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

Sarah M. Horrall

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1958-62 BA, first class honours in English, Carleton University, Ottawa

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Introduction

The purpose of this edition of the Old Testament section of the CM[1] 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.

[2] The only edition of the complete poem is that of Richard Morris, Cursor Mundi (1874-92; rpt. London, 1961-6), EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101. Morris printed only brief specimens of MS Arundel LVII. See CM, pp.1024-32, 1082-8, 1657-63.

[3] See Bruce Dickens and R.M. Wilson, eds., Early Middle English Texts (London, 1951), p.114; Jacob Justin Lamberts, The Dialect of Cursor Mundi (Cotton MS Vespasian A III), Diss. Michigan, 1953; Kari Sajavaara, "The Use of Robert Grosseteste's Chateau d'amour as a Source of the Cursor Mundi", Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXVIII (1967), 193.

[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.[5]

Manuscripts of the CM

H--College of Heralds MS Arundel LVII fols.1r-132v[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".[7] Hupe, however, placed it in the mid-fifteenth century,[8] and this is the date which also appears in Brown's Register.[9] The latest and most reliable

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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.

6 Described in W.H. Black, Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms (London, 1839); H. Hupe, "Cursor Mundi: Essay on the Manuscripts and Dialect" in Morris, ed., CM, VII, EETS OS 101, p.68*.

7 Black, Catalogue, p.101.

8 Hupe, CM, p.68*.

9 Carleton Brown, A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse, Part I (Oxford, 1916), p.426.

dating of MS H, that of the MED, agrees with Black that the MS was written between 1375 and 1400.[10]

Angus McIntosh considers that the MS was probably copied at or near Lichfield.[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.[12] The last line on fol. 175v is l.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.[13] The true collation is as follows:

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

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[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.

[11] Margaret Grace Dareau and Angus McIntosh, "A Dialect Word in Some West Midland Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience", Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, eds. A.J. Aitken, et al. (London, 1971), p.21.

[12] Cf. the text in Richard Morris, ed., The Pricke of Conscience (Berlin, 1863).

[13] Morris, CM, p.1663.

b 1-8--fols.8-15
c 1--missing
c 2-8--fols.16-22
d 1-7--fols.23-29
d 8--missing
e 1--missing
e 2-8--fols.30-36
f 1-8--fols.37-44
g 1-8--fols.45-52
h 1-8--fols.53-60
i 1-8--fols.61-68
k 1-4--fols.69-72
k 5--missing
k 6-8--fols.73-75
l 1-8--fols.76-83
m 1-8--fols.84-91
n 1-8--fols.92-99
o 1-8--fols.100-107
p 1-8--fols.108-115
q 1-7--fols.116-122
q 8--missing
r 1-3--missing
r 4-8--fols.123-127
s 1--missing
s 2-6--fols.128-132

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]

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[14] I use the signatures s^{ii} and z^{ii} in order to keep my signatures as similar to Morris' as possible.

s^{ii} 1-5--missing
s^{ii} 6-8--fols.133-135
t 1-8--fols.136-143
u 1-8--fols.144-151
x 1-8--fols.152-159
y 1-8--fols.160-167
z 1-8--fols.168-175
z^{ii} 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."[15]

C--BM Cotton Vespasian A iii fols.2r-163v[16]

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.[17] The MS was edited in full by Morris.

F--Bodl.3894 (Fairfax 14), fols.4r-123v[18]

The MED dates this MS between 1375 and 1400. The

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15 T.C. Skeat, "The Catalogues of the British Museum: 2. Manuscripts", Journal of Documentation, VII (1951),25-6.

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.[19] Morris printed the text of this MS.

G--Göttingen Univ. theol. 107, fols.1v-169v[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."[21] Morris printed the text of this MS.

T--Trin. Camb. 588 (R.3.8) fols.1r-142v[22]

The MED dates this MS between 1375 and 1400. Hupe says the dialect is of the South West Midlands.[23] Angus McIntosh believes that this MS was copied at Lichfield, and that the same scribe is also responsible for several other extant MSS.[24] Morris printed the text of this MS.

18 cont'd leian Library at Oxford (Oxford, 1937), II ii, pp.777-8; Hupe, CM, pp.66*-7*.

19 See Samuel Moore, Sanford Brown Meech, and Harold Whitehall, Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries, in Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature (Ann Arbor, 1935), p.2.

20 Described in Die Handschriften in Göttingen: II Universitats-Bibliothek (Berlin, 1893), p.353; Hupe, CM, pp.65*-6*.

21 Hupe, CM, p.132*.

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

23 Hupe, CM, 135*.

24 Angus McIntosh, "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology", English Studies, XLIV (1963). Rpt. in Roger Lass, ed. Approaches to English Historical Linguistics (New York, 1969), 396-8; Dareau, "A Dialect Word",p.26 n.5.

L--Bodl. 1479 (Laud Misc. 416) fols.66r-181v[25]

A date in the MS establishes that it was copied in 1459. Hupe places the dialect in "the extremest south of the East-Midland".[26] 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.[27] 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[28]

This is also a later MS, bearing the date 1442 on fol.215v. The dialect is of the South East Midland.[29] 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 Pricke of Conscience, ll.4085-6407. This MS has not yet been edited.

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[25] Described in Falconer Madan, Summary Catalogue, II (Oxford, 1922), p.63; Hupe, CM, pp.68*-9*.

[26] Hupe, CM, p.103*.

[27] N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p.186.

[28] Described in Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC-MDCCCV (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[30]

The MED dates this 1375-1400. The dialect is "Northumbrian (or Scotch)".[31] The fragment contains ll.18989-24968. Morris printed this MS.[32]

Add--BM Addit. 31042 fols.3r-32v[33]

The MED dates the MS between 1425 and 1475. It contains only ll.10630-14933 and ll.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.[34] 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.[35]

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30 Described in Hupe, CM, pp.62*-3*. There is also a study of the MS: Willy Hörning, Die Schreibung der Hs. E des Cursor Mundi, Diss. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitat, Berlin, 1906.

31 Hupe, CM, p.130*.

32 Morris, CM, pp.1587-1637, 1367-1429.

33 Described by Karl Brunner, "Hs. Brit. Mus. Additional 31042", Archiv, CXXXII (1914), 316-27.

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.[36] 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.[37]

MS McGill Univ. 142 presents a special case. DeRicci and Wilson state that this fragment of four leaves contains ll.20129-20314 of the CM, written about 1400.[38] 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*.

[37] For bibliography see J. Burke Severs, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, II (Hamden, Conn., 1970), pp.450-1, 642-4.

[38] Seymour deRicci and W.J. Wilson, Census of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, II (New York, 1937), p.2218.

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:[39]

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

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[39] 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 l.24968. Unfortunately this MS as it survives today begins only with l.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).

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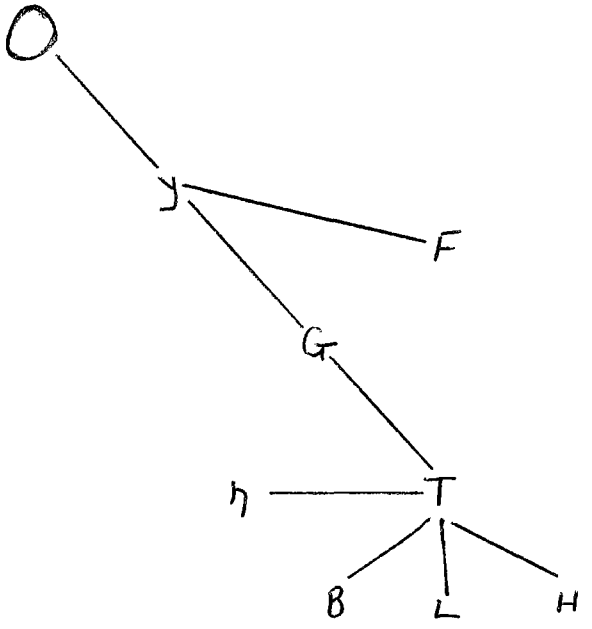
[40] See G's table of contents in Morris, CM, V, pp.1a-4a. This account of MSS C, F and G is a considerable over-simplification. In some MSS, passages of the CM were omitted and descriptions of the same event from other sources inserted. See the insertion in C in Morris, CM, pp.985ff., and the substitutions 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]

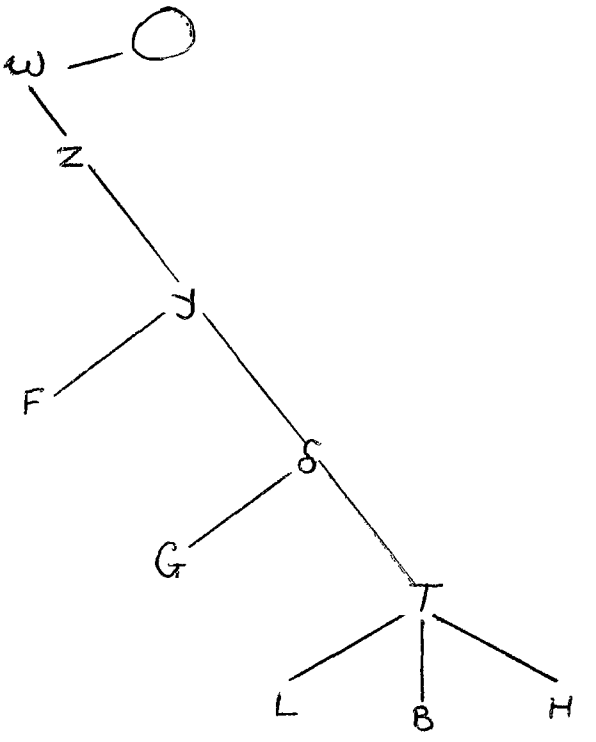


Elsewhere, however, he reconsiders the dependence of T upon G, and revises the stemma as follows:[42]

---

41 Hupe, CM, p.103*.

42 Hupe, CM, p.116*. Cf. H. Hupe, "Zum Handschriftenverhältniss und zur Textkritik des Cursor Mundi", Anglia, XI (1889), 121-145; "Cursor Mundi", Anglia Beiblatt, I (1890-1), 133-6.



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".[43] He maintains the supposition because "There is no doubt that [T] is the oldest, completest, and correctest copy amongst them."[44]

Max Kaluza posits a different arrangement:[45]

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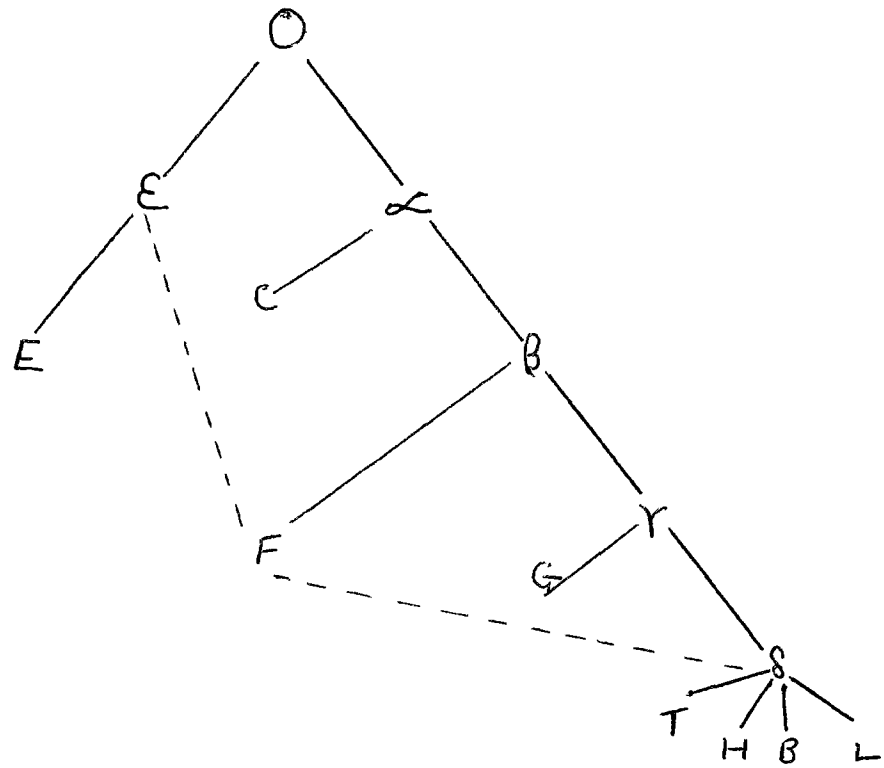
43 Hupe, CM, p.116*.

44 Loc. cit.

45 Max Kaluza, "Zum Handschriftenverhältniss und zur Textkritik des Cursor Mundi", Englische Studien, XI (1888), 259. See also Max Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen und dem Handschriftenverhältniss des Cursor Mundi", Englische Studien, XII (1889), 451-8.



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.

215/63; 282/118;384/216;481/313; 498/330; 516/350; 540/372; 587/419; 589/421; 760/596; 852/690; 1044/869; 1210/1036; 1236/1063; 1275/1103; 1335/1163; 1461/1289; 1550/1378; 1552/1380; 1604/1434; 1859/1691; 1889/1721; 1919/1751; 1984/1816; 2093/1923; 2113/1943; 2126/1956; 2141/1971; 2451/2277; 2499/2325; 2513/2339; 2522/2348; 2550/2376; 2859/2523; 2956/2620; 3045/2709; 3053/2717; 3080/2744; 3094/2758; 3553/3215; 3653/3313; 3662/3322; 3794/3454; 4151/3809; 4457/4109; 4469/4121; 4484/4136; 4493/4145; 4732/4380; 4807-8/4455-6; 4981/4626; 5360/4682; 5369/4691; 5483-4/4803-4; 5490/4810; 5637/4959; 5652/4974; 5771/5093; 5814/5136; 5889/5211; 6025/5345; 6120/5440; 6167/5485; 6251/5569; 6470/5790; 6778/6094; 6783/6099; 6794/6110; 6801/6117; 6806/6122; 6969/6283; 7120/6434; 7241/6547; 7251/6557; 7578/6880; 7851/7149; 7985/7281; 7999/7295; 8020/7316; 8106/7400; 8549/7841; 8613/7901; 8658/7944; 8726/8012; 8797/8081; 8866/8150; 8979/8263.

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; 1875/1707; 2091/1921; 2819/2483; 3251/2917; 3441/3107; 3444/3110; 3654/3314; 3886/3546;

4130/3790; 4169/3827; 4491/4143; 4539/4191; 4762/4410; 4880/4528; 5658/4980; 5698/5020; 5800/5122; 5854/5176; 5960/5282; 5965/5287; 6058/5378; 6082/5402; 6142/5460; 6190/5508; 6331/5651; 6385/5707; 6441/5759; 6504/5824; 6531/5851; 6876/6192; 7471/6773; 7486/6788; 7919/7217; 7921/7219; 8061/7357; 8169/7461; 8290/7582; 8300/7592; 8353/7645; 8362/7654; 8405-6/7697-8; 8444/7736; 8455/7747; 8563/7855; 8571/7863; 9001/8285; 9066/8346. 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

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[48] Hupe, CM, p.103*.

[49] Sajavaara, "The Use of...Chateau d'amour", p.193.

[50] See below, nn. to ll.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.[51] This also casts doubt on this stemma, for the lines would have to have been dropped independently by the scribes of C and of Y.

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[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,[52] and Angus McIntosh locates the copying of the MS more precisely at or near Lichfield.[53] 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.[54] 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.[55]

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[52] Hupe, CM, p.103*.

[53] Dareau and McIntosh, "A Dialect Word...", p.21. I have not made a detailed examination of the language of MS H. My brief remarks are based on a close study of only the first 400 lines of the MS. The grammatical texts I have used are Karl Brunner, An Outline of Middle English Grammar, trans. Grahame Johnston (Oxford, 1963); Samuel Moore, et al., ME Dialect Characteristics; Fernand Mossé, A Handbook of Middle English, trans. James A. Walker (Baltimore, 1952); and Henry Cecil Wyld, A Short History of English, 3rd ed. (London, 1927).

[54] The usual ending in the third person, both singular and plural, of the present tense is -þ, -eþ, 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 ă before a nasal usually remains ă, but sometimes shows the West Midland development to ŏ, as in "mony" (72, 96), "mon" (256, 347), "monnes" (344,368), etc. OE y̆ usually remain y̆ in this MS, although ȳ 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]

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[56] Elucid.. Yves Lefèvre, L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires (Paris, 1954). This source was first pointed out by Max Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen", pp.451-2.

[57] Bible. Herman de Valenciennes, La Bible von Herman de Valenciennes II, ed. Otto Moldenhauer (Griefswald, 1914), and extract in Karl Bartsch, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français, 10th ed. (Leipzig, 1910), pp.71-6. The first volume of the Griefswald edition has apparently never been published. For the early section of the work, therefore, I have consulted a microfilm of University of Chicago MS H.27.B.6.12. The CM poet's debt to Herman is discussed by Lois Borland, The Cursor Mundi and Herman's Bible, Diss. Chicago, 1929 and "Herman's Bible and the Cursor Mundi", Studies in Philology, XXX (1933), 427-44, and by Philip Buehler, "The Cursor Mundi and Herman's Bible--Some Additional Parallels", Studies in Philology, LXI (1964), 485-99.

(3) the Historia Scholastica of Petrus Comestor[58]

(4) the Latin Legende version of the Life of Adam and Eve[59]

(5) an Old French poem on the history of the wood of Christ's cross[60]

(6) De Imagine Mundi formerly attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis[61]

(7) the Vulgate Bible[62]

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

(1) Hugh of St. Victor[63]

(2) the Carmen Paschale of Sedulius[64]

(3) the Revelations of the pseudo-Methodius[65]

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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*.

59 Legende, called "Vita Protoplausti Adam" in C. Horstmann ed., "Nachträge zu den Legenden", Archiv, LXXVI (1887), pp.459-70. This source was first noticed by A.S. Napier, History of the Holy Rood-Tree (London, 1894), EETS OS 103, pp.xxiiiff.

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[66]

(5) the Etymologiarum of Isidore of Seville[67]

(6) the Pricke of Conscience[68]

(7) the Speculum Ecclesiae of Honorius Augustodunensis[69]

Date, Provenance and Authorship

The generally accepted date for the composition of the CM is 1275-1325.[70] 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.[71]

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 ll.535-44.

67 See below, note to ll.1921ff.

68 See below, note to ll.3217-54.

69 See below, note to ll.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.

71 Bruce Dickens and R.M. Wilson, Early Middle English Texts (London, 1951), p.114.

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.[72] 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".[73] Except for a small area in the south west, and, of course, the extreme north, Scotland was not settled by Scandinavian invaders.[74]

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.[75] Otto Strandberg wanted to agree with him,

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72 Rolf Kaiser, Zur Geographie des mittelenglischen Wortschatzes (1937; rpt. New York, 1970), p.6.

73 J.A.W. Bennett and G.V. Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose (Oxford, 1966), p.367.

74 C.A. Previté-Orton and Z.N. Brooke, eds., The Cambridge Medieval History. Volume of Maps (Cambridge, 1936) Map 36.

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
> ȝis 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 the nacion,
> Es Inglis man ȝar in commun;
> ȝe speche ȝat man wit mast may spede,
> Mast ȝar-wit to speke war nede;
> Selden was for ani chance
> Praised Inglis tong in france;
> Giue we ilkan ȝare langage,
> Me think we do ȝam non outrage.
> To laud and Inglis man i spell
> ȝat understandes ȝat 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

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[76] Otto Strandberg, The Rime-Vowels of Cursor Mundi (Uppsala, 1919), pp.xiv-xv.

[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.[78] Mardon points to l.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.[79] 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.[80] Furthermore:

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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 ll.1507-8.

79 G.W.S. Barrow, "The Anglo-Scottish Border", Northern History, I (1966), 21-42.

80 E.L.G. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328 (1965; rpt with corrections Oxford, 1970), pp.xviiiff.

> 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

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81 G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (London, 1965), p.7.

82 *Ibid.*, p.99. Cf. these words of Richard of Devizes (fl.1191): "York abounds in Scots--filthy and treacherous men, or rather dwarves." Quoted in R.M. Wilson, "English and French in England 1100-1300", *History*, n.s. XXVIII (1943), 54, from *De Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi* in Richard Howlett, ed., *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (London, 1886), III 437.

83 G.W.S. Barrow, *Feudal Britain* (London, 1956), pp.237,240.

concerned in the struggle against English rule in the late thirteenth century.[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.[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

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[84] G.W.S. Barrow, "The Scottish Clergy in the War of Independence", Scottish Historical Review, XLI (1962), 1-22.

[85] G.W.S. Barrow, "Scottish Rulers and the Religious Orders 1070-1153", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., III (1953), 77-100; D.E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland (London, 1957).

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

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[86] See, e.g., notes to ll.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.[87]

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.[88] Several MSS of Herman's Bible can be traced, but none to the north of England or the south of Scotland.[89]

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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.[90] 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.[91] 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,[92] 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.[93] Murray tacitly recognized this

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90 James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library (1939; rpt. New York, 1967), pp.293-9.

91 Ker, Med. Libs., p.xi.

92 G.G. Coulton, Scottish Abbeys and Social Life (Cambridge, 1933), p.161.

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)"[94] 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 inearnest. 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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Feudal Britain; and William Croft Dickinson, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603 (London, 1961). More specialized articles will be referred to in the notes.

94 James A.H. Murray, "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland", Transactions of the Philological Society (1870-2), p.30.

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.[95] 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.[96] 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.

96 James Wilson, ed., Victoria History of the County of Cumberland, II (London, 1905), p.163.

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.[97] 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.[98] Such a situation must

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97 The information comes from Easson, Med. Rel. Houses.

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.[99] 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.26171-3, 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]

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[99] Laurel Nichols Braswell, The South English Legendary Collection: A Study in Middle English Religious Literature of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Diss. Toronto, 1964, pp.252-5.

[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 þaa hirdes am i an,--
> Sa wreche vnworthi wat i nan,--(ll.23881-2)

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.

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101 G.R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England (1926; rpt. New York, 1965), p.227; Legge, A-N in the Cloisters, pp.87-8; A.G. Little, Studies in English Franciscan History (Manchester, 1917), pp.136-9.

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-þi quen þou o scrift has nede,
> To þi pariché preist þou þe 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.[104] 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

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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.[105] Only one parish priest in the thirteenth century is known to have had a library of his own.[106] 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.[107]

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

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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.

107 Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), p.186.

that the borrower had to provide considerable collateral for the loan.[108] 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, Lincs., 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.[109] Trevisa (1326-1412), however, was a private chaplain to Thomas, 4th Baron Berkeley,[110] 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.[111]

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108 Wormald, Eng. Lib., p.79; Thompson, Med. Lib., pp.289-90.

109 Braswell, SEL, pp.252-3.

110 See the DNB, LVII, p.212.

111 For a note on Robert see Josiah Cox Russell, Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England (London, 1936), p.135; Deanesly, Lollard Bible, p.149. On French as the language of Bible translations for the upper class see Deanesly, Lollard Bible, p.206. Cf. R.M. Wilson, "English and French", pp.37-60; Legge, A-N in the Cloisters, p.108.

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.[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.[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

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112 C.R. Cheney, English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century (1941; rpt. Oxford, 1968), pp. 38-9.

113 Robert Holt, ed., The Ormulum (Oxford, 1878), "Dedication", ll.1-10.

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."[114] 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.[115] Many of the other northern houses of the canons suffered greatly during the wars as well.[116]

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.[117] The standard of monastic preaching had evidently fallen off in the thirteenth century, however, and monks in general were not as

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114 VCH Cumberland, pp.136-9.

115 Ibid., p.31.

116 See David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1953) 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.[118] 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.[119] The abbey seems to have been strong enough to be safe from the Scottish raiders who constantly invaded the bishopric.[120] 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.[121] 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.

119 Rites of Durham, Publications of the Surtees Society, CVII (1902; rpt. 1964), xli p.83.

120 See above, p.xl.

121 See R.B. Dobson, "The Last English Monks on Scottish Soil: The Severance of Coldingham Priory from the Monastery of Durham 1461-78", Scottish Historical Review, XLVI (1967), pp.1-3.

CM. 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.[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, Fundtion 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".[123] The main criterion for this

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122 See below, p.lxv.

123 John Edwin Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400 (New Haven, 1916), pp.338ff.

classification seems to be the length of the works involved.[124] 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 aquired such a sanctity that direct translation was forbidden.[125] 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.[126] Only

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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[127]

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 Deuteromomy.

(2) The Temporale of the South English Legendary[128]

Some ten MSS of the SEL contain a preface, the Temporale,

126 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.

127 G&E. Olaf Arngart, ed., The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (Lund, 1968), Lund Studies in English, 36.

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.[129] 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[130]

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.[131]

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.[132] 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.

130 Met. Para. Herbert Kalen, ed., A Middle English Paraphrase of the Old Testament, I, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, XXVIII (1922); II ed. Urban Ohlander, Gothenburg Studies in English, V (1955); III ed. Urban Ohlander, Gothenburg Studies in English, XI (1960); IV ed. Urban Ohlander, Gothenburg Studies in English, XVI (1963).

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.[133] Exempla from Old Testament history appear in works such as Cleanness, and individual episodes may be given separate poetic treatment.[134]

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.[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.[136] He could have provided rousing descriptions of his heroes' battles--but he did not.[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,[138] but instead Solomon learns the trivium and quadrivium like any mediaeval

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135 Beryl Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century (1960), p.24. Cf. William Henry Schofield, English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer (London, 1925), p.76.

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

137 Compare Abraham's heroic battle in the OEGen., ll.1960ff.

138 Cf. the education of Tristan in Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan, trans. A.T. Hatto (Harmondsworth, 1960), pp.68-9.

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 romanees 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

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139 See, e.g., ll.247-8, 481-4, 7307-8, 226, 336, 337-8, etc.

140 Lampe, Camb. Hist. Bib., p.383.

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

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142 D.T. Starnes, "Purpose in the Writing of History", Modern Philology, XX (1922-3), 281-300.

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 Daniélou, 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.

144 The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York, 1961), VI vi, p.145.

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."[145]

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.[146] 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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145 M.-D. Chenu, Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), p.168. This chronological patterning of events is also characteristic of Petrus Comestor's Historia Scholastica which remained a prime source of material for vernacular paraphrases for centuries to come.

146 Didascalicon VI iii, p.137.

kings are so important in the genealogy of the Virgin and of Christ.[147] 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,[148] 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.[149]

In his prologue, the CM poet distinguishes between

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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.289; 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.[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 Legenda Aurea:

> Universum tempus praesentis vitae in quatuor distinguitur, scilicet in tempus deviationis, renovationis sive revocationis, reconciliationis et peregrinationis.[151]

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

> Tempus peregrinationis est tempus praesentis vitae, in quo peregrinamur et in pugna semper sumus.[152]

This, I suggest, explains the presence of those parts of the 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

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150 See CM, ll.115-7, l.120 in MSS C and F.

151 Leg. Aur., p.l. Haenisch, CM, p.54* says that the CM poet used the Legenda Aurea as a source in other parts of his work.

152 Loc. cit.

pass over.[153] 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.[154] He is aware of the difference which the new law of Moses brings,[155] 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.[156] 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

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153 Kolve, Corpus Christi, p.101.

154 See ll.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 ll.535-44 below.

155 See his mention of the two kinds of law at l.1571, MSS C and G.

156 See below, ll.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).[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.

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[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,[158] 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.[159] 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 expatiate on random selections from Scripture.[160]

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

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158 See l.23943 in MSS E, C, F and G. Cf. also l.26502 in MSS C and F, and l. 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 Praedicandi (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

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[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, ll.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.[163] However, English may have been more widely used by this class in the north.[164] 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.[165] 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--

162 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 l.1496.

164 Wilson, "English and French", 44, 54-5.

165 Cf. MS G, ll.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 parishoners 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:

> Euery sonnday in y^{e} yere there was a sermon prech^{e}d in y^{e} gallely at after none from one of y^{e} clocke till iij & at xij of y^{e} clock y^{e} great Bell of y^{e} galleley was toulled euery sonndaie iij q^{r}ters of an howre & roung y^{e} forth q^{r}ter till one of y^{e} clock, that all y^{e} people of y^{e} towne myght haue warnyng to come & here y^{e} worde of god preached.[167]

The same custom apparently prevailed elsewhere, for MS Vernon says "After Mete loke þou go to þe prechynge,/ ȝif eny beo in toune--lette for no þynge--".[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

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166 Cheney, English Synodalia, 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.

168 "A Disputison bitwene a god man and þe deuel", in Carl Horstmann, ed., The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript (London, 1892), EETS OS 98, p.351/853-4.

169 Owst, Preaching, p.157; cf. Kathleen Edwards, The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967), p.216.

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.[170]

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,

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[170] 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.

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.[171] The explanatory

[171] See, e.g., notes to ll.277-8, 6362-4.

notes also contain suggestions for conjectural emendations for which there is no MS support at all.[172]

[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 þe hit shal be rad 3ow þanne — fol.1r col.1
Of ioachym and of seynt anne — 153
Of mary also hir dou3ter mylde
How sheo was born & bare hir chylde
How sheo was bore whenne & whare
How sheo hym to þe tempel bare
Of þo kynges þat hym sou3te
That þre presentes to him brou3te — 160
How þat heroude kyng wiþ wrong
ffor crystes sake slow3e childeren 3ong
How þat ihesu to egipte fledde
And how he was þennes ledde
And þere shul 3ee here many dede
þat ihesu dide in his childehede
Siþen of þe baptiste Ion
þat baptized ihesu in flum iurdon
How ihesu aftir his fastynge longe
was temptide wiþ þe spirit of wronge — 170
Siþen of iones baptizyng
And how hym heuededе heroude þe kinge

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5 Read he for sheo.

How þat ihesu crist hym selue
Chees to hym apostles twelue
And openly bigan to preche
And alle þat seke were to leche
And dide myracles mony & ryfe
Wherfore þe iewes bigon to stryfe
Siþþe how god of his myȝte
Turned watir into wyn riȝte
Of fyue þousande men þat he
Wiþ fyue looues fedde & fisshes þre
Of a man shal we þen fynde
þat god ȝaf siȝte & borne was blynde
And of þe spousebriche of o wommon
þat þe iewes demed to stoon
how he heled a man vnfere
þat seck was eyȝte & twenty ȝere
How mary maudelene wiþ grete
Coom to wasshe oure lordes fete
Of hir and of martha also
þat bisy was aboute cryst þoo
Of lazar þat deede lay vndir stoon
How he was reised in flesshe & boon
How iewes ihesu ofte bisette
And for his prechyng also him þrette
How þei pyned hym on þe rode

180

fol.1r col.2

And how þei shedde his blessed blode
And if god wole þenne shal I telle
How he siþþen harrewede helle
How iewes wiþ her greete vnskille
wende his vprysynge to stille
How he vproos & siþen vpstay
Mony a man hit herde & say
How þat he of myȝtes moost
Sende to erþe þe holy goost
Touchynge þe apostles of her feest
How þei endede meest and leest
How oure lady endede and ȝolde
Hir semely soule hit shal be tolde
How þe holy cros was kidde
Longe aftir þat hit was hidde
Of antecristes coome þat shal be kene
And of þe dredeful dayes fiftene
þat shul come bifore þe domes day
Siþen of þe doom wole I say
þen of oure ladyes mournyng mode
whenne hir sone henge on rode
þe laste resoun þat I shal spelle
Of hir conceptioun wole I telle
þese are þe materes red on rowe
þat in þis book wole I showe

Shortly rennynge on þis dede
ffor mony þer aren for to spede
Nedeful me þinke hit were to man
To knowe hym self how he bigan
How he bigan in world to brede
How his osprynge bigan to sprede
Boþe of þe firste and of þe las[t]e
In what course þis world is paste
Aftir holy chirches astate
þis ilke book is translate
Into englisshe tonge to rede
ffor þe loue of englisshe lede
ffor comune folke of engelonde
Shulde þe better hit vndirstonde
þat speche þat moost vs may spede
Moost to speke hit were greet nede
Selden hit is for any chaunce
Englisshe tonge preched in fraunce
3yue we vche londe his langage
þenne do we noon outrage
To lewed men englisshe I spelle
þat vndirstondeþ what I con telle
And to hem speke I alþer moost
þat ledeþ her lyues in pryde & boost
And spenden her lyues in treuandise

75 230 80 fol.1v col.1 85 243 90 250 95

And myȝte amenden in mony wyse
Wo shal hem be her lyf so spende
þat fynde þer of no fruyt at þe ende
Now of þis prolouge wole we blynne
In crystes nome oure book bygynne
Cours of þis world men shul hit calle
ffor almeest hit rehersep alle
Take we oure bigynnynge þan
At hym þat al þis world bigan
Herep now of þe trynite dere
And of þe makyng of þis world here
Alle men owe þat lord to drede
þat made man to haue mede
þat euer was & euer shal be
wiþouten ende in trynite
He þat lorde boþe god an[d] man
Al maner þing of hym bigan
þouȝe he bigan al oþere þinge
Hym self hadde neuer bigynnynge
Of hym coom al in hym is al
Al holdeþ he vp from doun fal
He holdeþ heuen & erþe stidefaste

105-6 A heading

107 Large decorated capital A.

Wiþouten hym may no þing laste
þis lord þat is so mychel of myȝte
Purueyed al in to his siȝte
And þat he ordeyned wiþ his witt
He multeplied and gouerneþ hit
þerfore he is þe trynite
þat is o god & persones þre
And ȝif þow wenest hit may not be
Byholde þe sonne þenne maist þou se
In þe sonne þat shynes clere
Is o þing & þre seere
A body rounde hoot and liȝte
þese þre we fynde at a siȝte
þese þinges þre wiþ noon art
Mow not be fro oþere depart
ffor ȝif þou take þe liȝte away
þe erþe haþ no sonne parfay
And ȝif þe heete away be goon
Sonne forsoþe hastou noon
But vche maner man wel woote
þe kynde of sonne is to be hoote
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

fol.1v col.2

And bi þe hete vndirstonde hit so
þe holy goost comeþ of hem two
And fadir is he calde for þi
ffor he is welle þat neuer is dry
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
Al þing he halt from mysfare
þat þei not turne to sorwe & care
þe holy [goost] is þe godhede
þat ȝyueþ lyf to alle we rede
þis lord þat I bifore of seide
ffirste in his witt he al purueyde
his werkes he doþ as sotele wriȝte
And siþen he reiseþ hit in siȝte
ffor þi is god as seiþ scripture
Non elder þen is creature
Elder of tyme nys not he
But elles more in dignite
þis wriȝte þat I speke of here
Is prynce ouer al wiþouten pere
ffor oþere wriȝtes mot tymber take
But he hym self con tymber make
ffor of hym self he took þe euene

145 310 323 160 fol.2r col.1 330 165

þat he made wiþ boþe erþe & heuene
But we shul vndirstonde
þat he wrouȝte not al his werke wit honde
But seide wiþ worde & also soone
Al his biddynge hit was doone
Smartlyere þen ȝe may wynke
Or any mannes 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 wiþinne 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 ferþe
And we seye þat he þus bigan
As austyn seiþ þat holy man

As we in his bookes fynde
ffirste he wrouȝte aungel kynde
þe world and tyme þese þinges þre
Byfore alle oþere þing made he
þe world I calle in myne ententes
þe matere of foure elementes
þat ȝit was þenne of fourme vnshapen
Wherof was siþþe partyes taken
Al shaples was hit not for þy
ffor hit of shappe had sum party
But þerfore shaples hit was how
ffor hit hadde not as hit haþ now
He wrouȝte vpon þe oþere day
þe firmamente þat is to say
þe sky wiþ sterres grete & smalle
Wiþ watir shynynge as cristalle
þat is on hyȝe and þat is vndir
In þis he souned al to wondir
þe þridde day god dide bi grace
þe wattres drawe in to a place
And bad a drye place shulde be
þe wattres alle he calde þe see
þe drye he calde erþe þat kynge
And bad hit grisyng fruyt forþ brynge
Al þing to be waxinge þere

fol.2r col.2

And in hem self her seed to bere
þe ferþe he bad and was done
Boþe were made sonne and moone
Eyþer wiþ his dyuerse liȝte
To parte þe day fro þe nyȝte
In tokenynge of tydes to stonde
Dayes and ȝeres boþe dwellonde
and þe sterres greete and smale
þat we may se wiþouten talle
In þe hyȝest element of alle
þere ynne fuyre haþ his stalle
þe fifte day he failed nouȝte
Of watir foule & fysshe he wrouȝte
þe fisshe to watir as we fynde
þe foules he toke to the wynde
Alle goynge beestes þe sixte day
And adam als he made of clay
He was laste made as lørdyng
To be maister ouer al þing
In a dale he wrouȝte adame
þat ebron hette in ebreu name
þese sixe dayes he wrouȝte his wille
þe seuenþe of werke he helde him stille
He vs ȝaf ensaumpel þore
þat we shulde holde hit euermore

þe firste werke as ȝe herde neuen
God wrouȝ[t]e þe angels of heuen
And sette hem in his hyȝe pales
Wiþouten pryde to ben in pees
ffor þis peleys was so ryche
As myȝty kyng noon oþer lyche
He ordeyned hym two creatures
To serue hym þere wiþ honures
þat shulde a hool noumber be
Many a þousande to telle and se
þe whiche tale no wey shulde be more
And nedeful bihoued hit wore
þis noumbrary he ordeyned þon
Shulde be boþe of aungel & mon
ffor he wolde be þat kyng of crafte
worsheped wiþ two maner shafte
þe ton wiþ aungel þat is goostly
And als wiþ mannes body
Of aungels wolde he serued be
þat ordres shulde ha þryes þre
He chees to hym þat lorde hende
þat man þe ordre shulde be tende
But þe aungels he wrouȝte formast

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243 Large decorated capital þ.

Ouer alle he made her pouste past
þei were boþe faire and wyse
Somme of lasse somme of more prise
He ȝaf on most to knowe & fele
ȝif þat he couþe haue born hym wele
And sette hym beste in his halle
As prynce & syre of oþere alle
And for he was so wondir liȝt
Lucifer to name he hiȝt
And whenne he hadde perceyued þis
þat he was ouer alle oþer in blis
Alas caytif he knewe nouȝt
þat god him seluen hadde hym wrouȝt
fful sorweful sawe he þat tyde
Aȝeynes god he toke a pryde
Liȝtly 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
þat he þat not hadde but of hym
Aȝeyn his lorde shul[d] waxe so grym
He seide sette my sete I shal

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266 For past, read mast.

Azeynes hym þat is beste of al
In þe 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 þouzte þat pryde
In heuen myzte he not abyde
ffor in þat court þat is so clene
No filþe may dwelle ne be sene
Seynt mychael for her aller rizt
Roos azeyn hym to fizte
Azeyn hym zaf he batel grym
Out of þat court caste he hym
Lucifer firste doun he brouzt
And siþþe þat wiþ hym held ouzt
And scoured þat court of hem so clene
þat siþþe 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 lucifere to sathanas
ffro ful hyze he fel ful lawe

þat of his lorde wolde stonde noon awe
Wiþoute koueryng of his soore
ffor mercy geteþ he neuer more
ffor god owe not ȝif hym mercy
þat þer aftir wolde not cry
And þus he loste þat hyȝe tour
þere was he not fully an hour
ffor soone aftir þat he was made
He fel wiþouten lenger abade
þe oþere aungels þat fel hym wiþ
Whiche forsoke goddes griþ
Aftir þe wille þei to hym bore
ffel þei to helle lasse and moore
Somme in þe erþe somme in þe lifte
þere þei dryȝe ful harde drifte
Her peyne þei bere on hem ay
And so shul do to domes day
But þo þat lesten wiþouten wyte
Were confermed þere as tyte
þei may neuer assente to ille
No moore þen euel may do good wille
þe noumber þat out of heuen felle
No tonge in erþe hit con telle
Ny fro þe trone of þat blis
How fer into helle hit is

315 320 490 500 335

fol.3r col.1

But bede seiþ fro erþe to heuen
Is seuen þousande ȝeer & hundrides seuen
By iournees who so go hit may
ffourty myle euerych a day
Of bodily substaunce for to wite
Monnes soule þat is hite
As I ȝow telle þe kyng of craft
Wolde be worsheped wit two shaft
Boþe wiþ aungel & wiþ mon
Adam þerfore made was þon
þe tende order to fulfille
þat lucifer hade made to spille
Of erþe 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 wiþynne haþ yȝen tweyn
þe sky haþ sonne & moone certeyn
And as mennes yȝen are sette to siȝt
So serueþ sonne & moone of liȝt
Maister sterres are þer seuene
Seuen holes haþ mannes heed euene

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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 biþinke fol.3r col.2
þow mayst hem fynde wiþ litel swynke
þis wynde þat we men drawen ofte
Bitokeneþ wynde þat bloweþ o lofte
Whiche is þonder & leityng led
As onde wiþ host in brest is breed
In to þe see al watir synkeþ
And monnes womb al licoures drynkeþ
His feet hym bereþ vp fro fal
also þe erþe vpholdeþ al
Thonder fyre ȝyueþ mon his siȝte
Thonder eyer of heryng myȝte
þis 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 nayle & here of mannes flesshe
wiþ beestes doumbe man haþ fele
Of þing hym likeþ euel or wele
Of þese þinges I haue herd seide
Was adames body to gider leide
ffor þese resouns þat ȝe haue herde
Man is calde þe lesse werde

// But resoun ȝitt herde ȝe nouȝte
Wher of mannes soule is wrouȝte
Of goostly liȝte men seye hit is
þat god haþ made to his likenes
As preent of seel in wexe þrest
þerynne he haþ his likenes fest
He haþ hit wrouȝte as frend & fere
No þing to hym is so dere
His godhede is in trynite
þe soule haþ propur þinges þre
Menyng & þat of þinges to se
þat is and was and euer shal be
Vndirstondynge haþ hit riȝte
Of þinges seyn and oute of siȝte
Wisdome also hit haþ in wille
þe goode to do and leue þe ille
Alle þe myȝtes þat may be
Wonen in þe hooly trynite
Alle vertues haþ a soule I wis
þat oute of synne clensed is
And as god þat is in oon & þre
Wiþ no manere creature may be
Vndirgropede ne ouer gone
But he ouertakeþ euerychone

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398 There is a horizontal stroke over the final n in seyn in the manuscript.

So þe soule wiþouten wene
To al þing hit is vnsene
þouȝe hit of al þinge haue siȝt
To se a soule no man haþ myȝt
Now haue I shewed ȝow þus hider
How two þinges holden man togider
þe soule is goostly þing to telle
þe body hit is flesshe and felle
Adam was made of mannes elde
As he myȝte hym seluen welde
As austyn seiþ þat lyeþ nouȝte
And wiþouten paradys wrouȝte
Here now ȝe resoun of his name
Why he was cal de adame
In þis name are foure lettres leide
þat of þe foure ȝates be seide
As æst . west . norþe . & souþe
So myche is adam for to mouþe
And þow maist aske wiþouten blame
Why god hym ȝaf so greet a name
ffor soþe þat is liȝte to rede
Hit tokeneþ adam & his sede
Ouer al þe world shul be sprade
And þer of to be lorde made
And as oure lord hadde heuen in honde

410 580 415 420 590 425 594 593 430 600

So shulde man be lorde of londe
Þerfore he ȝaf hym to bigynne
A lufsome londe to dwellen ynne
A lond of lyf ioyes and delys
Whiche men callen paradys
Into Þat lond Þat swete place
Was adam brouȝte whenne he made wase
He ȝaf hit hym as heritage
To ȝelde Þerfore no knowlage
But to holde hit wel vnbroken
A forbode bitwene hem spoken
But for Þat he helde hit nouȝt
He made vs alle in bale be brouȝt
In care he brouȝte vs & in sore
As I shal telle ȝow forÞermore
Of astate Þe world was ynne
Byfore Þe tyme of adames synne
Whanne adam was made also soone
In paradise he was done
Þe beestes boÞe he & sheo
Adams siȝte were brouȝte to

fol.3v col.2

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440 For wase read was.

449-50 A heading.

451 Large decorated capital W in Whanne.

ffisshe in watir & foule to fliȝte
Al was brouȝte in adam siȝte
Alle were brouȝte to serue adame
ffor þat he shulde ȝyue hem name
Þis kyng þat con his craftes kepe
Slyly he made adame to slepe
Out of his syde as seiþ þe booke
Wiþouten sore a ribbe he toke
Of þat ribbe he made a womman
To adam þat was firste his on
Whenne sheo to adam was brouȝte
Virago hir name he wrouȝte
þerfore 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 multeplye wiþ her in sede
Adam he seide how þinkeþ 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 wiþouten ende
Here is no þing to amende
Here is blis þat lasteþ ay

Neuer nyȝt bot euer is day
Is no man wiþ herte to þenke
Ne clerke þat may wryte wiþ enke
þe mychel ioye þat hem is lent
þat done here my commaundement
Of trees and fruyt here is good wone
Alle shul þei be þyne but one
Of hem alle þi wille to do
But þat o tre come ȝe not to
þat stondeþ amyddes paradyse
ffor ȝif ȝe do ȝe be not wise
þis tre haue I done in friþþe
ffor I wole haue hit to my griþþe
ȝif ȝe hit touche to ȝow seye yȝe
On doubel deþ shul ȝe dyȝe
Beþ war and takeþ good entent
Brekeþ not þis commaundement
Herby may we alle se
þat he hem ȝaf a wille fre
þe good to do and leue þe ille
Boþe be put in her fre wille
Wit and wisdome he hem ȝaue
Miȝte and fairhede for to haue
Of al erþ e made adam kynge

480 fol.4r col.1
650
485
490
660
495
500

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493 Read y for yȝe.

To lasten wiþouten endynge
Among hem euermore hele
Telle we sumwhat of his wele
Ar he brake þat god for bade
In mychel blisse was he bistade
Of his wyf so faire and fre
þat myche myrþe was on to se
þese beestes coom hym alle aboute
As to her lord hym to loute
ffoule in fliȝte fisshe on sonde
Alle bowed hym to foot & honde
At his wille þei ȝeode & cam
As he hadde ben makere of ham
þese beestes were so meke in dole
Wiþouten hirtynge þei ȝeode hole
Among þe wolues lay þe shepe
Safly myȝte þei togider 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

670 505 510 680 515 520 fol.4r col.2 690 525

Al maner þing in dyuerse wyse
ȝalde to Adam her seruyse
þe nedder þo was not bitter
ffor he was euer wys & witter
ffor as we rede in booke meest
He was more wys þan any beest
þe sonne was þat tyme we say
Seuen siþe briȝtere þan now a day
þe mone was þat tyme also briȝt
As sonne now on dayes liȝt
Holde no mon þis for no foly
þe prophete seiþ þus ysay
Alle þinges as we may se
Hyȝe or lowe in world þat be
þei were of gretter strengþe & myȝt
Bifore þat adam dide vnriȝt
To adam soone was sent a sonde
þat souȝte hym selly for to fonde
Whenne sathan sey þat he was chosen
To haue þe blis þat he hadde losen
Sory he was þat false file
And þouȝte man to bigyle
He þouȝte þo ioyes for to stynte
þat god to mankynde hadde mynte
Aȝeyn god he wexe so grille

His hondewerke he þouȝte to spille
And trowed wiþ his greet enuy
Of god to wynne þe maystry
Now man is sett betwene two
On eiþer syde he haþ a foo
Bitwene Sathan and his wyf
Adam is sette in mychel stryf
Boþe were þei on adame
ffor to brynge hym into blame
Boþe þei ben on o party
To ouercome man wiþ 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 gooþ þis neddre & not blan

720 555 560 fol.4v col.1 730 565 570 740 575

In his slow satan þenne was
Wondur is he entred in þat plas
But of his sufferaunce he hym lete
þat beest wiste how þat bale to bete
ffor mon he made þat he mouȝte
Synne or leue as hym good þouȝte
And by skile of his owne dede
Shulde be merked þenne his mede
To bowe and lyue wiþouten ende
Or elles to dyȝe and to woo wende
How adam brake goddes commaundement
Wherfore kynde of man was shent
Adam wandride in þat wele
In myche myrþe ioye & hele
When adam was fro eue a þrawe
þe nedder nyȝe to hir gon drawe
And seide womman telle me why
þat ȝe ete not al comynly
In paradise of euerych 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.

Þat is out take to vs alone
Oure lord in forbode haþ hit leide
Wost þow þe why: nay sheo seide
But sheo seide ȝif we come þer nyȝe
On doubel deeþ shul we dyȝe
Þis o tre shulde him seluen haue
And alle þe oþere to vs he ȝaue
And trowest þow þat hit so be
As he ȝow seide sheo seide ȝe
Nay seide he wiþ greet tresoun
But þerynne liþ suche resoun
But for he wolde not ȝe were
Paryngal to hym nor pere
Þe soþe fro ȝow wole I not hyde
He woot wel þat what tyme or tyde
Þat ȝe hadde eten of þat tre
As goddes shulde ȝe boþe be
To knowe boþe good and ille
ȝe shulde be lordes at ȝoure wille
Of hit ȝe ete so rede I ȝow
And ȝe shul fynde hit for ȝoure prow
Þis hetyng was þat tyme ful mykel
But hit was ful false and fikel
Soone so sheo þis fruyt bi helde
Sheo ȝerned hit to haue in welde

fol.4v col.2

Sheo let not for drede nor blame
But took and ete & ȝaf adame
What bote is longe þis tale to drawe
þei ete hit boþe in litel þrawe
Al for nouȝte þei ete hit boþe
Wherfore oure lord god was wroþe
ffor þat ilke appeles bitte
Her sones teeþ eggen ȝitte
And so shal do til domes day
Here aȝeyn may no man say
Whenne eyþer sawe oþer naked
ffor shame þei stoode boþe & quaked
þenne þei sey þat bare þei were
In welþe and ioye þat were clad ere
þei hullud hem I telle hit þe
Wiþ leues of a fige tre
Whenne þe fend þus hadde hem nome
Wel he wende ha god ouercome
And seide wiþynne his sory þouȝt
I haue made hym worche for nouȝt
His heuen shal he haue his one
Of adam part geteþ he none
To brynge into þat heritage
þat I have lost bi myn outrage

625 790 630 635 800 640 fol.5r col.1 645 810

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639 For hullud read hulled.

he lyȝed fals þeef for why
ȝitt hadde god of adam mercy
þat he were lost god wolde nouȝt
ffor he wiþ tricchery was souȝt
þe fend was wel moore to blame
þat so falsely gyled adame
God wiste þe fend had adam blent
ȝitt wolde he not þat he were shent
But þouȝe he wolde ȝyue adam grace
ffirst shulde he byȝe dere þat trespace
Of þe astate þe world was Inne
Aftir þe tyme of adames synne
Als fast as þei had done þat synne
Oure wo bigan to bigynne
Al maner blis fro hem was went
ffor þei brake þat commaundement
Soone bigan he vengeaunce kyþe
As lord þat firste was meke & bliþe
Al bigan to stire and stryf
Aȝeyn adam and eue his wyf
Bytwene hem self roos stryf also
þe strenger beest þe weyker slo

659-60 A heading.

661 Large decorated capital A.

Vchone of oþere 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 raunsoumde 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 ȝif he hadde wolde he myȝte man
Wel better ha made þen he was þan
Wiþ flesshe þerfore he coom in place
And filled þis world of his grace
His grace hit was & noon oþere
þat he wolde bicome oure broþere
Wiþ þe fend þerfore he fauȝte
And wiþ his fadir he made vs sauȝte
Leue we now of þis spelle

675 840 680 fol.5r col.2 685 850 690 695

Of oure story furþere to telle
Whenne adam sey he had mysdone
He wente to hyde hym also soone
He wende to hyde hym among þe trees
ffro his siȝte þat al sees
Al for nouȝte hym hidde adame
Oure lord hym called by his name
Lord he seide Whenne I þe herde
ffor I sawe þat I mys ferde
I and my wyf wente vs to hyde
Shame vs þouȝte þe to abyde
ffor oure bodyes al bare were
Adam he seide so tolde I þe ere
I þe tolde meest and leest
What hit was to breke my heest
But now is þis appel eten
And my biddyng is forȝeten
And þat þou hast þus done þis mys
þi seluen is to wite I wis
Lorde he seide of þis gilt here
Is sheo to wyte þat is my fere
þat þow me ȝaf my wyf to be
ffor principally sheo beede hit me
Sheo bede hit me wiþouten blynne

Sheo haþ me fyled wiþ her synne
Al þis may sheo not ȝeyn sey
Sheo owe to bere þe gilte awey
Jhesu seide to hir a noon
Why dudest þou þis dede wommon
Sheo seide þe worme me drowe þer tille
þat I haue done aȝeyn þi wille
To þat worm of wraþþe & wrake
Oure lord þenne þus he spake
þow worme þou shalt acursede be
Moore þen any oþere beest to se
ffor on þi wombe þow shalt slyde
Moore þen any oþer beest in tyde
ffro þis day forþ shal hate be
ffor soþe bitwene womman and þe
Erþe shal be þi mete for nede
Bytwene [þin] and wommannes sede
Womman to stynge awaite þou shal
And þyn heed ȝittto breke sheo shal
þouȝe þou in hete euer wolde be sted
In colde shal euere be þi bed
And þou wommon for þis dere
In sorwe shalt þou þi childer bere
þow shalt be slayn wiþ double dede
Harde hit is for to rede

720 fol.5v col.1
725
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735 898
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ȝow shalt be vndir mannes heeste
To hem be buxome meest & leste
ȝow shalt haue euer ȝi heed hid
ȝi shame shal not be vnkid
And ȝitt ȝat ȝow now hast mys goon
Hit shal be [b]et bi a wommon
Of synneles man made I ȝe
In womman shal ȝitt my wonyng be
But hit shal not be ȝitte so nyȝe
To keuer my loos firste mot I hyȝe
And ȝou man ȝat haast vndirtaken
ȝi wyues rede and myne forsaken
No ȝing shalt ȝou ȝer wiȝ wynne
ȝe world is cursed of ȝi synne
In erȝe shalt ȝow swete & swynke
Wynne ȝat ȝou shalt ete & drynke
Alle ȝe dayes of ȝyn elde
Breres and ȝornes hit shal ȝe ȝelde
ȝerof shalt ȝou ete gresses sere
ȝow shalt bye ȝi breed ful dere
Til ȝow turne aȝeyn & quake
To ȝat erȝe ȝow were of take
ffor ȝou art now but pouder pleyne

910 909 920 fol.5v col.2 745 750 755 760 765

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745 For heeste read heste.

755 Read hast for haast.

To pouder shalt þow 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
þerwiþ her flesshe for to shryde
lo he seide Adam how
Likeþ þe þis dede now
I made euel and good to ȝow knowen
But ȝee were soone ouerþrowen
ȝe trespassed at þe tre of lyf
þerfore ȝe 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 ȝee shul þis lufsum londe
Into þe wrecched world to be
þi lyf shal þinke longe to þe
Longe peyne þere shalt þou dryȝe
And siþþen on doubel deeþ to dyȝe
ȝe shul be flemed fro my face
Til þat I ȝow sende my grace

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782 Read was for wase.

þe oyle of mercy ȝee mote abyde
I hete to sende hit ȝow sum tyde
Alas seide adam woo is me
þat I trowed not lorde to þe
Lorde my lyf is me ful looþ
þat I euere made þe wrooþ
I woot but þe I haue no frende
Tel me er I fro þe wende
what manere and wiþ whaþ þinge
May I gete þi sauȝtelynge
Adam he seide wel seystou now
Herkene I wole telle þe how
Amonge þine oþere werkes hende
Of þi wynnyng ȝyue me þe tende
Of al þi fruyt holde partyes nyne
And I wole þat þe tenþe be myne
lord he seide þou ȝyuest al
Why shulde þi part be so smal
þe haluendeel or parte þe þridde
We wole þe ȝyue ȝif þow bidde
þenne was he put out al meste naked
Into þe londe þere he was maked

795 960 959 800 fol.6r col.1 805 970 810 974 989

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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 whaþ.

þer ynne he led a longe lyf
And gate childeren bi his wyf
Out is he put adam þe wrecched
ffro paradyse fully flecched
A wal of fyre þer is aboute
May noon come yn þat is þeroute
An aungel haþ þe ȝate to gete
Wiþ swerde in honde of myche hete
To telle man wiþ þi lore
What lond is paradise and whore
Siþþe we here þer of spelle
Good hit were for to telle
Paradys hit is a ꝼryue place
ffull of myrþe and of solace
þe louelyest of alle londes
Towarde þe eest in erþe hit stondes
Londe of lyf of roo and reste
Wiþ blisse and bote broiden beste
þere euer is day and neuer nyȝte
And al aboute ful of liȝte
Mony vertues þere is sene
þe herbes euer ylyche grene
Mony oþere blisses elles
ffloures þat ful swete smelles
Trees of fruyt of dyuerse mete

þat dyuerse vertues han to ete
þat ȝif man ete oþer while of oon
Hunger shal he neuer haue noon
ȝif he ete of anoþere tree
ffursty shal he neuer be
þe þridde whoso eteþ moore or les
Shal he neuer haue werynes
Of oon who so eteþ at þe laste
In oon elde shal he euer be faste
Sekenes shal he neuer noon dryȝe
Ne neuer shal his body dyȝe
Hit is an orcharde of delyces
Wiþ all swetenes of dyuerse spices
Who so dwelleþ þere him þar not longe
Her soun is softe & swete of songe
Soun of foules þat þere syngeþ
I mydde þat londe a welle sprungeþ
þat renneþ oute of foure stremes
Passynge into dyuerse remes
þese stremes þat þus þere bygynne
þourȝe mony oþere londes þei rynne
þe firste is tigre wiþouten lees
þen iules pigre and eufratees
þei bringe stoones fro paradis
So pretiouse nowhere founden is

840 fol.6r col.2 1020 845 850 1030 855 860 1040

þis paradis is sette so hye
Miȝte neuer flode come þer nye
Hit was free of noeus floode
þat al þis world ones ouerȝode
How caym þe cursed wiþ wowe
Abel his broþer slowe
Now adam is in erþe bistad
wiþ gras & leeues is he clad
Soore he swanke & eue his wyf
Up on þe erþe to wynne her lyf
wiþ myche swynke was þat þei wan
þe firste þei were to sawe bigan
þe firste childe þat euer sheo bare
was caym cursed ful of care
And aftir hym I wole ȝow telle
A blessed childe hiȝte abelle
þis abel was a blessed blode
And caym was þe fendes fode
was neuer worse of modir born
þerfore was he aftir for lorn
þis 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 riȝtwise
God payed was of his sacrifise
ffor caym ȝaf his wiþ euel wille
Oure lord loked not þer tille
ffor þis tiþe 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
wiþ murþ[r]e brouȝte hym of his lyf
wiþ 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 vndir erþe myȝte hit not reste
þe cley vp þe body keste
His broþer deeþ he wende stille
But myȝte he not þe body hille
þerfore men say ȝit to þis tyde
Is noone þat longe murþer may hyde
// whenne he hadde done þis deolful dede

To his fadir hoom he ȝede
whenne his fadir yȝe on him kast
A sikyng of his hert out brast
fformys trowynge hadde he soone
þat he sum wickede dede hadde done
ffor by his chere he say hym wrooþ
So loked he euer breme and looþ
Sone he seide to me þow tel
Where hastou done þi broþer abel
He vnswered wordes were vnmylde
whenne was I kepere of þi chylde
Tiþinge of hym con I telle noon
To brenne his tiþe he bigon
Vpon þe felde his fadir went
To seche abel wiþ his entent
þe fadir and þe modir boþe
To blame caym were ful loþe
Til þat þei þe soþe hadde seene
Of þing þei wiste not but bi weene
Hem þouȝte 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 myȝte he nouȝt
ffor ihesu þat al wrouȝt

915 1090 920 fol.6v col.2 925 1100 930 935 1110

913 For the first letter in yȝe, the scribe originally wrote ȝ, but immediately corrected it to a y.

He þat firste flemed adam
ffor þat appel þat he nam
he nolde not hym self feyne
But caymes dede fully atteyne
And he wole þat men bye þe outrage
þat murþereþ so his owne ymage
He wende to haue scaped wiþ al
ffor any mannes clepe or cal
But þenne coom oure makere
To speke wiþ þat traytour þere 1120
Of þat morth and þat tresoun
He dide þat traytour to a resoun
// Caym where is þi broþer abelle
Certes he seide I cannot telle
Aske his fadir where he be
ffor he was not bitake to me
God seide telle me & not layne
whi hastou þi broþer slayne
His blood on erþe shedde hit is
And aftir wreche cryeþ I wis 1130
Hit leueþ not wreche to crye
ffor to shewe þi felonye
ffor þi synful werke to se
Erþe þow shalt now cursed be
þat so resceyued þi broþer blode fol.7r col.1

wiþ pyne hit shal þe ȝelde þi fode
ffor þi mychel felonye
þis whete shal waxe cockul hye
In stide of þyn oþere seede
þe shal not growe but þorn & wede
ffor þyne euele wrecched hede
þow shalt euer lede þi lyf in nede
þi dredeful dede haþ no make
Of alle dedes hit is out take
Ȝikerly I telle þe here
þow shalt hit bye ful selly dere
ffor þouȝe I wolde forȝyue hit þe
hit is not worþi forȝyuen to be
To what cuntre so þow wende
Shalt þou no man fynde þi frende
Among what folke þat þou abide
þow and þyne be knowen shal wyde
Wiþ alle shal þou be knowen vile
Where þow wendes in exile
My hondewerke þus eguþ me
þat I shal take vengeaunce on þe
ffor how shulde any erþely flesshe
dwelle wiþ þe in sikernes
Whenne felowshepe & broþerhede
Myȝte þe not kepe from foul dede

// Caym say his synne was knowed
And þat þe erþe hadde hit showed
He wiste aȝeynseyinge was noon
Oure lord he vnswered sone þon 990
Lord he seide nowe se I wele
My synne haþ sette me in vnsele
I am ouertake wiþ siche tresoun
I am not worþi to haue pardoun
I shal be flemed for my synne 995
Vnkouþe londe to dwelle wiþynne 1170
In vnkouþe londe shal ende my wo
Whenne þei me fynde þei wol me slo
So fer I woot I shal be flede
God wolde nowe I were dede 1000
Nay seide oure lord beþ hit not so fol.7r col.2
Al þat þe seeþ shal not þe slo
But I shal sette on þe my merke
Alle shul hit se to rede as clerke
Shal noon be so bolde þe to sloo 1005
But þi falsede to wite hem fro 1180
In token of þi lastynge penaunce
þe shal be lent a long meschaunce
Whenne adam abelles body fonde
for sorwe a fote myȝt he not stonde 1010

1009 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 buryinge 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 azayn
Bode word cam hym fro heuene
and bade hym by an aungels steuene
þat he shulde wiþ his wyf mete
ffor oure lorde hadde ordeyned zete
A childe to ryse in his osprynge
þat many shulde out of bale brynge
He þat shulde saue þo 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 zaf to hym his tende
He zaf hym al þat hym byhoued

His brefer as hym self he loued
Eue fouzte her of ful feire
fat god wolde sende hem siche an heire
ffor abel was hem woo Inowze
fat caym so his brofere slowze
Of adam telleb fis story
fat he sones hadde fritty
And douzteres also fele to telle
wifouten caym and abelle
fe sister was zyuen to fe brofer
fe lawe fenne myzte be noon ofere
So wolde god hit moste nede
To do oure kynde for to sprede
Vnsely kaym fat was in hate
wib god and man at foul debate
Noufer he ne his ospringe
loued oure lord no maner finge
ffor fei hym greued in her dedes
He hem forsoke in alle her nedes
To do fe euele myche fei souzte
Awe of hym stode fei nouzte
fat bouzte fei aftir wyf & chylde
wib watir were fei drenched wylde
As zee shul here how hit bifel
Of noe floode whenne I shal tel

1210
1040
fol.7v col.1
1045
1220
1050
1230
1055
1060

ffor alle were euele & noone gode
þei drenched alle in noeus flode
Of adam endynge telle wolle 1
And of þe oyle of mercy
Adam past nyne hundride ȝere
No wonder þei he wex vnfere
Al forwrouȝte wiþ 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 go
To paradyse þat I coom fro
To cherubyn þat ȝate warde
þat kepeþ þo ȝates 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 riȝte wey
Towarde þe eest ende of þe ȝonder vale
A grene way fynde þow shale
In þat wey shaltou fynde and se
þe steppes of þi modir and me

1065 1240 1070 1075 1250 1080 fol.7v col.2

1063-4 A heading.

1065 Large decorated capital A in Adam.

1068 For mate read made.

fforwelewed in þat gres grene
þat euer siþen haþ ben sene
þere we comen goynge as vnwyse
Whenne we were put fro paradyse
Into þis ilke wrecchede slade
þere my self firste was made
ffor þe greetnes of oure synne
Miȝte siþen no gras growe þerynne
þat same wole þe lede þi gate
ffro heþen to paradise ȝate
He seide 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
þatfor wery I waxe al mad
þow him pray som worde me sende
Whenne I shal fro þis worlde wende
Anoþer ernede shal þer be
þat he me sende worde bi þe
Whether 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

1085 1260 1090 1095 1270 1100 1105

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 euer siþen ben newe
Now were hit tyme on me to rew
Seeth wente forþ wiþouten 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 brennynge fyre he wende hit were
He blessid hym as his fadir bad
And wente forþ & was not drad
þe aungel at þe ȝate 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 dryȝe
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 ȝonder ȝate þou go & loute
þi hede wiþynne þi body wiþoute
And tente to þingis wiþ al þi myȝte
þat shul be shewed to þi siȝte
Whenne seeth a whyle had loked In
He say so mychel wele & wyn
In erþe is no tunge may telle
Of flouris fruyt & swete smelle
Of ioye & blis so mony a þinge
Amydde þe londe he say a sprynge
Of a welle of honoure
ffro hir renne stremes foure
ffison . gison . tigre & eufrate
Alle erþe þese witen erly & late
Ouer þat welle þen loked he
And say þere stonde a mychel tre
Wiþ braunches fele no bark þat bere
Was þer no lyf in hem þere
Seeth bigan to þenke whyȝe
þat þis tre bicoom so dryȝe
And on þe steppes þouȝte he þon
þat dryed were for synne of mon
þat ilke skil dude hym to mynne

þe tre was dryȝe for adam synne
He coom þo to þat aungel shene
And tolde hym þat he hadde sene
Whenne he hadde hym þus toold
He bad hym efte goo & biholde
He loked in efte & stood þeroute
And say þingis þat made him doute
Þis tre þat I of eer seyde
A nedder hit hadde aboute bileyde
Cherubyn þe aungel briȝte
Bad hym go se þe þridde siȝte
Him þouȝte þenne þat he seiȝe
Þis forseyd tre rauȝte ful heiȝe
Vnto þe sky rauȝt þe top
A newe born chylde lay in þe crop
Bounden wiþ his swaþelynge bonde
þere þouȝte him hit lay squelonde
He was aferde whenne he hit siȝe
And to þe rote he caste his yȝe
Him þouȝte hit rauȝte fro erþe to helle
þere he say his broþer abelle
In his soule he say þat siȝte
þat kaym slowȝe forwaryed wiȝte
He wente aȝeyn for to shawe
To cherubyn al þat he sawe

1330 1160 fol.8r col.2 1340 1165 1170 1175 1350 1180

Cherubyn wiþ chere mylde
Bigan to telle him of þat chylde
þat chylde he seide wiþouten wene
Is goddis sone þat þou hast sene
þi fadir synne now wepeþ he
He shal hit clense þe tyme shal be
Whenne þe plente shal come of tyme
þis is þe oyle was hizte to hyme
To hym & to his progenye
Wiþ pite he shal hem shewe mercye
Whenne seeþ had vndirstonden wel
þe aungelis seying euer a del
His leue he took of cherubyn
And þre curnels he zaf to hym
Whiche of þat tre he nam
þat his fadir eet of adam
þi fadir he seide þou shalt say
þat he shal dyze þis þridde day
Aftir þou be comen hym to
Loke þat þou seye to hym so
But þou shalt take þe pepenes þre
þat I took of þe apoul tre
And putte vndir his tunge roote
To mony men þei shul be boote
þei ben cidur . cypres & palme fyne

1185 1360 1190 1195 1370 1200 1205

fol.8v col.1

To mony þei shul be medicyne
þe fadir bi cidur shal þou take
Hit shal be tre wiþouten make
Of cipres bi þat swete sauoure
Bitokeneþ þat swete sauyoure
þe myche swetnes is þe sone
þe palme to fruite hit is wone
Mony curnels of o tre moost
Gode ȝiftis of þe holy goost
Seeth was of his erned fayn
And soone come to his fadir aȝayn
Sone he seide hast þou sped ouȝt
Hast þou any mercy brouȝt
Sir cherubyn þat aungel
þat porter is þe greteþ wel
And seiþ þe world shal nyȝe han ende
Ar þe oyle may to þe wende
þourȝ birþe of a blissed childe
þat shal þe world fro shame shylde
ffor þi deeþ he bad me say
Hit shal be þis day þridde day
Adam her of was glad ful blyue
So glad was he neuer er his lyue
Whenne he herde to lyue no more
þo he lowȝe but neuere ore

And þus to god gan he cryȝe
Lord I nowȝe mon lyued haue iȝe
þou take my soule out of my flesshe
And do hit where þi wille is
ffor of þis world he was ful mad
þat neuer o day þerynne was glad
Nyne hundride ȝeer & more ȝare
He lyued here in sorwe and kare
Leuer hym were to ben in helle
þen lenger in þis worlde to dwelle
Adam as him was tolde biforne
Dyȝed on þe þridde morne
Grauen he was bi seeth þon
In þe vale of ebron
þe curnels were put vndir his tunge
Of hem roos þre ȝeerdis ȝonge
And soone an ellen hyȝe þei wore
þenne stode þei stille & wexe no more
Mony a ȝeer yliche grene
Holynesse in hem was sene
Stille stoode þo ȝerdes þre
ffro adames tyme to noe
ffro noe tyme & fro þe flood
To Abraham hooly & good
ffro Abraham ȝitt stille stood þay

1235 1410 1240 fol.8v col.2 1245 1420 1250 1255

Til moyses þat 3af þe lay
Euer stood þei stille in oon
Wiþouten waxinge oþer woon
Nomore of þe 3erde[s] now
But of a story I shal telle 3ow
Adam lyued nyne hundride 3ere
And þritty wynter also in fere
Whenne he was deed soone anoon
His soule was to helle goon
And alle þat di3ed fro þis to þon
þat Ihesu di3ed god and mon
Hem my3te helpe noon holyhede
But þei to helle muste nede
He my3te þinke þe stide stronge
þat in þat place was so longe
ffoure þousande 3eer in þat woo
Thre hundride 3eer also
So longe fro Adam was to telle
Til oure lorde harwede helle
þe genealogy of adam olde
Of seeth and caym shal be tolde
Seeth spoused his sister delbora þo

1261 The A in Adam is a medium size, decorated capital.
1275-6 A heading.
1277 The S in Seeth is a medium size, decorated capital.

Oure lord bad hit shulde be so
He gat a sone of hir enos
A man þat was of mychel loos
ffor he was þe firste man
þat cry on goddes name bigan
Nyne hundride ȝeer seuene & fyue
So longe lastede seeth his lyue
Enos his sone lyued by dene
Nyne hundride eer & fyue I wene
Caym his sone his lyf he led
Nyne hundride ȝeer as hit is red
Eyȝte hundride ȝeer lyued malalyel
And fyue & twenty ȝeer to tel
Nyne hundride ȝeer & sixe iareth
þat was þe fifte kyn fro seeth
Of iareth elde þe fourty and
Was passed ouer þe firste þousand
Enok his sone wiþouten pere
Lyued in erþe þre hundride ȝeere
He was þe firste þat letturre fond
And wroot summe bookes wiþ his hond
To paradise was he toke þon
And þere he lyueþ in flesshe & boon
He comeþ tofore domes day
To fiȝte for þe cristen lay

1450
1280
fol.9r col.1
1285
1460
1290
1295
1470
1300

Wiþ antecryst he shal fiȝte
ffor to were þe cristen riȝte
He & his felowe · Elye
Antecryst shal do hem dye
And wiþ her rysyng fro deþe to lyue
þei shul felle þat false stryue
Adam as þe story sayes
Dyed in þis Enok dayes
Of Enok coom matussale
Lyued neuer man so longe as he
Til nyne hundride ȝeer was goon
And seuenty failed hit but oon
Lameth his sone his elde to neuene
Seuen hundride ȝeer seuenty & seuen
Of lameth coom his sone Noe
In whoos tyme þe flood gan be
þe formast world Adam bigan
þerof lameþ þe laste man
Hit lasted wel a þousande ȝeere
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

1305 1480 1310 1315 1490 1320 fol.9r col.2 1325

Into a stide þat hiȝte Eden
To him was spoused calmana
As was to seeth delbora
Soone a sone of hir gat he
þat enos het as a cite
Of þat ilke name he took
We fynde no terme of him in book
þere woned caym wiþ his brood
þe firste cite bifore þe flood
Of enos coom malalyel
And of him coom matussalel
Lameth þre sones had wiþ mayne
Iobal . cabal , tubaltaine
þis lameth het lameth blynde
Kaym he slouȝe bi chaunce we fynde
In þe flood was he fordone
Jobal þen was his eldest sone
He was firste herde & fe delt wiþ
Tubaltayne þe formast smyth
Tobal her broþer firste vndirfong
Musyk þat is þe soun of song
Organes harpe & oþere glew
He drouȝe hem out of musyk new
A sistur hadde þo breþeren tweyne
Noema was called certeyne

She was þe formast webbe in kynde
þat men of þat crafte fynde
Hir fadir was þe firste on lyue
þat bigan to double wyue
þei þat þese wondir werkes wrouȝt
Hit ran hem wel þat tyme in þouȝt
þat þis worlde shulde come to ende
wiþ watir dreynt or fyre brende
Two pilers þei made of tyel þat on
þat oþer was of marbul stoon
þese craftes alle þat þei dide so
þei put hem in þese pileres two
þe stoon aȝeyn þe watir to laste
þe tiel aȝeyn þe fire not braste
þei wolde þat who so aftir coom
Shulde be wissed bi her wisdoom
þerfore let god hym lyue so longe
þat þei myȝte seke & vndirstonde
þe kynde of þingis þat were derne
Cours of sunne moone & sterne
Whiche cours may noon al lere
þouȝe he lyued an hundride ȝere
Whenne so mony ȝeer is past oute
þe mychel spire is ronnen aboute
In so long tyme is not to leyne

1355 1530 1360 fol.9v col.1 1540 1370 1375

Þe planetes are alle went aȝeyne
Of her firste makyng in to Þe state
As clerkes now wel woot Þate
How mannes synne Þat I of mene
Corrupted al Þis world bidene
Whenne iareth Þat ȝe herde me neuen
Had elde of hundride winter & seuen
Mikel malis was firste in mon
But neuer tofore as was Þon
In adames tyme was woo ynouȝe
But Þenne was Þere more wouȝe
Namely among kaymes kynne
Þat delited hem but in synne
Hem Þouȝte al wel Þat was her wille
Þat Þei drouȝe euere hem tille
On alle Þinge was more her Þouȝt
Þen on god Þat hem wrouȝte
So blynde Þei wexe in her siȝt
Þat couÞe Þei do no maner riȝt
Euer Þei ȝaf her lyf to lust
Þat shende her soulis al to dust
Wymmen as we hit fynde
Wente togider aȝeyne kynde

1550 1560 1380 1385 1390 1395 1400

1381-2 A heading.

1383 The W in Whenne is a medium-sized capital.

And men also þe same wyse — fol.9v col.2
As þe deuele wolde deuyse
Of soþfastenes as seiþ þe sawe
Þei left euer þe good lawe
Þe lawe of soothnes ny of kynde — 1405
Wolden þei no tyme fynde
Al wexe wicked & in stryf
Þe broþer took þe oþeres wyf
Her kursednes was not vnkid
Þe lawe of kynde þei so fordid — 1410
Þe shame & synne þat þere was oute
To telle were sumdel doute — 1580
Þe fende wende fully wiþ þis
Þat al mankynde shulde han ben his
So ferforþly þat god not myȝte — 1415
Brynge man into state of riȝte
Into þe astate þat he had tynt
But god al oþere wyse mynt
His owne hondiwerke so soone
Wolde he not hit were for done — 1420 — 1590
Þerfore in forme of iuggement
A newe vengeaunce on hem he sent
His foos to brynge alle of lyue
And clense þe world of synne ryue
Bi his grace to ȝyue hem gritth — 1425

þat he monkynde shulde restore wiþ
Whenne he bihelde þe foly stronge
God þat biden hade so longe
þouȝe he were wrooþ no wonder nas
þis worde he seide anoon in plas 1430 1600
þis was þe worde he seide þanne
Me reweþ þat I made manne
But alle þat þis word here & sene
Woot not what hit is to mene
þis word was a prophecye 1435
þat was seyd for his mercye
Of þe reuþe he siþþe kidde
Whenne he himself to pyne didde
ffor his chosen on rode tre
What was his reuþe may we se 1440 1610
By þis word þat þere was seide fol.10r col.1
His mercy was bifore purueide
To þoo þat were on his party
ffor to brynge hem myȝtily
As his owne his kyndam tille 1445
His enemyes alle for to spille
Aȝeynes hem was so wrooþ
And bi his riȝt hond swoor an ooþ
þat þei shulde alle haue shenful dede
Saue þe goode wolde he rede 1450 1620

þouȝe alle þe foolis were for lorn
þe goode shulde be forborn
As hit at noe flood bifelle
Wher of I shal siþen telle
But firste a tre of noe kynne
I shal here sette ar I bigynne
Here bigynneþ of noe lede
þe secounde world for to sede
Fyue hundrid ȝeere had noe
Whenne he had geten sones þre
þe first was sem . cam þat oþer
And Iapheth hette þe þridde broþer
God spak vnto Noe þan
þus his resoun he bigan
Noe he seide I telle þe
Al þis world bytrayeþ me
þei han lefte me & my lawe
Of me stonde þei noon awe
Al is forȝeten þat fraunchise
þat I ȝaf man in paradise
þe erþe wiþ synne is foule shent
Al riȝtwisnesse away is went
ffoule lustis & wicked hede

1457-8 A heading.

1459 The F in Fyue is a medium size, decorated capital.

Han fuyled þis world in lengþe & brede
No man her synne may say ne seke
þerof to heuen recheþ þe smeke
Couetise lecchery and pryde
Haþ spred þis world on euery syde
Alle are þei worþi to wite
Of woo is noon founden quyte
But I shal hem laye ful lawe
þat set so lytil of myn awe
Wreche 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
Ze eizte for zoure leute
Alone I haue grantide gre
Wiþ þyn 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 wrizt

1475 1480 1485 1490 1495

fol.10r col.2

1650 1660

I shal þe telle how brood & long
Of what mesure & how strong
Whenne þe tymbur is festende wel
Wynde þe sidis eueryche a del
Bynde hit firste wiþ balke & bonde
And wynde hit siþþen wiþ good wonde
Wiþ picke loke hit be not þinne
Plastre hit wel wiþoute & ynne
Seuen score ellen longe & tene
Þries eyȝte on wyde on heiȝte fiftene
ffiftene on heiȝt is þe entent
ffro grounde to þe tabulment
Hit shal be made wiþ stages sere
vchone for dyuerse manere
Þou shalt byneþen on þat oon syde
Make a dore wiþ mesure wyde
A sperynge wyndowe als on hyȝe
Loke þi werke be not vnslye
And hous þerynne to drynke & ete
Wardrope þat þou not forȝete
Of alle manere beestis take þe tweyne
To wone þere wiþ her makes certeyne
Of vche beest þat is wrouȝt
ffoule ne worme forȝete ȝe nouȝt

In þe ouemast stage shal þou be
ffoules nexte vndir þe
Siþen alþer nexte honde
Meke bestis þei shul vndirstonde
þo þat are tame & mylde
And vndir hem þenne þe wilde
Also þat þou make a boure
To kepe wiþynne þi wardestoure
In þe boþum shal be no stalle
ffor al her filþe shal þerynne falle
Hit shal be mychel wiþouten nere
In makyng sixe siþe twenty 3ere
So longe tyme I haue hem lent
þat wol come to amendement
And if any wol tente to þe
þat þei þerynne may saued be
Whenne þou hast wel þi tymber layd
And hit is to þi wille payde
þou & þi wyf shul firste yn te
þi sones & her wyues þre
Also þat 3e take 3ow wiþ
ffoule & beest þat shal haue griþ
þe meke togider two & two
þe wylde by hem self also

1523 For ouemast read ouermast.

Of vchone take þou tweyne In
To holden vp her owne kyn
Be wel war for any swynke
þat þou ne wante mete ne drynke
Do now wel I leue þe
But I come efte þe to se
If I se þou worches riȝt
I shal holde þat I þe hiȝt
Now woot noe what to do
And hewe tymbur þat fel þerto
He ȝaf wriȝtis her mesure
And hym self dude his cure
þei wrouȝte faste in dyuerse place
Him self fastened boþe bonde & lace
But euermore as he wrouȝte
ffolke to preche forȝat he nouȝte
To warne hem of goddis wreche
How god had wiþ hym a speche
He hit tolde to many man
Wherfore he þat shipp bigan
Wiþ skorn alle hym vnswered
And seide why is þis cherle fered
þei seide greet wondir hem þouȝte
Why he was so ferde for nouȝte

1555 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.

He were þei seide worþ to be sent
þat of his wordes toke tent
Whenne noe say þis trauail tynt
Of his prechyng þenne he stynt
Hit is but foly to ȝyue counsel to
To hem þat wol but foly do
þerfore he lefte þat cursede lede
And went & dude his owne dede
More wiþ hem he greued nouȝt
Til he had his ship wrouȝt
He was glad whenne hit was made
Riȝt as god bifore hym bade
Whenne he hadde do þe commaundement
He bode not but þe iugement
þat god of myȝte wolde worche his wille
As he bifore seide hym tille
þen cam god at tyme his
To Noe for to speke of þis
Whenne he hadde wiþ him spoken
Hym self þe dore soone hadde stoken
þe wyndowe was wiþ siche a gyn
hit myȝte open & spere wiþyn
Whenne þis was done þer was no bide

1571 Read shent for sent.

1583 Read done for do.

Stormes roos on euery syde
Sunne & moone þe liȝt can hyde
Hit merked ouer al þis world wyde
þe reyn fel doun so wondir faste
þe welles wexe þe bankes braste
þe see to ryse þe erþe to cleeue
þe spryngis alle oute to dreue
Leytynge fel wiþ þondir and reyn
þe erþe quook and dened aȝeyn
Sunne and moone lost her liȝt
Al þe world turned to nyȝt
þat sorwe to se was greet awe
þe buyldyngis fel boþe hyȝe & lawe
þe watir wex ouer þe pleynes
þe beestes ran to mounteynes
Men & wymmen ran hem wiþ
Wel þei hoped to haue had griþ
Al for nouȝte þei wente a fote
Whenne þei þere cam hit was no bote
þe foulis flotered þo on hyȝe
And fel whenne þei myȝte not dryȝe
ffor nouȝte fled beest & man
Alto late þei hit bigan
In þat watir soone þe swam

1595 For can read gan.

1595
fol.11r col.1
1770
1780

Syde bi syde wolf & man
Þe lyoun swam bisyde Þe hert
Dide no beest to oÞere smert
Þe sparhauke bi Þe sterlynge
Þei tentede oÞere no maner Þinge
Þes ladyes tent not Þo to pride
Þei swam bi her knaues syde
ffor lordshipe was Þere no stryf
Was no man gelous of his wyf
OÞere to helpe was noon so slye
Alle Þei drenched by & bye
Alle Þei drenched euerychone
Was noon fro deÞ myȝte gone
ffor her synnes wepte Þei Þan
Allas to late Þei bigan
Þenne desired Þo caytifs badde
Þat Þei hadde ben by noe ladde
But Þouȝe Þat noe was in quert
He was [not] al in ese of hert
Þe wynde hym ledde on Þat flood
He nuste whiderwarde he ȝood
Heuen & erÞe he flet bytwene
He nuste where his ship wolde bene
Þei were ful ferde of her lyues
Þat was wiÞ hym mon & wyues

1620
1790
1625
1630
1800
1635
1640
1808
fol.11r col.2
1809

But þe lord ful of myȝt
To Noe bifore her lyues hiȝt
Noe þo wiste wiþouten weme
þe folk was al deed bi dene
wiþ soor wepynge he hem ment
And turned to god al his tent
He fyned neuer nyȝte nor day
ffor þo caitifs for to pray
ffor monkynde as seiþ þe boke
But durste he neuer wiþ yȝe vn loke
He preyed to god for her sake
No vengeaunce on þo soulis to take
As was taken in þat whyle
On her bodyes þat were so vile
Siþ þei were perisshed so reuly
On her soulis to haue mercy
So had þei hade wiþouten faile
Hadde þei done noes counsaile
Whenne þei forsook his prechyng
And took his speche to scornyng
But now þei fynde hit þerfore
þat wolde not leue on Noe lore
ffor whil þat god ȝaf hem grace
þei were not ferde of his manace
// þis 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
þe hezest hil þat was owhore
þe flood ouer passed seuen ellen & more
þer was no creature on lyue
þe grounde myzte reche ne ryue
But hit were fisshe þat flet on sonde
Mizte no þing on grounde stonde
On þat streem þe ship gan ryde
þo wawes beten on euery syde
þe stormes straked wiþ þe wynde
þe wawes to bete biforn & bihynde
Noe & his euere loked doun
To drenche wende þei hadde be boun
But be we truste wiþouten stryf
þei weren wery of her lyf
Til seuen siþes twenty dayes were gon
þe flood stood stille euer in oon
Aboute fyue moneþes hit stoode
Wiþouten fallyng þat fers floode
Ofte þei wende her ship wolde ha ryue
wiþ wynde or wawe or dynt of clyue
But zitt is good kyng of blis
To helpe euer whenne his wille is
Whenne þis vengeaunce þus was wrouzt
Oure lorde þenne on noe þouzte

1670 1840 1675 1680 fol.11v col.1 1850 1685 1690 1860

And bigan to haue pite
Of him his ship and his meyne
þat myȝty kyng soone I wis
Turned her bale in to blis
Aȝeyn he made þe wattres go
Into þe places þat þei coom fro
þe erþe wex bare er þei wende
þe ship on londe bigan to lende
On ermonye hit gon stonde
A heȝe hil in holy londe
þe sunne bigan þo hir to kyþe
Noe wex þenne ful bliþe
And seyde to his sones þre
Childre he seide what rede ȝee
How shulde of þis watir wit
If þat hit be fallen ȝit
By a foule þei seide wite may we
If þe erþe bare be
To shippe wol he come no more
If he fynde bare erþe þore
His wyndowe opened þo noe
And lete a rauen out fle
He souȝte vp & doun þere
A stide to sittevp on sumwhere

1695 1700 1870 1705 1710 1880 1715

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 azayn
þerfore þe messangere men saye
þat dwelleþ longe in his iournay
He may be calde wiþ resoun clere
Oon of þe rauenes messangere
And whenne Noe perceyued was
Of þe reauenes 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
Siþen abood he seuene dayes
Aftir þat þe bibel sayes
He sent þe dowfe anoþer siþe
She wente forþ & was ful bliþe
Soone she coom & dwelt nouȝte
An olyue braunche in mouþe brouȝte
þenne was Noe wel I knawe
þat þe flood hit was wiþdrawe
But ȝit bood he seuen dayes in rest
ffor fere lest any dam̃ing brest

1720 fol.11v col.2
1725
1730
1735
1740
1890
1900

1726 The a in reauenes has been altered from something else.

Sip he made hem alle out dryue
ffoule & beest man & wyue
þese beestis were ful glad in moode
Whenne þei hadde her kyndely foode
Oure lord dide hem soone to sprede
Wiþinne her owne kynde to brede
þenne bad god vnto noe
To leue þe ship wiþ his meyne
A tweluemoneþ was go bi þis
Bi þat same day I wis
þat day tweluemoneþ þat he ȝeode In
He hit left more ny myn
As perus maiȯr þe gode clerk
Telleþ of hym in his werke
To him þenne coom oure lord hende
And seide Noe leue frende
þou & þi sones wiþ her wyues
I haue saued alle ȝoure lyues
ȝow ȝitt haue I forborn
þat in my vengeaunce be not lorn
To ȝow ȝitt þat I haue let lyue
My brode benesoun I ȝow ȝyue
I wol þat of þi osprynge brede
Al maner nacioun and lede
Vche þing on his wyse

1910
1745
1750
1920
1755
1760
fol.12r col.1
1930
1765

I wol þei do þe seruyse
Noe was of his blessyng blipe
And lete reyse an auter swyþe
He ȝeode to worshepe god as wyse
þer on made he sacrifise
Oure lord god al weldyng
Him liked wel her offeryng
He seide Noe for no chaunce
Shal I not take siche vengeaunce
ffro me dounward man drouȝe his ȝouȝt
Now are þei fully doun ybrouȝt
And if þou worche aftir my lore
þou shalt fare wel þerfore
To ·ode þewes þou þe ȝyue
Loue wel troupe whil þou lyue
ffor þat ȝe biforn han sene
Vche man lyue trewely bi dene
If þou wolt trowe on my rede
ffle falshede & þefte as dede
Whoso of flesshe 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 wiþ clouen foot in two

1775 ȝouȝt is an error for þouȝt.

Wiþ chowyng quode ȝe ete also
I warne ȝow now alle bi dene
Ete of no beest of kynde vnclene
O no maner worm þat is made
Ne foule þat reueþ his lyf lade
Also ȝe ete of no flesshe ellis
þat in slowȝe & erþe dwelles
Siche fisshe & flesshe of boþe I say
Loke ȝe caste þe body away
To þe and þyne I bidde also
Be noon so bolde oþer to slo
ffor who so sleeþ mon or wyf
þer is no raunsoum but lyf for lyf
I made man afftir myn owne ymage
I wol noon oþer do outrage
Euel ow nomon to do to oþere
But vche to be oþers broþere
A couenande now I hete þe
þou shalt fro nowe my reynbowe se
Whil þou may se my bowe wiþoute
Of siche a flood þar þe not doute
If man mys dooþ on oþere wyse
On hem I shal sette my Iustise
þat shal ben at þe day of Ire
Whenne I shal come to deme wiþ fyre

1790
1960
1795
1800
fol.12r col.2
1970
1805
1810
1980

Wiþ trewe werkis loke ȝe dele
As ȝe wol loue ȝoure soule hele
And ȝeldeþ to ȝoure creatour
þe tenþe part of ȝoure labour
Gode men I wol þat ȝe se
Bytwene Adam and Noe
þe tyme was euer Iliche grene
þat no reynbowe þere was sene
And þei no reyn on erþe felle
Plente on erþe myȝte men telle
Ne þurt no mon ete flesshe þat tyde
Til hit made mannes pride
Now is for synne & pryd of man
þe erþe feblere þen hit was þan
ffro þe watir þat hit so wesshe
þerfore man mot now ete flesshe
And feblere mannes state now is
þen hit was þenne for soþe I wis
Whenn Noe left þe ship alone
He hadde six hundride ȝeer & one
þe elleuenþe wyntur was witterly
þeraftir as telleþ vs metody
Whenne þe world was goonde
In elde of þe þridde þousonde

1833 The W in Whenn is a medium size decorated capital.

Noe þe trewe wiþouten synne
A newe lyflode he dide bigynne
A newe lyflode went þei to be
Him self and his sones þre
Moost to tilþe he ȝaf hym þan
To flitte breres he bygan
So longe flittyng to hem he souȝt
þat vynetrees he hem wrouȝte
A day bifel he was forswonken
And vnwarres of wyn dronken
þouȝe he him self firste hit wrouȝt
þerfore þe wyn spared him nouȝt
Dronke he lay & slept by his one
þere þe sunne vpon hym shone
Naked on þat lyme lay he
þat men þinke moost shame to se
His mydelest sone was cald cam
Bihelde & say his fadris shame
He kidde he was vnkynde ynouȝe
To scorne he his fadir louȝe
To his broþer Iapheth seide he
Broþer come now hider and se
What is þat seide Iapheth broþer
þi fadir slepeþ seide þat oþer
He lyþ here come se þou shalle

1840
fol.12v col.1
2010
2013
1845
1850 2020
1855
1860 2030

Naked vpon his lymmes alle
Broþer he seide þou seist. folye
And þat I trowe þou wolt abye
If þou of þi fadir make despit
þou beest of his blessyng quyt
His ȝonger broþer was ful wo
ffor þe elder wrouȝte so
A mantel fro his necke he toke
And ȝeode bacwarde as seiþ þe boke
He & his elder broþere seem
Blessedest of þat barnetem
Til þei coom þere her fadir lay
þerwiþ hym couered þay
Herby may we vndirstonde
Was no breech foundide þo in londe
Noe wiþ þis mantel awoke
His sones scorne he vndirtoke
His malisoun on hym he leyde
And siþ to him þenne he seide
Cam wiþouten any doute
Vndir þi breþeren þou shalt loute
Vndir hem to be as þral
þou and þyn ospring al
þe oþere two for her couerynge
Noe ȝaf his brood blessynge

1865
1870 2040
1875
1880 2050
fol.12v col.2
1885

To seem & Iapheth þenne seide he
Now shal hit al forȝyuen be 1890 2060
Lathþe & wraþþe or any pliȝt
If ȝe aȝeyn me han done vnriȝt
Of ȝow shal þe ospring sprede
þat shal ouer al haue lordehede
Blessed shal be ȝoure tabernacle 1895
fful of myrþe & of myracle
And god hit grante þat hit be so
þat al þis world be ȝouris two
To cam he seide foule felouñ
þou hast þe kynde of þat natioun 1900 2070
Of caym curside moost of oþere
þat wiþ tresouñ slouȝe his broþere
Do þe swithe out of my siȝt
þou art & shalt be cursed wiȝt
By me owe þou not to dwelle 1905
I drede þi wonynge be in helle
ffle fro me þou waryed þing
Now shul we parte for þi skornyng
Awey he fledde he and his
Oure lordis enemyes þei were . I wis 1910 2080
Noe þe graciouse & þe gode
Lyued fourty ȝeer aftir þe flode

1911 The N in Noe is a medium size, decorated capital.

Nyne hundride ȝeer & ten siþe fyue
So longe lastede Noes lyue
ffor his trewe lyf to neuene 1915
He sitteþ now wiþ 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 oþere 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 wiþouten hope
As myche as aufryk & europe
Asye is þe þridde in dole
And is þe haluendel ȝitt al hole 1930 2100
Hit is þe best for þer yn is
þe holy londe and heþenis
Wiþ preciouse stoonis spices of prys
In þat lond stondeþ paradys
Inde and peris . and arabye 1935
Babilone . Iuda and sulie

1921 MSS C,F,G, and T all read þre after þese.

And mony oþere dyuerse cuntre
þerynne is babilone þe moost cite
Aufrik is þat oþer partye
Bifore þat wasse called libie
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
Ienile . mortaygne & indie
þat lond is moost into þe souþ
þere þat blo men are ful couþ
þe þridde party is not best
hit is moost in to þe west
Al on þis syde þe grickisshe see
Hadde Iapheth to his lyuere
Hit hette Europe where moost today
Abideþ of þe cristen lay
þerynne is Roome þe heed cite
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

1940 2110
1945
1950 2120
1955
1960 2130

1940 Read was for wasse.

Of hem roos mony men fol.13r col.2
Of dyuerse kyndes sixe sipe ten
Knyzt & pral and fre man
Of pese pre briperen bigan
Of sem fre mon of iapheth knyzt 1965
pral of cam waryed wizte 2136
Bigynne we nowe to telle of sem
And sipen of his barn teem
Sem was trewe in goddes lore 2139
he lyued seuen hundride zeer & more 1970 2140
pis ilke sem was cald sedek po
Sipen melchisadech also
Oure swete lady as we fynde
Coom out of pis same kynde
Of salem preest & kyng he was 1975
pat now het ierusalem in plas
pe firste he was of opere born
pat wip wyn and breed of corn
Made sacrifise to god so trewe
In tokenyng of pe lawes newe 1980 2150
pis sem lyued I rede of here
Til ysaac was of seuenty zere
Sem hadde fyue sones fre

1967-8 A heading.
1969 The S in Sem is a medium size, decorated capital.

Of oon to speke is good to me
þat is of hym of whoos sede
He was born þat bett oure nede
Arphaxat lyued wiþouten were
þre hundride & eiȝte & þritty ȝere
ffoure hundride ȝeer his son caynan
And eiȝte & þritty fro he bigan
ffoure hundride ȝeer his sone sale
And also þritty ȝeer and þre
ffoure hundride ȝeer his sone heber
Wiþ foure & fourty sett to þer
Phaleth his sone witterly
Two hundride ȝeer nyne & þritty
Ragan his sone þat was
Twelue score ȝeer saue oon las
Two hundride ȝeer serut his sone
And þritty was his lyf in wone
ffoure score & eiȝte nachor had lyue
Thare his sone two hundride & fyue
þat oþer elde endeþ in thare
Whiche bigan at good noe
þat tyme was þis world so ȝonge
þat alle me[n] spak wiþ o tonge
þat is ebrew for to say
þat iewes speke ȝitt to þis daye

1985
1990
2000
2005

2160
fol.13v col.1
2173
2175
2180

Iapheth hadde him sones seuene
A party synful for to neuene
Gomor . madan . Gena . Magog
Tubal . Tiras . and mosog
Þis gomor hadde sones þre
Togoriens . riphat . Asine
Gena had foure oon cethim
Elisa tharsis . and dothahim
To eil londis þes þei drow
Of hem sprong foly ynow
Cam foure sones had hym
Chus phut canan & mephaim
Of chus saba & ielula
Sabatha regma sagabata
Of chus bicam nembrot also
Þat in his tyme dide myche woo
ffor he was proud fers & felle
Of hym now wol I telle
Þis nembrot wiþ his foule pride
he wende to worche wondrs wyde
ffer aboute men bar his name
Miche he couþe of synne & shame
Of babiloyne kyng stif in stour
And also wrongful emperour
Robber & monqueller greet

2027 The Þ in Þis is a medium size, decorated capital.

Al he lyued wiþ euel bygeet
Was þer noon þat woned him by
þat myȝte of him gete mercy
Ouer al he went wiþ greet outrage
þat tyme was þere but o langage
Ebreu þe firste þat adam spak
ffro eest he brouȝt an euel pak
In to þe felde of semare
Sixty werkemen þei ware
To dwelle wiþ nembroth þei coom
And tooke a counsel amonges hem
A foly counsel took þei soone
To werre vpon þe sunne & moone
Here witt was ful of felony
þerfore a foly counsel seide I
Of her pryde couþe no mon telle
In sennare þei toke to dwelle
Nembrot hem seide on þis wyse
Me þinkeþ sires þei were vnwyse
Oure eldres þat biforn vs were
Whenne þei couþe fynde in no manere
ffor to kepe hem fro þat flood
þat dreynt þe world and ouerȝood

2210 2219 2220 fol.13v col.2

2053 A series of seven vertical dots appear on the left of this line in the manuscript.

I rede we bigynne a newe labour
Do we wel & make a tour
Wiþ squyre & scanteldun so euene
þat hit may reche heiȝer þen heuen
God shul we conquere wiþ fiȝt
Aȝeyn vs shal he haue no myȝt
Or at þe leest holde hym stille
And lette vs not to do oure wille
þat euer whenne we haue chesoun
ffrely may clymbe vp and doun
þese foolis soone gedered hom
Wiþ greet enuye þis werk bigon
Two & sixti fadome brade
Was þe groundewal þat þei made
Whenne þei hadde made þe grounde
þe werk þei reisede in a stounde
Wiþ tyel & teer wiþouten stoon
Oþer morter was þer noon
Wiþ corde & plum þei wente so hyȝe
þe hete of sunne myȝte þei not dryȝe
Wiþ horses & wiþ camel hyde
þei hiled hem heete to abyde
þei seide whether god be wrooþ or blyþe
his estres wol we se swyþe
Now we ben þus fer warre

2230 2060 2065 2240 2070 2075 2250 2080

fol.14r col.1

Oure wille may he not forbarre
But grete god þat is so hende
A curteys vengeaunce can he sende
þei þat outrage on hym souȝte
Lymme no lyf he refte hem nouȝte
But so he menged her mood
þat noon oþere vndirstood
Of siche speche as he wolde say
Her tongis dyuersed fro þat day
ffor shame vchone þat werk forsoke
And went away as seiþ þe booke
þerfore hit hette babiloyne
þat shent þing is wiþouten asoyne
þere were alle þe speches part
Of dyuerse londis to dyuerse art
ffirst was but oon & no moo
Now are þer spechis sixty & two
þis tour was selly made on hiȝt
ffyue þousande steppes stood vpriȝt
Also eiȝte score & fourty þerto
þus made þese foolis hem to do
Ten myle compas al aboute
þat story telleþ out of doute
At þis werke was not sem
Ne noone of his barnteem

þerfore ebreu her speche han þay
þat iewis holden to þis day
// þis nembrot was þe firste kyng
þat fonde in maumete mystrowing
Longe he regnede in þat londe
In maumetrye first feiþ he fonde
þat he bigan lasteþ 3ete
Sarazines wol hit not lete
Aftir his fadir þat was dede
A vigur was maad by his rede
He commaundide alle men
As god þei shulde þat þing ken
What for loue & what for doute
Alle hit worsheped to loute
þis euydense byhelde oþere
þat summe for fadir & als for broþere
ffor frendes dede þat was hem dere
Ymages þei made of metalles sere
Bi hem þis lawe was þo bigunne
Soone was hit ouer al runne
ffor frendes deeþ ouer al þe londe
Siche mysbileue vp þei fonde
ffendes crepte þo ymagis wiþynne
And ladde folted men to synne
Thre sones had thare oon abram

2290 2300 fol.14r col.2

2114-7 There is a vertical line in the margin to the left of these lines.

Also nacor and aram
Thre sones had nacor þe lele
Vs and bus and batuele
Of vs coom Iob of bus balam
Of batuel rebecka & laban
Of aram a sone wiþ douȝtris þre
Melcha . loth & dame sare fre
Of þe þridde elde is now to telle
Who so wole a stounde dwelle
Of Abraham now wol we drawe
þat roote is of þe cristen lawe
I say þerfore he is þe roote
ffor of hym sprong oure alþer boote
þat boote þat brouȝte vs into myrþe
þourȝe þe hooly maydenes birþe
Of hym & his kyn shul we rede
þat wondirly bigan to brede
Oure lady wex out of his sede
We pray hir for hir maydenhede
þat we may of þis story say
Hir to worshepe hir sone to pay
Abraham þat we here of neuen
Was wel loued wiþ god of heuen

2139-40 A heading.

2141 The O in Of is a medium size, decorated capital.

Trewe he was euer in dede
fful of feiþ & 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 oþer
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 soþfastenesse & riȝte
þerfore oure lord to him hiȝte
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 myȝte þe somme neuen
Moore þen þe sterres of heuen
Ne þenne þe grauels in þe see
So multiplyinge shulde þei be
He leued þis wiþ herte stabel
þis biheste myȝte be no fabel
As he leued so he fonde
Oure lorde helde him trewe couenonde
But longe he ladde him wiþ delay

2155 2330 2160 fol.14v col.1 2165 2340 2170 2175 2350 2349

To more þe mede of his fay
Of sixty ȝeer he was & fyue
Whenne his fadir was faren of lyue
ffor him he was in mournyng þouȝt
Til oure lord him counfort brouȝt
And seide to hym wiþ a sown
Abraham loke þou make þe bown
þou þi catel and þi meyne
Out of þis londe þat ȝe fle
ȝe shul wende to a bettur londe
To loth þi broþer sone in honde
To canaan ȝe mosten drawe
A lond þat I shal ȝow shawe
þou leue aram þe londe of ire
Of canaan to be lorde and syre
þider to wende be not ferde
þere shal be þi kyndely erde
Alle þat wonen þer aboute
To þe shul be vndirloute
þere shal þi name reysed be
And alle þe heires þat comen of þe
I shal hem blisse þat þe wol blisse
My blissyng shul þe oþere mysse
Abraham went & wiþ him loth

2360 2370 2200 fol.14v col.2

2190 For To read Take. See note to this line.

Meyne & catel wel I woot
He coom & dwelled he and þei
Bisyde sichen in a valey
But þere felons folk þei fond
þat myche waasted of þat lond
Als soone as þei þider cam
God him shewed to abraham
And seide abraham þis is þe land
þat þou & þyne shul haue weldand
Abraham of troupe so trewe
By bethel reised an auter newe
He worsheped god kyng of blis
And he him blessed & alle his
Abraham turned him into þe souþ
To se þat londe þouȝt vnkouþ
In pees he wende hit haue in wolde
As oure lord hadde hym tolde
But soone whenne he had þe lond
An hunger fell 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 wiþ hym to lede
Hade þei no corn hem wiþ to fede

And as þei þidurwarde went
þis forwarde made þei þere present
Lemmon he seide soore I me drede
Now we go bi þis vncouþ lede
ffor þou art feir whenne þei þe se
Wiþ myȝte þei wol þe take fro me
Seye þou þerfore to oon & oþer
þat þou art my sistir & I þi broþer
Elles þe folk whenne þei þe se
Wol me sle for loue of þe
Sir she seide hit shal be do
þenne coom þei þat cuntre to
Whenne þat folk had hir sene
Alle speke of hir she was so shene
And so hir preysed to þe kynge
þat he made hir to hym brynge
But god hir kepte þat was hir wiþ
And saued hir so in his griþ
þat myȝte no man wiþ leccherye
Hir body touche wiþ vilenye
þe kyng was ferd for goddes gram
And delyuered hir to Abraham
And seide why mades þou vs in were
To calle þi wyf þi sister dere
Take hir here and brouke hir wel

2230 2235 2240 2245 2250

2410 2420

fol.15r col.1

Of þyn wol I neuer a del
But leuer me is of myn þou haue
Gold and siluer he hym ȝaue
And commaundide þourȝe his 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 wiþ him led
To lette him streitly he forbed
Abraham went home & his wif sare
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 neuew loth
Beestaile þei hade ynouȝe 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

2263 The A in Abraham is a medium size, decorated capital.

þat dide her stoor myche wrong
þe nabethens þat lodly lede
fful of wronge & wickedhede
þei myȝt wiþ hem haue no rest
þei most part to seke her best
Abraham seide wiþ wordis hende
Loth my neuew and my frende
þis lond is wyde þat we are ynne
God vs helpe hit to wynne
Of þis cuntre þat is so wyde
þou chese to wone on sum syde
Whe þer þou chese on riȝt or left
I wol take þat þou hast left
Loth loked toward flum iurdan
A dale he chees to hym þan
A lussom lond & fair cuntre
þe flum ran þurȝe fair to se
þe lond of gomor þerby lys
þat þenne was lyk to paradys
þat tyme ar hit had done þe sake
Til god þeron vengeaunce can take
þat lond to wone In loth þouȝt beste
Abraham chees toward þe eest
þe lond of sodom bar greet blame
ffor hit was in a wickede fame

2280 fol.15r col.2
2285
2460
2290
2295
2470
2300

þei synned so foule among hom
þat boþe hem cursed god & mon
Abraham last & his þan
Bisyde þe lond of canaan
Vndir þe foot of mount mambre
þere he chees to sette his se
þat ilke stide hett chebron
A wondur wynsum stide in won
He made an auter in þat stide
And sacrifise þer on he dide
þat oure lord shulde on him mynne
And make him worshepe to wynne
His tabernacle he sette þer sone
God lete myracle for hym done
In þat lond was a werre strong
And hit lastede sum del long
ffoure kynges werred vp on fyue
þe fyue azeyn þe foure to stryue
þei smoot to gider neuer þe latur
In a dale bisyde a watur
So long þei hew on helm & shelde
þat foure of fyue wan þe felde
þe fyue zaf bak to wynne away
And fellen into a putt of clay
þere fel þei doun al in swowe

And her enemyes þere hem slowe
Siþ þei took to wynne þat lond
Al þat þei bifore hem fond
Loth þei tok and led hem wiþ
Was noon þei wolde graunte griþ
þei helde hores was þe lond
ffor þei hadde þe ouer hond
Hard helde þei loth þat day
A mon vnneþe myȝte passe away
To come to Abraham for to telle
Of lothis chaunce how hit felle
Abraham was ful euel likonde
Whenne he herde þis tyþonde
He dide to geder to gider his men
þre hundride eiȝte seruauntis & ten
And pryuely he made hem byde
Til aȝeyn þe euentyde
And þo he brouȝte hem to a pas
Men calde þere þen themas
þere he delt his folk in two
þat þe oþere shulde not skape hem fro
þese kyngis hadde of no mon doute
Her folk þei scatered al aboute
Abraham þat was in trouþe strong

2330 2335 2340 2345 2350

2510 2520

2333 For hores read heres.

Hebben men he mett among
ffro hem he delyuered loth
Wib al bat catel vche grot
Slayn were bo knyztis bat nyzt
bourze be grace of god almyzt
be folk of sodom were ful fayn
Whenne abraham was comen azayn
bei sawe her frendis hool & sounde
And wiste her foos brouzte to grounde
Melchisedech wib wille glade
Offeryng of wyn and breed made
bat of ierusalemes londe
Was kyng & prest & hade in honde
Trewe he was wyse and hende
Of her conqueste took be tende
Abraham his benesoun zaf he
And bad alle to hym tentynge be
Of pray wolde abraham nouzte haue
But vche man his owne zaue
Miche was be loue word bon
bat Abraham gat of mony mon
bei seide hit was he in sizt
Oure lord in him wolde holde his hizt
Abraham went hoom & wib him ledde
His folk & whenne he was in bedde

2355 2530 2360 fol.15v col.2 2365 2540 2370 2375 2550

In sleep he herde oure lordis steuen
Soþely to him spak in sweuen
And seide Abraham þar þe not drede
I shal þe helpe in al þi nede
þat I haue þe in dede hiȝte
To wynne þou shal not faile myȝte
Lord he seide how may þis be
What is þi wille to ȝyue to me
þou wost wel childe haue I noone
But my seruauntis sone alone
þat serueþ me eliazar
Myn heire wolde I þat he war
Siþ þou me ȝaf noon oþer barn
Nay seide god I shal þe warn
þat he þyn heire shal not be
But a seede þat comeþ of þe
Abraham he seide come her oute
Byholde þe sky al aboute
þe childer þat of þe shul brede
No more shal þou con hem rede
þen sterres in sky or sond in see
To knowe hit shal ful selcouþe be
Be trust in þis þat I þe hiȝt
þe hit to reue 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 o (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 þus saide to Abraham
Abraham he seide fro þe
Wol I not hele my pryuete
þou and þyne are me so dere 2405
þat I wol ȝe my counsel here 2740
Of sodom haue I herde þe cry
þe stinche recheþ to þe sky
þe world is wors þen men neuen
þe reeche recheþ in to heuen 2410
To se wol I my seluen go
Of þat cry if hit be so
þere wol I take vengeaunce strong
þerto shal hit not be long
// Lord seide Abraham þyn are 2415
Shalt þou þyne owne so forfare 2750
Hit semeþ not to be þi wille
ffor þe wicked þe goode to spille
þi riȝtwisnes wol not so
ffor þe wicked þe gode to slo 2420 2754
If þou þere fynde fyue siþe ten 2757

ffourty or þritty trewe men
Twenty or ellis twyes fyue
Shul alle þerfore 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 sittyng bi þe ȝate
To hem he roos fro þere he sate
He preyed hem in goddis name
To gestne wiþ him & come home
As for þat nyȝte & þei seide nay
But in þat strete dwelle wolde þay
But loth to his hous hem ledde
Wiþ siche as he had hem fedde
But er þei to bedde were boun
ffolke gedered out of þe toun
ffoule felouns wiþ wicked entent
Aboute lothis hous þei went
ȝong & olde childe and man
Hem þouȝte late þei þider wan
On loth þei cryed þe hous aboute
And bad he shulde sende hem oute

2760
2425
2770
2435
2440
fol.16r col.2
2780
2445

þe gestes hym cam by nyȝte tale
ffor soþe þei seide knowe hem we shale
Her sory synne on hem þei souȝte
To haue done hit if þei myȝt
But loth er þey were ware
ffast þe dores con he barre
ȝerne on hem he cryed mercy
þat þei shulde leue her foly
He seide I haue here douȝteres two
Take and do ȝoure wille wiþ þo
My gestis lete ȝe lye in pees
ffor goddis loue wiþoute males
þe more loth on hem souȝt
þe more þei preesed & ceesed nouȝt
Al his preyere myȝte not avayle
Nadde ben goddes good counsaile
þat made þo synful folk so mad
þei niste where þei were bi stad
Oure lord made hem so blynde
þat dore ne hous couþe þei not fynde
Her owne witt wiste þei nouȝt
Whebben þei coom ny what þei souȝt
To loth spak on aungel þen
& seide hast þou here any men
Sone or douȝter þat þou owe

To þe longynge hyȝe or lowe
Lede hem swyþe out of þis toun
Er þat hit be sonken doun
Loth went & to his frendes spake
þer oute þei shulden his douȝtren take
Ryse vp he seide & fle ȝe soone
þis cite to day shal be fordone
Al þat loth myȝte to hem say
Hem þouȝte hit was not but play
But erlyer men myȝte see
þe aungels bad loth to flee
þei seide [fle] wiþ þi meyne
Lest ȝe be lost wiþ þis cite
Whenne þei seȝe loth be lettonde
þei hym took by þe honde
His wyf and his douȝteres two
þat myȝte vp loke þer was no mo
Whonne þei were fro þe doute
And brouȝte feire þe toun wiþoute
Bi þen be goon þe liȝt of day
þei bad hem holde forþ her way
And but þei wolde forfaren be
To loke bihynde hem forbede he
No dwellynge here þat ȝe make
Til ȝe þe ȝonder felde to take

2475 2480 2485 2490 2495

fol.16v col.1

23

2810 2820 2830

Lest ȝe be take þese among
And slayn al for her wrong
Lorde seide loth wiþ leue of þe
In litil segor wolde I be
þou haste þerne þider ȝare
ffor I do nouȝt til þou come þare
Bi tyme þat þe sunne ras
Strong cry in þat toun was
Oure lord let reyne on hem anoon
ffro þe skye fuyr & brymstoon
Sodom & gomor wiþ al þe lond
þat aboute hem lay nyȝe hond
Of alle þo wonyngis þat þer was
Is nouþer lafte tre ny gras
Ny no þing of þat lond vnsunke
Siche as þei breu þo þei drunke
Lothis wyf þis cry herde
And longed to se how þei ferde
wondris fayn wolde she fynde
And as she loked hir bihynde
A stoon she stondeþ bi þe way
And so shal do til domes day
As a salt stoon men seen hir stonde
þat beestis likken of þat londe
And ones in þe wike to say

2500 2840 2505 2510 2850 2515 2520

fol.16v col.2

Is she clene likked away
And siþ þei fynde hir on þe morne
Hool as she was biforne
þere fyue citees were wont to be
Is nouȝt now but stynkand see
þat semeþ as lake of helle
No lyuyng þing may þerynne dwelle
If any fisshe þerynne be gon
By ledyng of þe flum iurdon
þe lyf is soone fordo wiþ stynke
ffro hit into þat watir synke
Men fyndeþ lumpes on þe sand
Of teer no fyner in þat land
þere stondeþ euer wondirly
A cloude þer fro vp to þe sky
If þou a brond þerynne wolt caste
þe fire hit holdeþ þere stidfaste
þourȝe brennyng of þat brymston
Wher of þere is myche won
þer by groweþ sum appel tre
Wiþ apples selcouþe feir to se
Whenne þei in honde are like a bal
To pouder þourȝe þat stynke þei fal
Alle cristen men I rede ȝe take
Ensaumple bi þis wooful wrake

þat al for lecchery done was
þe foulest þat euer coom on plas
þat hit was wicked was wel sene
Bi þat wreche þat was so kene
Hoot & stynkynge is þat lake
ffuyr & brymstone was þe wrake
Out of kynde her synne was done
þerfore her kynde lost was soone
ffleeþ þat synne al þis werde
ffor þis wreche þat ze haue herde
God for bede ze do þat synne
þat zee in helle þerfore brynne
But if ze nede synne shal do
þe synne of kynde holde zou to
þe kyndely synne wiþ wommon
But sib ne spoused take ze noon
So fer zoure synne folweþ nouzt
To forgete him þat zow wrouzt
Mony men for ouerwele
Hym self couþe nouþer se ne fele
Til þei synke in to þat pit
þat no man may hem þen flit
So dide þese wrecches of ioye tome
þei douted not goddis dome
Her welþe made hem oon & alle

2550 2555 2890 2555 2560 fol.17r col.1 2900 2565 2570

In synne and sorwe for to falle
ȝen coom a doom in hastite
To hem ȝat longe had spared be
So shal dyȝe wiȝouten ende
ȝat in tyme wol not amende
Loth ȝe herde telle of eer
Into ȝe felde he drouȝe for feer
In a caue he hidde him ȝo
He and his douȝteres & no mo
Abraham went on ȝe morne
To ȝat stide ȝere he was biforne
Had of oure lord taken his leue
And say ȝat soore gan hym greue
Towarde ȝe cites loked he
A sorweful siȝte hit was to se
He sawe ȝat cuntre al bydene
ȝat so fair biforne had bene
Wiȝ sparcle & smeke couered abouen
As hit were a brennyng ouen
ffor hit was goddes riȝtwis wreke
ȝer aȝeyn durste he not speke
Loth hym helde ȝe caue wiȝynne
Him self & his douȝteres twynne
But her fadir ȝat ȝei ȝere sawe
ȝei wende alle men were don of dawe

Þourȝe þat ilke woful wrake
Þe elder to þe ȝonger spake
Sister in pryuete to þe I say
Þou seest þis 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 & þe
Þis world is brouȝte to ende me þink
ȝyue we oure fadir ynouȝe of drynk
Whenne he is dronken witturly
In bed we shul go lye hym by
ffor myȝte we any barnes brede
Me þinke þe world þerof had nede
As þei had spoke so þei wrouȝt
Þe fadir his owne dede wiste nouȝt
He wist not whenne he bi hem lay
But boþe wiþ childe soone were þay
Amon & moab were geten so
Bitwixe loth & his douȝteris two
Of hem coom so wickede lede
Þat nouþer drouȝe to worþi dede
To a stide þat het damas
Þiderwarde her wonynge was
Of mony men þat were gode

2600
fol.17r col.2
2940
2605
2610
2950
2615
2620

þei 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 anoþer mannes wyf
Lord he seide wolt þou me sloo
þat wist not þat hit was so
þei tolde boþe to oon and oþer
She was his sister he hir broþer
And also lord wel þ̣ọu woost þou

2645 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 ȝee clene
Hit were not so had I not bene
ffro touche of hir I saued þe
þat þou shuldes not synne in me
ȝelde hir to hir husbonde wiȝt
He is a prophete holy and riȝt
And if þou do any oþer rede
þou and þyne alle shul be dede
Vp roos þe kyng anoon bi nyȝt
And calde his men in to his siȝt
Of his warnyng he hem tolde
þei were aferde boþe ȝonge & olde
He dide to calle abraham soone
And seide why hast þou þus done
What haue I done aȝeyn þi like
þat þus woldes me biswyke
Sir he seide I me biþouȝte
þat goddes awe dred ȝe nouȝt
ȝoure harm wende I so best to fle
And seide she shulde my sister be
To abraham þo ȝaf þe kyng
In worship mony a ryche þing
And made hym moost to hym priue
Toke him to welde al þat cuntre

Bi þis coom sara to þe tyde
Of birþe myȝt she no lenger abide
þen was ysaac hir sone born
þat was longe bihet biforn
And circumcised þe eiȝteþe day
Aftir þe custom of þat lay
þe name of Isaac is to say
A mon þat tokeneþ ioye & play
And for þe burþe of ysaac
Greet ioye dide his frendes make
þat wonder childe ful of hap
Whenne he was wened fro þe pap
His fadir slouȝe sheep & neet
And made a feest to frendes greet
Mete and drynk he ȝaf hem alle
þat wolde come to his halle
Isaac was ȝongur þen Ismael
On a day bitidde and fel
þat þese breþere pleyed same
Sara bihelde & þouȝte no game
She seide Abraham þat bastard
Do him away he haue no part
Wiþ my sone of oure heritage
Or elles þou doost greet outrage

2675 2680 2685 2690

3010 3020 3030

fol.17v col.2

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 þis took to herte
And þouȝte hir wordis ful smerte
Herfore he was in heuy þouȝte
Til oon aungel him worde brouȝte
Abraham he seide þinke not ille
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
Boþe were þei done away
Out of þat hous was put agar
Hir sone on hir bak she bar
Watir & breed wiþouten more
She tok hir wiþ & wept ful soore
Now gooþ þat wrecche wille of w(one)
In wildernesse wandrynge alone
her breed wanted her watir is goon
Hope of her lyues hadde þei noon
By a welle vndir a tre

Þe childe she leyde & gon to fle
ffor sorwe she myȝte not þer on seen
But wayted whenne hit deed shulde ben
And whil she mened þus hir mood
Joumfort coom hir sone good
An aungel coom & seide agare
What dost þou why makes þou care
God haþ herde þi childes cry
Rys & take hit vp forþi
Lede hym ȝonder & haue in mynde
A welle þere þou shalt fynde
And a tre wiþ fruyt ful goode
ffor þe and þi childes fode
Here shal þou wiþ him wone
And foster forþ here þi sone
She dide þe childe drink of þe welle
In þat wildernes gon þei dwelle
Longe dwelled þei so þoore
Til ismael was waxen more
An elynge lyf þere þei ledde
In wildernes were þei 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

2720 fol.18r col.1
2725
2730
2735
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3060
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3080

And woned þere as wilde man
In þat desert þat hett pharan
þis abraham was of longe abode
And also of ful clene lyflode
Oure lord hym ȝaf his lawe to hede
And made hym patriarke in dede
He seide Abraham I shal þe ȝyue
þe lawe þat þou owe in to lyue
Lord he seide my self and myne
At þi wille al is þyne
I and my wyf are þyne owen
þat are we wel aknowen
þi biddyng wol we do ful fayn
Shul we do neuer þer aȝayn
What shal I do lord þou me telle
þou shalt go in to þat felle
þere shal þou fynde my messanger
Of erþe make þou an auter
Boþe of þi corn & of þi fee
þere shal þou afferynge make to me
Gladly lord as þou hast seide
Soone was abraham purueide
Of crop of korn and oþer catel
To god his tiþe ȝaf he wel

2745 2750 3090 2755 2760 fol.18r col.2 3100 2765

2764 For afferynge read offerynge.

2758 aȝayn was first spelled aȝeyn, and the e later altered to a.

Hit brent reche ros vp ful euen
þe smel was swete & souȝte to heuen
In þat tyme þat I of mene
þe folk was good þe world was clene
So good beþ hit neuer I wis
So myche of welþe so myche of blis
þouȝe man myȝte neuer so myche welde
So faste hit draweþ to doun helde
To wrecched dome al is went
To lerne god ȝyue fewe entent
þe childe bereþ now þe witt away
ffoly is gomen now a day
Of ysaac now wole we neuen
þat loued was wiþ god of heuen
Hereþ of god al weldonde
how he asayed his trewe seruonde
Wel loued abraham ysaac
His sely sone wiþouten lak
He rauȝte him firste god to drede
And so to leue al wickedhede
He bigan to loue hym so
þat myȝte he no whyle him for go
Oure lord wolde as myȝty kyng
Asaye abraham wiþ sum þing
To abraham oure lord spak

2781-2 A heading.
2783 The H in Hereþ is a medium size, decorated capital.

And seide where is þi sone ysaac
Al at þi wille þenne lord seide he
I wol þat þou offere him to me
Gladly lord þou me him ȝaue
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 ȝere
Ar he were sent sough[t] wiþ preyere
Abraham wende wiþouten 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 wiþouten abyde
how he him shulde sacrifise þat tyde
And he to telle þo bigon
ȝondir hyȝe hille vpon
Shal þou brenne þi sone for me
Gladly lord þenne seide he
Now shul ȝe here how hit wasse
þe childe he caste vp on an asse

2795 3130 fol.18v col.1 2800 2805 3140 2810 2815 3150

And took wiþ him knaves two
But þei ne wiste whider to go
þat feld he welke dayes þre
To seche þe stide þere he wolde be
Whenne he coom þere as he tiȝt
Of þe asse þe childe dude he liȝt
Toke him wiþ him no mon more
his meyne he bad abyde him þore
His counsel wolde he no mon say
Why he þat childe brouȝte þat way
Swerd ne fyr forȝat he nouȝt
ȝong Isaac a fagot brouȝte
Sir he seide where shal we take
þat beest oure sacrifise to make
Siþ we wiþ vs brouȝte noon
God he seide shal sende vs oon
Wiþ þis he stood þe childe nyȝe
And drowȝe his swerd pryuelye
þat þe childe were not war
Er he had done þat char
He lifte his hond him to smyte
But goddis aungel coom ful tite
Ar he myȝte ȝyue þe dynt
his swerde bihynde him he hynt
And bad him þere bisyde him take

A sheep his sacrifise to make
He loked bisyde him in ȝe ȝornes
And say hit longe by ȝe hornes
ȝe angel helde stille ȝe swerd
And saide of coumfort siche a word
Abraham holde stille ȝin arm
To ȝi sone ȝou do no harm
Oure lord forbedeȝ him to slo
ȝi dere sone ȝat ȝou louest so
ȝou louest hym more wiȝouten wene
ȝen ȝi sone ȝat is now sene
Wel louest ȝou hym and drede
Wel shal he quyte ȝi mede
ȝe shul his blessyng haue for why
Myche he shal ȝow multiply
ffor loue of ȝi faiȝful fay
Shal vche lede come to ȝi lay
God haȝ to day ȝe visited so
ȝi dede shal neuer of mynde go
ȝi buxomnes al folk shal fynde
ȝat shul be bred of ȝi kynde
Of ȝis lettyng he was ful glad
And dude as ȝe aungel him bad
ȝe sheep he sacrifised & brent

2845 3180 2850 2855 3190 2860 2865 3200

2846 For longe read honge.

And siþen homwarde he went
þe fadir gon þe sone forbede
To any man to telle þis dede
ffadir he seide be ful bolde
ffor me beþ hit neuer tolde
þei went aȝeyn to bersabe
þere þei had lefte her meyne
// Sara had six score ȝeer & seuen þo
And dyȝed wiþouten childer mo
þen ysaac no moo she bare
And abraham for hir had kare
In ebron biried hir abraham
þere firste was buried olde Adam
Abraham willed in his lyue
þat ysaac had wedded a wyue
And wolde she were if hit myȝt be
Of his kynde & his cuntre
Men shulde hir seche in þat land
þere his frendes were weldand
A seriaunt sone commandide he
þat moost knew of his pryuete
þat euer had ben at his fyndyng
ffro he was a chylde ȝing
Vpon his kne he dide him swere
þat he shulde trewe erned bere

And þat he shulde ȝyue hool entent
To fulfille his commaundement
ffrend he seide wende in hye
Vnto mesopothanye
þere þou 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 þou him no womman
Of þe kynde of canaan
Sir he seide what shal I do
þis ilke mayde if þat sho
Wiþ no catel come wiþ me
þen of þin oþ I holde þe fre
ffor ysaac wiþ no forward
Wol I he wende þidirward
Gladly he seide hit shal be done
þis mon nade him redy soone
ffast he hyed to his goyng
Wiþ tresour greet & preciouse þing
Suche as maydenes han mistere
Al þat ten camels myȝte bere
Ringe & broche þat were broude
Gold & stoon for mayden shroude

2910 For nade read made.

þat who so him say myȝt vnderstonde
He comen was fro a riche londe
To mesopothanye soone coom he
And soone he fonde þat cite
Whenne he coom nyȝhonde þe toun
By a wel he liȝte doun
A preyere made he in þat plas
And þus bisouȝte god of gras
Lord he seide þat al welde may
þat my lord honoureþ euery day
ffor whos loue he wolde not warn
To sacrifise his owne barn
To whom to seke a wyf I fare
Lord þou sende me oon sumwhare
And so my seruyse set to seme
þat to þi worshepe may be queme
And siche a wyf to ysaac
þat may be good him to tak
him to ioye & menske to þe
Lord þou graunt þat hit so be
And graunte me bi þis welle here
Tristy to be of my preyere
ffor bi þis welle wol I byde
What of myn ernede wol bi tyde
Here wol I be til þat I se

fol.19r col.2

Maydenes come fro þis cite
Her watir at þis welle to drawe
Þere shal I my woman knawe
She þat [shal] bete my þirst
I shal hir holde as for best
He nadde rested but a þrowe
Of maydenes he say come a rowe
Þe formast was vnlauȝter mylde
Hir semed no þing to be wylde
Was she not of semblaunt liȝt
Rebecca hir name hiȝt
Batuel hir fadir snel
Hir semed alle hir werkes wel
Sittyngly hir watir she tooke
Þis mon faste dud on hir loke
He was witty and deuyse
He seide to hir on þis wyse
Mayden he seide ȝyue me drynke
Myche I haue on þe to þinke
I am a man faryng þe weye
Myn harnay[s] dide I here doun leye
Of my passage I was in doute
ffor no man knowe I here aboute
Me were loþ if I myȝte were
Men dude me harm on my gere

2945 3280 2950 2955 3290 2960 fol.19v col.1 2965 3300

ffrend she seide ȝyn askyng
Nis not but litil ȝing
ȝou shalt hit haue wiȝ good wille
And ȝi camailes to drynke her fille
ffor here vs wanteȝ no vessel
Bolle ne boket ny no fonel
She drouȝe hem alle ynouȝe of drinke
Lefte she not for no swynke
ȝis oȝer man myȝte not blyn
To biholde ȝis fair maydyn
How alle hir dedes dude hir seme
ȝi mon ȝouȝte hem to queme
Mayde he seide by ȝis hond
Hastou any fadir lyuond
ȝe she seide & modir wiȝ al
To house gladly ȝat wol ȝe cal
ffodder and hay ȝou shal be boun
No feirere Inne in al ȝe toun
He hir ȝaf a ȝifte anoone
A golde ring ȝat briȝte shoone
ȝankynge god to erȝe he fel
ȝe mayde ran hoom of hym to tel
She had a broȝer het laban
He ran forȝ aȝeyn ȝe man
Bi tokene soone were ȝei knawe

To ryche gestenyng was he drawe
þenne wist þei bi þis messangere
Abraham was sib hym ful nere
Ete ne drynke nouþer he wolde
Til he hadde his eronde tolde
And þe sikernes was made
Likenes to rauen he not hade
Wel be siche a messangere
His message forþ to bere
þat of him self recchef nouȝt
Til his nedes be ful wrouȝt
þe mariage dide he þenne make
Bitwene rebecca and ysaake
To vchone ȝaf he ȝiftis sere
Aftir þat þei worþi were
And clad þe may in ryche wede
As was lawe in þat lede
To vchon he ȝaf sum þing
Batuel hym made good gestenyng
A morwe in goddis ꝺenesoun
Rebecca was lad of toun
Hir modir als wiþ hir ladd
Til þei coom nyȝe þere hir radd
þere wonynge sir Abraham was
Isaac was not fer fro plas

2995
3330
3000
fol.19v col.2
3005
3340
3010
3015
3350

As Isaac went hym to roo
And þouȝte of þingis he hadde to do
he ȝeode walkynge bi þe strete
And coom aȝeynes hem to mete
Rebecca seide what man is he
þat towarde vs comynge I se
He drouȝe 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 & wiþ me brouȝt
þis seriaunt 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 wiþ þis
Rebecca and ysaac are samen
Mette wiþ myche ioye & gamen
Wiþ myche myrþe for to mene
Was brouȝte to house þat may shene
þenne þei made þe mariage
þat fel to riche heritage
þe michel loue of rebecca

3020 3025 3030 3035 3040

3360 3370

fol.20r col.1

ffalled þe sorwe of dam sara
Suche are nowe alyue ful þike
fforȝete þe dede for þe quyke
But þei hit dide for sum resoun
And þourȝe significacioun
Thre wyues had Ismael
Twelue kyngis coom of him to tel
þei hælde as myȝtyest þat day
þe londes þat in þe eest lay
Wondir hit were þe kyn to tel
þat multiplied of Ismael
Abraham aftir dame sara
Took a wyf het cephura
Of hir he geet a sone madan
And anoþer hett madian
Not for lust of leccherye
But his seed to multiplye
As god him hadde tofore hiȝt
He took a wyf for hit was riȝt
Bitwene his childre he delt his auȝt
His lond to ysaac he bitauȝt
ffor he firste born was in mariage
Bi riȝte he hadde his heritage
An hundride ȝeer seuenty & fyue

3047 The T in Thre is a medium size, decorated capital.

Whenne abraham had lad his lyue
he diȝed in trouþe & holyhede
his sones douȝty were of dede
þei wepte his deeþ & so dide moo
Bi sara þei leide hym þo
In god was euer his feiþ fest
Oure lord brynge vs to his rest
Siche a reste to to come
þat we may wiþ him seluen wone
Now is good to vndirtake
þe story to telle of sir ysaake
Oure lord þat is of goodnes boun
To ysaac ȝaf his benisoun
wyse he was & god hė dradde
And gladly dide þat he him badde
Wiþouten childe his wyf was longe
þat þouȝte him ful stronge
He preyed him þat may al mende
þat he wolde him childre sende
ffor of his wyf he dredde soore
She shulde be bareyn euermore
þe gode childre geten of grace
Vnneþe coom þei forþ in place

3400 3410 3070 3075 3080 3085 3420

fol.20r col.2

3075-6 A heading.

3077 The Q in **Oure** is a medium size, decorated capital.

But whenne þei coom wel is knowe
þat þei of goddis grace are sowe
Childe but oon had dame sara
Rebecca hadde rachel & anna
Nor ȝitt holy Elizabeth
To haue hir childe coom not eth
þat was Ion þe baptist
þat to men shewed crist
Also semeþ riȝt to deme
Beþ of rebecca barnteme
She hadde hem not sooþ to say
Ar þei were souȝt mony a day
God het hem childre not for þy
þat of her seed shulde multiply
And saide I shal ȝitt be
As wiþ þi fadir so wiþ þe
ysaac ȝaf to god his tende
And preyed he shulde childer sende
So long he preyed his preyere
wel was herd wiþ god so dere
She þat longe had childe for gone
Now she bereþ two for oone
Of twynlyngis hir þouȝte no gamen
þat fauȝt ofte in hir wombe samen
So fast in hir dude þei fiȝte

þat 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
þei wolde not þat stryf forbere
Til þei had of hem self myȝt
To se wherfore þei shulde fiȝt
ffro þe bigynnyng of þe werd
Of siche a werre was neuer herd
Ne siche a stryf of childre twynne
þat lay þe modir wombe wiþynne
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
þourȝe his verrey prophecie
þat shulde be þo childer nye

3115 3450 3120 fol.20v col.1 3125 3460 3463 3130 3470 3135

Of her were and of her lyf
And what ensaumple bar þat strif
þerfore buxomly she hit bare
And knew coueryng to come of kare
Hir bredynd was ful sore
And hir childyng myche more
þo wex þe fiȝte more þen toforn
Whiche shulde be firste born
Of þese two breþeren þat we mote
þe lasse þe more took bi þe fote
In trauelynge & drouȝe aȝeyn
Miche was þe modir peyn
þe first born was rouȝe of hare
þe oþere childe sleȝt & bare
he þat was rouȝe was reed wiþ alle
Esau men dide him calle
Iacob hett þe ȝonger broþer
þe modir him loued more þen þat oþer
þerfore nowhere was he sent
But to þe hous took he tent
To tente þe mete & hous to kepe
þerto was he good & meke
þe fadir loued esau for fode
ffor he was an archer gode

3140 3480 3145 3482 3485 3150 3490 3155 3160 fol.20v col.2 3500

Whenne he wolde euer was he boun
To gete his fadir venisoun
And as he was as formast born
he dalt al wiþ tilþe & corn
wiþ oþere þingis delt he sere
wiþ beestis wode foule & ryuere
his fadir olde and vnfere
Ofte he fedde wiþ good dynere
Good was þe world in þat ceesoun
Miche availede benesoun
Of fadris þat wel helde her fay
On childre whene þei wolde hit lay
Of blessyng may men ensaumple take
Bi þese childer of ysaake
How þe ȝonger of þe two
þe blessynge stale his broþer fro
But firste is to be tolde
how esau his broþer hit solde
Esau went forþ to hunte
A day as he was ofte wonte
ffer & neer he had souȝte
þat day gamen fonde he nouȝte
ffor haue man neuer so myche nede
Vche day is not tyme of spede
But ofte þat day þat men faile

Moost aboute hit þei trauaile
Whenne he was wery for goon
hoom he took his weye anoon
Hauke is esy I here say
To reclayme þat haþ lost his pray
his broþer he fond þat toke tent
To diȝte a noble mete present
Of þis mete broþer he seide
ȝyue me sum þat here is greyþede
Mete & drynke þou hast at wille
And longe is siþ I eet my fille
Iacob seide nay god hit wit
ffor þe haue I not diȝt hit
þis mete my modir me bitauȝt
ffor þou and I are selden sauȝt
Aboute oure forburþe are we wrooþ
ȝif þou wolt swere me an ooþ
þat þou shalt neuer fro þis nyȝt
Of þi forburþe cleyme no riȝt
fforburþe he seide what serueþ me
Broþer at þi wille shal hit be
Wiþ þat forwarde he made a vow
Almest for honour I deȝe now
And for his fille of þat potage
As wrecche he solde his heritage

3190 3530 3195 3200 fol.21r col.1 3540 3205 3210 3550

He eet & dronke & went his way
And lost his blessyng fro þat day
Ne bote him was him forþouȝt
God wolde hit were his þat hit bouȝte
Þis ysaac þat worþi man
Sekenes & elde on him ran
Of body failed him þe myȝt
And of yȝen also þe siȝt
Þe body þat so in elde is nome
his day is goon his nyȝt is come
haue a man ben neuer so bolde
Whenne þat he bicomeþ olde
Vnwelde put at him a pulle
His body waxeþ dryȝe & dulle
His heed bigynneþ þerne to shake
His hondes oþer while to quake
Hit crepeþ crulyng in his bake
Þenne his boones bigynne to crake
Þe frely faire to falle of hym
And þe siȝte to wax al dym
Þe frount frounseþ þat was shene
Þe nese droppeþ ofte bitwene
Teeþ to rote breeþ to stynke
Only to lyue trauaile him þinke

3217 The þ in Þis is a medium size, decorated letter.

Eȝeþ hit is þenne to sporne
He falleþ wiþ his owne torne
He preyseþ þingis þat ben gone
þat þenne bene he preyseþ noone 3240
Soone þenne he wole be wrooþ fol.21r col.2
To be at oon sumdel looþ 3580
To teche men of his witt
He holdeþ noon so wise as hit 3582
No þing þenne may hym pay 3245 3585
Boldely þenne may we say
He þat in þis state is stad
Nis no gle may make him glad
Elde is now a wondir þinge
Alle desiren hit þat are ȝinge 3250 3590
Whenne þei hit haue þei are vnfayn
þenne wolde þei ȝonge be aȝayn
þei wolde be as þei were ore
And þat þei may neuermore
So haþ elde þis ysaac led 3255
þat he sike liþ in his bed
him wantede siȝte as I seide er
And calde his sone esau þer
Esau leue sone he seide
Go loke þi takel be purueide 3260 3600

3255 The S of So is a medium size, decorated capital.

And fonde for to stalke so nere
þat þou may sle sum dere
If þou myȝte any venisoun gete
Gladly wolde I þerof ete
Sone þou hast hidur tille 3265
Gladly done þi fadir wille
þou art archere wiþ þe best
Boþe in felde and in forest
If þou may brynge me any beest
Diȝte hit me feir and honeste 3610 3270
þeraftir now me longeþ so
þere I lyue in bed of woo
Sone he seide I wol not lye
Hit beþ not lònge ar I dyȝe
To brynge me venisoun be boun 3275
And þou shalt haue my benisoun
he seide sir gladly & soone
Wiþ goddes helpe hit shal be done
His modir tent to ysaac
And herde þo wordis þat he spaak 3280 3620
And wist of longe lyf was he nouȝt fol.21v col.1
She went bi syde and hir biþouȝt
Iacob hir sone she calde hir to
And þus to him seide sho
My leue sone I wol þe warn 3285

ffor þou art my derrest barn
þi fadir bad þi broþer snelle
To fett him mete & not dwelle
If he any what myȝte gete
He shulde him diȝte þer of to ete 3290 3630
ffor were he ones þerwiþ fed
Ar he dyȝed in seke bed
his benisoun he wolde him ȝyue
ffor longe he woot he may not lyue
Leue sone looþ me wore 3295
þat he þi benisoun fro þe bere
Vnhappy wrecche he haþ ben ay
þi ȝele shal he not bere away
þou shal do now my counsel
I woot hit wol availe wel 3300 3640
hyȝe þe sone þat þou not blyn
Ar þi broþer be comen In
Of fatte kydes fet me two
I shal þe teche how þou shalt do
I shal hem diȝte to his byhoue 3305
Siche as he was wont to loue
hit shal him sauour al at wille
Ete he shal þer of his fille
Whenne hit is diȝt þou hit him reche
Do wel as I þe teche 3310 3650

þat he may þe lasse mystrau
Say þou art his sone esau
ffro þe forest newely comen
Venisoun þou 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 rouze 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 brouzte þe kides I of tolde
His modir smertly hem dizte
As she to fore had hym hizte
And clad him wiþ þo cloþes mete

3315
3320 3660
fol.21v col.2
3325
3330 3670
3335

Of his broþer þat smelled swete
wiþ a rouȝe skyn hid his hals
And hiled þerwiþ his hondis als
ffor his fadir shulde trowe trewe
He were his sone esawe 3340 3680
His modir him þis mete bitauȝt
He hit to his fadir rauȝt
ffadir he seide sitt vp & ete
I haue þe brouȝte þi ȝernyng mete
What art þou his fadir seide 3345
Sir . esau þi mete haue greide
What maner mete . sir venisoun
Ete and ȝyue my benisoun boun
How was hit þou sped so soone
Sir god of myȝte herde my bone 3350 3690
And sende hit smartly to my hond(e)
Men owe to þonke him his sonde
Come nere sone & lete me fele
If þou be he I loue so wele
Whenne he felde his smellyng clooþ(e) 3355
And his neck(e) & his hondis boþe
þis voys he seide . þat I here
Is of iacob wiþouten were
But hondis & hals as I trowe trew
Is my dere sone esaw 3360 3700

þe sauour of þi vestiment — fol.22r col.1
Sauereþ as þe pyement
I shal forþ wende þou dwellest here
My blessyng haue þou sone dere
þi broþer be þyn vndirloute — 3365
And alle þat wonen here aboute
Alle þo sone þat blessen þe
Blessed shal hem seluen be
And alle þat bidde þe malisoun
Shal bere hit on her owne croun — 3370 3710
He eet & dranke at his wille
And þenne his [son] cald him tille
His broode blessyng he him 3aue
þat his broþer wende to haue
He made him lord of al his kyn — 3375
Siche þen was his modir gyn
His modir counsel was þerto
But god wolde hit shulde be so
// Iacob went whenne þis was done
And esau coom aftir soone — 3380 3720
ffadir he seide sitt vp in bed
I haue þe brou3te to be of fed
Of venisoun þat I þe brynge
Ete and 3yue me þi blessynge
His fadir asked what he was — 3385

Sir esau þi sone in plas
Sone he seide for my prow
þou were here at me riȝt now
I he seide nay god woote
Miȝte I not be so liȝte of fote 3390 3730
Wiþ þis ȝaf ysaac a grone
Sone he seide riȝt now was one
þat firste me fedde & þenne me kist
And me bigyled ar I wist
My benesoun now haþ þi broþer 3395
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 ȝondur morn 3400 3740
He haþ me done mychel shome fol.22r col.2
Skilful is iacob his nome
þat is to say in riȝt langage
Putter out of heritage
ffor I first born shulde ha be 3405
Wiþ strengþe aȝeyn drouȝe he me
And done me als þis vnresoun
To reue me þus my benisoun
Me is so wo almest I wede
ffadir þis was no broþerhede 3410 3750

Counsel me fadir nowe to lyue
What counsel sone shal I þe ȝyue
And is þer fadir no blessyng left
No þi broþer hit haþ þe reft
And is þer fadir noon oþer woon
Soþely he seide is noon but oon
In þe dew & gras also
Shal be þi blessyng where þou go
Wiþ erþe trauaile so þou do
And preye god sende his dew þerto
Lord he seide what is me best
Myn hert beþ neuermore in rest
Til þat þis iacob be deed
If I may gete him to any sted
Þus esau wiþ his manace
Out of þat lond dide Iacob chace
Whenne her modir say hit so
He souȝte his broþer for to slo
She sent him soone into aran
To hir broþer þat het laban
þere to soiourne for þat sake
Til his broþer wratthe wolde slake
By nyȝte þe flom iurdan he wood
And þourȝe a wildernesse he ȝood
He loked where him were best

3415 3420 3760 3425 3430 3770 3435

By þe weye to make his rest
A stoon he took þat lay hym by
And þeronne leyde his heed on hy
In sleep he say a ladder strauȝt
ffro his heed to þe skye hit rauȝt 3340 3780
On þat ladder say he boun fol.22v col.1
Aungels clymbynge vp & doun
Open him þouȝte þe ȝate of heuen
Of god he herde siche a steuen
God and lord he seide I am 3445
Of Isaac and of Abraham
Iacob he seide þou shalt haue twynne
Wyues of þyn owne kynne
Two douȝteres of laban þyn eeme
þat þou shalt haue wiþ barnteeme 3450 3790
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 3455
Him þouȝte he slepte softe þat nyȝt
On þe morne whenne hit was day
Iacob roos fro þenne he lay
he seide oure lord out of were
I wist not his wonynge here 3460 3800

here is nowe þenne seide he
Goddes hous & heuen entre
þe stoon þat his hede lay on þat nyȝt
In tokene he hit set vpriȝt
And oyle he put vpon þat 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 & clooþ
And brynge me aȝeyn wiþouten loþ
Into my kiþthe þere I coom fro
If I fynde þat he lede me soo
he shal be my god and kynge
þis stoon shal stonde in tokenynge
And þis place fro nowe shalle
Be cleped goddis owne halle
Of al þe good he doþ me welde
Trewely tiþe I shal hym ȝelde
Iacob wente him forþ his way
where þre flockes of beestis lay
Byside a welle vpon a felde
And Iacob say and bihelde
A mykel stoon vp on hit lay
þat beestis dronk at euery day
þe herdes fonde he bi hem þere

3465
3470 3810
3475
3480
fol.22v col.2
3485

And asked hem whepen pei were
Sir pei seide we are of aran
And knowe ze ouzte he seide laban
Bir zee . & is he hool and fere
zee hool pei seide out of were 3490 3830
zondir I se his douztir Rachelle
Dryuynge his beestis to pe welle
ffor alle pe flockis comen hidur
Vche day to drynke to **gidur**
penne coom rachel pat mayden brizt 3495
Iacob lift vp pe stoon ful wizt
he spak so wip pat damysel
And knowleched him pere wip rachel
He seide what art pou lemman
Sir my fadir hett laban 3500 3840
Aboute pe necke he hir hynt
And cust hir pryes ar he stynt
I am Iacob pi cosyn nere
ffor pi loue am I comen here
Whenne she bigan to vndirstonde 3505
pat iacob shulde be hir husbonde
To laban tolde she pat tipande
And she hym ladde bi pe hande
pei freyned of her frendes fare
And he hem tolde of pat vnswere 3510 3850

Laban þenne he dide to calle
ffor fayn of him his frendes alle
Soone he dide him to say
What was þe chesoun of his way
Sir he seide I wol þe telle
ffor to spouse þi douȝtir rachelle
þenne shal þou serue me seuen ȝere
Ar þat þou haue my douȝter dere
Gladly he seide so shal hit be
Stille wiþ laban so dwelt he
þe elder suster he forsoke
ffor she gliȝed seiþ þe boke
ffor to serue for rachel fre
he was maystir herde of fe
hit was myche wondir þere
how myche multiplied þei were
Whenne þo seuen ȝeer were gone
Iacob asked his lémmone
Laban seide ful bliþely
But þere he dide a tricchery
Whenne he hadde rachel wedde
Lya he stale to his bedde
Bisyde lya al nyȝte he lay

3515

3520 3860
fol.23r col.1

3525

3530 3870

3520 The catchwords þe elder appear in the lower right-hand corner of fol.22v, below this line.

His vnwityng 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 ȝyue
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 lya in bedde
þenne shal þou rachel wedde
þis newe forwarde was made þan
Bitwene iacob and laban
His ȝeres past & seuen dayes
Rachel he weddid þe story sayes
// Lya bred childe sone had oon
Ruben & siþen symeon
þenne leuy þenne Isacar

3535 3540 3545 3550 3555

3880 3890

3546 For bet read het.

zabulon Iudas sixe brepper war
A douzter she hadde hizt dyna
But penne of oper wymmen twa 3560 3900
Hadde foure sones geten of hym fol.23r col.2
Dan . Gad . Asser . Neptalym
Rachel bar Iacob sones twyn
ffirst Ioseph & penne beniamyn
pat was pe cause of hir ende 3565
Of hem she dyzed in gesin hende
What of his wyues two in spouse
And als of hondwymmen in house
Twelue sones of po hadde he
And a douzter dyna to be 3570 3910
Iacob wex riche his childer proof
pourze pe grace pat god him zoof
Talent bigan to take him po
To his owne londe to go
Wyf and childe wip oon assent 3575
Vchon in hond wip opere went
Laban of leue seide hem nay
And pei on nyzt stale away 3918
A god had laban in his boure 3921
Whiche he was wont to honoure 3580
In her flittyng rachel hit fond
ffor$ she bare hit in her hond

Laban hit missed oueral hit souȝt
But his god fonde he nouȝt
Iacob went forþ his way
On þe feld wiþouten he lay
On þe to side of flum iurdon
And sent his auȝte ouer vchon
Iacob lay bi him self þat nyȝt
In hond he kauȝte an aungel briȝt
So in honde wrastled þay
Al þat nyȝt til hit was day
þe aungel seide let me go
He seide þat wolde he neuer do
Lete him passe for no þing
Til he hadde ȝyuen him his blessyng
Long þei wrasteled to gider þore
þat iacob was hurt ful soore
þe maistir synewe of his þee
þat euer aftir haltide hee
And for þis resoun here new
Of synewe eteþ neuer no Iew
þenne asked god wiþouten blame
And bad hym say soone his name
Iacob I het . Iacob seide he
So shal þi name no lenger be
þou shalt be calde israel

3585
3930
3590
3595
3940
3600
fol.23v col.1
3605

Þat is mon seyng god of hel
ffor Þou aȝeyn god strong is
More worÞ aȝeyn mon be fro Þis
Iacob sent Þenne to fonde
Esau wiÞ sauȝtelynge sonde
ffor he was ferde in alle Þinge
ffor to come to his metyng
Whenne he of his comynge herde
fful wroÞely to him he ferde
ffoure hundride men soone he fonde
To kepe iacob fro his owne londe
And so he shal Þat woot I wele
ffor hė is al bisett wiÞ sele
Iacob sent him of his auȝt
ȝiftis large hym to sauȝt
Þe messangere brouȝte vnswere
he coom aȝeyn him wiÞ greet ɔowere
Iacob led myche folk of his kyn
ffor doute he dalt hem in twyn
ffor greet doute he hadde Þan
He dalt in two beest and man
Whil esau smoot oon of Þoo
Þat oÞer part shal skape him fro
Iacob dredde Esau sare
ffor he was fel wiÞouten spare

þat if he myȝte him ouergo
Wiþouten pite he wolde him slo
þus he made his preyere
Lorde he seide my god so dere
þat madest Adam mon of lyf
And siþþen of him Eue his wyf
Hadde þei holden þat þou hem bad
þei hadde in endeles ioye ben stad
And also noe trewe and good
þou sauedest fro þat ferly flood
þou woost lord þat hit is soo
My broþere nowe is my foe
ffor I þurȝe my modir roun
Stale fro him his benesoun
here ouer þis flum last whenne I fe(rde)
I bare in hond but a ȝerde
And now my lord blessed þou be
Two flockis of folk come wiþ me
Lord now sende me sum rede
Aȝeyn esau lest I be dede
ffor man þat þou wolt helpe in nede
þar hym neuermore drede
Of þis auȝte þou hast me lent
þer of I haue bifore me sent

3635 3980 3640 3645 3990 3650 3655

fol.23v col.2

ffor ar he alle þo haue slayn
he shal be mased of his mayn
þat while if þou wol þei shul pase
And some not in his hond percase
Esau coom breem wiþ greet route
Now is iacob in mychel doute
he swore if he myȝte hym mete
fformast he shulde his lyf lete
But who so god helpe wolle
May sauely go at þe folle
Whenne esau say him & his auȝt
Soone he souȝte hym wiþ sauȝte
And for his come was ful bliþe
þat gan he wiþ kissyng kyþe
Of siche strengþe is þe holy goost
To oonen hem þere wraþþe is moo(st)
he welcomed iacob ful feire
And knewe him for his fadir heire
Wiþouten wraþþe or any wrake
Of loue & pees to gider þei spake
Whenne þei had seid þat þei wolde say
Esau went hoom his way
Vnto syer þer he coom fro
And iacob to his fadir to go
ffor ȝitt þo he was lyuonde

4000 4010 4020

3660 3665 3670 3675 3680

fol.24r col.1

Rebecca his modir dede he fonde
Þis ysaac Þat I of rede
In bookes is calde Þe lastyng sede
He ladde his lyf wiÞouten blame
And buried is bisyde abrahame
Nyne skore ȝeer ouergoone he hadde
Whenne he of Þis world was ladde
Whenne Þis douȝty man was ded
Þese breÞeren two toke hem to red
To dele her londes hem bitwene
Þenne myȝte Þei lyue out of tene
To esau fel Ebron
And to Iacob Þenne Edon
Þe story of iacob bigynneÞ here
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
Wel he loued his sones vchone
But so wel as Ioseph noon
he was fair wiÞouten sake
Of briÞeren hadde he noon his make

3695-6 A heading.

3697 The I of Iacob is a large, decorated capital.

his breþeren alle were herdes I saye 3705
But he dwelt at home alwaye
Þis was trew Ioseph þat dredde
his loue word wyde spredde
Þat wise chaste Þat gentile
Þat aftir sufferde greet perile 3710 4050
Of Þo periles Þat he was ynne
Sumwhat to telle I shal bigynne
How he coom out of his woo
Into his wele here also
Ioseph saya nyȝte in sweuene 3714
Þat is worÞi for to neuene
him Þouȝte his fadir her corn shere
Þere his elleuen breÞeren were
hym self was on Þe felde bisyde
To geder corn in heruest tyde 3720 4060
His breÞer sheeues he say loutynge fol.24r col.2
To his al one Þat was stondynge
AnoÞer he mette Þer aftir soone
him Þouȝte boÞe sunne & moone
And of [Þe] grettest Þat were on heuen 3725
Honoured him sterres elleuen
Alle louted hym on her manere
Riȝt as he her lorde were
He hem tolde & Þei seide how

May þis bityde what wenes þow
ffor to be lord ouer vs alle
þat blisse shal þe neuer bifalle
ffro þis tyme forþ neuer þe les
Biþ Ioseph were þei neuer at pes
þei hadde enuye to hym strong
þei sou3te to greue him ay wiþ wrong
Wolde þei neuer vpon him se
ffro þat day but wiþ enemyte
At hoome was moost Ioseph þat childe
His breþeren in wildernesse wilde
Wiþ her fee þe lowes bitwene
As þei were þen wont to bene
Bi þis story may men se
Men lyued moost þo bi fe
þese breþeren þat I spak of ere
Among þe feldes dwellynge were
þat noon couþe of hem tyþing telle
Til on a day hit bifelle
Her fadir of hem wite walde
Ioseph his sone to him he calde
Sone he seide þou must algate
Go wite of þi breþer astate
Longe is siþ I of hem herde

3730 4070
3735
3740 4080
3745
3750 4090

3734 For Biþ read Wiþ.

Or of her fee how þei ferde
ffadir he seide I wol ful fayn
þi biddyng not to stonde aȝayn
He went forþ & wiste not where
Soþely þat his briþeren were
But ar he to his breþeren coom
Whil he went he mette a mon
What sekest þou here sone seide he
My breþer sir my fadir fe
þen vnswered þat mon to him
þou shalt hem fynde in dothaym
He went forþ and forþer past
Til he hem fonde at þe last
he went forþ & ferþer souȝt
Til he hem fond lafte he nouȝt
Whenne þei seȝe Ioseph come her broþer
Vchone of hem seide to oþer
Lo where þe dremere is comen
Bi myȝty god he shal be nomen
Lete vs do hym to þe dede
Loke what his dreem wol stonde in stede
ffayn þei were þere hym to fynde
ffor to haue her wille blynde
If þei bifore him ouȝte forbare
Now wol þei hym not spare

3755 3760 4100 3765 3770 4110 3775

fol.24v col.1

Oon eldest of þe elleuen was
þat ruben hette in þat plas 3780 4120
Whenne he herde þei wolde him slo
þerfore was him wondir woo
Stynte hit wolde he if he myȝt
þe foly þat his briþeren tiȝt
Alle he say hem in o wille 3785
Her broþer giltles to spille
Breþer he seide dooþ not so
I rede ȝe not ȝoure broþer slo
þat is ȝoure owne flesshe & blode
So murþer him hit is not gode 3790 4130
If ȝe do for soþe my wille
Shul ȝe neuer haue þer tille
If ȝe hit do I ȝow teche
Sikur may ȝe be of wreche
And ȝoure shame shal be couþ 3795
Alle men to haue ȝou in mouþ
þat baret rede I not ȝe brewe
þat ȝe for euer aftir rewe
He haþ no þing done why
ȝe haue not to hym but envy 3800 4140
Wite his fadir he be sloone fol.24v col.2
his lyf dayes telle I goone

3790 Read To for So.

ffor mon lyuyng þei seide ne wyf
Shal he skape wiþ his lyf
Whenne ruben seye þer was noon oþere
But algate þei wolde sle 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 wiþ siche a wyle
þat ȝe not ȝoure 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
þem may we saye we soȝe 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
Wiþ 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 þouȝte to stele him quyke away
Anoon þei graun̄tide þat bihete
þei hent Ioseph bi honde & fete
Made him̄ naked & kest him̄ doun̄
And lafte hym̄ þere in prisoun
Siþþe sett hem doun̄ and ete
þei say þo comyng bi þe strete
Marchaun̄dis of on vnkouþ londe
Of egipte as we in bookis fonde
Wiþ camailes þat grete burþens b(are)
Of spicis and of oþere ware
Among þese breþere oon þer was
Whoos name was calde Iudas
What boote he seide were hit to vs
To fordo oure broþer þus
Take we him out of þat den
And sille we him to þese chapmen
þat þei may lede hym to fer londe
To be her þral euer lyuonde
If hit so be he dye þare
hit is to vs but litil care
And if he be þere lyuynge
his fadir of him haþ no tiþinge
þere was Ioseph to seruage solde
ffor twenti besaun̄tis taken of golde

4170 4180 3830 3835 3840 3845 4190 3850

fol.25r col.1

Now is Ioseph lad out of londe
God holde ouer hym his holy honde
Ruben of hem moost was wys
He wiste not of þis marchaundys
On þe morn he coom & souȝte
þe pyt but Ioseph fonde he nouȝte
He mourned more þen I con telle
Almest in swoun doun he felle
To his briþeren went he soone
And þei him tolde as þei had done
What bote is hit to make mone
ffor þing þat coueringe is of none
His fadir þei sent witterly
Ioseph curtil al blody
Whenne his fadir þe curtil knew
Soone bigan he to chaunge hew
A beest he seide my sone haþ rent
Allas þat euer I hym out sent
Into þat wylde weye to wende
þat al my loue on hym gan lende
Alas wittles was I þat day
Beestis of hym han made hȩr 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.

þis was his clooþ hit is wel sene
A þis beest was ful kene
þat haþ me refte my derlyng dere
My ioye my gladnes & my chere
Ioseph þou wast my ioye allon
Now art þou deed & I haue noon
Ioseph þat was fre and fair
Of al myn auȝt shulde ha ben myn heir
ffor þi goodnesse & þi fair hew
My kare shal be euere new
I wolde sinke to helle depe
Wiþ my sone þere to wepe
But al his mournyng for to rede
Ouþer to speke hit myȝte not spede
His oþere sones coom vchone sere
ffor to amende her fadir chere
But for nouȝte þei coomen alle
To counfort wolde he noon falle
No þing may his mournyng mende
Neuer to his lyues ende
Leue we nowe of iacobus care
To telle of Ioseph & of his fare
þese chapme[n] þat Ioseph bouȝt
In to egipte han him brouȝt
þere he was eftsones sold

3875
4220
3880
fol.25r col.2
3885
4230
3890
3895
4240

To a douȝty man and bold
To putifar stiward wiþ þe kyng
Was he sold þat childe ȝyng
He helde Ioseph in menskful lore
þouȝe her layes on not wore
ffor þei were of sarasene lede
And Ioseph helde his owne in dede
Sir putifar wel vndirstood
þat Ioseph was of gentil blood
In alle þe dedis þat he wrouȝt
God was euer in his þouȝt
þe keping of al his auȝt
Haþ putifar Ioseph bitauȝt
Ioseph þenne was loued & dred
Wiþ wisdoom he his werkes led
ffor he was curteys and hende
Of alle folk fonde he frende
Putifar went in to cuntre
Ioseph dwelt wiþ his meyne
And haþ his goodis vndir honde
Vndir him self al weldonde
Ioseph was wondir fair in face
And filde al wiþ goddis grace
His lady hir yȝe on hym cast
fforward of fool is eþ to fast

ffoly hit was & she so fond
hir loue to sett but hit wolde stond
She kid hit euer & on hym souȝt
And Ioseph lett he wiste hit nouȝt
He wiste & helde hit stille as wyse
And euer she preysed his seruyse
So longe she haþ in hert hit hidde
At þe last hit most be kidde
ffor who so euer be glad or bliþe
At þe ende wol pryue loue out wryþe
Ofte she mened to him hir mone
But euer she fonde him in one
Whenne she þat say hir hert was soor
And longynge had she moor & moor
In hir foly she was so fest
þat nyȝt nor day had she rest
What is more hert brest
þan want of þing men loue best
Into siche prisoun to be put
þat reueþ man myȝte & wit
In prisoun I calle hym bistad
Of whom þe hert is neuer glad
Whenne hert haþ þe wille I wis
þe body may haue no more blis
Ne no more woo þen likyng woone

Wiþouten wille Is likyng noone 3950 4292
Þe strengþe of loue noon may stere 4295
Þouȝe his herte al steel were
hert of steel & body of bras
Strenger þen euer sampson was
Þat loue ne may meke wiþ myȝte 3955
Sumtyme alone wiþ oon yȝe siȝt 4300
fful harde hit is wiþ him to dele
Mannes flesshe he makeþ ful frele
Whenne his loke alone may brynge
Into his þraldome þe kynge 3960
And maugrei his do him loute fol.25v col.2
ffor euer he ledeþ him wiþ doute
þerfore if þou be siche a gome
Þat þou algate wolt loue ouercome
Whenne þou seest him loue to þe 3965
Stalworþely fro hym þou fle 4310
ffle & turne þou not þyn yȝe
Or ellis but þou be ful slyȝe
Þurȝe þyn yȝe þou shalt be shent
As þing wiþ wilde fyre for brent 3970
ffirste to brenne þi herte wiþynne
And siþen 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	3975	4321
þen folwe þe pray þat is forlorn		4322
Who so doþ shal rewe soore		4325
And venge his harme wiþ foly m(oore)		
So dide þis wyf þat I of rede		
She folwede Ioseph where he ȝed(e)	3980	
And for she folwynge fond a spor(n)		
She waited hym euel torn		4330
hir self hadde þe grame & gilt		
Almest also she had him spilt		
how she bigan hym to fonde	3985	
ffor to telle I wol not wonde		
She souȝte on him mony a day		
And euer he vnswered hir wiþ nay		
Ioseph þat was hir purueoure		
On a day wiþ mychel honoure	3990	
In chaumber gret hir hendelye		
And seide madame to mete ȝe hy(e)		4340
ȝus she seide [but] er þou go		
Speke wiþ me a word or two		
Longe he seide may I not dwelle	3995	
þenne bigon she þus to telle		
Ioseph lemmon for þi sake		
To þe 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 pryuete
þat loue me haþ brouȝte to grounde
þat I may neuermore be sounde
But if my bote ryse on þe
þat þou wolt my lemmon be
Worldes welþe to welde in wone
Inowȝe þou shalt haue allone
To my lord shal þou be dere
Oþer noon shal be þi pere
She toke him aboute þe necke wiþ þis
And proferede hir mouþ to kis
And drowe him towarde hir bed
But Ioseph þat mychel god dred
Do wey he seide þi foly wille
Wolt þou þi self & me als spille
Putifar me haþ bitauȝte
Lond and lithe & al his auȝte
And for he triste þ my lewete
To kepe 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 ȝaf me suche pouste

4000 fol.26r col.1
4350
4005
4010
4360
4015
4020
4370

To bitraye god forbede me
Wiþ no resoun we ne owe
To oure lord suche tresoun showe
Leuer me is be pore & trewe
Þen falsely wynne catel newe
Þerfore lady wiþ myȝt & mayn
Drawe Þi foly wille aȝayn
ffor who so bigynne wol suche Þing
Hym owe to Þenke on Þe endyng
She seide allas Ioseph Þis day
Hast Þou vnswered me wiþ nay
If I lyue Þou shalt me proue
An euel frend to Þi bihoue
I shal Þe make wiþ 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 ȝaf bak
Þenne fel she in to felony
nd soone souȝte a tricchery
She made a cry alle to here
Þat Þat tyme in Þe pales were
Lady Þei seide what is ȝow
She seide herde ȝe not how

4025 4030 4380 4035 4040 fol.26r col.2 4390 4045

þat traytour iewe wolde me shende
þat my lord halt his frende
He wolde haue forsed me in hye
Nadde I þe suuner made a crye
Whenne I cryed soone he fledde
And lafte wiþ me a tokene wedde
His mantel is bilefte wiþ me
Here þe soþe may vche man se
Here may men se þe vilany
þat he souȝte on his lady
Sir she seide to putifar lo
Was neuer lady serued so
þis shame he haþ me done in dede
þis gedelyng of vncouþe sede
þis Ioseph souȝte on me in bour
To do me þis dishonour
Such hit was þe vilany
þat he gon seche on my body
þerfore as þou art man for þe
Loke þou on him wroken be
Putifar commaundide soone
Ioseph for to take & done
In kingis prisoun for to lye
Wiþouten raunsoun for to bye

4052 For suuner read souner.

Allas Ioseph þe war & wyse
Euel is quytte þi trewe seruyse
ffor þi goodnes & þi trewe dede
fful euel is ȝolden þe þi mede
Suche is tresoun of wommon
Stronger in world is founden noon
God amende hem þat suche ben
And ȝyue men grace hem to flen
Now is Ioseph in prisoun stronge fol.26v col.1
And lowe liþ wiþ myche wronge
And aftir lyked him ful wele
ffor al was turned him to sele
Soone was Ioseph holden dere
Wiþ þe mayster iaylere
Þourȝe þe myȝte of goddes grace
Ouer alle þe prisoun þat þer wase
Alle þat in prisoun were in bonde
Ioseph had hem vndir honde
He ferde wiþ so mychel þrifte
Þat al was done as he wolde shifte
Þus con god helpe mon in nede
Þo þat wol hym loue and drede
Whil Ioseph þus ferde þere
Tweye men of þe kyngis were
To prisoun sende for her mys dede

What hit was I con not rede
Þe spensere and Þe botilere boÞe
Þe kyng wiÞ hem was ful wroÞe
But Þe mayster iaylere
Toke hem Ioseph vnto fere
Whenne Ioseph say hem swiÞe
Hem to counfort he was bliÞe
But as Þei lay in Þat prisoun
A nyȝte Þei mette a visioun
Of a sweuene Þei hadde sene
EiÞer gan to oÞere mene
Ioseph say her droupynge chere
And asked why Þei mournyng were
Þe botillere for boÞe 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 wiÞ 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

4100 4450 4105 4110 4460 4115 4120 fol.26v col.2 4470

Þe kyng was at his mete faste
And in his hond Þe coupe I Þrayste
Ioseph seide wiþ myȝte of heuene
I shal arede wel Þi sweuene
Or hit be Þis Þridde day
Of prisoun shal Þou be take away
And ben aquyt bifore iustise
And put aȝeyn in Þi seruyse
Whenne Þou in wele art wiþ Þe kyng
ffor goddis loue on me haue menyng
Þat I may by helpe of Þe
Of Þis prisoun delyuered be
ffirste solde was I fro my Þede
And now prisoned sackeles of dede
Þe spensere seide me Þouȝte I bere
A leep as I was wonte do ere
Wiþ breed I bar hit on my hede
Me Þouȝte rauenes hit me reuede
A myche rauen my basket hent
Aboute my hede hit al to rent
Ioseph seiþ hit beþ not longe
Or Þat Þou on galwes honge
Hit shal wiþynne Þre dayes be
Shal no raunsoun go for Þe
Riȝte as Ioseph seide biforn

he was honged þe þridde morn
þe botillere scaped þe same day
And Ioseph stille in prisoun lay
Wiþ myche kare and also wo
Longe he was forȝeten so
Wildenes of welþe of þis botillere
fforȝat Ioseph his dreme redere
ffor man þat walewe þ al in ȝeles
And for þat ioye noon angur feles
þouȝe he haue frend þat is in wo
Oft he is forȝeten soo
ȝore was seid & ȝitt so be þ
Herte forȝete þ þat yȝe not see þ
But I dar saye god woot euer
Who so trewely doo þ forȝete þ he neuer
Ioseph lay in þat longyng
Til þat pharao þe kyng
Say in sleep a sweuene on nyȝt
he comaundide to him brynge riȝt
Clerk knyȝt erle & baroun
To telle to hym his visioun
To wite if any man were
Coude telle what ende hit bere
But þer was noon of hem alle
Coude say what shulde bifalle

4150 4500 4155 4160 fol.27r col.1 4510 4165 4170 4520

Þenne bigan þe botillere speke
Of Ioseph in prisoun steke
To þe kynge he seide þan
Sir he seide I knowe a man
Þat if he were brouȝte in place
I vndirstonde he haþ þat grace
Of þi dreem wiþouten abyde
He shal þe telle þat wol bityde
Sir whenne ȝe were wiþ me wrooþe
& wiþ þe maystir spensere booþe
In prisoun were we done in bonde
Þer ynne a iewes childe we fonde
Eyþer of vs a dreem we sawe
And he bad vs to hym hem shawe
And we bigan al to telle
he tolde vs al þat aftir felle
Go to þe prisoun seide þe kynge
And do hym swiþe to me brynge
Þat cloþing on him newe be done
And þat he come bifore me soone
þe botillere to þe prisoun went
Soone þer of ioseph he hent
And dide on him newe cloþing
And brouȝte him siþen bifore þe kyng
On Ioseph hit was wel sene

þat he had longe in prisoun bene
Lene he was & won in face
As he þat longe was fro solace
þe baronage wondir þouȝt
þat he to kyngis counsel was brouȝt
þe 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 spede
Coudes þou telle me what hit wore
My grace I graunte þe euermoore
Sir he seide shewe hit þon
And I shal rede hit as I con
I am redy þi wille to do
If god wole ȝyue me grace þerto
Me þouȝte þat þis ȝondir nyȝt
I coom in a medewe briȝt
fflouris & greses þer ynne I fond
And ky fourtene þerynne goond
Of þe seuen me þouȝte ferly
þei were faire and fatte ky
þe oþere seuene I ȝeode to se
And als myche wondir þouȝte me
Her hyde was clongen to þe boon
S[o] lene say I neuer noon

4200
fol.27r col.2
4550
4205
4210
4560
4215
4220
4570

hongry & lene boþe were þei
þe droof þe oþere seuene away
In þat medewe so longe þei ware
þei hadde eten to þe erþe bare
þenne me þouȝte 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 þei set þo
But þe toþer were not so
þei were clongen dryȝe & tome
Of þis Ioseph saye me þi dome
ȝyue me her of good counsaile
And I shal þe neuer faile
Good offis shal þou haue in plas
And be forȝyuen al þi trespas
þenne seide Ioseph leue sir kyng
God haþ þe shewed fair warnyng
þerfore owe þou bi riȝt
To honoure him wiþ al þi myȝt
Siþ he bifore haþ warned þe
Of þi woo saued to be
ffor þourȝe þis ensaumple here
Wite þer shal be seuen ȝere
Of plente in þi kyngriche

4225 4230 4580 4235 4240 fol.27v col.1 4590 4245

þat is þese seuen fatt beestis liche
þes oþere seuen woful neet
Bitokeneþ seuene ȝeer hongur greet
þat oþere ȝeeres shul be folwonde
þat neuer were siche bifore in londe
Suche defaute shal ben of breed
þe folk shal be for hongur deed
Sir kyng þis is þi auysioun
Loke þi self bi al resoun
ffor boþe þi dremes ben as oon
þerfore I rede þou anoon
Gete þe a good purueour
þat in þis nede may þe socour
In vche lond men for to sett
To geder vche fifte mett
Of þat tyme þat is plente
Certis he seide so shal hit be
Ioseph þou art mychel of prys
And þerto boþe war and wys
Noon I se is founde þe liche
Here in al my kyng riche
Stiwarde þou shalt be & hyȝe iustise
ffor wel I triste in þi seruyse
Nay sir he seide take not to spit
ffor firste wol I make me quyt

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 wiþ 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 vnseene
And hadde in greet myslikyng bene
We wende he had be deed þing
Nay god forbede seide þe kyng
He was prisound wiþ false rede
So haþ he lyued in mychel drede
þat is wel wene in his visage
Men han 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 vndirtake
Al þe worshipe of my londe
þat I wol ȝe vndirstonde

4275 4280 4290 4295

fol.27v col.2

4630 4640

4289 For wene read sene.

And al be wrouȝte bi his counsaile
ffor al my londe hit shal availe
þe seuene craftis wel he kan
he is a wondir wyse man
Al his baronage him biforn
To Ioseph han an ooþ sworn
To him as her keper to tent
And to done his comaundement
Of his owne hond toke þe kyng
And dude on iosephs his ryng
Cloþing on him he lette falle
Suche as him self was clad wiþ alle
To ride and go wiþoute lettyng
And knele bifore him as kyng
þenne seide þe kyng Ioseph lo
þou woost þat I am pharao
Shal noon so bolde be in my londe
Wiþouten þe stire foot or honde
His name þei chaungide for þat honour
And called him þe worldis saueour
þe kyng him made a wyf to take
Hiȝt assener a douȝti make
Ioseph þouȝte on his mistere
Made geder him seruaunt & squyere
To gete him wriȝtes in a stounde

4300 4650 4660 4662 4315 4665 4320 4670

fol.28r col.1

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 ȝeeris
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 trauailyng
Whenne þo seuen ȝeer were oute
Plowemen oueral þe londe aboute
As þei were wont her seed dide sawe
But al welþe bigon wiþdrawe

4325 4330 4335 4340 4345

4680 4681 4684 4690

þe erþe clang for hete & drye
And so þe wo bigon vp hye
ffor þat drouȝt þat was so strong
Corn ne gras on erþe noon sprong
þe beestis dyȝed vp al bydene
ffor þat hongur was so kene
þat bi þe firste ȝeer was goon
Vnneþe was þere beest laft oon
þe wrecched pore fonde no fode
þei were so fele beggynge þei ȝode
Tø gider þei flocked in þat lond
By hundrides & bi þousond
þei souȝte hem rootis as done swyn
Sorwe hit was to se þat pyn
þe childre & þe men of elde
ffor hongur lay dede in þe felde
Bifore þe kyng þei coom wiþ cry
And seide lord þou haue mercy
Of þi folke for hongur is deed
Was neuer moore nede of breed
þouȝe men ouer al sowe feldis
Of corn nouȝt hit vp ȝeldis
þe qualme haþ beestis ouer goon
But if sum bote be þe on
þe folke shul dyȝe alle bidene

4700 4350 4355 4710 4360 4720 4370

fol.28r col.2

Wiþ qualme þis hongur is so kene
þe kyng say þis & wepte soore
How mennes bodyes bolned wore
Wite we wel in þat tyde
Hadde he in his herte no pryde
Lordyngis he seide wel wite ȝe
Ioseph my stiwarde fedeþ me
ffor derworþely is he þer tille
He is al lord þat is skille
But gooþ & falleþ him to fote
And pray hym to do ȝow boote
þat he ȝyue ȝow of his corn
Or ȝe for hongur be for lorn
To Ioseph went þei cryinge þon
Rewe on vs þou blisful mon
And lene vs sumwhat of þi seed
Was neuer eer so myche need
Sumwhat lene vs bi þi skep
I shal ȝow lene seide Ioseph
Ioseph was ful of pite
Lete þresshe soone in þat cuntre
Whenne þe seed was al boun
He solde vchone his portioun
So þat þei myȝte skilfully
þei & her meyne lyue þerby

In bokis fynde we of a wyle
þat Ioseph dide þat was sotile
þe chaf of corn he cast oþer whyle
Into a watir men calle nyle
ffor þat watir þat 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 ȝeer hit was lastonde
þenne Iacob & his sones wore
Wiþ hongur in poynt 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 oure lord god of myȝt
Hereþ monnes preyer in riȝt
ffor þouȝe he preue his frend wiþ pyne

4750 4400 4405 4760 4410 4415 4770 4420

fol.28v col.1

4418 For longur read hongur.

þerfore wol he not him tyne
Whenne Iacob was moost in fray
God him counfortide þat al do may
Soone aftir in a litel whyle
Iacob ȝeode bi þe watir of nyle
He say vp on þe watir gleem
Chaf coom fletyng wiþ þe streem
Of þat siȝte wex he ful bliþe
And to his sones tolde hit swyþe
Childer he seide ȝe liste & lete
I saw chaf on þe watir flete
Whebben hit comeþ I con not rede
But doun hit feteþ 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 þe fleem to fynde þe chaue
Corne þer shul we fynde to haue
Ruben seide to his resoun
Lo I am al redy boun
Oure alþer nedis to take in place
ȝyue me tresour & let me pace
His broþer seide go we alle
In goddes name & so we shalle

Tresour ynouȝe wiþ ȝow ȝe take
And I ȝow pray for goddes sake 4800
Whenne ȝe founden han þat þing
þat ȝe make not long dwellyng 4450
But goþ wisely in vncouþe lond
God holde ouer ȝow his holy hond
þese breþer went fro canaan
ffor þer was iacob wonynge þan
Her ȝongist broþer þei left at hame 4455
Beniamyn was his name
þei hyed hem vp on her weye
Soone to egipte comon þeye 4810
Whenne þe saye of corn plente
Gladder men myȝte noone be 4460
Breed to selle þei fonde & bouȝt
And to Ioseph soone þei souȝt
Men hem tauȝte which was he
Doun þei kneled on her kne
Couþe þei of hym no knowleche take) 4465
And vncouþely to hem he spake
Childer he seide whenne are ȝee
Sir þei seide of a cuntre 4820
þer ynne is mony a nedy man 4822
þe lond men calleþ canaan 4470 4821

4456 There is a horizontal stroke over the ni in Beniamyn, an unnecessary abbreviation sign.

þenne seide Ioseph ful vncouþelye
What are ȝe comen þis lond to spy
Nay þei seide lord vs forbede
But we are comen for greet nede
ffor bittur hongur þat is bifalle
Oon mannes childer are we alle
þere is hongur in oure kyngryche
Was þer neuer noon hit lyche
þe folk dyȝeþ vp al bydene
Suche hongur was neuer er sene
þerfore haue we hider souȝt
A party of money wiþ vs brouȝt
Redy pens haue we to telle
If we may fynde corn to selle
þerfore we prey þe lord hede
þat þou vs helpe in þis nede
Of þi michel plente here
To selle vs be hit neuer so dere
Haue ȝe lorde no mystrowyng
þat we shulde come for oþere þing
I shal ȝow selle but telleþ me
What maner man ȝoure fadir is he
Sir iacob is oure fadir nome
An olde man we lefte at home
Elleuen breþer are we lyuonde

4475 4830 4480 fol.29r col.1 4485 4840 4490 4495

Oon at home & ten in þis londe
What he seide is he þe leest
Sir beniamyn het þe ȝongest
Whenne he bihelde hem on rowe
Wel vchone he couþe hem knowe
His fadir care þouȝte he on þore
And þerfore he sȳked ful sore
ffor siluer he took & ȝaf 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 þat morn
Whenne þei had eten & were boun
ffor to wende hoom out of toun
Ioseph bigan to sermoun go
And þus shewed hem his resoun þo
Gode men he seide ȝe shul fare
But of oure kyng I warne ȝow ȝare
I am not kyng ouer þis 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 ȝow witturly — fol.29r col.2
Of þeof wole he haue no mercy
Who so is taken wiþ stole þinge
he wole hym do soone to hynge
I say not þis but þat ȝe — 4525
Seme trewe men to be
God graunte ȝow wel to founde
And brynge ȝow hool hoome & sounde — 4880
ȝoure fadir to se hool & fere
God ȝou graunte lorde dere — 4530
God ȝow forȝelde seide þay
To alle ȝoure gode & haueþ good day
Whenne þei alle were forþ goon
Ioseph seruauntis called a noon
Childre he seide we serue þe kyng — 4535
We misse sumwhat of his þing
If he wiṫe he wol be wrooþ
God hit forbede þat were vs looþ — 4890
ȝondir be þeues we trowe wende
And he a þeof hem hider sende — 4540
ffolweþ hem & ransake her ware
Or þei forþer fro vs fare
If in her seckis be ouȝt founde
Loke þei alle be take & bounde — 4896
þe sergeauntis þenne breme as boore — 4545 — 4899

Ran & ouer took hem þore
þeues þei seide ȝe shul abyde
Wende ȝe þe kyngis tresour to hyde
He þat ȝow haþ done socour
Stolen ȝe haue of his tresour
In euel tyme dide ȝe þis dide
ffor siche þer of wol be ȝoure mede
Certis þei seide leue lordyngis
Haue we not stolen þe kyngis þingis
We are trewe men and lele
Were we neuer wont to stele
We haue wiþ vs trussed nouȝt
But þing þat we trewely bouȝt
And so is oure trewe geten þing
ffor goddes loue do vs no lettyng
Vpon her sackes leide þei hond
þe coupe þei souȝte & soone fond
Traitours þei seide now is sene
Whe|þer ȝe be foule or clene
Anoon were þei bounden harde
And brouȝte bifore þe stiwarde
And prisounde to þe þridde morn
þat moo folke myȝte þei come biforn
þat while Ioseph sent þen

4900 4910 4550 4555 4560 4565 4920

fol.29v col.1

4551 Read dede for dide.

To kepe her harneys of his men
þe þridde morn comaundide he
A gederynge of þe londe to be
fforþ were brouȝte þo breþer ten
Were þer neuer soryere men
þei fel doun at Ioseph fette
And mercy souȝte wiþ reuful grete
þe folke asked what þei shulde be
þeofes quod Ioseph of a cuntre
þat is hennes fer as þei me tolde
So is sene on her dedes bolde
Whil I solde hem of my sede
My coupe þei stale away to lede
Sergeauntis I sent soone on honde
And in her gere my coupe þei fonde
I serued hem & warned nouȝt
Of al þat þei me bisouȝt
Mete & drynke I ȝaf hem boþe
And bad hem kepe hem ay fro loþe
Siþen I preyed god al weldonde
lede hem sauely to her lond
Here vpon þei stale my þing
If ȝe ȝyue dome men shal hem hyng
þonne spak ruben þe eldest broþer
Stille menyng to þat oþer

4575 For fette read fete.

Now is comen oure aller sake
In to woo synne and wrake
I seide ȝow so þis oþer ȝere
ȝe wolde not my resoun here
As of Ioseph oure broþer lele
Wiþ wrong ȝe solde him for catele
ȝe solde hym out of myn assent
þat fynde we nowe here present
Done ȝe haue þis synne in ȝow
ȝoure repentaunce late comeþ now
ffurþer may we not stere
Her wille must we suffere here
Helpe lord þat al haþ wrouȝt
In oþer helpe me triste I nouȝt
He mened him þus wiþ mournyng chere
And wende Ioseph myȝt hit not here
Allas þei seide þat euer we ware
Born if we shul þus forfare
Ioseph roos vp fro his stede
To galewe þei wende he wolde hem lede
Ioseph herde her mournyng soore
And left hem as nouȝt ne wore
His wille was but to make hem gast
And after rewe on hem at þe last
Whenne he say her mournyng moone

4595 4950 4600 4605 4960 4610 4615 4970

fol.29v col.2

To þe court he spak anoone
Listeneþ alle þat hider beþ come
Ar ȝe ȝyuè here any dome
A word he seide sooþ may falle
Al þouȝe þei be þeues alle
Whenne þei were breþer alle at home
þei menged me þe ȝongist nome
I wol do to hem þat grace
þat þei þe ȝongist brynge in place
þat þei lafte at her faderes In
Whiche is called beniamyn
þe whyle wole I haue oon of ten
þat þei ȝyue to name ruben
To dwelle in hostage here wiþ me
Til þat þe ȝongest comen be
þis terme is fourty dayes sett
þat þei þis commaundement not let
But þei me þenne my couenaunt bring
Elles her hostage shal I hynge
And if þei couenaunt holde I wis
I shal forȝyue hem al þis mys

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 þe kyng was fayn — fol.30r col.1
And of his sete roos him aȝayn
Kust & sette him on benche him by
And honoured him ful derworþely
þe kyng lete write lettres ȝare
To geder alle wiþ hasty fare
þe beste in þat londe vnliche
And dide to make a feeste riche
Whenne Iacob say alle plentes were
And alle aboute to make him chere
He preyed þo þat þere were lent
To here a litel of his entent
þe kyng to alle bad pees þan
þus iacob his tale bigan
Pees haue phareo þe kyng
God ȝyue hym his brode blessyng
Gode men I am as ȝe may se
An olde man þouȝe ȝe knowe not me
Nor I ȝow to vndirstonde
ffor I am here in vncouþe londe
Out of ebron born am I
þere liþ oure elderes & so shal I
þere liþ adam þe formast man
And Eue of whom we alle bigan
þe folke þat of hem firste was bred

ffor þei no þing god ne dred
On hem he took vengeaunce sore
But eiȝte on lyue he lefte no more
Oon was noe riȝtwis of wham
Bicoom oure feiþful Abraham
þat dredde god & loued hym so
þat for his loue his sone wolde slo
þat was ysaac his childe dere
Whoos sone I am þat ȝe se here
I am sixe score & ten ȝeer olde
My fadir het ysaac as I tolde
Whennne he was to his endinge boun
I hadde of him my broþer benesoun
My broþer 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 ȝeer 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

4670

5350

4675

4680

fol.30r col.2

5360

4685

4690

A wyse man is þi sone Ioseph
In al egipte is noon so ȝep
His witt haþ saued me & myne
ffro mychel nede & myche pyne
ffirste was he here as our þral
Now vndir me mayster of al
I ȝyue him wonynge stide to lende
ffor euermore wiþouten ende
To him & his breþer elleuene
To chese where þei wol hit neuene
Iacob whenne he leue had lauȝt
Wiþ his sones & her auȝt
Went to a stide hem to plese
Of pasture greet & hett ranese
In þat stide her lyf þei ledde
Ioseph hem ȝaf wher of to be fedde
ffaut of breed þat ilke tyde
Was ouer al þe world so wyde
But in no londe so myche wan
As in egipte & canaan
So longe hadde þei bouȝte her sede
þat her siluer wexe al gnede
Whenne þei hadde no þing ȝare
þat þei myȝte to her lyflode spare
þe folk of egipte coom by dene

Byfore Ioseph hem to mene
Lord þei seide to þe we saye
Al oure miȝte hit is a waye
Now haue we noon wher wiþ we may
Lengþe oure lyf fro day to day
No þing is lefte vs but erþe bare
And alle oure bodyes ful of kare
Londes & liþes wiþ body we bede
þat þou vs take in þi bondhede
In þraldome take oure londis ȝe shal
ffor seed þenne may we sowe wiþ al
þei solde her londis al for nede
Ioseph bouȝte hem al for sede
In al egipte lefte he no lond
Vnbouȝte into þe kyngis hond
Outake þe lond of þat lede
þat was bitauȝte prestis to fede
To kepem hem self for her holde
þe kyng hem fonde as hit is tolde
þus couþe Ioseph as I seide ȝow
Awayte his lord þe kyngis prow
His lord he profitide erly & late
And halpe þe nedeful in her state
Whil hem lastede þat seesoun dere

4720 fol.30v col.1
4725
4730 5410
4735

4733 Read kepen for kepem.

Iacob þere lyued seuentene ȝere 4740 5420
In a cuntre þat 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 4745
Lay þi hond vndir my þe
And hete me trewely bi couenaunde
þat I not grauen be in þis lande
But hete mi trewely þou þi selue
Shal me wiþ myne elderes delue 4750 5430
ffadir I bihete þe riȝt
Hit shal be done wiþ al my myȝt
þerto þere an ooþ he sware
Now lyþ Iacob in bed of care
He drawe þ fast to his endyng 4755
And Ioseph dide to fore him bryng
Boþe Effraim & manasse
To blesse his childre preyed he
Iacob in bed him leyde vp riȝt
ffor elde al dym wex his siȝt 4760 5440
He leide aboute hem eyþer arm fol.30v col.2
And kiste hem ofte vp on his barm
My swete sone Ioseph he seide

Of þe am I not vnpurueyde
þi fruyt I se bifore myn eȝe
Now recche I neuer whenne I deȝe
He leide his hond vp on her croun
And ȝaf hem dyuerse benesoun
Soone he seide to Ioseph now
Most I passe god take I ȝow
God þat was oure elderes wiþ
Graunte ȝow goyng in to ȝoure kiþ
þei ȝe be flemed here a whyle
He wol ȝow brynge fro þis exile
His sones he bifore hym calde
And many resouns to hem talde
Boþe þat þei shulde ouerbyde
And in her laste dayes bityde
Whenne he endide of his sawe
His sones he blessed on a rawe
To vche he ȝaf dyuerse benysoun
And aftir leide his heed a doun
He went out of þis wrecched weorde
And to his formest fadris ferde
And brouȝte is into grace of griþ
Lord vs grante to dwelle him wiþ
Nyȝe seuen score ȝeer of elde
Was þis Iacob at his dounhelde

But þre ȝeer þerof was wan
His sones him beer to canaan 4790 5470
And leyde him þere his elderes by
þere he desired for to ly
By ysaac & by Abraham
In ebron bisyde olde Adam
þis Iacob þat I of melle 4795
Het boþe iacob & Israelle
þe folk of israel of him sprong
þat pharao kyng helde in wrong
In egipte helde he hem ful harde
As I shal telle soone aftirwarde 4800 5480
Siþen he dyȝed Ioseph þe wyse fol.31r col.1
And endede in oure lordis seruyse
ffirste was he buryed in þat cuntre
Siþen borne to his lond was he
þe osprynge þat of Ioseph bredde 4805
Was mychel in þat londe spredde
What of him & of his breþer sede
Were þritty þousande as we rede
Half sixe skore was Ioseph þat day
Whenne he of world went away 4810 5490
Whil þat Ioseph regnede þere
His breþere in egipte þei were
Aftir þei lyued hadde mony a day

Dede & doluen þere were þay
Of moyses now wole we telle
If ȝe wole a stounde dwelle
þe whyle roos þere a newe kyng
þat of Ioseph had no knowyng
He made þenne a parlement
And seide gode men takeþ tent
How þe folk of Israel
Is bred among vs so fel
But we kepe vs fro her kynne
Oure lond wol þei fro vs wynne
Sir kyng þat is sooþ þei seyde
þei haue ȝoure lond al ouer leyde
Iosephs kyn ouer gooþ al
þat to ȝoure elderes first was þral
Wiþ oure penyes bouȝte was he
Now wol his kyn disherite þe
Sir takeþ counsel herfore
Was neuer nede of counsel more
Lete vs loke pryuelye
ffor vs bihoueþ to be slye
Holde we hem so in doute
þat þei be euer oure vndirloute

4815-6 A heading.

4817 The þ in þe is a medium size, decorated capital.

If þei aȝeyn vs take þe fiȝt
And ouercome vs bi her myȝt
I dar saye wiþouten fyne
þat we shul so oure londis tyne
Holde we hem þerfore in awe
In trauaile 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
Wiþ hardenes he helde hem Inne
Soone hadde þei made townes twynne
Rameses and ffyton hiȝte þei
þat goddis folk bar to hem cley
But euer as þei dide 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

4840 fol.31r col.2
5520
4845
4850
5530
4855
4860

And wolde no fruyt of hem roos
Whenne wymmen were in childing stad
Bremely commaundide he & bad
Midewyues to be of þat same lond
And alle þe knaue childre þei fond
Wiþouten griþ þei shulde hem slo
And mayde childre let hem go
þe midwyues for god were drad
And did not as þe kyng hem bad
But þei saued þo childre lyues
þe kyng let calle þo mydwyues
Of whiche þat þer were twa
Phua þe ton hiȝt þat oþer sephora
To þese two spak þe kyng
Why do ȝe not my biddyng
Wiþ þo childer of ebrew lay
Sir for þis resoun gon þei say
þo wymmen ȝe shul vndirstonde
Are not like wymmen of þis londe
Vchone con stire fer and nere
Whenne þei come to þat mistere
ffor ar we come to hem wiþ myȝt
þei are liȝter bi her owne sleiȝt
And for þo wymmen dide so wele
God hem sent hap and cele

5540 4865 4870 5550 4875 4880 fol.31v col.1 5560 4885

Þenne comaundide kyng pharao
Þat alle Þat folke wolde for do
Ouer al his kyndam euerywhere
Whenne wymmen any childe bere
Þat of Þe kynde of ebrew ware
Men shulde hit in Þe flom for fare
Lord he was wicked & wode
Azeyn Þat folke so mylde of mood
ffor nouzte he wende to sle Þat sede
Þat god him self wolde of brede
May no man for no chaunce
ffor do Þat lordes puruyaunce
Of Israeles seed he Þouzte
Be born Þat Þis world wrouzte
And of his ferÞe sone Þat was
Geten of lay Þat hett Iudas
Þen wolde he drawe his monhede
Of hym coom kyngis of Þat lede
And of his broÞer leuy bredde
Þe prestis Þat her lawes ledde
Prest and domesman seye I
BoÞe coom of Þis leuy
Whiche moyses was formaste
As I shal telle zow 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 comaundementis toke
As hit is writen in holy boke
Whenne I se tyme þerto
þe kyngis kyn I shal vndo
Of whom sprong oure saueour
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 wiþouten 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 ȝerdes dide she be wrouȝt

5590
4915
4920
fol.31v col.2
5600
4925
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5610
4935

Dide piche hit so wiþoute & Inn -
þat þourȝe myȝte no watir wynn(e)
In þis chiste þe childe she dide
And sperde hit wiþ þe lidde
Not fer fro þe kyngis home
She leide hit on þe watir fome
Among þe risshes in an yle
Soone þer aftir in a whyle
þe kingis douȝtir þere pleyinge ȝod(de)
And say þat vessel in þat flode
She lete men fette hit to þe lon(d)
A squelyng childe þerynne she fon(d)
þat was wondir fayre to se
Of þat childe she hadde pite
ffor soþe she seide trowe þar noon
Of ebrew childre þat þis is oon
þe childis sistir stood þer by
Wolt þu I go she seide lady
To fecche a womman of þat lede
ȝe go she seide I shal hit fede
She went & fonde þat she souȝt
þe childis modir soone she brouȝ(t)
þe lady toke hit hir to fede
And for hir seruyse het hir mede
þe womman vndirtoke hit þo

4940
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4960

fol.32r col.1

And fedde hit til hit couþe speke & go
Whenne hit was þryuen of good elde
To þe lady she dide hit ȝelde
ffor hir childe þenne she him chees
And ȝaf hit to name moyses
Moyses was herfore his name
ffor he was of þe watir tane
Alle þat him sawe in lede
Wondir hadde of his fairhede
Bi þis coom moyses to elde
þat he myȝte hym seluen welde
þenne went he out vp on a day
To se þe breþer of his lay
To knowe his broþer how þei ware
ffiled in þat lond wiþ care
He say a giptian ful sore
Smyt a iewe bifore him þore
þat braunche of kyn calde Iewes was
þat coom of Iacob sones Iudas
Moyses say þer were no mo
But him seluen and þei two
To þat egiptian he drouȝe
Siche a dynt þat he him slouȝe
When he had slayn him wiþ his honde
He dalf him soone vndir sonde

An oþer day he went also
And fiztynge fonde he iewes two
He seide to him þat hadde þe wyte
How dorst þou þus þi broþer smyte
Þenne vnswered him þat oon
Siþ whenne was þou oure domesmon
Wolt þou mesle herfore
As þou didest þe egiptian not 3ore
Moyses for þis vmbreyde
Was dredynge in his herte & seyde
þourze whom is þis how may hit be
Who brouzte vp þis worde on me
þe kyng hit herde & bad also
Men shulde moyses seke to slo
Moyses say no bettur won
But fledde in to madyon
He sette hym þere a welle bisyde
Tiþingis to here þere to abyde
þe prest of þis stide þat I neuene
He hadde at home douzteres seuene
Þei coom to watir wiþ her fe
Wher of her fadir hadde ρlente
As þei to watir drof her beest
Coom herdis & awey hem kest
Moyses say þei dide hem wrong

4990 5670 4995 5000 fol.32r col.2 5680 5005 5010

Soone he medeled hem among
þo herdis fro þe welle droof he
And dide to drynke þe maydens fe
þo wymmen went hoom aȝeyn
And at hem gan her fadir freyn
How had ȝe so smartly done
þat ȝe are comen home so soone
Sir þei seide bi a ȝong man
þat semed to be egiptian
Sir þe soþe to ȝow to say
He putte þe herdes alle away
And wiþ vs he oure watir drouȝe
And ȝaf oure beestis drynke ynouȝe
Where is þat man doþ him calle
Sir þei seide gladly we shalle
Moyses þei fette faire & swete
And wiþ þe prest raguel he ete
Whenne þei were queynted so to tel
þis moyses & sir raguel
He weddede of his douteris oon
Sephoram a hende wommon
Two childre dide she to him bere
Gersan and elyezere
þis whyle was in Israele

5690 5015 5020 5700 5025 5030 5710 5035

5016 For hem read hom.

þe 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
Azeyn þo folke so wiþ hem ferde
So longe þei calde þat god hem herde
He herde her menynge & vnquert
And shope þerfore in litil sterte
On þat biheste he þouzte þan
þat he made to olde Abraham
ffor þat forwarde he wiþ him fest
his yze of reuþe on hem he kest
Boþe he halpe hem of her wo
And delyuered hem of her fo
Moyses þat tyme took kepe
To his eldefadris sheepe
þat was þe prest of madian
Whos douztir he had him tan
His folke he fedde vp on a tyde
By a wylde wodes syde
And as he welke þere wiþ wille
Bi syde ezeb a litil hille
He sawe a selcouþe sizt to se
Him þouzte brennynge a tre

5040
fol.32v col.1
5720
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As hit wiþ lowe al were bileyde
& to hym seluen soone he seide
To þat tre I wol go nerre
þat brennyng semeþ as on ferre
Whenne he þis buske coom to sene
Wiþ blome & leof he fonde hit grene
þis was a forshewyng shene
Of modir boþe & mayden clene
þat siþen longe out of prees
Bar a chylde & she wemles
As þe tre semed to brynne
And þenne was þere no fyre þerynne
As moyses on fer þouȝte
þe tre brennyng & brent nouȝt
þenne calde on him oure lord of myȝt
Out of þe mychel lemyng liȝt
Twyes moyses he calde by name
What woltou lorde here I ame
I am þyne eldres god seide he
ffor I hem ledde þat loued me
My folk of israel is woo
þei haue ben ledde wronge also
But I wol now her mournynge mende
To pharao I wol þe sende
Pharao of egipte þe kynge

5740
5065
5070
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5075
5080
fol.32v col.2
5760
5085

Out of his londe hem for to brynge
Lord he seide what am I þerto
Suche a greet nede to do
Go forþ he seide wiþouten drede
ffor I my self shal þe lede
þat þei not ȝeynsaye my sonde
Wiþ my tokenes þou shalt hem fond(e)
Whenne þou hast brouȝte hem fro þat lande)
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 wiþouten blame
If þei my name wol at þe freyn
Vnswere hem þus aȝeyn
To ȝow me sendeþ he 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
Siþen shal þou wende also
To pharao þe kyng þou go
Bidde hym lete my folke away
þat he haþ 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 wiþ strengþe
Moyses seide take not in greue
Lord pharao wol me not leue
What hast þou seide god in þi 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

5790 5115 5120 fol.33r col.1 5800 5125 5130 5810 5135

An eddur hit was & he was gast
So ferde þat he to fle bigon
To moyses seide oure lorde þon
In þi honde þou not forsake
By þe tail þou hit vptake
Whenne moyses hit hade in hande
Hit wex as hit was er a wande
To moyses spake god al myȝte
þi honde putt in þi bosum riȝte
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 forþ he seide & if þe kyng
Wol not leue þi firste tokenyng
Who so þe firste wol not trowe
To leue þe oþere is his prowe
If þei leue nouþer of þese two
To þe watir of þe flum þou go
And poure of hit vpon þe londe
And certeynly þou vndirstonde
Al þat þou drawest out of þat flode
Hit shal be turned in to blode
Take wiþ þe aaron also
To pharao kyng seye ȝe two

þat he lete my folke aperte — fol.33r col.2
Passe to worshepe me in desert
her sacrifise to make to me
Out of his londe iurneyes þre
Now makeþ moyses him boun — 5165
As god hym tauȝte his lessoun
His broþer aaron he mette
ffor god him self her metynge sette
To warne þe eldest of israele
And pharao þei went wele — 5170
þei seide god hym seluen bad
His folk þat vndir him was stad
To lete hem of his londe hem dresse
To worshepe him in wildernesse
Kyng phareo ȝaf his vnswere — 5175
What is he þat god & where
þat I shulde for his sonde
Let þat folk out of my londe
Nouþer I knowe him þat ȝe sey
Ne I wol lete þe folke awey — 5180
ȝus þei seide þus wol he
þat alle his folke come Iurneyes þre
In wildernesse offerynge to make
þat swerde on ȝow take no wrake
He seide wondir of ȝou me þinke — 5185

Wolde ȝe 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
ffro þat tyme he bad þat þay
Shulde do two iourneyes on a day
Vp on hem sett he men to aske
Euery day to ȝelde her taske
To stonde lete ȝe hem not byde
As ȝe haue done mony a tyde
Who so doþ not ȝoure biddynge
Wiþ sharpe scourgis þat ȝe hem swynge
Now wolde þei make a wiþsawe
ffro her werkes hem to wiþdrawe
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 ȝow
By what tokene he shal ȝow trow
Bidde þi broþer aaron þon
Caste þe ȝerde bifore pharaon

5190 5870 5195 5200 fol.33v col.1 5880 5205 5210

Into a nedder hit shal be lent
Anoþer tyme forþ þei went
Bifore þe kyng in to his halle
þere he sat wiþ his kny3tis alle
But not he of her erned herde
þenne took aaron his 3erde
And on þe flore he kest hit doun
Hit bicoom a worm feloun
þen calde þe kyng his enchauntours
þe craftiest of his iogelouris
Doun þei caste a 3erde vchone
Dragouns þei bicoom anoon
But aarons 3erde wexe so kene
þe oþere hit woryed al by dene
þe kyngis herte wex harde as bras
þe folke he seide 3it shal not pas
God seide þo to moysen
þe herte of pharao I ken
Now I woot hit is more
Harder for me þen hit was ore
ffor þat he wol not me here
Hardenesses shal I sende him sere
Boþe on him & his kyng ryche
He shal make mony men myslyche
ffor he wol þus debate on me

I shal him drenche in þe see
þe firste vengeaunce he on him sende
Men shul mone to þe worldes ende
þenne hit was þe firste sonde
Alle þe wattris of his londe
Soone wex into blood reed
þat alle þo fisshes þer inne were deed)
ffor þe root þat þer on felle
Boþe þen stanke ryuere & welle
þer was in house no vessel fre
þat watir helde of stoon ny tre
So foule al þis watir stonke
Wo was hem þat hit dronke
þe toþer venieaunce þat him felle
Were frogges þat no tunge coude telle)
þat out of banke & wattris bredde)
And ouer al egipte londe spredde
Al þe erþe þei couered so
Men myȝte not fre sette a to
Boþe in house & wiþoute
And ouer al þe londe aboute
þen bad þe kyng soone a noon
Calle moyses & aaron
Preye ȝoure lord þat he
Do þese froggis away fro me

5240

fol.33v col.2

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Þei seide set vs tyme whenne
To preye for Þe & Þi menne
To morwe he seide sir we shal
ffaste on god Þo gon Þei cal
To delyuer Þe folk of Þat wreche
And god was ful soone her leche
Þe frogges dyȝed al by dene
Þe hepes wondir was to sene
Þat men gedered on Þe grounde
Whenne pharao hadde reste a stoun(de)
He wex al greet in greue
Þe folk wolde he ȝyue no leue
ffor to passe out of his londe
Þe Þridde vengeaunce coom on hon(de)
Al Þe poudir of his lande
Wexe flyȝes foule sore bitande
BoÞe Þei boot mon & beest
To flesshe flyȝes were Þei likest
Al for nouȝte hit was no bote
Þe folke lete he passe no fote
Þenne sent god on hem a fleȝe
A sharper say neuer noon wiÞ eȝe
On pharao and his to drauȝt
Þat ouer al his lond hit rauȝt
Saue in Þat londe Þat het Iessen

5940 5265 5270 5950 5275 5280 fol.34r col.1 5960 5285

þere woned goddis owne men
Coom noon of þo flyȝe [s] þare
Wel he couþe his owne spare
þouȝe þei woned in þat cuntre
ffeire he made his owne fre
ffor pharao shulde vndirstonde
Miȝty he was oueral his londe
Pharao ful false of pees
Calde aaron and moyses
Gooþ he seide here in my londe
And to ȝoure lord make offronde
Wherto shulde ȝe forþer go
Do wey þei seide hit is not so
God wol no worshep take of hem
þat dwelle among curside men
Suche is þe folk of egipt
þat make to beestis her worship
Thre iourneyes more ne lesse
Most þei wende in to wildernesse
To make oure lord worshepe to
As he haþ bede to be do
Wendeþ he seide siþ ȝe wol go
But furþer go ȝe not þen so
ffor me ȝe preye ȝus þei seide
To morwe shal þo fleȝes be leyde

Bigyle vs no more in kare
þe folke þo he lete forþ fare
Moyses preyed þat oþer day
þe flyȝes were alle quyt away
þat al þe lond wex so clene 5315
þat neuer a fleȝe þer Inne was sene
ȝit þe kyng hem helde ful þro
ffor wolde he not lete hem go
// þen sende god a qualme of alle
In þat kyngdome on beestis to falle 5320 6000
Horse and asse mule & camel fol.34r col.2
Doun þei dyȝed al her catel
Goddis folke þat hadde any beest
Dyȝed noon of hem moost ne leest
Pharao sende þat to se 5325
Hool & fere he fonde hor fe
But euer was pharao in oon
þe folk awey let he not goon
// þe sixte vengeaunce coom on honde
ffalse pharao for to fonde 5330 6010
Byle and blister bollynge soore
On alle his folke lasse & moore
hem was wo on her bodyes alle
her kyng þei waryed greet & smalle
ȝit for nouȝte þat men myȝte sey 5335

Wolde he lete þe folk awey
// þe seuenþe vengeaunce to tel
hit was a weder wondir fel
A þondir wiþ a hayl so kene
Suche anoþer was neuer sene 5340 6020
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 5345
At iessen lond þere hit stynt
Of israel for þat tempest
Was nouþer harmed mon ne beest
þen seide þe kyng I haue þe wrong
Al þis wreche is on me longe 5350 6030
Preye þi lord sir moyses
þat he wol do þis þunder cees
he is riȝtwis þat ȝe on leue
his folke shal go wiþouten greue
I and myne mys han done 5355
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 tooþ is not vnfoulest 5360 6040

Locuste hit hette in book I fond — fol.34v col.1
I trowe noon siche be in þis lond
þat beest gnow vp al bidene
þat þonder lafte rype & grene
Of hem were so mony bred — 5365
Ouer al þe lond þei were spred
þat men myȝte nowhere se
Gras on erþe ne leef on tre
But ȝit was pharao for sworn
& false as he was biforn — 5370 6050
þenne dide god wiþdrawe his liȝt
And merkenes made more þen nyȝt
So merke noon myȝte oþere se
And þat lasted dayes þre
No man out of stide myȝte stere — 5375
Gessen cuntre was al clere
ȝit god fordide pharaon
And sende þe trenþe wrecche him on
Moore þen alle þes oþere smert
To sette him sorwe at his hert — 5380 6060
Aaron god seide and moysen
Dooþ he seide as I ȝow ken
Saye to my folke on þis wyse
þat þei make me a sacrifise

5378 For trenþe read tenþe.

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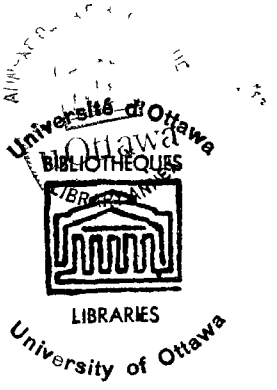
Sarah M. Horrall



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Sarah M. Horrall, Ottawa 1973.

ffirste þei me an auter make
And siþen vchone to hous In take
A clene lomb þat is honest
þe blood ȝe kepe þe filþe out kest
And whenne hit is to offerynge bed
þe meyne þerwiþ shul be fed
Loke þei be shod vchone
þat lomb shal ete & barfote noone
Who so for pouert is bihynde
þe toþere alle shul him fynde
þat lombes blood in alle þinge
ȝe make þerwiþ a tokenynge
On euery post on vche dernere
þe syne of tayu make ȝe þere
Wiþ þerf breed & letus wylde
Whiche þat groweþ in þe felde
hit shal not soden be but bredd
þe lom þat ȝe shul be wiþ fed
þei shul hit ete feet & heued
Ouer nyȝte no þing þerof be leued
And ȝif ouȝte leue or hit be tynt
Do hit in þe fyre be brynt
Beeþ alle gurd wiþ staf in honde
Ne hones not whil ȝe are etonde
And I my self seide god almyȝt

5385 5390 6070 5395 5400 6080 fol.34v col.2 5405

Shal passe þourȝe egipt þat nyȝt 5410 6090
Alle þe forbirþes shal I slo
Boþe of mon & beest also
On her godis I wole wrake
On hem I shal my venieaunce take
In mynde shal ȝe holde þis day 5415
Boþe ȝe & ȝoure osprynge ay
Solempnely in ȝoure lawe
Wiþ alle worshipes þerto to drawe
Þerme calde moyses þe olde
Men of israel and tolde 5420 6100
Al þat god had hym seyde
And how þis lomb shulde be purueyde)
On her poste & her derner
Þe blood þei shulde anoynte þer
Straytly he for beed þat þay 5425
Shulde out of house come ar day
To delyuer hem haþ god mynt
And ȝyue egiptians a dynt
Þe folk was fayn & loutid doun
Þei went to make her lambes boun) 5430 6110
Of þis bodeword were þei glad
And duden riȝt as moyses bad
Soone aftir þat ilke nyȝt

5419 The Þ in Þenne is a medium size, decorated capital.

God as he bifore had hiȝt
Sent anoon his aungel doun
Thouroȝe al egipte in vche toun
And souȝte her housis al bi dene
Of þo þat were egiptiene
Of þat meyne lafte he noon
At þe laste þat he slouȝe vchon
At þe kyng he firste bigan
þe for burþe slouȝe beest & man
Wroþerhele roos vp þe kyng
And þo þat were wiþ hym dwellyng
Ouer al egipte þe cry was
Mony þer were seide allas
þer was no hous in þat lond
But þerynne was deed mon ligond
By nyȝte þe kyng sent þon
Aftir moyses and aaron
Gooþ he seide out of my kith
ȝe and al ȝoure folk ȝow wiþ
Make sacrifise ȝoure god tille
Where and how þat ȝe wille
Take ȝoure beestis wiþ ȝow boun
Gooþ & ȝyue me ȝoure benysoun
þe folk bigan on hem to crye
Gooþ & dooþ forþ in hye

5435
5440 6120
fol.35r col.1
6122
6125
5445
6130
5450
5455
6140

Dwelle ȝe lenger any whyle
We drede deþ wol vs gyle
ffro þis folk þat was in sorwe
þe folk of israel to borwe
Asked siluer vessel sere
And cloþes of prys ful dere
God þat grace to hem ȝaue
Her askyng he dide hem haue
ffor to reue þat folk so snel
And helpe his folk of israel
þei were whenne þei to go bigon
Six hundride þousand fote men þon
Wiþouten childer wymmen & broode
þat noon þe noumbre vndirstood
Laft þei not þat horen was
Sheep ne kow oxe ne as
Her wonyng þere wiþouten wene
ffoure hundride ȝeer & two had bene
Whenne þis tyme coom to ende
Of egipte goddes hoost out wende
þis oweþ euer to be in mynde
To israel and al her kynde
To moyses oure lord þo tolde
What wyse þei shulde paske holde
And neuermore þat day to ete

6150
6160
fol.35r col.2

Sour breed ny noon o$\overline{\text{þ}}$ere mete
Ny no day wi$\overline{\text{þ}}$inne $\overline{\text{þ}}$o seue$\overline{\text{n}}$ dayes
Seuen $\overline{\text{þ}}$e firste $\overline{\text{þ}}$e story sayes
$\overline{\text{þ}}$e forbur$\overline{\text{þ}}$e of her children alle
ffro $\overline{\text{þ}}$at tyme to god let falle
And to him offere at $\overline{\text{þ}}$e leste
$\overline{\text{þ}}$e forbur$\overline{\text{þ}}$e of vche a beste
Ma$\overline{\text{n}}$nes childe wi$\overline{\text{þ}}$ p$\overline{\text{ri}}$s be bouȝt
And sheep . hors . & asse be brouȝt
In mynde $\overline{\text{þ}}$is was to vndirstonde
$\overline{\text{þ}}$at he delyuered hem of $\overline{\text{þ}}$a$\overline{\text{t}}$ londe
Bi streng$\overline{\text{þ}}$e of egipte he hem drouȝe
Of mon & beest forbir$\overline{\text{þ}}$e he slouȝe
Whe$\overline{\text{n}}$ne pharao had hem for$\overline{\text{þ}}$ sende
God bad hem to wildernesse wende
Or philistiens wolde wi$\overline{\text{þ}}$ hem mete
And let hem for to wende her strete
$\overline{\text{þ}}$at folk took $\overline{\text{þ}}$e wylde way
By syde $\overline{\text{þ}}$e rede see hit lay
$\overline{\text{þ}}$us goddes folk armed were
Iosephs bones wi$\overline{\text{þ}}$ hem $\overline{\text{þ}}$ei bere
Whe$\overline{\text{n}}$ne Ioseph in lyf was stad
ȝerne he preyed $\overline{\text{þ}}$e folk and bad
$\overline{\text{þ}}$at whe$\overline{\text{n}}$ne god sende hem visitynge
Men shulde his boones $\overline{\text{þ}}$e$\overline{\text{n}}$ne brynge

By a myche wodes syde
þei made hem logges to abyde
God him self hem led her way
Hem to kepe nyȝte and day
Wiþ clouden piler on þat day liȝt
Wiþ fyre piler vpon þe nyȝt
In no tyme hem wantide nouþer
Nyȝt or day þei hadde ouþer
God hem bad drawe ynnermore
Aȝeyn on slont þere þei were ore
In to pharaons syde
On hym wolde he shewe his pryde
He shulde wene hem loke þere
þat þei furþer myȝte nowhere
Him shulde þenne rewe his cast
Whenne þe folk were fro him past
He shulde þenne him seluen peyn
Algate to brynge þat folke aȝeyn
Of þe woo he wolde hem mynt
ffor euer þenne he shulde be stynt
þe folk dude so & were glade
And Innermore her loggyng made
Soone in londe was tiþing spred
þe folk was turned aȝeyn þat fled
His folke gedered pharaon

5510 5515 6200 5520 fol.35v col.1 5525 6210 5530

Lordyngis he seide what haue we don
Shul we þus lete þis folk away
þat shulde vs serue euer and ay
His folke armed dide he calle
And lete couple his cartes alle
Six hundride cartis wiþ her geris
On al þe hoost he set lederes
Whenne he had redy made his hoost
He went wiþ myche pride & boost
Whenne goddis folke his coom herde
þei bigonne to wexe aferde
Whenne þei him seȝe aftir hye
þe folk of israel bigan to crye
On god and to moyses seide
In egipte was noon euel vs leide
þerfore hast þou vs led hit may falle
To wildernes to sle vs alle
Why woldes þou vs lede fro þat lond
Seide we not þere dwellond
To leue vs for vs leuer were
þe egiptians to serue þere
Al disese for to dryȝe
þen here in wildernesse to dyȝe
Moyses vnswered and seide

5537 The he is written above the line, and a caret has been inserted between dide and calle.

Noon of ȝow beþ mys payde
Stondeþ & biholdeþ seide he
Goddes myracle shul ȝe se
Goddes miracle and his myȝt
Him self to day for ȝow shal fiȝt
Gooþ hardily 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 ȝyue ȝow redy weye to go
þat shal kyng pharao se
Wiþ his host and his meyne
He shal wene ȝou ouertake
But þenne shal he haue my wrak(e)
ȝe shul come alle hool to londe
Suche is þe vertu of þi wonde
// Moyses dude as god him bad
ffor pharao was he not drad
In þe see his ȝerde he smate
Hit cleef & ȝaue him redy gate
þe see on eyþer syde vp stood
As walles whil þei forþ ȝood

6240 5560 fol.35v col.2 5565 6250 5570 5575 6260 5580

Til þei were passed al þat drede
Whenne þe kyng þis say in dede
He folwed wiþ hoost on hors & fot(e)
ffor nouȝt caytif was him no bote
he say þe see wiþdrawen in twyn(ne)
þe brood watir he dide him Inne
Moyses wiþ his folk al hale
wiþouten wantyng of his tale
he helde his hoost vpon þe londe
And smoot þe watir wiþ his hond(e)
þen was þere no lenger byde
To gider þe see went boþe syde
Boþe bihynde hem & bifore
And drenched mony hundride sk(ore)
Kyng knyȝt squyere ne swayn
Coom neuer noon of hem aȝayn
þus wreked him þe lord of myȝt
On hem þat wiþ him wolden fiȝt
His folke haþ he saued sounde
His enemyes brouȝte to grounde
þo Israelis seide hem amonge
Cantemus domino a newe songe
To god þat had hem saued so
Of al her sorwe and her woo
And so mot he delyuere vs

Oure dere lord swete ihesus
Þese were Þe folk of israele
Oure lord chees to hym for lele
ffor whom he mony miracle wrouȝt
Til him self hem turned to nouȝt
Ofte fro hym Þei dide out reche
Wherfore ofte Þei fonde his wreche
As ȝe may here redily
ffor Þermore in Þis story
Wiþ her grucchyng on moyses
Ofte dide Þei greet males
Of Þe tree of lyf shal I tel
And of Þe folk of Israel
Whenne moyses Þat folk had lad
Ouer Þat see as god him bad
He and his broÞer aaron
Out of pharaos seruage Þon
In sirie vp on Þat oÞer syde
Þei made her loggyng to abyde
Whil Þei dwelled Þere to rest
Of watir hadde Þei mychel Þrest
Wyde Þei souȝte hit here & Þere
Watir myȝte Þei fynde nowhere

6290 6300 6310

5619-20 A heading.

5621 The W in Whenne is a large, decorated capital.

Þe folke þat þere aboute him lay
Vchon gon to oþere say
Whe þer we shul in wildernes
Dyȝe for þirste þourȝe moyses
What shul we drynke seide þay
Moyses þat nyȝte in sleep lay
þat nyȝt he ȝeode & took rest
Slepyng he lay in þat forest
On morwe he loked him by
he say þat him þouȝte ferly
At his heed he say stonde
Waxen of cipres a wonde
On his lift hond loked he
Anoþer he say of cyder tre
þo he loked on his riȝt 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
þat oþer day he went eke
Wiþ þat folk watir to seke
þere he slepte at morwe tyde
he fonde þo ȝerdis hym bysyde
þe þridde tyme so he hem fonde

5635
5640 6320
fol.36r col.2
5645
5650 6330
5655

þat dide him wel to vndirstonde
þat sum tiþing shulde þer be
Closed in þo ȝerdis þre
Selcouþe þing he seide wiþ In
Is closed in þes ȝerdis þryn 5660 6340
þei bitokenen persones þre
And o godhede in vnite
þenne he drouȝe hem vp first
Wiþouten any skaþe or birst
Whil þei in wildernes were 5665
þo ȝerdis wiþ hem þei bere
Siþ þei fonde þat firþe wiþyne
Watir bittur as any bryne
As bryne hit was & no swetter
To drynke was hit neuer þe better 5670 6350
Whenne þo ȝerdis 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 ȝerdis boþe in pris & pres
Where he walked here or þere
þo ȝerdis algate wiþ him were 5680 6360

Whenne he clomb mount synay fol.36v col.1
þo he hidde hem pryuely
Whil he fasted lenten tyde
In erþe he dud hem to hyde
Nouþer for dryȝe ne weete algate 5685
þei chaungide neuer her state
But euer þei helde lyf & floure
Sauerynge wiþ a swete sauoure
Of þis moyses lordyngis
I haue ȝow tolde summe þingis 5690 6370
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 5695
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 5700 6380
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 O in Of is a medium size, decorated capital.

Hit coom at morwe & at euenyng 5705
Volatile hem sende þat kyng
þat kyng owe men loue & loute
Wiþ alle worshipes to menske & doute
þere þei hadde myche watir wone
Moyses of þe harde stone 5710 6390
He smoot wiþ his forseid wonde
And out brast of þat watir a stronde
þenne hadde þei watir in þat lond
Plente boþe to foot & hond
But for alle þo dedes gode 5715
þat god hem sent to her fode
þe mouþes þat of wille were wlank
ȝalde him euer litel þank
þey her tungis speke resoun
Her hertis euer were tresoun 5720 6400
In þis tyme þat I of spek fol.36v col.2
was a lordynge het amalek
þat on hem fauȝte & þei on him
In a stide hett rapidym
Moyses calde sir Iosue 5725
And made him mayster of þat semble
He seide chese þe men and diȝt

5705 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.

wiþ sir amalec to fiȝt
And I shal on þat hil stonde
And goddes ȝerde holde in honde
To þis fiȝte þei wente anoon
Moyses þo and aaron
þei wente vp on þat hille
In hope allone of goddis wille
Whil moyses helde vp his hende
Wel was hit in þat batayle kende
Euer þat whyle witerly
Had goddes folk þe victory
And if he slaked hem any siþe
Amalec won also swiþe
So longe he helde hem vp wiþ þis
þat slake hem most he maugre his
Of werynesse was no wondir
þei gedered stoones & leyde him vndir
Euer helde he vp and aaron
His hondes til þe fiȝte was don
Vndir eiþer hond was oon
þat helde hym stille as any stoon
Bi þe sunne was at doun helde
Wiþ Israel was lafte þe felde
Ietro þe prest of madian
þat was moyses kynnes man

Whenne he herde how þei had don
Bitwene Israel and pharaon
To speke wiþ moyses he cam
Brouȝte him his wyf sephoram
Wiþ two sones she by hym beer
Gersan and Elyaser
Þis ilke folke was vntoun to fond(e)
Þat moyses hadde vndir honde
Þei dide him wondir greet trauaile fol.37r col.1
Til Ietro ȝaf him counsaile
Vndir bailis to set hem þen
In riȝt for to kepen hem
Of mony wrongis þat þer were
Of whiche men greet charge bere
But þat . þat fel to goostlynes
Shul be tauȝte bi trewe moyses
listeneþ now to my sawe
Telle I shal of moyses lawe
Þenne 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 bihoueþ zow and me
How longe shal þe terme be
þe terme shal laste fourty dayes
Whil I go to gete zow layes
Here on þe mount of synay
Sir þei seide ful bleþely
Moyses wente vpon þat felle
ffourty dayes þere gon dwelle
Whiche he fasted as we rede
To gete lawe his folk to lede
Oure lord coom to hym anoon
And toke him tables two of stoon
Wiþ his commandementis ten
And bad him teche hem to his men
ffor we owe hem holde for det
In þis book I haue hem set
Trowe þou in no god but oon
Ny ooþ þat þou swere noon
Holde wel þi holy day
ffadir & modir worshepe ze ay
Reue no mon his lyf þon
Do no lecchery bi no wommon
Loke ze no þing ne stele
Bereþ witnes noon but lele
þi neizebores wif wiþ wronge þou naue

Nor beest of his mayden ny knaue 5800 6480
þese are þe commaundementis ten fol.37r col.2
þat god took to moysen
ffirste þe iewes to teche
And siþen þe cristen to preche
If we hem kepe out and Inne 5805
þei wol vs saue fro dedly synne
Whiles moyses was a wey
þat false folke wiþouten fey
þei seide Moyses was slayn
And neuer wolde come aȝayn 5810 6490
And summe seide þat he
Was lyuynge & in lyf shulde be
þei toke her counsel as þei wolde
To make hem a god of golde
þo foolis seide hem among 5815
So stalworþe shulde he be & strong
þat he shal holde vs hool & fere
And kepe vs euer in oure mistere
Whenne manna wol vs wantynge be
He shal vs sende good plente 5820 6500
þus bigan her gyle wiþ gamen
Her tresour of gold þe gedered samen
A golden calf þer of þei blewe

5807 The W in Whiles is a medium size, decorated capital.

And as god honourid hit newe
Oure god þei seide þis is he
þat brouȝte vs þourȝe þe rede see
ffro pharao and his powere
þerfore honoure we him here
þis moyses was dere & kynde
To god men may hit here fynde
He toke hym tables of þe lawe
As ȝe herde in my sawe
Whenne he had hem hym take
þe folke he seide haþ don wrake
Siþ þou coom fro hem laste
þou shalt hem fynde vnstidefaste
Lordingis to þis false lede
MannA fel ȝe herde me rede
ffro heuen fel so greet plente
As a ryme frost onne to se
Whil moyses hym helde a way
ffor to do hem haue þe lay
Summe of hem þis fast forsoke
And þis riche manna toke
And vndir erþe in hoolis hidde
Aȝeyn forbode þus þei didde
þus þei were þat tyme vnwyse
þei dide aȝeynes goddes enprise

5825
5830 6510
5835
5840 6520
fol.37v col.1
5845

Whenne moyses coom fro þat felle
Soone herde he tiþing telle 5850 6530
þat þis folk ful euel had done
þer of fonde he tokene soone
Whenne he was comen in to desert
þe calf fond he þere set apert
He herde þe greet noyse þare 5855
Aboute þis calf wiþ mychel fare
So greued he wex in his mode
He myȝte say euel ny gode
He ne wist whe þer better wore
To turne or wende him for þermore 5860 6540
þe tables þat he in hond bere
In peces he hem brak riȝt þere
þerwiþ forþer more he ȝede
ffor to se her cursed dede
He say hem knele þis calf aboute 5865
As god hym self to loue and loute
What deuel is þis he seide in greue
Is þis ȝoure god þat ȝe in leue
Whenne þei were war of moyses
þei fley awey al in a res 5870 6550
ȝonge and olde lasse & more
þe calf alone laft þei þore

5849 The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.

Moyses þenne called hem to gider
Lordyngis he seide I am comen hider
Aboute ȝoure eronde haue I bene
Why fle ȝe fro me þus bidene
Comeþ aȝeyn wiþouten doute
Haue ȝe þese dayes alle fasted oute
þat I ȝow bad ar I went
Haue ȝe holde my comaundement
Who haþ made þis calf byfore
Hit shal her aftir ȝow rewe ful sore
Who made þis calf I most him ken
Who helde þe fast among þese men
Who haþ holden my comaundement
And who not siþen I went
Who forȝat me & who nouȝt
And who þis gold togider brouȝt
Whiche are þo to gider hit blew
Whiche are þo for her god hit knew
Alle þei made hem seluen quyte
Vchone seide I haue no wyte
Par fay seide moyses for nouȝt
þe soþe algate shal be souȝt
I wol my self knowe þe fals
And vche man shal knowe him als
fful euelhel brake ȝe þat day

5875
5880 6560
fol.37v col.2
6568
6570
5885
6576
6578
6577
6580
5890
5895

þat I fasted so shul ȝe say
Allas shul ȝe say þat siþe
ffor whenne I weped ȝe made ȝow bliþe
ȝe made þis god in to trowe
Whil I went to preye for ȝowe
Mychel foly dide I þan
þat euer to helpe ȝow I bigan
Whenne I ȝow ladde þurȝe þe stronde
Out of alle ȝoure enemyes honde
Siþen I asked ȝoure fode
And god sende ȝow manna gode
þat ȝe in erþe ha hud vndir
Mony men on ȝow shal wondir
Oure lord shal me on ȝow wrake
And saue þo þat haue no sake
Alle are ȝe trewe by ȝoure sawes
Is noon of ȝow þis calf knawes
ȝe saye þat ȝe made hit nouȝt
Ne neuer coom hit in ȝoure þouȝt
Nor ȝe honourid hit neuer ȝe say
Al of þis ȝe make hit nay
But say me þenne wherfore & why
ȝe made so myche dene & cry
þat I ȝow say make alle bi dene
þurȝe þe watir hit shal be sene

6590
6600

Shewe þ me soone hit shal be kid
Wher ȝe haue þis manna hid
þo puttis whenne þei hem vn did
þei fonde but wormes crulyng I myd
Whenne þei sey þis soo þ to say
þat gilty were þouȝte no play
þis golden calf he made to brest
To pecis & in to watir kest
And of þis watir he made vchon
To drynke whe þer þei wolde or noon
Alle þo men þat gilty were
Gulden berdes soone þei bere
þo þat were wi þouten pliȝt
And helde his commaundement riȝt
And trowed to no maumetrye
As was þe kynreden of sir leuy
þe watir proued hem for clene
Was no gold on her berdis sene
Moyses to her ȝatis ȝode
þus he seide whenne he þere stode
Alle þat are in goddis partye
Hider ȝe come & stonde me bye
So dude þat were in goddis half
And honoured not þe gilden calf
Goo þ he seide þat hit be sene

Sleeþ vp þo caitifs al by dene
Vchone went wiþ swerd in honde
And slowȝe þere twenty þousonde
þenne gon moyses to hem say
Wite ȝe what ȝe haue done today
ȝe haue to god holden vp ȝoure hondes
And slayn þat goddis wille wiþstondes
ȝit spak oure lord to moysen
Do he seide as I þe ken
Hewe þe siche tablis he seide
As I bifore þe 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 comaundementis ten
ffor to lede wiþ his men
Writen wiþ 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 for
And douted to come him ner
þenne þe lawe he hem vndide

5961 The V in Vpon is a small capital.

As oure lord to hym gon bide
Off oon arke to hem he spake
In goddis worshipe for to make
A tabernacle als for to dizt
þer of he shewed hem þe rizt
þe þre zerdis vp he toke
And þeryn dide so seiþ þe boke
To bere wiþ hym to euery stede
Whider he wolde þat folk lede
Listeneþ now a litil þrawe
ffor I wol telle of moyses lawe
Now shul ze of þo domes here
þat god zaf to moyses sere
Alle to telle hit were gret swinke
But summe are gode to here me þinke
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 flyze
Men shal him þennes drawe to dyze
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 waryeþ in despite
Dyȝe þei shal for þat sake
Wiþouten raunsoum noon to take
If two chyde & þat oon
þat oþer smyte wiþ fuste or stoon
So þat he lye short whyle or long
Siþen whenne he may go strong
þe smytere shal quyte his lechyng
And þe skaþe of his liggyng
Who so smyteþ his seruaunt wiþ a wand
And he be deed vndir his hande
He shal be gilty of his synne
But if he lyue a day or twynne
þe lord shal vndurly no peyne
ffor as his catel is his sweyne
If mon smyte wyf wiþ barn
Wherfore þe childe is forfarn
If so be þat þe modir lyue
To hir husbonde þenne shal he ȝyue
Medis þat men saye is riȝt
By lokyng of trewe mennes siȝt
And if she deȝe þerfore þe wyf
þenne shal he lose lyf for lyf

5995 6680 6000 fol.38v col.1 6005 6690 6010 6015 6700

5997 The I in If is a small decorated capital.

6009 The I in If is a medium size, decorated capital.

Eȝe for ȝeȝe tooþ for toþ
Hond for hond loke þis be sooþ
ffoot for foot too for too
Wounde for wounde woo for woo
Who so smyteþ out his þralles yȝe
And makeþ hym vnsiȝtilyȝe
Or tooþ out of his mouþ smyte
He shal him make fre & quyte
þe ox þat sleeþ mon wiþ horn
And so was not wont biforn
To deþe men shal þat beest stone
But of þe flesshe ete nomon none
þe beestis lord shal go quyte
Of alle chalengis & wyte
If his lord knowe him kene of horn
þre dayes þer biforn
If he sle wommon or mon
þe beest to slauȝte shal go þon
And þe lord þat hit iȝt
Shal vnswere þerfore at his myȝt
If he sle any mones sweyn
Thritty shillyng of mone[y] aȝeyn
Shal men ȝyue þe lorde to mende

6021 The W in Who is a small decorated capital.

6025 The þ in þe is a small decorated capital.

þe beest shal wiþ stoonyng ende 6040
[I]f any man makeþ a pit fol.38v col.2
And siþþen wol nat stoppe hit
If ox or asse or oþere beest
ffalle þerynne leest or meest
þe man þat þis put auȝte 6045
Be he wrooþ or ellis sauȝte 6730
Of his beest shal ȝelde þe prys
But þe dede beest shal be hys
If þat myn oxe firste sle þyn
þus biddeþ god al myȝtyn 6050
þat þe quyke beest be solde
þe prys bitwixe hem dalt & tolde
And þe dede careyn also
Shal be delt bitwene hem two
And if he wist hit at þe leest 6055
þre dayes bifore of þis beest 6740
And no kepyng dude on þat wylde
Ox for ox þenne shal he ȝilde
Who so steleþ sheep ox or cow
To sle or selle or oþer prow 6060
Oxen fiue for oon he pay
ffor oon sheep foure hit stonde for lay
þeof housbrekynge or digynge ground

6059 The W in Who is a small decorated capital.

6063 The þ in þeof is a small decorated capital.

If mon him smyte wiþ deþes wound
And þe dede be done bi nyȝt
þe smyter þenne shal haue no pliȝt
But if þe sunne be vp þon
Hit shal be tolde for slauȝte of m(on)
If þeof haue no fyn ne ȝift
þat he aȝeyn may ȝelde his þift
He shal be solde but if þat he
Haue any auȝte may founden be
If he haue any ȝonge or olde
He shal aȝeyn ȝelde double folde
If fyre be kyndeled by vnhap
þurȝe felde or corn mowe or sta(k)
He þat hit kyndeleþ in þat felde
He owȝe þe harmes for to ȝelde
If I ȝyue þe forto kepe
Ox or cowe . asse or shepe
Hors or any oþere auȝte
And hit wiþ þeofis be lauȝte
Or deed or done in to euel myȝt
Or done away fro monnes siȝt
Wiþ þin ooþ make þe clene

6065 6750 6080 6085

fol.39r col.1

6069 The I in If is a small decorated capital.

6075 The I in If is a small decorated capital.

6079 The I in If is a small decorated capital.

And þou go quyt of þat I mene
But if þis auȝte be stolen in chaunce
þou shalt him make restoraunce
And if I lent þe siche a beest
þat deed or spilt be at þe leest
And I my self not present
þou shalt hit quyte bi iugement
And elles not namely in dede
I lete to hyre for any mede
þo þat to wicked dedes drawe
God wol þat þei be done of dawe
Who so doþ wiþ beest þe foul synne
He shal be done to deþe þerynne
Who þat honoureþ goddes newe
Of his sleyng shal no mon rewe
To comelyngis loke ȝe do no gyle
ffor siche were ȝoure self sum whyle
Widewe nor childe fadirles
Do no wronge ny noon vnpees
If ȝe do crye to me þei shal
And I for soþe wol here her cal

6095 The þ in þo is a small, decorated capital. So are the W's beginning lines 6097, 6099 and 6103.

þenne shal my wreche kyndel so
þat soone þeraftir I wol 3ow slo
Widewes I shal make 3oure wyues
3oure childer haue no fadris in lyues
If þat þou lenest any þing
þou leue hit not wiþ okeryng
If þat þou whenne þou art wrooþ
Of sympel mon take wed or clooþ
3elde a3eyn þat clooþ I say
Ar þe sunne go doun þat day
In haþ he haþ on bak nor bed
Clooþ to hile hym but þat wed
Elles if þat he to me cry3e
I shal him here þour3e my mercy3e
Missaye no prest þat preche þ in londe
3yue gladly þi tende & þyn offronde
þe formast sheues of 3oure corn
þe firste childe to 3ow is born
Not þat alone I bid 3ow
Put als þe firste of sheep & cow
þe childe þat 3e to offring brynge
3e bye a3eyn for oþere þinge
þe forburþes þat I of telle

6800 6810

fol.39r col.2

6111 The I in If is a small decorated capital.

6121 The M in Missaye is a small decorated capital.

Shal seuen dayes wiþ modir dwelle
þe eiȝteþe day to offred be
As I haue comaundide þe
þe flesshe þat beest bifore haþ taast
Ete ȝe not þer of þe last
Lerne not of hym þat is lyere
Ny false witenes noon ȝe bare
ffolewe hem no more þen þi foos
þat vnto wickede dedis goos
Holde wiþ none þouȝe þei be fele
Aȝeyn þe doom þou woost is lele
To riche & pore þou seest in pliȝt
In dome spare þou not þe riȝt
þin enemyes beest þou fyndes o stray
þou brynge hit hoom þat wol þi lay
If þou fynde of þyn euel willonde
Vndur birþen his beste biggonde
Helpe hym or þou forþer wende
And so þou maist make þi frende
Sle no man wiþouten sake
Blendyng ȝiftis noone þou make
To pilg[r]ym & to vncouþ
Bere þe feire of dede & mouþ
ȝe knowe þe state of comelynge

6130 6820 6135 6140 6830 6145 6150

The first letters of lines 6133, 6135, 6139, 6143, 6145, 6149 and 6151 are all small decorated capitals.

Of pharaos tyme þe kynge
3oure lond 3e sowe seuen 3ere
And repe þer of cornes sere
þe ei3teþe lete hit lye stille
Pore mennes hongur to fille
Six dayes shul 3e worche I say
And 3e shul reste þe seuenþe day
Hors & asse wommon and knaue
þat day shul þei restyng haue
Trowe on no goddes fals
[S]were[þ] not I bidde 3ow als
Holde[þ] þis wel I bidde 3ow now
Myn aungel shal go bifore 3ow
þat shal 3ow wisse & sumdel lede
In to a lond of blisful hede
3oure foos þat 3ow wolde wiþstonde
Shul haue no myȝte in foot nor honde
I my self wol for 3ow fi3t
Shal noon ouer 3ow haue no myȝt
I shal holde 3ow my sawe
Whil 3e folwe my ri3t lawe
Suche was þe lessoun and þe lore
And 3itt a þousonde siþis more

6155 6840 6160 fol.39v col.1 6165 6850 6170 6175 6860

6159 The S in Six is a small decorated capital.

6163 The T in Trowe is a small decorated capital.

þat god shewed to moysen
To do his folk hym knowe & ken
But lordyngis for þat I
By witenessynge of prophecy
And þurȝe preef of þe selue dede
To cristis burþe 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
Shul alle þe blessed folke brede
And so dide prynce & als prophete
As god dide to hym bihete
And lordyngis for þat I
May not telle al her prophecy
þat of þat blissed burþe was seyde
þat longe to fore was purueyde
Of somme of hem þat seyde moost
Of his birþe bi þe holy goost
I shal ȝow shewe wiþouten les
As anentis þis moyses
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

6197 The þ in þis is a medium size, decorated capital.

þat vche kynreden to bere a wond — fol.39v col.2
His biddyng durst þei not wiþstond
And vche wande þat þei þere bare
He spered hem in her seyntware
And wroot þe name & seled also — 6205
þat noon shulde oþere gyle þo — 6890
Whenne he hem loked on þe morn
He fonde oon wiþ leef & flour born
And for hit was an almaunde wond(e)
þat same fruyt þeronne þei fonde — 6210
Almaund is grewen þo þer on
þe ȝerde þat fel to aaron
To al þe folk in þat londe
Moyses soone shewed þe wonde
But he tolde hem not þat tyde — 6215
What þe tokene wolde abyde — 6900
ffor he her frowardenesse knewe
And þei were of troubþe vntrewe
þis ȝerde was done vp to holde
As god of myȝt him self wolde — 6220
In tokene for to take & telle
Aȝeyn þe folk þat was rebelle
To vndirstonde þat god mouȝt
Al þing do þat hym good þouȝt
þis ȝerde bitokened oure lady trew(e) — 6225

þe fruyt hir sone swete ihesue
Of þis matere must I now cees
To telle ȝou more of þis moyses
Whenne he as god him chees bifore
He lad þe folke in wildernesse þore
ffourty wyntur and no las
Dede in þat desert he was
Al his elde was sixe score ȝeer
ffor he was to god so der
Him self byryed him & hid
In a pryue place vnkid
ffor wiste þe iewis where he lay
Honoure him as god wolde þay
þes iewes went wiþouten resoun
In to þe londe of promissioun
þourȝe moyses ne coom þei nouȝt
But Iosue hem þider brouȝt
God aftir good moysen
Made hym leder of his men
Wiþ his felawe þat calef hiȝte
þe two brouȝte hem to riȝte
þis Iosue coom of þat kyn þo
þat men calle effraym also
In egipte born but fed he was
And leder als wiþ maystir moyses

6910 6230 6235 6920 6240 6245 6930 6932 6935 6250

fol.40r col.1

Þis ilke moyses riȝtwis of rede
fforȝat not ar he were dede
To sette Þese holy ȝerdes Þre
In a stide he fonde pryue
Þere Þei grew lasse ne more
But euer as Þei were bifore
Riȝt to kyng dauid dayes
Þat lad Þe folk in goddis layes
He bi warnynge of goddis sonde
Brouȝte Þe erdis to his londe
Whenne aaron was deed Þe prest
His sone eliazar was neest
And his fadir astate he beere
Til Iosue we speke of here
Þis iosue was wondir liȝt
And maistry had in mony a fiȝt
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
And whil he past Þe flum iurdon
Þe watir stood stille as stoon
Til he Þe folk had ouer brouȝt
Into Þe same lond Þei souȝt

6261 The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.

Ioseph boones þei wiþ hem lede
And þer grof hem in þat stede
In a lond þat het sichym
Was ȝyuen in lot to Ioseph kyn
ffor as þei wan hit wiþ her honde
þei dalt bitwixe hem þat londe
Vche kynreden of þo twelue
Had a lodesmon hem selue
þat shulde her owne kynreden lede
Whenne þat þei to bataile ȝeode
ffor þei fonde strong folk hem aȝeyn
Wiþ were þat dide hem myche peyn
And wiþstood 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 wiþstonde
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
Whenne þei moost had of her wille
Moost þei dide hem self vnskille
Of god al myȝty þei laft þe lawe
To sarasenes feiþ gan hem drawe
And made wiþ hem her mariagis

6275 6280 6970 6285 6290 6980 6295

fol.40r col.2

Who herde euer suche men in ragis
Suche a kyng coude no man knawe
hem helde from vche mannes awe
And euer þei vnskil on him souȝt
Til þei hem self in þraldom brouȝt
In þraldome were þei worþ to be
þat wolde not suffere to be fre
Calef coom aftir Iosue
Of israel demer was he
In his tyme were þo fablis writen
þat ȝitt are as bookis witen
Saturneus & sir Iubitere
þat 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 ȝeer in his tyme was
þe cite made of thebas
Ayoth was þenne demestere
Of israel foure score ȝeere
In his tyme was a bataile grym
Bitwene Israel & beniamyn
ffor loue of a deknes wyf
Mony a man lost her lyf

ffourty þousande of israele
Of beniamyn nyȝe also fele
Sanygath coom aftir hime
Troye was bigone in his tyme
Ten ȝeer had he þe folk to ȝeme
Siþ his two sones hem dide deme
Barach & wiþ hem delbora þo
þei demed fourty ȝeer & moo
þenne was oon sibile of libye
And apollo wiþ his melodye
Aftir coom Gedeon
þat worshepe in his tyme won
Slouȝe fourty kyngis of heþen sede
Wiþ þre hundride of hys lede
þen was oreb & salmana
zeb and zebee þes oþere twa
In tyme of þis Iudeon was
Boþe orpheus & ercules
Tola ladde þe folk þo
Lastyng fourty ȝeer & mo
þenne roos þe þridde 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 þenne regned preamus
As þe olde story telleþ vs
In þis ilke iare tyme
Were lettres founden of latyne
Iepte firste þei helde bastarde
Siþen he helde six ȝeer her warde
Zamazinis þat tyme bigon
þe wymmen lond wiþouten mon
Ezebon aftir seiþ þe boke
Toke israel to lede & loke
He ladde hem seuen ȝeer & more
Alisaundre in þat tyme þore
þat parys auȝte rauysshed Elayn
Wherfore many men were slayn
þe ferþe sibile in þat siþe
In babiloyne bigan to kyþe
Achialon coom aftir hard
Her leder was & her stiward
He had þat folk ten ȝeer to get
In his tyme was troye bi set
Labdon had hem vndir honde
And ouer hem was eiȝte ȝeer last(onde)
In his tyme was troye nomen
And wiþ þe grekes ouercomen

6350 6355 6360 6365 6370

7040 7050 7060

fol.40v col.2

þere mony modirsone was colde
As hit is in þe story tolde
þat werre lasted so long a pece
þer was slayn of hem of grece
Eiȝte hundride siþe sixty & ten
Of þousandis diuerse tyme of her (men)
Six hundride foure score six þous(ande)
Men of troye fauȝte for her land(e)
Her of ben nomen in were
ffor why þe sege lasted ten ȝere
Wiþouten brekyng of þat werre
þat greued boþe nyȝe & ferre
þat werre semed to be noon oþer
But as þat oon half aȝeyn þat oþer
And al þis world haþ risen bene
So was þer mony cayser kene
But myȝte þei neuer wynne þe tou(n)
Til þei hit wan wiþ tresoun
And al þe chesoun of þis stryf
Was for rauysshyng of a wyf
Al for fairhede of Elayn
Was þere so mony þousande sla(yn)
And siþen aftir þis labdon
Her domes man was sir sampso(n)
þat was so strong & so wiȝt

Childeles was his modir mony (niȝt) 6400
In hir elde bi goddis grace fol.41r col.1
An aungel het hir childe in place
þat bi his heer shulde so myȝty be
As twenty men to fele & se 7090
Vndir philistiens þei were 6405
þat 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
þat he hade chosen siche a wommon
He toke hem wiþ 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 lemmon 7110

As he went þat way aȝeyn
He fond in þe leon mouþ sleyn
A swarm of bees þerynne were bred
And wiþ þe hony he hem fed
His wyues fadir & modir fre
Of þis hony to ete ȝaf he
But not he made hem vndirstonde
How he þat hony fonde
At þe feest þere he was stad
A redeles vndo hym he bad
He hett men to ȝyue hem mede
ȝif þei couþe hit riȝtly rede
And þei to ȝyue þe same aȝeyn
If þei hit redde not certeyn
Of þe etyng þe mete out sprong
And þe swete out of þe strong
þis was al whenne þei souȝte
þre dayes þei studied aboute nouȝte
þo þei bisouȝte his wyf þat sho
Shulde make hir lord to telle hit hir to
þat bruyd was of biddyng bolde
Sampson al þe soþe hir tolde
And she to þo þat were hir kid
Soone aftir hit vndid
And þat was a greet folye

6425 6430 6435 6440 6445

7120 7130

fol.41r col.2

Hir lordis counsel to discrye
Sampson for wraþþe hir forsooke
And she anoþer husbonde toke
Whenne sampson þerof herde saye
Now he seide fro þis daye
Owe I to haue no maner wyte
þouȝe I philistiens do despite
þre 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 cuntre
þourȝe þe felde he made hem fle
Whenne þei were ripe he let hem renne
And so her curnes dide he brenne
Her olyues wiþ her wyne trees
þes foxes brent wiþ her rees
þes philistiens wenten oute
And souȝten sampson alle aboute
þe iewes were vndir her walde
Sampson bounden soone þei ȝalde
þo philistiens wiþouten les
Ran on sampson in a res
But sampson was ful smart
Out of her handes soone he start

6450 7136
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He ȝaf a breyd so fers & fast
þat alle his bondes soone he brast
By chaunce he fonde an asse boon
Oþer wepen had he noon
Of þat heþen folke he felde
A þousande by tale telde
Siþen he went in to a toun
To a wyf þat was comoun
Bisydis hir al nyȝt he lay
þe philistiens herden say
þei hi sett þi toun aboute
þat if sampson coom oute
By nyȝt or in þe mornynge
To doolful deeþ þei wolde hym brynge
But sampson þat was so wiȝt
Vp he roos amydde þe nyȝt
And bar þe ȝatis of þe toun
And leyde hem on an hyȝe doun
Aftir he chees a wyf þo
Dalidam him brouȝte in wo
þe philistiens so ful of stryf
Bihet to dalidam his wyf
ȝiftis grete al for to frayn
Where were sampsons mayn

6475 7170 6480 fol.41v col.1 6485 7180 6490 6495 7190

Longe she freyned hym þat bolde
And siche a gabbyng he hir tolde
Wiþ seuene senewes who so me bond
I lost my strengþe foot & honde
His foos þo she bad take kepe
And þe while he was on slepe
Soone she his fo men calde
To do wiþ hym what þei walde
Sampson waked of his nap
His bond dide he al to crak
Alle hisbondis he brak in two
As þei had ben but a stro
But ȝit his wyf laft not þus
Þourȝe eggyng of his enemyus
Til she þe soþe made him say
Wher ynne al his strengþe lay
She seide leef telle me where
Hit is he seide in my here
If hit were of I were not þon
No strenger þen anoþer mon
Now haþ sampson taken his lyf
In wille to welde to his wyf
Was neuer sampson eer in drede
She had in hond his lyf & dede

6500 7200 6505 6510 7210 6515 6520 fol.41v col.2

6519 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.

In hir wille hadde he boþe done
þat shulde ben aftir sene soone
His firste wyf him lered wit
If he coude haue holden hit
þis oþer wyf þat he had now
Auȝte he not wel to trow
Soore shulde man drede þe brond
þat bifore haþ brent his hond
And hard hit is to stond aȝeyn
þe wif þat leueþ not to freyn
þat ouþer for loue or drede of awe
Doþ man his priuetees to shawe
By dronkenes als may bityde
Doþ man his priuetees to vnhyde
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
Wiþ hir sheeris wo worþe her hende

And to his foos hym bikende
þenne myȝte þei do as þei had m(ynt)
þourȝe his here his myȝt was (tynt)
þei dude hym wondir myche lo(þe)
Beten hym & prisound hym boþe
Whenne he was done in prisoun
A mon of þat same nacyoun
Gat dalida his wyf to wedde
Sampson was to þe brydale l(edde)
ffor he was slyȝe of harp glew
By þat his heer was waxen ne(w)
By a piler was his sete
To myrþe men at her mete
Whenne þei were gladdest at þe feest
Sampson coude wel geest
Somdel waxen was his heer
þe post þat al þe hous vp beer
Wiþ boþe his hondis he hit shook
So fast þat al þe hous quook
þe hous he falde ȝaf no man griþ
His foos he slowȝe him self þerwiþ
Aftir sampson aldur nest
Was domesmon Ely þe prest
And þouȝe him self was clene of synne

6550 6555 7250 6560 fol.42r col.1 6565 7260 6570

6569 The A in Aftir is a medium size, decorated capital.

ffor gult þat his sones were Inne
Whiche he wist & chastised nouȝt
Her synne on him self he brouȝt
Whil he laft at home for elde
þei 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
þei made drede siche vncele
þat chastise not her childre wele
Ofte on fadir falleþ wrake
þat sent is for þe childer sake
ffourty ȝeer 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 wiþ her mychel pride
Sent aftir hym on a tyde
Lordyngis he seide seiþ me wher tille
Haue ȝe me fet what is ȝoure wille
Gete vs a kyng . What are ȝe wode

6575 7270 7272 7277 6580 7280 6585 6590 7290 6595

6589 The P in Prophete is a medium size, decorated capital.

Haue ȝe not a kyng ful gode
þat fro ȝoure foos þurȝe see ȝow ledde
And wiþ riche manna ȝow fedde
And mony werkis for ȝow haþ wrouȝt
Sir þei seide þou seist for nouȝt
Gete vs a kyng þat may vs lede
As we se oþere haue in dede
Parfay seide samuele
ȝe are to frowarde wiþ to dele
Nouþer are ȝe war ne wyse
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
Not ȝow allone but ȝoure ospryng
Shal rewe ful soore ȝoure ȝernyng
Hit is wel worþi þat who
May þole no wele þole wo
Sore wepte samuel wiþ þis
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

6600 fol.42r col.2
7300
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þei aske anoþer 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 stalworþe mon
Wiþ shulderes boþe þicke & brade
He shal her kyng be made
Siþ þei haue þus 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
Wiþ 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 wiþinne a twelmonþe stage
þei were put out of her heritage
þenne bigon þei to calle & cryȝe
þat god on hem shulde haue mercye
And samuel þat wist her woo

Calde on god for hem also
God him bad fille his horn
Wiþ oyle & wende forþ biforn
Vnto a man þat hett iesse
In bedleem shal he founden be
þou shalt him fynde in bedleem
Seuen sones he haþ to barn teem
Oon of hem make þou kyng
ffor saul dredeþ me no þing
þerfore wiþ caytif and care
Out of þis world shal he fare
ffor or þat he be slayn in were
þe fend he shal in body bere
He shal hym trauail day & nyȝt
And lodly his body diȝt
Maffay lord seide samuel
I here not of þat Iesse tel
Nor his sones ny him I knowe
þe childes name ȝe me showe
ȝis he seide I shal þe kenne
Him to knowe by oþere menne
In visage is he briȝte & clere
In reed of hew wiþ lawȝynge chere
His fadir in alle haþ sones seuen
þe ȝongest is he þat I neuene

Boþe wys hende & of good fame
Dauid he hette bi his name
And for þat he is war & wys
I haue hym chose to þis seruyse
His seed for soþe al by dene
Ouer alle men shal I mayntene
His foos shul not aȝein hym vaile
Him ne his shal I not faile
To be kyng not wol him dere
My benesoun shal he bere
Samuel went sechyng þe lond
Til he þe hous of Iesse fond
Iesse hym resceyued feire
And samuel him called his heire
Comen he seide I am iesse
To se oon of þi sones þre
Sir he seide wiþ good entent
ȝoure word is to me commaundement
His sixe sones þat were at home
Alle he called hem forþ by nome
But þe ȝongest was a way
Samuel seide sir iesse say
Where is þyn alþer ȝongest sone
He is he seide þere he is wone
Wiþ oure sheep vp on þe lowe

7370 7380 6675 6680 fol.42v col.2 6685 6690 7390 6695

Do fet me him I wol him knowe
þei hym fett wiþ cheer ful swete
He heilsed hendely þat prophete
He knewe him whenne he had biholde
Bi tokenyngis bifore of tolde
Anoynt he was wiþouten abade
And kyng of þo iewes made
But þouȝe he were anoyntide kyng
þe kyngdome to haue in gouernyng
He entermeted him of no þing in dede
But to his sheep aȝeyn he ȝede
Goddes goost in him was sent
ffro þenn fro saul hit was went
Dauid coude of dyuerse note
He coude myche of harpe bi rote
Whenne he wiþ his gle wolde game
His sheep assemblede soone same
Of his menstralcy to here
Mony were wont to drawe him nere
Saul was ȝitt in stide of kyng
But he myȝte do no gouernyng
þe fend was in his body fest
Wherfore he myȝte haue no rest
þenne seide þei alle what is to do
Of oure kyng þat haþ no ro

He is euer out of witt & wood — fol.43r col.1
How shul we amende his mood
He is ful of wicked hede
Wo is hym þat he shal lede
þenne seide a good man of þat þrom
And seide do we litel dauid com
Wiþ his harp bifore þe kynge
He shal him do to lauȝe & synge
Whil he to him takeþ kepe
þe kyng he shal make to slepe
fforþ dud þei dauid brynge
Harpyng a song bifore þe kynge
He made him wiþ his melodye
ffalle on slepe þat was werye
Oþerwhile wiþ harp sumtyme wiþ song
þus he serued þe kyng ful long
þat euer whenne he was trauailed moost
þourȝe þat foule sory goost
If he bigon to harpe & synge
Of his vnro he had restynge
þat while coom philistiens in þore
Her feloun foos þat paynemes wore
Her hoost in al þat cuntre spred
þei wasted godes & awey led
þei brouȝte wiþ hem goly an eteyn

þat in foul hoordome was geteyn
Greet he was & also hy
He semed sathanas vnsly
Bitwene his eȝen þre fote he hade
Loþely was his visage made
Of body greet & greynes long
Sternely semed he to be strong
Sixe ellen fully he was in hiȝt
Al redy armed for to fiȝte
Of his mete was mesure noon
Seuen sheep he wolde ete his oon
He seide where is saul kyng
And I myȝte ones wiþ him myng
Shulde he neuer bere no croune
I wolde him sle by seynt mahoune
Why comeþ he not or sent his sonde
Wiþ him I wolde my fors fonde
Ouþer sende he to me hidur
A mon þat we may fiȝte togidur
Wheber oþer ouercomeþ in felde
þe toþers folke al to him helde
A mon of his aȝeyn oon of ouris
If oure may wynne his in stouris
þat þei be ouris & her heires

6750 7450 6755 6760 fol.43r col.2 7460 6765

6766 The o in folke has been altered from an a.

If þei wynne ouris we be þeires
Here I byde my self redy
ffor to fiȝte for oure party
Vche day we come in place
And batail bede wiþ siche manace
Euer whenne þe folk him sawe
Hem stode þen of him ful greet awe
Allas seide saul þe kyng þan
Where shal we fynde a man
þat dar þe bataile for my sake
Aȝeyn þis þeof vndirtake
Who so wolde fiȝte him aȝeyn
And him ouercome in bataile pleyn
He shulde be ryche al his lyue
And haue my douȝter to his wyue
Dauid þis herde & forþ gan stonde
Sir he seide holde me couenonde
I trowe trewely in goddis myȝt
þat I shal vndirtake þat fiȝt
Aȝeyn goly þat is so grym
Wiþ goddis grace sle shal I hym
Aȝeyn þe ȝonder wrecched þing

6773 Read he for we.

6777 The A in Allas is a medium size, decorated capital.

6785 The D in Dauid is a small decorated capital.

ffor soþe haue I no drede sir kyng
He tristeþ al in his owne hand
And I in ihesu al weldand
To dauid seide saul þe kyng
I drede þerto þou art ful ȝyng
Hit is a stalworþe batail wriȝt
And þou lernedest neuer to fiȝt
If he þe sle as god forbede
Alle most we holde of heþen lede
What bote to lese þi lyf leue page
And aftir we do hem omage
Do wey he seide sir hit is no nede
þere god wol helpe þar no man drede
Vpon a day my sheep I gette
A bere a lyoun boþe I mette
I hadde no helpe but from aboue
Of god þat lent me his loue
þei souȝte me to rende & ryue
I leide hond on hem ful blyue
I shook hem by þe berdes so
þat her chaules I wrast in two
Wiþouten ouþer swerde or knyf
Boþe I refte hem hor lyf
He þat me þere þe maystrye ȝaue
May do me here hit to haue

7490 6795 6800 fol.43 col.1 7500 6805 6810 7510 6815

Hit is not good leue sir kyng
þat mon in god haue mystrowyng
Go þenne he seide in goddis grip
And god him seluen be þe wip
Goop he seide & fecchep in hy
Myn armure to childe dauy
Helme haburioun on him þei dyde
And girde him wip a swerd a myde
Whenne dauid was armed so
fforp a fote myȝte he not go
Nouper forpny ȝit 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 þat stounde
Do wey he seide þis opere gere
ffor I kan noone armes bere
Wip my slynge I shal him felle
Go we þider wipouten dwelle
Whenne dauid went forp in route
He saw þe folk þat were in doute

6819 The G in Go is a small undecorated capital.

To make hem in hope bolde — fol.43v col.2
þis resoun he hem tolde — 7540
Why shulde men ben adred
þat are in riȝtwis batail sted
And who þat fiȝteþ in þe wronge) — 6845
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 — 6850
þerfore god wol for vs fiȝte — 7550
Wel ȝe woot we haue þe riȝte — 7549
He vs helpe of his grace
Wiþ þat he went in to place
Whenne golias on him biheld — 6855
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 wiþ þi stoon to stone me — 6860
Come forþ fast wiþouten abade
þi flesshe shal foulis fode be made) — 7560
Dauid seide if god wol nay
In god I haue fest al my fay

6855 The W in Whenne is a medium size capital.

Armed comest þou 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
Wiþ 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 fiȝte wiþ mé)
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 wiþ his owne brond

6865 6870 7570 6875 6880 fol.44r col.1 7580 6885

And brouȝte þe kyng to presond
þo sarazines þere bisyde
ffledde alle & durst not abyde
þere were mony felde to grounde
And mony fled wiþ deþes wounde
Dauid went hoom wiþ greet honoure
Alle þanked god her creatoure
Miche he was sooþ to say
Loued and drad fro þat day
Pore and ryche ȝonge & olde
Loued him alle mony folde
To ierusalem þe heed bar þey
þere daunsed wymmen bi þe wey
In her daunse þis was þe song
þat þei for ioye seide among
Saul haþ smyten a þousond
Ten þousond smyten in dauid hond
ffor þis word was saul wrooþ
And ofte boþe breme and looþ
Haue I a þousonde felde how so
And dauid ten þousonde & mo
Bi þis is hym nouȝt wone
But þat he is not kyng allone
ffor loos þat dauid won þat siþe
Wolde neuer saul loke on him bliþe

He hated him as his foo
ffro þenne he wayted him to slo
Ofte be þei quyt þis wyse
þat done to liþer lord seruyse
þe toþer day aftirwarde
þe fend trauailed saul harde
As he was wont bigon to rage
And as dauid cam him to swage
þe kyng smoot to him wiþ a spere
In tene he wolde him þourȝe bere
And þourȝe he had his body born
Ne hadde he blenched him biforn
Away þoo drouȝe him soone dauy
But saul dredde him not for þy
Of a þousande men bi tale
He made him ledere & marchale
He þouȝte þus in his mood
þat I him sle hit is not good
But I shal lete hym allone
Philistiens shul ben his bone
He asked dauid if he wolde
His douȝter wedde to haue & holde
In þat couenaunt for to brynge
An hundride hedes to þe kynge
Of þat folk of heþen dede

6915 7615
6920 7620
fol.44r col.2
6925
6930 7630
6935

Dauid went forþ good spede
wiþ þat folk soone he mett
And wiȝtly wan of hem þe bet
Aȝeyn þat hundride þat saul souȝt
Dauid to him þe double brouȝt
þe kyng him ȝaf his douȝter a noon
þat het michol a fair wommon
þe kyngis sone het ionathas
To dauid trewe frend he was
þe kyng bad who so myȝt go
Dauid his sone in lawe to slo
As his foo him to seche
Ionathas was not payed of þat speche
He preyed boþe day & nyȝt
To make þe kyng & dauid liȝt
Bifore þe kyng þei dauid brouȝt
But aftir soone was al for nouȝt
Soone aftir batail roos
And dauid went aȝeyn his foos
þis bataile was harde ynouȝe
And dauid of his foos fast slouȝe
Mony a mon fel vndir sheeld
But wiþ dauid lefte þe feld
And efte þe fend ful of greef
Trauailed þe kyng to myscheef

6940 7640
6945
6950 7650
6955
6980 7660
fol.44v col.1

And dauid harped wiþ his harp
þe kyng hent a spere sharp
To smyte him þourȝe into þe wowȝe
Dauid blenched in litil þrowe
In to his hous þen dauid fled
But ar þe kyng wolde go to bed
He sett his men þe hous aboute
To wayte at morwe when he coom oute
To sle him if he myȝte be mette
But his wyf by nyȝt him out lette
Out at a pryue posterne
He fledde to samuel ful ȝerne
þat in ramatha was dwellyng
Soone hit was tolde to þe kyng
þenne his messangers he sende
To rauysshe dauid wel he wende
But þerto myȝte þei neuer wyn
ffor company þat he was yn
And goddis grace þat him was wiþ
Saued him euer in good griþ
Among his kyn in pryuyte
As outlawe þo woned he
Saul souȝte ofte here & þere
Dauid as his foo he were
He wiste if he to lyf myȝt stonde

6965 6970 6975 6980 6985

7670 7680 7686 7689 7690

He shulde be kyng of his londe
And þo childer of saules sede
Shulde be out dryuen for nede
þerfore he hett hem ȝiftis ryf
þat myȝte brynge dauid of lyf
In felde & toun friþþe & felle
Saul souȝte dauid to quelle
Often fel so þe chaunce
Was þere but goddis desturbaunce
Dauid þat was mylde of mood
Dide euer aȝeynes euel þe good
Ofte he myȝte saul haue take
And slayn hym in his owne sake
ffor fro þe kyngis owne bed
þus he brouȝte a pryue wed
On a tyme whenne saul him souȝt
Wiþ al þe myȝte þat he mouȝt
He sett his tentis in a dale
þer of to dauid coom þe tale
Whenne hit was nyȝt cald dauy
Of his men ful pryuely
Wiþ him allone stille þei went
To þe kyngis owne tent
Hym self & his folk þei fonde

6990 6995 7700 7000 fol.44v col.2 7005 7710 7010

In her beddes fast sleponde
Þe squyere hiȝt Abisay
Þat to Þe tent coom wiþ dauy
Sir he seide bi leue of ȝow
I shal hym sle liȝtly now
Þurȝe his body I shal hym smyte
Þat euer of hym shul we be quyte
Dauid seide god hit for bede
Þe to Þenke to do Þat dede
Or euer him do despite or shame
Þat noyntide is in goddis name
Of al Þat ilke kyngis gere
He took but a coupe & spere
No more brouȝte he wiþ him oute
Whenne alle slepte him aboute
He ȝeode til noon myȝte him dere
Þus he cryed to Þat here
How haue ȝe kepte ȝoure kyng seide he
His coupe his spere where may hit be
Þat boþe were set at his heued
Where be Þei now bileued
Whenne saul herde Þat cry
Is Þat he seyde my sone dauy
Dauid seyde I was Þore
Why sekest Þou me & wherfore

Now þat þou be a knowen
Why sekest þou me & I am þyn o(wen) 7040
Saul seyde wiþouten wene fol.45r col.1
þe mys is myn wel is sene
Here I leue þe kyngis gleyue
Sendeþ a man hit to receyue
He þat al riȝteþ wiþouten roos 7045
Wol vche mon ȝelde aftir he doos
Soone aftir not ful long
Coom batail vp on saul strong 7750
þe saresines hym vmbeset
In harde shour to gider þei met 7050
So sharpe was þat shour & suel
Alle fled þe folk of israel
þere þei fol þat myȝt not fle
On þe mounte of gelboe
þe douȝty childer þere were sleyn þan 7055
þe kyngis sones & Ionathan
Of þis batail þat was so snel
þe wors on kyng saul fel 7760
Mony a goode archer þore
Woundide þe kyng him seluen soore 7060
þe kyng seide to his squyere
Drawe þi swerd & sle me here
Ar I in þis place be ouergone

7040 The catchwords Saul seide appear in the lower right corner of fol.44v. This would be the end of gathering 6.

And wiþ sarazines hondis slone
þe squyere dude not as he bad
ffor he was ful soore drad
Saul him self drouȝe his sworde
And ran euen vp on þe orde
Whenne his squyere say him dede
He dude him self þat same rede
Vpon his owne sword he ron
And dyȝed wiþ his lorde þon
A mournynge day most þat be
Of saul & his sones þre
And his folke þat were so kene
Now are slayn alle by dene
þe sarazines on þat oþer day
ffond where saulis body lay
þe heed þei smoot of of þat kyng
And sende þe body for to hyng
His men coom bi nyȝturtale
Wiþ hem away his body stale
Pryuely þei dude hit hyde
And dalf hit in a wode syde
ffourty wyntur was he kyng
Now haue ȝe herde his endyng
þenne was dauid comen aȝayn
ffro amalec þat he had slayn

þat was a strong philistiene
Dauid had ȝyuen him batel kene
By goddes grace þe felde he wan
Of saul hoost he mett a man
Bifore dauid to fote he felle
Whennes comes þou anoon þou telle
ffro þe folke of israele
I com to telle tiþingis lele
þei are discoumfite in þat plas
Saul is slayn and Ionathas
Ar þei boþe slayn wherby
Woost þou þat sayde dauy
Bi chaunce he seide I coom rennonde
On mounte Gelboe & fonde
Saul lenynge on his spere
Woundide wiþ þe sarsynes here
He me bisouȝte wherne I him sawe
þat I shulde brynge him of dawe
þourȝe his body my sword I reef
His hert in two I woot I cleef
I wiste no lenger lyue he myȝt
Lo here his coroune briȝt
He wende wel for his tyþing
To haue payed dauid þe kyng
þer wiþ payed he not dauy

þat shulde he soone dere aby
Dauid for þis ilke disport
Was he neuer of wors counfort
He wrong his hondis & his men alle
þat goddes folk shulde so mys falle
þei wept þat day til hit was goon
þan spak dauid to þat mon
Why dreddest þou not god he seide
Whenne þou hondis on saul leide
ffor to do despite or shome
þat noyntide was in goddes nome
Out of my siȝt ȝe lede hym soone
To deolful deeþ þat he be done
þat fouler deþ may no mon dryue
So alle may knowe mon & wyue
þat who so leiþ hond in felony
On kyng or seiþ him tricchery
Or ellis him waiteþ wiþ despite
And may not her of him quyte
By doom of fuyr wiþouten griþ
He diȝe if he bitake þer wiþ
þe þridde elde now is þast
þer of þis saul was þe last
þat elde by gan at abrahame
And endeþ here in goddes name

7115 7820 fol.45v col.1 7120 7125 7830 7130 7135 7840

Nyne hundride ȝeer fourty & two
Hit lasted hit is writen so
ffoure ȝousande six skore & foure told
Was ȝis world ȝat tyme olde
Bytwene abraham & kyng dauy
Herkene now ȝe genealogy
Abraham in lawe so lele
ȝat fadir was of folk so fele
Ysaac his sone in spousaile was
Of him iacob of hym Iudas
Of him phares of him Esrom
Vchone of ȝese of oȝere coom
Of whiche aaron wiȝouten gabbe
Of him coom amynadabbe
Of amynadab coom nason
Of nason coom salmon
Of hym coom boz of him obeth
Of hym iesse ȝis elde is eth
ffirste fro abraham to taste
And so to iesse ȝe laste
Here bigynneȝ witterly
ȝe ferȝe elde at kyng dauy
Saul is slayn ȝat sorweful kyng

7140 7145 7150 7155 7160

7850 7860

fol.45v col.2

7159-60 A heading.

7161 The S in Saul is a medium size, decorated capital.

In his stude dauid douȝty þ(ing)
þei set a septure in his hon(d)
þat men calle þe kyngis wond
Alle honourid him wiþ hailsyng 7165
Heil be þou lord dauid oure kyng
Saf & sounde euer mot þou be
Whil þe folk is vndir þe
Dauid was a ful wyse mon
Riȝtwisly he regned þon 7170 7870
ffro þat he was kyng in londe
Was noon durst his word wiþston(de)
ffair a courte wiþ him he ledde
His folk boþe him loued & dredde
He nadde regned but a stounde 7175
Whenne he 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 7180 7880
Dauid 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 7185

7179 For viliest read wiliest.

Þe kyng cast ones on hir siȝt
he asked what was Þat lady
ȝoure kynȝtis wyf Þei seide vry
Þat vry Þo was not Þare
In kyngis hoost was he forÞ fa(re) 7190 7890
Whil Þis knyȝt was away
Þe kyng bi Þat lady lay
Þe lady was wiÞ childe in hye
Þe kyng sende Þo to fette vrye
Whenne vry coom wiÞouten wit(e) 7195
Þe kyng lete soone lettris wr(ite)
And toke hem vry for to bere (Þo)
To his marchal of his hoost s(o)
WiÞ biddyng he hym bisouȝt
Þat vrye Þat Þo lettres brouȝt 7200 7900
Into bataile so shulde be led fol.46r col.1
Þat he shulde soone be deed
Vrye Þo lettres took & bare
But he wiste not what Þei ware
Þe kyngis commaundement was done 7205
Slayn he was in bataile soone 7906
Whenne vry was Þus brouȝte of lyue 7909
Dauid took barsabe to wyue 7910
And hulde hir in his hous fro Þan
Til oure lord seide to natan 7210

Go to dauid kyng an say
he haþ mys done aʒeyn my lay
þenne coom þat prophete to þe kyng
And seide him þis in tokenyng
Tweye men were late in londe
A pore & a ryche wononde
Riche hadde mychel fe
Of alle godis greet plente
Of welþe he hadde myche wone
þe pore hadde no sheep but one
þat he had wiþ his siluer bouʒt
And fro a lamb hit vp brouʒt
þe riche man wiþ euel hert
To a gest coom ouerþwert
ffor to spare his owne auʒt
þe pore monnes sheep he lauʒt
To his mete dide hit be slone
Of his þat nadde but þat one
þe man þat haþ done siche dede
Sir kyng what shulde be his mede
Of þis tale þe kyng was wrooþ
By god on lyue he sweer his ooþ
þat man he seide is ful of quede
And shal by riʒte suffere dede
Sone he seide take good gome

ȝyuen þou hast þyn owne doome
God made þe kyng of israel
To lede þe folk in lawes wel
þou shuldest han holde þe lawe in stede
And hast broken þe lawe þat he forbede
Slayn þou hast þi kny3t vry
And taken his wyf & layn hir by
Of god him self stood þou noon awe
þerfore I coom þe to shawe
þat þi hous he sendeþ þe word
Shal neuer twynned be fro sword
Reyse euel he shal on þe ful kene
And þus he seiþ þe bi dene
þi wyues þat þou hast alle
Be ȝyuen to oþere men shalle
þi synne þat þou in priuyte did
Byfore folk hit shal be kid
Synned I haue seide dauid þan
þat is sooþ seide nathan
þerfore shal þou not dy3e of wate
ffor god haþ het þe transolate
þou shalt wite I shal not lye
þe sone of barsabe shal dye
Dauid gat ȝit a son þonne

7940 7240 fol.46r col.2 7245 7950 7250 7255 7960

Þat wyse was & het salomonne
Whenne dauid knewe his cost of care
Rewed him neuer þing so sare
In tokene þat he rewed his sake
An orisoun soone gon he make
Þat het miserere mei deus
Hem owe to say hit þat synnes rewes
Of alle þe salmes of þe sautere
Þis salme for penaunce haþ no pere
Dauid regned kyng þore
Wyntres twelue or ellis more
Not wiþouten stryf & fiȝt
ȝitt helde he wel his owne riȝt
Oure lord hym shewed a siȝt to say
A nyȝt as he in bed lay
He þouȝte on þe philistiens
Þat had hym done mony tenes
Þat souȝte his folke to brynge to grounde
Gladly wolde he hem confounde
To make hem sore for him to gryse
He him biþouȝte on what wyse
He him bitauȝte to god to kepe
Blessed him & fel on slepe
Þenne coom an aungel clere

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 kiþ
His hert haþ euer ben þe wiþ
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 ȝyue a riccher ȝifte
þou shalt fynde þre ȝerdes þere
þat moyses ofte wiþ hem bere
Of cyder palme & of cypres
þere were þei sett by moyses
Out of a stide þat hett Helym
þider brouȝte he hem wiþ him
Is no mon for soþe con say
Of how greet vertu & grace are þay

No mannes tunge may telle ny mele
What þei shul bere of soulis hele
Of hem shalt þou haue greet vauntage
To þe and to þi baronage
Who so resteþ him vndir þat shadowe
May no þing him cumber nowe
Haue good day now wende I
Geder þyn hoost to gider in hy
// Whenne dauid had þis counsel herde
To geder his hoost soone he ferde
He past þe flum his hoost him wiþ
And wenten hem þourȝe felde & friþ
Til he was comen into þat place
þat him was beden go to bi grace
He fonde þe ȝerdes þo he coom þere
Ech was to know whiche þei were
he knew hem at þe firste siȝt
þe þre were alle of oon hiȝt
Of o likenes þouȝe þei were fere
Passed was a þousande ȝere
Siþ þei were set in þat place
And euer grene in goddis grace
To gider þei were in grounde knyt
On o stok þe soþe is hit
þe stok was on þat þo stode vndir

7310 7315 8020 7320 fol.46v col.2 7325 8030 7330

But þe croppes were alle sondir
By fruyt & leef myȝt men se
Of what kynde was vche tre
Whenne þe kyng coom nyȝe þo trees
he kist hem crepyng on his knees
He drouȝe hem vp softe ynouȝe
Wiþouten brekyng any bouȝe
Whenne þe kyng had hem vp twiȝt
his hoost honoured hem wiþ riȝ(t)
þe kyng held hem vp to se
A leem shone of þo ȝerdis þre
þat al his hoost myȝt se euene
how hit rauȝt vp to heuene
þenne bicoom þat folke ful blyþe
ffor fond þei neuer fro þat siþe
Mon nor beest þat þei met
þat myȝte hem of her weye let
A riche man woned bi her wey
Was seke & to him turned þey
he hadde ben seke mony a day
Wiþouten helpe of hele he lay
his folk wiþouten stille abade
To se þat seke a turne he made
I[n] sekenes sore he fond him stad

7351 The A is a medium size, decorated capital.

Of þe kyng he was ful glad
Whenne he bigon þo ȝerdis to se
On hem he wept for greet pite
þenne was he hool & sounde in hye
þe swote smel rauȝte to þe skye
Wiþ þe kyng he ȝeode away
And tauȝte hem god & good day
ffaire was þat processioun
þere was many a bolde baroun
As þei wente þe hyȝe strete
Sarazines 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 selcouþe
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 vp riȝt
Her armes hery wiþ blak hyde
Her elbowes were set in her syde
Crompled knees & bouche on bak

7360 fol.47r col.1
7365
8070
7370
7375
8080
8083
7380

7372 For Iso read So.

Þe kyng wondride on hem & spak
Whenne hem bihelde Þe kyngis oost
Þei lowȝen alle leste and moost
On her knees Þei hem sett
And hendely Þe kyng Þei gret
To Þe kyng seide Þay
Saaf be Þou sir now & ay
What Þou berest lat vs se
To fonde if goddis wille hit be
Shewe vs Þe sauyng tre sir kyng
ffor wel woot we wiþouten lesyng
Peyne on Þat tre suffere he shal
Þe kyng of blis for his folk al
Shewe vs Þe tre out of were
Þerfore are we comen here
Byholden vs ynouȝe hastou
Oure froward shap Þou seest now
fful loÞely are we but also looÞe
Is euel mannes soule & body boÞe
Þes ȝerdes Þre wiÞynne her roote
Aȝeyne alle eueles are bote
Þei shul vs ȝelde bifore Þi siȝt
ffeirenes bi grace of god al myȝt
Of hem shal ryse oure raunsoun
And of alle oure synnes pardoun

8090 7385 7390 8100 7395 7400 fol.47r col.2 8110 7405

To hem þat mercy for her synne
Cryeþ to ihesu of dauid kynne
þe myȝte of hem sir lete vs proue
Wiþ þat þe kyng took of his gloue
þo braunchis of so mychel blis
He helde hem to hem for to kis
þei kneled & kist hem also tite
Als soone her hyde bicoom white
And of þe fre blood had þei þe hew
Al her shap was turned new
Of mankynde hadde þei þe met
In riȝt kynde were þei set
Bifore þe kyng þenne fel þei doun
And maden vchone her orisoun
þei wepte & þanked god of myȝt
Al þat folk þat say þat siȝt
þe richesse þat þei wiþ hem ladde
þei offered þat þat þei hadde
hem self aȝeyn þei toke þe sty
And wenten hoom to ethyopy
þe kyng went forþ þourȝ a feld
Toward a felle bi a doun helde
An heremite þer fond þei at hoome
In þat mounteyne was halt & lome

7427 The þ in þe is a medium size, decorated capital.

Mychel had he vnhele
Thritty ȝeer had ben mesele
Ouer al his body was he sore
Þerfore he lyued his one Þore
Of grete londes had he lord bene
But alle he lafte hem in Þat tene
And for hardenes of his vnhele
He ȝaf him al wiþ god to dele
And for to ende in his seruyse
Þe nyȝte toforn of paradyse
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
Suche was Þe sweuene Þat him Þouȝt
But of Þo branchis wiste he nouȝt
Þat Þei hem had souȝte & founde
And brouȝt to cuntre Þat stounde
he wook & Þouȝte on Þat siȝt
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
A leem from Þo ȝerdis stood
Riȝt into Þe ermytage

8140 7435 7440 fol.47v col.1 8150 7445 7450 8160 7455

Þe kyng coom & his barnage
Whenne Þei mett wiþ Þat hermyte
Þei heilsed hym wiþ greet delite
Whenne Þat he Þe kyng had knowen
he seide welcome to ȝoure owen
Bi Þese sir kyng I mysele
Shal be saaf of al vnhele
My Þouȝte to nyȝte on Þis wyse
Þat we were boÞe in paradise
And Þat Þou wiþ Þo wandes wesshe
Al Þe vnhele of my flesshe
As any fisshe Þou mades me fere
Wiþ Þese ȝerdes Þou berest here
He kissed Þo ȝerdes knelynge Þere
Was he neuer holer ere
Þe kyng Þat kynde was in coost
Ladde him forÞ wiþ his hoost
And al his lyf did wiþ him lende
To Þe kyng was he ful hende
Knyȝte he was myche of prys
Þe kyng hym quyt wel his seruys
ffforÞ went Þe kyng soone Þan
Til he coom to flom iurdan
He took Þe ȝerdis in his honde
Þe streem stille bigan to stonde

Hit stode þe folk on eyþer syde — fol.47v col.2
þe kyngis passage for to abyde
whenne þei were passed ouer þe stron(de)
And comen in to þe toþer londe
wite ȝe wel þei were ful glad — 7485
To þe folke þe kyng þen bad
Vchon to sett her pauyloun
As for þat nyȝt wiþouten þe toun
And on þe morwe whenne þei shul(se)
Into ierusalem þenne go — 7490
þo ȝerdis wolde he sette in warde
Wiþinne his owne orcharde — 8200
þat while wolde he make hym boun
To ordeyne faire processioun
þe nyȝte þei rested in þat slade — 7495
And of þo ȝerdis greet ioye made
þe kyng aboute hem was ȝerne
He put hem in to a cisterne
And dude bisyde hem laumpes liȝt
And made men wake hem al nyȝt — 7500
þenne went þe kyng for to slepe
But god þat al haþ to kepe — 8210
And al ouer lokeþ in his siȝt
his wille to lette haþ noon myȝt
Is no þing þat may for barre — 7505

7499 The e of laumpes was originally written as o. A tail was added later to make it an e.

his wille bifore hit is so warre
He þat so myȝty is and wyse
he dide þo ȝerdis for to ryse
In þat cisterne þe rotis honeste
To gider grewen & were feste
Myȝt no man hem a twynne wynne
Wiþouten brekynge for no gynne
Whenne dauid say noon oþere bote
But alle þo ȝerdis hadden o rote
þat fastened were in erþe so faste
In his hert he was a gast
And seide al nacyoun and lede
Oweþ oure good lord to drede
Miȝtful is he & þat is skil
Of vche dede to done his wil
þe kyng seide no man hem ster
ffro henne siþ god sett hem þer
þe kyng made to kepe þat syde
To make þe orcharde more wyde
A wal dide he aboute hit reise
And plauntide trees þat were to preyse
Of cidre palme and of lorere
þat ȝerde shulde be hym seluen dere
Oþer riche trees he souȝt
In mony stedes and þider brouȝt

7510 8220 7515 7520 fol.48r col.1 8230 7525 7530

Alle fruytes he plauntide in þat place
ffor his walkyng and his solace
Whenne hit was cloos aboute þat tre
A cercle of siluer nayled he
ffor to knowe bi þat strengþe
What he wexe in greet & lengþe
Suche cercles made he sere
Thritty wyntir vche a ȝere
He dide oon on as I ȝow say
Euer whenne he took anoþer way
þritty wyntir wex þat tre
þat hit was selcouþe for to se
Of cercles þat he tooke away
Offrynge he made to mone on ay
Hit was so charged vche a bowe
wiþ leef flour & fruyt ynowe
Alle seide þat hit say lasse & mare
Was neuer tre siche blossum bare
Anoþer tre of siche kynde
Myȝte no man in worlde fynde
Of worshepe was þis tre to wondir
þe kyng ofte kneled þer vndir
In bedes þat he had to say
knelyng he þer vndir lay
Whenne he had made his orisoun

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
Bisily he him biþouȝte
How þis tempel shulde be wrouȝt
To kepe in his relikes þan
And saue hem in his kyndam
þe holy arke þat þei bare
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
þat bar fruyt þo hit was drye
And als of manna sum partye
þe gilden oyle of þe propiciatory
To cherubins as seiþ þe story
þese þingis þat I telle here
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

7560 fol.48r col.2 8270 7565 7570 8280 7575 7580

And as he þouȝte 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 wiþ þat flour þat was so newe
Þer stood a selcouþe 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 ȝernyng
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 wiȝt
And many hast slayn wiþ 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 þouȝt
By salamon hit shal be wrouȝte

8290 7585 7590 8300 7595 7600 fol.48v col.1 8310

7592 Read a for &.

he shal be a man of pesse
And mychel haue worldes ese
he shal be kyng aftir þi day
þis is sooþ þat I þe say
In reste & pees regne shal he
þe temple by hym made shal be
he shal haue wite riches & cele
To reule al his kyndom wele
hit shal be preciouse & ful proude
þe werke he shal so semely shroude
Relikes shul þere ynne be loken
þat euermore shul of be spoken
Bytwene þis & þe worldes ende
Haue good day now I wende
Dauid vndirstonde þis skil
To leue his dede had he no wil
ffully he þouȝte to do so
As þe aungel seide him to
þe kyng to his chaumber went
And soone aftir þe queene he sent
ffor of his lawes þis was oon
Of al his baronage was þer noon
Mon nor womman ȝonge nor olde
þat in his chaumber was so bolde
O foot to sette but þei were calde

When þe kyng speke wiþ him walde
Ny not þe queen wiþouten leue
Ny noon oþer wiþouten greue
Þerfore entrede bersabe
Þe queen his spouse & his priue
Þe kyng þat he in hert had hid
To þe queen he vndid
But neuerþeles tolde he nouȝt
Þe bodeword þat þe aungel brouȝt
But elles wisely & ful shert
he tolde as hym lay on hert
Dame I dud þe hidur calle
As for my weddide wyf of alle
In elde am I waxen now
Of my kyndam what redes þow
To whom shal I hit ȝyue to lede
Me to turne to menske & mede
Þat lady to hir lorde dide loute
Wiþ buxom reuerence and doute
She kneled aftir she had stonde
Þe kyng took hir vp bi þe honde
As he þat of hir counsel wolde witte
And boþe dud hem doun to sitte
he bad hir say & lett nouȝt
What were best as he[r] þouȝt

7630 8340 8339 7635 7640 fol.48v col.2 8350 7645 7650 8360

Of his kyndam þat was to say
Who shulde hit haue aftir his day
Sir she seide now I se
þat ȝe wole counsel haue of me
Gladly wolde I if I coupe 8368
þe beste shewe ȝow wiþ moupe 7660 8367
þe kyndam sir þat is þyn
þou hit wan wiþ myche pyn 8370
Also þou haddest greet malese
ffor to stabel hit in pese
Sir she seide ȝe haue in lyues 7665
Mony children wiþ ȝoure wyues
þat desiren now in stryf
To haue þe kyndam in ȝoure lyf
þou frely kyng ful of blis
þe beste red me þinke is þis 7670
ȝe ȝyue hit to whom ȝe wol
My graunte shul ȝe haue fol 8380
I þat am þyn owne wommon
Aȝeyn sawe wol I make noon
ffor salamon my sone is ȝing 7675
But myȝte ȝe mone vp on sir kyng
Wel ȝe woot ȝe me hiȝt
Ar ȝe to spouse me trouþ pliȝt
A sone if ȝe myȝt gete wiþ me

3oure heire forsoþe shulde he be
And siþ so is I haue me kept
þat neuer oþer siþen wiþ me slept
But oon bifore oþere had I nou3t
ffor 3oure loue was I widewe wrou3t
On what wise þar me not tel
Wel 3e woot how hit bifel
Blessed be god of my3t
ffor3yuen is 3ow þerof þe pli3t
I say not now so god me rede
ffor noon vmbreyd ny for mede
Ny for no desyre þat I haue
Ny couenaunt of 3ow to craue
ffor nouþer kepe I gabbe ny glose
To say þe soþe is my purpose
þou3e salomon my sone be 3ong
He is wyse and of redy tong
þat neuer dide ne sisserued vileny
And geten is wiþ þi body
he þat better con mende ny peyre
Best worþi is to be þyn heyre
Not forþy whom god wol chese
Aftir þi day kyng he bese
Wiþ siche a knott þe queen him knytt

7680 fol.49r col.1 8390 8400 8410

7697 Read disserued for sisserued.

þe kyng herkened wel hir witt
And curteysly as was to done
he graun̄tide hir al hir bone
Dame he seide to þe I say
þat salomon aftir my day
Shal be kyng of þat I wan
If god wol þat hit be þan
He is not ȝitt but wondir ȝing
Sett hym faste to good teching
Til he be lerned him̄ self to lede
Boþe of clergye & knyȝthede
Lerne of clergye wel he shal
Of wisdome þat is groun̄d wal
þe childe is þewed & mylde of mode
Loke þat he haue maister gode
But hit be on him̄ seluen longe
He shal be boþe riche & stronge
Dame hele þis vpon þi lyf
ffor looþ me were to rere stryf
Til we se þe tyme and day
He shal be kyng who so saiþ nay
þer̄to haue þou no mystrowe
þer̄fore make I here þat avowe
þis childe was soone set to boke
Clergy wel he vndirtoke

7705
7710
8420
7715
7720
fol.49r col.2
8430
7725

Al his hert he ȝaf 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 þrawe
was noon aȝeyn hit olde ne ȝinge
þat salomon þennewas make kynge
His fadir biddyng dide he holde
And al þat euer his modir wolde
he helde þat tre dere and derne
þat dauid kyng honoured ȝerne
Ofte vndir þat tre he sat
And lered mony selcoupe what
ffor vndir þe shadowe of þat tre
þe kynde of þingis lerned he
Bope of trees & greses fele
Whiche were her vertues lele
ffor what euel vchone myȝ[t] geyn
Wher so þei grewe in wode or pleyn
And whether þe medicyne & boote
ffounden were in croppe & roote
Of lore þat he lerned vndir þat tre
he made goode bookis þre

7730 8440 7735 7740 8450 7745 7750 8460

7736 For make read made.

Douȝtily he hem vndid
wiþ saumplis of trees & herbes amyd
þe firste book wiþouten lees
Men calle ecclesiastises
þat moost speke þ & wol not wonde
How fals þis world is to fonde
Of prouerbis is þe secounde booke
þat teche þ aboute hem to loke
Aȝeynes þe worldes wrecched hede
How þei shul hem reule and lede
þe þridde boke aftir two
Cantica men calle þ hit so
A noteful boke of holy writt
þe book of loue men clepe þ hit
Of þat loue hit speke þ moost
Bitwene monnes soule & þe holy goost
So crafty was no clerke to say
ffro þat tyme to þis day
þat him myȝte wiþ clergy mate
Ne coupe þe bookis þat he wrate
Whil he sat vndir þe bowȝe
Of al wisdam he hadde ynowȝe
Studfaste stood þat marbul stoon
fful fer þe golden lettres shoon
þei seide sumtyme men shul se

7755 7760 7765 7770 7775

fol.49v col.1

8470 8480

God him self regne in þat cuntre
þat plaunted was bitwene þo flouris
þere þe sternes helde her coures
Wel I woot neuer is hit wan
Of floure ne fruyt þat hit haþ tan
And in his tyme siche fruyt shal ȝyue
þat alle his frendis þerof shul lyue
Of þat fruyt shulde no mon byte
But he shulde loue hit also tyte
þis writ wiþ fele was red & sene
But fewe wiste what hit wolde mene
Bytwene þat he whom bare marye
Heng þeron his folke to bye
Bi barnetem of olde adame
þourȝe a bite brouȝt alle in blame
An appul bite boþe man & wyf
þe tre was deþ þis shal be lyf
And writen is in parchemyn
þat hit coom out of þat pepyn
þe wrecched adam fel fro
And brouȝte him self in mychel wo
ffor so bigan þe cros I wis
Of ihesu cryst kyng of blis
Now is good to go to oure style

7780 8490 7785 7790 8500 7795 7800

fol.49v col.2

7801 The N in Now is a medium size, decorated capital.

þat we haue left of a whyle
And turne to oure story aȝeyn
To make hit hool & certeyn
Dauid þat I red of here
Was kyng & regned fourty ȝere
His regnyng was of siche renoun
His foos wiþ him hadde no foysoun
Childer by wyues had he sere
Of whiche I make no menyng (here)
ffor he þat myche haþ to telle
þe shorter mot nede be his spelle
þis was þat kyng dauy
þat myche spake of prophecy
Of cristis burþe long biforn
þat shulde of a mayde be born
Whiche mayde of dauid sede
Was aftir geten as we rede
As oure lord biforne him hiȝte
Of hym to sprynge alle þinge to (riȝte)
þis dauid made þe sautere
þat is rad boþe fer & nere
Homer þe poete þat was so ryf
Lyued in þis kyng dauid lyf
And of affryk þe strong barnage)
Dide make þe cite of cartage

þat to rome was euer queed
Siþ whenne þe kyng was deed
He bad his men þat he shulde (ly)
In bedleem his fadyr by
Aftir dauid deeþ salomone
Was kyng sittyng in his tr(one)
He was a boldly bachilere
In al þis world had he no pere
Of witt & wisdam as we rede
was neuer a wyser lawe to lede
In bed he lay on a nyȝt
Biforn him stood an aungel briȝt
And to him spak wiþ blisful chere
He seide I am a messangere
My lord haþ sende þe word by me
To ȝyue þe choys of þingis þre
Of strengþe riches and of witt
Chees whiche þou wolt & haue hit
If þou him serue wiþ hool hert
Of þre þou shalt haue oon in quert
Salomon þis vndirstood
Of þis message þouȝte him good
Witles he seide what is catele
Or what is strengþe wiþ to dele

7830 8540 7835 7840 fol.50r col.1 8550 7845 7850

7831 The A in Aftir is a medium size, decorated capital.

þat mon no witt haþ wiþ to lede
I ches me witt for greet nede
I þonke him þat chois wolde me ȝyue
I shal hym serue whil I lyue
wiþ al my myȝte & my wille
he ȝyue me grace hit to fulfille
To salomon seide þe aungel þo
In chois hastou wisely go
And for þou wel hast chosen oon
þou shalt haue hem euerychon
þou shal be ful war in dede
Alle folk shal þe drede
And drednes shal þou haue of mon
Of riches shal þou haue greet won
þus regned salmon wiþ þis
In myche ioye & mychel blis
He loued þe folk of his kyngdome
And þei hym alle chylde & mon
Alle þat aȝeyn him dud males
Wiþ wisdome he hem toke to pes
Al þat his fadir myȝt nouȝt
Salamon to ende hit brouȝt
Ierusalem loued he moost of alle
þere was he sett in kyngis halle

7863 For mon read non.

In his kyngdome þe forme dawes
Among his folk he set his lawes
And did hem streitly to ȝeme
Miȝte no man more riȝtly deme
Among his riȝtwis domes ryf
Here how he felde a stryf
Mister wymmen were þer twynne
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 þe ton
In bed slepyng hir sone had slon
As wymmen done ryuely
þat ȝonge childre leyn hem by
Whenne she fond hir childe was dede

7875 7880 fol.50r col.2 8590 7885 7890 8600 7895

7875 The I in In is a medium size, decorated capital.

7885 The a in þai has been altered from an o.

Coude she fynde no better rede
ffro hir fere she stale hir barn
And laide hiren þere þat was forfarn 7900 8608
So in bed stille she lay 8613
As she had slepte til þe day
þat oþer wommon whenne she woke
And bigan hir childe to loke
She fond hit ded liggyng hir by 7905
Alas she seide þat born was I
My childe Is slayn & I noot how
Colde haþ slayn hit as I trow 8620
þe childe in barme to fire she bare
Wel she wende to quyke hit þare 7910
Al for nouȝt hit was for leyn
hit myȝte not quyke to lyue aȝeyn
She hir biþouȝte in short while
þat of hir childe she had gyle
Whenne she soþely had knowen 7915
þat þe childe was not hir owen
To hir felowe she lep in hy
And þerwiþ ȝaf a mychel cry 8630
She seide wicked be þe wo
Why hastou me by gyled so 7920
Of my childe þat my self bere fol.50v col.1
ȝyue hit me anoon now here

ȝyue me my childe þou fro me stal
þe toþer seyde þou lyest al
I hit bar and hit is myne
þe dede childe soþely is þyne
þat þou slouȝe whil þou slept
fful wel haue I myn kept
She seide þou lyest wik wommon
þou shalt þerof be ouergon
My quyk childe þou hast stolen to þe
But þi dede childe leyd by me
þou shalt hit ȝelde to me al
Whenne iuggement þerof be shal
Wiþ þis þei coom bifore þe kyng
Alle folwede hem olde & ȝin[g]
Mychel pepul of mony toun
Of þat doom to here resoun
Soone wiþ salomon þei met
Vndir þe tre þere he was sett
þere 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 saf be þou salomone
Kyng sittyng in þi trone
Lord þi pore wommon þou here

And riȝtwis dome in þis mistere
þese wimmen þat ȝe se here stonde
We are boþe in o hous dwellonde
Boþe at onys wiþ childe we were
And boþe at ones oure childre we bere
In wonyng were we stad not wyde
And layde oure childre by our syde
But weilawey hit so bifel
My fere in bed hir childe dud quel
Siþ she layde hit priuely
Whil I slepte in bed me by
And stal my lyuyng childe away
Til I knewe wel by liȝt of day
Of þis tresoun she had me done
I hir resouned also soone
But myȝte I neuer hidur tille
No childe gete for good nor ylle
þou lyȝest seide þat oþer þon
fful bitturly as euel wommon
þouȝte I neuer þi childe to stele
But wommon am I trew & lele
þis childe in myn arme is myn
And þat þat is dede hit is þyn
Of my wombe þis childe was b(orn)

7950 7955 8670 7960 fol.50v col.2 7965 8680 7970

And þou wiþ shame þin hast lo(rn)
þe ded is þyn & myn þe quyke
Suche wordis spak þat wommon w(ik)
þat oþer seide allas sir kyng
And þerwiþ gon hir hondis wryn(g)
I se my childe is me wiþdrawen
And shal not come to myn awn
þou do me bote aȝeyn þis bolde
ffor al þe soþe I haue þe tolde
þe kyng þat was so sleȝe a clerk
War & wyse in al his werk
Of þis pleynt meruailed sore
A caas þat hadde not come bifore
Lordyngis he seide þis wommon he(re)
Seiþ þat þe quyke childe she bere
þer aȝeyn seiþ þat oþer
She is þe moder & noon oþer
Part in þe dede haue þei noon
þei clayme þerof blood nor boon
But of þe quyke boþe wolde be
Modir as ȝe here and se
But modir may hit haue but o(ne)
To proue hit shul we soone g(on)
And eyþer wolde haue hit al

7981 The þ in þe is a medium size, decorated letter.

But þarto may þei not fal
Me þinkeþ by al maner art
Bytwene hem we mot hit part
And siþen þat þei wol so
Wiþ swerd hit shal be delt in two
Eyþer 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
3yue hir al my childe allone
þat is better þen hit be slone
Of him I 3yue to hir my ri3t
Or he shulde so be di3t
þe toþer seide not shal be
Hool be 3yuen to me ne þe
But baldely dalt mot he be
As þe kyng haþ seide in se
Euer þat oþer seide in sawe
Lord lete not my childe be slawe
ffor no þing þer may bifalle
Lordyngis he seide þis here 3e alle
To whiche of þese shal I hit deme
Say me what wol best biseme

8710 8720 8730

8000 8005 8010 8015 8020

fol.51r col.1

þei seide sir bi þis day
We noot bitwene hem what to say
He seide herde ȝe not þat oon
Wolde haue him quyke anoþer sloon
þat oon wolde dele þe childe in two
þat oþer wolde not lete hym slo
Wherfore I ȝou rede
þe childe be not done to dede
But bitake hym to þat wyf
þat so fayn wolde haue his lyf
ffor she þat halt his lyf so dere
His modir is wiþouten were
þis doom þei seide is of prise
Alle þonked salomon þe wyse
Hir childe she toke & hoom she gos
Of þis doom fer sprong þe loos
Alle þat spake of salomon
seide so wyse was neuer noon
Ny craftiere in werke of honde
Was neuer founden noon in londe
Ne neuer noon þat had I wis
So myche wele of worldly blis
Whenne salomon was wel at ese
And al his kyndome in pese

8025 8740 8030 8035 8750 8040

fol.51r col.2

8043 The W in Whenne is a medium size, decorated capital.

In worchynge he bigan to wake
In det he was þe temple to make
þat his fadir him of bisouȝt
But of a þing wondir him þouȝt
Whil he was tymberyng to þat þing
þat while þe tre bigon to clyng
þe tre þat I bifore of tolde
þo bigon to waxen olde
vche man seide þat hit seȝe
þat hit for elde bigon to deȝe
And semed wel bi þat purpos
Men shulde no more hit holde in cloos
þe short tale þerof to telle
Men þe raþer shulde hit felle
Whenne nede were to be souȝt
And to þe temple werk be wrouȝt
þe kyng cast by scanteloun
And dide make al þe tymber boun
Whenne al was purueide in place
And bounden to gider beem & lace
þei fond gret merryng in her merk
þe wriȝtes þat shulde reise þe werk
þe best beem þat þerynne shulde be
þerof wanted hem a tre
þe beem þat moost þe werk shulde bynde

þei souȝte anoþer for to fynde 8070
Mony a wod haue þei þourȝe gon
But siche tre fonde þei noon
When þei had souȝt wiþouten spede
Sir kyng þei seide we doute oure dede
Shal perisshe & al left werk vchone 8075 8789
And spak to kyng salomone 8792
þei seide sir durst we for awe
Oure þouȝte wolde we to ȝow shawe
We haue souȝt fer & neer
To fynde a tre to þis mister 8080
ffor to fest wiþ compas slyȝe fol.51v col.1
Oure werk to gider lowe & hyȝe
If we durst seye ȝow sir kyng
þat ȝe took not in greuyng 8800
þe tre þat is in orcharde þin 8085
Wolde brynge oure werk wel to fyn
þe kyng of þis tre vndirstood
Almost menged him his mood
Neuerþeles he graunt þat tre
Whenne hit myȝte noon oþer be 8090
Soone was þat hewen doun
And squyre on leyd & scanteloun
þe tre was also mete & queme
As any man couþe þerto deme 8810

But whenne hit was vp bi strengþe
Hit wanted large an ellen lengþe
Anoon doun þei hit let
And fond hit mete ynouȝe bi met
Efte 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 friþþe & fellis
ffynde anoþer tre wolde þay
þei hit fonde þe firste day
þe same day þei hit founden
þe beem was in his burþen bounden
þis tre þei took of cypres
And dude hit in worshepe & in pees
In þat holy temple griþ
And þe þritty cercles þerwiþ
þat kyng dauid so good
Dude aboute hit whil hit stood
To wite how hit grew by ȝere
And offered hem as tresour dere

To haue of þat tre lastynge mynde
Of dyuerse tokenes as we fynde
At þe temple for þis resoun
þei were wiþ tresour in comoun
Ne were þei neuer þenne spende
Til þei were Iudas bikende
To hym were þei bitauȝte & tolde
Whenne he for hem his lorde solde
þus seiþ sum opynyoun
But so seiþ not þe passioun
þe tre þonne ful richelye
Was in þe temple don to lye
þer of was neuer made ouȝte
Til þe cros þer of was wrouȝt
þis chirche was made of marbul stoon)
Suche anoþer in world was noon
As was tempel salomone
þerynne were alle her relykes done)
Mony selcouþes to se
He wrouȝte þere in stoon & tre
Was neuer noon þat couþe wirche)
Ne ordeyne siche anoþer chirche
But god had ȝyuen siche wisdom)
As he ȝaf to salomon
As seye þe men þat þere han be(en)

8120 fol.51v col.2
8125
8130
8135
8140
8840
8850

Wiþynne & oute boþe han seen
þritty ellen whenne hit was made
hit hade on lengþe & ten brade)
And on heiȝte hit hadde fiftene
Bi crafte ouer al wrouȝt by dene)
þerfore þe beem I tolde of ore
Of elnes was fiftene & more
whenne þe temple halwed wes)
þe tre lay euer stille in pees
Mony hit wolde haue done away)
Miȝte þei not stille hit lay
And aftir salomones dawe
Coom a prest of her lawe
þerto fyue hundride men he ledde)
þei myȝt not stire hit of þat stedde)
Wiþ ax he wolde haue kut hit þon)
Alto soone he bygon
Out of þat tre brast a blase
And brent hem alle in þat plase
Coom noon of hem hoom quik
Cirillus het þat prest wik
þis was a tokenyng of þat tre
þat halwed was as ȝe may se
Salomon þo was ful wele

8860 8145 8150 8870 8155 8160 fol.52r col.1 8880 8165

8167 The S in Salomon is a medium size, decorated capital.

And vmbset wiþ hap & cele
his wyues were wondir to neuene
Queenes had he hundrides seuene
þre hundride lemmons he sayes
Aftir þe lawe in þo dayes
wiþinne þe tyme þat I of rede
þer coom a lady of þat lede
ffor to honour hit in þat stude
As mony of þat cuntre dude
She þouȝte to make hir orisoun
But vnwisely she sette hir doun
Vpon þis ilke tre wiþ chaunce
þat men hadden In affiaunce
Soone was þere seen a wondir
Hir cloþes 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
Wiþ a voys of prophecye
She seide on þat tre shulde hynge
þe lorde of hele þe blisful kynge
Ihesu crist of mayden born
To saue þe world þat was forlorn

þat shulde þe iewes here & se
þat shulde þe cros make of þat tre
ffor þe loue of þis sooþ sawe
þe felle iewes wiþouten awe
ffor þenne nemed she cristis name
On god seide þei þou hast seide shame
She is wod wiþ fend I take
Anoon þei heueded hir wiþ wrake
Send was þere an aungel clere
And vp to heuen her soule bere
þere in al þe folkes siȝt
And seide þat cristiane she hiȝt
þerfore were þo iewis wrooþ
þat nome to here hem was looþ
þis womman was þe first men knew
Martired for loue of crist ihesew
þese iewes þouȝte not ȝitt ynouȝe
þis tre out of þe temple þei drouȝe
A put þer was ful litil hem fra
Was cald piscina probatica
þe iewes þat were wont to wrong
þer Inne þe kyngis tre þeislong
Wher so euer þis tre lay
God shewed þeron his myȝtis ay
vche day a certeyn hour

8910 8920 8930

8195 8200 8205 8210 8215

fol.52r col.2

þer liȝt doun fro heuen tour
Aungels þat were selcouþe 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 wiþynne þis tre
Bi synful mennes feet seide þei
Wiþ goynge shal be done awey
On þis maner þis tre þere lay
Til aftir warde mony a day
Til sibile coom fer fro kiþ
To salomon to speke him wiþ
ffor to here of his Wisdom

8220 8940 8225 8230 8950 8235 8240 fol.52v col.1

8233 There is a vertical stroke (/) in the manuscript between vertu and be.

Whenne she to þe cite coom
She coom in at þulke ȝate
þere þe tre lay in hir gate
Doun she bowed to þe grounde
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
And of domes day namely
How mony men shulde be sory
Whenne þat sibile wiþ þe kyng
Disputed had of mony þing
þe kyng ȝaf hir ȝiftis faire
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 cristis passioun
Let we hit ligge þere hit lise
Speke we of salomon þe wyse
his dedis couþe no mon amende
Suche grace god hym sende
But harde hit was þe dede of synne

8261 The L in Let is a medium size, decorated capital.

þat ordeyned was to adames kynne
þat sorweful werk hem self hit souȝte
þat al her sede in sorwe brouȝt
Man to falle in fulþe of flesshe
þourȝe fourme of kynde þat is nesshe
Ouer past hym haþ þat caytif kynde
And made kyng salomon al blynde
Blynde of witt & wisdoom als
And also in his feiþ ful fals
þourȝe wymmen þat he loued fele
He fel fro lyf & soulis hele
Aȝeynes goddis forbode dide he
And loued ladyes of vncouþe cuntre
þat made him god to renay
And to forsake his owne lay
Lord god so mychel of myȝt
Where bicoom al his insiȝt
þat dude him self so to spille
ffolwynge wicked wommonnes wille
// Alas erly þi gyle bigon
At adam þat was formast mon
Sampson þat strengest was in lyf
Was bigyled þourȝe a wyf
kyng dauid for a wyues siȝt
To deþe dude a sacles knyȝt

8270 8990 8275 8280 fol.52v col.2 9000 8285 8290

Salomon þat I rede of here
þat neuer hadde of wisdome pere
Siþ wymmen han bigyled him so
Who may of hem be siker who
Certis I trowe neuer oon
In þis world of wicke wommon
þe man she haþ in hir bandoun
She bryngeþ to confusioun
þerfore I say blessed is he
þat doþ hym not in hir pouste
ffor if he loue hir more þen nede
To foly wille she wol him lede
Be he neuer biforn so sly
þenne shal he falle in to foly
Mis trowe no man herfore þat I
wol speke of wymmen vileny
If I so dude I were vnhende
I þenke no good wommon to shend(e)
Certis þat þar no man wene
ffor in þis world is noon so clen(e)
Creature wiþ god & mon
To loue as good wommon þon
þis euel to hem I hit telle
þat are founden false & felle
þe goode are neuer þe wors to preys(e)

What so men of þe wicked seyse)
Whiche are to lacke & whiche to l(oue)
Her owne werkis wol hem proue)
But god þat dyȝed vpon þe rode
Amende þe wickede & saue þe go(de) 8320 9040
Whenne salomon his wille had wrouȝt fol.53r col.1
Wo him was þat euer he hit þouȝt
God to wraþ he his soule to fyle
þenne repentide hym a whyle
Wiþ boþe his yȝen sore he gret 8325
And dude prophetis to be fet
Patriarkis hem coom wiþ alle
Biforne her feet he doun con falle
And saide haueþ of me mercy
Is noon so synful wrecche as I 8330 9050
I se wel I haue mys goon
I haue honoured him self saton
I haue laft my lordis lawe
And to þe fendis fully drawe
Hastou þei seide þi lawe reneyed 8335
ȝe ȝe wayleway he seyed
Whi þei seide dost [þou so]
A womman wrouȝt me þis 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 aknowen
I were worþi to be drawen 8340 9060
I haue done a wickede dede
þurȝe a wommon of heþen lede
ȝe rede me now for goddis sake
ȝoure counsel I wol vndirtake
Alle þei seide what rede con ȝe 8345
þe reede [hit] is holly in þe
þou þi self þat art so wys
ffirste saye vs þyn avys
We shul be to þi biddyng boun
He seide takeþ of my croun 8350 9070
þat I no lenger owȝe to were
My kyngis robe of me ȝe tere
ffor my synne fer wol I fle
To vncouþe lond fro þis cuntre
do wey þei seide kyng salomon 8355
þis þing owȝe not we to don
Nouþer we wole ne haue myȝt
ffor do þe lawe of kyngis riȝt
þe lawe þat god haþ leyd on kyng
We owȝe to breke for no þing 8360 9080
What seide he what saye ȝe now fol.53r col.2
Shal I haue no rede of ȝow

8355 There is a space the width of three letters between the d and the o of do.

What rede may we saye to þe
I wol þat ȝe vncroune me
Mi lord I haue laft alas
helpeþ me in þis caitif caas
Leiþ on me harde penaunce
Sore is hit my repentaunce
Siþ I haue serued to haue shame
ȝyue me shrifte in goddis name
þat shrifte was sorweful to sene
Al þe cite say bi dene
Olde & ȝonge gon on him wondir
þe shrifte þat solomon ȝeode vndir
His synne bifore þe greet cite
Wiþ 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 þat þronge
Out of his backe þe blood sponge
Suche soor shame & marterynge
Was neuer seyn on siche a kynge
Al he toke in goddis name
And þoled mekely þat shame

8382 Read spronge for sponge.

Him ȝouȝte al ȝat to be lite
ffor to ȝole for siche a wyte
Wherof to fore he loued ȝe lust
He let ryue hit al to dust 8390 9110
ȝerfore hit semed wel bi ȝis
ȝat he gat mercy of his mys
What for ȝe reuȝe of his mysdede
And for his shrifte he vndirȝede
Aftir ȝe tyme ȝis was done 8395
A While regnede salomone
Blisfuly ouer al ȝat lond
His werkis ȝitt ben lastond
His craftis shul be lastyng ay
Til hit come to domes day 8400 9120
Miche of hym haue I to telle fol.53v col.1
MiȝȝteI for oȝere ȝingis dwelle
On oȝere ȝingis most I mynne
To reken forȝ oure lady kynne
ffor ȝerfore moost I vndirtoke 8405
ffor to make ȝis englisshe boke
To telle how ȝat lord of myȝt
To hele men ofte had hiȝt
ȝat of her seed a mon shulde springe
Monkynde out of wo to brynge 8410 9130
Longe was ȝis het biforn

Ar ihesu crist to vs was born
Of salamon now we ende
þat regned fourty wynter hende
He had hade boþe of wele & wo
His elde was fourty ȝeer & two
In bedleem grauen was he boun
þat was his owne fadir toun
Wiþ menske & worshepe aftir wham
Regnede his sone þat hett roboam
þis roboam þat I of mene
Regnede wynteres seuentene
His sone coom aftir abya þo
þre ȝeer he regnede & no mo
Asa his sone hool & fere
Regnede oon & fourty ȝere
Josephat his sone in lyue
Regnede twenty ȝeer & fyue
þat was elyas þe prophete
God of hym so mychel lete
He styntede reyn bi his preyere
Six moneþes & þre ȝere
And whenne he preyed eft aȝeyn
God hem sende plente of reyn
He was þe firste storyes sayes
þat dede men reysed in þo dayes

Of Ioseph coom Ioram
þat eiȝte wynter regnede wiþ wham
Was a prophete elizeus
And as þe story telleþ vs 8440 9160
Ely was þat tyme þare fol.53v col.2
Translated in golden chare
Of þis Ioram coom osyas
Of regne fifty wynter þat was
In þat tyme þat I of mele 8445
In þat lond were prophetis fele
Isaias . Ioel . Osee . Abdyas .
Amos . Ionas . & mecheaas
þe eiȝteþe sibile bigan to ryse
þat was of prophecye ful wyse 8450 9170
Of ozias coom Iothan
Sixtene ȝeer he regned þan
Romulus was þe firste man
þat regned in rome & hit bigan
Achaz his sone aftir him coome 8455
þat tyme was made þe toun of rom(e)
Sixtene ȝeer regnede achaz
Of him coom ezechias
he regnede nyne & twenty ȝer(e)
Wel was he loued wiþ ihesu der(e) 8460 9180
þenne regned manasses

þat was his sone wiþouten lees
þat tyme was seiþ þe story
A sibile þat het of samy
Of þis manasses coom amon s(o)
As his fadir tofore dide go
ffoles were þei boþe vnslye
þei honoured euer maumetrye
Amon sone het Iosyas
Douȝty kyng in his tyme was
ffordide þe toun of nynyue
þat was aboute Iourneyes þre
þat stonden had in tyme þore
ffourty hundride ȝeer & more
þat tyme was prophete Ieremye
Spekyng in his prophecye
Iosias gat Ieconyam
þe transmigracioun was þan
þat þe book of mynde mas
þere was a kyng sedechias
In þis tyme was þe Iewes bnd
Wonnen al into sarazines hond
Ierusalem was stryed & take
þat kyngdome fel in to wrake
And as we in þe story descende
In þat tyme was þe temple brende

8465
8470 9190
8475
8480 9200
fol.54r col.1
8485

Thourȝe a kyng of babilone
In þraldome he had hem done
Nabugodonosor he hiȝte
Stronge he was of myche myȝte 8490 9210
Twelue moneþe biseged he hit þon
And for defaute of mete hit won
þe kyng fley out bi nyȝt
Wiþ his boldest men & wiȝt
He was take as he fley 8495
His sone slayn in þat wey
And him seluen dide þei bynde
And kest him in to prisoun blynde
þe iewes were put out of state
And her kyngdome al transolate 8500 9220
þat foure hundride ȝeer had stonde
And fifty at þat day neuerhonde
þe ferþe elde of þe world is tolde
þat was foure hundride wynter olde
And fyue & sixty ȝeer & þre 8505
But siþ þis world bigan to be
Is foure þousande six hundride fol
Who so redily rekene hit wol

8502 Read nerhonde for neuerhonde.

Explanatory Notes

1ff For notes on the romances referred to by the CM poet see J.A.W. Bennett and G.V. Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose (Oxford, 1966), pp. 368-9.

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.

33-4 13,686ff.

35-6 13,760ff.

36 MSS H,T and G have the man sick for 28 years. C and F have the correct reading of 38 years. See Ioan. 5:5. However, at l. 13,820, MS F alone has 28 in Roman numerals, while C,G,T and H have 38.

37-8 13,992ff.

39-40 14,076ff.

41-2 14,128ff.

43-4 14,384ff.

45-6 14,484ff.

47-8 This reference to the Harrowing of Hell is probably not just to the event itself, which is not described until l1. 17,863ff. The poet probably means to include in this reference the preliminary events which begin at l. 17,289.

49-50 16,881ff.

50 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 "rehersep" 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:

> Al þis world ar þis book blynne
> Wiþ cristis helpe I shal ouer rynne (11.121-2)

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:

> Renner ist ditz buch genant,
> wanne ez sol renne durch di lant.

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 ("gouerneþ" 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 Otlo 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, þaet is ȝaere 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,l.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 þat 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-þi", 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 semper fuisse 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 DGCM 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 CXCll 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.

169-86 From Elucid. I 17-20.

173 The poet must have written "eye", not "ȝe".

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 disposuisti".

180-90 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.

183 "ful". MSS C and F preserve the original reading "si}en" (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}en", as Morris implies, CM p. 29. The exemplar of G must have contained the same reading as H and T.

185 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
Coument Diex le monde estora,
Les iiij ellemens a compas,
L'un plus haut et l'autre plus baz.

Quoted by Paul Meyer, "La Bible des sept états du monde", Notices et extraits .., XXXIX (1909), 260.

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, ile". 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. Ll.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 "The world" is the physical universe, the "terram" 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 incomposita." (Gen. 1:2).

Cf. a Picard fragment quoted by Samuel Berger, La Bible française au Moyen Age (Paris, 1884), 266: "Au commenchement 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.

201 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).

205-42 A mixture of the accounts of Genesis, Honorius and Hugh of St. Victor: 11.205-13, cf. Adnot. in Pent. vi, PL CLXXV 35; 11.214-26, cf. Gen. 1:10-18; 11.227-34, cf. Elucid. I 20; 11.235-6 Hugh of St. Victor, loc. cit.; L1.237-8, cf. Elucid. I 68; 11.239-42, cf. Gen. 2:2-3.

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.

I, PL XCI 18.

This explanation distinguishes the firmament from other heavens sometimes mentioned in exegisis 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 cristale", 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.[1] 5; "sound...to:..To have a suggestion or touch of". The reading is very awkward, however, and the poor reading "souned" might have arisen from confusion with an original "sonde" in 1.208. The word "fra" in MS C, 1.377, suggests instead an original statement that God "sondred... þat es þar ouer fra þat þar vnder", and Morris' suggested emendation of "souned" 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:

> Þat ys aboue vs and al-so vnder
> craftely wroȝt wit myche wonder (377-8)

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

Morris' emendation of MS C's "Þse" 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 lapis". The Bede reference is probably to Hex. I, PL XCI 18. Cf. Petrus Lombardus, Sent. II, Dist. xiv, PL CXCII 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 froren, of yses wal". See 1.97; cf. Hist. Schol. iv, PL CXCVIII 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 for}bringe". Morris suggests emending T's "grifyns fruyt" to "griss and fruyt", and is apparently unaware of H's reading "grisyng 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 callyd the Goddesse of Frute,
> for she fyrst made hit multyply
> By the meane of gryffyng (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. 1:1-2:4^a) with that of another author (J, Gen. 2:4^bff). 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 praeferendus 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.

245-72 Elucid. I 23, perhaps suggested to Honorius by Anselm's De Similitudinibus xliii, PL CLIX 623-4.

249-50 Elucid. I 26.

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."

257-60 Elucid. I 26.

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.

264 Elucid. I 24. Cf. Gregory, loc. cit. and note to 11.348-50 below.

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

> 12 Quomodo cecidisti de caelo,
> Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris?
> corruisti in terram,
> qui vulnerabas gentes;
> 13 qui dicebas in corde tuo:
> In caelum conscendam,
> super astra Dei
> exaltabo solium meum;
> sedebo in monte testamenti,
> in lateribus aquilonis:
> 14 ascendam super altitudinem nubium,
> similis ero Altissimo?
> 15 Verumtamen ad infernum detraheris,
> in profundum laci.

273-4 The connection of the name Lucifer with light is popular in vernacular writings. See Wm. of Shoreham 389: "Lydgatiana" 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,
Þat hee drightin Þat had him wroght;
(C 445-6 cf.F)

MSS G,T, and H, however, by omitting the second "Þat", 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, DGAL XI xiii, PL XXXIV 436. The idea that Lucifer denied that God had made him is found in Rupert of St. Heribert, De Victoria Verbi Dei I, xii-xiii, PL CLXIX 1227-8, where it is based on Ez. 28:2: "Deus ego sum, et in cathedra Dei sedi", and 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. Paradise Lost, V 833ff., 853ff. See Grant McColley, "Milton's Battle in Heaven and Rupert of Saint Heribert", Speculum, XVI (1941), 230-5.

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

281 C and F have "hetlik" ("heÞeli", haughtily, or scornfully, from ON, cp. OI haeðli-liga) which G, H

and T change to "liȝtly". 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 "scornfuly" 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".

317-8 Perhaps suggested by Elucid. I 43. Cf. Anselm, Cur Deus Homo II xxii, PL CLVIII 430, and Woodburn O. Ross, Middle English Sermons, p. 314.

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; Iob 1:7; 2:2; Apoc. 12:9. Cf. Augustine, Ennarrationes in Psalmos CXLVIII 9, PL XXXVII 1943; Sent. II, iv, Dist. vi, PL CXCII 663 quotes Ioan. 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

discussed by Augustine, in DCD XI xiii and XXII i, PL XLI 328-9, 752; Enchir xxix, PL XL 246; Gregory, Moralium XXVII xxxix, PL LXXVI 438, XXXIV vii, PL LXXVI 724; Hom. in Ezech. I vii, PL LXXVI 849; Petrus Lombardus, Sent. II Dist. vii, PL CXCII 664-5; Hugh of St. Victor, Summa Sent. Tract II 84, PL CLXXVI 84, and Thomas Aquinas, Sum. Theol. Q. LXIV art. 2. 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. Creat. 340-2; Piers Plowman C II 106; Life of Christ 4007-8; Ad. and Ep. 103-6; Towneley I 142; SEL p. 408-9, 1.212.

337-8 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.)

339-42 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;

3. An anonymous poem of 20-odd lines "Spacium de terra ad celum" found in two MSS: (i) MS Rawl. D. 939, printed by A. Hahn, "Zu Pricke of Conscience V.7651-7686", Archiv, CVI (1901), 349-50; and (ii) MS Camb. Un. Ee.1.15, fol.73a. See Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943) #2794;

4. "On the 'Leaps' Which Christ Took", 20 long lines on a loose leaf in MS CCCC 294, ed. Henry A. Person, Cambridge Middle English Lyrics (Seattle, 1962), p.29;

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 euery 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
> Pys englysch tale ys yfounde
> Pat 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.255^{r} 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.

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

348-50 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 compleretur 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),

477-529. Förster classifies several groups of variant traditions. Cf. also Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. James Stevens Stallybrass (London, 1883), II 565-6. J.M. Evans, "Microcosmic Adam", Medium Aevum, XXXV (1966), 38-42 is relatively useless.

Honorius repeats this description of man in his Sacramentarium I, PL CLXXII 773. For an illustration of Honorius' conception of man as a microcosm in a twelfth century German MS, see M.W. Evans, Medieval Drawings (London, 1969), plate 81.

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 "þe ouer", Honorius' "ex coelesti igne", into "þondir".

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

373 His breath comes from the under air, or wind. MSS H and T have corrupted "þis vnder wynd to "þis wondir wynde". Honorius, however, said "ex inferiore 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 "þe erþe makeþ 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' "sensum cum animalibus".

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

388 Gen. 1:27: "Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam". Cf. Gen. 1:26. The image of God in man is often considered to be the soul. See, e.g., Petrus Lombardus, Sent., II Dist. xvii, PL CXCII 685-6; Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. ix, PL CXCVIII 1063.

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 þou made to þy lykenesse,
> Both boon and blood, fell and flesh,

See Hermann Varnhagen, "Zu Mittelenglischen Gedichten: X. Zu den 'Signa ante Judicium'", Anglia, III (1880), pp.533-551, 11.9-10.

393-412 The soul is here a microcosm of the Trinity as the body is a microcosm of the physical universe. From Elucid. I 61. Cf. 11.319-22, note.

405-12 Translates Elucid. I 61: "Et sicut Deus comprehendi 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 "lyeþ". T miscopied "lieþ" as "heþ".

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

Evangeliorum, PL XXX 533; Augustine, In Joannis Evangelium, IX ii, PL XXXV 1465; Enarratio in Psalmum xcv 15, PL XXXVII 1236; Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 216; Hugh of St. Victor, De Arca Noe Mystica iv, PL CLXXVI 686. It is also frequent in Irish exegesis. See Robert E. McNally, The Bible in the Early Middle Ages (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), p. 26. It is attached to many MSS of the Vita Adae et Evae and their translations. See Mozley, 147-8/57; Lyff-- Vernon 221/12-19; Life--Bodley 345; Life--Harley 354/15-27; Life--Wheatley 76/34-77/26. It appears in dialogue literature. See Kemble 178-80; Quaestiones 285. It is also in the Ormulum, 11.16384-16419. The CM poet is here translating Elucid. I 64.

421 MSS H and T have "ȝe", but "þe" 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.

451-72 A conflation of Gen. 1:26 and Gen. 2:19-25.

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 CXCVIII 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,
> Þor-of ȝurte hire ȝinken no same;
> Mayden, for sche was mad of man,
> Hire first name ȝor 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" (l.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 "yȝe" 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 deeþ" 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 XLI377-386; 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 "þan", 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 puer 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 fuerit 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 CLXXXI 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 Prophetam 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 CXCVIII 1074: "Et sicut naturale odium est inter equos et griphes, lupos et canes, sic inter hominem et serpentem." Thus
519 wolves and sheep, from Is. 11:6.

521 hound from Hist. Schol., hare for rhyme

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

525 The "gripe" is from Hist. Schol., where it is paired with its traditional enemy, the horse. Cf. T.H. White, A Book of Beasts, p. 24. The bear, necessary for rhyme, is from Is. 11:7.

527, 531 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 SEL 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.

See P. Ansell Robin, Animal Lore in English Literature (London, 1932), 116; J.K. Bonnell, "The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play", American Journal of Archaeology, XXI, (1917), 255-91.

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 O. 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:

> 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 Ysaïe.
> 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.

J. Murray, ed., Le Chateau d'amour de Robert Grosseteste Eveque de Lincoln (Paris, 1918), 11.48-59. 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

earth's loss of brightness is a Jewish tradition. See Jew. Encyc. "Adam". Similar passages are found elsewhere in English. Cf. Aelfric's "De Falsis Diis", op. cit., 679/56-65; CM 9381-4, Pricke of Conscience 6356-63; Lydgate's Fall of Princes 596-604.

536 MSS G,H, and T preserve better readings: "þan now a day", "þan today" represent Grosseteste's "ke ne est ores". C and F's "þen þe 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 hyȝe" 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 CXCVIII 1072-3. In the OEGen.(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 CXCVIII 1072; Piers Plowman C XXI 318; Wm. of Shoreham

647-51.

579 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 daemone". 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 deep".

609-18 This is very like the serpent's speech in Hist. Schol. xxiii, PL CXCVIII 1073.

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

Sarah M. Horrall

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Sarah M. Horrall, Ottawa 1973.

611-20 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).

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

623-4 Her second sin is sensuous curiosity about the fruit. Gen.3:6. Cf. DGCM II xv, PL XXXIV 207; Bede, In Pent., PL XCI 214; Sent. II Dist. xxi, PL CXCII 696; Hist. schol. xxii, xxiii, PL CXCVIII 1072, 1074; Hugh of St. Victor, De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei I vii 10, PL CLXXVI 290-1; Sum. Theol. Q. CLXIII art.1. Cf. also the moral lesson taught in Ancrene Riwle 22/36-23/10.

627-96 The poet is here using a source which I have not been able to identify.

628 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 CXCVIII 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 Ier. 31:29: "Patres comederunt uvam acerbam,/et dentes filiorum obstupuerunt."

Cf. Ez. 18:2. Frederic G. Cassidy, "The Edged Teeth" in Stanley B. Greenfield, ed., Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur (Oregon, 1963), pp. 227-36 suggests that the identification is first made in the fifth century in Sedulius' Carmen Paschale, from which the CM passage is "a lineal descendent".

> Ni pius ille sator, culpas ignoscere promptus,
> ...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

Augustine, Enchir. xlvi, PL XL 254 also quotes the passage from Ezechiel in speaking of the consequences of the Fall. Cf. Old English Phoenix, 11.402-9.

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 wraþ". 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 "þe strenger beest þe 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 "stiffli", a close enough rendering. H and T's "principaly",

however, is not very meaningful, and may in fact result from a scribal corruption of "þrali". 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 "drouȝe" in the preceding line.

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

738 T puts the "ȝit" after "to breke".

739-40 Cf. T.H. White, Book of Beasts, pp. 186-7.

743 Cf. 1.494 and note.

744 The exemplar of H and T must have omitted the metrically necessary "þe" 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 anti-type of Mary, the usual mediaeval interpretation of the Protevangelium. See Gen. 3:15, and the references in Dict. théol. cath., "Eve", V 1651-2.

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 þe god and il knauand;
Now for-þi ar he strek hand
To þat tre þat lijf es in,
And siþen 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 "þei". 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.

805-979 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.

985-8 Elucid. I 91.

818 T's "fouly flecched", 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".

819 The wall of fire surrounding Paradise is found in Isidore, Etym. XIV iii 3; Rabanus Maurus, De Universo XII iii, PL CXI 334, DIM I viii, PL CLXXII 123, etc.

823ff. This description of Paradise includes many of the conventional topoi, and represents a vision of still-existing but unattainable delight. Cf. the present tense used in l. 830 and n. to 11.854-5. The loci classici for Christian descriptions of Paradise are Lactantius, De Ave Phoenice, trans. A.S. Cook, in The Old English Elene, Phoenix and Physiologus, (New Haven, 1919), p. 124; Pseudo-Tertullian, De Judicio Domini viii, PL II 1151-2; and Avitus, De Mosaicae Historiae Gestis, I "De Initio Mundi", PL LIX 323-30. See discussions by Edoardo Coli, I1 Paradiso Terrestre Dantesco, (Firenze, 1897); Arturo Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo (Torino, 1925); H.R. Patch, The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval

Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); and A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton, 1966). Graf, Appendice I, prints relevant extracts from twenty sources.

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.

834 Cf. below, 11.1116-8.

836 Augustine said that the fruits in the garden would not decay, and referred to Ioan. 6:27 to support the idea. However, he interpreted the passage allegorically. See DGCM ix, PL XXXIV 202. Cf. pseudo-Tertullian, loc. cit..

838 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.

839-50 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.

851 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,

op. cit., 61: Ernaldus, op. cit., 1535.

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 "þar" 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.,

70.

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 "þe". 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, "þe firste þei 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 þe cursed" makes for better scansion. Cf. MSS C, F and G.

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

See MED. O.F. Emerson, "Legs. of Cain", p.832 missed this allusion in discussing the devilish origin of Cain. The idea is a Jewish one. See Jew. Encyc. "Cain". It is given authority for Christians by I Ioan 3:12: "Non sicut Cain, qui ex maligno erat, et occidit fratrem suum." Cf. Augustine, In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos, Tractatus V, iii, PL XXXV 2012-3; Bede, In Primam Epistolam Sancti Joannis, PL XCIII 102.

889-92 Gen. 4:4-5 says simply "et respexit Dominus ad Abel, et ad munera ejus. Ad Cain vero, et ad munera illius, non respexit;" without specifying why Abel's offering was more acceptable. The most popular explanation says that Abel gave his in a better spirit. Cf. Hebr. 11:4 and references in "Abel", Dict. Théol. Cath. I 29. See also the Speculum Sacerdotale, ed. Edward H. Weathely (London, 1936), EETS OS 200, pp.66, 95-6. The mystery plays, especially the Towneley "Matacio abel", make great fun out of Cain's unwilling sacrifice.

896 The original reading must have been C's "sacrilages". 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." X(I)800-1. Cf. Richard Morris, ed., The Ayenbite of Inwyt (London, 1866), EETS OS 23, p. 41.

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 l.1070 of MS F referring also to Abel). H and T omit the word, and have "þat" 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

Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIV (1961), 108-114.

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 Rymbybel 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.8^{v}). 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 Iud. 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

206, n. 14.

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 Emile 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 metal-working 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.

924 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 SELTemp., 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: Egrediamur 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 þat 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 "vnkoupe", (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 Eue 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."

1013-5 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. Creat. 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 OI ǣetla--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 "brepher", 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 CXCVIII 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.

1049-62 The author winds up the stories of Cain and Abel and the offspring of Adam by looking ahead to the death of Cain's kindred in Noah's flood. Cf. Hist. Schol. xxx, PL CXCVIII 1080.

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 "ȝonder" 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^2 ON and Icelandic slo$\eth$ --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 OI 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 þui er Bethel heitir" quoted in Henning

Larsen, "Cursor Mundi 1291", p. 165

1127-8 Not in Latin. Cf. n. to 11.1095-1110.

1139 The GM 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 "þat 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 "swaþelynge 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 "wepeþ" at 1.1185, here uses the realistic "squelonde".

1176-7 "vbi cognouit animam fratris sui Abel", 467/8.

1181 "wiþ chere mylde" translates "uisi benignitate", 467/10. Cf. 1.1132 which has no counterpart in the Latin.

1203 "vndir his tunge rote". The Latin simply says "infra os eius pones", 467/17.

1205 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 gegn--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 þe oile may to þe 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 sb[1] 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

"ȝare" 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 "þat iesu diȝed". MSS C, F and G have "þat iesus ras", which is theologically preferable.

1447-8 C's unique lines sound almost like a criticism of God's justice:

> And þat was a ful gret penance,
> Don to man for litel chance.

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.

1293-4 These lines are based directly on a short text of the Revelations of Methodius: "Quadragesimo autem anno tempore Jareth. transiuit primum miliarium seculi." See Rev. Meth, p. 193. Cf. below, n. to 11. 1833-8.

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

1297-8 From Hist. Schol. xxx, PL CXCVIII 1080, as Haenisch pointed out CM,p. 4*. Cf. Jubilees 4:17; I Enoch 12:4, 14:1; DIM, PL CLXXII 165. In Middle English, cf. Higden 223; Wyntoun 269-74. The latter

two chroniclers take their information from Comestor.

1299 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.

1299-1302 Probably from Hist. Schol. xxx, PL CXCVIII 1080.

1303-8 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 CXCVIII 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 l.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 gatte 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.

1353-6 From Comestor, Hist. Schol. xxviii, PL CXCVIII 1079. Cf. Haenisch, CM, p. 5*.

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 "þat" 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, ll. 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 SELTemp., fol. 3r-3v calls it incest, and I&I, 13-20 blames gluttony. Compare the note to l. 2571 below. The author of the Book of the Knight of

LaTour-Landry, 62, attributes the flood entirely to women's dress.

1383-6 From Rev. Meth. p. 193, as Miss d'Evelyn points out, Petrus Comestor gives the date without reference to Jareth. See Rev. Meth. pp. 148-9; Hist. Schol. xxx, PL CXCVIII 1081.

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, l.1571 "þat 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 "ȝe 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.

1459-62 Gen. 5:32. Haenisch, CM, p. 5*, attributes this to Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. xxxi, PL CXCVIII 1081.

1465-92 A development of God's speeches in Gen. 6:7, 13, 17, 18.

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." See Hist. Schol. xxxiv, PL CXC VIII 1084.

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 þame [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 mediaeval 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 (l.1498), who directs his helpers and is himself responsible for fastening in place the main beams of the building (l.1560). See Salzman, pp. 201, 205. Perhaps taking his beginning from the "square tre" of the Septuagint and Old Latin (l.1496), the poet speaks of cutting the timber (l.1556) and fastening it (l.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 (ll.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. See (1) Sydney C. Cockerall, ed., A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1927), p. 79 plate 14. The pictures were done in Paris about 1250.

(2) George Warner, ed., Queen Mary's Psalter (London, 1912), plate 10 and p. 57. Early fourteenth century.

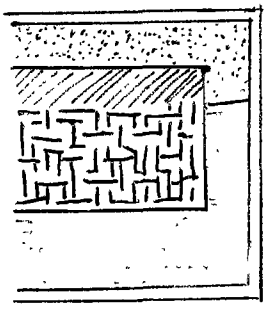
(3) W.O. Hassall, ed., The Holkham Bible Picture Book (London, 1954), fol. 7v. The pictures were probably done in London, later in the fourteenth century.

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 37½". This may be yet another indication of Scottish influence on the

CM.

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.

1519-22 Gen. 6:19-20.

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 þe 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 stercoriariam, dicentes; secundam supra illam apothecariam, tertiam immitium 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.

1524 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.

1531-2 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.

1533-8 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; Pricke 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,

Quaestiones super Genesim, PL XCIII 292; Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 46; Hist. Schol. xxxi, PL CXCVIII 1082. So too the Targ. of Jon. 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, Pharphia, 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 (11. 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 ī or ā 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 (ll. 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 (11.1747-54). 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 "þer". 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," þai said, "mai we
> Knaw if þe 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.

See G. McN. Rushforth, Medieval Christian Imagery (Oxford, 1936), fig. 69, and p.163. Rushforth describes the raven sitting on a floating corpse as an "almost invariable adjunct" of a dove with an olive branch in illustrations of the flood story.

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 carniverous 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 "ȝeode". 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.

1755ff. Cf. Gen. 8:15ff.

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 "þarfore" 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 "ȝoure". Cf. MSS C, F and G. T corrupts it to "þe".

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 suns 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'ainsnée 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 emasulated him. See "Ham", Jew.

Encyc.; Midrash xxxvi 7 n. 2; Allen, Leg. of Noah, 78. 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 in 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 "Hdm", 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 ȝeer" in C,F,G,H and T is clearly an error, perhaps for an original "mani ȝeer". 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.

1926-8 Isidore Etym. XIV ii 2-3. Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, Adnot. in Pent., PL CLXXV 49.

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 iii2.

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 "þis 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:

þe myche londe of ethiopye
þat lond is moost into þe souþ
þere þat blo men are ful couþ

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 CM 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 "þat 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

49; Isidore, Etym. IX ii 2; Hist. Schol. xxxvii, PL CXCVIII 1087; McNally, Bible, 38. The figure is important, for it reappears in the New Testament as the number of missionaries sent out to preach, excluding Christ's disciples, in Luc. 10:1.

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).

1963-6 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 Rígsþula 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).

1971-2 Hist. Schol. xlvi, PL CXCVIII 1094: "Huic Melchisedech, aiunt Hebraei fuisse Sem filium Noe".

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.

1991-2 Gen. 11:14-5.

1993-4 Gen. 11:16-7. Heber lived 464 years, not 444. 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.

1999-2000 Gen. 11:22-3.

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.

2005-6 Gen. 11:1.

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 þam 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 "felaushipe 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 CXCVIII 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 escantillon and may have been confined mainly to poetry. At least Salzmann, 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 "Wiþ 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 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.

2094 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 CXCVIII 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.

2098 See note to 1. 1962 above.

2277-8 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.

2104-6 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.

2115-28 Hist. Schol. xl, PL CXCVIII 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:

> Þa gesawon Þa deoflu, Þe hi beswicon on aér,
> Þa f æegron anlicnyss [a], and flugon Þarto,
> and Þurh Þa anlicnyssa sprae con to Þam
> earmum mannum,

and hi swa forlaeddon mid heora leasungum,
and to hellicum suslum heora sawla gebrohtan.

See John C. Pope, ed., Homilies of Aelfric, II (London, 1968), EETS OS 260, pp. 687-8.

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 CXCVIII 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 xii, PL XLI 493; Bede, Hex., PL XCI 134; G&E 711-2; SELTemp. 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 douȝteres had aram his broþer
he spoused þat oon nachor þat oþer

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.

2169-75 Cf. Gen. 13:16, 15:5-6, and below, 11.2394-8. The "graueles in þe 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 "untelland" 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&E 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 ȝo." (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-xliii, PL CXCVIII 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.

2225 The original reading had "to sell", meaning "on sale", MSS C, G, H and T. MS F alters this to "to sawe".

2243 The Scandinavian word "rosed" (ON hrósa) is changed to "preysed" in MSS G, H and T.

2245 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.

2263-2306 Gen. 13: 1-13.

2273-82 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 85: DCD XVI xx, PL XLI 498; Hist. Schol. xlv, PL CXCVIII 1093; G&E 803-4; Met. Para. 425-8; Higden 289. The CM poet manages to reconcile the two versions.

2278 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).

2282 Similarly, the northern and Scottish word "scail" in MS C becomes "part" in MSS G, H and T. Cf. 1.2524 below.

2307-16 The poet omits God's promise in Gen. 13: 14-7.

2307 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. clxxxiiff., and Urban Ohlander, "Old French Parallels to a Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament", Gothenburg Studies in English, XIV (1962), 203-24.

2309 "chebron" is, of course, the "Hebron" of Gen. 13:18.

2317-34 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.

2335-54 Gen. 14:13-6.

2346 "themas" may be a scribal error for "demas", Damascus (Gen. 14:15), perhaps by confusion of capital Ð 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. lvi, PL CXCVIII 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 "liȝtly"--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.

2637-40 Gen. 16:15-6.

2643-8 Gen. 17:1-16.

2643 Abraham was, in fact, 99 years old, not 109. See Gen. 17:1. Cf. below, 1.2699.

2650-1 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.

2653-4 Petrus Comestor makes the etymology rather clearer than does the Vulgate. See Hist. Schol. 1, PL, CXCVIII 1097.

2689 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).

2693-2700 Gen. 17:23-7.

2697 MS F has the correct reading thirteen years. Cf. Gen. 17:25. The other MSS all read 30.

2699 Cf. note to 1.2643 above.

2701-2 Josephus 95; Hist. Schol. 1, PL CXCVIII 1097; G&E 1004; Higden 293; cf. above 1.2666.

2703-4 Gen. 18:1.

2705-12 Philip Buehler first suggested that these lines are based on Herman's Bible. See "CM",

pp. 289-90. He points to the reading "childre þre" (1.2707)/"Trois enfan" (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 wiþ him þat nyȝt" (CM 1.2712)/"les herberja la nuit en son ostal" (Herman 426). Cf. Met. Para. 563 "herberd them all nyȝt". 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

C XIX 242-8. 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 Iud. 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 xlviii 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:

> For ȝat he bad wid herte fre,
> He it nomen in charite;
> So malt ȝat mete in hem to nogt,
> So a watres drope in a fier brogt.
> (1015-8)

See Josephus 99; Hist. Schol. lii, PL CXCVIII 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 H.

2716-2414 Gen. 18:9-21.

2408, 2410 Cf. 1.1476 above, and note.

2415-28 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. 1ii, 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, ll. 713-66.

2429-60 Gen. 19: 1-9.

2433-4 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".

2461-2 The poet inserts these lines into the narrative to reassert God's control over the whole situation.

2464-2510 Gen. 19:11-25.

2474 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. Whereas 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; SELTemp.fol. 5r; Met. Para. 612.

2520-4 I know no parallel for this legend.

2525-40 From Hist. Schol. xliv, 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".

2541-4 The story of the dead sea apples is a very popular one. See G&E 1127-30; Mandeville S63/1-5; Cleanness 1041-8. Cf. Tacitus Hist. V vii; Josephus, History of the Jewish War against the Romans, trans. H. StJ. Thackeray (London, 1930), III 143-5; Hist. Schol. liii, PL CXCVIII 1101; Isidore, Etym. XIV iii 25; Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana II iv, PL CLX 867.

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 SELTemp. 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. lii, PL CXCVIII 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; Ayenbite 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".

2581-90 Gen. 19:27-8.

2593-2615 Gen. 19:30-38.

2601 The Scandinavian word "carman" (ON; cp. OI karlmaðr) 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 CXCVIII 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).

2671-2746 Gen. 21:1-21.

2677-8 This is Petrus Comestor's etymology, Hist. Schol. lvi, PL CXCVIII 1103. Cf. Jerome, Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis, PL XXIII, 824; Etym. VII vii 4.

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 CXCVIII 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 "trused" 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 "throdden") 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.

Encyc.; Von Rad, 238. 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-stress lines.

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, ll. 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 mediaeval tradition.

2896 Mesopotamia is not mentioned in the Vulgate until Gen. 24:10.

2911 The Scandinavian word "buskyng" (cf. OI būask) in MSS C, F and G is changed to "goyng" in H and T.

2915-6 The treasures are not mentioned here in the Vulgate, but cf. Gen. 24:53.

2934 MSS C and G read "gain and", a Scottish and northern dialect word replaced in MSS H and T by "good".

2951 The Scandinavian word "late" (ON Lát) in MSS C and F has been replaced by "semblaunt" in MSS H and T.

2961-6 Not in the Vulgate.

2979-81 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, ll. 1721-4.

3002 The omission of "lordes" from MSS H and T makes "his" ambiguous.

3003 A condensed version of the negotiations in Gen. 24:53-9.

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.

3014-46 Corresponds to Gen. 24:63-7.

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.

3053-6 Gen. 15:1-2.

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 veiðr) is altered in the other MSS, to "gammys" in MS F or "þingis" in G, H and T. Cf. also ll. 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, PL

CXCVIII 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).

3402-4 Hist. Schol. lxvi, PL CXCVIII 1110: "Jacob, id est supplantator". Cf. Jerome, Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis, PL XXIII 825; Etym. VII vii 5.

3433-46 and 3451-2 Gen. 28:11-13.

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 þi sake" instead of "for

þe forsake". MS H preserves the original meaning.

3457-78 Gen. 28:16-8, 20-22.

3479-94 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.

3495-3522, 3527-54 Based loosely on Gen. 29:10-23, 25-28.

3522 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 "gliȝed", having a squint or cast in one or both eyes.

3523-6 A displacement of Gen. 30:30.

3533-4 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.

3555-64 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.

Leah's first children were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah (Gen.29:32-5). Then Rachael's maid Bilhah had Dan and Naphtali (Gen. 30:5-8). Leah's maid Zilpah had Gad and Asher (Gen. 30:10-13). Leah then bore Issachar and Zebulum and a daughter, Dinah (Gen. 30:17-21), and Rachael finally produced Joseph and Benjamin (Gen. 30:23-4, 35:18).

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., l. 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.

3589-3610 Gen. 32:24-32, slightly re-arranged.

3608 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.

3611ff. 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. Ll. 3611-8 condense Gen. 32:3-8.

3621-2 Gen. 32:13.

3626-30 Gen. 32:7-8.

3631-68 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.

3687-8 Gen. 35:28.

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; SELTemp. 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.

3745-78 Cf. Gen. 37:12-20.

3758 MSS C, F and G read "Grathli" (ON; cp OI 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 Ll. 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 "þei 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. rífa) in MSS C, F and G, although the latter word is metrically preferable.

3828 Cf. Gen. 37:22.

3829-50 Cf. Gen. 37:23-7.

3829 MS C alone has the Scandinavian word "skete"/ soon, quickly (ON skjótt) in this line. The other MSS change the sense entirely from C's "'Gladli,' said þai, 'and þat be skete.'"

3832 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).

3852 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 belonged 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. SELTemp. 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.

3855-69 Cf. Gen. 37:29-33.

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&I 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; SELTemp. 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. lxxxviii, 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 ll. 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'empereour;'"; 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'amerent 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 l. 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, I&I 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 būask). 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 characteristic 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 riches to tempt Joseph. Cf. G&E 2021-4.

4039-71 Cf. Gen. 39:12-20.

4047 MSS C and F make the question "wat aleis yow?" MS G changes this to "quat es at ȝou", 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.

4085-4150 Cf. Gen. 39:21-40:23.

4125 The Middle Ages was disturbed by any hint of magical powers. In the phrase "wiþ myȝte 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.

4155-62 This is one of the poet's rare general moralizations.

4160 Whiting, Proverbs, E216 cites several other occurrences of this proverb.

4162 Cf. Whiting, Proverbs, L565. The proverb also appears in French: "Qui bien ayme tard oublye."

4163-4233 Cf. Gen. 41:1, 8-23.

4166-7 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 vienent baron prinches et chevaliers;

4174 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.

4197-4202 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.

4213-4252 The dream is told as in Herman's Bible, 11.1346-67.

4224 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 ȝei set ȝo", 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.

4257-63 Cf. Gen. 41:26, 33-4.

4264-4300 The remainder of the dialogue in which the king aquits 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".

4309-18 Cf. Gen. 41:42-5.

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 CXCVIII 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, 2^{me} 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 l.4331. MS F corrects the lapse by supplying a subject: "þai filled þaire bernis here and tare", but the original had:

> La gent de la contree, quant le voient venir
> Et prendre leur aumaille et leur blé departir
> Et faire ches greniers tous de leur blé emplir,
> Herman 1417-9

4682-3 MS F alone preserves the original lines:

> and alle þe baronage so til him bare
> atte alle þai louted til his lare

translating Herman's ll.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, ll.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 l.1449. 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 ll.1464-93; 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 "þing/dwellyng".

4453-8 Herman has the brothers sail on the river to Egypt in 11.1494-9, 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 l.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, l.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 1'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 "þe kyngis þingis" or "þe 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 "boþe" leads to alteration of the rhyme word of 1.4588. Both MSS C and F's "wath" (ON *waðe) and G's "skath" (ON skaðe) 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 "ȝow/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 wiþinne".

5056 MSS G and T say they kissed sixty times or more, while C says fourty 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 "þam" 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.

5197-9 MSS C, F and G have two lines which are omitted from T:

> Þat first for eild moght noght spek
> To bidd hast now es nan sa frek,
> Cries o þam als yong man were.

This translates Herman's Bible 11.57-8, as printed in Karl Bartsch, Chrestomathie de l'ancien francais, 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 "hi3ed", thus omitting all reference to Jacob's speech and referring only to his physical abilities.

5213-30 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.

5239-42 Gen. 46:28.

5243-8 From Herman, 11.91-4. The court goes with Joseph in Herman, but not in the Vulgate.

5250-2 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.

5253-4700 From Herman, 11.99-189.

5280-4 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.

5281 Herman has "pestrin" at 1.121, which MSS C and F translate as "mister". MSS G and T substitute "prisoun".

5313 Cf. Herman 1.196: "avoit le barbe longue, blanche toute Mllee--"

4697-8 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-outen male", without payment, to "wiþouten 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.

4740-59 Gen. 47:27-48:2.

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 CXCVIII, 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 "ȝair" 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 "ȝoure" 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.

4931-68 Cf. Ex. 2:1-10.

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.

4969-70 From Herman, 1.1987. Cf. Josephus, 265; Hist. Schol. Ex. V, PL CXCVIII 1144; G&E 2659; Met. Para.

1529-36.

4971-5032 Cf. Ex. 2:11-21.

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/siquare" in MS C is altered in the other MSS.

4980 MS T has a more intelligible reading "þat coom of iacobes son Iudas" (1.5958). This may be a correction, however, for MS G agrees with H in having "þat cam of iacob sonis iudas".

4991 MS C reads "þat pantener" (AF pautener), and MS F "losenger". MSS G, H and T read simply "þat an", "þe 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.

5051-66 Cf. Ex. 3:1-3.

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 "eȝeb" 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.

5129-58 Cf. Ex. 4:1-4,6-9. The Middle English poet omits Moses' humble self-abnegation and God's anger with him as told in Ex. 4:10-14.

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 þam 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" v^1 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.

5281-92 Cf. Ex. 8:21-2.

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. OI 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.

5419-5441 Cf. Ex. 12:21-3,29.

5422 MSS G, H and T change the Scandinavian word "graid" (ON; cp OI greiða) to "purueyde".

5443-82 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 ȝen", 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.

5498-5516 Cf. Ex. 13:17-22.

5517-70 Cf. Ex. 14:4-8,10-4,16.

5542 The Vulgate says "at illi [filii Israel] egressi erant 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 hræddr. 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.

5606 MSS C, F and G all have "site" (ON *sýt). 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.

5607-8 The poet interjects a prayer of his own.

5619ff. 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 "þrest" 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 "ȝerdis".

5667 Napier, Rood-Tree, p.xxvi, note 1, suggested that this line originally read "Siþen þai fand in Raphindin", translating the Old French "A raphindin les a portees;" Cf. Ex. 17:1. The reading seems plausible. The MSS printed by Morris give two different versions. MS C has "Siþen þai faand in þat wastin". Cf. MS F. MS G has "Siþen 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 Moÿsès en .I. desert entra,
> Chele gens de[s] Juis 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.

5709-15 Cf. Ex. 17:1-7. Herman also dismisses the story in two lines (11.2093-4).

5718 The form "ȝalde" 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 "ȝof 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.

5751-8 Cf. Ex. 18:1-4.

5751 MS F corrupts "Ietro" to "Petro".

5759-68 A condensed version of Ex. 18:13-26.

5759 MSS C, F and G probably preserve the correct reading "ȝis 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, "þis 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 maleüree,
> 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-

2165

5933-40 Haenisch pointed out that these lines come from Hist. Schol. lxxiii, PL CXCVIII 1190. See Haenisch, CM, p. 8*. Cf. Met. Para. 11.1975-80.

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. 31:18; 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

See Hist. Schol. Ex., lxxvii, PL CXCVIII 1192.

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 li 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. 267 v 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.

6019-20 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.

6022 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 vnsiȝtilyȝe", although the use of "unsiȝtilyȝe" to mean blind is uncertain. See OED.

6035-6 A summary of Ex. 21:29-30.

6037-74 Ex. 21:32 - Ex. 22:4.

6043-6 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 þis 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.

6069 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 OI gǫrsemi), 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.

6075-8 Ex. 22:6.

6079-88 Ex. 22:10-2.

6089-94 Ex. 22:14-5.

6095-8 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 þe best] be don o daus.
C 6779-80

Morris testifies that the words in square brackets are inserted by a later hand. See p. 392.

6099-6147 Ex. 22:20-23:5.

6102 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 ȝiftis" 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 l.6155. MSS C and F correctly read "seuend" in l.6841, whereas G, H and T have "eiȝteþe" in l.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 porteis/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: "Quod ideo factum autumant Hebraei ne ipsi Moysen pro Deo colerent".

6239-46 The CM poet translates Herman's summary of events, 11.2206-10.

6239 "wiþouten resoun", in MSS G, H and T, "fild wit vn-resun", in MSS C and F, rather clumsily translates Herman's "ichil Juſs si furent mont felon."

6251-60 Napier pointed out that this passage was translated from the Old French Rood Poem, fol. 268r, col. 1, 11.106, 112-5, 124-5.

6261-4 Num 20:23-8.

6263 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.

6265ff The CM poet greatly abbreviates Joshua's part in history. Herman's Bible mentions none of his acts, however.

6267-8 DIM remarks of Joshua "sol stetit spatio duorum dierum." See PL CLXXII 169. Cf. Met. Para. 2967-8.

6269-70 Cf. Ios. 10:12-4.

6271-4 Cf. Ios. 3:7-4:24.

6275-8 Cf. Ios. 24:32.

6279-80 Cf. Ios. 13:19.

6297-8 Cf. Iud. 2:11 et passim.

6298 The CM poet uses "sarasenes feiþ" as a synonym

for all idolatry, a common mediaeval practice.

6299 Cf. Iud. 3:6.

6307-96 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.

6307 Cf. Jud. 1:12.

6315 Cf. Iud. 3:9. Othoniel 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").

6316-7 Cf. Iud. 3:11.

6317-8 Haenisch, CM, p. 8*, suggests that this translates Comestor's comment "In diebus Othoniel Cadmus regnavit Thebis." See Hist. Schol. Iud. v, PL CXCVIII 1274. The source, however, is clearly DIM.: "Hujus [i.e. Othonielis] tempore condidit Catherinus Thebas." DIM, PL CLXXII 169.

6319 Cf. Iud. 3:15.

6320 Cf. Iud. 3:30.

6321-6 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 Iud. 3:15-30. The battle between Benjamites and Israelites occurs in Iud. 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 Iud. 20:35,39,46.

6327 Cf. Iud. 3:31.

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. Iud. 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. Iud. 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 Iud. 4:6;5:1;5:12.

6331 Cf. Iud. 4:4ff.

6332 Cf. Iud. 5:30.

6333-4 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 CXCVIII 1277.

6335 Cf. Iud. 6:11ff.

6336-40 These lines do not correspond to anything in DIM.

6337 Cf. Iud. 7:7 et passim.

6337-40 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. "ꝑat" of MSS C and G becomes "ꝑan" in MS G and "ꝑen" in MSS H and T, and the four rulers of the Midianites are transformed into judges of Israel.

6341-2 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 CXCVIII 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 CXCVIII 1283 mention Priam under the reign of Thola.

6353-4 Haenisch, CM, p. 8*, pointed out that Petrus Comestor has this notice under the reign of Jair: "Carmentis nympha litteras Latinas invenit." See Hist. Schol. Iud. xi, PL CXCVIII 1283.

6355 Cf. Iud. 11:1. DIM does not mention his supposed bastardy.

6356 Cf. Iud. 12:7.

6357-8 DIM mentions the amazons here, but the definition of the word is given only by the CM poet.

6359 Cf. Iud. 12:8. Haenisch, CM, p.8*, suggested that the form of the name, Esebon, is taken from Hist. Schol. Iud. xiii, PL CXCVIII 1285. The Vulgate has Abesan, DIM Abessan.

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 l.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 CXCVIII 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 þat siquar,/þat 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 "auȝte", 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:

> þen come alisaundre wiþ-out doute
> and asked quo walde stande agayne
> quar-fore mony mon was slayne. (7048-50)

6367-70 Cf. Iud. 12:11 and note to 11.6362-4 above.

6371-2 Cf. Iud. 12:13.

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 l. 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 "yate", 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 Iud. 14:5-9, 12-5, 17.

7137-44 These lines appear only in MS F. They translate Iud. 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 l.7136, to the same word in l.7144, thus causing most later copies to omit entirely the solution of the riddle.

6451-2 Based on Iud. 14:19-20.

6453-6 Cf. Iud. 15:3.

6457-66 Cf. Iud. 15:4-5.

6467-80 Abbreviated from Iud. 15:11-15.

6481-6510 Abbreviated from Iud. 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.

6504 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.

6511-8 Cf. Iud.16:16-7.

6519-42 The CM poet draws the obvious moral from the story.

6521 The Scandinavian word "wath" (ON waðe) in MSS C and F was changed to "drede" in MSS G, H and T.

6543-52 Based on Iud. 16:18-9, 21.

6552 MSS C and F have the better reading "blinded", whereas MSS G H and T read "beten". Cf. Iud. 16:21.

6553-7 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.

6558-68 Cf. Iud. 16:22,25,29-30.

6571 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. 1.7277 (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.

6599-6602 This reiteration is not in Herman. It comes from I Reg. 8:19-20.

6603-12 Herman, 11.2221-6.

6613-4 This proverbial saying is added by the poet.

6615-44 Herman, 11.2229-43. Cf. I Reg. 8:7; 9:2; 10:1, 13, etc. The biblical narrative is greatly abridged here.

6645-60 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.

6661-6740 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.

6697 The reading of MSS H and T "wiþ cheer ful swete" may be the original one, translating Herman's "Li sains hom le vit rouge et le vis sousriant." See Herman, 1.2286.

6705 The line in MSS H and T is made metrically hopeless by the insertion of the meaningless "þing in".

6741-56 Herman, 11.2309-18. Cf. I Reg. 17:1,4.

6753 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.

6733 MSS C, F and G read "gent" from the Scandinavian verb "geren" (ON; cp OI göra). The exemplar of MSS H and T changed this to "made".

6751 MSS C and G use the Scandinavian word "granis" (ON, cp OI grein) to translate the Old French enforchëure. MS F changes the word to "leggis", but surprisingly MSS H and T retain "greynes".

6757 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.

6757-76 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.

6777-84 Herman, 11.2319-21.

6780 MSS C, F and G preserve the original "warlau", translating Herman's "dyable", 1.2320. MSS H and

T's "þeof" 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

triumphs to his own abilities. Cf. Met. Para. 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 "þan" 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 þat fiȝteþ in þe wronge
> Hit helpeth not him ful longe

6855-73 Cf. I Reg. 17:42-6.

6877-92 From Herman, 11.2349-56.

6890 Cf. Herman, 11.2360-1; I Reg. 17:57.

6895-6900 From Herman, 11.2363-4.

6901-14 Cf. I Reg. 18: 6-9.

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".

6929-36 Cf. I Reg. 18:13,17.

6937-46 Cf. I Reg. 18:25,27.

6947-52 Cf. I Reg. 19:1-2.

6950 MSS C and F read "magh" (ON mágr), 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 "paind". 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 "liȝt".

6955-75 Cf. I Reg. 19:7-12.

6976-84 Cf. I Reg. 19:18-20.

6985-7688 From Herman, 11.2368-9.

6987-96 From Herman, 11.2370-5.

7003-4 A reference to I Reg. 24:1-22.

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 OI 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 liason 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.

7207-58 Cf. II Reg. 11:27-12:7, 9-14.

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.

7259-60 Cf. II Reg. 12:24.

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.

7262 The northern rhyme vowel remains in "care/sare".

7272 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.

7285 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.

7303 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.

7305 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.

7313 MSS C and G have the original reading "vmber" (G "oumbery", 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 dauid 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 OI 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 ȝe 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 lióma 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. 269^{r} col. 2, 1.341).

7499-7500 Legende: "apositi sunt quidem custodes & luminaria" (468/18).

7502-10 Legende, 468/19-21.

7510-16 Old French Rood Poem, fol. 269r col. 2, 11.348-53.

7516 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, l.353).

7517-25 Legende, 468/22-5.

7526ff Old French Rood Poem, fol. 269r col. 2, l.354ff.

7527 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.

7535ff. Old French Rood Poem, fol. 269v col. 1.

7578 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, l.402: "Li autrement les vuet herbergier". MSS H and T changed this to "wonyng".

7583ff. Old French Rood Poem, fol. 269v col. 2.

7620 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.

7625ff. Old French Rood Poem, fol. 270r col.1.

7665ff. Old French Rood Poem, fol. 270r col. 2.

7693 MSS C and F read "glo}er", 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".

7710ff. Old French Rood Poem, fol. 270v col.1.

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: "þe kynde of þingis 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:

> Paraboles fuit li primiers
> Pour la gent diure et enseignier
> Ecclesiastes li secuns
> Qui de bien faire nos semont
> Li tiers liure que nos lisons
> Cest cantic[um] cantiquorum
> (fol. 270v col.2)

7763 Morris prints "aftir [þe] two" from MS T. MS H also lacks "þe".

7774 After his resumé of the three books, the Old French poet recapitulates the kind of knowledge that Solomon obtained:

> toutes les herbes cognoisc oit
> 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 "Bytwene þat", 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 "dom", does exist in Middle English, according to MED, so

MS H's reading "dome" need not be emended here.

7956 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.

7961 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".

7965-78 From Herman, 11.2520-27.

7966 "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).

7981 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.

7985-8002 This recapitulation of the case does not appear either in Herman or in the Old French Rood

Poem. Cf. however III Reg. 3:23-4.

8003-6 Herman, 11.2533-5.

8007-8 Cf. III Reg. 3:26.

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 Iȝyue to hir my riȝt".

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
> Quil 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, l.828-fol. 272v col. 1, l.903.

8054 MSS C and F preserve the correct reading "dei", for Old French "moroit" (l.837).

8058 "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 "raþer".

8061-4, 8092 The technical building terms are not found in the Old French poem. Cf above, notes to ll.1496, 2059.

8072 MSS C, F, G, and T all have "a" after "siche".

8127-8 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.

8129-32 Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272v col. 1, ll.904-7.

8133 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. Ll.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.

8178-8205 Old French Rood Poem, fol. 272v col. 1, 1.934-col. 2, 1.956. Ll.932-53 are printed in Bonnard, pp. 88-89.

8185 The Scandinavian word "gloppend" (ON, cp OI glúpna) 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 repentence 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.

8413-19 DIM, PL CLXXII 172 says simply that Solomon reigned for forty years. Cf. III Reg. 11:42-3.

8423-4 Cf. III Reg. 14:31;15:2.

8425-6 Cf. III Reg. 15:8, 10.

8427-8 Cf. III Reg. 22:41-2.

8430-2 DIM gives the length of time simply as three years and does not give God's motive for the drought.

8437-8 Cf. III Reg. 22:50; IV Reg. 8:16-7.

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.

8444 DIM, PL CLXXII 172 gives Ozias' reign as fifty-two years. Cf. IV Reg. 14:21; 15:1-2. Ozias is really the son of Amasiah, whom the CM poet does not mention, rather than of Joram.

8449 MSS C and F correctly refer to the sixth sibyl. Cf. DIM, PL CLXXVII 172. "Eighth" in MSS G, H and T is an error.

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 CXCVIII 1406, but the parallel with DIM is much closer.

8455 Cf. IV Reg. 15:38.

8457 Cf. IV Reg. 16:2.

8458-9 Cf. IV Reg. 16:20; 18:1-2.

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.

8461-2 Cf. IV Reg. 20:21; 21:1.

8463-4 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.

8465 Cf. IV Reg. 21:18.

8466-8 There is nothing about this idol-worship in DIM. Cf. however IV Reg. 21:2-9; Hist. Schol. IV Reg. xxxiii, PL CXCVIII 1415.

8469 Cf. IV Reg. 21:26; 22:1.

8474 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.

8477 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.

8480-98 Cf. IV Reg. 25:1-10.

8484-8500 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:

AF--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.

Ayenbite--Morris, Richard, ed. The Ayenbite of Inwit. London: N. Trubner, 1866. EETS OS 23.

Bible--La Bible von Herman de Valenciennes. Herman de Valenciennes.

Book of the Knight of LaTour Landry--Wright, Thomas, ed.

Cant. Creat.--Canticum de Creatione aus MS Trin. Coll. Oxf. 57 in Horstmann, C., ed. Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden.

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.

Confessio Amantis--Gower, John. Confessio Amantis in The Complete Works of John Gower. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.

Creat. of World--The Creation of the World. Stokes, Whitley, ed. and trans.

DCD--De Civitate Dei. Augustine.

"De Init. Creat."--"De Initio Creature" in Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies.

Dest. of Troy--The "Gest Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy. London: N. Trübner, 1869. EETS OS 39.

DGAL--De Genesi ad Litteram. Augustine.

DGALIL--De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber. Augustine.

DGCM--De Genesi Contra Manichaeos. Augustine.

Dict. théol. cath.--Vacant, A. et al., eds. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1923-.

DIM--De Imagine Mundi

DNB--Stephen, Leslie, ed. Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder, 1885-1900.

Elucid.--Elucidarium. Lefèvre, Yves.

I Enoch, II Enoch--in Charles, R.H., ed. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

Etym.--Etymologiarum. Isidore.

Fall of Princes--Lydgate's Fall of Princes. Ed. Henry Bergen. 4 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1924-7.

Fest.--Mirk's Festial. Mirk, John.

G&E--The Middle English Genesis and Exodus. Arngart, Olof, ed.

Grosseteste--Ashmole--"De Principio Creationis Mundi" MS Ashmole 61. Horstmann, C., ed. Altenglische Legenden.

Grosseteste--Vernon--"Castel of Loue" in Horstmann, C., ed. The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript.

Higden--Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden. Higden, Ranulph.

Hist. Schol.--Historia Scholastica. Petrus Comestor.

I&I--Iacob and Ioseph. Napier, Arthus S., ed.

Josephus--Jewish Antiquities. Josephus.

Jubilees--The Book of Jubilees. Charles, R.H., ed.

Kemble--The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus. Kemble, John M., ed.

Kildare--Die Kildare-Gedichte. Heuser, W., ed.

Leg. Aur.--Legenda Aurea. Jacobus a Voragine.

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".

Life of Christ--Foster, Frances A., ed. A Stanzaic Life of Christ. London: Oxford University Press, 1926. EETS OS 166.

Life--Wheatley--"The Life of Adam and Eve" in Day, Mabel, ed. The Wheatley Manuscript.

Lud. Cov.--Ludus Coventriae. Block, K.S., ed.

"Lydgatiana"--MacCracken, H.N.

Lyff--Vernon--"ȝe lyff of Adam and Eue aus MS Vernon" in Horstmann, C., ed. Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden.

Malan--The Book of Adam and Eve. Malan, S.C., ed.

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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.