be aungelis seying euer a del
His leue he took of cherubyn
And pre curnels he zaf to hym
Whiche of pat tre he nam
Pat his fadir eet of adam
Pi fadir he seide pou shalt say
Pat he shal dyze pis pridde day
Aftir pou be comen hym to
Loke pat pou seye to hym so
But pou shalt take be pepenes fre
Pat I took of je apoul tre
And putte vndir his tunge roote
To mony men pei shul be boote
Pei ben cidur. cypres & palme fyne
To mony pei shul be medicyne
pe fadir bi cidur shal you take
Hit shal be tre wipouten make
Of cipres bi pat swete sauoure
Bitokene] pat swete sauoure
pe myche sweetnes is pe sone
pe palme to fruite hit is won
Mony curnels of o tre moost
Gode 3iftis of pe holy goost
Seeth was of his erned fayn
And soone come to his fadir a3ayn
Sone he seide hast you sped ouzt
Hast you any mercy brouzt
Sir cherubyn pat aungel
pat porter is je grete] wel
And seip je world shal nyje han ende
Ar je oyle may to je wende
pourj birpe of a blissed childe
pat shal je world fro shame shylde
ffor pi deep he bad me say
Hit shal be his day pridde day
Adam herof was glad ful blyue
So glad was he neuer er his lyue
Whenne he herde to lyue no more
jo he low-je but neuer ore
And thus to God gan he crye
Lord I now ye mon lyued haue iye
you take my soule out of my flesshe
And do hit where ji wille is
ffor of his world he was ful mad 1235
pat neuer o day jerynne was glad
Nyne hundride yeer & more yeare
He lyued here in sorwe and kare 1410
Leuer hym were to ben in helle
Ben lenger in his worlde to dwelle 1240
Adam as him was tolde biforme
Dyed on ye pridde morne
Grauen he was bi seeth pon
In ye vale of ebron
Ye curnels were put vndir his tunge 1245
Of hem roos pre yeerdis jonge
And soone an ellen hye pei wore
Penne stode pei stille & wexe no more 1420
Mony a yeer yliche grene
Holynesse in hem was sene 1250
Stille stode fo yerdes pre
ffro adames tyme to noe
ffro noe tyme & fro ye flood
To Abraham hooly & good
ffro Abraham jitt stille stood pay 1255
Til moyses \textit{pat 3af \textit{he lay}}
\textit{Euer stood \textit{hei stille in oon}}
\textit{Wi\textit{bouten waxinge o\textit{per woon}}}
\textit{Nomore of \textit{pe \textit{zerde} [s] now}}
\textit{But of a story I shal telle 3ow}
Adam lyued nyne hundride \textit{3ere}
And \textit{britty wynter also in fere}
\textit{Whenne he was deed soone anoon}
\textit{His soule was to helle goon}
\textit{And alle \textit{pat dized fro his to jon}}
\textit{\textit{bat Ihesu dized god and mon}}
\textit{Hem my\textit{3te helpe noon holyhede}}
\textit{But \textit{hei to helle muste nede}}
\textit{He my\textit{3te pinke \textit{pe stide stronge}}}
\textit{\textit{bat in \textit{bat place was so longe}}}
\textit{\textit{ffoure housande 3eer in \textit{bat woo}}}
\textit{Thre hundride 3eer also}
\textit{So longe fro Adam was to telle}
\textit{Til oure lorde harwede helle}
\textit{\textit{pe genealogy of adam olde}}
\textit{Of seeth and caym shal be tolde}
Seeth spoused his sister delbora \textit{bo}

\textit{1261} The \textit{A} in \textit{Adam} is a medium size, decorated capital.
\textit{1275-6} A heading.
\textit{1277} The \textit{S} in \textit{Seeth} is a medium size, decorated capital.
Oure lord bad hit shulde be so 1450
He gat a sone of hir enos 1280
A man þat was of mychel loos
ffor he was þe firste man  
þat cry on goddes name bigan
Nyne hundride þeer seuene & fyue
So longelastede seeth his lyue 1285
Enos his sone lyued by dene
Nyne hundride þeer & fyue I wene
Caym his sone his lyf he led
Nyne hundride þeer as hit is red 1460
Eyȝe hundride þeer lyued malalyel
And fyue & twenty þeer to tel 1290
Nyne hundride þeer & sîxe iareth
þat was þe fifte kyn fro seeth
Of iareth elde þe fourty and
Was passed ouer þe firste þousand 1295
Enok his sone wipouten pere
Lyued in erþe þre hundride þeer
He was þe firste þat leþttere fond
And wroot summe bookeþ wip his hond 1470
To paradise was he toke þon
And þere he lyueþ in flesþæ & boone 1300
He comeþ tofore domes day
To fîȝte for þe cristen lay
Wip antecryst he shal fiȝte
ffor to were pe cristen riȝte
He & his felowe. Elye
Antecryst shal do hem dye
And wip her rysyng fro depe to lyue
Pei shul felle peat false stryue
Adam as pe story sayes
Dyed in pis Enok dayes
Of Enok coom matussale
Lyued neuer man so longe as he
Til nyne hundride þeer was goon
And seuenty failed hit but oon
Lameth his sone his elde to neuene
Seuen hundride þeer seuenty & seuen
Of lameth coom his sone Noe
In whoos tyme þe flood gan be
Þe formast world Adam bigan
Perof lameþ þe laste man
Hit lasted wel a þousande þeere
Sixe hundride to & sixty sere
But er þat oþer world bigynne
Speke we more of kaymes kynne
Whenne caym hadde don þat cursid dede
þat he was waryed alle we rede
He fledde away fro oþere men
Into a stide pat hiȝte Eden
To him was spoused calmana
As was to seeth delbora
Soone a sone of hir gat he
pat enos het as a cite
Of pat ilke name he took
We fynde no terme of him in book
pere woned caym wip his brood
be firste cite bifo[u]re be flood
Of enos coom malalyel
And of him coom matussalel
Lameth be sones had wip mayne
Iobal . cabal . tubaltaine
his lameth het lameth blynde
Kaym he slouȝe bi chaunce we fynde
In be flood was he fordone
Jobal pen was his eldest sone
He was firste herde & fe delt wip
Tubaltayne be formast smyth
Tobal her broþer firste vndirfong
Musyk pat is be soun of song
Organes harpe & opere glew
He drouȝe hem out of musyk new
A sistur hadde be broþer twayne
Noema was called certeyne
She was pe formast webbe in kynde
pat men of pat crafte fynde
Hir fadir was pe firste on lyue 1355
pat bigan to double wyue
pei pat pese wondir werkes wrouzt
Hit ran hem wel pat tyme in pousht 1530
pat pis worlde shulde come to ende
wip watir dreynt or fyre brende 1360
Two pilers pei made of tyel pat on
pat o Fer was of marbul stoon
pese crafte alle pat pei dide so
pei put hem in pese pileres two
pe stoon azeyn pe watir to laste 1365
pe tiel azeyn pe fire not braste
pei wolde pat who so aftir coom
Shulde be wissed bi her wisdoom 1540
Perfore let god hym lyue so longe
pat pei myyte seke & undirstonde 1370
pe kynde of pingis pat were derne
cours of sunne moone & sterne
Whiche cours may noon al lere
pouze he lyued an hundride zere
Whenne so mony zeer is past oute 1375
pe mychel spire is tonnen aboute
In so long tyme is not to leyne
Ye planetes are alle went azye
Of her firste makyng in to ye state
As clerkes now wel woot pate
How mannes synne pat I of mene
Corrupted al pis world bidene
Whenne iareth pat je herde me neuen
Had elde of hundride winter & seuen
Mikel malis was firste in mon
But neuer tofore as was jon
In adames tyme was woo ynoyze
But yenne was yerere more wouye
Namely among kaymes kynne
Pat delited hem but in synne
Hem pouszte al wel pat was her wille
Pat pei drouye euere hem tille
On alle pinge was more her pouszt
Yen on god pat hem wrouzte
So blynde pei weze in her siyt
Pat coupe pei do no maner rizt
Euer pei zaf her lyf to lust
Pat shende her soulis al to dust
We Wymmen as hit fynde
Wente togider azye kynde

1381-2 A heading.
1383 The W in Whenne is a medium-sized capital.
And men also \textit{pe} same wyse
As \textit{pe} deuele wolde deuyse
Of sopfastenes as seip \textit{pe} sawe
\textit{pei} left euer \textit{pe} good lawe
\textit{pe} lawe of sop\textit{pes} ny of kynde
Wolden \textit{pei} no tyme fynde
Al wexe wicked \& in stryf
\textit{pe} bro\textit{per} took \textit{pe} \textit{operes} wyf
Her kursednes was not vnkid
\textit{pe} lawe of kynde \textit{pei} so fordid
\textit{pe} shame \& synne \textit{pat} \textit{bere} was ouate
To telle were sumdel doute
\textit{pe} fende wende fully wi\textit{p} \textit{bis}
\textit{bat} al mankynde shulde han ben his
So ferfor\textit{ply} \textit{bat} god not my\textit{ste}
Brynge man into state of ri\textit{zte}
Into \textit{pe} astate \textit{pat} he had tynt
But god al \textit{oper}e wyse mynt
His owne hondiwerke so soone
Wolde he not hit were for \textit{done}
\textit{perfor}e in forme of iuggement
A newe vengeaunce on hem he sent
His foos to brynge alle of lyue
And clense \textit{pe} world of synne ryue
Bi his grace to \textit{3}yue \textit{hem} grith
That he monkynde shulde restore wip
Whenne he bihelde pe foly stronge
God pat biden hade so longe
Pouze he were wroop no wonnder nas
Pis worde he seide anoon in plas
Pis was pe worde he seide panne
Me rewep pat I made manne
But alle pat pis word here & sene
Woot not what hit is to mene
Pis word was a prophecye
Pat was seyd for his mercye
Of pe reupe he syye kidde
Whenne he himself to pyne didde
ffor his chosen on rode tre
What was his reupe may we se
By pis word pat peere was seide
His mercy was bfore purueide
To poo pat were on his party
ffor to brynge hem myʒtily
As his owne his kyndam tille
His enemies alle for to spille
Aȝeynes hem was so wroop
And bi his riȝt hond swoor an ooþ
Pat pei shulde alle haue shenful dede
Saue pe gode wolde he rede
pouze alle pe foolish were for lorn
pe goode shulde be forborn
As hit at noe flood bifelle
Wher of I shal sijen telle
But firste a tre of noe kynne 1455
I shal here sette ar I bigyne
Here bigynne of noe lede
pe secounde world for to sede
Fyue hundrid zeere had noe
Whenne he had geten sones pre 1460
pe first was sem . cam pat oper
And Iapheth hette pe fridde brofer 1630
God spak vnto Noe han
hys his resoun he bigan
Noe he seide I telle pe 1465
Al his world bytraye me
hei han lefte me & my lawe
Of me stonde hei noon awe
Al is forzet en hat fraunchise
hat I zaf man in paradise 1470
he er pe wip synne is foule shent
Al ri\text{\i}twisnesse away is went 1640
ffoule lustis & wicked hede

1457-8 A heading.
1459 The $F$ in Fyue is a medium size, decorated capital.
Han fyled pis world in lenghe & brede
No man her synne may say ne seke
Verof to heuen recheþ pe smke
Couetise lecchery and pryde
Hap spreþ pis world on every syde
Alle are þei worþi to wite
Of woo is noon founden quyte
But I shal hem laye ful lawe
†at set so lytilil of myn awe
Wrecche to take hit is to done
I shal hem drenche in watir soone
All hem but þi wyf and þe
þi sones & her wyues þre
Je eizte for þoure leute
Alone I haue grantide gre
Wip pyn ospringe I haue mynt
Restore þe folk þat shal be tynt
ffro þe moost to þe leest
Shal nouþer haue lyf foule ne beest
But er þat I my vengeaunce take
I wol þat þou a vessel make
Sir telle me wher of hit shal be
Hit shal be made of square tre
A shippe must þou nedis dizte
þi self shal be þe mayster wriþt
I shall tell how broad & long
Of what measure & how strong
When the tymber is fastened well
When the sidis eueryche a del
Bynde hit firste wip balke & bonde
And wynde hit sipp[e]n wip good wonde
Wip pick[e] loke hit be not pinne
Plastre hit wel wipoute & ynne
Seuen score ellen longe & tene
Pries ey[te] on wyde on he[nt]e fiftene
ffiftene on he[nt] is ye entent
ffro grounde to ye tabulment
Hit shall be made wip stages sere
vchone for dyuerse manere
Pou shalt byne[pen] on pat oon syde
Make a dore wip mesure wyde
A speryng wyndowe als on hy[e]
Loke pi werke he not vnslye
And hous perynne to drynke & ete
Wardrope pat pou not for[ete]
Of alle manere beestis take ye twyne
To wone ye[e] wip her makes certeyne
Of vche beest pat is wrougt
ffoule ne worme for[ete] ye nouzt
In pe ouermast stage shal pou be
ffoules nexte vndir pe
Sipen alber nexte honde
Meke bestis pei shul vndirstonde
Po pat are tame & mylde
And vndir hem penne pe wilde
Also pat pou make a boure
To kepe wipynne pi wardestone 1530
In pe bophum shal be no stalle
ffor al her filpe shal perynne falle
Hit shal be mychel wipouten pere
In makyng sixe sipe twenty zere
So longe tyme I haue hem lent 1535
Pat wol come to amendement
And if any wol tente to pe
Pat pei perynne may saued be
Whenne pou hast wel pi tymber layd
And hit is to pi wille payde 1540
Pou & pi wyf shul firste yn te
Pi sones & her wyues pre
Also pat ze take zow wip
ffoule & beest pat shal haue grip
Pe meke togider two & two 1545
Pe wylde by hem self also

1523 For ouemast read ouermast.
Of vchone take þou twayne In
To holden vp her owne kyn
Be wel war for any swynke
þat þou ne wante mete ne drynke 1550
Do now wel I leue þe
But I come efte þe to se 1720
If I se þou worches riȝt
I shal holde þat I þe hiȝt
Now woot noe what to do 1555
And hewe tymbur þat fel þerto
He þaf wriȝtis her mesure
And hym self dude his cure
þei wrouȝte faste in dyuerse place
Him self fastened boþe bonde & lace 1560
But euermore as he wrouȝte fol.10v col.2
ffolke to preche forþat he nouȝte 1730
To warne hem of goddis wreche
How god had wip hym a speche
He hit tolde to many man 1565
Wherfore he þat shipp bigan
Wip skorn alle hym unanswered
And seide why is þis cherle fered
þei seide greet woȝdir hem þouȝte
Why he was so ferde for nouȝte 1570

1555 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.
He were "ei seide worp to be sent pat of his wordes toke tent
Whenne noe say pis trauail tynt Of his prechynge penne he stynt
Hit is but foly to zyue counsel to To hem pat wol but foly do
Perfore he lefte pat cursede lede And went & dude his owne dede
More wip hem he greued nouȝt Til he had his ship wrouȝt
He was glad whenne hit was made
Riȝt as god before hym bade Whenne he hadde do pe commaundememt
He bode not but pe iugement Pat god of myȝte wolde worche his will
As he before seide hym tille Pen cam god at tyme his
To Noe for to speke of pis Whenne he hadde wip him spoken
Hym self pe dore soone hadde stoken Pe wyndowe was wip siche a syn
hit myȝte open & spere wipyn Whenne pis was done per was no bide

1571 Read shent for sent.
1583 Read done for do.
Stormes roos on euery syde
Sunne & moone pe liȝt can hyde 1595
Hit merked ouer al pis world wyde
pe reyn fel doun so wondir faste
pe welles wexe pe bankes braste
pe see to ryse pe erpe to cleue
pe spryngis alle oутe to dreue 1600
Leytynges fel wiʒ lpondir and reyn fol.11r col.1
pe erpe quook and dened azeyn 1770
Sunne and moone lost her liȝt
Al pe world turned to nyʒt
fat sorwe to se was greet awe 1605
pe buyldeyngis fel bope hyʒe & lawe
pe watir wex ouer pe pleynes
pe beestês ran to mounteynes
Men & wymmen ran hem wiŋ
Wel pei hoped to haue had griŋ 1610
Al for nouʒte pei wente a fote
Whenne pei fere cam hit was no bote 1780
pe foulis flotered po on hyʒe
And fel whenne pei myʒte not dryʒe
ffor nouʒte fled beest & man 1615
Alto late pei hit bigan
In pat watir soone pe swam

1595 For can read gan.
Syde bi syde wolf & man

be lyoun swam bisyde je hert
Dide no beest to opere smert 1620
be sparhauke bi je sterlynge
pei tentepe opere no maner pinghe 1790
pes ladyes tent not po to pride
pei swam bi her knaes syde
ffor lordshippe was pere no stryf 1625
Was no man gelous of his wyf
Opere to helpe was noon so siye
Alle pei drenched by & bye
Alle pei drenched euerychone
Was noon fro dep myyte gone 1630
ffor her synnes wepte pei pan
Allas to late pei bigan 1800
penne desired po caytifs badde
pat pei hadde ben by noe ladde
But bouze pat noe was in quert 1635
He was [not] al in ese of hert
pe wynde hym ledde on pat flood
He nuste whicharde he 3ood
Heuen & erpe he flet bytwene
He nuste where his ship wolde bene 1640 1808
pei were ful ferde of her lyues fol.11r col.2
pat was wip hym mon & wyues 1809
But he lord ful of myzt
To Noe before her lyues hiʒt
Noe þo wiste wipouten weme 1645
þe folk was al deed bi dene
wip soor wepyng he hem ment
And turned to god al his tent
He fynde neuer nyʒte nor day
ffor þo caitifs for to pray 1650
ffor monkynde as seip þe boke
But durste he neuer wiʒe vn loke 1820
He preyed to god for her sake
No vengeaunce on þo soulis to take
As was taken in þat whyle 1655
On her bodyes þat were so vile
Siþ þei were perisshed so reuly
On her soulis to have mercy
So had þei hade wipouten faile
Hadde þei done noes counsaile 1660
Whenne þei forsook his prechyng
And took his speche to scornyng 1830
But now þei fynde hit þerfore
þat wolde not leue on Noe lore
ffor whil þat god zaf hem grace 1665
þei were not ferde of his manace

// Pis reyn reyned euer on one
1667 Several lines in a later hand appear in the right hand margin of this column.
Til fourty dayes were a gone
Pe heȝest hil pat was owhore
Pe flood ouer passed seuen ellen & more 1670
Wer was no creature on lyue
Pe grounde myȝte reche ne ryue 1840
But hit were fisshe pat flet on sonde
Myȝte no þing on grounde stonde
On þat streem pe ship gan ryde 1675
Po wawes beten on euery syde
Pe stormes straked wip þe wynde
Pe wawes to bete biforn & bihynde
Noe & his euere loked doun
To drenche wende þei hadde be boun 1680
But be we truste wipouten stryf
þei weren wery of her lyf
Til seuen sipes twenty dayes were gon
Pe flood stood stille euer in oon 1685
Aboute fyue moneþes hit stoode
Wipouten fallyng þat fers floode
Ofte þei wende her ship wolde ha ryue
Wip wynde or wawe or dynt of clyue
Butȝit is good kyng of blis
To helpe euer whenne his wille is 1690
Whenne þis vengeautþus was wrouȝt
Oure lorde þenne on noe þouȝte 1860
And bigan to haue pite
Of him his ship and his meyne

Pat my3ty kyng soone I wis 1695
Turned her bale in to blis

A-3eyn he made pe wattres go
Into pe places pat pei coom fro
pe erpe wex bare er pei wende
pe ship on londe bigan to lende 1700

On ermonyne hit gon stonde

A he3e hil in holy londe 1705
Pe sunne bigan po hir to kype
Noe wex penne ful blipe
And seyde to his sones pre

Childre he seide what rede 3ee
How shulde of his watir wit
If pat hit be fallen zit
If pe erpe bare be 1710
To shippe wol he come no more

If he fynde bare erpe pore 1880
His wyndowe opened po noe
And lete a rauen out fle

He souzte vp & doun pere 1715
A stide to sitte vp on sumwhere

1707 For shulde read shul we.
Vpon þe watir þere he fond
A drenched beest þere fletond
Of þat flesshe was he so fayn
To shippe coom he not aȝayn
Perfore þe messangere men saye fol. l1v col. 2
Þat dwelleþ longe in his iournay
He may be calde wiþ resoun clare
Oon of þe rauenes messangere
And whenne Noe perceyued was 1725
Of þe rauenes deseit in plas
He let out a dowfe & took hir fliȝt
And fonde no place vp on to liȝt
She coom aȝeyn wiþouten blyn
Noe roos vp & let hir In 1730
Sipen abood he seuene dayes
Aftir þat þe bibel sayes 1900
He sent þe dowfe anþer siȝe
She wente forþ & was ful bliȝe
Soone she coom & dwelt nouȝte 1735
An olyue braunchë in mouþe brouȝte
Þenne was Noe wel I knaw þe
Þat þe flood hit was wipdrawe
But þit bood he seuen dayes in rest
ffor fere lest any damming brest 1740

1726 The a in reauenes has been altered from something else.
Syp he made hem alle out dryue
ffoule & beest man & wyue

Pese beestis were ful glad in moode
Whenne þe i hadde her kyndely foode
Our lord dide hem soone to sprede

Wipinne her owne kynde to brede
Penne bad god vnto noe
To leue þe ship wip his meyne

A tweluemonep was go bi þis
Bi þat same day I wis

Pat day tweluemonep þat he þeode In
He hit left more ny myn

As perus maiôr þe gode clerk
Telleþ of hym in his werke
To him þenne coom oure lord hende

And seide Noe leue frende
þou & þi sones wip her wyues
I haue saued alle þoure lyues

3ow þitt haue I forborn
Pat in my vengeaunce be not lorn
To 3ow þitt þat I haue let lyue

My brede benesoun I 3ow þyue
I wol þat of þi osprynge brede

Al maner nacioun and lede
Voche þing on his wyse

1910
1945
1750
1920
1755
1760
fol.12r col.1
1930
1765
I wol þei do þe seruyse
Noe was of his blessyng bliþe
And lete reyse an auter swyþe
He þeode to worshepe god as wyse
Per on made he sacrificise
Oure lord god al weldyng
Him liked wel her offerynge
He seide Noe for no chaunce
Shal I not take siche vengeaunce
ffro me dounward man drouȝe his þouȝt
Now are þei fully doun ybrouȝt
And if þou worche aftir my lore
þou shalt fare wel þerfore
To þode þewes þou þe þyue
Loue wel trouþe whil þou lyue
ffor þat þe biforn han sene
Vche man lyue trewely bi dene
If þou wolt trowe on my rede
ffle falsheþe & þefte as dede
Whoso of fleshe wol haue her fode
Loke þei kaste awey þe blode
Alle þat wol trewely holde her lede
Blood to ete I hem forbede
Of beest wip clouen foot in two

1775 þouȝt is an error for þouȝt.
Wip chowyng quode je ete also 1790
I warne 3ow now alle bi dene
Ete of no beest of kynde vnclene 1960
O no maner worm dat is made
Ne foule dat reuq his lyf lade
Also je ete of no flesshe ellis 1795
Dat in slowje & erpe dwelles
Siche fisshe & flesshe of bope I say
Loke je caste pe body away
To pe and pynne I bidde also
Be noon so bolde o$p er to slo
ffor who so sleep mon or wyf
$er is no raunsoun but lyf for lyf
I made man aftir myn owne ymage
I wol noon o$p er do outrage
Euel ow nonon to do to o$p er 1800
But vche to be o$p er bro$ere
A couenande now I hete $e
$ou shalt fro nowe my reynbowe se
Whil you may se my bowe wipoute
Of siche a flood par pe not doute 1810
If man mys doop on o$p er wyse
On hem I shal sette my Iustise
pat shal ben at pe day of Ire
Whenne I shal come to deme wip fyre

fol.12r col.2

1790
1960
1795
1800
1970
1805
1980
Wip trewe werkis loke ze dele
As ze wol loue zoure soule hele
And zelde to zoure creatour
Ze tenpe part of zoure labour
Gode men I wol pat ze se
Bytwene Adam and Noe

Be tymel was euer Iliche grene
Pat no reynbowe here was sene
And hei no reyn on erpe felle
Plente on erpe myfte men telle
Ne hurt no mon ete flesshe pat tyde

Til hit made mannes pride
Now is for synne & pryd of man
Be erpe feblere phen hit was phan
ffro be watir pat hit so wesshe
Perfore man mot now ete flesshe
And feblere mannes state now is

Phen hit was phenne for sope I wis
Whenn Noe left be ship alone
He hadde six hundride year & one
Be elleuenpe wyntur was witterly
Perafter as tellen vs metody
Whenne be world was goonde
In elde of be fridde pousonde

1833 The W in Whenn is a medium sized decorated capital.
Noe pe trewe wipouten synne
A newe lyflode he dide bigynne
Him self and his sones pre
Moost to tilpe he zaf hym pan
To flitte breres he bygan
So longe flittyng to hem he souȝt
Pat vynetrees he hem wrouȝte
A day bifel he was forswonken
And vnwarres of wyn dronken

1840
fol.12v col.1
2010
2013
1845

1850 2020
1855
1860 2030

Brother come now hider and se
What is that seide Iapheth brother
His fadir slepe? seide that oper
He lyþ here come se thou shalle
Naked vpon his lymmes alle
Broþer he seide þou seist, folye 1865
And þat I trowe þou wolt abye
If þou of þi fadir make despit
þou beest of his blessyng quyt
His þonger broþer was ful wo
ffor þe elder wrouȝte so 1870, 2040
A mantel fro his nekke he toke
And þeode bacwarde as seip þe boke
He & his elder broþere seem
Blessedest of þat barnetem
Til þei coom þere her fadir lay 1875
þerwip hym couered þay
Herby may we vnþirstonde
Was no breech foundide þo in londe
Noe wip þis mantel awoke
His sones scorne he vnþirtoke 1880, 2050
His malisoun on hym he leyde fol. 12v col. 2
And sip to him þenne he seide
Cam wipouten any doute
Vndir þi breþeren þou shalt loute
Vndir hem to be as þral 1885
þou and þyn ospring al
þe ðere two for her couerynge
Noe zaf his brood blessynge
To seem & Iapheth penne seide he
Now shal hit al foryuen be
Lathpe & wrappe or any pli-t
If 3e a-jeyn me han done vnri3t
Of 3ow shal pe aspringe sprede
Bat shal over al haue lordehede
Blessed shal be 3oure tabernacle
fful of myrpe & of myracle
And god hit grante bat hit be so
Bat al his world be 3ouris two
To cam he seide foule feloun
Ysou hast pe kynde of pat natioun
Of caym curside moost of opere
Bat wip tresoun slouge his broper
Do pe swithe out of my si3t
Ysou art & shalt be cursed wizt
By me owe 3ou not to dwelle
I drede pi wonynge be in helle
ffle fro me 3ou warayed 3ing
Now shul we parte for pi skornyng
Awey he fledde he and his
Oure lordis enemyes pei were . I wis
Noe pe graciouse & pe gode
Lyued fourty 3eer aftir pe flode

1911 The N in Noe is a medium size, decorated capital.
Nyne hundride yeer & ten sipe fyue
So longe lastede Noes lyue
ffor his trewe lyf to neuene 1915
He sitteþ now wip god in heuene
His sones þat I biforn of melt
Al þis world bitwyxe hem delt
To seem asye . to cam aufryk
To iapheth europe þat wilful wyk 1920 2090
Alle þese were ful ryche fol.13r col.1
But seem part was noon ðere lyche
ffor þe world was as we here
Dalt in þre partyes sere
In þre partyes pryncipal 1925
But þei were not paringal
ffor asye is wip outen hope
As myche as aufryk & europe
Asye is þe þridde in dole
And is þe haluendel zitt al hole 1930 2100
Hit is þe best for þer yn is
þe holy londe and heþenis
Wip þreceous stooonis spices of prys
In þat lond stondeþ paradys
Inde and peris . and arabye 1935
Babilone . Iuda and sulie
And mony oðere dyuerse cuntre
BERyenne is babilone þe moost cite
Aufrík is þat oþer partye
Before þat wasse called libie 1940 2110
Mony a cuntre þerinne es
And hoge citees more and les
Þerynne is cartage a cite stronge
And oþer many also amonge
þe myche londe of ethiopye 1945
Ienile, mortaygne & indie
þat lond is moost into þe soup
þere þat blo men are ful coup
þe þridde party is not best
hit is moost in to þe west 1950 2120
Al on þis syde þe grickisshe see
Hadde Iapheth to his lyuere
Hit hette Europe where moost today
Abidep of þe cristen lay
þerynne is Roome þe heed cite 1955
Abouen alle þat owe to be
And mony anoþer riche kyndom
þat I to telle haue no toom
Of þese þre bigan to sprede
þe world to fille on lengþe & brede 1960 2130

1940 Read was for wasse.
Of hem roos mony men
Of dyuerse kyndes sixe sipe ten
Knyȝt & þral and fre man
Of þese þre briþeren bigan
Of sem fre mon of iapheth knyȝt
þral of cam waryed wiȝte
Bigynne we nowe to telle of sem
And sifên of his barn teem
Sem was trewe in goddes lore
he lyued seuen hundride þeer & more
þis ilke sem was cald sedek þo
Sipên melchisadéch also
Oure swete lady as we fynde
Coom out of þis same kynde
Of salem preest & kyng he was
Þat now het ierusalem in ðlas
þe firste he was of ðære born
Þat wip wyn and breed of corn
Made sacrificise to goð so trewe
In tokenyng of þe lawes newe
þis sem lyued I rede of here
Til ysaac was of seuenty þere
Sem hadde fyue sones fre

1967-8 A heading.
1969 The ȝ in Sem is a medium size, decorated capital.
Of oon to speke is good to me
pat is of hym of whoos sede 1985
He was born pat bett our e nude
Arphaxat lyued wipouten were
pre hundride & eijte & pritty zere
ffoure hundride zeer his son caynan
And eijte & pritty fro he bigan 1990 2160
ffoure hundride zeer his sone sale
And also pritty zeer and pre
ffoure hundride zeer his sone heber
Wip foure & fourty sett to per
khaleth his sone witterly 1995
Two hundride zeer nyne & pritty
Ragan his sone pat was
Twelue score zeer saue oon las
Two hundride zeer serut his sone
And pritty was his lyf in wone 2000 2170
ffoure score & eijte nachor had lyue fol.13v col.1
Thare his sone two hundride & fyue 2173
pat oper elde endep in thare 2175
Whiche bigan at good noe
pat tyme was pis world so zonge 2005
pat alle mes spak wip o tonge
pat is ebrew for to say
pat iewes speke zitt to pis daye 2180
Iapheth hadde him sones seuene
a party synful for to neuene
Gomor . madan . Gena . Magog
Tubal . Tiras . and mosog
His gomor hadde sones pre
Togoriens . riphat . Asine
Gena had foure oon cethim
Elisa tharsis . and dothahim
To eil londis tes pei drow
Of hem sorong foly ynow
Cam foure sones had hym
Chus phut canan & mephaim
Of chus saba & ielula
Sabatha regma sagabata
Of chus bicam nembrot also
Pat in his tyme dice myche woo
ffor he was proud fers & felle
Of hym now wol I telle
His nembrot wip his foule pride
he wende to worche wondrs wyde
ffer aboute men bar his name
Miche he coupe of synne & shame
Of babiloyne kyng stif in stour
And also wrongful emperour
Robber & monqueller greet

The p in pis is a medium size, decorated capital.
Al he lyued wip euel bygeet
Was per noon pat woned him by
pat myyte of him gete mercy
Ouer al he went wip greet outrage
pat tyme was per but o langage
Ebreu pe firste pat adam spak
ffro eest he brougt an euel pak
In to pe felde of semare
e fol.13v col.2
Sixty werkemen pei ware
To dwelle wip nembroth pei coom
And tooke a counsel amonges hem
A foly counsel took pei soone
To werre vpon pe sunne & moone
Here witt was ful of felony
Perfore a foly counsel seide I
Of her pryde couple no mon telle
In sennare pei toke to dwelle
Nembrot hem seide on his wyse
Me pinkef sires pei were vnwyse
Oure eldres pat biforn vs were
Whenne pei couple fynde in no manere
ffor to kepe hem fro pat flood
pat dreynt pe world and ouerjood
I rede we bigynne a newe labour
Do we wel & make a tour
Wip squyre & scanteloum so euene
Pat hit may reche heizer pen heuen
God shul we conquere wip fiȝt
Aȝeyn vs shal he haue no myȝt
Or at pe leest holde hym stille
And lette vs not to do oure wille
Pat euere whenne we haue chesoun
ffrely may clyme vp and doun
Pese foolis soone gedered hom
Wip greet enuye pis werk bigon
Two & sixti fadome brade
Was pe groundewal pat pei made
Whenne pei hadde made pe grounde
Pe werk pei reisede in a stounde
Wip tyel & teer wipouten stoon
Oper morter was pe noon
Wip corde & plum pei wente so hyȝe
Pe hete of sunne myȝte pei not dryȝe
Wip horses & wip camel hyde
Pei hiled hem heete to abyde
Pei seide wheþer god be wroþ or blyþe
his estres wol we se swyþe
Now we ben þus fer warre
Oure wille may he not forbarre
But grete god pat is so hende
A curteys vengeaunce can he sende
Pei pat outrage on hym souzyte
Lyme no lyf he refte hem souzyte
But so he menged her mood
Pat noon oper vn-directed
Of siche speche as he wolde say
Her tongis dyuersed fro pat day
ffor shame vchone pat werk forsoke
And went away as seip pe booke
Perfore hit hette babiloyne
Pat shent ping is wipouten asoyne
Pere were alle pe speches part
Of dyuerse londis to dyuerse art
ffirst was but oon & no moo
Now are pe speches sixty & two
his tour was selly made on hizt
ffyue pousande steppes stood vprizt
Also eizte score & fourty perto
 pus made pese foolis hem to do
Ten myle compas al aboute
Pat story tellep out of doute
At his werke was not sem
Ne noone of his barnteem
The page contains a segment of text in Middle English, discussing the reign of a king named Abram. The text is transcribed as follows:

"Therefore every her speche han pay
pat iewis holden to his day

His nembrot was he firste kyng
pat fonde in maumete mystrowing
Longe he regnede in pat londe
In maumetrye first feip he fonde
pat he bigan lastep zete
Sarazines wol hit not lete

Aftir his fadir pat was dede
A vigur was maad by his rede
He commaundide alle men
As god pei shulde pat ping ken
What for loue & what for doute
Alle hit worsheped to loute

His eyydense byhelde opere
pat summe for fadir & als for broere
ffor frendes dede pat was hem dere
Ymages pei made of metalles sere
Bi hem his lawe was po bigunne
Soone was hit ouer al runne
ffor frendes deep ouer al pe londe
Siche mysbileue vp pei fonde
ffendes crepte po ymagis wipynne
And ladde folted men to synne

Thre sones had thare oon abram

2114-7 There is a vertical line in the margin to the left of these lines."
Also nacor and aram
Thre sones had nacor *le lele
Vs and bus and batuele
Of vs coom *lob of bus balam 2135
Of batuel rebecka & laban 2310
Of aram a sone wip dougtris *pre
Melcha . loth & dame sare fre
Of *pre fridde elde is now to telle
Who so woel a stounde dwelle 2140
Of Abraham now wol we drawe
*pat roote is of *pre cristen lawe
I say perfore he is *pre roote
ffor of hym sprongoure alper boote 2145
*pat boote *pat brouzte vs into myrpe
pourge *pe hooly maydenes birpe 2320
Of hym & his kyn shul we rede
*pat wondirly bigan to brede
Oure lady wex out of his sede
We pray hir for hir maydenhede 2150
*pat we may of *pis story say
Hir to worshepe hir sone to pay
Abraham *pat we here of neuen
Was wel loued wip god of heuen 2139-40

A heading.

The O in Of is a medium size, decorated capital.
Trewe he was euer in dede
fful of feïp & of holyhede
He and his good wyf sare
fful of chastite þei ware
Two douȝteres had aram his broþer
He spoused þat oon nachor þat oper
ffor bi þe lawe þat þei lyued ynne
Men shulde not spouse but in her kynne
he was boþe meke and hende
Oure lorde him made his pryue frende
He loued sop̄fastenesse & riþte
perfore oure lord to him hiþte
A childe to brede of his ospringe
þat al of þraldam shulde bringe
And þer shulde also of his seede
So myche puple aftir breede
þat no man myþte þe somme neuen
Moore þen þe sterres of heuen
Ne þenne þe grauels in þe see
So multiplyinge shulde þei be
He leued þis wip herte stabel
þis biheste myþte be no fabel
As he leued so he fonde
Oure lorde helde him trewe couenonde
But longe he ladde him wip delay
To more he made of his fay 2180
Of sixty yeer he was à fyne
Whanne his fadir was faren of lyue
ffor him he was in mournyng Jouzt
Til oure lord him counfort brouzt
And seide to hym wip a sown 2185
Abraham loke you make pe bown 2360
You pi catel and pi meyne
Out of pis londe pat ze fle
3e shul wende to a bettur londe
To loth pi broþer sone in honde 2190
To canaan 3e mosten drawe
A lond pat I shal sow shawe
You leue aram pe londe of ire
Of canaan to be lorde and syre
3ider to wende be not ferde 2195
3ere shal be pi kyndely erde 2370
Alle 3at wonen 3er aboute
To 3e shul be vndirloute
3ere shal pi name reysed be
And alle pe heires pat komen of pe 2200
I shal hem blisse pat pe wol blisse
My blissyng shal pe opere mysse
Abraham went & wip him loth

2190 For To read Take. See note to this line.
Meyne & catel wel I woot
He coom & dwelled he and hei
Bisyde sichen in a valey
But jere felons folk hei fond
pat myche waasted of pat lond
Als soone as hei fider cam
God him shewed to abraham
And seide abraham pis is pe land
pat you & wynne shul haue weldand
Abraham of troupe so trewe
By bethel reised an auter newe
He worshiped god kyng of blis
And he him blessed & alle his
Abraham turned him inti pe souf
To se pat londe youzt vnkoup
In pees he wende hit haue in wolde
As oure lord hadde hym tolde
But soone whenne he had pe lond
An hunger felt I vndirstonde
Her corn wanted on vche syde
Hard hit was hem to abyde
Abraham to selle fond no sede
To egipte wende most he nede
Sare his wyf wip hym to lede
Hade hei no corn hem wip to fede
And as ȝei ȝidurwarde went
ȝis ȝorwarde made ȝei ȝere ȝresent
Lemmon he seide soore I me drede
Now we go bi ȝis ȝuncoupled lede
ffor ȝou art feir whenne ȝei ȝe se
Wip myȝte ȝei wol ȝe take fro me
Seye ȝou ȝerfore to oon & ȝoper
pat ȝou art my sistir & I ȝi broþer
Elles ȝe folk whenne ȝei ȝe se
Wol me sle for loue of ȝe
Sir she seide hit shal be do
ȝenne coom ȝei ȝat cuntre to
Whenne ȝat folk had hir sene
Alle speke of hir she was so shene
And so hir preysed to ȝe kynge
 pat he made hir to hym bryngye
But god hir kepte ȝat was hir wif
And saued hir so in his ȝrip
pat myȝte no man wif leccherye
Hir body touche wif vileny
ȝe kyng was ferd for goddes gram
And delyuered hir to Abraham
And seide why makes ȝou vs in were
To calle ȝi wyf ȝi sister dere
Take hir here and brouke hir wel
Of pyn wol I neuer a del
But leuer me is of myn þou haue
Gold and siluer he hym ȝaue
And commaundide þoure þis lond
Men shulde him plese & haue in hond
And whenne he wolde no lenger lende
þat he most frely hamwarde wende
And alle þe godis he wip him led
To lette him streitly he forbed
Abraham went home & his wif sawe
he loued hir bet þen he dide are
ffor worshepe þat she made him wynne
And she vnsouȝt sakles of synne
Into betel þei coom anoon
þere he firste sett his auter stoon
Bitwene him & his newew loth
Beestaile þei hade ynowe þe I woot
To commune pasture þei took þe lond
þat þere lay nexte her hond
But whenne her stoor bigan to brede
Her pasture þo wex al nede
þerfore her herdis stroof for hit
Her beestis nedis most þei flit
ffro þat folk þei were among

The A in Abraham is a medium size, decorated capital.
pat dide her stoor myche wrong
pe nabethens pat lodly lede
fful of wronge & wickedhede 2280
pei myʒt wip hem haue no rest
pei most part to seke her best
Abraham seide wip wordis hende
Loth my nuew and my frende
pis lond is wyde pat we are ynne 2285
God vs helpe hit to wynne 2460
Of pis cuntre pat is so wyde
þou chese to won on sum syde
Whether þou chese on rıʒt or left
I wol take þat þou hast left 2290
Loth loked toward flum iurdan
A dale he chees to hym þan
A lussom lond & fair cuntre
þe flum ran þourʒe fair to se
þe lond of gomor þerby lys 2295
þat þenne was lyk to paradys 2470
þat tyme ar hit had done þe sake
Til god þeron vengeaunce can take
þat lond to won In loth þouʒt beste
Abraham chees toward þe eest 2300
þe lond of sodom bar great blame
ffor hit was in a wickede fame
pei synned so foule among hom
fat bope hem cursed god & mon
Abraham last & his jen
Bisyde pe lond of canaan
Vndir pe foot of mount mambre
pere he chees to sette his se
fat ilke stide hett chebron
A wondur wynsum stide in won
He made an auter in pat stide
And sacrificise per on he dide
fat oure lord shulde on him mynne
And make him worshepe to wynne
His tabernacle he sette per sone
God lete myracle for hym done
In pat lond was a werre strong
And hit lastede sum del long
ffoure kynges werred wp on fyue
pei fyue ayeyn pe foure to stryue
pei smoot to sider neuer pe latur
In a dale bisyde a watur
So long pei hew on helm & shelde
fat foure of fyue wan pe felde
pei fyue zaf bak to wynne away
And fallen into a putt of clay
pere fel pei dou al in swowe
And her enemies perse hem slowe
Sip pei took to wynne pat lond
Al pat pei before hem fond
Loth pei tok and led hem wip
Was noon pei wolde graunte grip
Pei helde hores was pe lond
ffor pei hadde pe ouer hond
Hard helde pei loth pat day
2335
A mon vnne pe myhte passe away
To come to Abraham for to telle
Of lothis chaunce how hit felle
Abraham was ful euel likonde
Whenne he herde pis typonde
He dide to geder to sider his men
Pre hundride eithe seruauntis & ten
And pryuely he made hem byebe
Til ageyn pe euentyde
And po he brouzte hem to a pas
2345
Men calde perse pen themas
Pere he delt his folk in two
Pat pe operes shulde not skape hem fro
Pese kyngis hadde of no mon doute
Her folk pei scatered al aboute
2350
Abraham pat was in troube strong

2333 For hores read heres.
Heþen men he mett among
ffro hem he delyuered loth
Wiþ al þat catel vche grot
Slayn were þo knyȝtis þat nyȝt
þourȝe þe grace of god almyȝt
þe folk of sodom were ful fayn
Whenne abraham was comen azayn
þei sawe her frendis hool & sounde
And wiste her foos browȝte to grounde
Melchisedech wiþ wille glade
Offeryng of wyn and breed made
þat of ierusalemes londe
Was kyng & prest & hade in honde
Trewy he was wyse and hende
Of her conqueste took þe tende
Abraham his benesoun þaf he
And bad alle to hym tentynge be
Of pray wolde abraham nouȝte haue
But vche man his owne þaue
Miche was þe loue word þon
þat Abraham gat of mony mon
þei seide hit was he in siȝt
Oure lord in him wolde holde his hiȝt
Abraham went hoom & wiþ him ledde
His folk & whenne he was in bedde
In sleep he herde oure lordis steuen
Sopely to him spak in sweuen
And seide Abraham par pe not drede
I shal pe helpe in al pi nede
Dat I haue pe in dede hiȝte
To wynne pou shal not faile myȝte
Lord he seide how may pis be
What is pi wille toȝyue to me
Pou wost wel childe haue I noone
But my seruauntis sone alone
Dat serueȝ me eliazar
Myn heire wolde I pat he war
Siȝ pou me ȝaf noon oþer barn
Nay seide god I shal pe warn
Dat he ȝyn heire shal not be
But a seede pat comȝ of pe
Abraham he seide come her oute
Byholde pe sky al aboute
Pe childer þat of pe shul brede
No more shal þou con hem rede
þen sterres in sky or sond in see
To knowe hit shal ful selcouȝe be
Be trust in pis þat I þe hiȝt
þe hit to reuue shal noon haue myȝt

2400 The catchword Abraham appears in the lower right hand corner of fol.15v, below this line.
2397 After sterres, the scribe wrote an ø (presumably for or), and then crossed it out to write i (in).
The leaf containing ll.2575-2734 is missing from the manuscript. This would have been the first leaf in the third gathering.

Oure lord loked to sodomam fol.16r col.1
And jus saide to Abraham
Abraham he seide fro pe
Wol I not hele my pryuet
jou and jyne are me so dere
pat I wol ze my counsel here 2405
Of sodom haue I herde pe cry
pe stinche reche to pe sky
pe world is wors pen men neuen
pe reche reche in to heuen 2410
To se wol I my seluen go
Of pat cry if hit be so
pere wol I take vengeaunce strong
perto shal hit not be long
// Lord seide Abraham jyn are
Shalt jou jyne owne so forfare 2415
Hit semep not to be ji wille
ffor je wicked je goode to spille
ji riztwisnes wol not so
ffor pe wicked pe gode to slo 2420 2754
If jou jere fynde fyue sipe, ten 2757
ffourty or pritty trewe men
Twenty or ellis twyes fyue
Shul alle þerefore haue her lyue
þus seide oure lorde but þere was noon
Trewe founde but loth aloon
Oure lord went forþ þon
Abraham to his hous hoom
At oon euentyde two aungels coom
To lothus hous in to sodom
þei fond loth sittynge bi þe þate
To hem he roos fro þere he sate
He preyed hem in goddis name
To gestne wip him & come home
As for þat nyȝte & þei seide nay
But in þat strete dwelle wolde þay
But loth to his hous hem ledde
Wip siche as he had hem fedde
But er þei to bedde were boun
ffolke gedered out of þe toun
ffoule felouns wip wicked entent
Aboute lothus hous þei went
Jeong & olde childe and man
Hem þouȝte late þei þider wan
On loth þei cryed þe hous aboute
And bad he shulde sende hem outh
pe gestes hym cam by ny3te tale
ffor sope pei seide knowe hem we shale
Her sory synne on hem pei sou3te
To haue done hit if pei my3t
But loth er pei were ware
ffast pe dores con he barre
3erne on hem he cryed mercy
pat pei shulde leue her foly
He seide I haue here dou3teres two
Take and do youre willi po
My gestis lete 3e lye in pees
ffor goddis loue wipoute males
pe more loth on hem sou3t
pe more pei pressed & ceesed nou3t
Al his preyere my3te not avayle
Nadde ben goddes good counsaile
pat made po synful folk so mad
pei niste where pei were bi stad
Oure lord made hem so blynde
pat dore ne hous coupe pei not fynde
Her owne witt wiste pei nou3t
Whepen pei coom ny what pei sou3t
To loth spak on aungel pei
& seide hast you here any men
Sone or dou3ter pat you owe
To the longynge hye or lowe
Lede hem swypte out of pis town
Er pat hit be sonken doun
Loth went & to his frendes spake
Per oute pei shulden his douzten take
Ryse vp he seide & fle ye soone
Pis cite to day shall be fordone
Al pat loth myzte to hem say
Hem rouzte hit was not but play
But erlyer men myzte see
Pe aungels bad loth to flee
Pei seide [fle] wij vil meyne
Lest ye be lost wij pis cite
Whenne pei seze loth be lettonde
Pei hym took by pe honde
His wyf and his douzteres two
Pat myzte wp loke per was no mo
Whonne pei were fro pe doute
And bromyte feire pe toun wipoute
Bi pen be goon pe list of day
Pei bad hem holde forþ her way
And but pei wolde forfaren be
To loke bihynde hem forbede he
No dwellynge here pat ye make
Til ye pe zender felde to take
Lest ye be take these among
And slayn all for her wrong
Lorde seide loth wip leue of ye
In litil segor wolde I be 2500
You haste these jüder thare
ffor I do nouȝt til you come thare
Bi tyme dat ye sunne ras
Strong cry in dat toun was 2640
Oure lord let reyne on hem anoon 2505
ffro ye skye fuyr & brymstoone
Sodom & gomor wif al ye lond
Dat aboute hem lay nyȝe hond
Of alle yo wonynys pat per was
Is nouȝter lafte tre ny gras 2510
Ny no ping of dat lond vasunke
Siche as þei breu þo þei drunke
Lothis wyf þis cry herde
And longed to se how þei ferde 2850
wondris fayn wolde she fynde 2515
And as she loked hir bhynde
A stoon she stondeþ bi þe way
And so shal do til domes day
As a salt stoon men seen hir stonde
Dat beestis likken of dat londe 2520
And ones in þe wike to say fol.16v col.2
Is she clene likked away
And sip þei fynde hir on þe morne
Hool as she was bifornë
þere fyue citees were wont to be
Is nouȝt now but stynkand see
þat semþ as lake of helle
No lyuyng þing may þerynne dwelle
If any fisshë þerynne be gon
By ledyng of þe flum iurdon
þe lyf is soone fordo wip stynke
ffro hit into þat watir synke
Men fynden lumpes on þe sand
Of teer no fyner in þat land
þere stondeþ euer wonderly
A cloude þer fro vp to þe sky
If þou a brond þerynne wolt caste
þe fire hit holdeþ þere stidfaste
þour þe brennyng of þat brymston
Wher of þere is myche won
þer by growþ sum appel tre
Wip apples selcouþe feir to se
Whenne þei in honde are like a bal
To pouder þour þe þat stynke þei fal
Alle cristen men I rede þe take
Ensauemple bi þis woofil wrake
For lecchery done was
je foulest je euer coom on plas
je hit was wicked was wel sene
Bi je wrecche je was so kene 2550
Hoot & stynkynge is je lake
ffuyr & brymstone was je wrake
Out of kynde her synne was done
perfore her kynde lost was soone 2555 2890
ffleej je synne al pis werde 2555
ffor pis wrecche je haue herde
God for bede je do je synne
je zee in helle perfore brynne
But if je nede synne shal do
je synne of kynde holde zou to 2560
je kyndely synne wip woman
But sib ne spoused take je noon
So fer youre synne folwej nouzt
To foryte him je zow wrouzt 2900
Mony men for ouerwele 2565
Hym selfe coufe nouper se ne fele
Til jei synke in to je pit
je no man may hem jen flit
So dide jeese wrecches of ioye tome
jei douted not goddis dome 2570
Her welpe made hem oon & alle
In synne and sorwe for to falle
pen coom a doom in hastite
To hem pat longe had spared be
So shal dyve wipouten ende
pat in tyme wol not amende
Loth ye herde telle of eer
Into pe felde he drou3e for feer
In a caue he hidde him po
He and his dou3teres & no mo
Abraham went on pe morne
To pat stide pere he was biforn
Had of oure lord taken his leue
And say pat soore gan hym greue
Towarde pe cites loked he
A sorweful si3te hit was to se
He sawe pat cuntre al bydene
pat so fair biforn pat bene
Wip sparcle & smeke couered abouen
As hit were a brennyng ouen
_ffor hit was goddes ri3twis wreke
per a3eyn durste he not speke
Loth hym helde pe caue wipynne
Him self & his dou3teres twynne
But her fadir pat pei pere sawe
pei wende alle men were don of dawe
Pour\^e pat ilke woeful wrake
Je elder to je zonger spake
Sister in pryuyete to je I say
Jeou seest his folk is al away
But loth oure fadir & we two
Alyue is now lefte no mo
I leue monkynde fordone be
But hit be stored by me & je
His world is brou\^te to ende me pin\k
Zyue we oure fadir ynoye of drynk
Whennhe he is dronken witturly
In bed we shul go lye hym by
ffor my\^yte we any barnes brede
Me pinke pe world perof had nede
As pei had spoke so pei wrou\^t
Pe fadir his owne dede wiste nou\^t
He wist not whenne he bi hem lay
But bope wip childe soone were pay
Amon & moab were geten so
Bitwixe both & his dou\^teris two
Of hem coom so wickede lede
Pat no\u^per drou\^e to worpi dede
To a stide pat het damas
Piderwarde her wonynge was
Of mony men pat were gode
pei refte catel & shedde blode
Abraham siked in hert ful soore
ffro þen he wolde þat he wore
To a cuntre cadades he flit
Abimalech was lord of hit
His sistur he calde sara his wyf
þat for hir shulde ryse no stryf
He dredde þe folk ful of pryde
Whil he lyued hem bysyde
But hard hit is to kepe I wis
þing þat vche man wolde were his
And namely siche a þing
As is desired of greet lordyng
Abimalech fined nouȝt
Til sarra was to fore him brouȝt
But god on nyȝt coom to þe kyng
In sleep & seide þis tokenyng
Wolt þou kyng short þi lyf
þou hast anþer mannes wyf
Lord he seide wolt þou me sloo
þat wist not þat hit was so
pei tolde bôþe to oon and ðþer
She was his sister he hir broþer
And also lord wel þou woost þou

The first þou has been cancelled by a series of dots under it.
She is clene as she was ar now
I woot he seide be thee clene
Hit were not so had I not bene
ffro touche of hir I saued pe
pat pou shuldes not synne in me
zelde hir to hir husbonde wizt
He is a prophete holy and ri3t
And if pou do any oher rede
pou and hyne alle shul be dede
Vp roos pe kyng anoon bi ny3t
And calde his men in to his si3t
Of his warnyng he hem tolde
pe1 were aferde bofe zonge & olde
He dide to calle abraham soone
And seide why hast pou pus done
What haue I done a3eyn pi like
pat pus woldes me biswyke
Sir he seide I me bihouzte
pat goddes awe dred ye nou3t
youre harm wende I so best to fle
And seide she shulde my sister be
To abraham bo zaf pe kyng
In worship mony a ryche ping
And made hym moost to hym priue
Toke him to welde al pat cuntre
Bi pis coom sara to pe tyde
Of birpe myȝt she no lenger abide
Ben was ysaac hir sone born
Bat was longe bihet biforn
And circumcised pe eijte pe day
Aftir pe custom of bat lay
The name of Isaac is to say
A mon bat tokenep ioye & play
And for pe burpe of ysaac
Greet ioye dide his frendes make
Bat wondir childe ful of hap
Whenne he was wened fro pe pap
His fadir slouȝe sheep & neet
And made a feest to frendes greet
Mete and drynk he ȝaf hem alle
Bat wolde come to his halle
Isaac was zongur ben Ismael
On a day bitidde and fel
Bat þese breȝere played same
Sara bihelde & þouȝte no game
She seide Abraham bat bastard
Do him away he haue no part
Wip my sone of oure heritage
Or elles þou doost greet outrage

2671 The B in Bi is a medium size, decorated capital.
I wol what so euer men say
His modir & he be done away
Abraham pis took to herte
And pouȝte hir wordis ful smerte
Herfore he was in heuy pouȝte
Til oon aungel hir worde brouȝte
Abraham he seide þinke not ßille
Þou most do þi wyues wille
Of þi mayden & hir barn
Hir biddyng shal þou not warn
ffor ysaac shal bere þe name
Of þi seed sir abrahame
Of ysmael out of spousage
Shal mony come kene & sauage
On þe morne whenne hit was day
Bope were þei done away
Out of þat hous was put agar
Hir sone on hir bak she bar
Watir & breed withouten more
She tok hir wip & wept ful soore
Now gooþ þat wrecche wille of w(one)
In wildernesse wandrynge alone
her breed wanted her watir is god(þ)
Hope of her lyues hadde þei noon
By a welle vndir a tre
Be childe she leyde & gon to fle
ffor sorwe she myghte not her on seen
But wayted whenne hit deed shulde ben
And whil she mened bus hir mood
Joumfort coom hir sone good
An aungel coom & seide agare
What dost you why makes you care
God haf herde pi childes cry
Rys & take hit vp for pi
Lede hym jonder & haue in mynde
A welle pere you shalt fynde
And a tre wip fruyt ful goode
ffor pi and pi childes fode
Here shal you wip him wone
And foster for pi here pi sone
She dide be childe drink of be welle
In vat wildernes gon be dwelle
Longe dwelled be in povere
Til ismael was waxen more
An elynge lyf be here be ledde
In wildernes were be fedde
Whenne he to mon waxen was
Archer was he beste in plas
Whenne he hadde good elde kipt
He spousid a wyf of egipt
And woned *pere* as wilde man

In *pat* desert *pat* hett pharan
*his* abraham was of longe abode
And also of ful clene lyflode
Oure lord hym *yaf* his lawe to hede
And made hym patriarche in dede

Re seide Abraham I shal *be* yuwe
*be* lawe *pat* pou owe *in* to lyue
Lord he seide my self and myne
At *pi* wille al is *pyne*

I and my wyf are *pyne* owen

*p
t are we wel aknowen
*pi* biddyng wol we do ful fayn
Shul we do neuer *per a3ayn*

What shal I do lord *pou* me telle
*pou* shalt go in to *pat* felle
*pere* shal *pou* fynde my messanger
Of erpe make *pou* an auter
Bope of *pi* corn & of *pi* fee
*pere* shal *pou* afferynge make to me

Gladly lord as *pou* hast seide
Soone was abraham purueide
Of crop of korn and o*per* catel
To god his tibe *yaf* he wel

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*2764 For afferynge read offerynge.*

*2758 a3ayn* was first spelled *a3eyn*, and the *e* later altered to *a*. 
Hit brent reche ros vp ful euuen
pe smel was swete & souzte to heuen
In pat tyme pat I of mene
pe folk was good pe world was clene
So good be hit neuer I wis
So myche of welpe so myche of blis
pouze man myzte neuer so myche welde
So faste hit drawep to doun helde
To wrecched dome al is went
To lerne god zyue fewe entent
pe childe berep now pe witt away
ffoly is gomen now a day
Of ysaac now wole we neuen
pat loued was wip god of heuen
Herep of god al weldonde
how he asayed his trewe seruonde
Wel loued abraham ysaac
His sely sone wipouten lak
He rauzte him firste god to drede
And so to leue al wickedhede
He began to loue hym so
pat myzte he no whyle him for go
Oure lord wolde as my3ty kyng
Asaye abraham wip sum ping
To abraham oure lord spak

2781-2 A heading.
2783 The H in Herep is a medium size, decorated capital.
And seide where is ði sone ysaac
Al at ði wille þenne lord seide he
I wol þat þou offere him to me
Gladly lord þou me him þaue
Good skil hit is þat þou him haue
To oure lord he was so trewe
þat myȝte no pite make him rewe
But he had leuer his childe spille
þen do aȝeyn his lordes wille
þis childe was bihet mony a þere
Ar he were sent sough[t] wip preyere
Abraham wende wipouten wene
þat he shulde his heire haue bene
Now is he asked on þis wyse
To god to make of sacrifise
þouȝe hit were grisly and grille
He laft not oure lordis wille
But asked him wipouten abyde
how he him shulde sacrifise þat tyde
And he to telle þo bigon
þondir hyȝe hille vpon
Shal þou brenne þi sone for me
Gladly lord þenne seide he
Now shul þe here how hit wasse
þe childe he caste vp on an asse
And took wip him knaves two
But pei ne wiste whider to go
Pat feld hé welke dayes pe
To seche pe stide pere he wolde be
Whenne he coom pere as he tìzt
Of pe asse pe childe dude he liʒt
Toke him wip him no mon more
his meyne he bad abyde him pore
His counsel wolde he no mon say
Why he pat childe brouzte pat way
Swerd ne fyr forʒat he nouʒt
Long Isaac a fagot brouzte
Sir he seide where shal we take
Pat beest oure sacrifise to make
Sip we wip vs brouʒte noon
God he seide shal sende vs oon
Wip his he stood pe childe nyʒe
And drowse his swerd pryuelye
Pat pe childe were not war
Er he had done pat char
He lifte his hond him to smyte
But goddis aungel coom ful tite
Ar he myʒte ʒyue pe dynt
his swerde bihynde him he hynt
And bad him pere bisyde him take
A sheep his sacrifise to make
He loked bisyde him in je hornes 2845
And say hit longe by je hornes 3180
je angel helde stille je swerd
And saide of coumfort siche a word
Abraham holde stille pin arm
To pi sone jou do no harm 2850
Oure lord forbedep him to slo
Pi dere sone pat jou louest so
Jou louest hym more wipouten wene
Pen pi sone pat is now sene
Wel louest jou hym and drede 2855
Wel shal he quyte pi mede 3190
Je shul his blessyng haue for why
Myche he shal zow multiply
ffor loue of pi faipful fay
Shal vche lede come to pi lay 2860
God hap to day pe visited so
Pi dede shal neuer of mynde go
Pi buxomnes al folk shal fynde
Pat shul be bred of pi kynde
Of pis lettyng he was ful glad 2865
And dude as pe aungel him bad
Pe sheep he sacrificised & brent

2846 For longe read honge.
And siphon homwarde he went
Ye fadir gon ye sone forbede
To any man to telle his dede 2870
Ffadir he seide be ful bolde
For me be hit neuer tolde
Hei went aeyn to bersabe
There hei had lefte her meyne

// Sara had six score zeer & seuen p 2875
And dyed wiouten childer mo
Ben ysaac no moo she bare
And abraham for hir had kare
In ebron biried hir abraham
There firste was buried olde Adam 2880
Abraham willed in his lyue fol.19r col.1
Pat ysaac had wedded a wyue
And wolde she were if hit myzt be
Of his kynde & his cuntre
Men shulde hir seche in pat land 2885
There his frendes were weldand 3220
A seriaunt sone commandide he
Pat moost knew of his Pryuete
Pat euer had ben at his fyndynge
Ffro he was a chylde zing 2890
Vpon his kne he dide him swere
Pat he shulde trewe erned bere
And pat he shulde 3yue hool entent
To fulfille his commaundement
ffrend he seide wende in hye
Vnto meso-othanye
pere pou woot oure frendes wone
To seke a wyf to my sone
And if she may be founden lele
Brynge hir hoom wiþ myche wele
But brynge pou him no womman
Of pe kynde of canaan
Sir he seide what shal l do
pis ilke mayde if pat sho
Wiþ no catel come wiþ me
pen of pin oþ I holde pe fre
ffor ysaac wiþ no forward
Wol I he wende þidirward
Gladly he seide hit shal be done
pis mon mae him redy soone
ffast he hyed to his goyng
Wiþ tresour greet & preciouse pinþ
Suche as maydenes han mistere
Al þat ten camels myþte bere
Ringe & broche þat were proude
Gold & stoon for mayden shroude

2910 for nade read made.
pat who so him say myzt vnderstonde
He comen was fro a riche londe
To mesopothanye soone coom he
And soone he fonde pat cite
Whenne he coom myzhonde pe toun
By a wel he lyzte doun
A preyere made he in pat plas
And pus bisouzte god of gras
Lord he seide pat al welde may
pat my lord honoure euery day
ffor whos loue he wolde not warn
To sacrific his owne barn
To whom to seke a wyf I fare
Lord you sende me oon sumwhare
And so my seruyse set to seme
pat to hi worshepe may be queme
And siche a wyf to ysaac
pat may be good him to tak
him to ioye & menske to je
Lord you graunt pat hit so be
And graunte me bi his welle here
Tristy to be of my preyere
ffor bi his welle wol I byde
What of myn ernede wol bi tyde
Here wol I be til pat I se
Maydenes come fro his cite
Her watir at his welle to drawe
Here shal I my woman knawe
She [shal] bete my [first] 2945
I shal hir holde as for best 3280
He nadde rested but arowe
Of maydenes he say come a rowe
Je formast was vnlaugter mylde
Hir semed no ping to be wylde 2950
Was she not of semblaunt li3t
Rebecca hir name hi3t
Batuel hir fadir snel
Hir semed alle hir werkes wel
Sittyngly hir watir she tooke 2955
His mon faste dud on hir loke 3290
He was witty and deuyse
He seide to hir on his wyse
Mayden he seide yuye me drynke
Myche I haue on he to pinke 2960
I am a man faryng he weye fol.19v col.1
Myn harnay[s] dide I here doug leye
Of my passage I was in doute
ffor no man knowe I here aboute
Me were lo] if I my3te were 2965
Men dude me harm on my gere 3300
ffrend she seide þyn askyng
Nys not but litil þing
þou shalt hit haue wip good wille
And þi camailes to drynke her fille
ffor here vs wante þo no vessel
Bolle ne boket ny no fonel
She drouȝe hem alle ynouȝe of drinke
Lefte she not for no swynke
þis oþer man myȝte not blyn
To biholde þis fair maydyn
How alle hir dedes dude hir seme
þi môn þouȝte hem to queme
Mayde he seide by þis hond
Hastou any fadir lyuond
þe she seide & modir wip al
To house gladly þat wol þe cal
ffodder and hay þou shal be boun
No feirere Inne in al þe toun
He hir ȝaf a ȝifte anoone
A golde ring þat briȝte shoone
þankaȝe god to erþe he fel
þe mayde ran hoom of hym to tel
She had a bropur het laban
He ran forþ aȝeyn þe man
Bi tokene soone were þei knawe
To ryche gestenyng was he drawe
\[\textit{penne wist sei bi pis messangere}\]
Abraham was sib hym ful nere
Ete ne drynke nou\[\textit{per}\] he wolde
Til he hadde his eronde tolde
And \[\textit{pe}\] sikernes was made
Likenes to rauen he not hade
Wel be siche a messangere
His message for\[\textit{f}\] to bere
\[\textit{fat of him self recche}\] nou\[\textit{zt}\]
Til his nedes be ful wrou\[\textit{zt}\]
\[\textit{pe}\] mari age dide he \[\textit{penne}\] make
Bitwene rebecca and ysaake
To vchone \[\textit{zaf}\] he \[\textit{ziftis}\] sere
\[\textit{Af}\] tir \[\textit{fat sei wort}\]i were
And clad \[\textit{pe}\] may in ryche wede
As was lawe in \[\textit{fat lede}\]
To vchon he \[\textit{zaf}\] sum \[\textit{zing}\]
Batuel hym made good gestenyng
\[\textit{A morwe in goddis cenesoun}\]
Rebecca was lad of toun
Hir \[\textit{modir als wip hir ladd}\]
Til \[\textit{sei coom ny}\[\textit{e}\] \[\textit{bere hir radd}\]
\[\textit{bere wonynge sir Abraham was}\]
Isaac was not fer fro plas
As Isaac went hym to roo
and þouȝte of þingis he hadde to do
he þeode walkynge bi þe strete
And coom aþeynes hem to mete
Rebecca seide what man is he
þat towarde vs comynge I se
He drouȝte hir neer & stille spak
þat is my lord sir ysaac
Hit is þe caiser shal be þyn
Of him shal þou haue soone seesyn
To his bihoue I þe souȝt
In sely tyme & wip me brouȝt
þis seriaunȝt dide hir doun to liȝte
In better aray for to diȝte
She hir in better wede arayed
A mantel of reede aboue she layed
And þei she shameful was I wis
She lest no contenaunce wip þis
Rebecca and ysaac are samen
Mette wip myche ioye & gamen
Wip myche myrpe for to mene
Was brouȝte to house þat may shene
Þenne þei made þe mariȝage
þat fel to riche heritage
þe michel loue of rebecca
ffalled ye sorwe of dam sara
Suche are nowe alyue ful pike
fforgete ye dede for ye quyke
But yei hit dide for sum resoun
And yourney significacioun
Thre wyues had Ismael
Twelue kyngis coom of him to tel
Ye i halde as myȝtyest hat day
Ye londes hat in ye eest lay
Wondir hit were ye kyn to tel
Hat multiplied of Ismael
Abraham aftir dame sara
Took a wyf het cephura
Of hir he geet a sone madan
And anoter hett madian
Not for lust of leccherye
But his seed to multiplye
As god him hadde tofore hizt
He took a wyf for hit was rizt
Bitwene his childre he delt his auȝt
His lond to ysaac he bitauȝt
ffor he firste born was in marriage
Bi rizte he hadde his heritage
An hundride ȝeer seuynty & fyue

3047 The T in Thre is a medium size, decorated capital.
Whenne abraham had lad his lyue
he di-^ed in troupe & holyhede
his sones dougty were of dede
pei wepte his deep & so dide moo
Bi sara pei leide hym po
In god was euer his feip fest
Oure lord brynge vs to his rest
Siche a reste to to come
pat we may wip him seluen wone
Now is good to vndirtake

Pe story to telle of sir ysaake
Oure lord pat is of goodnes boun
To ysaac 3af his benisoun
wyse he was & god he dradde
And gladly dide pat he him badde
Wipouten childe his wyf was longe
pat louzte him ful stronge
He preyed him pat may al mende
pat he wolde him childre sende
ffor of his wyf he dreddde soore
She shulde be bareyn euermore

Pe gode childre geten of grace
Vnnepe coom pei forp in place

3075-6 A heading.

3077 The o in Oure is a medium size, decorated capital.
But whene pei coom wel is knowe
pat pei of goddis grace are sowe 3090
Childe but oon had dame sara
Rebecca hadde rachel & anna
Nor ʒitt holy Elizabeth
To haue hir childe coom not eth
pat was Ion pe baptist 3095
pat to men shewed crist
Also semep riʒt to deme
Beʒ of rebecca barnteme
She hadde hem not soop to say
Ar pei were souʒt mony a day 3100
God het hem childe not for ḟy
pat of her seed shulde multiply
And saide I shal ʒitt be
As wip ḟi fadir so wip ḟe
ysaac ʒaf to god his tende 3105
And prayed he shulde childer sende
So long he prayed his preyere
wel was herd wip god so dere
She pat longe had childe for gone
Now she bereʒ two for oone 3110
Of twynlyngis hir ʃouʒte no gamen
pat fauʒt ofte in hir wombe samen
So fast in hir dude ʃei fiʒte
That she had reste day ne nyȝte
To preye to god ay was she prest
To counsel hir wat were best
What were beste hir to rede
Hir lyf was licly to be dede
wondir strong was her were

pei wolde not pat stryf forbere
Til pei had of hem self myȝt
To se wherfore pei shulde fiȝt
ffro þe bigynnyng of þe wed
Of siche a werre was neuer herd
Ne siche a stryf of childre twynne

pat lay þe modir wombe wipynne
Bitwene vnborn a batail blynde
Sichon was wondir to fynde
He þat on þe riȝt syde lay
His broþer ofte wrast him away
And he þat lay on þe left
his broþer ofte his stide him reft
þe lady was ful myche a drad
As womman þat was harde stad
But oure lord god þat is
had done hir in to sikernis
þoure þis verrey prophecie
þat shulde be þo childer nye
Of her were and of her lyf
And what ensample bar pat strie
Perfore buxomly she hit bare
And knew coueryng to come of kare
Hir bredynd was ful sore
And hir childyng myche more
Po wax pe fiȝte more pe toforn
Whiche shulde be firste born
Of these two breþren pe we mote
Pe lasse pe more took bi pe fote
In trauelynge & drouȝe aȝeyn
Miche was pe modir peyn
Pe first born was rouȝe of hare
Pe opere childe sleȝt & bare
He pat was rouȝe was reed wiþ alle
Esau men dide him calle
Iacob hett pe jonger broþer
Pe modir him loued more pe pat opere
Perfore nowhere was he sent
But to pe hous took he tent
To tente pe mete & hous to kepe
Perto was he good & meke
Pe fadir loued esau for fode
ffor he was an archer gode
Whenne he wolde euer was he boun
To gete his fadir venisoun
And as he was as formast born
he dalt al wij tilpe & corn
wij opere pingis delt he sere
wij beestis wode foule & ryuere
his fadir olde and vnfere
Ofte he fedde wij good dynere
Good was pe world in pat ceesoun
Miche availede benesoun
Of fadris pat wel helde her fay
On childre whene pei wolde hit lay
Of blessyng may men ensample take
Bi pese childer of ysaake
How pe zonger of pe two
pe blessynge stale his broder fro
But firste is to be tolde
hôw esau his broder hit solde
Esau went forp to hunte
A day as he was ofte wonte
ffer & neer he had souzte
pat day gamen fonde he nouzte
ffor haue man neuer so myche nede
Vche day is not tyme of sped
But ofte pat day pat men faile
Moost aboute hit pei travaile
Whenne he was very for soon
hoom he took his weye anoon
Rauke is esy I here say
To reclayme pat hap lost his pray
his broper he fond pat toke tent
To dizte a noble mete present
Of his mete broper he seide
3yue me sum pat here is greyede
Mete & drynke pou hast at wille
And longe is sif I eet my fille
Iacob seide nay god hit wit
ffor ye haue I not dizt hit
his mete my modir me bitau3t
ffor pou and I are selden sau3t
Aboute oure forburpe are we wroop
3if pou wolt swere me an oop
pat pou shalt neuer fro his ny3t
Of bi forburpe cleyme no ri3t
fforburpe he seide what serue3 me
Broper at bi wille shal hit be
Wip pat forwarde he made a vow
Almest for hongur I de3e now
And for his fille of pat potage
as wrecche he solde his heritage
He eet & dronke & went his way
And lost his blessyng fro pat day
Ne bote him was him forbouȝt 3215
God wolde hit were his pat hit bouȝte
his ysaac pat worpi man
Sekenes & elde on him ran
Of body failed him pe myȝt
And of ys en also pe siȝt 3220
pe body pat so in elde is none
his day is soon his nyȝt is come 3560
haue a man ben neuer so bolde
Whenne pat he bicomȝ olde
Unwelde put at him a pulle 3225
His body waxeȝ dryȝe & dulle
His heed bigynneȝ þeme to shake
His hondes ofer while to quake
Hit crepeȝ cruȳng in his bake
þenne his boones bigynne to crake 3230
þe frely faire to falle of hym
And þe siȝte to wax al dyȝm 3570
þe froutn frounȝe þat was shene
þe nese droppeȝ ofte bitwene
Teþ to rote breȝ to stynke 3235
Only to lyue travaile him þinke

3217 The p in þis is a medium size, decorated letter.
hit is benne to sporne
He fallep wip his owne torne
He preysepyngis pate ben gone
pate benne bene he preysep noone
Soone benne he wole be wroop
To be at oon sumdel looyp
To teche men of his witt
He holdepy noon so wise as hit
No pinge benne may hym pay
Boldely pene may we say
He pat in pis state is stad
Nis no gle may make him glad
Elde is now a wondir pinge
Alle desiren hit pat are zinge
Whenne pei hit haue pei are vnfayn
Penne wolde pei zonge be azayn
Pei wolde be as pei were ore
And pat pei may neuermore
So hap elde his ysaac led
Dat he sike lip in his bed
him wantede siyte as I seide er
And calde his sone esau per
Esau leue sone he seide
Go loke pei takel be purueide

3255 The S of So is a medium size, decorated capital.
And fonde for to stalke so nere
\( \text{pat} \) you may sle sum dere
If \( \text{you my}^3 \text{te any venisoun gete} \)
Gladly wolde I \( \text{perof ete} \)
Sone \( \text{you hast hidur till} \)
Gladly done \( \text{pi fadir wille} \)
\( \text{you art archere wip} \) \( \text{be best} \)
Bope in felde and in forest
If \( \text{you may brynge me any beest} \)
Di\( ^3 \text{te hit me feir and honeste} \)
\( \text{peraftir now me longe} \) so
\( \text{here I lyue in bed of woo} \)
Sone he seide I wol not lye
Hit be\( ^3 \) not l\( \text{onge ar} \) I dy\( ^3 \)e
To brynge me venisoun be boun
And \( \text{you shalt haue my benisoun} \)
he seide sir gladly \& soone
Wi\( ^3 \) goddes helpe hit shal be done
His modir tent to ysaac
And herde \( \text{po wordis} \) \( \text{hat he spak} \)
And wist of longe lyf was he nou\( ^3 \)t
She went bi syde and hir bi\( ^3 \)ou\( ^3 \)t
Iacob hir sone she calde hir to
And \( \text{bus to him seide sho} \)
My leue sone I wol \( \text{be warn} \)
ffor thou art my derrest barn
fi fadir bad fi broper snelle
To fett him mete & not dwelle
If he any what myste sete
He shulde him dizte per of to ete
ffor were he ones pervip fed
Ar he dyed in seke bed
his benisoun he wolde him zyue
ffor longe he woot he may not lyue
Leue some loop me wore
pat he pi benisoun fro pe bere
Unhappy wrecche he hap ben ay
fi zele shal he not bere away
pou shal do now my counsel
I woot hit wol availe wel
hyze pe sone pat pou not blyn
Ar pi broper be comen In
Of fatte kydes fet me two
I shal pe teche how pou shalt do
I shal hem dizte to his byhouse
Siche as he was wont to loue
hit shal him sauour al at wille
Ete he shal per of his fille
Whenne hit is dizt pou hit him reche
Do wel as I pe teche
Bat he may þe lasse mystrau
Say þou art his sone esau
ffro þe forest newly comen
Venisoun ðou hast Inomen
Deyntily dizte to his pay
þou bidde hym ryse & assay
þat þou may gete bi þis resoun
Of þi fadir his benisoun
Modir he seide wise is þi lore
But o þing I drede soore
þou woost my hondis are al bare
And esaues rouȝe wiþ hare
If my fadir þat is blynde
May me so wiþ gile fynde
Of þat benisoun sore I drede
lest he me curse in his dede
Dowey sone rebecca sayde
Þat malisoun on me be layde
Þat I þe bad brynge me soone
Gladly he seide hit shal be done
Iacob went into þe folde
And brōuȝte þe kides I of tolde
His modir smertly hem dizte
As she to fore had hym dizte
And clad him wiþ þo cloþes mete
Of his bro\(\text{\textfrak{e}}\) \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)at smello\(\text{\textfrak{d}}\) swete
wip a rou\(\text{\textfrak{g}}\)e skyn hid his hals
And hiled \(\text{\textfrak{t}}\)\(\text{\textfrak{e}}\)\(\text{\textfrak{r}}\)\(\text{\textfrak{w}}\)\(\text{\textfrak{p}}\) his hondis als
ffor his fadir shulde trowe trewe
He were his sone esawe
His modir him \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)is mete bitau\(\text{\textfrak{z}}\)
He hit to his fadir rau\(\text{\textfrak{z}}\)
ffadir he seide sitt vp \& ete
I haue \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)e brou\(\text{\textfrak{z}}\)te \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)i zernyng mete
What art \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)ou his fadir seide
Sir . esau \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)i mete haue greide
What maner mete . sir venisoun
Ete and \(\text{\textfrak{z}}\)uye my benisoun boun
How was hit \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)ou sped so sone
Sir god of my-\(\text{\textfrak{z}}\)te herde my bone
And sende hit smartly to my hond(e)
Men owe to \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)onke him his sonde
Come nere sone \& lete me fele
If \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)ou be he I loue so wele
Whenne he felde his smellyng cloo\(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)(e)
And his necle \& his hondis bo\(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)
is voys he seide . \(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)at I here
Is of iacob wip\(\text{\textfrak{p}}\)ou\(\text{\textfrak{t}}\)\(\text{\textfrak{e}}\)t\(\text{\textfrak{u}}\)ten were
But hondis \& hals as I trowe trew
Is my dere sone esaw
Sauerep as pe pyement
I shal forp wende pou dwellest here
My blessyng haue pou sone dere
pi bro[er] be lyn vndirloute
And alle pat wonen here aboute
Alle po sone pat bressen be
Blessed shal hem seluen be
nd alle pat bidde je malison
Shal bere hit on her owne crowne
He eet & dranke at his wille
And penne his [son] cald him tille
His broode blessyng he him saue
at his bro[er] wende to haue
He made him lord of al his kyn
Siche pen was his modir gyn
His modir counsel was perto
But god wolde hit shulde be so
// Iacob went whenne pis was done
And esau coom aftir sone
ffadir he seide sitt vo in bed
I haue pe brozte to be of fed
Of venisoun pat I pe brynge
Ete and yue me pi blessynge
His fadir asked what he was
Sir esau pis sone in plas
Sone he seide for my prow
You were here at me riȝt now
I he seide nay god woote
Miȝte I not be so liȝte of fote
With pis zafe ysaac a grone
Sone he seide riȝt now was one
Pat firste me fedde & benne me kist
And me bigyled ar I wist
My benesoun now haþ pi broþer
Ffadir he seide is þer noon oþer
No sone als haue I mede
Allas he seide I am in nede
Away he haþ my blessyng born
So dude he als þe zondur morn
He haþ me done mychel shome
Skilful is iacob his nome
Pat is to say in riȝt langage
Putter out of heritage
ffor I first born shulde ha be
With strengþe aȝeyn drouȝe he me
And done me als þis vnresoun
To reue me þus my benisoun
Me is so wo almost I wede
Ffadir þis was no broþerhede
Counsel me fadir nowe to lyue
What counsel sone shal I pe 3yue
And is per fadir no blessyng left
No pi broper hit hap pe reft
And is per fadir noon ope re woon
Sopely he seide is noon but oon
In pe dew & gras also
Shal be pi blessyng where you go
Wip erpe trauaile so you do
And preye god sende his dew perto
Lord he seide what is me best
Myn hert bep neuermore in rest
Til pat his iacob be deed
If I may gete him to any sted
pus esau wip his manace
Out of pat lond dide iacob chace
Whenne her modir say hit so
He sougte his brofer for to slo
She sent him soone into aran
To hir brofer pat het laban
Here to soiourne for pat sake
Til his brofer wratthe wolde slake
By nyzte pe flom iurdan he wood
And pourze a wildernesse he good
He loked where him were best
By ye weye to make his rest
A stoon he took pat lay hym by
And euronne leyde his heed on hy
In sleep he say a ladder strauȝt
ffro his heed to ye skye hit raȝt
On pat ladder say he boun
Aungels clymbynge vp & doun
Open him pouȝte ye gate of heuene
Of god he herde siche a steuen
God and lord he seide I am
Of Isaac and of Abraham
Iacob he seide pou shalt haue twynne
Wyues of þyn owne kynne
Two douȝteres of laban þyn eeme
Pat pou shalt haue wiþ barnteeme
wiþ þe wol I be in þi nede
And make þyn osprynge wyde to sprede
ffor þine eldres to þe I take
And esau for þe forsake
Glad he was of þat siȝt
Him pouȝte he slepte softe þat nyȝt
On þe morne when hit was day
Iacob roos fro þenne he lay
he seide oure lord out of were
I wist not his wonynge here
here is nowe ȝenne seide he
Goddes hous & heuen entre
ȝe stoon pat his hede lay on ȝat nyȝt
In tokene he hit set vpriȝt
And oyle he put vpon ȝat stoon
And made to god a voys anoon
He seide if god be my frende
And lede me in my waye to wende
And sende mete drynke & clouȝ
And brynge me aȝeyn wiȝouten lop
Into my kipȝ the ȝere I coom fro
If I fynde pat he lede me soo
he shal be my god and kyng
ȝis stoon shal stonde in tokenyng
And ȝis place fro nowe shalle
Be cleped goddis owne halle
Of al ȝe good he dop me welde
Trewel tipe I shal hym zelde
Iacob wente him forȝ his way
where ȝe flockes of beestis lay
Byside a welle vpon a felde
And Iacob say and bihelde
A mykel stoon ƿ on hit lay
ȝat beestis dronk at euery day
ȝe herdes fonde he bi hem ȝere
And asked hem whe\pen pei were
Sir pei seide we are of aran
And knowe \pe ouzte he seide laban
Sir \te se\ee \& is he hool and fere
\te hool pei seide out of were
\ondir I se his dou\ztir Rachelle
Dryuynge his beestis to pe welle
ffor alle pe flockis comen hidur
Vche day to drynke to gidur

\penne coom rachel \pat mayden bri\zt
Iacob lift vp pe stoon ful wi\zt
he spak so wi\pat damysel
And knowleched him peere wi\rachel
He seide what art \ou lemman
Sir my fadir hett laban
Aboute pe necke he hir hynt
And cust hir pry\es ar he stynt
I am Iacob \bi cosyn nere
ffor \bi loue am I comen here
Whenne she bi\an to vndirstonde
\pat iacob shulde be hir husbonde
To laban tolde she \pat tip\ande
And she hym ladde bi pe hande
\pey freyned of her frendes fare
And he hem tolde of \pat vnswer\e
Laban penne he dide to calle
ffor fayn of him his frendes alle
Soone he dide him to say
What was pe chesoun of his way
Sir he seide I wol pe telle
ffor to spouse pi douȝtir rachelle
penne shal pou serue me seuen zerere
Ar pat pou haue my douȝter dere
Gladly he seide so shal hit be
Stille wiþ laban so dwelt he
be elder suster he forsoke
ffor she glizyed seip be boke
ffor to serue for rachel fre
he was maystir herde of fe
hit was myche wondir zere
how myche multiplied bei were
Whenne po seuen zerere were gone
Iacob asked his lèmmone
Laban seide ful blipely
But zere he dide a tricchery
Whenne he hadde rachel wedde
Lya he stale to his bedde
Bisyde lya al nyȝte he lay

3520 The catchwords be elder appear in the lower right-hand corner of fol. 22v, below this line.
His unwityng til hit was day
But whenne he wist on þe morn
Wo was him þat he was born
ffro hir he roos & siked soore
And asked who brouȝte hir þore
Laban she saide . allas þe while
Who wende he wolde me þus bigyle
He asked laban to resoun
Whi he dide him siche tresoun
Oure lawe he seide þat we Inne lyue
Wol firste oure elder douȝter be þyue
But mourne þou no maner ȝet
Þou shalt haue rachel as I þe bet
But þat may be noon oþere wyse
But for oþer seuen ȝer seruyse
Þe while holde ly a in bedde
Þenne shal þou rachel wedde
his newe forwarde was made þan
Bitwene iacob and laban
His Ȝeres past & seuen dayes
Rachel he weddid þe story sayes
// ly a bred childe sone had oon
Ruben & si þen symeon
þenne leuy þenne Isacar

3546 For bet read hit.
zabulon Judas sixe bre[er] war
A dou[ter she hadde hi]st dy[n]
But [Penne of] op[er] wymmen twa
Hadde foure sons[es geten of hym]
Rachel bar Iacob sons[es twyn]
ffirst Ioseph & Penne beniamyn
pat was Je cause of hir ende
Of hem she dy[ed in gesin hende]
What of his wyues two in spouse
And als of hond wymmen in house
Twelue sons[es of Jo] hadde he
And a dou[ter dy[n to be]
Iacob wex riche his childer proof
Pourze Je grace pat god him 30of
Talent began to take him Jo
To his owne londe to go
Wyf and childe wip oon assent
Vchon in hond wip opere went
Laban of leue seide hem may
And Jei on nyzt stale away
A god had laban in his boure
Whiche he was wont to honoure
In her flittyng rachel hit fond
fforp she bare hit in her hond
Laban hit missed oueral hit sou\_t
But his god fonde he nou\_t
Iacob went for\_ his way
On pe feld wipouten he lay
On pe to side of flum iurdon
And sent his au\_te ouer vchon
Iacob lay bi him self \_at ny\_t
In hond he kau\_te an aungel bri\_t
So in honde wrastled \_ay
Al \_at ny\_t til hit was day
\_e aungel seide let me go
He seide \_at wolde he neuer do
Lete him passe for no \_ing
Til he hadde 3yuen him his blessyng
Long \_ei wrasteled to sider \_ore
\_at iacob was hurt ful soore
\_e maistir synewe of his \_ee
\_at euer aftir haitide hee
And for his resoun here new
Of synewe et\_ neuer no Iew
\penne asked god wipouten blame
And bad hym say soone his name
Iacob I het . Iacob seide he
So shal \_i name no lenger be
\_ou shalt be calde israel
That is mon seyng god of hel
ffor thou a3eyn god strong is
More worp a3eyn mon be fro pis
Iacob sent fenne to fonde
Esau wip sau3telynge sonde
ffor he was ferde in alle ſinge
ffor to come to his metynge
Whenne he of his comynge herde
fful wro3ely to him he ferde
ffoure hundride men soone he fonde
To kepe iacob fro his owne londe
And so he shal ſat woot I wele
ffor he is al bisett wip sele
Iacob sent him of his au3t
3iftis large hym to sau3t
he messangere brou3te vnswere
he coom a3eyn him wip greet powere
Iacob led myche folk of his kyn
ffor doute he dalt hem in twyn
ffor greet doute he hadde ſan
He dalt in two beest and man
Whil esau smoot oon of ſoo
ſat ôper part shal skape him fro
Iacob dreedd Esau sare
ffor he was fel wip outen spare
pat if he myȝte him ouergo
Wipouten pite he wolde him slo
us he made his preyere
Lorde seide my god so dere
pat madest Adam mon of lyf
And sipp'en of him Eue his wyf
Hadde pei holden hat jou hem bad
pei hadde in endeles ioye ben stad
And also noe trewe and good
jou sauedest fro hat ferly flood
jou woost lord pat hit is soo
My broþere nowe is my foe
ffor I pourze my modir roun
Stale fro him his benesoun
here ouer his flum last whenne I fe(rde)
I bare in hond but a þerde
And now my lord blessed jou be
Two flockis of folk come wip me
Lord now sende me sum rede
Ageyn esau lest I be dede
ffor man hat jou wolt helpe in nede
har hym neuermore drede
Of his auȝte jou hast me lent
ber of I haue before me sent
ffor ar he alle to haue slayn
he shal be mased of his mayn
Dat while if you wol pei shul pase
And some not in his hond percase
Esau coom breem wi greet route
Now is iacob in mychel doute
he swore if he myfte hym mete
fformast he shulde his lyf lete
But who so god helpe wolle
May sauely go at pe folle
Whenne esau say him & his au3t
Soone he sou3te hym wi sau3te
And for his come was ful blipe
Dat gan he wi3 kissynge kyfe
Of siche strenge is pe holy goost
To oonen hem peere wrappe is moo(st)
he welcomed iacob ful feire
And knewe him for his fadir heire
Wipouten wrappe or any wrake
Of loue & pees to sider pei spake
Whenne pei had seid dat pei wolde say
Esau went hoom his way
Unto syer pe he coom fro
And iacob to his fadir to go
ffor 3itt po he was luyonde
Rebecca his modir dede he fonde
His ysaac pat I of rede
In bookes is calde pe lastyng sede
He ladde his lyf wipouten blame 3685
And buried is bisyde abrahame
Nyne skore year ouergoone he hadde
Whenne he of his world was ladde 4030
Whenne his dougyty man was ded
These breperen two toke hem to red 3690
To dele her londes hem bitwene
Penne myzte pei lyue out of tene
To esau fel Ebron
And to Iacob penne Edon
Pe story of iacob bigynnej here 3695
And also of his sones dere
Iacob was wondir riche of fe
Of alle goodis he had plente
he was ful riche as we rede
Trewe and loued of vche lede 3700 4040
Wel he loued his sones vchone
But so wel as Ioseph noon
he was fair wipouten sake
Of briperen hadde he noon his make

3695-6 A heading.
3697 The I of Iacob is a large, decorated capital.
his bretheren alle were herdes I saye 3705
But he dwelt at home alwaye
his was trew Ioseph pat drede
his loue word wyde spredde
pat wise chaste pat gentile
pat aftir sufferde greet perile 3710 4050
Of po periles pat he was ynne
Sumwhat to telle I shal bigynne
How he coom out of his woo
Into his wele here also
Ioseph saya nyte in sweuene 3714
pat is worji for to neuene
him pouste his fadir her corn shere
here his elleuen bretheren were
hym self was on pe felde bisyde
To geder corn in heruest tyde 3720 4060
His brether sheeues he say loutynge fol.24r col.2
To his al one pat was stondynge
Another he mette per aftir soone
him pouste bope sunne & moone
And of [pe] grettest pat were on heuen 3725
Honoured him sterres elleuen
Alle louted hym on her manere
Riȝt as he her lorde were
He hem tolde & fei seide how
May his bityde what wenes pow
ffor to be lord ouer vs alle
pat blisse shal neuer bifalle
ffro his tyme for neuer pe les
Bip Ioseph were neuer at pes
pei hadde enuye to hym strong
pei souyte to greue him ay wip wrong
Wolde pei neuer vpon him se
ffro pat day but wip enemyte
At hoome was moost Ioseph pat childe
His breperen in wildernesse wilde
Wip her fee pe lowes bitwene
As pei were pen wont to bene
Bi his story may men se
Men lyued moost po bi fe
Pese breperen pat I soak of ere
Among pe feldes dwellynge were
pat noon coupe of hem typing telle
Til on a day hit bifelle
Her fadir of hem wite walde
Ioseph his sone to him he calde
Sone he seide pou must algate
Go wite of pi breper astate
Longe is sip I of hem herde

For Bip read Wip.
Or of her fee how pei ferde
ffadir he seide I wol ful fayn
bi biddyng not to stonde again
He went forp & wiste not where
Sopely pat his breperen were
But ar he to his breperen coom
Whil he went he mette a mon
What sekest pou here sone seide he
My breper sir my fadir fe
pen vnswered pat mon to him
pou shalt hem fynde in dothaym
He went forp and forper past
Til he hem fonde at pe last
he went forp & ferper souzt
Til he hem fond lafte he nouzt
Whenne pei seze Ioseph come her brother
Vchone of hem seide to opher
Lo where pe dremere is comen
Bi mydry god he shal be nomen
Lete vs do hym to pe dede
Loke what his drem wol stonde in stede
ffayn pei were dere hym to fynde
ffor to haue her wille blynde
If pei before him ouzte forbare
Now wol pei hym not spare
Oon eldest of pe elleuen was  
pat ruben hette in pat plas  
Whenne he herde pei wolde him slo  
Perfore was him wondir woo  
Stynte hit wolde he if he my3t  
pe foly pat his briperen tizt  
Alle he say hem in o wille  
Her broper giltles to spille  
Breper he seide dop not so  
I rede ze not zoure broper slo  
pat is zoure owne flesshe & blode  
So murper him hit is not gode  
If ze do for sope my wille  
Shul ze neuer haue per tille  
If ze hit do I zow teche  
Sikur may ze be of wreche  
And zoure shame shal be coup  
Alle men to haue zou in moup  
Pat baret rede I not ze brewe  
Pat ze for euer aftir rewe  
He hab no ping done why  
Ze haue not to hym but envy  
Wite his fadir he be sloone  
his lyf dayes telle I goone  

3790 Read To for So.
ffor mon lyuyng þei seide ne wyf
Shal he skape wip his lyf
Whenne ruben seye þer was noon opere
But algate þei wolde ale her broþere
ffor goddes loue do wey he seide
þat noon honde be on him leide
þat no blood of hym be shede
But if he algate shul be dede
Do hit þenne wip siche a wyle
þat ȝe notþoure hondes fyle
In þis waast I woot a pitt
Drye and watirles is hit
þer ouer stondeþ a mychel tre
Caste him þerynne & lete him be
Til þat he of lyue be brouȝt
þen may we saye we sos þe him nouȝt
his curtel wol we ryue & rende
And blody to his fadir hit sende
And telle him þat we hit fonde
In þe wildernesse lyonde
Say we þat he rent es
Wip wilde beestis in wildernes
þenne wole no man saye vs by
þat we han slayn hym felonly
Do seide Ruben as [I] ȝow say
He pouzto to stele him quyke away
Anoon hei grauntide pat bihete
Hei hent Ioseph bi honde & fete
Made him naked & kest him doun
And lafte hym fere in prisoun
Sippe sett hem doun and ete
Hei say bo comynge bi he strete
Marchaundis of on vnkoup londe
Of egipte as we in bookis fonde
Wij camaines pat grete burpens b(are)
Of spicis and of obere ware
Among pese brephere oon per was
Whoos name was calde Judas
What boote he seide were hit to vs
To fordo oure broper jus
Take we him out of pat den
And sille we him to pese chapmen
Pat hei may lede hym to fer londe
To be her tral ever lyuonde
If hit so be he dye fere
hit is to vs but litil care
And if he be fere lyuynge
his fadir of him haj no tipinge
fere was Ioseph to seruage solde
ffor twenti besauntis taken of golde
Now is Ioseph lad out of londe
God holde ouer hym his holy honde
Ruben of hem moost was wys 3855
He wiste not of his marchauydys
On be morn he coom & souzte
Be pyt but Ioseph fonde he nouzte 4200
He mourned more ben I con telle
Almost in swoun doun he felle 3860
To his briperen went he soone
And ebi him tolde as ebi had done
What bote is hit to make mone
ffor big pat couerenge is of none
His fadir ebi sent witterly 3865
Ioseph curtil al blody
Whenne his fadir be curtil knew
Soone bigan he to chaunge hew 4210
A beest he seide my sone hap rent
Allas pat euer I hym out sent 3870
Into pat wylde weye to wende
Pat al my loue on hym gan lende
Alas wittles was I pat day
Beestis of hym han made her pray

3858 pyt was originally written put, but the u has been corrected to a y.

3864 The words is of have probably been reversed. Cf. MSS F and T, which read of is.
A pis beest was ful kene
Pat hat me refte my derlyng dere
My ioye my gladnes & my chere
Ioseph you wast my ioye allon
Now art you deed & I haue noon
Ioseph Pat was fre and fair
Of al myn aunt shulde ha ben myn heir
ffor pi goodnesse & pi fair hew
My kare shal be euere new
I wolde sinke to helle depe
Wip my sone pere to wepe
But al his mournyng for to rede
Out to speke hit mynte not sped
His opere sones coom vchone sere
ffor to amende her fadir chere
But for nougte pere coomen alle
To counfort wolde he noon falle
No ping may his mournyng mende
Neuer to his lyues ende
Leue we nowe of iacobus care
To telle of Ioseph & of his fare
Pese chapmen Pat Ioseph bouȝt
In to egipte han him brouȝt
Pere he was eftsones sold
To a douhty man and bold
To putifar stiward wip pe kyng
Was he sold pat childe 3yng
He helde Ioseph in menskful lore
houte her layes on not wore
ffor hei were of sarasene lede
And Ioseph helde his owne in dede
Sir putifar wel vndirstooed
pat Ioseph was of gentil blood
In alle pe dedis pat he wrouzt
God was euer in his houte
pe keping of al his auzt
Hap putifar Ioseph bitauzt
Ioseph penne was loued & dred
Wip wisdoom he his werkes led
ffor he was curteys and hende
Of alle folk fonde he frende
Putifar went in to cunte
Ioseph dwelt wip his meyne
And hap his goodis vndir honde
Vndir him self al weldonde
Ioseph was wondir fair in face
And filde al wip goddis grace
His lady hir y3e on hym cast
fforward of fool is e3 to fast
ffoly hit was & she so fond
hir loue to sett but hit wolde stond
She kni hit euer & on hym sou\nAnd Ioseph lett he wiste hit nou\nHe wiste & helde hit stille as wyse
And euer she preysed his seruyse
So longe she hap in hert hit hidde
At pe last hit most be kidde
ffor who so euer be glad or blipe
At pe ende wol pryue loue out wrype
Ofte she mened to him hir mone
But euer she fonde him in one
Whenne she pat say hir hert was soor
And longynge had she moor & moor
In hir foly she was so fest
Pat ny\ nor day had she rest
What is more hert brest
Pat want of ping men loue best
Into siche prisoun to be put
Pat reuep man my\ te & wit
In prisoun I calle hym bistad
Of whom pe hert is neuer glad
Whenne hert hap pe wille I wis
Pe body may haue no more blis
Ne no more woo\n
Wipouten wille is likyng noone 3950
Je strengpe of loue noon may stere 4292
Jouze his herte al steel were 4295
hert of steel & body of bras
Stronger þen euer sampson was
Fat loue ne may meke wip myȝte 3955
סולmeye alone wip oon yȝe siȝt
fful harde hit is wip him to dele
Mannes flesshe he makep ful frele
Whenne his loke alone may brynge
Into his þraldome þe kynge 3960
And maugreþi his do him loute fol.25v col.2
ffor euer he ledep him wip doute
fforeþi if þou be siche a gome
Fat þou algate wblt loue ouercome
Whenne þou seest him loue to þe 3965
Stalworþely fro hym þou fle
ffle & turne þou not þyn yȝe 4310
Or ellis but þou be ful slyȝe
þourȝe þyn yȝe þou shalt be shent
As þyng wip wilde fyre for brent 3970
ffirste to brenne þi herte wiphynne
And sipen to st[r]angle þe in synne
ffle and folwe not I rede
ffor elles may þou come to dede 4318
Better is in tyme to be forborn

Jen folwe Je pray pat is forlorn

Who so dop shal rewe soore

And venge his harme wip foly moore

So dide his wyf pat I of rede

She folwede Ioseph where he zede

And for she folwynge fond a spor

She waited hym euel torn

hir self hadde je grame & gilt

Almost also she had him spilt

how she bigan hym to fonde

ffor to telle I wol not wonde

She souzte on him mony a day

And euer he vanswered hir wip nay

Ioseph pat was hir purueoure

On a day wip mychel honoure

In chaumber gret hir hendelye

And seide madame to mete ze hy(e)

Jus she seide [but] er pou go

Speke wip me a word or two

Longe he seide may I not dwelle

penne bigon she jus to telle

Ioseph lemmom for fi sake

To je now my mone I make

3993 The addition of but is necessary for metrical reasons, and is borne out by MSS C, G, and T.
Bitwene þi self alone & me
Now wole I shewe my pryuet 
þat loue me hap brouȝte to grounde
þat I may neuermore be sounde
But if my bote ryse on þe
þat þou wolt my lemmun be
Worldes welpe to welde in wone
Inowʒe þou shalt haue allone
To my lord shal þou be dere
Oþer noon shal be þi vere
She toke him aboute þe necke wiþ þis
And proferede hir mouþ to kis
And adrowe him towarde hir bed
But Ioseph þat mychel god dreȝ
Do wey he seide þi foly wille
Wolt þou þi self & me als spille
Putifar me hap bitauȝte
Lond and lithe & al his auȝte
And for he tristep my lewete
To kepþe his godis he toke hem me
Al is me take & not forgone
But þou art his wyf allone
Of þe haue I no maner myȝt
If I hadde hit were no riȝt
He þat þaf me suche pouste
To bitraye god forbede me
Wif no resoun we ne owe
To oure lord suche tresoun showe
Leuer me is be pore & trewe
Jen falsely wynne catel newe
Perfore lady wip myȝt & mayn
Draue þi foly wille azayn
ffor who so bigynne wol suche þing
Hyȝ owe to þenke on þe endynge
She seide alas Ioseph þis day
Hast þou answered me wip nay
If I lyue þou shalt me proue
An euel frend to þi bihoue
I shal þe make wip my housbonde
þe moost hated in al þis londe
She drouȝe his mantel bi þe pane
Whenne Ioseph say no better wane
He drouȝe she helde þe tassel brak
þe mantel lafte & he zaf bak
Jenne fel she in to felony
and soone souȝte a trichery
She made a cry alle to here
Fat þat tyme in þe pales were
Lady þei seide what is þow
She seide herde þe not how
That traytour iewe wolde me shende 4050
at my lord halt his frende
He wolde haue forsed me in hye
Nadde I pe suuner made a crye 4400
Whenne I cryed soone he fledde
And lafte wiþ me a tokene wedde
His mantel is bilefte wiþ me 4055
Here pe soþe may vche man se
Here may men se pe vilany
bat he souȝte on his lady
Sir she seide to putifar lo
Was neuer lady serued so 4060
jis shame he hap me done in dede
jis gedelyng of vncouþe sede 4410
jis Ioseph souȝte on me in bour
To do me jis dishonour
Such hit was jis vilany 4065
bat he gon seche on my body
Perfore as þou art man for þe
Loke þou on him wroken be
Putifar commaundide soone
Ioseph for to take & done 4070
In kingis prisoun for to lye
Wiþouten raunsoun for to bye 4420

4052 For suuner read souner.
Alias Ioseph pe war & wyse
Euel is quytte thi trewe seruyse
ffor thi goodnes & thi trewe deede
fful euel is golden thi mede
Suche is tresoun of wommon
Stronger in world is founden noon
God amende hem that suche ben
And 3yue men grace hem to flen
Now is Ioseph in prisoun stronge
And lowe lip with myche wronge
And aftir lyked him ful wele
ffor al was turned him to sele
Soone was Ioseph holden dere
Wip the mayster iaylere
Yourse the myyte of goddes grace
Ouer alle the prisoun that fer wasse
Alle that in prisoun were in bonde
Ioseph had hem vndir honde
He ferde wip so mychel prifte
Pat al was done as he wolde shifte
Bus con god helpe mon in nede
Po pat wol hym loue and drede
Whil Ioseph bus ferde there
Tweye men of pe kyngis were
To prisoun sende for her mys deede
What hit was I con not rede
þe spensere and þe botilere bope
þe kyng wþþ hem was ful wroþþe
But þe mayster iaylere
Toke hem Ioseph vnto fere
Whenne Ioseph say hem swipe
Hem to counfort he was bliþþe
But as þei lay in þat prisoun
A nyȝte þei mette a visioun
Of a sweuene þei hadde sene
Eiþer gan to óþere mene
Ioseph say her droupynge chere
And asked why þei mournyng were
þe botillere for bope vnswerde
Sir he seide we are aferde
ffor two sweuenes we say in siȝt
In oure slepe þis ilke nyȝte
What were þo for þi lewete
Þyn owne sweuene firste telle me
Me þouȝte I say a wyn tre
And a bouȝe wþþ braunches þre
On þis tre on vche bowȝe
Heng grapes þicke ynowȝe
Of þo grapis þat þer hong
In a coupe me þouȝte I wrong
Je kyng was at his mete faste
And in his hond je coupe I prayste
Ioseph seide wip myȝte of heuene
I shal arede wel pi sweuene
Or hit be pis pridde day
Of prisoun shal you be take away
And ben aquyt before iustise
And out aȝeyn in pi seruyse
Whenne you in wele art wip je kyng
ffor goddis loue on me haue menyng
Hat I may by helpe of je
Of pis prisoun delyuered be
ffirste solde was I fro my ſede
And now prisouned sackeles of ſede
Je spensere seide me ſouȝte I bere
A leep as I was wonte do ere
Wip breed I bar hit on my hede
Me ſouȝte rauenes hit me reuede
A myche rauen my basket hent
Aboute my hede hit al to rent
Ioseph seip hit bep not longe
Or hat you on galwes honge
Hit shal wipynne þre dayes be
Shal no raunsoun go for þe
Riȝte as Ioseph seide biforn
he was honged pe tridde morn
pe botillere scaped pe same day
And Ioseph stille in prisoun lay
Wip myche kare and also wo
Longe he was for3eten so
Wildenes of welpe of pis botillere
ffor3at Ioseph his dreme redere
ffor man pat walewe al in zeles
And for pat ioye noon angur feles
pouze he haue frend pat is in wo
Oft he is for3eten soo
3ore was seid & zitt so be3
Herte for3ete3 pat yze not see3
But I dar saye god woot euer
Who so trewely doo3 for3ete3 he neuer
Ioseph lay in pat longyng
Til pat pharao pe kyng
Say in sleep a sweuene on ny3t
he comaundide to him brynge ri3t
Clerk kny3t erle & baroun
To telle to hym his visioun
To wite if any man were
Coude telle what ende hit bere
But per was noon of hem alle
Coude say what shulde bifalle
Penne bigan pe botillere speke
Of Ioseph in prisoun steke
To pe kynge he seide pan
Sir he seide I knowe a man
Pat if he were brouzte in place
I vndirstonde he hap pat grace
Of pe dreem wipouten abyde
He shal pe telle pat wol bityde
Sir whenne ze were wip me wroope
& wip pe maystir spensere bope
In prisoun were we done in bonde
Per ynne a iewes childe we fonde
By ber of vs a dreem we sawe
And he bad vs to hym hem shawe
And we bigan al to telle
he tolde vs al pat aftir felle
Go to pe prisoun seide pe kynge
And do hym swipe to me brynge
Pat cloping on him newe be done
And pat he come bifo me soone
Pe botillere to pe prisoun went
Seone per of ioseph he hent
And dine on him newe cloping
And brouzte him sipen bifo pe kynge
On Ioseph hit was wel sene
Pat he had longe in prisoun bene
Lene he was & won in face
As he pat longe was fro solace
Be baronage wondir houȝt
Pat he to kyngis counsell was brouȝt
Be kyng called ioseph nerre
And seide I haue souȝt nere & ferre
To fynde a mon my dreme to rede
But hider to myȝt I not speede
Coudes hou telle me what hit wore
My grace I graunte be euermoore
Sir he seide shewe hit hōn
And I shal rede hit as I con
I am redy þi wille to do
If god wole ȝyue me grace þerto
Me houȝte þat þis ȝondir nyȝt
I coom in a medewe briȝt
fflouris & grexes þer wynne I fond
And ky fourtene þerwynne goond
Of þe seuen me houȝte ferly
þei were faire and fatte ky
þe ðþere seuene I þeode to se
And als myche wondir houȝte me
Her hyde was clongen to þe boon
S[0] lene say I neuer noon
hongry & lene bope were pei
pe droof pe opere seuene away
In pat medewe so longe pei ware
pei hadde eten to pe erpe bare
jenne me pou3te I folwede a sty
Into a felde and sawe me by
ffourtene eres stonde of whete
Summe of hem were wondir grete
fful of corn were pei set po
But pe toper were not so
pei were clongen dry3e & tome
Of pis Ioseph saye me pi dome
3yue me her of good counsaile
And I shal pe neuer faile
Good offis shal you haue in plas
And be forjuuen al pi trespas
jenne seide Ioseph leue sir kyng
God hap pe shewed fair warnyng
perfore owe you bi r3t
To honoure him wi al pi my3t
Sip he bbefore hap warned pe
Of pi woo saued to be
ffor pourse piis ensaumple here
Wite per shal be seuen 3ere
Of plente in pi kyngriche
pat is þese seuen fatt beestis liche
þes ðere seuen woful neet
Bitokeneþ seene þeer hongur greet 4250
þat ðere þeeres shal be folwonde
þat neuer were siche before in londe 4600
Suche defaute shal ben of breed
þe folk shal be for hongur deed
Sir kyng þis is þi aysysioun 4255
Loke þi self bi al resoun
Þfor boþe þi dremes ben as oon
Þerfore I rede þou anooun
Gete þe a good pursour
þat in þis nede may þe socour 4260
In vche lond men for to sett
To geder vche fifte mett 4610
Of þat tyme þat is plente
Certis he seide so shal hit be
Ioseph þou art mychel of pryss 4265
And þerto boþe war and wys
Noon I se is founde þe liche
Here in al my kyng riche
Stiwarde þou shalt be & hyþe iustise
Þfor wel I triste in þi seruyse 4270
Nay sir he seide take not to spit
Þfor firste wol I make me quyt 4620
Of gilt of putifares wyf
Do wey he seide þer of no stryf
Sakles sire haue I dere bouȝt
I woot þou tellest hit me for nouȝt
þis sakles shame sene hit is
God is wip þi werkis I wis
Whenne þe baronage of egip
Say him haue siche worship
Wondir þei hadde how þat he
To þe kyng was made priue
ffor he was a man vnseeene
And hadde in greet myslikyng bene
We wende he had be deed þing
Nay god forbede seide þe kyng
He was prisound wip false rede
So haþ he lyued in mychel drede
þat is wel wene in his visage
Men hæþ him done greet outrage
Of my dremes now haþ he
tolde me what of hem wol be
ffor I woot nowere his make
I wol þat he here vn'dirstake
Al þe worshippe of my londe
þat I wol þe vn'dirstonde

4289 For wene read sene.
And al be wrouȝte bi his cougsaile
ffor al my londe hit shal availe
pe seuen craftis wel he kan
he is a wondir wyse man
Al his baronage him biforn
To Ioseph han an oop swore
To him as her keper to tent
And to done his commaundement
Of his owne hond toke pe kyng
And dude on iosephs his ryng
Cloþing on him he lette falle
Suche as him self was clad wiþ a(lei)
To ride and go wipoute lettyng
And knele bifore him as kyng
Penne seide pe kyng Ioseph lo
Pou woost pat I am pharao
Shal noon so bolde be in my londe
Wipouten pe stire foot or honde
His name pei chaungide for pat hondur
And called him pe worldis saueour
Pe kyng him made a wyf to take
Hiȝt assener a douȝti make
Ioseph pouȝte on his mistere
Made geder him seruaunt & squyere
To gete him wriȝtes in a stounde
Where euer þei myȝte be founde
Bernes he made in þat ȝere
A þousande sett in stides sere
And aftir he commaundide him selue
Depe seleres for to delue
And bi grace wiþ his witty dede
ffilled hem of wyenes whyte & rede
Whenne þe folk þus sawe hem dele
Wiþ wyn & corn flesshe & mele
And filde þo bernes here & þore
þe londis of egipt lesse & more
þus ferde he þo seuene þeeris
þat mo þen a þousande seleres
ffilde he wiþ wynes newe & fresshe
And larderes wiþ salt flesshe
Graungis gerneris filde he wiþ seed
Moo þan I con wiþ tunge reed
In euery stide laft a wardeyn
þenne went he to þe kyng aȝeyn
ffor to reste him wiþ þe kyng
Aftir his greet traualilyng
Whenne þo seuen þeer were oute
Plowemen ouerall þe londe aboute
As þei were wont her seed dide sawe
But al wel þe bigon wiþdrawe
The erfe clang for hete & drye
And so the wo bigon vp hye
ffor pat drouzt pat was so strong
Corn ne gras on erfe noon sprong
The beestis dyzed vp al bydene
ffor pat hongur was so kene
pat bi the firste yeer was goon
Vnneepe was the beest laft oon
The wrecched pore fonde no fode
Thei were so fele begynge thei 3ode
To gider thei flocked in pat long
By hundrides & bi housond
Thei souzte hem rootis as done swyn
Sorwe hit was to se pat pyn
The childre & the men of olde
ffor hongur lay dede in the felde
Bifore the kynge thei coom wip cry
And seide lord theo haue mercy
Of thei folke for hongur is deed
Was neuer moore nede of breed
Theouze men ouer al sowe feldis
Of corn nouzt hit vp feldis
The qualme haþ beestis ouer goon
But if sum bote be the on
The folke shul dyze alle bidene
Wip qualme his honour is so kene
Je kyng say his & wepte soore
How mennes bodyes bolned wore
Wite we wel in pat tyde
Hadde he in his herte no pryde
Lordyngis he seide wel wite je
Ioseph my stiwarde seide me
Je for derworpely is he per tille
He is al lord pat is skille
But goo & fallep him to fote
And pray hym to do 3ow boote
Pat he 3yue 3ow of his corn
Or je for hongur be for lorn
To Ioseph went jei cryinge jon
Rewe on vs jou blisful mon
And lene vs sumwhat of jei seed
Was neuer eer so myche need
Sumwhat lene vs bi jei skep
I shal 3ow lene seide Ioseph
Ioseph was ful of pite
Lete presshe soone in pat cuntre
Whenne jei seed was al boun
He solde vchone his portioun
So pat jei my3te skilfully
Jei & her meyne lyue jery
In bokis fynde we of a wyle
pat Ioseph dide pat was sotile
pe chaf of corn he cast oþer whyle
Into a watir men calle nyle
ffor pat watir pat ran þare
To iacobus hous hit hadde þe fare
Þis hongur þat I here of telle
In londis al aboute hit felle
Men mist hit nowhere in no lond
Seuen þeer hit was lastonde
þenne Iacob & his sones wore
Wip hongur in poynþ to forfare
Sorweful þei were no selcouþ
Nouȝte hadde þei [to] putte in her mouþ
Siluer þei hadde & golde rede
But þei myȝte fynde to bye no brede
ffor hongur soore þis childre dide grete
Iacob wiste not how hit to bete
Ofte he helde vp his hende
To god him for to helpe sende
And þat he myȝte menskely dyȝe
Ar he þat longur longe shulde dryȝe
But our Lord God of myȝt
Hereþ monnes prayer in riȝt
ffor þouȝe he preue his frend wip pyne

For longur read hongur.
Perfore wol he not him tyne
Whenne Iacob was moost in fray
God him counfortide pat al do may
Soone aftir in a litel whyle
Iacob 3eode bi ȝe watir of nyle
He say vp on ȝe watir gleem
Chaf coom fletynge wiþ ȝe streem
Of ȝat siȝte wex he ful bliþe
And to his sones tolde hit swyþe
Childer he seide þe liste & lete
I saw chaf on ȝe watir flete
Whýen hit comþ I con not rede
But dowen hit fletep ful good spede
If hit be come fro fer lond
Loke whiche of ȝow wol take on honde
ffor vs alle to trauaille
her of is good we take counsail
Aȝeyn ȝe fleem to fynde ȝe chaue
Corne þer shul we fynde to haue
Ruben seide to his resoun
Lo I am al redy boun
Oure aþer nedis to take in place
ȝyue me tresour & let me pace
His broþer seide go we alle
In goddes name & so we shalle
Tresour ynowe wif 3ow ye take
And I 3ow pray for goddes sake 4800
Whenne ye founden han pat ping
Pat ye make not long dwellyng 4450
But gof wisely in vncoype lond
God holde ouer 3ow his holy hond

ejese brepor went fro canaan
ffor her was iacob wonynge yan
Her zongist brepor pei left at name 4455
Beniamyn was his name

pei hyed hem vp on her weye
Soone to egipete comon peye 4810
Whenne pe saye of corn plente
Gladder men my3te noone be 4460
Breed to selle pei fonde & bou3t
And to Ioseph soone pei sou3t
Men hem tau3te which was he
Doun pei kneled on her kne
Coube pei of hym no knowlesche take) 4465
And vncoype ly to hem he spake
Childer he seide whefen are zee
Sir pei seide of a cuntre 4820
Per ynne is mony a nedy man 4822
Pe lond men calle) canaan 4470 4821

4456 There is a horizontal stroke over the ni in Beniamyn, an unnecessary abbreviation sign.
Penne seide Ioseph ful uncoupled
ye
What are ye comen pis lond to spy
Nay he seide lord vs forbede
But we are comen for greet nede
ffor bittur hongur pat is bifalle
Oon mannes childer are we alle
bere is hongur in oure kyngryche
Was ber neuer noon hit lyche
Je folk dy3e vp al bydene
Suche hongur was neuer er sene
ffore haue we hider sou3t
A party of money wip vs brou3t
Redy pens haue we to telle
If we may fynde corn to selle
ffore we prey he lord hede
pat jou vs helpe in pis nede
Of bi michel plente here
To selle vs be hit neuer so dere
Haue 3e lorde no mystrowyng
Pat we shulde come for opere king
I shal zow selle but telle3 me
What maner man joure fadir is he
Sir iacob is oure fadir nome
An olde man we lefte at home
Elleuen bre3er are we lyuonde
Oon at home & ten in his londe
What he seide is he be leest
Sir beniamyn het be zongest
Whenne he bihelde hem on rowe
Wel vchone he couthe hem knowe
His fadir care bouste he on pore
And perfore he syked ful sore
ffor siluer he took & zaf hem corn
And to her In dude hit be born
He lete wayte at a pryue tyde
And dide his siluer coupe to hyde
In a sekke bysyde her corn
And bad hem byde to mete hat morn
Whenne hei had eten & were boun
ffor to wende hoom out of toun
Ioseph bigan to sermoun go
And bus shewed hem his resoun po
Gode men he seide ze shul fare
But of oure kyng I warne zow zare
I am not kyng ouer his londe
Vche man shal vndirstonde
Oure kyng hett pharao
And al his wille con make be do
Ouer al I drad and also ryche
Nas neuer eer mon him lyche
Of him I telle yow witturly

Of heof wole he haue no mercy
Who so is taken with stole henge
he wole hym do soone to hynge
I say not his but hat ye
Seme trewe men to be

God graunte yow wel to founde
And brynge yow hool hoome & sounde
youre fadir to se hool & fere

God yow graunte lorde dere
God yow forzelde seide say
To alle youre gode & haue good day
Whenne yei alle were forp goon
Joseph seruauntis called a noon
Childre he seide we serue pe kynge
We misse sumwhat of his kynge
If he wite he wol be wroop

God hit forbede pat were vs loop
3ondir be yees we trowe wende
And he at heof hem hider sende
ffolwe hem & ransake her ware
Or yei forher fro vs fare
If in her seckis be ouzt founde
Loke yei alle be take & bounde

pe sergeauntis yenne breme as boore
Ran & ouer took hem more
Peeses pei seide 3e shul abyde
Wende 3e pe kyngis tresour to hyde
He bat 3ow ha\_ done socour
Stolen 3e haue of his tresour
In euel tyme dide 3e his dide
ffor siche 3er of wol be 3oure mede
Certis pei seide leue lordyngis
Haue we not stolen pe kyngis pingis
We are trewe men and lele
Were we neuer wont to stele
We haue wip vs trussed nou\_t
But ping bat we trewely bou\_t
And so is our trewe geten ping
ffor goddes loue do vs no lettyng
Vpon her sackes leide pei hond
Pe coupe pei sou\_t & soone fond
Traitours pei seide now is sene
Whe\_ per 3e be foule or clene
Anoon were pei bounden harde
And brou\_t before pe stiwarde
And prisounde to pe fridde morn
Pat moo folke my\_t pei come Biforn
Pat while Ioseph sent pey

4551 Read dede for dide.
To kepe her harneys of his men 4570
pe friddes morn commaundide he 4575
A gederynge of pe londe to be
fforr were brouȝte bo breijen ten
Were pe neuer soryere men
pei fac doum at Ioseph fette
And mercy souȝte wip reuful grete
pei folke asked what pei shulde be
peoþes quod Ioseph of a cuntre
pat is hennes fer as pei me tolde
So is sene on her dedes bolde 4580
Whil I solde hem of my sede
My coupe pei stale away to lede
Sergeauntis I sent soone on honde
And in her gere my coupe pei fonde
I servued hem & warned nouȝt 4585
Of al pat pei me bisouȝt
Mete & drynke I zaf hem bo þe
And bad hem kepe hem ay fro lo þe
Sipen I preyed god al weldonde
lede hem sauely to her lond 4590
Here vpon pei stale my þing
If þe þyue dome men shal hem hyng
ponne spak ruben þe eldest broþer
Stille menyng to pat oþer

4575 For fette read fete.
Now is comen oure aller sake
In to woo synne and wrake
I seide 3ow so his oþer þere
3e wolde not my resoun here
As of Ioseph oure brother lele
Wip wrong 3e solde him for catele
3e solde hym out of myn assent
þat fynde we nowe here present
Done 3e haue þis synne in 3ow
3oure repentaunce late comeþ now
ffurþer may we not stere 4605
Her wille must we suffere here 4960
Helpe lord þat al hap wrouȝt
In oþer helpe me triste I nouȝt
He mened him þus wip mournyng che(þe)
And wende Ioseph myȝt hit not here 4610
Allas þei seide þat euer we ware
Born if we shul þus forfare
Ioseph roȝs vp fro his stede
To galewe þei wende he wolde hem leð(e)
Ioseph herde her mournyng soore 4615
And left hem as nouȝt ne wore 4970
His wille was but to make hem gast
And after rewe on hem at þe last
Whenne he say her mournyng moone
To be court he spak anoone
Listene alle bat hider bep come
Ar ze 3yuë here any dome
A word he seide soo may falle
Al bouze pei be peues alle
Whenne pei were breper alle at hom(e) 4625
pei menged me pe zongist nome 4980
I wol do to hem bat grace
bat pei pe zongist brynge in place
bat pei lafte at her faderes In Whiche is called beniamyn 4630
Pe whyle wole I haue oon of te(p)
bat pei 3yue to name ruben
To dwelle in hostage here wi(u) (me)
Til bat pe zongest comen be
his terme is fourty dayes sett 4635
bat pei bis commaundement not left) 4990
But pei me penne my couenaunt brink)
Elles her hostage shal I hynge
And if pei couenaunt holde I wis
I shal for3yue hem al his mys 4640 4994

Two leaves containing lines 4995-5318 are missing from the manuscript here. These would have formed the last leaf of the fourth gathering and the first leaf in the fifth.
Of his come pe kyng was fayn
And of his sete roos him a3ayn
Kust & sette him on benche him by
And honoure him ful derworply
pe kyng lete write lettres 3are
To geder alle wip hasty fare
pe beste in pat londe vnliche
And dide to make a feeste riche
Whenne Iacob say alle plentes were
And alle aboute to make him chere 4650
He preyed jo pat pere were lent
To here a litel of his entent 5330
pe kyng to alle bad pees jan
bus iacob his tale bigan
Pees haue phareo pe kyng 4655
God 3yue hym his brode blessing
God e men I am as je may se
An olde man jouye je knowe not me
Nor I 3ow to vndistonde
ffor I am here in vncoyle londe 4660
Out of ebron born am I
peere lip oure elderes & so shal I 5340
peere lip adam pe formast man
And Eue of whom we alle bigan
pe folke pat of hem firste was bred 4665
ffor þei no þing god ne dred
On hem he took vengeaunce sore
But eiȝte on lyue he lefte no more
Oon was noe rijtwis of wham
Bicoom oure feipful Abraham
Pat dredde god & loued hym so
Pat for his loue his sone wolde alo
Pat was ysaac his childe dere
Whoos sone I am þat ȝe se here
I am sixe score & ten þeer olde
My fadir het ysaac as I tolde
Whenne he was to his endinge boun
I hadde of him my bɾoþer benesoun
My bɾoþer esau me bysouȝt
To disherite me if he mouȝte
He flemed me out of my londe
þourȝe god I haue hit ȝitt in honde
þese twelue are my sones vchone
þritty þeer hit is ful gone
þat I hadde lost my sone so dere
Ioseph þat I haue founden here
Of his fyndynge þonke I god so
He saue him fro þe fend his fo
He ȝaf hem alle his blessyng
And to Iacob seide þe kyng
A wyse man is *p*i sone Ioseph
In al egipte is noon so zep
His witt hap saued me & myne
ffro mychel mede & myche pyne
ffirste was he here as our pral
Now vndir me mayster of al
I *j*yue him wonynge stide to lende
ffor euermore wipouten ende
To him & his breper elleuene
To chese where pei wol hit neuene
Iacob whenne he leue had laught
Wip his sones & her auzt
Went to a stide hem to plese
Of pasture greet & hett ranese
In *p*at stide her lyf pei ledde
Ioseph hem zaf wher of to be fedde
ffaut of breed *p*at ilke tyde
Was ouer al *p*e world so wyde
But in no londe so myche wan
As in egipte & canaan
So longe hadde pei bouzte her sede
*pat* her siluer weze al gnedi
Whenne pei hadde no ping zare
*pat* pei myzte to her lyflode spare
*pe* folk of egipte coom by dene
Byfore Ioseph hem to mene
Lord  in seide to  we saye
Al oure miȝte hit is a waye
Now haue we noon wher wip we may
Leng  oure lyf fro day to day
No  ing is lefte vs but er  bare
And alle oure bodyes ful of kare
Londes & lipes wip body we bede
  at  ou vs take in  bondhede
In  praldome take oure londis  e shal
ffor seed  may we sowe wip al
  poi solde her londis al for nede
Ioseph bouȝte hem al for sede
In al egipte lefte he no lond
Unbouȝte into  kyngis hond
Outake  lond of  pat lede
  pat was bitauȝte prestis to fede
To kepem hem self for her holde
  kynghem fonde as hit is tolde
  us couȝe Ioseph as I seide  ow
Awayte his lord  kyngis prow
His lord he profitide erly & late
And halpe  nedeful in her state
Whil hem lastede  pat seesoun dere

4733 Read kepem for kepem.
Iacob here lyued seuentene there
In a cuntre pat hett Iessen
Of him were bred mony men
Whenne hit drouȝe to his laste day
To Ioseph þus gon he say
If I fonde euer grace in þe
Lay þi hond vndir my þe
And hete me trewely bi couenaunde
Pat I not grauen be in þis lande
But hete mi trewely þou þi selue
Shal me wip myne elderes delue
ffadir I bihete þe riȝt
Hit shal be done wip al my myȝt
þerto þere an ooȝ he sware
Now lyȝ Iacob in bed of care
He drawep fast to his endyng
And Ioseph dide to fore him bryng
Boþe Effraim & manasse
To blesse his childre þreyed he
Iacob in bed him leyde vp riȝt
ffor elde al dym wex his siȝt
He leide aboute hem eyþer arm
And kiste hem ofte vp on his barm
My swete sone Ioseph he seide
Of ye am I not vnpuruyde
Pfi fruyt I se biforn mn e3e
Now recche I neuer whenne I de3e
He leide his hond vp on her crown
And 3af hem dyuerse benesoun
Soone he seide to Ioseph now
Most I passe god take I 3ow
God pat was oure elders wip
Graunte 3ow goyng in to 3oure ki[p]
Pei ye be flemed here a whyle
He wol 3ow brynge fro pis exile
His sones he biforn hym calde
And many resouns to hem talde
Boye pat pei shulde ouerbyde
And in her laste dayes bityde
Whenne he endide of his sawe
His sones he blessed on a rawe
To vche he 3af dyuerse benysoun
And aftir leide his heed a doun
He went out of pis wrecched we[r3]
And to his formest fadris ferde
And brouzte is into grace of gri[p]
Lord vs grante to dwelle him wip
Ny3e seuen score 3eer of elde
Was pis Iacob at his dounhelde
But pre 3eer perof was wan
His sones him beer to canaan
And leyde him 3ere his elderes by
3ere he desired for to ly
By ysaac & by Abraham
In ebron bisyde olde Adam
His Iacob pat I of melle
Het bope iacob & Israelle
Je folk of israel of him sprong
Pat pharao kyng helde in wrong
In egipde helde he hem ful harde
As I shall telle soone afterwarde
Sipen he dy3ed Ioseph pe wyse
And endede in oure lordis seruyse
ffirste was he buryed in 3at cuntre
Sipen borne to his lond was he
Je osprynge 3at of Ioseph bredde
Was mychel in 3at londe spredde
What of him & of his breper sede
Were pritty pousande as we rede
Half sixe skore was Ioseph 3at day
Whenne he of world went away
Whil 3at Ioseph regnede 3ere
His breper in egipde 3ei were
Aftir 3ei lyued hadde mony a day
Dede & doluen pere were pay
Of moyses now wole we telle
If ye wole a stounde dwelle
Be whyle roos pere a newe kyng
Pat of Ioseph had no knowyng
He made penne a parlement
And seide gode men take ye tent
How ye folk of Israel
Is bred among vs so sol fel
But we kepe vs fro her kynne
Our leond wol yei fro vs wynne
Sir kyng pat is soo yei seyde
Ye haue youre leond al ouer leyde
Iosephs kyn ouer goo al
Pat to youre elderes first was pral
Wip youre penyes bouyte was he
Now wol his kyn disherite ye
Sir take ye counsel herfore
Was neuer nede of counsel more
Lete vs loke pryuelye
ffor vs bihouse to be slye
Holde we hem so in donte
Pat yei be euer youre vndirloute

4815-6 A heading.

4817 The ye in ye is a medium size, decorated capital.
If þei aȝeyn vs take þe fiȝt
And ouercome vs bi her myȝt
I dar saye wiȝputen fyñe

þat we shul so oure londis tyne
Holde we hem þefore in awe
In traiaile boþe to bere & drawe
In werkes þat we han to make
We shul fynde werke for her sake
Vp on her neckis shul þei bere
Bolles wiþ stoones & mortere

On hem þe kyng set mony stiwarde
To holde hem in werkis harde
Wip hardenes he helde hem Inne
Soone hadde þei made townes twyne
Rameses and fftyon hitste þei
þat goddis folk bar to hem cley
But euer as þei ðide hem wo
þe folke multiplied moo & moo
þe londis folk þat þei wiþ were
Greet enemyte to hem þei bere
Ofte wiþ her wordis smert
Greet tene þei sette to her hert
þe kyng wex wondir felle
Aȝeyn þe folk þat I of telle
þei hem wiþ helde as her foos
And wolde no fruyt of hem roos
Whenne wymmen were in childing stad
Bremely commaundide he & bad
Midewyues to be of pat same lond
And alle pe knaue childre pei fond
Wipouten grip pei shulde hem slo
And mayde childre let hem go
Pe midwyues for god were drad
And did not as pe kynge hem bad
But pei saued po childre lyues
Pe kynge let calle po mydwyues
Of whiche pat peer were twa
Phua pe ton hiȝt pat oher sephora
To pese two spak pe kynge
Why do pe not my biddynge
Wip po childre of ebrew lay
Sir for pis resoun gon pei say
Po wymmen pe shul vndirstonde
Are not like wymmen of pis londe
Vchone con stire fer and nere
Whenne pei come to pat mistere
ffor ar we come to hem wip myȝt
Pei are liȝter bi her owne sleȝt
And for po wymmen dide so wele
God hem sent hap and cele
Penne commaundide kyng pharao
pat alle pat folke wolde for do
Ouer al his kyndam euerywhere
Whenne wymmen any childe bere
pat of je kynde of ebrew ware
Men shulde hit in je flom for fare
Lord he was wicked & wode
A3eyn pat folke so mylde of mood
ffor nou3te he wende to sle pat sede
pat god him self wolde of brede
May no man for no chaunce
ffor do pat lordes puruyaunce
Of Israeles seed he pou3te
Be born pat his world wrou3te
And of his ferpe sone pat was
Geten of lay pat hett Iudas
pen wolde he drawe his monhede
Of hym coom kyngis of pat lede
And of his broper leuy bredde
pe prestis pat her lawes ledde
Prest and domesman seye I
Dope coom of his leuy
Whiche moyses was formaste
As I shal telle 3ow in haaste
How he coom firste in place
And saued was bi goddes grace
ffro pharao þe kyng feloun
þat bad þo children to droun
Siþen aftir shal be rad
How moyses goddes folk lad
How he þe comandementis toke
As hit is writen in holy boke
Whenne I se tyme þerto
þe kyngis kyn I shal vndo
Of whom sprong oure saeour
And brouȝte vs alle to socour
þe firste broþer þat het leuy
A mon was of his genealogy
ffro hym but þe oþere degre
þat of his wyf had childre þre
Moyses & aaron þese twa
And a douȝter het Maria
In þat tyme born was moyses
Whenne þat folk was in þat pres
Whenne he was born wipouten pride
His modir dide him for to hyde
When she two moneþis hade him hidd
And hit paste into þe þridde
þat she lenger hidde him nouȝt
A cofur of þerdes dide she be wrouȝt
Dide piche hit so wipoute & In
hat þe myȝte no wætir wynne
In þis chiste þe childde she dide
And sperde hit wip þe lidde
Not fer fro þe kyngis home
She leide hit on þe wætir fome
Among þe risshes in an yle
Soone þer aftir in a whyle
þe kingis douȝtir þere pleyinge þide
And say þat vessel in þat flode
She lete men fette hit to þe lon(d)
A squelyng childde þerynne she fon(d)
þat was wondir fayre to se
Of þat childde she hadde pite
ffor so þe she seide trowe þar noon
Of ebrew childre þat þis is oon
þe childis sistir stood þer by
Wolt þou I go she seide lady
To fecche a womman of þat lede
þe go she seide I shal hit fede
She went & fonde þat she soȝt
þe childis modir soone she brouȝt
þe lady toke hit hir to fede
And for hir seruyse hir hir mede
þe womman vndirtoke hit þo
And fedde hit til hit couple speke & go
Whenne hit was pryuyen of good elde
To be lady she dide hit gelde
ffor hir childe penne she him chees
And zaf hit to name moyses
Moyses was herfore his name
ffor he was of be watir tane
Alle pat him sawe in lede
Wondir hadde of his fairhede
Bi his coom moyses to elde
pat he myȝte hym seluen welde
penne went he out vp on a day
To se be breker of his lay
To knowe his brofer how bei ware
ffiled in pat lond wip care
He say a giptian ful sore
Smyt a iewe before him bore
pat braunche of kyn calde Iewes was
pat coom of Iacob sones Iudas
Moyses say per were no mo
But him seluen and bei two
To pat egiptian he drouȝe
Siche a dynt pat he him slouȝe
When he had slayn him wip his honde
He dalf him soone vndir sonde
An other day he went also
And fiftynge fonde he i ewes two
He seide to him that hadde he wyte
How dorst you his brother smyte
Jenne answered him that oon
Sij whenne was you our e domesmon
Wolt you me sle herfore
As you didest pe egyptian not more
Moyses for his vmbreyde
Was dredynge in his herte & seyde
Dourze whom is pis how may hit be
Who brouzte vp his worde on me
He kyng hit herde & bad also
Men shulde moyses seke to slo
Moyses say no bettur won
But fledde in to madyon
He sette hym pere a welle bisyde
Tipingis to here pere to abyde
He prest of his stide that I neuene
He hadde at home douzteres seuene
Pai coom to watir with her fe
Wher of her fadir hadde plente
As pai to watir drof her beast
Coom herdis & awey hem kest
Moyses say pai dide hem wrong
Soone he medeled hem among
Jo herdis fro pe welle droof he
And dide to drynke pe maydens fe
Jo wymmen went hoom a3eyn
And at hem gan her fadir freyn
How had ye so smartly done
Dat ye are comen home so soone
Sir pei seide bi a zong man
Dat semed to be egiptian
Sir pe sope to zow to say
He putte pe herdes alle away
And wip vs he oure watir drouge
And zaf oure beestis drynke ynouge
Where is dat man dop him calle
Sir pei seide gladly we shalle
Moyses pei fette faire & swete
And wip pe prest raguel he ete
Whenne pei were queynted so to tel
His moyses & sir raguel
He weddede of his douteris oon
Sephoram a hende wommon
Two childre dide she to him bere
Gersan and elyezere
His whyle was in Israele

5016 For hem read hom.
The folk lad in mychel vnwele
Her soor was sorwe onne to se
And for to here was greet pite
Hem þei helde harde as þral
On god þei gan to crye & cal
Æyn þo folke so wip hem ferde
So longe þei calde þat god hem herde
He herde her menyng & vnquert
And shope þerfore in litil sterte
On þat biheste he þouȝte þan
þat he made to olde Abraham
ffor þat forwarde he wip him fest
his þȝe of reuþe on hem he kest
Boþe he halpe hem of her wo
And deluyered hem of her fo
Moyses þat tyme took kepe
To his eldefadris sheepe
þat was þe prest of madian
Whos douȝtir he had him tan
His folke he fedde vp on a tyde
By a wylde wodes syde
And as he welke þere wip wille
Bi syde eȝeb a litil hille
He sawe a selcouþe siȝt to se
Him þouȝte brennynge a tre
As hit wip lowe al were bileyde & to hym seluen soone he seide

To pat tre I wol go nerre

pat brennyng semep as on ferre

Whenne he pis buske coom to sene

Wip blome & leof he fonde hit grene

pis was a forshewyng shene

Of modir bofe & mayden clene

pat sipen longe out of prees

Bar a chylde & she wemles

As pe tre semed to brynne

And penne was here no fyre penyne

As moyses on fer pouzte

pe tre brennyng & brent nouzt

penne calde on him oure lord of myzt

Out of pe mychel lemyng lizt

Twyes moyses he calde by name

What woltou lorde here I ame

I am byne eldres god seide he

ffor I hem ledde pat loued me

My folk of israel is woo

Pei haue ben ledde wronge also

But I wol now her mournynge men(de)

To pharao I wol pe sende

Pharao of egipte pe kynge
Out of his londe hem for to brynge
Lord he seide what am I perto
Suche a greet neede to do
Go forþ he seide wipouten drede
ffor I my self shal þe lede
þat þei not zeynsaye my sonde
Wip my tokenes þou shalt hem fond(e)
Whenne þou hast brouȝte hem fro þat laande
Do hem to make to me offrande
Vpon þe top of þis hille
He seide lord say me þi wille
What shal I saye is þi name
God vnswered wipouten blame
If þei my name wol at þe freyn
Vnswere hem þus aȝeyn
To þow me sende þe þat es
þis is my name more ne les
Os he þat is my name þou calle
My menyng shal neuer falle
Do moyses as I þe kenne
Go geder to gider þe eldest menne
Of alle my folk of Israel
And seye þat I haue herde hem wel
þei are in wandrynge & in wo
Wel I woot þat hit is so
Say I shal hem soone pay
Þerto shal not be longe delay
I shal hem brynge of þat þralhede
Into lufsom londe hem lede
A lond rennynge hony & mylke
In al þis world is noon swilke
Sipen shal þou wende also
To þharao þe kyng þou go
Bidde hym lete my folke away
þat he hap holden to þis day
Doynge to hem so greet trowage
þat þei may make to me no knowlache
Into wildernesse londe
I wol hem brynge out of his honde
Wel I woot he is ful þro
Looþ him is to lete hem go
He shal me drawe forþ on lengþe
Til I delyuere hem wip strengþe
Moyses seide take not in greue
Lord þharao wol me not leue
What hast þou seide god in þa hande
Lorde he sayde I here a wande
Caste hit on þe gras I bidde
Gladly lord & so he didde
Whenne hit was on þe gras cast
An eddur hit was & he was gast
So ferde yat he to fle bigon
To moyses seide oure lorde pon
In ij honde jou not forsake
By te tail jou hit vptake
Wennon moyses hit hade in hande
Hit wex as hit was er a wande
To moyses spake god al myzte
Ij honde putt in ij bosum ri3te
He put his hond in al in hele
And out he toke hit as mysele
He put hit efte in his speyere
And out he toke hit hool & fere
Go forj he seide & if je kyng
Wol not leue ij firste tokenyng
Who so je firste wol not trowe
To leue je ofere is his prowe
If jei leue nouber of these two
To je watir of je flum jou go
And poure of hit vpon je londe
And certeynly jou vndirstonde
Al yat jou drawest out of yat flode
Hit shall be turned in to blode
Take wip je aaron also
To pharao kyng seye je two
\[\textit{øat} \text{ he lete my folke aperte} \quad \text{fol.33r col.2}\]
Passe to worshepe me in desert  \quad 5840
her sacrifise to make to me
Out of his londe iurneyes \textit{þre}
Now make\(\textit{þ} \) moyses him boun \quad 5165
As god hym tauȝte his lessoun
His broðer aaron he mette
ffor god him self her metynge sette
To warne \(\textit{þ} \)e eldest of israele
And pharao \(\textit{þ} \)ei went wele \quad 5170
\(\textit{þ} \)ei seide god hym seluen bad
His folk \(\textit{þ} \)at vndir him was stad \quad 5850
To lete hem of his londe hem dresse
To worshepe him in wildernesse
Kyng phareo \(\textit{þ} \)af his vnswere \quad 5175
What is he \(\textit{þ} \)at god & where
\(\textit{þ} \)at I shulde for his sonde
Let \(\textit{þ} \)at folk out of my londe
\(\textit{þ} \)ouþer I knowe him \(\textit{þ} \)at \(\textit{þ} \)e sey
Ne I wol lete \(\textit{þ} \)e folke awey \quad 5180
\(\textit{þ} \)us \(\textit{þ} \)ei seide \(\textit{þ} \)us wol he
\(\textit{þ} \)at alle his folke come iurneyes \(\textit{þ} \)re \quad 5860
In wildernesse offerynge to make
\(\textit{þ} \)at swerde on \(\textit{þ} \)ow take no wrake
He seide wondir of \(\textit{þ} \)ou me \(\textit{þ} \)inke \quad 5185
Wolde þe my men take fro swynke þei ryse & brede ay more & more And more if þei ydel wore Blame haue þat hem spare To holde hem euer harde & bare ffrom þat tyme he bad þat þay Shulde do two iourneyes on a day Vp on hem sett he men to aske Every day to þelde her taske To stonde lete þe hem not byde As þe haue done mony a tyde Who so doþ not þoure biddynge With sharpe scourgis þat þe hem swynge Now wolde þei make a wipsawe ffrom her werkes hem to wipdrawe ffor to wende to wildernesse To her lord I noot what he esse As I euer brouke my hond I shal hem do dwelle in my lond Þenne spak god al weldonde To moyses his trewe seruonde Whenne pharao askeþ þow By what tokene he shal þow trow Bidde þi broþer aaron þon Caste þe zerde before pharaon
Into a nedder hit shal be lent
Anoter tyme for pei went
Bifoire pe kyng in to his halle
Jere he sat wi his knyjtis alle
But not he of her erned herde

Penne took aaron his yerde
And on pe flore he kest hit doun
Hit bicoom a worm feloun
Pen calde pe kyng his enchauntours
Pe craftiest of his iogelouris
doun pei caste a yerde vchone
Dragouns pei bicoom anoon
But aarons yerde wexe so kene
Pe opere hit worryd al by dene
Pe kyngis herte wex harde as bras
Pe folke he seide hit shal not pas
God seide to moysen
Pe herte of pharao I ken
Now I woot hit is more
Harder for me pen hit was ore
ffor bat he wol not me here
Hardenesses shal I sende him sere
Bope on him & his kyng ryche
He shal make mony men myslyche
ffor he wol bus debate on me
I shall him drench in his sea
The firste vengeaunce he on him sende
Men shal mone to the worldes ende
The firste sonde
Alle the watris of his londe
Soone waxe into blood reed
Pat alle the fisshes per inne were de(
For the root that fer on felle
Bothe yen stanke ryuere & welle
Fer was in house no vessel fre
Pat watir helde of stoon ny tre
So foule al his watir stonke
Wo was hem that hit dronke
That to her vengeaunce that him felle
Were frogges that no tunge coude tell
That out of banke & watris breet
And ouer al egipte londe spread
Al that erthe be couered so
Men mytte not fre sette a to
Bothe in house & wipoute
And ouer al the londe aboute
Pen bad the kyng soone a noon
calle moisies & aaron
Preye youre lord that he
Do these froggis away fro me
Jei seide set vs tyme whenne
To preye for je & hi menne 5940
To morwe he seide sir we shal
ffaste on god jo gon jei cal
To delyuier je folk of hat wrecche
And god was ful soone her leche
Je frogges dyzed al by dene
Je hepes wondir was to sene
Hat men gedered on je grounde
Whenne pharao hadde reste a stounde 5265
He wex al greet in greue
Je folk wolde he yue no leue
ffor to passe out of his londe
Je uridde vengeaunce coom on honde 5270
Al je poudir of his lande
Wexe flyzes foule sore bitande
Bo jei boot mon & beest
To flesshe flyzes were jei likest
Al for nouze hit was no bote 5275
Je folke lete he passe no fote
Jenne sent god on hem a fleze
A sharper say never noon wip eze 5950
On pharao and his to draught
Pat ouer al his lond hit raught
Saue in pat londe pat het lessen 5280
fol.34r col.1
A 5960
Here woned Goddis owne men
Coom noon of to flyze [s] pare
Wel he coude his owne spare
Pouze pei woned in pat cuntre
ffeire he made his owne fre 5290
ffor pharao shulde vndirstonde
Mizty he was ouer al his londe 5970
Pharao ful false of pees
Calde aaron and moyses
Goo pei seide here in my londe 5295
And to youre lord make offronde
Wherto shulde se for yer go
Do wey pei seide hit is not so
God wol no worship take of hem
Pat dwelle among curside men 5300
Suche is pe folk of egipt
Pat make to beestis her worship 5980
Thre iourneyes more ne lesse 5983
Most pei wende in to wildernesse
To make oure lord worshepe to 5305
As he hap bede to be do
Wende pei seide siþ se wol go
But further go se not þen so
ffor me se preye þus þei seide
To morwe shal pe fleþes be leyde 5310 5990
Bigyle vs no more in kare
pe folke jo he lete forf fare
Moyses preyed pat other day
pe flyzes were alle quyt away
pat al pe lond wex so clene
pat neuer a fleze per Inne was sene
hit pe kyng hem helde ful pro
ffor wolde he not lete hem go
// pen sende god a qualme of alle
In pat kyngdome on beestis to falle
Horse and asse mule & camel
Doun pei dyed al her catel
Goddis folke pat hadde any beest
Dyzed noon of hem moost ne leest
Pharao sende pat to se
Hool & fere he fonde hor fe
But euer was pharao in oon
pe folk away let he not goon
// pe sixte vengeaunce coom on honde
ffalse pharao for to fonde
Byle and blister bollynge soore
On alle his folke lasse & moore
hem was wo on her bodyes alle
her kyng pei waryed greet & smalle
hit for nouste pat men myste sey
Wolde he lete þe folk away
// þe seuen þe vengeaunce to tel
hit was a weder wondir fel
A þondir wiþ a hayl so kene
Suche anoper was neuer sene
Hayl & fuyre menged samen
þat hit ouertoke þouȝte no gamen
Boþe hit slouȝe fro hit bigan
Wiþouten house beest & man
þe trees hit brast þe erþe brynt
At iessen lond þere hit stynt
Of israel for þat tempest
Was nouȝer harmed mon ne beest
þen seide þe kyng I haue þe wrong
Al þis wreche is on me longe
Preye þi lord sir moyses
þat he wol do þis þunder cees
he is riȝtwis þat þe on leue
his folke shal go wiþouten greue
I and myne mys han done
He preyed þe wedur ceesed soone
Whenne pharao had þat he souȝte
Longer forwarde helde he nouȝte
// þenne sent god hem a litil beest
Of toþ is not vnfoolest
Locuste hit hette in book I fond  
I trowe noon siche be in his lond  
Pat beest gnow vp al bidene  
Pat ponder lafte rype & grene  
Of hem were so mony bred  
Ouer al the lond bei were spred  
Pat men myȝte nowhere se  
Gras on erpe ne leef on tre  
But zit was pharao for sworn  
& false as he was biforn  
Penne dide god wipdrawe his liȝt  
And merkenes made more pen nyȝt  
So merke noon myȝte opere se  
And pat lasted dayes þre  
No man out of stide myȝte stere  
Gessen cuntre was al clere  
Zit god fordide pharaon  
And sende þe trenpe wreche him on  
Moore þen alle þes opere smert  
To sette him sorwe at his hert  
Aaron god seide and moysen  
Dooþ he seide as I zow ken  
Saye to my folke on þis wyse  
Pat þei make me a sacrifise  

For trenpe read tentpe.
An Edition of the Old Testament Section of the Cursor Mundi
from MS College of Arms, Arundel LVII

Sarah M. Horrall


ffirste jei me an au ter make
And sypen vchone to hous In take
A clene lomb yat is honest
Ye blood ye kepe ye filhe out kest
And whenne hit is to offerynge bed
Ye meyne yerwip shul be fed
Loke jei be shod vchone
Pat lomb shal ete & barfote noone
Who so for pouert is bihynde
Ye toperse alle shul him fynde
Pat lombes blood in alle jinge
Ye make yerwip a tokenyng
On every post on vche dernere
Ye syne of tayu make ye pere
Wip yerf breed & letus wylde
Whiche yat growep in ye felde
hit shal not soden be but bredd
Ye lom yat ye shul be wip fed
Jei shul hit ete feet & heued
Ouer nyzte no jing yerof be leued
And zif ouzte leue or hit be tynt
Do hit in ye fyre be brynt
Beep alle gurd wip staf in honde
Me hones not whil ye are etonde
And I my self seide god almyzt
Shal passe your egipt hat ny3t 5410 6090
Alle ye forbirpes shal I slo
Bope of mon & beest also
On her godis I wole wrake
On hem I shal my venieaunce take
In mynde shal ye holde his day 5415
Bope ye & your ospryngge ay
Solempnely in your lawe
Wip alle worshipes perito to drawe
Jome calde moyses je olde
Men of israel and tolde 5420 6100
Al hat god had hym seyde
And how his lomb shulde be purueyde
On her poste & her derner
Je blood jei shulde anoynte per 5425
Straytly he for beed hat pay
Shulde out of house come ar day
To deleyuer hem hapy god mynt
And 3yue egiptians a dynt
Je folk was sayn & loutid doun
Jei went to make her lambes boyn
Of pis bodeword were jei glad 5430 6110
And duden riʒt as moyses bad
Soone aftir hat ilke nyʒt

5419 The p in jenne is a medium size, decorated capital.
God as he before had hit
Sent anoon his aungel down
Thour je al egipte in vche toun
And souzte her housis al bi dene
Of pe pat were egiptiene
Of pat meyne lafte he noon
At je laste pat he slouze vchon
At je kyng he firste began
For burpe slouze beest & man
Wrotherhele roos vp je kyng
And pe pat were wip hym dwellyng
Ouer al egipte pe cry was
Mony pe were seide allas
Per was no hous in pat lond
But perynne was deed mon ligond
By ny3te pe kyng sent pon
Aftir moyses and aaron
Go0p he seide out of my kith
Je and al 3oure folk 3ow wip
Make sacrifise 3oure god tille
Where and how pat ze wille
Take 3oure beestis wip 3ow boun
Go0p & 3yue me 3oure benysoun
Je folk bigan on hem to crye
Go0p & doop for3 in hye
Dwelle ye lenger any whyle
We drede de wol vs gyle
ffro his folk yat was in sorwe
be folk of israel to borwe
Asked siluer vessel sere
And clothes of pryss ful dere
God pat grace to hem saue
Her askyng he dide hem haue
ffor to reue pat folk so snel
And helpe his folk of israel
yei were where yei to go bigon
Six hundride thousand fote men jon
Wipouten childer wymen & broode
pat noon pe noumbre vndstood
Laft yei not pat horen was
Sheep ne kow oxe ne as
Her wonyng pere wipouten wene
ffoure hundride yeer & two had bene
Whenne his tyme coom to ende
Of egipte goddes hoost out wende
His owep euer to be in mynde
To israel and al her kynde
To moyses oure lord po tolde
What wyse yei shulde paske holde
And nevermore pat day to ete
Sour breed ny noon o'ree mete
Ny no day wi'inne po seuen dayes 5485
Seuen pe firste pe story sayes
pe forburpe of her children alle
ffro pat tyne to god let falle
And to him offere at pe leste
pe forburpe of vche a beste 5490
Mannes childe wi' pris be bou^t
And sheep . hors . & asse be brou^t
In mynde his was to vndirstonde
pat he delyuered hem of pat londe
Bi strengpe of egipte he hem drou^e 5495
Of mon & beest forbirpe he slou^e
Whenne pharao had hem for^j sende
God bad hem to wildernesse wende 6180
Or philistiens wolde wi^j hem mete
And let hem for to wende her strete 5500
pat folk took pe wylde way
By syde pe rede see hit lay
bus goddes folk armed were
Iosephs bones wi^j hem pei bere
Whenne Ioseph in lyf was stad 5505
zerne he preyed pe folk and bad
pat whenne god sende hem visitynge
Men shulde his boones pe^ne brynge 6190
By a myche wodes syde
pei made hem logges to abyde 5510
God him self hem led her way
Hem to kepe nyʒte and day
Wip clouden piler on pat day liʒt
Wip fyre piler vpon pe nyʒt
In no tyme hem wantide nouʒer 5515
Nyʒt or day pei hadde ouʒer
God hem bad drawe ynnermore
Aʒeyn on slont þere pei were ore 6200
In to pharaons syde
On hym wolde he shewe his pryde 5520
He shulde wene hem loke þere fol.35v col.1
fat þei furʒer nyʒte nowhere
Him shulde þenne rewe his cast
Whenne þe folk were fro him past
He shulde þenne him seluen peyn 5525
Algäte to bryng þat folke aʒeyn
Of þe woo he wolde hem mynt
ffor euer þenne he shulde be stynt 6210
þe folk dude so & were glade
And Innermore her loggyng made 5530
Soone in londe was tijing spred
þe folk was turned aʒeyn þat fled
His folke gedered pharaon
Lordyngis he seide what haue we don
Shul we jus lete his folk away 5535
Dat shulde vs serue euer and ay
His folke armed dide he calle
And lete couple his cartes alle 6220
Six hundride cartis wip her geris
On al pe hoost he set lederes 5540
Whenne he had redy made his hoost
He went wip myche pride & boost
Whenne goddis folke his coom herde
pei bigonne to wexe aferde
Whenne pei him se3e aftir hye 5545
pe folk of israel bigan to crye
On god and to moyses seide
In egipte was noon euel vs leide 6230
Perfore hast pou vs led hit may falle
To wildernes to sle vs alle 5550
Why woldes pou vs lede fro pat lond
Seide we not jere dwellond
To leue vs for vs leuer were
pe egiptians to serue jere
Al disese for to dry3e 5555
Pen here in wildernesse to dy3e
Moyses vnswered and seide

5537 The he is written above the line, and a caret has been inserted between dide and calle.
Noon of 3ow beþ mys payde
Stondeþ & biholdeþ seide he
Goddes myracle shul 3e se
Goddes miracle and his myȝt
Him self to day for 3ow shal ȝȝȝt
Gooþ hardly forþ ȝoure wey
And god to moyses gon say
Moyses þou take þi wande
þat þou were wont to bere in hande
Do þe to þe wattris syde
þe see þou smyte wiþouten abyde
þou shalt se hit cleue in two
And þyue 3ow redy weye to go
þat shal kyng pharao se
Wip his host and his meyne
He shal wene þou ouertake
But þenne shal he haue my wrake
þe shul come alle hool to londe
Suche is þe vertu of þi wonde
//
Moyses dute as god him bad
ffor pharao was he not drad
In þe see his ȝerde he smate
Hit cleef & þaue him redy gate
þe see on eyþer syde vp stood
As walles whil þei forþ ȝood
Til jëi were passed al jat drede  
Whenne jë kync jis say in dede  
He folwed wip hoost on hors & fot(e)  
ffor noujët caytif was him no bote  
he say jë see withdrew in twynhe)  
ë brood watir he dide him Inne  
Moyses wip his folk al hale  
wiþouten wantynng of his tale  
he helde his hoost vpon jë londe  
And smoot jë watir wip his honde)  
ën was bëre no lenger byde  
To gider jë see went bope syde  
Bope bihynde hem & bifoare  
And drenched mony hundride skore)  
Kync kny3t s quyere ne swayn  
Coom neuer noon of hem a3ayn  
bus wreked him jë lord of my3t  
On hem jat wip him wolden fij3t  
His folke haj he saued sounde  
His enemyes brou3te to grounde  
Po Israelis seide hem amonge  
Cantemus domino a newe songe  
To god jat had hem saued so  
Of al her sorwe and her woo  
And so mot he deluyere vs
Oure dere lord swete ihesus

These were the folk of israele

Oure lord chees to hym for lele

ffor whom he mony miracle wrou3t

Til him self hem turned to nou3t

Ofte fro hym pei dide out reche

Wherfore ofte pei fonde his wreche

As 3e may here redily

fforbermore in his story

Wip her grucchyng on moyses

Ofte dide pei greet males

Of the tree of lyf shal I tel

And of the folk of Israel

Whenne moyses pat folk had lad

Ouer pat see as god him bad

He and his broper aaron

Out of pharaos seruage p0n

In sirie vp on pat o0er syde

pei made her loggyng to abyde

Whil pei dwelled pere to rest

Of watir hadde pei mychel prest

Wyde pei sou3te hit here & pere

Watir my3te pei fynde nowhere

5619-20 A heading.

5621 The W in Whenne is a large, decorated capital.
Je folke pat hère aboute him lay
Vchon gon to ohere say
Whetber we shul in wildernes
Dy3e for þirste þourʒe moyses
What shul we drynke seide þay
Moyses þat nyʒte in sleep lay
þat nyʒte he ȝeode & took rest
Slepyng he lay in þat forest
On morwe he loked him by
he say þat him þouʒte ferly 5640 6320
At his heed he say stonde 5645 6325
Waxen of cipres a wonde
On his lift hond loked he
Andoþer he say of cyder tre
þo he loked on his riʒt hand
Of palme tre þe þridde he fand
Bi þo leues þat þei bere
þei kidde of what tre þei were
But moyses for goddis awe
Durst hem not vp drawe
5650 6330
þat oþer day he went eke
Wip þat folk watir to seke
þere he slepte at morwe tyde
he fonde þo ȝerdis hym bysyde
þe þridde tyme so he hem fonde 5655
pat dide him wel to vndirstonde 5660 6340
pat sum tiping shulde þar be
Closed in þo þerdis þre
Selcoupe þing he seide wip In
Is closed in þes þerdis þryn 5665
þei bitokenen persones þre
And o godhede in vnite
þenne he drouze hem vp first
Wipouten any skape or birst
Whil þei in wildernes were
5670 6350
þo þerdis wip hem þei bere
Sil þei fonde þat firþe wipynne
Watir bittur as any bryne
As bryne hit was & no swetter
To drynke was hit neuer þe better
Whenne þo þerdis were In done
þe watir wex swete ful soone
þe watteres þat so foule stank
Of swetter þo neuer man drank
þat myracle þei say apert 5675
þat dwellyng were in desert
ffro þat tyme held moyses
þo þerdis boþe in pris & pres
Where he walked here or þere
þo þerdis algate wip him were 5680 6360
Whenne he clomb mount synay
Po he hidde hem pryueley
Whil he fasted lenten tyde
In erpe he dud hem to hyde
Nouber for drye ne weete algate
Bei chaungide neuer her state
But euer bei helde lyf & floure
Sauerynge wiþ a swete sauoure
Of þis moyses lordyngis
I haue 30w tolde summe þingis
Of hym may I not al telle
ffor hit were to longe to dwelle
But of his trauaile telle I shal
he suffered froward folk wiþ al
He hem ladde sooþ hit is
ffourty wyntur in wildernis
God fond hem fode in her nede
Wiþouten sowyng any sede
God hym self hem sende foode
ffonde þei neuer noon so gode
Hit snew to hem as hit were floure
Of hony hit hadde lickest sauoure
Þe mete þat þei were fed wiþ so
Manna þei cleped hit þo

5689  The 0 in Of is a medium size, decorated capital.
Hit coom at morwe & at euenyng
Volatil hem sende pat kyng
pat kyng owe men loue & loute
Wil alle worshipes to menske & doute
pere pei hadde myche watir won
Moyses of pe harde stone
He smoot wip his forseid wonde
And out brast of pat watir a stronde
penne hadde pei watir in pat lond
Plente bope to foot & hond
But for alle pe dedes gode
pat god hem sent to her fode
pe moupes pat of wille were wlan
zalde him euer litel fank
pey her tungis speke resoun
Her hertis euer were tresoun
In pis tyme pat I of spek
was a lordynge het amalek
pat on hem fauste & pei on him
In a stide hett rapidym
Moyses calde sir Iosue
And made him myster of pat semble
He seide chese pe men and diʒt

MSS C, F, G and T all have morn(e) for morwe. The original reading of H was undoubtedly morwe, but a loop has been made over the w, perhaps as an attempt at correcting it to an n.
wip sir amalec to fiȝt
   And I shal on pat hil stonde
And goddes yerde holde in honde
To pis fiȝte pei wente anoon
Moyses ðo and aaron
pei wente vp on pat hille
In hope allone of goddis wille
Whil moyses helde vp his hende
Wel was hit in pat bataLle kende
Euer pat whyle witerly
Had goddes folk pe victory
And if he slaked hem any siȝe
Amalec won also swipe
So longe he helde hem vp wip pis
pat slake hem most he maugre his
Of werynesse was no wondir
pei gedered stoones & leyde him vndir(r)
Euer helde he vp and aaron
His hondes til pe fiȝte was don
Vndir eiper hond was oon
pat helde hym stille as any stoon
Bi pe sunne was at doun helde
Wip Israel was lafte pe felde
Ietro pe prest of madian
pat was moyses kynnes man
Whenne he herde how þei had don
Bitwene Israel and pharaon
To speke wiþ moyses he cam 5755
Brouȝte him his wyf sephoram
Wiþ two sones she by hym beer
Gersan and Elyaser 6440
His ilke folke was entoun to fonde
þei moyses hadde vndir honde
þei dide him wondir greet travaile fol.37r col.1
Til Ietro þaf him counsaile
Vndir bailis to set hem þen
In riȝt for to kepen hem
Of mony wrongis þat þer were 5760
Of whiche men greet charge bere
But þat þat fel to goostlynes
Shul be tauȝte bi trewe moyses 6450
listenep now to my sawe
Telle I shal of moyses lawe 5770
Penne bigan þe folk to say
To moyses go gete vs lay
Moyses seid þat is riȝt
We shul hit aske of god al myȝt

5760 The catchwords þei dide him appear after this line, in the lower right corner of fol.36v, the last leaf in the fifth gathering.

5769-70 A heading.

5771 The þ in þenne is a large, decorated capital.
To faste bihouep 3ow and me
How longeshal pe terme be
pe terme shal laste fourty dayes
Whil I go to gete 3ow layes
Here on pe mount of synay
Sir Bei seide ful blepely
Moyses wente vpon pat fellle
ffourty dayes bere gon dwelle
Whiche he fasted as we rede
To gete lawe his folk to lede
Cure lord coom to hym anoone
And toke him tables two of stoon
Wip his commandementis ten
And bad him teche hem to his men
ffor we owe hem holde for det
In his book I haue hem set
Trowe Jou in no god but oon
Ny oof pat Jou swere noon
Holde wel 6 holy day
ffadir & modir worshpe ye ay
Reue no mon his lyf Jou
Do no lecchery bi no wommon
Loke 3e no ping ne stele
Bere witnes noon but lele
Ye neizbores wif wip wronge Jou naue
Nor beest of his mayden ny knaue

These are ye commaundementis ten

That god took to moysen

Firste ye iewes to teche

And si[en] ye cristien to preche

If we hem kepe out and Inne

That wol vs saue fro dedly synne

While moyses was a wey

That fals folk wipouten fey

That seide moyses was slayn

And nuer wolde come a3ayn

And summe seide That he

Was lyuynge & in lyf shulde be

That toke her counsel as That wolde

To make hem a god of golde

That fools seide hem among

So stalworpe shulde he be & strong

Thate he shal holde vs hool & fare

And kepe vs euer inoure mistere

Whenne manna wol vs wantynge be

He shal vs sende good plente

BUS bigan her gyle wip gamen

Her tresour of gold That gedered samen

A golden calf That of That blewe

5807 The W in Whiles is a medium size, decorated capital.
And as god honourid hit newe
Oure god ρει seide ρis is he 5825
pat brouhte vs ροurse ρε rede see
ffro pharao and his powere
perfore honoure we him here
ρις moyses was dere & kynde
To god men may hit here fynde 5830 6510
He toke hym tables of ρe lawe
As ρe herde in my sawe
Whenne he had hem hym take
ρe folke he seide haρ don wrake
Sip ρou coom ρro hem laste 5835
ρou shalt hem fynde vnstidefaste
Lordingis to ρiς false lede
Manna fel ρe herde me rede
ffro heuen fel so greet plente
As a ryme frost onne to se 5840 6520
Whil moyses hym helde a way fol.37v col.1
ffor to do hem haue ρe lay
Summe of hem ρis fast forsoke
And ρis riche manna toke
And vndir er ρe in hoolis hidde 5845
Aȝeyn forbode ρus ρei didde
ρus ρei were ρat tyme vnwyse
ρei dide aȝeynes goddes enprise
Whenne moyses coom fro hat felle
Soone herde he ti’ing telle 5850 6530
hat his folk ful euel had done
her of fonde he tokene soone
Whenne he was comen in to desert
he calf fond he here set apert
He herde he greet noyse pare 5855
Aboute his calf wip mychel fare
So greued he wex in his mode
He myȝte say euel ny gode
He ne wist wher better wore
To turne or wende him for permore 5860 6540
he tables hat he in hond bere
In peces he hem brak riȝt here
verwip for her more he yde
dfor to se her cursed dede
He say hem knele his calf aboute 5865
As god hym self to loue and loute
What deuuel is his he seide in greue
Is his zoure god hat ȝe in leue
Whenne þei were war of moyses
þei fley away al in a res 5870 6550
3onge and olde lasse & more
þe calf alone laft þei þore

5849 The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.
Moyses calle hem to gider
Lordyngis he seide I am comen hider
Aboute youre eronde haue I bene
Why fle ze fro me bus bidene
Come ayeyn wipouten doute
Haue ze Jese dayes alle fasted oute
Pat I zow bad ar I went
Haue ze holde my comaundement
Who hap made his calf byfore
Hit shal her aftir zow rewe ful sore
Who made his calf I most him ken
Who helde je fast among Jese men
Who hap holden my comaundement
And who not sipen I went
Who forzat me & who nouzt
And who his gold togider brouzt
Whiche are zo to gider hit blew
Whiche are zo for her god hit knew
Alle zei made hem seluen quyte
Vchone seide I haue no wyte
Par fay seide moyses for nouzt
Je sone algate shal be souzt
I wol my self knowe je fals
And vche man shal knowe him als
fful euelhel brake ze pat day
Pat I fasted so shul ye say
Allas shul ye say pat sype
ffor whenne I weped ye made 3ow blipe 5900
ye made pis god in to trowe
Whil I went to preye for 3owe
Mychel foly dide I for
Pat euer to helpe 3ow I bigan 6590
Whenne I 3ow ladde 3oure je stronde 5905
Out of alle 3oure enemyes honde
Sipen I asked 3oure fode
And god sende 3ow manna gode
Pat ye in erpe ha hud vndir 5910
Mony men on 3ow shal wondir
Oure lord shal me on 3ow wrake
And saue po pat haue no sake
Alle are ye trewe by 3oure sawes
Is noon of 3ow pis calf knawes 6600
3e saye pat ye made hit nou3t 5915
Ne neuer coom hit in 3oure pou3t
Nor ye honourid hit neuer ye say
Al of pis ye make hit nay
But say me penne wherfore & why
3e made so myche dene & cry 5920
Pat I 3ow say make alle bi dene
3oure ye watir hit shal be sene
fol.38r col.1
Shee\(\text{\textdollar}\) me soone hit shal be kid
Wher \(\text{\textdollar}\) make his manna hid
\(\text{\textdollar}\)o puttis whenne \(\text{\textdollar}\)e hem vn \textit{did} 5925
\(\text{\textdollar}\)e fonde but wormes orulyng I myd
Whenne \(\text{\textdollar}\)e sey \(\text{\textdollar}\)is sook to say
\(\text{\textdollar}\)at gilty were \(\text{\textdollar}\)euzte no play
\(\text{\textdollar}\)is golden calf he made to brest
To pecis \& in to watir kest 5930
And of \(\text{\textdollar}\)is watir he made vchon
To drynke whether \(\text{\textdollar}\)e wolde or noon
Alle \(\text{\textdollar}\)o men \(\text{\textdollar}\)at gilty were
Gulden berdes soone \(\text{\textdollar}\)e bere 6620
\(\text{\textdollar}\)o \(\text{\textdollar}\)at were wipouten pli\(\text{\textdollar}\)t 5935
And helde his commaundement ri\(\text{\textdollar}\)t
And trowed to no maumetrye
As was \(\text{\textdollar}\)e kynreden of sir leuy
\(\text{\textdollar}\)e watir proued hem for clene
Was no gold on her berdis sene 5940
Moyses to her \textit{zatis zode}
\(\text{\textdollar}\)us he seide whenne he \(\text{\textdollar}\)ere stode
Alle \(\text{\textdollar}\)at are in goddis \textit{partye}
Hider \(\text{\textdollar}\)e come \& stonde me bye 6630
So dude \(\text{\textdollar}\)at were in goddis half
And honoured not \(\text{\textdollar}\)e gilden calf
Good he seide \(\text{\textdollar}\)at hit be sene
Sleep vp ṣo caitifs al by dene
Vchone went wip swerd in honde
And slowze ṣere twenty þousonde
Þenne gon moyses to hem say
Wite ṣe what ṣe haue done today
;set ṣe haue to god holden vp þoure hondes
And slayn þat goddis wille wip stondes
it spak oure lord to moysen
Do he seide as I ṣe ken
Hewe ṣe siche tablis he seide
As I before ṣe purueyde
Whiche þou brake & I shal soone
Wryte hem newe hit is to done
Vpon þe morwe whenne hit was day
Moyses went to fett þe lay
He toke commaundementis ten
ffor to lede wip his men
Writen wip goddis owne honde
He sent hem þere a fair presonde
Whenne moyses hadde brouȝt þe lawe
And his folk In face him sawe
Hem þouȝte him horned on heed fer
And douted to come him ner
Þenne þe lawe he hem vndide

5961 The V in Vpon is a small capital.
As our lord to hym gon bide
Off oon arke to hem he spake
In goddis worship for to make
A tabernacle als for to dîȝt
Per of he shewed hem þe riȝt
þe þre jerdis vp he toke
And þeryn dide so seîþ þe boke
To bere wiþ hym to euery stede
Whider he wolde þat folk lede
Listenep now a litil þrawe
ffor I wol telle of moyses lawe
Now shul þe of þo domes here
 þat god þaf to moyses sere
Alle to telle hit were gret swinke
But summe are gode to here me jinke
Who so smyteþ man in wille to slo
He shal him self be slayn also
Who so sleeþ any man wiþ wille
And bifore haþ waited þertille
If he to myn autere flyþe
Men shal him þennes drawe to dyþe
Who þat fadir or modir smyte

5973 The O in Off is a medium size, decorated capital.
5981-2 A heading.
5983 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.
5993 The W in Who is a small, decorated capital.
Or elles hem waryep in despite
Dy3e pei shal for pat sake
Wipouten raunsoum noon to take
If two chyde & pat oon
Pat oer smyte wip fuste or stoon
So pat he lye short whyle or long
Sipen whenne he may go strong
Je smytere shal quyte his lechyng
And je skape of his liggyng
Who so smytep his seruaunt wip a wand
And he be deed vndir his hande
He shal be gilty of his synne
But if he lyue a day or twynne
Je lord shal vndurly no peyne
ffor as his catel is his sweyne
If mon smyte wyf wip barn
Wherfore je childe is forfarn
If so be pat je modir lyue
To hir husbonde jenne shal he 3yue
Medis pat men saye is ri3t
By lokyng of trewe mennes si3t
And if she de3e jerfore je wyf
Jenne shal he lose lyf for lyf

5997 The I in If is a small decorated capital.
6009 The I in If is a medium size, decorated capital.
E3e for 3e3e too3p for top
Hond for hond loke 3is be soo3p
ffoot for foot too for too
Wounde for wounde woo for woo 6020
Who so smyte3p out his 3ralles y3e
And make3p hym unsi3tily3e
Or too3p out of his mou3p smyte
He shal him make fre & quyte
 pe ox fat sleep mon wi3p horn 6025
And so was not wont biforn 6710
To de3e men shal pat beest stone
But of pe flesshe ete nonon none
 pe beestis lord shal go quyte
Of alle chalengis & wyte 6030
If his lord knowe him kene of horn
pre dayes per biforn
If he sle wommon or mon
 pe beest to slau3te shal go Jon
And pe lord pat hit i3t 6035
Shal vnswere perfere at his my3t 6720
If he sle any mones sweyn
Thritty shillyng of mones[y] a3eyn
Shal men 3yue pe lorde to mende

6021 The W in Who is a small decorated capital.
6025 The p in pe is a small decorated capital.
If any man make a pit
And sijpen wol nat stoppe hit
If ox or asse or other beest
ffalle perynne leest or meest
Je man pat pis put auʒte
Be he wrooʒ or ellis sauʒte
Of his beest shal ʒelde je prys
But je dede beest shal be hys
If pat myn oxe firste sle ʒyn
Bus biddeʒ god al myʒtyn
Pat je quyke beest be solde
Je prys bitwixe hem dalt & toldæ
And je dede careyn also
Shal be delt bitwene hem two
And if he wist hit at je leest
Jre dayes bfore of his beest
And no kepyng dude on pat wylde
Ox for ox þenne shal he zilde
Who so steleʒ sheep ox or cow
To sle or selle or other prow
Oxen fiue for oon he pay
ffor oon sheep foure hit stonde for lay
Jep of housbrekyngge or digynge ground

The W in Who is a small decorated capital.
The p in þeof is a small decorated capital.
If mon him smyte wip depe wound
And pe dede be done bi ny\^t
Je smyter \penne shal hauve no pli\^t
But if pe sunne be vp \^on
Hit shal be tolde for slau\^te of mon)
If peof hauve no fyn ne \^ift
\hat he a\^eyn may zelde his \^ift
He shal be solde but if \hat he
Hauve any au\^te may founden be
If he hauve any \^onge or olde
He shal a\^eyn zelde double folde
If fyre be kyndeled by vnhap
\pounde felde or corn mowe or stak)
He \hat hit kyndelev in \hat felde
He ow\^e \^e harmes for to zelde
If I \^yue \^e forto kepe
Ox or cowe . asse or shepe
Hors or any opere au\^te
And hit wip \^eofis be lau\^te
Or deed or done in to euel my\^t
Or done away fro monnes si\^t
Wip \^p in oop make \^e clene

6069  The \^ in \^ is a small decorated capital.
6075  The \^ in \^ is a small decorated capital.
6079  The \^ in \^ is a small decorated capital.
And you go quyt of pat I mene
But if his auzte be stolen in chaunce
you shalt him make restoraunce
And if I lent pe siche a beest
pat deed or spilt be at pe leest
And I my self not present
you shalt hit quyte bi iugement
And elles not namely in dede
I lete to hyre for any mede
pe pat to wicked dedes drawe
God wol pat pei be done of dawe
Who so doj wiF beest pe foul synne
He shal be done to depe perynne
Who pat honoureF goddes newe
Of his sleyng shal no mon rewe
To comelyngis loke ye do no gyle
ffor siche were youre self sum whyle
Widewe nor childe fadirles
Do no wronge ny noon vnpees
If ye do crye to me pei shal
And I for sope wol here her cal
penne shal my wreche kyndel so
pat soone bereftir I wol zow slo
Widewes I shal make youre wyues
youre childer haue no fadris in lyues
If pat you lenest any ping
you leue hit not wip okeryng
If pat you whenne you art wroop
Of sympel mon take wed or cloop
zelde azeyn pat cloop I say
Ar pe sunne co doun pat day
In hao he hap on bak nor bed
Cloop to hile hym but pat wed
Elles if pat he to me cry3e
I shal him here your3e my mercye
Missaye no prest pat preche3 in londe
3yue gladly pi tende & lyn offronde
pe formast sheues of youre corn
pe firste childe to zow is born
Not pat alone I bid zow
But als pe firste of sheep & cow
pe childe pat ze to offring brynge
ze bye azeyn for dhere pinge
pe forburpes pat I of telle

6111 The I in If is a small decorated capital.
6121 The M in Missaye is a small decorated capital.
Shal seuen dayes wip modir dwelle 6130
pe eiȝte pe day to offred be
As I haue commaundide pe
pe flesshe peat beest biffer hap taast
Ete pe not pe of pe last
Lerne not of hym peat is lyere 6135
Ny false witenes noon pe bare 6820
ffolewe hem no more pei pi foos
pat vnto wickede dedis goos
Holde wip none pei pei be fele
Azeyn pe doom pou woost is lele 6140
To riche & pore pou seest in pilityt
In dome spare pou not pe riȝt
Pein enemyes beest pou fyndes o stray
pou brynge hit hoom peat wol pe lay
If pou fynde of pyn euel willonde 6145
Vndur birpen his beste biggonde 6830
Helpe hym or pou forþer wende
And so pou maist make pei frende
Sle no man wiþouten sake
Blendeþng ziftis noone pou make 6150
To pilgþrym & to vncoþp
Bere pe feire of dede & mouþ
pe knowe pe state of comelynge

The first letters of lines 6133, 6135, 6139, 6143, 6145, 6149 and 6151 are all small decorated capitals.
Of pharao's tyme je kynge
3oure lond je sowe seuen seere
And repe jeer of cornes sere
Je eise te lete hit lye stille
Pore mennes hongur to fille
Six dayes shul 3e worche I say
And 3e shul reste 3e seuen 3e day
Hors & asse woomun and knaue
Pat day shul 3ei restyng haue
Trowe on no goddes fals
[Swere] not I bidde 3ow als
Holde jeis wel I bidde 3ow now
Myn aungel shal go before 3ow
Pat shal 3ow wisse & sumdel lede
In to a lond of blisful hede
3oure foos pat 3ow wolde wipstonde
Shul haue no my3te in foot nor honde
I my self wol for 3ow fi3t
Shal noon ouer 3ow haue no my3t
I shal holde 3ow my sawe
Whil 3e folwe my ri3t lawe
Suche was je lessoun and je lore
And 3itt a housonde siphis more

6159 The S in Six is a small decorated capital.
6163 The T in Trowe is a small decorated capital.
pat god shewed to moysen
To do his folk hym knowe & ken
But lوردyngis for pat I
By witenessynge of prophecy 6180
And þurȝe preer of þe selue dede
to cristis burȝe I wol vs lede
Ar he had take flesshe & blode
þe firste was Abraham of her brode
To whom was het þat of his sede 6185
Shul alle þe blessed folke brede
And so dide þrynce & als þrophete
As god dide to hym bihete
And lوردyngis for þat I
May not telle al her prophecy 6190
þat of þat blissed burȝe was seyde
þat longe to fore was puruyeþe
Of somme of hem þat seyde moost
Of his birȝe bi þe holy goost
I shal þow shewe wiþouten les 6195
As anentis þis moyses 6880
þis moyses þat I rede of here
Was tauȝte þe folke to lede & lere
þat dalt weren in kynredens twelue
Moyses hem bad hym selue 6200

6197 The þ in þis is a medium size, decorated capital.
at vche kynreden to bere a wond
His biddyng durst pei not wipstond
And vche wande pat pei bere bare
He spered hem in her seyntware
And wroot pe name & seled also
pat noon shulde opere gyde jo
Whenne he hem loked on pe morn
He fonde oon wip leef & flour born
And for hit was an almaunde wonde
at same fruyt bernonne pei fonde
Almaund is grewen jo her on
pe zerde pat fel to aaron
To al pe folk in pat londe
Moyses soone shewed pe wonde
But he tolde hem not pat tyde
What pe tokene wolde abyde
ffor he her frowardenesse knewe
And pei were of troupe vntrewe
His zerde was done vp to holde
As god of myȝt him self wolde
In tokene for to take & telle
Aȝeyn pe folk pat was rebelle
To vnderstonde pat god mouȝt
Al bing do pat hym good bouȝt
his zerde bitokenedoure ladyltrewe(}
Je fruyl hir sone swete ihesue  
Of his matere my: I now cees  
To telle you more of his moyses  
Whenne he as god him cheque bifoire  
He lad je folke in wildernesse pore  
ffourty wyntur and no las  
Dede in pat desert he was  
Al his elde was sixe score 3eer  
ffor he was to god so der  
Him self byryed him & hid  
In a pryue place vnkid  
ffor wiste je iewis where he lay  
Honoure him as god wolde pay  
Pes iewes went wipouten resoun  
In to je londe of promissioun  
Fourje moyses ne coom jei nou3t  
But Iosue hem bider brou3t  
God aftir good moysen  
Made hym leder of his men  
Wip his felawe pat calef hi3te  
Je two brou3te hem to ri3te  
His Iosue coom of pat kyn je  
Pat men calle effraym also  
In egipte born but fed he was  
And leder als wip maystir moyses
His ilke moyses riʒtwis of rede
fforgat not ar he were dede
To sette þese holy þerdes þre
In a stide he fonde pryue 6940
þere þei grew lasse ne more 6255
But euer as þei were biffer
Riʒt to kyng dauid dayes
Pat lad þe folk in goddis layes
he bi warnynge of goddis sonde
Brouȝte þe erdis to his londe 6260
Whenne aaron was deed þe prest
His sone eliazar was neest
And his fadir astate he beere
Til Iosue we speke of here 6950
Þis ioseu was wondir liʒt 6265
And maistry had in mony a fiʒt
Trewely he fauȝte for goddis lay
Þerfore god doubled him his day
And made þe sunne stille to stonde
Til Iosue had þe hyȝer honde 6270
And whil he past þe ðun iurdon
þe watir stood stille as stoon
Til he þe folk had ouer brouȝt
Into þe same lond þei souȝt 6960

6261 The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.
Ioseph boones þei wip hem lede 6275
And þær grof hem in þat stede
In a lond þat het sichym
Was þyuen in lot to Ioseph kyn
ffor as þei wan hit wip her honde
þei dalt bitwixe hem þat londe 6280
Vche kynreden of þo twelue
Had a lodesmon hem selue
þat shulde her owne kynreden lede
Whenne þat þei to bataile þeode
ffor þei fonde strong folk hem æyeyn 6285
Wij were þat dide hem myche peyn
And wipstood hem þe londe to wynne
But þat was for her owne synne
ffor whil þei helde her lawe in londe
Was no folk myȝte hem wip stonde
þat alle oþere dude myȝte not avayl
Whil þei helde goddes counsayl
Hem þurte drede no man in place
But her fiȝte lasted litil space 6980
Whenne þei moost had of her wille
Moost þei dide hem self vnskille
Of god al myȝty þei laft þe lawe
To sarasenes feip gan hem drawe
And made wip hem her mariagis
Who herde euer suche men in ragis
Suche a kyng coude no man knawe
hem helde from vche mannnes awe
And euer fei vnskil on him souzt
Til fei hem self in praldom brouȝt
In praldome were fei worþ to be
bat wolde not suffere to be fre
Calef coom aftir Josue
Of israel demer was he
In his tyme were þo fablis writen
bat zitt are as bookis witen
Saturneus & sir Iubitera
bat we nowe in fables here
And þe first sibile of pers
Men fynden of in olde vers
Calef had a sone othomel
He demed þe folk of israel
By fourty þeer in his tyme was
þe cite made of thebas
Ayoth was þenne demestere
Of israel foure score þeere
In his tyme was a bataile grym
Bitwene Israel & beniamyn
ffor loue of a deknes wyf
Mony a man lost her lyf
ffourty tousande of israele
Of beniamyn nyje also fele
Sanygath coom aftir hime
Troye was bigone in his tyme
Ten þeer had he þe folk to þeme
Sip his two sones hem dide deme
Barach & wiþ hem delbora þo
þei demed fourty þeer & moo
þeme was oon sibile of libye
And apollo wiþ his melodye
Aftir coom Gedeon
þat worshepe in his tyme won
Slouþe fourty kyngis of heþen sede
Wiþ þre hundride of hys lede
þen was oreb & salmana
zeb and zebee þes oper twa
In tyme of þis Iudeon was
Boþe orpheus & ercules
Tola ladde þe folk þo
Lastyng fourty þeer & mo
þenne roos þe bridde sibila
þat men cleped delphica
Of troye & grece þe batailes bolde
þis sibile myche tofore of tolde
Sir Iare was also long
Her maister & ledere strong
In grece ſenne regned preamus
As je olde story tellep vs
In pis ilke iare tyme
Were lettres founden of latyne
Jepte firste þei helde bastarde
Sipen he helde six þeer her warde
Zamazinis þat tyme bigon
Je wymmen lond wipouten mon
Ezebon aftir seij þe boke
Toke israel to lede & loke
He ladde hem seuen þeer & more
Alisaundre in þat tyme þore
þat þarys auȝte rauysshed Elayn
Wherfore many men were slayn
Je ferþe sibile in þat siþe
In babiloyne bigan to kyþe
Achialon coom aftir hard
Her leder was & her stiward
He had þat folk ten þeer to get
In his tyme was troye bi set
Labdon had hem vndir honde
And ouer hem was eiȝte þeer lastonde
In his tyme was troye nomen
And wip þe grekes ouercomen
Here many modirsone was colde

As hit is in ye story tolde

That werre lasted so long a pece

Per was slayn of hem of grece

Eihte hundride siete sixty & ten

Of thousandis diuerse tyme of her(men)

Six hundride foure score six thousande

Men of troye fauste for her lande

Her of ben nomen in were

ffor why ye sege lasted ten zere

Wipouten brekyng of that werre

That greued bope nye & ferre

That werre semed to be noon oper

But as that oon half a-syn that oper

And al his world hap risen bene

So was per mony cayser kene

But mynte yei never wynne ye town

Til yei hit wan wip tresoun

And al yei chesoun of his stryf

Was for raysshynge of a wyf

Al for fairhede of Elayn

Was here so mony thousande slayn)

And sijen aftir his labdon

Her domes man was sir samsquh

Pat was so strong & so wizt
Childeles was his modir mony (ni jt) 6400
In hir elde bi goddis grace fol.41r col.1
An aungel het hir childe in place
dat bi his heer shulde so my sly be
As twenty men to fele & se 7090
Undir philistiens þei were 6405
/dat iewes were holden þo þere
Sampson souȝte chesoun of stryf
Of philistiens he wolde haue wyf
Vpon a day he went & sawe
A fair womman of hir lawe 6410
He tolde his frendis soone anoon
/dat he hade chosen siche a wommon
He toke hem wip him for to proue
Hir to gete to his bihoue 7100
If hir frendis wolde him late 6415
As he wente walkyng bi þe gate
A leouns whelpe ran ouerþwart
Raumpyng to sampson he start
Sampson slouȝe þat leon kene
þe spirit of god in hym was sene 6420
Whenne he hadde his eronde done
Homwarde he went also soone
But a litil fro þat gon
He wente to take his lemmen 7110
As he went that way ayeyn
He fond in je leon mouj sleyyn
A swarm of bees jerynne were bred
And wip pe hony he hem fed
His wyues fadir & modir fre
Of his hony to ete zaf he
But not he made hem vndirstonde
How he pat hony fonde
At he feest pere he was stad
A redeles vndo hym he bad
He hett men to jyue hem mede
zif pei coupe hit rijtly rede
And pei to jyue pe same ayeyn
If pei hit redde not certeyn
Of pe etyng pe mete out sprong
And pe swete out of pe strong
His was al whenne pei souȝte
Pe dayes pei studied aboute nouȝte
Jo pei bisouȝte his wyf fat sho
Shulde make hir lord to telle hit hir to
fat bruyd was of biddyng bolde
Sampson al pe soppe hir tolde
And she to jo fat were hir kid
Soone aftir hit vndid
And fat was a greet folye
Hir lordis counsel to discrye
Sampson for wrappe hir forsooke
And she another husbonde toke
Whenne sampson perof herde saye
Now he seide fro his daye
Owe I to haue no maner wyte
Pouze I philistiens do despite
Pre hundride foxes to gider he knyt
I ne woot how he on hem hit
To her tailes fire he bond
And folwynge vche fox a brond
Into philistiens cuntrie
Pouze pe felde he made hem fle
Whenne pei were ripe he let hem renne
And so her curnes dide he brenne
Her olyues wip her wyne trees
Pes foxes brent wip her rees
Pes philistiens wenten oute
And souzten sampson alle aboute
Pe iewes were vndir her walde
Sampson bounden soone pei zalde
Jo philistiens wipbou ten les
Ran on sampson in a res
But sampson was ful smart
Out of her handes soone he start
He 3af a breyd so fers & fast
hat alle his bondes soone he brast
By chaunce he fonde an asse boon
Other wepen had he noon
Of hat hepen folke he felde
A pouande by tale telde
Siben he went in to a toun
To a wyf hat was comoun
Bisydis hir al nyȝt he lay
Je philistiens herden say
Pei m sett pei toun aboute
Hat if sampson coom oute
By nyȝt or in pe mornynge
To doolful deep pei wolde hym brynge
But sampson hat was so wiȝt
Vp he roos amydde pe nyȝt
And bar pe zatis of pe toun
And leyde hem on an hyȝe doun
Aftir he chees a wyf pe
Dalidam him brouȝte in wo
Pe philistiens so ful of stryf
Bihet to dalidam his wyf
Ziftis grete al for to frayn
Where were sampsons mayn
Longe she freyned hym at bolde
And siche a gabbyng he hir tolde
Wip seuene senewes who so me bond
I lost my strengpe foot & honde
His foos jo she bad take kepe
And jo while he was on slepe
Soone she his fow men calde
To do wip hym what jo ei walde
Sampson waked of his nap
His bond did he al to crak
Alle his bondis he brak in two
As jo had ben but a stro
But zit his wyf laft not jus
Pourze eggyng of his enemyus
Til she jo sope made him say
Wher ynne al his strengpe lay
She seide leef telle me where
Hit is he seide in my here
If hit were of I were not jo
No strenger jo anoper mon
Now hap sampson taken his lyf
In wille to welde to his wyf
Was neuer sampson eer in drede
She had in hond his lyf & dede

---

6519 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.
In hir wille hadde he bope done
hat shulde ben aftir sene soone
His firste wyf him lered wit
If. he coude haue holden hit
His oþer wyf hat he had now
Aȝte he not wel to trow
Soore shulde man drede þe brond
hat biforeshap brent his hond
And hard hit is to stond aȝeyn
þe wif þat leueþ not to freyn
þat ouþer for loue or drede of aw(e)
Dop man his priuetees to shawe
By droukennes als may bityde
Dop man his priuetees to vnhy(e)
In fondyng ofte men fyhde hit so
Pryuyest to man is moost his fo
Þer is noon so myche may greue
As traitour derne & pryue þeue
And so dide dalida þen
Worþe hir worste of allewymmen
Hir lordis counsel tolde sho
Hir lordis moost foos to
Hir tyme she tooke a leyser þere
And whil he slept kut his here
Wif hir sheeris wo worþe her hende
And to his foos hym bikende

\[ \text{\textit{penne my\textit{3}te pei do as pei had my\textit{3}t (tynt)}} \]\n
\[ \text{\textit{four\textit{3}e his here his my\textit{3}t was (tynt)}} \] 6550

\[ \text{\textit{pei dude hym wondir myche lo\textit{3}e}}} \]

Beten hym & prisound hym bo\textit{pe}

Whenne he was done in prisoun

A mon of \textit{hat} same nacyoun

Gat dalida his wyf to wedde 6555

Sampson was to \textit{be} brydale \textit{ledde)} 7250

ffor he was sly\textit{3}e of harp glew

By \textit{hat} his heer was waxen new

By a piler was his sete

To my\textit{3}e men at her mete 6560

Whenne \textit{pei} were gladdest at \textit{be} feest fol. 42r col.1

Sampson coude wel geest

Somdel waxen was his heer

\[ \textit{\textit{pe} post hat al \textit{pe} hous vp beer} \]

\[ \textit{wi\textit{p} bo\textit{pe} his hondis he hit shook} \] 6565

So fast \textit{hat} al \textit{pe} hous quook 7260

\[ \textit{pe} hous he falde 3af no man gri\textit{p} \]

His foos he slow\textit{je} him self \textit{jerwip}

Aftir sampson aldur nest

Was domesmon \textit{Ely \textit{pe}} prest 6570

And pou\textit{je} him self was clene of synne

6569 The \textit{A} in \textit{Aftir} is a medium size, decorated capital.
ffor gult jat his sones were Inne
Whiche he wist & chastised nouȝt
Her synne on him self he brouȝt
Whil he laft at home for elde
pei went to fiȝte on þe felde
Slayn were þei þere in sake
And goddes hooly arke I take
Elye his horn panne brake bi chaunce
God sent hit him for vengeaunce
pei made drede siche vncele
jat chastise not her childre wele
Ofte on fadir falleþ wrake
jat sent is for þe childer sake
ffourty þeer demed he israel
And aftir coom samuel
He was a selcouþe douȝty þing
Þe firste þat noynted mon to kyng
Prophete was sir samuele
Dere to god for he was lele
þe Iewis wip her mychel pride
Sent aftir hym on a tyde
Lordyngis he seide seip me wher tille
Haue þe me fet what is þoure wilte
Gete vs a kyng . What are þe wode
Haue ȝe not a kyng ful gode
pat fro ȝoure foos þoureȝe see ȝow ledde
And wiþ riche manna ȝow fedde
And mony werkis for ȝow haf wrouȝt
Sir þei seide þou seist for nouȝt 6600
Gete vs a kyng þat may vs lede fol.42r col.2
As we se opere haue in dede 7300
Parfay seide samuele
ȝe are to frowarde wiþ to dele
Nouþer are ȝe war ne wyse 6605
ffor ȝoure richesse to hyȝe ȝe ryse
Now are ȝe boþe in rest & pees
ȝe longe ful sore to haue males
ffor soþe I saye & shal avow
fful sore hit shal repente ȝow 6610
Not ȝow allone but ȝoure ospyryng
Shal rewe ful soore ȝoure þermyng 7310
Hit is wel worþi þat who
May þole no wele þole wo
Sore wepte samuel wiþ þis 6615
To him coom oure lord of blis
Þryes he calde on samuel
Lord he seide I here þe snel
My folk seide god ful frowardly
Þei seche & worche greet envy 6620
frei aske anoter kyng þen me
euelhele þe tyme shul þei se
þat þei desire þei shul hit haue
to her owne heed a staue
among þis folk shal þou fynde oon
þat saul is calde a stalworpe mon
wip shulderes bope þicke & brade
he shal her kyng be made
siþ þei haue jus forsaken me
he shal be souȝte her kyng to be
soone þei dide saul be souȝt
ffounden & forþ was he brouȝt
he was hyȝer þan any man
by þe shuldres founden þan
þis saul haue þei made her kyng
wip anoyntyng & corounyng
wroþer hele to her bihoue
soone on hem gon hit proue
þenne was þere no lenger abyde
men werred on hem on vche syde
so þat wipinne a twelmonþe stage
þei were put out of her heritage
þenne bigon þei to calle & cryȝe
þat god on hem shulde haue merçye
and samuel þat wist her woo
Calde on god for hem also
God him bad fille his horn
Wip oyle & wende for biform
Unto a man hat hett iesse
In bedleem shal he founden be 6650
You shalt him fynde in bedleem
Seuen sones he hab to barn teem 7350
Oon of hem make you kyng
For saul dredep me no ping
Perfore wip cautif and care 6655
Out of his world shal he fare
For or hat he be slayn in were
He shal in body bere
He shal hym trauail day & ny3t
And lodly his body dijt 6660
Maffay lord seide samuel
I here not of hat iesse tel 7360
Nor his sones ny him I knowe
Be childes name je me showe
His he seide I shal je kenne 6665
Him to knowe by opere menne
In visage is he bri3te & clere
In reed of hew wip lawzynde chere
His fadir in alle hab sones seuen
Be longest is he hat I neune 6670
Bojhe wys hende & of good fame
Dauid he hette bi his name
And for hat he is war & wys
I haue hym chose to his seruyse
His seed for sohe al by dene
Ouer alle men shal I mayntene
His foos shul not a^ein hym vaile
Him ne his shal I not faile
To be kyang not wol him dere
My benesoun shal he bere
Samuel went sechyg be lond
Til he be hous of Iesse fond
Iesse hym rescuyed feire
And samuel him called his heire
Comen he seide I am iesse
To se oon of hi sones pre
Sir he seide wip good entent
3oure word is to me commaundement
His sixe sones hat were at home
Alle he called hem for by nome
But he zongest was a way
Samuel seide sir iesse say
Where is hyrn alper zongest sone
He is he seide here he is won
Wip oure sheep vp on be lowe
Do fet me him I wol him knowe
He heilshed hendely pat prophete
He knewe him whenne he had bih(e)de
Bi tokenyngis before of tolde
Anoynt he was wipouten abade
And kyng of j?o iiewes made
But jou3e he were anoyntide kyng
Je kyngdome to haue in gouernynge
He entermeted him of no jing in de(de)
But to his sheppe a3eyn he jede
Goddes goost in him was sent
ffro jenn fro saul hit was went
Dauid coude of dyuerse note
He coude myche of harpe bi rote
Whenne he wip his gle wolde game
His sheppe assemblede soone same
Of his menstralcy to here
Mony were wont to drawe him (here)
Saul was zitt in stide of kyng
But he my3te do no gouernynge
Pe fend was in his body fest
Wherfore he my3te haue no rest
Penne seide jei alle what is to (3o)
Of oure kyng jat ha3 no ro
He is euer out of witt & wood
How shul we amende his mood
He is ful of wicked hede
Wo is hym pat he shal lede
Penne seide a good man of pat prom
And seide do we litel dauid com
Wip his harp before pe kynge
He shal him do to lauȝe & synge
Whil he to him takep kepe
Pe kynge he shal make to slepe
fforp dud pei dauid brynge
Harpyng a song bfore pe kynge
He made him wip his melodye
ffalle on slepe pat was werye
Operwhile wip harp sumtyme wip song
Bus he serued pe kynge ful long
Pat euer whenne he was travailed moost
Pourȝe pat foule sory goost
If he bigon to harpe & synge
Of his vnro he had restynge
Pat while coom philistiens in poore
Her felounfoos pat paynemes wore
Her hoost in al pat cuntre spred
Pei wasted godes & awey led
Pei brouȝte wip hem goly an eteyn
Hat in foul hoordome was geteyn
Greet he was & also hy
He semed sathanas vnsly
Bitwene his e3en pre fote he hade
L6bely was his visage made
Of body greet & greynes long
Sternely semed he to be strong
Sixe ellen fully he was in hit
Al redy armed for to fithe
Of his mete was mesure noon
Seuen sheep he wolde ete his oon
He seide where is saul kyng
And I myzte ones wip him myng
Shulde he neuer bere no crowne
I wolde him sle by seynt mahoune
Why comep he not or sent his sonde
Wip him I wolde my fors fonde
Cuþer sende he to me hidur
A mon þat we may fithe togidur
Wheþer oþer ouercomeþ in felde
Be toþers folke al to him helde
A mon of his aþeyn oon of ouris
Ifoure may wynne his in stouris
Hat þei be ouris & her heires

6766 The o in folke has been altered from an a.
If ßei wynne ours we be ßeires
Here I byde my self redy
ffor to fiȝte for ourc party
Voche day we come in place
And batail bede wij sich manace
Euer whenne ße folk him sawe
Hem stode ßen of him ful greet awe
Allas seide saul ße kyng ßan
Where shal we fynde a man
ßat dar ße bataile for my sake
Azeyn ßis ßeof vndirtake
Who so wolde fiȝte him azeyn
And him ouercome in bataile pleyn
He shulde be ryche al his lyue
And haue my douȝter to his wyue
Dauid ßis herde & forþ gan stonde
Sir he seide holde me couenonde
I trowe trewelie in goddis myȝt
ßat I shal vndirtake ßat fiȝt
Azeyn goly ßat is so grym
Wij goddis grace sle shal I hym
Azeyn ße ȝonder wrecched þang

Read he for we.

The Æ in Allas is a medium size, decorated capital.
The D in Dauid is a small decorated capital.
ffor sope haue I no drede sir kyng
He trist to al in his owne hand
And I in ihesu al weldand
To dauid seide saul je kyng
I drede perto ou art ful yng
Hit is a stalwor je batail wri3t
And jou lernedest neuer to fi3t
If he je sle as god forbede
Alle most we holde of hepen lede
What bote to lese bi lyf leue page
And aftir we do hem omage
Do wey he seide sir hit is no nede
Pere god wol helpe jor no man drede
Vpon a day my sheep I gette
A bere a lyoun bope I mette
I hadde no helpe but from aboue
Of god jat lent me his loue
Bei sou3te me to rende & ryue
I leide hond on hem ful blyue
I shook hem by je berdes so
jat her chaules I wrast in two
Wipouten ouper swerde or knyf
Bope I refte hem hor lyf
He jat me jere je maystrye 3aue
May do me here hit to haue
Hit is not good leue sir kyng

jat mon in god haue mystrowyng
Go jenne he seide in goddis gri
And god him seluen be pe wip
Goop he seide & fecchep in hy

Myn armure to childe daun

Helme haburioun on him jei dyde
And girde him wip a swerd a myde

Whenne dauid was armed so
fforj a fote myjte he not go

Noufer forj ny jit on bake
But stille stood as a stake

His armure fro him gon he swyng
And toke him but a staf slynge

Whiche he was wont to haue in honde
Aboute his flocke of sheep walkonde

he took fyue stoonys rounde
And put in his scripp jat stounde

Do wey he seide jis opere gere

ffor I kan noone armes bere
Wip my slynge I shal him felle
Go we jider wipouten dwelle

Whenne dauid went forj in route
He saw fe folk jat were in doute

6819 The G in Go is a small undecorated capital.
To make hem in hope bolde
His resoun he hem tolde
Why shulde men ben adred
That are in riȝtwis batail sted
And who that fiȝte in þe wronge
Hit helpeth not him ful longe
Nouþer may yren nor stele
Were monnes wrongfulnesse wele
God is euer on riȝtwis syde
Werryng aȝeyn wrongwis pryde
Perfore god wol for vs fiȝte
Wel þe woot we haue þe riȝte
He vs helpe of his grace
Wip þat he went in to place
Whenne golias on him biheld
Litil he set bi him in feld
But helde hym al in despit
And þus bigan him to flite
Sey wenesþou an hound I be
And wip þi stoon to stone me
Come forþ fast wipout þen abade
Þi flesshe shal fouslis fode be made
Dauid seide if god wol nay
In god I haue fest al my fay

The W in Whenne is a medium size capital.
Armed comest thou me aȝeyn
And I aȝeyn þe al pleyn
I come aȝeyn þe in his name
þat þou hast don despite & shame
hym hast þou & his in despit
Wip his grace I shal hit þe quyt
þi body shal I ȝyue to ȝift
To ete þe foulis of þe lift
þat alle may wite þat god of myȝt
Saueþ not mon in wanhope piȝt
But fully to trowe in him stidfaste
And stabel in his lawe to laste
þenne seide goly þou art but dede
Dauid seide god be my rede
Goly seide wolt þou fizte wip me)
I rede bi tyme þou heþen fle
ffle þat weneþ haue þe werre
ffor ar I fle I shal come nerre
Anoon a stoon he leide in slynge
So myȝtyly he lete hit swynge
þat in his frount þe stoon he fest
þat boþe his yȝen out þei brest
Anoon he fel was no ferly
And out his swerd drouȝe dauy
And heded him wip his owne brond
And brought he king to present 6890

po sarazines there beside

ffledde alle & durst not abyde 7590

there were mony feld to grounde

And mony fled with deepes wounde

David went hoom with greet honoure 6895

Alle thanked god her creatoure

Miche he was soo to say

Loued and draf fro that day

Pore and ryche zonge & olde

Loued him alle mony folde 6900

To ierusalem he heed bar hey

there daunsed wymmen bi he wey 7600

In her daunse his was he song

That he for ioye seide among

Saul ha' smyten a pousond 6905

Ten pousond smyten in david hond

ffor his word was saul wroop

And ofte bope breme and loop

Hau I a pousonde feld how so

And david ten pousonde & mo 6910

Bi his is hym nouzt wone

But that he is not kyng allone 7610

ffor loos that david won that sipe

Wolde neuer saul loke on him blipe
He hated him as his foe
ffro fenne he wayted him to swo
Ofte be pei quyt his wyse
Dat done to liper lord servyse
Je tober day afterwarde
Je fend trauailed saul harde
As he was wont bigon to rage
And as dauid cam him to swage
Je kyng smoot to him wip a spere
In tene he wolde him fourze bere
And fourze he had his body born
Ne hadde he blenched him biforn
Away too drou3e him soone dauy
But saul dredde him not for by
Of a pou3ande men bi tale
He made him ledere & marchale
He pou3te jus in his mood
Jat I him sle hit is not good
But I sham lete hym allone
Philistienz shal ben his bone
He asked dauid if he wolde
His dou3ter wedde to haue & holde
In jat couenaunt for to brynge
An hundrید hedes to je kynge
Of jat folk of hephen dede
Dauid went for\d good spede 6940 7640
wiy pat folk soone he mett
And wiy\dly wan of hem pe bet
A\deyn pat hundr\dre pat saul sou\d
Dauid to him pe double brou\d
pe k\nyng him zaf his dou\dter a noon 6945
pe het michol a fair wommon
pe k\n\ngis sone het ionathas
To dauid trewe frend he was
pe k\nyng bad who so my\d t go
Dauid his sone in lawe to slo 6950 7650
As his foo him to seche
Ionathas was not payed of pe speche
He preyed bo\d\d day & ny\d t
To make pe k\nyng & dauid li\d t
B\dfo\d pe k\nyng pei dauid brou\d t 6955
But aftir soone was al for nou\d t
Soone aftir batail roos
And dauid went a\deyn his foos
His bataile was harde yno\d e
And dauid of his foos fast slou\d e 6980 7660
Mony a mon fel vndir sheeld fol.44v col.1
But wiy dauid lefte pe feld
And efte pe fend ful of greef
Trauailed pe k\nyng to myscheef
And dauid harped wip his harp
Ye kyng hent a spere sharp
To smyte him pourje into ye wowye
Dauid blenched in litil browe
Into his hous jen dauid fled
But ar ye kyng wolde go to bed
He sett his men ye hous aboute
To wayte at morwe when he coom oute
To sle him if he mynte be mette
But his wyf by nyte him out lette
Out at a pryue posterne
He fledde to samuel ful zerne
Bat in ramatha was dwellyng
Soone hit was tolde to ye kyng
Jenne his messangers he sende
To raussyhe dauid wel he wende
But jerto mynte jeti neuer wyn
ffor company jet he was yn
And goddis grace bat him was wip
Saued him euer in good grip
Among his kyn in pryuyte
As outlawe jo woned he
Saul sou3te ofte here & jere
Dauid as his foo he were
He wiste if he to lyf mynte stonde
He shulde be kyng of his londe 6990
And þo childer of saules sede
Shulde be out dryuen for nede
Perfore he hett hem ȝifitis ryf
At meȝte brynge dauid of lyf
In felde & toun frippe & felle 6995
Saul souȝte dauid to quelle
Often fel so þe chaunce
Was þere but goddis desturbaunce 7700
Dauiid þat was mylde of mood
Dide euer ðeȝynes euel þe good 7000
Ofte he meȝte saul haue take
And slayn hym in his owne sake
ffor fro þe kyngis owne bed
Bus he brouȝte a pryue wed
On a tyme whenne saul him souȝt 7005
Wip al þe meȝte þat he mouȝt
He sett his tentis in a dale
Per of to dauid coom þe tale 7710
Whenne hit was nyȝt cald dauy
Of his men ful pryuely
Wip him allone stille þei went
To þe kyngis owne tent
Hym self & his folk þei fonde 7010
In her beddes fast sleponde
pe squyere hiȝt Abisay
pat to pe tent coom wip dauy
Sir he seide bi leue of ȝow
I shal hym sle liȝtly now 7015
joure ȝe his body I shal him smyt(e)
pat euer of hym shul we be quy(te)
Dauid seide god hit for bede
pe to jenke to do pat dede
Or euer him do despite or shame
pat noyntide is in goddis name)
Of al pat ilke kyngis gere 7020
He took but a cope & spere
No more brouȝte he wip him oute
Whenne alle slepte him aboute
He ȝeode til noon myȝte him dere
þus he cryed to þat here
How haue þe kepte þoure kyng seide he
His cope his spere where may(hit be)
þat bope were set at his heued
Where be þei now bileued
Whenne saul herde þat cry 7030
Is þat he seyde my sone dauy
Dauid seyde I was þore
Why sekest þou me & wherfore
Now fat you be a knowen

Why sekest you me & I am Jyn owen)

Saul seyde wipouen wene

Je mys is myn wel is sene

Here I leue je kyngis gleyue

Sende a man hit to receyue

He bat al rjte wipouen roos

Wol vche mon zelde aftir he doos

Soone aftir not ful long

Coom bataill vp on saul strong

Je saresines hym vmbeset

In harde shour to gider jei met

So sharpe was pat shour & suel

Alle fled je folk of israel

Jere jei fol pat my3t not fle

On je mounte of gelboe

Je dou3ty childer jere were sleyn jen

Je kyngis sones & Ionathan

Of pis bataill pat was so snel

Je wors on kyng saul fel

Mony a goode archer jore

Woundide je kyng him seluen soore

Je kyng seide to his squyere

Drawe jei swerd & sle me here

Ar I in his place be ouergone

The catchwords Saul seide appear in the lower right corner of fol. 44v. This would be the end of gathering 6.
And wip sarazines hondis lone
je squyere dude not as he bad
ffor he was ful soore drad
Saul him self drouzé his sworde
And ran euen vp on je orde
Whenne his squyere say him dede
He dude him self pat same rede
Vpon his owne sword he ron
And dy3ed wip his lorde pon
A mournynge day most pat be
Of saul & his sones pre
And his folke pat were so kene
Now are slayn alle by dene
Je sarazines on pat opher day
ffond where saulis body lay
Je heed jei smoot of of pat kyng
And sende je body for to hyng
His men coom bi nyjturtale
Wip hem away his body stale
Pryuely jei dude hit hyde
And dalf hit in a wode syde
ffourty wyntur was he kyng
Now haue je herde his endyng
penne was dauid comen a3ayn
ffro amalec pat he had slayn
That was a strong philistiene
Dauiid had quyuen him batel kene
By goddes grace ye felde he wan
Of saul hoost he mett a man
Bifore dauid to fote he felle
Whences comes you anoon you telle
ffro ye folke of israel
I com to telle tyingis lele
Bei are discoumfrite in pat plas
Saul is slayn and Ionathas
Ar bei bohe slayn wherby
Woost you pat sayde dauy
Bi chaunce he seide I coom rennonde
On mounte Gelboe & fonde
Saul lenyngge on his spere
Woundide wip ye sarsynes here
He me bisouyte whene I him sawe
That I shulde brynge him of dawe
Pour3 ye his body my sword I reef
His hert in two I woot cleef
I wiste no lenger lyue he my3t
Lo here his coroune bri3t
He wende wel for his typ3ng
To haue payed dauid ye kyng
Per wip payed he not dauy
Pat shulde he soone dere aby
Dauid for his ilke disport 7115
Was he neuer of wors comforft
He wrong his hondis & his men alle
Pat goddes folk shulde so mys falle 7820
Pei wept pat day til hit was goon
Pan spak dauid to pat mon 7120
Why dreddest pou not god he seide fol.45v col.1
Whenne pou hondis on saul leide
ffor to do despite or shome
Pat noyntide was in goddes nome
Out of my siʒt ņe lede hym soone 7125
To deolful deep pat he be done
Pat fouler dep may no mon dryue
So alle may knowe mon & wyue 7830
Pat who so leij hond in felony
On kyng or seip him trichery 7130
Or ellis him waitep wip despite
And may not her of him quyte
By doom of fuyr wipouten grip
He diʒe if he bitake per wip 7135
Pe pridde elde now is past
Per of his saul was pe last
Pat elde by gan at abrahame
And endep here in goddes name 7840
Nyne hundrیدe ۷۷eer fourty & two
Hit lasted hit is writen so ۷۱۴۰
ffoure þousande six skore & foure told
Was þis world þat tyme olde
Bytwene abraham & kyng dauy
Herkene now þe genealogy
Abraham in lawe so lele ۷۱۴۵
þat fadir was of folk so fele
Ysaac his sone in spousaile was
Of him iacob of hym Iudas ۷۸۵۰
Of him phares of him Esrom
Vchone of þese of oþere coom ۷۱۵۰
Of whiche aaron wipouten gabbe
Of him coom amynadabbe
Of amynadab coom nason
Of nason coom salmon
Of hym coom boz of him obeth ۷۱۵۵
Of hym iesse þis elde is eth
ffirste fro abraham to taste
And so to iesse þe laste ۷۸۶۰
Here bigynneþ witterly
þe ferþe elde at kyng dauy ۷۱۶۰
Saul is slayn þat sorweful kyng fol.45v col.2

۷۱۵۹-۶۰ A heading.

۷۱۶۱ The S in Saul is a medium size, decorated capital.
In his stude dautid douȝty (King) 7179
pei set a septure in his hon(ger)
þat men calle þe kyngis wond
Alle honourid him wip hailsynge
Heil be þou lord dautid oure kyng
Saf & sounde euer mot þou be
Whil þe folk is vndir þe
Dautid was a ful wyse mon
Riȝtwisly he regned þon
ffro þat he was kyng in londe
Was noon durst his word wipstonde
ffair a courte wip him he ledde
His folk boþe him loued & dredde
He nadde regned but a stounde
Whennhe an hous bigon to found(e)
A myche tour longe & brade
In ierusalem he let be made
But þe viliest of wynne
Ryuely ofte þei falle in synne
Dautid þat many had in wone
Raft hym his wyf þat had but one
He hadde a douȝty knyȝt of fam(e)
His wyf barsabe by name
Alas she was fair & briȝt

7179 For viliest read wiliest.
pe kyng cast ones on hir si3t
he asked what was pat lady
3oure kyn3tis wyf pei seide vry
pat vry po was not pare
In kyngis hoost was he forp fa(re) 7190 7690
Whil pis kny3t was away
pe kyng bi pat lady lay
pe lady was wip childe in hye
pe kyng sende po to fette vrye
Whenne vry coom wipouten wit(e) 7195
pe kyng lete soone lettris write
And toke hem vry for to bere (fo)
To his marchal of his hoost sfo
Wip biddyng he hym bisou3t
pat vrye pat fo lettres brou3t 7200 7900
Into bataile so shulde be led fol.46r col.1
pat he shulde soone be deed
Vrye fo lettres took & bare
But he wiste not what pei ware
pe kyngis commaundement was done 7205
Slayn he was in bataile soone 7906
Whenne vry was fbus brou3te of lyue 7909
Dauid took barsabe to wyue 7910
And hulde hir in his hous fro fpan
Til oure lord seide to natan 7210
Go to dauid kyng an say
he hap mys done a3eyn my lay
penne coom pat prophete to be kyng
And seide him pis in tokenyng
Tweye men were late in londe 7215
A pore & a ryche wononde
Riche hadde mychel fe
Of alle godis greet plente 7920
Of welpe he hadde myche wone
be pore hadde no sheep but one 7220
pat he had wip his siluer brouȝt
And fro a lamb hit vp brouȝt
be riche man wip euel hert
to a gest coom ouerwert
ffor to spare his owne aȝt 7225
be pore monnes sheep he lauȝt
To his mete dide hit be alone
Of his pat nadde but pat one 7930
be man pat hap done siche dede
Sir kyng what shulde be his mede 7230
Of his tale pe kyng was wroþ
By god on lyue he sweer his oop
pat man he seide is ful of quede
And shal by rizte suffere dede
Sone he seide take good gome 7235
zyuen thou hast pyn owne doome
God made pe kyng of israel
To lede pe folk in lawes wel
Thou shuldest han holde pe lawe in stede
And hast broken pe lawe pat he forbede
Slayn thou hast my knygt vry
And taken his wyf & layn hir by
Of god him self stood thou noon awe
Perfore I coom pe to shawe
Pat pi hous he sende pe word
Shal neuer twynned be fro sword
Reyse euel he shal on pe ful kene
And his he sel pe bi dene
Pi wyues pat thou hast alle
Be zyuen to opeare men shalle
Pi synne pat thou in priuyte did
Byfore folk hit shal be kid
Synned I haue seide dauid pan
Pat is soop seide nathan
Perfore shal thou not dyse of wate
ffor god hap het pe transolate
Thou shalt wite I shal not lye
Phe sone of barsabe shal dye
Dauid gat hit a son bonne
Whenne dauid knewe his cost of care
Rewed him neuer jing so sare
In tokene jat he rewed his sake
An orisoun soone gon he make
jat het miserere mei deus
Hem owe to say hit jat synnes rewes
Of alle jpe salmes of jpe sautere
jhis salme for penaunce hap no pere
Dauid regned kyng jore
Wyntres twelue or ellis more
Not wipouten stryf & fijt
3itt helde he wel his owne ri3t
Oure lord hym shewed a si3t to say
A ny3t as he in bed lay
He jhou3te on jpe philistiens
jat had hym done mony tenes
jat sou3te his folke to brynge to grounde
Gladly wolde he hem confounde
To make hem sore for him to gryse
He him bipou3te on what wyse
He him bitau3te to god to kepe
Blessed him & fel on slepe

7269 The D in Dauid is a medium size, decorated capital.
Was goddes owne messangere
And louesomly to dauid spake
Of sleep dauid now I þe wake
Comen am I þe to counsaile
ffolewe hit & hit shal þe availe
Sir god þe chees kyng of kip
His hert hap euer ben þe wip
He biddeþ þe wende anoone
þat þou passe flum iurdone
Into þat ilke stide þou pase
Where moyses hym doluen wase
þe stide woot no mon but him selue
Oure lord þat þere hym gon delue
A relyk shal þou fynde þere dere
In al þe world is not þe pere
Bitwene erþe and þe lift
May no man þyue a riccher zifte
þou shalt fynde þre þerdes þere
þat moyses ofte wip hem bere
Of cyder palme & of cypres
þere were þei sett by moyses
Out of a stide þat hett Helym
þider brouzte he hem wip him
Is no mon for soþe con say
Of how greet vertu & grace are þay
No mannes tunge may telle ny mele
What pei shul bere of soulis hele
Of hem shalt you haue greet vauntage
To pe and to pei baronage
Who so restep him vndir pei shadowe
May no pinge him cumber nowe
Haue good day now wende I
Geder hyyn hoost to gider in hy

Whenne david had hyis counsel herde
To geder his hoost soone he ferde
He past pe flum his hoost him wit
And wenten hem jourze felde & frip
Til he was comen into pat place
Pat him was beden go to bi grace
He fonde pe zerdes po he coom jere
Ech was to know whiche pei were
he knew hem at pe firste si^t
pei were alle of oon hi^t
Of o likenes pouze pei were fere
Passed was a housande zere
Sip pei were set in pat place
And euer grene in goddis grace
To gider pei were in grounde knyt
On o stok pe sope is hit
pei stok was on pat po stode vndir
But 'Ne crops were alle sondir
By fruyt & leef myȝt men se
Of what kynde was vche tre
Whenne 'Ne kynge coom nyȝe 'Ne trees
he kist hem crepyng on his knees
He drouȝe hem vp softe ynoȝe
Wipouten brekyng any bouȝe
Whenne 'Ne kynge had hem vp twijȝt
his hoost honoured hem wip riȝt
'Ne kynge held hem vp to se
A leem shone of 'Ne jères jre
Pat al his hoost myȝt se euene
how hit raȝt vp to heuene
Penne bicoom pat folke ful blyȝe
ffor fond 'Nei neuer fro pat sipe
Mon nor beest 'Nei met
Pat myȝte hem of her weye let
A riche man woned bi her wey
Was seke & to him turned 'Jey
he hadde ben seke mony a day
Wipoutenhelpe of hele he lay
his folk wipouten stille abade
To se 'Pat seke a turne he made
I[n] sekenes sore he fond him stadh

7351 The A is a medium size, decorated capital.
Of þe kyng he was ful glad
Whenne he bigon þo þerdis to se
On hem he wept for greet pite
þenne was he hool & sounde in hye
þe swote smel rauȝte to þe skye
Wip þe kyng he zeode away
And tauȝte hem god & good day
ffaire was þat processioun
þere was many a bolde baroun
As þei wente þe hyȝe strete
Sarazernes foure þe kyng can mete
Blak & blo as leed þei were
Miche richesse wiþ hem þei bere
Men say neuer bifore þat houre
Iso frowarde shapen creatoure
Of her blac hewe was selcoupþe
In her brestis þei bare her mouþe
Longe & syde her browes weren
And rauȝt al aboute her eren
In her forhede was her siȝt
Loke myȝt þei not yp riyȝt
Her armes heȝ y wiþ blak hyde
Her elbowes were set in her syde
Crompled knees & bouche on bak

7372 For Iso read So.
The king wondered on them & spake

When they beheld the king's east

All the lesser and moost sat on their knees before the king.

And hensely the king greeted them.

To the king said they:

Safe be you sir now & ay,

What you bearest let us see

To found if God's will it be

Show us your saying here sir king,

For well we know without losing

Pain on that tree one shall be

The king of bliss for his folk all

Show us this tree out of where

Therefore are we come here

Byholden us ynowe hastou

Our froward shape you seest now,

Full lovely are we but also loope

Is euell mannes soul & body bothe

These very faithlike her root

Azeyne all euels are bote

These shul vs yelde before if sixt

Fieth enes by grace of god al myzt

Of them shall rise our reason

And of all our synnes pardoun
To hem yat mercy for her synne
Cryep to ihesu of dauid kynne
Ye myghte of hem sir lete vs proue
Wip yat ye kyng took of his gloue
Po braunchis of so mychel blys
He helde hem to hem for to kis
Ye kneled & kist hem also tite
Als soone her hyde bicom white
And of ye fre blood had yei ye hew
Al her shap was turned new
Of mankynde hadde yei ye met
In riȝt kynde were yei set
Bifore ye kyng þenne fel yei doun
And maden vchone her orisoun
Ye wipte & þanked god of myȝt
Al yat folk yat say yat siȝt
Ye richesse yat yei wip hem ladde
Ye offered yat yat yei hadde
hem self aȝeyn yei toke þe sty
And wenten hoom to ethyopy
Ye kyng went forþ þoureȝ a feld
Toward a felle bi a donȝ helde
An heremite þer fond yei at hoome
In þat mounteyne was halt & lome

7427 The p in pe is a medium size, decorated capital.
Mychel had he vnhele

Thritty þeer had ben mesele
Over al his body was he sore
Perfore he lyued his one þore
Of grete londes had he lord bene 8140
But alle he lafte hem in þat tene
And for hardenes of his vnhele
He þaf him al wiþ god to dele
And for to ende in his seruyse
Be nyȝte toform of paradise 7435
Him þouȝte he was euen þerby
And þat þe good kyng dauy
Wesshe wiþ a wande his body clene
Þat no sekenes was on hym sene 8150
Suche was þe sweuene þat him þouȝt 7440
But of þo branchis wiste he nouȝt 7445
þat þei hem had souȝte & founde
And brouȝt to cuntre þat stounde
He wook & þouȝte on þat siȝt 7450
And seide lord god of myȝt
Why ne were I as hool & fere
As me þouȝt riȝt nowe here
Vnneþe had he mened his mood 8160
A leem from þo zerdis stood
Riȝt into þe ermytage 7455
Je kyng coom & his barnage
Whenne jei mett wij pat hermyte
Jeil heilsed hym wip greet delite
Whenne pat he je kyng had knowen
he seide welcome to joure owen
Bi jeuse sir kyng I mysele
Shal be saaf of al vnhele
My ouȝte to nyȝte on bis wyse
Pat we were bope in paradise
And pat ouȝ wip po wandes wesshe
Al je vnhele of my flesshe
As any fisshë pou mades me ferë
Wip jeuse zerdes pou berest here
He kissed po zerdes knelynge here
Was he neuer hoiler ere
Je kyng pat kynde was in coost
Ladde him forþ wip his hoost
And al his lyf did wip him lende
To je kyng was he ful hende
Knyȝte he was myche of prys
Je kyng hym quyȝt wel his seruys
fforþ went je kyng soone Þan
Til he coom to flom iurðan
He took je zerdis in his honde
Je streem stille bigan to stonde
Hit stode þe folk on eyþer syde
þe kyngis passage for to abyde
whenne þei were passed ouer þe stron(de)
And comen in to þe toþer londe
wite þe wel þei were ful glad
To þe folke þe kyng þen bad
Vchon to sett her pauyloun
As for þat nyȝt wipouten þe toun
And on þe morwe whenne þei shul(þe)
Into ierusalam þenne go
þo þerdis wolde he sette in warde
Wipinne his owne orcharde
þat while wolde he make hym boun
To ordeyne faire processioun
þe nyȝte þei rested in þat slade
And of þo þerdis greet ioye made
þe kyng aboute hem was þerne
He put hem in to a cisterne
And dude bisyde hem laumpes liȝt
And made men wake hem al nyȝt
þenne went þe kyng for to slepe
But god þat al hap to kepe
And al ouer lokeþ in his siȝt
his wille to lette hap noon nyȝt
Is no þing þat may for barre

The e of laumpes was originally written as o.
A tail was added later to make it an e.
his wille bifo re hit is so warre
He \textit{hat so my}zty is and wyse
he dide \textit{fo yerdis for to ryse}
In \textit{fat cisterne fe rotis honeste}
To gider grewen & were feste
\textbf{7510}
My\textbf{3}t no man hem a twynne wynne
Wipouten brekynge for no gynne
\textbf{8220}
Whenne dauid say noon \textit{opere bote}
But alle \textit{fo yerdis hadden o rote}
\textit{hat fastened were in erpe so faste}
\textbf{7515}
In his hert he was a gast
And seide al nacyoun and lede
\textit{Owep our}e good lord to drede
Mi\textit{3}tful is he \& \textit{hat is skil}
Of vche dede to done his wil
\textbf{7520}
\textit{p}e kyng seide no man hem ster
\textit{ffro henne sip god sett hem per}
\textbf{fol.48r col.1}
\textit{p}e kyng made to kepe \textit{hat syde}
To make \textit{pe orcharde more wyde}
\textbf{8230}
A wal dide he aboute hit reise
And plauntide trees \textit{hat were to preyse}
Of cidre palme and of lorere
\textit{hat yerde shulde be hym seluen dere}
\textit{oper riche trees he sou3t}
\textbf{7525}
In mony stedes and \textit{pider brou3t}
\textbf{7530}
Alle fruytes he plauntide in jat place
ffor his walkynge and his solace

Whenne hit was cloos aboute jat tre
A cercle of siluer nayled he

ffor to knowe bi jat strengle
What he waxe in greet & lenghe

Suche cercles made he sere

Thritty wyntir vche a yer
e He dide oon on as I sow say

Euer whenne he took another way

Pritty wyntir wex jat tre

jat hit was selcoupe for to se

Of cercles jat he tooke away

Offrynge he made to mone on ay

Hit was so charged vche a bowe

wij leef flour & fruyt ynowe

Alle seide jat hit say lasse & mare

Was neuer tre siche blossum bare

Another tre of siche kynde

Mynte no man in worlde fynde

Of worshepe was jis tre to wondir

Pe kyng ofte kneled per vndir

In bedes jat he had to say

knelyng he per vndir lay

Whenne he had made his orisoun

[bbox:0.0 0.0 1.0 1.0]
vndir þat tre he sette him doun
And þouȝte vpon mony a þinge
As he þat was a greet lordynge
A temple he þouȝte þenne to make
To goddis worshepe & for his sake 7560
Bisily he him biþouȝte fol.48r col.2
How þis tempel shulde be wrought 8270
To kepe in his relikes þan
And saue hem in his kyndam
þe holy arke þat þei bare 7565
Aboute wiþ al her holy ware
Oon was þe tables tweyn
þat þe ten commaundementis were In
þat god wroot his owne honde
And þerinne was aarons wonde 7570
þat bar fruȝt þo hit was drye
And als of manna sum partye 8280
þe gilden oyle of þe propiciatory
To cherubins as seip þe story
þese þingis þat I telle here 7575
þe kyng hem helde tresour dere
herfore þouȝte dauid kyng
To make hem a riche wonyng
Vndir þis tre þat I of sey
A stapul was of marbul grey 7580
And as he jouȝte what was to done
An aungel coom from heuen soone
On a bouȝe he made his sete
Of þat tre þat was so swete
ffor wip þat flour þat was so newe
þer stood a selcouȝe louely hewe
þis aungel þat so briȝt shone
Spak to þe kyng þere allone
And seide god þe loke sir kyng
Wel I woot al þi zernyng
þi wille is worshepe for to wirche
To god him self & crafty chirche
But þou shalt wite on what wyse
þat þis werke owe to ryse
God wol not þi self hit make
Of þi hondis he wol not take
Siche a werke hit were vnriȝt
ffor werriour art þou ful wȝt
And many hast slayn wip þi hond
But þou shalt ellis vndirstonde
Al may hit not bi þe be done
Ende hit shal þi sone salamone
þou shalt ordeyne hit in þouȝte
By salamon hit shal be wrouȝte

7592 Read a for &.
he shall be a man of peace
And mychel haue worldes ese
he shall be kyng aftir thi day
his is soo be pat I be say
In reste & pees regne shal he
he temple by hym made shal be
he shall haue wite riches & cele
To reule al his kyndom wele
hit shal be preciouse & ful proude
he werke he shal so semely shroude
Relikes shul there yyne be loken
pat euermore shul of be spoken
Bytwene this & pe worldes ende
Haue good day now I wende
Dauid vndirstonde his skil
To leue his dede had he no wil
ffully he pouȝte to do so
As the aungel seide him to
the kyng to his chaumber went
And soone aftir the queene he sent
ffor of his lawes his was oon
Of al his baronage was theer noon
Mon nor womman yonge nor olde
pat in his chaumber was so bolde
0 foot to sette but thei were calde
When \( \text{pe kyng speke wip him walde} \) \( \text{7630} \)

Ny not \( \text{pe queen wipouten leue} \) \( \text{8340} \)

Ny noon \( \text{oper wipouten greue} \) \( \text{8339} \)

\( \text{jerfore entrede bersabe} \)

\( \text{Je queen his spouse \& his priue} \)

\( \text{je kyng pat he in hert had hid} \) \( \text{7635} \)

To \( \text{je queen he vndid} \)

But neuerpeles tolde he nou\( ^{2} \)t

\( \text{be bodeword pat be aungel brou\( ^{2} \)t} \)

But elles wisely \& ful shert

he tolde as hym lay on hert \( \text{7640} \)

Dame I dud \( \text{be hidur calle} \) \( \text{fol.48v col.2} \)

As for my weddide wyf of alle \( \text{8350} \)

In elde am I waxen now

Of my kyndam what redes bow

To whom shal I hit zyue to lede \( \text{7645} \)

Me to turne to menske \& mede

\( \text{Pat lady to hir lorde dide loute} \)

Wip buxom reuerence and doute

She kneled aftir she had stonde

\( \text{je kyng took hir vp bi je honde} \) \( \text{7650} \)

As he \( \text{pat of hir counsel wolde witte} \)

And bope dud hem dou\( ^{2} \)n to sitte \( \text{8360} \)

he bad hir say \& lett nou\( ^{2} \)t

What were best as he[\( r \] tou\( ^{2} \)t
Of his kyndam pat was to say
Who shulde hit haue aftir his day)
Sir she seide now I se
pat ye Wolfe counsel haue of me
Gladly wolde I if I coupe
pe beste shewe 3ow wip moupe
pe kyndam sir pat is pyn
you hit wan wip myche pyn
Also you haddest greet malese
ffor to stabel hit in pese
Sir she seide ye haue in lyues
Mony children wip youre wyues
pat desiren now in stryf
To haue ye kyndam in youre lyf
you frely kyng ful of blis
ye beste red me linke is pis
3e y Yue hit to whom 3e wol
My graunte shul ye haue fol
I pat am pyn owne wommon
Aseyn sawe wol I make noon
ffor salamon my sone is zing
But myȝte ye mone vp on sir kyng()
Wel ye woot ye me hiȝt
Ar ye to spouse me trouȝ pliȝt
A sone if ye myȝt gete wip me
your heir forsoke should he be
And sỳ so is I haue me kept

But on before òpere had I nouȝt
ffor your love was I widowe wroȝt
On what wise òar me not tel
Wel ze woot how hit bïfel
Blessed be god of myȝt
fforyuen òis ȝow þerof þe plȝt
I say not now so god me rede
ffor noon vmbreyd ny òor mede
Ny for no desyre òat I haue
Ny couenaunt of ȝow to craue
ffor nouȝter kepe I gabhe ny glose
To say þe sope is my purpose
þouȝe salomon my sone be zong
He is wyse and of redy tong
Þat neuer dide me sissentued vileny
And geten is wþ þy body
he þat better con mende ny peyre
Best worþi is to be þyn heȝre
Not forþy whom god wol chese
Aftir þi day Kyng he bese
wþ siche a knott þe queen him kȝytt

Read ðisserued for sisserued.
Je kyng herkened wel hir witt
And curteysly as was to done
he grauntide hir al hir bone
Dame he seide to je I say
pat salomon aftir my day
Shal be kyng of pat I wan
If god wol pat hit be jan
He is not zitt but wondir zing
Sett hym faste to good teching
Til he be lerned him self to lede
Bope of clergye & knyȝthed
Lerne of clergye wel he shal
Of wisdome pat is ground wal
Be childe is pewed & mylde of mode
Loke pat he haue maister gode
But hit be on him seluen longe
He shal be bope riche & stronge
Dame hele his vpon hi lyf
ffor looʒ me were to rere stryf
Til we se je tyme and day
He shal be kyng who so saip nay
perto haue you no mystrowe
perfore make I here pat avowe
his childe was soone set to boke
Clergy wel he vndirtoke
Al his hert he zaf to lore
Myȝte noon loue clergy more
By grace of only god of heuen
Soone he coupe þe artes seuen
Whenne he coupe of londis lawe
þei made him kyng in litil prawe
was noon aȝeyn hit olde ne þinge
þat salomon þennewas make kyng
His fadir biddyng dide he holde
And al þat euer his modir wolde
he helde þat tre dere and derne
þat dauid kyng honoured þerne
Ofte vndir þat tre he sat
And lered mony selcoupþe what
ffor vndir þe shadowe of þat tre
þe kynde of þingis lerned he
Boþe of trees & greses fele
Whiche were her vertues lele
ffor what euel vchone myȝt geyn
Wher so þei grewe in wode or pleyn
And wher þei medicyne & boote
ffounden were in croppe & roote
Of lore þat he lerned vndir þat tre
he made goode bookis þre

For make read made.
Doubtily he hem vndid

wit saumplis of trees & herbes amyd

by firste book wip outen lees 7755

Men calle ecclesiastises

pat moost speke & wol not wonde

How fals his world is to fonde

Of proverbis is pe secounde booke

pat techep aboute hem to loke 7760

Aeynes pe worldes wrecched hede fol.49v col.1

How pei shul hem reule and lede 8470

be pridde boke aftir two

Cantica men calle hit so

A noteful boke of holy writt 7765

by book of loue men clepe hit

Of pat loue hit speke moost

Bitwene monnes soule & be holy goost

So crafty was no clerke to say

ffro pat tyme to his day 7770

pat him myste wip clergy mate

Ne coupe be bookis pat he wrafe 8480

Whil he sat vndir be bowze

Of al wisdam he hadde ynowze

Studfaste stood pat marbul stoon 7775

fful fer be golden lettres shoon

bei seide sumtyme men shul se
God him self regne in pat cuntre
pat plaunted was bitwene po flouris
here pe sternes helde her coures 7780
Wel I woot neuer is hit wan
Of floure ne fruyt pat hit hap tan 8490
And in his tyme siche fruyt shal zyue
pat alle his frendis herof shul lyue
Of pat fruyt shulde no mon byte 7785
But he shulde loue hit also tyte
His writ wip fele was red & sene
But fewe wiste what hit wolde mene
Bytwene pat he whom bare maryl
Heng heron his folke to bye 7790
Bi barnetem of olde adame
Poure a bite brouzt alle in blame 8500
An appul bite bope man & wyf
He tre was dep his shal be lyf
And writen is in parchemyn 7795
Pat hit coom out of pat pepyn
He wrecched adam fel fro
And brouzt he himself in mychel wo
ffor so bigan he cros I wis
Of ihesu cryst kyng of blis 7800
Now is good to go to oure style  fol.49v col.2

7801 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.
Jat we haue left of a whyle
And turne to oure story aȝeyn
To make hit hool & certeyn
Dauid jat I red of here
Was kyng & regned fourty þere
His regnyng was of siche renoun
His foos wip him hadde no foysoun
Childer by wyues had he sere
Of whiche I make no menyng (here)
ffor he jat myche haþ to telle
Je shorter mot nede be his spelle
His was jat kyng dauy
Jat myche spake of prophecy
Of cristis burþe long biforn
Jat shulde of a mayde be born
Whiche mayde of dauid sede
Was aftir geten as we rede
Asoure lord biforne him hiȝte
Of hym to sprynge alle þinge to (riȝte)
His dauid made þe sautere
Jat is rad boþe fer & nere
Homer þe poete jat was so ryf
Lyued in þis kyng dauid lyf
And of affryk þe strong barnage
Dide make þe cite of cartage
Pat to rome was ever quered
Sip whenne pe kyng was deed
He bad his men pat he shulde (ly)
In bedleem his fadyr by
Aftir dauid deep salomone
Was kyng sittynge in his trone)
He was a boldly bachilere
In al his world had he no pere
Of witt & wisdam as we rede
was neuer a wyser lawe to lede
In bed he lay on a nyght
Biforn him stood an aungel bright
And to him spak with blisful chere
He seide I am a messangere
My lord ha] sende be word by me
To 3yue be choys of kingis pre
Of strenghe riches and of witt
Chees whiche you wolt & haue hit
If you him serue with hool hert
Of pre you shalt haue oon in quert
Salomon his vndirstood
Of his message you3te him good
Witles he seide what is catele
Or what is strenghe with to dele

The A in Aftir is a medium size, decorated capital.
I ches me witt for greet rede
I sonke him ghat chois wolde me gyue
I shal hym serue whil I lyue
wip al my miste & my wille
he gyue me grace hit to fullille
To salomon seide he angel go
In chois hastou wisely go
And for you wel hast chosen oon
You shalht haue hem euerychon
You shal be ful war in dede
Alle folk shal he drede
And drednes shal you haue of mon
Of riches shal you haue greet won
Pas regned salmon wip his
In myche ioye & mychel blis
He loued he folk of his kyngdome
And hei hym alle chylde & mon
Alle ghat aseyd him dud males
Wip wisdome he hem toke to pes
Al ghat his fadir myzt nouzt
Salamon to ende hit brouzt
Jerusalem loued he moost of alle
Pere was he sett in kyngis halle
\[7863 \text{ For mon read non.}\]
In his kyngdome þe forme dawes
Among his folk he set his lawes
And did hem streitly to þeme
Mizte no man more riþtly deme
Among his riþtwis domes ryf
Here how he felde a stryf
Mister wymmen were þer twyne
þat lad her lyf in sake & synne
housyng had þei noon to note
Boþe þei dwelt in a cote
Boþe on a nyȝte liȝter were þai
And boþe at onys in gesyn lay
Boþe were knaues þat þei bare
her moderes ful nedy ware
þei had no credeles ne wiþ to by
But dide her childre bi hem to ly
her beddyng was to hem so nede
hit myȝt not be depardide in dede
Of þese wymmen soone þei ton
In bed slepyng hir sone had slom
As wymmen done ryuely
þat þonge childre leyn hem by
Whenne she fond hir childe was dede

7875 The I in In is a medium size, decorated capital.
7885 The a in þai has been altered from an o.
Goude she fynde no better rede
ffro hir fere she stale hir barn
And laide hiren pere pat was forfarn 7900 8608
So in bed stille she lay 8613
As she had slepte til pe day
pat oher wommon whenne she woke
And bigan hir childe to loke
She fond hit ded liggyng hir by 7905
Alas she seide pat born was I
My childe Is slayn & I noot how
Golde haf slayn hit as I trow 8620
Je childe in barme to fire she bare
Wel she wende to quyke hit pare 7910
Al for nouzt hit was for leyn
hit myzte not quyke to lyue azejyn
She hir bipouzte in short while
pat of hir childe she had gyle
Whenne she sopley had knownen 7915
pat je childe was not hir owen
To hir felowe she lep in hy
And parwip pat a mychel cry 8630
She seide wicked be je wo
Why hastou me by gyled so 7920
Of my childe pat my self bere
3yue hit me anoon now here fol.50v col.1
yne me my childe you fro me stal
be tober seyde you lyest al
I hit bar and hit is myne
be dede childe sojely is byne
pat you slaye whil you slept
ful wel haue I myn kept
She seide you lyest wik wommon
you shalt derof be ouergon
My quyk childe you hast stolen to be
But bi dede childe leyd by me
you shalt hit zelde to me al
Whenne iuggement derof be shal
Wip his bei coom biforn the kyng
Alle folwede hem olde & zin[g]
Mychel pepul of mony toun
Of that doom to here resoun
Soone wip salomon bei met
Vndir the tre here he was sett
here he moost his witt souȝt
Of alle þingis þat he wrouȝte
Whenne þei were biforn him þere
ffirst spak she þe quyk childe bere
She seide saȝe be þou salomone
Kyng sittyng in þi trone
Lord þi pore wommon þou here
And rightwis dome in his mistere
These women bat ye se here stonde
We are bope in o hous dwellonde 7950
Bope at onys wif child we were
And bope at ones our childre we bere
In wonyng were we stad not wyde
And layde oure childre by our syde
But weilawey hit so bifel 7955
My fere in bed hir childe dud quel 8670
She layde hit priuely
Whil I slepte in bed me by
And stal my lyuyng childe away
Til I knewe wel by li3t of day 7960
Of his tresoun she had me done fol.50v col.2
I hir resounded also soone
But myȝte I neuer hidur tille
No childe gete for good nor ylle
You lyȝest seide bat oþer þon 7965
fful bitturly as euel wommon 8680
Youȝte I neuer þi childe to stele
But wommon am I trew & lele
His childe in myn arme is myn
And þat þat is dede hit is þyn 7970
Of my wombe þis childe was born)
And thou wilt shame in hast lo(n)g
be ded is ayn & myn be quyke
Suche wordis spak hat wommon witk
hat oher seide alas sir kyng
And herwip gon hir hondis wryn(g) 7975
I se my childe is me wipdrawen
And shal not come to myn awn
Thou do me bote azeyn his bolde
ffor al pe sope I haue pe tolde 7980
pe kyng hat was so sleze a clerk
War & wyse in al his werk
Of his pleyn meruailed sore
A caas hat hadde not come biforn
Lordyngis he seide his wommon here) 7985
Seip hat be quyke childe she bere
her azeyn seip hat oher 8700
She is be moder & noon oher
Part in be dede haue bei noon
bei clayme ferof blood nor boon 7990
But of be quyke bope wolde be
Modir as be here and se
But modir may hit haue but she)
To prove hit shul we soone gon)
And eyber wolde haue hit al 7995

7981 The in be is a medium size, decorated letter.
But jarto may þei not fal
Me þinkeþ by al maner art
Bytwene hem we mot hit part
And sipen þat þei wol so
Wip swerd hit shal be delt in two
Byþer shul to o syde stonde
A noon fet me my swerd in honde
þe womman þat þe modir was
ffel to grounde & cryed allas
And seide lord god hit shylde
þat þou sir kyng sle my chylde
þyue hir al my childe allone
þat is better þen hit be slone
Of him I þyue to hir my riȝt
Or he shulde so be diȝt
þe toþer seide not shal be
Hool be þyuen to me ne þe
But baldelie dalt mot he be
As þe kyng hap seide in se
Buer þat oþer seide in sawe
Lord lete not my childe be slawe
ffor no þing þer may bifalle
Lordyngis he seide þis here þe alle
To whiche of þese shal I hit deme
Say me what wol best biseme
pei seide sir bi his day
We noot bitwene hem what to say
He seide herde ye not pat oon
Wolde haue him quyke another sloon
pat oon wolde dele ye childe in two 
pat oher wolde not lete hym slo
Wherfore I you rede
ye childe be not done to deye
But bitake hym to pat wyf
pat so fayn wolde haue his lyf
ffor she pat halt his lyf so dere
His modir is wibouten were
Yis doom pei seide is of prise
Alle ponked salomon ye wyse
Hir childe she toke & hoom she gos
Of Yis doom fer sprong ye loos
Alle fat spake of salomon
seide so wyse was neuer noon
Ny craftiere in werke of honde
Was neuer founden noon in londe
Ne neuer noon fat had I wis
So myche wele of worldly blis
Whenne salomon was wel at ese
And al his kyndome in pese

\[8043\] The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.
In worchynge he bigan to wake
In det he was je temple to make
Dat his fadir him of bisou3t
But of a ping wonadir him pou3t
Whil he was tymberyng to je ping
Dat while je tre bigon to clyng
Je tre je I before of tolde
Je bigon to waxen olde
Vche man seide jeat hit se3e
Dat hit for elde bigon to de3e
And semed wel bi jeat purpos
Men shulde no more hit holde in cloos
Je short tale jeorof to telle
Men je ra3er shulde hit felle
Whenne nede were to be sou3t
And to je temple werk be wrou3t
Je kyng cast by scanteloun
And dide make al je tymber boun
Whenne al was purueide in place
And bounden to gider beem & lace
Jei fond gret merryng in her merk
Je wri3tes jeat shulde reise je werk
Je best beem jea ferynne shulde be
Jeorof wanted hem a tre
Je beem jeat moost je werk shulde bynde
pei souzte anoher for to fynde
Mony a wod haue pei pourze gon
But siche tre fonde pei noon
When pei had souzt wiþouten spede
Sir kyng pei seide we doute oure dede
Shal perisshe & al left werk vchone
And spak to kyng salomone
pei seide sir durst we for awe
Oure pouzte wolde we to 3ow shawe
We haue souzt fer & neer
To fynde a tre to his mister
ffor to fest wiþ compas slyze
Oure werk to gider lowe & hyze
If we durst seye 3ow sir kyng
bat ze took not in greuyng
pei tre bat is in orcharde þin
Wolde brynge oure werk wel to fyn
pei kyng of his tre vndirstood
Almost menged him his mood
Neuerþeles he graunt bat tre
Whenne hit myȝte noon oþer be
Soone was bat hewen doun
And squyre on leyd & scanteloun
pei tre was also mete & queme
As any man coupe þerto deme
But whenne hit was vp bi strengpe Hit wanted large an ellen lenghe
Anoon doun þei hit let
And fond hit mete ynoue bi met
Etfe þei lifted vp þat tre
Hit was to short greet quantite
þus þei proued hit þre dayes
As hit in þe story sayes
But for no proful þat þei dude
Hit wolde not þere stonde in stude
whenne þei say no bote ellis
þei wente to seche frippe & fellis
ffynde anoter tre wolde þay
þei hit fonde þe firste day
þe same day þei hit founden
þe beem was in his burpen bounden
His tre þei took of cypres
And dude hit in worshepe & in pees
In þat holy temple grij
And þe pritty cercles þerwip
þat kyng dauid so good
Dude aboute hit whil hit stood
To wite how hit grew by þere
And offered hem as tresour dere
To haue of pat tre lastynge mynde
Of dyuere tokens as we fynde
At je temple for pis resoun
{pei were wi}{tresour in comoun
Ne were {pei neuer} henne spende
Til {pei were Iudas bikende
To hym were {pei bitauzte & tolde
Whenne he for hem his lorde solde
{bus seip sum opynyoun
But so seip not {pe passioun
{pe tre }onne ful richelye
Was in {pe temple don to lye
{per of was neuer made ouzte
Til {pe cros per of was wrouzte
{pis chirche was made of marbul stoon)
Suche another in world was noon
As was tempel salomone
{pelynne were alle her relykes done)
Mony selcoupes to se
He wrouzte {here in stoon & tre
Was neuer noon }at coup{e wirche
Ne ordeyne siche another chirche
But god had {yuen siche wis{om
As he jaf to salomon
As seye {pe men pat }ere han b(e(}en)
Wipynne & oute bope han seen
pritty ellen whenne hit was made
hit hade on lenghe & ten brake
And on heizte hit hadde fiftene
Bi crafte ouer al wrouȝt by done
perfore je beem I tolde of ore
Of eynes was fiftene & more
whenne pe temple halwed wes)
pe tre lay euer stille in pes
Mony hit wolde haue done away)
Mijte jei not stille hit lay
And aftir salomones dawe
Coom a prest of her lawe
perto fyue hundriðe men he led(e)
jei myȝt not stire hit of pat stedde)
Wip ax he wolde haue kut hit jon)
Alto soone he bygon
Out of pat tre brast a blase
And brent hem alle in pat plase
Coom noon of hem hoom quik
Cirillus het pat prest wik
pis was a tokenyng of pat tre
pat halwed was as je may se
Salomon jo was ful wele

8167 The S in Salomon is a medium size, decorated capital.
And vmbset wip hap & cele  
his wyues were wondir to neuene  
Queenes had he hundrides seuene  
pre hundride lemons he sayes  
Aftir ye lawe in po dayes  
wipinne ye tyme yat I of rede  
jer coom a lady of yat lede  
ffor to honour hit in yat stude  
As mony of yat cuntre dude  
She pouzte to make hir orisoun  
But vnwisely she sette hir doun  
Vpon his ilke tre wip chaunce  
pat men hadden In affiaunce  
Soone was þere seen a wondir  
Hir clothes bigunne to brenne hir vndir  
As þe tre in fire had bene  
 þat ilke wommon þat I of mene  
þe tre aferd she stirte fra  
Hir name was maximilla  
þenne bigon she for to crye  
Wip a voys of prophecye  
She seide on þat tre shulde hynge  
þe lorde of hele þe blissful kynge  
Ihesu crist of mayden born  
To saue þe world þat was forlorn
pat shulde pe iewes here & se
pat shulde pe cros make of pat tre
ffor pe love of his soo sawe
pe felle iewes wipouten awe
ffor penne nemed she cristis name
On god seide pei pou hast seide shame
She is wod wip fend I take
Anoon pei heueded hir wip wrake
Send was perse an aungel clere
And vp to heuen her soule bere
perse in al pe folkes sizt
And seide pat cristiane she hizt
perfore were pe iewis wroop
pat nome to here hem was loo\nhis womman was pe first men knew
Martired for loue of crist ihesew
These iewes pouzte not zitt ynowe
his tre out of pe temple pei droze
A put per was ful litil hem fra
Was cald piscina probatica
 pe iewes pat were wont to wrong
per Inne pe kyngis tre peislong
Wher so euer his tre lay
God shewed peron his mys\tis ay
vche day a certeyn hour
Jer liȝt doun fro heuen tour
Aungels pat were selcoute shene
To stire þe watir al by dene
Whenne þat hit was stired so
Men þat lay seek in wo
Who so to þat watir coom anoon
Of soor hadde he lenger noon
Were his sekenes neuer so strong
Or hadde he lyued neuer so long
þes iewes þo crabbed & kene
Whenne þei hadden þis I sene
þei drouȝe hit þenne & made a brigge
Ouer a litil ryuere to ligge
þe watir of siloe & þei seide
Whenne hit was ouer þe watir leyde
If her Inne any vertu be
Of olyne wiȝynne þis tre
Bi synful mennes feet seide þei
Wip goynge shal be done away
On þis maner þis tre þere lay
Til aftir warde mony a day
Til sibile coom fer fro kip
To salomon to speke him wip
ffor to here of his Wisdom

8233 There is a vertical stroke (/) in the manuscript between vertu and be.
Whenne she to je cite coom
She coom in at þulke gate
þere þe tre lay in hir gate 8960
Doun she bowed to þe grounde 8245
þe tre she honoured þere a stounde
She laft hir sherte neuer þe latir
And barfott wolde she ouer þe watir
To þat tre she gan hir folde
And prophecye þerof she tolde 8250
And of domes day namely
How mony men shulde be sory
Whenne þat sibile wif þe kyng
Disputed had of mony þing 8970
þe kyng þaf hir ziftis faire 8255
And hamwarde she dide repaire
þis ilke tre þat I of say
þere hit lay mony a day
But hit was in þe temple boun
At tyme of crisist passioun 8260
Let we hit ligge þere hit lise
Speke we of salomon þe wyse
his dedis coupe no mon amende
Suche grace god hym sende 8980
But harde hit was þe dede of synne 8265

8261 The L in Let is a medium size, decorated capital.
Pat ordeyned was to adames kynne
Pat sorweful werk hem self hit souȝte
Pat al her sede in sorwe brouȝt
Man to falle in fulpe of flesshe
Poureze fourme of kynde ȝat is nesshe 8270
Ouer past hym haj ȝat caytif kynde
And made kyng salomon al blynde
Blynde of witt & wisdoom als
And also in his feip ful fals 8990
Poureze wymmen ȝat he loued fele 8275
He fel fro lyf & soulis hele
Aȝeynes goddis forbode dide he
And loued ladyes of vncoûpe cuntre
Pat made him god to renay
And to forsake his owne lay 8280
Lord god so mychel of myȝt
Where bicoom al his insiȝt
Pat dude him self so to spille
ffolwynge wicked wommonnes wille 9000
// Alas erly þi gyle bigon 8285
At adam þat was formast mon
Sampson þat strengest was in lyf
Was bigyled þoureze a wyf
Kyng dauid for a wyues siȝt
To deþe dude a sacles myȝt 8290
Salomon jat I rede of here
jat neuer hadde of wisdome pere
Sip wymmen han bigyled him so
Who may of hem be siker who
Certis I trowe neuer oon
In pis world of wicke wommon
Je man she hap in hir bandoun
She bryngep to confusioun
Jerfore I say blessed is he
jat do hym not in hir pouste
ffor if he loue hir more jen nede
To foly wille she wol him lede
Be he neuer biforn so sly
Jenne shal he falle in to foly
Mis trowe no man herfore jat I
wol speke of wymmen vileny
If I so dude I were vnhende
I jenke no good wommon to shende)
Certis jat jar no man wene
ffor in pis world is noon so cleme)
Creature wip god & mon
To loue as good wommon jon
Pis euel to hem I hit telle
jat are founden false & felle
Je goode are neuer je wors to preys(e)
340
What so men of pe wicked seys(e)
Whiche are to lacke & whiche to loue
Her owne werkis wol hem prou(e)
But god jat dy3ed vpon pe rode
Amende pe wickede & saue pe gode)
Whenne salomon his wille had wrouȝt
Wo him was jat euer he hit pousȝt
God to wrap he his soule to fyle
Jenne repentide hym a whyle
Wip boye his yȝen sore he gret
And dude proheten to be fet
Patriarkis hem coom wip alle
Biforne her feet he doun con falle
And saide haueȝ of me mercy
Is noon so synful wrecche as I
I se wel I haue mys goon
I haue honoured him self saton
I haue laft my lordis lawe
And to pe fendis fully drawe
Hastou pei seide pi lawe reneyed
Ze ze wayleway he seyed
Whi pei seide dost [jou so]
A woman wrouȝt me his wo

8321 The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.
8320 The catchwords Whenne salomon appear in the lower right hand corner of fol.52v. This is the last folio in the seventh gathering.
My mys gilt I am aknowled
I were worpi to be drawen
I haue done a wickede dede
Toure a wommon of hepen lede
3e rede me now for goddis sake
3oure counsel I wol vndertake
Alle 3ei seide what rede con 3e
3e reede [hit] is holly in 3e
3ou 3i self pat art so wys
ffirste saye vs 3yn avys
We shul be to 3i biddyng boun
He seide takep of my croun
pat I no lenger ow3e to were
My kyngis robe of me 3e tere
ffor my synne fer wol I fle
To vncoope lond fro 3is cuntre
do wey 3ei seide kyng salomon
3is ping ow3e not we to don
Nouper we Wolfe ne haue my3t
ffor do 3e lawe of kyngis ri3t
3e lawe pat god hap leyd on kyng
We ow3e to breke for no ping
What seide he what saye 3e now
Shal I haue no rede of 3ow

There is a space the width of three letters between the d and the o of do.
What rede may we saye to pe
I wol pat pe uncorune me
Mi lord I haue laft alas helpe me in his caitif caas
Leip on me harde penaunce
Sore is hit my repentaunce
Sip I haue servued to haue shame
3yue me shrifte in goddis name pat shrifte was sorweful to sene
Al pe cite say bi dene
Olde & zonge gon on him wondir
pe shrifte pat solomon 3eode vndir
His synne before pe greet cite
Wip woful wepyng shewed he
His riche croune of stoon & gold
He dide firste take of his molde
Of his robe he gan to ryue
And his body al to dryue
He scourgid him bare in pat pronge
Out of his backe pe blood sponge
Suche soor shame & marterynge
Was neuer seyn on siche a kynge
Al he toke in goddis name
And boled mekely pat shame

8382 Read spronge for sponge.
Him pouȝte al þat to be lite
ffor to þole for siche a wyte
Whereof to fore he loued þe lust
He let ryue hit al to dust
Perfore hit semed wel bi þis
Þat he gat mercy of his mys
What for þe reuþe of his mysdede
And for his shrifte he vndirȝede
Aftir þe tyme þis was done
A While regnede salomone
Blisfully ouer al þat lond
His werkis þitt ben lastond
His craftis shul be lastyng ay
Til hit come to domes day
Miche of hym haue I to telle
Miȝte I for òpere þingis dwelle
On òpere þingis most I mynne
To reken forþ oure lady kynne
ffor þerfore moost I vndirtoke
ffor to make þis englisshe boke
To telle how þat lord of myȝt
To hele men ofte had hiȝt
Þat of her seed a mon shulde springe
Monkynde out of wo to brynge
Longe was þis het biforn
Ar ihesu crist to vs was born
Of salamon now we ende
Pat regned fourty wynter hende
He had hade bove of wele & wo
His elde was fourty zeer & two
In bedleem grauen was he boun
Pat was his owne fadir toun
Wip menske & worshepe aftir wham
Regnede his sone pat hett roboam
His roboam pat I of mene
Regnede wynteres seuentene
His sone coom aftir abya po
Pre zeer he regnede & no mo
Asa his sone hool & fere
Regnede oon & fourty 3ere
Josephat his sone in lyue
Regnede twenty zeer & fyue
Pat was elyas be prophete
God of hym so mychel lete
He styntede reyn bi his preyere
Six monepes & pre 3ere
And whenne he preyed eft aȝeyn
God hem sende plente of reyn
He was be firste storyes sayes
Pat dede men reysed in po dayes
Of Ioseph coom Ioram
Hat eizte wynter regned wip wham
Was a prophete elizeus
And as the story tellep vs
Ely was pat tyme pare
Translated in golden chare
Of his Ioram coom osyas
Of regne fifty wynter pat was
In pat tyme pat I of mele
In pat lond were prophetis fele
Isaias . Ioel . Osee . Abdyas .
Amos . Ionas . & mecheas
Pe eiztepe sible bigan to ryse
Pat was of prophecye ful wyse
Of ozias coom Iothan
Sixtene zeer he regned pan
Romulus was the firste man
Pat regned in rome & hit bigan
Achaz his sone aftir him coome
Pat tyme was made the toun of rome
Sixtene zeer regnede achaz
Of him coom ezechias
he regnede nyne & twenty zeere
Wel was he loued wip ihesu dere
Penne regned manasses
That was his son without les
That tyme was seip the story
A sibilen that het of samy
Of his manasses coom amon sopo
As his fadir tofore dide go
ffoles were pei bope vnslye
pei honoured euer maumetrye
Amon sone het Iosyas

Doubt kyng in his tyme was
ffordide pei toun of nynyue

That was aboute Iourneyes the
That stonden had in tyme the
ffourty hundride 3eer & more

That tyme was prophete Ieremye
Spekyng in his prophecye
Iosias gat Ieconyam

de transmigracioun was the
That the book of mynde mas
here was a kyng sedechias
In his tyme was the Iewes bnd
Wonnen al into sarazines hond
Ierusalem was stryed & take

That kyngdome fel in to wrake
And as we in the story descende

In that tyme was the temple brende
Thour3e a kyng of babilone
In praldome he had hem done
Nabugodonosor he hizte
Stronge he was of myche my3te 8490 9210
Twelue mone3e biseged he hit jon
And for defaute of mete hit won
Pe kyng fley out bi ny3t
Wit} his boldest men & wi3t
He was take as he fley 8495
His sone slayn in jat wey
And him seluen dide jei bynde
And kest him in to prisoun blynde
Pe iewe3es were put out of state
And her kyngdome al transolate 8500 9220
Pat foure hundride zeer had stonde
And fifty at pat day neuerhonde
Pe fe3e elde of pe world is tolde
Pat was foure hundride wynter olde
And fyue & sixty zeer & jre 8505
But sij> jxls world bigan to be
Is foure thouande six hundride fol
Who so redily rekene hit wol

8502 Read nerhonde for neuerhonde.
Explanatory Notes


1 One folio, containing 152 lines, has been lost from the beginning of the MS. The MS begins in the middle of the versified table of contents.

1-2 Ll 10,143ff.
3-4 Ll 10,571ff.
5 Ll 11,177ff.
6 11,287ff.
7-8 11,373ff.
9-10 11,547ff.
11-2 11,581ff.
13-4 11,927ff.
15-6 12,713ff.
17-8 12,916ff.
19-20 13,000ff.
21-6 13,242ff.
27-8 13,360ff.
29-30 13,452ff.
31-2 13,520ff.
MSS H, T and G have the man sick for 28 years. C and F have the correct reading of 38 years. See John 5:5. However, at 1. 13,820, MS F alone has 28 in Roman numerals, while C, G, T and H have 38.

This reference to the Harrowing of Hell is probably not just to the event itself, which is not described until 11. 17,863ff. The poet probably means to include in this reference the preliminary events which begin at 1. 17,293ff.

MSS C, F and G’s reading "dill", to conceal (ON dylja), makes more sense that H and T's "stille". The verb "dillen" with this meaning is found only in the CM, according to OED and MED, but it never appears in MSS H or T. Three times it is changed to "stille" (202, 1081, 4271), twice the whole line has been rewritten without the word (9292, 13031), and twice it occurs
in a passage which is not found in H or T. (21,363, 26,584). The scribes of the northern versions of the CM seem to have been the only ones familiar with the word. The others have consciously avoided using it.

51-2 17,365ff.
53-4 18,911ff.
55-6 19,041ff.
57-8 20,065ff.
59-60 21,347ff.
61 21,971ff.
62-3 22,427ff.
64 22,711ff.
65-6 23,945ff. Neither the sorrows of Mary nor the institution of the Feast of her Conception is found in MSS T or H, which end at 1.23,898.

67-8 24,731ff. The Edinburgh MS breaks off after 1.24,968. However, C, F and G continue with a varied assortment of moral expositions which are not mentioned in the table of contents.

80-92 The poet's declaration of his intention to write in English for the common people. MSS H and T omit nearly all the references to French (11.237-42). The original author of the poem was writing at a time when the English language was only beginning to oust Anglo-
Norman as a literary language. By the time the MS family represented by H and T came to be copied, Anglo-Norman must have been well on the wane. See M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), pp.5-6.

102 MSS H and T substitute "reherset" for "ouer-rines", as in MSS C, F and G, thus failing to translate the title exactly. Cf. 1.71 however.

The poem's first explanation of its title is missing from this MS. Cf. MS T:

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A1 his world ar his book blynne
Wi} cristis helpe I shal ouer rynne (11.121-2)
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The idea of "running over" the history of the world has analogues in other languages. Cf. the explanation of the title of Hugo von Trimberg's historical work *Renner*:

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Renner ist ditz buch genant,
wanne ez sol renne durch di lant.
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This is quoted in Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (New York, 1933), p.83 and note 114. The poem was composed 1296-1313.

105ff As promised in the prologue, 11.125-30, the poet grounds his work in the Trinity and begins by describing the godhead in popular terms by which even the lewed folk can understand it.

115-24 A garbled version of a statement in the *Elucidarium*
of Honorius Augustodunensis, which the CM poet now begins to translate. The Father created the world ("ordayned" 1.121), the Son maintains it ("gouerne") 1.122), and the Holy Ghost gives it life ("multeplied" 1.122). See Elucid. I 6.

125-44 A comparable image is found in Augustine, where the persons of the Trinity are compared to the attributes of a lamp and of fire. See "Sermo de Quarta Feria" vi, PL XL 692 and "De Symbolo: ad Catechumenos Sermo Alius" ix, PL XL 658. The immediate source of this passage in the CM however is probably the Elucid. I 3. Cf. also Anselm, De Processione Sancti Spiritus xiii-xiv, PL CLVIII 306-7. There the image is of the sun, and the Augustinian attributes of "ignis, splendor et calor" have been modified to "ignea substantia, splendor et calor".

The CM poet seems to have been influenced by a slightly different tradition also. He has altered the Augustinian "ignis" by ignoring even Honorius' "ignea" and translating "substantia" as body. See 11.129 and 139. The Middle English formulation of the sun's attributes is thus closer to that of Otto of St. Emmeran, Liber de Admonitione Clericorum et Laicorum ii, PL CXLVI 247: "corpus in modum rotae constans, et
splendorem atque calorem ipsius."

Aelfric similarly likens the Trinity to the body of the sun ("seo lichamlice edwist, jæet is Æaere sunnan trendel"), its light and its heat. See Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Aelfric* (London, 1844), I 282. The source of a similar passage in the *Ludus Coventriae* may also have contained the words "ignea substantia" rather than "ignis", for the playwright refers to "The splendure þe hete and þe lyght", thus translating only the adjective "ignea" rather than the noun "substantia". See *Lud. Cov.* p.180,1.82.

In the *CM*, the noun "heat" of MSS C and F has been corrupted by scribes to the adjective "hot" in MSS G, H and T. In these latter MSS, therefore, the three attributes of the sun seem erroneously to be roundness, heat and light, but cf. 1.139 where the body of the sun more correctly symbolizes the Father.

146 God is sometimes referred to as a fountain in scripture. See *Ier.2:13, Ier.17:13, Ps.35:10.* Honorius calls him "fons et origo", a very common Latin phrase. See the correspondence concerning this phrase in *Classical Review*, XXXVI (1922), 115; XXXVII (1923), 26; XXXIX (1925) 71; *Bulletin DuCange,*
IV (1928), 79 and 156; VII (1932), 227; XII (1937), 40. The "welle hat neuer is dry", however, seems an echo of Is.58:11: "sicut fons aquarum cujus non deficient aquae".

147 The corruption of "for", or "for-ji", to "ouer" in MSS H, G and T further obscures Honorius' original meaning: "Quare vocatur Pater?—Quia ipse est fons et origo, a quo omnia procedunt". Elucid. I 4. Honorius may have obtained his idea of God as a fountain from Anselm's De Fide Trinitatis viii, PL CLVIII 280-2 or from De Processione Sancti Spiritus, xvii, PL CLVIII 310.

319-22 MSS H and T omit the widely known Augustinian description of the Trinity as "minning" (memoria), "vnderstanding" (intelligentia), and "will" (voluntas), here taken from Elucid. I 6. Cf. however, 11.394-400. See Augustine De Trinitate X xii, PL XLII 984.

155-62 This passage does not seem particularly relevant here. In the Elucid, it answers the pupil's question about whether God lived alone before the creation of the world. The CM poet, however, fails to make Honorius' point clear: "Scriptum est: Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat (Ioan.I 3,4). In quo patet omnem creaturam semperuisse visibilem in Dei prae-
destinatione, quae postea visibilis ipsi creaturae apparuit in creatione:.... Unde Deus non esse antiquior sua creatura, tempore, sed dignitate."

Elucid. I 15.

Modern editions of the Vulgate separate the phrase from Ioan: 3 et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est.
4 In ipso vita erat,

However, Honorius' reading of the words as one phrase "Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat" is the common mediaeval one. See Elucid. p. 108. Honorius' source was Anselm's Monologion ix-xi, PL CLVIII 157-60. By the end of the fourteenth century this idea was condemned as heresy by Nicholas Eymeric in the Elucidarius Elucidarii. See Elucid. pp.489-92.

163-6 The "workman" image does not come from Honorius, but a similar image is found in Augustine's DCCM I vi, PL XXXIV 178. Latin exegesis frequently distinguishes God as "creator et opifex et factor". See, e.g., Petrus Lombardus, Sent. II Dist. 1, PL CXCII 651.

167 Kaluza, in Morris, CM, p.1704, wrongly glosses "euene" as "image, resemblance, likeness". The OED entry prints this line from the CM under "euene" sb 1: "material; subject-matter", from the ON efni, meaning "material, pl. ability". If this definition were
correct, the CM poet would be suggesting a theory of creation "ex deo". The idea that God Himself is the material cause of creation, that He made heaven and earth from Himself rather than from nothing or from pre-existing matter, was not unknown in the Middle Ages. It is found in such writers as Plotinus, Gregory of Nyssa, Pseudo-Dionysius, Scotus Erigena, Meister Eckhart and Nicholas of Cusa. See J.H. Adamson, "Milton and the Creation", JEGP, LXI (1962), 756-78. However the idea of creation "ex deo" was specifically rejected by Augustine and others. See Conf. XII vii, PL XXXIII 828. Creation "ex nihilo" was strongly affirmed by the Church. See Dict. théol. cath., "Création", III 2057ff, 2081. This is the doctrine of creation assumed by the CM poet himself in 1.177.

In fact, the CM poet here is probably using the word "euene" to translate the Latin causa. See MED "euene" c: "occasion, cause". Honorius writes at this point: "Quae causa fuit ut crearetur mundus?--Bonitas Dei, ut essent quibus gratiam suam imperitiret." See Elucid. I 16.


173 The poet must have written "eye", not "3e".
Cf. *Elucid.* I 19. MSS C, H and T have corrupted the meaning, however.

174 This is not from Honorius, but was probably composed by the Middle English poet for the sake of the rhyme.

175ff This is the fullest explanation in Middle English of the difficulties encountered in reconciling the story, found in *Genesis* 1, of a creation in six days, with the statement of *Ecclesiasticus* 18:1: "qui vivat in aeternum creavit omnia simul." *Gen.* 2:4 reinforces the difficulty by speaking of a single day of creation. The explanation most frequently given is that God's single creative act, the *opus creationis*, produced all the matter needed to form the world and the heavens (the "matere" of 1.180). This matter was then shaped in six days.

176 MSS H,T, and F omit "first", which in C and G translates Honorius' "semel": "Omnia simul et semel fecit" (I 20).

178 *Eccli.* 18:1.

179 This line may have been suggested by *Sap.* 11:21: "sed omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disponuisti".
The poet's first explanation of the nature of the "prima materia" comes from *Elucid.* I 20. The matter is a jumbled mixture of the four elements (11.181-2), which is later given shape in the six day period described in Genesis (11.183-4). Cf. Petrus Lombardus who said that matter existed "in forma confusionis ante formam dispositionis". See *Sent.* II xii, PL CXC11 676.

"ful". MSS C and F preserve the original reading "si\pen" (Lat. *autem*). "Ful" in H and T, however, makes good sense as the adverb "fully, satisfactorily" (see MED "ful" adv. 1). "Fin" in G is meaningless, but is much more likely to be a scribal corruption of "ful" than of "si\pen", as Morris implies, *CM* p. 29. The exemplar of G must have contained the same reading as H and T.

The six day period of the Hexaemeron following the *opus creationis* is further divided. The first three days consist of the *opus distinctionis*, during which the elements are separated from each other and arranged in a hierarchy: fire, air, water, earth (11.187-90; cf. *Gen.* 1:3-10). Cf. the mid-thirteenth century French paraphrase *La Bible des sept états du monde* by Geufroi de Paris:
Li secons chapistres dira
Comment Diex le monde estora,
Les iiiij ellemens a compas,
L'un plus haut et l'autre plus baz.


186 The ME poet has misread infra as intra. Honorius has, "Distinxit autem omnia per partes sex diebus, tribus elementa et tribus ea quae sunt infra elementa" (I 20). The poet might have had in mind that each element "contained" matter, form and the rationales seminales, but this is doubtful. Cf. also Petrus Comestor, who says, "Plato dixit tria fuisse ab aeterno, scilicet Deum, ideas, ibr". See Hist. Schol. i, PL CXCVIII 1055.

187-90 Not in Honorius. Haenisch, CM p. 4* suggested that the poet took these lines from Hist. Schol. i, PL CXCVIII 1055-6, where Comestor names the elements in refuting the atomic theories of Epicurus. In any event, their names would be familiar to the poet from other sources.

191-204 This is a second explanation of the nature of the first created matter, a division which is blurred in MSS H and T by the substitution of "And" for "Or" (C and F) or "Ayder" (G). The poet attributes it to
Augustine (1.192) although it is taken from Hugh of St. Victor's *Adnotationes Elucidatoriae in Pentateuchon*: *In Genesim v*, PL CLXXV 34. Hugh was sometimes called the second Augustine, however, and some of his works may have been attributed to Augustine. See Roger Baron, "Hugues de Saint-Victor: contribution à un nouvel examen de son oeuvre", *Traditio*, XV 1959, 224.

L1.194-200 sum up the Augustinian position. See *DGCM* I iii, PL XXXIV 176; *DGALLI* iii-iv, PL XXXIV 222-7; *Conf.* XII ii, v-viii, PL XXXII 826-9; *DGAL* II xi, PL XXXIV 272-3; *DCD* XI vi, PL XLI 321-2.

194 An exact translation of "angelicam naturam", Augustine's interpretation of the "coelum" of *Gen.* 1:1.

195 "Ye world" is the physical universe, the "terrare" of *Gen.* 1:1. Time cannot exist without motion and change. Motion and change cannot occur in God, but only in a created thing. Therefore time begins simultaneously with the first motion and change, i.e. with the first creature. See *DGCM* I ii, PL XXXIV 174-5; *DGALLI* iii, PL XXXIV 222-4; *Conf.* XI x-xiii, PL XXXII 814-5; *DCD* XI vi, PL XLI 321-2; *Hist. Schol.* i, PL CXCVIII 1056; *Sum. Theol.* Q.LXVI art. 4.
The source here is Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 34. Thus for Augustine the world is created simultaneously with the beginning of time rather than before time began, as in Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 191, whose opinion appeared in the Glossa Ordinaria, PL CXIII 69, or in time, as in Thierry of Chartres, in N. Haring, ed., "The Creation and Creator of the World According to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age (1955), 186 § 5.

198-9 This is not the same jumbled mixture of elements described in 11.181-2. This seems at first to be Augustine's prima materia, which he conceived to be absolutely without all form (in the scientific sense of the word), as his Old Latin translation of the Bible declared: "Terra autem erat invisibilis et incompusa." (Gen. 1:2).

Cf. a Picard fragment quoted by Samuel Berger, La Bible française au Moyen Age (Paris, 1884), 266: "Au commencement du monde crea Dieu le ciel et le tierre mais devant chou li eliment n'estoient mie devisé li un de l'autre....".

200 The original reading seems to have been "serenes" meaning diversity, variety (OED "sereness", ultimately
from ON sér, separately). F mistakes the word for "sternes" (stars), but this is meaningless as exegesis. H and T delete the Scandinavian word and substitute "partyes", no doubt suggested by 11.176 and 184.

Even Augustine admitted that matter could not exist absolutely without form, but his solution was to state that the priority of matter over form was not a temporal but a causal one. See DGAL I xv, PL XXXIV 257-8. The explanation given here by the poet, however, is Hugh of St. Victor's modification of Augustine's idea: "[materia] creata est autem informis, non ex toto carens forma; sed ad comparationem sequentis pulchritudinis et ordinis, informi potest dici." See Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 34.

Note that "shaples" here is used in the technical sense to translate "carens forma". The OED gives the first instance of this usage in Piers Plowman A. Cf. 1.182 above, where "shaples" is used loosely to mean simply "having no definite or regular shape". Similarly, "of forme vnshapen" in 1.199 translates Hugh of St. Victor's "informis", although the MED
gives the earliest instance of this technical meaning of "for me" (14b) as Gower's *Confessio Amantis* 7.214:

For yit withouten eny forme
Was that matiere universal,
Which hihte Ylem in special

203 "how" in G,H and T is a meaningless filler, probably the result of a scribal miscopying of "I tru" (C and F).


207 This erroneously implies that the stars were created with the firmament. In fact they did not appear until the fourth day. See *Gen.* 1:14-5. The poet may have wished to imply that the particular "sky" created on the first day was that which would later house the stars. The poet may have been translating *DIM* which says of the firmament "stellis undiqueversum ornatum". See *DIM* I lxxxvii, PL CLXXII 141. Cf. also Bede who says "Hic nostri coeli, in quo fixa sunt sidera, creatio describitur". See *Hex.*
This explanation distinguishes the firmament from other heavens sometimes mentioned in exegesis of Genesis. II Cor. 12:2 mentions three heavens, as does Isidore, De Natura Rerum xiii, PL LXXXIII 985-7, De Ordine Creaturarum iii-vi, PL LXXXIII 920-6. Bede speaks of seven heavens in In Pent., PL XCI 192 and Petrus Comestor of four in Hist. Schol. iv, PL CXCVIII 1058.

The poet passes to the works of the second day, 1.205, without mentioning the creation of the light. (MS C's reading of "light" in 1.375 is probably a scribal corruption of "lift", as in MS F, as the firmament is never identified with light.) This may reflect the author's Augustinian interpretation of the "lux" of Gen. 1:3-5 as the creation or perfection of the "angelicam naturam" or "aungel kynde". See DGALIL I iii PL XXXIV 222-4; Conf. XIII iii, PL XXXII 846; DGAL I iii, PL XXXIV 248-9; DCD XI ix, xxxiii, PL XLI 323-5, 346-7. Cf. Elucid. I 20 and 27; Hist. Schol. iii, PL CXCVIII 1057. Cf. also G&E 61-4 and Met. Para. 51-4.

208 MS C's reading "sonded", 1.376, is probably a
corruption of an original "wit water sonde als crisEMALE", translating Hugh of St. Victor's "de aquis solidatis quasi crystallinus lapis". See Adnot. in Pent. vi, PL CLXXV 35 and cf. DIM I lxxxvii, PL CLXXII 141. Cf. the OED definition of "sound"--"solid, massive compact". The readings "clere" or "shynynge" in the other MSS come about because of the widely known properties of crystal. Cf. Whiting, Proverbs, C587-C594.

209-10 These lines can be translated "In making this (i.e. the firmament which is on high and that which is underneath it) He had a touch of wonder". See OED. "sound" v. 15; "sound...to...To have a suggestion or touch of". The reading is very awkward, however, and the poor reading "sounded" might have arisen from confusion with an original "sonde" in 1.208. The word "fra" in MS C, 1.277, suggests instead an original statement that God "sondered...that es par ouer fra dat par vnder", and Morris' suggested emendation of "sounded" to "sonderd" must be adopted. See Morris, CM, xxxii. Without it the poet gives no idea of the function of the firmament in separating the waters above from those below. See Gen. 1:7; cf. Hugh of St. Victor, loc. cit. The scribe of F has changed
the lines into a statement that God made everything which is above and below us:

\[ \text{hat ys above vs and al-so vnder} \]
\[ \text{craftely wrogt wit myche wonder (377-8)} \]

This reads smoothly enough, but is obviously a later correction of corrupt lines.

Morris' emendation of MS C's "jse" to "yse", which he suggests in CM xxxii, is unnecessary. The CM poet is here translating High of St. Victor, who says that Bede describes the firmament as "de aquis solidatis quasi crystallinus lapsis". The Bede reference is probably to Hex. I, PL XCI 18. Cf. Petrus Lombardus, Sent. II, Dist. xiv, PL CXCI 680; Thomas Aquinas Sum. Theol. Q.LXVIII art. 2. The ultimate source of the comparison with crystal is Ezekiel I:22: "Et similitudo super capita animalium firmamenti, quasi aspectus crystalli horribilis". Hugh himself believes the water above the firmament to be vaporous, rather than frozen. Petrus Comestor (and others) do believe in a firmament made of frozen water, and from this source the poet of G&E, whom Morris cites, gets his description of the firmament as "Of watres frozen, of yses wal". See 1.97; cf. Hist. Schol. iv, PL CXC VIII 1058, and
DIM I lxxxvii, PL CLXXII 141.

216 C and G read "gress and frut" (1.384), presumably translating "herbam...et...fructum" (Gen.1:11). F corrupts this to "and bad hit [the earth] grow and frute forbryng". Morris suggests emending T's "grifyns fruyt" to "griss and fruyt", and is apparently unaware of H's reading "grysnyng fruyt". While these last two readings are difficult, they are not meaningless. The original "griss and" either was, or was thought to be, a verb with the early northern participial ending "-and" see MED grassen v, (a) "to become covered or decked with grass, produce grass". This modifies "hit" (the earth): "And bade the grass-producing earth bring forth fruit".

T's "grifyns" is a corruption of "grisyng". However, "grifyns" might have been sloppily understood by a scribe as "grifyng", grafting. Compare the statement in Lydgate's Assembly of Gods, ed. O.L. Triggs (London, 1896), EETS ES 69:

Isys was calld the Goddesse of Frute, for she fyrrst made hit multyply
By the meane of gryffyns (11.1716-8)

233 "goynge beestis" is an anticipation of Gen. 1:28:

"animantibus, quae moventur super terram". At their creation, they are called simply "bestias terrae" in
Gen., "bestias" in Honorius.

234-8 The poet follows the example of Genesis in giving only a brief account of Adam's creation here and reserving the full details for the beginning of the story of his fall. The biblical order results from the fusion of a brief priestly narrative (P's, Gen. 1:1-2:4a) with that of another author (J, Gen. 2:4b ff). For an explanation of these symbols see P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans, ed., Cambridge History of the Bible I (Cambridge, 1970), 71ff.

235-6 Perhaps from Hugh of St. Victor, loc. cit.:
"Et merito post omnia factus est homo, qui omnibus praef erendus erat".

237-8 Genesis does not specify the place of Adam's creation, save that it was outside Paradise. See Gen. 2:8. Elucid. I 68 quotes a Jewish tradition which locates his creation at Hebron, however. This is the tradition which is followed in the legends of the Holy Rood as well. See Legende 466/1; cf. Kemble 283; Lyff--Vernon 221/8; Life--Harley 354/6; Grosseteste--Vernon 126; Grosseteste--Ashmole 73; Creat. of World 340; Ad. & Ep. 517; Wyntoun I 67. Comestor however, places the creation in the Damascene field. See Hist. Schol. xiii, PL CXCVIII
1067; cf. G&E 207; Life of Christ 6185-8; Higden IV 219; Wyntoun I 65; Fall of Princess 500; Chaucer's "Monk's Tale" 2007-8. The Egerton MS of Mandeville's Travels, L p. 48, explains that Hebron is in the lordship of Damascus.

243-4 Cf. 1.194.


252 The number of angels created was usually left vague. The pseudo-Dionysius himself declared that the number was known only to God and that earthly intelligence was incapable of comprehending it. See John Scotus Erigena, trans., De Caelesti Ierarchia vi and xiv, PL CXXII 1049, 1064. Cf. Dan. 7:10: "millia millium ministrabant ei, et decies millies centena millia assistebant ei."


262 Elucid. I 24. The nine orders of angels derive from the tradition of the Celestial Hierarchies of the pseudo-Dionysius, in which the nine orders are ranged in groups of three. The Gregorian tradition does not subdivide the nine orders. See Gregory's XL Hom. in Evang. II Hom. xxxiv, PL LXXVI 1249-50.
The biblical passages from which the names of the angelic orders are taken are: Gen. 3:24; Is. 6:2,6; Rom. 8:38; Eph. 1:21; Col. 1:16; I Pet. 3:22.


269 The story of the fall of Lucifer has its basis in Is. 14:12-5.

> Quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris?
> corruisti in terram, qui vulnerabas gentes;
> qui dicebas in corde tuo:
> In caelum conscendam,
> super astra Dei
> exaltabo solium meum;
> sedebo in monte testamenti,
> in lateribus aquilonis:
> ascendam super altitudinem nubium,
> similis ero Altissimo?
> Verumtamen ad infernum detrheris,
> in profundum laci.

273-4 The connection of the name Lucifer with light is popular in vernacular writings. See Wm. of Shoreham 389: "Lytgatiana" I 13; Kildare 18; Trin. Camb. 10; "De Init. Creat." p. 219; North. Homs.; Chaucer's "Monk's Tale" 2004.

Dustoor, "Legs. of Lucifer", p. 232, suggests that these lines are translated from Bonaventura: "Dictus est autem Lucifer quia prae ceteris luxit."

277-8 The meaning of these lines has been altered in scribal transmission. The original version seems to
have been that Lucifer ceased to know God who had
created him: Allas! caitif he kneu him noght,
\[\text{f}at\text{ hee drightin} \quad \text{f}at\text{ had him wroght;}\]
\((C\ 445-6\ \text{cf.}\ F)\)

MSS G, T, and H, however, by omitting the second "fat",
alter the sense to mean that Lucifer forgot that
God had created him at all. This makes Lucifer
take a Manichean position on the origins of the
powers of darkness. See Augustine, \textit{DGAL} XI xiii,
\textit{PL} XXXIV 436. The idea that Lucifer denied that
God had made him is found in Rupert of St. Heribert, \textit{De
Victoria Verbi Dei} I, xii-xiii, \textit{PL} CLXIX 1227-8, where
it is based on \textit{Ez.} 28:2: "Deus ego sum, et in cathedra
Dei sedi", and \textit{Ez.} 29:3-4: "draco magne, qui cubas in
medio fluminum tuorum, et dicis: Meus est fluvius
[Rupert has 'filius'], et ego feci memetipsum".

Cf. \textit{Paradise Lost}, V 833ff., 853ff. See Grant
McColley, "Milton's Battle in Heaven and Rupert of

279 The Scandinavian "il hayle" (C and F, from ON \textit{heill})
is replaced in G, H, and T by "sorweful".

281 C and F have "hetlik" ("hejeli", haughtily, or scornfully, from ON, cp. \textit{Ol has}jli-li\-\_iga) which G, H
and T change to "lightly". This is hardly a synonym, although it does convey a similar idea of contempt. Cf. the same change in 1.2606. T continues to be uneasy with the word, making it "scornfully" in 1.14,669 and, with G, changing "hething" to "scorne" in 1735.

282 Translates Isaiah 14:14.

283 Lucifer's pride can manifest itself in several ways. Augustine stressed his self-love, which is expressed as vanity in a number of vernacular works. See "De Init. Creat.", p. 219; Cleanness 209; Met. Para. 61-4; Ancrene Riwle, 22/34-6; York I 49-56; 65-72; Creat. of World 114-33; Ayenbite p. 16; Pilg. Life of Man 12564-87; Dest. of Troy 4409. Augustine also said that pride gives rise to envy in DGAL XI xiv, PL XXXIV 436; cf. Sent. II, Dist v, PL CXCII 661. Envy, either of God (G&E 273-6) or of the newly created man (as in the Latin Vita Adae et Evae and all its vernacular derivatives, see Mozley, p. 132), is often stressed as the chief sin of Lucifer. By contrast, however, the author of the CM is most indignant over Lucifer's disloyalty to Him who had given him all he had. This interpretation, perhaps tinged by feudal concepts, is also
found in *Piers Plowman* (B I 110, 112; cf. B XII 41-6) and in *Cleanness* (210), and is much stressed in the *OE Gen.* (267, 277, 283, 291, 743).

297-8 Cf. 11. 488-90.

301 The tradition that Michael cast out the devil is based on *Apoc.* 12:7, but is found also in I *Enoch* 10:11-16. Few vernacular works, except those specifically in honour of St. Michael, tell of his part in defeating the rebels. See *SEL* 407/189ff; *Mirk's Fest.* 259; possibly also *Trin. Camb.* 35-6.

310 Cf. 326-7. MS C's Scandinavian "ouergart" (F "awgart") is changed in G, H, and T to "pride".

315-6 The vowel "a" in "mare" has been changed to "o" in the southern texts, and the rhyme word changed from "care" to "sore".


320-2 The length of Lucifer's stay in heaven is problematical. Ez. 28:13 could indicate that the devil enjoyed a short period of happiness before his fall, but Ioan 8:44 could mean that he did not. Many commentators feel there was no interval between
Lucifer's creation and his fall. See Isidore, *Sententiae* I x, *PL* LXXXIII 555; Sum. *Theol.* Q LXIII art. 6; so too, by implication, *Met. Para.* 53ff, cf. 1.66. This is the attitude of *Elucid.* I 36 translated by the ME poet.

327 In 1.310, the poet simply followed Is. in assigning the fallen angels to hell. Here however, he follows, via *Elucid.* I 40, a long patristic tradition in putting some of the demons on earth and some in the foggy air. The devil's access to earth is mentioned in Is. 14:12; Ez. 28:17; Job 1:7; 2:2; *Apoc.* 12:9. Cf. Augustine, *Ennarrationes in Psalms* CXLVIII 9, *PL* XXXVII 1943; *Sent.* II, iv, Dist. vi, *PL* CXCII 663 quotes *Iob* 14:30: "princeps aeris (alias mundi)"; *Hist. Schol.* viii, *PL* CXCVIII 1061. In Middle English see *G&E* 288; Trin. Camb. 14; *SEL* 408/192, 194, 409/219-21; *Lyff--Vernon* 221/36; *Piers Plowman* B I 123; "*Quaestiones*" 286; Mirk's *Fest.* 259; Ad. & Ep. 387-92; *Myroure*, p. 303.

330 T omits a syllable, "do", and thus fails to scan. 330-4 This deals with the subsequent fate of both good and bad angels. All are confirmed in their respective states--the fallen angels can never be saved, nor can the loyal ones ever sin. The question was

While many vernacular writers mention the devil's eternal damnation, suggested by II Pet. 2:4; and Iudae 6, few are concerned with the confirmation of the good angels. Cf. however, Lyff--Vernon 321/30-3; "De Init. Creat." 221; Wm. of Shoreham 412-4. The CM author once again follows Honorius to give the fates of both from Elucid I 43, 50.

335-6 The poet is characteristically vague about the number of angels who fell. A frequent estimate is one tenth of the number who were created, since Gregory had suggested that man was created as a tenth order to fill up the gap left by the falling angels. See XL Hom. in Evang. II xxxiv, PL LXXVI 1249.

Cf. Cleanness 216; Kildare 30; North. Homs; York I 256-7; VII 19; Cant. Great. 340-2; Piers Plowman G II 106; Life of Christ 4007-8; Ad. and Ep. 103-6; Towneley I 142; SEL p. 408-9, 1.212.
Some paraphrases convey the distance through the time it takes the angels to fall, either seven days and seven nights (Auch. 44; Kildare 25), three days and nights (OEGen. 306-8), forty days (Cleanness 224), or nine days (Piers Plowman B I 118. P.E. Dustoor, "Legs. of Lucifer", 257, n.3 says that the latter figure may be a scribal emendation of an original forty.)

The ultimate source of this estimate of the distance from heaven to earth is Moses Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed, trans. Shlomo Pines (Chicago, 1963), III 14, p.456:

...it has been demonstrated that the distance between the center of the earth and the highest part of the sphere of Saturn is one that could be covered in approximately eight thousand and seven hundred years of three hundred sixty-five days each, if each day a distance is covered of forty of our legal miles, of which each has two thousand of the cubits used for working purposes.

This passage is translated and attributed to "rabbi Moyses" by Jacobus a Voragine in the Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, 3rd ed. (Vratislava, 1890), p. 321, although the number of years for the journey is there changed to 7700. Probably from this source, the passage reached several Middle English works:

1. Life of Christ, 8925-38;
2. **The Pricke of Conscience**, 7671-86;


5. scrawled in an unpublished sermon book in MS Harley 2250, fol. 83v, cited by G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 192; and

6. in a garbled version in Mirk's *Fest* p.152/24-8.

A slight variant on the tradition is found in the French and English translations of the *Imago Mundi* formerly attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis. There, the distance from earth to heaven is reckoned in much the same way, although the passages are abbreviated and a new concept is introduced:

> Yf the firste man that God fourmed euer, whiche was Adam, had goon, fro the first
day that he was made and created, xxv myles every day, yet shold he not haue come theder; but shold haue yet the space of vii. C.xiii. yere to goo, at the tyme whan this volume was perfourmed by the very auctour: And this was atte Epyphanye in the yere of grace .i.M.ii.C. and .xlvi. That tyme shold he haue had so moche to goo, er he shold comen theder.

See Oliver H. Prior, ed., Caxton's Mirrour of the World (London, 1913), p. 171. Cf. O.H. Prior, ed., L'Image du monde de Maitre Gossouin (Lausanne, 1913), pp.194-5. Virtually the same version, including the reference to Adam, is found in the South English Legendary, although the number of miles to be walked each day has been altered to forty, and the number of years to 8000. See SEL 418/489-96.

The CM poet attributes the calculation to Bede. I have not located such a passage in Bede's work, although a gloss to his De Natura Rerum, PL XC 208-9 does give a Pythagorean estimate of the distance between the planets. A similar estimate is found in a gloss on the DIM I lxxx-lxxxiii, PL CLXXII 140-1; cf. also Isidore, De Natura Rerum, gloss on xiii, PL LXXXIII 987-8.

An analogy with the CM poet's attribution, however, is found in MS BM Addit 36983. The MS contains a
copy of the third legend of Michael from the SEL, which includes a calculation of the distance from earth to heaven based on Maimonides. The scribe has composed a special prologue for the legend, which begins:

Bothe for clerkys & for lewed men
Yet englysch tale ys yfounde
Dat muchell wondyr & grete wysdam
Man may seyne in a litell stounde
Seint bede oute of laton yt nom
and wrote ytt in englysch speche (fol. 255T col. 1)

This MS is a fifteenth century one, too late to have influenced the composition of the CM, but it does indicate a mediaeval tendency to attribute calculations of this kind to Bede, whose works on the natural sciences were well-known.

MSS H and T substituted "worsheped" for the northern "mensked", as in MSS C, F and G (ON mensiska). Cf. a similar process in the other lines listed in Morris' glossary under "mensked".

Cf. 1.264. The poet has used two traditions here. The earlier lines implied that nine orders of angels were created and some of each order fell. Man was always intended to be the tenth order. Honorius maintains this in the passage translated here: "ut completeretur electorum numero homo decimus"
est creatus." Cf. Gregory, XL Hom. in Evang. II xxxiv, PL LXXVI 1249. In line 350, however, the CM poet suggests that all the angels who fell belonged to a tenth order, and that man was created to replace them. Dustoor, "Legs. of Lucifer", p. 221, suggests that God foresaw that he would ultimately be served by only nine orders of angels, and therefore planned to create man to fill the place of the tenth order.

The ten orders of angels appear in II Enoch 20:3.

351-2 This seems flatly to contradict Gen.2:7: "Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae". Commentators who wished to see man as a microcosm of the physical universe often described this "limo terrae" as being made up of several of the basic elements. See e.g. Thomas Aquinas, Sum. Theol. Q.XCI art.1. Cf. also SEL., Laud MS 318/668-9.

351-78 This passage, translated from the Elucidarium I 59, deals with Adam's physical nature. I have based my analysis largely on Lefevre's. See Elucid. p.115. First the writer says that Adam is composed of the four elements (11.353-4). Secondly,
he says that various parts of his body resemble the four elements: his head is like the sky or fiery element (355-62), his chest is like the air (363-6), his stomach resembles the sea (367-8), and his feet are like the earth (369-70). Then man's five senses are said to come from the five elements of Aristotelian tradition, which distinguished air from ether as two separate elements. See Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, trans. W.K.C. Guthrie, (London, 1953), Bk. I. Thus Adam's sight comes from fire (371), his hearing from the upper air or ether (372), his sense of smell from the lower air (*Elucid.* I 59), his sense of taste from water (*loc. cit.*), and his sense of touch from earth (374). Cf. Aug. *DGAL* III iv, *PL* XXXIV 281. In addition, the hardness of his bones comes from stones (375-6), his nails are like the trees of the earth, his hair like grass (377-8), and in his senses he is one with animals (379-80).

The *locus classicus* for this kind of statement about man's physical composition is II *Enoch* 30:8. The tradition was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, both in Latin and in the European vernaculars. See esp. Max Förster, "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XI (1908),


Certain corruptions have crept into the CM text.

353 Adam's blood is made from water. This is obscured in MSS H, G and T by the corruption of "blod" to "body".

His flesh is made from earth. The preposition "of" ("is flesshe of laire") must have been missing from the exemplar of H and T.

354 Adam's heat comes from fire. MSS H, G and T corrupt "heet" to "heer". Hair is dealt with below in line 378. His breath comes from air. MSS H and T read "honde", a spelling variant of "onde". MS C's reading "and" is correctly glossed "wynd" by a
later hand. See Morris, CM, p. 38.

521-2 MS F alone preserves the original translation of Honorius: "Caput ejus est rotundum, in coelestis spherae modum;" See Elucid. I 59. The lines are not spurious, as Morris suggests, CM, p. 38.

359 The seven master stars translate Honorius' "septem coelum", that is the seven planets which are supposed to control men's actions.

363-6 Honorius in fact compares the chest to the air, for breathing and coughing simulate wind and thunder. The CM poet has padded 1.365 by the meaningless addition of lightning with the thunder.

366 The reading "bred" in H,F,G, and T is a scribal corruption of "spred" (C, Latin versantur).

371 Adam's sight comes from the fiery element. The exemplar of MSS H and T corrupted "Pe ouer", Honorius' "ex coelesti igne", into "bondir".

372 His hearing comes from the upper air. The exemplar of H and T corrupted "Pe ouer" (Honorius' "ex superiore aere") into "Thonder". MS H preserves the next word correctly as "eyer". MS T has further corrupted "eyer" into "oPer".

373 His breath comes from the under air, or wind. MSS H and T have corrupted "his vnder wynde" to "his wondir wynde". Honorius, however, said "ex inferiori aere olfactum". The Middle English poet may have been remembering 11.363-4.
374 His senses of touch ("fele") and taste ("fond") come from the earth. This compresses two of Honorius’ derivations: "ex aqua gustum, ex terra habet tactum". H and T have simplified the line to "be er[be make] hym fele & fonde". The original reading seems to have been either "The earth [gives him] the discriminative faculty [OED taste sb 1 III 6] to touch and taste" (MSS C and G), or, less probably, "The earth [gives him his ability] to experience generally [OED taste v 1], to touch and taste" (MS F).

378 Many other versions have veins instead of nails here. Honorius, however, has "unguibus".

379-80 Translates Honorius’ "sensus cum animalibus".

382 H, T, and F substitute "leide" for the Scandinavian "graid" (C and G, from ON, cp.OI greiða).


389 Honorius used this image to describe the making
of the angels in God's image. See Elucid. I 54. Cf. Gregory, XL Hom. in Evang. II xxxiv, PL LXXVI 1250, and Moral. XXXII xxiii, PL LXXVI 665, who states that the angels were not made "ad similitudinem Dei sed signaculum similitudinis", quoting from Ez. 28:12.

390 MS C errs in writing "licam" for "likeness". The resemblance between God and man is, of course, not physical but spiritual. Cf., however, the "Signs before Judgment", which implies the same error:

Men jou made to by lykenesse,
Both boon and blood, fell and flesh,


393-412 The soul is here a microcosm of the Trinity as the body is a microcosm of the physical universe.


405-12 Translates Elucid. I 61: "Et sicut Deus comprehendit non potest ab omni creatura, cum ipse comprehendat omnia, ita anima a nulla visibili creatura potest comprehendi, cum ipsa omnia visibilia comprehendat".

407 "vndirgropede" (H and T) is a newer word than "vnderfanged" (C and G), the earliest reference in the
OED being to 1412. "Ouergo" does not mean "understand", but may have been suggested to the scribe by "ouertake" in the following line.

417-9 Adam is usually said to have been created a fully formed adult, so that he would be capable of working the land in the Garden. The reference to Augustine is probably to DGAL VI xiii, PL XXXIV 348, but cf. De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione I et de Baptismo Parvulorum xxxvii, PL XLIV 149. The CM poet could have found this in Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. xii, PL CXCVIII 1066. The tradition was so well-known in the Middle Ages that the Monk of Sawley added it to his translation of Grosseteste's Chateau d'Amour, in C. Horstmann, ed., The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript (London, 1892), EETS OS 98, 1.29.

419 H has the correct reading "lyel". T miscopied "leyl" as "hej".

420 Gen. 2:8, 15. Cf. 11.237-8 and note.

421-7 The interpretation of Adam's name depends on the initial letters of the Greek words for the four directions—anatole, duses, arctos and mesembris. The tradition is a very old one. See Sybilline Oracles iii 24-6, II Enoch xxx 13-4. It became popular with the fathers. See Jerome, Expositio quatuor

421 MSS H and T have "e", but "pe" in MSS C, F and G reads more smoothly and is probably original.

427-34 One of the author's rare spiritual interpretations of his text, from Elucid. I 64.

442 This smacks slightly of anti-intellectualism, an attitude which comes easily enough from a contemplation of the Golden Age which existed before the Fall. See George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (1948; rpt. New York, 1966), references in Index under "Anti-intellectualism", "Vanity
of the Arts and Sciences", and "Adam as Infant".

449-50 This begins the poet's account of earth history.

Later developments tend to show the world as declining from this state of perfection.


459-60 The Middle English poet has Adam sleep during Eve's creation simply to keep him from knowing how God created her. Some MSS of the Elucidarium add the long-standing tradition that Adam's sleep was an ecstatic one, during which he received visions of the future. See Elucid. I 71a, and p. 232. Cf. Hist. Schol. xvi, PL CXCIII 1070, and in Middle English G&E 224-6; Chester II 137-40. Jerome, however, objected to the interpretation on linguistic grounds, in Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 941.

467-8 Gen. 2:23 depends on a Hebrew pun. The woman is first named Issa (woman) because she came from Is (man). The Old Latin translation "mulier" completely ignored the pun, as Augustine complained in DGCM II, PL XXXIV 206. Theodotian had tried to translate the word as "assumptio: quia ex viro sumpta est". See Jerome, Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 990. Jerome, however, fixed the Latin translation as "virago" from "ex viro sumpta est", in PL XXIII 942. The CM simply repeats the
Vulgate translation, although the pun makes no sense in English. Some English versions of the Vita Adae translate the pun literally: "this shalle be cleped mannes deede [vir ago], for she is taken of man". See Life—Harley 355/6-7; Life—Wheatley 78/31-2. Only G&E ingeniously tries to render an English pun:

Name he gaf hire dat is ful rif:
Issa was hire firste name,
Dor-of furte hire fiiken no same;
Mayden, for sche was mad of man,
Hire firste name for bi-gan. (232-6)

471 The first "hem" is plural, but the second must be singular, referring to Adam, who is to multiply with "her" (1.472). Originally all three pronouns were plural. Cf. MSS C, F, and G.

493 An intensification of the biblical prohibition that they must not eat the fruit. See Gen. 2:17 Cf. Piers Plowman B XVIII 192; C XXI 200. Other accounts go even further, warning Adam and Eve not to go near the tree. See Rev. Meth. 31; SEL Temp. fol. 1v.

The form "y3e" for "I" is suggested by the form of the rhyme word, but is not a variant spelling of "I" listed in OED.

494 The "double deej" is a favourite phrase of the CM poet. Exegetical tradition said that after the Fall, man suffers the death of both the body and the soul.
See e.g. DCD XIII, i-xii, PL XLI 377-386; Remigius of Auxerre, Comment. in Gen., PL CXXXI 62. Honorius mentions this as the penalty Adam will pay for the murder of future generations through his fall. Gen. 2:17 "in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo, morte morieris" is linked with the penalty of Lev. 24:17: "Qui occiderit, morte moriatur". Honorius continues "morte scilicet aeterna, unde et in interiori homine mox est mortuus et jacuit in sepulcro corporis sepultus." See Elucid. I 101.

508 MS H has "bistade" for "stad" in C,F,G, and T, perhaps as a metrical compensation for the loss of "ban", as in C,F,G.

517ff. The idea that no animals would have been allowed to be harmful in Paradise is frequently met. See, e.g., Isidore, De Ordine Creaturarum x, PL LXXXIII 938; Aelfric's Homily "De Falsis Diis" in John C. Pope, ed., Homilies of Aelfric, II (London, 1968), p. 678, 11.39-40; Alexander Neckham, De Naturis Rerum, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1863), II clvi p. 249; Edoardo Coli, II Paradise Terrestre Dantesco (Firenze, 1897), 136; Arturo Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo (Torino, 1925), 52-4.

However, this passage in the CM is unusual in descrip-
tions of Paradise. It is chiefly based on Is. 11:

6-8:

6 Habitabit lupus cum agno,
et pardus cum haedo accubabit;
vitulus, et leo, et ovis, simul morabuntur,
et puér parvulus minabit eos.
7 Vitulus et ursus pascentur,
simul requiescent catuli eorum;
et leo quasi bos comedet paleas.
8 Et delectabitur infans ab ubere super
foramine aspidis;
et in caverna reguli,
qui ablactatus ruerit manum suam mittet.

Exegetes usually gave this a spiritual interpretation
referring to the future triumph of Christ and His Church.
See, e.g., Hervé of Bourgdieu, Comment. in Isaiam, II
PL CLXXI 142-4; Haymo of Halberstat, Comment. in
Isaiam II, PL CXVI 781. That the future concord of
animals was sometimes seen as the return of a past
Golden Age, however, is shown by Jerome's dismissal of
this opinion as one of the "fabula poetarum", in a
passage which was widely disseminated in the Glossa
Ordinaria. See Jerome, Commentariorum in Isaiam Pro-
phetam IV, xi, PL XXIV, 150-1; cf. Glossa, PL CXIII
1251.

Some of the animals in the CM, however, seem also to
have come from Hist. Schol. xxiii, PL CXC VIII 1074:
"Et sicut naturale odium est inter equos et grifhes,
lupos et canes, sic inter hominem et serpentem." Thus
519 wolves and sheep, from Is. 11:6.
hound from *Hist. Schol.*, hare for rhyme

the lion like the lamb, cf. *Is.* 11:6

The "gripe" is from *Hist. Schol.*, where it is paired with its traditional enemy, the horse.


The asp and *regulus* (or basilisk) of *Is.* 11:8, and the serpent of *Hist. Schol.*, produce the scorpion and adder of the CM. The confusion among various kinds of serpents is not surprising. The serpent of Eden is sometimes considered a viper or adder. The viper in the Bestiaries has a peculiar method of reproducing itself: the male spits his semen into the mouth of the female who then bites the male's head off. When the young are to be delivered they gnaw their way through their mother's womb. Thus both parents are destroyed. See White, *Book of Beasts*, 170. This characteristic is given to the serpent of Eden in the prose *Lyff*-Vernon, p. 222/29-32 and in the *SBL Temp.*, Egerton MS, fol. 2r. It applies equally to the adder in dialogue literature, esp. in Kemble, pp. 200, 323. Similarly, the female head which is found on the serpent in so many Middle English works is attributed to the scorpion in the Bestiaries.

522 A southern scribe has changed the rhyme word "sare" to "to forfare" to avoid the northern vowel in "sare".

527-8 A southern reviser has altered the Scandinavian word "stang" (ultimately from the Old Norse verb *stanga*) to "tonge". This results in an error of biology, for the scorpion's sting is in his tail, not his tongue. See White, *Book of Beasts*, 192. However, the word sting was sometimes erroneously applied to the tongue of a poisonous serpent in the Middle Ages. See *OED Sting sb* 1 2.

532-4 *Gen.* 3:1.

534 MSS G,H, and T alter C and F's reading to echo the Bible, the "booke meest", more closely: "serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae" (*Gen.*3:1). Cf. 1.574, however.

535-44 *Is.* 30:26 prophesies that the brightness of the sun and moon will increase in this manner "in die que alligaverit Dominus vulnus populi sui". Cf.
Woodburn 0. Ross, Middle English Sermons, 317/35-318/2. The CM poet takes the idea that this was the state of the world before Adam's sin from Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour*:

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Li soleil fu a iceu tens
Set fez plus cler ke ne est ores,
E la lune si cler lores
Cume li soleil ore luit
Luseit adonke de nuit.
Ne le tenez pas a folie
Kar ce est le dit Ysale.
Tutes les choses de le mund
En Terre, en mer, a val, a munt
De greignur vertu esteient,
Avant ke forfet aveient
Eve e Adam par folage.
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Kari Sajavaara, "The Use of Robert Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour* as a Source of the Cursor Mundi", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LXVIII (1967), 187 has recently pointed out this parallel. Miss Murray gives the source of this as Haymo of Halberstat's *Commentariorum in Isaiam II*, PL CXVI 869. One MS of Grosseteste's poem, MS BN 902, has part of Haymo's commentary in the margin. See Murray, *loc. cit.*

Haymo gives Isidore as his source. See *De Ordine Creaturarum* v and x, PL LXXXIII 923-4, 938. Cf. also Jerome, *Comment, in Is.*, IX xxx, PL XXIV 362. The

536 MSS G, H, and T preserve better readings: "pan now a day", "pan today" represent Grosseteste's "ke ne est ores". C and F's "pen pe dai" is an error.

542 MSS C, F, and G preserve the correct "On hei, on lau, on land, on see".

546 "felli" (G) is an adverb modifying "fonde" and is probably the better reading. This was miscopied as "selly", which, however, could be an adjective, modifying "him" (Adam).

547-9 Satan's envy of man's happiness is the motive usually assigned for his part in man's temptation. Cf. Elucid. I 83.

559 The word "warlau" (MSS C & F) is frequently used to refer to the devil in Middle English. See OED Warlock. MSS G, H and T make the reference even more explicit, by calling him "Sathan".

565 "on hy3e" probably originated in a misreading of
"on drei", at a distance. Cf. 1. 593 and note.
The scribe, however, could have visualized the devil looking up at Adam on the heights of Paradise from his own position below in hell.

569 Genesis nowhere connects the serpent with the devil, but other biblical books do. Cf. e.g., Sap. 2:24. Most commentators see the serpent as the devil himself in disguise, but the CM poet considers him merely a tool used by the devil, Cf. DGAL XI xxviii, PL XXXIV 444; DCD XIV xi, PL XLI 418-20; Elucid. I 85; Hist. Schol. xxi, PL CXCIII 1072-3. In the OE (442ff.) a subordinate demon is sent, disguised as a serpent, to do the tempting. Cf. also the Apocalypse of Moses, 16:1-5 in which the devil tempts the serpent to rebellion first by persuading him that he should not have to eat Adam's tares.

572-4 Cf. Gen. 3:1.

575-7 The usual reason given for the devil's tempting Eve first is that she is the weaker of the two. See DCD XIV xi, PL XLI 418-20; Bede, In Pent, PL XCI 212; Sent. II Dist. xxi, PL CXCII 694; Hist. Schol. xxi, PL CXCIII 1072; Piers Plowman C XXI 318; Wm. of Shoreham
Why does Satan instruct his messenger how to tempt Adam if he himself is to be in the serpent's skin? The line may be intended metaphorically to suggest that Satan's intentions have completely taken over the serpent's, or it may indicate a second source for the scene. Cf. Hist. Schol. xxi, PL CXCVIII 1072: "plenus erat daemonae". The line evokes scenes in several miracle plays. Cf. Chester II 205-6:

Demon: Therefore, as brocke I my pane, my adders coate I will put on,

An Irish work makes the scene more clearly understandable. The devil tempts the serpent, by suggesting that someone as subtle and cunning as he should not be kept out of Paradise and made to honour someone younger than himself (this motif is clearly derived from the devil's reasoning in the Vita story). The devil says: "Take my counsel...and make we covenant and friendship and go thou not to wait on Adam and give me a place to me in thy body, that we may go, both of us [lit. in our duality], unto Eve and enjoin upon her to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree;...".

From B. MacCarthy, ed., The Codex Palatino Vaticanus
No. 830, Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series
Vol. III (Dublin, 1892), "Lecture 1: Lebar Brec",
51 f. James F. Kenney, The Sources for the Early
History of Ireland, I Ecclesiastical (New York, 1929),
#616 dates the stories in this work in the twelfth
century.

583-8 Cf. Elucid. I 73.

593 Cf. the Vita Adae et Evae, in which the temptation
takes place when Eve is alone, after Adam has very
reluctantly left her. Mozley 138/33; Story of the
Holy Rood 61-3; Cant. Creat. 571-4; Lyff—Vernon
222/5-8; Life—Bodley 350; Life—Harley 362/24-6;
Life—Wheatley 92.

594-626 The dialogue between Eve and the serpent is a
fairly close rendering of Gen. 3:1-6.

599-600 L.600 is changed in MSS H & T to avoid the
northern vowels in the rhyme—"an/outtan" becomes
"one/alone". "midward" in C,F,& G translates Gen. 3:3
"in medio paradisi".

603 Cf. n to 1.493.

604 Cf. 1.494 and n, MSS C,F, & G do not repeat the
reference to the "doubel deej".

609-18 This is very like the serpent's speech in Hist.
Schol. xxiii, PL CXCVIII 1073.
An Edition of the Old Testament Section of the Cursor Mundi
from MS College of Arms, Arundel LVII

Sarah M. Horrall

Eve's first sin is wishing to be like God.  
Cf. Gen. 3:5. The CM poet ignores the difficulties created by the plural noun "dii" in the Vulgate, as do most vernacular writers. Others translate "dii" as the Trinity (Kildare 64) or as angels ("De Init. Creat." 223, G&E 332), or say that Adam and Eve wanted to be "As two godes, with god" (Piers Plowman C xxi 320).

MSS H & T insert "bolfe" after "ze", thus making the pronoun more clearly plural. Cf. Gen. 3:5: "eritis sicut dii".


The poet is here using a source which I have not been able to identify.

H and T's reading is obviously corrupt, suggested by the following line. The original line must have stated that the devil's promise was immediately shown
to be false.

630 The readings of MSS C and G fit more smoothly into the context of the lines following. G's reading may be based on a misreading of "kin" (or perhaps "kinde") as "king". H&T gloss the reading "king" as "oure lord god". The line is acceptable as it stands in these latter MSS, but is clearly not the original.

631 The fruit is universally called an apple in the vernacular, as in Latin Christianity generally. Von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 88 suggests this identification may have arisen through the association of "malus"—bad, and "malum"—apple. Esther Casier Quinn, *The Quest of Seth*, p. 128 traces it to a Targum translation of Cant. 2:3 and 7:9 as "paradise apple". Petrus Comestor, however, suggests that the fruit was a fig. See *Hist. Schol.* xxiii, PL CXVIII 1073. Cf. Isidore, *De Ordine Creaturarum*, PL LXXXIII 941: "ficum, maledictum delicti Adae, quae totam terram inficeret". Cf. Rashi, 13.

631-2 The apple of Eden is here metaphorically identified with the sour grapes of *Jer.* 31:29: "Pateres comed-derunt uam acerbam, et dentes filiorum obstupuerunt."

Ni plus ille sator, culpas ignoscere prompfas,
...pomisque vetaret acerbis,
Quae mandere patres, natorum horrescere dentes,
Donaretque suis semper placatus, ut unde
Culpa dedit mortem, pietas daret inde salutem.

PL XIX 595, 11.20-5


648 "tint" (MSS C & G), the past participle of "tine", is classed as "Chiefly...north. dial. and Sc." by the OED. Hence it has been replaced in F,H, and T by "lost".

661 I have not identified the source of this passage. For Petrus Comestor, as for Augustine, the immediate effects of the Fall are mainly sexual. Hist. Schol. xxii, PL CXCVIII 1072-3; cf. Aug., DCD XIV xv-xxvi, PL XLI 422-35.

666 The MED shares the puzzlement of the copyists over
this line. It suggests that C's reading "blurded", seemingly from "blurden", is an error for "bleren". F translates the word into "was wraj". G reads "lourid", from "loure-n" (cf. OED "Lour") and adds a "he" in 1.827 as a subject for the verb. This interjects a new idea into the passage—that God is directly and personally exacting vengeance for their sin, rather than that the world is inevitably changing because of it. In H and T, "lourid" has been corrupted to "lord", under the influence of the interpolated "he", and a much weaker couplet results.

670 H's line is metrically preferable to T's "pe strenger beest pe weyker dud slo".

694 MSS F, H and T take "sauȝt" as a past participle, MSS C and G as a noun.

695-6 This is characteristic of the CM poet when he switches from one source to another. Cf. 11.1259-60, etc.

697-782 Gen. 3:8-23, excepting 11.739-40, 748-54.

718 MSS C and F's "thrali" is ultimately from the Old Norse þrá-r. Cf. OED Throly, thro. It means "obstinately;... eagerly, keenly." In abandoning the Scandinavian word, G has substituted "stif'li", a close enough rendering. H and T's "principaly", 
however, is not very meaningful, and may in fact result from a scribal corruption of "Irali". Cf. 1.196, where the word appears only in MSS Cand F.

723 MSS G, H and T read "Iesu", while MS C has "God", and MS F "he".

726 T's "doue" (for "done") may be a misprint in Morris' edition, or a copyist's error, influenced by "drouge" in the preceding line.

735-6 These lines are obviously reversed in MSS G, H, and T.

738 T puts the "3it" after "to breke".


743 Cf. 1.494 and note.

744 The exemplar of H and T must have omitted the metrically necessary "pe" after "is". Cf. MSS C & G.

747-8 The subjection of woman to man recalls to the poet the passage of I Cor. 11:3-10 which urges women to cover their heads as a sign of their subjection and shame.

749-54 The poet makes clear Eve's function as the antitype of Mary, the usual mediaeval interpretation of the Protevangelium. See Gen. 3:15, and the references in Dict. théol. cath., "Eve", V 1651-2.
404

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754 "tinsel", MSS C,F, and G, from Old Norse * tynsla, is called chiefly a northern word in OED. It is changed to "loos" in MSS H and T.

765 "Twixt and", meaning "until" or "before", is called a Scottish and northern dialectal form by OED.

Though it appears in MSS C and G here, and in MSS C,F and G in 11.65, 954, 1103, and 1748, it is always changed in MSS H and T. The impossibility of the northern vowel in the rhyme "gan/tan" in southern dialects sends the copyist searching for a new word. He produces the rare word "quake" to rhyme with "take". The CM provides the only uses of the word "quake" as an independent substantive recorded by the OED before the seventeenth century.

774 The scribe of the exemplar of MSS H and T obviously wished to avoid the identical rhyme words "hide" and "hide" as in MSS C,F, and G, 11.935-6. He thus introduced the newer word "shride" (shroud).

775-80 MSS H, T and L have ignored the translation of Gen. 3:22: "Et ait: Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est, sciens bonum et malum; nunc ergo ne forte mittat manum suam et sumat etiam de ligno vitae, et comedat, et vivat in aeternum." C and G translate this verse closely:
"loo," he said of adam, "hu
lik es made tilwardus nu,
Bath he god and il knauand;
Now for-ji ar he strek hand
To pat tre pat lijf es in,
And siplen he liue wit-outen blin."

MS F apparently omits the lines altogether, although
Morris fills the gap from MS L. MSS H, T, and L
have God address Adam (11.775-6). L.777 wrongly
asserts that God gave Adam knowledge both of good and
evil.

782 MSS H and T err in the pronoun "hei". Only Adam
was made in the world. Eve was formed in Paradise.
Cf. C and G "he". This fact is made the subject of
a riddle in the prose Lyff-Vernon 221/45-222/1.

783-94 A bit of narrative linking, to prepare the way
for the story of Seth's journey.

788 MSS H and T have the impersonal construction "To
think long" with the dative.

790 Cf. 1.494.

805-97 God tells Adam how to please Him by tithing.
This is not Biblical, but is necessary background
information for the story of the sacrifices of Cain
and Abel in this poet's version.

975-79 Possibly suggested by Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot.
in Pent. vii, PL CLXXV 44.
818 T's "fouly fleched", is surely an error, for it would seem to question God's justice in exiling Adam. H's "fully flecched" is preferable. The line was rewritten by a southern scribe to avoid the northern rhyme vowel in "ham/adam".


830 In Gen. 2:8, the Septuagint and Old Latin read "ad orientam" instead of "a principio". Most mediaeval writers thus place Paradise in the east. See, eg, Lactantius, op. cit., p. 124, 1.1; Bede, Hex, PL XCI 43-4; Rabanus Maurus, De Universo, XII, iii, PL CXI 334; Glossa PL CXIII 86; Remigius of Auxerre, Comment. in Gen. ii, PL CXXXI 60; Elucid. I 69; Petrus Lombardus, Sent., II, Dist. xvii, PL CXCII 686; Hist. Schol. xiii, PL CXCVIII 1067. Haenisch, CM, p. 4* suggests that this detail in the CM comes from Petrus Comestor.

831 The idea was that man worked in the Garden without fatigue. See, e.g., DGAL VIII x, PL XXXIV 381; Ernaldus of Bonnevalle, Hexaemeron, PL CLXXXIX 1536; Hist. Schol. xv, PL CXCVIII 1068.

833 The idea of a perpetual day without night is found in the pseudo-Tertullian poem, PL II 1151 and 1152, but, as Lactantius speaks of a dawn, 1.35, his vision of Paradise presumably includes nights. Cf. Chaucer's Parliament of Fowles 209-10; and above 1,480.
Augustine said that the fruits in the garden would not decay, and referred to **John** 6:27 to support the idea. However, he interpreted the passage allegorically. See **DGCM ix, PL XXXIV 202.** Cf. pseudo-Tertullian, _loc. cit._

Giamatti p. 70, lists the stress on the beautiful odours of Paradise as characteristic of Christian, as opposed to classical, descriptions of Paradise. This may arise from the mention of _bdellium_, an aromatic gum, in **Gen. 2:12.** The Septuagint translates the Hebrew as carbuncle, however. See below, n. to 11. 863-4. Cf. pseudo-Tertullian, _loc. cit._, Avitus, _loc. cit._, Remigius, _op. cit._, 61, and Ernaldus, _op. cit._ 1537.

This description of the four trees comes from **Elucid. I 69**. Cf. somewhat similar passages in Augustine, **DCD XIV xxvi, PL XLI 434**, and **Robertus Pullus Sententiae II xix, PL CLXXXVI 746.**

The "orcharde of delices" exactly translates "hortus deliciarum", which in turn translates the Hebrew words rendered by **Paradisus** (hortus) and **Eden** (deliciae), See Jerome, **Quaest in Gen.**, **PL XXIII 988**; Isidore, **Etym. XIV iii 2**; Rabanus Maurus, _loc. cit._; Remigius,

852 Cf. n. to 1.838 above. The pseudo-Tertullian poem mentions cinammon and amomum, Avitus cinammon and balsam. Cf. Ernaldus, op. cit., 1535. In the Apocalypse of Moses, Adam and Eve take spices with them when they are expelled from Paradise. In the Vita Adae et Evae, Eve and Seth return from Paradise bringing Adam three herbs. See Mozley, p. 142/10-11.

853 "yar" is the third singular, present indicative of the verb "tharf" (OE þurfan) in a declension which lost the original -f or -v endings. See the β forms listed in OED.

854-5 The sweet bird songs of Paradise are stressed by Ernaldus, for instance, op. cit. 1537. The original reading of the CM, however, seems to have referred to the songs of saints in the earthly paradise rather than to those of birds. Cf. MSS C and F. Strictly speaking, the existence of saints is impossible in Adam's time, because they had not yet been born. Their appearance in this passage emphasizes that this is a description of the earthly paradise as it exists now, Cf. above, n. to 1.823.

856-62 The well and four streams are also characteristic of the Christian paradise. See Giamatti, op. cit.,
861-2 The names of the rivers are corrupt only in MSS H and T. MS C keeps the Biblical forms of the names. MSS F and G make the common identification of Phison with Ganges and Gehon with Nile. See Josephus, p. 19; Jerome, Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 941; DGCM II x, PL XXXIV 203-4; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 45; In Pent., PL XCI 207: Hist. Schol. xiv, PL CXCVIII 1068.

The first part of T's "Iuluspigre" (H's "Iulespigre") I believe was a scribal misreading of the minims in "nilus". The second half of the word, "pigre", I believe, began in the exemplar of H and T as an attempt to copy an original "phison", but after one letter the scribe's eye slipped upward to the ending of "tigre". Hence the meaningless "Iulespigre".

863-4 According to Giamatti, op. cit., p. 70, the precious stones of Paradise are a special characteristic of Christian tradition not found in classical literature. They originate in Gen. 2:11-2. The Septuagint translates carbuncle instead of the Vulgate's bdellium, thus reinforcing the tradition.

865 Paradise is always thought to be remote and inaccessible. Some writers say that it is inaccessible because it is so far away, separated from us by vast spaces of
land, sea or desert, sometimes filled with wild beasts.

Avitus, loc. cit.; DIM I viii, PL CLXXII 123; Bede, Hex., i, PL XCI 43; Remigius, Comment. in Gen., PL CXXXI 60; Sent., II, Dist. xvii, PL CXCII 686; Hist. Schol. xii, PL CXCVIII 1067; Robertus Pullus, loc. cit.; Mandeville L216. The most popular Christian tradition, however, was that Paradise was inaccessibly high, perhaps because it shared something of earth and heaven, as Patch suggests, op. cit., 135. This belief is reinforced by the "tertium coelum" of II Cor. 12:2-4. The Greek fathers identified the "tertium coelum" with the lunar sphere. See Giamatti, loc. cit.

Many commentators said that the mount of Paradise actually touched the lunar sphere. See Lactantius, 7-8; Glossa, PL CXIII 86; Remigius, Comment. in Gen., PL CXXXI 60; Sent., II, Dist. xvii, PL CXCII 686; Hist. Schol. xiii, PL CXCVIII 1067; Sum. Theol. Q.CII art.1, although Aquinas takes this statement as a figurative one. Contemporary science was refuting this claim, however. See Higden I 73. Thus the CM poet does not mention it.

866-8 The idea that Paradise, because of its height, escaped the great flood, is often found also. See Lactantius 13-5, who says it escaped Deucalion's flood;
Remigius, Comment. in Gen., PL CXXXI 60; Robertus Pullus, loc. cit.; Petrus Lombardus, Sent. II, Dist. xvii, PL CXCII 686. The CM poet probably takes his version from Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. xiii, PL CXCVIII 1067.

869 MS T omits "pe". The two lines of heading scan best in MS G.

876 MSS C, F and G state that Adam and Eve were the first people to have to work hard. The reading of MSS H and T, "fe firste fei were to sawe bigan", probably results from scribal corruption of "sua"/so with "sau"/sow. Cain is usually supposed to be the first cultivator. See Josephus 27; Hist. Schol. xxvi, PL CXCVIII 1076.

878 Cain is not yet cursed, of course, but many vernacular works cannot resist the prediction. See Cant. Creat. 447; Rev. Meth. 58; Met. Para. 234; cf. Hist. Schol. xxvi, PL CXCVIII 1076, the probable source here. Piers Plowman says that Cain was conceived while his parents were still unrepentant and was therefore cursed (C XI 212-5).

878 "caym fe cursed" makes for better scansion. Cf. MS G C, F and G.

882 "fode" here means "Offspring, descendant...brood".


896 The original reading must have been C's "sacrilegus". The word is plural because it refers both to the coming murder of Abel (OED under "sacrilege... any kind of outrage on consecrated persons or things") and more
immediately back to the grudging offering of the tithe. In the Middle Ages, sacrilege was a branch of avarice. Thus Chaucer's Parson says "Espiritueel thefte is sacrilege, that is to seyn, hurtynge of hooly thynges, or of thynges sacred to Christ,...they that withdrawen falsly the rightes that longen to hooly chirche."


Probably by missing or omitting a superscribed abbreviation sign for "ri", a scribe has corrupted "sacrilege" to "sacles" (MSS F and G), which can only refer very awkwardly to Abel (with "he" in 1.1070 of MS F referring also to Abel). H and T omit the word, and have "hat" refer to all Cain's misdemeanours, but this is metrically unsatisfactory.

899 The tradition that the weapon used to murder Abel was the jaw-bone of an ass is firmly entrenched in vernacular literature and in art in the Middle Ages. The tradition has been discussed by Emerson, "Legs. of Cain"; John Kester Bonnell, "Cain's Jaw Bone", PMLA (1924), 140-6; Meyer Schapiro, "Cain's Jaw-Bone that Did the First Murder", Art Bulletin XXIV (1942), 205-12; and George Henderson, "Cain's Jaw-Bone", Journal of the
In English, the ass's jaw-bone appears in Kemble, 180; Trin. Camb. 86; Lyff—Vernon 224/34; Met. Para. 236; Lud. Cov. II 149; Towneley II 324. It appears in Celtic drama as well. See *Creat. of World* 1117. Cf. *Anc. Corn. Dr.* 539-40 where Cain strikes Abel on the jawbone. Bonnell 142 also mentions a Breton play containing this tradition which, however, dates from the sixteenth century. An Irish non-dramatic work, which took final form around 1168, says that the weapon was the jaw-bone of a camel. See Schapiro 206, Henderson 110. Meyer Schapiro, p. 208 n. 30, points to the appearance of the ass's jaw-bone in the *Rymbibel* of Jacob van Maerlant, dated 1271. It appears also in an anonymous French verse translation of the Old Testament quoted in Bonnard, 97.

The earliest appearance of the ass's jaw-bone is in the Anglo-Saxon prose dialogue of *Salamon and Saturn*, written some time before 1100. See Kemble, p. 180. The earliest pictorial representation is in the illustrated manuscript of Aelfric's translation of the Pentateuch, dated in the second quarter of the eleventh century (MS BM Cotton Claudius B iv, fol. 8v). The
jaw-bone does not appear in the text of the translation. Schapiro believed that it had appeared in tenth-century Irish crosses, but this opinion is not generally accepted. See Schapiro, 206 and n. 13; Henderson 109-11.

The jaw-bone of an ass is obviously reminiscent of the weapon used by Sampson against the Philistines in Jud. 15:14, as Emerson pointed out, "Leg. of Cain", 859. Why Cain and Sampson should be linked, however, is far from clear. No critic has as yet found a similar connection in works of serious exegesis in Latin or Greek.

Commentators have concentrated on explaining the origin of the jaw-bone itself, assuming that once the jaw-bone appeared, the connection with Sampson's weapon would be easily explained. This assumption seems especially justified by the Irish text, in which the jaw-bone is that of a camel, perhaps suggesting that the animal was variable at an early stage in the development of the tradition. Schapiro, however, suggests that the substitution comes about because of the connection of asses and camels as symbols of the giant descendants of Cain in I Enoch 86:4. See Schapiro
Schapiro, 211-2, argues that the animal jaw suggests bestiality, violence and destructiveness in English art. Parallels from oriental art are adduced by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1942), 383-4. However, while such symbolic interpretations might reinforce an already existing tradition of the jaw-bone as a murder weapon, they do not seem adequate as a sole cause for its choice.

A jaw-bone is connected with Cain in a Hebrew legend which has Cain bite Abel to death, cited in Schapiro, 212. A reminiscence of this is found in the *Apocalypse of Moses* ii and in the *Vita Adae et Evae*, when Eve dreams of Cain with Abel's blood in his mouth. See Mozley 134/23; *Cant. Creat.* 472-4; *Life*—Bodley 348. Whether or not the original legend was known to the English, however, is not known.

Meyer Schapiro suggested a linguistic explanation for the origins of the jaw-bone, partly because of his erroneous impression that the Anglo-Saxon prose *Salomon and Saturn* was a product of the ninth century. See Schapiro 210. In fact, as Henderson points out, it cannot be accurately dated. See Henderson, 109. He posits a form *Cain-bana*, by analogy with *ecg-bana*
"sword-slayer", the word used of Cain in *Beowulf* 1261-2. *Cain-bana* could then have been corrupted to *cin-bana*, the word used for the murder weapon in *Salomon and Saturn*. Henderson, however, demolishes this argument, 108-9. *Cain-bana* is not analogous to *ecg-bana*, is extremely awkward, and is never attested in any manuscript. Furthermore, it sounds quite unlike *cin-bana*, and the two words would not have been easily confused by an Anglo-Saxon.

The other suggestions for the origin of Cain's weapon are all iconographic. Various weapons are pictured in Cain's hand. Byzantine art shows a stone, Schapiro 209 and n 42, which is consistent with Jewish tradition. See *Jubilees* iv 31; Malan I lxxix, p. 101; *Cave of Treasures* 70; Midrash xxii 8, p.188; *Targ. Jon.* 171; "Abel", *Jew. Encyc.* In western art, however, the weapon is usually an agricultural implement, which is consistent with Cain's role as the first farmer (*Gen. 4:2*). See citations of pictures in Bonnell 145; Schapiro 209; Henderson 110-1.

Henderson is puzzled by the reference in *Salomon and Saturn* to Cham, Noah's son, as the first ploughman. Cham, or Ham, and Cain were often either confused or
connected in biblical paraphrase, however. Cf. below, 11.1900-2; Met. Para, 354-60; Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", p. 489. This might also be reinforced by a concept of technological primitivism. Josephus 27, for instance, suggested that God preferred Abel's sacrifice to Cain's because Abel's sheep had grown naturally and spontaneously while Cain's grain had been forced from nature by a plough. If agricultural implements were already seen as evil inventions, their use as the murder weapon would be easily accepted.

The first discussion of the jaw-bone in painting is by Bonnell. The earliest Continental representation he knew was dated 1379. By this time the legend was well established in English vernacular sources. Following the tendencies of Émile Mâle, the continental art historian, Bonnell found that the source of the pictures of the jaw-bone was the religious drama. The tradition, he thought, had first appeared in English popular legend, then in English plays, then in continental plays (although he could only cite one, a Breton play known only from a version of about 1550), and finally in continental art.

The earliest extant picture of a jaw-bone as the
murder weapon now known is in the Aelfric manuscript cited above, but the tradition continued in English art, and was exported, from the thirteenth century on, to France, the Low Countries, and Germany. See Schapiro 208-9; Henderson 108. Schapiro, 210, suggested that it had simply evolved from an unclear drawing of a sickle, one of the weapons of Cain found, albeit only occasionally, in early pictures. He also mentioned that it might be an attempt at historical accuracy made by an artist who realized that metalworking had not yet been invented (see Gen. 4:22), and gave Cain a weapon from his own bone-age culture. The latter suggestion is particularly unconvincing.

George Henderson 111-3 suggests that the likeness of Cain to Sampson is iconographic, rather than exegetical, symbolic, linguistic or historical. He shows several pictures of Sampson slaying the Philistines which are strikingly similar to pictures of Cain slaying Abel. The illustrations in the Aelfric MS seem to go back to early Christian archetypes. Cf. my discussion of the same MS with reference to Moses' horns, below n. to 11.5967-70. The jaw-bone in Cain's hand, Henderson suggests, occurs either:
(1) because the artist's exemplar lacked a picture of Cain and Abel, so he filled in with one based on a picture of Sampson, or

(2) because Cain's weapon in the exemplar picture was a stone which could not be seen clearly in his clenched fist, and so the artist filled in this detail from the similar picture of Sampson, or

(3) because the weapon in the exemplar picture was an implement or club which resembled a jaw-bone and was made to seem even more so because of the pre-existing resemblance of the murder scene to that of the Sampson picture. The weapon he suggests, however, is not Schapiro's sickle, but rather a plough coulter, which is frequently pictured in Cain's hand.

If the source is indeed iconographic, then the Old English Salamon and Saturn is the kind of literary work one might expect to find it in first. To imagine a serious scholar looking back to a picture for his inspiration is not easy. However, Salomon and Saturn is part of a widely distributed and extremely eclectic dialogue literature whose questions and answers are a combination of popular legend and very corrupt biblical traditions. A none-too-bright scribe copying one of these dialogues might well have had a confused memory
of a picture, perhaps of Cain, perhaps of Sampson, perhaps of a jaw-bone, perhaps of a plough coulter, and thus unwittingly launch a literary tradition that was to last into the nineteenth century. See Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", 859.

901 H and T use the fifteenth century form of the past participle of "slay"—"sloon"—in order to rhyme with the southern vowel in "anoon".

901-8 The only other example of Cain's inability to hide Abel's body known to Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", 859, was from Malan, Book of Adam I 79.

906 The metre would be improved by retaining "ai" or "al" before "vp". Cf. MSS C and G.

909-10 From Hist. Schol. xxvii, PL CXCVIII 1077. The CM is the earliest work cited by Whiting, Proverbs, M806 as using this proverb.

913-6 Adam instinctively knows that Cain has done an evil deed. Cf. the Vita Adae, Mozley 134-5/23; Legende 462/8ff, in which Eve dreams, before the deed, of Cain with Abel's blood in his mouth.

919-22 In Gen. 4:9 these words are part of the dialogue between God and Cain. Petrus Comestor was apparently bothered by God's asking Cain where Abel was. He explains that God really knew the answer all along,
but intended His words as a cry against fratricide. See Hist. Schol. xxvii, PL CXCVIII 1077. Perhaps the CM poet has evaded Comestor's difficulty by transferring the question to Cain's earthly father.

There is no mention of the offering being burned in Genesis nor in the CM, 11.888-92, but cf. 1.979 in MSS C and F. However, other traditions existed in Middle English. One of these probably derives from a different translation of the Hebrew. Jerome writes that, according to Theodotian, God did not "approve" Abel's sacrifice, but instead He "kindled" (inflammavit) it. See quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 944. Cf. Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 215; Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent. iv, PL CLXXV 44; Hist. Schol. xxvi, PL CXCVIII 1077; "Abel", Jew. Encyc.

In vernacular tradition, when the sacrifices are to be burned, God sometimes kindles Abel's sacrifice, but not Cain's. See Malan I lxxviii, p.98; Trin. Camb. 77-84; Life of Christ 2337-40; Chester II; Lud. Cov. II 131-6; Towneley II 275ff; cf. God's kindling of Aaron's sacrifice in Lev. 9:24, and Elijah's encounter with the prophets of Baal in III Reg. 18:38. Elsewhere, the smoke from Abel's sacrifice ascends to
heaven, while that of Cain flows downwards. See SEL Temp., fol. 2v; Lyff—Vernon 224/25-7; Towneley 275. The scene is also illustrated in churches in Cornwall, Salisbury and Suffolk, as described in M.D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery, 144. Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", 848-51 calls this "a common addition", but cannot give an earlier instance of it than the Lyff—Vernon.

925 Cf. Gen. 4:8: "Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum:
Egregiamur foras." The Latin translation of the Septuagint reads "Eamus in campum". Hence, the murder of Abel frequently takes place in a field. See Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", 857ff.

933 Retention of "i-wis", as in MSS C and G makes a metrically better line.

934 MSS C, F, and T have "God", MSS G and H have "iesu". The reasons are probably metrical. C's lines are metrically the most satisfactory: "If god him-self ne had it kydd". The exemplar of T and H must have had T's "Nadde God him self hit kid", which the scribe of H corrected to "Ne hadde iesu hym self hit kid".

936 MSS G and T have "God", while H has "iesu" again. C, F and G's lines are metrically sound but T's "For god "bat al wrouȝt" is hopeless. H partially corrects
this by again changing "God" to "Iesu".

942 "his owne ymage" of course refers back to Gen. 1:26-7.

949-52 Cf. n. to 11.919-22.

960-8 This is the curse on Cain, Gen. 4:11, strongly mixed with the curse on Adam, Gen. 3:17-8.

975-80 Gen. 5:12.

979 H's unique reading "knowen", for "holden", was accidentally taken over from the previous line.

997 H preserves an original "vnkou te", (cf. C, F and G) which T has miscopied as "vnkond".

998 Gen. 5:14.

1003-4 There are various traditions about the mark of Cain. Some Jewish sources said it was a horn. See Midrash xxii 12, p. 191. This appears in the Cornish Creat. of World 1373. The Septuagint translation, however, instead of making Cain a wanderer, says "thou shalt be groaning and trembling on the earth." This trembling becomes the mark of Cain in several different works. See Malan I lxxix, p. 102-3; Cave of Treasures 78; Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot, in Pent., PL CLXXV 44; Hist. Schol. xxvii, PL CXCVIII 1078. In Middle English, it appears in the Vernon version of the Lyff of Adam and Eve 224/44-5. Cf. Emerson, "Legs. of Cain",
p. 869 who suggests some analogues to this tradition in the Middle English lyric "Man in the Moon" and in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde I 1023, which suggest that the man in the moon, identified with Cain, may be unsteady enough to fall out of the sky. The CM poet, however, seems to think of it as a letter, or piece of writing, to be read. The only analogue which I have found for this is in Rashi 19: "He [God] inscribed on [Cain's] forehead a letter of His Divine Name."

The same riddle appears in dialogue literature, especially from German sources. See Kemble, p. 290, 295-8. The answer here is Abel. He was born before his parents because they were never born at all, but created. His grandmother was the earth, and he had her maidenhead either by being the first man to enter her in burial, or because his was the first blood to be shed on her. A different solution to the same riddle appears in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzifal. The answer there is Cain, who "slew Abel for the sake of paltry possessions. When blood then fell upon the pure earth, her virginity was forfeit, and it was Adam's son who took it from her." See Parzifal, trans. Helen M. Mustard and Charles E. Passage (New York, 1961), 248-9. The riddle may have been suggested to the CM
poet by the following passage from the Hist. Schol. xviii Add. 1, PL CXCVIII 1071: "Terra proprie adhuc virgo erat, quia nondum corrupta homine opere, nec sanguine infecta."

1016-28 Elucid. I 93. Haenisch, CM, p. 4* thought that this came from Petrus Comestor.

1017ff. The Vulgate says only that Adam was 130 years old when he begat Seth (Gen. 5:3). Some legends held that Adam and Eve mourned for 100 years after Abel's death and did not know each other again until specifically told to do so by an angel. The CM poet probably takes the story from Petrus Comestor Hist. Schol. xxix, PL CXCVIII 1080, but it is found elsewhere in Middle English. See Trin. Camb. 101-2; SELeg. 168/27-8; Cant. Cret. 496-8; Lyff-Vernon 225/6-7; Myroure p. 191; Anc. Corn. Dr. 619-39.

Miss d'Evelyn suggests that the English translator of the Revelations of Methodius may have taken his version of the story from the CM. It does not appear in the Latin Revelations. The poet of G&E places the visit of the angel earlier. Some early legends had told that Adam and Eve did not live together for 100 years after their expulsion from Paradise until expressly told to do so by God. See Malan, lxxiii, and R.H.
Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* p. 137. In the Middle English *G&E* the two traditions are confused. The angel of the later versions comes to give God's permission, but he gives it for the begetting of Cain, 11.389-408. Later Adam and Eve mourn yet another hundred years before Seth is born, but without benefit of an angel, 11.421-2.

1024 The Scandinavian word "aghteld" (ON *ahtil*, cp Ol *ætla*—*MED*) in MS C is replaced in MSS G, H and T by "ordained".

1032 Cf. I Cor. 15:45, where Christ is referred to as the second Adam.

1033 MSS H and T have omitted the metrically necessary "priue". Cf. C, F and G.

1036 An echo of Christ's commandment in *Matth.* 22:39:
"Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum." The echo is stronger in MSS C, F and G, which preserve "him-self".

The poet changes "proximum" to "brefer", thus suggesting that Seth is both an anti-type of Cain, who did not love his brother, and a type of Christ, the enunciator of the new law. This is one of the *CM* poet's rare passages of figural interpretation. Cf. n. to 1.1032 above.

1037-9 Cf. the etymology of Seth given by Isidore, e.g.
"Seth...positio, quia posuit eum Deus pro Abel." See Etym. VII vi 9.

1042-4 From Hist. Schol. xxix Add. 1, PL CXC VIII 1080, as Haenisch, CM, p.4* pointed out. Gen. 5:4 merely says of Adam; "genuitque filios et filias". In other vernacular works, the number of sons varies from 30 to 33, depending on whether Cain, Abel and Seth are counted. The number of daughters varies between 30 and 32, according to whether or not the author knew of Cain's and Abel's twin sisters.


1063ff. The CM poet here begins to tell the history of Seth's quest for the Oil of Mercy and the story of the wood of the Cross. The story was immensely popular in the Middle Ages. The pioneering work of classification was carried out by Wilhelm Meyer in "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus", and "Vita Adae et Evae". An excellent study has been produced by Esther Casier Quinn, The Quest of Seth. I will not attempt to reproduce her discussion of the variations in the tradition and their transmission through-
out the Middle Ages. For work which has been done since her book appeared, see J. Burke Severs, ed., A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, II (Hamden, Conn., 1970), 441-6 and 635-9.

Briefly, the history of the Holy Cross began in two parts. One told of the life of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise, and of Seth's journey back to Eden on behalf of his dying father. This is told in the Greek Apocalypse of Moses and, in the form known in the West, in the Latin Vita Adae et Evae. I refer throughout to the text of the Vita published by J.H. Mozley, "The 'Vita Adae'", Journal of Theological Studies, XXX (1929), 121-49. Mozley used English manuscripts for his edition, and classifies several details in their texts which are specifically English.

A separate legend began with Moses' finding rods in the desert, and told of their history through various owners until they were used to form Christ's cross. The introduction to Arthur S. Napier, Rood Tree, contains a good early description of the texts. See also Quinn.

The two legends were combined to produce what Meyer calls the Legende version, telling the history of the cross wood from its plantation in Adam's mouth. I quote from the Legende text printed by C. Horstmann in
"Nachträge zu den Legenden", Archiv (1887), 459-69.

He entitles it "Vita prothoplausti Ade".

The CM poet has used the Latin Legende as his source for the Adam section of the rood story, and an Old French poem as his source for the remainder. See below, 11.5619ff. and notes.

1067 The Latin reads "inclinans super bipennem suam."

See Legende 466/13. This was translated "hak" in MSS C and F, 1239, with the spade added for metrical reasons. The spade alone survives in G, H and T, and is substituted for the "hak" in 1.1241. Henning Larsen, "Origo Crucis", 30, adduces the appearance of an oxi (pick-axe) in the Old Norse Hauksbók version of the legend as a striking parallel with the CM. The source is much more likely to have been the Latin, however.

1068 The change from "sad" in C and F, to "made" in G, H and T is simply an error. Cf. the Latin "cepit contristari".

1069 The dropping of "hak" as the rhyme word has led a reviser to conjure up a picture of Adam in a very awkward position, with his breast somehow resting on his spade.

1079 "jonder" in H and T is extra-metrical.
1082 MSS C, F and G have the Scandinavian word which has come down to us as "Sleuth" (sb ON and Icelandic sloš --OED). H and T substitute "steppes".

1095-1110 Adam's speech contains several elements. His first statement of his fatigue, ll. 1095-8, may be intended to account for Seth's opening words to the angel, ll. 1125-6; Legende 466/31. It is a recapitulation of CM 1065-8, with the same change in some MSS of "sad" to "made". His request to know when he is to die, ll. 1099-1100, does not appear in the Legende, but is probably an anticipation of the angel's statement, ll. 1197-1200. Ll. 1101-1110 is the only message Adam gives Seth in the Latin, Legende 466/18-20, where it appears before Adam gives his son directions to Paradise.

1116 MSS G, H and T have dropped the Scandinavian word "gloppend" found in C and F. See OED Glopnen v from ON; cp Ol glūpna.

1116-8 This may be the great light of Paradise itself, or it may be the burning wall surrounding it.

1119 The Latin reads "signavit se theta". F preserves the original reading "saynet", while C's "seiud" is probably a misreading of "senid". Cf. the ON "sigra sik marki þæ ðær Bethel heitir" quoted in Henning
1139 The CM poet is not being vague again, but is simply translating his source, 466/36.
1140 For "swete smelle" the Latin has "cantu ameno" (466/37).
1143 Latin "lucidissimum" (466/38).
1146 The word "witen" is a scribal error for "weten" as in T, Cf. C, F and G. However the line makes sense with "witen".
1162 "hat made him doute". The Latin has "stupefactus redijt", 476/3.
1163 T's "eet" is a miscopying of "eer", as in H.
1171 The child is obviously Christ. The "swa~belyng e bonde", Latin "pannis inuolutum" 467/5–6, echo Luc. 2: 7,12.
1172 As the angel later explains, Christ is weeping for the sins of Seth's parents. The Middle English poet, though he translates the restrained "deflet" as "wepej" at 1.1185, here uses the realistic "squelonde".
1181 "wi chere mylde" translates "uisi benignitate", 467/10. Cf. 1.1132 which has no counterpart in the Latin.
"vndir his tunge rote". The Latin simply says "infra os eius pones", 467/17.

The three trees in the Legende are cedar, cypress and pine, 467/18. MSS C, F and G preserve the original reading here, but MSS H and T change all references to the three trees to cedar, cypress and palm. The palm was often cited as one of the woods of which the cross was made. See Quinn's discussion, Quest of Seth, p. 70 and n. 3, p. 151, n. 3. Cf the illustration in the mid-thirteenth century Salisbury Psalter of Christ crucified on a palm-tree cross, reproduced in F.P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (Coral Gables, Florida, 1970), pl. 26a.

When he changed the third tree in his source, the author of the southern redaction of the CM probably had in mind the verses of Eccli. 24: 17-8:

17 Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano,  
et quasi cypressus in monte Sion;  
18 quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades,

These images were very often applied to the Virgin. See F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), p.366. Thus the southern redactor has deliberately altered his original to
refer, however obliquely, to the Blessed Virgin, to whom the CM is dedicated.

1214 The Scandinavian adjective "gain" (from ON: cp. OI ge gn--MED) in MSS C and G is changed in H and T to "good".

1217-26 This dialogue is not found in the Latin.

1222 MSS H and T have variant readings. T has "Ar he be oile may to ye sende". Cf. MSS C, F and G. H, having omitted "he", concludes the line sensibly by changing "sende" to "wende".

1228 The word "sith" in C and G disappears in H and T. The last reference given in OED (Sithe sb1 3) is to the CM and the word might have become obsolete by the time of the copying of the exemplar of H and T.

1232 MSS H and T have both copied their exemplar's misreading of "mon" for "now". Cf. C, F and G.

1233-40 Not in the Latin.

1237 According to Gen. 5:5, Adam lived 930 years. Cf. CM 1433-4. However the Legende says he was 932. See 466/11-2. Aware of the two different figures, the CM poet here begs the question. Cf. SEL 168/31.

The copyist of the exemplar of H and T had to find a word to rhyme with "care", which the southern "more" would not do. He has thus added the word
"3are" at the end of the line. Its meaning, however, "alert, nimble, active, brisk, quick" (OED Yare a 2) exactly contradicts the intent of the passage as a whole, and especially the following line.

1250 Not in Latin. A filler.

1266 MSS H and T both say "bat iesu dized". MSS C, F and G have "bat iesus ras", which is theologically preferable.

1277 Various names are given to the wives and sisters of Cain and Seth. See Jubilees iv 9, 11; Malan I lxxiv and lxxv. The Revelations of Methodius, 192 calls Adam's daughters Chalmanan and Delboran. Petrus Comestor makes Cain's wife Calmana, and Seth's twin (and presumably his wife) Delbora.

1279 The CM tries to reproduce the genealogy of Seth as given in Gen. 5, but gets the ages of four out of the eight men wrong. However, even Vulgate texts of the time were sometimes uncertain here. See the variations in D. Henricus Quentin, ed., Biblia Sacra (Rome, 1926), I.

1281-2 Gen. 4:26.
1283 i.e. 912 years. The seven and five are perhaps suggested by the wording of Gen. 5:6-7: "Vixit quoque Seth centum quinque annis, et genuit Enos./Vixitque Seth postquam genuit Enos, octingentis septem annis,..."

1287-8 MSS C, F and G preserve the name as "Cainan" (Gen.5:14). H and T have corrupted it to "Caym". Cainan lived 910 years.

1289-90 T miscopies the name "maladial", but H has the correct form. Malaleel lived 895 years (Gen. 5:17).

1291 Jared lived 962 years (Gen. 5:20). MSS C and F come closer to the correct figure: "Nine hundret yeir and sexti Iareth"--C.


1296 Henoch lived 365 years (Gen. 5:23). The poet may have misread Gen. 5:22.

two chroniclers take their information from Comestor.

The standard interpretation of Gen. 5:24, which says, "Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non apparuit: quia tulit eum Deus." The tradition begins very early. See Jubilees 4:23; I Enoch 70:1-3; II Enoch 67:2; Jerome, Dialogus Adversus Pelagianos III, PL XXIII 580; Commentariorum in Amos III xi 2ff, PL XXV 1087; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 73; Hist. Schol. xxx, PL CXCVIII 1080, which Haenisch pointed out, CM, p. 4*; Higden 223; Wyntoun 275ff; Kemble 200, 213; Creat, of World 2094-2145. A possible explanation of the ideas connected with Enoch comes from Babylonian tradition. Enoch was the seventh in line from Adam, and the seventh ante-diluvian king of Babylon was also said to have received divine illumination. Interestingly, the Babylonian king was in the service of the sun god and Enoch's life lasted 365 years, the duration of one solar year. See S.R. Driver, Genesis, 78.

Enoch and Elijah are the two men of the Old Testament who did not die but were taken to Paradise bodily to await the second coming. The story of their fatal struggle with Anti-Christ is very old and is
based on their identification with the two witnesses of Apoc. 11:7: "Et cum finierint testimonium suum, bestia quae ascendit de abysso faciet adversum eos bellum, et vincet illos, et occidet eos." See W. Bousset, The Antichrist Legend, 203-17. The CM poet may have taken his account of this from Adso's widely known Libellus de Antichristo. See Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen ...", p. 451. Adso's work is translated in John Wright, trans., The Play of Antichrist (Toronto, 1967), 100-110.

1309-10 The CM poet now begins to use DIM as a source: "Hujus tempore mortuus est Adam." PL CLXXII 165. Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen ...", p. 451 first pointed out the poet's indebtedness to this work, but he did not believe that the CM poet began to use DIM until 11.6993-7082, 9133-9222.

1321-3 Perhaps a reflection of Petrus Comestor's discussion of various estimates of the length of the first age, Hist. Schol. xxx, PL CXCIII 1081. However, Comestor does not give this figure. Taking the ages of each man at the birth of his eldest son, one may calculate Adam 130, Seth 105, Enos 90, Cainan 70, Malaleel 65, Jared 162, Enoch 65, Methuselah 187, Lamech 182. If one adds the 612 years of Noah's life before the beginning of the second age the total is 1668,
not 1662, as in C and F. Cf. Wyntoun, who gives the number of years as 1667, ll. 283-4.

1329-30 See note to 1.1277 above.

1333 MSS C, F, and G preserve the better reading "made" for "took". Cf. Gen. 4:17.

1334 The ages are not given for the descendants of Cain, Gen. 4:17ff, who all perish in Noah's flood in any case.

1336 Cf. Rev. Meth 193: "hec prima facta est ante deluuium". Miss d'Evelyn does not point out this parallel. The phrase does not occur in Petrus Comestor. The city is called Effrem in the Revelations, however, and in works derived from it. Cf. Trin. Camb. Poem, 88. The CM poet has corrected Effrem to the biblical name.

1337 According to the Vulgate, the line runs from Enoch to Irad, Maviael, Mathusael and Lamech. See Gen. 4:18. The CM poet was using DIM here, however, and MSS C and G preserve the name "Gaidat", found in DIM, instead of Irad. The scribe of MS F was apparently puzzled by this Gaidat, and changed the line to "enos gattes a sone Mainael" (1509). The line in MSS H and T may have been derived from this. The forms "mamael" (MS C) and "Mainael" (MS F) are
scribal corruptions of the Vulgate "Maviael" (Gen. 4:18). MSS G, H and T's "malaliel" is a correction of this, probably influenced by the "malaliel" in Seth's line. Cf. above 1.1289.

1339-40 The exemplar of H and T has corrected the rhyme vowel from "thrin" as in C, F and G, to "mayne". The original form of the name must have had a short "i" in the final syllable. Cf. C's "cubaltim". Gen. 4:20-2 has Jabel, Jubal and Tubalcain. The names are variously misspelled in Middle English. Cf. Comestor, Hist. Schol. xxviii, PL CXCVIII 1079, who calls Tubal­cain Tubal. See Karl Young, "Chaucer and Peter Riga", Speculum, XII (1937), 133, n. 265.

1341-2 This refers to the usual mediaeval interpretation of Gen. 4:23-4 as a song of lament sung by Lamech when, old and blind, he accidentally kills Cain. This was often told at length in the Middle Ages, especially by authors who knew Petrus Comestor. See Hist. Schol. xxviii, PL CXCVIII 1079. Comestor got it from Methodius. Cf. Rev. Meth. 193. Cf. Malan II xiii, p. 122; Cave of Treasures 78-9; Rashi, 21; Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot in Pent., PL CLXXV 44-5; see also Montague Rhodes James, The Lost Apocrypha, 10-11. In Middle English the story is found in G&E 471-86; Higden 229-31;
Wyntoun 191-202; Fall of Princes 735; Mandeville L 81; Lud. Cov. III 143ff; Creat. of World 1465-1712; cf. the French Genesis by Evrat, cited in Bonnard, 115.

The abbreviated version here is unusual, and probably comes from Rev. 193, which says simply: "...filii lamech ceci, qui fuit primus cecus. qui interfecit Caim." Miss d'Evelyn does not note this, and Haenisch, CM P. 5*, gives Comestor as the source of the passage.

1344-52 Gen. 4:20-22.


1354 The "dud" in MS T may be an interpolation, as it occurs in no other MS.

1357-66 This story is told of Seth's descendants in Josephus, 33; Creat. of World 2146-2210; and in the Vita--Mozley 145/52; Auch. 673ff; Cant. Creat. 898ff.; Lyff--Vernon 227/10-12; Life--Bodley 353; Life--Harley 364/44-7; Life--Wheatley 97/1-2. Comestor, however, had already switched it to the sons of Lamech who recorded the secrets of their crafts. See Hist. Schol. xxviii, PL CXCVIII 1079; G&E 461-4; Rev. Meth. 163-90; Higden 233; Wyntoun 223-40.

1369-80 From Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. xxxvi
and Add. 2, PL CXCVIII 1087. Comestor got the idea from Josephus 57. Cf. Higden 231. Miss d'Evelyn suggested that the Middle English translation of the Revelations of Methodius took this passage from the CM. See Rev. Meth., 11.191-214. This seems possible, as the number of years quoted in the CM and the Revelations translation is 100, whereas Petrus Comestor and Higden both say the Great Year takes 600 years to pass.

1378 MS T has transposed "are went alle". H's "are alle went" is probably the reading of the exemplar. Cf. MS G.

1380 MS H's "As" is probably the reading of the exemplar. Cf. MSS C, F and G. T's "bat" is an anticipation of the rhyme word.

1383ff. The story of Noah's flood begins in Genesis with a curious tale of the intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men which bred a race of giants (Gen. 6:1-4). Originally this passage may have had no connection with the flood story but was instead the original account of the fall of man. As such, the tale appears in I Enoch, written between the third and first centuries B.C. In II Enoch, however, and in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,
written in the first century A.D., this story and the story of Paradise appear side by side as accounts of the fall. Such books as Jubilees, Ecclesiasticus, 25:24, and above all II Esdras marked the final triumph of the story of Adam and Eve as the official history of the fall. The seal was set when Paul assumed this version to be the true one. On this whole subject see Norman Powell Williams, The Ideas of the Fall.

However, when the story of the marriages was no longer the story of the fall, it began instead to be an embarrassment to the devout. The sons of God were called angels in the Septuagint translation, and consequently by Josephus, 35 and in Jubilees 5:1. But how could angels unite with earthly women? An early Jewish tradition interpreted the sons of God as sons of families of noble background, while the daughters of men were merely humble women. Instead of telling of original sin, then, this became the story of the first seduction. See Williams, 30; Driver, 82-3; Skinner, 142 n.; Targ. of Onk. 46; Targ. of Jon. 176 Midrash 26:5, p. 213; Rashi, p. 25.

Some of the early Christian Fathers accepted the Septuagint translation of sons of God as angels. See
the references given in Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", 919-21. Later Fathers, however, mindful of Matth. 22:30, which specifically denies sex to the angels, could not accept this tradition. They assumed a prohibition on marriage between the descendants of Seth, from whom Christ was to come, with the descendants of the wicked Cain. See Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", 921.

The CM poet barely glances at the problems of this passage. Instead he develops the theme of sexual sin among the descendants of Cain alone. Cf. the general statements of the wickedness of the times in Gen. 6:5, 11-13. Their sins are sins against the law of nature, the only law in existence before Moses was given the commandments.

See CM, 11. 1399-1401, 1410. Originally, the poet mentioned only lust (1567), adultery with their brothers' wives (1573-4) and rape (1577-8). MSS H and T take up the suggestion of the sin against nature and insert four lines to show that lesbianism and homosexuality were the abhorrent sins (1399-1402).

The whole incident does give writers a chance to fulminate against whatever sin they particularly abhor. Thus the SEL Temp., fol. 3r-3v calls it incest, and I&I, 13-20 blames gluttony. Compare the note to 1. 2571 below. The author of the Book of the Knight of
LaTour-Landry, 62, attributes the flood entirely to women's dress.


1387-8 The CM poet sees the early history of the word as a continuing decline from the blessedness of Adam's state.

1405 The original description of the two laws is preserved in MSS C and G, 1.1571 "bat es o settnes and o kind", i.e. the positive law and the natural law. The Dict. théol. cath. XI 875 distinguishes the two:

[La loi] est naturelle, si l'obligation qu'elle impose dépend de la nature des choses, positive, si cette obligation dépend de la volonté positive et libre du législateur.

Isidore's first example of natural law is "viri et feminae conjunctio", in Etym. V iv 1.

Cf. 11.1399-1402 above.

The CM poet may have picked up the concept of the two laws from his reading of Grosseteste's Chateau d'amour. See. 11.111-128.

1408 This comes from Rev. Meth. and is also found in Hist. Schol. xxxi, PL 1081. Cf. G&E 529-30.

This is the closest the poet comes to the traditional
interpretation of the passage as the prohibited intermarriages between the brothers' descendants.

1418-20 Cf. 11.553-4.

1432 Gen. 6:6.

1434 MS T has omitted "not" from the exemplar.

1451 "feluns", MSS C, F and G, makes a better antithesis with "ye gode" than do the "foolis" of H and T, which was probably produced by scribal corruption.

1455-6 The genealogical diagram in MS C is not reproduced in the other MSS, although these lines promise one. MS F omits the lines altogether.


1468 Cf. note to 1.314.

1476 Cf. Gen. 8:21. After the Flood, Noah offers a sacrifice: "Odoratusque est Dominus odorem suavitatis". Cf. Lev. 1:9 Phil. 4:18; and Eph. 5:2 where the sweet smell of Christ's sacrifice is contrasted with fornication and uncleanness. The image may have been suggested to the CM poet, however,
by Petrus Comestor's description of how high the flood waters reached: "usquequo ascenderant opera hominum."

1496 The Vulgate reads: "Fac tibi arcam de lignis levigatis" (Gen. 6:14). The Septuagint readings, however, have the ark built of square timber, as here. See Allen, Leg. of Noah, p. 41 n.3. Petrus Comestor gives the Septuagint reading as an alternative to the Vulgate's. See Hist. Schol. xxxii, PL CXCVIII 1081; cf. Glossa, PL CIII 105. The York plays combine the two readings "hewe *ame [high trees] cleyne,/All be sware and noght of skwyn" (VIII 73-4).

1499-1500 The meaningless "& how strong" of MSS H and T is made necessary by the change in rhyme vowels, northern "brade/made" to southern "long/strong".

1501-6 The CM poet does not seem concerned to describe the hull of the ark, but he may have been mindful of Augustine's warning to his readers not to imagine that a ship as large as the ark could not be built, for it had straight timbers, not curved ribs. See DCD XV xxvii, PL XLI 475.

L.F. Salzman, Building in England is useful in understanding the building of the ark. The CM poet describes it as a timber frame structure filled in
with wattle and daub. This is a typical medieval building, neither as grand as the stone castles of lords, which would hardly be suitable for an ark in any event, nor as humble as the wattle and daub huts of the peasants, which could not have supported the five stories mentioned in contemporary exegesis. See Salzman, pp. 192, 194.

The poet speaks of Noah as the master wright (1.1498), who directs his helpers and is himself responsible for fastening in place the main beams of the building (1.1560). See Salzman, pp. 201, 205. Perhaps taking his beginning from the "square tre" of the Septuagint and Old Latin (1.1496), the poet speaks of cutting the timber (1.1556) and fastening it (1.1501). This is the process of laying the groundsills in the desired shape, and then attaching to them the uprights, or studs. See Salzman, p. 189. The uprights are then bound together with "balks or horizontal timbers, as opposed to the...studs, or uprights" (Salzman, p. 542, n.2), and "bands" or "laces", that is, tie beams, running across the structure from side to side (11.1503, 1560). See Salzman, pp. 204, 211, and the illustration between pp. 196 and 197. Then the wattling process is begun, that is the spaces between the uprights are filled with
vertical stakes, interwoven with small branches or "wands" (11.1502, 1504). See Salzman, pp. 188-9. Then the wall is daubed with earth, clay, mortar or plaster to fill in the interstices. See Salzman, p. 188.

The CM poet has the ark daubed with pitch as the Vulgate specifies (1.1505, Gen. 6:14), and as would be necessary for water-proofing, and with plaster (1.1506). See Salzman, p. 189.

I have found no comparable description of the ark in written sources, but similar wattle and daub arks are to be seen in three illuminated MSS of the period, all done under French, or Anglo-French influence.


(3) W.O. Hassall, ed., The Holkham Bible Picture Book (London, 1954), fol. 7v. The pictures were probably done in London, later in the fourteenth century.

The texts in these MSS try to explain the pictures,
usually by saying that Noah was rushed and at the last minute had to finish his ship with wattle and daub rather than continue nailing planks onto the frame. Hassall, pp. 73–4, offers this explanation of the legends:

The conflicting explanations seem to be rationalizations of a natural misinterpretation of a traditional way of representing the fabric of the ark. This is exemplified in the fifth or sixth century in the Cotton Genesis and perhaps in the bronze door of Monreale Cathedral (c. 1180–90). The original intention was not to represent wickerwork at all but to show "a form of panelling which became common in Cairene work....In its origin it seems to have depended on forms of the Greek fret which are frequently found as pattern on Coptic textiles. This form of panelling was doubtless used because it required only small pieces of timber..."

Below is a tracing of a reproduction of the ark in the Cotton Genesis referred to by Hassall. The reproduction is from W.R. Lethaby, "The Painted Book of Genesis in the British Museum", Archaeological Journal, LXIX (1912), p. 98.

Note the panelling which might have suggested wattle and daub to a mediaeval artist.
Apparently, then, the ark of the CM has evolved through iconography and French legend to reach its place in the Middle English biblical paraphrase.

In spite of the unusually detailed description of the ark in the text of the CM, the sketch of the "archa noe" found at the bottom of fol. 12v of MS C is of a conventional ship with mast and rudder.

1507-8 Gen. 6:15 says the ark was 300 x 50 x 30 cubits in size. The CM says 150 x 24 x 15 ells.

Haenisch, CM, p. 5*, says that this is correct as an ell was twice the size of a cubit. This seems to be true only in the reckoning of the CM poet, however. Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. xxxii, PL CXCVIII 1083, Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 46, and other commentators agreed that a cubit contained one and one half feet. Ronald Edward Zupko, A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures (Madison, Wisc., 1968), p. 45 agrees that 18" was the usual size of a cubit. An English ell, however, was usually 45". See Ibid., p. 53. The ell which the CM poet is using, being roughly twice the size of a cubit, must have measured approximately 36". Zupko, loc. cit., says that the Scottish ell contained $37\frac{1}{2}$". This may be yet another indication of Scottish influence on the
Much Latin exegesis was preoccupied with another problem. Commentators, perplexed by the small size of this ark, reported Origen's explanation that the cubits were geometrical ones, each 6, 7, or 9 times larger than an ordinary cubit. See Origen, *In Genesim Homilia II*, *PG* XII 166-7; Augustine, *Quaest. in Hept.*, *PL* XXXIV 549; *DCD* XV xxvii, *PL* XLI 474; Bede, *In Pent.*, *PL* XCI 222; Hugh of St. Victor, *Adnot. in Pent.*, *PL* CLXXV 46; *De Arca Noe Morali*, *PL* CLXXVI 628; *Hist. Schol.* xxxii, *PL* CXCVIII 1083. Bede grumbled that this was an obscure expression for a book intended, not for learned Egyptians, but for common people, and the explanation is found in English only in Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, p. 235.

The vernacular authors may be rather confused about measurements anyway. G&E in describing Noah's ark, gives its measurements as 300 x 50 x 30 ells, thus equating cubits and ells exactly. Cf. also 1.6753 below and note.

1510 Haenisch, *CM* p. 5* pointed out that this is taken from the *Hist. Schol.* xxxii, *PL* CXCVIII 1083; "id est, a fundo usque ad tabulatum".
1511-18 Gen. 6:16. The Vulgate said "mansiunculas in arca facies," (Gen. 6:14) and "deorsum, coenacula, et tristega facies in ea" (Gen. 6:14). This would have been a building of impressive scale in mediaeval times, even in London, where two story houses were the rule.

In the mid-thirteenth century, Henry III was much impressed with the houses in Paris "even of four or more stories". This is quoted in Salzman, Building in England, p. 197.


1515 Cf. n. to 11. 1591-2.

1523ff. Two interesting studies have recently appeared concerning the ark of Noah: Allen, Leg. of Noah, and Grover Zinn, "Hugh of St. Victor and the Ark of Noah." My discussion is largely based on these two works.

Origen had described a vessel which was a truncated pyramid, 300 x 50 cubits at its base, rising through 30 cubits to a square 1 x 1 cubit at the top. See In Genesim Homilia II, PG XII 161-7; Contra Celsum, IV, PG XI 1095-8. This is based on the Septuagint reading of Gen. 6:16, which says the ark should be narrowed in the making and finished in a cubit, while the Hebrew and Vulgate say the ark should have a
window and be finished in a cubit.

The pyramidal shape was accepted by later commentators. See e.g. Bede, Hex., PL XCI 89-91; In Pent., PL XCI 221; Allen, Leg. of Noah, p. 71. It was often juxtaposed with a contradictory statement by Augustine. He also said that the ark had no hull, but that it was built with vertical sides, having the same floor space on each level. He left the sea-worthiness of such a box-like craft in the hands of Divine Providence. See DCD XV xxvii, PL XLI 475.

Hugh of St. Victor interpreted Genesis differently. In his ark, the walls are only 15 cubits high, while the roof rises a further 15 cubits, at a slope of one cubit. The two upper stories of the ark are under the slope of this roof. See De Arca Noe Morali, I iii, PL CLXXVI 627. Allen, Leg. of Noah, p. 140 describes the ark in the CM as "up-to-date ...a poetical version of Hugh of St. Victor's ark". This is not the CM poet's conception, however, as is shown by the measurement "ffro grounde to ye tabulment" (1.1510). The tablement is a feature of wall construction, not of roofs. See Robert Willis, Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 36-7. The CM poet, then, is saying that
the full height of the ark, 30 cubits or 15 ells, is the same as the height of its walls. His ark, therefore, is more like Augustine's than like Hugh's.

The CM poet goes on to describe the arrangement of the decks. A possibly relevant passage from Hugh of St. Victor is the following from De arca Noe Morali I iii, PL CLXXVI 627:

Et unam mansionem dicunt ad fimum animalium recipiendum ordinatam, secundam ad cibaria eorum. In tertia fuisse indomita animilia [sic], in quarta mitia animalia, in quinta (quae suprema erat) homines et volatilia."

Compare, however, one of Comestor's descriptions, which Haenisch asserts to be the source of the CM account:

Alii vero has quinque cameras in altitudine sola disponunt, inferioremque et sentina stercioriam, dicentes; secundam supra illam apothecariam, tertiam immittium animalium et serpentum,...quartam mitium animalium; supremam hominum et avium. (Hist. Schol. xxxii, 1083).

The CM's lines might be said to be closer to the passage from Hugh of St. Victor in lacking the reference to serpents, but they differ from both Latin accounts in enumerating the decks from the top down, rather than from the bottom up. On the whole, the probability seems to be that the CM poet used the Historia
Scholastica as his source for this passage.

MSS C and F preserve the correct meaning that the birds are to be beside Noah, not beneath him as in MSS G, H and T.

Many descriptions of the ark mention these sanitary arrangements, which are not those of a ship, but of a house constructed with a cess-pit which was cleaned periodically. See Salzman, pp. 283-5. Certainly any structure built over or near running water used the stream as a convenient means of flushing its drains. See Salzman, pp. 268ff. The exegetes obviously conceived the only apertures in the ark to be the door and window specifically mentioned in Gen. 6:16, and even these are kept closed at all times during the flood.

Gen. 6:3: "Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine in aeternum, quia caro est; eruntque dies illius centum viginti annorum." Early commentators interpreted the 120 years as the span of a man's life from then on. See Josephus 35; cf. Jubilees v 8; Prick of Conscience 11.738-41. The Fathers say, however, that 120 years was the length of time given to men before the Flood in which they might repent. See Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 948; DCD XV xxiv, PL XLI 471; Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 221; Pseudo-Bede,

This is the point of view of the CM author, probably taken from Comestor, as Haenisch, CM, p. 6*, pointed out.

This explanation still leaves a difficulty, however. By comparing Gen. 5:32 with Gen. 7:6, one sees that the Flood came only 100 years after God's promise to Noah. See Augustine's attempt to explain the discrepancy in DCD XV xxiv, PL XLI 471.

1541-50 Gen. 6:18-9. The interpretation of the Vulgate's "ut vivat tecum" as a warning to be sure to take enough food to keep everyone alive (CM 11.1549-50) reflects the general interest in the housekeeping arrangements aboard the ark.

1557 Most literal commentaries also assume that Noah had helpers when he built the ark. See Allen, Leg. of Noah, p. 141. Piers Plowman, for instance, elaborates on the sad fate of these labourers who, although they helped to build the ark, had no place in it (C XII 238-43). Augustine, however, had explained that the job of building the ark took 100 years because only Noah and his sons worked on it.
See Quaest. in Hept., PL XXXIV 549.

This is the story given in Chester play, III 49ff.
The Anc. Corn. Dr. says that Noah built the ark alone (11.1009-16).

1560 Cf. n. to 11.1501-6.

1561-80 The idea that Noah preached to the onlookers while he worked on the ark is an ancient tradition, found in Josephus 35; Malan III ii, pp. 144-5; Cave of Treasures 100. Cf. II Peter 2:5; I Peter 3:20. In the twelfth century it appeared again in the commentary of Rashi on Genesis, p. 28.

However, this is the only occurrence of the motif in Middle English, although it does appear also in the Cornish Creat. of World 11.2294ff, 2346.

1567 Cf. n. to 1. 281.

1576 The "To" in MSS H and T is redundant.

1589 MSS H and T have omitted "his wil" and are therefore metrically defective. Cf. MSS C, F and G.

Gen. 7:16 The CM poet passes over the other inhabitants of the ark without even naming them, although paraphrasers were fond of supplying names. Comestor calls the wives of Noah and his sons Phuarphara, Pharthia, Cathalua and Flivia in Hist.
Schol. xxxiii, PL CXCVIII 1084. See the excellent article by Francis Lee Utley, "The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah's Wife", Speculum, XVI (1941) 426-52.

Nor does the CM poet have any of the boisterous comedy of the mystery plays about Noah's wife. Wilfred Young's suggestion that the scoffing of the bystanders while Noah is building the ark in the CM may have suggested Noah's wife's scorn to the dramatists seems rather a feeble one. See "Noah and his Wife: A Note on Three English Miracle Plays", Hermathena, XC (1957), 20-1. The tradition that Noah's wife tried to thwart the project is an ancient one. See M.R. James, Lost Apocrypha, pp.13-5; Anna Jean Mill, "Noah's Wife Again", PMLA, LXI (1941), 613-26. In Middle English it appears in Chester III 99ff; 193ff; Towneley III 190ff; York IX: the Newcastle Play of Noah's Ship 97ff; Queen Mary's Psalter 57, and plates 10-12; and the Egerton MS of Mandeville's Travels. Gollancz suggests that her refusal to enter the ark is pictured in the Junius MS of the eleventh century. See Israel Gollancz, The Caedmon Manuscript (London, 1927), MS p.66, text xlv. and Katherine Garvin, "A Note on Noah's
"Wife", Modern Language Notes, XLIX (1934), 88-90.

Note, however, that the Lud. Cov. and the Anc. Corn. Dr., like the CM, ignore the comic character of Noah's wife.

1591-2 The window must be capable of being opened from inside so that Noah can later release the birds (Gen. 8:6ff). This seems to be a fairly unusual feature of mediaeval windows, which were more often simply holes in the wall over which shutters would be fastened. See Salzman, Building in England, pp. 198, 256. If construction was to include a window with a separate frame which could be opened and shut, this had to be specified in the plans. This may be why the CM poet so carefully stresses that this window could be opened and closed from within.

Note that MS F seems to have mistaken MS C's verb "loke"/lock for "look", to produce a line which makes little sense in its context.

1593-1630 Such elaborate descriptions of the storm which caused the flood are most unusual in Middle English versions of the Noah story. Cf., however, Cleanness, 373ff. This storm has two functions. Its savagery prefigures the storms which herald the arrival of doomsday, thus establishing Noah's Flood
as a type of the final destruction of the world, as Professor Mardon, *Narrative Unity*, p. 69 points out. The scene also calls to mind very clearly the descriptions of Paradise both before and after Adam's fall. Rather than perpetual light, and a much brighter sun and moon (11.535-40, 833) all is darkness and night (1603-4). The sight of men and animals swimming together in terror with all enmity forgotten (1618-24) is an ironic recollection of Paradise, when all had lived together in perpetual harmony (ll. 517-28). L.1625 may recall the rebellion of Lucifer, which the CM poet had particularly considered to be a struggle over lordship (1.314).

1598, 1600 These descriptions of flood conditions interpret the biblical "fontes abyssi" (Gen. 7:11; 8:2), which referred to the great deep under the earth in Hebrew cosmology.

1618 The original reading was probably "wolf and ram", as in MSS C and F. Cf. above 1.519.

1639 The Scandinavian "emel" of MS C (ON ï or æ millum) is altered to "betwene" in MSS G, H and T.

1667-8 The story of the Flood in *Genesis* is compiled from two sources. The J narrative (Gen. 7:4, 12;
8:10,12) conflicts with the calculations of the P narrative (Gen. 7:11,17,24; 8:3,4,5) about the length of the Flood. The Septuagint and Old Latin readings add further complications. The length of the Flood was a problem to Latin exegetes. See Hist. Schol. xxxv, PL CXCⅧ 1085-6; Robert Belle Burke, trans, The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 220. Cf. Allen, Leg. of Noah, p. 70.

The CM poet has the rain last for forty days (l. 1667-8), and the waters prevail for 140 days (l. 1683) instead of 150 days as in Gen. 7:24; 8:3. The flood lasts 12 months in all (l. 1747-54). This would agree with the Septuagint text, and also with Petrus Comestor, who argued that the Hebrew calendar differed from our own, and that the Vulgate text meant to state that a whole year had elapsed. See Hist. Schol. xxxv, PL CXCⅧ 1085-6.

1669-70 Gen. 7:20 says fifteen cubits. The CM poet has again used his rough equivalent of 2 cubits=1 ell. 1689 The line is metrically faulty in MSS H and T. Cf. C, F and G. 1691 MS H preserves what is probably the reading of the exemplar, while MS T has "per". Cf. C and G.
1692ff. Gen. 8:1ff.

1701 Gen. 8:4 "super montes Armeniae".

1703-20 Philip Buehler, "CM", p. 487, points out that this passage is translated from 11.312-25 of the French biblical paraphrase of Herman de Valenciennes. Noah does not consult his sons elsewhere in Middle English.

1709-10 The metre of the couplet is better arranged in MSS C, F and G than in H and T. Cf. C's

"Thoru a fouxul," ðai said, "mai we Knaw if ðe erth oght bared be,"

1877-8

1717-20 Cf. Gen. 8:7. This legend is told to explain the continued absence of the raven in almost every version of the flood story. See e.g. "Flood", Jew. Encyc.; Augustine, Quaest. in Hept., PL XXXIV 551; Prudentius, Dittochaeum, PL LX 93; Isidore, Mysticorum Expositiones Sacramentorum, vii, PL LXXXIII 233; Hist. Schol. xxxiv, PL CXCVIII 1085; OEGen. 1446-8; SELTemp. fol 4r; Cleanness, 459ff; Wyntoun 408-10; Pilg. Life of Man 24055-72; Lud. Cov. III 246; Towneley III 499-504; Creat. of World 2464-5; Anc. Corn Dr. 1103-81. The story is also pictured in the illustrations to the Queen Mary's Psalter, plate 12, p. 57, and in the Great Malvern windows.

1721-4 Because of his failing, the raven became the type for an unreliable messenger. See below, 11.2998-3000.

1725-39 Gen. 8:8-12.

1743-4 This may reflect the Augustinian speculation that the carnivorous animals had lived on figs and chestnuts during the voyage. See DCD XV xxvii, PL XLI 476; Remigius of Auxerre, *Comment. in Gen.* PL CXXXI 76; *Hist. Schol.* xxxiii, PL CXCVIII 1084.

1749-52 See note to 11.1667-8.

1751 H preserves the original reading "3eode". Cf. MSS C, F and G. T corrupts this to "rode".

1753 "perus maior", as Haenisch, *CM*, p. 6* pointed out, is a corruption of MS C's "piers mayner", an anglicization of Petrus Manducator, or Petrus Comestor.


1759 The line is metrically deficient in H and T, lacking the "alone" of MSS C, F and G.
1777-85 The scribe has changed the rhyme word "fare" to "barfore" in the exemplar of H and T, to rhyme with the southern vowel in "lore".

1785 "have" in MSS H and T has been substituted for "grait" in C, F and G. Cf. note to 1.382.

1805 The first "to" is probably spurious. Cf. MSS C, F, G and T.

1816 H preserves the original "3oure". Cf. MSS C, F and G. T corrupts it to "be".

1817 Once again the poet makes an opportunity to emphasize the need for tithing.

1825-6 Hist. Schol. xxviii, PL CXCVIII 1079.

1827-32 Hist. Schol. xxxii, PL CXCVIII 1082.

1833-4 Cf. Rev. of Meth. p. 194. "Anno sexcentesimo primo egressus est noe de archa".

1835-8 Loc. cit. "Sexcentesimo & duodecimo anno uite Noe in tercio miliario seculi reedificare cepit Noe & filii eius nouam possessionem in terram". As Miss d'Evelyn points out, Rev. Meth. p. 147-8, this is a direct borrowing from the short text of Methodius, the Metody of 1.1836. Comestor does not mention the 612th year of Noah's age.

1843ff. Noah's drunkenness and the curse on Canaan (Gen. 9:20-7). Two main problems arise out of the
narrative in *Genesis*. Why was it so disastrous for Ham to see his father naked, and why, if Ham was guilty of an offense, did the punishment fall on Canaan? For the CM poet's answers to these questions, see notes to 11.1858 and 1899-1910 below.

1843 MSS H and T omit two lines just before this one.

O land he had ful grette plente,  
For him and for his sons thre;  
C 2011-2

Land is the noun which is modified by "Moost" in 1.1843.

1849 The word "vnwarres" reflects the discussions among exegetical writers who sought to excuse the drunkenness of the righteous Noah. See Allen, Leg. of Noah, 73; Alanus de Insulis, *Contra Haereticos* I xxxvii, PL CCX 341, 343. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, which condemns him for it (C XI 175-7).

1851 Buehler, "CM", p. 488, has shown that these lines are translated from Herman's *Bible*, 11.370-81.

1855 Herman refers to "L'ainsnês des fius" (1.372), but the CM poet calls Ham "His mydelest son", as is implied by the order of names in *Gen*. 10:1.

1858 Jewish legend, to explain the harshness of Ham's punishment, suggested that Ham did not merely see his father, but emasculated him. See "Ham", Jew.
Latin exegetes, however, tend to follow Josephus in saying that Ham mocked his father's nakedness, as here. See Josephus 69; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 111; Hist. Schol. xxxvi, PL CXCVIII 1087. Cf. Malan III xiii, p. 160; Cave of Treasures, 118. 1877-8 Hist. Schol. xxxvi, PL CXCVIII 1087, as Haenisch, CM, p. 6*, pointed out. The statement is also found in Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 48. Comestor adds a historical confirmation of this observation. "Semiramis fuit mulier quae primo adinvenit brachas, et usus earum." Hist. Schol. xxxvi, PL CXCVIII 1087. Semiramis was queen in the time of Abraham. See Irene Samuel, "Semiramis in the Middle Ages: The History of a Legend", Medievalia et Humanistica, II (1944), 32-44. 1882-3 Herman also has the curse fall on Ham rather than on his son.

Scholars nowadays believe that the curse falls on Canaan because originally Canaan and not Ham was Noah's third son. See Von Rad, 131-2. Earlier theories existed, however. Some said that Noah could not curse Ham because God had just blessed the three brothers. See Allen, Leg. of Noah, 77. Others
said the reason was that he was too near of kin. See Josephus 69. A Jewish legend says that Canaan was cursed because he was born on the ark, for his father Ham violated God's prohibition on copulation aboard. See "Ham", Jew. Encyc. Other Jewish sources, however, say that Ham castrated his father and prevented his having a fourth son, and his fourth son was therefore cursed. See ibid.

1899-1910 From Herman's Bible, 11.398-406. See Buehler, "CM", 489.

1900-2 Ham is the natural successor to Cain after the flood. See Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", p. 489.

1912 Gen. 9:28. "Vixit autem Noe post diluvium trecentis quinquaginta annis." The reading "fourty 3eer" in C,F,G,H and T is clearly an error, perhaps for an original "mani 3eer". Morris seems to have added the figures in 11.2082-3 to get his running headline "Noah lived 990 years", CM, p. 127.

1917-20 Long tradition assigns these parts of the world to the sons of Noah. See Josephus 59-73; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 123; In Pent., PL XCI 228; Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 49; Hist. Schol. xxxvii, PL CXCVIII 1087; cf. Rev. Meth. 354-65; Mandeville L155.
1921ff. This geographical excursus is not found in any of the sources so far used by the CM poet. Valuable light can be shed on it, however, by a comparison with the geographical chapters in Isidore's Etymology, "the most representative geographical compilation of the Middle Ages" according to George H.T. Kimble, Geography in the Middle Ages (1938; rpt. New York, 1968), 23; cf. p. 42. The CM's geography is an abridgement of Isidore's chapters.


1932 Etym. XIV iii 20 and 23, "De Asia" mentions Judea and Galilee. The heathens are probably the marvellous inhabitants of Asia mentioned in so many travellers' tales.

1933 Etym. XIV iii 5, 6, 7 enumerates the spices and precious stones of India.

1934 Etym. XIV iii 2.

1935 Etym. XIV iii 5 on India; 12 on Persia; 15 on Arabia.

1936 Etym. XIV iii 14 on Babilonia; 20 on Judea. "Sulie" is a corruption of "surie"/Syria, as Kaluza suggests in his glossary, CM, p.1818. Cf. Etym. XIV iii 16.
1938 *Etym.* XIV iii 14 on Babylon.

1939-40 *Etym.* XIV v 1, "De Libya", begins "Libya... hoc est Africus."

1943 *Etym.* XIV v 8 on Carthage.

1945-6 These lines are corrupt and have been transposed. "Ienile" is a corruption of *Gaetulia* ("Ietule" being misread by a scribe as "Ienile"). "Mortaigne" is *Mauretania*. "Indie" cannot refer to India, which was discussed in its proper place under Asia, at 1.1935 above. Rather it is a corruption of *Numidia* ("Numidie" having lost some initial minims). Kaluza, *CM*, p. 1805 glosses the word "indie" simply as "A land in Africa*. *Gaetulia*, *Mauretania* and *Numidia* appear as a trio of African place-names on an early fifteenth century map of Petrus de Alliaco, reproduced in Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, ed. R.A. Skelton (Cambridge, 1966), pp.48-9, figs. 7(a) and 7(b).

Morris punctuated MS C to indicate that "his land" of 1.2117 (1.1947 in MS H) referred to Africa or possibly to "Indie". If the lines are reversed, however, "Ienile mortaygne & indie" carry on the enumeration of other countries and cities of Africa begun in 11.1941-4. (2111-4). The passage would then continue:
be myche londe of ethiopye
mat lond is mooest into be soupe
here mat blo men are ful coule

Lines 1945-8, then, clearly translate Isidore's discussion:

Proxima autem Hispaniae Mauretania est, deinde Numidia, inde regio Carthaginensis, post quae Gaetuliam accipimus, post eam Aethiopiam, inde loca exusta solis ardoribus,...Aethiopia dicta a colore populorum, quos solis vicinitas torret." *Etym.* XIV v 17,14.

Furthermore, of the MED's citations under "blo-man", six connect them with Ethiopia, and only this one line in the QM with India.

1949 The poet says almost nothing about Europe, the best-known part of the world in the Middle Ages.

The original reading was "lest", as in MSS C, F and G, but MSS T and H have "best". Cf. 1.1920, where Europe is called "fat wilful wyk", however.

1956 MS H's reading "owe" makes better sense than T's "one".

1962 One would expect the figure 72 here. The Vulgate text enumerates 15 descendants of Noah in Japheth's line, 30 in Ham's and 27 in Shem's (*Gen.* 10).

Similarly the number of workmen engaged in building the Tower of Babel and the number of languages there created was usually 72. See Bede, *Hex.*, PL XCI 123; Hugh of St. Victor, *Adnot. in Pent.*, PL CLXXV
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In Middle English, *G&E* 669-70 mentions the 72 workmen, as does the *Quaestiones* 285, although later on in the dialogue the number of languages is said to be 62. See *Quaestiones*, 287. This number also mysteriously appears in the *CM*. At various times the *CM* poet says that Noah's descendants numbered 60 (1.1962), and that 60 workmen built the Tower of Babel (1.2042), but 62 speeches resulted (1.2098), although no descendants of Shem took part in the work (11.2105-6). Also the Tower was 62 fathoms broad (1.2069).

The immediate source of the passage is *DIM*, formerly attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis. After the flood men are divided "in liberos, milites, servos. Liberi de Sem, milites de Japhet, servi de Cham." See *PL* CLXXII 166. This passage was not noted by Kaluza in "Zu den Quellen...".

The three classes usually mentioned in this context are priests, slaves and knights. This is based on
Gen. 9:26-7. The connection of Ham with slaves and Japheth with knights is obvious from these verses. Shem is blessed, and is sometimes identified with Melchizedek, who offered bread and wine to Abraham and was therefore a type of the priesthood. See note to 11:1971-80 below.

Sylvia L. Thrupp points out the widespread division of the people into three estates: lords temporal, lords spiritual and commoners. However, if commoners are equated with labourers, the presence of merchants in this class is incongruous. The CM poet is the first writer known to Miss Thrupp to subdivide the class of commoners into thralls and free men. This could be because of the poet's audience among the new middle class. Miss Thrupp, however, points out that this "new" division does not gain currency, and suggests as a reason that the distinction of free and unfree was ceasing to be of much social importance. See Sylvia L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Ann Arbor, 1962) 289-91.

Miss Thrupp also suggested that the CM poet's conception of the three classes of men might have been influenced by Scandinavian sources. As early as the tenth century (probably), the Ṟgsp̱uła had given mytho-
logical sanction to this commonplace of Scandinavian social organization. See Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (New York, 1968), 145ff. This influence, while not exercised directly on the CM poet, may have operated through his immediate source, the DIM.

1969-70 Shem lived to be 600 years old (Gen. 11:10-1).


1975-6 Again the scribe of the exemplar of H and T seems to be avoiding a rime riche.

1981-2 The quotation given in the note to 11.1971-2 above continues "et vixisse usque ad Isaac." The poet's seventy years (MS C has seven) is a puzzle, however. Calculations from the Vulgate involving the age of each man at the time of the birth of his first-born son would indicate that Isaac was 110 years old when Shem was 600. DIM says Shem died in Jacob's time. See PL CLXXII 168.

1985-6 The poet realizes that the genealogy given is only of the succession of eldest sons from Shem to Abraham. Cf. Augustine's discussion, *DCD* XVI x, PL XLI 488-9.
The genealogy which follows is found also in
DIM, PL CLXXII 166.

1987-8  Gen. 11:12-3.  C's reading 328 is wrong.

1989-90  This Cainan does not appear in the Vulgate here.  He does appear in the Septuagint, however,
as the son of Arphaxad and father of Sala, and Petrus Comestor points out that he appears in the genealogy
of Luc. 3:36 in the Vulgate as well.  See Hist. Schol. xli, PL CXCVIII 1090.  He appears also in
DCD XVI x, PL XLI 489;   DIM, PL CLXXII 166; and
Higden 241.


The error, which occurs in all MSS known to me, must
have resulted from transposition of Roman numerals
in the original.

1995-6  Gen. 11:18-9.  MS C's reading "anen" is a
mistake for "nine".

1997-8  Gen. 11:20-1.


2001  Gen. 11:24-5.  Nahor did not live to be 88, but
148.  The correct reading would be "seuen score and
ei3te".
2002 Gen. 11:32.

2003-4 Note the odd rhyme "thare/noe". MS L corrects it to "thare/are". See Morris, CM, p. 132.


2009-22 Gen. 10:2-7. The order of names is often rearranged for the sake of rhymes.

2014 "Togriens" is a scribal corruption of "Togorma", as in MSS C and F. Cf. the Vulgate "Thogorma".

2017-8 Gen. 10:5. G, H, and T's "foly" is a scribal corruption. MS C's "folk" is probably the original reading, for the Vulgate's "in nationibus suis".

2021 MSS C and F have "evila" for the Vulgate's "Hevila". G's "enila" is an obvious misreading. H and T's "ielula" results from a different misreading of minims.

2023 The poet skips the sons of Regma (Gen. 10:7) and the rest of the genealogical information in Gen. 10 to pursue the story of the last son of Chus, Nimrod.

Genesis does not say exactly who built the Tower of Babel, but a very early tradition assigned it to Nimrod because of Gen. 10:10. See "Babel, Tower of", "Nimrod" Jew. Encyc.; Driver, 122-3. This was accepted by virtually all Christians, some of whom saw Nimrod as a type of the devil. See Isidore,
Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturas, PL LXXXIII 103:
Bede, Hex., PL XCI 118; In Pent., PL XCI 229.

2026 The line in MSS H and T is metrically deficient.
The exemplar of these MSS ommitted "sumthing". Cf.
MSS C, F and G.

2027-37 This might have been suggested by Hist. Schol.
xxxvii PL CXCVIII 1088, which expatiates on the wickedness of Nimrod. The exact source of the passage is not known, however.

2036 Note how the meaning of the line changes, from C's "Moght jam were wit his maistri" (2208) to T and H's reading. "Maistri" was probably corrupted to "merci" in the exemplar of H and T. MS H has tried to rationalize the nonsense which resulted.

2040 MSS C and F probably preserve an original reading "felauscap", meaning a crew of workmen. The word was so used in accounts. See MED "felauship(e 5. (d). MSS G, H and T weaken this to "euel pak".

2042 Cf. note to 1.1962.

2044 Cf. note to 1.1639.

2045-6 In Genesis, the people simply say "Venite, faciamus nobis civitatem, et turrim, cujus culmen pertingat ad caelum; et celebramus nomen nostrum antequam dividamur in universas terras." (Gen. 11:4)
Thus Josephus says that God wanted the population to send out colonies, but they defied Him and refused to do so. See Josephus 53-5. A Jewish tradition, however, held that the people built the tower of Babel to the heavens to war on God. See Jubilees 10:19; Targ. of Jon. 189; Isidore, Etym. VII vi 22; Wyntoun 1439-40; Gower, Prol. to Confessio Amantis 1020-1. This tradition lies behind 11.2060-4, and perhaps informs this passage too. The idea of Nimrod wanting to war upon the sun and moon, as opposed to God, the traditional opponent, is puzzling. As Nimrod was an idolator, perhaps the poet conceived that his gods would be the sun and moon.

2052-6 Nimrod's speech reflects the other traditional reason for building the tower, that in it the people would be safe from another flood. See Hist. Schol. xxxviii, PL CXCIII 1089. Cf. G&E 659-62; Rev. Meth. 326-9; Higden 249. Lydgate has Nimrod build two towers in the Fall of Princes, one to escape another flood (1079-85), and the second to take heaven away from God (1191ff).

2059 The square and scantillon were both carpenters' tools. The scantillon is "A tool used by masons and
carpenters for measuring the thickness of anything: a gauge." (OED) The word comes from Old French \textit{escantillon} and may have been confined mainly to poetry. At least Salzmann, \textit{Building in England}, p. 344, is unaware of it except as it appears in a fifteenth century poem. It frequently appears as alliterative formula, in "square and scantillon". See the citations in OED. Cf., however, CM 8061.

2060-4 See note to 11.2045-6 above.

2068 The original reading seems to have been "Brathli", as in MSS C and F. MSS G, H and T change this to "Wiȝ greet enuye", although this does not really correspond to any of the definitions of "broth(e)li" given in MED.

2069 See note to 1.1962 above.

2070 The groundwall was a low wall of stone or brick upon which the timber groundsills of a building were often set to preserve them from rotting. See Salzman, p. 201.

2073-4 \textit{Gen.} 11:3. Roman bricks were used in English buildings from early times, and contemporary bricks from the beginning of the thirteenth century. These were called "tiles" until the fifteenth century, when
the word brick came into use. See Salzman, pp. 140-2.

MSS C, F and G preserve the original reading "shending", meaning confusion. This is the usual interpretation of the word Babel, as in Hist. Schol. xxxviii, PL CXCIII 1089: "Babel enim Hebraei confusionem appellant." Cf. Gen. 11:9; DCD XVI iv, PL XLI 482; Isidore, Etym. XV i4; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 118; In Pent., PL XCI 229; Rabanus Maurus, Comment. in Gen., PL CVII, 528; Met Para. 369-72; Higden 251; Paul Meyer, ed., Recueil d'anciens textes (Paris, 1877), 2e partie, p. 339, 1.69.

See note to 1. 1962 above.

Only MS F mentions a stream running through the foundations under a vaulting ("voisour"). One is reminded of the monastic sanitary arrangements described by Salzman, Building in England, pp. 268-82.

Hugh of St. Victor says that Shem and Heber, the ancestors of the Hebrews, did not work on the building voluntarily, but were coerced into it. Cf. note to 1. 1962 above.

Hist. Schol. xl, PL CXCIII 1090. Comestor attributes the beginnings of idol-worship to Ninus, which the CM poet alters to Nimrod. From the fourth
century on, however, Ninus, the founder of Ninevah, had sometimes been identified with Nimrod, the founder of Babel, of which Ninevah itself was a colony. See Gen. 10:11. On this subject see John Daniel Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism", Speculum, II (1927), 396-410; and Robert J. Menner, "Two Notes on Mediaeval Euhemerism", Speculum, III (1928), 246-8.

2116 The form "vigur" is a Middle English variant of "figure" with the initial sound voiced. One would expect to see it only in the extreme south. It is rather mysteriously found in MSS F and G as well, however.

2129-30 These lines are added to the description of the beginning of idol worship from Hist. Schol. While the idea that the devil is closely connected with the beginning of idol worship is found in many places, such as Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum I v, PL LVVI 164, the closest analogue I have found with this passage is in Aelfric's Homily De Falsis Diis, 11.197-201:

a gesawon a deoflu, he hi beswicon on aer,
a fregorn anlicyss[a], and flygon jarto,
and jonh a anlicyss sprae con to jarm
earmum mannum,
and hi swa forlaeddon mid heora leasungum, 
and to hellicum suslum heora sawla gebrohtan.


Pope suggests only a parallel with Isidore's Etym, VIII xi 5: "Simulacrorum usus exortus est, cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines vel effigies, tanquam in caelum receptis, pro quibus se in terris daemones colendi supposuerunt, et sibi sacrificari a deceptis et perditis persuaserunt."

The poet would also have known of the idea of devils entering pagan statues from Herman's description of the worship of the golden calf: "Uns dyables d'enfer illuec se mist dedens" (1.2117).

2131-2 Gen. 11:26. MS H has the more correct spelling of the name, "abram". This is not changed to "Abraham" until later; see below, 11.2649-54. The scribe of H is not consistent, however. Cf. below, 1.2263.

2133-4 Gen. 22:20-2 names eight children of Nahor, including Hus, Buz and Bathuel.

2135 Hist. Schol. lviii, PL CXVIII 1105. His authority is Job 1:1.

2136 Gen. 22:23 says Bathuel begat Rebecca. The
reference to her brother Laban is an anticipation of Gen. 24:29.

2137-8 MSS C and F mention two daughters of Aran, while G, H and T say he had three. The error could have arisen from the enumeration of three names in 1.2138. Lot is, of course, Aran's son. However, some genuine confusion did exist over this family. The Vulgate reads: "Duxerunt autem Abram et Nachor uxores: nomen uxoris Abram, Sarai; et nomen uxoris Nachor, Melcha filia Aran, patris Melchae, et patris Jeschae." (Gen. 11:29). This mysterious Jescha is never mentioned again, and Sarah's blood relationship with Abraham is not made clear. For the sake of neatness, Jewish tradition identified Jescha with Sarah. See Josephus 75; Targ. of Jon. 192; Rashi 47; Skinner, 238. Later exegetes accepted the identification, as did Middle English paraphrasers. See Jerome Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 956; DCD XVI xi ii, PL XLI 493; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 134; G&E 711-2; SEL Temp. fol. 4v; Met. Para. 393-6; Higden 287; Mandeville L72. The scribe responsible for the reading "three" in MSS G, H and T, then, might have been counting Sarah, Melcha and Jescha as three different daughters of
Aran. Cf., however, 11.2159-60:

Two douteres had aram his brother
he spoused pat oon nachor pat oher

2141-52 Abraham's place in the genealogy of the Virgin
is now made clear.

2159-60 Cf. note to 11.2137-8.

2161-2 This was later specifically prohibited by Lev.
18:9 and 20:17.

The "grauedles in je see" metaphor in 1.2172 and
1.2397 comes from Gen. 22:17.

2174 MSS C, F and G's "vntelland" has been changed to
"multeplying" in MSS H and T. The OED lists
"vntelland" as a northern and Scottish word. Cf.
11.1937, and 5759.

2181 Genesis contains some discrepancies in the ages
of the patriarchs here. Thare is 70 when he begets
Abraham (Gen. 11:26), and Abraham leaves Haran at 75
(Gen. 12:4). At this time, Thare would only have
been 145 years old, yet his death in Haran at 205
has already been described (Gen. 11:32). Jerome and
Augustine both tried to solve the apparent discrepancy.
See Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 957; Quaest. in Hept.,
PL XXXIV 553-4.
The poet of the Middle English *G&F* does not notice anything odd here. He relates Terah's death at 205 (11.731-2), yet says that, after burying his father, Abraham left Haran when "Sex ger and fiftene mo/Adde abram on is elde 6o." (739-40). An emendation of "sex" to "sexti", however, would improve the metre as well as clarify the sense here. The CM poet may not have noticed the discrepancy either. He assumes that Abraham left Haran immediately after his father's death (11.2183ff) and the figure sixty-five (1.2181) is a straightforward error for seventy-five.

2183-2262 Gen. 12:1-5. The story disturbed many exegetical writers, who sought to explain away Abraham's apparently cowardly lie. Various small details are not found in the Bible, such as 11.2218, 2225. These details might have suggested themselves to a poet looking for a rhyming line.

2190 MSS C and G have the northern imperative form "ta" of the verb "take", with the k suppressed. The exemplar of MSS H and T, however, misread this as "to".

2193 This is the only mention of Ur of the Chaldees, the original home of Abraham (Gen. 11:31), here
incorrectly identified with Haran. The biblical account contains a confusion resulting from the joining of the J and the P narratives. The compiler of Genesis tried to reconcile two traditions by having Abraham leave Ur, move to Haran, and then move on from there. However, when Abraham sends his servant to procure a wife for Isaac, he speaks as if Haran, not Ur, were his native city. See Gen. 24:4,7,10; 27:43; 28:10; 29:4.

Among the other paraphrases, G&E reproduces the Bible's account, which is also Comestor's. See 11.213-43; cf. Hist. Schol. xlii-xlili, PL CXCIII 1091-2. The Met. Para. simply has Abraham move from Ur, with no mention of Haran (11.398ff).

Many legends sprang up to explain Abraham's leaving and the early death of his brother Aran, but these seem not to have interested the CM poet. See Jubilees 12:12-4; Targ. of Jon. 191; Midrash xxxviii 13; p. 311; Jerome, Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 956; Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 229; Hist. Schol. xli, PL CXCVIII 1090; "Abraham", "Nimrod", Jew. Encyc.

2207-8 This is a description of Canaanite villany not found here in Genesis, but easily suggested by the other accounts of these people elsewhere in the Bible.
The original reading had "to sell", meaning "on sale", MSS C, G, H and T. MS F alters this to "to sawe".

The Scandinavian word "rosed" (ON hrósa) is changed to "preysed" in MSS G, H and T.

The CM poet does not mention Pharaoh's offers to Abraham (Gen. 12:16), nor the plagues which God sent (Gen. 12:17). However, he adds the silver and gold which Pharaoh gave to the departing Abraham, probably from Gen. 13:2.


Two reasons are given in Genesis for the separation of Abraham and Lot. The P document says that there was not enough pasture for both flocks (Gen. 13:6) while J says that the herdsmen were quarrelling (Gen. 13:7). The latter reason is the only one mentioned in many accounts: see Josephus.

The CM poet manages to reconcile the two versions.

The word "thrang", in MSS C and F, is listed in OED as a Scottish and northern dialect word. Other MSS change this to "wrang" (G), or, with a southern vowel, "wrong" (H and T).
Similarly, the northern and Scottish word "scail" in MS C becomes "part" in MSS G, H and T. Cf. 1.2524 below.


Gen. 13:18 speaks of "convallem Mambre", but the CM calls it a hill. The same characterization of the "convallem Mambre" as a hill is found in the Met. Para. 556.

This is also said to be based on a French paraphrase. See Met. Para. I, p. clxxxiiiff., and Urban Ohlander, "Old French Parallels to a Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament", Gothenburg Studies in English, XIV (1962), 203-24.

"chebron" is, of course, the "Hebron" of Gen. 13:18.

A condensed version of the struggles recorded in Gen. 14:1-12, omitting all names. Modern commentators agree that Gen. 14 came from a different source from the rest of the book, and is probably a later interpolation. See Driver, 155; Von Rad, 169. The gusto with which the battles are treated in the Old English Genesis (11.1960ff) is unmatched
in Middle English.


2346 "themas" may be a scribal error for "demas", Damascus (Gen. 14:15), perhaps by confusion of capital B with capital D. However, Petrus Comestor mentions a place called "Themam" in connection with Ishmael, and the CM poet may have confused the one with the other. See Hist. Schol. ivi, PL CXC VIII 1104.

2349-50, 2355-6 These lines are not biblical. Perhaps the first is an attempt to explain rationally why Abraham's surprise attack with a small force was so successful. The second, of course, is the Christian explanation of the miraculous victory.

2350 Cf. note to 1,2282 above.

2354 The MED says that "crot(e", as in MSS C and G, is chiefly a northern, and probably a Scandinavian word. This is changed in MSS F, H and T to "grot", a word of Old English origin.

2361-70 Cf. Gen. 14:18-24, though the speeches are much abbreviated in the Middle English version.

2377-2576 Genesis details two separate visions, one waking and one sleeping (Gen. 15:1,12). The CM
poet takes the setting of his one dream from the latter verse.

2577-8 The poet omits the details of the sacrifice in Gen. 15:7-11, 17.

2579-90 Gen. 15:13-16.

2591-2634 Gen. 16:1-12.

2595ff. Some exegetes are uneasy with the idea of the virtuous Sarah suggesting her husband commit adultery. Josephus 93 has her do it at God's command, while Augustine excuses it because the deed was motivated by a desire for progeny rather than by lust. See DCD XVI xxv, PL XLI 503.

2606 "li3tly"—cf. note on 1.281.

2613-4 Gen. 16:6 reads "Affligente igitur eam Sarai."

Augustine asked how the virtuous Sarah, frequent symbol of the Church, could be said to have persecuted her slave. His answer is that Sarah was merely disciplining Hagar's pride. See Epistolas CLXXXV ii, PL XXXIII797.

The author of the Met. Para., however, was still bothered by Sarah's vengefulness, so he altered the story considerably to show her in as favourable a light as possible. See Met. Para. 517-26.
Gen. 16:15-6.

Gen. 17:1-16.

Abraham was, in fact, 99 years old, not 109.


The change of name is from "Abram" to "Abraham" in Gen. 17:5, although the scribes of MSS H, T, and L have ignored the differences in spelling anyhow.

Cf. 1.2686.

Petrus Comestor makes the etymology rather clearer than does the Vulgate. See Hist. Schol. 1, PL, CXCVIII 1097.

The CM poet does not describe Abraham's laughter at God's promise of a child in his old age, nor record His promises for Ishmael (Gen. 17:17-22).

MS F has the correct reading thirteen years.

Cf. Gen. 17:25. The other MSS all read 30.

Cf. note to 1.2643 above.

Josephus 95; Hist. Schol. 1, PL, CXCVIII 1097; G&E 1004; Higden 293; cf. above 1.2666.

Gen. 18:1.

Philip Buehler first suggested that these lines are based on Herman's Bible. See "CM".
pp. 289-90. He points to the reading "childre pre" (1.2707)/"Trois enfanz" (Herman 424). The only other place in which I have found the angels referred to as children is the Middle English Met. Para., 1.557. There are other parallels between the two Middle English works and the French Bible. Buehler points to "gestened hem wil> him jat nyzt" (CM 1.2712)/"les herberja la nuit en son ostal" (Herman 426). Cf. Met. Para. 563 "herberd them all nyzt". The Met. Para. may also have been based on French sources. See the additional parallel and the references given above in the note to 1.2307.

Buehler also tries to show borrowing by pointing to the statement made by both poets that Abraham worshipped one of the beings, although he admits that the fact is "not explained in both works in exactly the same terms". This, however, is a commonplace of exegesis. The angel who speaks to Abraham in the Vulgate is referred to as "Dominus" (Gen. 18:3, etc), which led many commentators to see the three angels as a manifestation of the Trinity. See, e.g., Isidore, Allegoriae, PL LXXXIII 104; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 167; Von Rad, 201. Cf. also G&E 611-2; SELTemp. fol. 5r; Met. Para. 573-6 and Piers Plowman.
These latter two works both use the formula quoted in *Piers Plowman*: "Tres vidit et unum adoravit." Buehler himself noticed this last parallel.

**2713** Gen. 18:4 says merely "sed afferam pauxillum aquae, et levate pedes vestros". By having Abraham himself wash their feet, a further parallel with Christ is brought out.

**2714-5** Cf. Gen. 18:5-8. This passage bothered early commentators, for according to biblical authority angels did not eat human food. See *Tud*. 13:16; *Tob*. 12:19; *Skinner*, 300; *Von Rad*, 201-2. Several Jewish commentators say that the angels only gave the appearance of eating. See *Josephus* 97; *Targ*. of *Jon*. 211, 214; *Midrash* xlvii 14, p. 415; *Rashi*, 72; "Angelology", *Jew*, *Encyc*. Comestor took Josephus' explanation that the angels had only appeared to eat and added a simile which *G&E* repeats:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{For } & \text{fat he bad wid herte fre,} \\
\text{He it nomen in charite;} \\
\text{So malt } & \text{kat mete in hem to nogt,} \\
\text{So a watres drope in a fier brogt.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(1015-8)

See *Josephus* 99; *Hist. Schol*. liii, *Fl. CXC VIII* 1099-1100. *Cleanness* suggests that the heavenly creatures were very much aware of their duties as Abraham's
guests and hints that God had no need of this fare (11.641-2). The poet of the CM was not troubled by this problem, apparently, but an annotator in one of the MSS was sufficiently aware of the anomaly to write in the margin "hou god et botter [sic] & botter". See Morris, CM, p. 164, MS J.

Gen. 18:9-21.

Cf. 1.1476 above, and note.

The haggling between God and Abraham recounted in Gen. 18:23-33 is here much abbreviated. This is standard practice. See Josephus 99; Hist. Schol. lii, PL CXCVIII 1099-1100; G&E 1041-6; SELTemp. fol.5r; Met. Para. 577-84. Among English works, only Cleanness gives a full account of the conversation, 11. 713-66.


The scribe of H has not changed the vowel "a" in "name" to rhyme with the southern spelling "home", although the scribe of T writes "nome/home".

The poet inserts these lines into the narrative to reassert God's control over the whole situation.


The Bible does not mention the cities sinking.

Cf., however, Herman 469.
2512 See Whiting, Proverbs, B529, where many other occurrences of this proverb are cited.

2513-19 Buehler, "CM", p. 490-1, suggests that this passage too comes from the Bible of Herman de Valenciennes. He points out that in both poems, she turns around upon hearing the cry from the city (CM 2513/H468). Cf. also OEgen. 2562-5. Buehler's other parallels are found in many other places. Where the Vulgate says Lot's wife turned "in statuam salis", many authors render this as a salt stone ("piere salse", Herman, 472). Cf. Met. Para. 614; Lydgatiana 57-8; A.W. Pollard, trans, The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (London, 1900), p. 68.

Buehler also points out that both the CM and Herman's Bible say that the salt stone will remain until Doomsday. The wording here is also similar, though the tradition is also found in Josephus 101, Hist. Schol. liii, PL CXCVIII 1101; OEgen. 2567-71; SEL Temp. fol. 5r; Met. Para. 612.

2520-4 I know no parallel for this legend.

2525-40 From Hist. Schol. xliiv, PL CXCVIII 1092 and Add. 1, 1093; liii, 1101.
2526 The scribe of H has retained the northern participial ending in "stynkand", which T changes to "stynkynge".


2543 The poet originally compared these fruits not merely to round balls but to puff-balls ("fise bal" MS C, "pis balle" MS f).

2545ff. This is one of the CM poet's rare direct, moralistic interpretation of the story which he has been telling. He finally begins to speak of the sins of Sodom. Many mediaeval writers delighted in condemning these sins. See especially SEL Temp. fol. 5r and Cleanness 689-712.

2571 Another popular interpretation of the sin of Sodom, based on Ez. 16:49: "Ecce haec fuit iniquitas Sodomas, sororis tuae: superbia, saturitas panis et
abundantia, et otium ipsius, et filiarum ejus;"

See Josephus 95; Jerome, *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos* I, PL XXIII 511; *Hist. Schol.* lxi, PL CXCIII 1099 (where the CM poet must have seen it); Petrus Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum* cxxxviii, PL CCV 333-4. In Middle English, see *Piers Plowman* C xvi 232-3, cf. B XIV 74-80; *Avenbite of Inwit* 206.

2576-80 **Gen.** 19:30.

2578 The original reading was "fell" (MSS C, F and G, Latin "mansit in monte", Gen. 19:30). MSS H and T both read "felde".


2593-2615 **Gen.** 19:30-38.

2601 The Scandinavian word "carman" (ON; cp. OI karlma&r) of MSS C and F is omitted in the others, which change the line to read "& we two".

2625-70 Cf. **Gen.** 20:1-15. This is essentially the same story as that told in **Gen.** 12 (see above, 11. 2183-2262 and note). Many exegetes ignore the new telling of the same story, except to wonder how Sarah could still have been so dangerously attractive at the age of 90. See Augustine, *Quaest. in Hept.*, PL XXXIV 560; *Hist. Schol.* lv, PL CXCIII 1102.
G&E also tells the story for the second time, however.

2625 "cadades" (MS C "cades") is evidently the "Cades" of Gen. 20:1, although the Vulgate says Abraham dwelt "inter Cades et Sur, et peregrinatus est in Geraris", where Abimelech was king.

2629-30 The explanation is taken from Gen. 20:11.

2670 The poet omits the curse which had fallen on Abimelech because of his treatment of Sarah (Gen. 20:17-8).


2682 The northern and Scottish verb "spaned" appears MSS C, F, and G, but is changed to "wened" in MSS H and T.

2688-90 The reason for Sarah's demand that Ishmael be banished is unclear in the Vulgate, which says simply that Sarah saw "filium Agar aegyptiae ludentem cum Isaac filio suo" (Gen. 21:9). Jewish interpreters had suggested that Sarah caught Abraham looking fondly on Ishmael's play and she then became jealous
for her own son. See Jubilees 17:4. Others suggested that Ishmael was guilty of unchastity, idolatry, of mocking, or even of attempting to murder Isaac. See Skinner, 322; Driver, 210-1; Von Rad, 227; "Isaac", "Ishmael", Jew. Encyc.; Josephus 107; Targ. of Jon. 221; Hist. Schol. lvi, PL CXC VIII 1103. Petrus Comestor reported the tradition that Ishmael was playing dangerous games with Isaac, and mocking him, and this is repeated in the Middle English G&E. The CM, however, remains faithful to the Vulgate here, and does not provide a reason for Sarah's jealousy.

2714 MSS C, and F have the more accurate reading "trusted" for the Latin "imposuit scapulae ejus", Gen. 21:14. This is weakened in MSS G, H and T to "tok".

2719 As Hagar and Ishmael are dying of thirst, the poet's statement that they sat by a well is incongruous. It is, of course, an anticipation of the revelation of 1.2730. (Gen. 21:19).

2729 The reading "blinde" (in MS F and originally in MS C also) may have been suggested by the sequel in Gen. 21:19: "Aperuitque oculos ejus Deus;" However
the line is now corrupt in all MSS.

2741 The northern word "throded" (see OED "throaden") in MS C is changed to "wexen" in MSS G, H and T.

2749-58 This is not found in the Vulgate, which continues with the story of the covenant of Beersheba, omitted altogether by the CM poet. Buehler, "CM", p. 491-2, has demonstrated, however, that the Middle English poet has selected a few details from a long passage in Herman's Bible describing Abraham's longevity and character.

2759-80 This passage is even more obviously borrowed from Herman. See Buehler, "CM", pp. 492-3. It continues to detail the degeneration of the world from its original state, a view which is thematic in the CM. The further mention of tithing in connection with sacrifice is also a continuing motif.

2781ff. The story of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac was a very popular one with mediaeval audiences. The CM poet does not follow the Vulgate in his retelling of it, nor does he stress the importance of the incident as a figure of the sacrifice of Christ, an allegorical interpretation much favoured by exegetes.

2785-90 The passage is borrowed from Herman. See
Buehler, "CM", 494. The lines serve to underline the deep and long-standing emotions involved in the incident.

2797 Cf. Herman's line "Par foi volentiers sire que tu le me [donas]" (1.571, quoted in Buehler, p.494).

2799-2812 The poet begins to stress Abraham's absolute obedience to God's behest. This is one of the rare places where the poet steps in to interpret his story.

2813-54 This corresponds somewhat loosely to Gen. 22:2-8, 10-13.

2818 Isaac is consistently referred to as a child here, which greatly increases the pathos of the situation. The age of Isaac at the time of the sacrifice varies in different texts. See Minnie E. Wells, "The Age of Isaac at the Time of the Sacrifice", Modern Language Notes, LIV (1939), 579-82. Miss Wells mentions most of the texts cited below.

Some Jewish traditions say the incident took place immediately after Isaac was weaned, but most Jewish sources agree that the shock caused Sarah's death, which would make Isaac 37. See "Isaac", Jew.
Josephus put Isaac's age at 25 years old, an opinion repeated by Comestor, Hist. Schol. lviii, PL CXCVIII 1104, and in the Middle English G&E 1284. The SELTemp, also makes him an adult, either 29 years old as in MS Egerton 1993 fol. 5v, or 20 years old, as in MS Vernon fol. 3r. In the Met. Para. he sounds like a mature adult, although his exact age is not given. Part of this impression is doubtless due to the Met. Para's story, told also in Josephus, Comestor and G&E, of Isaac willingly offering himself as a sacrifice. See Met. Para. 714-6, G&E 1321-2; Josephus 115; Hist. Schol. lviii, PL CXCVIII 1105. Furthermore, the author of the Met. Para. says that Sarah died soon after this (729).

The York play actually says that Isaac was 30 at the time of the sacrifice. See X, 1.82. However, the other Abraham and Isaac plays in Middle English agree with the CM in speaking of him as a child.

2830 The Scandinavian word "elding" meaning "fuel " (ON elding) in MSS C and F, is changed to "fagot" in MSS G, H, and T.

2836-7 Abraham is concerned lest the boy see the sword
as he draws it. Cf. Chester IV 337-40, where Isaac asks for his eyes to be covered. Cf. also Lud. Cov. 49/179-82. Cf. the Malvern windows described in M.D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery, 109.

2855-64 Although based on Gen. 22:15-18, the angel's speech has been altered to stress further Abraham's obedience, rather than the reinforcement of earlier prophecies of a numerous progeny.

2855-6 Several syllables are omitted in MSS H and T, producing two three-stresslines.

2864 MSS H and T have dropped "out" (cf. MSS C, F and G), and are, therefore, metrically unsatisfactory.

2867-74 Abraham's swearing Isaac to secrecy is not found in Gen., but was borrowed from Herman's Bible. See Buehler, "CM", p. 494.

2875-80 The Middle English poet has already given the genealogy of Nahor. See Gen. 22:20-24; cf. CM, 11. 2133-6. He omits virtually all of Gen. 23 dealing with the purchase of land for Sarah's burial. This is also true of the other Middle English paraphrases.

2881-2992 Based loosely on Gen. 24:2-26; 28-32.

2891 Genesis describes the Hebrew custom "Pone manum
tuam subter femur meum" (24:2). The Middle English poet alters it to the more medieval tradition.

Mesopotamia is not mentioned in the Vulgate until Gen. 24:10.

The Scandinavian word "buskyng" (cf. Old Norse "būask") in MSS C, F and G is changed to "goyng" in H and T.

The treasures are not mentioned here in the Vulgate, but cf. Gen. 24:53.

MSS C and G read "gain and", a Scottish and northern dialect word replaced in MSS H and T by "good".

The Scandinavian word "late" (Old Norse "Lát") in MSS C and F has been replaced by "seemlaunt" in MSS H and T.

Not in the Vulgate.

There is some confusion over Rebecca's father. Although he never appears, he is usually called Bethuel (Gen. 22:23; 24:15, 24), but Eliezer also says that Rebecca was in the house of Abraham's brother Nahor (Gen. 29:5), the negotiations are carried on by her brother, Josephus and, following him, Comestor speculated that Rebecca's father was dead. See Josephus 123; Hist. Schol. lx, PL CXCVIII 1107. The CM poet ignores both the latter
two, however, to state plainly that Rebecca's father is alive.

2993-7 A condensation of Gen. 24:33-49, in which the messenger retells the whole story.

2998 Cf. above, 11. 1721-4.

3002 The omission of "lordes" from MSS H and T makes "his" ambiguous.


3013 MSS C and F say that Rebecca's foster-mother went with her. This is closer to the Vulgate's "nutricem" than is the "moder" of MSS G, H, and T.


3029-34 Gen. 24:65 simply says "At illa tollens cito pallium operuit se." Petrus Comestor says that this was an Arabic woman's garment, and that it was white. See Hist. Schol. lxi, PL CXCVIII 1107. The red mantle seems to be the poet's own touch.

3035-46 The poet expands on the couple's joy in each other, and he continues to stress the contrast between the purposefulness those times and his own.

3047-8 Gen. 21:21 says Hagar took an Egyptian wife for Ishmael and Gen. 25:12-6 mentions the twelve princes which came of Ishmael. Hist. Schol. lvi, PL CXCVIII
1104 mentions the two events together, but still only provides Ishmael with one wife.

3050 Hist. Schol. lxv, PL CXCVIII 1109 says Ishmael's sons ruled India.


3057-8 Cf. Augustine, DCD XVI xxv PL XLI 503, who excuses Abraham's affair with Hagar on these same grounds.

3061-2 Gen. 25:5-6

3065-70 Gen. 25:7-10.

3081-3108 This passage links the late-born and much prayed-for children of Isaac with other similar children in history.

3109-50 Buehler, "CM", p. 495 says these lines are a condensed version of Hermann's 11.640-754. The other Middle English paraphrases brush hastily over the entire event.

3153-4 For the etymology of this name, see Jerome, Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis, PL XXIII 823; Etym. VII vi 33; Hist. Schol. lxvi, PL CXCVIII 1110.

3157-60 The Vulgate merely says "Jacob autem vir simplex habitabit in tabernaculis....et Rebecca dilligebat Jacob." (Gen. 25:27-8). The CM poet makes this into a cause and effect relationship:
because Rebecca loves Jacob, she keeps him at home. The Met. Para. says Rebecca loved him because he stayed at home (1.800).

3161-70 An elaboration of the Vulgate's brief statement: "Isaac amabat Esau, eo quod de venationibus illius vesceretur;" (Gen. 25:28). It is similar to Herman's account of the matter, as Buehler points out, in "CM", 495-6, but close verbal similarities are lacking.

3167 The Scandinavian word "waith" in MS C (ON veiβ-r) is altered in the other MSS, to "gammys" in MS F or "tingis" in G, H and T. Cf. also 11. 3184, 3186, 3288, etc.

3171-8 The comment about the former efficacy of blessings does come from Herman, as Buehler, "CM", 496, points out. It may have been designed to stress the seriousness of Esau's crime in selling the blessing due to him.

3191-2 See Whiting, Proverbs, H200.

3215-6 The CM poet has followed the Vulgate in simply attributing Esau's folly to his great hunger. Here, however, he adds a note to say that this was all part of God's design. Cf. Hist. Schol. lxvi, 14.
CXXVIII 1110: "Creditur enim in utero jam tunc sanctificatus fuisse Jacob". Cf. note to 11.3377-8 below.

The CM poet, like most other Middle English paraphrasers omits the matter of Gen. 26 which includes another version of the story of the patriarch telling strangers his wife is his sister, and an account of Isaac's adventures in Gerar and Beersheba. Only the Middle English G&E mentions this at all, and the dullness of its brief account of Isaac's moves (11.1513-26) amply justifies their exclusion from the other works.

3217-54 George R. Coffman, "Old Age from Horace to Chaucer. Some Literary Affinities and Adventures of an Idea", Speculum, IX (1934), 249-77, discusses this passage. He traces the topos of old age from Horace through Maximianus and down to the Middle Ages. Coffman believes that the immediate source of the CM's lines was the Pricke of Conscience, 766-803. Certainly many of the details are the same.

3255-3360 Based on Gen. 27:1-22, with some expansions in the dialogue.

3262 The loss of two syllables in MSS H and T makes
the line metrically unsatisfactory.

3279  The loss of "took" in MSS H and T makes the line metrically unsatisfactory.

3310  The loss of "now" in MSS H and T makes the line metrically unsatisfactory.

3361-2  The odour of "piement" comes from Herman, 11.904-5. See Buehler, "CM", p. 496.

3365-70  Gen. 27:29.

3377-8  Cf. Met. Para. 1.864 and G&E 1558-60 which also stress that this is part of God's plan. The Book of the Knight of LaTour-Landry goes so far as to praise Rebecca's vision in engineering the misplaced blessing (p.106).

3379-3432  Gen. 27:30-44.

3391  In the Vulgate, it is Esau who cries out (Gen. 27:34).


3447-50  The Met. Para. (1.918) also has God specify that Jacob will wed two wives.

3454  The scribe of MS T has reversed the meaning of the line by writing "for sake" instead of "for
"Je forsake". MS H preserves the original meaning.


Gen. 29:1-6. The Middle English paraphrasers are in general not much interested in this incident. The SELTemp. and Met. Para. reduce the whole romantic story of the meeting of Jacob and Rachael to a business-like announcement of the final arrangement.

See SELTemp. fol. 6r; Met. Para. 79-82.


Leah's ocular affliction varies slightly. The Vulgate says "lippis erat oculis" (Gen. 29:17),--her eyes were inflamed or watering. The Authorized Version calls her "tender-eyed". The Middle English poet is less gallant however. He calls her "glided", having a squint or cast in one or both eyes.

A displacement of Gen. 30:30.

The CM poet does not report the tradition that Jacob was too drunk to know the difference. Cf., however, Josephus, p. 145; Hist. Schol. lxxiv, PL CXCVIII 1115; G&E 1.1675; SELTemp. fol. 6r.

The family of Jacob is summarily dealt with here with none of the feminine intrigue, nor the
etymologies, detailed in *Genesis*. The Met. Para.'s format is very similar (11.985-96). Cf. also *Gen.* 35:23-6.


Few paraphrasers describe the family correctly. The SELTemp. states that, while Rachael had only two children, Leah gave birth to all the other ten sons (fol. 7r). The same mistake turns up in *I&I* which gives a very brief summary of Jacob's life (11.26-7). The Book of the Knight of LaTour-Landry gives Leah twelve sons (p.108), while Trin. Camb., 1. 120, gives Joseph twelve treacherous brothers.

3573-7 The CM poet omits the story of Jacob's trick to increase his herd, and the difficulties he encountered on leaving Laban (*Gen.* 30:25-31:18).

3579-84 *Gen.* 31:19. The Middle English poet however, makes no mention of Laban's pursuit of the fleeing family.
The author's etymology of the name Israel is from *Hist. Schol.* lxxxi, *PL* CXCVIII 1121: "vir videns Deum". Cf. *Etym.* VII vii 6. MSS C and F are more corrupt than MSS G and T here.

The poet has grouped the whole story of the meeting with Esau together, rather than interpolate the wrestling episode in the middle, as is done in *Genesis*. L1. 3611-8 condense *Gen.* 32:3-8.

Buehler, "CM", pp. 497-9, points out the similarities between this passage and Herman's *Bible*, 11.1118-54, especially in Jacob's prayer which begins with a recapitulation of history. Cf. *Gen.* 32:9-12.

The *CM* poet has entirely omitted the story of the rape of Dinah (*Gen.* 34). This story appealed to the moralists of the Middle Ages. See *Ancrene Riwle*, pp. 23-4; *Book of the Knight of LaTour-Landry* pp. 73-4. However, it does interrupt the story of Jacob's life, somewhat. *G&E* 1847-62 is the only Middle English paraphrase to include even an abbreviated version of
it.

3693-4 In fact, Esau received Edom and is the father of the Edomites. See Gen. 36:1,8,9,19,43; Hist. Schol. lxxxv, PL CXCVIII 1123.

3701-3 Genesis says simply that "Israel autem diligebat Joseph super omnes filios suos, eo quod in senectute genuisset eum;" (37:3). However, early Jewish traditions credit him with exceptional beauty in his youth. See the excellent article by Frederic E. Faverty, "Legends of Joseph in Old and Middle English", PMLA, XLIII (1928), 79-81. Petrus Comestor quotes Josephus on this point, and Joseph's early beauty gets into many Middle English paraphrases. See Josephus, 173; Hist. Schol. lxxxvii, PL CXCVIII, 1125; G&E 1910; SEL Temp. fol. 7v; I&I 189-92; cf. below 11.3883, 3921. Cf. also Gen. 39:6: "Erat autem Joseph pulchra facie et decorus aspectu."

3705-6 This detail comes from the story of Jacob's youth; cf. above 11.3156-60 and note. The northern rhyme "ware/mare" is changed in MSS G,H, and T to "saye/alwaye".

3709 Petrus Comestor called Joseph "sapientior caeteris"
in *Hist. Schol.* lxxxvii, PL CXCVIII 1125, also reflecting Jewish tradition. See also Faverty, "Legs. of Jos.", p. 82, and *G&E* 1911.

3715-38 Based on Gen. 37:5-11.

3721-2 The older, northern form of the participle in "-and" is replaced in MSS H and T by the form in "ynge".

3734 MSS C, F and G use the word "saght", which the *OED* characterizes as a purely Scottish and northern word since the fourteenth century. MSS H and T change this to "at pes".

3739-40 The scribe of H and T's exemplar changed the rhyme words completely to avoid the northern present participle ending found in MSS C, F and G.

3743-4 A further indication that the poet looks on the scene as occurring in a past time essentially different from the present.


3758 MSS C, F and G read "Grathli" (ON; cp Ol *greiðliga*), but MSS H and T have replaced this Scandinavian word by "soþely".

MSS C, F and G all write "quere his breþer ware" (4098). In both MSS H and T "quare" appears as "þat". Presumably the exemplar of H and T had miscopied "þar" or "þer" as "þat".
3765-8 The first two lines do not appear in MSS C, F and G, but are in MSS H, T and L. They are obviously not original, but are a ballad-like restatement of a single idea.

3779-3814 The speech of Reuben against Joseph's murder is considerably expanded from the Vulgate version (Gen. 37:21-2).

3803 L1. 4143-4, which appear only in MS C, indicate the change of speaker. MSS F and G omit them entirely. MSS H and T, however, show the new speaker by inserting "he seide" in this line.

3819-27 The actual course of action followed by the brothers is here made part of Reuben's speech of advice. Cf. Gen. 37:20, 31-3.

3823 MSS H and T substitute "rent" (from OE rendan) for the Scandinavian word "riuen" (ON and Icel. rif) in MSS C, F and G, although the latter word is metrically preferable.


3829 MS C alone has the Scandinavian word "skete"/soon, quickly (ON skjót) in this line. The other MSS change the sense entirely from C's "'Gladli,' said 'he, 'and 'hat be skete.'"
The exemplar of MSS H and T omitted "als" which appears in MSS C, F and G, thereby changing the statement from a simile foreshadowing Joseph's later imprisonment under Pharaoh ("They left him as if he were in prison") to a literal statement of fact ("They left him there in a prison", i.e. in a place from which he could not escape).

Accounts of the price paid for Joseph vary between 20 and 30 coins. The Vulgate, Gen. 37:28, reads "viginti argenteis", while the Septuagint, like the CM, says twenty pieces of gold. The number of coins would seem to be confirmed by Lev. 27:5 as twenty, and Jerome himself certified that the true Hebrew text gave the price as twenty coins. See Quaest. in Gen., PL XXIII 995. So too the number appears in the CM and in the Met. Para. 1396.

However, Joseph was frequently seen by exegetes as a type of Christ. See Gregory, Hom. in Evang. II, xxix, PL LXXVI 1217; Isidore, Allegoriae, PL LXXXIII 107; Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 263. Cf. Bonnard, p. 124. Christ was sold for thirty pieces of silver. Therefore exegetes in early times, believing in the truth of scripture and interpretation rather than revering the exact words of their manuscripts, simply changed
the price paid for Joseph to make the parallel with
the selling of Christ even more pronounced.

Roger Bacon was well aware that this was happening
in his own time. See Robert Belle Burke, trans,
The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon, 2 vols. (Philadelphia,
1928), p. 244. For other examples of this exegetical
process see H.H. Glunz, History of the Vulgate in
England (Cambridge, 1933).

Various manuscripts of the Vulgate itself differ
on this point. See Bonnard, p. 118. Bede gives
the price as 30 pieces in In Pent., PL XCI 264.
Josephus gave the price as twenty coins (183), and
this reading is given in the edition of the Hist.
Schol. printed in Migne. G&E, however, although
based on Comestor, gives the number as thirty (1956).
This simply shows that the manuscript of the Hist.
Schol. which the English translator was using be-
longed to a different family, for the variation
extends even to the printed editions of Comestor's
work. Of those editions which I have been able to
consult, those printed in 1503, 1534 and 1543 all
say thirty coins. Joseph Hall, Selections from
Early Middle English (Oxford, 1920), II 643 reports
that the edition printed in Lyons in 1526 also says thirty here. Cf. SEL Temp. fol. 7v and the French translation of Genesis by Evrat noted in Bonnard, p. 118.

This small point is, I think, relevant to the overall understanding of the CM. Had the poet been interested in a figural understanding of events rather than in a recording of the facts of history, then he could very easily have changed the Vulgate's figure of twenty to thirty to make the Joseph-Christ parallel obvious.


3870-94 Jacob's grief is described in much greater detail here than in Gen. 37:34-5. Although the Vulgate had already described Rachael's death while giving birth to Benjamin (Gen. 35:18), some commentators asserted that she was still alive and shared Jacob's grief over Joseph's supposed death. This may in turn have been influenced by the interpretation of Joseph's dream in Gen. 37:9-10, in which the moon which bows down to Joseph represents his mother.

This story finds its way from Josephus 177 into the
Hist. Schol. lxxxvii, PL CXCVIII 1125, and Rachael's life is accordingly prolonged in several vernacular versions as well. See I&E 176-8, 332, 477-8; Piers Plowman C X 313-6; Queen Mary's Psalter 65. The CM poet, however, prefers the biblical account to that of his other sources.

3887 MS C has the Scandinavian word "quainning" (from ON kveina), which the OED describes as obsolete and rare. The only references given in OED are from the CM. MS F substitutes the word "waymentinge", from Old French, while MSS G, H, and T read "mournyng".

3895-6 The CM poet, like most mediaeval paraphrasers, omits entirely the story of Judah and Tamar in Gen. 38. Cf. however the Met. Para. which includes it, pp. 31ff.

3901 Interpreters encountered a very real difficulty in the story of Joseph's captivity, for his new owner is called Potiphar "eunuchus Pharaonis" (Gen. 39:1; 37:36), yet he has a wife who later attempts to seduce Joseph. Furthermore, this Potiphar is often identified with Potipherah, priest of On, whose daughter Joseph marries (Gen. 41:50). What is to be done with a eunuch who possesses a wife and child?
Several Middle English paraphrases, like the CM, respond by translating "eunuchus" simply as an officer or steward. See G&E 1991; SEL Temp. fol. 7v; Met. Para. 1239. Modern commentators agree that this explanation is etymologically probable. See Jew. Encyc. "Potiphar"; Von Rad, p. 350.

Other explanations were advanced, however. Jewish tradition said that Potiphar himself was first attracted to Joseph's beauty, but God moved to protect His favourite by castrating the Egyptian. See Midrash lxxxvi 3, p. 802 and Faverty, "Legs. of Joseph", p. 85. This tale was picked up by several commentators including Petrus Comestor. See Jerome, Quaest in Gen., PL XXIII 995; Hist. Schol. lxxviii, PL CXCVIII 1126-7, G&E 1995-2008; and Higden p. 305, who attributes it not to Comestor but to Augustine. In contrast, the CM poet inserts a long passage in praise of Potiphar's broadmindedness, in spite of his being a Saracen. See below 11. 3903-12.

Another frequent change in the biblical story might have arisen from similar motives. Tertullian had stated that Joseph came to be a slave of Pharaoh and was tempted not by Potiphar's wife, but by the Queen of Egypt herself. Faverty, "Legs. of Jos.", p. 88,
says simply that "The rôle of the wicked queen was familiar in popular stories, and temptation by a queen would serve to increase the moral virtue of Joseph."

Equally, of course, this version avoids the difficulty of the eunuch's wife. The story was especially popular in France, where it appears in many paraphrases: Herman's *Bible*, ll. 1205ff.; Jehan Malkaraume in Bonnard, p. 59; the *Traduction anonyme de la Bible entière* in Bonnard pp. 86-7; Geufroi de Paris' *Bible des sept états du monde* in Bonnard, p. 43; and *Queen Mary's Psalter* p. 62. In English the story of Pharaoh's queen is found in *I&I* 195ff.; Wyntoun pp. 333-4; and in Caxton's translation of the Old French *Book of the Knight of LaTour-Landry* p. 76.

3903 MSS C and F read "in mensk and are". The "are" is corrupted in MS G, however, to "in mensk and lare". MSS H and T have attempted to correct this, and produced the virtually meaningless "in menskful lore".

3907-16 This is reminiscent of Herman, 11.1190-1204. Cf. especially *CM* 3908 and Herman 1. 1201: "Tuit disoient entr'els: 'Fix ert d'empereur;'"; *CM* 3909-10 and Herman 1199; "Sor toutes creatures ama son creatour"; *CM* 3914 and Herman 1197; "Joseph
estoit mont sages, bien servi son segnour"; and CM 3916 and Herman 1200: "Certes trestout l'amérent li grant et li menour". Lois Borland, in her unpublished PhD thesis The Cursor Mundi and Herman's Bible, University of Chicago, 1929, and also in her article "Herman's Bible and the Cursor Mundi", Studies in Philology, XXX (1933), 427-444, was the first to point out the resemblances between these two poems. However, she felt that the similarities began only at 1. 4319 (4669) of the CM. I have been able to supplement her examples with several further instances of borrowing.

3917ff. The story of Potifar's wife, a favourite in the Middle Ages, is given a greatly expanded treatment in the CM. Cf. Gen. 39: 7-20.

3917 Gen. 39:11 does not specify where the others of the household had gone when Potiphar's wife tempted Joseph. Hebrew legend said that the men had gone to a public festival. See Faverty, "Legs. of Jos.", p. 92; Josephus p. 187 and note; and Hist. Schol. xc, PL CXCVIII 1128.

Herman's Bible says the same thing, 11.1215-9. Like the CM, however, Ital 11.1931-4 has the servants leave for the country to hunt. Similarly, while
Gen. 39:11 says simply "ut intraret Joseph domum, et operis quippiam absque arbitris faceret;", CM 11.3989-92 say that his specific business was to call her to a meal.

3931-78 A surprising digression on the force and dangers of love. The moralist gets the better of the historian here, and any similarity with the power of love as extolled in the romances is negated by the concept of sin brought in at 1.3972. Cf. 11.4077-80.

3934 This is the only citation of this proverb in this particular form in Whiting, Proverbs, L494.

3937-8 The scribe of the exemplar of H and T changed "care" to "sore" to avoid the northern "a" in the rhyming "mare" in MSS C, F and G.

3945-6 The northern rhyme of MSS C and F is changed in MSS G, H and T.

3958 The line in MS C reads "To bidint of his [love's] mangonele". The word "mangonele" is derived from the Old French "mangonel", "a military engine used for casting stones and other missiles against an enemy's position", according to OED. This word, along with other French vocabulary to be noted later, may indicate that the CM poet translated this
uncharacteristic passage on love from a French source.

3965 MSS C and F have the Scandinavian verb "busk"
(Cp OI buask). MS G alters this to "bone", MSS H
and T to "loue".

3976 MS H's line provides a more satisfactory metre
than does T's, which reads "lorn" instead of "forlorn".

3989-92 See note to 1.3917 above.

3997-4032 The romance situation is here reversed, with
the lady speaking of love and begging for favours,
while the young man stands off. This is character­
istic of bad queens in early romances, such as
Launfal, and unorthodox ladies in later ones, such
as Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.

3997-8 The northern rhyme vowel in "mane" in MSS C,
F and G has caused the Middle English poet to revise
the two lines to avoid using it.

4033-8 Potiphar's wife adds threats to her promises of


4047 MSS C and F make the question "wat aleis yow?"
MS G changes this to "quat es at jou", which still
has meaning in the context. MSS H and T, however,
drop the "at", thus making the question meaningless.

4052 "Titter" (cf. ODa tidre) appears in MSS C, F
and G. This is changed in MSS H and T to "souner".

4059 Potiphar has apparently returned from the country. The Vulgate says "In argumentum ergo fidei retentum pallium ostendit marito revertenti domum" (Gen. 39:16). In Herman's Bible, however, the husband himself hears his wife's screams and runs to hear her first complaints. See Herman, 11.1234-6.

4060-1 The exemplar of MSS H and T has rephrased the lines and eliminated the run-on line of MSS C, F and G.

4077-80 A further proof that the poet is not writing romance in any sense of the word. This is the preacher's standard condemnation of women. Cf. above 11.3931-78 and note.


4125 The Middle Ages was disturbed by any hint of magical powers. In the phrase "wib my3te of heuene", the CM poet firmly establishes Joseph's powers of interpretation as divinely given. Cf. 1.4212 below and Gen. 41:16. Cf. also Faverty's discussion of Gen. 44:15, "Legs. of Jos.", pp. 98-100, 102-3.

4143 MS H unexpectedly has the present tense "seiþ". Cf. the preterite used in the other manuscripts.
This is one of the poet's rare general moralizations.

Whiting, Proverbs, E216 cites several other occurrences of this proverb.

Cf. Whiting, Proverbs, L565. The proverb also appears in French: "Qui bien ayme tard oublye."

Cf. Gen. 41:1, 8-23.

In the Vulgate Pharaoh summons "conjectores" and "sapientes". See Gen. 41:8. The CM is closer to Herman's Bible here, 11.1312-3:

Manda tous ses barons et tous ses conseilliers;
Dont i viennent baron prinches et chevaliers;

MSS H and T may preserve the original rhyme here. The OED says the word "steke", meaning enclosed, is chiefly a Scottish and northern word. MSS C, F and G, the usual preservers of such vocabulary, have the rhyme "sai/lai" here, however.

A passage of visual description and emotional sympathy which is extremely rare thus far in the CM. The poet takes it from Herman, 11.1336-9.

The dream is told as in Herman's Bible, 11.1346-67.

The Vulgate has "quae devoratis et consumptis prioribus" (Gen. 41:20). Herman too omits the
eating.

4231 The exemplar of H and T has here preserved a better reading than MSS C, F or G. MSS H and T read "fful of corn were ἔτι set ἁρ" translating Herman's "Les. vii. cargiés de blé" (1.1355). MSS C, F and G read "Sa wel war sette me thoght selcuth".

4233 Like the CM poet, Herman omits the concept in Gen. 41:24 that the thin ears ate the fat ones.


4264-4300 The remainder of the dialogue in which the king acquits Joseph of the crime against Potiphar's wife is not in Genesis. Cf. however the interchange in Herman's Bible in which Joseph brings up the matter of Pharaoh's wife and is told "Joseph, oublié l'ai" The remarks of the barons also come from Herman. See 11.1369-88.

4299 The "seuene craftis" is the translation of Herman's 1.1401: "Mout set bien les vii. ars".


4315 MSS C and F read "oure" instead of "honour".

4316 The Vulgate renders the new name "Salvatorem mundi", but most of the fathers were aware of the Hebrew interpretation "revealer of secrets". See
Josephus, p. 207; Midrash xc 4, p. 829; Rashi, 204; Faverty's citations, "Legs. of Jos.", pp. 100-1; Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. xcii, PL CXC VIII 1130 records both meanings. The vernacular paraphrases, however, all ignore the alternate meaning.

4318 Apocryphal legends exist about the romance between Joseph and Asenath. One was translated into English. See Henry Noble MacCracken, ed., "The Storie of Asneth", JEGP, IX (1910), 224-64. The Latin original is edited in P. Batiffol, ed., Studia Patristica, 2ème fascicule (Paris, 1890). The legend was abridged by Vincent of Beauvais in his Speculum historiale VI cxviii-cxxiv. Cf. Faverty, "Legs. of Jos.", p. 94. None of the Middle English paraphrasers recount it, however.

4319ff. From this point on, Miss Borland recognizes that the CM poet translates constantly from Herman's Bible for about 800 lines. See Borland, CM, p. 3.

4324 The thousand barns and thousand cellars of 1.4334 come from Herman, 11.1412, 1423.

4328 The food is more concretely specified in CM
and Herman than in Genesis.

4329-31 This is an incomplete sentence in MSS C G, H and T. The CM poet or an early scribe seems to have erred in writing a preterite tense "filde" instead of another infinitive "fill" in 1.4331. MS F corrects the lapse by supplying a subject: "pai filled faire bernis here and tare", but the original had:

La gent de la contree, quant le voient venir Et prendre leur aumaille et leur ble departir Et faire ches greniers tous de leur ble emplir,
Herman 1417-9

4682-3 MS F alone preserves the original lines:

and alle pai louted til his lare

translating Herman's 11.1420-1:

Les barons de la terre faire tous son plaisir, Tout le vont enclinant, et tout le vont servir.

4336 MSS H and T have "larderes" in this line. MS G has the northern and Scottish form "lardineris". MSS C and F preserve the probably original "warni-store", from the Old French.

4338 A typical expression of the CM poet, perhaps suggested by Gen. 41:49: "copia mensuram excederet".

4343-95 The harrowing description of famine conditions is added to the Vulgate's bare narrative by Herman, 11.1429-63.

4380 MSS C, F, G and H read "He is al lord", the
result of an accidental scribal doubling of the "l". Herman has "sires est et sera" in 1.449. The scribe of MS T has apparently corrected the clumsy and meaningless reading of his exemplar to "he is a lord".

4397-4452 The Vulgate says simply "Audiens autem Jacob quod alimenta venderentur in AEgypto" (Gen. 42:1), without specifying how Jacob came to know this. Several Old French paraphrases tell the story found here—that Jacob saw chaff floating down the Nile from Egypt to Canaan and sent his sons to its source. See Herman de Valenciennes 11.4464-93; Geufroi de Paris reported in Bonnard, p.43 and in Paul Meyer, "Notice sur la Bible des sept états du monde de Geufroi de Paris", Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, XXXIX, Part 1 (1909), 274; Queen Mary's Psalter p. 63; and Paul Meyer, "Notice et extraits d'un fragment de poème biblique composé en Angleterre", Romania, XXXVI (1907), 200-2.

Faverty, "Legs. of Jos.", p. 95, conjectures that this might have been a further patristic attempt
to make Joseph a type of Christ: "As the magi were led to Bethlehem by means of a star, so the ten brothers found their way to Joseph by means of the floating chaff." He can, however, find no source for the story in Latin exegesis. Napier conjectures that the legend was probably recorded on a lost leaf of Iacob and Ioseph. See his introduction to I&I, pp. xii-xiii.

The CM is the only other work in Middle English to record the story. The poet takes it, as usual, from Herman's Bible, 11.1464-93.

4397-8 The CM poet makes Joseph's action in casting the chaff on the water a deliberate lure for his father and brothers. Herman's Bible merely states that this was what was done.

4419-24 The CM poet adds these lines to the narrative, showing God dominating the course of history.

4427 MSS H and T substitute "glem" for the "reme" of MSS C, F and G. The OED gives this line in MSS C, F and G as the only known instance of the word "reme".

4439 MS H's reading "fleem" differs from the "flum"
of MSS C, F, G and T. "Fleem" is a word meaning "current", which, however, was often confused with "flum", according to the MED.

4449-50 The northern rhyme vowel in "fang/lang" was unacceptable to the southern revisor, who changed the rhyme to "fing/dwellyng".

4453-8 Herman has the brothers sail on the river to Egypt in 11.494-9, thereby perpetuating the geographical error initiated in the story of the floating chaff. Miss Borland suggests that the CM poet is deliberately correcting Herman's faulty geography. See Borland, CM, pp. 10-11. The Vulgate simply has the brothers "Descendentes" (Gen. 42:3). These lines seem to be translated from the Vulgate (Gen. 42:3-4), rather than from Herman, perhaps for the reason Miss Borland suggests.

4455 The scribe of MS H has retained the original northern vowel in "hame" to rhyme with "name". MS T has apparently corrected these vowels to "o". This produces the West Midland spelling "nome" for "name".

4459-98 From Herman 1500-20.

4470 Herman has the brothers say they come from
Jerusalem in 1.1507. The CM poet corrects this to Canaan, as in the Vulgate. See Gen. 42:7.

4471-2 Not in Herman. Miss Borland, however, points to a manuscript variant of Herman, printed in the Appendix to Herman's Bible, Vol. II, p. 127, 1.30: "Je cuit que portés guerre." The accusation is also made in Gen. 42:9,14.

4499ff. In the Vulgate, the brothers make three journeys to Egypt. On the first, Joseph takes Simeon as a hostage until they return with Benjamin. He also puts the money they paid for the grain back into the grain sacks. See Gen. 42. Jacob is reluctant to send Benjamin with his brothers, but as the famine persists, he finally agrees. This time, Joseph again puts the payment money back into the grain sacks, and also puts his own silver cup into Benjamin's sack. The cup is discovered, Joseph threatens the apparent culprit, and Judah offers to suffer in his place. See Gen. 43-4. The third journey is made simply to bring Jacob to see his son Joseph.

Herman's Bible alters the Vulgate's account considerably. He has four of the brothers return to
their ship immediately after they discover corn is for sale in Egypt. See 1.1502. Only six brothers, therefore, attend the first audience with Joseph. Joseph sends these six to fetch the other four. See 11.1521-8. Joseph puts the gold and silver they have paid him into the grain sacks at 1.1532, and has his servants discover this at 11.1565-6. The cup is never mentioned, and Benjamin is still at home with his father. Ruben, not Simeon, is left as a hostage while the others go to fetch Benjamin at 1.1610. Joseph reveals himself to Benjamin and the brothers go to fetch Jacob to Egypt.

The CM uses Herman's version in the main, but corrects some of it from the Vulgate. The incident of the four brothers who return to the ship is omitted. Also, the Middle English poet has Joseph put his cup, rather than simply the brothers' gold and silver, into the sack. This leads to some confusion; see note to 1.4536 below. The rest of the story is the same as Herman's.

Of the other Middle English paraphrases, G&E, SELTemp, and the Met. Para. follow the Vulgate in their order of incidents. However, like Herman's
Bible and the CM, I&I also has the episode of the cup take place on the first journey, while Benjamin is still at home. See 11.400ff.

4499-5126 From Herman, 11.1529-1720.

4501-2 The scribe of the exemplar of H and T has rearranged the line to avoid the northern rhyme vowel in "sare" in MSS C, E and G.

4504 Herman, 1.1533, has "Porté l'en ont as nés".

The CM poet changes the ship to an inn, as in Gen. 42:27 et passim.

4506-10 This is not in Herman, who says that Joseph put gold and silver in the sacks (1.1534), as in Gen. 42:25.

4536 The CM poet has already stated that the object in the sack was Joseph's own cup (1.4506), and he reiterates this in 11.4562, 4582, 4584 and 5081. Herman, however, had the king's money stolen instead, and so the CM poet errs in calling the object "pe kyngis þingis" or "pe kyngis tresour" here and in 11.4548 and 4554 below. Cf. I&I 1.401.

4545 "breme as boore" is an alliterative formula found frequently in Middle English. See MED
"breme" a. II b.

4570 Herman has Joseph's men guard their ship and their corn. See Herman, 1.1570.

4587-8 The change of rhyme vowel from "bath" to "bofe" leads to alteration of the rhyme word of 1.4588. Both MSS C and F's "wath" (ON *wa²e) and G's "skath" (ON ska²e) are Scandinavian words.

4603 The northern form of "wate", in MSS C,F and G, is unacceptable to the southern reviser, who changed the rhyme entirely from "wate/late" to "3ow/now".

4613-8 This is not in Herman. The CM poet seems to feel the need of reassuring his audience of Joseph's motives and the ultimate outcome of the event.

4995-5000 The Middle English poet here omits some further conversation of the brothers and details of the journey found in Herman 11.1617-32.

5016-8 MSS C and G are closer to Herman than are MSS F and T.

5052 When Joseph re-encounters Benjamin, the Vulgate says "commota fuerant viscera ejus super fratre suo" (Gen. 43:30). Herman renders this "tous li sans li mua" (1.1671). MSS C, F and G of the CM preserve
the translation of this: "Him stird al his blod within". MS T has weakened it, however, to "Muchel ioye was Ioseph within".

5056 MSS G and T say they kissed sixty times or more, while C says forty times and more. Herman specifies 100 times. See 1.1674.

5098-5102 This is not in Herman. Miss Borland suggests that the passage is close to the variant reading of Herman's Bible printed in Vol. II, Appendix, p. 132. See Borland, CM, p. 28. The CM, however, seems here to be translating Gen. 45:8, once again showing God's will worked out in history.

5119 Herman says Joseph gave all his brothers African garments. See 1.1714. Thus the pronoun "Ham" in MS C is plural. However, MSS F, G, and T have the singular, perhaps influenced by Gen. 45:22 and Herman 11.1718-9, in which Benjamin gets more clothes than the others.

5171 The Vulgate does not mention the length of time which has elapsed. Cf. below 1.4684.

5197-2 MSS C, F and G have two lines which are omitted from T:

Hat first for cild moght noght spek
To bidd hast now es nan sa frek,
Cries o Ham als yong man were.
This translates Herman's Bible 11.57-8, as printed in Karl Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, 10th ed. (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 71-6.

"un poi enchois soloit a grant paine parler, or crie com fust gones: "mi fil, or del haster!"

MS T, having omitted the first two of these lines from the CM, changes "cries" to "hiʒed", thus omitting all reference to Jacob's speech and referring only to his physical abilities.

5213-20 At this point Herman has the family board their boat once again to sail for Egypt, and more conversation takes place. See 11.67ff. The Middle English poet omits this, and reverts to another source for the story of Jacob's sacrifice and departure. See Gen. 46:1-6. As Miss Borland pointed out, the details of this passage in the CM come from the Vulgate, but the phrasing does not. See Borland, CM, p. 34.

5229-30 This may be a misunderstanding of Gen. 46:6, which says of Jacob: "venitque in AEgyptum cum omni semine suo". The seed which the Middle English poet mentions is instead the grain brought from Egypt.

5231-8 The poet omits the long list of names from Genesis, mentioning only Joseph's offspring. See Gen. 46: 26,20.

From Herman, 11.91-4. The court goes with Joseph in Herman, but not in the Vulgate.

Gen. 46:30 Herman omits this and instead has Jacob fail to recognize his son. See 11.95-7.

Herman seems to stress Jacob's senility. Cf. 11.68-71, where the brothers laugh merrily at their father's failure to recognize that he is already at sea. The CM poet omits such episodes, while keeping many of Herman's emotional embellishments.

From Herman, 11.99-189.

Herman has Joseph say he was sold to the king and tempted by his wife. See 11.119-24. The CM poet remembers to mention Potiphar's wife instead of the queen, but forgets that he had followed Gen. 39:1 in having Joseph sold to Potiphar instead of to the king. Cf. above 11.4241-4.

Herman has "pestrin" at 1.121, which MSS C and F translate as "mister". MSS G and T substitute "prisoun".

Cf. Herman 1.196: "avoit le barbe longue, blanche toute Mée--"

MSS C and F use a Scottish and northern verb
"wale", meaning "to choose". MSS G, H and T alter this to "lende". Consequently the meaning of the rhyming line is changed from "wit-ou ten male", without payment, to "wit-ou ten ende".

4700-34 Gen. 47:11-3,15,19-20,22. Herman omits these events and passes straight on to the deaths of Jacob and Joseph.

4704 "ranese" is the biblical Rameses.


4741 "Iessen" is the biblical Gessen

4760-8 Gen. 48:10-14. The CM poet has left out the dying Jacob's recounting of his own history.

4768 The poet's phrase "dyuerse benesoun" avoids the squabbling over the final blessing in Gen. 48:14, 17-9. Cf. below 1.5461.

4769 Gen. 48:21.

4775-8 This summarizes all the prophetic utterances of Gen. 49.

4787-9 Gen. 47:28 gives Jacob 147 years, not 137 as the CM poet elaborately calculates.

4790 This account omits the description of Egyptian burial customs which Petrus Comestor had elaborated upon in Hist. Schol. cxiv, PL CXC VIII, 1140. Cf. G&E 2447-67. He also ignores the magnificent funeral
described in *Genesis* 50.

4798 MSS C, F and G use the Scottish and northern dialect word "thrang", meaning oppression or affliction. MSS H and T change this to "wrong".

4801-8 From Herman, 11.215-8.

4803-4 MS T transposes these two lines. The order of the lines in MS H is the same as that in MSS C, F and G.

4809-10 110 years, i.e. $5\frac{1}{2}$ score. See Gen. 50:26.

4817ff. *Ex. 1:8-10.* The CM poet drops Herman as a principal source, apparently because the French poet greatly condenses the biblical narrative, touching only on the highlights of Moses' career. A few odd lines from Herman do appear, however. Many of these parallels were not noticed either by Borland or by Buehler.

In the following discussion, I refer to appropriate passages from the Vulgate for comparison with the CM text. However, the Middle English poet may possibly have been using either a French translation of the Vulgate or a French biblical paraphrase. Note the French vocabulary in the following lines. In many instances, words of French origin are found in MS C, but are changed in the subsequent versions. This
suggests that the poet borrowed them from his French source, but that later copyists, finding them unnatural, changed them for native English words. For an instance of this process in which the source is available for comparison, see below, 1.4846 and note, et. passim.

4825-30 The subjects' lengthy speech of agreement arises from the CM poet's conflation of sources. He begins with the speech of Pharaoh from the Vulgate, and then switches to Herman, where the people bring up the Israelite question in petitioning the king to get rid of these people.

4829 MSS C and G say "pair" pence, referring to the money of the elders mentioned in the previous line. MS F has "our", but has a different 1.5506, which does not mention the elders. MS H has "oure penyes", thus agreeing with MS F, although 1.4828 in H is not like 1.5506 in F, but rather agrees with the readings in MSS C and G. T's reading "oure" may have been influenced by the same word in the preceding line. H's reading "oure" is probably that of the exemplar.

4841-92 Cf. Ex. 1:11-22. For the first few lines, the CM poet seems to invent more dialogue in the
style of Herman, fitting in the Vulgate detail which the French poet omits. Perhaps he is following another source here.

4846 MS C refers to a "Hott" (OF hote, hotte), a basket for carrying earth. MSS G, H and T refer to "Bolles" instead, and MS F changes the line to avoid the word. The reading in C, however, if original, might tend to show that the CM poet's original source was an Old French one.

4893-4922 The Middle English poet pauses to recapitulate his themes.


4936 MSS C, F and G call the vessel a "kyst" (ON kista), while H and T reject the Scandinavian word in favour of "cofur".

4943 The original reading probably meant "among the rushes". MS C, however, has corrupted "risses" to "fisses", while MS T has misinterpreted the word, possibly spelled "richeys" as in MS G, as "richesses".

4961-2 MSS H, T and F have changed the northern rhyme "underfang/gang" to a southern one.

1529-36.


4976 MSS C and F write "carked", a word derived from Old French and possibly indicating that the original of this passage was in French. MSS G, H and T change the verb to "filled".

4977-8 The northern rhyme "sare/square" in MS C is altered in the other MSS.

4980 MS T has a more intelligible reading "bat coom of iacobes son Iudas" (1,5958). This may be a correction, however, for MS G agrees with H in having "bat cam of iacob sonis iudas".

4991 MS C reads "bat pantener" (AF pautener), and MS F "losenger". MSS G, H and T read simply "bat an", "be ton". C's reading may indicate that the source of the passage was in Old French.

4996 MS C reads "stonand" (OF estoner), which MS F changes to "shonande", and MSS G, H and T to "dredand" or "dredynge". This is the earliest occurrence of "stonand" recorded in the OED, and the next one does not occur until 1426. This may further indicate a French source for the CM.

5033-50 Cf. Ex. 2:22-5.

5055 Not "folke", as MSS H and T, but "flock", as in MSS C, F and G. Cf. Latin "cumque minasset gregem..." (Ex. 3:1).

5058 MSS H and T both read "egeb" for "oreb", Latin Horeb.

5067-72 One of the CM poet's rare typological interpretations. This interpretation of the burning bush as a type of the Blessed Virgin is found in hymns and in the Victorine sequence described in F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), p. 370; Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones de Tempore, PL CLXXXIII 63; Wm of Shoreham, 127/19; and in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin in Henry Littlehales, ed., The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book (London, 1895), EETS OS 105, p. 24.

The closest analogue to the CM is Honorius Augustodunensis Speculum Ecclesiae, PL CLXXII 904; "quam ignis Spiritus sancti prole illuminavit, nec tamen flamma concupiscentiae violavit."

5075-5128 Cf. Ex. 3:4,6-7,10-14,16-20. The poet does not describe the Jewish custom, referred to in Ex. 3:5, of Moses removing his shoes in a holy place.

5112 MS C has the Scandinavian word "lite" (ON hlíta).
MSS H and T replace it by "delay", MS G with the meaningless "dilite".

5124 "nocin", meaning hardship or distress, (ON nauðsyn) which appears only in MS C, was a Scandinavian word which became obsolete soon after its use here. The CM references are the last given for the word in OED. MSS H and T here change "of þair nocin" to "out of his honde". Cf. above, 1.4694.


5139-40 The rhyme in MSS C and F is a northern one. The verb form "ta" is from "take", but in northern Middle English the "k" and following short vowel were often suppressed. See OED "take".

5159 Cf. Ex. 4:14.

5160-64 Cf. Ex. 3:18.

5165-9 Cf. Ex. 4:29.

The CM poet omits all mention of Moses' speech defect, the reason why Aaron always accompanies him. See Ex. 4:10-16,30. Petrus Comestor, on the other hand, elaborates on this and makes it the subject of a legend. See Hist. Schol. Ex. v, PL CXCVIII 1143-4; G&E 2633-58; Met. Para. 11. 1549-84.
5170-5202 Cf. Ex. 5:1-6,8.

5184 MS C alone translates correctly the "nobis" of Ex. 5:3 as "hus". The other MSS render the pronoun in the second person.

5189 MS C reads "Dathait qua werkes on jam spar!"
This is probably the original reading, deriving from Old French de(s)hait, and is a further indication of a probable French source for this section.

5195 The word "home" which appears in MSS C, F and G is described as chiefly northern and North Midland in MED. Hence it is altered in MSS H and T to "byde".

5198 The verb must be "swing" (OED "swing" v1 meaning to scourge), to rhyme with "bidding". MSS H and T, spell this word "swinge", which could be a different verb, no longer rhyming with "biddynge".

5205-30 Cf. Ex. 7:8-14.

5240-8 Based on Ex. 7:19-20. Herman's account of the life of Moses is greatly abbreviated. He does not enumerate the plagues. The CM's version is an abridgement of the Vulgate's, however, which may depend on another paraphrase of Exodus.

5249-56 Cf. Ex. 8:3.

5250 MSS C, F and G use the word "froskis" (MS C "frosse") derived from ON frosk-r, OE frox. MSS H and T use "frogges", from OE frogge.
5257-73 Cf. Ex. 8:8-10, 12-5.
5275-7 Cf. Ex. 8:17.
5293-5318 Cf. Ex. 8:25-32.
5319-28 Cf. Ex. 9:2-4, 7.
5321 MS C's line is closer to the biblical list, "equos et asinos, et camelos, et boves, et oves", than the lists in the other MSS.
5329-36 Cf. Ex. 9:9, 12.
5337-58 Cf. Ex. 9:23-8, 35.
5359-70 Cf. Ex. 10:15, 20.
5371-6 Cf. Ex. 10:23.
5381-5418 Cf. Ex. 12:3, 5, 7-12, 14.
5390 MSS C and F have "fernet" (cp. Ol foru·neyti).
MSS G, H and T have changed this Scandinavian word to "meyne".
5408 Cf. note to 1.5195 above. Although "hones" is usually a northern and north Midland form, it remains in this line in MSS H and T.
5422 MSS G, H and T change the Scandinavian word "graid" (ON; cp Ol greiða) to "purueyde".
5443-52 Cf. Ex. 12:30-3, 35-8, 40-3. The translation of the Vulgate is quite close. The Middle English
poet omits repetitious verses, but does not condense material as he had done in his account of the plagues.

5476 The correct figure is 430 years. See Ex. 12:40. MSS C and G have 400 years; F has 100. MS G has mistaken "to" in the expression "to ben", until that time, for the numeral "tua". A similar error in the exemplar of MSS H and T causes them to give the number as 402 years.

5483-97 The instructions in Ex. 12:43-9 concern who is allowed to partake of the feast. The CM poet skips to Ex. 13:3,12-6.


5517-70 Cf. Ex. 14:4-8,10-4,16.

5542 The Vulgate says "at illi [filii Israel] egresserant in manu excelsa" (Ex. 14:8). The CM poet, however, transfers the description to Pharaoh.

5548 MSS C and F have "graues", correctly translating "sepulcra" MS G reads "ill", and H and T "euel".

5558 MSS C and F have "radd" and "arrad" respectively from ON hraedd-r. MSS G,H and T have changed this Scandinavian word to "myspayde". Cf. below, 1.5578, etc.

5566 This line is evidently an interpretation of
Ex. 14:16: "Tu autem eleva virgam tuam, et extende manum tuam super mare". The biblical reference to Moses' hand is made to indicate where the rod usually is kept. Herman calls the rod "cheste verg(n)e que t'ai chi aprestee" (1.2061) and "la verge que je t'ai chi donnee" (1.2063).

5571-6 The Middle English poet has omitted any mention of the statement, frequently repeated in Exodus, that it is God who hardens the hearts of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. See Ex. 14:17; cf., e.g., 7:13; 9:12; 10:1; 10:20; 10:27. Herman inserts an explicit statement of God's vengeful intentions into his narrative also at 11.2068-71. The parallels between Herman and the CM in this passage are not close, however. Both passages are ultimately based on Ex. 14:17-8.

5577-98 Ex. 14:21-3, 27-8. The details are biblical, but the translation is not close. The Middle English poet may be using another source here.

5603-6 The "newe songe" is found in Ex. 15:1-19, and would be known to the CM poet as the most frequently used canticle in the liturgy. See Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, eds., Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (Paris, 1925), II 1978.
MSS C, F and G all have "site" (ON *syt). This word was common in northern Middle English poetry during the fourteenth century, according to OED. However, MSS H and T read "woo" instead of the northern word.

The poet interjects a prayer of his own.

The CM poet here interpolates the section of the story of the holy cross which is chronologically appropriate. He had taken the story of Seth's journey to Paradise for the seeds from the Latin Legende version. See above, notes to 11.1063ff. This Legende goes on to tell of the later history of the cross wood. For the story of the wood from Moses on, however, the CM poet uses a different version, a legend of the holy cross wood which begins with Moses, rather than with Adam. He evidently kept his copy of the Latin Legende at hand, however, as well as his Vulgate, for he uses both to insert several details lacking in his primary source.

Arthur S. Napier in Rood-Tree p.xxiii et passim first identified the immediate source used by the CM poet. This is an Old French poem on the cross, now extant only in MS BN fr. 763, fols. 267-277. Bonnard, p. 89, had printed an extract from the poem, which he
believed to be a part of the paraphrase of the Old Testament which precedes it in the manuscript.

Napier determined that the poem on the rood was a separate work, however. He printed further extracts. See Rood-Tree, pp. xxiv-xxv, 63-7. I have used a microfilm of the manuscript for comparison with the CM. Where necessary, I include a diplomatic copy of the manuscript in the notes.

Esther Casier Quinn's book, The Quest of Seth, is again invaluable for tracing the development of this legend and the various versions of it. See also Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus".

5621-30 From the Old French Rood Poem, 11.29-37.

5625 The Old French poem says they came to "Elyn" (1.34), the Legende "Ebron" (p.467/34). The CM poet apparently uses his geographical knowledge to place these in Syria.

5628 MSS C, F and G all agree that the Israelites had great need ("brest") of water. MSS H and T read "brest" instead, a closer translation of "Sitivit" (Ex. 17:3). MSS H and T may here preserve an original reading which has been corrupted in the
others, or the scribe of the exemplar of MSS H and 
T may have corrected his own exemplar, using the 
Vulgate reading instead.

5631-5 Cf. Ex. 17:3. This is not found in the Old 
French poem.

5639-5708 Rood Poem, 39-87.

5646 The Old French poem has "pine" here (1.43), as 
do MSS C, F and G. Cf. note to 1.1205 above,
however.

5660 Throughout the story of the Cross wood, the 
northern MSS use the word "wands" (ON *vandu-r, 
vond-r) to refer to the twigs. MSS H and T change 
the Scandinavian word to "jerdis".

5667 Napier, Rood-Tree, p.xxvi, note 1, suggested that 
this line originally read "Si ben Þai fand in 
Raphindin", translating the Old French "A raphin-
din les a portees;" Cf. Ex. 17:1. The reading 
seems plausible. The MSS printed by Morris give two 
different versions. MS C has "Si ben Þai faand in 
Þat wastin". Cf. MS F. MS G has "Si ben Þai fand 
Þat frith widine". Cf. MSS H and T.

5667-76 The cross story conflates several biblical 
episodes here. The sweetening of the waters 
occurred at Mara in Ex. 15:23-5, but the Old French
poem places the incident at Raphindim. At the
biblical Raphidim, in Ex. 17:1-7, Moses struck the
rock to bring forth water.

The wood which will become the true cross is here
substituted for the biblical tree in Ex. 15:25, or
the rod of Moses in Ex. 17:5.

5668-9 The Old French says "quar plus ere amere que
suie:" (1.71).

5689ff. The CM poet drops the Old French text of the
cross story here and begins to abbreviate the
biblical adventures of Moses.

5693-8 This is probably from Herman, 11.2088-91:

D'iluec dans Moysës en I. desert entra,
Chele gens de[s] Juïs ensamble o lui mena.
Mont i furent grant tamps Et mons [s]i travailla.
XI. ans i remest, c'onques blé n'i sema.

5699-5706 The story of the manna is found in Ex. 16.

Herman dismisses it in one line (1.2092). The CM
poet gathers together various details from the account
in Exodus.

5701 Cf. Ex. 16:14. The poet's translation of "quasi
pilo tusum, in similitudinem pruinae".

5702 Cf. Ex. 16:31.

5703-4 Cf. Ex. 16:15, 31.

5705 Cf. Ex. 16:8, 12. In fact, God sent flesh to be
eaten in the evening and manna in the morning.

5706 Ex. 16:13.


5718 The form "3alde" in MSS H and T is characterized as chiefly northern in OED.

5721-50 The poet seems to revert to the Vulgate as a source. See Ex. 17:8-12.

5732 MS C alone preserves the correct reading. The other MSS omit Ur. Cf. Ex. 17:10.

5743 The word "irk" in MSS C and G was originally a northern and north Midland word. The scribe of the exemplar of H and T changes "of he was irk" to "of werynesse".

5745 Again MS C preserves the mention of Ur which the other MSS have dropped. Cf. Ex. 17:12.


5751 MS F corrupts "Ietro" to "Petro".


5759 MSS C, F and G probably preserve the correct reading "his ilke folk was vntelland," (C). The line is a gloss on Ex. 18:13, 18, 22, verses which imply that the administration of law was becoming too time-consuming for one man to manage. The reading in
MSS H and T, "his ilke folke was v[a]ntoun to fondle", makes good sense, however. It implies that the work increased because the people were more evil, rather than more numerous. The scribe of the exemplar of MSS H and T probably made the change to avoid using the northern and Scottish word "vntelland".

5769-87 The prologue to the giving of the commandments is from Herman, 11.2095-2106. In Ex.19 God initiates all the action, but here the people themselves are the first to ask for the law.

5781-4 Herman takes the idea of Moses' fasting forty days from Ex. 34:28, which deals with the renewal of the tablets after Moses had broken them.

5791-5800 The CM poet gives a ten line resumé of the ten commandments. Cf. Ex. 10:3-17. Herman does not even list the commandments here.

5807-24 The CM poet omits the lengthy dissertations on the law from Ex. 20:18 - Ex. 31:17. Instead he turns once again to Herman for the narrative of the golden calf. See Herman, 11.2109-16.

5824 MSS C,F,G and T all have "as a god", which makes a line which is metrically preferable to H's "as god".

5825-7 Expanded from Ex. 32:4.
5833-6 Ex. 32:7.

5834 The rhyme word "suik" meaning deceit, in MSS C and F has been mis-copied in MS G as "suilk", probably because of confusion with the same word in the previous line. This error makes the line meaningless in MS G. The entire line is changed in MSS H and T, possibly because the scribe of their exemplar was correcting a similar lapse of sense in his own exemplar.

5837-5928 From Herman, 11.2127-2194.

5840 MSS C and F refer to a "grideld frost" (OF gridil meaning lattice). MSS G, H and T change this to a "ryme frost". No similar expression appears in Herman in this passage.

5845 MSS H and T have preserved the reading "holes", translating Herman's "fosses", 1.2133. MSS, C, F and G have "hepes" (G "helpis"). Cf. below, 1.6611, where MSS C and F refer to "holes".

5847-8 MS C has preserved the better reading, translating Herman, 11.2134-5:

Mont creient el veel la gent maleétre,
Se donques fu salvage, encor n'est pas senee.

6562-7 These lines are in neither MSS H nor T, but are evidently authentic, translating Herman, 11.2161b-
5941-54 Cf. Ex. 32:26-9. This is not in Herman.
5950 Cf. Ex. 32:28, which says 23,000, not 20,000.
5955-62 Cf. Ex. 32:1,4.
5965 Cf. Ex. 34:27-8 which says that Moses himself wrote the second set of commandments, at God's direction. The original tablets were written by God's own hand. See Ex. 32:18; 32:16.
5967-70 See Ex. 34:29-30. Ex. 34:29 reads "et ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua ex consortio sermonis Domini." The horns of Moses are a result of Jerome's translation of the Hebrew word qeren, which can mean either "horns" or "rays of light". The Septuagint translation does not mention horns, nor does the Old Latin translation of the Septuagint.

A recent book on the subject seeks to investigate both the origins and implications of the long-standing tradition of Moses' horns. See Ruth Mellinkoff, The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought (Berkely, 1970).
Professor Mellinkoff points out that the Vulgate translation was extant for hundreds of years before Moses was ever pictured with horns. The first instance of their appearance is in the eleventh century illustrated manuscript of Aelfric's Pentateuch, MS BM Cotton Claudius B IV. See Mellinkoff, pp. 13ff and plates 13-24. Cf. the note to 1.899 above. The first appearance in art of a jawbone as Cain's murder weapon is also in this manuscript. Emil Mâle, the art historian, supposed that the motif first appeared in art after its prior use as a costuming device in liturgical drama. This is possible, especially as the horns in the Aelfric paraparase do not grow from Moses' forehead, but rather appear on a helmet, as they necessarily would in a costume. However, the earliest horned Moses in drama appears in a fourteenth century prophet play from Rouen. See Mellinkoff, pp.28,33 for references.

Mellinkoff further suggests, however, that the horns on Moses' hat may have been revived in iconography as a means of indicating that he is a chieftain. See Mellinkoff, pp.37-57. She traces the Viking
taste evident in some eleventh century manuscripts, including the Aelfric paraphrase. Other pictures of a horned Moses appear in twelfth century English manuscripts.

Professor Mellinkoff demonstrates that early exegetes, including Jerome himself, interpreted the horns metaphorically, to show that Moses was glorified. Rashi, the influential Jewish commentator of the twelfth century, said that the horns indicated merely the shape of the rays of light which came from Moses head. See Rashi, II 196. This explanation was taken up by Hugh of St. Victor, Andrew of St. Victor, and Nicholas of Lyra. See Mellinkoff, p. 85. This became the usual explanation in the high Middle Ages, and it gets into Coverdale's Bible translation of 1539: "and Moses wyst not that the skinne of his face shone in maner of an horne, whyle he talked with him." This is quoted in Mellinkoff, pp. 87-8. Like the CM poet, however, Aelfric and Wyclif both simply translated "cornuta" as "horned".

Mellinkoff also discusses the identification of Moses' horns with the horned mitre of a bishop. See pp.94ff. The horned mitre first appeared after the
Aelfric manuscript, however, so there can be no question of the tradition of Moses' horns originating in that way. She is apparently unaware that Herman uses the likeness to the bishop's mitre in his Bible, 11.2027-31.

The CM poet translates the Vulgate's "cornuta" simply by "horned". However the wording of the line shows that he was aware that some commentators would say the horns were not real but were simply a metaphor:

"Hem þouȝte him horned on heed fer".

Morris, in his note on 1.6655, proposes to read "horud" for "hornd", from a conjectural verb *horgian, or *horwian, by analogy with OE harian, ME horen, to become grey. He is apparently unaware of the Vulgate reading of Ex. 34:29 and 35, for he quotes only the King James translation of the verse, which does not refer to the horns of Moses. Morris also points to G&E, 1.3614:

"And sunne-bem-brigt son is wliten".

However, as scholars now realize, the latter poet was translating from Petrus Comestor who says:

"...Cumque descendisset de monte cum tabulis, apparuit facies ejus cornuta, et ipse ignorabat," id est radii
miri splendoris ferebantur de facie ejus, qui reverberabant oculos intuentium


5971-2 This is probably translated from the Old French Rood Poem, fol. 267v col. 2, 11.93-4:

Et il la [loi] tot au piuple dite
Et fait si com il fuit monstre

Cf. Ex. 35:1, and Herman 1.2203.

5973-80 Napier pointed out that this is from the Old French Rood Poem. See fol. 267v col. 2, 1.95-fol. 268r fol. 1, 1.99. The translation is not really close, however.

5981ff. This is a selection of the laws given by God to Moses in Ex. 21ff. Herman ignores these, as do most other paraphrase writers.

5987-8 Ex. 21:12.
5989-92 Ex. 21:14.
5993-6 This is based on Ex. 21:15: "Qui percusserit patrem suum aut matrem, morte moriatur."

5997-6034 Ex. 21:18-29.
5998 MSS C, F and G have the Scandinavian word "neue", "nefe" (ON hnefi, nefi meaning fist). MSS H and T substitute "fuste".

6014 Ex. 21:22 reads "arbitri judicaverint." The English poet instead refers to trial by jury.
After "pedem pro pede", Ex. 21:25 goes on to list "adustionem pro adustione, vulnus pro vulnere, livorem pro livore." MSS C and F, which read "bla for bla", are thus more correct than MSS G, H and T, with "too for too". "Livorem" is undoubtedly translated "woo" in all manuscripts for the sake of the rhyme.

MSS C and F read "And mas him vn-mighti for-to seie". MS G corrupts "vn-mighti" to the meaningless "vnsihti". MSS H and T further change the line to "And make him vnsiʒtilyʒe", although the use of "unsiʒtilyʒe" to mean blind is uncertain. See OED.


The exemplar of MSS H and T (and presumably of MS L also, as in Morris, CM, p. 390) has altered 1.6728 to do away with the unaccustomed caesura in MSS C, F and G:

And ox or hors, or oþer aght
Fall in, þe man þat his pitt aght

Because he completed 1.6044 with a meaningless filler, "ffalle þerynne leest or meest", the scribe had to compose two new lines to convey the meaning of the passage.
MS C alone reads "gersum", which MS F has altered to "gode", and MSS G, H and T to "fyn". "gersum" is a Scandinavian word (ON cp OS gœrsemi), but one which entered the language in the Old English period as gaersama. In spite of its acceptance in Old English, however, all the manuscripts except C reject it.

Ex. 22:10-2.
Ex. 22:14-5.

The manuscript divisions in F, H and G indicate that two separate laws are involved here, translating Ex. 22:18-9. A later hand in MS C, however, has interpreted the first two lines to refer to the fate of the beast involved in the sin mentioned in the next couplet:

[To dele wit best what man him draws
Godd wil [be best] be don o daus.

Morris testifies that the words in square brackets are inserted by a later hand. See p. 392.


MSS C and G have the Scandinavian word "slike" (ON slík-r) which the OED says is chiefly northern. MSS F, H and T change this. Cf. 11.6774, 7298.
6113-4 The Vulgate says that you might take your neighbour's clothes as a pledge (*pignus*). See Ex. 22:26.

6121-2 The CM poet has translated into contemporary terms of priests and tithes the instructions of Ex. 22:28-9.

6149-64 Ex. 23: 7-13.

6150 The "Blendyng giftis" translates "Nec accipies munera, quae etiam excaecant prudentes", Ex. 23:8.

6155-7 The Vulgate orders the people to cultivate the land six years and leave it fallow the seventh. See Ex. 23:10. All the manuscripts wrongly read seven for six in 1.6155. MSS C and F correctly read "seuend" in 1.6841, whereas G, H and T have "eiztefe" in 1.6157.

6166-74 The poet omits the list of Jewish feasts here. He continues at Ex. 23:20-2.

6175-96 The CM poet here speaks more of the shaping of his history. He omits the rest of Exodus, all of Leviticus, and part of Numbers, to arrive at the story of Aaron's rod.

6200-14 Num. 17:6-9.

6219-24 Num. 17:10.
6225-6 The interpretation of Aaron's rod as a type of the Virgin is found in several places in the Middle Ages. See the Victorine sequence described in F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), pp. 361, 370; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de Tempore*, PL CLXXXIII 63; Wm. of Shoreham, 128/27. The closest analogue to the CM's interpretation is in Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL CLXXII 904: "Arida virga quae nucem protulit est virgo Maria quae Christum Dominum et hominem mundo progenuit."

6231 The figure of forty years is common knowledge, of course, but may be suggested to the poet here by the Old French *Rood Poem* fol. 268r col. 1, 11.120-2: "xl ans les auoit portois/Moyses..."

6234-6 Either from Deut. 34:5-6 directly, or through the Old French *Rood Poem*, fol. 268r col. 1, 11.100-105, as Napier suggested, *Rood-Tree* p. xxvi.

6237-8 Haenisch, CM, p. *8 pointed out that this comes from the *Hist. Schol. Num.* xx, PL CXCVIII 1260: "quo idem factum autumant Hebraei ne ipsi Moysen pro Deo colement".

6239-46 The CM poet translates Herman's summary of events, 11.2206-10.
"wipouten resoun", in MSS G, H and T, "fild wit vn-resun", in MSS C and F, rather clumsily translates Herman's "ichil Juü's si furent mont felon."

Napier pointed out that this passage was translated from the Old French Rood Poem, fol. 268r, col. 1, 11.106, 112-5, 124-5.


The word "fader-hade" in MSS C and G is probably the original reading. This word refers to the spiritual authority invested in Eleazar. The readings in MSS F, H and T, however, refer simply to Eleazar's inheritance from his earthly father.

The CM poet greatly abbreviates Joshua's part in history. Herman's Bible mentions none of his acts, however.


Cf. Ios. 10:12-4.


Cf. Ios. 24:32.


Cf. Iud. 2:11 et passim.

The CM poet uses "sarasenes feij" as a synonym
for all idolatry, a common mediaeval practice.


These lines are a rapid summary of the Judges of Israel, with a passing reference to events in other kingdoms occurring at the same times. The ultimate source of such comparative time schemes is the Canon Tables of Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius and other canonists of the third and fourth centuries were trying to establish that the Christian religion, which seemed so new, was actually older than the state religions it sought to supplant. Jerome translated the work, and his translation is printed as Translatio Chronicorum Eusebii Pamphili, PL XXVII. Parts of the canon tables were copied into many later chronicles and histories, among them the Hist. Schol.

Dr. Haenisch, CM, pp. 8*-9* believed that some of the details in the CM's lines came from the Hist. Schol. The immediate source of these lines, however, unless otherwise noted, is DIM. This source was first noted by Kaluza in "Zu den Quellen...", p. 452.

Cf. Jud. 1:12.

Cf. Jut. 3:9. Othniel in the Vulgate is the
younger brother of Caleb, not his son. Morris prints the word as "Othomel" in all MSS, but this is surely a misreading of minims ("m" instead of "ni").

Cf. Jud. 3:11.

Haenisch, CM, p. 8*, suggests that this translates Comestor's comment "In diebus Othoniel Cadmus regnavit Thebis." See Hist. Schol. Jud. v, PL CXCVIII 1274. The source, however, is clearly DIM:

"Hujus [i.e. Othonielis] tempore condidit Catherinus Thebas." DIM, PL CLXXII 169.

Cf. Jud. 3:15.

Cf. Jud. 3:30.

This is based on DIM: "Hujus tempore fuit bellum inter populum Israel et Benjamin, propter uxorem Levitae apud Gabaam constupratam, et a Israel quidem occisa sunt quadraginta millia, de Benjamin triginta quinque et centum viri." PL CLXXII 169.

In the Vulgate, Aod (Ayoth) was indeed a Benjamite, but the enemy he fought were the Moabites. See Jud. 3:15-30. The battle between Benjamites and Israelites occurs in Jud. 19-21 because of the death of the wife or concubine of a Levite, the "deknes wyf" of 1.6323. DIM and hence the CM telescope the two separate incidents into one, and exaggerate the numbers killed.
See **Jud.** 20:35,39,46.


6328 **DIM, PL** CLXXII 169 puts the construction of Troy in the reign of Othoniel, which occurred before that of Samgar. Haenisch, **CM**, p. 8*, linked this line with Petrus Comestor's remark in his chapter on Samgar: "In Dardania regnavit Tros a quo Trojan conditam ferunt." See **Hist. Schol. Jud.** vi, **PL** CXCVIII 1275. However it originated, this line is clearly a misinterpretation of the sources by the Middle English poet.

6329 From **DIM**. The Vulgate gives no length of reign for Samgar, nor does he appear in Eusebius' chronology. Comestor mentions him, but does not give the length of this reign. See **Hist. Schol. Jud.** vi, **PL** CXCVIII 1275.

6330 The two sons are apparently Deborah and Barack. The poet does not know that Deborah is a woman. Neither are, in fact, the children of Samgar. Barack is frequently called "filium Abinoem". See **Jud.** 4:6;5:1;5:12.

6331 Cf. **Jud.** 4:4ff.

6332 Cf. **Jud.** 5:30.
DIM does not mention Apollo here. Haenisch has no note on these lines, but he might equally well have cited the passage from Comestor which mentions both Delphos (although not the sybil) and Apollo: "Obiit Liber pater, cujus sepulcrum est apud Delphos justa Apollinem aureum." See Hist. Schol. Iud. vii, PL CXC VIII 1277.

Cf. Iud. 6:11ff.

These lines do not correspond to anything in DIM.

Cf. Iud. 7:7 et passim.

MSS C and F preserve the lines in their original form. First they mention the three hundred men of Gideon's army. See Iud. 7:7 et passim. Then they name the four kings: Oreb and Zeb from Iud. 7:25, Zebee and Salmana from Iud. 8:5. MSS G, H and T have corrupted the four kings to forty and reversed the order of the first two lines. This leaves the four names dangling. "pat" of MSS C and G becomes "jan" in MS G and "jen" in MSS H and T, and the four rulers of the Midianites are transformed into judges of Israel.

From DIM, PL CLXXII 169. Haenisch, CM, p. 8*,
points to Petrus Comestor's remark "Orphaeus clarus habitus est....Linus magister Hercules claruit."

See Hist. Schol., Iud. viii, PL CXC VIII 1281. The source, however, is clearly DIM, PL CLXXII 169.

6343 The CM poet skips over the story of Abimilech to get to Thola. He thus ignores Abimelech's three-year reign, which is mentioned in DIM as well as in Iud. 9.

6344 DIM and Iud. 10:2 both say he reigned twenty-three years. MSS C, F and G are correct, but MSS H and T have corrupted the twenty to forty years, which is the length of reign of many of the other judges.

6347-8 DIM says simply "Priamus in Troja", without connecting the city with the sibyl. See DIM, PL CLXXII 169.

6349-50 MSS C, F, and G preserve the original translation. DIM and Iud. 10:3 both report that Jair reigned twenty-two years, or, as the CM poet originally put it "as long as Thola". See 11.7029-30.

6351-4 This is not in DIM.

6351-2 Both DIM, PL CLXXII 169 and Hist. Schol. Iud. x, PL CXC VIII 1283 mention Priam under the reign of Thola.
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6353-4  Haenisch, CM, p. 8*, pointed out that Petrus Comestor has this notice under the reign of Jair:

6355  Cf. Iud. 11:1. DIM does not mention his supposed bastardy.


6357-8  DIM mentions the amazons here, but the definition of the word is given only by the CM poet.


6361  Iud. 12:9 says Abesan led Israel for seven years exactly. MSS C,G,H and T all say seven years and more. MS F has seemingly corrected this to "in rowte". The meaningless rhyme which the scribe provides in 1.7048 makes clear that this was not the original reading.

6362-4  This is not in DIM. Haenisch, CM, p. 9* pointed to Hist. Schol. Iud. xiv, PL CXCIII 1285:
"Eo tempore Paris Helenam rapuit, bellum decennale surrexit." Comestor refers these events to the
reign of Ahialon, however.

The CM poet himself was aware that Alexander was the other name of the Trojan Paris. Hence C's lines "Alexandre, in hat si quar, hat paris hight, raiuist helayn,--" (7048-9). Later scribes, not knowing the story so well, apparently knew only one Alexander, Alexander the Great. By changing only one word, "hight" to "au-zte", one such copyist altered the lines to read "Alexander [the Great], who owned [the city of] Paris,...ravished Helen." This is the meaning in MSS G, H and T. The scribe of MS F did not link Alexander with either Paris the Trojan or Paris the city. He rewrote the lines completely, producing a very weak version:

\begin{verbatim}
Jen come alisaundre wi\textsuperscript{p}-out doute
and asked quo walde stande agayne
quar-fore mony mon was slayne. (7048-50)
\end{verbatim}

6367-70 Cf. Iud. 12:11 and note to 11.6362-4 above.
6373 Haenisch, CM, p. 9*, pointed to Hist. Schol. Iud. xv, PL CXCVIII 1285. The source, however, is once again DIM.
6374-7 This is not in either DIM or Hist. Schol.
6379-81 Haenisch, CM, p. 9*, supposed that the CM
poet used another source here, or that he invented the figures which are not found in Petrus Comestor. In fact, he is using DIM again, but in rendering the figures metrically suitable for his poem, he has left them open to garbling. DIM says the number killed was 877,000 Greeks and 686,000 Trojans. The number of Trojans is correct in all MSS, but the number of Greeks is expressed very unclearly. The original line may have read "Eight hundred sixty seven and ten".

6383-96 Nothing in DIM corresponds to this summary of the Trojan war, although Kaluza said the borrowing from DIM continued until 1. 7082 (1.6396). See Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen...", p. 451.

6385 MSS C and F read "brogeling", "brokling", which MSS G, H and T change to "breking". "Brokling" is a gerund, coming from "brokel", and this line in CM is the only reference given under this word in the MED. The other MSS have avoided the relatively unfamiliar word.

6397-6415 The story of Samson's birth and courtship is greatly abbreviated from the Vulgate. See Iud. 13:2-14:4. The CM poet may be using another source here. Cf. the Met. Para. 3601ff., which also
treats the story of Samson at greater length than does the CM.

6415 MS C reads "yare", and F "ȝete", while MSS G, H and T change the word to "late". C's reading is a northern form of the verb "yete" which was either directly taken from or heavily influenced by ON, according to OED. Perhaps this is the reason that the verb was changed in some of the other MSS.

6416-48 Possibly translated from Jud. 14:5-9, 12-5, 17.

7137-44 These lines appear only in MS F. They translate Jud. 14:18, and are probably original. They may have been missed out in an early exemplar, when a scribe's eye skipped from "priuate" in 1.7136, to the same word in 1.7144, thus causing most later copies to omit entirely the solution of the riddle.


6453-6 Cf. Jud. 15:3.

6457-66 Cf. Jud. 15:4-5.

6467-80 Abbreviated from Jud. 15:11-15.

6481-6510 Abbreviated from Jud. 16:1-9.

6487 MSS C, F and G read "nighter-tale", while MSS H and T have "nyȝt". OED classes "nightertale" as a chiefly northern and Scottish word, probably of Scandinavian
origin. Thus the southern MSS have changed the reading.

Only MSS C and F retain an account of the binding. MSS G, H and T have altered this line, making the sequence of events rather puzzling, as Samson breaks bonds which the reader of these manuscripts never knew were on him.

Cf. Iud. 16:16-7.

The CM poet draws the obvious moral from the story.

The Scandinavian word "wath" (ON wa$e) in MSS C and F was changed to "drede" in MSS G, H and T.

Based on Iud. 16:18-9, 21.

MSS C and F have the better reading "blinded", whereas MSS G H and T read "beten". Cf. Iud. 16:21.

In the Vulgate, the feast is in honour of the Philistine god Dagon. The CM poet, or his source, changes this into a bridal feast for Delilah and her new husband, and endows Samson with special talent as a harper.


I Reg. 4 tells how Eli's sons took the ark of the
covenant into battle with them. While their father sat waiting for them, "erat enim cor ejus pavens pro arca Dei." See I Reg 4:13.

7275-6 These lines, found only in MS F, correspond to I Reg. 4:18. Cf. I.7277 (6579) in the other MSS.

6580-4 This is a bit of moralizing from the poet.

6585 Cf. I Reg. 4:18.

6588 The word "smerled" in MS C is consistently changed in MSS G, H and T, and frequently changed in MS F. Cf. 11.6630, 6636, 6679, 7024. Furthermore, a later hand has changed many of the original readings of this word in MS C to other words.

The word "smerles", ointment, comes from OE smyrels, which appears in texts from 1000 AD to 1340, according to OED. The ME verb "smerl" comes from the noun, but only two instances of its use are given in OED. By the time the later MSS of the CM were written down, the word was obviously unacceptable to most of the scribes.

6589-6756 Miss Borland pointed out that this passage was taken from Herman's Bible, 11.2213-2317. See Borland, CM, p. 47.

6589-98 Herman, 11.2213-20. This is an expansion of the scene in I Reg. 8:5-6.
This reiteration is not in Herman. It comes from I Reg. 8:19-20.

Herman, 11.2221-6.

This proverbial saying is added by the poet.

Herman, 11.2229-43. Cf. I Reg. 8:7; 9:2; 10:1, 13, etc. The biblical narrative is greatly abridged here.

Herman reports God's instructions in direct discourse in 11.2244-52, as do MSS C and F of the CM. In MSS G, H and T, however, the discourse is indirect. The CM poet is also using the Vulgate here, for Herman does not mention that Jesse lived in Bethlehem. See CM 11.6650-1 and cf. I Reg. 16:1.

From Herman, 11.2253-2306. Cf. I Reg. 16:10-18,23. The expansion and contraction of the Vulgate narrative definitely indicates Herman as the source.

The reading of MSS H and T "wiutherful swete" may be the original one, translating Herman's "Li sains hom le vit rouge et le vis sousriant." See Herman, 1.2286.

The line in MSS H and T is made metrically hopeless by the insertion of the meaningless "jing in".

The Vulgate says "altitudinis sex cubitorum et palmi". This number does not appear in Herman. The CM poet is here treating ells and cubits as if they were equal. Cf. n. to 11. 1507-8 above.

MSS C, F and G read "gent" from the Scandinavian verb "geren" (ON; cp OI gorra). The exemplar of MSS H and T changed this to "made".

MSS C and G use the Scandinavian word "granis" (ON, cp OI grein) to translate the Old French enforcéhêtre. MS F changes the word to "leggis", but surprisingly MSS H and T retain "greynes".

Miss Borland found no more traces of Herman's influence until 1.8263 (8979). However, I feel that the CM poet has continued to combine Herman's Bible and the Vulgate.

Goliath does not make a speech in Herman. The CM's version is based on I Reg. 17:8-11. Had the CM poet been interested in romance descriptions of armour, he would surely have adapted the description of Goliath's gear in I Reg. 17:5-7.

Herman, 11.2319-21.

MSS C, F and G preserve the original "warlau", translating Herman's "dyable", 1.2320. MSS H and
T's "peof" is a later translation.

6783-4 Herman says merely "Qui vaintre le porra, mon regne li donrai." See 1.2321. The reference to the king's daughter is evidently an anticipation of I Reg. 18:27. Cf. below, 11.6945-6.

6785-94 David's speech translates Herman, 11.2322-6.

6789 MS C reads "gerard", which MS F changes to "Ieaund", and MSS G, H and T to "Goly". The word "gerard" is chiefly a northern one, and is derived from the French Christian name Gerard. See the article by Bruce Dickens, "Gerard as a Goblin Name", Times Literary Supplement (Feb. 1, 1941), p. 55.

6793-4 Herman has already expanded from the Vulgate David's references to his trust in God. The CM translates all Herman's points and gives them greater emphasis. These lines in the English version summarize the mediaeval ideas about pride. A hero is one who is capable of great deeds. A Christian hero, to avoid the sin of pride, need not give up doing these things. Rather he must be sure to attribute his prowess to God alone, and not to himself. The proud man may do exactly the same things as the Christian hero, but he will attribute all his

1909-16.

David's brother Eliab accuses David of pride: "Ego novi superbiam tuam, et nequitiam cordis tui;".

See I Reg. 17:28. Both Herman and the CM poet are defending David against this charge.

6795-6820 Saul's fears for David are not expressed in Herman, but are based on I Reg. 17:33-37.

6812 MS C has the Scandinavian word for jaws "chafftes" (ON; cp.OI kjapt-r). MSS F, G, H and T have "chauelis", "chaules" (from OE ceafl with influence of OF joue, according to MED).

6821-38 The arming of David is from Herman, 11.2327-35.

6833 Herman says three stones, 1.2332. The CM poet has corrected the number to five from I Reg. 17:40.

6834 The omission of "fan" after "put" in MSS H and T makes the metre less satisfactory in these MSS.

6839-54 Herman, 11.2336-42.

6843-4 MSS C and F have "man ..es". MSS G and T, however, read "men ..es", a grammatical error which the scribe of MS H corrected to "men...are".

6846 The CM poet, or perhaps his later copyists, seem to have had trouble with the French idiom in Herman, 1.2339: "ne li valt pas .I. gant". The English
poet renders "valt" as "helpes" and then searches for a subject. MS C's "Irinnes" was probably suggested by the following line, while the readings in MS F "hardines" and G "drednes" are similar attempts to find a subject for the sentence. MSS H and T give up the struggle and allow the vague "hit" to stand by itself with no obvious antecedent:

And who bat fiyte in be wronge
Hit helpeth not hir ful longe

6877-92 From Herman, 11.2349-56.
6890 Cf. Herman, 11.2360-1; I Reg. 17:57.
6895-6900 From Herman, 11.2363-4.

7613-4, 6915 From Herman, 11.2370-1. Herman skips the events between David's fight with Goliath and his accession to the throne. The CM poet accordingly turns to the Vulgate for his material.

6917-8 A philosophical reflection of the poet's on the usual rewards of faithful service.
6919-26 Cf. I Reg. 18:10-11.

6928 All the MSS state that Saul was not afraid of David, but this may be an error for an original "now". Cf. I Reg. 18:12: "Et timuit Saul David".
6937-46 Cf. I Reg. 18:25,27.
6950 MSS C and F read "magh" (ON magr), which MSS G, H and T change to "sone in lawe".
6951 MSS H and T have altered the lines considerably to get rid of the northern rhyme vowels in "fa/wa" in MSS C, F and G.
6953-4 MSS C and G preserve the original reading "pained". MSS G, H and T have corrupted this to "preyed". In I Reg. 19:3-5, Jonathan does not pray to God, but intercedes with his own father, Saul, for a reconciliation.
6954 MSS C, F and G read "saght", a word which appears in late OE as seht, probably from ON *saht-r, according to OED. MSS H and T reject the Scandinavian term and substitute "liht".
6955-75 Cf. I Reg. 19:7-12.
6985-7688 From Herman, 11.2368-9.
6987-96 From Herman, 11.2370-5.
7005-44 Cf. I Reg. 26:3-13,15-18,21-22.
7014 MSS H and T have kept the older form of the
present participle in "sleponde" rather than search for another rhyme for the line.

7031 MSS C and F have the Scandinavian word "gett" (ON; cp Old gaeta), meaning to preserve. MSS G, H and T substitute "kept".

7047 Cf. I Reg. 31:1-6, 8-13.

7083-4 The Middle English poet omits the burning of the body in I Reg. 31:12.

7087-7124 II Reg. 1:1-12, 14-5.

7089-91 This parenthetical reference is to the action described in I Reg. 30. David, however, fights the nation of the Amalekites, not an individual named Amalek, as the CM poet states. Cf. I Reg. 15, in which Saul defeats the Amalekites and kills their king, Agag. Amalek himself was defeated by Moses and Joshua. See Ex. 17:8-16, and above, 11.5721-50.

7125-34 The French poet expatiates on the heinous sin of regicide. In the biblical passage the crime seems more like sacrilege: "Quare non timuisti mittere manum tuam, ut occideres christum Domini?" See II Reg. 1:14. In the bible, the penalty is swift in coming; see II Reg. 1:15 which Herman renders as "mort soubite", in 1.2396. This is translated in MSS C and
G as "ferings ded". MS F changes the death to an "euel" one, however, and MSS H and T misinterpret "ferings" as "fiery".

7135-60 The CM poet, as usual, marks the end of an age and the beginning of a new one. Haenisch, CM, p. 9*, refers lines 7159-60, the heading which appears in MSS G, H and T, to Hist. Schol. II Reg. ii, PL CXCVIII 1325: "Hic inchoatur quarta aetas".

DIM makes more of the ending of the age however, and, like the CM, 11. 7141-2, calculates the total age of the world at this time. According to DIM, PL CLXXII, 170, however, the time between the beginning of the world and the Flood was 2124 years, and the time between the Flood and the coming of David was 2170 years, giving a total of 4294 years instead of the CM's 4124.

The summary of the genealogy between Abraham and David is in none of the sources the poet has been using, but is consistent with his avowed purpose of providing a continuous genealogy for the Virgin Mary.

7161-78 Herman, 11.2397, 2401, 2403-9.

7169 MSS C and F say that David was an "aghful man", meaning a man worthy of respect. MS G, however, understands another meaning of the word, and renders
it "waful". MSS H and T, perhaps aware of the possible ambiguity, changes the word to "wise".

7179ff. Herman does not go into details about the beginning of the liaison of David and Bathsheba. The CM poet reverts apparently to the Vulgate for his story.

7179 "viliest" is given in OED as a spelling variant of "wiliest", but only as a Scottish form. MS H's unique reading "viliest" is probably a simple error in copying, and is therefore emended above.

7183-7206 Cf. II Reg. 11:2-5, 14-7. The translation of the Vulgate is not close, however. The poet may be using another source here.


7234 In II Reg. 12:6, David proposes only that the rich man restore the lamb four-fold.

7256 The exemplar of MSS H and T obviously had "transolate", as this peculiar spelling appears in both MSS. See Morris, CM, p. 459.


7261-5 This story of the composition of the Miserere may have been suggested to the CM poet by the Latin Legende. In that work, David composes the Psalm after his great sin, while sitting under the tree
which has grown from Moses' wands:

Exactis ergo annis triginta adulta arbore sancta, post peccatum grande quod commiserat dauid, cepit sub arbore penitendo flere peccatum, dicens domino: 'Miserere mei, deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam etc.'

See Legende, 468/30-3.

The CM poet has inserted the passage here, after his rendering of the biblical version of the story of Bathsheba. He has to omit all mention of the sacred tree, however, because he has not yet told of David's part in the tree's history. When he does tell of it, he uses a French source which does not mention Bathsheba's adultery, nor the composition of the psalm.

The story of the composition of the Miserere as a penance for David's sins with Uriah and Bathsheba also existed independent of the Rood Tree legend, however. Cf. the version from the Traduction anonyme de l'ancien testament described by Bonnard, p. 101.

7261ff. The CM poet translates the next 1000 odd lines from the Old French Rood Poem. See my discussion above, note to 11.5621ff. The first 56 lines, corresponding to CM 7269-7329, are reproduced by Napier, Rood-Tree, pp. 64-5.
The northern rhyme vowel remains in "care/sare".

The Old French says ten years (1.128). The CM poet gets the figure twelve from the Latin Legende. There David reigns twelve years after his adultery with Bathsheba, until God tells him he will not be allowed to finish the temple (468/34ff). This passage in the Legende immediately follows that translated in 11.7261-5 above. The CM poet, in seeking to harmonize his sources, has corrected the Old French figure.

The reading "lufsumli" in MSS C, F, G and H is correct, translating the Old French "o douceor" (1.143). T's reading in Morris "lonesomly", may simply be an error in transcription.

Once again, MSS C, F and G agree with the Old French Rood Poem (1.159) in having the rods of cedar, pine and cypress. Once again, MSS H and T have consistently altered the pine to palm. Cf. above, note to 1.1205.

The Old French poem does not here name the place where Moses found the rods: "Dun leu lai ou il les troua." (1.161). However, "Elyn" had already been named in 1.34.

MSS C and G have the original reading "umber" (G "umbery", OF umbre, 1.165). MSS H and T use "shadowe" instead, and F alters the meaning. This is an actual instance of French vocabulary in MS C.
which is due to a French source. From similar evidence, I have suggested that parts of the CM whose source is unknown may have been translated from Old French. See above, note to 1.4817 et passim.

7348-7485 Napier, Rood-Tree, pp. 65-7 11.202-332 of the Old French Rood Poem, which correspond to these lines.

7362 The sweet smell is not mentioned in the Old French Rood Poem. This idea may have come to the CM from the Latin Legende. Instead of the light which shines from the rods when David finds them, as above 11.8047-50, the Legende speaks of a beautiful odour: "que secate, mira fragrancia dawai comitatumque eius repleuerunt, ita ut crederent se deificatos." See 468/9-10. The Latin does not tell of the miracles in detail, however, so the CM poet reverts to the Old French source for these.

7364 This line is a meaningless filler, with no counterpart in the Old French.

7379 MSS C and G have the Scandinavian word "hirpild", "harplid" (Prob. ON, cp OE herpast), meaning wrinkled. MS F substitutes "rungilt", probably a
spelling of wrinkled. MSS H and T abandon the meaning and settle for a "blak" skin.

7400 The Old French line corresponding to this is missing from the manuscript. See Napier, Rood-Tree, p. 66, note to 1.250.

The manuscript has an asterisk after 1.250.

7413 According to 1.8091, the Saracens are already kneeling. There had been no mention of kneeling in the Old French poem, 11.235-7. and there the poet says merely that they kissed the wands "deuotement" (1.263).

7415 The CM poet translates the French "de gentil sanc" (1.265) by "of Je fre blood".

7419-20 Once again the Saracens kneel. Here, at least, the Old French says "et se mettent a orison" (1.270).

7421-2 These lines are reversed in MSS H and T. However, the subject is still the onlookers, not the Saracens.

7426 The Old French says simply that they returned "ou desert" (1.275). However, the Old French poet had already established that they came from Ethiopia (1.220).
7428 See Napier, *Rood-Tree*, p. xxvi nt. 2. The Old French MS has "Tant qu'il uint a une fontaine" (1.277). This is a scribal error for "montaine", the original reading, which the CM poet has translated "fele" and, at 1.7430, "mounteyne".

7432 The Old French *Rood Poem* says forty years, 1.279.

7446-7 MS C has the original reading "Bot o þe baruns wist he noght, / þat þai sli wandes fand or soght," translating the Old French "Ne scauoit pas que li baron/Eussent les uerges trouees,". The other CM MSS seemingly misunderstand "barun" as "branchis" and have to rewrite the couplet accordingly.

7458 MSS F, H and T probably preserve the original reading here, translating Old French "Molt l'ont doucement salue" (1.306). MS C's "wit-vten lijt" does not make much sense, and MS G's "widuten any delite" is metrically awkward.

8165-6 These lines are omitted from MSS H and T. They translate 1.307 of the Old French Poem.

7461 MSS C, F, G and T preserve the correct reading "thoru þe" or "Bi þe", translating the Old French "Par uos ert gariz li lieprous" (1.310). MS H, how-
ever, alters the pronoun, probably on purpose, to refer to the rods rather than to the king.

7467 This translates the Old French idiom "sainz comme .i. poissons" (1.319). Cf. above, 1.8150 in MSS C and F only.

7489 MSS C, F and G have the verb "leam" which OED characterizes as now belonging only to Scottish and northern dialects. The verb is formed from a noun "leam", from OE leoma, but the ON liðma may have influenced the Middle English verb. The southern reviser has rewritten the line to remove this verb, although he has had to change the rhyme words to do so.

7498-7522 As Napier, Rood-Tree, p.xxvii pointed out, the CM poet has here combined details from the Latin Legende with the Old French Rood Poem.

7498 The Legende says "Posuit ergo illas in cisterna" (468/16). The Old French Rood Poem has them planted "a terre dure" (fol. 269r col. 2, 1.341).

7499-7500 Legende: "apositi sunt quidem custodes & luminaria" (468/18).

7502-10 Legende, 468/19-21.

For the sake of the rhyme, the English poet has exaggerated David's state of mind. The Old French has simply "Porpensa soi quil feroit" (fol. 269r col. 2, 1.353).

Legende, 468/22-5.

Old French Rood Poem, fol. 269r col. 2, 1.354ff.

The scribe of the exemplar of MSS H and T has changed the original pine to a palm even in this line, where the woods in question are not those of the three branches which became the cross.

MSS C, F and G have retained the Old French loan word "herbergeri", a form of which was used in the source. See fol. 269v col. 1, 1.402: "Li autrement les vuet herbergier". MSS H and T changed this to "wonyng".

MSS C, F and G use the Old French word "dil" (OF duel, doel). This was not used in the Old French source here. MSS H and T abandon it.

MSS C and F read "glober", but MSS G, H and T have changed this to "glose". This is the only
reference given to the word in MED, which invites one to compare M. Scot. "glūther" and "glūder".


7712-8 The French original lays slightly more stress on the knightly virtues than the clerical English translator allows:

Or gardez quil soit bien noriz
Apres de proesces et dars
Quil ne soit vilains ne couars
Et saiche les pars de clergie
Prouesce de cheualerie
Li aufes est de bons mors
Gardez quil ait molt bons doctors

(fol.270v col.1, 11.546-52)

7733 MSS C, F and G read "lade". This word, although derived from OE, apparently ceased to be used to mean leading, guidance, shortly after the CM was written. See OED "Lode, 3", where this is the last reference given. Consequently, MSS H and T change the word to "lawe", although this means changing the rhyme word also.

7741-54 The connection of these lines with the following passage describing the writing of Solomon's books is puzzling. L.7744 is promising: "he kynde of thingis lerned he", or in Old French "Veoit des choses la nature" (fol. 270v col.1, 1.578). Insights into the
"nature of things" might well result in books such as Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs and the Canticum Canticorum. However, when he comes to describe Solomon's new knowledge, the Old French poet can produce nothing more than allusions to folk wisdom about the medicinal properties of plants.

7751ff. Old French Rood Poem, fol. 270v col. 2.

7755-74 The Middle English poet does not accept the Old French descriptions of each of the three books, nor even their order of composition. Rather, he composes these lines according to what he knows of the meaning of each of Solomon's books. The Old French poem describes the books as follows:

\[
\text{Paraboles fuit li primiers} \\
\text{Pour la gent diure et enseignier} \\
\text{Ecclesiastes li secuns} \\
\text{Qui de bien faire nos semont} \\
\text{Li tiers liure que nos lisons} \\
\text{Cest canticum cantiquorum}
\]

(fol. 270v col. 2)

7763 Morris prints "aftir [pe] two" from MS T. MS H also lacks "pe".

7774 After his resume of the three books, the Old French poet recapitulates the kind of knowledge that Solomon obtained:

\[
\text{toutes les herbes cognoisc oit} \\
\text{Et quel uertuz chascunne auoit}
\]

(fol. 270v col. 2)
The Middle English poet wisely omits these lines.
Cf. note to 11.7741-54 above.

7775-99  Old French Rood Poem, fol. 270v col.2.

7780  MS G alone preserves the correct reading
"stremis", translating the Old French "Des aigues qui ont lou droit cors" (1.602). MSS C, H and T have "sternes", an easy scribal error to make, and one rendered more likely by the common occurrence of phrases such as "the stars in their courses". MS F has "strandis".

7789  The awkward word order is dictated by the need to use "marie" as a rhyme word. The inflected ending of the pronoun "whom" makes the meaning unmistakable, however. The Old French simply has "li filz marie" (1.611). However, the southern scribe, in discarding the Scandinavian "Bituixand" meaning "until", has substituted the meaningless "Bytwenetat", which should presumably mean "Between that time and the time of Him..."

7801-4  The CM poet inserts these lines as he leaves the Old French Rood Poem and reverts to Herman as a source.

7805-10  Herman, 11.2425-7.

7806  Herman says only that David reigned "longuement"
(1.2425). The forty years comes from III Reg.
2:11.

7813-6 Herman, 11.2429-31.

7821-2 The original northern rhyme vowel in "made/brade" has forced the southern scribe to re-arrange the lines.

7825-6 Haenisch, CM, p. 9*, suggests Petrus Comestor as a source for these lines: "In diebus David Carthago condita est." See Hist. Schol. III Reg. iii, PL CXCVIII 1350.

7828-30 Cf. III Reg. 2:10.

7831-63 From Herman, 11.4232, 2435, 2438-57. Cf. the Old French Rood Poem, fol. 271v col.1, 11.739-49.

Herman is clearly the source used by the CM poet here.

7833 MSS H and T have changed the reading "borli" or "burli" of MSS C, F and G to "boldly". This unusual form of the adjective is seemingly found only here and at CM 16032, according to MED.

7867-73 Herman, 11.2460-63.

7875-7902 Herman, 11.2474-87. Miss Borland pointed out these parallels in CM, pp. 52ff.

7881-2 The Old French Rood Poem agrees with the Vulgate in calling the women "putains" (fol. 271v col.1, 1.754); cf. III Reg. 3:16 "mulieres meretrices".
Herman has softened this to "femes...menestrés", which the CM poet translates "Mister wymmen". However, his next line shows that the poet still thinks of them as sinful.

7884 MSS C, F and G describe the women's dwelling as "a littel scale" (ON skáli). MSS H and T change this Scandinavian word to "cote", although this means changing the rhyme word as well.

7895-6 The Middle English poet adds this generalization and warning, which is not in his sources.

8609-12 These lines, appearing only in MS F, have no counterpart in Herman.

7903-38 From Herman, 11.2490-2508.

7921-2 The northern rhyme-pair "bar/mar" in MSS C, F and G is changed to "bere/here" in MSS H and T.

8641-2 These lines, appearing only in MS F, are not found in Herman.

7939-42 These lines, with their reference to the sacred tree under which Solomon sits, are not in Herman, who does not deal with the cross story at all.

7943-59 Herman 2509-19.

7948 MSS G and T read "deme" which is usual in the CM. However, the verb "domen", from the noun "domri", does exist in Middle English, according to MED, so
MS H's reading "dome" need not be emended here.

The verb "smore" (OE smorian) appears in MSS C, F and G but is changed to "quel" in MSS H and T. "Smore" is now confined to Scottish and northern dialects, and this may be the reason it was changed in MSS H and T.

MS C reads "treget" (OF tresgiet) meaning trickery or deceit. OED describes this as "Also Sc." MSS F, G, H and T change this to the more familiar word "tresoun".

From Herman, 11.2520-27.

"eberli" in MS C is an unusual formation from the adjective "ebere" (OE aebaere). This line is the only citation in MED. The word does not appear in MSS F, G, H or T which substitute "fals" (F), "egerly" (G) or "bitturly" (H and T).

The Old French Rood Poem here raises a point of mediaeval law: the problem cannot be settled either by "sairemens", that is by swearing, nor by combat. None of the barons is sufficiently convinced of the rights and wrongs of the case to take up the defence of either woman. See fol. 271v col.2,11.780ff.

This recapitulation of the case does not appear either in Herman or in the Old French Rood

8003-6 Herman, 11.2533-5.
8009-10 Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272v col. 2, 11.

800-1. The Old French uses legal terms here:
"Je li clain quite ma partie". This the CM translates simply as "Of him I3yue to hir my ri3t".
8011-4 Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272 col.2,
11.802-5.

8013 MS H has retained the northern vowel in "baldly"
which MS T changed to the usual southern "boldly".
8015-7 From Herman, 1.2538. The remainder of the
mother's speech in Herman is very moving, but it has
been omitted by the CM poet.

8018-30 From Herman, 11.2541-6.
8027 The line in MSS H and T is far too short.
8033 Herman has the barons say merely "Sire, jugié
l'aveo" (1.2547). The Old French cross poem, however,
has:

Certainnement sceuent li baron
qu'il a iugie droit et raison
(fol. 272r col.1,
11.812-3)

8033-42 From Herman, 11.2549-56.
8043-8126 The CM poet returns to the Cross poem as a
source, because Herman here passes on to the story
of Solomon's sin with the infidel women. Cf. III
Reg. 11. For these lines, see the Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272r col. 1, 1.828-fol. 272v col. 1, 1.903.

MSS C and F preserve the correct reading "dei", for Old French "moroit" (1.837).

"Titter" is now only a northern dialect word. See OED. The word appears in MSS C and G, but not in MSS F, H and T. MSS H and T substitute "rajoer".

The technical building terms are not found in the Old French poem. Cf above, notes to 11.1496, 2059.

MSS C, F, G, and T all have "a" after "siche".

The CM poet is already aware of the sources he will use for the passion section of his poem, and knows that this story of Judas getting the silver from the temple is found only in the Cross story, which he does not plan to follow.

Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272v col. 1, 11.904-7.

The description of the temple does not appear either in the Old French cross poem, or in the Latin Legende, or in Herman. The description is based on III Reg. 6-7.
8138 Cf. III Reg. 6:7,9.

8145-7 Cf. III Reg. 6:2. As he did in the description of Noah's ark, the English poet has here changed the unit of measurement from the biblical cubits to ells. Cf. note to 11. 1507-8 above.

8151-64 Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272v col. 1, 11.916-31. L1.918-931 are printed by Napier, Rood-Tree, p. 67.

8157 The Old French says 700 men (1.924).

8164 The extant Old French MS names the priest Arillus (1.930), not Cirillus.

8167-73 These lines are not in the Old French Rood Poem. Cf. III Reg. 11:3.


8185 The Scandinavian word "gloppend" (ON, cp OL *glopona) appears in MSS C and F, but is changed in MSS G, H and T.

8186 The Old French Rood Poem calls the lady "Sebile" (fol. 272v col.1, 1.933). She is also called "Sibilla" in the earliest form of the cross-wood story in MS Bodl 343. See Quinn, Quest. of Seth, pp. 59 et passim.
The name Maximilla is used only in the Legende version of the story. See 469/4, and Quinn's discussion, Quest of Seth, pp. 128-9. The CM poet must call this woman Maximilla, however, because he plans to use the Legende's story of another Sebilla. See below 11.8227-56.

8206 This line summarizes several lines in the French which elaborate the significance of the name for Christians and the Jews abhorrence of it. See fol. 272v col. 2, 11.957-63.

8207-8 Napier, p.xxviii, pointed out that these lines come from the Legende (469/9-10).

8209-26 After the story of "Sebile", the CM's Maximilla, the Old French Rood Poem goes on to tell how the wood stayed in the Temple and was honoured there until Christ's time.

However, the episode, told in CM, of the wood's being thrown into the "piscina probatica" is found in the earliest Latin cross story known to Meyer, the Historia. It recurs in many retellings including the Latin Legende (469/9-15). The CM poet may be translating the Latin Legende here. However, the Middle English account expands the details given in the Latin, and the English poet may have been using
another source.

The healing pool stirred by an angel is obviously based on Ioan. 5:2-4. See Quinn, Quest. of Seth, pp. 65-6.

8211, 8220 MSS C and F call the body of water a "stank" (OF estanc). This is now merely a Scottish and northern dialect word, and has been changed in MSS G, H and T.

8227-56 The story of the wood's being used as a bridge is also found in the Legende (469/15-23). Cf. how-the note to 11.8209-26 above. The Middle English is also considerably expanded from the Latin here, and may in fact derive from another source.

8227 MSS C and F read "cant", which MSS G, H and T change to "crabbed". "Cant" in this sense appears to be a northern usage, as the only citations for it in MED are from CM, the Northern Homilies, and the York Plays.

8231 Horstmann prints "trans torrentem filoaticum" in Legende 469/17, an easy mistake for "siloaticum", the true reading. See Quinn, Quest. of Seth, pp. 107, 129. This name comes from II Esdr. 3:15, Ioan. 9:7,11, where it is a pool rather than a stream.
8257-8, 8260  *Legende*, 469/23-4.

8261-2 Again the poet uses this formula when he changes from one source to another.

8263-8320 The diatribe against women is not found in any of the sources the poet has just been using.

8281-2 From Herman, 1.2567: "Dix, que devint ses sens".

8298 MS C alone has the word "crachan" (OF *cracheron*) meaning a worthless person: "He es forcasten als crachon;" MSS G, H and T prefer Chauntecleer's remark: "Mulier est hominis confusio".

8321-65 From Herman, 11.2573-94.

8340 Solomon does not go quite this far in his repentance in Herman.

8366-70 The CM poet omits further discussion between Solomon and his advisors. See Herman, 11.2595-2601. He resumes with Herman, 1.2602.

8371-84 Herman, 11.2603-2616.

8377-8 Herman does not mention the crown.

8379-80 MS C alone mentions the four men, from Herman, 1.2610.

8385-94 The CM poet elaborates more than Herman on the sin and penitance.
8395-6 From Herman, 1.2618.

8397-8400 From Herman, 1.2621.

8401-12 The CM poet returns to his genealogical theme.

8413-83 These lines are taken from DIM, PL CLXXII, 172ff. unless otherwise stated. Kaluza first pointed this out in "Zu den Quellen...", p. 451.


8425-6 Cf. III Reg. 15:8, 10.


8430-2 DIM gives the length of time simply as three years and does not give God's motive for the drought.


8441-2 Cf. IV Reg. 2:11.

8443 The CM poet here omits several reigns, and skips to Ozias. DIM, PL CLXXII 172 mentions Asarias, Athalia, Joas and Amazias. Cf. IV Reg. 9-14.


8451-2 Cf. IV Reg. 15:7.

8453-6 These lines have been transposed in all the MSS I have examined. Achaz is the son of Iothan, and 11.8455-6 obviously must follow 1.8452. The couplet about Romulus and Rome (11.8453-4) follows 1.8456. This order is confirmed by DIM, PL CLXXII 173, which mentions Romulus and the founding of Rome in the reigns of Achaz and Ezechias.

Haenisch, CM, p. 9*, referred the mention of Rome to Hist. Schol. IV Reg. xxv, PL CXCIII 1406, but the parallel with DIM is much closer.

8455 Cf. IV Reg. 15:38.

8457 Cf. IV Reg. 16:2.


8459 Ezechias reigns only twenty-eight years in DIM, MSS C, F and G share the erroneous reading thirty-nine, but MSS H and T have the more correct twenty-nine. This may preserve an original reading lost in the other MSS. On the other hand, the scribe of the exemplar of H and T could conceivably have used the Vulgate to correct an erroneous reading in his exemplar.

8460 Cf. IV Reg. 18:3.

These lines do not appear here in *DIM*, but come from *Hist. Schol.* IV *Reg.* xxxiii, *PL* CXCVIII 1415, as Haenisch pointed out, *CM*, p. 9*. *DIM*, *PL* CLXXII 173 mentions this Sibyl along with the prophet Jeremiah under the reign of Josias. The *CM* poet has consciously chosen Petrus Comestor's version.

Cf. IV *Reg.* 21:18.

There is nothing about this idol-worship in *DIM*. Cf. however IV *Reg.* 21:2-9; *Hist. Schol.* IV *Reg.* xxxiii, *PL* CXCVIII 1415.


MS C alone preserves the correct numbers. *DIM*, *PL* CLXXII 173 says that Ninevah had stood 1470 years. MSS G, H, T and L (printed by Morris to fill in missing lines in F), all say it stood more than 4000 years, while C alone says more than 1400.

Haenisch, *CM*, p. 9*, points to *Hist. Schol.* IV *Reg.* xxxviii, *PL* CXCVIII 1418 as the source for the name Ieconias, which does not appear in the Bible at this point. However, the name is found in *DIM*, *PL* CLXXII 173 also.


Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen...", p. 452, considered that these lines came from *DIM* also, but *DIM* contains
nothing which corresponds exactly to this summary of events.

8500 "transolate" Cf. note to 1.7256 above.

8501-2 DIM, PL CLXXII 173 says Jerusalem had stood for 449 years before the transmigration.
List of Abbreviations Used

The abbreviations of biblical books are the standard ones listed in *Biblia Sacra*, Denuo ediderunt complures Scripturae Sacrae Professores Facultatis theologicae Parisiensis et Seminarii Sancti Sulpitii (Rome, 1956), xli.

Linguistic abbreviations are also standard:

- AP—Anglo-French
- ME—Middle English
- ODa—Old Danish
- OE—Old English
- OF—Old French
- OI—Old Icelandic
- ON—Old Norse

In the following list, the abbreviation used is followed, if necessary, by the full title of the work, and the first word or words of the entry in the Bibliography. For full information on each item, please consult the bibliography which follows. Occasional works which do not appear in the bibliography are fully described here.

- **Ad. & Ep.**—Adrian and Epotys in Smith, Lucy Toulmin, ed. *A Common-place Book*.
- **And. Corn. Dr.**—The Ancient Cornish Drama. Norris, Edwin, ed.
- **Ancrene Riwle**—Day, Mabel, ed.
- **Apocalypse of Moses**—in Charles, R.H., ed. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. 
Auch.—Canticum de Creatione aus MS Auchinleck in Horstmann, C., ed. Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden.


Bible—La Bible von Herman de Valenciennes. Herman de Valenciennes.

Book of the Knight of LaTour Landry—Wright, Thomas, ed.


Cave of Treasures—Budge, E.A. Wallace, ed.

Chaucer—Robinson, F.N., ed.

Chester—The Chester Plays. Deimling, Hermann, ed.

Cleanness—Gollancz, Israel, ed.

CM—Cursor Mundi. Morris, Richard, ed.

Conf.—Confessiones. Augustine.


DCD—De Civitate Dei. Augustine.

"De Init. Creat."—"De Initio Creature" in Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies.


DGAL—De Genesi ad Litteram. Augustine.


DGCM—De Genesi Contra Manichaeos. Augustine.

DIM—De Imagine Mundi


Elucid.—Elucidarium. Lefèvre, Yves.


Etym.—Etymologiarum. Isidore.


Fest.—Mirk's Festial. Mirk, John.

G&E—The Middle English Genesis and Exodus. Arngart, Olof, ed.


Higden—Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden. Higden, Ranulph.


J&I—Iacob and Ioseph. Napier, Arthus S., ed.


Kildare—Die Kildare-Gedichte. Heuser, W., ed.


Legende—"Vita Protoplausti Adam" in Horstmann, C., ed. "Nachträge zu den Legenden".

Life—Bodley, Life—Harley—"The Life of Adam and Eve" in "Nachträge zu den Legenden".


"Lydgatiana"—MacCracken, H.N.

Lyff—Vernon—"Pe lyff of Adam and Eve aus MS Vernon" in Horstmann, O., ed. Sammlung Alteenglischer Legenden.


Mandeville S—The Bodley Version of Mandeville’s Travels. Seymour, M.C., ed.


Midrash—Midrash Rabbah. Freedman, H. and Maurice Simon, eds.

Mozley—"The 'Vita Adae'". Mozley, J.H., ed.


North. Homs.—the Northern Homily Cycle. Northern Homilies.


OEGen.—Genesis in Krapp, George Philip, ed. The Junius Manuscript.


Piers Plowman—Skeat, Walter W., ed.

Pilg. Life of Man—Deguileville, Guillaume de. The

Pricke of Conscience—Morris, Richard, ed.

Newcastle Noah—The Newcastle Play of Noah’s Ship, in Waterhouse, Osborn, ed.

Queen Mary’s Psalter—Warner, George, ed.

“Questiones”—“Questiones by-twene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke”. Horstmann, C., ed.


Rood Poem—MS BN fr. 763, fols. 267-273.

SEL—The South English Legendary. D’Evelyn, Charlotte and Anna J. Mill, eds.

SELTemp.—The Temporale of the South English Legendary. MSS BM Egerton 1993 and MS Vernon.

Sent.—Sententiae. Petrus Lombardus.


Towneley—The Towneley Plays. England, George and Alfred W. Pollard, eds.


Wm. of Shoreham—The Poems of William of Shoreham. William of Shoreham.

Wyntoun—The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun. Andrew of Wyntoun.
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Petrus Comestor. *Historia Scholastica*. PL CXCVIII.

Petrus Lombardus. *Sententiarum*. PL CXCII.

Remigius of Auxerre. *Commentarius in Genesim*. PL CXXXI.


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Abstract

This dissertation is an edition of the Old Testament section of the Cursor Mundi from MS College of Arms, Arundel LVII, fols. 1r to 54r. The manuscript has not been edited before. This edition consists of 8508 lines, corresponding to 11.1-9228 in Cursor Mundi, ed. Richard Morris (London, 1874-92), EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101.

The introduction to the dissertation discusses the manuscripts of the Cursor Mundi, the form of the poem, manuscript relations, the dialect of MS H, sources, date, provenance, authorship, genre, function and audience.

The text itself is an exact transcription of the manuscript with very few emendations.

The extensive explanatory notes serve several purposes. This manuscript is one of the four extant copies of the southern version of the Cursor Mundi. The notes examine and attempt to explain the differences between the northern versions and this southern one. They also deal with the older versions of the poem. The Cursor Mundi is extensively compared with its sources, including some not previously known. The notes also explore the traditional background of the biblical exegesis and apocryphal legends which the poet was using, and examine how the same material was handled by other writers of vernacular paraphrases in the Middle Ages.