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THE POETRY

OF THE

CODEX VERCELLEN SIS,

WITH AN

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

BY

J. M. KEMBLE, M.A.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE ÆLFRIC SOCIETY.

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREFACE.

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

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

*Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos,*

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

THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

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

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

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

* Teraphim?

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

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

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

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

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

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



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wundorcraefte.
 þam hâlig god
 hlyt geteode
 ut on þæt igland,
 þær ænig þa git
 ellþeodigra
 eðles ne mihte
 blædes brūcan.
 Oft him bonena hand
 on herefelda
 hearde gesceod.
 Eal wæs þæt mearcland
 morðre bewunden,
 feondes fācne,
 folcstede gumena,
 hæleða eðel.
 Næs þær hlāfes wist
 werum on þam wonge,
 nē wāteres drync
 tō brūcanne.
 Ah hie blōd and fel,
 fira flāschoman
 feorran cumenra,
 þēgon geond þa þeode :
 swelc wæs þeaw hira,
 þæt hie æghwylcne
 ellþeodigra
 dydon him tō mōse
 meteþearfendum,
 þāra þe þæt ealand
 utan sōhte.
 Swylc wæs þæs folces
 freoðoleās tācen,
 unlādra eafod,
 þæt hie eāgena gesihð,

with miraculous power.
 To him holy God
 assigned a lot
 out on that island,
 30 where yet not any one
 of strangers
 might a home
 or prosperity enjoy. [terers
 Oft had the hand of slaugh-
 35 on the battle-field
 hardly decided for him.
 That border-land was all
 wound round with slaughter,
 with the treachery of the foe,
 40 the metropolis of men,
 the dwelling of heroes.
 There was no supply of bread
 for men in that country,
 nor drink of water
 45 to enjoy.
 But they the blood and skin,
 the flesh of men
 comers from afar,
 partook of among the people :
 50 such was their custom
 that they every one
 of strangers
 made to them for food,
 wanting meat,
 55 of those who that island
 visited from without.
 Such was the people's
 peaceless token,
 the suffering of the wretched,
 60 that they the eye-sight,

hettend heorogrimme,
 héafodgimme
 águton gealgmôde
 gâra ordum :
 siððan him geblendon 65
 bitere tôsomne
 drýas þurh dwolcræft
 drync unheórne,
 se onwende gewit,
 wera ingeþanc 70
 heortan hrêðre ;
 hyge wæs oncyrrred
 þæt hie ne murndon
 æfter mandreáme,
 hæleð heorogrædige, 75
 ac hie hîg and gærs,
 for meteleáste
 méðe, gedrêhte.
 þá wæs Matheus
 tô þære mæran byrig 80
 cumen, in þá ceastre.
 þær wæs cirm micel
 geond Mermedonia,
 mânfulra hlôð,
 fordênera gedræg, 85
 siððan deóflæs þegn
 * * *
 * * *
 * * *
 * * * geâscodon,
 æðelinges stð.
 Eódon him þá tógênes
 gârun gehyrsted 90
 lungre under linde,
 nalæs late wæron

sword-grim enemies,
 the gem of the head
 gallows-minded poured out
 with javelin points :
 afterwards mixed for them
 bitter together
 these wizards through magic
 a fatal drink,
 which turned away the wit,
 the intellect of men,
 the heart within the breast ;
 the mind was turned
 so that they cared not
 for the joys of human life,
 the men fatally greedy,
 but them hay and grass,
 for want of food
 weary, oppressed.
 Then was Matthew
 to the famous burgh 80
 come, to the city.
 There was much outcry
 throughout Mermedonia,
 the sinful tribe,
 a tumult of undone men,
 since the devil's servant
 * * *
 * * *
 * * *
 * * * learnt
 the noble's journey.
 Towards him they went
 with javelins adorned 90
 swiftly under linden-shield,
 not slow were

eorre æscberend to þam orlege.		the fierce spear-bearers to the onset.
Hie þam hālgan þær handa gebundon and fæstnodon feōndes cræfte, hæleð hellfūse, and his heáfdes segl ābruton mid billes ecge.	95 100	They for the holy one there his hands bound, and fastened them with hostile craft, men hell-prone, and the gem of his head broke with the bill's edge.
Hwæðre he in breóstum þā git herede in heortan heofonrices weard, þeáh þe he ātres drync atulne onfēnge ; eádig and ānmód he mid elne forð wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor, heofonrices weard, hālgan stefne of carcerne.	105 110	Nevertheless he still in his in his heart honored [breast the ward of heaven's kingdom, though he the drink of poison the terrible had tasted ; blessed and steadfast he courageously continued to glorify with his words the prince of glory, the ward of heaven's kingdom, with holy voice, from out his prison.
Him wæs Cristes lof on fyrhðlocan fæste bewunden ; he þā wēpende wēregum tearum, his sigedryhten sārgan reorde grētte, gumena brego, geómran stefne weoruda wilgeofan, and þus wordum cwæð :	115 120	To him was Christ's praise within his breast steadfastly wound about ; he then weeping with weary tears, his victorious Lord with sorrowful speech addressed, the prince of men, with mournful voice the benefactor of hosts, and thus in words <i>he</i> spake :
Hú me elpeódige inwitwrāsne, searonet, seowað.	125	“ How for me <i>these</i> strangers a chain of mischief, a net of snares, are sewing !

<p> A ic sinles wæs on wega gehwām, willan þines georn on mōde ; nū þurh geohða sceal dæda fremman swā þā dumban neát. þū āna canst ealra gehygdo, meotud mancynnes mōd in hrēðre. Gif þū willa sie, wuldres aldor, þæt me wærlogan wæpna ecgum, sweordum āswebban, ic beó sōna gearu tō ādreóganne þæt þū, dryhten mīn, engla eádgifa, ēðelleásum, dugeða dædfruma, dēman wille. Forgif me tō āre, ælmihtig god, leóht on þissum life ; þý læs ic lungre scyle, āblended in burgum, æfter billhete, þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra, láðra leódsceaðena, leng þrōwian edwitspræce. Ic tō ānum þe </p>	<p> 130 135 140 145 150 155 160 </p>	<p> I was evermore in every way, of thy will desirous in my mind ; now with sorrow must I deeds do such as the dumb cattle. Thou alone knowest the thoughts of all men, thou Lord of mankind, the mind within the breast. If it be thy will, Prince of glory, that me the perfidious men with edge of weapons, with swords shall set to sleep, I shall be soon ready to endure whatsoever thou, my Lord, bliss-giver of angels, to me an exile, thou origin of virtuous deeds, art willing to adjudge. Grant me as a boon, Almighty God, light in this life ; lest I shall forthwith, [ings, blinded as I am in these dwell- after the hate of swords, through the abuse of savage greedy men, of hostile malefactors, longer suffer contemptuous speech. I to thee only, </p>
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<p>middangeardes weard, mōd staðolige, fæste fyrhðlufan : and þe, fæder engla, beorht blædgifa, biddan wille þæt þû me ne gescyrige mid scyldhetum, wêrigum wrôhtsmiðum, on þone wyrrestan, dugoða dêmend, deað ofer eorðan. Æfter þyssum wordum com wuldres tacen hâlig of heofenum, swylce hâdre sægl, tô þâm carcerne. Þær gecyðed wearð þæt hâlig god helpe gefremede. Ða wearð gehýred heofoncyniges stefn wrætlic under wolcnum, wordhleóðres swêg mæres þeodnes ; he his maguþegne, under hearmlocan, hælo and frôfre beaurðfum âbeád, beorhtan stefne : Ic þe, Matheus, mine sylle sibbe under swegle. Ne beó þû on sefan tô forht, né on môde ne murn.</p>	<p>165 170 180 185 190</p>	<p>Guardian of the world, keep my mind firmly fixed, the steadfast love of my soul : and thee, Father of angels, bright giver of prosperity, will pray that thou appoint me not among these guilty ones, these base artificers of crime, the worst,— Ruler of dignities !— death on the earth.” After these words came a token of glory holy from heaven, like a serene star, to the prison. There was manifested that Holy God gave help. Then was heard the voice of heaven’s king wondrous under the welkin, the sound of the oracular word of the great King ; he to his servant, in the bonds of evil, safety and comfort to the bold in war did offer, with a clear voice : “ I to thee, Matthew, grant my [not thou peace under the firmament. Be too fearful in mind, nor mourn in mind.</p>
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Ic þe mid wunige
 and þe âlyse of þyssum
 leoðubendum, 200
 and ealle þa menigo
 þe þe mid wuniað
 on nearonêdum.
 þe is neorxna wang,
 blæda beorhtôst, 205
 boldwela fægrôst,
 hâma hyhtlicôst,
 hâlegum mihtum
 torht ontýned ;
 þær þû tîres môst, 210
 tô wîdan feore,
 willan brûcan.
 Gepola þeóda þreá ;
 nis seó þrah micel,
 þæt þe wærlogan 215
 witebendum,
 synne þurh searocræft
 swencan môtton.
 Ic þe Andreas
 ædre onsende 220
 tô bleó and tô hrôðre,
 in þás hæðenan burg :
 he þe âlyseð
 of þissum leódhete :
 is tô þære tîde 225
 tælmet hwíle,
 emne mid sôðe
 seofon and twentig
 nihtgerîmes,
 þæt þû of nêde môst, 230
 sorgum geswenced,
 sigore gewyrðod,

I will dwell with thee
 and release thee from these
 limb-bonds,
 and all the multitude
 that abideth with thee
 in strait need.
 To thee is Paradise,
 brightest of glories,
 fairest of dwellings,
 pleasantest of homes,
 by holy powers
 brightly opened ;
 where thou glory mayest,
 to all eternity,
 at will enjoy. [people ;
 Endure the oppression of this
 the period is not long,
 that for thee the perfidious ones
 with bonds of punishment,
 sinfully through insidious craft
 may afflict.
 I to thee, Andrew,
 will speedily send
 for protection and comfort,
 into this heathen city :
 he will release thee
 from this vast hatred :
 up to that time is
 a calculable interval,
 even in sooth
 seven and twenty
 nights by number,
 when thou shalt from this need,
 afflicted with sorrows,
 glorified with victory,

<p>hweorfest of henðum in gehyld godes. Gewát him þá se hálga helm ælwihta, engla scippend, tô þám uplican éðelrice, he is on riht cyning, staðolfæst stýrend in stowa gehwám. Ðá wæs Matheus miclum onbryrdeð niwan stefne ; nihthelm tógláð, lungre leorde, leóht æfter com, dægrédwóma. Duguð samnade, háðne hildfreca, heápum þrungeon : gúðsearo gullon, gáras hrysedon bolgenmóde under bordhreóðan. Woldon cunnian hwæðer cwice lifdon þa þe on carcerne clomnum fæste hleóleásan wíc hwíle wunedon ; hwylcne hie tó æte ærest mihton æfter firstmearce feores beræðan ? Hæfdon hie on rúne</p>	<p>235 240 245 250 255 260 265</p>	<p>thou shalt go from miseries into God's grace." Departed then the holy protector of all beings, creator of angels, to the supernal realm, He is justly King, a firm ruler in every place ! Then was Matthew much moved by the new summons ; the night-helm glode away, rapidly it departed, light came after, the rushing noise of dawn. The powerful collected, heathens battle-savage, in heaps they thronged : their war-trappings sung, they brandished their javelins angry of mood under the wall of shields. They would prove whether yet quick lived those who in prison fast in bonds, a comfortless dwelling awhile had occupied ; which of them they for food might first after the appointed interval deprive of life ? They had in rune</p>
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and þonne tōdælan
 duguðe and geógoðe,
 werum tō wiste 305
 and tō wilþege,
 fæges flæschoman.
 Feorh ne bemurndon
 grædige gūðrincas,
 hū þæs gāstes stō 310
 æfter swyltcwale
 geseted wurde.
 Swa hie simble ymb þritig
 þing gehēgdon
 nihtgerimes : 315
 wæs him neód micel,
 þæt hie tōbrugdon
 blódigum ceafum
 fira flæschoman
 him tō fóddorþege. 320
 þá wæs gemyndig
 se þe middangeard
 gestaðelode
 strangum mihtum,
 hū he in ellþéodigum 325
 yrmðum wunade,
 belocen leoðubendum,
 þe of his lufan adreág
 for Ebréum
 and Israhelum, 330
 swylce he Judéa
 galdorcræftum
 wiðstōd stranglice.
 þá sió stefn gewearð
 gehêred of heofenum, 335
 þær se halga wer
 in Achaia

and then to distribute
 to old and young,
 to the men for food
 and acceptable feast,
 the flesh of the slain.
 For the soul cared not
 the greedy warriors,
 how the spirit's journey
 after death
 might be appointed.
 Thus they ever about thirty
 nights by number
 held their public meeting :
 great was their need,
 that they must touch
 with bloody jaws
 the flesh of men
 for their food.
 Then was mindful
 He who the earth
 established
 by his strong might,
 how he among strangers
 miserably dwelt,
 locked up in limb-bonds,
 who for his sake had suffered
 before Hebrews
 and Israelites,
 also of the Jews
 the magical powers
 had strongly withstood.
 Then the voice was
 heard out of heaven,
 where the holy man
 in Achæa

Andreas wæs.
 Leóde lærde
 on lifes weg. 340
 þá him círebaldum
 cyninga wuldor,
 meotud mancynnes,
 módhord onleác,
 weoruda dryhten 345
 and þus wordum cwæð :
 Ðú scealt féran
 and frið lædan,
 siðe gesécan
 þær sylfætan 350
 eard weardigað,
 éðel healdað
 morðorcræftum ;
 swá is þære menigo þeáw,
 þæt hie uncúðra 355
 ængum ne willað
 on þám folcstede
 feóres geunnan :
 síððan mânfulle
 on Mermedonia 360
 onfindað feásceaftne,
 þær sceal feorhgedál,
 earmlic ylða cwealm,
 æfter wyrðan.
 þær ic seómian wát 365
 þinne sigibrôðor
 mid þám burgwarum
 bendum fæstne :
 nú bið fore þreó niht,
 þæt he on þære þeóde sceal 370
 fore hæðenra

Andrew was.
 The people he instructed
 in the way of life.
 There to him royally bold
 the glory of kings,
 the lord of mankind,
 unlocked the treasure of words,
 the Lord of hosts,
 and thus in words he spake :
 “ Thou shalt go
 and bear my peace,
 in journey seek
 where the anthropophagi
 defend the land,
 hold the possession
 by murderous power ;
 such is the custom of that
 multitude,
 that they of strangers
 to no one will
 in that country
 spare the life :
 when the guilty ones
 in Mermedonia
 find a wretch,
 then must life-parting,
 miserable slaughter of men,
 afterwards take place.
 There I know to languish
 thy brother in glory
 among the citizens
 fast in bonds :
 now is it three nights before,
 that he shall among that people
 through the heathens’

handgewiune,
 þurh gâres gripe
 gâst onsendan
 ellorfûsne, 375
 bûtan þû ær cyme.
 Ædre him Andreas
 âgef andsware :
 Hû mæg ic, dryhten mîn,
 ofer deóp gelâd 380
 fôre gefremman
 on feorne weg
 swâ hrædlîce,
 heofona scippend,
 wuldres waldend, 385
 swâ þû wordê becwîst ?
 þæt mæg engel þîn
 eáð gefêran,
 of heofenum con him
 holma begang, 390
 sealte sæstreámas
 and swanrâde,
 waroðfaruða gewinn
 and wæterbrôgan,
 wegas ofer wîd land. 395
 Ne sint me winas cûðe
 eorlas elþeódige
 nê þær æniges wât
 hæleða gehygdo,
 nê me herestrâta 400
 ofer cald wæter
 cûðe sindon.
 Him þâ ondswarude
 êce dryhten :
 Eála Andreas 405
 þæt þû á woldest

hand-warfare,
 through gripe of javelin
 send forth his spirit
 ready to depart, [earlier.]
 unless thou come thither
 At once to him Andrew
 returned answer :
 "How may I, my Lord,
 over the deep sea
 accomplish the journey
 on so far a way
 so speedily,
 creator of the heavens,
 ruler of glory,
 as thou in words sayest ?
 That may thine angel
 more easily travel,
 from the heavens he knows
 the passages of the deeps,
 the salt sea-streams
 and the swan's road,
 the contest of the sea-waves
 and the terror of waters,
 ways over wide land.
 To me are no known friends
 the strange men,
 nor do I in anything know
 the disposition of the people,
 nor are to me the high-roads
 over the cold water
 known."
 Him then answered
 eternal God :
 "Alas ! Andrew,
 that ever thou wouldst

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

æt meres ende,
 ceól gestígan,
 and ou cald wæter
 breacan ofer bæðweg. 445
 Hafa bletsunge
 ofer middangeard
 mīne þær þú fere.
 Gewát him þá se hálga
 healdend and wealdend, 450
 upengla fruma,
 eðel sécan,
 middangeardes weard,
 þone mæran hām
 þær sôðfæstra 455
 sáwla móton
 æfter líces hryre
 lífes brúcan.
 þá wæs ærende
 æðelum cempa 460
 aboden in burgum :
 ne wæs him bléað hyge,
 ah he wæs anræd
 ellenweorces,
 heard and hygerôf, 465
 nalæs hildlata,
 gearo gúðe fram
 tô Godes compe.
 Gewát him þá on uhtan,
 mid ærdæge, 470
 ofer sandhleoðu
 tô sæs faruðe,
 þrīste on geþance,
 and his þegnas mid,
 gángan on greóte. 475
 Gårsecg hlýnede

at the sea's end,
 mount a ship,
 and on the cold water
 break over the bathway.
 Have my blessing
 throughout the earth
 whithersoever thou go !”
 Then departed the holy
 upholder and wielder,
 the prince of archangels,
 to seek his home,
 the warder of earth,
 the famous dwelling
 where of the pious
 the souls may
 after the body's fall
 enjoy life.
 Then was the errand
 to the noble champion
 proclaimed in the town :
 his mind was not slack,
 but he was steadfast
 in his great work,
 hard and noble-minded,
 no skulker from battle,
 ready for war, stout
 for God's battle.
 He went then at dawn,
 with break of day,
 over the sand-hills
 to the sea-shore,
 bold in thought,
 and his thanes with him,
 going on the sand.
 The ocean sounded

beoton brimstreámas :		the sea-streams dashed :
se beorn wæs on hyhte		the man was full of hope
siððan he on waruðe		after he on the strand
wiðfæðme scip	480	a wide-bosomed ship
môdig gemêtte.		courageous found.
þâ com morgen torht,		Then came splendid morning,
beácuá bearhtost,		brightest of beacons,
ofer breomo sneówan ;		hastening over the waves ;
hálig of heólstre	485	holy from out the darkness
heofoncandel blác		heaven's candle shone
ofer lagoflódas ;		over the lake-floods ;
he þær lidweardas		he there ship-keepers
þrymlíce þrý		glorious three
þegnas (gesceawode),	490	thanes beheld,
môdiglice mên		courageous men
on merebâte		in the sea-boat
sittan siðfreme,		sitting bold to journey,
swylce hie ofer sæ comon :		even as they had come over sea :
þæt wæs dryhten sylf,	495	that was the Lord himself,
dugeða wealdend,		the prince of dignities,
éce ælmihtig		the eternal Almighty God
mid his englum twám.		with his two angels.
Wæron hie on gescirplan		They were in habit <i>like</i>
scipfêrendum,	500	unto seafarers,
eorlas onlice		the men like
eálðendum,		sailors over the wave, [flood
þonne hie on flódes fæðm		when they on the bosom of the
ofer feorne weg		far away
on cald wæter	505	on the cold water
ceólum lácað.		with ships play.
Hie þâ gegrêtte		Them then addressed
se þe on greóte stôd		he who on the strand stood
fûs on faroðe,		ready on the beach,
frægn, reordade :	510	he inquired and said :
hwanon comon ge		“ Whence come ye

ceólum līðan,
 mācræftige menn,
 on mereþissan,
 āne ægflotan ?
 hwanon eágorstreám
 ofer y̆ða gewealc
 eówic brohte ?
 Him þā andswarode
 ælmihtig god,
 swá þæt ne wiste,
 se þæs wordes bād,
 hwæt se manna wæs
 meðelhégendra,
 þa he þær on waroðe
 wiðþingode :
 We of Marmedonia
 mægðe sindon
 feorran gefêrede :
 ús mid flóde bær
 on hránrāde
 heáhstefn naca,
 snellic sāmearh,
 snūde bewunden ;
 oððæt we þissa leóda
 land gesóhton
 wære bewrecene,
 swá us wind fordráf.
 Him þā Andreas
 eáðmód oncwæð :
 Wolde ic þe biddan
 þeah ic þe beága lyt
 sincweorðunga
 syllan meahte,
 þæt þú ús gebrohte
 brantē ceólē,

sailing in ships,
 men powerful on the sea,
 upon the water-beater,
 515 solitary floaters over the wave ?
 whence hath the ocean-stream
 over the rolling of the waters
 brought you ? ”
 Him then answered
 520 Almighty God,—
 so that he might not know,
 he *namely* who awaited his word,
 what man it was
 of men conversing,
 525 whom he there upon the strand
 communed with :
 “ We from Mermedonia
 our country are
 far travelled :
 530 us with the flood bare
 on the whale’s path
 the high-stemmed boat,
 the swift sea-horse,
 twisted about with speed ;
 535 until we of this people
 the land sought
 afflicted with the sea, [about.”
 so hath the wind driven us
 Him then Andrew
 540 humbly addressed :
 “ I would beg thee—
 though I to thee few rings
 or treasure-offerings
 may give,
 545 that thou wouldst bring us
 with the foaming keel,



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of nacan stefne :

We þe êstlice

mid us willað

ferigan freóllice

ofer fisces bæð,

efne tō þām lande

þær þe lust myneð

tō gesêcanne,

siððan ge eowre

gafulrædenne

âgifen habbað,

sceattas gescrifene,

swâ eow scipweardas

âras ofer fýðbord

unnan willað.

Him þâ ôfstlice

Andreas wið,

wine þearfende,

wordum mælde :

Næbbe ic fætedgold

nê feohgestreón,

welan nê wiste,

nê wira gespann,

landes nê locenra beága, 605

þæt ic þe mæge lust âhwettan,

willan in worulde,

swâ þû wordê becwist.

Him þâ beorna breogo

þær he on bolcan sæt, 610

ofer waroða geweorp,

wiðþingode :

Hû gewearð þe þæs,

wine leófesta,

þæt þû sæbeorgas

sêcan woldes,

from the boat's stem :

“ We thee gladly

will with us

585 freely convey

over the fishes' bath,

even to the land

which desire urges thee

to seek,

590 after ye your

payment

have given,

the appointed sum,

according as the ship-warders

595 the men over the sea-board

will grant to you.”

Him then quickly

Andrew,

the needy man,

600 addressed with words :

“ I have no solid gold

nor store of silver,

wealth nor abundance,

nor the joints of wires,

land, nor locked rings,

that I may excite thy desire,

thy will in the world,

as thou with word sayest.”

Him then the king of men

610 when he sat upon the beam,

over the dashing of the waves,

addressed again :

“ How doth this befall thee,

dearest friend,

615 that thou the sea-hills

wouldst seek,

merestreáma gemet,
 máðmum bedæled,
 ofer cald cleofu
 ceóles neósan ?
 620 Nafast þe tó frófre
 on faroðstræte
 hláfes wiste,
 nê hlutterne
 drync tó dūgôðe :
 625 is se drohtað strang
 þám þe lagoláde
 lange cunnað.
 Ðá him Andreas
 þurh andsware,
 630 wís on gewitte,
 wordhord onleác :
 Ne gedafenað þe
 nû þe dryhten geaf
 welan and wiste
 635 and woruldspêde,
 þæt þú andsware
 mid oferhygdum,
 sêce sârcwide ;
 sêlre býð æghwám
 640 þæt he eáðmédum
 ellorfúsne
 oncnâwe cūðlice,
 swá þæt Crist bebeád
 þeóden þrýmfaest.
 645 We his þegnas sind
 gecoren to cempum.
 He is cyning on riht
 wealdend and wyrhta
 wuldorþrymmes ;
 650 An éce god

the boundary of the sea-streams,
 devoid of treasures,
 over the cold cliffs
 a ship wouldst visit ?
 Thou hast not for thy comfort
 on the sea-street
 the subsistence of bread,
 nor bright
 625 drink for thy support :
 severe is the way of life
 for him who a sea-journey
 long trieth.”
 Then to him Andrew
 630 through his answer,
 wise in wit,
 unlocked the treasure of words :
 “ It befitteth thee not
 since to thee the Lord hath given
 635 wealth and abundance
 and worldly prosperity,
 that thou an answer
 with arrogance, [ous words ;
 shouldst seek, with contumeli-
 640 better is it for everyone
 that he with modesty
 the ready to depart
 should openly acknowledge,
 as that Christ commanded
 645 the glorious king.
 We are his thanes
 chosen to battle.
 He is rightly king
 wielder and creator
 650 of glorious majesty :
 one eternal God

eallra gesceafta,
 swá he ealle befêhð
 ânes cræfte,
 heofon and eorðan 655
 hâlgum mihtum,
 sigora sêlôst ;
 he þæt sylfa cwæð,
 fæder folca gehwæs,
 and us féran hêt 660
 geond ginne grund
 gâsta streónan :
 Farað nú geond ealle
 eorðan sceatas
 emne swá wide 665
 swá wæter bebûgeð,
 oððe stedewangas
 stræte gelicgað ;
 bodiað æfter burgum
 beorhtne geleáfan 670
 ofer foldan fæðm :
 ic eow freoðo healde.
 Ne durfon ge on þa fóre
 frætwe lædan,
 gold né seolfor ; 675
 ic eow gôða gehwæs,
 on eowerne âgenne dôm,
 êst áhwette.
 Nú þû seolfa miht
 stð úserne 680
 gehýran, hygeþancol :
 ic sceal hraðe cunnan
 hwæt þû us tó duguðum
 gedôn wille.
 Him þa ondswarode 685
 êce dryhten :

of all creatures,
 even as he comprehendeth all
 by his sole power,
 heaven and earth 655
 by his holy might,
 most excellent of Lords ;
 He himself said that,
 the father of every nation,
 and bid us depart 660
 beyond the abysmal deep
 to save souls :
 “ Go now throughout all
 the quarters of the earth
 even as far 665
 as water encircleth,
 or the fixed plains
 lie on the way ;
 preach through the cities
 the bright faith [earth :
 throughout the bosom of the
 I will hold peace with you.
 Ye must not on that journey
 take treasure,
 gold or silver ; 675
 I to you of every good,
 in your own decision,
 the love excite.
 Now thou thyself mayst
 our journey 680
 hear, reflecting :
 I shall soon know
 what favour thou us
 wilt do.”
 Him then answered 685
 eternal God :

Gif ge sindon þegnas
 þæs þe þrym áhóf
 ofer middangeard,
 swá ge me secgað, 690
 and ge geheóldon
 þæt eow se hálga beád,
 þonne ic eow mid gefean
 ferian wille
 ofer brimstreámas, 695
 swá ge bēnan sint.
 Þá in ceól stigon
 collenfyrhðe,
 ellenrófe ;
 æghwilcum wearð 700
 on merefaroðe
 mód geblissod.
 Ða ofer ýða geswing
 Andreas ongann
 mereltðendum 705
 miltsa biddan
 wuldres aldor,
 and þús wordum cwæð :
 Forgife þe dryhten
 dómweorðunga, 710
 willan on worulde,
 and in wuldre blæd,
 meotud manncynnes,
 swá þú me hafast
 on þissum stðfæte 715
 sibbe gecýðed !
 Gesæt him þá se hálga
 holmwearde neáh,
 æðele be æðelum :
 Æfre ic ne hýrde 720
 þon cymlicor

“ If ye are the servants
 of him that uplifted his majesty
 over the whole world,
 as ye say to me,
 and ye have observed [you,
 that the holy one commanded
 then I you with joy
 will convey
 over the sea-streams,
 as ye petition.”
 Then stept into the ship
 the bold of spirit,
 the famed for valour ;
 of each one was
 on the sea-beach
 the spirit blessed.
 Then over the swing of waves
 Andrew began
 for the sea-sailors
 mercy to beg
 the Lord of glory,
 and thus spake in words :
 “ The Lord grant thee
 the honour of dignity,
 thy will in this world,
 and increase in glory,
 —the Creator of mankind,—
 as thou hast to me
 upon this journey
 friendship manifested !”
 Then sat himself the holy one
 near the sea-warder,
 noble by the noble :
 Never heard I
 that in a comelier

ceól gehlādenne		ship laden
heahgestreónum		with lofty treasures
hæleð insæton,		men sat,
þeódnas þrymfulle,	725	glorious kings,
þegnas wlitige.		beauteous thanes!
Ða reordode		Then spake
ríce þeóden,		the powerful king,
éce ælmihtig héht		the eternal, almighty, bade
his engel gān,	730	his angel go,
mærne maguþegn		his glorious attendant
and mete syllan,		and give food,
fréfran feasceaftne		comfort the wretched men
ofer flódes wylm,		over the flood's gush,
þæt hie þe eáð mihton	735	that they the easier might
ofer ýða geþring		over the clash of waves
drohtað adreógan.		their way of life endure.
Ða gedréfed wearð,		Then was vexed,
onhréred hwælmere,		excited the whale-lake,
hornfisc plegode,	740	the horn-fish plaid,
glād geond gārsecg,		glode through the ocean,
and se græga mæw		and the gray mew [ter :
wælgifre wand :		circled round greedy of slaugh-
wedercandel swearc,		the weather-candle darkened,
windas weóxon,	745	the winds waxed,
wægás grundon,		the waves ground together,
streámas styredon,		the streams stirred,
strengas gurron,		the ropes creaked,
wædo gewætte ;		wet with the waters ;
wæteregsa stóð	750	water-terror stood
þreáta þryðum.		with the might of troops.
þegnas wurdon		The thanes were
acolmóde,		with terror chilled,
ænig ne wénde		none thought
þæt he lifgende	755	that he alive
land begete,		should reach land,

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

hæleða scippend :

Læt nû geferian

flôtan úserne

lid tō lande

ofer lagufæsten,

and þonne gebídan

beornas þíne,

áras ou earde

hwænne þú eft cyme.

Edre him þa eorlas

ágefon ondsware,

þegnas þrohthearde,

þafigan ne woldon

þæt hie forlêton

æt lides stefnan

leófne lâreow

and him land curon :

Hwider hweorfað we

hláfordleáse,

geómormóde,

gôde orfeorne,

synnum wunde,

gif we swícað þe ?

We bioð láðe

on landa gehwám,

folcum fracóðe,

þonne fira bearn

ellenrófe

æht besittað,

hwylc hira sêlast

simle gelæste

hláforde æt hilde,

þonne hand and rond

on beaduwanige,

billum forgrunden

the creator of men :

“ Let now go

our ship

795 our vessel to land

over the sea-fortress,

and then await

thy men

thy messengers on land

800 when thou comest back again.”

Immediately to him the earls

gave answer,

the thanes exceeding bold,

they would not consent

805 that they should desert

at the prow of the ship

their dear teacher

and choose land for themselves :

“ Whither can we go

810 without our lord,

mournful of mood,

of good devoid,

wounded with sins,

if we should shrink from thee ?

815 We shall be odious

in every land,

hateful to the people,

when the sons of men

famed for courage

820 sit in council,

which of them best

ever performed

towards his lord in battle,

when hand and shield

825 on the battle-plain,

ground down with bills



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and for dryhtnes lufan
 deað þrôwodon,
 on Ælmyrcna
 eðelrice,
 sawle gesealdon.
 Ic þæt sylfa wât,
 þæt us gescildeð
 scippend engla,
 weoruda dryhten.
 Wæteregesa sceal,
 geþýd and geþreatod
 þurh þryðcyning,
 lagu lácende,
 Itðra wyrðan.
 Swa gesælde iú
 þat we on sæbâte
 ofer waruðgewinn
 wada cunnedon,
 faroðridende :
 frécne þúhton
 egle eáláda ;
 eágorstreámas
 beðton bordstæðu ;
 brim eft oncwæð,
 ýð óðerre :
 hwílum uppástód
 of brimes bósme
 on bates fæðm
 egesa ofer ýðlid.
 Ælmihtig þær,
 meotud mancýnnes,
 on mereþyssan
 beorht basnode.
 Beornas wurdon
 forhte on móde ;

and for the love of God
 would suffer death,
 in the *Ælmyrcan*
 realm,
 865 your soul would offer up.
 I myself know that,
 that us will shield
 the creator of angels,
 the Lord of Hosts !
 870 The terror of the water shall,
 being rebuked and threatened
 through the Lord of power,
 the dancing wave,
 become more gentle.
 875 So of yore it befell
 that we on the seaboat
 over the strife of the waves
 tried the fords,
 riding over the waters :
 880 terrible appeared
 the fearful seaways ;
 the ocean-streams
 beat the boundary-shores ;
 the sea made answer again,
 885 one wave to the other :
 by whiles uprose
 from the bosom of the sea
 on the lap of the boat
 terror over our waveship.
 890 The Almighty there,
 the creator of mankind,
 upon the sea-beater
 bright awaited.
 The men were
 895 fearful of mood ;

<p> frides wilnedon, miltsa tō mærum. þā seó menigo ongan clypian on ceóle : cýning sōna ārās, engla eádgifa : ýðum stilde, wæteres wælmum ; windas þreáde ; sæ sessade, smylte wurdon merestreáma gemeotu. þā úre mōd áhlōh, siððan we gesêgon under swegles gang windas and wægas and wæterbrōgan forhte gewordne for freán egesan. Forþan ic eow sōðe secgan wille, þæt næfre forlæteð lifgende god eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen deáh. Swá hleóðrode hálig cempa, þeáwum gepancul þegnas lærde, eádig oreta eorlas trymede : oððæt hie semninga slæp ofereóde, mêðe be mæste. Mere sweoðerade, </p>	<p> 900 905 910 915 920 925 930 </p>	<p> peace they desired, mercy from the mighty one. Then the multitude began to call in the ship : soon arose the king, glory-giver of angels : he stilled the waves, the boiling of the waters ; he rebuked the winds ; the sea subsided, smooth became the clashing of the sea-streams. Then laughed our mood, after we saw [ment beneath the path of the firma- the winds and waves and the terror of the water become terrified themselves for fear of the Lord. Therefore I in sooth to you will say, that never will desert the living God a man on earth, if his courage avail.” Thus spake the holy champion, wisely thoughtful he admonished his thanes, the blessed warrior confirmed the men : until them all at once sleep invaded, weary beside the mast. The sea calmed itself, </p>
---	--	---

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

Wolde ic ânes tō þe,
 cynerōf hæleð,
 cræftes neōsan ;
 þæt þū me getæhte,
 nū þe tir cyning
 and miht forgef,
 manna scippend,
 hū þū wægflotan
 wære bestēmdan,
 sâhengeste
 sund wîsige.

Ic wæs on gifeðe
 iú and nū,
 sixtyne sifðum
 on sæbâte
 merehréndum,
 mundum freórig,
 eágorstreámas :
 is þys âne mâ :
 swâ ic æfre ne geseah
 ænigne mann,
 þryðbearn hæleð,
 þe gelicne,
 steóran ofer stæfnan.
 Streámwelm hwileð,
 beátað brim stæðo,
 is þeós bāt fulscrýd,
 fareð fâmigheals,
 fugole gelicōst
 glideð on geofene.
 Ic georne wât
 þæt ic æfre ne geseah
 ofer yðlâfe,
 on sæ lædan
 syllicran cræft.

I would of one from thee,
 famous noble hero,
 craft enquire ;
 that thou teach me,
 970 since now to thee the King glory
 and power hath given,
 the Creator of men,
 how thou to the wave-floater
 stained with the salt-sea,
 975 to the sea-stallion
 its swimming directest.
 I was by hap,
 now and then,
 sixteen times
 980 on a seaboat
 stirring the wave,
 the ocean-streams,
 freezing as to my hands :
 this is once more :
 985 yet never beheld I
 any man,
 powerful hero,
 like unto thee,
 steer over prow.
 990 The stream-bubbling delayeth,
 the sea beateth the shores,
 this boat is full clothed,
 foamy-necked it fareth,
 likest unto a bird
 995 it glideth over ocean !
 Well I know
 that I never beheld
 over the leavings of the waves,
 upon the sea to lead
 1000 a more wondrous craft.

Is þon gelícôst swá he on landsceape stille stande, þær hine storm ne mæg wind áwecgan, ne wæterflôdas brecaþ brondstæfne ; hwæðere on brim sneóweð snel under segle.		Most like then it is as if it on a landskip stilly stood, where him the storm may not or the wind move, nor the waterfloods break him the foamy-prowed ; but over the sea he hasteneth swift under sail !
Ðú eart seolfa geóng, wígendra hleó, nalas wintrum frôd : hafast þe on fyrhðe faroðlácendes eorles ondsware :	1005 1010	Thou art thyself young, O refuge of warriors, not old in years : thou hast in spirit for thyself a sea-playing man's answer :
æghwylces canst worda for worulde, wislíc andgít. Him ondswarode éce dryhten :	1015	in every matter thou art knowing of words for worldly converse, thou hast an intelligent under- Him answered [standing."' the eternal Lord :
Oft þæt gesæleð, þæt we on sâelâde, scipum under scealcum, þonne sceór cymeð, brecað ofer bæðweg brimhengestum.	1020 1025	“ That often befalleth, that we on a seajourney, in ships among our men, when the storm cometh, break over the bathway with our ocean-stallions.
Hwílum ús on ýðum earfoðlice gesæleð, on sâwe, þéh we stð nesen, frécne gefêran ; flôdwylm ne mæg manna ænigne, ofer meotudes est, lungre gelettan :	1030 1035	Bywhiles to us upon the waves miserably it befalleth, on the sea, though we live through our bold comrades ; [journey, the fury of the flood may not any one of men, against the Lord's will, at once let :

gestaðolade		established
strangum mihtum.		by his strong might !”
þá hleóðrade		Then spake
hálgan stefne		with holy voice
cempa collenferhð,	1075	the bold-hearted warrior,
cyning wyrðude		he praised the King
wuldres wealdend,		the Lord of Glory,
and þús wordum cwæð :		and thus spake with words :
Wes þú gebledsod,		“ Be thou blessed,
brego maucynnes,	1080	prince of human kind,
dryhten hælend.		Lord the Saviour !
A þín dóm lifað,		For ever liveth thine honour,
ge néh ge feor		near and far
is þín nama hálig,		is thy name holy,
wuldre gewlítegad	1085	beautified with glory
ofer werþeóda,		throughout the tribes of men,
miltsum gemærsod.		magnified with mercies !
Nænig manna is		There is none of men
under heofonhwealfe,		under the vault of heaven,
hæleða cynnes,	1090	none of the race of men,
þætte areccan mæg,		that may relate,
oððe rím wíte,		or know the number,
hú þrymlíce		how gloriously thou
þeóda baldor,		king of men,
gâsta geócénd,	1095	saviour of spirits,
þíne gife dælest.		dost thy grace distribute.
Hûru is gesýne,		It at least is seen,
sâwla nergend,		saviour of souls,
þæt þú þissum hysse		that thou to this man
hold gewurde,	1100	hast been gracious,
aud hine geóngne		and him young as he is
geofum wyrðodest ;		with gifts hast dignified ;
wís on gewitte		wise is he in wit
and wordcwíðum.		and sayings of words.
Ic æt efenealdum	1105	I from one of his age



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

on þa beteran gecynd.		into the better nature.
Swylce he afêdde		Also he fed
of fixum twâm		from two fishes
and of fif hlâfum,		and from five loaves,
fira cynnes	1180	of the race of men
fif þûsendo :		five thousand :
feðan sæton		the troops sat down
reómigmôde		wearry of mood,
reste gefêgon		in rest they rejoiced
wêrige æfter wæðe :	1185	wearry after wandering :
wiste þêgon		the feast they received
menn on moldan,		the men upon the earth,
swâ him gemêdôst wæs.		as was most commodious for
Nû þû miht gehýran,		Now thou mayst hear, [them.
hyse leófesta,	1190	dearest man,
hû us wuldres weard,		how us the Lord of glory,
wordum and dædum,		with words and deeds,
lufode in life,		loved during life,
and þurh lâre speón		and by his teaching drew us
tô þâm fægeran gefeán,	1195	to the fair joy,
þær freó môtan,		where free they might,
eádige mid englum,		blessed among the angels,
eard weardigan,		rule the earth,
þa þe æfter deáðe		those namely who after death
dryhten sêcað.	1200	seek the Lord !”
Ðâ gen weges weard		Again the ruler of the wave
word hord onleác,		unlocked the treasure of speech,
beorn ofer bolcan		the man over the balks
beald reordade :		spake boldly :
Miht þû me geseccan,	1205	“Thou mightest say,
þæt ic sôð wite,		that I may truly know,
hwæðer wealdend þin		whether thy lord
wundor on eorðan		miracles on earth
þâ he gefremede,		when he performed,
nalas feám stðum	1210	no few times

æðelinga helm :
 Miht þú, wís hæleð,
 wordum geseccan,
 maga móde róf,
 mægen þá he cýðde, 1250
 deórmód on digle,
 þá mid dryhten oft,
 rodera rædend,
 rûne besæton ?
 Him þá Andreas 1255
 andsware ágef :
 Hwæt frinest þú me
 freá leófesta,
 wordum wrætlicum ?
 and þe wyrda gehwære 1260
 þurh snyttru cræft
 sôð oncnáwest ?
 Ðá git him wæges weard
 wiðþingode :
 Ne frine ic þe for tæle, 1265
 ne þurh teóncwide,
 on hrânrade :
 ac mîn hygé blissað,
 wynnnum wridað,
 þurh þíne wordlæde 1270
 æðelum écne.
 Ne eom ic ána þæt,
 ac manna gehwám
 mód bið on hyhte,
 fyrhð áfréfred, 1275
 þám þe feor oððe neáh
 on móde geman,
 hû se maga fremede,
 god-bearn on grundum :
 gâstas hwurfon, 1280

the defence of nobles :
 “ Might thou, O wise man,
 say in words,
 O young man, famous of mood,
 how he revealed his power,
 the beloved one in secret,
 when often with the Lord,
 the ruler of the firmament
 ye sat in council ? ”
 To him then Andrew
 returned answer :
 “ What askest thou of me,
 best beloved lord,
 with cunning words ?
 and thou every hap
 through power of wisdom
 thyself truly knowest ! ”
 Again with him the guardian of
 conversed : [the wave
 “ I ask thee not for blame,
 nor for abuse,
 or the whale’s path :
 but my mind rejoiceth,
 buddeth with joys,
 through thy discourse
 with virtues great.
 Nor am I that only,
 but for every man
 the mind is in expectation,
 the spirit comforted,
 who either far or near
 remembereth in mood,
 how the young man acted,
 the divine child on earth :
 souls departed,

sohton siðfreme
 swegles dreámas,
 engla éðel,
 þurh þa æðelan miht.

Edre him Andreas

ágef andsware :

Nú ic on þe sylfum

sôð oncnáwe

wisdômes gewit

wundorcrafte,

sigespêd geseald :

snyttrum blôweð

beorhtre blisse

breóst innanweard.

Nú ic þe sylfum

secgan wille

ðr and ende,

swá ic þæs æðelinges

word and wisdôm

on wera gemôte,

þurh his sylfes mûð,

symle gehýrde.

Oft gesamnodon

síde herigeas

folc unsmæte,

tô freán dôme ;

þær hie hyrcnodon

háliges láre ;

þonne eft gewát

æðelunga helm,

beorht blædgifa,

in bold ôðer,

þær him tógenes

God herigende,

tô þám meðelstede

they sought rejoicing in their
 the joys of heaven, [journey
 the home of angels,
 through his noble might !”

1286 At once Andrew

returned him answer :

“ Now I in thee thyself

truly acknowledge

wit of wisdom

1290 in wondrous power,

success in glory given :

wisely bloweth

in bright bliss

the breast within.

1295 Now to thyself I

will say

the beginning and the end,

as I the noble's

word and wisdom

1300 in the concourse of men,

through his own mouth,

ever heard.

Often collected

the wide troops

1305 uncounted crowds,

to the lord's doom ;

there they hearkened to

the lore of the holy one ;

then again departed

1310 the defence of men,

the bright giver of glory,

into another building,

where to meet him

praising God,

1315 unto the place of converse

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

Hwæt ge sindon earne		‘ Lo ye are wretched
ofer ealle menn,		above all men,
wadað wídlástan,		ye tread wide ways,
weorn geférað		many ye travel
earfoðsiða :	1355	of laborious journeys :
ellþeódiges nû		a stranger’s now—
bûtan leódrihte		against the law of the land—
lârum hýrað ;		doctrine ye obey :
eáðiges orhlytte		deprived of blessing
æðeling cýðað ;	1360	ye announce a prince ;
secgað sôðlice		ye say for truth
þæt mid suna meotudes		that with the son of God
drohtigen dæg hwamlice :		ye converse daily :
þæt is duguðum cûð		it is well known to men
hwanou þám ordfruman	1365	whence your prince’s
æðelu onwôcon.		nobility arose.
He wæs áfêded		He was brought up
on þisse folcsceare,		in this district,
cildgeóng ácenned		child-young born
mid his cneómagam :	1370	with his near relatives :
þûs sindon háten		thus are called
hámsittende,		the home-dwellers,
fæder and môdur,		his father and mother,
þæs we gefrægen habbað		as we have learned
þurh môdgemynd,	1375	by remembrance of mood,
Maria and Joseph ;		Mary and Joseph ;
sindon him æðelum		to him in his family
ôðere twegen		are other twain
beornas geborene		men born
brôðorsibbum,	1380	in brotherly love,
sunas Josephes,		the sons of Joseph,
Simon and Jacob.		Simon and James.’
Swá hleoðrodon		Thus spake
hæleða ræswan,		the leaders of the people,
dugoð dómgeorne,	1385	the ambitious rulers,



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

oððe sêl nyton, môde gemyrde. Ge monetigað godes êce bearn, and þone þe grund and sund, heofon and eorðan and hreó wægás, salte sæstreámas and swegl uppe, ámearcode mundum sínum. Ðis is se ilca ealwalda god, þone on fyrndagum fæderas cûðon : he Abrahame and Isace and Jacobe gife bryttode, welum weorðode, wordum sægde, ærest Habrahame æðeles geþingu, þæt of his cynne cenned sceolde weorðan wuldres god : is seó wyrd mid eów open orgete ; magan eágum nú geseón sigores god, swegles ágend. Æfer þissum wordum weorud hlosnode geond þæt síde sel, swígodon ealle.	1490 1495 1500 1505 1510 1515 1520	or ye know no better, marred in mind ! ye rebuke God's eternal child, and him who land and sea, heaven and earth, and the rough waves, the salt sea streams, and firmament aloft, marked out with his own hands. This is the same all-ruling God, whom in days of old your fathers knew : he to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob gave grace, with wealth he dignified them, with words he said to them, first unto Abraham the compact of his race, that of his kin born should be the God of glory : this wierd is among you openly intelligible ; now may you with your eyes see the God of victory, the lord of the firmament.' After these words the multitude were astonished through the wide hall, they all were silent.
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<p>þa þa yldestan eft ongunnon secgan synfulle, sôð ne oncneowon, þæt hit drýcræftum gedôn wære, scíngelâcum, þæt se scýna stân mælde for mannum. Mân wrîdode geond beorna breóst, brandhâta nîð weóll on gewitte, weorm blædum fæg áttor alfæle. þær orcnawe (wearð) þurh teóncwide tweógende mód, mæcga misgehyd morðre bewunden. þa se þeóden bebeád þryðweorc faran stân (on) stræte, of stedewange, and forðgân, foldweg tredan gréne grundas, godes árendu lârum lædan on þa leodmearce tô Channaneum, cyninges worde; beóðan Habrahame mid his eaforum twæm, of eorðscræfe</p>	<p>1525 1530 1535 1540 1545 1550 1555</p>	<p>Then the eldest again began sinful to say, [not] (the truth they acknowledged that it by magic arts was done, by glamour, that the bright stone spake before men. Wickedness blossomed in the men's breast, brand hot malice boiled in their mind, grew hot the varicoloured poison, all yellow. There was evident through their injurious word the faithless mood, the ill thought of the men with murder wound about. Then the king commanded the strong work to go the stone on the street, from the solid plain, and go forward, tread the earthway the green plains, God's errand in doctrines to lead into the district of Canaan, by the king's word ; to command Abraham with his two descendants, from the earth cavern</p>
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ærist fremman,	1560	to make resurrection,
lætan landreste,		to leave their land-rest,
leoðo gadrigean,		limbs to gather up,
gâste onfôn,		spirit to take,
and geógoðhâdes		and of youth
edniwinge ;	1565	the renewal ;
andweard cuman,		present to come
fróde fyrnweotan,		(the pious ancient sages)
folce gecýðan		to the people announce
hwylcne hie god mihtum		whom they as God in might
ongiten hæfdon.	1570	had understood.
Gewât he þá fêran		Then set he out to go
swâ him freá mihtig		as him the mighty Lord
scippend wera		the creator of men
gescrifen hæfde,		had appointed,
ofer mearcwaðu,	1575	over the boundary paths,
þæt he on Membre becom		till he came over Mamre
beorhte blîcan,		brightly to shine,
swâ him bebeád meotud,		as him the lord commanded,
þær þa lîchoman		where the bodies
lange þrage,	1580	for a long while,
heáhfædera hrâ		the corpses of the patriarchs
beheled wæron.		had been concealed.
Hêt þá ófslîce		He bade then quickly
upâstandan		arise
Habraham and Isaac,	1585	Abraham and Isaac,
æðeling þridan		and third the prince
Jacob of greóte,		Jacob from the sand,
tô godes gefinge,		to commune with God,
sneóme of slæpe þæm fæstan.		speedily from their deep sleep.
Hêt hie tô þám síðe gyrwan,		He bid them make ready for
faran tô freán dôme,		the journey,
sceoldon hie þám folce gecýðan,		go at the Lord's command,
hwâ æt frumsceafte		they were to announce to the
		who in the beginning [people,

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

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



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He sôna ongann
 wîgend weccan,
 and wordê cwæð : 1700
 Ic eow secgan mæg,
 sôð orgete,
 þæt us gistran dæge
 on geofones streám,
 ofer árwelan, 1705
 æðeling ferede.
 In þám ceóle wæs
 cyninga wuldor,
 waldend weorðode ;
 ic his word oncneow, 1710
 þéh he his mægwlite
 bemiðen hæfde.
 Him þa æðelingas
 ondsweorodon,
 geónge gencwidum, 1715
 gâstgerýnum :
 We þe Andreas
 eáde gecýðað
 síð úserne,
 þæt þú sylfa miht 1720
 ongitan gleawlice
 gâstgehygdum.
 Us sæwêrige
 slâp ofereóde ;
 þa côm on earnas 1725
 ofer ýða wylm
 on flyhte,
 feðerum hrémige,
 ús of slâpendum
 sawle ábrugdon, 1730
 mid gefeán feredon
 flyhte on lyfte,

He soon began
 to wake the warriors,
 and in words he said :
 “ I may say to you,
 a recognizable truth,
 that us yesterday
 on the ocean-stream—
 over the realm of oars—
 a noble one conducted !
 In the ship was
 the glory of kings,
 the ruler honored us ;
 I recognized his words,
 though he his beauty
 had concealed.”
 Him the noble ones
 answered,
 the young men with response,
 in the mysteries of spirit :
 “ We to thee Andrew
 joyfully proclaim
 our adventure,
 that thou mayst thyself
 prudently understand it
 in the thoughts of thy spirit.
 Us weary with the sea
 sleep invaded ;
 then came eagles
 over the fervor of the waves
 in flight,
 exulting in their wings,
 from us asleep
 our soul they parted,
 with joy they conveyed it
 in flight through the sky,

brehtum blfðe,		joyous with clamor,
beorhte and liðe,		bright and gentle,
lissum lufodon ;	1735	kindly they caressed it ;
and hi lofe wunedon		and they in glory abode
þær wæs singal sang		where was eternal song [ment,
and swegles gong,		and the motion of the firma-
wlitig weoroda heáp		a beauteous throng of multi-
and wuldres þreát :	1740	and glorious troop : [tudes
ûtan ymbe æðelne		without, around the noble one
englas stôdon,		angels stood,
þegnas ymb þeóden		thanes around their prince
þusendmâelum :		by thousands at a time :
heredon on hêhðo	1745	they glorified on high
hâlgan stefne		with holy voice
dryhtna dryhten ;		the Lord of lords ;
dreám wæs on hyhte ;		there was joy in hope ;
we þær heáhfæderas		there we the patriarchs
hâlige oncneówon,	1750	holy recognized,
and martyra		and of the martyrs
mægen unlytel :		no little power :
sungon sigedryhtne		to the Lord of Victory they sung
sôðfæstlic lof,		soothfast praise,
dugoð dômgeorne.	1755	they, noble lovers of justice.
Ðær wæs David mid,		There was David with them,
eádig oretta,		the blessed champion,
Essages sunu,		the son of Jesse,
for Crist cumen,		come before Christ,
cyning Israhêla ;	1760	the king of Israel ;
swylce we gesêgon		also we beheld
for suna meotudes,		before the Son of God,
æðelum écne,		eternal in nobility,
eówic standan		you to stand
twelfe getealde,	1765	twelve in number,
tíreádige hæleð ;		heroes blessed with glory ;
eów þegnodon		holy archangels

þrymsittende		· served you
hálige heáhenglas :		sitting in glory :
þám bið hæleða well	1770	well is it for those men
þe þára blissa		who those blisses
brûcan môton.		may enjoy !
Ðær wæs wuldres wynn,		There was the pleasure of glory,
wīgendra þrym,		the majesty of warriors,
æðelc onginn,	1775	noble beginning,
næs þær ænigum gewinn.		nor there had any one toil.
Ðám bið wræcstð witod,		Misery shall be his lot,
wíte geopenad,		punishment revealed,
þe þára (gefeána) seal		who to those joys shal
fremde weorðan,	1780	be a stranger,
heán hwearfian,		shall depart humiliated,
þonne heonon gangað.		when from hence he goes.”
þá wæs môdsefa		Then was the mind
miclum geblissod		greatly pleased
háliges on hréðre,	1785	of the saint in his breast,
siððan hleóðorcwide		after the discourse
gingran gehýrde,		of his disciples he heard,
þæt hie god wolde		in that God would them
onmunan swá micles		so much regard
ofer menn ealle,	1790	above all men,
and þæt word gecwæð		and this word spake
wīgendra hleó :		the refuge of warriors :
Nú ic, god dryhten,		“ Now I, Lord God,
ongiten hæbbe		have understood
þæt þú on faroðstræte	1795	that thou upon the sea-street
feor ne wære,		wert not far from us,
cyninga wuldor,		Glory of kings,
þá ic on ceól gestâh ;		when I mounted the ship ;
þêh ic on ýðfare		though I on the sea-journey
engla þeóden,	1800	the Prince of angels,
gâsta geóccend		the Saviour of souls
ongitan ne cûðe.		could not recognize.

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

beorn gebledsod,		blessed man,
swā þē beorht fæder		so thee the bright Father
geweorðað wuldorgifum	1875	may dignify with glorious gifts
tô wīdan aldre,		to all eternity,
cræfte and mihte.		with craft and might.
Ðū in þa ceastre gong,		Thou go into the city,
under burglocan,		under the burgh-locks,
þær þīn brōðor is.	1880	where thy brother is.
Wāt ic Matheus		I know Matthew
þurh mænra hand		through the hands of sinful men
hrīnan heorudolgum		to be touched with sword-
heáfodmagan		thy dear relative [wounds,
searonettum beseted ;	1885	beset with nets of snares ;
þū hine sēcan scealt,		thou shalt seek him,
leófne âlysan		release the beloved one
of lâðra hete,		from the hate of foes,
and eal þæt manegu		and all that multitude
be him mid wunige	1890	that dwells with him
ælpēodigra		of strangers
inwitwrâsnum,		in hostile chains,
bealuwe gebundene,		miserably bound,
him sceal bôt hraðe		to them shall reparation soon
weorðan in worulde,	1895	be made in the world
and in wuldre leán,		and reward in glory,
swā ic him sylfum ær		as I before to himself
secgende wæs.		was saying.
Nū þū Andreas scealt		Now shalt thou Andrew
edre genēðan	1900	forthwith venture
in gramra gripe,		into the grasp of foes,
is þe gūð weotod		to thee is war predestined
heardum heoruswengum,		with hard sword-blows,
sceal þīn hrâ dælan,		thy body shall part,
wundum weorðan	1905	through wounds it shall become
wættre gelīcost,		likest unto water,
faran flōde blōd ;		thy blood shall flow in streams ;

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



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

engla þeódne.

He þær ána sæt

geoðum geomor 2015

im þám gnornhofe.

Geseh þær under swegle

swæ̅sne gefêran,

hálig háligne ;

hyht wæs geniwad. 2020

Arás þá tógenes,

gode þancade

þæt þe hie ousunde

æfre mōston

geseón under suunan ; 2025

sib wæs gemæ̅ne

bám þám gebróðrum,

blis edniwe ;

æghwæðer óðerne

earme beþehte, 2030

cyston hie and clypton ;

Criste wæ̅ron begen

leófe on móde.

Hie leóht ymbscán

hálig and heofontorht, 2035

hréðer innan wæs

wynnum áwelled.

Ðá wordé ongan

ærest Andreas

æðelne gefêran, 2040

on clustorcleofan

mid cwide s̅num,

grétan godfyrhtne ;

sæde him gúðgeðingu,

feohtan fâra monna : 2045

Nú is þ̅in folc on luste

hæleð hider on * *

to the King of angels.

He sat there alone

sad of mind

in the cave of malice. [mament

He saw there beneath the fir-

his dear comrade,

holy the holy one ;

hope was renewed.

He arose then to meet him,

he thanked God

that they each other in safety

ever might

behold beneath the sun ;

peace was between

both the brethren,

joy renewed ;

each the other

with his arm embraced,

they kissed and clipped each

to Christ were both [other ;

dear in mood.

The light shone round them

holy and heaven-bright,

the breast within

bubbled with joy.

Then with words began

Andrew first

his noble comrade,

in the prison-house

with his word,

to greet, the fearer of God ;

he told him the compact of war,

the battle of the foes :

“ Now doth thy people desire

the heroes hither * *

* gewyrht

* * *

eardes neósan.

Æfter þissum wordum

wuldres þegnas,

begen þâ gebróðor

tô gebede hyldon,

sendon hira bêne

fore bearn godes,

swylce se hálga

in þâm hearmlocan

his god grêtte,

and him geóce bæd,

hælend helpe

ærþon hrá crunge

fore hæðenra

hildeþrymme ;

ond þâ gelædde

of leoðobendum,

frâm þâm fæstenne

on frið dryhtnes,

tû and hundteontig

geteled ríme,

swylce feowertig

* * *

generede fram nîðe.

Ðær he nâenige forlet

under burglocan

bendum fæstne,

nê þær wífa þâ gyt,

weorodes tô-eácan,

ânes wana

* * *

* * *

* þe fiftig

* * *

2050 their native land to seek.”

After these words

the servants of glory,

the two brethren

bent down to prayer,

2055 they sent their petition

before the Son of God,

also the holy one

in the place of torment

addressed his God,

2060 and prayed to him for aid,

his Saviour for help

before his body should fall

before the heathens’

warlike prowess ;

2065 and then led forth

from the fetters,

from the prison

into the Lord’s protection,

two and a hundred

2070 told by number,

also forty

* * *

saved from malice.

There he left not one

2075 under the city-locks

fast in bonds,

nor yet of the women,

the increase of the troop,

wanting one

2080 * * *

* * *

* fifty

forhte gefreoðode ;
 fægen wæron sīdes,
 lungre leordon, 2085
 nalas leng bidon
 in þam gnornhose
 gūðgeþingo.

Gewāt þā Matheus
 menigo lædan 2090
 on gehyld godes,
 swā him se hālgas bebeád,
 weorod on wilsfð
 wolcnum beþehte,
 þē læs him scyldhātan 2095
 scyððan cōmon
 mid earhfare,
 ealdgentðlan.

Ðær þā mōdigan mid him
 mæðel gehēdon, 2100
 treowgeþoftan,
 ær hie on tu hweorfon.

Ægðer þāra eorla
 ððrum trymede
 heofonrices hyht, 2105
 helle witu
 wordum werede.

Swā þā wīgend mid him,
 hæleð hygerōfe,
 hālgum stefnum 2110
 cempan coste
 cyuing weorðodon
 wyrda waldend,
 þæs wuldres ne bið
 æfre mid eldum 2115
 ende befangen.

Gewāt him þā Andreas

from terror freed ;
 glad were they of their journey,
 quickly they departed,
 not longer did they await
 in the house of sorrow
 the settlement of war.

Then Matthew went
 to lead the multitude
 into God's protection,
 as the holy one commanded,
 his troop on their welcome
 concealed by a cloud, [journey
 lest him the accusers
 might come to injure
 with sending round of the arrow,
 their old foes. [gether

There the courageous ones to-
 held converse,
 the true comrades, [another.
 ere they departed from one
 Each of the men
 confirmed in the others
 the hope of heaven's kingdom,
 the pains of hell
 with words kept off.

So the warriors with them,
 the men noble of mood,
 with holy voices,
 the choice champions
 glorified the king
 the ruler of fates,
 of whose glory shall not
 ever in the ages
 the end be comprised.

Then went Andrew

inn on ceastre
 glædmód gangan,
 tó þæs þe he gramra gemót,
 fâra folcmægen, 2121
 gefrægen hæfde ;
 oððæt he gemette
 be mearcpaðe
 standan stræte neáh 2125
 stapul ærenne.
 Gesæt him þa be healfe,
 hæfde hluttre lufan,
 æce upgemynd
 engla blisse ; 2130
 þanon basnode
 under burhlocan
 hwæt him guðweorca
 gifeðe wurde.
 Þa gesamnedon 2135
 side hêrigeas
 folces frumgâras
 tó þam fæstenne,
 wêrleásra werod ;
 wæpnum cômôn 2140
 hæðne hildfreca,
 tó þæs þe hæftas ær
 under hlinscûwan
 hearm þrôwedon.
 Wêndon and woldon, 2145
 wiðerhygende,
 þæt hie on elpeódigum
 æt geworhton,
 weotude wiste ;
 him seó wên geleáh, 2150
 siððan mid corðre
 carcernes dura

into the city
 glad of mood, [cruel ones,
 thitherwhere he a meeting of the
 a general assembly of the foes,
 had heard of ;
 until he found
 by a border-path
 standing near the road
 a brazen pillar.
 He sat him there beside,
 pure love had he,
 eternal remembrance of heaven
 the bliss of angels ;
 thence he awaited
 within the city's enclosure
 what deed of warfare
 should befall him.
 Then collected
 their wide bands
 the leaders of the people
 unto the fortress,
 the troop of false ones ;
 with weapons came
 the heathen warriors, [fore
 because their captives there be-
 in the dark shadow
 had suffered anguish.
 They thought and would,
 apostates as they were,
 upon the strangers
 make their meal,
 their appointed feast ;
 their hope deceived them !
 since with their troop
 the prison-doors

eorre æsberend		the fierce spear-bearers
opene fundon,		found open,
onhliden hamera geweorc		undone the work of hammers,
hirdas deáde.	2156	dead the keepers.
Hie þá unhydige		They then sad-minded
eft gecyrdon		back returned
luste belorene,		deprived of their desire,
lādspell beran ;	2160	to bear sad tidings ;
sægdon þám folce		they told the people
þæt þær feorrcundra,		that of the strangers there,
ellreordigra,		the foreigners,
ænigne tó láfe		not one remaining
in carcerne	2165	in the prison
cwícne ne mêtton ;		alive they found ;
ac þær heorodreórige		but there bloody
hirdas lægon		the keepers lay
gæsne on greóte,		pale on the sand,
gáste berofene	2170	of life deprived
fægra flæschaman.		the carcasses of the slain.
þa wearð forht manig		Then was terrified many
for þám færspele		a leader of the people
folces ræswa,		at the sudden news,
heán hygegeómor,	2175	shamed, sad of mood,
hungres on wenum		in expectation of hunger
blátes beódgæstes ;		a pale guest at the table ;
nyston beteran ræd		they knew no better counsel
þonne hie þá behlidenan		than the dead
him to lífnere	2180	for the support of their own lives
gefeormedon ;		to feed on ;
duruþegnum wearð		for the doorkeepers was
in áne tíð		in one hour
eallum ætsomne		for all at once
þurh heard gelác	2185	through hard fortune
hildbedd stýred.		the deathbed spread.
Ðá ic lungre gefrægn		Then I learned at once

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



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

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

freca ððerne ;
 Ne hele se þe hæbbe
 holde lāre, 2330
 on sefan snyttro.
 Nū is sǣl cumen,
 þreá ormǣte ;
 is nū þearf micel
 þæt we wīsfæstra 2335
 wordum hýran.
 Þá for þære dūgoðe
 deóful ætýwde,
 wann and wliteleás
 hæfde wériges hīw. 2340
 Ongan þá meldigan
 morþres brytta
 helle hinca,
 þone halgan wer,
 wiðerhygende 2345
 and þæt word gecwæð :
 Hēr is gefêred
 ofer feorne weg
 æðelinga sum
 innan ceastre, 2350
 ellþeódigra,
 þone ic Andreas
 nemnan hērde ;
 he eow neón gesceód,
 þá he áfêrede 2355
 of fæstenne
 manncynnes mā
 þonne gemêt wære ;
 nū ge magon eáðe
 oncýðdæda 2360
 wrecan on gewyrhtum ;
 lætað . . . spor

one warrior the other ;
 “Let him not hide it who hath
 a beneficial counsel,
 wisdom in mind !
 Now is the occasion come,
 an immeasurable plague ;
 now is it very needful
 that we of the wise
 the words should obey !”
 Then before the chiefs
 a devil appeared,
 wan and colourless
 he had the look of one accursed.
 Then began to point out
 the prince of murder,
 the hate of hell,
 the holy man,
 with hostile thought
 and these words said :
 “Hither is come
 from a long way off
 a noble
 into the city,
 a stranger,
 whom I Andrew
 heard call ;
 he has given you
 when he bore away
 from your fortress
 more of men
 than was right ;
 now may you readily
 the strange deeds
 avenge upon the doer ;
 let . . . the spur

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

hearma gefremede.
 þæt is Andreas
 se me onfliteð 2400
 wordum wrætlicum
 for wera menigo.
 Ða wæs beácen boden
 burhsittendum ;
 áhleópon hildfrome 2405
 hêriges brehtme,
 ond tó weallgeatum
 wígend þrungon,
 cêne under cumblum
 corðrê míclê 2410
 tó þám orlege,
 ordum and bordum.
 Þá wordê cwæð
 weoroda dryhten,
 meotud mihtum swifð 2415
 sægde his magoþegne :
 scealt þú Andreas
 ellen fremman,
 ne mifð þú for menigo
 ah þínne módsefan 2420
 staðola wið strangum :
 nis seó stund latu,
 þæt þe wælréowe
 wítum belecgað,
 cealdan clommum ; 2425
 cýð þe sylfne,
 herd hyge þínne,
 heortan staðola,
 þæt hie mîn on þe
 mægen oncnáwan ; 2430
 ne magon hie and ne móton
 ofer míne ést

harm hath done.
 That is Andrew
 who raileth on me
 with cunning words
 before the multitude of men !”
 Then was the signal given
 to the inhabitants ;
 bold in war they leaped forth
 with the clamour of a host,
 and to the wall-gates
 the warriors thronged,
 strong beneath their ensigns
 with a mighty troop
 to the onset,
 with points and shields.
 Then spake with words
 the Lord of hosts,
 God strong in might
 said unto his servant :
 “ Thou shalt Andrew
 accomplish a deed of valour,
 shrink not thou from the mul-
 but thy mind [titude
 strengthen against the strong :
 the time is at hand
 when thee the savages
 with torments will afflict,
 with cold bonds ;
 manifest thyself,
 harden thy mind,
 confirm thy heart,
 that they in thee my
 power may recognize ;
 they may not and must not
 against my will

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



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weorðade wordum,
 oððæt wuldres gim
 hefontorht onhlād.
 Ða côm hælca þreat 2540
 tō þære dimman ding
 duguð unlytel,
 wadan wælgifre
 weorodes brehtme.
 Hæton út hræðe 2545
 æðeling lædan
 in wráðra geweald,
 wærfæstne hæleð.
 Ða wæs eft swá ær
 andlangne dæg 2550
 swungen sárslegum ;
 swát ýðum weóll
 þurh bāncofan,
 blōd lifrum swealg
 hātan heolfre ; 2555
 hrā weorces ne sann
 wundum wêrig.
 Ða cwom wōpes hring
 þurh þæs beornes breóst
 blāt út faran, 2560
 weóll waðuman streám,
 and he wordê cwæð :
 Geseoh nū, dryhten god,
 drohtað minne,
 weoruda willgeofa. 2565
 Ðū wāst and const
 ānra gehwylces
 earfeðsiðas.
 Ic gelyfe tō þe,
 mīn líffruma, 2570
 þæt þū mildheort me,

to glorify him in words,
 until the gem of glory
 bright in the heaven impended.
 Then came the troop of heroes
 to the dim cave
 no little power,
 greedy of slaughter to go
 with the tumult of a host.
 They commanded quickly
 to lead out the noble
 into the power of foes,
 the steadfast hero.
 Then was he as before
 the long day through
 beaten with wounding blows ;
 the blood bubbled in waves
 through the bone-chest,
 the blood in the liver swelled
 with hot gore ;
 the body thought not of work
 weary with wounds.
 Then came the ring of weeping
 through the man's breast
 faint to proceed,
 the stream bubbled in waves,
 and he said in words :
 " Behold now, God my Lord,
 my condition,
 O joy-giver of hosts ! [est
 Thou knowest and understand-
 of every man
 the sorrowful times !
 I believe in thee,
 Lord of my life,
 that thou mild-hearted,

for þīnum mægenspédum, nerigend fira næfre wille, éce ælmihtig, ánforlætan ; swá ic þæt gefremme, þendeu feorh leofað mīn on moldan, þæt ic, meotud, þīnum larum leófwendum lyt geswīce ; þū eart gescyldend wið sceaðan wæpnum, éce eádfrema, eallum þīnum. Ne læt nū bysmrian banan mancynnes, fácnes frumbearn, þurh feóndes cræft leahtrum belecgan þa þīn lof berað. Ða þær ætýwde se atola gást, wráð wærloga ; wīgend lārde for þām heremægene, helle dióful áwérged in wítum, and þæt word gecwæð : Sleað synnigne ofer seolfes múð, folces gewinnan, nū tó feala reordað. þa wæs orlege eft onhræred	<p>2575</p> <p>2580</p> <p>2585</p> <p>2590</p> <p>2595</p> <p>2600</p> <p>2605</p>	<p>for thy great power, saviour of men never wilt, eternal almighty God, desert me ; so will I accomplish that, as long as my life endureth on earth, that I, O God, thy dear doctrines will not shrink from ; thou art a defence against the weapons of foes, eternal prince of joy, for all thy servants ! Now let not revile the murderers of men, first-born of crime, through hostile craft, with crimes oppress them that bear thy praise !” Then there appeared the foul spirit, the fierce warlock ; he guided the warriors before the hostile force, hell’s devil cursed in torments, and spake the word : “ Smite the sinner over his own mouth, the people’s foe, now he speaketh too much !” Then was the onset again commenced</p>
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<p>niwan stefne, nŕð upp árâs ôþðæt sunne gewât tô sete glîdan, under niflan næs ; nibt helmade, brûn wann oferbræd beorgas steápe, and se hálga wæs tô hofe læded, deór and dômgeorn in þæt dimme ræced ; sceal þonne in neádcofan nihtlangne fyrst wærfæst wunian wíc unsýfre. þá côm seofona sum tô sele geongan atol æglæca, yfela gemyndig, morðres mânfreá myrce gescyrded, deóful deáðreów duguðum bereáfod. Ongan tô þám hálgan hospword sprecan : Hwæt hogodest þu, Andreas, hidercyme þinne on wráðra geweald. Hwæt is wuldor þín þe þú oferhygdum upp árærddest, þá þú goda ussa gilp gehnægdest ; hafast nú þe ánum</p>	<p>2610 2615 2620 2625 2630 2635 2640</p>	<p>with a new voice, malice again arose until the sun went gliding to its setting, under the dark promontory ; night covered over, brown, wan, it overspread the steep mountains, and the holy one was led to the house, dear and virtuous to the dim dwelling ; there he must in misery's bonds the whole night long steadfast inhabit a foul dwelling. Then came with seven more unto the hall the foul wretch, mindful of mischief, murderous lord of crime with darkness surrounded, a savage devil bereft of virtue. He began to the holy one to speak words of reviling : “ What thinkest thou, Andrew, of thy coming hither into the power of thy foes ? What is thy glory that in thy pride thou liftedst up, when thou of our gods the glory wouldst humble ; now hast thou on thyself</p>
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eall getihhad		brought all
land and leóde,		the land and people,
swá dyde lareow þin,		as thy teacher did,
cyneprym ahof,	2645	he set up kingly pretensions,
þam wæs Crist nama,		who was named Christ,
ofer middangeard		over all the earth
þynden hit mehte swá ;		as long as it was allowed him ;
þone Herodes		him did Herod
ealdre besnyðede,	2650	deprive of life,
forcóm æt campe		he overcame in war
cyning Iudæa,		the king of the Jews,
rices berædde,		deprived him of his realm,
and hine rôde befealg,		and fastened him on a rood,
þæt he on gealgan his	2655	that he upon a gallows
gâst onsende.		his spirit gave up.
Swá ic nû bebeóde		So do I now command
bearnun mínum		my sons
þegnum þryðfullum		my strong thanes
þæt hie þe hnægon	2660	to humble thee
gingran æt gûðe.		his disciple in war.
Lætað gâres ord,		Let the javelin-point,
earh ættre gemæl,		the arrow stained with poison,
ingedúfan		dig into
in fæges ferð ;	2665	the life of the doomed one ;
gâð fromlice		go boldly
þæt ge gûðfreán		that ye the warrior's
gylp forbégan !		pride may bow !”
Hie wæron reówe		They were fierce,
ræsdon on sôna	2670	soon they rushed on
gifrum grâpum ;		with greedy grapplings ;
hine god forstôd		God stood before him
staðulfæst steórend		steadfastly guiding him
þurh his strangan miht.		through his mighty power.
Siððan hie oncneówon	2675	After they recognized
Cristes rôde		of Christ's rood

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

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

<p>of leoðubendum, manna cynnes ofer mîne est ? Him þá Andreas ágef andsware : Hwæt me eáðe ælmihtig god niða neregend, se þe in niedum iú gefæstnode fýrnum clommum, þær þú siððan á susle gebunden, in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne ; siððan þú forhogodes heofoncyniges word, þær wæs yfles ôr, ende næfre þînes wræces weorþeð, þú scealt wíðan feorh écan þîne yrmðu ; þe bið á symble of dæge on dæg drohtað strengra. Ðá wearð on fleáme se þe þa fæðo iú wið god geara grimme gefremede. Cóm þá on uhtan mid ærdæge hæðenra hloð hâliges neósan leóda weorude ; héton lædan út</p>	<p>2750 2755 2760 2765 2770 2775 2780</p>	<p>from thy fetters, of the race of men against my will ?” Him then Andrew an answer gave : “ Lo easily may save me Almighty God the saviour of men, [yore who thee in wretchedness of fastened with fiery fetters, where thou ever since bound down in torment, hast dwelt in misery, hast been deprived of glory ; since thou despisedst the word of Heaven’s King, (there was the beginning of evil, never the end of thy misery shall be !) thou shalt for ever increase thy wretchedness ; to all eternity from day to day harder shall be thy condition !” Then was driven to flight he who the feud of yore readily against God had grimly undertaken. Then at twilight came with early day a troop of heathens to visit the holy one with a host of men ; they bid lead out</p>
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geómor wurde,
 þá þú of gealgan,
 god lifgende
 fyrnweorca freá,
 tó fæder cleopodest, 2820
 cyninga wuldor,
 and cwæde þus :
 Ic þe, fæder engla
 frignan wille,
 lifes leóhtfruma, 2825
 hwæt forlætest þu me ?
 and ic nú þrý dagas
 þolian sceolde
 wælgrim wítu ?
 bidde ic weoroda god 2830
 þæt ic gást minne
 ágifan môte,
 sáwla symbelgifa,
 on þines sylfes hand !
 þú þæt gehête 2835
 þurh þín hálig word
 þá þú ús twelfe
 trymman ongunne,
 þæt us heterófra
 hild ne gesceóde, 2840
 né líces dæl
 lungre oððeóded,
 né sinu ne bán
 on swaðe lagon,
 né loc of heáfde 2845
 tó forlore wurde,
 gif we þíne láre
 læstan woldon.
 Nú sint sionwe tóslowen,
 is mín swát áðroven, 2850

wert sorrowful,
 when thou from the cross,
 thou living God
 Lord of creation,
 calledst to the Father,
 glory of kings,
 and thus didst say :
 Father of angels I thee
 will ask,
 O Prince of life,
 why hast thou forsaken me ?
 and now for three days I
 must suffer
 savage torments ?
 I pray thee God of hosts
 that I my life
 may yield up,
 O joy-giver of souls,
 into thine own hand !
 Thou didst promise that,
 by thy holy word,
 when thou us twelve
 beganst to confirm,
 that us our enemy's
 war should not injure,
 nor divorce from life
 ever affect us,
 nor sinew nor bone
 on swathe should lie,
 nor lock from our heads
 be lost,
 if we thy lore
 would perform.
 Now are my sinews cramp't,
 now is my blood sprinkled,

licgað æfter lande
 loccas tódrifene
 fex on foldan ;
 is me feorhgedál
 leófre miclé 2855
 þonne þeós lifcearo.

Him þá stefn oncwæð
 stíðhycgendum,
 wuldor cyninges
 word hleóðrode : 2860

Ne wép þone wræcsið
 wine leófesta
 nis þe tó frécne ;
 ic þe friðe healde
 mīnre mundbyrde, 2865
 mægene besette ;
 me is miht ofer eall

* * *

sigorspéd geseald !
 Sôð þæt gecýðeð
 mænig æt meðle 2870
 on þām miclan dæge,
 þæt þæt geweorðeð
 þæt þeós wlitige gesceaft,
 heofon and eorðe
 hreósað tó gadore, 2875

ær áwæged sie
 worda ænig
 þe ic þurh mīnne mûð
 meðlan onginne.

Geseoh nú seolfes swæðe, 2880
 swá þin swát ágeát
 þurh bāngbrec
 blóðige stige,
 líclælan,

throughout the land there lie
 my driven locks
 my hair upon the ground ;
 to me is death itself
 much dearer 2855
 than this life-care !”

Him then a voice addressed
 proudly thinking,
 the King of glory’s
 word resounded :

“ Weep not thy wretchedness,
 dearest friend,
 too hard it is not for thee ;
 I hold thee in peace
 in my protection, 2865
 with strength set thee about ;
 to me is power over all

* * *

and glory of victory given !
 Truly that shall exhibit
 the multitude in our reckoning
 on the great day,
 that it shall happen
 that this beauteous creation,
 this heaven and earth
 shall fall together,
 ere be removed
 any word
 which I through my mouth
 have once spoken.

Behold now thine own track,
 where thy blood poured forth
 through the breaking of bones
 a bloody path,
 the body’s spots,

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



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

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

meotud mihtum swið		the Lord mighty of power
Moyse sealde ;	3025	gave thee to Moses ;
swá hit sóðfæste		as it the soothfast
siððan heóldon		since maintained
móðige magoþegnas,		the bold servants,
magas síne,		his own tribe,
godfyrhte guman,	3030	god-fearing men,
Iosua and Tobias.		Joshua and Tobias.
Nû þú miht gecnâwan		Now mayst thou acknowledge
þæt þe cyning engla		that thee the King of angels
gefrætwode		adorned
furður miclê	3035	much more
gíofum geárdagum		with gifts in days of yore
þonne eall gimma cynn		than all the kinds of gems
þurh his hálige hâes.		through his holy command.
þú scealt hræðe cýðan,		Thou shalt speedily show
gif þú his ondgitan	3040	if thou understanding of him
ænige hæbbe.		have any."
Næs þá wordlatu		There was no delay
wihte þon mâre		more than
þæt se stân tógân,		that the stone split open,
streám út áweóll,	3045	the stream bubbled forth,
fleów ofer foldan,		it flowed over the ground,
fâmige walcan		the foaming billows
mid ârdæge		at break of day
eorðan þehton ;		covered the earth ;
miclade mereflôd,	3050	the sea-flood increased,
meodu scerpen wearð		the mead was spilled
æfter symbeldæge ;		after the day of feasting ;
slæpe tóbrugdon		from sleep burst up
searuhæbbende ;		the warriors ;
sund grunde onfêng	3055	the sea seized on the earth
deópe gedrêfed ;		deeply convulsed ;
duguð wearð áfyrhted		terrified were the leaders [flood ;
þurh þæs flôdes fêr ;		thro' the sudden onset of the



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

<p> ôfost is sêlôst, and ðs þone hâlgan helpe biddan geóce and frôfre ; ðs bŕð gearu sôna sibb æfter sorge gif we sêcað tð him. þà þær Andrea ongete wearð on fyrhðlocan folces gebæro, þær wæs mðdigra mægen forbêged, wîgendra þrym ; wæter fæðmedon, fleów firgendstreám, flód wæs on luste oð þæt breóst oferstâg, brim weallende, eorlum oð exle ; þa se æðeling hêt streámfare stillan, stormas restan ymb stânhleoðu ; stôp út hræðe cêne collenferð, carcerne âgeaf, gleáwmðd gode leóf. Him gearu sôna þurh streámræce stræt wæs gerýmed ; smeolt wæs se sigewang, symble wæs dryge folde fram flóde, swâ his fôt gestôp. </p>	<p> 3130 3135 3140 3145 3150 3155 3160 </p>	<p> the sooner the better, and for us from the saint implore help aid and comfort ; soon ready for us will be peace after our sorrow if we seek it at his hands.” There then to Andrew became known in his heart the bearing of the people, that there was of the haughty the power bent, the glory of the warriors ; the waters enveloped them, the mountain-torrent flowed, the flood had its pleasure until it overtopped the breast, the boiling sea, above men’s shoulders ; then the noble commanded the water-course to be still, the storms to rest about the hills of stone ; out quickly stepped he bold and firm of mind, his prison he relinquished, prudent and dear to God. For him was soon through the stream’s course a passage made ; serene was the plain of victory, at once was dry the earth from the flood, where his foot stepped. </p>
---	---	---

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



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

þæt hie his lâre
læston georne, 3305
feorhræd fremedon ;

sægde his fûsne hyge,
þæt he þa goldburg
ofgifan wolde,
secga seledreám 3310
and sincgestreón,
beorht beágselu,
and him brimpisan
æt sæs faroðe
sécan wolde. 3315

Ðæt wæs þám weorode
weor tó gepoligenne
þæt hie se leodfruma
leng ne wolde
wihte gewunian. 3320

Ðá him wuldres god
on ðám síðfæte
sylfum ætywde
and þæt word gecwæð
weoroda dryhten : 3325

* * *
* * *

folc of firenum ;
is him fûs hyge,
gáð geomriende,
geohðo mænað
veras wíf samod. 3330

Him þá wôp becom,
murnende móð

* * *
* * *

fore sneówan.

that they his teaching
should zealously follow,
should do what would benefit
their souls ;

he said his mind was to depart,
that he the metropolis
would desert,

the joy of halls to the men
and hoarded treasure,
the bright ring-halls,
and for himself a ship
on the sea-shore
would seek.

That was for the host
miserable to bear
that with them the prince
no longer would
at all abide.

'Then to him the God of glory
on his journey
appeared
and this word spake
the Lord of hosts :

* * *
* * *

people from their crimes ;
their mind is ready for death,
sorrowing they go about,
their grief lament
men and women together.''

To him the weeping came,
the mourning mood

* * *
* * *

hasten forth.



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

aḥ in helle ceaf		but in the jaws of hell
stō aſette,		his journey he placed,
and sið nō,	3405	and never since,
fāh freonda leās,		hostile friendless,
frōfre benōhte.		comfort he enjoyed.
Ða ic lædan gefrægn		Then heard I that conducted
leóda weorode		with a troop of men
leófne lāreow	3410	the dear teacher
tō lides stefnan		to the prow of the ship
mæcgas mōdgeomre ;		the men sad of mood ;
þær manegum wæs		there was it to many a one
hāt æt heortan,		hot at heart,
hyge weallende.	3415	the mind boiling.
Hie þā gebrohton		Then brought they
æt brimes næsse		at the sea-cliffs
on wægþele		into his wave-house
wigan unslāwne ;		the active champion ;
stōdon him þā on ōfre	3420	they stood there on the shore
æfter reótan		shouting after him
þendon hie on yðum		as long as they upon the waves
æðelinga wunn		the joy of princes
ofer seolhwāðu		over the seal's paths
geseon mihton ;	3425	could see ;
and þā weorðodon		and there they worshipped
wuldres āgend,		the Lord of glory,
cleopodon on corðre,		they called in companies,
and cwædon þus :		and thus said :
An is ēce god	3430	“ One is the eternal God
eallra gesceafta,		of all creatures,
is his miht and his æht		is his might and power
ofer middangeard		throughout the earth
breme gebledsod,		gloriously blessed,
and his blæd ofer eall	3435	and his joy over all
in heofonþrymme		in heaven's majesty
hālgum scīneð,		shineth on his saints,

wl̥tīge on wuldre,
 tō wīdan ealdre
 ēce mid englum ;
 þæt is æðele cyning !

3440

beauteous in glory
 for ever and ever
 eternally among angels ;
 that is a noble king !”

END OF THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.



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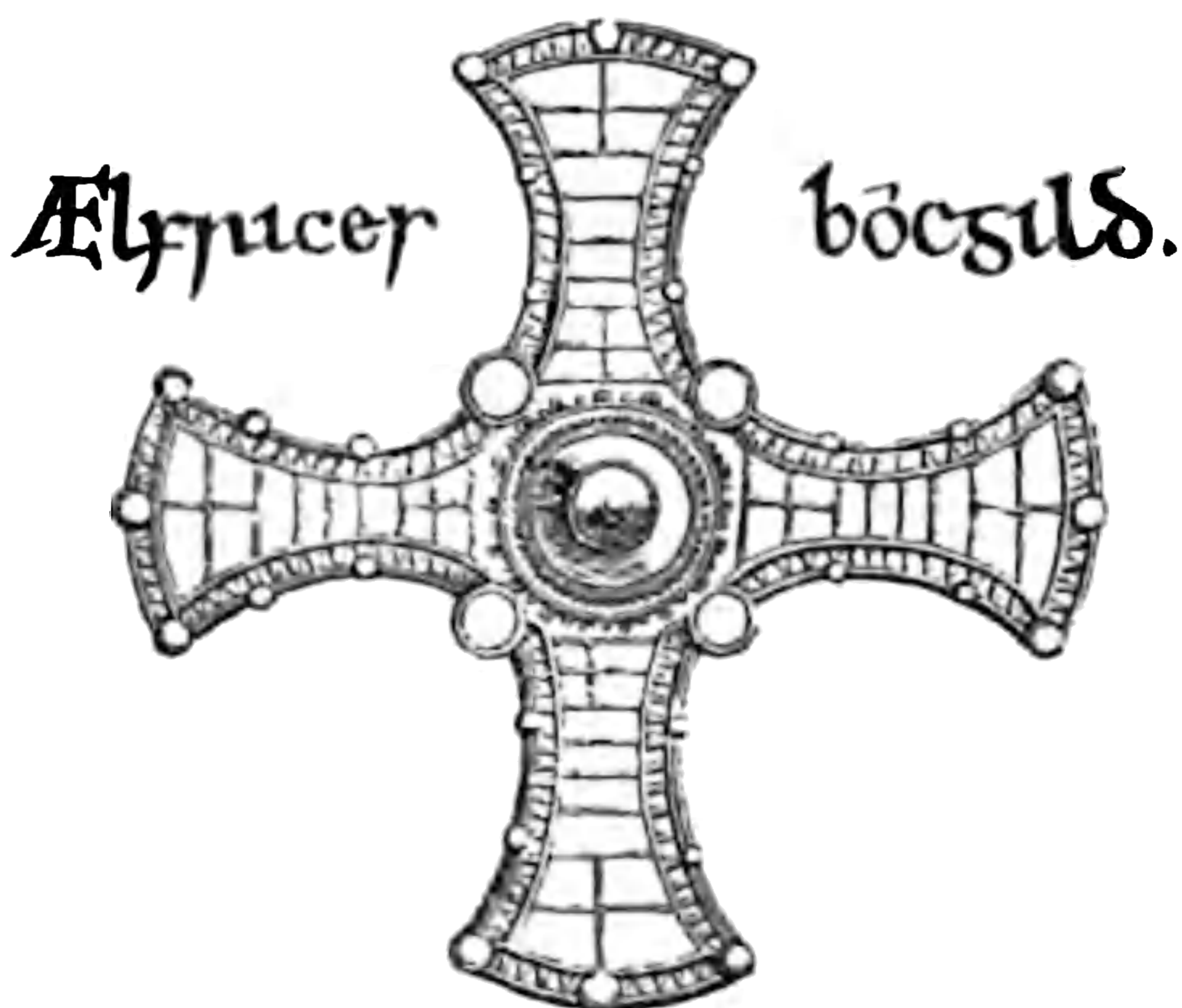


THE POETRY
OF THE
CODEX VERCELLEN SIS,
WITH AN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

PART II.

BY

J. M. KEMBLE, M.A.



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INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

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

When Judas has agreed to reveal the place where the cross

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HELEN AND THE CROSS.

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



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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION.

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



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lindgeborga
 eorlum árfæst ;
 æðelinges weóx
 rice under roderum :
 he wæs riht cyning,
 gúðweard gumena.
 Hine god trymede
 mærdum and mihtum
 ðæt he manegum wearð
 geond middangeard
 mannum tó hróðre,
 werþeódum tó wræce
 stóðun wæpen áhóf
 wið hetendum.
 Him wæs hild boden
 wíges womá ;
 werod samnodon
 Hûna leóde,
 and Hreðgotan
 fóron fyndhwate,
 Francan and Hûnas ;
 wæron hwate
 weras
 gearwe tó gúðe :
 gâras lixton,
 wriðene wæhlencan,
 wordum and bordum
 hófon herecombol.
 Ðá wæron heardingas
 sweotole gesamnod
 and eal swéot geador.
 Fór folca gedryht,
 fyrdleóð ágól
 wulf on walde,
 wælrûne ne mâð ;

the chieftain was
 faithful to the men ;
 the noble's power
 waxed under the heavens :
 he was a just king,
 a warlike guardian of men.
 Him God confirmed
 in glory and might
 so that he became to many men
 throughout the earth
 a support,
 a chastisement to the nations
 when he raised his arms
 against his foes.
 To him was war proclaimed
 the rushing sound of battle ;
 their force collected
 the people of the Huns,
 and the Hreðgoths
 marched bold to fight,
 Franks and Huns ;
 brave were
 the men
 ready to the war :
 their javelins lightened,
 the twisted chains of slaughter,
 with words and shields
 they raised the warlike ensign.
 Then were the heroes
 openly collected
 and all the multitude together.
 The troop of people went,
 a war-song sung
 the wolf in the wood,
 he shrank not from the *rune*
 [of slaughter ;

ūrigfeðera
 earn sang ahōf
 lāðum on lāste ;
 lungre scýnde
 ofer burg enta
 beaduþreáta mæst,
 hergum tō hilde,
 swylce Hūna cyning
 ymbsittendra
 ahwer meahte
 abannan tō beadwe,
 burgwīgendra.
 Fōr fyrda mæst
 fēðan trymedan
 eóred cestum,
 ðæt on ælfylce
 deareðlácende,
 on Danúbie,
 stearcedfyrhðe,
 stæðe wicedon
 ymb ðæs wæteres wylm.
 Werodes breahhtme
 woldon Rómwara
 rice geþringan,
 hergum ahýðan.
 Ðær wearð Hūna cyme
 cūð ceasterwarum.
 Ðá se cásere héht
 ongean gramum
 gūð gelæcan
 under earhfære,
 ofstum miclum
 bannan tō beadwe,
 beran út þræce
 rincas under roderum.

dewy-feathered
 the eagle raised his song
 upon the track of the foe ;
 60 quickly went
 over the city of giants
 the greatest of war-troops,
 with armies to battle,
 whomsoever the king of Huns
 65 of the surrounding people
 anywhere could
 summon to the fight,
 of warriors.
 The greatest of armies marched
 70 the infantry were strong
 in chosen bands,
 until in a foreign land
 the dart-players,
 upon the Danube,
 75 strong of courage,
 bivouacked on the shore
 about the bubbling water.
 With the furious noise of their
 they would the Romans' [host
 80 power oppress,
 and with their armies lay waste.
 Then was the coming of the
 known to the citizens. [Huns
 Then commanded the emperor
 85 against the foe
 war to move
 under the passage of the arrow,
 with great haste
 to summon to battle,
 90 to bear out their power
 men under heaven.

Wæron Romware,
secgas sigerôfe,
sôna gegearwod
wæpnum tô wigge,
ðeáh hie werod læsse
hæfdon tô hilde
ðonne Hûna cyning,
ridon ymb rôfne,
ðonne rand dynede,
campwudu clynede,
cyning þreáte fôr
herge tô hilde.
Hræfen uppe gól
wan and wælfel,
werod wæs on tyhte,
hleówon hornboran,
hreópon friccan,
mearh moldan træd,
mægen samnode
cafe tô ceáse.
Cyning wæs áfyrhted
egsan geaclad,
siððan elpeódige
Hûna and Hréða
here sceáwedon,
ðæt he on Romwara
rices ende,
ymb ðæs wæteres stæð
werod samnode,
mægen unríme.
Módsorge wæg
Romwara cyning,
rices ne wênde
for werodlîste,
hæfde wígena tô lýt,

The Romans were,
men glorious with victory,
soon prepared
95 with weapons for the fight,
though they a lesser force
had to the war
than the king of Huns,
they rode about the famous one,
100 then rang the shield,
the war-wood sounded,
the king went with his company
his army to battle.
The raven sang aloud
105 dusky and greedy of slaughter,
the army was on the march,
the trumpeters sounded,
the heralds shouted,
the horse trod the ground,
110 his strength he collected
actively for the fight.
The king was affrighted
sickened with terror,
after the strangers
115 of the Huns and Hreths
beheld the army,
how on the Roman
empire's end,
upon the water's shore
120 a host collected,
an innumerable power.
Mind-sorrow weighed
the king of Romans,
success he expected not
125 for want of troops,
he had too few warriors,



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

II.

Héht ðá onlice,
 æðelinga hleo
 beorna beággifa,
 swá he ðæt beácen geseah, 200
 herna hildfruma,
 ðæt him on heofonum ær
 ge-ýwed wearð,
 ðfstum miclum,
 Constantinus, 205
 Cristes rôde,
 tíreádig cyning,
 tácen gewyrca.
 Héht ðá on uhtan,
 mid ærdæge 210
 wígend weccan,
 and wæpenþræce,
 heorucumbul,
 and ðæt hálige treó
 him beforan fêrian 215
 on feónða gemang,
 beran beácen godes.
 Býman sungon
 hlúde for hergum :
 hræfn weorces gefeáh, 220
 úrig feðra
 earn stð beheóld,
 wælhreówra wíg :
 wulf sang áhóf,
 holtes gehléða ; 225
 hildegesa stód :
 ðær wæs borda gebrec
 and beorna geprec,
 heard handgeswing,

II.

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

<p>and herga gring, siððan heó earhfære ærest mætton ; on ðæt fæge folc flana scuras, gâras ofer geolorand, on gramra gemang, hetend heorugrimme, hilde nædran þurh fingra geweald forð onsendon : stôpon stðhydige, stundum wræcon, bræcon bordhreoðan, bil indufon ; þrungon þræchearde. Ðâ wæs þûf hafen, segen for sweótum, sigeleóð galen, gylden grîma, gâras lixton on herefelda, hæðene grungon, feóllon friðeleáse ; flugon instæpes Hûna leóde swá ðæt hâlige treó aræran héht Rómwara cyning, heaðofremmende : wurdon heardingas wíde tówrecene, sume wíg fornam, sume unsófte aldor generedon</p>	<p>230 and crash of armies, after the arrows' course they first encountered ; on the fated band the showers of arrows, 235 javelins over the yellow shield, into the midst of their foes, the fierce adversaries, snakes of war [fingers through the power of their 240 sent forth : intent on their course they went, from time to time they drove, they broke the wall of shields, they plunged the bill ; 245 the bold in battle thronged. Then was the banner upreared, an ensign before the crowds, the song of triumph sung, a golden helmet, 250 the javelins flashed upon the battle-field, the heathen stormed, joyless they fell ; fled at once 255 the people of the Huns as the holy tree commanded to uplift the king of Romans, doing deeds of war : 260 then were the warriors wide dispersed, some war ravished away, some with difficulty rescued their lives</p>
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com ða wigena hleo
 þegna þreáte,
 þryðbord scēnan,
 beaurōf cyning
 burga neósan.
 Héht þá wigena
 weard, ða wisestan
 snūde tō sionōðe,
 ða ðe snyttocræft
 þurh fyrngewrito
 gefrigen hæfdon,
 heóldon hygeþancum
 hæleða ráðas.
 Ða ðæs fricggan ongan
 folces aldor,
 sigerōf cyning,
 ofer síd weorod :
 wære ðær ænig
 yldra oððe gingra
 ðe him tō sóðe
 secggan meahste,
 galdrum cýðan,
 hwæt se god wære,
 boldes brytta,
 ðe ðis his beácon wæs :
 ðe me swá leoht oðýwde 325
 and míne leóde generede,
 tákna torhtōst,
 and me tír forgeaf,
 wígsþéd wið wráðum,
 þurh ðæt wlitige treó ? 330
 Hió him andsware
 ænige ne meahton
 ágifan tō gēnes,
 ne ful geare cúðon

300 Then came the refuge of war-
 with a troop of thanes, [riors
 to crush the strong shield,
 the king famous in war
 to visit his towns.
 305 Then called the lord
 of warriors, the wisest
 quickly to a synod,
 they who wisdom
 through ancient writings
 310 had learned,
 held in their thoughts
 the counsels of men.
 Then began to enquire
 the prince of the people,
 315 the victorious king,
 throughout his wide host :
 “ were there any
 old or young
 who him for sooth
 320 might tell,
 might by divination inform,
 what were the god,
 the lord of the house,
 whose this beacon was :
 which seemed to me so light
 and saved my people,
 of signs the brightest,
 and gave me glory,
 success in war against my foes,
 through that beauteous tree ? ”
 But they him answer
 any could not
 give again,
 nor fully knew

sweótole geseccgan	335	clearly to tell
be ðám sigebeácne.		about the victorious sign.
Ða ða wisestan		Then the wisest
wordum cwædon		spake with words
for ðám heremægene,		before the host,
ðæt hit heofoncyniges	340	that it heaven-king's
tácen wære,		token were,
and ðæs tweó nære.		and no doubt about it.
Ða ðæt gefrugnon,		They had learnt that,
ða þurh fulwihte		who through baptism
lærde wæron :	345	were taught :
him wæs leóht sefa,		light was their mind,
ferhð gefeðnde,		their spirit rejoicing,
þeáh hira feá wæron,		though few they were,
ðæt hie for ðám cásere		that they before the emperor
cýðan móston	350	were allowed to proclaim
godspelles gife,		the grace of the gospel,
hû se gásta helm,		how the lord of spirits,
in þrinesse		in Trinity
þrymme geweorðad,		powerfully glorified,
ácenned wearð,	355	was born,
cyninga wuldor,		glory of kings,
and hû on galgan wearð		and how upon the cross
godes ágen bearn		was God's own son
áhangen for hergum		hung up before the hosts
heardum wítum :	360	with cruel pains :
álýsde leóða bearn		released the sons of men
of locan deófla,		from the locks of devils,
geómre gásta,		sorrowing spirits,
and him gife sealde		and gave them grace
þurh ða ilcan gesceaft,	365	through the same creature,
ðe him ge-ýwed wearð		that had been shown
sylfum on gesihðe,		unto himself in vision,
sigores tácne		with the token of victory
wið þeóða þræce ;		against the power of men ;

and hû ðý þridan dæge 370
 of byrgenne
 beorna wuldor
 of deáðe árás,
 dryhten ealra
 hæleða cynnes, 375
 and tó heofonum ástâh.
 Ðús gleáwlíce
 gástgerýnum
 sægdon sigerófum,
 swâ fram Siluestre 380
 lærde wæron,
 æt ðâm se leódfuma
 fulwihte onfeng
 and ðæt forð geheóld
 on his dagana tíð 385
 dryhtne tó willan.

III.

Ðâ wæs on sálum
 sinces brytta,
 nŕðheard cyning,
 wæs him niwe gefeá 390
 befolen in fyrhðe,
 wæs him frófra mæst,
 and hyht nihst
 heofonríces weard.
 Ongan ðâ dryhtnes æ 395
 dæges and nihtes,
 þurh gâstes gife
 georne cýðan,
 and hine sôðlice
 sylfne getengde, 400
 goldwine gumena,

and how on the third day
 from out the sepulchre
 the glory of heroes
 arose from death,
 the Lord of all
 the race of men,
 and ascended into heaven.
 Thus prudently
 in spiritual mysteries
 they told the glorious victor,
 as by Silvester
 they had been taught,
 from whom the prince
 received baptism
 and held it thenceforth
 all his days
 at the Lord's good pleasure.

III.

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



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æðelcyninges rōd.
 Elene ne wolde
 ðæs stōfates
 sâne weorðan,
 440 ne ðæs wilgifan
 word gehyrwan,
 hiere sylfne suna;
 ac wæs sōna gearu
 wif on wilstō,
 445 swâ hire weoruda helm
 byrnwiggendra
 beboden hæfde.
 Ongan ðâ ôfstlice
 eorla mengu
 450 tō flote fýsan;
 fearoðhengestas
 ymb geofenes stæð
 gearwe stōdon,
 sælde sâmearas
 455 sunde getenge.
 Ðâ wæs oncnæwe
 idese stōfæt,
 siððan wæges holm
 werode gesōhte;
 460 ðær wlanc manig
 æt Wendelsæ
 on stæðe stōdon,
 stundum wræcon
 ofer mearcwaðu
 465 mægen æfter oðrum,
 and ðâ gehlōdon
 hilde sercum,
 bordum and ordum,
 byrnwīgendum,
 470 werum and wifum,

the cross of the noble king.
 Elene would not
 about that journey
 be slow,
 440 nor her dear prince's
 word despise,
 her own son's;
 but soon was ready
 the woman for her glad journey,
 as her the prince of armies
 of mailed warriors
 had commanded.
 Quickly then began
 450 the multitude of warriors
 to the fleet to hasten;
 the sea-stallions
 about the ocean-shore
 stood ready,
 455 bridled sea-horses
 close to the wave.
 Then was declared
 the lady's expedition,
 when the deep sea-wave
 460 with her troop she sought;
 there many a proud one
 at the Wendelsea
 stood on the shore,
 sometimes they wandered
 465 through the march-paths
 troop after troop,
 and there they loaded
 with war-shirts,
 with shields and swords,
 470 with mailed warriors,
 with men and women,

wæghengestas.		the ocean-stallions. [wave
Læton ða ofer fîfelwæg		They let then over the ocean-
fæmige scrîðan		foamy go
bronte brimþisan.	475	the bubbling seabaters.
Bord oft onfêng		Oft the bord received
ofer earhgeblond,		over the mingling of ears,
ÿða swengas :		the blows of the waves :
sæ swinsade.		the sea murmured.
Ne hÿrde ic sîð nê ær	480	Never heard I before or since
on êgstreáme		that on the ocean-stream
idese lædan		a lady led
on meres stræte		upon the sea-street
mægen fægerre.		a fairer power.
Ðær mehte gesiôn,	485	There might he see,
se ðone sîð beheöld,		who beheld the journey,
brecan ofer bæðweg,		break over the bathway,
brimwudu myrgan		the sea-wood rejoice
under swellingum,		under the swelling waves,
sæmearh plegan,	490	the sea-horse play,
wadan wægflotan.		the wave-float wade.
Wigan wæron blîðe		Blithe were the warriors
collenferhðe,		bold of spirit, [ney,
cwen sîðes gefeah,		the queen rejoiced in her jour-
siððau tô hÿðe	495	when to the shore
hringedstefnan		the ringed-prowed barks
ofer lagofæsten		over the lake-fortress
geliden hæfdon,		had sailed,
on Crêca land.		upon the land of Greece.
Ceólas léton	500	They let the keels
æt sæfearoðe		at the sea-shore
sande bewrecene,		covered with sand,
ald ÿðhófu		their old wave-dwellings
oncrum fæste		fast at anchor
on brime bîdan	505	by the sea abide
beorna geþinges,		the conference of warriors,

<p>hwone heó sió gúðcwen gumena þreáte ofer eástwegas eft gesóhte. þær wæs on eorle eð gesýne brogden byrne and billgécóst, geatolic gúðscrúd, grímhelm manig, ânlíc eoforcumbul ; wæron æscwýgan, secggas ymb sigecwen, stðes gefýsde, fyrdrincas frome fôron on luste on Crêca land, câseres bodan, hilde rîncas hyrstum gewerede. þær wæs gesýne singim locen on ðâm hereþreáte, hláfordes gifu. Wæs seó eáðhrédige Elene gemyndig, þriste on gepance, þeóðnes willan, georn on môde ðæt hió Judéas ofer herefeldas, heápe gecóste lindwígendra, land gesóhte secga þreáte :</p>	<p>510 515 520 525 530 535 540</p>	<p>when she the warrior-queen with her troop of men over the eastern ways again should seek them. There was on the man easy to be seen the twisted mail-shirt and the chosen bill, the ready war-dress, many a helmet, beauteous boar-shaped ensign ; the spearmen were, [queen, the men about the victorious intent upon the march, bold soldiers joyously advanced upon the Grecian land, the emperor's messengers, heroes in war furnished with ornaments. There was seen the locked treasure-gem in the warlike company, the lord's gift. The generous Elene was mindful, bold of thought, of her prince's will, ready of mood the Jews over the battle-fields, with a chosen company of shielded warriors, their land to seek with a troop of men :</p>
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wordum negan :		with words to approach :
Ic ðæt gearolice	575	“ I have already
ongiten hæbbe,		understood that,
þurg witgena		through the mysterious words
wordgerýno		of prophets
on godes bócum,		in God's books,
ðæt ge geárdagum	580	that ye of yore
wyrðe wæron		were held in estimation
wuldorcyninge,		by the king of glory,
dryhtne dýre		dear to the Lord
and dædhwæte.		and bold of deeds.
Hwæt ge ðære [swicon]	585	Lo ye fell off
snyttro unwislíce,		unwisely from that wisdom, . . .
wráðe wiðweorpon		foolishly ye rejected it
ða ge wergdon ðane		when ye tormented him
ðe eow of wergðe		whom you from torment
þurh his wuldres miht,	590	through his glorious might,
fram ligcwale		from fiery death
lýsan þohte,		thought to release,
of hæftnéde :		from captivity :
ge mid horu speowdon		ye with shame spewed
on ðæs andwlitan	595	on his face
ðe eow eágena leóht		who the light of your eyes
fram blindnesse		from blindness
bóte gefremede		healed
edniowunga þurh		anew through
ðæt æðele spadl,	600	his noble spittle,
and fram unclænum		and from unclean
oft generede		spirits of devils
deofla gástum :		often healed you :
ge deáðe ðone		you to death
dēman ongunnon	605	began to doom him
se ðe of deáðe sylf		who himself from death
woruld áwehte		awoke the world
on wera corðre,		in the company of men,

in ðæt ærre lif		into that earlier life
eowres cynnes.	610	of your race.
Swā ge mōdblinde		Thus ye blind of mood
mengan ongunnon		begun to mingle
lyge wið sōðe,		falsehood with truth,
leóht wið þýstrum,		light with darkness,
æfst wið āre,	615	envy with honour,
inwitþancum		in your malicious thoughts
wróht webbedon.		mischief ye wove.
Eow seó wergðu forðan		Therefore you the curse
sceððeð scyldfullum,		oppresseth sinful as ye are,
ge ðā scíran mīht	620	ye the bright might
dēman ongunnon,		began to judge,
and gedwolan lifdon		and lived in error
þeóstrum geþancum		in your dark thoughts
ōð ðysne dæg.		unto this day.
Gangað nū snūde,	625	Go now quickly,
snyttro geþencað		remember prudence
weras wísfæste,		oh ye wise men,
wordes cræftige,		powerful of speech,
ðā ðe eowre æ,		those who your law,
æðelum cræftige,	630	nobly powerful,
on ferhðsefan		in their minds
fyrmost hæbben,		foremost have,
ðā me sōðlice		who to me truly
secgan cunnon,		may say,
andsware cýðan	635	may give an answer
for eow forð		forth for you
tācna gehwylces		of every sign
ðe ic him tō sēce.		which I demand of them.”
Eódon ðā on gerūm		Then went apart
reónigmōde	640	sorrowing in mind
eorlas āglewe,		the men learned in the law,
egesān geþreáde,		oppressed with terror,
gehðun geómre		sad in spirits

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



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and ða wēregan neát
 ðe man daga gehwām 715
 drifeð and þirsceð
 ongitað hira gōddēnd,
 nales gnyrnwræcum
 feógað frýnd hiera
 ðe him fōdder gifeð ; 720
 and me Israhēla
 æfre ne woldon
 folc oncnāwan,
 ðeáh ic fela for him
 æfter woruldstundum 725
 wundra gefremede.

V.

Hwæt we ðæt gehýrdon
 þurh hālige bēc
 ðæt eow dryhten
 geaf dōm unscyndne, 730
 meotod mihta spēd,
 Moyses sægde
 hū ge heofoncynige
 hýran sceōldon,
 lāre læstan ; 735
 eow wæs lungre āpreát,
 and ge ðām rihte
 wiðroten hæfdon,
 onscunedon ðone
 scíran scippend, 740
 earlra dryhten,
 and gedwolan fylgdon
 ofer riht godes.
 Nū ge hraðe gangað
 and findað gēn, 745

and the brute animals
 whom men every day
 drive and thrash
 understand their benefactors,
 nor with enmity
 hate their friends
 who give them food ;
 and me the people of Israel
 would never
 acknowledge,
 though I for them have many
 miracles performed
 in the course of time.'

V.

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

Ðá ðe fyrngewritu
 þurh snyttro cræft
 sélest cunnen,
 æriht eower,
 ðæt me andsware
 750 þurh sídne sefan
 secgan cunnen.
 Eódon ðá mid
 mengo módcwánige,
 collenferhðe,
 755 swá him sió cwen beád,
 fundon ðá fífhund
 forðsnóttterra,
 álesen leódmæga,
 ðá ðe leornungcræft
 760 þurh módgemynd
 mæste hæfdon,
 on sefan snyttro.
 Heó tó salore eft
 ymb lytel fæc
 765 laðode wæron,
 ceastreweardas.
 Hió sió cwen ongan
 wordum genegan,
 wlát ofer ealle :
 770 Oft ge dyslice
 dæd gefremedon,
 werge wræcmæcgas,
 and gewritu herwdon,
 fædera lāre ;
 775 næfre furður ðonne nú
 ðá ge blindnesse
 bôte forségon,
 and ge wiðsócon
 780 sōðe and rihte,

who the old writings
 through power of wisdom
 best know,
 your own law,
 that ye to me an answer
 prudently
 may return.”
 Together went [rits,
 the multitude with broken spi-
 the bold ones,
 as the queen commanded them,
 then found they five hundred
 of the particularly wise,
 people collected,
 who learning-craft
 through their intelligence
 the most possessed,
 prudence in their minds.
 They to the palace again
 after a little while
 were invited,
 city guardians.
 Them the queen began
 with words to address,
 she looked all around :
 “ Often ye a foolish
 deed have done,
 weary sons of misery,
 and despised the scriptures,
 the lore of your fathers ;
 never more than now
 when ye of blindness
 the remedy renounced,
 and ye rejected
 truth and right,

ðæt in Bethlême
 bearn wealdendes,
 cyning anboren
 cenned wære,
 æðelinga ord ;
 785 ðeah ge ða æ cûðon,
 witgena word
 ge ne woldon ðá,
 synwyrcente,
 790 sôð oncnáwan !
 Hie ðá ánmóde
 andsweredan :
 Hwæt we ebréisce
 æ leornedon
 795 ða on fyrndagum
 fæderas cûðon
 æt godes earce,
 nē we geare cunnun
 þurh hwæt ðû ðus hearde,
 hlæfdige, ús
 800 eorre wurde.
 We ðæt æbylgð nyton
 ðæt we gefremedon
 on ðisse folcscere,
 805 þeódon bealwa
 wið ðec æfre.
 Elene maðelade
 and for eorlum spræc ;
 undearninga
 810 ides reordode
 hlúde for herigum :
 Ge nú hraðe gangað,
 sundor ásécað
 ðá ðe snyttro mid eow
 815 mægn and módcræft

that in Bethlem
 the son of the ruler,
 the only-begotten king
 was born,
 the origin of nobles ;
 although ye knew the law,
 the word of the prophets
 yet would ye not,
 workers of sin,
 the truth acknowledge !”
 They then fearful in mind
 made answer :
 “ Lo ! we Hebrews
 learnt the law
 which of yore
 our fathers knew
 at God’s ark,
 nor do we well know
 why thou thus hardly,
 lady, against us
 art enraged. [offence
 We know not what cause of
 we have committed
 in this country,
 what evil we have ever
 done against thee.”
 Elene spake
 and said before the men ;
 openly
 the lady addressed them
 loudly before the crowd :
 “ Ye now go quickly,
 enquire apart
 those who among you wisdom
 power and craft of mind



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ðæt wæs þreálic geþoht.

Nu is þearf micel

ðæt we fæstlice

ferhð staðelian,

ðæt we ðæs mórðres

meldan ne weorðen,

hwær ðæt hálige treó

beheled wurde

æfter wigþræce,

ðýlæs tóworpen sien

fród fyrngewritu

and ða fæderlican

lære forleten.

Ne bið lang ofer ðæt

ðæt Israhéla

æðelu móten

ofer middangeard

má ricsian,

æcræft eorla,

gif ðis yppe bið.

Swá ðá ðæt ilce gió

mín yldra fæder

sigeróf sægde,

ðám wæs Sacheus nama,

fród fyrnwiota,

fæder sínum eaferan,

wende hine of worulde,

and ðæt word gecwæð :

Gif ðe ðæt gelimpe

on lifdagum

ðæt ðú gehýre ymb

ðæt hálige treó

fróde frignan,

and geflitu ráeran

be ðám sigebeáme,

that was a guilty thought.

Now is it very needful .

that we firmly

compose our minds,

865 that we of the murder

be not the betrayers,

where the holy tree

was hid

after the crush of war,

860 lest should be overturned

the wise old scriptures

and our ancestral

lore deserted.

It will not be long after that

865 that Israel's

nobles may

over the earth

any more bear sway,

the lawcraft of men,

870 if this be detected.

As then the same of old

my grandfather

glorious in victory said,

whose name was Zacheus,

875 a wise old counsellor,

the father to his children,

he departed from the world,

and spake this word :

‘ If that ever befall thee

880 in thy life

that thou hear about

the holy tree

the wise enquire,

and contests raise

885 about the tree of victory,

on ðam sôð cyning
 âhangen wæs,
 heofonrices weard,
 eallre sibbe bearn,
 ðonne ðû snûde gecyð, 890
 mîn swæs sunu
 ær ðec swyht nime,
 ne mæg æfre ofer ðæt
 Ebréa þeód
 rædþeáhtende, 895
 rice healdan,
 duguðum wealdan,
 ac ðára dóm leofað
 and hira dryhtscipe
 * * * * * 900
 in woruld weorulda
 willum gefylled,
 ðe ðone âhangen cyning
 heriað and lofiað.

VI.

þá ic fromlice 905
 fæder mínum
 ealdum æwitan
 ágeaf andsware :
 Hú wolde ðæt geweorðan
 on woruldrice, 910
 ðæt on ðone hálgan
 handa sendan
 tó feorhlege,
 fæderas ússe,
 þurh wráð gewitt, 915
 gif hie wiston ær
 ðæt he Crist wære,

on which the true king
 was suspended,
 the ward of heaven's kingdom,
 child of all peace,
 then do thou quickly proclaim,
 my dear son
 before thou diest,
 never after that may
 the people of the Hebrews
 taking counsel,
 hold power,
 wield dignities,
 but their dignity shall live
 and their lordship
 * * * * *
 for ever and ever
 to their will fulfilled,
 who the hanged king
 honour and praise.'

VI.

Then I humbly
 unto my father
 the old councillor
 gave answer :
 ' How could that be
 in the world,
 that on the holy one
 their hands should lay
 unto death,
 our fathers,
 through hostile thought,
 if they before knew
 that he was Christ,

cynīng on roderum, sōð sunu meotudes, sāwla nergend ? Ðā me yldra mīn Ageaf andsware, frōd on fyrhðe, fæder reordode :		the king of heaven, true son of God, the saviour of souls ?' Then to me my elder returned answer, prudent in spirit, my father spoke :
Ongit, guma geonga, godes heāhmægen, nergendes naman, se is niða gehwām unāsecgendlic, ðone sylf ne mæg on moldwege man āspyrigean. Næfre ic ða geþeahte ðe ðeōs þeod ongan sēcan wolde, ac ic simla mec āscēd ðāra scylda, nales sceame worhte gāste mīnum. Ic him georne oft ðæs unrihtes andsæc fremede, ðonne uðweotan æht besæton, on sefan sōhton, hū hie sunu meotudes āhengon, helm wera, hlāford eallra engla and elda, æðelust beorna ; ne meabton hie swā disige deāðe oðfæstan,	920 925 930 935 940 945 950	' Understand, young man, God's mighty power, the name of the Saviour, which is to every man ineffable, which himself may not on earth a man investigate. Never I the counsel which this nation began would seek, but ever myself separated from the guilt, nor wrought shame to my spirit. I often earnestly to their injustice gave denial, when our counsellors sat in council, sought in their mind, how they the son of God might hang, the protector of the lord of all [men, angels and men, noblest of heroes ; [not foolish as they were they could in death confine him,



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tō wræce ne sette, ðæt hie for æfstum unscyldigne, synna leásue Sawles lārum feore beræddon, swá he þurh feóndscipe tō cwale monige Cristes folces dēmdē tō deáðe ; swáðeáb him dryhten eft miltse gefremede, ðæt he manegum [wearð] 1000 folca tō frófre, siððan him frymða god, niða nergend, naman oncyrde, and he siððan wæs 1006 sanctus Paulus be naman hāten, and him nāenig wæs ælārenðra, ððer betera 1010 under swegles hleó siðþan æfre, ðāra ðe wif oððe wer on woruld cendon, ðeáh he Stephanus 1016 stānum hēhte ābreótan on beorge, bróðor ðinne. Nū ðú meahht gehýran, hæleð mīn se leófa, 1020 hú ārfæst is ealles wealdend,	would not revenge, that they for envy him guiltless, free from sins by the advice of Saul of his life deprived, as he through enmity many to torment of Christ's people doomed to death ; yet to him the Lord afterwards showed mercy, so that he became to many people a comfort, afterwards eternal God, the Saviour of men, changed his name, and he afterwards was Saint Paul called by name, and than him was of the teachers of the law, no other better under the roof the firmament ever since, whom woman or man have begotten into the world, although he Stephen with stones commanded to destroy upon the mount, thy brother. Now mayst thou hear, my dear man, how true is the lord of all,
---	--

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

<p> ðám wæs Symon nama, guma gehðum fród. Nû ge geare cunnon 1060 hwæt eow ðæs on sefan sélest þynce tô gecýðanne, gif ðeós cwen úsic frigneð ymb ðæt treó, 1065 nû ge fyrhðsefan and modgeþanc mínne cunnon. Him ðá tógenes ðá gleawestan 1070 on wera þreáte wordum mældon : Næfre we hýrdon hæleð ænigne on ðisse þeóde 1075 ðislic cýðan, ymb swá digle wyrd. Dô swá ðe þynce, fyrngidda fród, gif ðû frygnen sie 1080 on wera corðre. Wisdómes beþearf, worda wærlícra, and witan snyttro se ðære æðelan sceal 1085 andwyrde ágifan for ðyslicre þreat on meðle. </p>	<p> whose name was Simon, a man prudent of spirit. Now ye know well what to your own minds seems best about this matter to state, if this queen of us enquireth about the tree, now ye my mind and thought know.” Against him the most knowing in the company of men spake with words : “ We never heard any one in this nation make such a revelation as this, about so secret a fate. Do as seems best to thee, prudent in old traditions, if thou be asked in the assemblage of men. Wisdom he requires, wary words, and a councillor’s prudence who shall to the noble lady an answer give for such a multitude, in the council.” </p>
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hwær se þeoden		where the king
geþrōwade,		suffered,
sōð sunu meotudes		the true son of the Creator
for sǣwla lufan.	1125	for the sake of souls.
Heó wæron stearce,		They were obstinate,
stāne heardran,		harder than stone,
noldon ðæt gerýne		they would not the mystery
rihte cýðan,		rightly tell,
ne hire andsware	1130	nor say to her
ǣnigne secgan,		any answer,
torngeniðlan,		workers of rage,
ðæs heó him tō sōhte,		of what she sought from them,
ac heó worda gehwæs		but they of every word
wiðersæc fremedon,	1135	made denial,
fæste on fyrhðe,		obstinate in spirit,
ðæt heó frignan ongan :		which she began to ask :
cwædon ðæt heó on aldre		they said that in their lives
áwiht swylces		anything of the kind
ne ǣr ne sið	1140	neither before nor since
æfre hýrdon.		had they ever heard.
Elene maðelade,		Elene spake,
and him yrre oncwæð :		and angrily addressed them :
Ic eow tō sōðe		“ I will tell you
secgan wille,	1145	truly,
and ðæs in life		and never shall this
lyge ne wyrðeð,		be made false,
gif ge ðisum leáse		if ye this falsehood
leng gefylgað		longer pursue
mid fǣcne gefice,	1150	with fraudulent deceit,
ðe me forestandað,		who now stand before me,
ðæt eow in beorge		that you upon the hill
bæl fornimeð		fire shall consume
hättóst heaðowelma,		hottest of war-waves,
and eower hrá bryttað	1155	and your carcass shall disperse
lácende lig,		exulting fire,

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

swá ðín mōd lufað.		as thy mood loveth."
Hió on sibbe forlēt		She dismissed in peace
sēcan gehwylcne		each one to seek
āgenne eard,		his own dwelling,
and ðone āenne genam	1195	and took the one,
Judas tō gīsle,		Judas, as a hostage,
and ðā georne bæd		and then earnestly entreated
ðæt he be ðære rōde		that he about the cross
riht getæhte,		the truth should tell,
ðe ær in legerre wæs	1200	which was before in its place
lange bedyrned,		long concealed,
and hine seolfne		and himself
sundor ācīgde.		she called apart.
Elene maðelode		Elene spake
tō ðām ānhagan,	1205	to the solitary man,
tīreádig cwen :		the glorious queen :
Ðe sint tū gearu,		"For thee are both prepared,
swá líf swá deað,		either life or death,
swá ðe leófre bið		as best thee pleaseth
tō geceósanne.	1210	to choose.
Cýð ricene nú		Tell me at once
hwæt ðú ðæs tō þinge		what composition in this matter
þafian wille.		thou art willing to make!"
Judas hire ongēn þingode,		Judas treated in turn with her,
ne meahte he ða gehðu bebūgan,		he could not avoid the sorrow,
oncyrran rex geniðlan, [dum :		avert the rage of hunger,
he wæs on ðære cwene geweal-		he was in the queen's power :
Hú mæg ðæm geweorðan		"How may it be with him
ðe on wēstenne		who in the desert
mēðe and meteleás	1220	weary and foodless
mōrland trydeð,		treads the moorland,
hungre gehæfted,		fettered with hunger,
and him hlāf and stān		and bread and a stone
on gesihðe . . .		before his sight . . .
bū geweorðað,	1225	both are,



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rice under roderum,
ge he ða rôde ne tæhte :

Hû mæg ic ðæt findan 1260
ðæt swá fyrn gewearð
wintra gangum.

is nú worn sceacen,
twá hund oððe má
geteled ríme, 1265

ic ne mæg áreccan
nú ic ðæt rim ne can ;

is nú feale siððan
forðgewitenra,
fródra and gódra 1270

ðe us fore wæron,
gleawra gumena.

Ic on geóguðe wearð,
on síðdagum

siððan ácenned, 1275
cnihtgeóng hæleð,

ic ne can ðæt ic nât
findan on fyrhðe,

ðæt swá fyrn gewearð.
Elene maðelade 1280

him on ondsware :

Hû is ðæt geworden
on ðisse werþeóde,
ðæt we swá monigfeald

on gemynd witon, 1285
alra tæcna gehylc

swá Trojana
þurh gefeoht fremedon,
ðæt wæs fyr miclê,

open ealdgewinn, 1290

ðonne ðeós æðele gewyrd,

power under heaven,
or whether he should not give
up the cross :

“ How may I find that
which happened so far off
in the courses of years ?

a multitude have past,
two hundred or more
numbered in tale,

I cannot relate
since I know not their number ;

since then have many men
passed away,

wise and good men,
that before us were,

men full of understanding.

I in my youth,
in the latter days
was after born,

a child,
I can not what I know not
find in my mind,

what happened so far back.”

Elene spake
to him in answer :

“ How does it happen
in this country,

that we so manifold things
know in remembrance,

every notable act
which the Trojans
did in battle,

that was far more remote,
an open old contest,

than this noble fate,

geara gongum :		in the courses of years ?
ge ðæt geare cunnon		ye know well enough
ēðre gereccan,		more readily to narrate that,
hwæt þær eallra wæs,	1298	what there was of all,
on manrīme,		in the number of men,
morðorslehtes,		the death-blows,
dareðlácendra,		the gaveline players,
deádra gefeallen		the dead fallen
under bordhagan,	1300	under the wall of shields,
ge ðá byrgenna		yea, their sepulchres
under stánhleóðum,		under mounds of stone,
and ðá stowe swá some,		and the place also
and ðá wintergerím		and the number of years
on gewritu setton.	1305	in writing ye have set.”
Judas maðelade,		Judas spake,
gnornsorte wæg :		sorrow of mind he bore :
We ðæs hereweorces		“ We this warlike deed,
hlæfdige mīn,		O my lady,
for nýðþearfe	1310	for great need
neár myndgiað,		have kept in near remembrance,
and ðá wiggþræce		and the crush of battle
on gewritu setton,		have set in writing,
þeóða gebæru :		the conduct of the people :
and ðis næfre þurh	1315	and this we have never
æinges mannes		through any one’s
múð gehýrdon		mouth heard
hæleðum cýðan,		declared to men,
bútan hēr nū ðá.		but now here.”
Him seó æðele cwen	1320	To him the noble queen
ágeaf andsware :		returned answer :
Wiðsæcest ðú tó swíðe		“ Thou deniest too strongly
sóðe and rihte		the truth and right
ymb ðæt lifes treow,		about the tree of life,
and nū lytlé ær	1325	and yet but a little before
sægdest sóðlice		thou spakest truly

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



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<p> ðæt ge me of ðissum ear- úþforlæten, heāne fram hungres geniðlan, ic ðæt hālige treó lustum cýðe, nú ic hit leng ne mæg helan for hungre ; is ðes hæft tó ðan strang, þreánýd ðes þearl and ðes þroht tó ðæs heard dôgorrimum ; ic ādreógan ne mæg, nē leng helan be ðām lifes treó, ðeáh ic ær mid dysigé þurhdrifen wære, and ðæt sóð tó late seolf gecneówe. </p>	<p> [feðum from this misery, ment, humbled from hunger's tor- I the holy tree will gladly reveal, since I no longer may conceal it for hunger ; my bond is so strong, the compulsion so severe and the suffering so hard in the days of my life ; I cannot endure it, nor longer conceal respecting the tree of life, though I before with folly was thoroughly penetrated, and the truth too late myself admit.” </p>
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IX.

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

IX.

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

Stópon ða to ðære stowe
 stiðhycgeude
 on ða dūne ūp, 1430
 ðe dryhten ær
 āhangen wæs,
 heofanrices weard,
 godbearn on galgan ;
 and hwæðre geare nyste 1435
 hungre gehýned,
 hwær sió hālig rōd
 þurb searu * *
 * * * *
 * * * * 1440
 foldan getýned,
 lange legere fæst,
 leódum dyrne
 wunode wælreste.
 Word stunde āhōf 1445
 elnes oncýðig,
 and on ēbrisc spræc :
 Dryhten hælend ðū ðe āhst
 dōma geweald
 and ðū geworhtest þurb 1450
 ðines wuldres miht
 heofon and eorðan
 and holmþræce,
 sæs sidne fæðm
 samod ealle gesceaft ; 1455
 and ðū āmæte
 mundum ðinum
 ealne ymbhwyrft
 and ūprador,
 and ðū sylf sitest, 1460
 sigora waldend,
 ofer ðām æðelestan

Then went the stout-hearted
 unto the place
 aloft upon the hill,
 where the lord of old
 was crucified,
 the guardian of heaven's realm,
 the divine son upon the cross ;
 and yet thoroughly knew not
 the hunger-tamed,
 where the holy rood
 through crafty * *
 * * * *
 * * * *
 hidden in earth,
 long fast in its place,
 concealed from the people
 abode in deadly rest.
 His word at once uplifted
 the man conscious of power,
 and in Hebrew spake : [hast
 " Lord the Saviour thou that
 power of dignities
 and wroughtest through
 the might of thy glory
 heaven and earth
 and ocean's power,
 the sea's wide bosom,
 and every creature ;
 thou that measurest
 with thy hands
 the whole circumference
 and the firmament aloft,
 and thyself sittest,
 lord of victories,
 above the noblest

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



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<p> ðæs he in ermðum sceal ealra fûla fûl, fáh þrówian, þeównéd þolian, ðær he ðin ne mæg word áweorpan ; is in wítum fæst ealre synne fruma susle gebunden. Gif ðin willa sie, wealdend engla, ðæt rícsie seðe on róde wæs, and þurh Marian in middangearde Acenned wearð in cildes háð, þeóden engla, gif he ðin nære sunu synna léas, næfre he sōðra swá feala in woruldríce wundra gefremede dôgorgerímum ; nō ðú of deáðe hine swá þrymlice, þeóða wealdend, áweahte for weorodum, gif he in wuldre ðinum þurh ðá beorhtan bearn ne wære. Gedó nú, fæder engla, forðbeácen ðin, swá ðú gehýrdest ðone hálgan wer </p>	<p> 1535 1540 1545 1550 1555 1560 1565 </p>	<p> wherefore in misery shall he, foul of all foul things, stained suffer, a slavish need endure, where he may not thy word cast aside ; fast in punishments is the origin of all sin in torment bound. If it be thy will, ruler of angels, that He shall reign who was upon the cross, and through Mary into the world was born in form of a child, (O king of angels, had he not been thy guiltless son, never in the world could he so many true miracles have performed during his life ; [death never wouldst thou him from so gloriously, O lord of hosts, have raised up before men, if he in thy glory through the bright maid thy son had not been !) Do now, O father of angels, thy conspicuous sign, as thou heardest the holy man </p>
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<p> Moyses on meðle, ðá ðú, mihta god, gehýwdest ðám eorle, 1570 on ðá æðelan tíð, under beorhbliðe bân Josephes ; swá ic ðe, weoroda wealdend, gif hit sie willa ðín, 1578 þurh ðæt beorhte gesceap biddau wille, ðæt me ðæt goldhord, gásta scippend, geopenie, 1580 ðæt yldum wæs lange behýded. Forlæt nú, lifes fruma, of ðám wangstede wynsumne úp 1588 under radores ryne réc ástígan, lyftlácende. Ic gelyfe ðe sél, and ðý fæstlicor 1590 ferhð staðelige, hyht untweóndne on ðone áhangnan Crist, ðæt he sie sóðlice sáwla nergend, 1598 éce, ælmihtig, Israhela cyning ; walde wídanferhð wuldres on heofenum, á butan ende, 1600 écra gestealda. </p>	<p> Moses in discourse, when thou, O God of power, shewedst the man, in that noble hour, under the rocky ledge the bones of Joseph ; so I thee, Lord of hosts, if it be thy will, through that bright creature will implore, that to me the treasure, creator of spirits, thou wilt open, which was among men long concealed. Let now, lord of life, up from the plain, sweet under the course of heaven a vapour ascend, playing through the air. All the better shall I believe, and all the firmer fix my mind, my undoubting hope on Christ the crucified, that he is verily the saviour of souls, eternal, almighty, the king of Israel ; that he shall rule for ever glory in heaven, world without end, the eternal mansions !” </p>
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X.

Ðá of ðære stowe
 steám úpárás
 swylce rēc under radorum.
 Ðær áræred wearð 1606
 beornes breōstsefa.
 He mid bæm handum
 eádig and ægleáw
 upweard plegade.
 Judas maðelode 1610
 gleáw in geþance :
 Nû ic þurh sōð hafu
 seolf gecnâwen
 on heardum hyge,
 ðæt ðû hælend eart 1616
 middangeardes.
 Sie ðe, mægena God,
 þrymsittendum,
 þanc bútan ende,
 ðæs ðû me swá mēðum 1620
 and swá mânweorcum,
 þurh ðín wuldor inwrigē
 wyrda gerýno.
 Nû ic ðe, bearn godes
 biddan wille, 1625
 weoroda willgifa,
 nû ic wát, ðæt ðû eart
 gecýðed and acenned
 allra cyninga þrym,
 ðæt ðû mǎ ne sie 1630
 mīnra gylta,
 ðára ðe ic gefremede
 nales feám síðum,

X.

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



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

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

<p> Ðá ðær menigo cwom, folc unlytel, and gefærenne man brohton on bære, beorna þreáte on néaweste, wæs ðá nigoðe tid, gingne, gástleásne. Ðá ðær Judas wæs on mōdsefan miclum geblissod ; héht ðá ásettan sáwlleásne, life belidenes lic on eorðan, unlifgendes, and i páhōf, rihtes reniend, ðara rôda twá, fyrhōgleáw, on fæðme ofer ðæt fæge hús, deóphycgende : hit wæs deád swá ær, lic legere fæst leomu cōledon þreánédum beþeant. Ðá sió þridde wæs áhafen hálig : hrá wæs on anbīde ōððæt him uppan æðelinges wæs rōd áræred, rodorcýninges beám, sigebeácen sōð : he sōna áras </p>	<p> 1740 1745 1750 1755 1760 1765 1770 </p>	<p> Then came thither the multi- no little crowd, [tude, and a dead man brought on a bier, with a troop of men into the presence, it was then the ninth hour, young, lifeless. Then was Judas in his mind greatly rejoiced ; he then commanded to place the dead man, the body of the lifeless upon the earth, no longer living, and raised aloft, preparing the right, two of the crosses, wise-minded, in the grasp over the dead house, deep-thinking : it was dead as before, a corpse firm on its bed : the limbs had grown cold covered with oppression. Then was the third one holy uplifted : the corpse awaited until upon it the noble's cross was reared, the tree of Heaven's King, true token of victory : he soon arose </p>
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ŷceð ealdne nŷð, æhta strúdeð.		increaseth the old feud, destroyeth my possession !
Ðis is singal sacu, sáwla ne móton		This is an endless grievance, souls may not
mánfremmende	1810	though workers of evil
in mīnum leng		any longer in my
æbtum wunigan.		possession abide.
Ná cwom elpeódig		Now hath come a stranger
ðone ic ær on firenum		whom I of old in guilt
fæstne talde,	1815	fast reckoned,
hafað mec bereáfod		and hath bereaved me
rihta gehwylces,		of every right,
feohgestreóna,		of my treasures,
nis ðæt fæger síð.		this is no fair play.
Feala me se hælend	1820	Many the Saviour
hearma gefremede,		of harms did me,
níða nearolcra,		of close mischiefs,
se ðe in Nazareð		he who in Nazareth
aféded wæs,		was born,
siððan furðum weóx	1825	after he first grew up
of cildháde,		from childhood,
symle cyrde tó him		ever he turned to himself
æhte mīne,		my possessions,
ne mót ænige nū		nor can I now any
rihte spówan.	1830	right enjoy.
Is his rīce brād		Broad is his kingdom
ofer middangeard,		over all the earth,
mīn is geswīðrod		violated is my
ræd under roderum ;		counsel under heaven ;
ic ða rôde ne þearf	1835	I need not praise
hleah tre herigean.		the cross with joy.
Hwæt se hælend me		Lo, me the Saviour
in ðám engan hām		in the narrow dwelling
oft getýnde,		often shut up,
geomrum tó sorge.	1840	mournfully to my sorrow.

ic þurh Judas ær		I formerly through Judas
hyhtful gewearð,		was made hopeful,
and nû gehýned eom,		and now am shamed,
gôda gæsen,		made void of good,
þurh Judas eft,	1845	again through Judas,
fáh and freóndleás ;		hostile and friendless ;
gên ic findan ne can		and yet I cannot find
þurh wróhtstafas		through hostile devices
wiðercyr wið ðan.		a refuge against it.
Of ðam wearhtreafum,	1850	From the abodes of the cursed,
ic áwecce wið ðe		I will raise up against thee
óðerne cyning		another king
se ēhteð ðín,		who shall persecute thee,
and he forlæteð		and he shall desert
lære ðíne,	1855	thy doctrine,
and mánþeawum		and my evil
mínum folgað,		customs follow,
and ðec ðonne sendeð		and then shall send thee
in ða sweartestan		into the blackest
and ða wyrrestan	1860	and the worst
wítebrógan ;		terrors of torture ; [sorrows,
ðæt ðú, sárum forsóht,		so that thou, sought home with
wiðsæcest fæste		shalt altogether deny
ðone áhangnan cyning		the crucified king
ðam ðú hýrdest ær.	1865	whom thou before obeyedst.”
Him ðá gleáwhydig		Him prudent of mind
Judas oncwæð,		Judas addressed,
hæleð, hildedeór ;		a hero, a beast of battle ;
him wæs hálig gást		to him was the holy spirit
befolen fæste,	1870	thoroughly granted,
fýrhát lufu		a love as hot as fire
weallende gewilt		bubbling boiled
þurh wígan snyttro,		through the warrior's prudence,
and ðæt word gecwæð		and these words he spake
wisdómes ful :	1875	filled with wisdom :

Ne þearft ðú swá swiðe, synna gemyndig, sár niwigan and sæce ræran, morðres mánfreá, ðæt se mihtiga cyning in neólnesses niðer bescûfeð synwyrrende in sūsla grund, dōmes leásne, se ðe deádra feala wordé áwehte. Wíte ðú ðe gearwōr, ðæt ðú unsnyttrum ánforlête leóhta beorhtōst and lufan dryhtnes, ðone fægran gefeán; and on fýrbæðe sūslum beþrunge siððan wunodest, áde onæled, and ðær áwa scealt wiðerhygende. wergðu dreógan, yrmðu bútan ende. Elene gehýrde hú se feōnd and se freōnd gefitu rærdon, tíreádig and trag on twá halfa, synnig and gesælig; sefa wæs ðe glædra ðæs ðe heó gehýrde	1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910	“Thou needest not so much, O mindful of sins, sorrow renew and opposition raise, thou lord of evil deeds, since the mighty king into the abyss casteth down thee guilty into the abyss of sulphur, void of honour, he who many of the dead raised with his word. Know thou all the better that thou for thy folly didst lose of lights the brightest and the Lord’s love, the fair joy; and in the bath of fire oppressed with sulphur dwellest ever since, burned with flame, and there for ever shalt thou the apostate wretchedness endure, misery without end.” Elene heard how the fiend and the friend this conflict reared, the glorious and the base on this side and that, the sinful and the blessed; the more glad was her mind in that she heard him
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<p>ðæt Cristes [rôd], fyrn foldan begræfen, funden wære ; sélest sigebeácna, ðára ðe síð oððe ær hálig under heofenum áhafen wurde.</p>	<p>1945</p>	<p>that Christ's cross, of yore in earth buried, had been found ; the best of victorious signs, which before or after holy under the heavens was ever reared aloft.</p>
<p>Ond wæs Iudeum, gnornsorga máest, werum wansæligum wyrda láðost, ðær hie hit for worulde wendan [ne] meahton cristenra gefean.</p>	<p>1960</p>	<p>Anger fell upon the Jews, the greatest of indignant sor- upon the hapless men [rows, the fortune that was most hate- since they before the world [ful, could not turn back the joy of the Christians.</p>
<p>Ðá sió cwen bebeád ofer eorlmægen áras fýsan, ricene tó ráde, sceóldon Rómwarena ofer heanne holm hláford sécean, ond ðám wiggende wilspella máest seolfum geseccan, ðe ðæt sigorbeácen þurh meotodes ést méted wære, funden in foldan :</p>	<p>1965</p>	<p>Then proclaimed the queen throughout the mass of the peo- messengers to prepare, [ple swift to ride, they should of the Romans over the deep sea the lord seek out, and to the warrior the most welcome tidings in person tell, how the banner of victory through grace of God had been met with, found in the ground :</p>
<p>ðæt ær feala mæla behýded wæs hálgum tó teónan, cristenum folce.</p>	<p>1960</p>	<p>swift to ride, they should of the Romans over the deep sea the lord seek out, and to the warrior the most welcome tidings in person tell, how the banner of victory through grace of God had been met with, found in the ground :</p>
<p>Ðá ðám cininge wearð þurh ða mæran word mód geblissod,</p>	<p>1970</p>	<p>which for many seasons had been hidden to the sorrow of saints, the christian people. Then was to the king through the great tidings the spirit blessed,</p>
<p>ðæt ær feala mæla behýded wæs hálgum tó teónan, cristenum folce.</p>	<p>1975</p>	<p>which for many seasons had been hidden to the sorrow of saints, the christian people. Then was to the king through the great tidings the spirit blessed,</p>

ferhð gefeónde.		the mind rejoicing. [quirers,
Næs ðá fricendra,		There was not there of en-
under goldhoman,	1980	under the golden mail,
gád in burgum,		sorrow in the palaces,
feorran geferede,		brought from afar,
wæs him frofra mæst		to him the greatest of com-
		forts
geworden in worulde,		in the world had happened,
æt ðám willspelle	1985	at the good news
blibende hyge,		a laughing mind,
ðe him hereræswan		which to him the chieftain
ofer eástwegas		over the eastern ways
áras brohton,		the messengers brought,
hú gesundne síð	1990	how a prosperous journey
ofer swonráde		over the swan's path [queen
secgas mid sigecwen		his men with the victorious
áseten hæfdon		had had
on Creca land.		unto the land of the Greeks.
Se cásere héht	1995	The emperor commanded
ófstum myclum		with great speed
eft gearwian		themselves to prepare
sylfe tó síðe.		for the journey back.
Secgas ne gældon		The men delayed not
syððan andsware	2000	as soon as they the answer
edre gehyrdon,		had heard,
æðelinges word.		the word of the noble.
Héht he Elenan		He bade Elene
hæl ábeódan,		greet,
beadurófre,	2005	the famous in war, [sea
gif hie brimnesen		if they a good passage over the
and gesundne síð		and a safe journey
settan mósten,		should have,
hæleð hwætmóde		the brave-minded men
tó ðære hálgan byrig.	2010	unto the holy city.
Héht hire ða áras		He bade the messengers also

eác gebeóðan		proclaim to her
Constantinus,		(Constantine namely)
ðæt hió cirican ðær		that she a church there
on ðám beorhbliðe,	2015	on the mountain-slope,
bégra ræðum,		as they had both agreed,
getimbrede ;		should build ;
tempel dryhtnes		a temple of the Lord
on Caluarie,		on Calvary,
Criste tó willan,	2020	in honour of Christ,
hæleðum tó helpe,		and for the benefit of mankind,
ðær sió hálige ród		there, where the holy cross
geméted wæs,		had been discovered,
mærost beánia,		the mightiest of trees,
ðára ðe gefrugneu	2025	of which have ever heard
foldbuende		the dwellers upon earth
on eorðwege.		in this world.
Hió geefnde swá,		She did it so,
siððan winemagas		after the dear friends
westan bróhton	2030	brought from the west
ofer lagufæsten		over the wave-journey
leófspell manig.		many a pleasant message.
Ðá seó cwen bebeád,		Then commanded the queen,
cræftum getýde		men learned in crafts
sundor ásecean,	2035	separately to seek out,
ða sélestan,		the best,
ða ðe wrætlicost		those who most splendidly
wyrcean cúðon		could work
stángefógum,		in stone buildings,
on ðám stedewange	2040	upon the spot
girwan Godes tempel,		to make a temple to God,
swá hire gásta weard		where to her the ruler of spirits
reord of roderum ;		spake from heaven ;
and ða róde héht		and commanded the cross itself
golde beweorcean	2045	with gold to work up
and gimcynnum,		and with kind of gems,



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

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

XIII.

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

XIII.

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

tó Godes temple		to God's temple
cræftum gecorene ;	2115	mightily elected ;
and hine Cyriacus		and him Cyriacus
þurh snyttrogeðeaht		with wise device
syððan nemde		thenceforth called
niwan stefne.		by a new name.
Nama wæs gecyrred	2120	The name was changed
beornes in burgum,		of the man in the dwellings,
on ðæt betere forð—		henceforth to the better one—
æ hælendes.		The Law of the Lord.
Ðá gen Elenan ðæs		Moreover Elene, her mind
mód gemýnde	2125	remembered
ymb ða mæran wyrd,		concerning the mighty fate,
geneáhhe for ðám næglum		respecting the nails
ðe ðæs Nergendes		which the Saviour's
fét þurhwódon,		feet had pierced,
and his folme swá some,	2130	and likewise his hands,
mid ðám on róde wæs		with which upon the cross
rodera wealdend,		the Ruler of the skies, [fastened.
gefæstnod freá mihtig.		the mighty Lord had been
Be ðám frignan ongan		About them began to enquire
cristenra cwen,	2135	the queen of Christians,
Cyriacus bæd,		Cyriacus she begged,
ðæt hire ðá gena		that he would fully
gástes mihtum		through the might of spirit
ymb wundorwyrd		concerning the wondrous fate
willan gefylde ;	2140	her will fulfill ; [gifts.
onwrige wuldorgifum.		would reveal by miraculous
And ðæt word ácwæð		And these words she spake
tó ðám bisceope,		unto the Bishop,
bald reordode :		boldly addressed him :
Ðú me eorla hleó,	2145	“ O refuge of men, thou to me
ðone æðelan beám,		the noble beam,
róde rodera cining		the cross of Heaven's King
ryhte getæhtest,		hast rightly shown,

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



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lácende lig.

Leóde gesáwon

hira willgifan

wundor cýðan ;

ðá ðær of heólstre

swylce heofonsteorran

oððe gódgimmas,

grunde getenge,

næglas of nearwe

neóðan scínende

leóhte lixton.

Leóde gefrægon,

weorud willhréðig,

sægdon wuldor Gode,

ealle ánmóde,

þeáh hie ær wæron

ðurh deóflæs spild

in gedwolan lange,

ácyrred fram Criste.

Hie cwædon ðús :

Nú we seolfe geseóð

sigores tácen,

sóð wundor Godes.

Deáh we wiðsócun ær

mid leásingum.

Nú is in leóht cymen,

onwripen wyrda bigang ;

wuldor ðæs áge

on heánesse

heofonríces God.

Ðá wæs geblissod,

seðe tó bóte gehwearf

ðurh bearn Godes,

bisceop ðára leóda,

niwan stefne.

a dancing fire.

2220 The people saw

their Lord of grace

perform a miracle ;

when there out of the darkness

like stars of heaven

2225 or jewels,

close to the ground, [prison

the nails from out of their

shining below

flashed with light.

2230 The people learnt it,

a troop gentle-minded,

they said glory to God,

all with one mind,

though they before had been

2235 through craft of the devil

long in error,

turned away from Christ.

Thus they spoke :

“ Now we see ourselves

2240 the sign of victory,

the true wonder of God !

Though we before rejected

with lying thoughts.

Now is the light come,

the march of fate revealed ;

glory be for this

in the highest

to the God of Heaven !”

Then was blessed,

2250 he who to the better had turned

through the Son of God,

the bishop of the people,

at the new tone.

He ðán næglan onfeng,
 egesan geáclod, 2255
 and ðære arwyrðan
 cwene brohte.
 Hæfde Ciriacus
 eall gefylled,
 swa him seó æðele bebeád,
 wifes willan.
 Ðá wæs wópes bring,
 hát heáfodwylm
 ofer hleor goten ;
 nalles for torne 2265
 tearas feóllon
 ofer wíra gespon.
 Wuldres gefylled
 cwene willa.
 Heó on cneów sette 2270
 leohte geleáfan,
 lác weorðade,
 blissum hrémig,
 ðe hire brungen wæs,
 gnyrna tó geóce. 2275
 Gode þancode,
 sigora dryhtne,
 ðæs ðe hió sóð gecneów
 andweardlice,
 ðæt wæs oft bodod 2280
 feor ær beforan
 fram fruman worulde,
 folcum tó frófre.
 Heó gefylled wæs
 wísdómes gife, 2285
 and ða wíc beheóld.
 Hálig heofonlic gást
 hréðer weardode,

He took the nails,
 sickening with fear,
 and to the venerable
 queen he brought them.
 Cyriacus had
 all fulfilled, [manded,
 which the noble one had com-
 the will of the woman.
 Then was the ring of weeping,
 the hot head-fountain
 poured over the cheeks ;
 but not for anger 2265
 fell the tears
 over the complex of wires.
 With glory was filled
 the queen's desire.
 She knelt down 2270
 in bright belief,
 the treasure she honoured,
 exulting in bliss,
 which was brought unto her,
 for a consolation of sorrows. 2275
 She thanked God,
 the Lord of victories,
 for that she now acknowledged
 present to her,
 that which was oft foretold
 long, long before [world,
 from the beginning of the
 for the comfort of the people.
 She was filled
 with the grace of wisdom, 2285
 and beheld the town.
 The holy heavenly Spirit
 guarded her breast,

æðelne innoð.

Swa hie ælmihtig
sigebearn Godes
sioððan . freoðode.

XIV.

Ongan ðá geornlice
gástgerýnum
on sefan sécean
sóðfæstnesse,
weg tó wuldre.

Huru weoruda God
gefullæste,

fæder on roderum,
cining ælmihtig,
ðæt seó cwen begeat
willan in worulde.

Wæs se witedóm
ðurh fyrnwitan
beforan sungen,
eall æfter orde
swá hit eft gelamp
ðinga gehwylces.

þeódcwen ongan
ðurh gástes gife
georne sécan
nearwe geneáhhe,
tó hwán hió ða næglas
selost and deórlícost
gedón meahhte,
dúgoðum tó hróðer :

hwæt ðæs wære dryhtnes willa.

Héht ðá gefetigean
forðsnotterne

her noble womb.

2290 Even as the almighty
victorious Son of God
ever after protected her.

XIV.

Then began she
in the secrets of her spirit
2295 in her mind to seek
in soothfastness,
the way to glory.

At least the Lord of Hosts
gave aid,

2300 the Father in heaven,
the Almighty King,
that the queen obtained
her will in this world.

The prophecy was
2305 by old seers
sung long before,
all from the very beginning
as it afterwards fell out
in every thing.

The great queen began
2310 through grace of the Spirit
earnestly to enquire
anxiously enough,
to what she the nails
2315 might best and most worthily
employ,

for the benefit of mankind :
Lo ! that was the will of God !
She caused to fetch
2320 the very wise man



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<p> ðonne fyrdhwate on twá healfe tohtan sécað, sweordgeniðlan, ðær hie ymb willað, wráð wið wráðum, heáh æt wigge spéd, sigor æt sæcce, and sybbe gehwær, æt gefeohte frið, seðe foran lædeð bridels on blancan, ðonne beadorófe, æt gárþræce, guman gecoste, berað hord and ord ; ðis bið beorna gehwám wið æglece, unoferswíðed wæpen æt wigge. Be ðám se witga sang, snottor searuþancum, sefa deóp gewód, wisdómes gewitt ; he ðæt word gecwæð : Cúð ðæt gewyrðeð ðæt ðæs cyninges sceal mearh under módegum, midlum geweorðod, brídelshringum. Bið ðæt beácen góde hálig nemned, and se hwæteádig wiggeweorðod se [ðe] ðæt wicg byrð. </p>	<p> 2360 2365 2370 2375 2380 2385 2390 </p>	<p> when the brave of heart on both sides seek the battle, the swordbearers, when they swarm about him, wroth with the wroth, high success in war, victory in the contest, and peace everywhere, a protection in fight, whoso leadeth forward the bridle on the steed, when men brave in war, in the press of javelins, the chosen among men, bear shield and spear ; this shall be for every man against his foe, an unsubdued weapon in war. Of this the prophet sang, wise in his cunning thoughts, deep went his mind, his wit of wisdom ; he spoke the word : It shall be known that the king's horse shall (go) under the proud one, adorned with bits, with bridle rings. That good beacon shall be called holy, and the brave-minded one honoured in war whom that horse heareth." </p>
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Ðá ðæt ófstlíce		Then that speedily
eall gelæste		all performed
Elene, for eorlum ;		Elene, before the men ;
æðelinges héht,		she commanded the noble one's,
beorna beággifan	2395	the ring-giver of men's,
brídels frætwan,		bridle to deck,
hire selfre suna.		her own son's.
Sende tó láce		She sent it as a present
ofer geofenes streám,		over the ocean stream,
gife unscynde.	2400	a blameless gift.
Héht ðá tósomne		Then called she together
ðá heó seleste		all whom she the best
mid Judeum		among the Jews
gumena wiste,		of men knew,
hæleða cynnes,	2405	of the race of men,
tó ðære hálgan byrig,		unto the holy city,
cuman in ða ceastre.		to come into the city.
Ðá seó cwen ongan		Then began the queen
læran leófra heáp,		to teach the dear company,
ðæt hie lufan dryhtnes	2410	that they love of the Lord
and sybbe swá same		and peace together
sylfra betweónum,		between themselves,
freóndrædenne,		friendship,
fæste gelæston		should fast maintain
leáhtorleáse,	2415	without deceit,
in hira lifes tíd :		for all their lives :
ond ðæs latteówes		and their leader's
lárur hýrdon		lore obey
cristenum þeáwum,		in christian morals,
ðe him Cyriacus	2420	which Cyriacus [them.
bude boca gleáw.		learned in books should teach
Wæs se bisceophád		The bishopric was
fægere befæsted.		fair established.
Oft him feorran tó		Oft from afar to him
lauman liomseóce	2425	the lame and limb-sick

lefe cwomon,
 healte heorudreórige,
 hreófe and blinde,
 heáne hygegeomre :
 symle hælo ðær 2430
 æt ðám bisceope,
 bóte fundon
 éce tó aldre.
 Ðá gen him Elene forgeaf
 sincweorðunga, 2435
 ðá hió wæs síðes fús
 eft tó éðle :
 and ðá eallum bebeád
 on ðám gumríce
 God hergendum, 2440
 werum and wífum,
 ðæt hie weorðeden
 móde and mægene
 ðone mæran dæg,
 heortan gehigdum, 2445
 in ðá sió hálige ród
 geméted wæs,
 mærost beáma,
 ðára ðe of eorðan
 úpáweoxe 2450
 geloden under leáfum.
 Wæs ðá lencten ágán
 bútan vi. nihtum
 ær sumeres cyme,
 on Maias k̅t. 2455
 Síe ðára manna gehwám
 behliden helle duru,
 heofones ontýned,
 éce geopenad,
 engla ríce 2460

the infirm came,
 the halt sad of mind,
 the leper and the blind,
 the poor sorrowful of spirit :
 all together heal there
 at the bishop's hands,
 and aid they found
 for ever.
 Then further Elene gave him
 treasure, [journey
 when she was prepared for the
 back to her home :
 and there commanded all
 in that country
 who served God,
 both man and woman,
 that they should honour
 with might and main
 the glorious day,
 in the thoughts of their hearts,
 in which the Holy Cross
 was found,
 greatest of trees,
 of those which from earth
 have waxed aloft
 grown under leaves.
 The spring was gone
 all but six days
 before the coming of summer,
 in May's calends.
 May for every man
 hell's doors be closed,
 heaven's unclosed,
 opened for ever,
 the kingdom of angels



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mægencýning á mæt,		the powerful King <i>bestowed</i>
		(measured out to me),
and on gemynd begeat,		and in my memory begot,
torht ontýnde,	2495	bright laid open,
tídum gerýmde,		at times made wide,
bancofan onband,		unloosed my fleshly bonds,
breóstlocan onwand,		opened my breast-chest,
leóðucræft onleác,		unlocked the power of song,
ðæs ic lustum breác	2500	that I with pleasure enjoyed
willum in worlde.		my will in the world.
Ic ðæs wuldres treówes		I the tree of glory
oft, nales áene,		often, not once alone,
hæfde in gemynd,		had in remembrance,
ær ic ðæt wundor	2505	before I the miracle
onwripen hæfde		had revealed
ymb ðone beorhtan beám,		about the bright tree,
swá ic on bócum fand		as I found in books
wyrda gangum,		in the courses of events,
on gewritum cýðan	2510	announced in writings
be ðám sigebeácne.		concerning the tree of victory.
A' wæs sæc oððæt,		Ever was contest till then,
cnyssed cearwelnum		with waves of sorrow tossed
þ drúsende,		C (the torch) sinking,
ðeáh he in medohealle	2515	though he in meadhall
máðmas þege		treasures handled
æplede gold,		dappled gold,
þ gnornode,		Y (sorrow) he mourned,
þ gefere,		N (need) his consort,
nearu sorge dreáh,	2520	narrow sorrow he suffered,
enge rúne,		a close rune,
ðær him M fore		where E (the horse) before him
milpaðas mæt,		measured the mile-paths,
módig þrægde		proudly hastened
wírum gewlenced.	2525	with wires adorned.

Þ is geswiðrad,
 gomen æfter gearum,
 geógoð is gecyrred
 ald onmedla.
 Ð wæs geara 2530
 geógoðhádes glæm,
 nú synt geardagas
 æfter fyrstmeorce
 forðgewitene,
 lifwynne geliden, 2535
 swá ƿ. tóglíðæð,
 flóðas gefýsde.
 ƿ æghwam bið
 læne under lyfte,
 landes frætwe 2540
 gewítaþ under wolcnum,
 winde gelícost
 ðonne he for hæleðum
 hlúdast igeð,
 wæðeð be wolcnum, 2545
 wédende færeð,
 and eft semninga
 swíge gewyrðeð,
 in nédcleofan
 nearwe geheáðrod, 2550
 þreám forþrycced.
 Swá ðeós world eall gewíteð,
 and eác swá some
 ðe hire on wurdon
 átydrede 2555
 tíónleg nimeð,
 ðonne dryhten sylf
 dóm geséceð,
 engla weorude.
 Sceall æghwylc ðær 2560

W (My hope) is overpowered,
 my joy in my old age,
 youth is turned back
 my old pride.
 U (I was of old)
 a gleam of youth,
 now are the days of my life
 after the appointed space
 departed,
 the joy of life flowed away,
 as L (lake or water) glideth,
 the floods that hasten.
 F (wealth) will be for every man
 failing under the heaven,
 the ornament of the land
 will depart under the welkin,
 most like to the wind
 when it over men
 loudest swelleth,
 rusheth through the clouds,
 storming goeth,
 and eft suddenly
 becometh silent,
 in its close bed
 narrowly compressed,
 with chastisements restrained.
 So shall all this world depart,
 and also together those
 who on it were
 created
 the destructive fire shall take,
 when the Lord himself
 shall come to judgment,
 with a troop of angels.
 There shall every one

reordberendra		of articulate men
riht gehýran		hear the right
dæda gehwylcra,		of all his deeds,
þurh ðæs déman múð ;		through the Judge's mouth ;
and worda swá same	2566	and of his words also
wed gesyllan,		give the account,
eallra unsnyttro		all the follies
ærgesprecenra,		he before hath spoken,
þristra geþonca ;		his bold thoughts ;
ðonne on þreó dæleð	2570	when into three shall separate
in fyres feng		in the grasp of fire
folc ánra gehwylc,		every one of the people,
ðára ðe gewurdon		of those that were
on wídan feore		for ever and ever
ofer sídne grund.	2575	on the wide earth.
Sóðfæste bioð		The righteous shall be
yfemest in ðám áde,		uppermost in the fire,
eádigra gedryht,		the troop of the blessed,
dúguð dómgeorne,		the dignified company rejoicing
		in the judgment,
swá hie ádreógan magon,	2580	as they may bear it,
and bútan earfeðum		and without suffering
eáðe gepólian,		easily endure it,
módigra mægen ;		the might of the courageous ;
him gemetgað eall		to them shall everything mo-
		derate
éðles leóma,	2585	the bright light of their home,
swá him éðost bið,		as for them may be easiest,
sylfum geséftost.		to themselves softest.
Synfulle beóð		The sinful shall be
máne gemengde		mixed up with crime
in ðám midle þread,	2590	in the midst thrust,
hæleð higegeomre,		men sad of mood,
in hátne wylm,		into the hot fire,
þrosme beþehte.		covered with foulness.



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<p> éces eádwelan ; him bið engla weard 2630 milde and bliðe, ðæs ðe hie mána gehwylc, forsawon synna weorc, and tó suna metudes wordum cleopodon : 2636 forðan hie nu on wlite scínað, englum gelíce, yrfes brúcað wuldorcyninges, tó wídan feore. Amen. 2640 </p>	<p> eternal bliss ; to them will the Lord of angels mild and blithe, [be because they every sin, every work of sin rejected, and to the Son of God cried in words : wherefore they shall shine in their countenance, like unto angels, shall enjoy the inheritance of the King of Glory, world without end. Amen. </p>
--	---

END OF ELENE.

mid ðám ligewyrhtum,
 ðám ðe ful sméðe
 spræce habbað,
 and in gástcofan
 grimme gepohtas :
 gehátað holdlice
 swá hyra hyht ne gæð,
 wære mid welerum.

Wea bið in móde
 siofa synnum fáb,
 sáre geblonden,
 gefylled mid fácne,
 ðeáh he fæger word
 útan ætýwe.

Ænlice beoð
 swá ða beón berað
 butu ætsomne
 árlicne ánleofan,
 and ætterne tægel
 hafað on hindan,
 hunig on múðe,
 wynsume wist,
 hwílum wundiað
 sáre mid * *
 ðonne se sæl cymeð.

Swá beoð gelíce
 ða leásan men
 ðá ðe mid tungan
 treówa gehátað
 fægerum wordum,
 fácenlice þencað,
 ðonne hie æt nehstan
 nearwe beswícað ;
 hafað on gehátum
 hunigsmæccas,

with the workers of lies,
 20 those that full smooth
 speech have,
 and in the chests of their spirit
 grim thoughts :
 who promise kindly
 25 as their hope goeth not,
 their pledge with the lips.”

Evil is in mood
 the mind defiled with sins,
 mixed up with evil,
 30 filled with treachery,
 although it fair words
 outwardly show.

Like are they
 as the bees bear
 35 both together
 an excellent food,
 and a poisonous tail
 they have behind them,
 honey in the mouth,
 40 a pleasant food,
 and sometimes wound
 sore with (their sting)
 when the time cometh.

Such resemble
 45 false men
 who with the tongue
 promise fidelity
 in fair words,
 but treacherously think,
 50 when they as soon as possible
 narrowly betray ;
 have in their promises
 the taste of honey,



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þonne God wile
eorðan lifes
ende gewyrcean.

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

END OF A FRAGMENT, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

THE HOLY ROOD;

A DREAM.

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

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

men ofer moldan,
 and eall ðeós mære gesceaft.
 Syllíc wæs se sigebeám, 25
 and ic synnum fáh,
 forwunded mid wommum,
 geseah ic wuldres treów
 wædum geworðode
 wynnum scínan, 30
 gegyred mid golde.
 Gimmas hæfdon
 bewrigen weorðlice
 wealdes treów.
 Hwæðre ic þurh ðæt gold 35
 ongytan meahste
 earmra ærgewinn,
 ðæt hit ærest ongan
 swætan on ða swiðran healfe.
 Eall ic wæs mid sargum ge-
 dréfed, 40
 forht ic wæs for ðære fægran
 gesýhðe;
 geseah ic ðæt fúse beácen
 wendan wædum and bleóm;
 hwílum hit wæs mid wætan
 bestémed,
 beswýled mid swátes gänge;
 hwílum mid since gegyrwed.
 Hwæðre ic ðær licgende
 lange hwíle
 beheóld hreówcearig
 Hælendes treów, 50
 oððæt ic gehýrde
 ðæt hit hleoðrode.
 Ongan ða word sprecað

men upon the earth,
 and all this mighty creation.
 Strange was the tree of victory,
 and I stained with sins,
 wounded with my guilt,
 saw the tree of glory
 adorned with hangings
 pleasantly shine,
 ornamented with gold.
 Jewels had
 worthily encircled
 the forest tree.
 Yet could I through the gold
 understand [ferers,
 the ancient struggle of the suf-
 when it first began
 to bleed on the right side.
 I was all oppressed with sor-
 row,
 terrified I was at the fair
 sight;
 I saw the hastening beacon
 change both in hangings and
 colours;
 at times it was damped with
 wet,
 soiled with running of blood;
 at times adorned with treasure.
 But I lying there
 a long while
 sad of mind beheld
 the Saviour's tree,
 until I heard
 that it gave a sound.
 These words to speak began



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módig on manigra gesýhðe,
ðá he wólde mancyn lýsan.

Bifode ic ðá me se beorn
ymbclypte,
ne dorste ic hwæðre búgan
tó eorðan,

feallan tó foldan sceátum, 88
ac ic sceólde fæste standan ;
ród wæs ic áræred,
áhof ic rícne cyning,
heofona hláford ;
hyldan me ne dorste. 90

þurhdrifon hi me mid
deorcan næglum,
on me syndon ða dolg gesfene,
opene inwidhlemmas,
ne dorste ic hira nænigum
sceððan :

bysmeredon hie butu æt- 98
gædere :

eall ic wæs mid blóde bestemed
begoten of ðæs guman sídan,
siððan he hæfde his gást on-
sended ;

feala ic on ðam beorge
gebiden hæbbe 100
wráðra wyrda.

Geseah ic weruda God
þearle þenian :
þýstro hæfdon
bewrigen mid wolcnum 108
wealdendes hræw,

courageous in the sight of many,
since there he would redeem
mankind.

I trembled there when the
champion embraced me,
but I dared not bow down to
earth,

fall on the ground, [fast ;
but I was compelled to stand
a cross was I reared,
I uplifted the mighty King,
the Lord of the heavens ;
fall down I dared not.

They pierced me with dark
nails,
the wounds are visible upon me,
open sounds of woe*,
nor dared I injure any of
them :

they reviled us both together :

I was all wet with blood
poured from the man's side,
after he had sent forth his
spirit ;

much on that mountain
have I endured
of angry fortunes.

I saw the Lord of hosts
hardly serve :
darkness had
covered with clouds
the corpse of the ruler,

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

scírne sciman
 sceadu forðeóde,
 wann under wolcnum ;
 weóp eal gesceaft, 110
 cwíðdon cynninges fyll :
 Crist wæs on róde,
 hwæðere ð 'r fúse
 feorran cwomon
 tó ðám æðelinge : 115
 ic ðæt eall beheóld ;
 sáre ic wæs mid gedréfed,
 hnág ic hwæðre ðám secgum
 tó handa,
 eáðmod elne mycle.
 Genamon hie ðær æl- 120
 mihtigne God,
 áhofon hine of ðám hefian
 wíte ;
 forleton me ðá hilderincas
 standan steáme bedrifenne,
 eall ic wæs mid strælum
 forwundod.
 Áledon hie ðær limwérigne,
 gestódon him æt his líces
 heáfðum,
 beheóldon hie ðær heofenes
 dryhten,
 and he hine ðær hwíle reste,
 méðe æfter ðám miclan ge-
 winne.
 Ongunnon him ða moldern
 wyrcan 130
 beornas on banan gesýhðe,
 curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan
 stáne ;

the bright splendour
 shadow invaded,
 wan under the welkin ;
 all creation wept, [king :
 they lamented the fall of their
 Christ was on the cross,
 but thither hastening
 men came from afar
 to the noble one :
 I beheld it all ;
 I was oppressed with sorrow,
 yet I bowed me down to the
 hand of the men,
 humbly with great power.
 There they took Almighty
 God,
 they lifted him off the heavy
 torment ;
 the heroes left me there
 standing covered with steam,
 I was all wounded with shafts.
 They laid him down limb-weary,
 they stood at the head of his
 corpse,
 there they beheld the Lord of
 heaven,
 and there awhile he rested,
 weary after his mighty contest.
 Then began the men a grave
 to make for him
 in the sight of his foes,
 they hewed it out of bright
 stone ;

gesetton hie ðæron sigora
wealdend.

Ongunnon him ðá sorhleof
galan,

earme on ða æfentíde, 138

ðá hie wóldon eftsiðian,

méðe fram ðám mæran þeódne,

reste he ðær mæte weorode.

Hwæðere we ðær geótende

góde hwíle 140

stódon on staðole,

siððan up gewát

hilde rinca [sum];

hræw cólode,

fæger feorgbold. 148

Ðá ús man fyllan ongan

ealle tó eorðan,

ðæt wæs egeslic wyrd : [seaðe.

bedealf ús man on deópan

Hwæðre me ðær dryhtnes

þegnas 150

freóndas gefrunon

* * *

* * *

gyredon me golde and seolfre.

Nú ðú miht gehýran,

hæleð mín se leófa,

ðæt ic bealuwara weorc 158

gebiden hæbbe,

sárra sorga :

is nú sæl cumen

ðæt me weorðiað

wíde and síde 160

menu ofer moldan,

in it they placed the Lord of
victory.

Then began they to sing over
him a mournful song,

the poor people at eventide,

since they must return back,

weary from the great King,

there he rested with a small
company.

But we there dripping (blood)

for a good while

stood in our place,

afterwards there went up

a warrior ;

the corpse grew cold,

the fair dwelling of life.

Then they began to fell us

all to the ground,

that was a terrible fortune :

they buried us in a deep pit.

But me the servants of the
Lord

discovered there

* * *

* * * [silver.

they adorned me with gold and

Now mayst thou hear,

my dear man,

that I the work of criminals

have endured,

of sore sorrows :

but now the time is come

that men on earth

far and wide

honour me,



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and Adames
 ealdgewyrhtum :
 deað he ðær byrigde ;
 hwæðere eft dryhten áras 200
 mid his miclan mihte
 mannum to helpe :
 he ðá on heofenas ástág,
 hider eft fundað
 on ðysne middangeard, 205
 mancyn sécan,
 on dómdæge,
 dryhten sylfa,
 ælmihtig God,
 and his englas mid : 210
 ðæt he ðonne wile déman,
 se áh dômes geweald,
 ánra gehwylcum
 swá he him ærur, her
 on ðyssum lænum 215
 life, geearnað.
 Ne mæg ðær ænig
 unforht wesan,
 for ðám worde
 ðe se wealdend cwyð : 220
 frineð he for ðære mænige
 hwær se man sie,
 seðe for dryhtnes naman
 deaðes wólde
 biteres onbyrigan, 225
 swá he ær on ðám beáme dyde.
 Ac hie ðonne forhtiað,
 and fea þencað
 hwæt hie to Criste
 cweðan onginnen. 230
 Ne þearf ðær ðonne ænig

and Adam's
 old transgression :
 death he tasted there ;
 but again the Lord arose
 with his great might
 to help men :
 he there ascended into heaven,
 and will come hither again
 upon this earth,
 to seek mankind,
 on doomsday,
 the Lord himself,
 Almighty God,
 and his angels with him :
 for then will He judge,
 that hath the power of doom,
 to every man
 as he for himself before, here
 in this miserable
 life, hath earned.
 There may not any one
 be free from fear,
 for the word
 which the Lord shall speak :
 he will ask before the multitude
 who the man is,
 who for the Lord's name
 would taste
 of bitter death,
 as he did himself on the cross.
 But they then will dread,
 and few will think
 what they to Christ
 shall begin to say.
 There then may not any

unforht wesan,
 ðe him ær in breóstum bereð
 beácna selest ;
 ac ðurh ða róde sceal 235
 ríce gesécan,
 of eorðwege,
 æghwylc sawl
 seó ðe mid wealdende
 wunian þenceð. 240
 Gebæd ic me ðá tó ðám beáme
 blíðe móde
 elne mycle,
 ðær ic ána wæs
 mæte werede ; 245
 wæs módsefa
 afýsed on forðwege :
 feala ealra gebád
 langunghwíla.
 Is me nú lifes hyht, 250
 ðæt ic ðone sigebeám
 sécan móte,
 ána oftor
 ðonne ealle men,
 well weorðian : 255
 me is willa tó ðám,
 mycel on móde,
 and min mundbyrd is
 geriht tó ðære róde.
 Náh ic rícra feala 260
 freónða on foldan,
 ac hie forð heonon gewiton
 of worulde dreámum,
 sóhton him wuldres cyning,
 lifiað nú on heofenum, 265
 mid heáhfædere

be without terror, [breast
 who before that, beareth in his
 the best of signs ;
 but through the cross shall
 the kingdom seek,
 away from earth,
 every soul
 which with the Lord
 desires to dwell.”
 I prayed then to the cross
 blithe of mood
 with much power,
 where I was alone
 with a small company ;
 my mind was
 eager for my departure :
 all too much had I endured
 of longing times.
 Now have I hope of life,
 that I the victorious tree
 may seek,
 alone oftener
 than all other men,
 well honour :
 my will is set on that,
 strong in my mind,
 and my protection is
 directed to the Rood.
 I have not many powerful
 friends on earth,
 but they have departed hence
 from the world's joys,
 have sought the King of glory,
 and now live in heaven,
 with their High Father

wuniað on wuldre.
 And ic wéne me
 daga gehwylce
 hwænne me dryhtnes ród, 270
 ðe ic her on eorðan
 ær sceawode,
 on ðysson lænau
 life gefetige,
 and me ðonne gebringe 275
 ðær is blis mycel,
 dreám on heofonum :
 ðær is dryhtnes folc
 geseted tó symle,
 ðær is singal blis ; 280
 and he ðonne ásette
 ðær ic syððan mót
 wunian on wuldre,
 well mid ðám hálgum
 dreámes brúcan. 285
 Si me dryhten freónd,
 seðe on eorðan
 ær þrówode
 on ðám gealgtreówe,
 for guman synnum. 290
 He ús onlýsde
 and ús lif forgeaf,
 heofonlicne hám.
 Hiht wæs geniwad,
 mid blédum and mid blisse,
 ðám ðe ðær bryne þólodon :
 se sunu wæs sigorfæst
 on ðám siðfate,
 mihtig and spédig,
 ðá he mid manigeo com, 300
 gásta weorode,

dwell in glory.
 And I remain in expectation
 every day
 when the Lord's cross,
 which I here on earth
 before beheld,
 in this poor
 life shall fetch me,
 and bring me then
 where there is great bliss,
 joy in heaven :
 there is the Lord's people
 set to the feast,
 there is eternal bliss ;
 and he will then appoint me
 where I henceforth may
 dwell in glory,
 well with the saints
 enjoy happiness.
 May the Lord befriend me,
 who upon earth
 formerly suffered
 on the gallows-tree,
 for the sins of men !
 He released us
 and gave us life,
 the heavenly home.
 Hope was renewed,
 with increase and with joy, [fire :
 for those who there suffered by
 the Son was victorious
 on that journey,
 mighty and successful,
 when he came with a multitude,
 a troop of spirits,



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FATES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES;

A FRAGMENT.

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

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

Sume on Romebyrig,
 frame fyrdhwate,
 feorh ofgefon,
 þurg Neronas
 neawe searwe,
 Petrus and Paulus.
 Is se apostolhád
 wide geweorðod
 ofer werþeóda.
 Swylce Andreas,
 in Achagia,
 for Egias
 aldre genéðde.
 Ne þreodode he fore þrymme
 ðeódcyninges
 æniges on eorðan,
 ac him éce geceás,
 langsumre lif,
 leóht unhwílen :
 syððan hilde heard
 heriges byrhtme,
 æfter gúðplegan,
 gealgan þehte.
 Hwæt we eác gehýrdon
 be Iohanne,
 ægleáwe menn,
 æðelo reccan,
 se manna wæs,
 míne gefrege,
 þurh cneorisse
 Criste leófast
 on weres háde ;
 syððan wuldres cyning,
 engla ordfruma
 eorðan sóhte

Some in the city of Rome,
 pious and brave,
 gave up their lives,
 through Nero's
 25 cruel treachery,
 viz. Peter and Paul.
 Their apostlehood
 is widely honoured
 30 over the world.
 Also Andreas
 in Achasia,
 before Hegias
 struggled for life.
 He feared not for the power
 of the great King
 any on earth, [nal,
 but chose for himself the eter-
 the more enduring life,
 40 a light that is not transitory :
 after he, bold in war,
 amid the noise of the multitude,
 after his contest,
 covered the cross.
 So we have also heard
 concerning John,
 the man wise in the law,
 his nobility related,
 who of all men was,
 50 as I have heard,
 through his generation
 dearest to Christ
 in the form of man ;
 after the King of glory,
 55 the Lord of the angels
 sought the earth

þurh fæmnan hrif,
 fæder manncynnes.
 He in Effessia
 ealle þrage
 leóde lærde;
 þanon lifes weg
 síðe gesóhte
 swegledreámas,
 beorhtne boldwelan.
 Næs his bróðor læt,
 síðes sæne,
 ac ðurh sweordes bite,
 mid Iudeum,
 Iacob sceólde
 fore Herode
 ealdre gedælan,
 feorh wið flæsce.
 Philipus wæs
 mid Asseum:
 ðanon éce lif,
 þurh ródecwealm,
 ricene gesóhte,
 syððan on galgan
 in Gearapolim
 áhangen wæs
 hilde corðre.
 Huru wíde weard
 wyrd undyrne,
 ðæt tó Indeum
 aldre gelæððe
 beaducræftig beorn
 Bartholameus,
 ðone héht Astrias
 in Albano,
 hæðen and hygeblind,

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



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ðæt mid sigelwarum
 sóð yppe wearð
 dryhtlic dóm Godes,
 dæges or onwóc
 leóhtes geleáfan,
 land wæs gefælsod,
 þurh Matheus
 mære láre,
 ðone hét Irtacus
 ðurh yrne hyge,
 wæltreow cyning,
 wæpnum áswēbban.
 Hýrde we ðæt Iacob,
 in Ierusalem,
 fore sacerdum,
 swilt þrowode
 ðurg steiges sweng ;
 stíðmód gecrang,
 eádig for æfestum,
 hafað nú éce lif
 mid wuldorcining
 wiges tó leáne.
 Næron ða twegen
 tohtan sæne,
 lindgeláces,
 land Persea
 sóhton síðfreme
 Simon and Thaddeus,
 beornas beadorófe ;
 him wearð bám samod
 án endedæg ;
 æðele sceóldon,
 ðurh wæpeuhete,
 weorc þrowigan
 sigeleán sécan,

that among the Ethiopians
 true was revealed
 the lordly doom of God,
 the dayspring awoke
 of light belief,
 the land was purified,
 through Matthew's
 mighty lore,
 whom Hirtacus commanded
 through erring mind,
 the tyrannical king,
 with weapons to slay.
 We have heard that James,
 in Jerusalem,
 before the priests,
 suffered death
 through the swing of a club ;
 firm of mind he died,
 blessed for his faith,
 he hath now eternal life
 with the King of glory
 for the reward of his contest.
 The two were not
 laggards to battle,
 the play of shields,
 the land of the Persians
 valiantly sought
 Simon and Thaddeus,
 the warriors noble in battle ;
 they both together had
 one ending day ;
 the noble ones were,
 through hate of weapons,
 the work to suffer
 to seek the reward of victory,

and ðone sóðan gefean, dreám æfter deáðe, ðá gedæled wearð lif wið líce,	165	and the true joy, glory after death, where divided was the life from the body,
and ðas lænan gestreón íðle æhtwelan ealne forhogodon. Ðys ða æðelingas ende gesealdon,	170	and this poor treasure empty wealth they all despised. Thus the nobles gave their end,
xii. tilmóðige, tír unbræcne wásgon on gewitte, wuldres þegnas. Nú ic ðonne bidde beorn se ðe lufige þysses giddes begang, ðæt he geómrum me, ðone hálgan heáp helpe bidde	175 180	the high-minded twelve, unbroken glory wielded in their minds, the servants of glory. Now then I pray the man who loveth the progress of this song, that he for me a wretch, the holy troop for help implore
friðes and fultomes ; nú ic freónða beþearf liðra on láde, ðonne ic sceal langne hám, eardwíc uncúð,	185	for peace and support ; now I am in need of friends favourable on my course, when I must the long home, an unknown land,
ána gesečan, læt me on laste lic eorðan dæl wælreáf wunigean weormum tó hróðre.	190	seek alone, leave behind me my body, a portion of earth, my spoils remain for a possession to the worm.
* * *		* * *

END OF THE FATES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

DEPARTED SOUL'S ADDRESS TO THE BODY.

PART I.—THE CONDEMNED SOUL.

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

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



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þurh his sylfes hand,
 meotod ælmihtig
 of his mægenþrymme ;
 and ðe gebohte
 blóde ðý hálgan : 60
 and ðú me mid ðý heardan
 hungre gebunde,
 and gehæftnedest
 helle wítum.

Eardode ic ðe on innan, 65
 ne mehte ic ðe ofcuman,
 flæsce befangen,
 and me fyrenlustas
 ðíne geþrunгон,
 ðæt me þúhte ful oft 70
 ðæt hit wære [þrittig]
 þúsend wintra
 tó ðínum deáðdæge.

A' ic uncres gedáles
 onbád earfoðlice, 75
 nis nú huru se ende tógód.
 Wære ðú ðe wiste wlanc,
 and wínes sæd ;
 þrymful ðunedest
 and ofþyrsted wæs 80
 Godes lichoman,
 gástes drynces,
 forðán ðú ne hogodest
 her on life,

syððan ic ðe on worulde 85
 wunian sceólde,
 ðæt ðú wære þurh flæsc,
 and þurh fyrenlustas
 strange gestryned,
 and gestaðolod þurh me ; 90

through his own hand,
 the Lord Almighty
 from his majesty ;
 and purchased thee
 with his holy blood :
 and thou me with the hard
 hunger didst bind,
 and didst hold captive
 with hell-torments.
 I dwelt within thee,
 I might not go from thee,
 hung round with flesh,
 and me thy sinful lusts
 oppressed,
 so that to me full oft it seemed
 that it were thirty
 thousand years
 to thy death-day.
 Ever our parting
 I awaited in sorrow, [good.
 now at least is not the end too
 Thou wert in food luxurious,
 and sated with wine ;
 in splendour thou wert proud
 and I was thirsty for
 God's body,
 the drink of the spirit, [mind
 because thou didst not bear in
 here in life,
 after I thee in the world
 must inhabit,
 that thou wert through flesh,
 and through sinful lusts
 strongly born,
 and through me confirmed ;

and ic wæs gást on ðe
fram Gode sended.

Næfre ðú me mid swá heardum
hellewítum

ne generedest, 98

þurh ðínra níeda lust
scealt ðú mínra gesynta
sceame þrowian

on ðám myclan dæge,
ðonne eall manna cynn 100

se áncenneda

ealle gesamnað ;

ne eart ðú ðon leófra

nænigum lifigendra,

men tó gemæccan, 105

né méder ne fæder,

né nænigum gesybban,

ðonne se swearta hrefn,

syððan ic ána of ðe

útsíðode 110

þurh ðæs sylfes hand

ðe ic ær onsended wæs.

Ne mæg ðe nú heonon ádon

hyrsta ðý reádan,

ne gold ne seolfor, 115

né ðínra góda nán,

né ðínre brydebeág,

né ðín boldwela,

né nán ðara goda

ðe ðú íu ahtest ; 120

ac her sceólon onbídan

bán bereáfod,

besliten synum ;

and ðe ðín sáwl sceal,

and I was a spirit into thee
sent from God.

Never thou me with such hard
hell-torments

wouldst have saved.

Through thy need's lust

thou shalt for my happiness

shame endure

in that great day,

when all the race of men

the Only-begotten one

all shall gather ;

thou art now no dearer

to any living man,

to any one as a comrade,

neither to mother nor father,

nor any kindred,

than the swart raven,

after that I alone from thee

pass'd out

through the same One's hand

through which I was first

sent in. [hence

Thou mayst not now take thee

the red ornaments,

nor gold nor silver,

nor any of thy goods,

nor thy bridal crown,

nor thy dwelling,

nor any of the goods

which thou before didst own ;

but here shall remain

the naked bones,

slit with thy sins ;

and thee shall thy soul,

mínum unwillum, 125
 oft gesécan,
 nemnan ðe mid wordum,
 swá ðú worhtest tó me.
 Eart ðú nú dumb and deáf,
 ne synt ðíne dreámas áwíht;
 sceal ic ðe nihtes swá ðeáh
 néde gesécan,
 synnum gesárgod;
 and eft sona fram ðe
 hweorfan on hancrod, 135
 ðonne hálige men
 lifendum Gode
 lofsang dóð,
 sécan ða hámas
 ðe ðú me her scrífe, 140
 and ða árleásan
 eardungstowe;
 and ðe sculon her moldwyrmas
 maníge ceówan,
 slítan sárlíce, 145
 swearte wihta,
 gifre and grædige.
 Ne synt ðíne æhta áwíht
 ðe ðú her on moldan
 mannum eówdest: 150
 forðan ðe wære selre
 swíðe mycle,
 ðonne ðe wæron ealle
 eorðan spéda,
 bútan ðu hie gedælde 155
 dryhtne sylfum,
 ðæt ðú wurde æt frymðe fugel,
 oððe fisc on sæ,

to my sorrow,
 often seek,
 name to thee with words,
 as thou didst unto me.
 Now art thou dumb and deaf,
 now are thy joys nothing;
 nevertheless shall I by night
 enforced revisit thee,
 made sad with sins;
 and return again from thee
 at cock-crow,
 when holy men
 unto the living God
 raise the song of praise,
 to seek the dwellings [here,
 which thou preparedst for me
 and the dishonoured
 abiding-place;
 and thee shall here earthworms
 many chew,
 shall grievously tear thee,
 black creatures,
 grasping and greedy.
 Thy wealth is nothing
 which thou here on earth
 didst display to men:
 because it would have been
 better for thee
 very much,
 than could be for thee all
 the wealth of earth,
 unless thou hadst distributed it
 for the Lord himself, [bird,
 that thou hadst been created a
 or a fish in the sea,



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ðæt ðú ne scyle for ánra ge-
hwylcum

on sundrum

riht ágildan.

Ðonne réðe bið

dryhten æt ðám dóme.

Ac hwæt dó wyt unc.

Sculon wit ðonne eft ætsomne

siððan brúcan

swylcra yrmða

swa ðú unc her ær scrífe.

Fyrnað ðús ðæt flæschord,

sceall ðonne feran onweg

sécan helle grund,

nallæs heofondreámas,

dædum gedréfed.

Ligeð dust ðær hit wæs,

ne mæg him andsware

ænige gehátan

geómrum gáste,

geóce oððe frófre.

Bið ðæt heáfod tóhliden,

handa tóliðode,

geaglas tóginene,

goman tóslitene,

sina beóð ásocene,

ewyra becowen,

ingras tóhrorene ;

rib reáfiað

réðe wyrmas.

Beóð hira tungan tótogenne

on tyn healfa

hungregum tó frófre,

forþan hie ne magon hux-

licum

that thou shalt not for each

apart

give just account.

Then will be fierce

the Lord at the doom.

But what shall we two do ?

Then shall we two together

afterwards suffer

such miseries

[before.]

as thou preparedst here for us

Thus shall it revile the flesh,

then shall it depart away

to seek the abyss of hell,

and not the joys of heaven,

oppressed with its deeds.

The dust shall lie where it was,

nor can answer

any give

to the sad spirit,

consolation or comfort.

The head shall be split open,

the hands dislocated,

the jaws distended,

the gums slit,

the sinews shall be sucked,

the neck chewed,

the fingers fallen away ;

the ribs shall plunder

fierce worms.

[asunder

Their tongues shall be drawn

into ten parts

[(worms),

for the comfort of the hungry

therefore they may not with

wise

196

200

206

210

216

220

226

wordum wrixlian
 wið ðone wérian gást.
 Gifer hátte se wurm,
 ðe ða geáglas beóð
 nædle scearpran, 230
 se genýdde tó me
 ærest eallra
 on ðám eorðscræfe;
 ðæt he ða tungan tótyhð,
 and ða téð þurhsmyhð, 235
 and ða eágan þurheteð,
 úfan on ðæt heáfod,
 and tó ætwelan
 óðrum gerýmeð
 wurmum tó wiste: 240
 ðonne ðæt wérie
 líc ácolod bið,
 ðæt lange ær
 werede mid wædum:
 bið ðonne wyrma gifel, 245
 æt on eorðan.
 Ðæt mæg æghwylcum
 men tó gemynde,
 módsnotra gehwám.

words converse
 with the accursed spirit.
 "Greedy" shall the worm be
 whose jaws are [called,
 sharper than the needle,
 that attacketh me
 first of all
 in that earth-cavern; [asunder,
 so that he tears the tongue
 and the teeth pierces through,
 and the eyes eats through,
 in the head above,
 and for a repast
 makes room for other
 worms to the banquet:
 then shall the cursed
 carcass turn cold,
 that long before
 (he) protected with garments:
 then shall it be a feast for the
 food upon earth. [worm,
 That may be to every
 man a remembrance,
 to everyone that is wise of mood.

- PART II.—THE BLESSED SOUL.

Ðonne bið hyhtlícre, 250
 ðæt sió hálige sáwl
 færeð tó ðám flæsce,
 frófre bewunden;
 bið ðæt ærende
 eádiglícre 255
 funden on ferhðe;

Then will it be more hopeful,
 that the holy soul
 shall go unto the flesh,
 surrounded with comfort;
 that errand will be
 more blessed found
 in the spirit;

mid gefean séceð,
 lustum ðæt lámfæt,
 ðæt hie ær lange wæg.
 Donne ða gáostas 260
 góde word sprecað,
 snottre sigefæste,
 and ðús sóðlice
 ðone lichoman
 lustum grétað. 265
 Wine leófesta,
 ðeáh ðe wyrmas gyt
 gifre grétað,
 nú is ðín gást cumen,
 fægere gefrætewod, 270
 of mínes fæder ríce,
 árum bewunden.
 Eala mín dryhten,
 ðæt ic ðe móste
 mid me lædan, 275
 ðæt wyt englas
 ealle gesáwon,
 heofona wuldor, swylc,
 swá ðú me ær her scrífe ;
 fæstest ðú on foldan, 280
 and gefyldest me
 Godes lichoman,
 gástes drynces ;
 wære ðú on wædle,
 sealdest me wílna geniht ; 285
 forðan ðú ne þearft sceamian
 ðonne sceadene beóð
 ða synfullan
 and ða sóðfæstan,

with joy it will seek,
 with pleasure, the vessel of clay,
 which it before long bore.
 Then shall the spirits
 speak good words,
 prudent and triumphant,
 and thus truly
 the body .
 pleasantly will address :
 “ Most beloved friend,
 though thee the worms yet
 greedily attack,
 now is thy spirit come,
 fairly adorned, 270
 from my father’s realm,
 surrounded with honours.
 Lo ! my lord,
 that I might only
 lead thee with me,
 that we two the angels
 all might see,
 the glory of the heavens,
 even as thou preparedst for me ;
 thou didst fast on earth,
 and filledst me
 with the body of God,
 with spiritual drink ;
 thou wert in poverty,
 and gavest me the fullness of
 my desire ;
 therefore thou needest not be
 ashamed
 when shall be sundered
 the sinful
 and the just,



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dædum ágilpan,
hwylce earnunga
uncre wæron.

Wát ic ðæt ðú wære
on woruldríce
geþungen þrymlíce

ðysse * *

* * *

325

take pride in our deeds,
what earnings
ours were.

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

* * *

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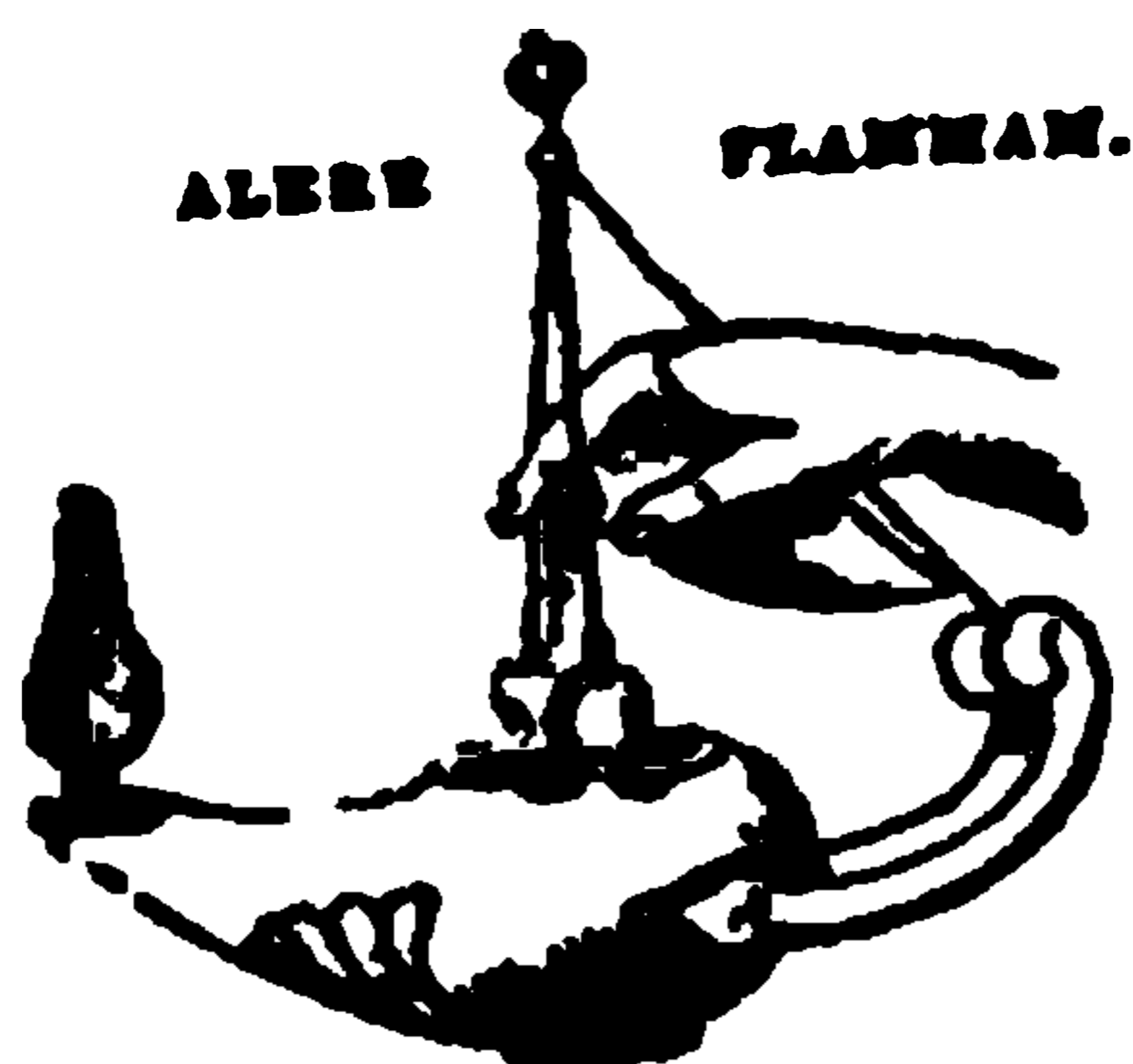
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PREFACE.



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

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

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

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

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



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CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction.	1
Nature of the Legend	3
History of the Legend	9
German and Latin Versions	17
List of Proverbs	57
French Versions	73
Traces of the Story in England	84
Other Versions of the Legend.	96
Traditional Character and Proverbs of Salomon	104
Traditional Character of Marcolfus.	113
The Poetical Salomon and Saturn	134
The Prose Salomon and Saturn	178
Adrian and Ritheus.	198
Adrian and Epictus	212
The Master of Oxford's Catechism	216

APPENDIX.

Riote du Monde	223
Proverbs of Alfred	225
Anglo-Saxon Apothegms.	258
Proverbs of Hending	270
Saint Serf and the Devil	282
Demaundes Joyous	285
Der Phaffe Amis	302
Bedæ Collectanea et Flores.	322



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

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

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

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

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

* ——— ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόεις, ἢ λέοντες
ἢ γράψαι χεῖρισσι, καὶ ἔργα τέλειν ἄπειρ ἄνδρες
Ἴπποι μὲνθ' Ἴπποισι, βόεις δέ τε βουσίη ὅμοιοι
καὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφοι, καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουν
τοιαῦθ' οἷον περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ὅμοιον.

Xenophanes in Euseb. Praef. Evangel. xiii. 13.

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

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

humbles him before himself,

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Com Salamos saup pres tenir,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Salmôn witze lêrte
 Marolt daz verkêrte,
 den site hânt noch hiute
 leider gnuoge liute* :

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

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



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

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

† Probably Elymas the sorcerer. Acts xiii. 8.

‡ Compare the second Morolf, No. 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

wan sich ein strô
bî fiure gerne enbrennet.

Freidank, p. 121 :—

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

Chaucer, Wife of B. (Urry, p. 77) :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Entschuldigē]

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

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

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

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



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SALOMON AND SATURN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Albas pica pennas tot habet quot habet nigras.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

A.

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

SALOMON zu dem man sprach
 dâ er sie beyde wole besach
 dû bist sô recht von wortten rîch
 mich duncket gut daz dû vnd ich
 mit wortten zusamen disputieren
 kanstâ mÿn wort soluieren
 ich wil dich rîch machen
 mit mancher hande sachen.

VARIOUS READINGS.

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

M. is gleibet mancher an vnderscheit
daz doch in syner gewalt nicht enstet
der vbel synget der synget alleziit an
also duo dâ vnder kom dar van.

2 S. ich fant eyn orteil daz zwei wip
kriegereten vmb eyns kyndes libe
daz eyn waz blieden tôd
syner mutter wart daz geben als ich bô(d)

M. dâ vil kûwe synt dâ ist kese vil
glîcher wise ich sprechen wil
die wiber klaffent ússer mâssen
wo sie myt eynander gent úff der strassen.

3 S. got hát myr wissheit geben
oben allen mentschen die nuo leben

M. wer bôse nachgebûre hát
der lobe sich selber daz ist mÿn rât.

4 S. der schuldige dicke fluhet
als daz gericht na ym zuhet

M. wer sich beschisset al mit alle
der forchtet die lude riechent daz alle.

5 6 S. eyn gut wÿp zuchtig vnd schoen
die ist yres mannes krôn.

M. welches wip sich mit dyr wil schelten
die soltû loben selten.

7 S. eyne bôsen wibe enmag nicht glîchen
mit bôssheit in allen richen.

M. eyne bôsen wibe zubreich schier die beyn
vnd lege darúff eynen grôssen steyn

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



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M. man besluset zu spåde den hoff
wann der wolffe hát erworget die schaff.

14 S. bii wílen wyr(t) der hunt geslagen
vmb daz die frauwe hát gethán.

M. wanne dem wíbe eyn fiste engétt
iren hunt sie darumme sleget
vnd sprichet wol hyn daz dú sis verwassin
wie vbel hastú hinden abe gelassen.

15 S. lérunge vnd wíssheit
in dýnem munde sy allezít bereit.

M. als geboren wirt das rê
so wyrt ym dar ars wíss als der sné.

16 S. wer sich selber lobet
des lob nicht wol enhobet.

M. wolde ich mich selber schelden
so lobete mich eyn ander seldom.

17 S. wýn brynget vnkuscheit
der trunckene macht dicke herzeleit.

M. den armen machet rích der wýn
des sol er allezít truncken sýn.

18 S. dem manne gerne wieder ferct
der lange beydet des er begert.

M. wer beydet daz ym eyn katze brynget eyn kalp
der verlúset sýn beyden mê danne halp.

19 S. vyl hungen gessen ist allezít nicht gut
darvon so kère dýnen mud.

M. wer von den beynen lecken kan
den lecken auch sínen dûmen darvon.

20 S. man sprichet sunder hale
die wíssheit schúwet dy bôsen quale.

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

M. er ist in guden wiczen lass
der luegen die warheit treget hass.

21 S. is ist böse widder stocke streben
dem tragen esel sol man streiche geben.

M. gut vnd böse fullet daz hûss
die nicht dan eyn loch hât daz ist eyn arm mûss.

22 S. is ist besser eyn cleyne schazunge heymlich zwâr
dann grössen schâden gelitten offenbâre.

M. wer vor den ars kuset den hunt
licht wyrt ym sÿn fisten kont.

22* S. almusse vnd êre der begeit
der frumden luden bii besteit
vnd hubischeit deme fremden tûd
vmb got oder vmb sÿn gud.

M. nyemant dy frommen schelten sol
er mochte es anders engelten wol.
man ist manches gastes frô
der hynden nâch schisset in daz strô.

23 S. der milden frôliche gebère
ist got vnd den luden mère.

M. sÿnen dienern gibet er cleyne
der sÿn mûss isset alleyne.

24 S. lerne dÿne kynder in der iugent
got vorchten vnd mynnen togent.

M. wer sÿner kue daz futter vor besluset
der milich er selten genuset.

25 S. wer zu geweltig zuhet sÿnen knecht
der dût ym selbis gar vnrecht.

M. zyhestû dÿnen esel zu fet in allen ziden
er wirffet dich abe wanne dû yen wilt riden.

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

- 26 S. vernym vnd höre daz gar wirt sūre
alle dyngē zu thunde wieder nature.
M. daz ist war ich wene eyn nuwe bercke
daz man darūss gude besēme wircke.
- 27 S. waz der richter sol sprechen
daran ensal nicht rechtes ane gebrechen.
M. by willen yrret der oss den wagen
daz er nicht recht enkan gegayn.
- 28 S. eyn wol gemachte schwarze krōn
uff eyne wissen schilde zieret schön.
M. zwischen zweyen wissen beyne zieret bass
eyn schwarze rūwe kunte wisset dass.
- 29 S. durch kunste sol man die meyster èren
uff daz sich die jungen dest lieber lāssen lēren.
M. war sich der esel welczert daz ist wār
da horet man forcze alle vffenbār.
- 30 S. dorch nōt keynerley
mit dem mechtigen dich nicht enzwey.
M. es ist böse eyne lebendigen beren schynden
von dem heybet biss zu den henden.
- 31 S. mit keyner rede saltū liegen
vnd dýnen frunt auch nicht betriegen.
M. wer mit ossen klaffet
mit ossen er sich affet.
- 32 S. geselle dū solt gern mýden
alle die gerne fechten vnd striden.
M. wer sich menget vnder die klygen
de essent die sūwe glich den brygen.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

- M. eyn schône wip úff der ziechen
hat balde genêrt den von mynnen siechen.
- 95 S. als der hymmel sich bedrubet
den regen man dâ bij prubet.
M. alss der hunt wil schïssen gân
so siehet man yen gekrymmet stân.
- 96 S. wo der konig lyn fert
vor ym zieret wol eyn schône swert.
M. eyn grôsser dreck bij den zûne styncket sêre
eswo alden lersen sin dem her alden gar vnmêre.
- 97 S. du enhast dÿner schalckheit keyne mâsse
des machtû herhangen werden bij die strasse.
M. hynges man die diebe alle noch hûre
die galgen wuorden daz ander jâre zu tûre.
- 98 S. der wise son sÿnen fatter erfrauwet
der dorechte son sÿner mutter drauwet.
M. der esel vnd die nachtegalle
hânt gar vnglichen schal.
- 99 S. dûstû dem guoten wole
er lobet dich sunder zale.
M. er hat den dag verwischet
der dem bôsen drischet.
- 100 S. ê der selige von sÿme bette sy gessen
so hât der vnselige sÿn brôt gessen.
M. ê der hunt geschisset gedeweiss
so hat der wolffe zu busche die geiss.
- 53 S. alss man geschrieben sijt
so hât alle zijt yr zijt.
M. zu summer ysset man die kersbêre
zu wynter brûchet man die opfele sêre.

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

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

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



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

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

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

B.*

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

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

† Leg. *visia*.

B.

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



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B.

vbi fuerit caballus scabiosus parem sibi querit et vtrique se scabiunt.

62. *Sal.* bene facit anime sue vbi est homo misericors. *Mar.* magnum donum despicit qui seipsum non cognoscit. 63. *Sal.* qui fugit lupo obuiat leoni. *Mar.* de malo in malum de coco ad pistorem.

64. *Sal.* caue ne quis faciat tibi malum si autem fecerit noli et facere. *Mar.* aque non currenti et homini tacenti credere noli.

65. *Sal.* non omnes omnia possunt. *Mar.* scriptum est in casibus qui non habet equum vadat pedibus. 66. *Sal.* puer centum annorum maledictus erit. *Mar.* tarde est veterem canem mittere in ligamen.

67. *Sal.* multum habenti dabitur et habundabit. *Mar.* ve homini qui non habet panes et habet parentes. 68. *Sal.* ve viro duplici corde et duabus viis incedenti. *Mar.* qui duas vias vult ire aut culum aut bracam debet rumpere. 69. *Sal.* ex habundantia cordis os loquitur. *Mar.* ex saturitate ventris triumphat culus. 70. *Sal.* duo boues equaliter trahunt ad vnum iugum. *Mar.* due vene equaliter vadunt ad vnum culum. 71. *Sal.* mulier pulcra est a viro suo amanda. *Mar.* in collo est alba vt columba in culo nigra et hirsuta vt talpa. 72. *Sal.* in tribu iuda nimia est cogitatio mea et deus patris mei principem me constituit populi sui. *Mar.* cognosco map-pam quia de stuppa facta est. 73. *Sal.* necessitas facit hominem iustum peccare. *Mar.* lupo apprehensus et in custodia positus aut caccat aut mordet. 74. *Sal.* sufficeret mihi temperaneus honor si tantum modo deus vniuersum orbem mee dictioni subiugasset. *Mar.* non tantum datur catulo quantum blanditur sua cauda. 75. *Sal.* qui tardus venit ad mensam suspensus est a cibo. *Mar.* gluto non currit per totum. 76. *Sal.* cum molesta tibi vxor tua ne timeas. *Mar.* molli bergario lupo non caccat lanam. 77. *Sal.* non decet stulto verba composita. *Mar.* non decet canem sellam portare. 78. *Sal.* tunde latera filii tui dum tenera sint. *Mar.* qui osculatur agnum amat et ariem. 79. *Sal.* omnes vie ad vnam viam tendunt. *Mar.* ad culum vnum omnes tendunt vene. 80. *Sal.* a bono homine bona fit mulier. *Mar.* a bono conuiuio bona fit merda quæ calcatur pedibus sic et bestiales mulieres debent calcari. 81. *Sal.* bene decet mulier pulcra iuxta virum suum. *Mar.* bene decet olla plena vino iuxta sicientem. 82. *Sal.* bene decet gladius honestus iuxta latus meum. *Mar.* bene decet strues iuxta sepem meum. 83. *Sal.* quanto magnus es tanto humilis sis in omnibus. *Mar.* bene equitat qui cum paribus equitat. 84. *Sal.* filius sapiens letificat patrem suum insipiens vero mesticia est matris sue. *Mar.* non equaliter cantant

B.

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

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

[C.]

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

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

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

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

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



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Peu peut bailler à son escuyer, qui son couteau lesche.

Grüter, p. 234, Prov. Gall.

26. Der niuwe beseme keret wol.

Freidank, thirteenth century, Grimm's ed. p. 50.

New broome swepeth cleane, which is thus, vnderstand ;

New brome sweepeth cleane, in the cleane sweepers hand.

Heywood, Three hundred Epigrams, Epig. 67.

Some thereto said, the greene new brome sweepth cleene.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. i.

Scobat scoba bene noua singula cunctaque plene.

Neuwe besem kehren wol.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 79, b.—See also Ray, p. 280, Scottish Proverbs ; Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 61 ; Prov. Belg. p. 117 ; Howell, Engl. Prov., p. 3.

29. According to the common proverbe, Where the horse lieth down, there some hairs will be found.

Fuller's Worthies, p. 193, and Ray, p. 121.

Qubair the deer is slain, some bloud will lie.

Ray, p. 302.

Lle'r ymgreynior March, y gedu beth oi flew.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.

33. Si mons sublimis, profundior est tibi vallis.

Je höher berg, je tieffer thal.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. ii. 50.—See also Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39 ; Prov. Belg. p. 108 ; Prov. Ital. p. 148 ; Prov. Gall. p. 193 ; p. 228.

35. Swie man vert den hunden mite.

so hânt doch iemer hundes site.

Freidank, p. 138.

Lauez chen, peignez chen,

toute vois nest chien qe chen.

MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.

Ablue, pecte canem, canis est quia permanet idem.

MS. Proverbs, MSS. Trin. O. 2, 45.

A cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown.

Burton, Anat. Mel. Pt. 2. Sec. 3. Mem. 3.

41. Mich dunket niht daz ieman süle

ze lange harpfen in der müle.

Freidank, p. 126, with which compare Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 65 ; vid. Grimm. Freid. cxxiii., cxxiv. Frib. Trist. 16, c. Grimm. Freid. xcvi., xcvii.

Swaz ich ir gesinge, deist geherpfet in der mül.
Nithart, xxiv. 2. (Benecke, Beyträge, p. 366.)

In der boke molen is quad harpen,
wente dar wart sere over geboldert.

Reineke's Koker. 4^o. 1711, p. 336.

45. He that feareth everie grasse, must not pisse in a meadow.

Chi ha paura di ogni urtica, non pisci in herba.

Adagia in Latin and English, &c., 1622.

Let not him that fears feathers come among wild fowl.

G. Herbert, Jacul. Prud. p. 4.

46. Gleiche bürd bricht niemandt den rücken.

Grüter, p. 44.

51. The more we stur a turd, the worse it will stinke.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 6.

Qi plus enmeut la merde e ele plus pust.

MS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.

Llettaf fydd y byswelyn o' i sathru.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.—See also Grüter, Prov. Gall., p. 234 ;
p. 108, Prov. Belg.; Ray, p. 211.

58. Nieman alsô rehte tuot,
daz ez alle liute dunke guot.

Freidank, p. 106.

multum deliro, si cuique placere requiro.

allen menschen gefallen ist nicht möglich.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 9, b.

70. Os hostis raro loquitur bona non sibi charo.

Feindes mundt redt selten auss gutem grundt.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 54, b.

74. Æde lupum quicumque foveat, nutrire putatur

Prædonem proprio, perniciemque lari.

Saxo Grammaticus, Bk. 5 (p. 74, ed. Steph.)—therefore an old
Norse proverb.

77. When theeves fall out, true men come to their good.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2, c. 8.

Schülte ein diep den andern diep,

daz wære ir nächgebûren liep.

Freidank, p. 47.

Fures in lite pandunt abscondita vitæ.

Mone, Quellen und Forschungen, p. 192.

als de deve kyvet, so kumpt dat verholen wt.

MS. Maestricht, fifteenth century.

Als hoeren en boeven kyven, zo komt schennys uyt.

Grüter, p. 92. (Belgica.)

Pelean los ladrones, y descubrense los hurtos.

Riñen las comadres, y dicense las verdades.

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

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

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

He that hath plenty of goodes shall have more :

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

he that hath right nought, right nought shall possesse.

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

86. Unter blinden ist der einäugig könig.

Grüter. p. 70. Prov. Alem.

En tierra de ciegos, el tuerto es rey.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 148.

In terra di ciechi, beato chi hann occhio.

Grüter, p. 157. Prov. Ital.

Au royaume des aveugles, le borgne est roy.

Grüter, p. 186. Prov. Gall.

Un-llygeidiog fydd Brenin yngwlad y deillaïd. *Monoculus may be king in Cæcus countrey.*

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 83.

93. Wer viel aier hat, machet viel dutten.

Grüter, p. 83.

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

Grüter, p. 162. Prov. Ital.

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

Grüter, p. 253. Prov. Gall.



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87. **Eu son Arnantz qu'amas l'aura,
e catz la lebr' ab lo buen,
e nadi contra suberna.**

Arnaut, Daniel. (Parnasse Occitanien. 257.)

**Ein ochs ist ein gross thir, noch kan er kein hasen erlauffen.
Grüter, p. 27.**

**Set a cow to catch a hare!
A cow may catch a hare.**

Ray, p. 277. but Howell reverses the proverb. Eng. Prov. p. 18.

[C.]

3. **Like so of women in feeld and town,
assembled where that many be,
a man may hear them by the sown
farther then them ye may see ;
wherfore men say most commonly,
wher many geese be, be many toords,
where be women, are many woords.**

**Schole house of Women, l. 476.—See also Howell, Engl. Prov.
p. 11.**

4. **He hath ill neighbours that 's fain to praise himself.
Ray, p. 139.**

**Who commendeth himself, wanteth good neighbours.
Howell, Engl. Prov. p. 16.**

**Sese uicinos iactans habet undique prauos.
MS. Harl. 3831.**

**Beatr. There's not one wise man among twenty that will praise
himself.**

**Bened. An old, an old instance, Beatrice, that lived in the time
of good neighbours !
Shakespeare, Much Ado.**

11. **Der sich selbst schend, lobt niemant.
11. Grüter, p. 17. Prov. Alem.**

12. **Chi maneggia mele, si lecca le dita.
Grüter, p. 136. Prov. Ital.**

13. **Wer sich under die skligen mischet, den essent die swîn.
Diutiska, I. 325.—See also Grüter, p. 83. Prov. Alem.**

**De syck menget manket den scy
den fretet gerne de swyne.
Reineke's Koker, p. 376.**

15. Swa vrfunt von vriunde scheiden wil,
der suochet uf in schulde vil.

Freidank, p. 97.

19. Thou saist that dropping housis, and eke smoke,
and chiding wivis makin men to fle
out of their house.

Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, *Wife of Bath*, l. 278.

Sir, these wordes ben understonde of women that ben janglers
and wicked, of whiche women men sain, that thre thinges
driven a manne out of his hous, that is to saie, smoke, drop-
ping of rain, and wicked wives.

Tale of Melibæus, Urry, p. 119, b.—See also Parson's Tale,
p. 202, *Pier's Plowman's Vision*, Robt. Crowley, 1550, fol. 96;
Collins, *Span. Prov.* p. 179; Grüter, p. 153, *Prov. Ital.*; p. 157,
b. *Prov. Ital.*; p. 206, *Prov. Gall.*; Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* p. 34, b.

20. Who hath no more bread than need, must not keep a dog.

G. Herbert, *Jac. Prud.* p. 8.

A quien no le sobra pan, no crie can.

Collins' *Spanish Proverbs*.

21. Lo que la loba haze al lobo plaze.

Grüter, p. 312, *Prov. Hisp.*

22. Him dare not wenen well that evil doth,
a guilor shall himself begyled be.

Chaucer, *Reeve's T.* l. 1212.

Who thinkith ill, no gode maie him befall.

Belle Dame sans mercy. l. 399.

He that evil does never good weines.

Ray, p. 288.

24. Qi ne ad cheual ayle au pee.

MS. *Proverbs*. C. C. C. No. 450.

25. Swer alten hunt an lannen leit
der vliuset michel arebeit.

Freidank, p. 109.

But it is hard to make an old dog stoup lo.

Heywood, *Dial. Pt. II. c. 7.*—See also Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 24.
b. 101. b.; Grüter, p. 4, *Prov. Alem.*; MS. *Proverbs*, C. C. C.
No. 450; MS. Harl. 1800.

28. A mol pasteur lou lui chie laine.

MS. *Proverbs*, C. C. C. No. 450.

Undir a shepherde softe, and negligent
the wolf hath many a shepe and lambe to rent.

Chaucer, *Doc. Ph.* 1615.

29. as mete as a sow
to beare a saddle.

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

30. Osculor hunc ore natum nutricis amore.

MS. Prov. Trin. Coll.

Many kisse the child for the nurses sake.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

S. Ein frumme frawe wolgethan
ist ein êre irem man.

M. Einen hafèn milich vol
sol man vor katzen luten wol.

S. Man sol die schamigen frawen
lieb haben vnd geren schawen.

M. Der arme billich lieb hât
ein kue, die mit kalbe stât.

S. Alle ding vnd creatur
kumen wider zu ir ersten natur.

M. Ein ding ist je vnd je gewesen :
es komen zusammen kot vnd besen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Ed. 1683. p. 102.)

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

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

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

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

FRAG UND ANTWORT

DES KÖNIGES SALOMONIS UND MARCOLPHI.

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

Marcolphus. Der übel redet hebe an.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

Marcolphus. Ich höre nicht auf mit reden.

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

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

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



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2. En cortoisie a paine,
 mais bien fait qui la meine,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Mais et jor et semaine,
 travail est dure paine,
 Marcoul li respont.

3. Por largement doner
 puet-l'en enprès monter,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 De povreté user,
 se fait-l'en fol clamer,
 Marcol li respont.

4. Qui saiges hom sera,
 jà trop ne parlera,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Qui jà mot ne dira,
 grant noise ne fera,
 Marcol li respont.

* * *

57. Mort a la seignorie
 sor tote riens en vie,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Riens n'a si grant baillie,
 a meins de cortoisie,
 Marcol li respont.

58. Qui si haut l'apoia
 grant pooir li dona,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Cil ne s'i oblia,
 n'autre n'espargnera,
 Marcol li respont.

59. Por ce het chascun mort,
 que nus n'i a déport,
 ce dit Salemons ;
 Qui se sent vil et ort
 de vouloir vivre a tort,
 Marcol li respont.

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

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

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

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



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

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

[γ .]

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

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

Salamon dit*.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

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

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

* * *

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

* * *

Salamon dit.

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

Marcoulf responnt.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRACES OF THE STORY IN ENGLAND.

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

Hit gelamp hwýlan æt suman cyrre þ̅ ân ancra gefing áne deófol ðurh Godes mihte, 7 he wæs se ancra on ðebeigdan lande, swiðe lifes man hálig geworden þurh Godes mihte. Ðá se ancra angan þreáþian swiðe ðone deófol, þ̅ him ásæde eal helle wites brógan, and eác heofona rices fegernesse. Ðá cwæð se deófol tó ðám acran ðús : ðeah ðæt lengeste triðw ðe an middangearde is, 7 hit stóde ðonne on úfon ðám léhstan stánclife, ðe an middangearde is hêgest, 7 mon ðonne gebunde ðæs monnes fýt tó úfanweardan ðam treðwe ðe wære ær áne niht an helle mid us, 7 him mon ðonne lete hangian þ̅ heáfod an dúne niðer ðæt him sige þ̅ blóð on ælcere healfe út þurh ðane múð 7 þurh ða nós-þyrle, 7 hine ðær óhtan ðonne ealle ða yfela 7 ealle ða brogan ðe æfre eorðwara fram ænginne gehýrdan secgan. 7 hine ealle sê-ýðan niðan cnyssende wæron mid eallan sêbrógan, ðe he forð brinð, ðonne wile se man eal lustlice æfre má þolian, 7 ðeah he scure ðonne gyt þusend wintra ðartó 7 ð þusend ðe se dômesdæg scel on geweorðan, wið ðan ðe he yft ne þurfe næfre má ða helle gesêcan. Ðá git cwæð se deófol tó ðám háligan lifes men, wá bið ðám mannum, ðe sculan habban heora eardungstówe ón helle mid ús, ðær bið wóp bútan frófre, 7 ðær bið þeðwdóm bútan freowdóme, 7 unrotnes bútan gefean ; ðær bið fúlmys bútan áwendednyse, 7 biternes bútan swêtnesse, 7 ðær bið hungor 7 þurst an helle suslum, 7 geðmerung 7 þoterung, 7 ðæt wyrste wyrmcyncg eal byrnende, 7 dracan kin ðe næfre ne sweortað ; ðær bið swefle fýr, sweart 7 unádwæscedlic, 7 ðær bið cêle 7 brene 7 bróga, áttor 7 ofergeþyld,



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Someones wite 7 his wísdóm, 7 him síe eal middangeard on geweald geseald, mid eallum ðám welum 7 ðám weoruldgestreónum ðe heofen behweolfeð ábútan, 7 him Saturnas dóktor, 7 ðeah ðe him ealle streámas hunige fleówan, 7 him ðanne an eorðan næfre nære énig wíðerbresta on þisum life, ðeah ðe him sæón ealle wynsumnesse 7 ealle swétnessa tó gehriordum forðgeborene, 7 him ðonne síe singal sumor 7 lytel winter, 7 he ðonne síe lange tó life gescapen, bútan wrace 7 bútan sáre, 7 he ðonne ðeahhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum ðæt he on eallum ðysum wuldre wunige, gef he éer wére áne niht on heofonum, 7 eft ðider móte 7 sceáwigan ðar ðæs heofon-cyninges ansíone 7 ða wynsumnesse ðe on heofonum biðð. Ðá ðæt deófol ðis eal hæfde ásegd ðám háligan ancran, ðá forlæt he hine ; 7 se deófal gewát ðá tó helle tó his eardungstówe. Ac utan we nú, men ða leófestan, gecearnigan intó góðan dedum ðæt we tó úran Dryhtne becuman mótan 7 him ðanne mid beón 7 mid wunigan, á bútan ende. In écnesse ðám Dryhtne síe symle wuldar 7 werdmend in ealra weorulda weoruld. Amen.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Salomon.

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

Marcolphus.

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

Salomon.

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

Marcolphus.

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

Salomon.

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

Marcolphus.

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

Salomon.

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



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

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

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

* Vide p. 28, Note.

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

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

OTHER VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sal. Quid illa significant?

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



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

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

Πανούργιαι ὑψηλόταται Μπερτόλδου, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας φανερώνεται ἓνας χωριάτης πανούργος, καὶ ὄξύνοσ, ὁ ὁποῖον, ὕστερα ἀπὸ διάφορα παθήματα, διὰ τὸν πολὺν καὶ ὀξύτατόν τον νοῦν, γίνεται βυσιλικὸς Σύμβουλος· Ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἡ διαθηκὴ, τα γνώμικα, καὶ αἱ παροίμιαι του αὐτου· ποίημα χαριέστατον, συντεθὲν Ἰταλιστὶ παρα Ιουλιου Καισαρος δαλλα Krotze. εν βενετια, παρα Νικολαφ Γλυκει τῷ ἐξ Ιωαννινων. 1832.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRADITIONAL CHARACTER AND PROVERBS OF SALOMON.

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



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

Urry, p. 553.

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

Hæt ich des küniges Salomônes wisheit ganz,
 and Absolônes schoene dâ bî sunder schrantz,
 und gewalt des rîchen küniges Davîdes,
 wære ich noch stärker danne sih was Samsôn,
 künde ich vür bringen als Horant suezen dôn,
 und wære gewaltig alles goltgesmîdes, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ignis deuorabit tabernacula eorum qui libenter accipiant munera.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

And in the same work (2. p. 73) :—

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

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

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

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

Larroun ne amera qi lui reynt de fourches.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and adds, *Ital. Gall.*—

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

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

Frelsathu thiofinn fra galganum, hann launar ther illu.

Adagia, etc. p. 11 :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Þær of hvgdi Hroptr
af þeim legi
er lekiþ hafdi
or havfi Heiddravpnis
ok or horui Hoddropnis.

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

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

So again, the fox wishes to eat the cricket, in order that he may obtain the gift of song. *Reinh.* p. 125. The account of Eric, alluded to in the text, is as follows:—" Mittitur deinde Rollerus a patre cognoscendi causâ domi interim acta. Is ut maternum fumare tugurium vidit, foris accedens parvulumque foramen furtiva luminis applicatione trajiciens, introspectâ sede, animadvertit matrem informi cacabo coctilia pulmenta versantem. Suspexit præterea tres colubras superne tenui reste depensas, ex quarum ore profusa tabes guttatim humorem epulo ministrabat. Dux quippe colore piceæ erant, tertia squamis albida videbatur reliquis modico eminentius pensa. Hæc nexum in cauda gestabat, quum cæteræ immisso ventri funiculo tenerentur. Ille rem maleficio consentaneam ratus, silentio quod viderat pressit, ne matrem veneficii ream astruere putaretur. Ignorabat enim innocuam anguium extitisse naturam, nescius quantum illo vigoris epulo pararetur. Supervenientes deinde Regnerus et Ericus, ut fumidam aspexere casam, ingressi discubitum petivere. Quibus ad mensam sitis Craca privigno filioque unâ cibum capturis, catillum discoloris dapis admovit. Pars quippe picea, sed croceis guttis interlita, pars albida videbatur: quippe pro varia serpentum specie, geminus pulstem color infecerat. Cujus quum solam uterque particulam delibasset, Ericus non ex colorum habitu, sed interni vigoris effectu epulas æstimans, nigrantem dapis partem, sed succo potiore confectam, catino quam celerrime verso, ad se transtulit, albidamque sibi admotam prius Rollero applicans, cœnam feliciter gessit. Et ne mutationis industria notaretur, taliter, inquit, æstuante freto, puppim in proram referri solitam. Nec tenue viri ingenium fuit, industrii operis dissimulationem a navigii consuetudine mutuantis. Ericus itaque, faustâ jam dape reffectus, internâ ipsius operâ ad summum humanæ sapientiæ pondus evasit. Quippe epuli vigor, supra quàm credi poterat, omnium illi scientiarum copiam ingeneravit, ita ut etiam ferinarum pecudaliumque vocum interpretatione calleret. Neque enim solum humanarum rerum peritissimus erat, verumetiam sensuales brutorum sonos ad certarum affectionum intelligentiam referebat. Præter ea tam comis atque ornati eloquii erat, ut quicquid disserere cuperet, continuo proverbiorum lepore poliret: " p. 72. Baldur, Odin's son, owed his strength and beauty to food prepared from the scum of three serpents. Saxo, Bk. iii. (Ed. Steph. p. 43.) But, like many others, this superstition was not confined to the races of the North. Stephanus, in his *Notæ uberiores* in lib. v. *Saxon. Grammat.* p. 113, says, " Plinius lib. x. nat. hist. c. 49, et lib. xxxix. c. 4, auctor est, tradidisse Democritum, facultatem intelligendi avium voces, comparari esu certi anguium generis. Philostratus quoque lib. iii. de vita Apollonii Thyanei scribit, incolas Bacaræ, Indorum urbis, jactare, eum qui cor et



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

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

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

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

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

I have sometimes, but hesitatingly, contemplated the pos-

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

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

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

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

Git ðá ða hæðenan nóldon
beón gehealdene
on swá feawum godum ;

Yet would not the heathen
be contented
with so few gods ;



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and worhton him to godum,
 ac se sunu wæs swá ðeah
 swiðor gewurðod
 ðonne se fæder wære
 on heora fúlan biggencge.

Des Jouis is árwurðost
 ealra ðæra goda

ðe ða hæðenan hæfdon
 on heora gedwylde,

and he hátte Þór

betwux sumum þeódum,

ðane ða Deniscan leóde

lufiað swiðost.

His sunu hátte Mars

se macode æfre saca,

and wrohte and wáwan

he wolde æfre styrian ;

ðisne wurðodon ða hæðenan

for heálicne god,

and swá oft swá he fyrdodon

oððe tó gefeohte woldon

ðonne offrodon hí heora lác

on ær ðisum gode ;

hí gelyfdon ðæt he mihte

micclum him fultumian

on ðám gefeohte forðan

ðe he gefeoht lufode.

Sum man wæs geháten

Mercurius on life

se wæs swiðe facenful

and swicol on dædum,

and lufode eác stala

and leásbrednyse :

ðone macodon ða hæðenan

him tó mæran gode

and æt wega gelætum

him lác offrodon

and tó heágum beorgum

him bróhton onsægdnyse.

Des god wæs árwurða

betwux eallum hæðenum

and made unto themselves for gods,
 but the son was nevertheless
 more honoured

than the father was

in their foul custom.

This Jove is the most venerable
 of all the gods

whom the heathen had

in their error,

and he was called Thor

among certain nations,

whom the Danish people

love the most.

His son was called Mars

who made ever contests,

and wrath and mischief

he would ever stir up ;

him the heathen honoured

as a lofty god,

and as often as they warred

or would to battle,

then offered they their sacrifice

beforehand to this god ;

they believed that he could

much aid them

in battle, since he

loved battle.

A man there was

called Mercury during life

who was very fraudulent

and deceitful in deeds,

and eke loved thefts

and deception :

him the heathen made

a powerful god,

and by the road-side

made him offerings,

and on high hills

brought him sacrifice.

This god was honourable

among all the heathens

and he is Opon geháten
 óðrum naman on Denisc.
 Sum wíf hátte Uenus,
 seó wæs Ioues dohtor,
 swá fracod on gálnysse
 ðæt hire fæder hí hæfde,
 and eác hire broðor,
 and óðre gehwylce
 on myltestrena wísan :
 ac hí wurðiað ða hæðenan
 for hálige gydenan,
 swá swá heora godes dohtor.
 Monega óðre godas wæron
 mislíce áfundene,
 and eác swylce gydenan
 on swíðlícum wurðmynte
 geond ealne middangeard,
 mancynne tó forwyrde ;
 ac ðás synd ða fyrmestan
 ðeah ðe hí fúllíce leofodon.
 Se syrwigenda deófol
 ðe swícað embe mancynn
 gebróhte ða hæðenan
 on ðæt heálíce gedwyld,
 ðæt hí swá fúle men
 him fundon tó godum,
 ðe ða leahtras lufodon
 ðe líciað ðám deófle,
 ðæt eác heora biggencgan
 heora bysmor lufodon,
 and ælfremede wurdon
 fram ðám ælmihtigan gode
 seðe leahtras onscunað
 and lufað ða clænnysse.
 Hí gesetton eác ðá
 ðære sunnan and ða mónan
 and ðám óðrum godum,
 álcum his dæg ;
 árest ðære sunnan
 ðone sunnan dæg,
 and siððan ðám mónan

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

ðone mōnan dæg,
 and ðone þridan dæg
 hī þeōwdon Marte
 heora feohte gode
 him tō fultume.
 Ðone feorðan dæg
 hī sealdon him tō frōfre
 þām foresædan Mercurie
 heora mæran gode ;
 ðone fiftan dæg
 hī freolsodon mærlīce
 Ioue tō wurðmynte,
 ðām mærostan gode ;
 ðone syxtan dæg hī gesetton
 ðære sceamleāsan gydenan
 Uenus gehāten,
 and Frycg on Denisc.
 Ðone seofodan dæg
 hī sealdon Saturne,
 ðām ealdan ðæra goda fæder
 him sylfum tō frōfre,
 endenexð swā ðeah
 ðeah ðe he yldest wære.
 Hī wōldon git wurðian
 arwurðlīcor ða godas
 and forgeafon him steorran
 swilce hī āhton heora geweald,
 ða seofon tunglan,
 suunan and monan
 and ða oðre fīf
 ða farað æfre
 ongean ðone rodor
 tō eāstdæle werd,
 ac hī gebigð seð heofon
 underbæc æfre.
 Ac ða steorran swā ðeah
 scinon on heofonum
 on frymðe middaneardes
 ær ða mánfullan godas
 wurdon ācennede,
 oððe gecorene tō godum.

the monday,
 and the third day
 they submitted to Mars
 their battle god
 for their support.
 The fourth day
 they gave for their advantage
 to the aforesaid Mercury
 their great god ;
 the fifth day
 they solemnly devoted
 to Jove's honour,
 the greatest god ;
 the sixth day they appointed
 to the shameless goddess
 called Venus,
 and Frig in Danish.
 The seventh day
 they gave to Saturn,
 the grandfather of the gods
 for their own comfort,
 yet last of all
 though he the eldest were.
 They would yet honour
 their gods more highly
 and they gave them stars,
 to have power over them,
 the seven constellations,
 sun and moon
 and the five others
 that go for ever
 against the firmament
 toward the east,
 but still the heaven
 turns them ever back.
 But yet the stars
 shone in heaven
 at the creation of the world
 before the guilty gods
 were born,
 or chosen to be gods.



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

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

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

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

þó saide Vortiger
 þat was wís and swípe war,
 and woche beop 3oure bileue,
 þat 3e on bilefep?
 [þó saide Hengest
 cniht alre hendest :]
 we habbaþ godes góde
 þe we louiep in móde :
 þe ón hátte Phebus,
 þe óper Saturnus ;
 þe þridde hótte Wóden,
 þat was a mihti þing :
 þe ferrpe hátte Jubiter,
 of alle þinges he is war ;
 þe fifpe hátte Mercurius,
 þat his þe héhest ouer us ;
 þe sixte hátte Appolin,
 þat his a god of grete win.

þe souepe hátte Teruagant,
 án héh god in úre lond.
 3et we habbaþ án leáfdi ;
 þat héh his and mihti ;
 3eó his ihóte Frea,
 hirdmen hire louiep.
 Tó alle þeós godes
 we worsipe wercheþ,
 and for hire loue
 þeós dajes we heom gefue.
 Mone we 3efue Moneday,
 Tydea we 3efue Tisdei,
 Wóden we 3efue Wendesdei,
 þane þonre we 3efue þorisdai,
 Frea þane Friday,
 Saturnus þane Sateresdai.
 þus saide Hengest
 cniht alre hendest.

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

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

Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolium,

i. e. “It was not a Sabbath, but a Saturn’s bath,” or, according to a modern German idiom, a *devil’s bath*, Teufelsbad*, where there appears to be an allusion to the Norse names, as well as an identification of Saturn with the arch-fiend, the natural opponent of true religious belief and godly wisdom.

A more important fact however is, that names of places and plants are compounded with the name of Sætere. In a charter of Edward the Confessor I find the name Sæteresbyrig, which answers exactly to Wōdnesbyrig : again, in the north of England there are two parishes called Satterthwaite, and in Devonshire one called Sattersleigh ; while the common crowfoot or *gallicrus* is in Anglo-Saxon Satorláf. Now

* Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 111, etc. Ed. 1844.



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decisive proofs, are interesting and curious coincidences at least.

No doubt the great difficulty of all is to account for the name *Marcolphus*, which replaced *Saturnus*. Its antiquity is obvious from the passage already cited from *Notker of St. Gall**. *Mone*, who considers the whole tale to have originated in the Netherlands, brings forward several arguments to prove that the name *Marcolf* is a mere Netherlandish expression for a mocker, japer and jiber; that it is originally the name of a kind of crow, and consequently has an immediate reference to the character of *Marcolf* as a reviler and parodist. I cannot say that I am at all convinced by the professor's reasoning, and I cannot find any trace in *Notker's* words of the parody: the Anglo-Saxon poems have none, the Anglo-Saxon prose version has none, the earliest French version has none, and other incidental allusions have been cited which prove the original form of the story to have been serious, and therefore not resembling the Latin and German versions in any detail. A passage which bears more strongly on *Mone's* view than any which he has quoted, occurs in the Latin *Salomon and Marcolphus*: alluding to *Salomon* and himself, *Marcolf* says, "Jubilat merulus, respondet graculus." Nevertheless it seems to me much more likely that the jay obtained his name from the hero of our story, as the fox did from the still more famous *Reynard*, than that the reverse should have been the case. Again, it is very remarkable that while the Netherlandish is argued to possess the word *Markolff*, and in that word the origin of *Marcolphus*, the Netherlandish *Reineke Vos* should call the jay, not *Marcolf*, but *Marquart*†.

* Vide p. 12.

† The passages cited by *Mone* are as follows:—"Doctissimi viri Joannis Murmellii, Ruremundensis, pappa puerorum:" (a Latin and Teutonic vocabulary) Antw. Mich. Hillen. 4to. 1537. In this, under the title *De*

It is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon poem makes Saturnus say he has visited

Meda mǫðumselas
Marculfes eard,

as if he meant to place this land somewhere in the East; and the unusual form of the word, Marculf, (not Mearcwulf,) has something unsatisfactory about it. Is it conceivable that it should stand in any relation to the Weallende Wulf, or *Wandering Wolf*, of Sal. Sat. 2. 423? It is also to be observed that Saturn, the wandering sage, bears a curious resemblance to Wōden, the wandering god; and that even a connection can be observed between Wōden and Marcolphus. I have already called attention to the fact of Wōden's being the "Wild Huntsman;" now it appears that this superstition goes in Denmark by the name of the "flying Marcolf," *den flyvende Markolfus**; by which is probably meant, the flying devil, as Saturni dolium was the *devil's* bath.

Avibus, we find Garrulus, een *mercolf*. In the Dictionarium Triglotton, auct. Petro Dayspodio. Antw. 1567, 4to. sub voce *garrus*, "garrulus, een clapper: item avis nomen, een *mercolf*." Again, in the Opus minus primae partis Alexandri, Antw. 1511, 4to, at fol. 7, we find, "graculus een *markolff*." In the Dictionarium, "quod gemma gemmarum vocatur," Coloniae, 1511, 4to, "graculus, *eyn markloff*, vel *eyn kae*, vel *eyn doyl*." Lastly, in the Vocabularium, s. l. e. a. printed in 4to, about 1490, we have, "graculus est nomen avis, *ein markolff*." In Rollenhagen's Froschmäuseler, the jay is called Marcolff, and in other contemporary works Bruder Morolf. When we consider that all these works appeared at the period of Marcolf's extreme popularity in Europe, it seems to me most probable that the name was borrowed directly from the story.

* Deutsche Myth. p. 530. Ed. 1835.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

THE poetical Salomon and Saturn, if indeed there be not two distinct poems of the name, is taken from two manuscripts, both in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The longer and, although fragmentary, the completer of these copies is found in the MS. No. 422. It consists of twenty-six pages, written in a close, beautiful, and, as it appears, female hand. Of this the first page is, with the exception of a few scattered words, become wholly illegible, from having at some period been pasted down into the binding of the book. The text begins however very clearly at line 60, and so continues to line 340, after which, in the very middle of a page, a long and fragmentary piece of prose is inserted by the same hand. After a lacuna of one or more pages in the manuscript, the couplets recommence, and are continued to the end of the first and beginning of the second part, which also falls in the middle of a page. The second part begins, as, from a few strokes yet visible, it appears that the first did also, with a line of capital letters. There is little that requires remark in the first part, which is entirely devoted to a description of the Pater Noster (a personification of the prayer), its form, stature and powers, except a few heathen superstitions, illustrated in the notes, and the use of several Runic characters, which I have treated of elsewhere*.

The second MS., which is distinguished in the various readings by the letter B, is also a fragment; it is written in a comparatively modern hand (that is, late in the eleventh century), on the margin of a magnificent copy of Ælfred's Bede, MS. No. 41. It consists only of 189 lines; but by great good fortune these are the opening of the poem: the few legible words in the first page of Cod. A. correspond to

* Archæologia, vol. xxviii. On the Runes of the Anglo-Saxons.



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SALOMON AND SATURN.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Hwæt! Ic iglanda
 eallra hæbbe
 bóca onbyrged,
 þurhgebregd stafas,
 lárcreftas onlocen
 Libia and Greca,
 swylce eác istorian
 Indea ríces.

Me ða treahteras
 tala wísedon
 on ðám micelan béc,

* * *

* * *

swylce ic næfre on eallum
 ðám fyrngewrýtum
 findan ne mihte
 sóðe samode.

Ic sóhte ðá git
 hwylc wære módes,
 oððe mægenþrymmes,
 elnes oððe

iehte eorlscipes,
 se ge-palmtwígeda
 Pater Noster.

Sille ic ðe ealle,
 sunu Dauides,
 þeóden I[s]raela,
 xxx. punda

SATURN spake.

Lo! of all the islands
 I the books
 have tasted, [the letters,
 have thoroughly turned over
 the lore-craft have unlocked
 of Lybia and Greece,
 also the history
 of the Indian realm.

Me the expounders
 well directed
 in the great books,

* * *

* * *

which I never in all
 the ancient writings
 might find
 truly collected.

I sought yet
 what were in respect of mood
 or majesty,
 of power or

in any respect of activity,
 the palm-twigged
 Pater Noster.

I will give thee all,
 O Son of David,
 King of Israel,
 thirty pounds

1. From this to line 59 a few words only here and there are discernible in Cod. A.
 11. A line erased. 25. MS. Wille.

smætes goldes
 and míne suna twelfe, 30
 gif ðú mec gebringest
 ðæt ic sí gebrydded,
 þurh ðæs cantices cwide,
 Cristes linan ;
 gesémest mec mid sóðe, 35
 and ic mec gesund fa[re],
 wende mec on willan
 on wæteres hricg,
 ofer Coferflód
 Caldeas sécan. 40

SALOMON cwæð.

Unlæde bið on eorðan,
 unnyt lífes,
 wéste wísdómes,
 weallað swá nieten
 feldgange, 45
 feoh bútan gewitte,
 se þurh ðone cantic ne can
 Crist geherian :
 warað windes full,
 worpað hine deófol 50
 on dómðæge,
 draca egeslice,
 bismorlice
 of blácere liðran
 irenum afelum. 55
 Ealle beóð áweaxen
 of edwittes
 ýða heáfum ;
 ðonne him bið leófre

of coined gold
 and my twelve sons,
 if thou wilt bring me
 that I may be touched,
 through the word of the canticle,
 by Christ's line ;
 if thou truly reconcilest me,
 and I depart in safety,
 if I turn at my will
 upon the water's back,
 over the Coferflood
 to seek Chaldæa.

SALOMON spake.

Wretched is he on earth
 useless in life,
 devoid of wisdom,
 like the neat he wandereth
 that move over the plain,
 the witless cattle,
 who through the canticle cannot
 honour Christ. [paise,
 He shall inhabit the void ex-
 the devil shall cast him down
 in the day of doom,
 the fearful dragon,
 contemptuously
 from the bright Balance
 with iron strength.
 All grown over shall he be
 by the heads of the waves
 of scorn ; [him
 then will it be better liked by

35. gesemesð 43. MS. B. wesðe. 49. A. Warað he. 55. MS. aplum. 59. with the word leófre begins the second page of A., which I follow here, giving the various readings of B.

<p>ðonne eall ðeós leóhte gesceaft gegoten fram ðam grunde goldes and seolfres, feðersceatum full feohgestreóna, gif he æfre ðæs organes 66 ówiht cúðe : fracod he bið ðonne and fre- mede freán ælmihtigum, englum ungelíc ána hwearfað. 70</p>	<p>than all this bright creation filled from the very abyss with gold and silver, in all its regions full of treasure, if he ever of the organ anything had known : hostile shall he then be and strange to Almighty God, unlike the angels he shall wander alone.</p>
---	---

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac hwá mæg eáðost
 ealra gesceafta
 ða hálgan duru
 heofona rices
 torhte ontýnan 75
 on getælríme ?

SALOMON cwæð.

Ðæt ge-palmtwígede
 Pater Noster
 heofonas ontýneð,
 hálige geblissað, 80
 metod gemiltsað,
 morðor gefylleð,
 ádwæsceð deóflæs fýr
 Dryhtnes onæleð :
 swylce ðú miht 85

* * *

SATURN spake.

But who may easiest
 of all creatures
 the holy door
 of heaven's kingdom
 bright unclose 75
 in succession ?

SALOMON spake.

The palm-twigged
 Pater Noster
 openeth the heavens,
 blesseth the holy, 80
 maketh mild the Lord,
 putteth down murder,
 quencheth the devil's fire
 kindleth the Lord's :
 thus mayst thou 85

* * *

62. B. silofres. 63. B. feðerscette. 64. B. fyrngestreóna. 67. B. fremde. 69. B. ungesibb. 70. B. hwarfað. 71. B. eáðust. 72. B. ealra. 73. B. hálgan. 74. B. heofna. 76. B. on getáles ríme. 77. B. gepalmtwígode. 79. B. heofnas. 80. B. hálie. 82. A. gesylleð. B. gefilleð.



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fyrwit frneð,
fús gewiteð,
mód gemengeð.

Nænig manna wát, 120
hæleða under heofenum,
hú mín hyge dreóseð
bysig æfter bócum ;
hwílum me bryne stígeð,
hyge heortan neáh 125
hearde wealleð.

SALOMON cwæð.

Gylden is se Godes cwide,
gimmum ástæned,
hafað silfren leáf ;
sundor mæg æghwylc 130
ðurh gástes gife
gódspel secgan :
he bið sefan snytro
and sáwle hunig ;
and módes meolc, 135
mærdæ gesæligost ;
he mæg ða sáwle
of sinnihte
gefecan under foldan ;
næfre hie se feond tó ðæs niðer
feterum gefæstnað,
ðeáh he hie mid fiftigum
clusum beclomme,
he ðone cræft briceð,
and ða orðancas 145

my curiosity enquireth,
quick it moveth about,
my mind it mingleth.

No man knoweth,
hero under the heavens,
how my spirit sinks
laboring over books ;
at times the heat ariseth,
my spirit near the heart
hardly boileth.

SALOMON spake.

Golden is the word of God,
stoned with gems,
it hath silver leaves ;
each one can
through spiritual grace
a gospel relate :
it is wisdom of the breast
and honey of the soul ;
milk of the mind,
most blessed of glories ;
it may the soul
from eternal night
fetch back under the earth ;
never so deep let the fiend
with fetters have fastened it,
though he with fifty
bonds enclose it,
yet breaketh it the craft,
and all the devices

117. B. fyrwet. 119. B. geond mengeð. 121. A. hefenum. 122. B. dreó-
geð. 123. B. bisi. 124. hwylum. 125. B. *del.* neáh. 126. A. hædre. 129. B.
seolofren. *del.* leáf. 131. B. gæstrea. 132. gódspellian. 133. A. seofan. B. sny-
tero. 135. This and the following line are wanting in A. 138. A. sien-n.
B. syn-n. 139. B. gefetian. 143. B. clausum. 144. B. ðane.

ealle tóslíteð :		teareth asunder :
hungor he áhýðeð,		hunger it despoileth,
helle gestrúdeð,		hell it destroyeth,
wylm tóweorpeð,		fire it casteth asunder,
wuldor getimbreð.	150	glory it buildeth up.
He is módigra		More courageous is it
middangearde,		than this world,
staðole strengra		stronger in its position
ðonne ealra stána gripe.		than the gripe of all the rocks.
Lamena he is læce,	155	It is the leech of the lame,
leóht wincendra,		the light of the blind,
swylce he is deáfra duru		it is also the door of the deaf,
dumbra tunge,		the tongue of the dumb,
scyldigra scyld,		the shield of the guilty,
scyppendes seld ;	160	the dwelling of the Creator ;
flódes ferigend,		the bringer of the flood,
folces nerigend,		the saviour of the people,
ýða yrfeward		the heir of the waves
earmra fisca,		of the poor fishes,
and wyrma helm,	165	and the defence of the worms,
wildeora holt,		the refuge-wood of beasts,
on wéstenne weard,		a guardian in the wilderness,
weorðmynda geard :		the garden of worship :
and seðe wile geornlice		and he that will earnestly
ðone Godes cwide	170	this God's-word
singan sóðlice,		sing in sooth,
and hine symle wile		and him will ever
lufian bútan leahtrum,		love without crime,
he mæg ðone láðan gást,		he may the hated spirit,
feohtende feónd	175	the fighting fiend
fleónde gebringan,		bring to flight,

147. A. áhieðeð. B. gehídeð. 149. B. tóworpeð. 152. B. middangeardea.
 153. B. he is strengra. 154. B. ealle. 155. B. lamana. 156. B. winciendra.
 158. B. deádra. 161. B. feriend. 162. B. neriend. 164. B. fixa. 165. B. *del.*
 and. A. welm. B. wlence. 167. B. *del.* on. westennes. 168. B. weorðmynta.
 171. B. smeálice. 172. B. symle liuan. 173. B. wile bútan. 174. B. láðan
 gesíð. 175. B. feohterne. 176. A. gebrengan.

gif ðú him ærest on úfan		if thou at first over him
ierne gebringest		earnestly bringest
Prologa prima		Prologa prima
ðam is 𐌺 P nama :	180	whose name is P :
hafað gúðmecga		the warrior has
gyrde lange,		a long rod,
gyldene gáde,		with a golden goad,
and á ðone g[rīm]man feond		and ever the grim fiend
swíðmód swípeð ;	188	fierce-minded smiteth ;
and him on swaðe fylgeð		and on his track pursueth
𐌺 A ofermægene,		A with mighty power,
and hine eac ofslýhð.		and him also beateth.
↑ T hine teswað, and hine		T plagueth him, and him
on ða tungan sticað,	190	in the tongue stabbeth,
wræsteð him ðæt woddor,		twisteth his throat for him,
and him ða wongan briceð.		and his cheeks breaketh.
𐌺 E hine yflað,		E afflicteth him,
swá he á wile		as he ever will
ealra feonda gehwone	196	fastly stand against
fæste gestandan ;		every foe ;
ðonne hine on unðanc, R R		then little to his pleasure, R
eorringa geséceð ;		shall angrily seek him ;
bócstafa brego		the prince of letters
bregdeð sona	200	shall soon whirl
feond be ðám feaxe,		the fiend by his hair,
læteð flint brecan		he will let the flint break
scines sconcan ;		the phantasm's shanks ;
he ne besceáwað nó		never shall he witness
his leomena lið,	206	the comfort of his limbs, [him.
ne bið him læce gód.		nor shall any leech be good for
Wendeð he hine ðonne		Then shall he depart under
[under wolcnum		[the welkin,

177. B. *del.* on. 178. B. yorn gebringest. A. gebrengest. 179. B. prologo primo. 180. The simple letters stand, without Runes in B. 181. A. after gúð a modern hand has written o. A. mæcga. B. gúðmaga. 182. A. gierde. 184. B. grymman. 185. A. sweopað. 186. B. *del.* him. læteð, over which is written flgið. 188. B. ofslehð. 189. with T ends the MS. B. 207. MS. hiene.



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habbað leóht speru,
 lange sceaftas,
 swiðmóde sweópan ;
 swenga ne wyrnað
 deórra dynta ; 245
 him bið ðæt deófol láð.
 Ðonne hine ʀ L
 and se yrra ʒ C
 gúðe begyrdað ;
 geáp stæf wigeð 250
 biterne brógan :
 býgað sona
 helle hæftling,
 ðæt he on hinder gæð :
 ðonne hine ʒ F and ʒ M M
 útan ymbðringað
 scyldigne sceaðan ;
 habbað scearp speru,
 atole earhfare ;
 æled lætað 260
 on ðæs feóndes feax
 flána stregdan,
 biterne brógan ;
 banan heardlice
 grimme ongildað, 265
 ðæs hie oft gilp brecað.
 Ðonne hine æt nichstan
 nearwe stilleð
 Ɔ G se geápa,
 ðone God sendeð 270
 freóndum on fultum ;
 fareð æfter Ɔ D,
 fífmægnum full :

they have light spears,
 long shafts,
 sweeps strong of mood ;
 blows they spare not,
 dear dints ;
 loathly to them is the Devil.
 Then L
 and augry C
 shall gird him about with war ;
 the crooked letter wabeth
 bitter terror :
 soon shall shrink
 hell's captive,
 so that he goeth backward.
 then shall F and M
 throng from without
 about the guilty wretch ;
 sharp spears have they,
 the terrible flight of arrows :
 they shall let fire
 upon the fiend's hair
 strew its shafts,
 a bitter terror ;
 the mischief fiercely
 with rage they shall repay,
 that often pride breaketh them.
 Then him at last
 narrowly shall still
 G the crooked,
 whom God sendeth
 a support to his friends ;
 D fareth after,
 full of five virtues :

fýr bið se ðridda ;		five is the third ;
stæf stræte neáh	275	the letter near the street
stille bídeð.		shall abide still.
H onetteð,		H shall hasten,
engel hine scirpeð,		the angel shall clothe him,
Cristes cempan,		Christ's warrior,
on cwícum wædum	280	in the quick weeds
Godes spyrigendes,		of enquiring God,
geónges hrægles.		in a new garment.
Ðonne hine on lyfte		Then him in the lift,
lífgetwinnan,		the twins of life,
under tungla getrumum,	285	beneath the masses of the stars,
twigena ordum,		with points of twigs,
sweópum seolfrenum,		with silver sweeps,
swíðe weallað,		shall mightily vex,
oððæt him bán blícað,		until the bone appear,
blédað ædran ;	290	the veins shall bleed : [pour
gártorn geótað		the rage of shafts they shall
gifrum deófle.		on the greedy devil.
Mæg symle se Godes cwide		Ever may the God's word,
gumena gehwylcum,		for every man,
ealra feónda gehwone	295	every fiend
fleónde gebringan,		put to flight,
ðurh mannes múð,		through mouth of man,
mánfulra heáp		the troop of evil ones
sweartne geswencan ;		the black troop oppress ;
uæfre hie ðæs sellice	300	let them never so strangely
bleóum bregdað		change with colours
æfter báncofan,		in their body,
feðerhoman onfóð.		or assume plumage.
Hwílum flotán grípað,		Sometimes they seize the sailor,
hwílum hie gewendað	305	sometimes they turn
on wyrmes líc		into the body of a snake

278. scierpeð. 286. tuigena. 287. seolfrynum. 293. simle. 295. gehwane.
296. gebrengan. 298. manfullra. 300. syllice.

[scearpes] and stícoles,		sharp and piercing,
stingað nýten		they sting the neat
feldgongende,		going about the fields,
feoh gestrúdað ;	310	they destroy the cattle ;
hwílum hie on wætere		sometimes in the water
wicg gehnægað,		they bow the horse,
hornum ge-heáwað		with their horns they hew him
oððæt him heortan blód,		until his heart's blood,
fámig flódes bæð,	315	a foaming bath of flood,
foldan geséceð.		falls to the earth.
Hwílum hie gefeterað		Sometimes they fether
fæges monnes handa ;		the hands of the doomed ;
gehefegað ðonne he		they make them heavy when he
æt hilde sceall	320	is called upon in war
wið láðwerud		against a hostile troop
lifes tiligan :		to provide for his life :
áwrítað hie on his wæpne		they cut upon his weapon
wælnota heáp,		a heap of fatal marks,

308. stingeð nieten. 310. gestrudeð. 311. he. 312. gehuægeð. 313. geheaweð.
317. he. 323. awriteð he. 324. wællnota.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hú mouiges bleós bið ðæt deófol and se Pater Noster ðonne hie betwih him gewinnað ?

Saloman cwæð. Ðritiges bleós.

Saturnus cwæð. Hwæt sindon ða ærestan ?

Saloman cwæð. Ðæt deófol bið ærest on geógoðháde, on cildes onlícuise : ðonne bið se Pater Noster on háliges gastes onlícnisse. Ðriddan síðe bið ðæt deófol on dracan onlícnisse : feorðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on stræles onlícnisse ðe *Brachia Dei* hátte. Fíftan síðe bið ðæt deófol on ðýstres onlícnisse : sixtan síðe bið se Pater Noster on leóhtes onlícnisse. Seofoðan síðe bið ðonne ðæt deófol on



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wildeóres onlícnisse : eahteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on ðæs hwæles onlícnisse ðe *Leuiathan* hátte. Nigoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on atoles swefnes onlícnisse : teoðan síðe bið ðonne se Pater Noster on heofonlícre gesihðe onlícnisse. Endleftan síðe bið ðæt deófol on yfles wífes onlícnisse : twelftan síðe bið se Pater Noster on heofonlícre byrnan onlícnisse. Dreoteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on sweordes onlícnisse : feowerteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre byrnan onlícnisse. Fífteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol ou bremles onlícnisse : sixteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on seolfrenes earnes onlícnisse. Seofonteoðan síðe bið ðonne ðæt deófol on sleges onlícnisse : eabtateoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on seolfrenes earnes onlícnisse. Nigonteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on fylles onlícnisse : xx síðe bið [se] Pater Noster on Cristes onlícnisse. On xxi síðe bið ðæt deófol on ætrenes fugeles onlícnisse : on xxii síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre earnes onlícnisse. On xxiii síðe bið ðæt deófol on wulfes onlícnisse : on xxiiii síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre racenteage onlícnisse. On xxv síðe bið ðæt deófol on wrohte onlícnisse : on xxvi síðe bið se Pater Noster on sibbe onlícnisse. On xxvii síðe bið ðæt deófol on yfeles geþohtes onlícnisse : on xxviii síðe bið se Pater Noster on árfæstes gástes onlícnisse. On xxviiii síðe bið deóplícor gehwyrfed ðæt deófol on deáðes onlícnisse.

Salomon cwæð. Dómlícor bið ðonne se Pater Noster gehwyrfed on Dryhtnes onlícnisse.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hwá áspyreð ðæt deófol of geofones holte, and hine geþringeð on ðára Cristes cempena fæðmun ðe ðus hátton, Cherubin and Seraphin ?

[Salomon cwæð.] Uriel and Rumiél.

wild-beast: eighthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of the whale that is called *Leuiathan*. Ninthly will the devil be in the likeness of a foul dream: then tenthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a heavenly vision. The eleventh time will the devil be in the likeness of a bad woman: the twelfth will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a heavenly breastplate. The thirteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a sword: the fourteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a golden breastplate. The fifteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a bramble: the sixteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a silver eagle. Then the seventeenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a hammer: the eighteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a silver eagle. The nineteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a fall: the twentieth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of Christ. At the twenty-first time the devil will be in the likeness of a poisonous bird: on the twenty-second time the Pater Noster will be in the likeness of a golden eagle. On the twenty-third time will the devil be in the likeness of a wolf: on the twenty-fourth time the Pater Noster will be in the likeness of a golden chain. On the twenty-fifth time will the devil be in the likeness of wrath: on the twenty-sixth will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of Peace. On the twenty-seventh time will the devil be in the likeness of an evil thought: on the twenty-eighth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a pure spirit. On the twenty-ninth time will the devil be still more deeply changed into the likeness of death.

Salomon quoth. Then will the Pater Noster be more gloriously changed into the likeness of the Lord.

Saturnus quoth. But who shall track the devil from the covert of ocean, and bring him to the hands of Christ's champions, who are thus named, Cherubim and Seraphim?

Salomon quoth. Uriel and Rumiël.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hwá sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum ?

Saloman cwæð. Se Pater Noster sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum ; and seó liget hit bærneð and táčnað, and se regn hit [on] úfan wyrðeð, and ða genipu hit dweliað, and se ðunor hit ðrysceð mid ðære fýrenan æcxe, and hit drifeð tó ðære írenan raenteage ðe his fæder on eardað, Satan and Sathiel. And ðonne ðæt deófol swíðe wérgað hit séceð scyldiges mannes nýten, oððe unclæne treów ; oððe gif hit méteð ungesenodes mannes múð and líchoman, and hit ðonne on forgitenan mannes innelfe gewíteð, and ðurh his fel and ðurh his flæsc on ða eorðan gewíteð, and ðanon helle wésten gespyrreð.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc heáfod hafað se Pater Noster ?

Saloman cwæð. Pater Noster hafað gylden heáfod and silfren feax ; and ðeáh ðe ealle eorðan wæter sýn gemenged wið ðám heofonlícum wætrum uppe on áne ædran, and hit samlice rinan onginne eal middangeard mid eallum his gesceaftum, he mæg under ðæs Pater Nosters feaxe ánum locce drige gestandan : and his eágan sindon xxi ðusendum síða beorhtran ðonne ealles middangeardes eorðe, ðeáh ðe heó sý mid ðæra beorhtestan lilian blostmum ofbræded, and æghwylc blostman leáf hæbbe xii sunnan, and æghwylc blostma hæbbe xii monan, and æghwylc mona sý synderlice xii ðusendum síða beorhtra ðonne he geó wæs ær Abeles slege.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hólíc is ðæs Pater Nosters seó wlítige heorte ?

Saloman cwæð. His heorte is xii ðusendum síða beorhtre ðonne ealle ðas seofon heofonas ðe ús sindon ofergesette, ðeáh ðe hie sýn ealle mid ðý dómiscan fýre onæled, and ðeáh ðe eal ðeós eorðe him neoðan tógegnes birne, and heó hæbbe fýrene tungan, and gyldenne hracan, and leóhtne múð inne-weardne. And ðeáh ðe eal middangeard sý fram Adames



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frymðe edniówe geworden, and ána gehwylc hæbbe ða xii snyttro Habrahames and Isaces and Jacobes, and ána gehwylc móte lifigan ðreo hund wintra, ne magon hý ðære tungan gerecnisse, ne hire mægnes swiðmódnisse áspyrian. And his earmas sindon xii ðusendum síða lengran ðonne ealles middangeardes eorðe, oððe beámas, ðeáh ðe hý sýn mid ðý beorhtestan wyrhtan folmum tósomne geféged, and ána gehwylc ende sý fram óðrum tó ðám midle mid ðý gulliscan seolfre oferworht, and mid ðám neorxnawonges compgimmum ástæned; and his handa twá, hý sint bráðran ðonne xii middangeardas ðeáh hý sýn ealle tósomne gesette. And se hálga cantic he hafað gyldene fingras, and ðára is ána gehwylc synderlice xxxtigum ðusendum dæla lengra ðonne eal middangeard oððe eorðe; and on ðæs Pater Nosters ðære swiðran handa is gyldenes sweordes onlícnis, ðæt is eallum óðrum wæpnum ungelíc; his leóma he is blutra and beorhtra ðonne ealra heofona tunglu, oððe on ealre eorðan sýn goldes and seolfres frætwednissa and fægernissa: and ðæs dryhtenlícan wæpnes seó swiðre ecglast he is mildra and gemetfæstra ðonne ealles middangeardes swétnissa, oððe his stencas; and seó winstre ecglast ðæs ilcan wæpnes, he is réðra and scearpra ðonne eal middangeard, ðeáh he sý binuan his feower hwommum fulgedrifen wildeóra, and ána gehwylc deór hæbbe synderlice xii hornas írene, and ána gehwylc horn hæbbe xii tindas írene, and ána gehwylc tind hæbbe synderlice xii ordas, and ána gehwylc [ord] sý xii ðusendum síða scearpra ðonne seó án flán ðe sý fram hundtwelftigum byrdenna geondhyrded. And ðeáh ðe seofon middangeardas sýn ealle on efn ábrædde on þisses ánes onlícnisse, and ðær sý eal gesomned ðætte heofon oððe hel oððe eorðe æfre ácende, ne magon hý ða lífes linan on middan ymbfæðmian. And se Pater Noster he mæg ána ealla gesceafta on his ðære swiðran hand on ánes weaxæpples onlícnisse geðýn and gewringan. And his geðoht he is springdra and swiftra ðonne xii ðusendu háligras gásta, ðeáh ðe ána

come renewed from Adam's creation, and each man should have the twelve wisdoms of Habraham and Isaac and Jacob, and each might live three hundred years, yet could not they discover the relation of his tongue, nor the highmindedness of his might. And his arms are twelve thousand times longer than all this earth, or its trees, though they should all be compacted together with the brightest workmen's hands, and each end from the other should be overwrought to the middle with gilded silver, and stoned with the gems of paradise; and his two hands are broader than twelve worlds, though they should all be set together. And the holy song hath golden fingers, and each of them is individually thirty thousand times longer than all the world or the earth; and in the Pater Noster's right hand is the likeness of a golden sword, unlike all other weapons; its gleam is clearer and brighter than all the constellations of the heavens, than there are ornaments and fairness of gold and silver in all the earth: and the right edge of the lordly weapon is milder and more moderate than all the sweetness or the perfumes of the world; and the left edge of the same weapon is fiercer and sharper than all the world, though between its four pinnacles it should be driven full of wild-beasts, and every individual beast should have twelve horns, and every horn twelve tines of iron, and every single tine twelve points, and every point should be twelve thousand times sharper than an arrow which has been tempered by a hundred and twenty hardeners. And though seven worlds should be all spread abroad together in the likeness of this one, and therein should be collected all that heaven or hell or earth ever gave birth to, yet could they not embrace the line of life round the middle. And the Pater Noster alone might twist and wring all creatures in his right hand into the likeness of a wax-apple. And his thought is more active and quicker than twelve thousand holy spirits, though each single

gehwylc gást hæbbe synderlice xii feðerhoman, and áura gehwylc feðerhoma hæbbe xii windas, and áura gehwylc wind twelf sigefæstnissa synderlice. And his stefen heó is blúdre ðonne eal mancyn oððe eal wildeóra cyn, ðeáh ðe hý sýn ealle on ðone munt gesæmnod, ðe sý in ðære lengoðe seó line ðe wile xxxiii síða ealne eorðan ymbehwyrft útan ymblicgan. And ðeáh ðe ðæron gesomnod sý eal ðætte heofon oððe hel oððe eorðe æfre ácende, and áura gehwylc ge ðæra cweðendra ge ðæra uncweðendra, hæbbe gyldene býman on múðe, and ealra býmena gehwylc hæbbe xii hleóðor, and hleóðra gehwylc sý heofone heárre and helle deópre, ðonne gena ðæs hálgan cantices se gyldena organ he hý ealle oferhleóðrað, and ealle ða óðre he ádyfeð.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc is ðæs [Pater Nosters seó wlitige scrúd ?

Salomon cwæð.] Pater Noster hafað gyldene fonan, and seó fone is mid xii góðwebbum útan ymbhangen, and áura gehwylc góðweb hangað on hundtwelftigum hringa gyldenra. And ðæt æreste góðweb is háten Aurum cæleste, ðam ðióstro ne magon cxxtigum mila neáh gehleónian : ðonne nemnað englas ðæt æftere góðweb, Spiritum Paraclitum ; in ðám góðwebcynne bið Sanctus Mihhael gescyrped on dómes dæg : ðonne nemnað englas ðæt ðridde góðweb Pastoralices ; ðæt góðweb wæs on ðæs góðwebbes onlícnisse ðe geó ymb mínes fæder Dauides columban hangode on ðissum ilcan temple : ðonne is ðæt feorðe góðweb háten Solacitum ; ðæt góðweb wæs on ðæs góðwebbes onlícnisse ðe geó Abimelech se góða cyning bróhte Criste tó lácum and tó ansægdnisse : ðonne is ðæt fífte góðweb háten Uita perpetua ; ðæt góðweb is ðonne ðære hálgan ðrinnisse : ðonne is ðæt sixte góðweb háten Sacrificium Dei ; ðæt is ðonne on ealra deóra anlícnisse : ðonne is ðæt seofode * * * *

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. . . . swíce
 ær he sóð wíte,
 ðæt ða synfullan
 sáwla sticien,
 mid hettendum 345
 helle tó middes ;
 háteð ðonne heáhcýning
 helle betýnan
 fýres fulle,
 and ða feóndas mid. 350
 Hæfde ðá se snotra
 sunu Dauides
 forcumen and forcýðed
 Caldea eorl:
 hwæðre wæs on sælum, 355
 seðe of síðe cwom
 feorran gefered ;
 næfre ær his ferhð áhlóg.

. . . . desist,
 ere he truly know,
 that the sinful
 souls shall stick,
 with the enemies
 in the midst of hell ; [mand
 then shall the mighty king com-
 to close hell
 full of fire,
 and the fiends with it.
 Then had the wise
 son of David [knowledge
 overcome and surpassed in
 the earl of the Chaldæans :
 yet was he satisfied,
 who on his journey had come
 dispatched from afar ;
 never before had his spirit
 laughed.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

PART THE SECOND.

Hwæt ! Ic flítan gefrægn
 on fyrndagum 360
 móðgleáwe men,
 middangeardes ræswan,
 gewesan ymbe hyra wísdóm ;
 wyrs déð seðe lýhð,
 oððe ðæs sóðes ansaceð. 365
 Salomon wæs brenra,
 ðeáh ðe Saturnus

Lo ! I have learnt that there
 in days of yore [contended
 men wise of mood,
 princes of the earth,
 struggled about their wisdom ;
 ill doth he that lieth,
 or the truth rejecteth !
 Salomon was the more famous,
 although Saturnus,

sumra hæfde,		the bold chief,
bald breóst-toga,		had of some
bóca c[æga],	370	books the keys,
[leorn]inga locan.		the locks of learning.
Land eal geondhwearf,		All the land he circled,
[Indea eard,]		[the realm of Indians,]
[ea]st Corsias,		east Corsias,
Persea ríce,	375	the kingdom of the Persians,
Palestinion,		Palestinion,
Niniuen ceastre,		Nineveh the city,
and Norðpredan ;		and Northpredan ;
Meda máððuunselas,		the treasure-halls of Medes,
Marculfes eard ;	380	the land of Marculf ;
Saulus ríce		the realm of Saul
swá hit súð licgeð		as it lieth southward
ymbe Gealboe,		about Gilboa,
and ymb Geador ;		and about Geador ; [listines,
Norðfilistina flet,	385	the palace of the north-Phi-
fæsten Creca,		the fastness of the Greeks,
wudu Egipta,		the wood of the Egyptians,
wæter Mathea,		the waters of the Matheans,
Claudas, Coreffes,		Claudas, Coreffes,
Caldea ríce,	390	the realm of the Chaldees,
Creca cræftas,		the crafts of Greeks,
cyn Arabia,		the kin of Arabians,
láre Libia,		the lore of Lybians,
lond Siria,		the land of Syrians,
Pitðinia, Buðanasan,	395	Bythinia, Buthanasan,
Pamphilia Pores gemære :		Pamphilia Pores boundary :
Macedonia,		Macedonia,
Mesopotamie,		Mesopotamia,
Cappadocia,		Cappadocia,
Cristes Hierycho,	400	Christ's Hiericho,
Hierusa		Jerusalem

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oððe ic stígie,
 nýttes bicge,
 ðeáh
 wát ic ðonne gif ðú gewíttest
 on Wendelsæ,
 ofer Coforflóð
 cýððe sécean, [hæbbe. to seek thy country,
 ðæt ðú wile gilpan ðæt ðú that thou wilt boast thou hast
 ena bearn 410 . . . children [knowledge;
 forcumen and forcýðed ;
 wát ic ðæt wæron Caldeas
 gúðe ðæs gilpne,
 and ðæs goldwlonce,
 mærdæ ðæs módige, 415
 ðær tó ðám monig gelomp
 súð ymbe Sanere feld.
 Saga me from ðám lande
 ðær nænig fira ne mæg
 fótum gestæppau. 420

SATURNUS cwæð.

Se mæra wæs háten
 sælíðende
 Weallende Wulf,
 werþeódum cúð
 Filistina, 425
 freónd Nebrondes.
 He on ðám felde geslóg
 xxv
 dracena on dægred,
 and hine ðá of deað offeóll ;
 forðan ðas foldan ne mæg
 fira ænig,
 ðone mearcstede
 mon gesécan,

or I mount,
 purchase my advantage,
 though
 I know then if thou goest
 on the Wendel sea,
 over the Cofor flood
 to seek thy country,
 that thou wilt boast thou hast
 . . . children [knowledge;
 overcome and surpassed in
 I know that the Chaldeans were
 thus boastful in war,
 thus proud of gold,
 thus moody of their glory,
 since news of that was brought
 south about Sanere field.
 Tell me of the land
 where no man may
 step with feet.

SATURNUS quoth.

The sailor over the sea,
 the noble one was named
 Wandering Wolf,
 well known unto the tribes
 of the Philistines,
 the friend of Nebrond.
 He slew upon the plain
 five and twenty
 dragons at daybreak, [dead ;
 and himself fell down there
 therefore that land may not
 any man,
 that boundary place
 any one visit,



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uppe bringan,
 ðæt ðú ðære gyldnan gesiht
 Hierusalem
 weallas blícan,
 and hyra wynróð lixan, 470
 sóðfæstra segn ?
 Saga hwæt ic mæne.

SALOMON cwæð.

Béc syndon brene,
 bodiað geneahhe
 weotedne willan 475
 ðám ðe wiht hycgeð ;
 gestrangað hý and gestaðeliað
 staðolfæstne geðoht,
 ámyrgað módsefan
 manna gehwylces 480
 of ðreánýdlan
 ðisses lifes.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Beald bið seðe onbyrigeð
 bóca cræftes ;
 symle bið ðe wísa 485
 ðe hira geweald hæbbe.

SALOMON cwæð.

Sige hý onsendað
 sóðfæstra gehwám,
 hælo hýðe
 ðám ðe hý lufað. 490

SATURNUS cwæð.

A'n wísa is
 on woruldríce

so bring it up,
 that thou mayst see
 of the golden Hierusalem
 the walls glitter,
 and her dear cross shine,
 the ensign of the faithful ?
 Say what I mean.

SALOMON quoth.

Books are famous,
 they announce sufficiently
 the counselled will
 for him that thinketh aught ;
 they strengthen and confirm
 the steadfast thought,
 they purify the mind
 of every one
 from the enforced need
 of this life.

SATURNUS quoth.

Bold is he that tasteth
 of book-craft ;
 ever is the wiser
 he that hath power over them.

SALOMON quoth.

Victory they send
 to every steadfast man,
 the refuge of heal
 to him that loveth them.

SATURNUS quoth.

A wise one is there
 in the world,

ymb ða me fyrwet bræc
 L wintra,
 dæges and nihtes, 495
 ðurh deóp gesceaft :
 geómrende gást
 déð iugena swá,
 ær ðon me ge-unne
 éce dryhten 500
 ðæt me geséme
 snoterra mon.

SALOMON cwæð.

Sóð is ðæt ðu sagast.
 Seme ic ðe recene
 ymb ða wrætlican wiht. 505
 Wilt ðu ðæt ic ðe secge ?
 án fugel siteð
 on Filistina
 middelgemærum,
 munt is hine ymbutan, 510
 geáp gylden weal ;
 georne hine healdað
 witan Filistina
 * * * *
 * * * * 515
 * * * *
 wæpna ecgum,
 hý ðæs wære cunnon,
 healdað hine nihta gehwylce,
 norðan and súðan 520
 on twá healfa
 twá hund wearda.
 Se fugel hafað
 IIII heáfdu
 medumra manna, 525

concerning whom curiosity
 fifty years, [plagued me
 day and night,
 through the deep creation :
 my mourning spirit
 doth so ever, from of old,
 until to me shall grant
 the eternal Lord,
 that me shall reconcile,
 some wiser man.

SALOMON quoth.

True is what thou sayest.
 I will reconcile thee forthwith
 about the wondrous wight.
 Wilt thou that I tell thee ?
 A bird sitteth
 in the Philistine's
 middle district,
 a mountain is about him,
 a lofty golden wall ;
 him gladly hold
 the councillors of the Philistines
 * * * *
 * * * *
 * * * *
 with the edges of weapons,
 they therefore try cunning,
 every night,
 on the north and south,
 on both sides [him.
 two hundred warders guard
 The bird hath
 four heads
 of ordinary men,

and he is on middan
hwælan hiwes ;
he hafað fiðeru
and griffus fét.
* * * * * 530
Licgeð lonnum fæst,
locað unhióre,
swíðe swingeð,
and his searo hringeð ;
gilleð geómorlice 535
and his gyrn sefað ;
wylleð hine on ðám wíte,
wunað unlustum,
singeð syllíce,
seldum æfre 540
his leóma licgað ;
lengað hine hearde,
ðynceð him ðæt sý ðriá
xxx ðusend wintra
ær he dómdæges 545
dyn gehýre.
Nyste hine on ðære foldan
fira ænig,
eorðan cynnes, ær ðon
ic hine ána onfand, 550
and hine ðá gebændan hét
ofer brád wæter,
[oð]ðæt hine se modiga héht
Melotes bearn,
Filistina fruma, 555
fæste gebindan,
lonnum belúcan,
wið leódgrýre.
Ðone fugel hátað
foldbúende, 560

and he is in the midst
of a whale's shape ;
he hath wings
and griffin's feet.
* * * * *
He lieth fast in bonds,
he looketh monstrous,
fiercely he swingeth,
and his mail ringeth ;
sadly he yelleth
and breathes out his rage ;
he bubbles in his pain,
he lives in sorrow,
strangely he singeth,
seldom ever
his light abates ;
hard is his longing,
troublesome seem
the thirty thousand years
before he doomsday's
din shall hear.
Him knew not upon earth
any of men,
of human race, until
I alone found him, [in bonds
and commanded him to be put
over the broad water,
till him the haughty
child of Melote commanded,
prince of the Philistines,
fast to bind,
and lock with chains,
against the mighty terror.
That bird
the inhabitants of earth,



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and bebriceð telgum ;
 ástyreð stándene
 stefn on síðe,
 afylleð hine on foldan ; 595
 friteð æfter ðám
 wildne fugol ;
 heó oferwígeð wulf,
 heó oferbídeð stánas,
 heó oferstígeð stýle 600
 hió ábíteð íren mid óme,
 déð úsic swá.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac forhwon fealleð se snáw,
 foldan behýdeð,
 bewrihð wyrta cíð, 605
 wæstmas getígeð,
 geðýð hý and geðreátað,
 ðæt hý ðráge beóð
 cealde geclungene :
 ful oft he gecostað eác 610
 wícleóra worn,
 wætum he oferhrægeð ;
 gebryceð burga geátu,
 bealdlice fereð,
 reáfað swíðor mycle, 615
 ðonne se swíðra nið
 se hine gelædeð
 on ða láðan wíc,
 mid ðám fæcnan
 feónde tó willan. 620

SATURNUS cwæð.

Niht bið wedera þeóstrost,
 nýd bið wyrda heardost,

and breaketh with its twigs ;
 in the stony nest it stirreth
 the prow on its journey,
 and felleth it on the ground ;
 besides that it eateth
 the wild bird ;
 it subdues the wolf in fight,
 it abideth longer than the stones,
 it overtops the mountain path,
 it consumeth iron with rust,
 it doth us so too.

SATURNUS quoth.

But why falleth the snow,
 and hideth the earth, [herbs,
 covereth the young shoots of
 weigheth down the fruits,
 twisteth and oppresseth them,
 so that at times they are
 clung with cold :
 often it tryeth too
 the multitude of beasts,
 with wet it covereth them ;
 it breaketh the gates of towns,
 it boldly goeth,
 it plundereth much more
 than the strong man,
 who leadeth his people
 into the hostile dwelling,
 with his treacherous
 foe at his will ?

SATURNUS quoth.

Night is the darkest of weathers,
 need is the hardest of destinies,

sorh bið swærost byrðen,
slæp bið deáðe gelícost.

sorrow is the heaviest burthen,
sleep is likest unto death.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Lytle hwíle 625
leáf beoð gréne,
ðonne hý eft fealewiað,
feallað on eorðan,
and forweorniað,
weorðað tó duste : 630
swá ðonne gefeallað
ða ðe firena ær
lange læstað,
lifiað him in máne ;
hýðað heáhgestreón, 635
healdað georne
on fæstenne,
feóndum tó willan ;
and wénað wanhogan
ðæt hý wile wuldorcyning 640
æelmihtig God,
éce gehýran.

A little while
the leaf is green, -
then falloweth again,
falleth to the earth,
and drieth away,
turneth to dust :
so then shall fall
they who crimes before
have long committed,
have lived in guilt ;
hide lofty treasures,
guard them earnestly
in the fastness,
to the delight of fiends ;
and ween in their folly
that the king of glory,
almighty God,
will ever hear them.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Sona bið gesýne,
siððan flówan mót
ýð ofer eal lond ; 645
ne wile heó áwa
ðæs síðes geswícan,
siððan hire se sæl cymeð
ðæt heó dóines dæges
dyn gehýre. 650

Soon will it be seen,
when the wave is permitted
to flow over all the land ;
nor will it ever
desist from its course,
when the time is come
when it heareth the din
of doomsday.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Wá bið ðonne ðissum módgum Woe then to those proud men
monnum

ðám ðe her nú mid máne who now here longest in
lengest wickedness

lifiað on ðisse lænan gesceafte ; live in this perishable creation !
iú ðæt ðíne leóde gecýðdon, that thy people published of
yore,

wunnon hý wið dryhtnes they warred against the might
mihtum, 655 of God,

forðon hý ðæt weorc ne ge- therefore they perfected not
dígdon. their work.

Ne sceal ic ðe hwæðre, bró- Yet would I not vex thee, my
ðor, ábelgan ; brother ;

ðú eart swíðe bittres cynnes, thou art of a very bitter race,
eorre eormenstrýnde, an angry heathen family ;

ne be-irn ðú on ða inwit- run not thou into their guilty
gecyndo. 660 nature.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Saga ðú me, Salomon cyning, Tell thou me, king Salomon,
sunu Dauides, Son of David,
hwæt beóð ða feowere what are the four
fæges rápas. ropes of the doomed man ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Gewurdene 665 Accomplished
wyrda, ðá beóð Fates, these are
ða feowere the four
fæges rápas. ropes of the doomed man.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwá démeð ðonne But who then shall judge
dryhtne Criste, 670 Christ the lord,



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wóp and hleahtor. Ful oft ~~we~~
 bý weorðgeornra
 sælða tóslítað.
 Hú geræleð ðæt.

SALOMON cwæð.

Unlæde bið and ormód
 seðe á wile 700
 geómrian on gihða;
 se bið Gode fracðest.

SATURNUS cwæð.

For hwám ne móton we ðonne
 ealle mid onmedlan
 gegnum gangan 705
 in Godes ríce.

SALOMON cwæð.

Ne mæg fýres feng
 né forstes cyle,
 snáw né sunne
 somod eardian, 710
 ealdor geefnan;
 ac hira sceal ánra gehwyle
 onlútan and onlíðigan,
 ðe hafað læsse mægen.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac for hwám ðonne lifað 715
 se wyrsa leng.
 Se wyrsa ne wát
 in woruldríce,
 on his mægwinum
 máran áre. 720

weeping and laughter? Full oft
 they of the ambitious
 the happiness destroy.
 How doth that happen?

SALOMON quoth.

Wild is he and mindless
 who for ever will
 mourn in spirit;
 he is most rebellious to God.

SATURNUS quoth.

Why then may not we
 all with exultation
 go forward
 into God's kingdom?

SALOMON quoth.

The grasp of fire
 and chill of frost,
 the snow and sun
 cannot dwell together,
 and spend their life;
 but each of them
 shall bow and yield,
 that hath the lesser force.

SATURNUS quoth.

But why then liveth
 the worse man longer?
 The worse man knoweth not
 in this world's realm,
 among his kindred
 greater honour.

SALOMON cwæð.

Ne mæg mon foryldan
 ænige hwile
 ðone deóran síð,
 ac he hine ádreógan sceal.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac hū gegangeð ðæt, 725
 góde oððe yfle,
 ðonne hý beóð ðurh áne
 idese ácende
 twegen getwinnas,
 ne bið hira tír gelíc. 730
 Oðer bið unlæde on eorðan,
 óðer bið eádig,
 swíðe leóftæle
 mid leóda dúguðum :
 óðer lifað 735
 lytle hwile ;
 swíceð on ðisse sídan gesceafte
 and ðonne eft mid sorgum
 gewíteð.

Fricge ic ðe, hláford Salomon, I ask thee, Lord Salomon,
 hwæðres bið hira folgoð betra. of which is the condition better ?

SALOMON cwæð.

Módor ne rædað
 ðonne heó magan cenneð,
 hū him weorðe geond woruld
 wídsíð sceapen.
 Oft heó tó bealwe 745
 bearn áfédeð,
 selfre tó sorge,
 siððan dreógeð
 his earfoðu,

SALOMON quoth.

No one may put off
 for any time
 the dear journey,
 but he must endure it.

SATURNUS quoth.

But how then is it,
 for good or evil,
 when are through one
 woman born
 two twin brothers,
 their glory is not alike ?
 The one is miserable on earth,
 the other fortunate,
 very well reputed
 with public dignities :
 the other liveth
 but a little while ; [tion,
 he shrinketh on this wide crea-
 and then again departeth with
 sorrow.

SALOMON quoth.

A mother considereth not
 when she beareth a son,
 how throughout the world
 his pilgrimage shall be shaped.
 Oft she to mischief
 nourisheth her child,
 to her own sorrow,
 after she must bear
 his griefs,

orlegstunde ;	750	his fatal hour ;
heó ðæs eaforan sceal		she therefore over her child
oft and gelome		shall oft and frequently
grimme greótan,		grievously weep,
ðonne he geóng fareð,		when young he goeth about,
hafað wilde mód,	755	hath a wild disposition,
wérighe heortan,		a weary heart,
sefan sorhfulne,		a sorrowful spirit,
slídeð geneahhe		he slippeth oft enough,
wérig, wilna leás,		weary, joyless,
wuldres bedæled ;	760	deprived of honour ;
hwílum hygegeónior		sometimes sad of mood
healle weardað,		the hall he guardeth,
lifað leódum feor ;		liveth far from men ;
locað geneahhe		shutteth himself enough
fram ðám unlædan	765	from his ungentle
ængan hláford.		own lord. [power
Forðannáhseó módor geweald		Therefore hath no mother
ðonne heó magan cenneð,		when she beareth a son,
bearnas blædes ;		over her child's happiness ;
ac sceal on gebyrd faran	770	but in successiou shall go
án æfter ánum :		one after the other :
ðæt is eald gesceaft.		that is the ancient fate !

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac for hwám nele mon him		But why will not man in youth
on giógoðe		
georne gewyrcean		zealously work for himself
deóres dryhtscipes,	775	dear worship,
and dæd fremman ;		and accomplish virtuous deeds ;
wadan on wísdóm,		walk in wisdom,
winnan æfter snytro.		struggle after prudence ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Hwæt. Him mæg eádig eorl		Lo ! a wealthy noble
eáðe geceósan,	780	may easily choose himself,



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gif he hit geðencan can,
 ðonne him sýn seofon daga
 symbelgereordu.

Leóht hafað hiw and hád
 háliges gástes,

Cristes gecyndo,
 hit ðæt gecýðeð. 820

Ful oft gif hit unwitan
 ænige hwíle

healdað bútan hæftum,
 hit ðurh hróf wádeð,
 briceð and bærneð 825

boldgetimbru ;
 seómað steáp and geáp,
 stígeð on lenge,
 clymmað on gecyndo ;
 cunnað hwænne móte 830

fýr on his frumsceaft
 on fæder geardas,
 eft tó his éðle
 ðanon hit æror cwom.

Hit bið eallinga 835

eorlum gesihðe,
 ðám ðe gedælan can
 dryhtnes ðecelan ;
 forðon nis nænigu gecynd
 cwicligende, 840

né fugol né fisc,
 né foldan stán,
 né wæteres wylm,
 né wudutelga,
 né munt né mór, 845

né ðes middangeard,
 ðæt he forð ne sý
 fýres cynnes.

if he can think it,
 than would be seven days'
 feasting for him.

Light hath shape and form
 of the holy spirit,
 the nature of Christ,
 that it proclaims.

Often if the imprudent
 for any while

hold it without bonds,
 it goeth through the roof,
 it breaketh and burneth

the timbers of the house ;
 steep and high it lours,
 aloft it rises,

it climbeth in its nature ;
 fire when it can

striveth towards its origin
 in the dwellings of the Father,
 back to the home
 from whence at first it came.

It is in all things
 a sight for men,
 who can penetrate
 the Lord's concealment ;
 for there is no kind

of thing that lives,
 nor bird nor fish,
 nor stone of the earth,
 nor water's wave,
 nor twig of wood,

nor mount nor moor,
 nor even this earth,
 but what it cometh forth
 from kind of fire.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ful oft ic fróde men
 fyrn gehýrde 850
 secgan and swerian
 ymb sume wísan,
 hwæðer wære twegra
 bútan tweón strengra,
 wyrd ðe warnung, 855
 ðonne hý winnað oft
 mid hira ðreánýdlan
 hwæðer ne áðreóteð.
 Ær ic tó sóðum wát
 sægdon me geara 860
 Filistina witan,
 ðonne we on geflítum sæton,
 bóca tóbræddon
 and on bearm lægdon,
 meðelcwidas mengdon, 865
 moniges fengon,
 ðæt nære nænig manna
 middangeardes
 ðæt mihte ðæra twegra
 tweón áspyrian. 870

SALOMON cwæð.

Wyrd bið wended hearde,
 wealleð swíðe geneahhe,
 heó wóp wecceð,
 heó weán hládeð,
 heó gást scýt, 875
 heó gár bireð.
 And hwæðre him mæg wísefa
 wyrda gehwylce
 gemetigian,

SATURNUS quoth.

Oft I prudent men
 of old have heard
 say and swear
 about some matter,
 whether of the two
 were undoubtedly the stronger,
 fate or warning, 855
 when oft they struggle
 with their compulsion,
 which succumbeth not?
 I well know that heretofore
 at once told me [tines,
 the counsellors of the Philis-
 when we sat in discussion,
 opened books
 and laid them on our bosoms,
 mingled our conversation,
 and received information,
 that there was none
 of men on earth
 that could detect
 the difference of the two.

SALOMON quoth.

Fate is hardly turned,
 it wandereth very nigh,
 it waketh grief,
 it loadeth sorrow,
 it shooteth the spirit,
 it beareth the javelin.
 And yet may the wise-minded
 every fate
 moderate for himself,

gif he bið módes gleáw, 880
and tó his freóndum wile
fultum sécan,
ðeáhhwæðre godcundes
gástes brúcan.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac hwæt wíteð ús 885
wyrd seó swíðe,
ealra firena fruma,
fæhðo módor,
weána wyrtwela
wópes heáfod, 890
frumscylda gehwæs
fæder and módor,
deáðes dohtor, [ús. daughter of death,
ac tó hwám drohtað heó mid but why dwelleth she with us ?
Hwæt. Heó wile lifigende Lo ! she will the living
late áðreótan, slowly oppress, [crimes
ðæt heó ðurh firena geflitu that she through conflict of
fæhðo ne tydre. feud engender not !

SALOMON cwæð.

Nolde gæd geador
in Godes ríce, 900
eádiges engles
and ðæs ofermódan :
óðer his dryhtne býrde,
ðurh dyrne cræftas
óðer him ongan wyrcan 905
* * * *

segn and síde byrnan ;
cwæð ðæt he mid his gesíðum
wolde hýðan eal heofona ríce,

if he be prudent of mood,
and from his friends
seek for aid,
but nevertheless the divine
spirit employ.

SATURNUS quoth.

But why tormenteth us
fate the powerful,
origin of all crimes,
mother of feuds,
root of sorrows,
head of weeping,
of every original sin
father and mother,
[ús. daughter of death,
but why dwelleth she with us ?
Lo ! she will the living
slowly oppress, [crimes
that she through conflict of
feud engender not !

SALOMON quoth.

There could be no consort
in God's realm,
of the holy angel
and the proud together :
the one obeyed his lord,
through secret power
the other began to make
* * * *

an ensign and wide breastplate ;
he said that with his comrades
he would plunder all heaven's
kingdom,



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írenum hornum ,		with horns of iron ;
blóðige earnas		bloody eagles
and bláce nædran ;		and pale adders ;
ðirst and hungor	945	thirst and hunger
and ðearle gewin,		and fierce conflict,
eácne egesan,		mighty terror,
unrótnisse ;		joylessness ;
and æghwylc him ðissa earfoða		and all these sufferings
éce standeð,	950	are eternal for them,
bútan edwende,		without relief,
á ðenden hý lifigað.		as long as they live.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Is ðonne on ðisse foldan		Is thou on this earth
fira ænig		any man
eorðan cynnes,	955	of human race,
ðára ðe * * an man áge,		of those who have * *
deáð ábæde		can take a pledge of death
ær se dæg cyme,		before the day come,
ðæt sý his calend		when of his calendar
cwide árunnen,	960	the word is run out,
and hine mon ánunga		and him once for all
út ábanne.		they summon away ?

SATURNUS quoth.

SALOMON cwæð.

* * * * *		* * * * *
* * * onsendeð		* * * sendeth forth
dryhten he * * *	965	the lord he * * *
* * * * *		* * * * *
se sceal behealdan		he shall behold
hú his hyge * * *		how his mind * * *
* * * dig grówan		* * * grow
in Godes sibbe,	970	in God's peace,
murnan metodes ðrym,		mourn the lord's majesty,
and ðý ðe hit dæg bið.		while it yet is day.

SALOMON quoth.

<p> Ðonne hine ymbegangað gástas twegen ; óðer bið golde glædra, 975 óðer bið grundum sweartra ; óðer cymeð ofer [súse] ðære stýlenan helle, óðer hine læreð ðæt he lufan healde, 980 metodes miltse, and his mæga ræd ; óðer hine tyhteð and on tæso læreð, ýweð him and yppeð 985 earinra manna misgemynda, and ðurh ðæt his mód hweteð ; læleð hine and læceð and hine geond land spáneð, oððæt his eáge bið æfðancum ful, ðurh earnira scyld yrre geworden ; swá ðonne feóhteð se feónd on feower gecynd, oððæt he gewendeð on ða wyrsan hand deófles dædum, dæglongne fyrst, 1000 and his willan wirceð ðe hine on woh spáneð. Gewíteð ðonne wépende on weg faran engel tó his earde, 1005 and ðæt eal secgað : Ne mihte ic of ðære heortan </p>	<p> For about him go two spirits ; one more glad than gold, one darker than the abyss ; one cometh over the torment of steely hell, the other teacheth him to hold love, the mercy of God, and the advice of friends ; the other accuseth him and teacheth him astray, showeth him and revealeth of wretched men the evil memory, and thus exciteth his pride ; leadeth him and seduceth and attracteth throughout the until his eye is [land, full of evil thoughts, through poor men's sins made to err ; so then fighteth the fiend in four kinds, until he turneth to the worser side by devil's deeds, a whole day long, and worketh the will of him who seduceth him to evil. Then weeping departeth to go upon his way the angel to his home, and all that sayeth : I could not from his heart </p>
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SALOMON AND SATURNUS.

THE prose Salomon and Saturn is a fragment also. It is found only in the Cotton MS. Vitel. A. xv., from which it was printed by Thorpe in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, and is only repeated here by me for the sake of rendering my work complete, as far as our present materials will allow

HÆR cyð hū Saturnus and Saloman fettodon ymbe heora wísdóm. Ða cwæð Saturnus tó Salomane :

1 Saga me hwær God sæte ðá he geworhte heofonas and eorðan.

Ic ðe secge, he sæt ofer [winda] feðerum.

2 Saga me hwylc word ærest forðeóde of Godes múðe ?

Ic ðe secge, *Fiat Lux ; et facta Lux.*

3 Saga me for hwylcum þingum heofon sý geháten heofon ?

Ic ðe secge, forðon he behelað eal ðæt him be úfan bið.

4 Saga me, hwæt is God ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is God ðe ealle ðing on his gewealdum hafað.

5 Saga me, on hū fela daga God geworhte ealle gesceafta ?

Ic ðe secge, on vi dagum God gesceóp ealle gesceafta : on ðám ærostan dæge he gesceóp leóht ; on ðám æfteran dæge he gesceóp ða gesceapu, ðe ðisne heofon healdað ; on ðám ðriddan dæge he gesceóp sæ, and eorðan ; on ðám feorðan dæge he gesceóp heofones tunglu ; and on ðám v dæge he gesceóp fixas and fugelas ; and on ðám vi dæge he gesceóp deór, and nytenu, and Adám, ðone ærostan man.

6 Saga me, hwanon wæs Adámes nama gesceapen ?

Ic ðe secge, fram iiii steorrum.

us to make it so. The beginning of this dialogue is perfect, but some portion of it is lost, at the end ; and to what extent we have been deprived, we cannot even guess. The character and nature of this dialogue is solemn and serious, like that of the one last described ; but it deals far more widely with matters both of biblical and physical science. The details of its questions and answers will be more clearly understood if read in comparison with those of the next following dialogue.

THIS showeth how Saturnus and Salomon contended about their wisdom. Then quoth Saturnus to Salomon :

1 Tell me where God sate when he wrought the heavens and the earth.

I tell thee, He sat on the wings of the wind.

2 Tell me, what word first proceeded from the mouth of God ?

I tell thee, Let there be light, and there was light.

3 Tell me, on what account is heaven called *heaven* ?

I tell thee, because it concealeth all that is above it.

4 Tell me, what is God ?

I tell thee, that is God, that hath everything in its own power.

5 Tell me, in how many days did God create all creatures ?

I tell thee, in six days God created all creatures : on the first day he created light ; on the second day he created the creatures that uphold this heaven ; on the third day he created the sea and the earth ; on the fourth day he created the constellations of heaven ; and on the fifth day he created the fishes and the birds ; and on the sixth day he created the wild beasts and cattle, and Adam, the first man.

6 Tell me, whence was the name of Adam formed ?

I tell thee, of four stars.

7 Saga me, hwæ[t] hátton ðage ?

Ic ðe secge, *Arthor, Dux, Arótholem, Minsymbrie.*

8 Saga me ðæt andworc ðe Adám wæs of geworht, se ærusta man ?

Ic ðe secge, of viii punda gewihte.

9 Saga me, hwæt hátton ðage ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt æroste wæs foldan pund, of ðám him wæs flæsc geworht ; óðer wæs fýres pund, ðanon him wæs ðæt blód reád and hát ; ðridde wæs windees pund, ðanon him wæs seó æðung geseald ; feorðe wæs wolcnes pund, ðanon him wæs his módes unstaðelfæstnes geseald ; fife wæs gyfe pund, ðanon him wæs geseald se fæt and geþang ; sixte wæs blostmena pund, ðanon him wæs eágena missenlicnes geseald ; seofode wæs deáwes pund, ðanon him becom swát ; eahtoðe wæs sealtes pund, ðanon him wæron ða tearas sealte.

10 Saga me, on hwylcere ylde wæs Adám, ðá he gesceapen wæs ?

Ic ðe secge, he wæs on xxx wintra ylde.

11 Saga me, hú lang wæs Adám on lenge gesceapen ?

Ic ðe secge, he wæs vi and cx ynca lang.

12 Saga me hú fela wintra leofode Adám on ðissere worulde ?

Ic ðe secge, he leofode ix hund wintra, and xxx wintra, on geswince, and on yrmðe ; and syððan tó helle ferde, and ðær grimme wítu þolode v ðúsund wintra, and twá hund wintra, and viii and xx wintra.

13 Saga me, hú fela wintra hæfde Adám ær he bearn strýnde ?

Ic ðe secge, án hund wintra, and xxx wintra, ær he bearn strýnde ; and ðá gestrýnde he bearn on his cnihtháde, se hátte Seth, and he ðá leofode ealles nigon hundred wintra, and xxx on ðissere worulde. Ða lifde Seth his sunu án hund wintra and v wintra, ær he bearn gestrýnde, and ðá gestrýnde he bearn, on his cnihtháde,



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se hátte Enos, and ðá lifde he him sil[f] ealles nigon hund wintra, and xii wintra. Ðá hæfde Enos án hund wintra, ðá gestrynde he Chanan, and ðá lifde he Enos ealles nigon hund wintra, and v wintra. And ðá hæfde Chanan lxx wintra, ðá gestrynde he Malaleh, and Chanan lifde ðá ealles nigon hund wintra, and x wintra. Ðá hæfde Malaleh v and lx wintra, ðá gestrynde he Jared; and Malaleh, he lifde ealles nigon hund wintra, and v wintra. Ðá hæfde Jared ii and lx wintra, and án hund wintra, ðá gestrynde he Enoh; and Jared his fæder lifde ealles eahta hund wintra, and ii and lx wintra. Ðá hæfde Enoh v and lx wintra; ðá gestrynde he Matusalem; and Enoh lifde ealles ccc wintra, and v and lx wintra; ðá genam hine God mid sáwle, and mid líchaman, up in ðoue beofon. Ðá hæfde Mathusalem vii and lxxx wintra, and án hund wintra, ðá gestrynde he Lamec; and Matusalem his fæder lifde ealles nigon hund wintra, and ix and lx wintra. Ðá hæfde Lamec án hund wintra, and lxxxii wintra, ðá gestrynde he Noe; and Lamec lifde ealles vii hund wintra, and lxxvii wintra. Ðá hæfde Noe, d wintra, ðá gestrynde he bearn, Sem, Cham, Jafet; and Noe lifde ealles on ðissere worulde dccc wintra, and l wintra.

14 Saga me, hú fela þeóða áwócon of his iii bearnum?

Ic ðe secge, lxxii þeóða sindon; and of Seme, his yldestan suna, áwócon xxx, and of Cham, xxx, and of Jafeðe, xii.

15 Saga me, hwæt wæs seðe ácenned næs, and eft bebirged wæs on his móder innoðe, and æfter ðám deáðe gefullod wæs?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Adám.

16 Saga me, hú lang lifde Adám on neorxnawange?

Ic ðe secge, [þrittine wintra], and on ðám [feowerteoðan] he ábyrgde ða forbodenan ficroówes blæda, and ðæt on Frigedæg, and ðurh ðæt he wæs on helle v ðusend wintra, and ii c wintra, and viii and xx wintra.

in all nine hundred years and twelve. Then Enos was a hundred years old when he begat Chanan ; and Enos lived in all nine hundred years and five. Then was Chanan seventy years old when he begat Malaleh ; and Chanan lived in all nine hundred years and ten. Then had Malaleh five and sixty years when he begat Jared ; and Malaleh lived in all nine hundred years and five. Then had Jared two and sixty years and a hundred years, and he begat Enoh ; and Jared his father lived in all eight hundred years, and two and sixty years. Then had Enoh five and sixty years ; then gat he Matusalem. And Enoh lived in all three hundred years, and five and sixty years ; then God took him up into heaven, with soul and with body. Then had Mathusalem seven and eighty years and a hundred years, and he begat Lamec ; and Matusalem his father lived in all nine hundred years, and nine and sixty years. Then had Lamec a hundred years and eighty-two ; then gat he Noe ; and Lamec lived in all seven hundred years and seventy-seven. And when Noe had five hundred years he begat sons, Sem, Cham, Jafet ; and Noe lived altogether in this world eight hundred years and fifty.

14 Tell me, how many nations sprung from his sons ?

I tell thee, seventy-two nations are they ; and from Sem, his eldest son, sprung thirty, and from Cham thirty, and from Jafeð twelve.

15 Tell me, who was he that was never born, was then buried in his mother's womb, and after death was baptized ?

I tell thee, that was Adam.

16 Tell me, how long lived Adam in paradise ?

I tell thee, thirteen years, and on the fourteenth he tasted the forbidden fig-tree's fruit, and that was on a Friday ; and through that he was in hell five thousand years, and two hundred years, and eight and twenty years.

17 Saga me of Sca̅ Maria ylde.

Ic ðe secge, heó wæs iii and sixtig geara eald, ðá heó be-lyfen wæs; and heó wæs xiiii wintra, ðá heó Crist cende, and heó wæs mid him xxxiii geara on middangearde, and heó wæs xvi geara æfter him on worulde. And fram Adáme, and of frymðe middangeardes, wæs on getál gerimes, oð ðone mycelan Noes flód, ii þúsend wintra, and ii c wintra, and ii and lx wintra; and fram ðám flóde wæs oð Abrahames gebyrtdíde ix c wintra, and ii, and lx wintra; and fram Abrahame wæs ðá forð oð Moises tíde, and Israela oferfær út of Egyptum, v c wintra, and viii wintra; and fram frymðe middangeardes oð Cristes þrówunge, wæron vi þúsend wintra, and hund wintra, and viii and l wintra.

18 Saga me, hú lange worhte man Noes earce?

Ic ðe secge, lxxx wintra, of ðám treówcynne ðe is genemned Sem.

19 Saga me, hwæt hátte Noes wíf?

Ic ðe secge, heó hátte Dálila.

20 And hwæt hátte Chames wíf?

Jaítarecta heó hátte.

21 And hwæt hátte Jafeðes wíf?

Ic ðe secge, Catafluuia heó hátte; and óðrum naman híg sindon genemuede, Olla, and Ollína, and Ollibana; swá híg þreo hátton.

22 Saga me, hú lange wæs Noes flód ofer eorðan?

Ic ðe secge, xl daga, and nihta.

23 Saga me, hú lang wæs Noes earc on lenge?

Ic ðe secge, heó wæs ccc fæðmena lang, and l fæðmena wíd, and xxx fæðmena heáh.

24 Saga me, hwæt suna hæfde Adám?

Ic ðe secge, xxx sunena, and xxx dohtra.

25 Saga me, hwylc man átimbode ærust ceastre?

Ic ðe secge, Knos hátte, and wæs Niniuem seó burh; and



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wæron ðærin gemanna hund twelftig ðúsenda, and xx ðúsenda; and Hierusalem seó burh heó wæs ærest æfter ðám Noes flód getimbrod.

26 And hwæt hátte seó burh, ðær sunne úp on morgen gáð?

Ic ðe secge, Iaiaca hátte seó burh.

27 Saga me, hwær gáð seó sunne on æfen tó setle?

Ic ðe secge, Garita hátte seó burh.

28 Saga me, hwylc wurt is betst and sélust?

Ic ðe secge, Lilige hátte seó wurt, forðám ðe heó getácnað Crist.

29 Saga me, hwylc fugel is sélust?

Ic ðe secge, culfre is sélust, heó getácnað ðone Háligan Gást.

30 Saga me, hwanon cymð ligetu?

Ic [ðe] secge, heo cymð fram winde and fram wætere.

31 Saga me, hwylc wæter is sélust?

Ic ðe secge, Jordanem seó ea is sélust, forðám ðe Crist wæs on hire gefullod.

32 Saga me, hwyder gewiton ða englas ðe Gode wiðsócon on heofona ríce?

Ic ðe secge, [God] híg tódælde on þri dælas: áne dæl he ásette on ðæs lyftes gedríf, óðerne dæl on ðæs wæteres gedríf, þridan dæl on helle neówelnisse.

33 Saga me, hú fela is woruldwætra?

Ic ðe secge, twá sindon sealte sáe, and twá fersce.

34 Saga me, hwylc man ærest wære wið hund sprecende?

Ic ðe secge, Scs. Petrus.

35 Saga me, hwylc man áþóhte ærest mid sul tó erianne?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Cham, Noes sunu.

36 Saga me, forhwám stánas ne sint berende?

Ic ðe secge, forðám ðe Abeles blód gefeól ofer stán, ða hine Chain his bróðer ofslóh mid ánes esoles cinbáne.

and therein were of men a hundred and twenty thousand, and twenty thousand ; and Hierusalem the city, that was the first built after Noe's flood.

26 And what is the name of the city where the sun rises in the morning ?

I tell thee, Jaiaca is the city called.

27 Tell me, where sets the sun of an evening ?

I tell thee, Garita is the city called.

28 Tell me, which is the best and happiest of herbs ?

I tell thee, the lily is that herb, for it denoteth Christ.

29 Tell me, which is the blessedest bird ?

I tell thee, the dove is the blessedest, it betokeneth the Holy Ghost.

30 Tell me, whence come the lightnings ?

I tell thee, they come from wind and from water.

31 Tell me, what is the blessedest water ?

I tell thee, Jordan the river is blessedest, for in it was Christ baptized.

32 Tell me, whither departed the angels that apostatized from God in heaven ?

I tell thee, God divided them into three portions : one portion he placed in the drift of the sky ; the second portion in the drift of the water ; the third portion in the abyss of hell.

33 Tell me, how many are the waters of the world ?

I tell thee, two seas are there salt, and two fresh.

34 Tell me, who was the first man that spake with a dog ?

I tell thee, St. Petrus.

35 Tell me, what man first thought of ploughing with a coulter ?

I tell thee, that was Cham, Noe's son.

36 Tell me why stones are not fruitful ?

I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone when Chain, his brother, slew him with the jawbone of an ass.

37 Saga me, hwæt is betst and wyrst betwīnan mannum ?

Ic ðe secge, word is betst and wyrst betwix mannum.

38 Saga me, hwæt is cūðost mannum on eorðan tó witanne ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt nis nænigum men nánwiht swá cūð swá he sceal deáð þrówian.

39 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða þreo þing ðe nán man búton lifian ne mæg ?

Ic ðe secge, án is fýr, óðer is wæter, þridde is ísen.

40 Saga me, hwylc treów is ealra treówa betst ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is wíntreów.

41 Saga me, hwær restað ðæs mannes sáwul ðonne se líchama slépð ?

Ic ðe secge, on þrim stówum heó bið; on ðám brægene, oððe on ðære heortan, oððe on ðám blóde.

42 Saga me, forhwám wæs seó sæ sealt geworden ?

Ic ðe secge, of ðám x wordum ðe Moises gesomnode in ðære ealdan æ, Godes bebodu; and he áwearp ða x word in ða sæ, and his tearas ágeát in ða sæ; forðám wearð seó sæ sealt.

43 Saga me, hwæt wæron ða word ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt forme word wæs, *Non habeas Deos alienos*; ðæt is, ne lufa ðú óðerne God ofer me. ðæt óðer word wæs, *Non adsumes nomen Domini in vanum*; ðæt is, ne cig ðú Godes naman on ídel. ðæt þrid[de word wæs], Healdað ðone háligan restedæg. ðæt [feorðe word] wæs, A'ra ðínum fæder, and ðínre meder. [ðæt v] word wæs, *Non occides*; ne sleh ðú man . . . dine. ðæt vi word wæs, *Non mechaberis*; on unriht ne hám ðú. ðæt vii word wæs, Ne stala ðú. ðæt viii word wæs, Ne saga leáse gewitnyse. ðæt ix word wæs, *Ne concupiscas uxorem proximi tui*; ne gewilna ðú óðres mannes wífes on unriht.

44 Saga me, hwær is Moyses byrgen ðæs cyninges ?

Ic ðe secge, heó is be ðám húse ðe Fegor hátte, and nán man nis ðe hig wíte ær ðám myclan dóme.



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45 Saga me for hwylcum þingum ðeós eorðe áwyrged wære,
oððe eft gebletsod ?

Ic ðe secge, þurh Adám heó wæs áwyrged, and þurh Abeles
blód, and eft heó wæs gebletsod þurh Noe, and
and þurh fulluhte.

46 Saga me, hw[á] wíngiard ærost plantode ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt [wæs Noe] se heáhfæder.

47 Saga me, hwá nemde ærost Godes naman ?

Ic ðe secge, se deóful nemde ærost Godes naman.

48 Saga me, hwæt is hefigost tó beranne on eorðan ?

Ic ðe secge, mannes synna, and his hláfordes irre.

49 Saga me, hwæt is ðæt óðrum lícige, and óðrum mislícige ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is dóm.

50 Saga me, hwæt syndon ða iiii þing ðe næfre fulle næron, ne
næfre ne beoð ?

Ic ðe secge, án is eorðe, óðer is fýr, þridde is hell, feorðe
is se gitsienda man worulde welen.

51 Saga me, hú fela is fleógendra fugelcynna ?

Ic ðe secge, iiii [and] fíftig.

52 Saga me, hú fela is físcsynna on wætere ?

Ic ðe secge, vi and xx.

53 Saga me, hwylc man ærost mynster getimbrode ?

Ic ðe secge, Elias and Eliseus ða witegan, and æfter ful-
luhte, Paulus and Antonius, ða ærostan ancran.

54 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða streámas, and ða [burn]an, ðe
on neorxna wange fleótað ?

Ic ðe secge, hiora sindon iiii ; seó æroste hátte Fison, seó
óðer hátte Geon, and seó iii hátte Tygres, seó feorðe
Eufraten, ðæt is meolc, and hunig, and ele, and wín.

55 Saga me, forhwám bið seó sunne reád on æfen ?

Ic ðe secge, forðám heó locað on helle.

56 Saga me, hwý scíneð heó swá reáde on morgene ?

45 Tell me, for what things was the earth once accursed and afterwards blessed ?

I tell thee, through Adam was it accursed, and through Abel's blood ; and it was blessed again through Noe, and and through baptism.

46 Tell me, who first planted a vineyard ?

I tell thee, it was the patriarch Noe.

47 Tell me, who first named the name of God ?

I tell thee, the devil first named the name of God.

48 Tell me, what is the heaviest thing on earth to bear ?

I tell thee, a man's sins and his Lord's anger.

49 Tell me, what is that which pleaseth one man and displeaseth another ?

I tell thee, judgement.

50 Tell me, what are the four things that never were and never will be full ?

I tell thee, one is earth, the second is fire, the third is hell, the fourth is the man that is avaricious of worldly wealth.

51 Tell me, how many are the kinds of birds that fly ?

I tell thee, four and fifty.

52 Tell me, how many are the kinds of fishes in the waters ?

I tell thee, six and twenty.

53 Tell me, what man first constructed a minster ?

I tell thee, Elias and Eliseus the prophets, and after baptism, Paulus and Antonius, the first anchorets.

54 Tell me, what are the streams and brooks that flow on Paradise ?

I tell thee, they are four ; the first is named Fison, the second Geon, and the third is Tygres, the fourth Eufra-ten : that is, milk and honey, and oil and wine.

55 Tell me, why is the sun red at evening ?

I tell thee, because it looketh down on hell.

56 Tell me, why shineth it so red at morning ?

Ic ðe secge, forðám hire twýnað hwæðer heó mæg, ðe ne mæg, ðisne middangeard geondscínan, swá hire beboden is.

57 Saga me ðas iiii wæteru ðe ðas eorðan fédað?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is snáw, and wæter, and hagol, and deáw.

58 Saga me, hwá ærost bókstafas sette?

Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gygand.

59 Saga me, hwæt bóccynna, and hú fela sindon.

Ic ðe secge, Canones béc sindon ealra twá and hundseofontig, eal swá fela þeó[da] sindon on geríme, and eal swá fela leorningcnihta, bútan ðám xii Apostolum. Mannes bán sindon on geríme ealra cc and xviii : mannes æddran [sindon] ealra ccc and v and lx : mannes tóða beóð on eallum his lífe, ii and xxx. On xii monðum beóð ii [and fiftig] wuceua, and ccc dages and v, and lx daga : on xii monðum beóð eahta þúsenda tída, and [lx tída] and vii hund tída. On xii monðum ðú scealt sillan ðinum þeówan men vii hund hláfa, and xx hláfa, búton morgemetum, and nónmetum.

NOTES.

1 The same answer is given to the question in the dialogue of Sydracke and Boccus. This was a composition of somewhat similar character to those which form the subject of this book, in which Boccus the king demands, and Sydracke the philosopher imparts, information on a vast variety of abstruse points of divinity, ethics and natural philosophy. There are many beautiful MSS. of this dialogue in the British Museum, in various languages; M. Monmerqué's library contains one in Provençal, and the Cambridge University Library possesses a prose MS. version in French, of the fourteenth century (Gg. 1. 1). There are also many printed editions :



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6 and 7 Anathole dedit A, disis D, contulit Arctos,
Et Mesembrios M ; collige, fiet ADAM.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 7.

8 and 9 This was a favourite subject of speculation, because men thought that in the materials of which bodies were wrought, they could detect the origin of their various qualities. Speaking of man, who, as the Microcosm, must needs be made up of the elements, Lydgate says :—

Of the erth man hath both flesche and bonys,
of the water he hath hys moyst humorys,
ayer in his artarys ys disposyd for y^e nonys,
ffyer geffyth hete, by record of auctors ;
now hevy, now glad, now mery, now morny[n]g,
how shold man be stable in hys liffyng ?

MS. Bib. Pub. Cantab. Hh. iv. 12.

In the MS. Bibl. Royale, 7595, fol. 284, there is a prose treatise *De Adam et Eve feme*, which contains various disquisitions on the subject ; among them, two with the following rubrics : *De quantes choses Adam fu fais* (fol. 184), *Comment li nons Adam fu trouves* (fol. 285), which last is an answer to the sixth and seventh questions in this dialogue.

10 The opinion that Adam was created of the full and perfect age of thirty years, was long current. Sydracke thus refines upon it (Question cclxi.) :—

Of what age made God Adam
whan he into this world came ?

Adam God made and his fere
at his licknes, for they are to him dere,
and yong, ryght as aungels wyse,
for the love that he and his
shuld the ordres of aungels fulfyl
that Lucyfer began to spyl.

But whan they mysded at the last,
and of paradyse ware out cast,
theyr here began to wax and sprede,
and to theyr heles doune it yede,
and after, theyr here on to se,
them semed of thyrti yeeres to be.

The Cursor Mundi gives another account. All agree that they were created in the likeness of angels : “ wæron englum gelíce : ”
Cædm. p. 12. l. 15.

12 According to an old and wide-spread belief, Adam remained in hell until our Saviour's descent thither. When our Lord harrowed hell, he carried Adam, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and just men under the old law, to paradise with him. Evangel. Nicod. ch. 18. in Thilo. Cod. Apochr. N. T. vol. i. pp. 675, 727, 749. According to this answer and to No. 17, the passion of our Lord falls in 6158; but this differs from the gospel of Nichodemus, in which the archangel Michael prophesies to Seth that the birth of Christ will be A. M. 5050.

13 This differs from the account given by the Paris manuscript (note 8): we there find the following curious passage, where the death of Abel is placed in Adam's hundred and thirtieth year (fol. 284):—"En après chou que Moyses trespasa, Mechodius, ki martyres fu, connut par la révélation dou Saint-Espir dou commenche-ment, et de la fin dou monde, et laissa son escrit ouquel il dist que Adans et Eve estoient virge quand il furent hors mis de paradys, et ou xvme. an après chou que Adans fu formès, Chaym et Calmana sa suer furent né, et en l'an que Adans ot c et xxx ans, Chaym ocist Abel son frère, et c ans apriès Joseth (Seth) fu nés. Tout chou tiesmoignent li maistre ki la Bible translaterent de Latin en Roumanch." On this M. Michel has the following note: "Saint Methodius, surnommé *Eubulius*, florissoit au commencement du ivme siècle. Entre autres ouvrages, il a composé un commentaire sur la Genèse, qu'on croit perdu. Voyez la *Sylloge Historica* du P. Henschenius, dans le recueil des Bollandistes, t. vi de Juin, p. 5." That this lost *Commentary on Genesis* furnished the matter of many of these answers, is most probable. It is observable that the French MS. states Cain to have been born in Adam's fifteenth year, and that Adam and Eve *estoit virge* when they were put out of paradise: this, therefore, supposes them to have fallen in the fourteenth year, as stated in No. 16. See Adrian and Ritheus, No. 1, *note*.

14 See No. 59. Seventy-two countries are the whole world:—

Nu sage mir, meister Tragemunt,

Zwei und sübenzig lant die sint dir kunt, etc.

Wackernagel, Altdeut. Lesebuch, p. 641.

that is, *all the world is known to thee*.

15 This is, in all varieties of shape, a very popular mediæval saying. In the *Demaundes Joyous*, which will be found in the Appendix, we have the question, "Who was Adam's mother?" the reply

to which is, "The earth." In the Parçival of Wolfram von Eschenbach, we have (Iachm. p. 223)—

Diu erde Adámes muoter was ;

and in two passages to be cited at length hereafter, the earth is called Abel's grandmother.

17 This is taken from the Apochryphal Gospel of the Life of Joseph, ch. iv. Thilo. Cod. Apochr. N. T. vol. i. p. 13.

34 "Than as Marcell saythe Symon went to the house of Marcell, and bounde there a great dog blacke at the dore of the house. And sayd, now I shall se yf Peter whiche is accustomed to come hyther shal come, and yf he come this dogge shall strangle hym. And a lytell after that Peter and Poule went thyder. And anone Peter made the sygne of the crosse, and vnbounde the hounde, and the hounde was as tame and meke as a lambe. And pursued none but Symon. And wente to hym, and toke and caste hym to y^e grounde vnder him and wolde have estrangled hym. And than ranne Peter to hym and cryed vpon the hounde y^t he shold not do hym ony harme. And anone y^e hounde lefte and touched not his body, but he all to rent and tare his gowne in suche wyse y^t he was almost naked. Than all the people and specyally chyldren ranne w^t the hounde vpon hym and hunted and chased hym out of the towne as he had ben a wolfe. And than for reprefe and shame he durste not come ynto y^e towne of all an hole yere."

Legenda Aurea, fol. clv. (Jul. Notary, 1503.)

47 That is, revealed the ineffable name of God.

60 Proverbs, xxvii. 20. xxx. 15, 16. The same passage is repeated in Freidank, but with a much closer resemblance to the Vulgate translation (Grimm's Ed. p. 69):—

Driu dinc niht gesaten kan,
die helle, fur unt gítegen man ;
daz vierde sprach noch nie 'genuoc,'
swie vil man im zuo getruoc.

So in the MS. collection of proverbs in Trinity College Library, fol. 364:—

Quatuor, ut fantur, sunt quæ nunquam satiantur ;
Ignis et os uulvæ, pelagus, baratrique uorago.

In the translation of Stevens's Apologie d'Herodote, the same thing occurs, with a different application: "There is also another prouerbe which saith, that *three things are unsatiabile, Priests, Monks, and the Sea*: where of *Barelete* puts me in mind when he saith,



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ADRIAN AND RITHEUS.

A DIALOGUE with this title is contained in the Cotton MS. Julius A. 2. It differs from the prose Salomon and Saturn

Adrianus cwæð tó Ritheus.

1 Saga me, hú lange wæs Adam on Neorxna wange?

Ic ðe secge he wæs þrittine geara.

2 Saga me on hwylcne dæg he gesyngode.

Ic ðe secge, on Frigedæg, and on ðone dæg he wæs ær gesceapen, and on ða dæge he eft áswealt, and for ðám Crist eft þrowode on ðæm dæge.

3 Saga me, on hwæðere Adames sídan nam úre Dryhten ðæt rib ðe he ðæt wíf of geworhte?

Ic ðe secge, on ðære winstran.

4 Saga me, hwær sæt úre Dryhten ðá he geworhte heofenan and eorðan, and ealle gesceafta?

Ic ðe secge, ofer winda fiðerum.

5 Saga me, hwær is seó eorðe ðe næfre sunne on ne sceán né mona, né næfre wind on ne bleów náne tíð dæges, né ær né æfter?

Ic ðe secge, seó eorðe is in ðære reádan sæ, ofer ðære eóde Israela folc of Egipta hæftnoðe.

6 Saga me hwær scíne seó sunne on niht.

Ic ðe secge, on þrím stówum : ærest on ðæs hwæles innoðe ðe is cweden Leuiathan, and on óðre tíð heó scínð on helle, and ða þridde tíð heó scínð on ðám ealonde ðæt is Glið nemned, and ðær restað háligra manna sawla oð dómes dæg.

7 Saga me for hwám scíne seó sunne swá reáde on ærne morgen.

Ic ðe secge, for ðám ðe heó cymð úp of ðære sæ.

in little more than the names of the interlocutors, several of the questions and answers being the same in both compositions. As nearly one-third is common to the two, it is not unreasonable to believe that both are fragmentary portions of one original.

Adrian spake to Ritheus.

1 Tell me, how long was Adam in Paradise ?

I tell thee, he was thirteen years.

2 Tell me on what day he sinned.

I tell thee, on Friday ; and on that day he was previously created, and on that day again he died, and therefore Christ afterwards suffered on that day.

3 Tell me, from which of Adam's sides did our Lord take the rib whereof he made woman ?

I tell thee, from the left.

4 Tell me, where sat our Lord when he created heaven and earth and all creatures ?

I tell thee, on the wings of the winds.

5 Tell me, where is the earth that never sun shone on nor moon, nor the wind blew upon, at no hour of the day, either before or after ?

I tell thee, that earth is in the red sea, over which the people of Israel marched from their Egyptian bondage.

6 Tell me where the sun shineth by night.

I tell thee, in three places : first in the belly of the whale that is called Leviathan ; and the second season it shineth in hell ; and the third season it shineth upon that island that is called Glið, and there rest the souls of holy men till doomsday.

7 Tell me why the sun shineth so red at early morning.

I tell thee, because it cometh up out of the sea.

8 Saga me, for hwám bið seó sunne swá reád on æfen?

Ic ðe secge, for ðám ðe heó locað úfan on helle.

9 Saga me hú mycel seó sunne sý.

Ic ðe secge, heó is mære ðonne eorðe, for ðám ðe heó bið on ælcum lande hát.

10 Saga me hwylc sý seó sunne.

Ic ðe secge, Astriges se dry sæde ðæt hit wære birnende stán.

11 Saga me hwæt ðæs lifigendan mannes gleng sý.

Ic ðe secge, ðæs deádan swát.

12 Saga me hwylc sunu wræce ærest his fæder on his móder innoðe.

Ic ðe secge, ðære næddran sunu; for ðám ðe seó móder ofslóh ærest ðone fæder, and ðonne ofsleað ða bearn eft ða móder.

13 Saga me, hwylc bisceop wære ærest on ðære ealdan æ, ær Cristes tócyne.

Ic ðe secge, Melchisedec, and Aaron.

14 Saga me hwylc bisceop wære [ærest] on ðære niwan æ.

Ic ðe secge, Petrus, and Jacobus.

15 Saga me, hwylc man witegode ærest?

Ic ðe secge, Samuel.

16 Saga me, hwa wrát bókstafas ærest?

Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gigant.

17 Saga me, hwa sette ærest wingeardas, oððe hwá dranc ærest wín?

Ic ðe secge, Noe.

18 Saga me hwa wære ærest læce.

Ic ðe secge, Asterius se wæs cweden.

19 Saga me, hwæt synt ða twegen men on Neorxna-wange, and ðás gelomlice wépað, and beóð unróte.

Ic ðe secge, Enoc and Helias; hí wépað forðám ðe hí sceólon cuman on ðisne middangeard, and beón deáde, ðeáh hý ær ðonne deáð longe yldon.

20 Saga me, hwær wuniað hý?



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Ic ðe secge, Malifica and Intimphonis, ðæt is, on sunfelda,
and on sceanfelda.

21 Saga me for hwám sí se hrefen swá sweart, ðe ær wæs hwít.
Ic ðe secge, for ðý ðe he eft ne hwirfde tó Noe in tó ðære
arce, ðe he ær of gesend wæs.

22 Saga me for hwám se hrefen ðurh gehyrsumnisse geþingode
ðæt he ær þurh módignisse ágilte.

Ic ðe secge, ðá he fédde Heliam, ðám eóde he tó ðám
wésterne, and him þenode.

23 Saga me, hwær bið mannes mód?

Ic ðe secge, on ðám heáfde, and gæð út þurh ðone múð.

24 Saga me, hwylce wihta beoð óðre tíð wíf cynnes, and óðre
tíð wæpnedcynnes?

Ic ðe secge, Belda se fisc on sæ, and Viperus seó næddre,
and Corvus se fugel, ðæt is se hrefen.

25 Saga me for hwám seó sæ sí sealt.

Ic ðe secge, forðám ðe Moyses wearp on sæ ða tin word
ðære ealdan æ, ðá ðá he worhte ða breda, for ðám ðe
Israela folc wurðedon deófolgild.

26 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða twegen fét ða seó sáwul habban
sceal?

Ic ðe secge, Godes lufu and manna; and gif heó ðæra náðer
nafað, ðonne byð heó healt.

27 Saga me, on hú manegum fiðerum sceal seó sáwul fleógan,
gif heó sceal tó heofenum fleógan?

Ic ðe secge, feower; gleáwnisse, geþwærnisse, strengðe,
and rihtwísnisse.

28 Saga me hwylc man wære deád, and nære ácenned, and
æfter ðám deáðe wære eft bebiriged in his móder innoðe?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Adam, se æresta man; for ðám eorðe
wæs his móder, and he wæs bibiriged eft in ðære eorðan.

29 Saga me ðære burge naman ðær sunne upgæð.

Ic ðe secge, Jaiaca heó hátte.

30 Saga me, hwæt hátte ðæt ðær heó on setel gæð?

Ic ðe secge, Janita heó hátte.

I tell thee, Malifica and Intimphonis, that is, in Sunfield and Shinefield.

21 Tell me why the raven is so black, that before was white.

I tell thee, because he returned not again to the ark from which he was dispatched.

22 Tell me how the raven by obedience atoned for his previous sin of disobedience.

I tell thee, when he fed Helias, unto whom he went into the wilderness, and served him.

23 Tell me, where is man's mood?

I tell thee, in the head, and it goeth out through the mouth.

24 Tell me, what creature is at one time female, at another male?

I tell thee, Belda the fish in the sea, and Viperus the snake, and Corvus the bird, that is the raven.

25 Tell me why the sea is salt.

I tell thee, because Moyses threw into the sea the ten words of the old Law, when he made the tables, because the people of Israel paid honour to idols.

26 Tell me, what are the two feet that the soul must have?

I tell thee, the love of God and man; and if it hath neither of them, then is it halt.

27 Tell me, on how many wings must the soul fly, in order to reach heaven?

I tell thee, four; Prudence, Humility, Strength and Righteousness.

28 Tell me what man died and never was born, and afterwards was buried in his mother's womb.

I tell thee, that was Adam, the first man; for the earth was his mother, and in the earth was he buried again.

29 Tell me the name of the city where the sun riseth.

I tell thee, it is called Jaiaca.

30 Tell me, what is that called where it setteth?

I tell thee, it is called Janita.

31 Saga me, hwylc word wæs ærest?

Ic ðe secge, Dryhten cwæð, Geweorðe leóht.

32 Saga me, hwæt is hefigost mannum on eorðan?

Ic ðe secge, hláfordes irre.

33 Saga me hú fela sí fleógendra fugela cynna.

Ic ðe secge, twá and fiftig.

34 Saga me hwæt næddercynna sí on eorðan.

Ic ðe secge, feower and þrittig.

35 Saga me hwæt fiscsynna sí on wætere.

Ic ðe secge, six and þrittig.

36 Saga me hwa gesceópe ealra fisca naman.

Ic ðe secge, Adam se æresta man.

37 Saga me, hú fela wæs ðæra cempena ðe Cristes brægel
dældon?

Ic ðe secge, seofon heora wæron.

38 Saga me feower stafas dumbe.

Ic ðe secge, án is mód; óðer geþanc; þridde is swefn;
feorðe is egesa.

39 Saga me, hwæt sint ða þreo þing ðe nan man butan ne mæg-
beón?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is wæter, and fýr, and ísen.

40 Saga me, hwa Godes naman nemnede ærest?

Ic ðe secge, Deófol.

41 Saga me, hú wæs Crist ácenned of Marian his móder?

Ic ðe secge, þurh þæt swíðre breóst.

42 Saga me, hwa dyde ðæt sunne stód áne tíð dæges?

Ic ðe secge, Josue hit gedyde in Moyses gefeohte; seó dún
hátte Gabaon, ðe heó on stód.

43 Saga me, hwæt bið betst and wyrst?

Ic ðe secge, mannes word.

44 Saga me, hwæt ðám men sí leófust on his lífe, and láðost
æfter his deáðe.

Ic ðe secge, his willa.

45 Saga me, hwæt déð ðæt swéte word?



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Ic ðe secge, hit gemanigfealdað mannes freondscipe, and stilleð mannes feond.

46 Saga me, hwylc bið se leása freond?

Ic ðe secge, he bið mannes gefera tó beóde, and ná tó neóðþearfe.

47 Saga me, hwæt onscunað se seóca man ðe he ær gesund lufode?

Ic ðe secge, ðám seócum men bið mete láð ðe him ær wæs leóf, and his eágum bið leóht láð, ðe him æror wæs leóf.

48 Saga me, on hwám mæg man geseón mannes deað?

Ic ðe secge, twegen manlícan beoð on mannes eágum; gif ðú ða ne gesihst, ðonne swilt se man, and bið gewiten ær þrim dagum.

NOTES.

THE character of the Emperor Hadrian as sophist or philosopher pointed him out as a fitting interlocutor in such a dialogue as this. There are others in which he is represented as taking part, of somewhat similar import. The most celebrated are perhaps the series of questions he is stated to have put to the sophist Secundus, who replied to them in writing. Vincent de Beauvais (13th century) tells the story thus:—Secundus had bound himself by a vow of silence: Hadrian sent a soldier to take him and threaten his life, holding out the breach of his vow as the condition of his release: Secundus however, remaining firm, was directed to prepare for instant execution, which he did in solemn silence. According to orders previously received, he was then taken before the Emperor, who questioned the philosopher and received answers in writing (*Vinc. Bellov. Speculum Historiale*, lib. x. cap. 70, 71. *Bibliotheca Mundi*, vol. iv. p. 392). Chapter 70 contains these questions and answers in Latin: other versions, and among them the Greek, are found in Gale's *Opuscula Mythologica, Ethica et Physica* (Cantab. 1671, and Wetstein, Amstelod. 1688). That Hadrian was ambitious of passing for an accomplished sophist (he would have called it philosopher)

I tell thee, it maketh manifold men's friendships, and still-eth man's foe.

46 Tell me, who is the false friend?

I tell thee, he is man's comrade at table, and not in his need.

47 Tell me, what shunneth the sick man, that he loved while in health?

I tell thee, to the sick man is the meat hateful that he loved before, and to his eyes is the light hateful, which to him before was dear.

48 Tell me, by what may one foresee a man's death?

I tell thee, there are two images in a man's eyes; if thou seest not those, then will the man die, and depart ere three days be past.

is well known, and the questions and answers in the Greek version are much what might have been expected from the Emperor and the Pythagorean: a similar disputation between Hadrian and Epictetus is printed at the close of the last-named philosopher's works by Berkeley (Lugd. Bat. 1670), under the title, *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti*. The dialogue with Secundus, though apparently unknown to Philostratus (see his notice of Secundus, *Vit. Viror. illustr.* Basil. fol. 1563, p. 645, where he merely remarks, "Secundus igitur sophista, exuberantis scientiæ compos, et in dicendo parcus"), was undoubtedly popular at an early period, and long continued so. Manuscripts of it in many languages are common, and as Vincent names a *Gesta Secundi Philosophi* as his authority, we may presume that some of those MSS. give us the tale in its original purity. The character of this Saxon dialogue is essentially different from either of those here mentioned: in short, it is merely Salomon and Saturn under another name; it seems then that in this, as in so many other cases, a subject having once become popular, was given from time to time, first to one then to another hero, as the knowledge or caprice of various periods dictated.

But if Hadrian in this dialogue appears merely as a traditional questioner, we may be sure that Ritheus has as little real founda-

tion : it is indeed very difficult to suggest any satisfactory explanation of the name. I was at first disposed to think it might be only a mistake, easily fallen into in copying, for Pittheus, a traditional riddler of no mean fame (see Eurip. Med. l. 60). Before Euripides, however, Hesiod had mentioned him, and we find the same tradition subsisting in the time of Plutarch (*ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ σοφώτατος*, Theseus, c. iii.) and of Pausanias, who says he had seen a book bearing his name, *καὶ τι βιβλίον, Πιθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα, ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην* (lib. ii. cap. 31). It is possible then that even at a much later period the traditional fame of Pittheus may have survived in the Greek empire, and that his name might have found its way to the West of Europe, and been adopted in such a case as the one under consideration. It is however very possible that nothing more than Epictetus, or Epictus as he is called, was meant, a dialogue under which title will be printed hereafter; and after all it is not a matter of much interest what explanation we give of the name.

1 The opinion on this subject has been already alluded to : a very different answer may here be added from Sydracke. The French MS. says, "A la tierce heure si donna Adā nous a toutes bestes, e la siste heure si manga la femme la poume e en dona a sun baroun e il en manga pur lamur de li, e a heure de noune si furent gette hors de paradis," fol. 512, 6. The English metrical account follows this : (Question x.)—

And in paradyse they wore
 seven howers and no more
 the thyrde hower after his makyng
 gaue Adam name to all thyng
 the sith hower ete his wyfe
 the appull that made all the stryfe
 the seveneth hower Adam dyd of yt ete
 and was chasyd and streyth out bete.

Andrew of Wyntoun (14th century) seems to adopt this view in the dialogue between St. Serf and the devil, though he attempts to rationalize, and misunderstands the tradition :—

þe devil askyd, how long he bade
 in paradyce estyr hys syne.
 Sevyn howris, Serf sayd, he bad þare in.

(Cronykil of Scotland, ch. xii. Macpherson's Ed. 1795. vol. i. p. 131.)

2 This question, with the answer, is also found in Sydracke.

4 This is one of the first questions put in the Arabic dialogue,



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change. Coronis became black because she indiscreetly revealed an amour of Apollo's. Ovid, *Metam.* lib. ii. l. 536. Our legend is, that the raven was punished for not returning to the ark: he stopped to feed upon the carcasses of the drowned. Cædmon says (p. 87, l. 2):—

Noe tealde
 ðæt he on neôð hine
 * * * *
 * * * *
 ofer síð wæter
 sêcan wolde,
 on wægþele eft;
 him seó wén geleáb.
 Ac se feónd gespearu
 fleótende hreáw,
 salwigfeðera
 sêcan nolde.

This notion long survived: in the fourteenth century, the *Cursor Mundi* thus notices it:—

þan opin Noe his windou
 lete vte a rauin and forth he flou,
 dune and vp soght here and þare
 a stede to sett apon sumquar;
 apon þe water sone he fand
 a drinkled best þar flotand:
 of þat fless was he so fain
 to schip cam he neuer egain:
 þarfor þat messenger, men say,
 þat duellis lang in his iornay,
 he may be cald wid resun clere,
 an of þe rauyns messagere.—MS. Göttingen, fol. 26, a.

24 Oppian would have furnished another, the Hyæna. The *Physiologus* already quoted, in Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, says, "Ein tier heizzit igena, un ist uuilon uusb, uuilon man," etc., p. 19.

25 Here the dialogues differ entirely. *Comp. Sal. Sat.* 51, etc. Sydracke gives a very indefinite answer to the question (clvi):—

Whiche are the most of beast or man
 or fowle, or fysshe that swyme can?
 Beastes are mo than men,
 and fowles mo than beastes such ten,
 and for ech a fowle also
 a thowsand fysshes are and mo,
 for therof is the most plente
 of al creatures that be;

God made man of erth and slyme,
 and best, of hets he made hym,
 Fysshes of water, fowle of ayre,
 and al that he made is fayre :
 and yf God them al had wrought
 of erth lyke, as he dyd nought,
 they should haue rysen al also
 at domesday, as man shall do ;
 but for erthe is in them none,
 wherfore to nought they turne ech one.

From this the French version differs (fol. 545, b. col. 1) :—“ Les genz ad Deus fet meins assez qe les bestes ; car les bestes sunt mult plus qe les genz ; car pur chescune persone du mounde, ad plus de c bestes, fauz les vermines : e pur chescune beste qest au mounde, ad M oyseuz ; et pur chescune oysel au monde, volaunt et alaunt, e pur chescune beste, e pur chescune persone qe seit au mounde, il iad C M pessons en la mer, entre grant e petit ; e sunt cil qi Deus ad fet plus de mils creatures mouables, et tut ceo est a sun comandement, e a sa volunte.” The Saxon Menology, already quoted, supplies curious information upon this point, on March 22nd :—“ On ðone twá 7 twentigoðan dæg ðæs monðes byð se fifta worulde dæg ; on ðám dæge God gesceóp of wætere eall fleótendra fisca cyn, 7 fleógendra fugla cyn ; 7 woruldsnotere men secgað ðæt ða fiscas sýn on sæ hundteontiges cynna, 7 þreo 7 fiftiges : 7 nis ænig man ðæt he wíte hwæt ðæra fugelcynna sig ofer eorðan : 7 hwæðre æghwylc fugel wunað on ðám ðe he ofgesceapen wæs : ða swymmað nú á on sealtum ýðum, ða ðe of ðám gesceapene wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on mérum 7 on flóðum ða ðe of ferscum wæterum gesceapene wæron, 7 ða syttað on felda 7 ne magon swymman, ða ðe of ðæs græses deáwe geworhte wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on wudu ða ðe of ðæra treówa dropum gehywode wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on fenne ða ðe gewurdon of ðæs fennes wætan.” Beda however says that none but God can tell the number of men or beasts : “ Arena maris, pluuiarum guttae, dies saeculi, altitudo coeli, multitudo stellarum, profunditas terrae, et imum abyssi, et capilli capitis, siue plebs hominum uel iumentum ; haec non nisi a Deo solo numeranda sunt.” *Collectanea*. Ed. Colon. iii. 482.

43 It is certain that this was a popular question : as late as 1617 some one thought it worth while to write a treatise upon it : “ Question notable décidée, s’il nest rien de meilleur, ou pire que la langue.” 12mo. This was reprinted at Maestricht in octavo, 1713, by Delesart. The question has given rise to proverbs in various languages.

ADRIAN AND EPICTUS.

IN the Arundel MS. No. 351, fol. 39, I find the following dialogue, which is interesting in many points of view. I have numbered the questions and answers, and corrected the errors of the scribe, placing my own additions between brackets.

Juvenis homo commendau[i]t se ad vtilem uirum, ipse Epictus nomine. Vtilis homo commendauit illum comiti. Comes commendauit illum episcopo. Episcopus commendauit illum regi. Rex commendauit illum Imperatori. Imperator commendauit illum Duci, qui est super milites multos, prudentes, orientales. Qui [cum] uenisset in illam ciuitatem, nolebat uenire ad eum. Tunc perrexerunt, et dixerunt ei. Interrogatio:—

1 J[u]uenis, vnde es, aut de qua prouincia uenisti?—Responsio: Et ille dixit, Ex patre et matre, et ex Dei iussu creatus sum.

2 Illi dixerunt, Vbi est regio tua?—Vbi uxorem, ibi et habeo regionem.

3 Quid hic quesiuisti?—Veni mores hominum corrigere.

4 Sapiens es tu?—Sapiens est ille qui seipsum scit corrigere.

5 Dic nobis puer, quomodo factum est celum.—Si factum fuisset, iam diu cecidisset.

6 Ergo natum est?—Si natum esset, iam diu mortuum fuisset.

7 Quid inde facturi sumus?—Vt quemadmodum illud inuenimus, ut sic dimittamus.

Tunc nunctiatum est Adriano Imperatori, et iussit eum uenire ad se. Et cum uenisset ante eum, dixit Adrianus.

8 Quid est celum?—Epictus respondit, Sicut pellis extensa.

9 Quid primum processit de ore Dei?—Verbum de Principio.



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38 Quid tangitur et non uidetur?—Anima.

39 Q[u]id videtur et non tangitur?—Nubes uel celum.

40 Quid est sol?—Splendor est diei.

41 Quid est dilectabile et odiosum?—Nox.

42 Quid est, ab vno uadit, et ad alium redit?—Pluuia.

43 Quid est luna?—Splendor in tenebris, et doctrina malorum.

44 Quis tres horas solem in celo fecit stare?—Josue, minister Moysi, in pugna.

45 Quid sustinet celum?—Terra.

46 Quid sustinet terram?—Aqua.

47 Quid sustinet aquam?—Petra.

48 Quid sustinet petram?—Quatuor animalia.

49 Quæ sunt illa quatuor animalia?—Lucas, Marcus, Matheus, Johannes.

50 Quid sustinet illa iiii animalia?—Ignis.

51 Quid sustinet ignem?—Abissus.

52 Quid sustinet abissum?—Arbor quæ ab initio posita est, ipse est Dominus Jesus Christus.

53 Quid est, pondus sustinet, et pondus mouet, et non sentitur?—Capud hominis capillos non sentit, nec numerum scit.

54 Quis tres dies et tres noctes ieiunauit, nec celum uidit, nec terram tetigit?—Jonas in uentre ceti.

55 Quid est quod ramos mittit, et nec florent folia, nec profertur fructus?—Caput cerui cornua habet, nec florent, nec fructum afferunt.

56 Quid est domus eradicata?—Nauis in pelago.

57 Quid est, ad se trahit, et alii ingerit mortem?—Arcus.

58 Quid est acutum, et nunquam fuit acutum?—Spina.

59 Quid est uidua desolata?—Ciuitas sine gente.

60 Quid est uirgo in mundo?—Littera in ewangelio.

61 Quis dedit quod non accepit?—Eua, lac.

62 Quid mulier meretrix?—Sicut uia lutosa.

63 Quid est, duo bibunt, et duo litigant, et quatuor stantes ad celum respiciunt?

64 Quis primus inchoauit arare?—Ante diluuium Neptare, post diluuium Noe.

65 Quis primus fecit litteras?—Scith.

66 Quid est homo nimis?—Lucerna posita.

67 Quis leonem sine gladio et sine fuste interfecit?—Samson.

68 Quid est somnus?—Imago [mortis.]

69 [Quid est] tristitia?—Sine damno gaudium.

70 Quot anni fuerunt, quod terra fuit, quod fructum non dedit?—Annos tres, et menses vi.

71 Quis pugnaturus est in consummacione seculi, cum Antichristo?—Enoch et Elias.

72 Vbi erit consummacio seculi?—In ualle Josaphat.

73 Quibus modis fit oracio ad Deum?—Tribus, quos adeo accepimus; gratias agere, a Deo hoc quod cupimus, deposcimus, aut Dominum pro aliis rogamus.

74 Quibus modis mittit dyabolus securitatem in hominem?—Tribus: primum suggerit ut non det confessionem, quia iuuenis est; secundo dicit quod alii grauius peccauerunt quam tu; . . . peccata, qui[a] magna est misericordia Dei, indulges tibi peccata tua; et per hanc securitatem, deducit animam in infernum.

75 Quot res sunt quæ ducunt hominem ad regnum celorum?—Tres: Cogitacio sancta, uerbum bonum, opus perfectum.

76 Quot res sunt quæ ducunt hominem ad infernum?—Tres: Cogitacio immunda, opus prauum, uerbum alienum.

77 Quot res sunt quæ nec remittuntur hic, nec in futuro?—Tres: Qui blasphemat Deum, et qui desperat de misericordia Dei, et qui non credit resurrectionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

78 Quot res sunt quas diligit Deus?—Tres: Continenciam in seueritate, largitatem in paupertate, abstinentiam in diuiciis.

Expliciunt questiones pulchre: hoc est uerum.

On examining this dialogue, it is impossible not to be struck with the close resemblance it bears to the prose Salomon and Saturn, and to the Adrian and Ritheus. Not only are the questions very generally of the same nature, but in some cases they are word for word the same. Like Salomon and Marcolf, this also found its way into the literature of Wales, as I judge from the title given in the transactions of the Cymrodorion, viz. Ymddyddan Adrian ac Eppig.

THE MASTER OF OXFORD'S CATECHISM.

THE following dialogue, entituled "Questions bitwene the Maister of Oxinford and his Scoler," (MS. Lands. No. 762) is a verbatim translation of one of the preceding dialogues, and serves to bring down the series to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Clerkys question. Say me where was God whan he made heven and erthe?

The Maisters answer. I saye, in the ferther ende of the wynde.

C. Tell me what worde God first spake.

M. Be thowe made light, and light was made.

C. Whate is God?

M. He is God, that all thinge made, and all thinge hath in his power.

C. In how many dayes made God all thingis?

M. In six dayes. The first daye he made light; the second daye he made all thinge that helden heven; the thirde daye he made water and erthe; the fourth daye he made the firmament of heven; the vth daye he made sterrys; the vjth



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M. That was our father Adam.

C. How longe was Adam in Paradise ?

M. vij. yere, and at vij. yeres ende he trespassed ayenst God for the apple that he hete on a Fridaye, and an angell drove him owte.

C. Howe many wynter was Adam whan our Lorde was doon on the crosse ?

M. That was v. m^l. cc. and xxxij. yere.

C. What hicht Noes wyf ?

M. Dalida ; and the wif of Sem, Cateslinna ; and the wif of Cam, Laterecta ; and the wif of Japheth, Aurca. And other iij. names, Ollia, Olina, and Olybana.

C. Wherof was made Noes ship ?

M. Of a tre that was clepyd Chy.

C. And whate length was Noes ship ?

M. Fifty fadem of bredeth, and cc. fadem of length, and xxx. fadem of hith.

C. Howe many wynter was Noes ship in making ?

M. iiij. score yeres.

C. How longe dured Noes flodde ?

M. xl. dayes and xl. nightys.

C. Howe many children had Adam and Eve ?

M. xxx. men children and xxx. wymen children.

C. Whate citie is there the son goth to reste ?

M. A citie that is called Sarica.

C. Whate be the beste erbes that God loved ?

M. The rose and the lillie.

C. Whate fowle loved God best ?

M. The dove, for God sent his spiret from heven in likenes of a dove.

C. Which is the best water that ever was ?

M. Flom Jurdan, for God was baptised therein.

C. Where be the anjelles that God put out of heven and bycam devilles ?

M. Som into hell, and som reyned in the skye, and som in the erth, and som in waters and in wodys.

C. How many waters been there?

M. ij. salte waters, and ij. fresshe waters.

C. Who made first ploughis?

M. Cam, that was Noes son.

C. Why bereth not stonys froyt as trees?

M. For Cayme slough his brother Abell with the bone of an asse cheke.

C. Whate is the best thinge and the worste amonge men?

M. Worde is beste and warste.

C. Of whate thinge be men most ferde?

M. Men be moste ferde of deth.

C. Whate are the iiij. thinges that men may not live without?

[*M.*] Wynde, fire, water, and erth.

C. Where resteth a manys soule, whan he shall slepe?

M. In the brayne, or in the blode, or in the harte.

C. Where lieth Moises body?

M. Beside the howce that hight Enfegor.

C. Why is the erth cursed, and the see blissed?

M. For Noe and Abraham, and for cristenyng that God commaunded.

C. Who sat first vines?

M. Noe set the first vines.

C. Who cleped first God?

M. The devyll.

C. Which is the heviest thinge bering?

M. Syn is the heviest.

C. Which thinge is it that som loveth, and som hateth?

M. That is judgement.

C. Which be the iiij. thingis that never was full nor never shalbe?

M. The first is erth, the second is fire, the thirde is hell, the fourth is a covitous man.

C. How many maner of birdis been there, and howe many of fisses?

M. liij. of fowles, and xxxvj. of fisses.

C. Which was the first clerke that ever was?

M. Elias was the firste.

C. Whate hight the iiij. waters that renneth through paradise?

M. The one hight Fyson, the other Egeon, the iiij^{de} hight Tygrys, and the iiijth Efraton. These been milke, hony, oyll, and wyne.

C. Wherefore is the son rede at even?

M. For he gothe toward hell.

C. Who made first cities?

M. Marcurius the gyaunt.

C. How many langagis been there?

M. lxij., and so many discipules had God without his appostoles.



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Marcolf. For their rudeness or coarseness I cannot hold myself responsible: parody in the middle ages is essentially rude and coarse, and those who will study mediæval literature must be prepared for much that shocks our more fastidious sense of propriety. But I would also express my firm conviction, that in a state of morals and education such as that which preceded the Reformation, society could only be acted upon by means very different from those which suit more generally instructed and more decorous periods. The mediæval church could sometimes be gentle with those who seriously complained of, but never with those who laughed at, her corruptions; and she was right, for beyond a doubt Ulrich v. Hutten's "*Litterae obscurorum uirorum*" gave heavier blows to the Papacy than all the polished sneers of the indifferent Erasmus, or all the noble reveries of Franz von Sickingen; they brought the mischief home to every man's door, who could laugh over a jolly tale, in whatever phrase it might be told. Moreover they reduced the dreaded adversary from a state of assumed sublimity to one of very genuine ridicule and contempt. Such is their justification. I believe a good deal of what follows, here and there, to have arisen in this manner and for this purpose; and if this be true, we shall perhaps think that it is not to be judged over-hastily.

Before proceeding to the lighter subjects which naturally find their place in this Appendix, I must slightly notice one or two dialogues current in the middle ages, and which show that this form of composition was a favourite mode of imparting information. The first is called

"*Disputatio Pippini, regalis et nobilissimi juvenis, cum Albino scholastico.*" That this dialogue was ever held is of course extremely doubtful; but Alcuin's verses, moral distichs, and the like, addressed to Charlemagne, were favourite subjects with our ancient scribes, and this, though less authentic, shared their fortune. Still I never met with this in an Anglo-Saxon MS., frequent as the distichs are, in com-

pany with Aratus, Sedulius, or Juvenius or Aldhelm. This is printed by A. Berkeley at the close of his Epictetus, and its history may be read in Fabricius.

There is another dialogue upon moral subjects between Alcuin and Charlemagne, a MS. copy of which is found in the library at Chartres. (Hänel, p. 130.)

A somewhat similar dialogue is that of Æðelheard of Bath and his nephew, of which there is a MS. copy, Cott. Galb. E. iv. fol. 214, and which was printed very early in the sixteenth century, in 4to, but without a date.

There is a dialogue, on philosophical points, I believe, between Johannes Erigena and Charles the Bald. It is found in the edition of Scotus's works published by Gale, the only copy of which in existence is said to be in the Bodleian.

To these must be added the dialogues of Hadrian and Secundus, Hadrian and Epictetus, already noticed, pp. 206, 207. Many such are of Eastern origin: the Beshír and Shádán already cited, p. 209, is a favourable specimen.

“Riote du Monde.” This and the following composition bear a closer relation to the Second Morolf than to the serious Saxon Dialogues. Its title may be translated, “The world turned topsy-turvy:” it is a dialogue between a king and a wandering jongleur, who answers all the king's questions in such a manner as to turn everything into ridicule. There are two complete MSS. of this composition, both of the thirteenth century. The first of these is contained in the MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 7595. fol. 519; the second, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 2. 45. fol. 331, differs slightly in arrangement and dialect from the Paris copy. I give here the commencement of both copies:—

MS. Par.—Chi commenche li Riote del Monde.—Je me che-
vauçoie d'Amiens à Corbie; s'encontrai le roi et sa maisnie. A cui
es-tu? dist-il.—Sire, je suis à mon signor.—Qui est tes sires?—Li
barons me dame.—Qui est ta dame?—La feme mon signor.—Com-
ment as-tu à non?—Ansi comme mes parrins.—Comment a non tes

parrins ?—Ansi com jou.—U vas-tu ?—Je vois chà.—Dont viens-tu ?
 —Je vieng de là.—Dont ies-tu ?—Je sui de no vile.—U est te vile ?
 —Entor le moustier.—U est li moustiers ?—En l'atre.—U est li
 atres ?—Sor terre.—U siet cele terre ?—Sar l'iaue.—Comment apiel-
 on l'iaue ?—On ne l'apiele nient ; ele vient bien sans apieler.—Chou
 savoie-jou bien, dist li rois, etc. . . .

Expl.—Vous estes bien el chemin, errés tos jours. Alés le fons
 del val, portés del pain, mangiés matin, herbegiés-vous de jours, ne
 vous annuitiés mie.

MS. Tris.—Jeo cheuachoie l'autrer de Amiens à Corbie ; si en-
 contreis li reis et sa meisnée. Beaus amis, dist li rei, dunt viens-
 tu ?—Sire, ieo uiene de chà, ou uas-tu ? etc. . . .

Expl.—Errez tuz iurz. Alez les funz de ual, portez del pain,
 mangiez matin, herbegez-vous de iur, ne vous ennuiez mie.

It is probable that these compositions were once metrical, even as many of the Saxon legendary poems in honour of particular saints became excellent sermons by the addition of introductions and doxologies. In fact, we find one version really existing as a poem. This, which was published by Sir F. Palgrave in 1818, from a Harl. MS. 2253. fol. 107, has since been reprinted by M. Michel, under the title of “Le Roi d'Angleterre et le Jongleur d'Ely.” From this I extract the passage corresponding to those quoted above :

Seygnours, escotez un petit,
 Si orrez un très bon desduit
 De un menestrel que passa la terre
 Pur merveille e aventure quere ;
 Si vint de sà Loundres, en un prée
 Encountra le Roy e sa meisnée ;
 Entour son col porta soun tabour
 Depeynt de or e riche atour ;
 Le roi demaund par amour :
 Ou qy etes-vus, sire Joglour ?
 E il respount sauntz pour ;
 Sire, je su ou mon seignour.
 Quy est toun seignour ? fet le Roy.
 Le baroun ma dame, par ma foy.
 Quy est ta dame, par amour ?
 Sire, la femme mon seignour.



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B. 5. 39, which is so curious a specimen of the language in the thirteenth century, that I take the following copy of it in preference to any other. It is partly alliterative, partly in final rhyme, the couplets being thrown together in nearly the same careless manner as in *Lazamon*. It will be seen that this poem also contains some of that treasure of popular wisdom which is found in the proverbial sayings of a people; and such correspondence as I have observed between these and the proverbs of other lands I have pointed out in the notes which follow it. I have added a rough translation of it, without which it would be scarcely intelligible.

PROVERBS OF ALFRED.

I.

At Siforde
 setin kinbis monie,
 fele biscopis
 and fele booclerede,
 herles prude
 and cnites egleche.
 þer was erl Alfred,
 of þe lawe suiþe wis,
 and heke Alfred,
 Englene herde,
 Englene derling,
 in Enkelonde he was king.
 Hein he gon lerin,
 so we mugen iherin,
 whu we gure lif
 lede sulin.

[king, should lead.

Alfred he was in Enkelonde a Alfred was in England king,

I.

At Seaford
 sat many thanes,
 many bishops
 and many book-learned men,
 earls proud
 and knights the like.
 There was earl Alfred,
 of the law most wise,
 and also Alfred
 England's herd,
 England's darling,
 in England he was king.
 Them he gan to teach,
 as we may hear,
 how we our lives

wel swiþe strong and lussum
 he was king and cleric, [þing;
 ful wel he louede Godes werc ;
 he was wis on his word
 and war on his werke ;
 he was þe wisiste mon
 þad was in Engelande on.

a very strong and lovesome
 he was king and clerk, [thing ;
 full well he loved God's work ;
 he was wise in his word,
 and wary in his work ;
 he was the wisest man
 that was in England.

II.

þus quad Alfred
 Englene frowere :
 Wolde we, mi leden,
 lustin gure louird,
 and he gu wolde wissen
 of wi[s]liche þinges,
 gu we mistin in werelde
 wrsipe weldin,
 and heke gure salle
 samne to Criste. [Alfred.
 þis weren þe sawen of kinc
 Arme and edie ledin*
 * * * *
 of lifis dom,
 þad we alle dredin
 gure dristin Crist,
 lovin him and likin,
 for he is louird ouir lif.
 He is one god
 ouer alle godnesse,
 and he is gleu
 ouer alle glade þinhes.
 He is one blisse
 ouer alle blitnesse ;

II.

Thus quoth Alfred
 England's comforter :
 Would you, my people,
 listen to your lord,
 he would make you know
 wise things,
 how ye might in the world
 attain worship,
 and also your souls
 unite to Christ. [Alfred.
 These were the saws of king
 Poor and rich people
 * * * *
 of life's honour,
 that we all dread
 our lord Christ,
 love and please him,
 for he is lord over life.
 He is the only good
 above all goodness,
 and he is wise
 above all glad things.
 He is the only bliss
 above all bliss ;

* Something appears wanting between this and the following line, but there is no lacuna in the MS.

he is one mon
 mildist maister ;
 he is one folkes
 fadir and frowere ;
 he is one ristewis,
 and suo riche king
 nat him sal ben wone
 no þing of is wille,
 wo him her on worolde
 wrþin þenket.

III.

þus quad Alfred
 Englene frouere :
 May no riche king
 ben onder Crist selues,
 bote þif he be booclerid
 and he writes wel kenne,
 and bote he cunne letteris ;
 lokin him seluen
 wu he sule his lond
 laweliche holden.

IV.

þus quad Helfred :
 þe herl and þe heþeling,
 þo ben vnder þe king
 þe lond to leden
 mid lauelichi dedin ;
 boþe þe cleric and þe cnit
 demen euenliche rict ;
 for astir þat man souit
 al suiyich sal he mouin,
 and eueriches monnes dom
 to his oge dure cherried.

he only is of man
 the mildest master ;
 of the people he only is
 father and comforter ;
 he only is righteous,
 and so powerful a king
 that the man shall want
 nothing of his will,
 who here in the world
 desires to do him honour.

III.

Thus quoth Alfred,
 England's comforter :
 There may no powerful king
 be under Christ himself,
 unless he be book-learned
 and well skilled in writings,
 and unless he know letters ;
 look for himself
 how he shall his land
 lawfully hold.

IV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 The earl and the æðeling,
 these are under the king
 the land to lead
 with lawful deed ;
 both the cleric and the knight
 to deem evenly right ;
 for after what men sow
 the same shall they mow,
 and every man's doom
 to his own door returneth.



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VII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Sulde nefere gise mon
 giuen him to huuele,
 þoch he his gise
 wel ne like * *
 ne þech he ne welde
 al þad he wolde ; [wele
 for God may giuen wanne he
 goed after yuil,
 wele after wrake ;
 ge wel him þet mot scapen.

VIII.

þus quad Alfred :
 [Sor]ge it his to rogen
 agen þe seflod,
 so it his to sginkin
 again heni selþe,
 * * ch wel is him agueþe
 þe sunich was
 wanen her on werlde
 welþe to winnen,
 * * he muge on helde
 hednesse holdin,
 * * mist his welþe
 werchin Godis wille ;
 [þ]enne his his guewe
 swiþe wel bitogen.

IX.

þus quad Alfred :
 Gif þu hauest welþe
 awold i þis gerlde,

VII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Should never wise man
 give himself to evil,
 though he his state
 like not well,
 nor though he command not
 all that he would ;
 for God may give when he will
 good after evil,
 weal after misery ;
 yea, well for him may so do.

VIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Sorrow it is to row
 against the sea-flood,
 so it is to labour
 against any chance,
 * * * *
 * * * *
 hope here in the world
 wealth to win,
 that he may in age
 ease enjoy,
 * * with his wealth
 work God's will ;
 then is his trouble
 very well bestowed.

IX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 If thou hast wealth
 in this world acquired,

ne þin wil neure for þi
al to wlonc wurþen ;
acte nis non eldere stren,

ac it is Godis loue ;
wanne hit is his wille
þer fro we sullen wenden,
and ure ogene lif
mid sorw letin ;
þanne scullen ure fon
to ure fe gripen,
welden ure madmes,
and lutil us bimenen.

X.

þus quad Alfred :
Moni mon wenit,
þat he wenen ne þarf,
longere liuis ;
ac him scal legen þat wrench ;
for wanne he is lif alre beste
trowen,
þeune sal he letin lif his ogene.
Nis no wurt woxen on woode
ne on felde
þer euure muge þe lif uphelden ;
wot no mon þe time
wanne he sal henne rimen,
ne no mon þen hende,
wen he sal henne wenden.
Drittin hit one wot
domis louird,
wenne we ure lif
letin scullen.

let not thy will for this
become too proud ;
consider it is no acquisition
of thy forefathers,
but it is God's love ;
when it is his will
therefrom we must depart,
and our own life
leave with sorrow ;
then shall our foes
seize on our property,
dispose of our treasures,
and lament us but little !

X.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Many a man expects,
what he ought not to expect,
length of life ; [lie ;
but that deceit shall prove a
for when he best trusts in his
life,
then shall he lose his own life.
No herb is grown in wood or
field [life ;
which can for ever uphold the
no man knoweth the time
when he must depart hence,
nor any man the end, [wend.
when he from hence shall
God alone knoweth
the lord of judgment,
when we our lives
shall relinquish.

XI.

þus quad Alfret :
 Leue þu þe nout to swipe
 up þe seflod ;
 gif þu hawest madmes monie
 and moch gold and siluir,
 it sollen wurþen to nout,
 to duste it sullen driuen ;
 Dristin sal liuin eure.
 Moni mon for is gold
 hauid Godis eire ;
 and þuruch is siluer
 is saulle he forlesed ;
 betere him were
 iborin þat he nere.

XII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Lustlike lustnie,
 lef dere,
 and ich her gu wille leren
 wenes mine,
 wit and wisdom.
 þe alle welpe on ure God*,
 * * * *
 siker he may [sitten],
 and hwo hem mite senden ;
 for þoch his weleþe him atgo
 is wid ne wen him newere fro ;
 ne may he newir forfarin
 hwo him to fere haueþ,

XI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Trust not thou too much
 upon the sea-flood ;
 if thou hast many treasures
 and much gold and silver,
 it shall turn to nought,
 to dust it shall drive ;
 the Lord shall live for ever !
 Many a one for his gold
 hath God's anger ;
 and through his silver
 his soul casteth away ;
 better were it for him
 he never had been born !

XII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Joyfully listen,
 my dear friends,
 and I will teach you here
 my expectation,
 wit and wisdom. [our God,
 He who all his wealth upon
 * * * *
 safely may he sit,
 and they who are with him ;
 for though his wealth desert
 him
 his wit will never go from him ;
 nor may that man ever go
 astray
 who hath him for his comrade,

* A line appears missing.



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þanne sal þe child
 þas þe bet wurþen.
 Ac gif þu les him welden
 al his owene wille,
 þanne he comit to helde
 sore it sal him rewen,
 and he sal banne þat widt
 þat him first tagte.
 þanne sal þi child
 þi forbod ouergangin.
 Beter þe were child
 þat þu ne hauedest,
 for betere is child vnboren.
 þenne vnbeten.

XV.

þus quad Alfred :
 Drunken and vndrunkin,
 eþer is wisdom wel god,
 þarf no mon drinkin þe lasse,
 þan he be wid ale wis ;
 ac [ef] he drinkit
 and desiet þere amorge,
 so þat he for drunken
 desiende werchet,
 he sal ligen long anicht,
 litil sal he sclepen ;
 him sugh sorege to,
 so deð þe salit on fles,
 sukkit þuru is liche,
 so dot liche blod ;
 and his morge sclep
 sal ben muchil lestin ;
 werse þe swo on euen
 yuele haued ydronken.

then shall the child
 be all the better for it.
 But if thou let him have
 all his own will,
 when he cometh to age
 sore shall he rue it,
 and he shall curse the creature
 that first taught him.
 Then shall thy child
 thy command set at nought.
 Better were it for thee
 that thou hadst no child,
 for better is child unborn
 than unbeaten.

XV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 To drink and not to drink,
 either is with wisdom good,
 no man need drink the less,
 so he be with all wise ;
 but if he drinketh
 and sots of a morning,
 so that he for drunkenness
 sottishly acteth,
 he shall lie long anight,
 little shall he sleep ;
 sorrow he sucketh in,
 as doth the salt in flesh,
 sucked through his body,
 as doth the body blood ;
 and his morning sleep
 shall be long lasting ;
 worse whoso at evening
 hath evil drunk.

XVI.

þus quad Alfred :
 Ne sal þu þi wif
 bi hire wlite chesen,
 ne for non athte to þine bury
 bringen her þu ;
 hire costes cuþe*

* * * *

for moui mon for athte
 iuele ihasted,
 and ofte mon on faire
 fokel chesed ;
 wo is him þat iuel wif
 brinhit to is cotlif ;
 so his o liue
 þat iuele wiued,
 for he sal him often
 dreri maken.

XVII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Wurþu neuere
 swo wod ne so drunken
 þat euere sai þu þi wif
 al þat þi wille be ;
 for hif hue sege þe biforen
 þine fomen alle,
 and þu hire mit worde
 wraged hauedest,
 he ne sold it letin
 for þinke liuihinde,

XVI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Thou shalt not thy wife
 choose for her beauty, [home
 nor for her property to thy
 bring her ;
 learn thou her worth

* * * *

for many a one for money
 hasteth but ill,
 and for her fairness
 a fickle one chooseth ;
 wo is him that an ill woman
 bringeth to his home ;
 so is he in life
 who hath wived ill,
 for she shall often
 make him dreary.

XVII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Be thou never
 so mad or so drunk
 as ever to tell thy wife
 all that thou willest ;
 for should she see before thee
 all thy foemen,
 and thou with words
 hadst exasperated her,
 she would not let
 for living thing,

* A line is apparently wanting.

þat he ne solde þe upbreidin
of þine balesipes.

Wimon is wordwod
and hauit tunke to swist,
þauc he hire selue wel wolde,
ne mai he it nowit welden.

XVIII.

þus quad Alured :

Wurþu neuere so wod,
ne so desi of þi mod,
þad euere sige þi frend
al þat þe likit,
ne alle þe þonches
þat þu þoch hauist ;
for ofte sibbie men
foken hem bituenen,
and ef it so bilimpit
lo[op]e þat ge wurþen,
þanne wot þi fend
þad her wiste þi frend.
Betere þe bicome
þi word were helden,
for þanne mud mamelit
more þanne hit solde
þanne sculen his heren
ef it iberen.

XIX.

þus quad Alured :

Mani man wenit,
þat he wenin ne þarf,
frend þad he hadde,
þer mon him faire bihait,
seiet him faire biforen,

that she would not upbraid thee
with thy ill doings.

Woman is word-mad
and hath a tongue too strong,
though she herself would well,
she can it nowhit govern.

XVIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :

Be thou never so mad,
nor so foolish of mood,
as ever to tell thy friend
all that pleases thee,
nor all the thoughts
that nevertheless thou hast ;
for often relatives
quarrel together,
and if so befall
that ye become enemies,
then knoweth thy foe
what thy friend knew before.
Better were it for thee
thy words had been held back,
for when the mouth gossips
more than it should
then will the ears
hear of it.

XIX.

Thus quoth Alfred :

Many a one weens,
what he ought not to ween,
that he hath a friend, [mises,
when they make him fair pro-
seems fair before his face,



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leþere þewes,
 and often to þenchen
 don þat he ne scolde,
 gif he for swuken
 swoti wuere,
 swo hie ne þochte ;
 ac þoch hit is iuel
 to beuen þat ter tre
 ben ne ville ;
 for ofte mused þe catt
 after þe moder.
 Wose lat is wif
 his maister wurþen, [louerd ;
 sal he neuer beu his wordes
 al he sal him rere dreige
 and moni tene
 selliche hawen,
 selden sal he ben on sele.

XXII.

þus quad Alfreuerd :
 Gif þu frend bigete
 mid þi fre bigete,
 loke þat þu him þeine
 mid alle þeuues þines ;
 loke þat he þe be mide
 biforen and bihinden,
 þe bet he sal þe reden
 at alle þine neden ;
 and on him þu maist þe tresten
 þif is trogþe degh.
 Ac gif þu hauist a frend to day
 and to moreuin driuist him auei,
 þenne bes þu one
 al so þu her were

evil habits,
 and often to devise
 how to do what she should not,
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 as she expected not ;
 yet it is evil
 to cultivate that which a tree
 will not become ;
 for oft mouseth the cat
 after its mother.
 Whoso letteth his wife
 become his master,
 shall never be lord of his word ;
 but he shall rear him sorrow
 and many losses have
 of various kind,
 seldom shall he be happy.

XXII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 If thou gain a friend
 with thy free gains,
 look that thou serve him
 with all thy means ;
 look that he be with thee
 before and behind,
 the better shall he counsel thee
 at all thy need ;
 and thou mayst rely on him
 if his truth be sound.
 But if thou hast a friend today
 and tomorrow drivest him away,
 then wilt thou be alone
 as thou wert before,

and þaune is þi fe forloren
and þi frend boþen ;
betere þe bicome
frend þat þu newedest.

XXIII.

þus quad Alfred :
þurh sage mon is wis,
and þurh selþe mon is gleu,
þurh lesin mon is loð,
þuruh luþere wrenches unwurþ ;
and hokede honden make þen
is hewit to lesen. [mon

Ler þu þe neuer
ouer mukil to leþen ;
ac loke þinne nexte,
he is ate nede god ;
and frendschiþe owerlde
fairest to wurchen,
wid pouere and wid riche,
wid alle men iliche ;
þanne maist þu sikerliche
seli sittin
and faren ouer londe
hwar so bet þi wille.

XXIV.

þus quad Alured :
Gif þu hauist duge,
and drichen þe senden,
ne þeng þu neuere þi lif
to narruliche leden,
ne þine faires
to faste holden ;
for wer hachte is hid,

and then are thy substance
and thy friend both lost ;
better would it be for thee
that friend thou hadst not.

XXIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Through saws man is wise
and through fortune prudent,
through falsehood is he hateful,
through vile deceit unworthy ;
and hooked hands make the
his head to lose. [man

Teach not thyself
ouer far to go ;
but look to thy neighbour,
he is good at need ;
and friendship in the world
fairest to work,
with poor and with rich
with all men alike ;
then mayst thou securely
sit in comfort
and fare ever the land
whither it be thy will.

XXIV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
If thou hast wealth
and riches are thine,
think thou never thy life
too closely to lead,
nor thy feres
too fast to hold ;
for where aught is hid

þer is armþe inoch ;
 and siker ich it te saige,
 letet gif þe licket,
 swich mon mai after þe
 þi god welden,
 oft binnan þine burie
 bliþe wenden,
 þad he ne wele heren
 mid muþe monegen ;
 ac euere him ofþinket
 þen he þe þenced.

XXV.

þus quad Alured :
 Uretu noth to swiþe
 þe word of þine wiue ;
 for þanne hue bed iwarþed
 mid wordes oþer mid dedes,
 wimmon weped for mod
 ofter þanne fro eni god,
 and ofte lude and stille
 for to wurchen hire wille,
 hue weped oþer wile
 þen hue þe wille biwilen.
 Salamon hid hawit isait,
 hue can moni yuel reid ;
 hue ne mai hit non oþir don
 for wel herliche hue hit bigan.
 þe mon þad hire red folewiþ
 he bringeþ him to soruge,
 for hit is said in lede,
 cold red is quene red.
 Hi ne sawe hit nocht bi þan

there is poverty enough ;
 and surely I say to thee,
 let it alone if thou wilt,
 such a one after thee
 may rule thy wealth,
 often within thy dwelling
 may make merry,
 as will not hear thee
 mentioned by mouth ;
 but ever 't will disgust him
 when he thinketh of thee.

XXV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Trust not thou too much
 the words of thy wife ;
 for when she is angered
 by word or by deed,
 a woman weeps for passion
 more than for any good,
 and often loud and still
 for to work her own will,
 she will weep some time or
 other
 then will she beguile thee.
 Salomon hath it said,
 she knoweth many an ill rede ;
 she cannot do otherwise
 for right nobly she began it !
 The man who followeth her
 rede,
 it bringeth him to sorrow,
 for it is said in lede
 cold rede is quean's rede !
 I do not mean to say



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and þu in þine helde
werldes welþe weldest,
þi dugeþe gin þu delen

þine dere frend,
hwile þine dages dugen,
and þu þe selwen liue mowe.

Haue þu none leue to þe
þad after þe bileued,
to sone ne to douter,
ne to none of þine foster ;
for fewe frend we sculen finden
þanne we henne funden ;
for he þat is ute biloken
he is inne sone forgeten.

XXVIII.

Þus quad Alured :
Gif þu i þin helde best
welþes bidelid,
and þu ne cunne þe leden
mid none cunnes listis,
ne þu ne moge mid strenghe
þe selwen steren,
þanne þanke þi louerd
of alle is loue,
and of álle þine owene liue,
and of þe dagis licht,
and of alle murþe
þad he for mon makede ;
and hweder so þu hwendes,
sei þu at en ende,
Wrþe þad iwarþe,
iwurþe Godes wille.

and thou in thine age
hast power of worldly wealth,
begin thou to divide thy sub-
stance

among thy dear friends,
while thy days last
and thou thyself mayst live.

Have thou no faith in them
that after thee remain,
neither in son nor daughter,
nor none whom thou hast fed ;
for few friends shall we find
when we depart hence ;
for he that is shut out
is soon forgot within.

XXVIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
If thou in thine age art
deprived of wealth,
and thou canst not guide thee
with any device,
nor mayst with strength
govern thyself,
then thank thy Lord
for all his love,
and for all thine own life,
and for the day's light,
and for all the mirth
which he made for man ;
and whitherso thou goest,
say thou after all,
Let be what may be,
God's will be done.

XXIX.

þus quad Alured :

Werldes welþe

to wurmes scal wurþien,

and alle cunne madmes

to nocht sulen melten,

and þure lif sal

lutel lasten.

For þu mou weldest

al þis middelert,

and alle þe welþe

þad þe inne wonit,

ne mist þu þi lif lengen

none wile,

bote al þu it salt leten

one lutele stunde,

and al þi blisse

to bale sal iwurþen,

bote þif þu wurche

wille to Criste. [selwen

For biþengþe we mus us

to leden ure lif,

so God us giinnid leten ;

þenne muge we wenen

þad he us wile wurþen ;

for swo saide Salomon,

þe wise Salomon,

wis is þad wel doþ

hwile he is in þis werld boþ,

euere at þen ende he comid

þer he hit findit.

XXIX.

Thus quoth Alfred :

World's wealth

to worms shall turn,

and all kinds of treasure

shall melt away to nought,

and our life

shall little last. [rule

For though, man, thou shouldst

all this earth,

and all the wealth

that in it dwelleth,

thou canst not lengthen thy life

a single hour,

but thou must leave it all

one little moment,

and all thy bliss

to bale shall turn,

except thou work

the will of Christ.

For we must bethiuk ourselves

to lead our lives,

as God permitteth ;

then may we hope

that he will do us honour ;

for so said Salomon,

the wise Salomon,

wise is he that doth well

while he is in this world,

ever at length he cometh

where he will find it.

XXX.

þus quad Alured :
 Sone min swo leue,
 site me nu bisides,
 and hich þe wile sagen
 soþe þewes.

Sone min ich fele
 þad min hert falewidþ,
 and min wlite is wan,
 and min herte woc,
 mine dagis arren nei done,
 and we sulen unc todelen ;
 wenden ich me sal
 to þis oþir werlde,
 and þu salt bileuen
 in alle mine welþe.

Sone mine ich þe bidde,
 þu ard mi barin dere,
 þad þu þi folck be
 fader and for louerd ;
 fader be þu wid child,
 and be þu wuidewis frend ;
 þe arme gume þu froueren,
 and þe woke gume þu coueren ;
 þe wronke gume þu ristin
 mid alle þine mistin ;
 and let þe sune mid lawe,
 and lowien þe sulen drigtin,
 and ower alle oþir þinke
 God be þe ful minde ;
 and bide þad he þe rede
 at alle þine dedis ;
 þe bet sal he þe filsten
 to don al þine wille.

XXX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear,
 sit now beside me,
 and I will tell thee
 true manners.
 Son of mine, I feel
 that my heart falloweth,
 and my beauty is wan,
 and my heart weak,
 my days are uigh done,
 and we must part from one
 I shall depart [another ;
 unto this other world,
 and thou shalt remain
 in all my wealth.
 Son of mine, I bid thee,
 thou art my dear child,
 that thou be to thy people
 a father and a lord ;
 be thou a father to the child,
 and a friend to the widow ;
 the poor man do thou comfort,
 and the weak man defend ;
 the wrong man bring to right
 with all thy might ;
 and guide thee, son, by law,
 and the Lord shall love thee,
 and above all other thoughts
 remember well thy God,
 and pray that he counsel thee
 in all thy deeds ;
 the better shall he aid thee
 to do all thy will.



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þe baldure þu mist ben ;	the bolder thou mayst be ;
[ne] forlere þu his reides ;	forget not his counsels ;
for þe helder man me mai	for the old man we may out-
ofriden	ride
betere þenne ofreden.	better than out-counsel.

XXXII.

Þus quad Alured :
Sone min so dere,
ches þu neuere to fere
þen luþere lusninde mon,
fore he þe wile wrake don.
From the wode þu mitht te
faren

wid wilis and wid armes,
ac þanne þu hid lest wenest
þe luþere þe biswiket ;
þe bicche bitit ille
þan he berke stille ;
so deit þe lusninde luþere mon,
ofte þen he dar it don.
þan he be wiþuten stille,
he bit wiþinen hille,
and al he bifulit his frend
þen he him vnfoldit.

XXXIII.

Þus quad Alured :
Lewe sone dere,
ne ches þe neuere to fere
þen hokerfule lese mon,
for he þe wole gile don ;
he wole stelin þin haite and
keren,
and listeliche onsuerren ;

XXXII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Son of mine so dear, [rade
choose thou never for a com-
the false, deceitful man,
for he will do thee mischief.
From the wild one thou mayst
escape

with wiles and with arms,
but when thou least expectest
the false one will betray thee ;
the bitch biteth ill
when she barketh still ;
so doth the false, deceitful man
oft when he dareth.
When he is quiet outwardly,
he is ill within,
and all befouls his friend
when he unfolds himself.

XXXIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Dear son of mine,
choose never for thy comrade
the deceitful, false man,
for he will do thee guile ;
he will steal thy goods and
turn,
and cunningly deny ;

<p>so longe he uole be bi he uole brinbin on and tuenti to nout, for sothe ich tellit þe, and oþer he wole liþen and hokerful ben ; [aloped þuru hoker and lesing þe alle men þat hen ycnowed. Ac nim þe to þe a stable mon þat word and dede bisette con, and multiplien heure god ; a sug fere þe his help in mod.</p>	<p>so long he will be by he will bring one and twenty to nought, for sooth I tell thee, and else he will be slippery and false ; [hate thee through treachery and lies shall all men that know him. But take to thee a stable man that word and deed establish can, and multiply your good ; a safe fere is he that helps at need.</p>
--	--

XXXIV.

þus quad Alured :
 Leue sone dere,
 ne ches þu neuere to fere
 littele mon ne long ne red,
 þif þu wld don after mi red.

XXXV.

þe luttele mon he his so rei,
 ne mai non him wonin nei ;
 so word he wole him seluen
 teir, [beir ;
 þat is louird maister he wolde
 bute he mote himseluen pruden,
 he wole maken fule luden ;
 he wole grennen cocken and
 chide [den ;
 and he were faren mid vnlu-
 þif þu me wld ileuen,
 ne mai me neuer him quemmen.

XXXIV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Dear son of mine,
 choose never for thy mate
 a little man, or long, or red,
 if thou wilt do after my rede.

XXXV.

The little man is so conceited,
 no one can dwell near him ;
 so valuable he counts himself
 [master ;
 that he will be his own lord's
 unless he can advance himself,
 he will make foul company ;
 he will grin, swagger and chide
 and ever fare with ill manners ;
 if thou wilt believe me,
 one can never satisfy him.

XXXVI.

þe lonke mon is leþe bei,
 selde comid is herte rei ;
 he hauit stoni herte,
 noþing him ne smertep ;
 biford dages he is aferd
 of sticke and stou in huge
 þif he fallit in þe fen [werd ;
 he þewit ut after men ;
 þif he slite into a dige
 he is ded witerliche.

XXXVII.

þe rede mon he is a quet,
 for he wole þe þin iwil red ;
 he is cocker, þef and horeling,
 [king.
 scolde, of wrechedome he is
 Hic ne sige nout bi þan
 þat moni ne ben gentile man.
 þuru þis lere and genteleri
 he amendit huge companie.

XXXVI.

The long man is ill to be with,
 seldom is his heart brave ;
 he hath a stony heart,
 nothing can make him smart ;
 before day he is afraid
 of stick and stone hugely ;
 if he falls in the mud
 he shouts out after men ;
 if he slip into a ditch
 he is dead utterly.

XXXVII.

The red man is a rogue,
 for he will advise thee ill ;
 he is quarrelsome, a thief and
 whoreling,
 a scold, of mischief he is king.
 I do not say for all that
 that many are not gentlemen.
 Through this lore and gentility
 he amended a great company.

The extreme corruptness and obscurity of the language in which this poem is written do not interfere with its interest. A portion of it appeared in Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, which was taken from a MS. at Oxford; and Hearne, Spelman's editor, gave various readings from the portion preserved in Wanley's catalogue.

It is probable that this is derived from a Saxon original, and Ælfred here appears in the traditional character of a teacher; for that there ever was a meeting at Seaford, in which he really delivered the counsels here attributed to him, appears quite out of the question. What is most interesting



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eurich thing mai losen his godhede
 mid unmethe, and mid ouerdede :
 mid este thu the miȝt overquatie,
 and ouerfulle maketh wlatie :
 an eurich mureȝth mai agon,
 ȝif me hit halt eure forth in on,
 bute one, that is Godes riche,
 that eure is svete, and eure iliche ;
 theȝ thu nime euere oththan lepe,
 hit is eure ful bihepe ;
 wunder hit is of Godes riche,
 that eure speneth, and eure is iliche*.

4. *Alured* seide, that was wis,
 he mite wel, for soth hit is ;
 nis no man for his bare songe
 lof, ne wrth noȝt suthe longe :
 vor that is a forworthe man
 that bute singe noȝt ne can †.
5. For *Alured* seide, of olde quide,
 and ȝit hit nis of horte iglide ;
 wone the bale is alrehecst,
 thone is the bote alrenecst ‡.
6. Vor *Alurd* seide, that wel kuthe,
 eure he spac mid sothe muthe ;
 wone the bale is alrehecst
 thanne is the bote alrenecst §.
7. Vor soth hit is, that seide *Alured* ;
 ne mai no strengthe aȝen red ||.
8. For hit seide the King *Alfred* ;
 sele endeth wel the lothe,
 and selde plaideth wel the wrothe**.

* Hule and Night, l. 349.

† *Ibid*, l. 569.‡ *Ibid*, l. 685.§ *Ibid*, l. 697.|| *Ibid*, l. 761.** *Ibid*, l. 930.

9. Wel fiȝt that wel specth, seide *Alured**.
10. For *Alfred* seide a this word,
euch mon hit schulde legge on hord ;
ȝef thu isehst he beo icunne
his strenthe is him wel neȝ berunne †.
11. For thi seide *Alfred*, swithe wel,
and his worde was godspel ;
there euer euch man the bet him beo,
euer the bet he hine beseo ‡.

It is undoubtedly true, that all the proverbs here quoted are not found in the lines printed from the Trinity MS.; this however only goes to prove that there was once a larger collection current under Alfred's name, or else that his traditional reputation was of such a nature as to make it justifiable to attribute any wise saying to him.

The proverbs which are thus put into Alfred's mouth are important from their antiquity, and of the more value to us because some of them correspond to proverbs already alluded to in this introduction. Such of these as I have observed I shall now proceed to note; others of them, again, are found at a later period in other languages of Europe.

8. 1. 2. Men rehersen in theire sawe
hard it is to stryue wyth wynde or wawe,
whether it doo ebbe or els fflowe.

Piers of Fulham (Ancient Met. Tales, p. 131.)

He is nat wise agayne the stream that striueth.

Skelton, Pithy, Pleas. and Prof. Workes, p. 54.

Eu son Arnautz qu'amas l'aura,
e catz la lebr'ab lo bueu,
e nadi contra suberna.

Arnaut Daniel. (Parnasse. Occitanien, 257).—See also Grüter, p. 120; Howell, Eng. Prov. pp. 9, 11; Adagia, p. 30; Gartner, Dict. 28, 36 *b*.

* Hule and Night, l. 1062.

† *Ibid*, l. 1211.

‡ *Ibid*, l. 1257.

10. l. 8. Es wechst kein kraut für den todt im garten.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39.

Fyrir dauthans makt, er engin urt vaxin.

Meidinger, Dict. Prov. Island, p. 581.

Wäre nun für den Tod ein Kraut gewachsen, so würde es sehr theuer seyn, und die reichen würden es allein kaufen und bekommen können, und es vor den Armen verbergen, daher den ein Ungleichheit unter den Menschen entstehen würde. Gott aber ist ein gerechter Richter, der dem einen wie dem andern thut, dem Reichen wie dem Armen, und alle Menschen auf Erden sterben, auch kein Kraut, dem Tode zu wehren, wachsen lässt.

Baumann, Remarks on Reinke Vos. (Gotsched ed. fol. 1752, fol. 261.)—See also Gartner, p. 72.

14. l. 1 and 20. Better unborn than untaught.

Howell, Engl. Prov. p. 4.

Non reputes aurum totum quod splendet ut aurum

Nec pulchrum pomum quodlibet esse bonum.

Es ist nicht alles goldt was glintzet.

Ist der apffel rosenfarb der wurm ist darinn.

Two Biblical Proverbs.

20. l. 2. Schön öpfel seyn auch wohl sauer.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 64.

But al thing, which that shinith as the gold,

ne is not golde, as I have herde ytolde,

ne evry appell, that is faire at iye,

ne is not gode, whatso men clappe or crie.

Chancer, Ch. Ch. Y. 983 (Ur. 123).

Auri natura non sunt splendentia pura.

Es ist nicht alles Golt das da glentzt.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 19, 51 b.

21. l. 14. Wann die Katz jungen hat so wirdt sie wohl lernen mausen.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 72.

t'wil al muyzen wat van katten komt.

Grüter, Prov. Belg. p. 123.

As the old cock crows so crows the young.

Chi di gallina nasce convien che rozole.

Ray, p. 142.



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Barking dogs bite not the sorest.

George a Greene, *Old Plays*, iii. 37 ; Ray, p. 76.

Great barkers are no biters.

Howell, *Eng. Prov.* p. 8 ; *Adagia*, p. 27.

Sinon morderis, cane, quid latrante vereris.

wias schadt dess Hundts bellen der nicht beiss.

Hunde die viel bellen beissen nicht.

Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 68 b.

34, 35, 36, 37. The advice of Alfred to his son, to take neither a short man, a tall man, nor a red-haired man for his friend, because the first will be ambitious and proud, the second without wit or courage, and the third a traitor, is paralleled by a passage in Freidank, p. 85 :

Kurzer man dêmüete
unt roter mit güete,
unt langer man wise,
der lop sol man prise.

In p. 29 he has another fling at the ambition of short men, when he says,

Hôchvart twinget kurzen man
daz er muoz ûf den zêhen gân.

The same assertion, with additional circumstances, is made in the MS. Harl. 3362, fol. 33 :

þe longe man ys 3eld wys, þe schort myld 3eld ys,
Raro breves humiles, longos vidi sapientes.

þe whyth ys ful of cowardys, þe red ful of feloun ys,
Albos audaces, rufos sine prodicione.

to þe blak draw þy knyf, with þe brown led þy lyf.
Cum fusco stabis, cum nigro tela parabis.

In Howell's *English Proverbs*, p. 10, there is a similar saying applied to women,

Long and lazy, little and loud,
Fat and fulsome, pretty and proud ;

which rejoices in the alliteration that popular proverbs love, and which has more than once created and perpetuated them. The faithlessness of red-haired men is known to have been a widely prevailing belief, and to have passed into the proverbs of many European countries: Judas, *in the painted cloth*, has red hair, allusions to which in the works of all our old dramatic writers are far too numerous to require specific reference. I shall content myself with calling attention to a few notices less commonly accessible in this country.

In rufa pelle vix est animus sine felle.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 15.

*Raro breves humiles uidi, longos sapientes,
albos audaces, nigros rufosque fideles.*

Die Kleinen Leuth haben hohen muth,
ein lang mann selten wunder thut,
ein bleicher mann hat weiber art,
hüt dich vor schwartz vnd rot bart.

Rot bart nie gut ward, sprach Moses.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 25.

*Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam,
Multi non rubram sed habent cum crimine nigram.*

Man spricht, Roterbart
selten gut ward.

Aber thue sie nicht allein so schelten,
schwarze Bärt gerathen auch selten.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 77, b. 78.

Des nemen bîspel dar an :
und hüete sich ein islich man,
daz niemen ze vil trûwen sol
dem rôten friunt, daz rât ich wol.

Reinh. F. p. 357.

In the later, altered and sectarian form of Norse Mythology the god Thor was red-haired. In the Wilkina Saga, c. 167, the traitor Sibich (Sifeca) has red hair. See a number of examples of this in the preface to Grimm's Reinhart

Fuchs, pp. xxviii. xxix. So among the proverbs which we have already quoted from the Trin. MS. we find,

Rufus habet speciem post Sathanæ faciem.
 Xts plasmavit rufum Sathanamque vocavit,
 Sic laus hic dixit seruus per secula sic sit.
 Im was der bart und daz har
 beidiu rot und viurvar ;
 von den selben horich sagen
 das si valschiu herze tragen.

Wigalois (Benecke. Ed. p. 107, l. 2841).

Quia rufus esset, quæ species malignam naturam designaret,
 iuxta hunc versum,

Raro breues humiles uidi, rufos que fideles.

Bebelius, Facet. 1. p. 12. b.

Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam.

Multi non rubram sed habent cum crimine nigram.

So. MS. Harl. No. 3831.

Raro breues humiles uidi, longos sapientes,

Albos audaces, rufoque colore fideles.

MS. Aysc. Brit. Mus. 1640. fol. 48.

The Spaniards have a proverb to the same effect :

Asno coxo, y hombre roxo, y el demonio, todo es uno.

The latter portion of the composition which I have thus attempted to illustrate bears a remarkable resemblance to three didactic poems in three several languages, viz. in English, *Peter Idle Esqre of Kent* ; in French, *Le Castoiment d'un pere à son fils* (Barbazan, vol. ii.) ; and in German, *Der Winsbeke* (Benecke. Beiträge, p. 455). All three are moral instructions, delivered by a father to his son, with regard to his conduct in the world. Of these, the Castoiment is probably the oldest, being taken from the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, who, himself an apostate Jew, had drawn largely from the *Calila ve Dimna*, and, through this Arabic version, from the *Hitopadesa*, *Pantscha Tantra*, and other



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ANGLO-SAXON APOTHEGMS.

- 1 Ne beó þú tó slæpor, né tó idelgeorn, forþán þe slep 7 þæt ydel fet unþeáwas, 7 unhælo þæs líchoman.
- 2 Ðæt we cweðað ðæt sí best after Gode þ̅ man sí gesceadwís, 7 gemetigian cunne ge his sprece, ge his swígan, 7 wíte hwonne he gesprece hæbbe, 7 hwanne him ge-an-swaræd sí.
- 3 Ðonne ðú óðerne man tæle, ðonne gepenc ðú ðæt nán man ne býð leahterleás.
- 4 Ðeáh ðín wíf ðe hwane tówrege, ne gepafa ðú, né ne gelyf ðú ná tó hraðe; forðám hý weorðað manegum tó fínd, forðám he býð ðám hláforde holdra ðoune hyre; forðám hý oft hatiað ðæt se hláford lufað.
- 5 Ne flyt ðú ná wið ánwilne man, ne wið ofersprecenne; manegum is forgifen ðæt he sprecaþ mæig, 7 swíðe feáwum ðæt he sý gesceadwís.
- 6 Wíte ðæs máran þanc ðæs ðe ðú hæbbe, ðane ðas ðe ðe man geháte.
- 7 Ne hopa ðú tó swíðe tó ðám ðe ðe man geháte; ðær lyt geháta bíð, ðær bíð lyt lygena.
- 8 Ne beó ðú tó ánwille; forðám ðe is gerísenlicre ðæt ðú sí mid rihte ofersteled, ðone ðú oferstele óðerne man mid woge.
- 9 Ðæt býð se mæsta wurðscipe, ðæt mon cunne riht ge-cnáwan, 7 hit ðonne wylle gepafian.
- 10 Sprec ofter ymb óðres monnes weldæda, ðonne ymb ðíne ágene, 7 cýð ða manegum monnum.
- 11 Ðonne ðú eald sý, and monige ealde cwidas geáhsod be, dó hi ðonne ðám geóngum tó wítanne.
- 12 Ðeáh ðe mon hwylces hlihge, 7 ðú ðe uuscýldigne wíte, ne rehst ðú hwæt hý rædon, oððe rúnion; hý teóð ðe ðæs ðe hý sylfe habbað.

ANGLO-SAXON APOTHEGMS.

- 1 Be not too fond of sleep and idleness, for sleep and idleness bring evil habits, and illness of the body.
- 2 We say that the best thing after God is, that a man be discreet, and understand how to moderate both his speech and his silence, and know both when he has to speak, and when he has got his answer.
- 3 When thou blamest another man, bear thou in mind that no one is altogether free from sin.
- 4 If thy wife accuse any one to thee, permit it not, nor believe thou too soon; for often a wife dislikes many persons, because they love their lord better than her; because she often hates what her lord loveth.
- 5 Contend thou not with a self-willed man, or one of many words; many a man has the gift of speaking, but very few that of discretion.
- 6 Be more thankful for what thou hast, than for what men promise thee.
- 7 Hope not too keenly for what men promise thee; where are few promises, there are few lies.
- 8 Be not thou too self-willed; better it befits thee to be overruled with right, than to overrule another with wrong.
- 9 The best worship is, first to know what is right, next to perform it.
- 10 Speak oftener of other men's good deeds than of thine own, and publish them abroad.
- 11 When thou art old, and many old saws are asked after, do thou communicate them to the young.
- 12 If thou be accused of aught, and know thyself guiltless, heed not what men say or whisper; they blame thee for what they have themselves.

- 13 **Donne þú gesæligost sý, geþenc ðonne ðæt þú mæge unsælda geþolian, gif hý ðe on becumað, for ðám ne bið se ende ealne weg gelíce.**
- 14 **Ne hopa þú tó swíðe tó óðres monnes æhtum, oððe tó óðres monnes deáðe; uncúð hwá lengest libbe.**
- 15 **Gif þú earm gewurðe, geþenc þú ðæt ðín móder ðe uacodne gebær.**
- 16 **Ne ondræd þú ðe deáð tó swíðe; ne geleofað man náht miriges, ða hwíle ðe mon deáð ondræt.**
- 17 **Ne forgit þú hine ðeáh ealne weg, ðý læs þú þolie ðæs écan lifes.**
- 18 **Gif ðe mon mid yfele leánige ðæt þú tó góde dó, ne wít þú hit ná Gode, ac warnað ðe silfne ðé ofter; man gehylt ðæt he hæfð, gif he him ondræt ðæt hit him oðsceóte.**
- 19 **Ðý mon dæld spærlice, ðe mon nele ðæt hit forberste.**
- 20 **Gif þú bearn hæbbe, lær ðá cræftas ðæt hí mægen be ðám libban; uncúð hú him æt æhtum gesæle: cræft bið betere ðonne æhta.**
- 21 **Ne gehát þú nán þing tuwa; hwæt sceal hit ðe eft geháten, búton hit wære ær álogen?**
- 22 **Ne cýp þú witod on wén ðin; wíte máran þanc ðæs ðe þú hæbbe, ðonne ðæs ðe þú wéne.**
- 23 **Ne beó þú tó ceastful; of irsunge wyxt seófung, and of ðære geþwærnesse lufu.**
- 24 **Ðær ðær þú neóde irsian scýle, gemetiga ðæt ðeáh.**
- 25 **Forber oft ðæt þú wrecaþ mæge; geþyld bið middes eádes.**
- 26 **Help ægðer ge cúðes ge uncúðes, ðær ðær þú mæge; uncúð hwár hwá óðres beþurfe.**
- 27 **Ne wilna þú ofer ðínne mæd tó wítanne ymbe ða heofonlican þing; forðám þú eart eorðlic man, ácsa ðe æfter ðám.**
- 28 **Ne beó þú on ðínum irre tó ánwille; forðám ðæt irre oft ámirreð monnes mód, ðæt he ne mæg ðæt riht tócnáwan.**



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- 29 Beó gehalde on ðám ðe ðú hæbbe; unpleolíce hit bið on lytlum scipe and on lytlum wætere, ðonne on miclum scipe and on miclum wætre.
- 30 Ne wén ðú ðæt se yfela áuht gódes gestreóne mid his yfle; forðám ðeáh hit sume hwíle forholen wurðe, hit bið æt sumum cyrre open.
- 31 ðonne ðú geseó geóugran man ðonne ðú sý, 7 unwísran, and unspédigran, ðonne gefenc ðú hú oft se ofercymð óðerne, ðe hine ær ofercom; swá mon on caldum big-spellum cwyð, ðæt hwílum beó esnes tíð, hwílum óðres.
- 32 Ne séc ðú þurh hlytas hú ðe geweorðan scýle, ac dó swá ðú betst mæge; eáðe gerædað God ðæt he wile be ðe and ðíne þearfe, ðeáh he hit ðe ær ne secge.
- 33 Forlæt ðæt ðú næbbe tó óðres mannes góde andan; for ðám ðú swencst ðe silfne swíðor ðonne hine.
- 34 Ne beó ðú tó ormód ðeáh ðe sí on unriht gedémed; lyt monna weorð lange fægen ðæs ðe he óðerne bewrencð.
- 35 Gif ðú wið hwane sace hæbbe, 7 git ðonne gesemede weorðan, ne wrec ðú ná ða ærran yflu, búton hí mon eft niwige.
- 36 Ne dó ðú ðe náðer, né ðe silfne ne hera, né ðe silfne ne leáh; ægðer ðára is dysigra manna þeáw, ðe swincað æfter leásun gilpe.
- 37 ðæt is wísdóm, ðæt wís man lícette dysig; and ðæt is ðæt mæste dysig, ðæt dysig man lícette wísdóm.
- 38 Swá man máre sprycð, swá him læs manna gelyfeð.
- 39 Gif ðú hwæt on druncen misdó, ne wít ðú hit ðám ealoðe; forðám ðú his weólde ðe silf.
- 40 Nafa ðú tó yfel ellen, ðeáh ðe sum unwilla on becume; oft brincð se woruld ðone willan ðe bið eft.
- 41 Ne weorðe ðe næfre tó þæs wá, ðæt ðú ne wéne betran andergilde; forðám ðe se wéna ðe næfre ne læt forweorðan.
- 42 Ne ceós ðú nánne man be his æhtum, né ðíne ágene . . .

- 29 Be content with what thou hast ; less danger is there in a little ship on a little water, than in a great ship on a great water.
- 30 Think not that the evil man obtains any good with his evil ; for though at some time it be hidden, at some time it will be revealed.
- 31 When thou seest a younger, a less wise, or a less fortunate man than thyself, remember how often he that was before surpassed surpasseth another ; even as in old proverbs men say, Whilome is the serf's time, whilome another's.
- 32 Seek not by divination what shall befall thee, but do thy best ; God will easily decide according to his will respecting thee and thy need, although he tell thee not beforehand.
- 33 Beware that thou envy not another man's good fortune ; for thou troublest thyself more than him.
- 34 Be not too indignant, though thou receive unjust judgment ; few men rejoice long in what they have got by deceiving others.
- 35 If thou have a quarrel with another, and ye be reconciled, avenge not the old wrong, unless it be renewed.
- 36 Do thou neither of these things, praise not thyself, nor yet belie thyself ; either is a fool's custom, that laboureth after vain-glory.
- 37 That is wisdom, that a wise man should pretend folly ; and that is the greatest folly, that a fool should pretend wisdom.
- 38 The more a man speaks, the less men believe him.
- 39 If thou have misdome in drunkenness, blame not the drink ; for thou thyself hadst it in thy power.
- 40 Have no desire to evil, though some annoyance come on thee ; often the world brings back the thing thou desirest.
- 41 Be never so sorrowful as not to hope for better retribution ; for that hope will let thee never perish.
- 42 Choose thou no man for his wealth, nor thine own . . .

- yr; monig man hæfð micel feax on foran heáfde, and weorð
færlíce caluw.
- 43 Bysiga ðe be sumum men; forðon bið ælces mannes lif
sumes mannes lár.
- 44 Ne forsuwa ðú ná ðæt unteala gedón sý, ðý læs men wénon
ðæt hit ðe licige.
- 45 Gif ðe mon for rihtre scylde brocie, gepola hit wel, and beó
his wel gefafa.
- 46 Wrec ðe gemetlice, and eác swá gebær, ðý læs ðe men
leásunga teó, ðæt ðú ðíne cysta cýðe.
- 47 Ne hlyst ðú ná ungesceadwises monnes worda; forðon
monig mon hæfð ðone unþeáw, ðæt he ne can nyt sprecan,
né ne can geswígian.
- 48 Ne rece ðú ná weámódes wifes worda, forðám heó wile oft
mid wópe geswígian.
- 49 Ne ondræd ðú ðe deað tó swíðe for nánum wíte, ðeáh he
ðe ful gód ne þynce; he bíð ælces yfeles ende, 7 ne cyrð
he næfre má.
- 50 Forseó ðysse worulde wlenco, gif ðú wille beón welig on
ðínum móde; forðám ða ðe ðæs welan gitsiað, hí bíð
symle wædlan and earmingas on hyra móde; ac beó ge-
healden on ðínum gecynde, ðonne hæfst ðú genoh.
- 51 Gif ðú ðín ágen myrre, ne wít ðú hit ná Gode, ac warna
ðe silfne.
- 52 Brúc ðínra æhta, ða hwíle ðe ðú hál sý; se unl . . . la
gitsere áh ðæt feoh, and náh hine silfne.
- 53 Gepola ðínes hláfordes irre 7 ðínes láreowes, ðeáh ðe he . . .
- 54 Gif ðe þynce ðæt ðú tó wræne sý, wít ðat ðínre ceólen for
ðám unnyttan lustan.
- 55 Dysig mon ondræt nytenu, and ne ondræt ðone mon ðe
hine teala lære.
- 56 Gif ðú strengðe hæbbe, brúc ðære tó nytte.
- 57 Leorna hwæthwæge cræftas; ðeáh ðe ðíne sálda forlæton,
ne forlæt ðú ðínre cræft.



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- 58 Ne beo þú to ofersprece, ac hlyst ælces monnes wordas swiðe georne; forðam word ge-openað ælces monnes geþanc and his þeawas, ðeah hí hwílum behelie.
- 59 Gif þú hwilcne cræft cunne, begá ðone georne; swá swá sorge and ymbhogan ge-ýceð monnes mód, swá ge-ýcð se cræft his áre.
- 60 Leorna hwæthwego æt ðam wisan, ðæt þú mæge læran ðone unwisan; ægðer ðara is swiðe nyt weorc 7 gerisenlic.
- 61 Gif þú wile hál beon, drinc ðe gedestlice; ælc oferfyl and ælc ydel fet unhælo.
- 62 Ne læt þú unlofod ðæt þú swutele ongite ðæt licwyrðe sý; ðær ðe áuht tweóge, lofa ðæt gemetlice, ðý læs ðe mon leásunga teo.
- 63 Ne truwa þú smyllum wedere, né bilewittum men; oft stille wæter staðo brecað.
- 64 . . . ðe to onhagie; treowlice hit is be staðe to [swim-] manne ðonne út on sæ to seglanne.
- 65 . . . um sælðum to sæle, áhsa ðone lare . . . hit ðý eð gepolian.
- 66 Ne flit þú ná wið rihtwisne man 7 wið unscyldigne, forðon ðe God wyrceð rihte domas.
- 67 Era mid ðinum oxan, and offra mid ðinum recelse; dysige bið ða men ðe wenað ðæt hí cweman Gode ðonne hí cwellað hyra oxan.
- 68 Ælce dæge þú bist unnyt, gif þú nelt Gode þancian ðines lifes.
- 69 ðeah ðe monig mon herige, ne gelyf þú him to wel; ac ðæs hlisan þenc ðe silf hwæt ðæs sóðes sý, læs ðe scamion.
- 70 Gif ðe mon onleóge, fægena ðæs; gif ðe mon sóð onsecge, 7 ðeah gemetlice.
- 71 Meng ða blisse wið ða unrótnesse, forðam hyra náðer ne bið nóht longe bútan óðrum, gif his ne bið to fela, 7 þú miht ðe eað on ðæs ðe ðe on becymð; forðam hyra náðer

- 58 Be not too talkative, but hear all men's words sedulously ; for words open every man's thoughts and manners, though for a while he conceal them.
- 59 If thou know any craft, pursue it zealously ; even as sorrow and reflection increase man's intellect, so craft increaseth his honour.
- 60 Learn something from the wise, that thou mayst teach the unwise ; either is a very useful and befitting work.
- 61 If thou wilt be whole, drink in moderation ; all excess and idleness bring illness.
- 62 Leave not that unpraised which thou well knowest to be praiseworthy ; where thou hast any doubt, praise moderately, lest men accuse thee of falsehood.
- 63 Trust not thou smooth weather, nor a plausible man ; oft doth still water break the shore.
- 64 please thee ; safer is it to swim by the shore than to sail out on the sea.
- 65 befall in prosperity ask the teacher the easier bear.
- 66 Contend not with a righteous man or a guiltless, for God worketh just judgments.
- 67 Plough with thine ox, and offer with thine incense ; foolish are the men who think they can please God by slaughtering their oxen.
- 68 Every day thou art useless, if thou thank not God for thy life.
- 69 Though many men praise thee, believe them not too readily ; but think thyself of this reputation, how much of it is true, lest they bring thee to shame.
- 70 If men lie against thee, be glad of it ; if they charge thee with truth, and yet this moderately.
- 71 Mix joy with sorrow, for neither of them can long be without the other, if there be not too much of it, and thou mayst the easier [bear] what cometh upon thee ; for neither

ne mæg beón æltewe bútan óðrum, ðon má ðe se wæta
mæg beón bútan drigum, oððe wearm bútan cealdum, oððe
leóht bútan þýstrum.

72 Leorna monige béc, and gehýr monig spel, wíte ðeáh
hwylcum ðú gelyfan scýle; feala wrítað men untela.

73 Ne myr ðú eal ðæt hú hæbbe, ðýlæs ðe geþearfe tó óðres
mannes æhtum.

74 Ne recst ðú ná tó swiðe hú seó weoruld fullíce ðás
woruld forsiht, ne ondr[æt he him tó] swiðe.

75 ðonne hit æfre geþwærust sý, ondræt ðe ðonne ungeþwær-
uisse; 7 ðonne hit ðe fræcnost þynce, wén ðe ðonne frófre,
and áre, and gesælða.

76 Beó á getreówra ðonne ðe mon tó wéne, ðýlæs men wénan
ðæt ðú náne næbbe búton wið hlísan.

77 Se ðe hiu ealne weg ondræt, se bíð swylce he sý ealne weg
cwellende.

78 Gif ðú ðe wyle dón moniges betran, ðonne dó ðú ðe ánes
wyrsan.

79 Gif ðú wille ðæt ðe monige olæcan, ðonne olæce ðú ánum
swiðe georne.

80 Gif ðú nelle ánum olæcan, forlæt ðonne eal ðæt ðú age,
búton wiste and wæda, and tó swylcum weorcum tól swylce
ðú cunne; olæce ðonne Gode ánum, and ne wilna nánes
monnes olæcunga.

81 Gif ðú wylt habban æt monigum men ðæt ðe lícað



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PROVERBS OF HENDING.

A COMPOSITION similar in its object and form to those mentioned above is known as the Proverbs of Hending; but it is a more genuine English composition, and contains some of the very best of our national proverbs. There are various copies of it in manuscript: the following is taken from the Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 125, which is of the fourteenth century; I take it, as the nearest at hand.

1.

Mon þat wol of wysdam heren
 at wyse Hendyng he may lernen,
 þat wes Marcolues sone,
 gode þonkes and monie þewes
 for te teche fele schrewes,
 for þat wes euer is wone.
 Ihu. Crist, al folkes red,
 þat for vs alle þolede ded,
 vpon þe rode tre,
 lene vs alle to ben wys,
 ant to ende in his seruys :
 Amen pour charite.

God biginning makeþ god endyng, quop Hendyng.

2.

Wyt ant wysdom lurneþ 3erne,
 and loke þat non oþer werne
 to be wys ant hende ;
 ffor betere were to bue wis,
 þen for te where feh and grys,
 wher so mon shal ende.

Wyt ant wysdom is god warysoun, quop Hendyng.

3.

Ne may no mon þat is in londe,
ffor noþyng þat he con fonde,
wonen at home ant spede
so fele þewes for te leorne,
as he þat haþ ysoþt 3eorne
in wel fele þeode.

Ase fele þede, ase fele þewes, quop Hendyng.

4.

Ne bue þi child neuer so duere,
ant hit wolle vnþewes lerne,
bet hit oþer whyle ;
mote hit al hebben is wille
woltou, nultou, hit wol spille,
ant bicomme a fule.

Luef child lore byhoueþ, quop Hendyng.

5.

Such lores ase þou lernest,
after þat þou sist and herest,
mon in þyue 3ouþe,
shule þe on elde folewe
boþe an eue ant amorewe,
and bue þe fol couþe.

Whose 3ong lerneþ, olt he ne leseþ, quop Hendyng.

6.

3ef þe luste a sunne don,
ant þy þoht bue al þeron,
3et is god to blynne ;
for when þe hete is ouercome,
ant þou haue þy wyt ynome,
hit shal þe lyke wynne.

Let lust ouergon, eft hit shal þe lyke, quop Hendyng.

7.

3ef þou art of þohtes lyt,
 ant þou falle for vnmyȝt
 in a wycked synne,
 loke þat þou do hit so selde
 in þat sunne þat þou ne elde,
 þat þou ne de3e þerinne.

Betere is eyesor þen al blynd, quop Hendyng.

8.

Me may lere a sely fode
 þat is euer toward gode,
 wiþ a lutel lore ;
 3ef me nul him forþer teche,
 þen is herte wol areche
 for te lerne more.

Sely chyld is sone ylered, quop Hendyng.

9.

3ef þou wolt fleysh lust ouercome,
 þou most fist and fle ylome
 wiþ eye ant wiþ huerte ;
 of fleysh lust comeþ shame,
 þaþ hit þunche þe body game
 hit doþ þe soule smerte.

Wel fyȝt þat wel flyþ, quop Hendyng.

10.

Wis mon halt is wordes ynne,
 for he nul no gle bygynne
 er he haue tempred is pype ;
 sot is sot, and þat is sene,
 ffor he wol speke wordes grene
 er þen hue buen rype.

Sottes bolt is sone shote, quop Hendyng.



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15.

3ef þou art riche, ant wel ytold,
 ne be þou noþt þarefore to bold,
 ne wax þou nout to wilde ;
 ah bere þe feyre in al þyng,
 ant þou miht hadde blessyng,
 ant be meke ant mylde.

When þe coppe is follest, þenne ber hire feyrest, quof Hendyng.

16.

3ef þou art an old mon,
 tac þou þe no 3ong wommon
 for te be þi spouse ;
 for loue þou hire ner so muche
 hue wol telle to þe lute
 in þin oune house.
 Moni mon syngeþ
 when he hom bringeþ
 is 3onge wyf ;
 wyste wat he brohte,
 wepen he mohte,
 er his lyf syþ——quof Hendyng.

17.

þah þou muche þenche
 ne spek þou nout al ;
 Bynde þine tonge
 wiþ bonene wal ;
 Let hit don synke
 þer hit vp swal ;
 Denne myþt þou fynde
 frend oueral.

Tonge brekeþ bon, and nad hire selue non, quof Hendyng.

18.

Hit is mony gedelyng
 When me him ȝeueþ a lutel þyng,
 waxen wol vnsaþt ;
 hy telle he deþ wel by me
 þat me ȝeueþ a lutel fe,
 ant oweþ me riht nāht.

þat me lutel ȝeueþ, he my lyfis ou, quop Hendyng.

19.

Mon þat is luef don ylle,
 when þe world goþ after is wille,
 sore may him drede ;
 ffor gef hit tyde so þat he falle,
 men shal of is owen galle
 shenchen him at nede.

þe bet þe be, þe bet þe by-se, quop Hendyng.

20.

þah þe wolde wel bycome
 for te make houses roume,
 þou most nede abyde,
 ant in a lutel hous wone,
 force þou fele þat þou mowe,
 wiþouten euel pryde.

Vnder boske shal men weder abide, quop Hendyng.

21.

Holde ich no mon for vnsele
 oper whyle þah he fele
 sum þyng þat him smerte ;
 for when mon is in treye and tene
 þenne hereþ God ys bene
 þat he byd myd herte.

When þe bale is best, þenne is þe bote nest, quop Hendyng.

22.

Draþ þyn hond sone aʒeyn
 ʒef men þe doþ a wycke þayn,
 þer þyn ahte ys lend ;
 so þat child wiþdraweþ is hond
 from þe fur ant þe brond,
 þat haþ byfore bue brend.

Brend child fur dredeþ, quop Hendyng.

23.

Such mon haue ich lend my claþ
 þat haþ maked me fol wroþ
 er hit come aʒeyn :
 ah he þat me ene serueþ so,
 ant he eft bidde mo
 he shal me fynde vnfeyn.

Selde comeþ lone lahynde hom, quop Hendyng.

24.

ʒef þou trost to borewyng,
 þe shal fayle mony þyng
 loþ when þe ware ;
 ʒef þou haue þin oune won,
 þenne is þy treye ouergon
 al wyþoute care.

Owen ys owen, and oþer mennes edueþ, quop Hendyng.

25.

þis worldes loue ys a wrecche,
 whose hit here me ne recche
 þah y speke heye,
 for y se þat on broþer
 lutel recche of þat oþer,
 be he out of ys eʒe.

Fer from eʒe, fer from herte, quop Hendyng.



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30.

Mon þat munteþ ouer flod,
 whiles þat þe wynd ys wod
 abyde fayre ant stille;
 abyd stille 3ef þat þou may
 and þou shalt haue anoþer day
 weder after wille.

Wel abit þat wel may þolye, [quop Hendyng.]

31.

þat y telle an euel lype
 mon þat doþ him in to shype
 whil þe weder is wod;
 for be he come to þe depe
 he mai wrynge hond, ant wepe,
 and be of drery mod.

Ofte rap rewepþ, quop Hendyng.

32.

Mihte þe luþer mon
 don al þe wonder þat he con,
 al þe world forferde,
 he fareþ so doþ þe luþer grom
 þat men euer betep on
 wiþ one smerte 3erde.

Of alle mester men mest me hongepþ þeues, quop Hendyng.

33.

Wicke mon, ant wicke wyf,
 when hue ledeþ wicke lyf
 and buen in wicked synne,
 hue ne shule hit so wende,
 þat hit ne shal atte ende
 show himself wyþ ynne.

Euer out comeþ euel sponne web, quop Hendyng.

34.

Betere were a riche mon
 for te spouse a god womon,
 þaþ hue be sumdel pore,
 þen to brynge into his hous
 a proud quene ant daungerous,
 þat is sumdel hore.

Moni mon for londe wyueþ to shonde, quop Hendyng.

35.

Ne leue no mon child ne wyf,
 when he shal wende of þis lyf,
 ant drawe to þe deþe ;
 for mowe he þe bones bydelue,
 and þe ahte welde hemselue,
 of þi soule huem ys eþe.

Ffrendles ys þe dede, quop Hendyng.

36.

The glotoun þer he fynt god ale
 he put so mucche in ys male,
 ne letetþ he for non eye ;
 so longe he doþ vch mon ryþt,
 þat he wendetþ hom by nyþt,
 ant lyþ ded by þe weye.

Drynke eft lasse, and go by lyhte hom, quop Hendyng.

37.

Riche ant pore, 3onge ant olde,
 whil 3e habbetþ wyt at wolde,
 sechetþ ore soule bote ;
 ffor when 3e weneþ alrebest
 ffor te haue ro and rest,
 þe ax ys at þe rote.

Hope of long lyf gyleþ mony god wyf, quop Hendyng.

Hendyng seiþ soþ of mony þyng :
 Ihu. Crist, heuene kyng,
 vs to blisse brynge :
 ffor his sweet moder loue,
 þat sit in heuene vs aboue,
 zeue vs god endyng. Amen.

What Alfred was in a composition already printed, Hending is in this. He and Marcolf, his father, are traditional alike*; his name denotes *artificiosus, callidus, habilis*, and is a good description of his character. He appears to have enjoyed an extended reputation. Andrew of Wyntoun quotes him for a proverb which nearly resembles the first in our collection :—

Al þe law gud, and sua gud fyne,
 makis al þo sowm gud, said Endyne :

that is, God biginning maketh god endyng, quoth Hending. It is probable that various collections of proverbs, at various times, passed under this name as well as Alfred's, whose traditional successor he was in the popular creed. Indeed some of Hending's proverbs, which are no longer found in Alfred's, are yet referred to that prince in the Owl and Nightingale; such are the 19th and 21st, which are severally quoted in passages already printed. In the twelfth century then, "England's darling" was still the popular representative of the popular wisdom; in the fourteenth, when Alfred was forgotten, a new personage was to be introduced: but tradition is a strange and uncertain thing, and has instincts which rarely err: in all probability Hending, Marcolf's son—that is, Marcolf himself—only resumed rights of which the king's reputation had dispossessed him.

The proverbs themselves are all thoroughly Teutonic, some

* I have unaccountably omitted this passage in the chapter which treats of the traces of the story in England.



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Ich hain ducke horen sagen
 vollen kopp sal men euen dragen,
 so we in doch vol schenckt zo maissen,
 hie sal sich debas dragen raissen.

Cöln. Reim-chron. 3740.

18. Me vult vitalem qui dat mihi rem modicalem.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 39.

22. Brannyn cat dredith feir.

Beryn. Prol. Urry. p. 595.

25. Quod raro cernit oculi lux, cor cito spernit.

MS. Trin. Col. f. 365.

Qui procul est oculis, procul est a lumine cordis.

Gartner, Dict. 8. b.

Out of sight, out of mind.

Eng. Proverb.

26. De cute non propria maxima corrigia.

MS. Trin. Coll. f. 365.

Dótire quir large curreie.

MS. C. C. C. p. 253.—Vid. also Heywood, Dial. pt. 2.
 ch. 5 ; Collins's Span. Prov. p. 98 ; Garta. Dict. p. 10. b*.

SAINT SERF AND THE DEVIL.

IN Andrew of Wyntoun's "Cronykil of Scotland," (written probably about the end of the fourteenth century) there is a dialogue of some interest between the celebrated Saint Serf and the Devil, which, after continuing for some time upon cabalistic and biblical points, ends in the eminent triumph

* The 10th, 11th, 17th, 19th and 21st stanzas have been already illustrated.

of the Saint and confusion of his adversary. I quote it from Macpherson's edition (Lond. 1795), ch. 12, vol. i. p. 131.

l. 1238

Qubil Saynt Serfe intil a stede
 Lay eftyre maytynis in hys bede,
 þe Devil come, in ful intent
 For til fand hym wytht argument,
 And sayd, Saynt Serfe, be þi werk
 I ken þow art a connand clerk :
 Saynt Serf sayd, Gyve I swa be,
 Foule wreche, quhat is þat for þe ?
 þe dewyl sayd, þis questyowne
 I ask in oure collatyowne ;
 Sa, quhare wes God, wat þow oucht,
 befor þat hewyn and erd wes wroucht ?
 Saynct Serf said, In himself stedles,
 his Godhed hampryd nevyr wes.
 þe devel þan askyd, Quhat caus he hade
 to mak þe creaturis þat he made.
 To þat Saynt Serf answeyrd þare,
 of creature mad he wes makare ;
 a makare mycht he nevyr be,
 b(u)t gyve creaturis mad had he.
 þe dewyl askyd hym, Quby God of noucht
 his werkis all full gud had wroucht.
 Saynt Serf answeyrd, þat Goddis will
 wes nevyr to mak hys werkis ill :
 and als inwyus he had bene sene
 gyf noucht bot he full gud had bene.
 Saynt Serfe þe dewil askyd þan,
 quhare mad God Adam þe fyrst man.
 In Ebron Adam fowrynd was,
 Saynt Serf sayd. And til hym þan Sathanas
 sayd, Quhare wes he, eft þat for his wyce
 he wes put owt of paradice.

Saynt Serf sayd, Quhare he wes mad.
 þe devil askyd, how long he bade
 in paradyce eftyr hys syne.
 Sevyn howris, Serf sayd, he bad þare in.
 Quhare wes Eve mad, sayd Sathanas :
 in paradyse mad, Serf sayd, scho was.
 At Saynt Serfe þe devil askyd þan,
 quhy God let Adam þe fyrst man
 and Eve syne in paradyce.
 Saynt Serfe sayd, þat mony wys
 God wust wele, and wndyrstude
 þat þare of suld cum mykil gud :
 for Cryst tuk fleysch mankynde to wyne
 þat wes to payne put for þat syne.
 þe devil askyd quhy mycht noucht be
 all mankynd delyveryd fre
 be þame self, set God had noucht
 þame wyth hys pretyows passyowne boucht.
 Saynt Serfe sayd, þai fell noucht in
 be þame self into þaire syne,
 bot be fals suggestyowne
 of þe devil, þare fa fellowne :
 for þi he chesyd to be borne
 to sauf mankynd þat wes forlorne.
 þe devil askyd at hym þan
 quhy wald noucht God mak a new man,
 mankynd to delyver fre :
 Saynt Serf sayd, þat suld nocht be :
 it suffycyt well þat mankynd
 anys suld cum of Adamys strynd.
 þe devile askyd, quhy þat yhe
 men ar qwyte delyveryd fre,
 throwch Crystis passyowne pretyows boucht,
 and we devilys swa ar noucht.



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Cambridge University Library, A. b. 4. 58. It is a translation from a French book, and a very discreet abridgement of it. The original bears the title, “*Demaundes Joyeuses en maniere de quodlibetz,*” and a copy of it, in black letter, but without date, is found in the British Museum; this was printed before 1500. Apparently another edition of it existed in the Duc de la Vaillère’s library, in the catalogue of which (*Belles Lettres*, No. 10,921. vol. iii. p. 324) it is thus noticed: “*Les demandes d’Amours, avecque les responses—S’ensuyvent plusieurs Demandes Joyeuses en forme de quolibet. (vers. 1490.) 4°. Got.*” It is not without reason that the “*en forme de Quodlibets*” was added; for this version really contains some of the famous questions which were once held of high theological importance; and by the ridicule with which it surrounds them, even this collection of coarse and profligate jests may have had its effect in accelerating the march of the reformation. In the English version reprinted here the 41st question is of this character* :

Dem.—Which was first, the hen or the egg?

Ans.—The hen *when God made her.*

But this is not the only interest which belongs to this strange collection. Some of the questions and answers are found in the *Salomon and Saturn*, or *Adrian and Ritheus*, and consequently form part of that stock of traditional sayings which prevailed with living power among us from the tenth till the sixteenth century, and may perhaps even yet survive unobserved in some parts of Europe.

With these coincidences, which I cannot but look upon as of great importance, before my eyes, I did not think myself justified in withholding this dialogue merely on account of its coarseness, for immorality there is none; especially when this book is not one that can ever be generally circulated, or that is likely to fall under the eyes of those, to bring any

* I have numbered the questions for the sake of reference.

impurity before whom, I hold to be the gravest and least pardonable of sins.

THE DEMAUNDES JOYOUS.

- 1 *DEMAUNDE.* who bare y^e best burden that euer was borne.
—*R.* That bare y^e asse whā our lady fled with our lorde into egypte.
- 2 *Demaunde.* where became y^e asse that our lady rode vpon.
—*R.* Adams moder dede ete her.
- 3 *Demaunde.* who was Adams moder.—*R.* The erthe.
- 4 *Demaunde.* what space is from y^e hiest space of the se to the depest.—*R.* But a stones cast.
- 5 *Demaunde.* Whā antecryst is come in to this worlde what thyng shall be hardest to hym to knowe.—*R.* A hande barowe, for of that he shall not knowe whiche ende shall goo before.
- 6 *Demaunde.* How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye.—*R.* No more but one and it be longe ynough.
- 7 *Demaunde.* How many holy dayes be there in the yere y^t neuer fall on the sondayes.—*R.* There be eyght, that is to wete y^e thre holy dayes after Eester, iii after Whytsondaye, the holy ascencyon daye, and corpus crysty daye.
- 8 *Demaunde.* whiche ben y^e trulyest tolde thynges in the worlde.—*R.* Those be y^e steyres of chambres and houses.
- 9 *Demaunde.* Whiche parte of a sergeaūte loue ye best towarde you.—His heles.
- 10 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the best wood and leest breute.—*R.* Vynes.
- 11 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the moost profytable beest and that men eteth leest of.—*R.* This is bees.
- 12 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the brodest water and leest Jeoperdye to pass ouer.—*R.* The dewe.
- 13 *Demaunde.* What thynges is it that the more that one drynketh y^e lesse he shall pysse.—*R.* It is fartes and

fyestes, for who that drynketh a hondreth thousande they shall neuer pisse a droppe.

14 *Demaunde.* What thyng is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be.—*R.* Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattes ere.

15 *Demaunde.* Why dryue men dogges out of the chyrche.—*R.* Bycause they come not vp and offre.

16 *Demaunde.* Why come dogges so often to the chyrche.—*R.* Bycause whan they se the aulters couered they wene theyr maysters goo thyder to dyner.

17 *Demaunde.* Why dooth a dogge tourne hym thryes aboute or y^t he lyeth hym downe.—*R.* Bycause he knoweth not his beddes hede frome the fete.

18 *Demaunde.* Why doo men make an ouen in the towne.—*R.* for bycause they can not make the towne in the ouen.

19 *Demaunde.* What beest is it that hath her tayle bytwene her eyen.—*R.* it is a catte when she lycketh her arse.

20 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the moost cleyglyest lefe amonge all other leues.—*R.* it is holly leues, for noo body wyll not wype his arse with them.

21 *Demaunde.* Who was he that lete the fyrst farte at rome.—*R.* That was the arse.

22 *Demaunde.* How may a man knowe or perceyue a cowe in a flocke of shepe.—*R.* By syghte.

23 *Demaunde.* What thyng is it that hathe hornes at the arse.—*R.* It is a sacke.

24 *Demaunde.* What almes is worst bestowed that men gyue.—*R.* That is to a blynde man, for as he hathe ony thyng gyuen hym, he wolde with good wyll se hym hanged by the necke that gaue it hym.

25 *Demaunde.* Wherfore set they vpon chyrche steples more a cocke than a henne.—*R.* yf men sholde sette there a henne she wolde laye egges, and they wolde fall vpon mennes hedes.

26 *Demaunde.* what thyng is it that hathe none ende.—*R.* A bowle.



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- 39 *Demaunde.* wherfore is it that an asse hathe so grete eres.
—*R.* Bycause her moder put no begyn on her heed in her yought.
- 40 *Demaude.* what is it that is a wryte and is no man, and he dothe that no man can, and yet it serueth bothe god and man.—*R.* That is a be.
- 41 *Demaude.* whiche was fyrst y^o henne or y^o egge.—*R.* The henne whā god made her.
- 42 *Demaunde.* why dothe an oxe or a cowe lye.—*R.* Bycause she can not sytte.
- 43 *Demaude.* what people be they that loue not in no wyse to be prayed for.—*R.* They be beggers and poore people whā men say god helpe them whan they aske almes.
- 44 *Demaude.* How many strawes go to a gose nest.—*R.* None for lacke of fete.
- 45 *Demaunde.* what tyme in the yere bereth a gose moost feders.—*R.* Whan the gander is vpon her backe.
- 46 *Demaunde.* What was he that slewe the fourth parte of the worlde.—*R.* Cayne whan that he slewe his broder abell in the whiche tyme was but foure persones in the worlde.
- 47 *Demaunde.* what was he that was begoten of his fader, and borne of his moder, and had the maydenhede of his beldame.—*R.* That was Abell.
- 48 *Demaunde.* what thre thynges be they that the worlde is moost mayntened by.—*R.* That is to wete by wordes, erbes and stones. Why with wordes man worshyppeth god, and as of erbes that is all maner of corne that man is fedde with, and as stones one is that gryndeth the corne and the other encreaseth the worlde.
- 49 *De.* what is y^o aege of a felde mous.—*R.* a yere. And a hedge may stand thre mous lyues, and the lyfe of a dogge is the terme of thre hedges standynge, and the lyfe of a hors is thre dogges lyues, and the lyfe of a man is thre hors lyues, and the lyfe of a gose is thre mennes lyues and y^e lyfe of a swanne thre gose lyues, and the lyfe of a swalowe

is thre swanne lyues and the lyfe of an egle is thre swallows lyues, and the lyfe of a serpent is thre egles lyues, and the lyfe of a rauē is thre serpentē lyues, and the lyfe of a harte is thre rauens lyues, and an oke groweth v hondreth yere, and it standeth in one state fyue hondreth yere, and it fadeth fyue hondreth yere besyde the rote whyche doubleth thre tymes eueryche of the thre aeges aforesayd.

50 *Demaunde.* A man had thre doughters of thre aeges, whiche doughters he delyuered to sell certayne apples, and he toke to the eldest doughter L apples, and to the seconde xxx apples, and to the yongest ten apples, and all these thre solde in lyke many for a peny, and brought home in lyke moche money now how many solde eche of them for a peny.—*R.* The yongest solde fyrst seuen for a peny, and the other two syster solde after the same pryce, than y^e eldest syster had one odde apple lefte, and the seconde syster two, and the yongest thre apples, now these apples lyked the byer soo well that in cōtynent he came agayne to the yongest syster and bought of her thre apples after thre pens a pece, than had she ten pens, and the seconde thoughte she wolde kepe the same pryce, and solde her two apples for thre pens a pece, and than she had ten pens, and y^e eldest solde her one apple for thre pens, and than had she ten pens, thus solde they in lyke many apples for a peny and broughte home in lyke moche money.

51 *Demaunde.* what man is he that geteth his lyuyngē backward.—*R.* That is rope maker.

52 *Demaunde.* what people be tho that geteth theyr lyuyngē most merylyest.—*R.* Tho be prestes and fullers, for one syngeth, and the other daunceth.

53 *Demaunde.* what is he that made all and solde all, and he y^t bought all and loste all.—*R.* A smyth made an alle, and solde it, and the shomaker y^t bought it lost it.

54 *Demaunde.* whether is it bett to lyue by thefte or by almes

dedes.—*R.* The rewarde of thefte is to be hanged, and yf thou lyue by almes dedes, that is by beggers tordes.

¶ Thus endeth y^e Demaundes Joyous
Enprynted at London in Fletestre
te at the sygne of the sonne by
me Wynkyn de worde
In the yere of our
lorde a M
c c c c c
and xi
. . .

It is not without interest to show how far the coincidence between this version and the French original extends. The questions and answers common to both are the following: 1, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 51, 52. Only one half therefore of the English version is taken from the French. The remainder of the questions and answers in our own copy are in general more Teutonic in their character, while the far more numerous details for which they have been substituted, are in the original, of the most uncompromising and undisguised nature,—true *French* of the happy period of Henri III!

We may now proceed to examine rather more in detail the various questions and answers in this dialogue, and to illustrate them from other works which may throw light upon their traditional character, and tend to place before us the nature and direction not less of the philosophy than the humour of our forefathers.

3 The *earth* was Adam's mother: Wolfram von Eschenbach says in his *Parçival* (Lachmann, p. 223),

Diu erde Adâmes muoter was;

and so say the prose *Sal. Sat.* 15; *Ad. Rith.* 28.

10 *Sal. Sat.* prose, 40.



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also this part (i. e. the navel), because we behold the same in ourselves, the inference is not reasonable ; for if we conceive, the way of his formation, or of the first animals, did carry in all points a strict conformity unto succeeding productions, we might fall into imaginations that *Adam* was made without teeth ; or that he ran through those notable alterations in the vessels of the heart, which the infant suffereth after birth : *we need not dispute whether the egg or bird was first* ; and might conceive that dogs were created blind, because we observe they are littered so with us. Which to affirm, is to confound, at least to regulate, creation into generation, the first acts of God unto the second nature ; which were determined in that general indulgence, *Encrease and multiply*, produce or propagate each other ; that is, not answerably in all points, but in a prolonged method according to seminal progression. For the formation of things at first was different from their generation after, and, although it had nothing to precede it, was aptly contrived for that which should succeed it."

45 This is given by Howell in his collection of English Proverbs, p. 12, though it hardly deserves that name.

46 Freidank, p. 109, says,

ein man sluoc, daz was unheil,
aller werlde 'z vierde teil.

So Marner (Min. Säug. 2. 169. a.),

ez sluoc der werlte vierden teil.

In Grimm's Freidank, p. 365, there are other sayings of the same kind, for popular sayings they were ; thus,

an einer stat ein hunt erbal,
dazz über al die werlt erschäl ;

which I believe is still current under the form, "Where did the cock crow, which was heard over the whole world?" and to which the answer is, "In Noah's ark."

Again,

Zeiner zit ein esel luote,
daz ez all de werlt muote;

and this probably refers to the ass that bare our Lady into Egypt, as in the first question of this dialogue.

- 47 This is an allusion to a mode of speaking singularly common from the eleventh century downwards: Adam was from his *mother* the earth, and never born; so Eve, taken from Adam's side, was not born; and the earth, as Adam's mother, was Abel's grandmother. Freidank, p. 19, says,

Drier slahte menschen wâren ê,
der wirt noch wart nie mensche mê.
daz eine mensch was ein man
der vater noch muoter nie gewan.
daz ander vater nie gewan
noch muotr, unt quam doch von dem man.

The third is our Saviour. A riddle of Reinmar von Zweter (Min. Säng. 2. 149, a.), quoted by Grimm (Freid. p. 366), runs thus:

ein bruoder sinen bruoder sluoc
ê daz ir beider vater wart geboren.

The *earth's maidenhead* constantly recurs: in a very old German metrical version of the book of Genesis, which probably falls in the eleventh century, I find (Diutiska, iii. 58, etc.):

dus erbalch sith sîn sêre
unser aller hêrre;
er chod, waz hâst dû getân,
ne hortest dû mich ruoffen an*,
dînes pruoderes pluot,
deme dû hâst getân den tôt.
Diu erde ist verflûchet,
diu ê was rein unt maget,
diu uone dînen hanten
dînes pruoderes pluot hât uersluten.

* In the original—ane ruoffen.

Freidank, p. 9, speaking of the time of Adam and Eve, adds,

diu erde was dô maget gar.

In Wolfram's *Parzival*, l. 13,832, we have the following lines (Lachmann, p. 223) :

Dô Lucifer fuor die hellevart,
mit schâr ein mensche nach im wart.
Got worhte uz der erden
Adâmen den werden :
von Adâmes verhe er Even brach,
diu uns gap an daz ungemach,
dazs ir schepfære über hôrte
unt unser freude stôrte.
Von in zwein kom gebürte fruht :
einem riet sîn ungenuht
daz er durch gîteclichen ruom
sîner anen nam den magetuom.

In the fine MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*, preserved in the Univ. Lib. of Göttingen, fol. 16, is this passage :

Quen Adam Abel bodi fand,
for soru on fote miht he noht stand ;
to birijing þai his bodi bare,
Adam and Eue widuten mare :
þis es þat man, men sais, was born
bath his faper and moþer biforn,
he had his eldemoderis maidenhed,
and at his birijng all maner lede*.

The last passage I shall quote is from a poem of Conrad of Würzburg, portions of which from the only known MS. are printed in the second volume of the *Diutiska*. It is the legend of Saint Silvester. After the conversion of Constantine, Silvester disputes in his presence with twelve of the most learned Rabbis concerning the Saviour. To

* I have preferred quoting from this MS. on account of the peculiarities of the language, though there is nearer at hand a good copy of the same poem. *Bibl. Trin. Coll. MSS. R. 3. 8.*



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vnd drûs Adâm gebildet wart.
 Der babist guot von kivscher art
 sprach aber zim ; Div rêde ist war :
 dû seizt die warheit offenbar :
si was ein magit dannoch
 wan kein schrunde noch kein loch
 dar in von starkem buowe gie,
 vnde was darûs kein dorn mie,
 gewâhsen noch gegangen ;
 ouch was si dem slangen
 dannoch zeinim essen niht gegeben,
 der sit ir gnaden muoste leben,
 vnd mit ir wart gespîset hie :
 ouch was darin begrabet nie
 Kein dôder mensche dennoch,
davon si was ein magt noch,
vnd ane wandelunge stuont
als alle kosche megde tuont :
 Chusi der sprach, Es ist also :
 davon der babist aber dô
 leit im dise rede abir fiur ;
 er sprach, Sit das dîn herze spiur
 das ich dir habe div warheit
 gar lûterlichen hie geseit,
 sô merke was ich mein gar,
 vnd nim bescheidenleche war
 was dise wort ze divte sint :
 rehte als Adâm, der erden kint,
 von einer *megte* wart geboren,
 vnd dur des divels rât verlorn,
 alsô muoste ûs der erden
 vnde von der megde werden
 ein nuwer Adâm ouch gemaht,
 der hie den tufel vngeslaht
 viberwimde sâ ze hant,
 also er den menschen vbirwant
 dort in dem paradyse :
 reht in der selben wîse
 als er im wune dort benam,
 sûs braht in hie der nuwe Adâm
 wider ûf der vrouden hort.

48 Freidank, p. 111, says,

Krût, steine, unde wort
hânt an kreften grôzen hort :

and this is repeated, probably from him, by Conrad of Würzburg (*Troj. Krieg*, 79. c.) :

kein dinc hât uf der erden
an kreften alsô rîchen hort,
sô steine, kriuter, unde wort.

In the Hundred merry Tales from which Beatrice "had all her wit," and which were printed by Berthelet under the title, "Tales and quicke answeres, very mery, and pleasant to rede," and reprinted at Chiswick in 1814, there is a tale which alludes to the virtues of words, herbs and stones. It is found at p. 86 of the reprint.

Of the olde man that quengered the boy oute of the apletre with stones. lxxx.

As an olde man walked on a tyme in his orcherd, he loked vp, and sawe a boye sytte in a tree stealyng his apples: whom he entreated with fayre words to come downe, and let his apples alone. And whan the olde man sawe that the boye cared nat for him, by cause of his age, and set noughte by his wordes, he sayde: I have harde saye, that nat onlye in wordes, but also in herbes shulde be greate vertue: wherfore he plucked vp herbes, and beganne to throwe them at the boye, wherat the boye laughed hartelye, and thought that the olde man hadde ben mad to thynke to driue hym out of the tree with castinge of herbes. Than the olde man sayde: Well, seyng that nother wordes nor herbes haue no vertue agaynste the stealer of my goodes; I wyll proue what stones wyll do, in whiche I haue harde men saye, is great vertue; and so he gathered his lappe full of stones, and threwe them at the boye, and compelled hym to come downe, and renne awaye.

Graff Chuonrat von Kilchberg, one of the Minnesingers, says,

Steine, krût, sint an tugenden rîche,
Wort wil ich darobe an kreften prîsen.

MS. 1. 12. b.

49 In Grimm's *Reinhart Fuchs*. Berl. 1834, p. 4, "Wesen der

Thierfabel," there is the following note: "A middle High Dutch proverb.....defines the life of man thus. A hedge lasts three years, a dog reaches thrice the age of a hedge, a horse thrice the age of a dog, a man thrice the age of a horse [=81]." I give the continuation from an unprinted MS. "The ass attains to thrice the age of a man, the swan to thrice the age of an ass, the crow to thrice the age of a swan, the stag to thrice the age of the crow, the oak to thrice the age of the stag, the elephant to thrice the age of the oak [=59,049 years]. Agricola in his Proverbs, p. 61, agrees up to the two last numbers." Grüter in his Proverbs, p. 28, gives the age of the hedge. Sir T. Browne, Vulg. Err. iii. 9, notices and refutes the opinion of the stag's great longevity. The superstitious belief in the enormous age of the elephant is here carried to the very utmost: in an old English poem of the twelfth century, on the subject of the Macchabees, I find it stated at three hundred years:

Sumum men wile þincan
 sellíc ðis tó gehýrenne,
 forðám ðe ylþas ne comon næfre
 on Engla lande.

Ylþ is orþmæte nýten
 máre ðonne sum hús,
 eall mid bánum befangen
 binnan ðám felle
 bútan æt ðám nafelan,
 and he næfre ne litt.

Feower and twentig mónða
 gæð seó módor mid folan,
 and þreo hund geara hí libbað
 gif hí álefede ne beóð,
 and hí man mæg wænian
 wundorlice tó gefeohte.

Hwæl is ealra fixa mæst
 and ylþ is ealra nýtena mæst,
 ac swá ðeáh mannes gescead
 hí mæg gewyldan.



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DER PHAFFE AMIS.

To the dialogues last quoted may be added a portion of the German tale bearing the above title, and which is one of the most amusing compositions of the middle ages: it is the history of an English priest who goes to seek his fortune in foreign lands, becomes a most expert swindler, plunders high and low from Paris to Constantinople, till, finally returning home with great wealth thus ill-gotten, he repents of his sins, turns monk, becomes abbot of his convent, and dies in the odour of sanctity. Among the devices by which he contrives to prey upon his neighbour, some are singularly humorous: for instance, on one occasion he pretends to be the bearer of precious reliques, and after his sermon, calls upon the people, especially the women, to offer, but forbids any woman who has broken her marriage vow from approaching the shrine. As he had calculated, there was not a woman in the city who did not immediately rush up and offer, and some, says the tale, offered *thrice* over, that there might be no doubt about the matter. After complimenting the husbands of the place, he departs with his pockets full of gold, for the court of the king of France. Here he introduces himself as a *wise master*, and promises the king to paint a chamber, so that no illegitimate person shall be able to see anything on the walls, the pictures being only visible to the lawfully begotten. At the end of six weeks the whole court come to see the work, and the king entering first, discovers much to his disgust that *for him* the walls are white; he puts however a good face upon the matter, pretends to be curious as to the legends depicted, and is openly and publicly told by Amis that he sees the history of David, Salomon, Absolon and others. The courtiers when admitted keep their own secret, for the king had sworn that whoever proved illegitimate should lose his fief: the ladies of the court have their

turn also, and are all equally mortified: in the meantime Amis, having been presented with store of gold, makes off, and it is not till some weeks after his departure that an explanation takes place, to the delight and amusement of the French court. It is quite needless to continue the analysis of this poem, as the only portion of it with which we are concerned is the early part, which describes some of the adventures of the priest and his bishop before he leaves England. The latter calling upon him finds him keeping his house royally, and after complaining that he himself cannot afford such state, begs gifts, which Amis refuses. The bishop becoming enraged, declares that he will try Amis's learning, and if he finds it scant will eject him from his living. Hereupon begins the dialogue, which in some of its details bears a good deal of resemblance to the *Demaundes Joyous*. The priest is of course victorious, but the bishop unreasonably enough says, "As thou canst measure heaven and the road that leads thither, and earth and sea, I am determined to be assured whether anything can withstand thee: thou shalt teach an ass to read." Amis, declaring that it will take at least thirty years to do it, accepts the task: he ties an ass's colt in the stable, and gives him oats placed between the leaves of a book: the beast in time learns to turn over the leaves in order to find his food. After a time the bishop returns to see what progress is making: Amis receives him fearlessly, says that there is hope of his pupil, who takes to his book kindly, and has learnt already to turn the leaves. The colt being introduced and the book placed before him, turns leaf by leaf with the utmost gravity, in search of oats, till at last, finding none, he expresses his disappointment by a loud bray. The bishop requests an explanation of the noise, and is told that in learning the vowels the ass had not yet got beyond A, and that that was his way of pronouncing it. With this answer he is satisfied, and dying soon after, leaves Amis in peace: the priest now gives up his pupil, and con-

tinues his spendthrift way of life, till he is obliged to go abroad and recruit his fortunes, as has before been said.

The following lines are extracted from the tale as edited by Benecke, in his *Beyträge zur Kenntniss der Altdeutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Gött. 1810, 1832. It is found at p. 493, and the portion which I reprint extends from l. 39 to l. 198, to which I have ventured to add a very free translation, or rather paraphrase.

Nu saget uns *der Strickære*

Wer der êrste man wære 40

der liegen unt triegen ane vienc,

unt wie sîn wille vür sich gienc

daz er niht widersatzes vant.

Er het hûs in Engellant

in einer stat ze Trânts, 45

unt hiez der phaffe Amts.

Er was der buoche ein wise man,

unt vergap sô gar swaz er gewan,

beidiu durch êre unt durch got,

daz er der milte gebot 50

ze keiner zît übergie.

Er lie die geste unde enphie

baz denne ieman tæte,

wand er es state hæte.

Sîn miltekeit was alsô grôz 55

daz es den bischof verdôz

dem er was gehôrsam.

Daz er des sô vil von im vernam

daz liez er niht ane nît.

Er kom zum phaffen zeiner zît. 60

Zuo dem sprach der bischof,

Herre, ir habet grœzern hof

zallen zîten denne ich ;

daz ist harte unbillich.



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Sit ich iuch versuochen sol,
 sô kan ich iuch versuochen wol 100
 mit kurzen Worten hie zehant :
 vi habet den habec an gerant.
 Saget mir, wie vil des meres st ;
 der rede enlâzich iuch niht vrf ;
 unde bedenket iuch vil eben é : 105
 saget ir mir minner oder mé,
 ich tuon in solhen zorn schfn
 daz diu kirche muoz verloren sfn.
 Des ist ein vuoder, sprach er.
 Der bischof sprach, Nu saget, wer 110
 gestêt iu des ? den zeiget mir.
 Der phaffe sprach, Daz müezet ir.
 Ichn liugiu niht als umbe ein hâr.
 Endunket ez iuch niht vil wâr,
 so machet ir mir stille stên 115
 diu wazzer diu dar in gân,
 so mizzichz, unde lâze iuch sehen,
 daz ir mir nach müezet jehen.
 Der bischof sprach zem phaffen
 Sit irz also wellet schaffen, 120
 sô lât diu wasser vür sich gân ;
 ich wil iuch des mezzens erlân,
 sft ichs niht verendern mac.
 Nûr saget mir, wie manec tac
 ist von Adam unze her ? 125
 Der sint siben, sprach er.
 Als die ende hânt genomen,
 sô siht man aber siben kômen,
 swie lange disiu werlt stê,
 vin wirt doch minner noch mé. 130
 Daz was dem bischove ungemach.
 Zornilche er zu dem phaffen sprach,

Nu saget mir aber dâ bî,
welhez rehte enmitten sî
ûf disem ertrîche.

135

Teilt irz niht vil gelîche,
ir wert der kirchen âne.

Des sagt ir niht nâch wâne.

Der phaffe sprach, Daz sî getân.

Diu kirche, die ich von iu hân,
diu stêt emitten rehte.

140

Daz heizet iwer knehte

mezzen mit einem seile ;

reich ez an deheinem teile

eines halmes freit vûrbaz,

145

sô nemt die kirchen umbe daz.

Der bischof sprach, Ir lieget.

Swie harte ir mich betrieget,

doch muoz ich iu gelouben ê

dann ich daz mezzen ane gê.

150

Nu saget mir, wie verre

(ir sît ein wîser herre)

von der erde unz an den himmel sî.

Der phaffe sprach, Ob ez sô bî,

dar ruofet samfte ein man.

155

Herre, zwîvelt ir iht dran,

sô stîget hin ûf : so ruofe ich,

unt hoerter niht vil greite mich,

sô stîget vil balde her nider,

unt habet iu die kirchen wider.

160

Daz was dem bischove leit.

Er sprach, Iwer wîsheit

diu mûet mich sô sêre.

Nuo sagt mir aber mêre,

wie breit der himel mûge sîn,

165

oder diu kirche ist mîn.

Dó sprach der phaffe Amts,
 Des mach ich iuch vil schiere gewis.
 Als mir mîn kumst hât geseit,
 sô ist er tûsent klafter breit 170
 un dar zuo tûsent eln.
 Welt ir si rehte zeln,
 (des wil ich iu wol gunnen),
 sô sult ir die sunnen
 und ouch den mânen nemen abe 175
 unt swaz der himel sterren habe,
 unt rûcket in danne über al
 zesamen ; er wirt alsô smal,
 swenne ir in gemezzen hât
 daz ir mir mîne kirchen lât. 180
 Der bischof sprach, Ir kunnet vil :
 dâ von ich niht enberen wil,
 ir müezet mich da mite êren
 und einen esel diu buoch lêren.
 Sit ir den himel gemezzen hât, 185
 unt den wec der hin unz dar gât,
 unt dar zuo mer unde erden,
 nu wil ich innen werden
 ob iu iht kunne widerstân.
 Habt ir diz allez getân 190
 daz ir mir hie uore zelt,
 sô tuot ir ouch wol swaz ir welt.
 Nuo wil ich schouwen hie bî
 ob daz ander allez wâr sî.
 Gelêrt ir nu den esel wol, 195
 sô nim ich allez daz vür vol
 daz ir mir habt gesagt,
 unt weiz wol, daz ir rehte jagt.



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That it's high treason to the church
 To leave a bishop in the lurch.
 Your benefice must be a fat one ;
 I wonder how you ever gat one,
 For if the truth I hear, your reading
 Bears no proportion to your feeding.
 Yet still to hurt you I am loth,
 And as we're brothers of one cloth,
 (You know I'm in the church commission)
 I'll let you go on one condition,
 And that's one hundred pounds per annum
 By you paid to my reverend grannum.
 I'm told you're not so prime a scholar
 But what you've cause to dread my choler,
 Supposing on examination
 I find you unfit for your station.
 Whereto the astonish'd priest replies :
 Why, bless my heart, you quite surprize !
 I grant it suits my turn of mind
 To be to others frank and kind,
 Do good to all I can, and try
 If that won't serve me by and by.
 For my preferment, I confess
 It is a good one and no less ;
 But how it chanced to me to fall
 Is no concern of yours at all :
 Perhaps I was a viscount's tutor,
 Or birch'd the premier's daughter's suitor ;
 You need not have the least misgiving
 As to the way I got the living :
 And were it just three times as fat
 I should not break my heart for that ;
 Let it but please the Lord to mend it,
 I warrant I'll find means to spend it.
 As for your grannum, she, my lord,
 Gets not a sixpence from my hoard,
 Howe'er you think to make me rue it ;
 I'll eat my gaiters ere I do it !
 But come, now, hear a little reason ;
 I've got a famous buck in season,
 The haunch just to a turn is basted,
 My port's as good as e'er you tasted,

Three inches deep the fat I've measured,
 For thirty years the wine I've treasured;
 A pair of slippers I can lend you,
 A buxom wench too to attend you,
 And if you'll stop, as I'm a sinner,
 I'll stand for once a jolly dinner;
 But as for giving up the mammon—
 "T'wixt you, me and the post, that's gammon!
 I know your lordship likes your jest,
 But, if you please, we'll let this rest.

O carnal priest, the bishop bellows,
 You most impertinent of fellows!
 Perhaps you think your tone is funny,
 But rot your wit, I want your money.
 I'm dull myself, and hate a joker,
 Especially a roaring soaker,
 Or gluttonous Fillguts who entrenches
 On canon law with buxom wenches!
 I scorn your haunch and scorn your liquor,
 And shall not stoop with you to bicker,
 But for your insubordination,
 Give doom at once of sequestration.

Come, come, my lord, the parson says,
 That's not the way the wind to raise:
 Though all your powers you 'gainst me muster,
 You cannot fright me with your bluster.
 I know my duty, and I do it,
 And if you choose to put me to it,
 In books or things you're free to try me,
 And if you beat me you may fry me!
 If scant of knowledge you can prove me,
 Why then you're welcome to remove me.

Says t'other, At your word I take you,
 Look to your tackle, or I'll make you:
 Into a corner if I drive you,
 By Gog and Magog, I'll deprive you.
 And since you are so deep discerning,
 Upon the spot I'll test your learning.
 Come, get your wits together well,
 And first of all this question tell,

What water is there in the sea,
How much ?

One quart, my lord ! quoth he.
A quart ! the bishop cries. And who
In this goes surety, sir, for you ?
Show me the man who proves this true.
Quoth Amis, You, my lord, will do.
I plainly here the truth declare,
Without evasion to a hair ;
And if you will not take my word,
Try it yourself, my worthy lord !
You 've only got to stop the waters
That run into it from all quarters,
The rivers, brooks and rains and dews
From every hill and shore that ooze,
And measure then, I bet you 'll find
A quart, one just quart, left behind.

Stop, stop ! the bishop cried, I see
This measuring job 's too much for me :
Bate me the measuring, and I
Bate you in turn the quantity.
But answer me this second one :
How many days are past and gone
From Adam even to this day ?
Look sharp, and mind what 't is you say.

Well then, they're seven ; neither more
Nor less, howe'er you tell them o'er.
As soon as ever seven are run,
Another seven are begun :
And calculate them as you please,
You 'll never make out more than these :
There 's Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wed...

Halt, halt ! enraged the bishop said :
I know the lot as well as you.
Now my next question answer true,
Or, by the gentleman below,
Out of your benefice you go !
From north to south the world extends,
From east to west the measure wends,
And I demand without delay
The exact middle-point you say.



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Take out the sun, the constellations,
 The planets in their several stations,
 The nebulae, the milky way,
 The double stars, the rainbows gay,
 And when you 've taken all these from its
 Expanse—and don't forget the comets—
 Press altogether as you find it,
 You'll find my count not much behind it!

Confusion! then the bishop mutter'd,
 No word of truth the scamp has utter'd,
 But by his cunning and his wit
 I'm most unmercifully bit.
 Well, since you 've measured earth and skies,
 And all the road that 'twixt them lies,
 And all the waters of the sea,
 I'll try if anything can be
 Too hard for such a clerk to do:
 I'll find a pupil, priest, for you,
 A donkey foal; and 'tis decreed
 That you shall teach the ass to read.
 If this you compass, I'll believe
 In all the rest you don't deceive,
 But if you fail, why I shall see
 You 've all this while been doing me!

The lines which I have printed here are valuable for something more than their humour: they contain some of the devices which are found elsewhere repeated, and serve to carry on the tradition from point to point. The first question and answer, and the manner by which Amis foils his antagonist, from line 103 to 123, is neither more nor less than the device by which Geffray saves Beryn in the Merchant's second tale, line 2784, etc. (Urry's Chaucer, p. 622, etc.) But it is far older either than Amis or Beryn, for it is found in the 'Dictes and sayings of the Philosophers,' at the very beginning of the tale of Legmon. The third question and answer with the justification, from line 133 to 150, is of precisely the same character, and seems imitated from the first; the angry answer of the bishop in line 148 rests upon a tradition well known in .

the middle ages : when Amis declares his own church to be the exact centre of the world, and defies the bishop to disprove it by measurement, he gives an answer which could not well be controverted, but which differs widely from that expected by his superior ; for it was taught that a column which stood in Jerusalem was the exact centre. Beda states it to have been a general belief in his time : in his *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, ch. 2, he says :

In medio autem Hierusalem, ubi cruce domini superposita, mortuus revixit, columna celsa stat, quæ æstivo solstitio umbram non facit; unde putant ibi mediam esse terram, et historice dictum, "Deus ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ." Qua ductus opinione, Victorinus Pictaviensis antistes ecclesiæ, de Golgotha scribens, ita inchoat :

Est locus ex omni medium quem credimus orbem,
Golgotha Judæi patrio cognomine dicunt.

Smith Ed. p. 317.

This belief still subsists, and the central column is represented to this day in the church of the Holy Sepulchre by a man seated with a lighted candle in his hand, and called by the Mahomedans, El nuss el dunja, i. e. *the centre of the world*.

When Amis assures the bishop that the distance from heaven to earth is no more than the space through which a low whisper may be heard, we have an answer of the same kind as that in the *Demaundes Joyous*, which states the depth of the sea from the surface to be "no more than a stone's cast." But here again the answer expected was to be found in Beda, whose calculation is thus given in the *Cursor Mundi* (MS. Trin. Coll. fol. 4.) :

but Bede seip fro erpe to heuen
is seuen þousande 3eer and hundrides seuen
be iornees who so go hit may
ffourty myle eueryche day.

The teaching of the ass's colt to read was a traditional

joke ; it is made use of by Lafontaine in his tale of the *Charlatan*, is also found in 'The Hundred Merry Tales' already noticed, and is humorous enough to have been popular. That Amis, in common with the great majority of narrative poems among our forefathers, is less distinguished for invention than the skill of the author in working up traditional materials, is rendered probable by other parts of the narrative. The story of his raising the wind upon the head of Saint Brandane may be paralleled with a passage from Henri Estienne, *Apologie pour Herodote*, book i. ch. 39. (in the English translation, entitled *A World of Wonders*, p. 349) :

“ Voici donc premièrement comme ie l'ai oui raconter : vn porteur de rogatons qui auoit engagé ses reliques en la tauerne, et ne pouuoit rendre l'argent qu'il auoit emprunté dessus, pour les retirer, s'auisa de ce tour : C'est que ayant pris vn charbon en presence de l'hostesse à laquelle il deuoit l'argent, il l'enueloppa dedans vn beau linge blanc : dequoi elle se moqua. Vous moquez vous de mon charbon ? (dit il) si est-ce que ie le vous ferai baiser auant qu'il soit nuict. Elle voulant gager qu'il n'estoit en sa puissance de le lui faire baiser, Eh bien donc, dit il, gageons la somme que ie vous doi : à la charge que vous me rendrez mes reliques si ie gagne. La gageure faite, ce gentil moine, qui n'estoit despourüeu d'esprit, quelques heures apres vint à l'eglise, où il dit au peuple qu'il ne leur monstreroit pas les reliques qu'il auoit accoustumé de leur montrer, mais vne bien plus pretieuse. Alors desployant ce beau linge, monstra ledit charbon, disant, Voyez-vous bien ce charbon ? C'est un des charbons sur lesquels le glorieux S. Laurent fut rosti : mais il y a bien vn point, c'est que toutes les filles qui ont perdu leur pucelage, et toutes les femmes qui ont rompu la foy à leurs maris, n'en doiuent approcher : autrement, elles seroient en grand danger. Lui ayant dit cela, il y auoit grand presse a baiser ce charbon, les poures femmes et les filles voulans montrer qu'elles sentoient leurs consciences nettes. L'hostesse, d'vn costé voyant bien qu'en l'allant baiser elle perdoit la gageure : d'autre costé, qu'en n'y allant point, elle se rendoit suspecte d'auoir ioué vn mauuais tour à son mari, et qu'elle ne seroit creue si elle racontoit sa gageure, alla baiser le babouin apres tous et toutes les autres. Ainsi ce bon frere desgagea ses reliques, sans



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swine should die so suddenly, and there is no man living that can perceiue it, except it be in the favour of blessed *S. Anthony*: howbeit there were some hope, if I had but two of the acornes which our Priour halloweth euery yeare. The woman holding vp her hands, besought him to giue her some of them, promising not to be vnmindfull of that good turne. He then casting his eie vpon his seruant (who attended vpon this trash and gaine of the wallet) asked him if he had any of the acornes left, which he gaue at the village whence they came last? The fellow hauing sought a good while, answered that he could find but two, which he said he kept for their Asse which was often sicke: Though our Asse should die (quoth he) yet must we pleasure this good woman, whom I know to be well affected to our order. Meane while looking with a couetous leering eye at a peece of cloth which lay hard by, (continuing his speech) he said, My good sister, I am so perswaded of your liberalitie, that you will not deny me a peece of linnen cloth for the poore sicke folke of our Couent. She forthwith offered him linnen cloth or what he would demaund, so he would speedily remedy that euill. Then taking these two acornes in his hand, he called for a vessell full of water, and cast therein a little salt; and putting off his cowle, began to patter ouer a number of short prayers (his man still answering Amen, and the goodwife with her children being solemnly all the while vpon their knees,) and hauing ended his deuotions, he beat the acorns to powder, and cast them into the water, and stirring them together like a mash, gave them the swine to drinke, making many crosses, and pronouncing as many blessings ouer their backes, euer calling vpon the good Baron *S. Anthony* for assistance in this miracle. This done, he told her that her swine were in no danger. She therefore to make good her promise, changed her peece of cloth for the grandmercies of this ghostly father. But the goodman of the house (her husband) coming home shortly after, and hearing of all this pageant, as also how his cloth was an actor therein, taking two or three of his gossips with him, ranne after them. The Frier seing them comming a farre off, with stauces vpon their necks, was amazed like a cutpurse taken in the fact: howbeit he thought it his best course to take an house (which was somewhat neare) into which his man ran, and secretly conueyed thence two quicke coals, which he folded vp in the cloth: and hauing so done, they passed on their way, as though they mistrusted nothing. Anone the butcher ouer-tooke him, and laying hold of his hood (after a rude and rough manner) asked him for his cloth, calling him theefe, with many other

threatening words. Sir, quoth the Frier (very mildly), You shall have it with all my heart; and God forgiue you this wrong you offer me, in taking that from mee which was given me in recompence of a great good turne done at your house: it griueth me not that you take away my cloth, yet I trust the glorious Baron Saint *Anthony* will worke some wonder, and that shortly, to teach you how you intreat the faithful seruants and friends of God. The butcher nothing regarding vaine wordes, returned backe, very iocund that he had gotten his cloth againe. Howbeit he was not gone a bowshoote from the Frier, but he smelt the burning of some thing, and saw a smoke round about him; whereat he and his fellowes were so amazed, that they cast downe the cloth, and cried aloud, *S. Anthony* the hermite, *S. Anthony* of *Padua*. Which when the Frier and his varlet heard, they came running to them like slie merchants with demure countenances; his man presently putting out the fire, and the Frier discharging a number of blessings ouer the heads of these simple suppliants (being on ther knees) instantly crying him and the good Saint mercy, till they were euen hoarse withall. These things thus passed ouer, he carried them to the parish Church to Masse, where the cloth being vnfolded and well viewed (for so the story saith) it was solemnly auowed for a miracle. And it was inioyned the poore butcher in way of penance, to accompany the Frier throughout all *Calabria* to witnesse this wonder; who by this meanes did not onely recouer his cloth againe, but gathered a round summe of money (euery man thinking himselfe happie that gaue him any thing :) whereas the poore butcher lost not only his cloth, but was further endomaged as well with the expence of his iourney as the intermission of his trade."

This story of the cloth is also related in *Amis*, l. 1029–1164. But to return for a while to the questions and answers of the dialogue. The *Gesta Romanorum*, whose tales are so constantly reproduced in the middle ages, and in all lands, will furnish us here also with a probable source of most of *Amis*'s replies. In a Harleian MS. of what Mr. Douce calls the *second* *Gesta Romanorum*, the twenty-fifth story relates that a knight being tried with difficult questions by a Roman emperor, and compelled to answer on pain of death, saves

himself by the ingenuity of his replies. I give the whole story from a MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. Ss. 6. 1. fol. 144, in which MS., containing thirty-nine stories, it stands as the thirty-fifth. [MS. A.D. 1449.]

Andronicus in civitate Romana regnavit potens valde in potentia, qui habebat militem sub se, nomine Senicium, qui ex invidia grauter vexatus et coram imperatore accusatus, verumtamen iustus erat. Quando cum imperator legitimam causam contra eum inuenire non posset, hoc cum vidisset, cogitabat, quomodo eum grauare poterat; vocauit eum et ait ei, karissime, volo ut mihi respondeas ad quasdam questiones sub pena vite tue. At ille, Domine, in quantum scio et potero, vestram voluntatem adimplebo. Ait Imperator; Quantum distat celum ab inferno? hec est prima questio. Ait ille, Quantum suspirium distat a corde. Secunda questio: Quanta est profunditas maris? At ille, Quantum est lapidis iactus. Tercia questio: Quot lagene aque salse sunt in mari? Ait ille, Obturentur omnes exitus aque recentis, et tunc dicam tibi. Quarta questio: De quo ministerio sunt plures homines? At ille, De medicina. Quinta questio: De quo sunt plures et pauciores? At ille, Paparum. Ait imperator, Confundet eum sexta questio: Quot diete sunt in circuitu mundi? At ille, Tantum vna. Septima: Que est deferentia inter pauperem et diuitem? At ille, Tantum diuitie. Imperator cum hec audisset, ait: ad primam questionem respondisti, quod tantum distat celum ab inferno sicut suspirium a corde; dic mihi quomodo poterit hoc esse? At ille, Quia in ictu oculi suspirium procedit a corde, sic anima beata a carne exuta statim celum penetrat, anima dampnata statim ad infernum descendit. Ait Imperator; Quomodo est profunditas maris sicut iactus lapidis? At ille, omne ponderosum naturaliter descendit, et quia lapis est ponderosus, idcirco ad profunditates maris descendit; si lapis essem, ad profunditatem maris descenderem, et tunc nudam veritatem vobis denunciarem. Ait Imperator quomodo si omnes aque exitus recentis obturarentur? At ille, si hoc faceres, dicam quot lagene aque salse sunt in mari. At ille, Hoc michi est impossibile. At ille, Et mihi simili modo diuinare. Ait Imperator; Et quomodo Medicina? At ille, non est homo super terram qui aliquando est infirmus, et quibus* attemptat medicinam.

* So the MS., but may it not be *qui non*?



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Before I dismiss *Amis*, and the stories connected therewith, I would call attention to the resemblance existing between them and some portions of a book which was once very popular in the north of Europe; I mean *Eulenspiegel*, translations from which were current in various lands*. The curing the sick, the swindling trick by means of the unpainted wall, and the adventure of the relique, are common to both *Amis* and this book. But what is perhaps more interesting is the fact, that in the English copy, and in the second chapter of the French version (ed. Troyes, 1714), the answers given by *Eulenspiegel* to a traveller agree letter for letter with those given by *Marcolf* to *Salomon*, when visited in his hut by the latter. The German version however knew well enough that these questions and answers belonged of right to another tale, and they are therefore not admitted into it.

BEDÆ COLLECTANEA ET FLORES.

The following strange collection, which appeared in the folio edition of *Beda* (Colon. Agrip. 1612, 8 vols. fol. vol. 3) under the title of “*Bedæ Collectanea et Flores*,” is connected with the subject of the foregoing remarks.

Dic mihi quæso, quæ est illa mulier, quæ innumeris filiis vbera porrigit, quæ quantum sucta fuerit tantum inundat?—*Mulier ista est Sapientia.*

Dic mihi vbi sit anima hominis, quando dormiunt homines?—*In tribus locis: aut in corde, aut in sanguine, aut in cerebro.*

* One of the earliest books printed was this *Eulenspiegel*, both in France, and in England under the title of *Howleglas*. (W. Copeland.) It appeared in Danish (no date, etc.) by the name of *Ugelspegel*.

Dic mihi quis primus finxit literam ?—Mercurius gigas.

Quid primùm à Deo processit ?—Verbum hoc, Fiat lux.

Qui sunt nati, et non sunt mortui ?—Enoch et Elias.

Dic mihi quis primus obtulit holocaustum Deo ?—Abel agnum.

Dic mihi quæ prima fuit alma ?—Maria soror Aaron.

Vel quæ prima vidua ?—Dina filia Jacob.

Dic mihi quis primus excogitavit aratrum ?—Cham, filius Noe.

Vel quis plantavit uineam* ?—Melchisedech.

In novo ?—Petrus et Jacobus frater Domini.

Quis primus fuit diaconus ?—Stephanus.

Dic mihi, qui sunt filii, qui uindicauerunt patrem in vtero matris suæ ?—Filii viperæ.

Dic mihi quæ est terra, quam non vidit sol neque ventus, nisi vna hora diei ; nec antea, nec postea ?—Terra per quam exiit populus Israel in mari rubro.

Dic mihi quis primus prophetavit ?—Adam quando dixit : Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea.

Dic mihi quæ est illa res, quæ cum augetur, minor erit ; et dum minuitur, augmentum accipit ?

* * * * *

Dic quot annos vixit primus parens Adam ?—Nongentos triginta.

Qui sunt tres amici et inimici, sine quibus vivere nemo potest ?—Ignis, aqua et ferrum.

Quid est malum ?—Corruptio boni.

Quid est mors ?—Absentia uitæ.

Dic mihi nomina duorum latronum qui cum Jesu simul crucifixi sunt ?—Matha et Joca. Matha credidit, Joca negauit vitam, mortem elegit.

Dic mihi nomen illius divitis, qui loquitur ad Abraham ex profunditate inferni ?—Dico tibi, Tantalus est.

* An obvious omission : [Noe. Quis primus fuit presbyter ?]

Dic mihi nomen illius militis, qui punxit latus Domini nostri Jesu Christi?—Dico tibi, Leorrius dictus est.

Dic mihi quot patres sunt in hoc seculo?—Dico tibi, tres: pater cœlestis, pater terrenus, pater in doctrina.

Dic mihi quot sensus hominis sunt?—Dico tibi, decem: visus, auditus, gustus, tactus, odor, sapor, amor, tremor, mutatio et locutio.

Dic mihi quot vitæ sanctis leguntur?—Tres: vita præsens, vita in bonis operibus, et vita æterna futura.

Dic mihi quot mortes peccatoribus reputantur?—Mors in peccato, et separatio animæ et corporis, et mors poenæ.

Dic mihi quæ genera sunt baptismi?—Tria: primum, baptismus est quo sordes peccatorum per regenerationis lauacrum abluuntur: secundum, quo quisque sanguine suo per martyrium baptizatur: tertium, baptismus lachrymarum.

Dic mihi quæ est illa res quæ cœlum totamque terram repleuit, sylvas et surculos confringit, omniaque fundamenta conculit; sed nec oculis uideri aut manibus tangi potest?—

* * * * *

Dic mihi tres victorias ignis.—Prima victoria, in qua apparuit spiritus sanctus: secunda, quæ eleuauit Eliam: tertia, quæ comburit peccatores et terram in die iudicii.

Dic mihi tres victorias venti.—Prima victoria, inflat et non videtur: secunda, sanctificauit mundum post diluuium: tertia, non comburetur in die iudicii.

Dic mihi, vtrum altius cœlum quam terra?—Altior terra, qui in cœlo est, Elias et Enoch.

Dic mihi quæ prima interrogatio fuit: in corpore ne, an in spiritu, vel in quo loco?—In callida suggestionem serpentis ad mulierem, quando dixit in paradiso, Quare præcepit vobis Deus, vt non comederetis de ligno hoc?

Dic mihi, vnde fugit dies ante noctem, et nox vbi currit, et in quo loco vterque requiescit?—In sole requiescit dies et nube nox.



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Quis primus princeps factus est?—Ninus filius Beli.

Quæ prima ciuitas?—Niniue.

Quis eam ædificauit?—Ninus.

Quis primus Imperator factus est?—Saul.

Quot sunt prouinciæ?—Centum et triginta.

* * * * *

Septuaginta duæ.

Dic quid est aurum?—Mancipium mortis.

Quid est argentum?—Inuidiæ locus.

Quid est ferrum?—Omnis artis instrumentum.

Qui sunt qui sania potant?—Qui sua negotia curant.

Dic a qua ratione homo lassus non fit.—Lucrum faciendo.

Dic quid est longissimum?—Spes vel cogitatio.

Quid est regi et misero commune?—Nasci et mori.

Quid est optimum et pessimum?—Verbum.

Quid est quod alii placet, alii displicet?—Vita.

Dic mihi quot modis dicitur omne quod dicitur.—Quatuor :
aut bonum bene, aut malum male, aut bonum male, aut malum
bene.

Cur homo nouissime factus est?—Quia maioris honoris est.

Quæ sunt tria muta quæ vocant sapientiam in corde homi-
nis?—Est mens, oculus et litera.

Vidi filium inter quatuor fontes nutritum. Uiuus si fuit
disrupit montes. Si mortuus fuit signauit uiuos.

Vidi bipedem super tripodem sedentem. Cecidit bipes,
corruiit tripes.

Adam uixit xv annos in paradiso, Eua xiv, alii dicunt vii,
sine uxore xi dies. Die sexto manducauit Adam de ligno
scientiæ boni et mali xii^o anno ætatis suæ.

FINIS.

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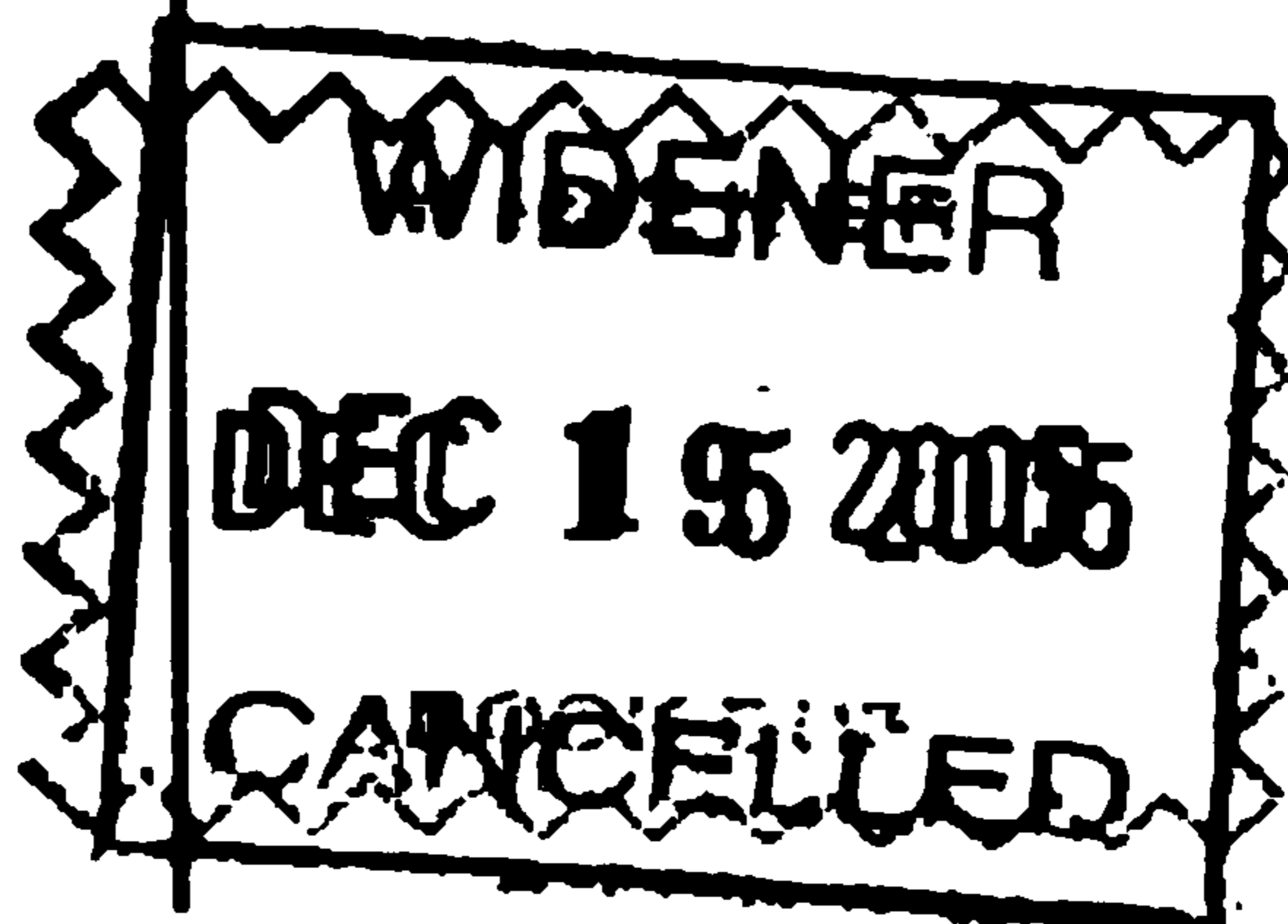
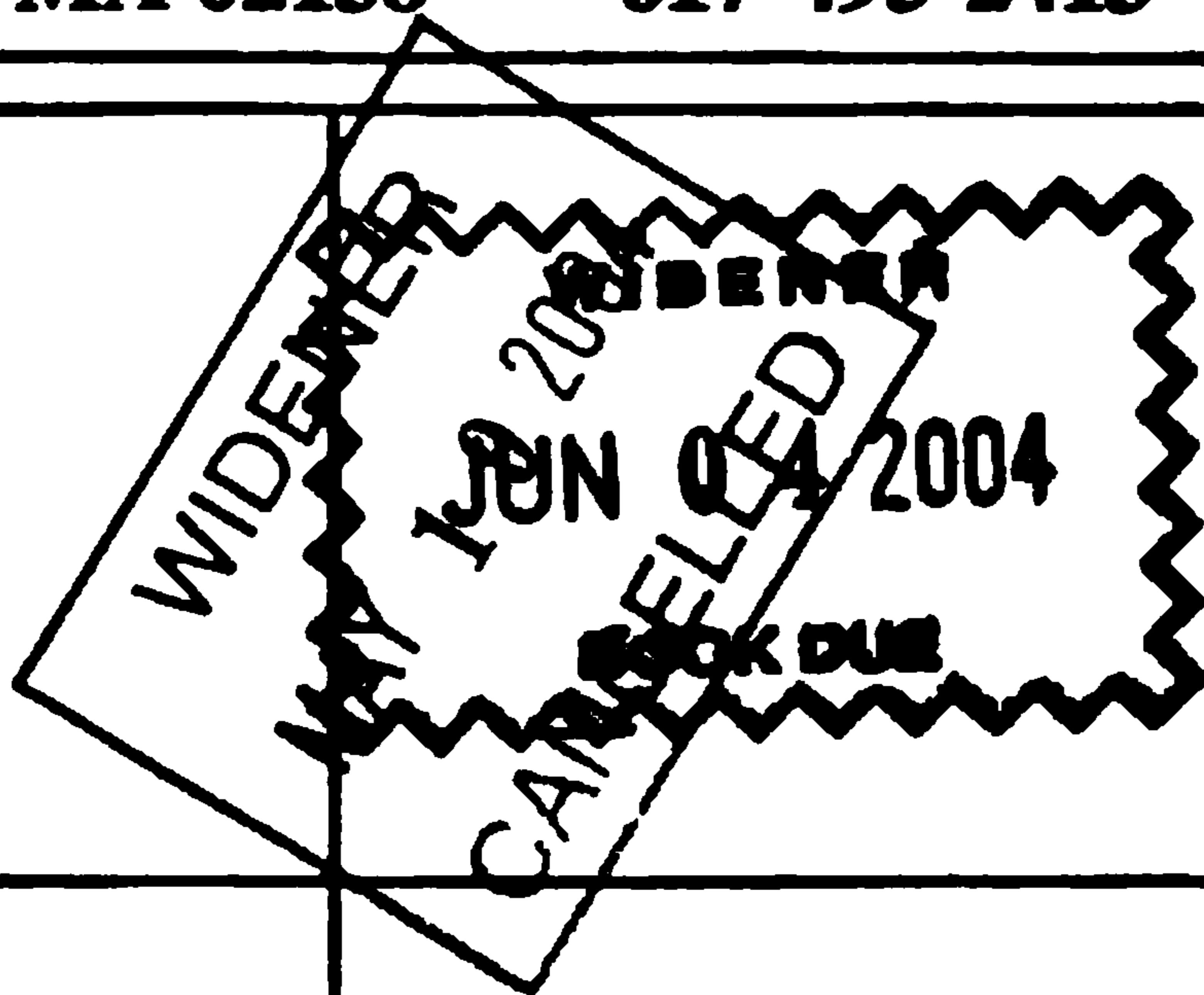
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